



**AMBIGUITY IN THE USE OF PROVERBS: A CASE STUDY OF
SELECTED LUGANDA PROVERBS**

BY

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**A RESEARCH DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT
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DECLARATION

I **NAMUGENYI ROSE MARY** do hereby declare that this work is my original work and has never been submitted for any academic award in any university or institution.

Signature..... 

Date: 03/ October/ 2022

NAMUGENYI ROSE MARY

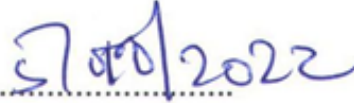
APPROVAL

This is to certify that this dissertation presented by Namugenyi Rose Mary was written under my supervision and I recommend it for presentation to the Board of examiners in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Bachelor of Arts with Education of Makerere University.

Signature.....



Date.....



ALOYSIUS KWITONDA
SUPERVISOR

DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to my personal guide and friend the Almighty God for He has protected me and enabled me to complete this course, thank You Lord.

I go ahead and dedicate this research to my lovely mother Ms. Nakakande Sarah who has been there for me through thick and thin, in prayer, physical support, advice and encouragement from the time I began school to this day. I am so glad. Long live mother. I also dedicate the research to my friend Ssenjobe Frank and my sister Nandegeya Constance.

Lastly, I dedicate this document to all those who love reading and making research about Luganda proverbs.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I would love to acknowledge the love and blessing of GOD through my Education. It wouldn't be successful without Him. I also acknowledge the help granted to me by my sweet sister Nandegeya Constance who has been there for me from year one to date. I thank my beloved supervisor and lecturer Aloysius Kwitonda who has been both a parent and teacher from the time I joined university too this date.

I continue thanking so dearly my supervisor for the guidance he has given to me throughout this research, God bless you Doctor.

I will not forget the effort of my friend Muhairwe Emmanuel and my mum Ms. Nakakande Sarah who were key in helping me with relevant proverbs to use during this research. I acknowledge all my friends indiscriminately who have been there with me in the pursuit of my degree (BA in Education).

TABLE OF CONTENTS

DECLARATION	i
APPROVAL	ii
DEDICATION	iii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	iv
ABSTRACT.....	vii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
Introduction.....	1
Background to the Study.....	2
Statement of the Problem.....	4
Research Questions	4
Objectives of the Study.....	4
Review of Related Literature	5
The different forms of ambiguity in proverbs.....	6
Methodology	10
Research Design.....	10
Research Tools.....	10
Sample Space	11
Sample Size.....	11
Sampling Criteria	11
Ethical Considerations	12
Significance of the Study	12
Scope of the Study	12
Anticipated Constraints.....	12
Definition of Key Words	13

CHAPTER TWO: CLUSTER ONE	15
CHAPTER THREE: CLUSTER TWO	20
CHAPTER FOUR: CLUSTER THREE.....	25
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS	29
Conclusions.....	29
Recommendations.....	29
REFERENCES	30
APPENDICES	i
Appendix 1: The Proverbs	i
Appendix 2: Questionnaire	v
Appendix 3: Photos.....	vii

ABSTRACT

In this dissertation which aims at establishing different ambiguous aspects in Luganda proverbs and assessing the role of the ambiguity of the proverb to the interpretation and contextual use of the proverbs, it shall be noted that that proverbs are not created by the folk but rather by an individual. Someone at some time and somewhere couches a general observation, behaviour, or experience into a short complete sentence that subsequently is picked up by others who might well change the wording slightly resulting in a number of variants until a standard formulation result. Lord John Russell said it best, when he defined a proverb as *One man's wit, and all men's wisdom* that in itself has become proverbial as *The wit of one and the wisdom of many* (Taylor, 1975: 68). It shall be noted that proverbs are a part of a wider oral literature of a society which include *oral narratives* like: myths, legends, folktales and fables; *short formulaic forms* like: proverbs, riddles, tongue twisters, and similes; *poetic forms* like: epics, lullabies, children's rhymes, recitations, popular poetry, festive songs, popular songs and several other forms.(Abasi Kiyimba (2014, p8). Language can lead to many ambiguous utterances. A mere word or a phrase may, in its relationship to other words or phrases, force a reader or listener to attempt to construe its meaning in more than one way. (Maria Kadlub, 2017, p,44) in the study, the different forms of ambiguity in Luganda proverbs, I came in agreement with Lina Bikeliene that linguistic ambiguity could be discerned in five main types: phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and contextual ambiguities. (Lina Bikelienè , 2017, p101). The study also notes the key roles of ambiguity in the language as per selected Luganda proverbs as cultural differentiation, Rich imagination and esthetic effect, multiplicity of interpretation, Flexibility in language and interpretation, and moral value.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

INTRODUCTION

The Cambridge dictionary defines Linguistic ambiguity as a quality of language that makes speech or written text open to multiple interpretations. That quality makes the meaning difficult or impossible for a person or artificial intelligence (A program to reliably decode without some additional information. The ambiguity of any aspect of language may give it multiple interpretations, contextual applications and multiple reference areas. Proverbs are a part of day to day language and are used and referred to in day to day speech and writing to convey different messages. The interpretation of a proverb will depend on the context.

In the interview with my mother, Ms. Nakakande Sarah, she said that some proverbs have both the denotative meaning (amakulu agokungulu) and the connotative meaning which she referred to as (amakulu amakusike). "it may be easy for everyone to discover the denotative meaning of the proverb but it may not be very easy for different people to find the connotative meaning of the proverb as most people may interpret it differently from what the speaker meant," she said.

A proverb is defined by the oxford dictionary as a short, well-known pithy saying, stating a general truth or piece of advice. According to Ntabaazi Charles Mukasa of Mpigi district, a proverb is a short saying composed and many times stated with a hidden meaning. In Luganda, a proverb is translated as *Orugero olusonge* (Singular) *Engero ensonge* (Plural). Proverbs are a common method through which the elders used to educate the children and help them work on their morals. According to the Afro style magazine, Proverbs help to dispel the belief that African people are barbaric and uneducated..." African Proverbs offer wisdom and poetry in just one sentence. Proverbs play an important part in African cultures all across the continent. African proverbs can convey wisdom, truth, a discovery of ideas, as well as life lessons. Proverbs are a part of a rich folklore and oral literature of any society. Oral literature and folklore of any society connote a lot about the social, political and economic organization of the society in question.

The Baganda use proverbs in many events and ways for example in the novel **Tokiiya Ngonge Nto** by Robert G Mukasa, he uses a lot of proverbs in order to bring out the meaning of his

novel. It can also be assumed that he uses proverbs so that he gives a chance to people to make different interpretations of the novel since proverbs have a hidden meaning. Proverbs can also be used during work among the Baganda for example the proverb **Agali'awamu -Geegaluma Ennyama** [the teeth that are together or without gaps are the ones capable to bite meat [is in many cases used during work to call upon people to work together since those who work together always expect a good yield. The Baganda also use proverbs as names of people for example **Kitagenda -Azaala Mugenzi**. This proverb is ambiguous because the word **Mugenzi** means a dead person in Luganda but the truth is that the proverb says that one who never goes gives birth to one who goes.

This dissertation aims therefore at establishing different ambiguous aspects in Luganda proverbs and assessing the role of the ambiguity of the proverb to the interpretation and contextual use of the proverbs.

A case study of fifty selected proverbs. The dissertation pulls out the ambiguous aspects of the proverb through offering the different connotational meanings with examples of situations where the proverb may be interpreted in different ways. The dissertation goes ahead to give the role of the ambiguity of each proverb in the different ways of use in Luganda.

BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

In 1931 Archer Taylor, stated at the beginning of his seminal book *The Proverb* that “the origins of the proverb have been little studied”. Bartlett Jere in the article on *The Origin of the Proverb*, also arguing that much more scholarly work is needed to understand the multifaceted aspects of proverb origins. They both agree that proverbs are not created by the folk but rather by an individual. Someone at some time and somewhere couches a general observation, behavior, or experience into a short complete sentence that subsequently is picked up by others who might well change the wording slightly resulting in a number of variants until a standard formulation result.

As early as 1823 the British statesman Lord John Russell said it best, when he defined a proverb as *One man's wit, and all men's wisdom* that in itself has become proverbial as *The wit of one and the wisdom of many* (Taylor, 1975: 68). In other words, every proverb begins with an individual whose keen insight is accepted and carried forth as a piece of proverbial wisdom by

people of all walks of life. Of course, for most proverbs the individual coiner is no longer known, and the numerous cultural, ethnographic, folkloristic, historical, linguistic, and literary studies of the origin, dissemination, function, and meaning of individual proverbs only rarely succeed in identifying that very person who uttered the proverbial wisdom for the first time.... However, Some proverbs clearly started as sententious remarks with famous literary authors such as Cicero, Geoffrey Chaucer, William Shakespeare, Miguel de Cervantes Saavedra, etc. (Meider, 1987. P.28).

Among the Baganda, proverbs were passed on orally. First from the elders to the young ones whom they wanted to teach the different proverbs in their society and their significance to the users. Children always gathered around the fire place in the evening after work and an elder started lecturing to them what had been prepared for the day. Proverbs were also passed on from elder to elder as a way of warning them against danger for example *Lwo'oyagaliza Mukakitaawo -Lutta Nnyoko* [What You Wish To Happen To Your Step Mother Happens To Your Own Mother] warned people against doing wrong to others because it might backfire, proverbs were also used to encourage for example *Kamukamu -Gwemuganda* [One By One Makes A Bundle] was used to encourage people to work harder, they were used to give advice for example *Omwana'omugonvu Ye'akomba'ekibya* [An Obedient Child Is The One Who Is Given The Chance To Lick The Dish Of Sauce] was to advice all children to be obedient to enjoy the privileges of obedient children.

Language, as the main communication tool, serves to deliver a desired message to the interlocutor. however, sometimes implies multiple or imprecise meaning, i.e. it is ambiguous or vague. Many language areas and types of discourse are believed to employ the phenomena to achieve a desired effect. Indeterminacy in language could also be unintentional and happen accidentally. (Lina Bikeliené, 2017). In English, language can lead to many ambiguous utterances. A mere word or a phrase may, in its relationship to other words or phrases, force a reader or listener to attempt to construe its meaning in more than one way. (Maria Kadlub, 2017, p,44).

The Baganda also employ such ambiguity in their day to day use of language by speaking or writing words, phrases or sentences with one or more meanings. For example a word such as SEESA may mean to pull up one's trousers or skirt or to push firewood inside the fire place. A

phrase such as **Baseesa Gwaka** may mean to maintain the fire which is already burning and not make a new fire or that this particular group of people push firewood into the fire place while it burns.

Lina Bikelienė (2017, p101) illustrates that Linguistic ambiguity could be discerned in five main types: phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and contextual ambiguities. The phonological type of ambiguity arises from homophones. *Eight* and *ate* could serve as an example of phonologically ambiguous words since they share the same pronunciation /eit/ but differ in meaning.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The Cambridge dictionary continues and defines Linguistic ambiguity as a quality of language that makes speech or written text open to multiple interpretations. That quality makes the meaning difficult or impossible for a person or artificial intelligence program to reliably decode without some additional information. Language, as the main communication tool, serves to deliver a desired message to the speaker or writer. However, sometimes implies multiple or imprecise meaning, (Bikelienė, 2017. P1). Proverbs are an important aspect of language that are used with an aim of rendering a vast area of interpretation.

This dissertation therefore ascertains different ambiguous aspects in selected Luganda proverbs while assessing the role of the ambiguity of the proverb to the interpretation and contextual use of the proverbs. It finds out if there is a possibility that the speaker of the proverb may use it in one way and is interpreted differently by the audience.

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- 1) What are the different forms of ambiguity in Luganda proverbs? a case study of fifty selected proverbs.
- 2) What is the role of the ambiguity of the proverb to the interpretation and use of the selected proverbs? A case study of fifty selected proverbs.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

- 1) To establish the different forms of ambiguity in Luganda proverbs. a case study of 50 selected proverbs.

- 2) To assess the role of the ambiguity of the proverb to the interpretation and use of the selected proverbs. A case study of fifty selected proverbs.

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

The Cambridge dictionary of contemporary English defines a proverb as a short, well-known pithy saying, stating a general truth or piece of advice. Lord John Russell defined a proverb as *One man's wit, and all men's wisdom* that in itself has become proverbial as *The wit of one and the wisdom of many* (Taylor, 1975: 68). Proverbs are a part of day to day language and are used and referred to in day to day speech and writing to convey different messages. The interpretation of a proverb will depend of the context.

The dictionary goes ahead to define Linguistic ambiguity as a quality of language that makes speech or written text open to multiple interpretations. That quality makes the meaning difficult or impossible for a person or artificial intelligence (A program to reliably decode without some additional information. The ambiguity of any aspect of language may give it multiple interpretations, contextual applications and multiple reference areas. In English, language can lead to many ambiguous utterances. A mere word or a phrase may, in its relationship to other words or phrases, force a reader or listener to attempt to construe its meaning in more than one way. (Maria Kadlub, 2017, p,44). Ambiguity is a common phenomenon in nature. It means that a word, phrase or sentence has at least two distinct meanings. In extremely informational communication it will cause barriers to understand. Sometimes it will cause divergence or dispute.

Archer Taylor, stated at the beginning of his seminal book *The Proverb* that “the origins of the proverb have been little studied”. Bartlett Jere in the article on *The Origin of the Proverb*, also arguing that much more scholarly work is needed to understand the multifaceted aspects of proverb origins. They both agree that proverbs are not created by the folk but rather by an individual. Someone at some time and somewhere couches a general observation, behavior, or experience into a short complete sentence that subsequently is picked up by others who might well change the wording slightly resulting in a number of variants until a standard formulation result.

The different forms of ambiguity in proverbs

The simplest definition of ambiguity reads that an expression is ambiguous if the expression has more than one meaning (Gillion 1990:394). Ambiguity does not only concern meaning but rather the interpretations that can be made by the reader/listener. Lina Bikelienė (2017, p101) illustrates that Linguistic ambiguity could be discerned in five main types: phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, and contextual ambiguities. The phonological type of ambiguity arises from homophones. *Eight* and *ate* could serve as an example of phonologically ambiguous words since they share the same pronunciation /eɪt/ but differ in meaning.

Phonological ambiguity. The Cambridge encyclopedia of English language defines Phonological Ambiguity as words that sound the same but have a different meaning. Utilizing Phonological Ambiguities forces the brain to think for a moment. It needs to interpret the context of the sentence and place the ambiguity of the Phonological Ambiguity in the right context. In oral communication, the speech sound is the carrier of information. It is a psychological process of encoding and decoding. If there is no literal help and context, the polysemy, homonymy, liaison and omission are easier to cause ambiguity. (Wang, 2017. P247.). Example of sentence with phonological ambiguity is “*Don’t pour the **flour** in the **flower** pot.*”: The two words “*Flour*” and “*Flower*” may cause the listener to pause before taking in the meaning.

Semantic ambiguity. Is also called **lexical ambiguity**. Lexical ambiguity is the potential for multiple interpretations of spoken or written language that renders it difficult or impossible to understand without some additional information. lexical ambiguity, therefore, derives from the meaning of words not their structures (Stageberg 1978 p40).

There are mainly three types of lexical ambiguity: Polysemy, homonymy and categorical ambiguity. Polysemous words are whose several meaning are related to one another. For example, the verb “open” has many senses concerning unfolding, expanding, revealing, moving to an open position, making openings and so on. Conversely, homonymous words have meanings with no relationship one to another. For example, “bark” means both the noise a dog makes and the stuff on the outside of a tree. A word may be both polysemous and homonymous; the adjective “right” has several senses concerning correctness and righteousness, but also senses

concerning the right-hand side. There is no clear line between polysemy and homonymy. (Wang. 2017. P, 247)

Syntactic ambiguity. It is also called grammatical ambiguity or structural ambiguity. The difference in meaning is due to the different structures which are permitted by the rules of syntax. According to Stageberg (1978), syntactic ambiguity occurs when the grammatical order permits two or more meanings to emerge. For instance, A fat ladies' man allows two rather different interpretations. One interpretation of this sentence is that a fat man likes women and is liked by them, whereas another one can refer to a man that likes fat ladies (and is liked by such ladies, too). (Maria Kadlub. 2017, p53.)

The first class of syntactic ambiguity is that of Attachment Ambiguity: there being more than one node to which a particular syntactic constituent may legally be attached. Attachment problems are mostly problems of modifier placement. The most common example is that of a prepositional phrase. For example, “he hit the man with a stick”. Below I list some of the other occasions on which Attachment Ambiguity may occur.

A prepositional phrase may have more than one verb phrase available to attach to. For example, the student will discuss their plan to hold a party in the classroom. Here, the phrase ‘in the classroom’ can attach to the verb phrase ‘discuss their plan’ or verb phrase ‘hold a party’.

When a sentence contains a sub sentence, both may contain places for the attachment of a prepositional or a adverb. For example, “Rose said that Nancy had taken the cleaning out yesterday.” The word “yesterday” may quality the saying action of the matrix sentence, or the taking action of the subsistence.

An Attachment Ambiguity also occurs when an adverbial may modify the sentence verb or the whole sentence: “Happily, Nancy cleaned up the mess Rose had left.” The adverb ‘happily’ would be attached to the sentence, meaning that the event was a fortunate occurrence, or it would be attached to the verb phrase, meaning that Nancy was happy to clean up the mess.

Morphological ambiguity is often attributed to the feature of inflectional morphemes to be ambiguous to such an extent that they could cause numerous misinterpretations (Wasow, Perfors and Beaver 2005). For example, morphologically ambiguous phrase *Rose's book* could be interpreted as a book belonging to Rosel or book written by Rose.

The third type of ambiguity, lexical ambiguity, can be noticed when no context is provided for words with multiple denotations, e.g. *bank* could refer to money or a river. This type, however, is not limited to content words, e.g. a function word *that* can be a determiner, a demonstrative pronoun, or a conjunction and thus be ambiguous when used out of context.

Bosch (1979, p12) points out that “ambiguity is traditionally understood as that property of a sentence which makes it say something true and false at the same time” (Bosch 1979, p. 12), i.e. it is caused by ambiguous sentence structures. This type of ambiguity is defined as syntactic. One of the most productive sources of syntactic ambiguity are modifiers and prepositional phrases (Wasow, Perfors and Beaver 2005) because they can be easily attached to any sentence. For example, “*He left his car with his girlfriend*” (Zwicky and Sadock 1975, p. 10) can mean: (1) he and his girlfriend both left his car somewhere and (2) he left his car somewhere with his girlfriend in it.

Ellipsis is another possible cause for syntactic ambiguity. “*She loves her dog more than her child*” (Chen 2012, p. 2935) due to the elided part may be understood in two completely different ways: (1) *she prefers her dog to her child* and (2) *her child loves her dog less than she does*. The last type, contextual ambiguity, “embraces the use of irony, metaphor, intentional double readings and other uses of ‘polysemy’” (Nerlich and Clarke 2001, p. 12). For example, since there is no water reservoir in the world known as the *sea of grief*, in order for the expression to be logical (*the great grief experienced by someone due to some disastrous event*) it must undergo metaphorical meaning shift. Contextual ambiguity should be seen as distinct from lexical ambiguity, because the meaning shift does not deal with different meanings of one word, but rather changes them slightly in order for an expression to fit the context.

English being a language like any other such as Luganda, these types of ambiguity do not belong to it alone. They can apply to any of the other languages including those that are not mentioned here. This is so because all these elements of language in which the different types of ambiguity appear apply to all other languages. Therefore, the same types of ambiguity apply to Luganda. Hence, the different ways of arriving at ambiguity in some of the Luganda proverbs, according to my analysis.

The role of the ambiguity of the proverb to its interpretation

Cultural differentiation. Language is part of culture. Its existence and development interact with the culture, so the different cultural backgrounds often make misunderstanding and ambiguity in communication. For example, the sentence “You are a lucky dog.” means you are very fortunate. In English, people like dogs and usually use ‘dog’ to signify the human being. But, in Chinese, the dog is a derogatory term. Sometimes, literally, the correspondent translation means one. But, in fact real meaning is completely different from the literal. For example, the “mad doctor” means the “psychiatrist” instead of a doctor who is mad. The “confidence man” means the “fraudulent person” instead of the man who has confidence. So learning a foreign language is not a matter of simple word-for-word translation. At the same time, The semantic ambiguity due to culture differences is very important for a translator.

(Lihong Wang, 2017. p,247). My research thus aims at understanding the cultural significance of the ambiguity in the proverbs of the Baganda.

Rich imagination and esthetic effect. Ambiguity is a common phenomenon in natural. It means that a word, phrase or sentence has at least two distinct meanings. In extremely informational communication it will cause barriers to understand. Sometimes it will cause divergence or dispute. So, illogicality and argument usually use ambiguity to make tricks. But ambiguity has its advantages. For example, in poetry or lyrical prose, it can arouse riche imagination or add aesthetic color to the word. The writer usually uses ambiguity to express complicated emotion, so every reader can have his or her own understanding instead of only one conclusion. (Lihong Wang, 2017. p,247)

Multiple interpretation. Morphological ambiguity is often attributed to the feature of inflectional morphemes to be ambiguous to such an extent that they could cause numerous misinterpretations (Wasow, Perfors and Beaver 2005). For example, morphologically ambiguous phrase *Dahl'sbook* could be interpreted as a book belonging to Dahl or written by Dahl. Lexical ambiguity, can be noticed when no context is provided for words with multiple denotations, e.g. *bank* could refer to a money keeping area or a dry part of a river. This type, however, is not limited to content words, e.g. a function word *that* can be a determiner, a demonstrative pronoun, or a conjunction and thus be ambiguous when used out of context. (Wasow, Perfors and Beaver 2005).

Flexibility in language and interpretation. Bosch (1979, p12) points out that “ambiguity is traditionally understood as that property of a sentence which makes it say something true and false at the same time” (Bosch 1979, p. 12), i.e. it is caused by ambiguous sentence structures. This type of ambiguity is defined as syntactic. One of the most productive sources of syntactic ambiguity are modifiers and prepositional phrases (Wasow, Perfors and Beaver 2005) because they can be easily attached to any sentence. For example, “*He left his car with his girlfriend*” (Zwicky and Sadock 1975, p. 10) can mean: (1) he and his girlfriend both left his car somewhere and (2) he left his car somewhere with his girlfriend in it.

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Moral value of the proverb. Mukhlash Abrar (2016, p47) says that moral values are the basic standard of good and evil which governs or rules individual behaviors and choices. This view obviously indicates that moral value, in everyday life, concerns with a set of principles which is applied to evaluate right versus wrong. In literary works, moral value is seen as a lesson which might inspire the readers to be positive or to live a better life. (Mulhlash Abrar, 2016, p47). it is worthy to note that the intention of the ambiguity in the selected proverbs is aimed at offering numerous points of view and a variety of knowledge to the listener.

METHODOLOGY

Research design

This research followed a qualitative research design. Descriptive methods were used with limited numerical collections. The qualitative methods were used in the collection of data.

Research tools

In this research, I was in position to employ the following tools that helped me carry out my research effectively:

A computer which I used to search for information online and note down whatever I got to help me accomplish my research.

A smart phone which partly helped me carryout research and make calls to the people that I wanted to meet for consultations. This helped me to organize and meet my consultants at their appropriate time.

Research books which I read in order to obtain information to be included in my research. These books have helped me to enrich my literature review with the personalities that I was able to discover for example Lihong Wang, Archer Taylor.

A dictionary which I always read to check for meanings of words that appeared difficult for me to be interpreted.

Elders and learners of Luganda language that acted as very important sources of some of the proverbs I used in my research. These were very vital in helping me interpret some of the proverbs that I couldn't on my own.

Content analysis. This research used content analysis as the major method of data collection's collected and translated selected proverbs and then analyzed the content. Lastly, I drew conclusions basing on the target objectives.

Sample space

The sample space of this research was derived from up to 6000 proverbs that exist in Buganda culture. The proverbs were selected from proverbs used by all classes in Buganda since different proverbs were drawn from different classes of people i.e. the farmers, fishermen, royal people, peasants etc.

Sample size

The sample size of my research was fifty proverbs that were selected from a wide range of genres.

Sampling criteria

This research used a random sampling. Proverbs were selected randomly regardless of theme, content or any other factor as many of them were provided to me by elders who knew them clearly.

ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

This research followed a number of ethical considerations. These include:

Anyone who was involved in this research either in interviewing them to get the proverbs was contacted with consent thus no force or promise of favors.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The research will be significant to future researchers, scholars, school children and lovers of proverbs and oral literature as it will help them discover more about ambiguity in some Luganda proverbs.

This research will also be significant to the travelers who don't know Luganda and yet will want to learn some Luganda proverbs since all of them have been translated into English.

The research will help future researchers in offering them credible literature review in the field of proverbs in Uganda specifically those interested in studying Luganda proverbs and the metaphors the role of ambiguity to the interpretation.

SCOPE OF THE STUDY

Geographically, the research focuses on the geographic area of Uganda and Buganda is specific.

I was in position to read some books written by the Baganda writers for example Abasi Kiyimba. I also contacted elders in Mpigi district for consultation about the proverbs.

The research was done within a period of at least three months beginning from July 2022 to October 2022.

The content analyzed and referred to in this research is primarily within the areas of ambiguity of language, oral literature while expounding on proverbs within Buganda and any other language in which ambiguity is very key.

ANTICIPATED CONSTRAINTS

The time frame given for the research wasn't enough since within the same time of the research, I had other classroom time demands. For example I had exams within the time that I had to concentrate on the research. Therefore, I decided to do one thing at a time that is to say do exams

first and do the research after when I have enough time to concentrate on it alone. This helped me to give all the little time I had for my research and did it to the best of my mind.

The sample size was not wide enough basically as a result of limited time. Therefore, there is a chance that someone could come up with different conclusions if they used a wider sample size or used another sample space. Therefore, the results of the research are subject to the sample size. Because of this, I decided to use the small sample size I have to cover a wider range of issues in the ambiguous proverbs among the Baganda. This was done by making enough consultation and used the information I got to explain all I could about these proverbs.

Costs during this research were a little straining in data and transport where getting data needed to reach a cultural group to get the data. This was a little straining in this economic status. In this case, I decided to use the people who were near to me that I found had relevant information to my research. These included Luganda students of Makerere university, my Mother whom I could just raise a phone call and she explains to me what she had without meeting her physically. This helped me to spare and save the time I could use to travel to different cultural areas and groups.

Translating Luganda into English was very difficult as some of the important words were not known to me in English yet they would have been very vital in my research. To solve this, I usually asked my mother to explain some of those words to me for example *Okuwungula*, then I translated them into English. Since the Luganda dictionary (enkuluze) is not easy to get, some failed completely and I decided to replace them with other proverbs that equally enabled me to accomplish my research.

DEFINITION OF KEY WORDS

Ambiguity: The Cambridge dictionary defines Linguistic ambiguity as a quality of language that makes speech or written text open to multiple interpretations. That quality makes the meaning difficult or impossible for a person or artificial intelligence (A program to reliably decode without some additional information).

Proverb: A proverb is defined by the oxford dictionary as a short, well-known pithy saying, stating a general truth or piece of advice. In Luganda, a proverb is translated as *Orugero olusonge* (Singular) *Engero ensonge*(Plural).

Oral literature: Oral literature, means the standard forms (or genres) of literature found in societies without writing. According to Abasi Kiyimba (2014, p8) Oral literature includes *oral narratives* like: myths, legends, folktales and fables; *short forms* like: proverbs, riddles, tongue twisters, and similes; *poetic forms* like: epics, lullabies, children's rhymes, recitations, popular poetry, festive songs, popular songs and several other forms.

Folklore: Folklore is defined by the Cambridge dictionary as the traditional beliefs, customs, and stories of a community, passed through the generations by word of mouth.

Culture: According to the oxford dictionary, the term culture can be defined as the arts and other manifestations of human intellectual achievement regarded collectively. Culture can also mean the ideas, customs, and social behaviour of a particular people or society. Culture is the ways of thinking, the ways of acting, and the material objects that together form a people's way of life.

Dissertation: A dissertation is a long form piece of academic writing based on the original research conducted by oneself.

Research: Research is a systematic investigation into and study of material and sources of something in order to establish facts and come up with new conclusions.

Literature: Literature refers to any written or spoken piece of work that is either imaginative or creative in nature.

Baganda: The Baganda is a group of people in Uganda who speak Luganda as their mother tongue. They live in the central part of Uganda that is to say Kampala, Masaka, Mpigi, Mukono etc.

CHAPTER TWO: CLUSTER ONE

Language, as the main communication tool, serves to deliver a desired message to the interlocutor. However, sometimes implies multiple or imprecise meaning, i.e. it is ambiguous or vague. Many language areas and types of discourse are believed to employ the phenomena to achieve a desired effect. Indeterminacy in language could also be unintentional and happen accidentally. (Lina Bikelienė, 2017, p.101). In the selected proverbs in this first cluster, it is to be noted that some times the ambiguity happens without the intention of the speaker. Interpretation will depend on the context, or the audience. For example, when, in a proverb like “*Abaganda nswa, bebikakungulu*” which translates that “*Baganda are white ants. They cover themselves*”, this proverb in the presence of Baganda, it may sound stereotypical and tribalistic as well as insulting. However, if it is a Muganda speaking to fellow Baganda, it may sound different. In this context, depending on the audience, the term “*Abaganda*” may either mean the people of the tribe of Buganda or brothers. Therefore, the speaker, the audience, the context and the intention matters a lot when using such proverbs. In all those contexts, the proverb will be interpreted differently by the listener.

Another instance is in a proverb “*Abakopi Mayenje, Gaggawalime*” which translates that “*Peasants are cockroaches. They fall on a well prepared land*” may be interpreted differently in different contexts depending on the audience, the context, and the speaker. This is in agreement with Maria Kadlub (2017, p44) where she says that language can lead to many ambiguous utterances. A mere word or a phrase may, in its relationship to other words or phrases, force a reader or listener to attempt to construe its meaning in more than one way. (Maria Kadlub, 2017, p,44). These more ways may not necessarily come to one person but there is a chance that each member of the audience will get their own interpretation. This in some cases may be so damaging to the message sent by the utterer.

The Baganda commonly used ambiguity in proverbs in order to help people draw different meanings out of them in accordance with the context. For example most of these proverbs would be used in advising as well as satirizing people who failed to follow the ways of living of the society.

Abagagga n'abagagga baagalana –ekirevu kiyita kubisige ne kigenda kyegatta n'enviiri eziriewala	The rich love/care for one another -the beard passes by the eye-lashes and joins the hair which is far away
---	---

The bagalana may mean care for their fellow rich live together as the rich discriminate the poor.

Ggwosussa emmwanyi –omusanga mitala wa Mayanja ngaawungula	The person you deny a coffee seed -you find them across the ocean harvesting
---	---

Gwosussa emmwanyi may mean the person you deny an opportunity the person you despise may be successful before you

Olusala ekyayi –lweeluleetera munyeera okwanjaala	That which cuts the banana fiber makes the little small black ants to scatter
--	--

The little black ants may mean the real little black ants in the banana plant. Munyeera may also mean a silent person. Okusala ekyayi may mean to open for someone or something that has been enclosed somewhere.

Abaganda nswa-zeebikka kungulu	The Baganda are white ants -they cover themselves superficially
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They are secretive, they are hypocritical. The term Baganda can mean the Baganda as a tribe or humanity in general.

Konaweka-tokaleka kusaaba ttaka	You cannot allow what you are to carry to be covered with dust
---------------------------------	---

You shouldn't let, the person you are going to attack. To get prepared, you shouldn't allow what you are to carry to get dirty.

Abakopi mayenje-gagwawalime	Peasants are crickets -they establish themselves where the soil is prepared
-----------------------------	---

They are opportunists, they are lazy

Abakulu n'abakulu tibaseerananva –nga z'amazzi	elders share sauce equally -when it's watery
--	--

Watery meaning source full of water, watery meaning anything of less value from water.

Kamukamu-gwemuganda	One by one -makes a bundle
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One by one makes a bundle; Step by step makes a journey

Abalamu-baseesagwaka	The living -keep up with the burning fire
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They keep up with the burning fire. They only come in when the problem has been solved. They only come in in good times.

Abalamu magoma-gavugira aliwo	People/Living are drums -They only play for the living/the present
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People/the living; the living/the present

Nanyini mufu -y'akwata awawunya	The owner of the corpse (the relatives of the late) -are the ones that hold the smelling part
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Owner of the corpse, Relatives of a person with a problem.

Abali awamu-tebalema kuyomba.	People in one place (together) -can't fail to quarrel
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Many people in one place can't fail to quarrel, Can't fail to make noise

Amanyi obulumi bwenkumbi –tagaba ssoli ddene.	One who knows the pain behind growing crops -does not give out a big piece of corn.
---	---

Ssoli here may mean: A piece of maize; any benefits out of hard work

Abalungi mbwa ya Nnamaaso-bw'etebba, eyigga.	The good are Namaaso's dog-if it does not steal, it hunts
--	---

The phrase abalungi may mean: The beautiful ones; The good people

Abakazi bitooke bisalire-tebekwekwamu	Women are pruned banana plants one can't hide in them
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Hide in them may mean hypocrites; not trustworthy. They easily speak out; they are transparent

Omwana omugonvu -y'akomba ekibya.	The obedient child is always the one to link the dish of source
-----------------------------------	---

The obedient child is always given to link to dish. Is always loved and favored; is always given a lot of rewards.

Obukadde magezi takubuulira kyamukaddiya	Old age is wisdom -He'll not tell you what made him old.
--	--

Obukadde magezi may mean the wisdom of the old; the secrecy of the old.

In conclusion, it shall be noted, "Ambiguity, in extremely informational communication it will cause barriers to understand. Sometimes it will cause divergence or dispute. So, illogicality and argument usually use ambiguity to make tricks. But ambiguity has its advantages. For example, in poetry or lyrical prose, it can arouse rich imagination or add aesthetic color to the word." (Lihong Wang, 2017. p, 247). However, in my opinion, in the intentional use of proverbs with

ambiguity for esthetics' purpose, it is worth noting that one must be aware of who is listening and thus mind the possible attitude the use of the ambiguous proverb may cause in the mind of the audience.

Sometimes, improper contextualization of an ambiguous word, phrase or proverb may arise negative feelings, attitudes thus the intended message will not be taken well by the audience. Even when Lee Hong Wang, (2017) illustrates that the writers or speakers usually use ambiguity to express complicated emotion, so every reader can have his or her own understanding instead of only one conclusion; (Lihong Wang, 2017. p,247), it is worth to note that the illogical use of an ambiguous proverb with such an intention may cause far damaging consequences. Of course, sometimes, such damage may be the intention of the speaker especially in highly tribalistic communities.

CHAPTER THREE: CLUSTER TWO

This cluster basically focuses on the moral values of the proverbs in society. Mukhlash Abrar (2016, p47) says that moral values are the basic standard of good and evil which governs or rules individual behaviors and choices. This view obviously indicates that moral value, in everyday life, concerns with a set of principle which is applied to evaluate right versus wrong. In literary works, moral value is seen as a lesson which might inspire the readers to be positive or to live a better life.(Mulhlah Abrar, 2016, p47). This being the major intention of the proverbs in this cluster, it is worthy to note that the intention of the ambiguity in the selected proverbs is aimed at offering numerous points of view and a variety of knowledge to the listener.

For example, in the proverb *“Tewetegeleza musota ngatonafuna muggo”* intends at giving the listener different angles of understanding. For instance, *“Do not look at a snake without a cane. Do not embrace your enemy before your armed.”* In this case, a snake may mean anything harmful. It may also mean that one shouldn’t attack any danger unless they have a solution. In the proverb *“Lwoyagaliza mukakytawo luta nnyoko”* may intend to convey the meanings such as *“Anything bad that you wish would happen to your enemy And to kill your own mother can mean To affect you yourself”*. In this context, the ambiguity in the selected proverbs intends at conveying numerous messages to the audience.

The Baganda wisely used proverbs to warn and restrict people from doing wrong. In the above example for instance, one had to know that to live in the society, one had to always be prepared. Members also had to learn that unity was the order of the day other than wishing others bad.

Teweetegereza musota –ngatonnafuna muggo	Do not observe a snake -before getting a cane
--	---

Do not look at a snake without a cane. Do not embrace your enemy before your armed

Lwoyagaliza mukakitaawo –lutta nnyoko	The disease that you wish would kill your step-mother -kills your own mother.
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The above would mean anything bad that you wish would happen to your enemy. And to kill your own mother can mean to affect you yourself.

Nvannungi –tezirwa kugaga.	Good source -does not take long to get spoiled.
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Good source a child who is considered to be ever good by the parents. It can also be the real source that gets spoiled in hours. A good people aren't good forever. They change.

Buli museveni-muwangaazi	Every worrier -lives longer
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The term Museveni may be ambiguous to mean worrier. Name of a person like the president of Uganda.

Buli wammamba-asuuta yiye	Every member of the Mamba clan praises his sub clan.
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The term Mamba may mean Emamba the fish; Mamba the clan

Buli wanzina-n'eyiye	Every dancer -with his own style
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The word: Enzina: depending on who is using it may mean dancing or an act of having sex.

Obulungi-siddya	Beauty -isn't guarantee for a happy marriage
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The term "Obulungi" may mean beauty, goodness in terms of character.

Ekuba omunaku tekya –esigala munviiri.	That which rains on the poor one does not stop -it remains in the hair.
--	---

Ekuba omunaku may be rain, poverty.

Omumpi wakoma wakwata –ensolosozi eruma atudde.	A short person touches where he can - black ants only bite those who are sitting.
---	---

Omumpi here means a short person who may not be in position to touch high, a poor person who may only be in position to buy things of less amount of money.

Embwa enjizzi –ezaala enkolya.	A hunting dog -gives birth to a lazy one.
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The proverb may mean a hunting dog giving birth to a lazy one or a strong/hardworking person having a weak/lazy child.

Omuganga -teyeganga.	A witch doctor -cannot treat him/herself.
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This proverb may mean a doctor cannot treat himself, a thief cannot steal what belongs to himself or a parent cannot parent him/herself.

Bwegayita-bwegalya entanda	Those who move together -eat the food meant for the journey together.
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The phrase “Bwegayita” may mean the way they call or the way they live or the way they move.

Ssebaggala miryango –nebeerabira emyagaanya.	They close the doors -and they forget the shortcuts.
--	--

The proverb means they may close all the main entrances and forget the small paths. They may deny one an opportunity but cannot block a person’s blessings

Bw'ofumbira atakkuta-toyaya lusuku.	If you cook for one who never gets satisfied -you don't plunder your whole plantation. You give him enough to prevent him from becoming an enemy.
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The phrase “Bw’ofumbira atakkuta” may mean cooking for one who never gets satisfied. Getting married to one who never gets satisfied sexually.

Bw'ogoba musajjamunno-olekamu ezinadda.	If you follow up/chase/ run after your fellow-man in pursuit : you should think of your own chance of running back
---	--

The term “kugoba” may mean chasing; following up or running after.

Bw'otova kumulungi-ofa owoza	If you don't leave the beautiful one/ the good one you die regretting/pleading or arguing.
------------------------------	--

The ambiguity is in the words: regretting, pleading and arguing.

Abataka abagalana –beebalima akambugu.	The members of an area who love themselves are the ones who dig the hard grass together.
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Okulima akambugu means: to negotiate; to solve a problem or to work together.

Ensimbi tezaalira mu ttaka.	Money doesn't yield from/ produce from/ breed/multiply in the soil.
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In this case, “Tezaala” may mean yielding from producing, from breeding in or multiplying from which have different connotative meanings.

Ekyenyi ky'omubi –kyekisabira omulungi amazzi.	The forehead of the ugly one is the one that borrows water for the beautiful/ handsome one.
--	---

Water can mean so many things such as food, accommodation or favor.

Atannayitaayita-y'atenda nyina okufumba.	He who has not moved -praises his mother's cooking.
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The phrase “y'atenda nyina okufumba” may mean praising one's culture; praising one's wife or husband praising ones parents.

In conclusion, A proverb as ‘the kernel which contains the wisdom of traditional people. They are philosophical and moral expositions shrunk to a few words, and they form a mnemonic device in societies in which everything worth knowing and relevant to day-to-day life has to be committed to memory, Emmanuel Obiechina (1975, p156). In my view, the ambiguity in the proverbs is aimed at giving numerous points of view in order to help make the proverb memorable. The moral in the proverbs is key thus has to be kept in an ambiguous phrase that could most likely be remembered by the listener.

The ambiguity of the proverb makes it so diverse, applicable in many contexts thus makes it very relevant to many people. In this same regard, Rems Umeasiegbu (1986) sees proverbs as any expression recognized by a people as embodying the wisdom and philosophy of their ancestors. He admitted that the definition has its pitfall but the strength lies in the words recognized by people as embodying the wisdom and philosophy of their ancestors. In my view, the ambiguity is philosophical thus intentional rather than accidental.

The author of some of these proverbs uses apostrophe for example lwoyagaliza mukakitaawo – lotta nnyoko to make it apply to everyone to whom it is told. Hence making it applicable to everyone in all situations.

CHAPTER FOUR: CLUSTER THREE

The proverbs in this cluster, just like the ones in the above chapter carry a moral aspect. However, the most important aspect on them is that they aim at the richness of language as they are the very proverbs that are used in everyday language due to their simplicity in application, easy relation and the limited possibility of offense when applied. For example, the proverb “*Gwowonya eggere yalikusambya*” which is translated that “*he whose foot you heal uses the same foot to kick you.*” The ambiguity in either healing the leg or saving from a kick is meant to create the beauty. In either cases, it renders the message that there is a possibility that the very people we save tend to turn against us in the nearest future. Could the moral be that we shouldn’t save? No. it instead creates a feeling that even when saving people, we shouldn’t expect that they will pay back positively. Even in the proverb “*Enva zamazzi tezikulisa maluma*” which translates that “*Sauce that is watery or source that belongs to water can’t make you eat food with no source*”. In this proverb too, there is a simplicity in the diction that makes the proverb usable and understandable in the easiest way possible.

The use of very simple and easy-to-relate-with diction aims at making the proverb memorable and usable in extending moral lessons as well as making language richer. Emmanuel Asika (2016) in his introductory statement in his paper “*Telling the African side of the Story: Proverb as a Crucial Element in Uchenna Nwosu’s The Rejected Stone,*” he states that proverb has come to mean a lot and occupy a worthwhile position in the matrix of people’s culture as a means of interpreting and understanding several phenomenon and events around them. In this regard therefore, irrespective of the level of sophistication, modernity and technological growth witnessed all around us today, proverb has continued to play prominent roles in debates, arguments, speech, sacred and secular events of the people both the literature and non-literate alike. (Emmanuel Asika, 2016). Therefore, even in Buganda, some proverbs, regardless of their ambiguity are designed in such a way that everyone could understand the proverb if used in everyday life.

Enva ez'amazzi-tezikuliisa maluma.	Sauce that is watery or source that belongs to water can’t make you eat food with no source
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The phrase “enva ezamazzi” may mean sauce that belongs to water or source that is watery.

Eriiso ly'omukulu-awaddugala we walaba	The eye of an elder sees using the dark part of it.
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Awaddugala could be used to mean the dark part of the eye. The dirty part of the eye that he only sees when dark moments are due to happen.

Eyali afudde, bw'olemala-nti Katonda yankolera.	He who had died (he who almost died) but rather got lame says, God worked for me.
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The phrase “eyali afudde” may mean he who had died or he who almost died.

Akugoba takutadde tabula kyakusuuzampeewo yokumakya ekusuza eminyira.	One who runs after you can't fail to make you drop something- the morning coldness makes one drop mucus.
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Akugoba takutadde may mean that one who runs after another consistently, the one being run after has to drop something. The one being run after may fall; in other words, if one consistently has sex, he may course pregnancy.

Bbanjalya mwenge liggwana mwenge	The debt of wine is always paid back with wine.
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The word “Bbanja” has the meanings of a debt revenge.

Guluma yaguzza-enziku teruma kkundi.	It affects one who committed it- Gonorrhoea doesn't affect the umbilical cord.
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“Guluma yaguza” could mean a case that only affects one who caused it. In the case of the proverb it means a disease that affects one who looked for it. It can also be pregnancy that only happens to a woman or girl who has had sex.

Ggwowonya eggere, yalikusambya	He whose leg you heal can use the same leg to kick you.
--------------------------------	---

The phrase “Ggwowonya eggere” may mean he that you saved from a kick. He that you healthy leg. He whom you nursed back to life can later lead to your death.

Atuma omukulu-tamagamaga.	One who sends an elderly person does not look aside.
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Atuma omukulu means sending an elder; sending a leader or sending a trustworthy person.

Nkubye mu kisaka ejjinja-kuwulira bivaamu	I have thrown/beaten a stone in a bush -to hear/feel what comes out.
---	--

The ambiguity is in the different meanings of the words “nkubye”. I have beaten; I have thrown. And the word “Kuwulira” to hear or to feel.

Obukulu ndege-tezivugira mu mazzi.	Authority/ old age is like ankle bells. They don't ring in water
------------------------------------	--

The word “Obukulu” may mean old age or authority.

Omuzadde manyi enjala geewa omutwe	A parent is the strength/ Power that hunger/ famine gives to the head
------------------------------------	---

The ambiguity is on the term “manyi” meaning power, strength, authority or courage.

Agananyuma -tegalinda ngoma	An enjoyable dance does not wait for drums
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This proverb means that a dance which is to be enjoyed does not wait to be accompanied with drums or a person who will work does not wait for commands.

N'aziina obulungi-ava muddiira	Even one who dances well -leaves the stage.
--------------------------------	---

The word dance can also mean to work or to play sex according to the Baganda.

In conclusion, it is worth noting that the purpose of communication is to make sure that both the sender and the receiver get to benefit in the communication. Despite the fact that ambiguity may often intend to create complication in language, sometimes the complexity of the ambiguity is not too deep thus the message can be interpreted by either party easily. In this cluster of the proverbs, the intention of the ambiguity is rather in creation of multiple points of view for the memorability's sake rather than complication. The simplicity in the interpretation and usability of the proverb makes it usable by anyone person of whichever age and level of understanding.

In this case, the intentional use of the proverb is extraction of the wisdom rather than complication of communication. This is in agreement with Onuekwuso Jasper's definition of proverb as pleasant expressions which adorn the rhetoric of a people. In his words, 'a proverb is a philosophical, allusive and metaphorical citation that gives credence to traditional truth and wisdom. It is allusive and metaphorical because it refers to some truth outside itself. It is philosophical because it is a product of a long period of reasoning and observation which expresses some timeless truth (Onuekwuso Jasper, 2011, p17). The timelessness also makes the proverb usable in numerous contexts and to differing audiences.

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, as it is noted, it should still be noted that there are a number of ambiguity in the proverbs depending on their morphemes, the word formation, the syntactical formation and lexical. Therefore, it is worth noting that it is not worthy thinking that each proverb must have all the types of ambiguity. Each proverb may have either one or more forms of ambiguity depending on the formation. Therefore, one can't conclude that ambiguity is in all the proverbs. In this case therefore, the forms differ from proverb to another.

In understanding the role of the ambiguity to the proverb which may be seen in the moral value, interpretational effect, flexibility effect, etc. the role will depend on the audience, the speaker and the context. This is because use in one context to a certain audience and deriving a certain meaning may not be guarantee that the same meaning will be derived by another group. The different contexts and audiences may be graded in terms of age, cultural sensitivity of the audiences, as well as their level of education and interpretation.

RECOMMENDATIONS

The recommendation I would offer is that in the choice of which aspect of language to use like proverb, the speaker needs to be careful with the possible effect of the ambiguity in taking the message. Therefore, proper selection of diction is key while sorting one's audience, level of understanding, cultural sensitivity, as well as the multiplicity of the possible meaning so as to avoid being vague.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1: THE PROVERBS

LUGANDA VERSION	ENGLISH VERSION
Abagagga n'abagagga baagalana-ekirevu kiyita kubisige ne kigendakyegattan'enviirieziriewala	The rich love/care for one another -the beard passes by the eye-lashes and joins the hair which is far away
Ggwosussa emmwanyi –omusanga mitalawa Mayanja nga awungula	The person you deny a coffee seed -you find them across the ocean harvesting
Olusala ekyayi –lweeluleetera munyeera okwanjaala	That which cuts the banana fiber makes the little small black ants to scatter
Abaganda nswa-zeebikka kungulu	The Baganda are white ants -they cover themselves superficially
Konaweka-tokaleka kusaabattaka	You can not allow what you are to carry to be covered with dust
Abakopi mayenje-gagwa walime	Peasants are crickets -they establish themselves where the soil is prepared
Abakulu n'abakulu tibaseerana nva –nga z'amazzi	elders share sauce equally -when it's watery
Kamukamu-gwemuganda	One by one -makes a bundle
Abalamu-baseesagwaka	The living -keep up with the burning fire
Abalamu magoma-gavugira aliwo	People/Living are drums -They only play for the living/the present
Nanyini mufu -y'akwata awawunya	The owner of the copse (the relatives of the late) -are the ones that hold the smelling part
Abali awamu-tebalema kuyomba.	People in one place (together) -can't fail to quarrel
Amanyi obulumu bwenkumbi –tagaba ssoli ddene.	One who knows the pain behind growing crops -does not give out a big piece of corn.
Abalungi mbwa ya Nnamaaso-bw'etebba, eyigga.	the good are Namaaso's dog-if it does not steal, it hunts
Abakazi bitooke bisalire-tebekwekwamu	Women are pruned banana plants one can't

	hide in them
Omwana omugonvu -y'akomba ekibya.	The obedient child is always the one to link the dish of source
Obukadde magezi takubuulira kyamukaddiya	Old age is wisdom -He'll not tell you what made him old.
Teweetegerenza musota –ngatonna funa muggo	Do not observe a snake -before getting a cane
Lwoyagaliza mukakitaawo –lutta nnyoko	The disease that you wish would kill your step-mother -kills your own mother.
Nvannungi –tezirwa kugaga.	Good source -does not take long to get spoilt.
Buli museveni-muwangaazi	Every worrier -lives longer
Buliwammamba-asuutayiye	Every member of the Mamba clan praises his sub clan.
Buliwanzina-n'eyiye	Every dancer -with his own style
Obulungi-sidya	Beauty -isn't guarantee for a happy marriage
Ekuba omunaku tekya –esigala munviiri.	That which rains on the poor one does not stop -it remains in the hair.
Omumpi wakoma wakwata –ensolozzi eruma atudde.	A short person touches where he can -black ants only bite those who are sitting.
Embwa enjizzi –ezaala enkolya.	A hunting dog -gives birth to a lazy one.
Omuganga -teyeganga.	A witch doctor -cannot treat him/herself.
Bwegayita-bwegalya entanda	Those who move together -eat the food meant for the journey together.
Ssebaggala miryango –nebeerabira emyagaanya.	They close the doors -and they forget the shortcuts.
Bw'ofumbira atakkuta-toyaya lusuku.	If you cook for one who never gets satisfied - you don't plunder your whole plantation. You give him enough to prevent him from becoming an enemy.
Bw'ogoba musajja munno-olekamu ezinadda.	If you follow up/chase/ run after your fellow-man in pursuit : you should think of your

	own chance of running back
Bw'otova kumulungi-ofa owoza	If you don't leave the beautiful one/ the good one you dieregretting/pleading or arguing.
Abataka abagalana –beebalima akambugu.	The members of an area who love themselves are the ones who dig the hard grass together.
Ensimbi tezaalira mu ttaka.	Money doesn't yield from/ produce from/ breed/multiply in the soil.
Ekyenyi ky'omubi –kyekisabira omulungi amazzi.	The forehead of the ugly one is the one that borrows water for the beautiful/handsome one.
Atannayitaayita-y'atenda nyina okufumba.	He who has not moved -praises his mother's cooking.
Envva ez'amazzi-tezikuliisa maluma.	Sauce that is watery or source that belongs to water can't make you eat food with no source
Eriisoly'omukulu-awaddugala we walaba	The eye of an elder sees using the dark part of it.
Eyali afudde, bw'olemala-nti Katonda yankolera.	He who had died (he who almost died) but rather got lame says, GOD worked for me.
Akugoba takutadde tabula kyakusuuza- empeewo yokumakya ekusuza eminyira.	One who runs after you can't fail to make you drop something- the morning coldness makes one drop mucus.
Bbanjalya mwenge liggwana mwenge	The debt of wine is always paid back with wine.
Guluma yaguzza-enziku teruma kkundi.	It affects one who committed it-Gonorrhea doesn't affect the umbilical cord.
Ggowonya eggere, yalikusambya	He whose leg you heal can use the same leg to kick you.
Atuma omukulu-tamagamaga.	One who sends an elderly person does not

	look aside.
Nkubye mu kisaka ejjinja-kuwulira bivaamu	I have thrown/beaten a stone in a bush -to hear/feel what comes out.
Obukulu ndege-tezivugira mu mazzi.	Authority/ old age is like ankle bells. They don't ring in water
Omuzadde mannyi enjala geewa omutwe	A parent is the strength/ Power that hunger/ famine gives to the head
Agananyuma -tegalinda ngoma	An enjoyable dance does not wait for drums
N'aziina obulungi-ava muddiuro	Even one who dances well -leaves the stage.

APPENDIX 2: QUESTIONNAIRE

This questionnaire is aimed at identifying Luganda proverbs with ambiguity as suggested by the title of this research dissertation. It has been set to answer questions that will help me (the researcher) to have a successful research and make a complete document.

The questions in the questionnaire are as follows:

These questions were asked to Ntabaazi Charles Mukasa and Nsubuga Moses who answered them confidently without hesitating.

Ntabaazi Charles Mukasa is a resident of Mpigi district in Muduuma sub county, at Bulamazi village and Moses is resident of Makerere Kikoni.

Questions:

Do you know how to define a proverb?

Yes No

May you kindly make a simple definition for me?

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.....
.....

Are all proverbs related with one meaning?

Yes No

Could you please tell me some of those proverbs with two or more meanings?

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.....
.....

What do you think is the significance of such proverbs?

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.....
.....

Thank you so much for your cooperation

APPENDIX 3: PHOTOS

