This article addresses the notion of linguistic meaning with reference to Kiswahili. It focuses particular attention on meaning typology, with the assumption that a discussion of meaning types can enhance the understanding and appreciation of linguistic meaning. The discussion takes its general conceptual orientation from the approach that considers meaning as use, whereby the unit of analysis is the speech act. This is a functional view of linguistic meaning, the tenets of which are contained in functional grammar. From a broader perspective, this article distinguishes conceptual and associative meaning then proceeds to deal with the individual types. Ultimately, five types of linguistic meaning are discussed: conceptual, connotative, social, affective and collocative. From the discussion, conclusions about the value of the typology for defining the concept and the scope of semantics are drawn.

The Problem

Given its essential role of language communication and intersection with several language-oriented disciplines of study, there is a great need to understand and appreciate the nature of linguistic meaning. For many students of linguistics, however, linguistic meaning has remained an abstract and elusive concept. This article addresses linguistic meaning with reference to Kiswahili. It focuses attention on the typology of linguistic meaning, on the basis of two essential assumptions:

- It provides insight into the broader view of semantics which incorporates pragmatics.
- An illustrative discussion on the types of meaning will help concretize the notion of linguistic meaning for language students in general, and Kiswahili students in particular.

The notion of linguistic meaning is diverse and hence its definition rather problematic. This problem is apparent in the varied approach to analysis, description and definition. Scholars approach linguistic meaning in various ways, notably: as sense and reference, concept imaged on the brain, truth-value proposition or as (communicative) use (see Kempson 1977). Meaning as use provides the general philosophical orientation to this discussion.

While the various treatments of linguistics meaning have their strengths and weaknesses, the approach to meaning as use can be considered more realistic and more concrete with regard to descriptive, explanatory and evaluative adequacy (see Caron 1992). It takes into account the various forms of linguistic function as expressed in descriptive and performative sentences, including the great flexibility of word meaning.
Meaning as Use

Meaning as use refers to speaker meaning and particularly the intention of the speaker or the desired communicative effect of the utterance. This approach to the notion of meaning is validated on the basis of the conviction that language is purposive: when we speak, we intend to achieve particular ends. Language use therefore implies making the appropriate choices of linguistic forms for the appropriate communicative setting and cultural context.

This definition hinges on a tenet that sees language as a symbolic tool of social interaction and human communication. The tenet emphasizes the system of rules and principles that define how language functions in everyday life, whereby meaning is considered a pragmatic phenomenon with a diversity of uses which are governed by tacit rules. Application of the latter depends on the communicative setting, social relationships and cultural context.

Analysis in meaning as use is not directly concerned with the word or the sentence per se. Rather, it relies on the utterance whereby an utterance is defined in terms of the speech act. A speech act has three definitive criteria: it is a locutionary act, an illocutionary force and a perlocutionary event. These criteria can be illustrated by means of the Kiswahili utterance:

(1) *Taaluma ya isimu ina manufaa mengi.* ‘The linguistic discipline has many benefits.’

In a given context, this utterance is a locutionary act. It involves the choice and articulation of such linguistic forms as phonemes, syllables, words, phrases and prosodic features, in conformity with certain grammatical rules, in order to encode a certain linguistic meaning.

Essentially, the utterance is an illocutionary force. By the rules of linguistic communication, the utterance has a message and hence a purpose. Coming from a lecturer to a student, for instance, it would be an act of persuasion, based on the value of language education.

Furthermore, the utterance is a perlocutionary event in that it presupposes some reaction or consequence. The latter could occur as a more positive attitude towards linguistics. Normally, we give advice expecting it to be taken positively and not dismissed rudely for instance.

Conclusively, the utterance creates a relationship between the speaker, the listener and the message. The speaker is not merely encoding a meaning and a message linguistically, but is also affecting an action with the use of language. Thus the criteria definitive of a speech act embodies two utterance properties: a meaning in the form of a mental representation to be encoded by the speaker and a communicative function to be decoded by the listener.

By virtue of the utterance properties, natural language is a social as well as a psychological phenomenon. The psychological correlate to natural language is communicative competence: the knowledge that enables people to communicate effectively by verbal means (see Chomsky 1975, Hymes 1989, Watts 1989). Communicative competence includes not only grammatical skills but
also sociolinguistic skills. The latter pertains to the principles of social relationships and interaction as dictated by cultural norms and values. Communicative competence thus intertwines pragmatic and grammatical competence.

Grammatical competence refers to the knowledge which enables a speaker to form and interpret the linguistic expression. Pragmatic competence describes the knowledge which enables the speaker to use these expressions in ways appropriate for arriving at the desired effect. To be communicatively competent a speaker therefore needs knowledge of the language system and the skills to use the system in different social situations and communicative settings. A linguistic theory which attempts to account for both aspects of communicative competence is functional grammar.

**Functional Grammar**

Functional grammar (FG) is the orientation to the study of linguistics, in which each element of language is explained by reference to its function in the total linguistic system (see Dik 1980, Halliday 1994). This orientation arises from and is centered on the need to approach grammar from its natural contexts of use. FG thus examines language function in view of the communicative context. It focuses attention on the grammatical data from social interaction.

FG views language as an elaborate system of meanings with other grammatical categories functioning as realizations of semantic constituents. This is a synesic rather than syntactic approach to the study of grammar in which linguistic forms are considered a means to an end rather than an end in themselves. A model of FG is therefore represented as a semantic system accompanied by linguistic forms in which meanings are realized.

According to FG each language is organized around two main components of meaning: the ideational and interpersonal metafunctions. Through the ideational metafunction we acquire knowledge and understanding of the world around us and also communicate our experiences. Through the interpersonal metafunction we use language to establish, regulate and maintain relationships with other people.

The ideational and interpersonal metafunctions are manifestations of two universal properties of the use of language: to understand and to control our environment. Combined with these properties is the third element of linguistic meaning: the textual metafunction. The textual metafunction of linguistic meaning provides the language user with the tools for organizing information in coherent and cohesive passages. It renders textuality to the discourse structure.

In essence, FG attempts to account for the structures of discourse in the various contextual and communicative settings. It does so in a way compatible with pragmatic adequacy. The latter provides a basis for explaining the various ways in which the linguistic expression can be used ef-
effectively for social relationship and psychological interaction. The specific purpose of the interaction determines the type of meaning to be used.

Types of Meaning

Regrettably, the multifaceted approach to linguistic meaning baffles the student of semantics. This approach has, however, one advantage: it leads to a distinction of the types of meaning, based on the focus of language use (see Leech 1981). Linguistic meaning can be broken into seven types: conceptual, connotative, collocative, social, affective, reflected and thematic. Primarily, however, two broad types are delineated: conceptual and associative meaning.

Conceptual Meaning

Conceptual meaning refers to the logical sense of the utterance and is recognizable as a basic component of grammatical competence. It is alternatively described as the cognitive or the denotative meaning (denotation) (see Lyons 1981). This is the basic or universal meaning and can be represented at the lexical level, as well as that of the clause or simple sentence.

At the lexical (lexeme) level, conceptual meaning is represented as a set of distinctive features. The relevant set of distinctive features, otherwise described as semes or sememes, depends on a given semantic field. The operant features for ‘people’ lexemes are [+human], [+adult], [+male]. The application of these features uses a binary notation whereby the value of a feature is specified as either positive [+] negative [-] or neutral [±]. Consider these Kiswahili meanings: mtu ‘person’, mtoto ‘child’, mzee ‘elderly person’, kijana ‘youth’, mwanamke ‘woman’, mwanamume ‘man’, mvulana ‘boy’, msichana ‘girl’.

(2) 
\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mtu} & \rightarrow [+ \text{human}], [+ \text{adult}], [+ \text{male}] \\
\text{mtoto} & \rightarrow [+ \text{human}], [- \text{adult}], [+ \text{male}] \\
\text{mzee} & \rightarrow [+ \text{human}], [+ \text{adult}], [+ \text{male}] \\
\text{kijana} & \rightarrow [+ \text{human}], [+ \text{adult}], [+ \text{male}] \\
\text{mke} & \rightarrow [+ \text{human}], [+ \text{adult}], [- \text{male}] \\
\text{mume} & \rightarrow [+ \text{human}], [+ \text{adult}], [+ \text{male}] \\
\text{mvulana} & \rightarrow [+ \text{human}], [- \text{adult}], [+ \text{male}] \\
\text{msichana} & \rightarrow [+ \text{human}], [- \text{adult}], [- \text{male}] 
\end{align*}
\]

Besides distinguishing meanings semantic features serve as a basis for comparing and contrasting lexemes. All these lexemes share the feature [+human]. Otherwise pairs of lexemes compare or contrast on the basis of other properties as depicted in the semantic rules represented above.
The conceptual structure of a clause or simple sentence would be represented as a set of meaning postulates. The operant postulates refer to certain basic assumptions of lexemes and are represented as semantic rules. Consider two corresponding Kiswahili expressions:

(3) *Karama* (X) *ni mwanamume*. ‘Karama is a man.’

*Selina* (Y) *ni mwanamke*. ‘Selina is a woman.’

X → a person
    an adult
    possessing the biological properties of a male.

Y → a person
    an adult
    possessing the biological properties of a female.

The semantic representation of conceptual meaning is governed by two linguistic principles: that of contrast and that of arrangement. These principles are comparable to the paradigmatic and syntagmatic relations observed in phonological and syntactic analyses.

This analogy indicates that conceptual meaning is an inextricable and essential part of the linguistic system, such that one cannot define language without reference to it. Furthermore, this property essentially distinguishes conceptual meaning from its associative counterpart.

**Associative Meaning**

Associative meaning describes a composite of six modes of language usage, which draw on certain mental connections. Such connections are based on the contiguities of real-world experience rather than the linguistic context. The ensuing discussion focuses on four types of associative meaning, selected on account of specifically distinctive communicative properties:

- connotative meaning;
- social meaning;
- affective meaning;
- collocative meaning.

**Connotative Meaning**

Connotation is the real-world value a speaker associates with an expression. Real-world value is perceived in terms of tacit socio-cultural principles, norms and rules. Connotative meaning, therefore, describes the communicative value an expression contains by virtue of what it refers to, over and above its purely conceptual content.
In other words, the connotative meaning of a term builds on the basic conceptual attributes to include the various additional non-criterion properties that we have come to learn to expect a referent to possess. This can be illustrated by means of an examination of the Kiswahili terms: *mtu* ‘person’, *mwanume* ‘man’ and *mwanamke* ‘woman’. What comes to mind when you hear these expressions?

(4) *Niliona mtu mmoja na wanawake wawili*. ‘I saw one person and two women.’

By the universal rules of language use a woman is also a person since she has the biological attributes of a human being. Some cultures, however, do not accord a woman the status of being a person. In many African cultures the meaning ‘*mtu*’ connotes a man. It is thus used exclusive of women and children. This usage is not peculiar to the elderly; the youth adopt the same attitude. Noteworthy is a popular tune which goes: *kila mtu na dame wake* ‘everyone with his dame’. What do you make of that?

(5) *Huyo ni mwanamume!* ‘That’s a man!’

Besides the biological attributes of [+ human], [+ adult], [+ male], the term *mwanamume* may connote one or several of various physical and behavioural attributes such as: a muscular build, undaunted ambition, driven in terms of material acquisitiveness or generally aggressive in the pursuit of fame and social standing. In some cultures a ‘man’ has to prove himself by overcoming all manner of adversary such as killing a fierce beast and preferably a lion.

One could argue that this is nothing compared to the expectations some cultures burden women with. Note that such ‘womanhood’ or ‘manhood’ characteristics are learned and cultivated during girlhood or boyhood respectively. Let us consider for starters the expression - usually uttered in the negative- relating to women:

(6) *Huyo si mwanamke!* ‘That’s no woman!’

Besides the biological properties of [+ human], [+ adult], [- male] a real *mwanamke* would be expected to possess certain physical and social skills as well as psychological attitudes. She would, for instance, be expected to be a proficient cook, an obedient wife, a capable mother, a generous and cheerful hostess and generally a self-effacing personality. Do not forget role beauty plays in a woman’s social image, especially in the ethnography of communication.

Besides ethnographic values connotative meaning is found in all types of statements that are expressed concerning the quality of material possessions, jobs, social relationships and everyday experiences. These statements may reflect the attitudes of individual speakers, sub-cultures or social class. Consider an everyday expression such as:

(7) *Hiyo ilikuwa safari njema*. ‘That was a good journey.’

If uttered by a *matatu* driver or tout, *safari njema* would mean a trip which was profitable in monetary terms whereby exhorbitant fares were probably charged. This would hardly be the view...
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of the commuter. The commuter would evaluate the goodness of a journey in terms of safety or physical and psychological comfort. To the commuter *safari njema* would more probably refer to evidence of careful driving and general courtesy from the vehicle personnel.

Connotative meaning is, therefore, generally unstable. It varies considerably according to such factors as culture, historical period, social class and the general real-life experience of a speaker or group of speakers. It can hence be described as coincidental to language rather than an essential part of it. In effect connotations are relatively peripheral meanings in comparison with denotations. This contrast is further observed in social meaning.

Social Meaning

Social meaning refers to the use of language to establish and regulate social relations and to maintain social roles. This type of language use is alternatively described as social or phatic communication (see Lyons 1981). The notion of phatic communication emphasizes experiences of social fellowship and the participation in social linguistic rituals.

In phatic communication the verbal interaction has little information value, but instead plays an essential role in oiling the wheels of social discourse. Social meaning is hence communicated through ritualistic use of language as found in greetings, apologies, blessings or condolences. What would you consider to be the import of such expressions as the following?

(8) *U hali gani?* ‘How are you?’
*Samahani nimechelewa.* ‘Sorry I’m late.’
*Heri ya mwaka mpya!* ‘New year blessing!’
*Pongezi kwa kazi mpya.* ‘Congratulations on your new job.’
*Pole kwa ajali.* ‘Sorry about your accident.’

Even if you were a patient on a sickbed and a visitor enquires about you, *u hali gani,* you would simply respond with an answer to the effect, *njema* ‘okay’. You simply would not go into the tribulations of the night before or matters of that nature since you understand the significance of greetings. Greetings are the usual way of starting a conversation or a transaction.

A colleague who arrives late for a meeting would sound a general greeting and then proceed to say *samahani nimechelewa.* The respondent - usually the chairperson - merely grunts something like *sawa* ‘very well’. Normally there is no call for an explanation as to why one is late. The late arrival may not even feel sorry at all but realizes that it is counterproductive to take the feelings of one’s colleagues for granted. An amiable disposition all around would most likely benefit the business at hand.

*Heri ya mwaka mpya,* would be the usual new-year greeting. People take this opportunity to bless each other with the hope and belief that such blessing would influence their fortunes in the
course of the year. In a similar manner you would congratulate friends for their good fortune in whatever form it occurs. When you tell a friend pongezi kwa kazi mpya, you want them to know that you are happy for them.

The converse is, of course, true when it comes to condolences. When you tell a person pole kwa ajali you are communicating a feeling of empathy. Condolences are not just expressions of sympathy; they are also acts of encouragement in the face of adversity. Phatic communication which is expressed in the form of condolences, congratulations or blessings is elicited by occurrences that call for the sharing of experiences or at least a show of empathy. In most cases, the appropriate response is a simple asante ‘thank you’.

Evidently the social meaning of an utterance is only indirectly related to the conceptual meaning. The social meaning is however effective due to the understanding of the relations existing among the speakers and the social purpose of the verbal exchange. It is worth noting that the essential function of social meaning lies in the emotive purpose of the utterance. The latter is normally calculated to have a positive effect. The reverse can also happen as evidenced in affective meaning.

**Affective Meaning**

In a manner comparable to social meaning affective meaning is only indirectly related to the conceptual representation. Affective meaning is more directly a reflection of the speaker’s personal attitude or feelings towards the listener or the target of the utterance. Such feelings or attitudes are usually negative or insincere in nature. They are normally expressed through such forms of language use as insults, flattery, hyperbole or sarcasm.

Insults are usually expressed with reference to names for animals with negative attributes and even defects on the human body or personality. A Kiswahili speaker would probably use such terms as, nguruwe ‘pig’, mbwa ‘dog’, mnyama ‘beast’, mwizi ‘thief’, mwehu ‘deranged person’, or mjinga ‘fool’. Such addresses simply imply that in the speaker’s opinion the addressee is dreadfully dirty, greedy, cruel, deceitful, unreasonable or an idiot respectively. Note that these insults reflect the speaker’s emotional state at a given time. Today’s mnyama ‘beast’ might well turn out to be tomorrow’s malaika ‘angel’ under different circumstances.

Often we flatter people when we are either in a mood of zest or in a mood of guile, especially when we intend to use the flattered in a particular way. Flattery is usually expressed in metaphorical utterances and predictably using attractive attributes such as lulu ‘pearl’, malaika ‘angel’, njiwa ‘dove’, simba ‘lion’, or ndovu ‘elephant’ to imply the attribute of great beauty, compassion, gentleness, bravery or strength respectively. Once again, this usage is of a temporary nature probably lasting the duration of the utterance. The malaika of one moment could easily
metamorphose into the *shetani* ‘devil’ of the next moment, when the speaker is in a particularly offensive mood.

Often speakers use sarcastic remarks when they deliberately want to ridicule the addressee. The intention to ridicule is often a reflection of the speaker’s opinion of either the status or performance of the addressee. An insensitive or awfully discouraged parent, on seeing the dismal examination results of his/her child, could comment:

(9) *Umetia fora hata ukavuta mkia!* ‘You excelled so absolutely that you pulled the tail!’

Typical of sarcastic expressions the essential properties of this utterance are antithetical in meaning. *Kutia fora* ‘to excel’ would be the antithesis of *kuvuta mkia* ‘to come last/to bring the rear’. In this case, the perceived contradiction effectively draws a cruel contrast between the parent’s expectations and the child’s performance. Besides the effect of ridicule, therefore, sarcasm functions as an indirect way of communicating a negative message. The speaker is actually saying: ‘in my opinion you didn’t try at all’. In other words, the actual meaning is not contained in the words used. Such usage is further illustrated in collocative meaning.

**Collocative Meaning**

Collocation is an umbrella term for the various instances of co-occurrence of meaning. It refers to the sense a lexeme may acquire on account of the meanings of lexemes that tend to co-occur in similar environments and covers all utterances which are encoded and decoded as unitary wholes of expressions. The latter extend from lexical associations to the various types of language sayings.

Lexical collocation may be universal or language specific. Universal lexical collocation refers to the particular sense of a general attribute, on account of a given referent. This level of collocation is exemplified in the certain cases of noun-adjective association. When we use *zuri* ‘good’, for instance, the particular sense of goodness will depend on the subject of discussion. This becomes apparent when we consider expressions such as:

(10)  
*mtoto nzuri* ‘a good child’

*kazi nzuri* ‘a good job’

*ardhi nzuri* ‘good land’

*maisha mazuri* ‘a good life’.

Goodness for each of these referents has a different sense. A good child would be one who is respectful and generally obedient. A good job comes with a comfortable salary and attractive side benefits. The goodness of land would be definable in terms of soil composition and water reten-
tion properties. A good life is probably one of abundance both in material and spiritual wealth. Significantly these definitions should apply to language use in general.

Language specific lexical collocation affects some verb-noun association in Kiswahili. Certain Kiswahili verbs co-occur with specific nouns as used in the following expressions:

(11) kunawa mikono/miguu ‘to wash hands/feet’
    kuoga mwili ‘to wash (bathe) body’
    kufua nguo ‘to wash clothes’
    kuteleka chungu ‘to place pot …’
    kutwika mzigo ‘to place load …’

The Kiswahili verbs *nawa, oga, fua* generally mean to ‘wash’ or ‘clean’. Their usage, however, co-occurs with certain aspects of washing or cleaning. It would be unacceptable to say *kufua mwili* or *kufua vyombo* with reference to the concept of cleaning or washing. The asterisk * indicates unacceptability.

Similarly both the verbs *teleka* and *twika* have the general meaning of ‘placing on’. Their usage is, however, confined to the act of placing a cooking pot on the fire and placing a load on some part of the body, respectively. Usage with reference to other acts of placement would be unacceptable.

Collocation at the lexical level extends to usage whereby a speaker would choose one term for a referent and a different term for another although the meaning is basically the same. The concept of ‘fatness’ in Kiswahili for instance, is expressed differently for humans and animals:

(12) Mtoto mnene hakuweza mbio. ‘The fat child was unable to run’.
    Mbuzi mnono achinjwe. ‘Slaughter the fat goat.’

Note that a fat person is *mtu mnene* while a fat animal is *mnyama mnono*. Such usage can be re-interpreted to mean that the fatness of a human being has a different sense from that of an animal. *Mtu mnene* would imply one who is well-fed and stop at that but *mbuzi mnono* would also imply that which is ideal for slaughter.

In a different aspect of adjective-noun collocation we find that certain distinctive attributes are used with specific referents. Cases at hand are the adjectives *mrembo* ‘beautiful’ and *shujaa* ‘brave’. The term *mrembo* would describe a woman or a girl but not a man or boy. Conversely, the attribute *shujaa* would refer to a man or a boy but not a girl or woman.

Such language specific distinction of attributes or roles is particularly engendered in the concept of *ndoa* ‘marriage’. In the Kiswahili conception a man ‘marries’, but a woman ‘is married’. Consider the respective use of *oa* and *olewa*:
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(13) Kakangu amea \textit{oa} wakili. ‘My elder brother has married an advocate.’

\textit{Dadangu ameo} \textit{olewa na daktari}. ‘My elder sister has married a doctor.’

In the mind of a Kiswahili speaker, as it is in many African cultures, it seems to be a question of control: the verbs \textit{oa} and \textit{olewa} function as the converse active and passive forms. Hence the man is perceived to have an active role and the woman a passive one.

Further to control such collocation is a reflection of the gendering of language use which occurs in many cultures. Do not lose sight of the fact that language is a powerful tool of enculturation. Another cultural constraint of meaning is evident in the language sayings including idiomatic expressions.

Day to day use of language sayings represents instances of meaning collocation. This is observable in many forms, particularly in the usage of proverbs, figures of speech and riddles. Language sayings have two levels of meaning: the literal and the inner meaning. Of significance is the inner or hidden meaning.

The meaning collocation involved can be illustrated in relation to the interpretation of proverbs. Proverbs are usually expressed as simple statements which represent deeper more hidden meanings. They are conventional expressions that have symbolic rather than iconic value. Consider these two proverbs:

(14) \textit{Mwenda pole hajikwai}. ‘One who moves slowly does not stumble’.

\textit{Majuto ni mjukuu}. ‘Regret is a grandchild’.

The proverb \textit{mwenda pole hajikwai} is not a statement about movement. Rather it is a cautionary expression intended to send a warning to the effect that one who is prudent will not land into unnecessary trouble. Similarly the proverb \textit{majuto ni mjukuu} is not a statement about grandchildren or such kinship affiliation. Rather it is an expression intended to caution the addressee that experiences of regret follow long after the deed is done. Proverbs are thus learned and used as unitary wholes of meaning.

Another example of unitary wholes of meaning is the idiomatic expressions. Idiomatic expressions are alternatively described as phrasal lexemes. This means that they are phrasal structures which are substitutable by a single lexeme. Normally, several idiomatic expressions have one anchor word. One of the anchor words for a set of Kiswahili idiomatic expressions is \textit{piga} ‘beat’, realized as follows:

(15) \begin{align*}
\text{piga mbio} & \rightarrow \text{kimbia} \ ‘run’ \\
\text{piga mbiu} & \rightarrow \text{tangaza} \ ‘announce’ \\
\text{piga mbizi} & \rightarrow \text{zama} \ ‘dive’ \\
\text{piga mafungu} & \rightarrow \text{gawanya} \ ‘divide’
\end{align*}
It is clear that these meanings have nothing directly or indirectly to do with the action of beating. They represent a conventional means of communication which is learned alongside general proficiency in a given language. This is a general principle of the meanings which are communicated through the creative use of language.

Summary and Conclusion

The foregoing discussion has addressed meaning typology from the functional perspective of meaning as use. This approach entails a broad view of linguistic meaning, which integrates semantics and pragmatics. Of particular relevance to the discussion are the distinctive properties of conceptual and associative meaning. From these properties, two salient observations are pertinent.

- Conceptual meaning is stable and invariable since it can be represented by means of a finite set of symbols, be they semantic features, semantic postulates or semantic rules. In contrast, associative meaning is variable and therefore unstable, since it owes its validity to socio-psychological and contextual factors.

- Conceptual meaning is an inextricable and essential part of the linguistic system, such that one can scarcely define language without reference to it. Associative meaning, on the other hand, is incidental and peripheral to language itself as its use largely depends on the real-world experience.

It can be concluded, therefore, that these two primary categories of meaning correspond to grammatical and pragmatic competence, respectively. This conclusion can be re-interpreted to mean that methods of research appropriate for one category of meaning would not be suitable for the other. While the research on conceptual meaning focuses attention on the linguistic system, the investigation of associative meaning would go further to consider socio-psychological and contextual constraints.

This observation does not mean that one or the other of these categories of meaning is less valuable for human communication. Instead these meanings are complementary in nature. It is, however, worth noting that the recognition of associative - alongside conceptual - meaning answers a critical question concerning the scope of semantics. The notion of semantics should not be confined to the overt meaning. Rather it should be expanded to include covert or symbolic strategies of linguistic communication.

This conclusion therefore argues a case for the broad concept of semantics which includes pragmatics. Recognition of the more inclusive domain of linguistic meaning correlates with the perception of semantics as an intersecting discipline for a range of social and human disciplines, notably: philosophy, psychology, sociology, anthropology, and computer science.
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References