NAIROBI EVANGELICAL CRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

METAREPRESENTATION IN CHIDIGO:
ANALYSIS OF HANGBWE

BY

ANNAH CHITSANGO RAMTU

A Linguistic Project Submitted to the Graduate School in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in Trasplation Studies

JUNE 2003

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Student's Declaration

METAREPRESENTATION IN CHIDIGO: ANALYSIS OF HANGBWE

I declare that this is my original work and has not been submitted to any other College or University for academic credit.

(Signed) Ranta

Annah Chitsango Ramtu

June, 2003

ABSTRACT

This project is aimed at analyzing *hangbwe*, a metarepresentation marker in Chidigo, which has other markers that seem to be similar with it but are different in a way. My interest in this area was aroused by the awareness that this is currently the concern of many researchers in the Linguistic field. More so the access of guidance and available literature from Blass and the NEGST library. It is important that such markers be studied exhaustively in relation to Relevance, to improve accuracy, clarity and naturalness in the translation work. I will explain with examples the uses of *hangbwe* in relation to Relevance Theory, then compare it with its related markers.

It is my desire that this project will be of help in the discovery of interpretive markers and in the study of metarepresentation as a whole in different languages. I also hope that the results of this analysis will be helpful in confirming the correct usage of such markers in the work of Bible translation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank God for giving me an opportunity to study and His unlimited grace all through. He has been closer than any brother, rejoicing in my success and comforting me in my failures, my constant source of encouragement.

I am very grateful to Dr. Blass for her unique heart of concern in my welfare and willingness to read my work and guide me even when she was on leave. Her lectures and published works have been very helpful in this study.

Thanks to all my other lecturers who instructed me in every required course for my degree at NEGST: Dr. and Mrs Hutter, Dr. and Mrs Sim, Drs. Payne, Cush Lojenga, Follingstad, also my second reader, S. Ashdown, Mutua, Mekonnen, Carew and Wood

Thanks to B.T.L for considering me to further my studies and for the donors whom God used to pay every cost and ensure my studies were not interrupted.

Thanks to my friends and colleagues, Steve and Ali Nicolle for their readiness to help in access of language materials and correcting the interpretation mistakes I made in the language. I am glad they learnt my language. Thanks to my parents, brother and sisters for every effort made to support me, not forgetting the Vuga CNSP Children, church members and Digo Project colleagues who tirelessly answered my questions and improved my Chidigo through interaction.

Special thanks to Clene, Rachel and Tsongo who sacrificed their time to help me in getting relevant books and typing part of the work. Thanks to every friend that helped in word, prayer and deed to keep me smiling along the streets of NEGST.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1pl: 1st person plural

3pl: 3rd person plural

1st 3sg: 1st 3rd person singular

2nd 3sg: 2nd 3rd person singular

1sg: 1st person singular

2sg: 2nd person singular

3sg: 3rd person singular

3sg/pl: 3rd person singular or plural

AVP: Agent Verb Patient

B.T.L: Bible Translation and Literacy

COMP: Complementiser

Fut.: Future

Hab.: habitual

Inf.: Infinitive

Irl: Irealis

MM: Metarepresentation Marker

Nsld.: Nasalized

Neg.: Negative

N-G: Noun-Genitive

PASS: Passive

Pres: Present tense

Pst: Past tense

Rd: Rounded

Rpst: Resent past

S: Sentence

SVO: Subject Verb Object

Unrd.: Unrounded

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the problem

The problem that leads to this study is the need to discover the linguistic function of Chidigo interpretive use markers.

I would like to analyze Chidigo markers *hangbwe* 'hearsay' and other corresponding markers namely *amba* and *ati*, which mean 'say' and 'I hear'. Hearsay refers to what one has heard from another source. Though the Chidigo language has been put into writing, so far not much has been done on its discourse. Most of what has been written is mainly translation apart from the Chidigo stories and an ethnobotany. Thus there is a need to study and discover the meanings and functions of words that could easily be taken for granted.

The markers I will look at in this project have other functions apart from hearsay and it is my desire that these functions will become evident through this analysis.

A successful outcome of this work will help to give correct interpretation and preserve the right meaning of these markers. This will then help in the translation work so that those translating do not fail to bring out the intended meaning.

I am also aware that many linguistic researchers are working on markers of interpretive use in various languages and are discovering many things. Since this has not yet been done in Chidigo, I do not want my language to be left behind. Finally, I am curious to discover the linguistic function of these markers in my language.

In the rest of this chapter I will give, in brief, information on the language and what research has been done as well as what some linguists have said about the topic of interpretive use. In the other chapters we shall see how *hangbwe* functions grammatically and relate it to Relevance Theory. We will also be able to see how *hangbwe* and related markers are used so as to see their similarities and differences.

1.2 Literature of the problem

Kempson (1988), editor of 'Mental representation' has several collections of articles from different authors. Among these are Sperber & Wilson (1988, 133-1153) writing on Representation & Relevance, where they explain about descriptive and interpretative representation. They explain that descriptive representation is truth based, describing a state of affairs. They talk about interpretive resemblance as a comparative notion with 2 extremes: no resemblance at all at one end and full propositional identity at the other. Then they say that the principle of relevance differs from every other theory or approach because it is an unexceptional generalization about communicative behaviour. They also talk about echoic utterance and irony, that a speaker could echo positively in approval to the utterance or negatively in disapproval to the utterance thereby disassociating one self from the utterance. The disapproval has ridicule or scorn. Irony gives the implicated opposite of what is said but more so it carries with it an echoic nature. This is because at times irony does not just imply the opposite meaning but can be expressing disassociation attitude to the original use of an utterance. Saeed (1997, 131-133) discusses briefly on evidentiality as a semantic category that allows a speaker to communicate her attitude to the source of her information. It also enables one to qualify a statement by referring to the source of the information. Interpretive markers are usually included in such statements like for instance when one says 'I was informed that he was sick.' There is a marker before the information given 'he was sick.'

Blakemore (1992, 166-171) describes irony as occurring when the intended meaning of an utterance is opposite to its literal meaning. She also talks about interpretive use as a representation of a resembling utterance or thought. Palmer (1986) discusses hearsay markers, which we now call interpretive use markers, listing these under epistemic markers. Palmer says a hearsay marker indicates that the assertion made results from inference or hearing from another source other than the speaker.

Blass (1990) discusses how re is an interpretive use marker in Sissala. She looks at the uses of 'hearsay' and their grammatical function showing the occurrences of re in different usage. She also looks at interpretive use and relevance, and the evidence for its grammaticalisation. Noh (2000) has written on metarepresentation, which includes metalinguistic use, echoic use and irony.

Nicolle (2000, 173-188) discusses the interpretive use marker *je* in Swahili and those of Amharic showing their occurrences. Ifantidou (2000, 119-144) also discusses explicatures by looking at the Modern Greek particle *taha*.

Fretheim (2000, 53-86) also discusses propositional attitude showing that a particle encodes intimation to the hearer to embed propositional content expressed in the conditional clause. In this way he explains about higher-level explicature.

Blass in Andersen and Fretheim (2000, 39-52) writes on particles, propositional attitude and mutual manifestness. She mentions markers like *ja* in German, 'after all' in English, ma in Sissala, and mana in Hausa as markers indicating mutual manifestness, which is a type of evidential. She then shows their function on higher-level explicature.

Thus markers of propositional attitude have received an increasing amount of attention in recent years, notably from the perspective of relevance theory (see for example the papers in Andersen & Fretheim 2000).

Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995) elaborate on Relevance and give definitions of descriptive and interpretive use as well as echoic utterances and irony. Nyiramahoro, (2002) also addresses the topic of metarepresentation in Kinyarwanda. She looks at her language particles –*ti*, *ngo* and *ko* as procedural and interpretive markers. Unger, (2002) also shares some thoughts on metarepresentation in discourse with examples from Estonian and Behdini- Kurdish.

1.3 Information about the Digo people and their Language

1.3.1. Demography and Ethnography of the Chidigo Language

Chidigo is the language of the Digo people of Kenyan Coast. The Digos are situated in Kwale District, Coast Province of Kenya, South of Mombasa. There are also some members of this community in the neighbouring country of Tanzania. These are situated mainly in Tanga. According to a Chidigo myth, the name Digo came about as the sound of falling and breaking of a pot. It is said that as the Miji Kenda group migrated from Shungwaya, a woman running away from the Ormas after a conflict accidentally dropped her water pot. The falling sound was *Di* and as the pot broke the contents spilt out as *Go*. Hence the name of her descendants was called *Adigo* 'the Digos'. The name of their language became Chidigo, *chi* being the prefix for the way and style of doing things or culture. Thus, for these people every

language and style begins with *chi* such as *Chi*kamba for the Kamba language, *Chi*duruma for the Duruma language, *Chi*zungu for the English language and so on. The total population of the Digos in both Kenya and Tanzania is about 400,000.

Chidigo is one of the nine closely related Coastal languages called the 'Miji Kenda'. It is partially intelligible with Chijiryama on the North Coast and Chiduruma on the West. Many Digos are bilingual in Chidigo and Kiswahili and the latter has exerted a fair degree of influence on the former.

Chidigo is a Bantu language, classified as Narrow Bantu, Central, belonging to the Niger-Congo language family. Chidigo has several dialects. Most of these are identified by the geographical boundaries of the speakers or clan. There are hardly any differences between these dialects except for use of the consonants [r] and [l] interchangeably and mixing of tenses like saying

(1) Dzuzi anapigbwa che nphapho

Three.days.ago when.he.was.being.beaten I am there

'Three days ago when he was being beaten I was present'

Some Digos would regard *che nphapho* 'I am there' as unusual and would prefer *ka nphapho* 'I was there'. This was the opinion of a language speaker and may vary with others so that it is may not necessarily be a major difference between dialects.

As for specific Chidigo dialects there is Chidegere (named after clan) which is spoken by the Adegere. Their dialect is closest to Duruma in their speech. Culturally, these people are not expected to intermarry with the Digos of other clans. Other dialect groups are the *Chidigo cha Tsimba* and *Chidigo cha Pungu* ('Chidigo of Tsimba and Chidigo of Pungu') spoken by the Atsimba and Apungu who are identified by their tendency to mix tenses as shown in example (1). The dialect group of *Chidigo cha Tiwi* 'Chidigo of Tiwi', spoken by the Atiwi is known for using [1] in place of [r]. For example they say *lelo* instead of *rero* for 'today',

I am a native speaker of Chidigo and the provider of the data with the help of non-translated Digo texts and pronunciation from a few native speakers that I interacted with. In my speech I use [r] not [l] for *rero* 'today'. The Digos earn their living by small-scale fishing, subsistence farming and retail business.

1.3.2. Phonological background

1.3.2.1 Vowel System

Chidigo has 5 vowels, but phonetically there are 10 because of the nasalising effect of intervocalic /h/. There are also two syllabic nasals. I will show the vowel chart with syllabic nasals at the bottom as in the example of Witters, Sim, Pace, Olsen and Huttar, (1998,58).

VOWELS	Front		Central	Back	
	Unrd.	Nsld.	Unrd.	Unro	l. Rd
Nsld.					
High	i	ĩ		u	ũ
Mid					
	3	$\tilde{\epsilon}$		0	
Low				α	÷
Syllabic Consonants m	ņ				

1.3.2.2 Consonant System

Chidigo has 18 consonants. Listed below together with their consonant clusters and vowels, on the left column are the phonemes while graphemes of the alphabet are in the right hand column. This orthography has been approved by B.T.L and will be used throughout the paper.

Phonemes	Graphemes
/p/	p
/ p ^h /	p
/ p ^w /	pw
/ b/	b
/ t/	t
/ th/	\overline{t}

/ d/	d
/ k/	k
/k ^h /	k
/ g/	g
/ kp/	kpw
/ gb/	gbw
/ts/	ts
/ nd/	nd
/ ts/	ch
/ t g w/	chw
/ d͡z/	dz
/ d͡ʒ/	j
/ dzw/	dzw
/ f/	f
/ f w/	fw
/ f ^j /	fy
/ v/	V
/ v ^w /	vw
/ s/	S
/ s ^w /	sw
/ z/	Z
/ ZW/	ZW
/ \$/	sh
/ \(\sum \ \ \)	shw
/ h/	h
/ hw/	hw
/β/	ph
/ ß ^j /	phy
	mb
/ mbw/	mbw
/ m/	m
/ m ^w /	mw
/ m/	mv
/ n/	n
/ n ^w /	nw
/ j <u>n</u> /	ny
/ ŋ/	ng'
/nmgb/	ngbw
/ 1/	1

/ r/	r
/r ^j /	ry
/ r ^{j w} /	ryw
/r w /	rw
/ r/	r
/w/	W
/j/	y i
/i/	
/٤/	e
/α/	a
/u/	u
/٥/	o i
/ĩ /	
/ɛ̃/	е
/ã/	a
/ũ/	u
/ɔ̃/	O
/i:/	i
/ε:/	e
/a:/	a
/u:/	u
/s:/	O
/ì/	i
/1/	î
/È/	e
/έ/	é
/à/	a
/ά/	á
/ù/	u
	ú
/ú/	0
/ol	ó
/5/	0

1.3.3 Morphology and Syntax of Chidigo

With regard to constituent order typology, Chidigo is an SVO/AVP language, a slightly mixed system, but mainly head-first. This means that most of the time in a sentence the subject comes first. Examples to show this are as follows:

(2) Main clause:

Umari a – na – ry – a manga

Head-first

Omari 3sg/pl pres eat rls cassava

'Omari is eating cassava.'

(3) Adpositions: prepositions

Tsini ya meza

Head-first

under of table

'Under the table'

(4) Ndani ya bokisi

inside of box

'In the box.'

(5) Postposition:

Nyumba ni

Head-Last

house in

'In the house.'

(6) Genitive N-G:

Nyumba ya Kasimu

Head-first

house of Kassim

'Kassim's house'

1.3.4. Literature in Chidigo

A tentative Chidigo orthography was established in 1987 by the organization of Bible Translation and Literacy (B.T.L) through the Digo Project. Subsequent developments have led to the development of a working orthography. Written literature includes an alphabet chart; Genesis and parts of Exodus; Gospel of Luke,

Acts and five New Testament Letters (Galatians, Philippians, Colossians, James and 2Peter). Other materials include: Calendars; Pre-primer, Primer, Transition Primer; 2 books of Digo short stories; 9 Shell Books and an Ethnobotany: *Mihi ihumirwayo ni Adigo* 'Plants used by the Digo People'. The project also has some unpublished, linguistic materials on Chidigo.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 METAREPRESENTATION

Noh (2000, 5-7) gives Sperber and Wilson's definition of Metarepresentation as the use of one representation to represent another in virtue of some resemblance between them, whether in content or form. She further says that linguistic Metarepresentation involves the use of an utterance to represent some other information than a thought of the speaker at current time. There are two ways in which a representation can be used interpretively. It can be a thought or another representation. According to Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995) a representation is used interpretively if it is an interpretation of another thought. That is, it represents another representation that has a propositional form and the two resemble each other. However the closeness of the resemblance between two propositional forms varies. Noh (2000) says that interpretive use involves second-order interpretation, where the speaker's thought is itself used to metarepresent another thought or utterance which it resembles in content. The thought may be attributed to another person or to the speaker at some other time. The choice of a metarepresentation form and intended degree of resemblance depends on the speaker's abilities and preferences to achieve optimal relevance.

Even though most interpretive use of language is seen to occur in reported speech, Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995, 230) say that this is not the only interpretive use. The reason being that an utterance could be used interpretively to represent utterance types and thoughts without attributing them to someone or public opinion. Sperber and Wilson wrote on the notion of interpretive use, then Blass (1990) has written about what she called 'Interpretive use markers'. Gathumbi (2001) in his project wrote about a Kikuyu metarepresentation marker, then Nyiramahoro (2002) introduced three markers, which to some degree resemble the Chidigo marker that I am looking at.

The Chidigo marker *hangbwe* is metarepresentational because it has both interpretive and metalinguistic use. Metalinguistic use involves resemblance in form while interpretive use involves resemblance in content.

Metarepresentation in Chidigo is expressed through markers like *hangbwe*, *amba* and *ati* two of which could at times, though not always be used interchangeably. There is also the complementiser *kukala*. Lets look at each of these briefly in the rest of the chapter.

2.1 The hearsay marker, hangbwe

As mentioned earlier interpretive use markers were known mainly for their function of marking hearsay. *Hangbwe* is one of those markers that in certain contexts function as hearsay marker. In Chidigo *hangbwe* expresses hearsay when used as in example (7) and (8) shortly following.

Chidigo is rich in particles, which contribute to the pragmatics, and semantics as well as discourse analysis of the language. Particles are grammatical markers that do not have a fixed position in a sentence. They are the procedural markers necessary for the derivation of interpretation.

According to Palmer (1986), a 'hearsay' particle marks specifically, what is reported. The primary function of the hearsay marker is to mark the source of information. Therefore a hearsay marker could indicate that the given information had been told to the speaker, so the speaker is not necessarily committed to its truth. He or she is only reporting what she has heard. In Chidigo *hangbwe* can be used as follows:

(7) Hangbwe u-na-gula gari

MM 2sg-are-buying car

'I hear that you are buying a car. (Is it true)/Is it true that you are buying a car?'

Tone marks the question contained in example (7), while *hangbwe* marks the hearsay.

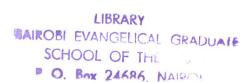
(8) A-na-mbwa wa-kpwedza. Hata phapha wa-fika a-chilaza.

3sg-is-said(PASS) 3sg-came even here 3sg-reached 3sg-slept

Yo hangbwe phahi.

that-is hearsay so

'According to hearsay it is being said about her, that she came and she even reached here and stayed for a night.'



In example (7) the speaker is not necessarily committed to the truth of the proposition, 'You are buying car'. He is eager to know if truly the hearer is in the process of buying a car as the speaker has heard from other people. The speaker is seeking to know the truth or confirm whether what he had heard is true or false. Likewise in example (8), the speaker does not commit himself to the truth of the proposition (that is, that the person being referred to came even to where the people talking are and stayed for one night). However example (8) is not a question but a report. The use of the passive is making the first *hangbwe* explicit as information attributed to somebody else, though *hangbwe* could still have been used in its place. The hearsay marker positioned just before *phahi* in this case emphasizes the fact that the speaker has no evidence of the truth of the matter. The significance of such a statement is usually an answer to a question inquiring the whereabouts of a person known to the two speaking.

It is probably for this reason that Gathumbi, (2001, 13) states that such markers are considered as 'evidentials' indicating speaker's diminishing commitment to the truth condition of the proposition she expresses. And now with further studies we see that, as Blass (1990, 94-95) puts it, 'hearsay constructions are not only a type of modal or evidential, weakening the speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed, but also a variety of interpretive-use marker.' We shall see this later on in our study.

Occasionally in Chidigo the hearsay marker does not necessarily exclude the speaker's commitment to the truth of the report. It could imply that the speaker to a great degree believes what he has heard is true and is therefore simply asking for a confirmation. Let us look at the examples below (This can also appear in echoic use, which will be discussed later):

- (9) a. Hangbwe u-ka-amba-dze
 MM you-Rpst-say-what
 'I hear you said what?'
 - b. Hangbwe che u-ka-phiya-phiMM had you-Rpst-go-where'I hear you went where?'

These examples express the feeling of the speaker that he is not happy about what the hearer has done or said, and the hearer knows it. In most cases the hearer may not say anything or could decide to defend himself on account of what he has done.

On the other hand if the hearer feels he is strong enough to fight back or believes the speaker cannot do anything, he will repeat what he had said or mention where he had gone. Then he can even ask the speaker directly "What will you do to me?" In a few cases these may be used for clarification if the speaker had not understood previously given information.

So far we have seen that *hangbwe* is not only a hearsay marker that indicates speaker's diminishing commitment to the truth of the proposition he or she expresses but together with hearsay it can also imply that the speaker, believes what he has heard.

2.2 Other Markers of Metarepresentation

The particle *amba* is another marker of interpretive use like *hangbwe*. When used as a hearsay marker it can be translated as 'okay' mostly to express mockery or to emphasize a point. It usually occurs utterance initially.

(10) Amba gomba
okay talk
'Okay talk'

This expresses that the person has been caught red handed and now has nothing more to say in defense so is being mocked by being told to talk.

When amba marks hearsay it will be followed by the words that the subject had said. We shall see this in Chapter Six. When not marking hearsay, amba can in other contexts literally mean 'say' and in such cases it is an imperative.

The particle *ati* can be used interchangeably with *hangbwe* except for a few instances. When used as hearsay maker, *ati* can occur in any position but when used to mean 'it seems' or 'exactly' it would be utterance final such as the example that follows:

(11) A-na-kufuru Mlungu ati He-is-blaspheming God exactly 'Exactly, he is blaspheming God.'

Something to note is that this *ati* should not be confused with the Kikuyu *ati* as it cannot fulfill all the functions of the Kikuyu *ati* as explained in Gathumbi (2001).

Another particle in relation to these, is *Kukala*. This particle is the verb to be and corresponds with the English 'that' when acting as a complementiser but it is never a demonstrative. It is at times shortened to '*kala*'.

(12) A-na-amba kukala ka-mu-oner-e 1st3 sg-is-say that Neg-2nd3 sg-see-Irl 'He is saying that he did not see him'

The major difference between *kukala* and these other markers, *hangbwe*, *amba* and *ati*, is that *kukala* does not express the speaker's attitude.

So we have seen that *hangbwe* is not the only interpretive marker in Chidigo. Now we will focus deeper on the marker *hangbwe* by looking at its grammar in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 THE GRAMMAR OF THE PARTICLE HANGBWE

Hangbwe is mainly a particle in that it occurs in different positions. However hangbwe also plays the role of a complementiser even when it is used specifically for hearsay marking. This is because the native speaker interprets the hearsay marker to include the function of a complementiser.

3.1 Hangbwe as a Complementiser

Thus the translation of *hangbwe* will be understood to represent different forms of hearsay in the context as follows:

It can be used to mean 'It is being said that' as in example (8) repeated below:

(8) A-na-mbwa wa-kpwedza. Hata phapha wa-fika a-chilaza.

3sg-is-said(PASS) 3sg-came even here 3sg-reached 3sg-slept

Yo hangbwe phahi.

that-is hearsay so

'According to hearsay it is being said about her, that she came and she even reached here and spent a night.'

It can be used to mean 'I hear that' as in examples, (7) and (13) below

(7) Hangbwe u-na-gula gari

MM 2sg-are-buying car

'I hear that you are buying a car. (Is it true)/Is it true that you are buying a car?'

(13) Nasikira hangbwe walola

1sg.hear (that)hearsay 3sg.married

'I hear that he got married.'

It can be used to mean 'He is saying that' as in example (14b.) below in answer to the question of (14a.)

- (14a.) Ye Jumaa ka-taki ku-rya
 3sg Juma Neg-want to-eat
 'Doesn't Juma want to eat?'
- (14b.) *Hangbwe a-ka-rya kare*MM 3sg-Rpst-eat already

 'He is saying that he has eaten already.'

Usually the speaker of (14b.) is repeating what the speaker of (14a.) did not hear after Juma replied to the question about eating. That is why we can say 'he is saying that...' *Hangbwe* can also be used to mean 'You are being told that' as in example (15) below

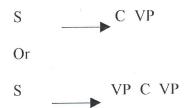
(15) *U-na-amb-wa hangbwe u-phiye uwe*2sg-are-tell-PASS Comp 2sg-go you

'You are being told that you are the one to go'

This is usually said in cases whereby the hearer expected otherwise. For example, he expected the third person to go but then he is told it is him, and not the other person, who will go.

Unlike the Kikuyu *ati* that Gathumbi discusses in his project (2001, 13) whereby ati occurs sentence-medially when functioning as a complementiser, *hangbwe* as a complementiser can occur both sentence-initially and sentence-medially.

Radford (1988, 293) defines complementisers as particles that are used to introduce complement clauses. To express *hangbwe* in a phrase structure rule I would put it as follows, where S is sentence, C is complementiser and VP is verb phrase. The embedded sentence is comprised of a complementiser and a verb phrase or a complementiser between two verb phrases.



This can be expressed in the sentences in examples, (14b.) and (15) repeated below

- (14b.) Hangbwe a-ka-rya kare

 COMP 3sg-Rpst-eat already

 'He is saying that he has eaten already.'
- (15) *U-na-amb-wa hangbwe u-phiye uwe*2sg-are-tell-PASS Comp 2sg-go you

 'You are being told that you are the one to go'

From some Digo folk tales and hortatory texts we have examples of *hanghwe* as a complementiser which also marks hearsay as follows:

- a-amba, "A-nataka ku-onyesa atu wakati a-na-phiya, (16)Hara avuvi Those fishermen time they-were-going they-said he-wants to-show people walala na ndzala ela hangbwe ye mutu dzana mavi tu. faeces only the person yesterday slept with hunger but COMP a-ka-ziricha! a-ka-ona pesa, he-has-seen money (and) he-has-them-left 'As the fishermen left they said, this man is playing around with our minds. How can he who did not even have food to eat yesterday, see money and leave it.'
- (17) Na-sikira kukala mwenemi mvyere ka-sikira-to,
 I-hear that your-sister/brother elder Neg-feel-well,
 hangbwe ana kombereza,
 COMP he/she-has pneumonia
 'I hear that your elder sister/brother does not feel well, apparently he has pneumonia'

In the above examples, (16) and (17) the relevance of *hanghwe* to the hearer is clear both as complimentiser as well as indication that the information was obtained from another source. So we have seen how *hanghwe* can act both as a complementiser and hearsay marker.

3.2 *Hangbwe* as a particle

As a particle, *hangbwe* can occur in any of the three positions of a sentence: Sentence-initial, sentence-medial or sentence-final. *Hangbwe* can even stand-alone for example when saying 'I hear so' in response to someone's utterance. In sentence initial position we can say:

(18) Hangbwe yuyu ela a-fike Mambasa macheye

MM this but 3sg-reach Mombasa alone

'Can this one really get to Mombasa alone?' (He/she is too young to travel alone that far)

In (18) the hearsay particle is marking a rhetorical question that is why it implies the subject is too young. Here there is no indication of a complementiser.

(19) Hangbwe a-lagana a-kutane chituoni. Ayae a-chimgodza ela ye MM 3pl-agreed 3pl-meet at-center. 3sg-fellows 3pl-waited but him *Ke-dzere*.

Neg-come

'I hear (that) they agreed to meet at the center. His fellows waited for him but he did not come.' (Elijah K.)

Again here the hearsay marker functions as both hearsay and complementiser. In sentence-medial, the marker serves its double function. We see this in example (8) repeated below where *hangbwe* emphasizes the speaker's disassociation from the truth of the proposition:

(8) A-na-mbwa wa-kpwedza. Hata phapha wa-fika a-chilaza.

3sg-is-said(PASS) 3sg-came even here 3sg-reached 3sg-slept

Yo hangbwe phahi.

that-is hearsay so

'According to hearsay it is being said about her, that she came and she even

reached here and spent a night (stayed for a night).'

Hangbwe can occur alone as an answer to a question as in (20) and (21), where (20) represents the question while (21) represents the answer.

- (20) Kpwahivyo vino a kaya

 Therefore now he/she-is (at) home
 'So she is now at home?'
- (21) Hangbwe MM
 'I hear so.'

The answer in (21) indicates that the speaker is distancing himself from the truth of the matter. He is not sure if the subject is really at home but has heard so.

In examples, (9) a. and b. repeated below, *hangbwe* occurs sentence initially to introduce the interrogative that relates to the content of the hearsay. The marker could as well mark a request for affirmation of content of hearsay as in example (7) also repeated below:

- (9) a. Hangbwe u-ka-ambadze?

 MM you-said-what

 'I hear you said what?'
 - b. Hangbwe che u-ka-phiyaphi?'MM Rpst you-gone-where'I hear you had gone where?'

(7) Hangbwe u-na-gula gari

MM 2sg are buying a car

'I hear that you are buying a car. (Is it true)/Is it true that you are buying a car?'

As is proposed for the Greek particle *taha* that Ifantidou (2000, 119) discusses, *hangbwe* can indicate the feeling of 'hesitation' of the speaker.

Hangbwe also has metalinguistic use exemplified in its echoic use as in example (22).

(22) Hangbwe "Ni-pha"

MM "me-give"

'You say give me (also expressing mockery)' or 'And you can dare say 'give me'.

The speaker in (22) is not happy with the hearer or addressee and echoes his or her words in mockery. May be the person mishandled a valuable thing such that the speaker feels this person should not be trusted. This is metalinguistic use because the words echoed represent the direct words previously said. Noh (2000), says that metalinguistic involves resemblance in form, which refers to use of the same utterance though there could be change of voice. If we use introductory verbs such as 'you are saying' before the marker *hangbwe*, it will be redundant and unnatural because the marker already implies this meaning.

Thus we have seen that *hangbwe* functions as a complementiser, particle, and can indicate hesitation and echoic utterances. In the next chapter we will look at the particles in relation to Relevance Theory.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 INTERPRETIVE USE AND RELEVANCE THEORY

The term Relevance has been used technically to describe a theoretical concept that is characterized through contextual effects. Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995, 21-23) argue that a response is relevant if the hearer can supply missing premises and derive the contextual implication. Thus to them relevance is seen only when an assumption has contextual effects in the particular context. The degree of relevance is higher where an assumption has greater contextual effects and where the assumption requires less processing effort. Contextual effect and processing effort are dimensions of mental process that are not represented. They further say the relevance of information varies with the way it can be accessed by the addressee over time and the degree of the addressee's intellectual alertness.

Looking at language use we see that it is in two dimensions. Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995, 228-29) explain these 2 dimensions as descriptive and interpretive use. They say descriptive use is when an utterance or a representation with a propositional form truly represents the state of affairs. Thus it is describing them.

On the other hand, interpretive use is when the representation represents another representation. Blass (1990, 64) says that relevance theory helps to solve the pragmatic problems of disambiguation, reference assignment and recovery of implicatures, among others. Following Blass, I see interpretive use to be relevant in that it enables the hearer to disambiguate and recover implicatures of a given propositional form. If someone said, "mother has said that you cook ugali", he or she is representing what the mother has said. This person is not saying his own thoughts or describing the state of affairs. He is saying or representing what his mother has said. He is therefore not committed to the truth of the information in the embedded sentence beginning with the complementiser 'that.' This is what Sperber and Wilson have described as interpretive use in relation to reported speech.

Nicolle (2000, 173-174) states that the difference made in relevance theory between interpretive and descriptive use crosscuts traditional classification. Examples

of descriptive use are imperatives, optatives, and plain declaratives. As for interpretive use we have indirect speech, ironic, exclamatives and echoic and interrogative utterances. Nicolle shows why these utterances may be cases of interpretative resemblance, which can be descriptively or interpretively used. An ironical utterance is an interpretation of thought that is attributed to someone other than the speaker, from which the speaker wishes to diassociate himself or herself (Sperber & Wilson 1986, 237-430; 1988, 4-7, Wilson 1992). An exclamation is an interpretation of a thought that the speaker views to be relevant (Wilson & Sperber 1988b, Clark 1991, 175). An interrogative is an interpretation of an answer regarded by the speaker to be relevant (Sperber &Wilson 1988a, 148-51, 1988b). Blass (1990, 103) supporting Sperber & Wilson (1986) agrees that interpretive use utterances may achieve relevance in various ways. They could be used to report that someone said or believed a certain thing as well as indicating the speaker's own attitude when reporting another person views and opinions. Having shown the relation between relevance theory and interpretive use, I will now show why I propose that the particle hangbwe has both interpretive and metalinguistic usage and hence can be defined as a metarepresentation marker in Chidigo.

4.1 *Hangbwe* in Metarepresentation

As I have mentioned before, Metarepresentation includes both metalinguistic and interpretive use. Metalinguistic use is when we mark direct speech whereas interpretive use marks the indirect speech. Though I have only a few instances usually for mockery *hangbwe* does have a metalinguistic function. Let's look at examples, (22), (23) and (24) below:

(22) Hangbwe "ni-pha"

MM me-give

'You say give me (also expressing mockery)/

'And you can dare say 'give me'.'

(23) Hangbwe "hala", ni-hale-ni

MM take I-take-what

'You are telling me to take (what is there for me to take)'

Even if the speaker stops at the direct speech it will still be understood that the word *hala* 'take' was the exact word that the first speaker used. Likewise the word *nipha* in example (22) represents direct speech.

Hanghwe can also be used to precede mimicked sounds and even gestures especially facial, still for the purpose of mockery. The mimicking sounds are usually meant to stand for the direct speech making it to appear as nonsense.

(24) *Hangbwe* (mimic unclear words)

Hangbwe mimic sound

'You are saying, (mimic sound), which is nonsense'

The most common mimic sound is articulated with part of the tongue touching the front palate and alveolar ridge while the tip of the tongue is behind the front lower teeth or is hanging outside and the mouth is open. In the case of a gesture, the expression is usually exaggerated.

As we have seen from the cases of the above examples, (22), (23) &(24) hangbwe occurs only utterance initially. I therefore conclude that hangbwe functions metalinguistically only utterance initially. However it may occur in this position for other functions too. Now we will look at the examples where hangbwe marks indirect speech.

(25) Pho mwandzo wa-amba a-na-guza munda-we,

There beginning 3sg-Pst-say 3sg-is-selling farm-his,

N-chi-mu-amba n'-mu-phe laki mbiri, a-chi-rema

1sg-Pst-him-tell I-him-give 200,000(shillings) 3sg-Pst-refuse

Vino hangbwe ni-m-phirik-ire hizo pesa

Now MM I-him-take-to those money

'At first he said he was selling his farm. I offered to pay 200,000 shillings but he refused. Now I hear he wants me to give him the money.'

The indirect speech in focus here is the last part about the person wanting the money.

(26) A-chi-amba, "Hangbwe ichikala n'-naweza! Chila chitu chi-na-wezekana
3sg-said MM if I-can! every thing it-is-possible
kpwa mutu a-aminiye." (Mark 9:23 Digo Bible)
to person who-believes
'He said, 'you are saying if I can', all things are possible to him who believes.'

The indirect speech in focus here is the part on 'if I can'.

(27) Hangbwe a- ka- phiya kaya

MM 3sg-Pst- go home

'It is being said that he has gone home.'

The indirect speech here is on the idea of the person having gone home. The direct speech would be "He has gone home."

From these examples, (25)-(27) we can see that *hangbwe* marks the indirect speech that follows it. In this way the speaker interprets what another person has said. The relevance of *hangbwe* in these examples is both to indicate the thoughts of another person and to show that the speaker does not agree. The speaker of example (25) could also be indicating that he is open to suggestions or opinion of his hearer. This however does not apply to speaker of examples, (26) and (27).

Example (28) expresses the speaker interpreting his own thoughts.

(28) Che na-ona hangbwe u-rere

Rpst 1sg-Pst-see MM 2sg-sleep

'I was thinking that you are asleep'

Thus hangbwe in example (28) is marking what the speaker thought. From this example (28) we can also see that hangbwe is marking higher level explicature. Higher level explicature is what one thinks, says, believes, desires and so on. Hangbwe is used to mark that the following utterance constitutes hearsay or irony, represents the speaker's thoughts and beliefs, echoes a previous utterance or expresses the speaker's attitude to his utterance. We will see this in the next chapter as we look

at interpretive use particles and Relevance Theory so that we can see the other functions of *hangbwe* and its corresponding particles.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 CHIDIGO METAREPRESENTATION MARKER AND RELEVANCE THEORY

5.1 Marking hearsay

Hangbwe is used to mark hearsay when it introduces a proposition that is a representation of another thought or utterance that it resembles in content. Here the speaker says what he has heard without trying to show whether it is true or not. Blass (2000, 101) describes this as free indirect speech. We can look at example (15) repeated below, which I will call (15a.) to be followed by (15b.)

(15a.) *U-na-ambwa hangbwe u-phiye uwe*2sg-are-tell-PASS MM 2sg-go you

'You are being told that you are the one to go'

(15b.) Hangbwe mwezi u-katuluka

MM moon has-appeared

'The moon has appeared.' (Swalehe Matano)

These examples resemble the contents of thought or utterance they represent. The first one (15a.) is representing that the speaker heard another say the addressee is the one to go. The second one (15b.) is representing the information presented earlier by another person that the moon is out. All this is relevant to the hearer because it is required information. The hearer of (15a.) wants to know what has been said in relation to whom is to go. The audience of (15b.) can be more than one and are people anticipating knowing whether the moon has appeared. Usually in Islamic culture to which majority of the Digos belong, the moon is very important as it marks change of seasons among other things. For example, its appearance can mark celebration for end of 'fasting period' or 'Ramadhan'. According to Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995), every utterance is first of all interpretively used to represent a thought of the

speaker's. In such a case the proposition expressed by the utterance is put forward as resembling a thought that the speaker wants to communicate.

5.2 Marking Propositional Attitude

Hanghwe has constraints on relevance because, as the presumption of relevance in Blass (1990) states, hanghwe enables the hearer to process an utterance in the most accessible context yielding adequate contextual effects. Its relevance is to enable the hearer access the thought or desire of the speaker. But it does not end there because the use of hanghwe adds the feeling that the speaker is no longer sure if what he thought was right, as indicated in example (28) repeated below or was the best option or decision, as indicated in example (29) and (30) below.

- (28) Che na-ona hangbwe u-rere

 Rpst 1sg-Pst-see MM 2sg-sleep

 'I was thinking that you are asleep'
- (29) Che na-ona hangbwe n'-kazi ndide

 Rpst 1sg-see MM is-work small

 'I was thinking that it is a simple thing to do (an easy job)
- (30) Hangbwe na-londa n'-biye sima

 MM I-want I cook ugali

 'What I want to do is to cook ugali'

In examples, (28), (29) and (30) *hangbwe* is marking what the speaker is thinking or wants to do. Then it implies his uncertainty about his thought or what he wants to do.

Also examples, (22), (23) and (24) repeated below, express the attitude of the speaker which is mockery.

(22) Hangbwe "ni-pha"

MM me-give

'You say give me (also expressing mockery)/

'And you can dare say 'give me'.'

- (23) Hangbwe "hala", ni-hale-ni

 MM take I-take-what

 'You are telling me to take (what is there for me to take)'
- (24) Hangbwe (mimic unclear words)

 Hangbwe mimic sound

 'You are saying, (mimic sound), which is nonsense'

Example (31) express the attitude that the speaker does not agree with what certain people do.

(31) Hangbwe pharatu napho n'-phahali pha ku-phiy-wa na gari
MM there there is-place of Inf-go-PASS with car
Is that really a distance for someone to go by car (just there)'

In Chidigo example (31) is a statement not a question. It means the speaker feels that the distance is too short, it is a walking distance. The speaker does not see why somebody uses a car or pays a fare, it is a waste of resources. Usually the speaker says this as a point of observation not hearsay. Example (18) repeated below also expresses a similar attitude that the speaker does not agree with the idea of the subject being able to travel alone. He feels the subject is too young.

(18) Hangbwe yuyu ela a-fike Mambasa macheye

MM this but 3sg-reach Mombasa alone

'Can this one really get to Mombasa alone?' (He/she is too young to travel alone that far)

5.3 Marking echo

Hangbwe also expresses echo in that it introduces what had been said by another person. To echo another person's utterance or thought is to use an utterance interpretively, to attribute an utterance or thought to someone else. Echoic utterances involve a resemblance relation between the original thought or utterance and the propositional content of an utterance currently being processed, Blass (1990, 102). In

Chidigo the echoed utterance could be an answer to an inquiry. The person answering or echoing may not have total guarantee of the truth condition as in the examples below:

(32a.) Hangbwe baba a-ke-dza

MM father 3sg has come

'Father has come.'

Example (32a.) is an answer to the question 'what is happening or what is it? Maybe the one asking has heard some rejoicing from the children and is wondering why. Most likely the person giving the answer has not see the father who is being said to have come.

(32b.) Hangbwe n'-mwana-we

MM is-child-hers

'It is her child, I hear.'

The speaker of example (32b.) has heard that the child they are talking about belongs to the woman they are seeing. Most likely the sight of the subject or subjects prompted the conversation in this example, and the people talking are interested in the truth of the matter.

5.4 Marking Echo Question

Noh (2000, 145-46), states that echo questions are like ordinary questions except that they have an additional element of metarepresentation involving attribution of an utterance or thought. The properties for analyzing echo questions are as follows:

- (i.) They are repetition of a prior utterance
- (ii.) The prior utterance may be of any syntactic type such as declarative, interrogative and imperative.
- (iii.) They have more in common syntactically with these prior utterances than with related non-echoic interrogative.
- (iv.) Their main function is to clarify the form or content of the prior utterance.

Example (32a.) can also be said in the form of a question if one is seeking affirmation.

I will call it (32c.)

(32c.) Hangbwe

baba a-k-edza

MM

Father 3sg-has-come

'Is it true that father has come?'

The marker here has the relevance of showing that the speaker has heard the preceding information but is not sure of its truth. He is seeking affirmation.

(32d.) Hangbwe Tsungula

MM Hare

'Is it true hare/Am I hearing the truth?/

Is it true that you said or did what I am hearing?'

The marker in (32d.) has actually carried the echoed information implicitly. Usually the addressee was present when the first information was delivered so he can access it through short-term memory. That is why it does not have to be repeated explicitly but is carried in the marker.

These echo questions demand an answer. Therefore, as Noh puts it, echo questions are interrogatives despite their morphological and syntactic similarities.

5.5 Marking irony

As Blakemore (1992) explains irony is a literary device. The speaker says something but there is nothing literal about his utterance. Noh (2000, 94) sees it as implicit echoic use that communicates the opposite of what was said. Sperber and Wilson analyze irony as a variety of free indirect speech, used not to report the attributed utterance or thought but to express a dissociative attitude such as mockery or ridicule to the opinion expressed. *Hanghwe* can be used to mark irony as in the following examples:

(33a.) Ela yuya hangbwe n'-mwalimu

But that-one MM is-teacher

'That is the person they call a teacher'

Here the speaker disagrees with the behavior of the person he is seeing that, many have respected as a teacher. So he nullifies their claim.

(33b.) Hangbwe ni mkpwongo yuya, ye mkpwongo ela n-kujema

MM is sick that-one (does)-the sick but Hab-tap (wine)

'Is that one sick really? Does a sick person go tapping (wine)?

Again here the speaker nullifies the claim that the person he is seeing is sick because he is doing something that is capable only for a strong man.

(34) Haya ee hangbwe n'-bao
you are wrong MM is-score
'You thought it is a score, you are wrong' (Osman Kifani)

Here the speaker is actually laughing at the other who thought he had scored. This is common with children when they are playing. One child screams out "goal" only to be told that there was an error, may be the ball missed the score post slightly and went offside.

Having looked at the different usage of *hangbwe* in this chapter lets see its comparison with the other related markers in the next chapter.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 COMPARING HANGBWE, ATI AND AMBA

6.1 Hangbwe and ati

As I had mentioned earlier *ati* in Chidigo is not completely the same as *ati* in Kikuyu. *Ati* is also frequently used in Kiswahili. In the aim of showing comparison between *hangbwe* and the its related markers, I will give two examples of interchangeable use then dwell more on the occurrences that cannot be interchanged. Example (32a) is one of the examples where *hangbwe* and *ati* can be used interchangeably. We shall put it as (32A.) to be followed by (32B.)

(32A.) Ati baba a-ke-dza

MM father 3sg has come

'Father has come'

(32B.) Ati riro naro ni embe ra shilingi tahu, si baha a-ka-amba

MM that and-it is mango of shillings three its better 3sg-Fut-say

ni ra sumuni.

it is of fifty cents

'Is that a mango worth three shillings, it would be better if he says it is worth

fifty cents (that is half a shilling).' (Hamisi Chibaiskeli)

The speaker here is expressing that the mango is too small for the said price. Again the marker *ati* can be replaced by *hanghwe* without affecting the meaning. The marker carries with it the connotation that this is what has been said but the speaker does not agree.

Now, example (35) shows double irony with *amba* and *hangbwe* used together but *ati* cannot occur in this manner or replace *hangbwe* here.

yeah MM used-to 3sg-Hab-save 3sg-fellows-his 'Yes it was said about him that he used to save his fellows.'

The irony here is that the person being referred to is in a bad state and does not appear to be in a position to go out of his state. *Hanghwe*, *amba* and *ati* can be used to mark the attitude of the speaker. Looking at some of the Digo Bible portions I noticed that *ati* could occur in places where the speaker is not distancing himself, or even when he attributes the utterance to another person. However if we replace *ati* with *hanghwe* then the speaker will be expressing distance and doubts. This also applies to example (36) below:

(36) Na-o a-chi-mu-uza, "Mbona alimu a Shariya

And-them they-him-asked, Why (emphatic) teachers of law

a-na-amba ati n'-lazima kpwandza Elija aedze kabla ya Yetsambulwa
they-say MM it's-necessary-first Elijah he-come before the-chosen
ni Mlungu"? (Mark 9:11)
by God?

'And they asked him, why do the teachers of the Law say that Elijah m

'And they asked him, why do the teachers of the Law say that Elijah must come first, before the Messiah?'

The disciples knew that the teachers of the law had actually taught about the coming of Elijah before the Messiah so they just needed a confirmation from Jesus.

6.2 Hangbwe and amba

Looking at *amba*, I have not so far found an example where *amba* can be replaced with *hangbwe* or *ati*. However it fits this study because it has some related roles as an interpretive marker. I can say we have two types of *amba* in Chidigo. The first is simply 'say' for imperative use, and is followed by what the person wants the hearer to say as in example (37)

(37) *U-chi-uz-wa amba n'-ka- humi-wa n'-mayo*2sg-if-ask-PASS say 1sg-Pst sent-PASS by- mother
'If asked say, mother sent me'

This example shows that *amha* is used to mean say. It is interpretive because it introduces a thought previously stated by the speaker. The speaker has just sent the person she is instructing. The other functions of *amha* are such as to express plea, impatience, emphasis, irony and uncertainty. In Chidigo all these expressions carry an element of metarepresentation because they usually come as representations of previous thoughts or utterances. Before somebody makes a plea introduced by *amha* he will have asked earlier probably more that once and it has not been done. Impatience is also expressed after a period of waiting and if a person uses *amha* in such a case when he has not waited for long his addressee is likely to ask how long have you waited to be impatient. In this way he is letting the speaker know that his impatience is not justified. Expression of emphasis and certainty introduced by *amha* is like higher level explicature showing that it is known at least by many and therefore the hearer should be aware and do as expected. In the matter of irony it is basically a way of ridicule. The speaker knows that the hearer cannot do or say what he is being asked to due to prevailing circumstances. Lets look at a few examples:

6.2.1 Expressing Impatience

(38) Amba hu-phiye

Amba Ipl.-go-Irl

Please lets go (I can't wait any longer / we are late).

The speaker of example (38) has really waited but his partner does not seem to notice so he reminds him that they need to be going.

(39) Amba ni-pha
amba me-give

'Please give me (I have really waited to receive).'

It should be noted that example (39) should not be confused with example (22) because they differ in meaning. While example (22) expresses mockery this one, (39) is expressing impatience. The person has been waiting to be given something but it is taking too long so he asks again impatiently. These are the words of the speaker herself/himself and there is no mockery.

6.2.2 Expressing irony

(40) Amba gombaAmba say/talk'Okay talk/say what you wanted to say'

This is ironical because usually the speaker has an idea of what the hearer has been complaining about. He is therefore challenging him knowing that he cannot defend himself. However at times it may be said in good faith to encourage the hearer to speak out. Another example for expression of mockery is as follows:

(41) Amba u- ka-amba u- na- ga- weza yes 2sg- Pst -say 2sg- can -them- manage 'Yes you really thought you can manage, here you are.'

In this example most likely the defeat is clearly inevitable. The person talking is being ironical since he knows the state of things that nothing can be done. He is therefore making fun of the hearer because of his previous utterance or stand.

6.2.3 Expressing Certainty

(42) Mwenehu mlume, amba mutu a-oko-lwa ni chakpwe.

My-brother male, "MM" person is-saved-PASS by his

'My brother, I am telling you that a person is saved by his own work.'

(Digo Hortatory text line 228)

This shows that it is universally known that you cannot rely on other people all your life. You need to have something of your own so you should make every effort possible.

But if-they-grow even it-be is place small, certainly *u-nda-phaha chochosi dzagbwe ni mtsunga au manga.*you-will-get anything even-though is vegetable or cassava.

'But if they grow even a small place you will certainly get something, if only vegetables or cassava.' (Digo text: letter, line 45-46)

This example expresses the fact that it is known universally that after what has been planted grows, people get some harvest big or small. Therefore no one should ignore his little work for there is benefit with it.

I have therefore shown that *ati* and *hangbwe* could, be used interchangeably though not always but *amba* cannot be replaced with either of the two. However *amba* also serves as a metarepresentation marker. In relation to the utterance or sentence position, I have found that the Chidigo markers do not necessarily keep to the expected positions such as maintaining one position for specific function. Therefore the relevance is obtained from inference more than it can be detected from position.

CHAPTER SEVEN

7. 0 CONCLUSION

Chapter one introduces us to the topic that is being discussed throughout the paper and gives some information on the language and literature.

In chapter two we have more information on interpretive use then on the marker *hangbwe* and its corresponding markers that function in interpretive use. We see *hangbwe* in marking hearsay.

In chapter three I have shown the grammar of the particle *hanghwe* with its occurrences as a complementiser and a particle.

Chapter four focuses on interpretive use and relevance theory, discussing representations and their contextual effects. We have the backing of many linguists in this area. We see how *hangbwe* is not only an interpretive use marker but also marks metarepresentation in that it has metalinguistic use as well.

The relation with relevance continues in chapter five where we look at the particle *hangbwe* marking various utterances. These are propositional attitude, echo, echo questions and irony.

In chapter six we have the comparison between *hangbwe*, *ati* and *amba*. Here we get to familiarize with the wide usage of *amba* and the differences between the three particles. With the use of examples from Digo Bible whose translation is still in progress, I have shown how we have used the three interpretive markers.

This project has therefore brought about the realization that *hangbwe*, *ati* and *amba* are distinct interpretive use markers. Though *hangbwe* may at times be replaced with *ati*, care must be taken to ensure that the speaker attitude is not changed since the two markers may lead to different interpretation. *Amba* is unique and can only occur together with *hangbwe* but cannot be used interchangeably with either of the two.

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