NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

A RELEVANCE-BASED STUDY OF ATTITUDE MARKERS IN KIITHARAKA

BY]

NJAGI JACOB MAUKI

A Linguistic Project submitted to the Graduate School in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Translation Studies

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June, 2003

Student's Declaration

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A RELEVANCE-BASED	STUDY OF	ATTITUDE MAKKERS	IN KILLIAKAKA

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

The views presented herein are not necessarily those of the Nairobi Evangelical Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.

(Signed) ______ Jacob Maûkî Njagî

June, 2003

ABSTRACT

This study is aimed at exploring the Kîîtharaka attitude markers otherwise known as attitude particles. It aims at establishing what they are and how they affect speaker meaning in the language.

The end result of this paper is first to establish the place of these attitude markers in the language but more so to ascertain whether their use can improve the quality of Scripture translation or any other written language in general in Kîîtharaka.

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Finally is to my family members and friends near and far, for understanding me in my long leave of absence. Thank you for standing with me prayerfully and sometimes emotionally. May God reward you.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1 First person

2 Second person

3PL Third person plural

BE Verb-be

Comp Complementiser

FUT Future

HAB Habitual

N Noun

NASB New American Standard Bible

NEG Negative

NP Noun phrase

PART Particle

PAST Past tense

PRES Present tense

POSS Possessive

PRES Present

REFL Reflexive

S Sentence

SG Singular

V Verb

VP Verb phrase

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Statement of the problem

The purpose of this study is to make a contribution to the area of pragmatics in the analysis of Kîîtharaka and other related languages. At the moment, the little study that has been done on this language is only focussed on grammatical and phonological analysis and nothing at all has been done in the field of pragmatics.

This topic is the result of my reflection on a number of works about pragmatic markers and discourse particles. It also developed from my own course-work in partial fulfillment of TS 607 Pragmatics class. There was a need to deepen my knowledge about such markers in Kîîtharaka.

Though this study does not cover the entire area of pragmatics, it looks at the attitude markers which may be ignored very easily. This is because these markers do not seem to fall under any grammatical category known so far and have been in the past been left out in written Kîîtharaka. However, any natural Kîîtharaka whether written or spoken should have these markers in their appropriate positions in discourse. This study will therefore be very valuable for Bible translation in Kîîtharaka.

1.2.Demography and ethnography of Kîîtharaka

Kîîtharaka is a Bantu language which belongs to the Niger-Congo language family. Its speakers, known as Tharaka people, are found in the Eastern Province of the Republic of Kenya. According to the 1999 national census, the language has

about 120,000 speakers. They border Imenti to the west, Chuka, Mwîmbî/Mûthambî and Mbeere to the south, Kamba to the east and to the north are Tigania and Îgembe communities. It is said to belong to the Meru cluster of languages even though some scholars like wa Mberia (1993), argue that Kîîtharaka is an independent language. Its speakers occupy the whole of Tharaka district, some parts of Meru South and Mwingî North districts. (See map on page 35)

The notable dialects according to Larsen I. (1984) in Grimes (2000, 143) are Gatue (North Tharaka), Ntugî (Central Tharaka), Thagichû (Mwingî North) and Îgoki (South Tharaka and parts of Meru South). The major differences among them are pronunciations of some words and minor lexical differences due to interaction and borrowing from their respective neighbors. The language has been classified thus: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Bantoid, Southern, Narrow Bantu, Central, E, Kikuyu-Kamba, (E.20). However, according to Guthrie (1970/71), all the central Bantu groups are classified as Gikuyu-Kamba group. He gives the group code E50. Under this Gikuyu, Kamba, Meru, Tharaka, Embu have separate sub-classification with Tharaka having code-number E.54.

This analysis is that of Gatue dialect because it is the dialect I speak and I am the one who provided most of the data.

The Tharaka language project, a project of Bible Translation and Literacy of Kenya, has made an attempt to write the language. There are a few booklets of Kîîtharaka tales, educative stories and reading primers in the most recently proposed writing system. The New Testament portion of the Bible has been published, dedicated, and it is in use in the Tharaka church.

1.3. Phonological background

1.3.1. Vowel system

Kîîtharaka has seven vowel phonemes in its inventory. They may be either short or long. As seen in Figure 1, below the system consists of two close vowels, two closemid, two open-mid, and one open vowel.

Fig. 1. Kîîtharaka cardinal vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Close	i i:		u u:
Near-close			
Close-mid	e e:		0 01
Mid			
Open-mid	13 3	х) O:
Near-open			
Open			a a:

1.3.2. Consonant system.

Though Kithaka wa Mberia, (wa Mberia 1993, 93) has identified thirteen consonants and three semi-vowels, I have identified thirty three consonants, as shown in the Figure 2 below. However, since this is not a phonological study, I will not go into the phonological details.

Fig. 2. Kîîtharaka consonant phoneme inventory

	Labial		Dental		Alveolar	Palatal		Velar	
Plosive	p		ţ					k	
Labialized	pw		ţ Î w					ƙw	
plosive									
Nasalised	^m p	mb	nţ		ⁿ d			^ŋ k	¹⁾ g
plosive									
Fricative		ß		ð			d 3		$\frac{y}{\widehat{y}w}$
Labialized		βw		δw					yw
fricative									
Nasalised				ŋð			nd3		
fricative									
Flap/tap					ſ				- WARRING TO SERVICE T
Labialized					îw				
flap			ū.						
Nasal		m			n		ŋ		ŋ
Syllabic		m			ņ				
nasal									
Labialized		mw			nw		ŋw		ŋw
nasal									

Kîîtharaka has an open syllable structure with V, CV and N syllable patterns.

There are various morphophonemic processes that occur within the words and across word boundaries. A sequence of two different vowels at the phonological level is replaced at the phonetic level by a different vowel. This results in glide formation, where /u/ combines with /o/, /a/, /e/, /i/ to give rise to /wo/, /wa/, /we/, /wi/. /i/ on the other hand combines with /o/ to give rise to /yo/. Look at Figure 3 below.

First Second vowel vowel i î û a 0 u aa ee ai aî 00 aû au eû eû îa ei ee eo e ee i iû ia ie ei îî iu yo î îî îû îa îe îi îo îu ûî ûû 0 wa we 01 00 ou ûû û ûi wî /ûî ûû wa we WO wi wî ûû

WO

uu

Fig. 3. Morphophonemic processes between vowels.

1.3.3. Tone

wa

u

Kîîtharaka is a tonal language with both grammatical and lexical tones. The basic tone features are high and low which underlie H (high), L (low), HL (high-low) and LH (low-high) tonal melodies. Mid tones are also present.

1.4. Morphology and syntax of Kîîtharaka

we

Kîîtharaka is an agglutinating language just like other Bantu languages with the verb as the core of the language. These verbs can at times be very long because they take many prefixes and suffixes. Example (1) is a good illustration of this phenomenon:

1. Antû ibaragwatananganagîa mwako na ûrîmi

a- ntû iba-ragwata- nanga- nagîa mwako na ûrîmi PL people 3PL PAST hold REFL HAB PAST REFL building and weeding 'people have been helping one another in building and weeding'

Just like other Bantu languages, Kîîtharaka nouns are divided into classes. It has seventeen noun classes, which are marked by a prefix. Kîîtharaka exhibits subject verb object (SVO) and nominative/accusative system characteristics.

1.5. Previous study

There are few linguistic publications written about this language. These include Kîbiûbî and Margetts (1993) *The verbal morphology of Kîîtharaka*, B.T.L (1993) *The Noun phrase in Kîîtharaka*, and waMberia Kithaka (1993) *Kitharaka Segmental Phonology with special reference to the Noun and to the Verb*

These are the only linguistics works that I have come across about this language so far. It is important to note that I have not so far managed to come across any work in the area of discourse analysis, pragmatics or the likes in this language. I do hope therefore, that this study will give light to these fields and other related areas for future study.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0. PARTICLES IN KÎÎTHARAKA

The terms mood, mode and modality are in most cases used interchangeably (Payne 1997, 244). They are used to describe the attitude of the speaker toward a situation. This attitude includes the speaker's belief in its reality or likelihood, and also describes the speaker's estimation of the relevance of the situation to himself.

This paper seeks to explore the different uses of Kîîtharaka mood particles, hereafter referred to as attitude markers *mûkai* (sadness), *yaûkû* (sympathy), *guri* (joy), *keke* (surprise), *kaayia* (mockery) and many others; and show how their use in an utterance constrains its interpretation by the hearer or listener. These attitude markers are otherwise known as mood particles (Sperber and Wilson 1986, 73).

According to Sperber and Wilson (1986), an utterance does not only contain an explicit propositional form. It also expresses certain linguistically determined elements like the attitude of the speaker toward the utterance. These different attitudes are determined in language by facial expressions, tone, adverbs, adjectives and more rarely by use of attitude markers, which the speaker uses at one particular time. Kîîtharaka especially makes use of the latter, which makes it an interesting subject.

To give an example, let us take a home situation, and imagine Karîmi has warmed bathing water for her husband, Njerû, and she wants him to bathe. If she says utterance (2) thus:

2. Rûûjî rû- koora

Water be FUT-cold

'The water will get cold'

The husband will need to use an immediate context to determine the actual message of the wife. Probably he had already been told to go and bathe, and thus Karîmi is communicating the message that Njerû had taken too long, he should stop whatever he is doing and go to bathe. In Kîîtharaka, this statement does not have an attitude embedded onto it. However, this same utterance can be used to mean many other things depending on which attitude marker Karîmi decides to use along with the same statement.

Let's imagine that they are in Mombasa, and for some reason, all the water in the house is hot and at the same time the husband has been late in a meeting. If Karîmi says utterance (3) to her friend Amina;

3. Guri rûûjî rû- koora

PART water be.FUT-cold

'Guri water will get cold'

to Amina, this utterance will mean that Njerû does not like bathing in warm water at all and that his lateness pleases Karîmi because she wants him to use cold water.

But supposing it is at midnight, the husband is out on a beer drinking spree, and Karîmi utters (4) to Amina;

4. Mûkai rûûjî rû- koora

PART water be.FUT cold

'Mûkai water will get cold'

Amina is going to understand that Karîmi has already warmed the water, that probably she would want to go to bed, but she is afraid that the water may cool down before the husband comes home which may make him quarrel with her.

Karîmi can also express surprise, as in sentence (5) here below.

5. Keke, rûûjî rû koora

PART water be.FUT-cold

'Keke water will get cold'

The hearer of this utterance will interpret it to mean that Karîmi is surprised that Njerû is not yet ready to go to bathe. While utterance (6) will be understood to mean that Karîmi believes that Njerû can actually use cold water for bathing, only that he is just bothering her in having to warm bathing water for him.

6. Kaayia Rûûjî rû- koora

PART Water be.FUT-cold

'Kaajia water will get cold'

I have tried to show how important these attitude markers are to utterance interpretation. It becomes impossible for a hearer to get the message of the speaker without first coming to terms with the marker used because each marker used brings in a different meaning to an utterance.

I would like to point out here that these attitude markers have no vocabulary that is equivalent to them in English and therefore are not translatable. I therefore either left them untranslated or in some cases given some concepts that are closely associated with them and not their actual translation.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0. THE GRAMMATICAL FUNCTION/STRUCTURE

OF THE ATTITUDE MARKERS

In this chapter I am going to look at these attitude markers through the eyes of grammarians. I will try to show what they are likely to have called these markers in their description and show the inadequacy/adequacy of this kind of analysis on these particles in Kîîtharaka.

This attitude marker could be looked at as an adverb. Payne (1997, 69) defines an adverb as a "catch-all" category. According to him, any word with semantic content that is not clearly a noun, a verb, or an adjective falls under this category. According to Wilson and Sperber (1993), these adverbs which they call illocutionary adverbials have no contribution to the truth conditions of utterances in which they occur, but are encoding concepts. They look at illocutionary adverbs like 'seriously' and 'unfortunately', which though they do not contribute to the proposition that are expressed by the utterance like the manner adverbs, they modify the type of speech act. Even in a case where such an adverb is left out the proposition does not change because the adverb only introduces an external modification, which to a greater extent is concerned with the speaker's emotional attitude about the proposition. They therefore state several limitations of analysing such adverbials procedurally.

Firstly, adverbs are ambiguous, which means they can be interpreted in two different ways. Consider example (7) below, with two possible interpretations 8a and 8b.



7. Waabu nwaathi

Seriously are-you-going-away

'seriously, are you going away?'

8. a: I ask you seriously whether you are going away.

b: I ask you to tell me seriously whether you are leaving.

These adverbs are behaving like this because when (7) is interpreted as a request 'to tell', the illocutionary adverb *waabu* 'seriously' can either modify 'requesting' or 'telling'. For this reason, it can be observed that they can be interpreted differently in different contexts. This is not so with the attitude markers, there interpretation is not dependent so much on the context but rather it depends on which marker has been used (refer to chapter 2).

Secondly, these sentence adverbials are semantically complex. It is hard to tell the degree to which a verb is being modified. Consider (9 a and b) picked from Wilson and Sperber (1993, 18)

- 9. (a) Frankly speaking, he has negative charisma.
 - (b) Speaking frankly, though not as frankly as I'd like to, he isn't much good.

Thirdly, in some cases a speaker who uses these kinds of adverbials may be doubted as to whether he is speaking the truth or not. Consider 9.

- 10. (a) Naama Negst I cukuru îmbega frankly Negst is a-school good-one 'Frankly, Negst is a good school'
 - (b) Nûkûrongoa, ûtikwaria ûma
 You-are-lying you-are-not-speaking frankly
 'you are lying, you are not speaking frankly'

Another typical characteristic of adverbials in sentences is that they are the most unrestricted in terms of their position in a clause. The following three examples indicate this position flexibility character which these words exhibit.

11. Mûkai nûûjîîte ngîgûkanagia?

PART come.PRES 1SG.2SG.warn.PRES

'I am sad that you are coming even though I am telling you not to'

12. Nûûjîîte *mûkai* ngîgûkanagia?

come.PRES PART 1SG.2SG.warn.PRES

'I am sad that you are coming even though I am telling you not to'

13. Nûûjîîte ngîgûkanagia *mûkai*

come.PRES 1SG.2SG.warn.PRES PART

'I am sad that you are coming even thought I am telling you not to'

As it is observable from sentences 10-12 above, this particle can occur anywhere in a sentence construction however, though this quality is also sometimes exhibited by adverbials, the attitude markers give the speaker attitude while the adverbial modifies certain words in a sentence.

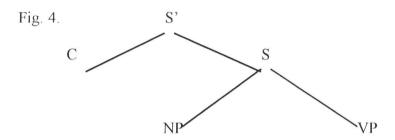
Another option that we may want to explore is whether they are functioning as complementisers. Radford (1988, 293) defines complementisers as "particles which are used to introduce complement clauses (i.e. clauses which function as complement of a verb, noun, adjective, etc.)" Payne (1997, 313) goes further to define a complement clause as "a clause that functions as an argument (subject or object) of some other clause... sometimes a complement clause is said to be any clause that is embedded within another clause."

In analyzing this function of the attitude marker, I will seek to follow Bresnan (1970)'s analysis, which Radford (1988) has called S-bar analysis. Bresnan takes the

complementiser (C) and sentence (S) as sisters, which together form a larger unit (S \mathfrak{I}). Her analysis incorporates the following two phrase structure rules:

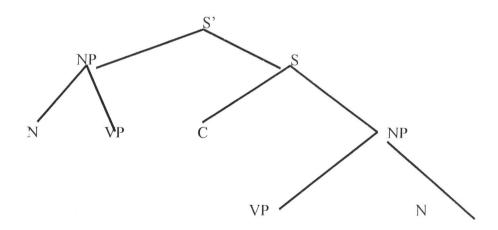
where C is the complementiser and S is the embedded sentence.

where NP stands for noun phrase, and VP for verb phrase. These two rules can be represented in the following phrase structure in figure four below;



Because of the different structure of Kîîtharaka, I have modified these rules to suit it. In this case, S' becomes the mother to (NP) and (S), with (NP) directly dominating (N) and (VP) while (S) directly dominates (C) and the second (NP). Figure (5) here below illustrates this phenomenon.

Fig. 5.



The following phrase structure therefore yields the following phrase structure rules;

In his discussion of complementiser, Radford introduces the concepts of overt and covert complementisers. Whereas overt complementisers are common in most languages, he argues that covert complementisers are mainly found, especially in English, in main clauses. What he calls an overt complementiser is an unmarked case which, he calls 'empty complementiser' where he gives an example of the English interrogative structures which contain inverted auxiliaries. Consider the following example (13) below picked from Radford 1988, 298.

- 14. (a) Your sister *could* go to college
- (b) Could your sister go to college?

According to Radford's argument, an inverted auxiliary and a complementiser are mutually exclusive, they are in paradigmatic relationship with each other. They both occupy the C position in a clause. In other words, clauses introduced by complementisers will never have inverted auxiliaries, and the opposite is also true. He illustrates this phenomenon quite well with an example repeated as (14) below;

- 15. (a) "Will I get a degree?" John wondered
- (b) John wondered whether he would get a degree

The italicised sequence in 14(a) is John's own words otherwise known as direct speech. The italicised sequence in 14(b) is reported/indirect speech. It can be observed that the presence of the complementiser *whether* in 14(b) above excludes the possibility of having an inverted Auxiliary in pre-subject position as seen in the ungrammatical example 14(c) bellow;

14. (c) *John wondered whether would he get a degree

I suggest here that the Kîîtharaka attitude marker cannot be looked at as an example of complementiser. To prove this I will start by introducing atîrî with its

shortened form $at\hat{i}$ and its free variant $r\hat{i}/ee$ as the overt complementiser, which is translated 'that' in English. This particle $at\hat{i}$ is an hearsay marker which has no attitude embedded in it; that is why I have not included it in my discussion of the attitude markers. It is used to introduce declaratives. The following are examples that show this use.

16. Atî Mûtegi narateere mbûri

COMP Mûtegi 3-PST-lost goat

'I hear that Mûtegi lost a goat'

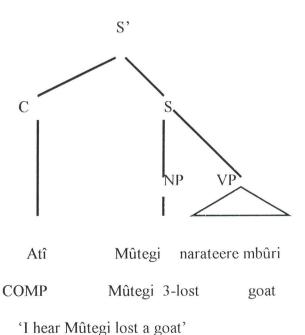
17. Atî Karîmi ak -a -aja rûû

COMP Karîmi 3-FUT-come tomorrow

'I hear that Karîmi will come tomorrow'

The two sentences can be represented in the following structure in figure (6), which follows the structure I arrived at in figure (5) above, which I feel is most suitable for this purpose.

Fig. 6.



Even though the position which is occupied by the complementiser is the same position that is sometimes occupied by the attitude markers, the attitude marker is much more flexible in its location in a clause. It also does not have to follow the S-bar analysis, as is the case with *atî*. Look at the following example in (17 and 18) below.

18. Mûtegi mûkai na-te -ere mbûri

Mûtegi PART 3 -PST-lost goat

'it is sad Mûtegi lost a goat'

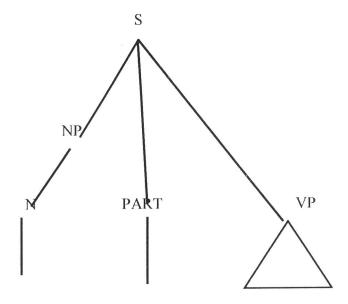
19. Mûkai Mûtegi nateere mbûri

PART Mûtegi 3-PST-lost goat

'it is sad that Mûtegi lost a goat'

These sentences can be represented in a phrase structure as seen in Figure 7 and 8 below.

Fig. 7.



Mûtegi mûkai

nateere mbûri

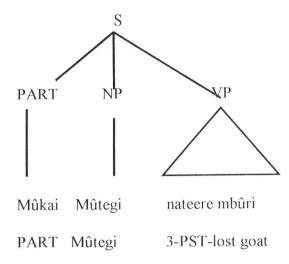
Mûtegi

PART

3-PAST-lost goat

^{&#}x27;it is sad Mûtegi lost a goat'

Fig. 8



'it is sad that Mûtegi lost a goat'

As it is observable from the structures in Figures 7 and 8 above, the attitude marker does not have similar characteristics with a complement and therefore it becomes obvious that it cannot be looked at as such.

It is by use of these facts which we have seen above that I conclude that this attitude marker is better analysed as a particle. This is because though adverbials could be without morphology they are conceptual and covey a particular meaning. But we have seen that these particles are procedural and they do not portray compositional character.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0. ATTITUDE MARKERS AND RELEVANCE

Relevance is one of the key components in communication. Sperber and Wilson (1986) point out that at any given time in any particular situation, human beings pay attention to some phenomena rather than to others. By this, the human beings have two common tendencies: 1) they represent these phenomena to themselves in one way rather than another, and 2) they process these representations in one context rather than another. It may seem that getting to know which phenomena to represent when, and in which context, is hard, but Sperber and Wilson suggest that human beings tend to pay attention to what is relevant to them. To put it in Blass' words;

"they [humans] form the most relevant possible representation of these phenomena, and process them in a context that maximises their relevance... relevance and maximisation of relevance is the key to human cognition." (Blass 1990, 43)

Sperber and Wilson put it that something becomes relevant to somebody if it interacts in a certain way with existing assumptions about the world. It should have contextual effects in some context that is accessible to the person. Sperber and Wilson discuss three types of contextual effects: contextual implication, strengthening an existing assumption, and contradicting and eliminating an existing assumption. To illustrate more about contextual implication let us look at how Sperber and Wilson (1986, 107-08) explain it.

"...initial theses placed in the memory of the deductive device can be partitioned into two subsets, **P** and **C**, where **P** may be thought of as new information, and C as old information. Let us call a deduction based on the union of P and C as a contextualisation of P in the context C. The contextualisation of P in C may yield new conclusions not derived from either P or C alone. These we will call the contextual implications of P in C:

19. Contextual implication

A set of assumptions ${\bf P}$ contextually implies an assumption ${\bf Q}$ in the context ${\bf C}$

if and only if

- (i) the union of **P** and **C** non-trivially implies Q
- (ii) **P** does not non-trivially imply Q, and
- (iii) C does not non-trivially imply Q."

To pin it down further, let us look at example 20 below. Suppose I have a feeling that my cousin, Gaceri is the best student in her school. I form the following hypothesis:

20. a. If she is the best student then she comes first in her class.

Later, I visit her in school on a prize-giving day and discover:

20. b. She is actually the best mathematics student in her class.

From the assumption 20a which I had initially and the new information 20b. I can make a conclusion 20c:

20 c She is indeed the best student.

According to Sperber and Wilson therefore 20c is a contextual implication derived from 20b in the context 20a. In other words, 20c can only be deduced from 20a and 20b together, but neither 20a nor 20b alone. In relevance theory terms, 20c is relevant because it combines with the context to yield a contextual implication. Generally speaking, the more contextual implications a new information has, the more relevant it is

However, I cannot be absolutely certain about my conclusion 20c because a good student in mathematics may not be necessarily the best overall student. But my belief had been strengthened by her being the best mathematics student in her class. In my

mind, this new information will be relevant in the context just described because it provides extra evidence for my assumption.

But Sperber and Wilson further argue that assumptions vary depending on their strength. Some are more likely to be true than others, while on the other hand assumptions can be modified by the help of new acquired information. As in 20d below, a belief or an assumption can be strengthened or eliminated by this kind of new information, which in turn strengthens the relevance.

20. d. She gets an award for the third best student in her class.

This new information in 20d contradicts and thus eliminates the existing assumption 20a and 20c above. At this point, according to Sperber and Wilson, when a contradiction is discovered, the individual realizes that he is entertaining a proposition P and its negation –P. He therefore abandons the weaker of the two assumptions. In this case the new information 20d is relevant because it contradicts and eliminates an existing assumption. According to Sperber and Wilson, the more assumptions a new information eliminates, and the stronger the assumptions were, the more relevant the new information is.

Going back to our attitude markers, I would like to state here that they do not contribute to the propositional content of an utterance that contain them, but rather they serve as procedural guide or clue to utterance interpretation. They are iconic in nature, which generate ideas in a guided direction in processing. For instance when person A. tells his friend B. the following:

21. A. Jane's husband was arrested yesterday.

B. My!

B's utterance does not constitute meaning in itself, it helps the hearer to process A and B's utterances in a certain direction; that they are sad to have Jane's husband arrested, as opposed to 22 below.

22 A. Jane's husband was arrested yesterday.

B. Bravo!

As I stated earlier in chapter 2 above, the major function of these attitude markers is to communicate the speaker's desires, fears, regrets and joys, among others. As I have also argued in that chapter, a Kîîtharaka speaker does not have to say, for instance, 'I am afraid that P' or 'I am sad that P', or whatever other attitude he is trying to express. The speaker uses these attitude markers to construct higher level explicatures to communicate these feelings.

At this point I will now take time to explain what higher explicature is all about and how it is used in Kîîtharaka.

4.1.0. Higher level explicature

According to Sperber and Wilson (1986, 179), an explicature is used to assert an attitude explicitly. Such that when a speaker says, *I am tired*, the following propositions are included: the speaker is tired, the speaker says that he is tired, and the speaker believes that he is tired. As is observable from these three propositions from the utterance, *I am tired*, the speaker therefore can express propositions, attitudes and speech acts. When attitudes and speech acts are intended then it is said that they are functioning on higher level explicature. The Kîîtharaka attitude markers function in two different ways on higher level explicature on top of indicating the speaker attitude: they function echoically and they indicate mutual manifestiness. Below is an explanation of these two uses.

4.1.1. Echoic use

Utterances that involve resemblance relation between the original thought or utterance and the proposition content of an utterance currently being processed are called echoic. Sperber and Wilson (1986, 238) have argued that an echoic utterance does not need to interpret precisely the attributable thoughts, it may at times echo the thought of a certain kind of a person or of people in general. By this I mean that when an utterance has been used echoically, it informs the hearer that the speaker has in mind what someone thinks, said or knows and that the speaker has an attitude towards it. In effect, the relevance of this kind of an utterance will depend primarily on the expression of this attitude.

Whereas in a normal hearsay the speaker only represents what someone else had said or believes, an echoic utterance has one more layer of metarepresentation which expresses the attitude of the speaker. This attitude can be that of rejection or disapproval (though there are times when it is positive) towards the subject in question. If the speaker expresses an attitude of rejection or disapproval, he somewhat disassociates himself from the opinion being echoed and indicates that he does not believe in its truth-value. Sometimes his opinion of disapproval becomes evident from the context. Consider the following examples:

- 23. A says to B
- A. Mûtegi I gîtonga kîî

Mûtegi BE rich very

'Mûtegi is very rich'

B. Mûtegi I gîtonga, Yaûkû arî nwa ngûkû

Mûtegi BE rich PART BE.POSS even hen

'Mûtegi is not rich, he does not even have a chicken'

In this case, the particle yaûkû, is used by speaker B to indicate irony. He distances himself from the opinion of speaker A by stating that it is only speaker A who believes that Mûtegi is rich. The first part of B's sentence echoes what A had just said, that Mûtegi is rich, while the second part indicates B's attitude towards it. This kind of statement, which has been uttered by B achieves relevance not because it repeats what A had said, but by showing disagreement to what A said.

A genuine irony according to Sperber and Wilson (1986, 241) is echoic and it is meant to ridicule the opinion being echoed. They have refuted the belief that an irony is a statement that means the opposite of what is actually in the words. They rightly claim that "...there are many examples of irony which fall outside the scope of the classical definition of irony as saying one thing and meaning the opposite." (1986, 241). In (23) above, for instance, there is nothing that indicates the opposite of what the speaker is actually saying, speaker B only indicates that he does not agree with what A has said. The function of this particle ($ya\hat{u}k\hat{u}$) in (23) is to echo what has been said, while by the same statement B is ridiculing him for regarding someone without a hen as rich.

This ridicule usage of an irony can be found in the use of particle *mwa*, too. On top of the speaker registering his disapproval of an action in question, he also ridicules those who subscribe to the belief or a practice in question. Consider example (23) below:

24. Mwa, na basita nwe nakwina mboboi.

PART and pastor also 2SG.sing.PRES mboboi

'How come even a pastor is also dancing mboboi dance'?

Whereas (24) could be an ordinary statement if the particle *mwa* was left out, which would mean 'the pastor too, dances *mboboi* dance', when the attitude marker, *mwa*, is

added to it, it portrays the speaker as expressing his dissatisfaction in the fact that the pastor could be found participating in such a dance. In effect the speaker is suggesting that a pastor should never participate in such a dance.

On top of the echoic use of this attitude marker, it also has to do with mutual manifestiness just as mention at the beginning of the chapter. Below is how it operates as such.

4.1.2. Mutual manifestiness

According to Sperber and Wilson (1986, 38-46), if someone is capable to represent something mentally and accepts its representation as true or probably true that thing is said to be manifest to that individual. They argue that in reality, two people cannot have mutual knowledge of something even though they can share information about it. They have therefore chosen the notion 'mutual manifestiness' as an alternative to the more widely used 'mutual knowledge'. They picked the term 'manifest' because it is weaker than the term 'known/assumed'. Here they claim that organisms, which share a visual environment, do not actually see the same object in the same way even if they have the same visual abilities. This is true about human beings; to say that two people share a cognitive environment only implies that they are able to make the same assumptions but the fact is they are only able to do so but in actual sense, they do not.

Sperber and Wilson (1986) define mutual manifestness as the manifest assumptions found in the mutual cognitive environment. Consider (25) taken from Sperber and Wilson (1986, 42): "imagine Peter and Mary share a cognitive environment E, in which (25) and (26) are manifest:

- 25. Peter and Mary share cognitive environment E
- 26. The phone is ringing

In this environment, (27)–(29) and indefinitely many assumptions built on the same pattern are also manifest:

- 27. It is manifest to Peter and to Mary that the phone is ringing.
- 28. It is manifest to Peter and to Mary that it is manifest to Peter and to Mary that the phone is ringing.
- 29. It is manifest to Peter and to Mary that it is manifest to Peter and to Mary that it is manifest to Peter and to Mary that the phone is ringing."

In communication then, if Peter was to say something to Mary to the effect that the bell is ringing, he may want to show her that he knows that she knows that the phone is ringing. Different languages have different ways of expressing this aspect of mutual manifestiness but a number of them like Kîîtharaka use attitude markers, which indicate that both the hearer and the speaker are aware of something. Consider (30)-(32) below:

30. Uga mbura îtirakea nontû ûkûromba mwaburî

PART rain stop.PAST reason 2SG.borrow.PRES umbrella

'You are aware that the rain has stopped, why are you borrowing an umbrella?'

31. Anga ûtironokire nontû ûkûrumana

PART 2SG.save.PAST reason insult PRES

'You know you got saved, why then are you insulting?'

32. Anga ntirakwîrire ûtikaaje aga kaîrî

PART NEG.tell.past NEG.come.FUT here again

'You know that I told you not to come here again'

In the three sentences above, the speaker wants to express that what he is saying is already known to the addressee. The speaker does not indicate this by using an explicit phrase like 'I know that P', where P is the proposition, but rather by use of a

marker that signifies mutual manifestness. In this case these markers are *anga* and *uga*. In the above examples, the fact that it has stopped raining becomes manifest to the hearer in (30) by looking at the environment while the hearer in (31) and (32) will need to remember that at one time in the past the alleged premise took place.

Sperber and Wilson (1986) say that there are many assumptions that an utterance can make manifest at any given time, but the hearer pays attention to all those which are relevant to him. In the same line of argument, Blass (2000, 43) says;

"According to the principle of relevance, ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance. Of all the interpretation that the hearer has available, he chooses the first interpretation coherent with the principle of relevance. Once the hearer has identified the informative intention of the speaker because of this criterion, the hearer can consider the speaker's intention not only to make some assumption manifest, but also to make it mutually manifest."

In Kîîtharaka, in addition to the speaker using these markers for adding more strength to his utterance, he at the same time sounds to be scolding his addressee. Consider (33) and (34) below;

33. Anga ûtirathi cukuru n'endî

PART NEG.PRES.go school even.now

'How come you have not gone to school yet?'

34. Anga ntikwîrire Mûtegi naayîîte

PART NEG.PAST.tell Mûtegi PRES.come

'Didn't I tell you that Mûtegi is coming?'

In these utterances, the speaker is not only questioning why the addressee did not do as was earlier on agreed but he is also communicating to the addressee that it was common knowledge between the two of them that the addressee was to do what he had to do. He is also expressing a disappointment in that what he expected the addressee to do, he never did.

As I have indicated the attitude markers can be analysed as markers on higher level explicature under the two different functions: echoic use and marker of mutual manifestness.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0. USE OF ATTITUDE MARKERS IN DISCOURSE

In the preceding chapters I have shown the centrality of attitude markers in communication in Kîîtharaka. In this section, I will go further and show how these attitude markers may be used in discourse and more particularly in Bible translation. I will also show what a translation might lose in leaving them out. To do this, I will discuss a few selected passages of the Bible in which I feel if attitude markers are supplied, the translation can come out more clearly and naturally.

35. (a) 1 Cor. 4:8

You are already filled, you have already become rich, you have become kings without us; and indeed, I wish that you had become kings so that we also might reign with you. (NASB)

A look at this passage indicates that it is quite hard for the reader to clearly identify the irony that is at the bottom of what Paul is telling the Corinthians. For this reason the reader needs to study it so keenly and yet even by doing so it is not obvious that he will realize that it was after all an irony. But when translated into Kîîtharaka, and with the use of attitude markers in their proper places, it becomes so obvious for any speaker of the language that Paul is not actually praising the Corinthians but ridiculing them. Look at the translation in 36 (b) below:

36 (b)

Mwa! Î naka gûtirî kîo gea gîîkîrundu bûtarî. Bûrî itonga. Îngî kaayia
PART indeed nothing of spirit you-do-not-have. You-are rich. PART PART
bûrî anene bara tiigû tûtarî. Yaûkû ûtakîîgua nwabu kûrî natigû tûkawîrîrua bu.
you-are bosses what we-are not. PART I-wish its-so we-also we-could rejoice in-it

'(in mockery) You have everything in the Spirit. You are rich. (In Mockery) You are bosses not like us, we are not. (In sympathy) I wish you were truly rich, we could rejoice along with you.'

Like with the above Bible passage, Matthew 27:40 would require a reader to use a lot of processing effort in order for him to realize that it is an irony and thus get its actual meaning if it is translated the way it is found in 37 (a).

37.(a) Matt. 27:40

and saying, "You who are going to destroy the temple and rebuild it in three days, save yourself! If you are the Son of God, come down from the cross." (NASB)

However, with the use of these attitude markers it makes it easy for the reader to recover the intended message by the author. Look at the translation in 37 (b)

37. (b)

bakiugaga, "anga ingî kaayia ti woû ûraugaga ûk'omborania nyomba ya Ngai saying PART PART PART is-it-not-you you-said you-FUT-destroy house-of-God na ûmîake kaîrî yûyûre na ntugû ithatû! wegua ûrî Mwana wa Ngai teebambûre and you-build-it again full in day three if you-are child of God get-yourself-out-of agu ûrî"

there you-are

'saying "(in mockery) are you not the one who said you would destroy the house of God and build it again in three days! If you are the son of God get yourself out of where you are."'

The passage in Amos 4:4-5 is even more complicated. It is what I would call an extended irony, because the prophet uses the whole paragraph to show how Israelites were unfaithfulness to the Lord. However if not properly translated it could be understood to mean that the Lord is actually sanctioning them to go and sin which is

not the case. Compare the way it appears in NASB in 38 (a) with my translation in 38 (b).

38. (a) Amos 4:4-5

"Enter Bethel and transgress;
In Gilgal multiply transgression!
Bring your sacrifices every morning,
Your tithes every three days.
5 Offer a thanks offering also from that which is leavened,
And proclaim freewill offerings, make them known.
For so you love to do, you sons of Israel,"
Declares the Lord GOD. (NASB)

The use of these attitude markers becomes even more needful in the above verses. This is because without them it becomes quite difficult to know the author's intention but with the use of the attitude markers the author's intention becomes so obvious to the reader. He cannot take the author to be literally stating what has been written down. Look at the translation below:

38. (b)

Mwa! arî Îthini Betheri bûkeeyie;

PART just go Bethel sin

Nabwathi Gilgali bwîyie kinya nkûrûki.

And-if-you-go Gilgal sin even more

Rîru kaayia bûcoke bûrute igongwana wa kîra rûkîîrî,

Then PART come give offering every morning

Na icuncî bia îkûmi nyuma ya mîaka îthatû.

And pieces of ten after years three

Rîrîkîrani na mwanki mîgate îtarî îmîîkîre ndawa ya kwimbithia ma

Burn with fire bread NEG put chemical to swell PART

bûkiugaga I biewa bia gûcokia nkaatho-

saying its offering of returning thanks

wa nakinya bûgekumîria biewa bira bûrutaga bia kûîbendera biû antû ba Isiraeli,

you can-pride offering which you-offer willingly you people of Israel

Nûntû ûgu ibu bûkenagîîra kûrûtha",

Because this-is-what you-are-happy to do

Ûgu ibu Mwathani Mûrungu akuuga.

This-is what Lord God says

"'(irony/mockery) Go to Bethel and sin

and when you go to Gilgal you can sin even more

then (mockery) give an offering every morning

and tithe after three years.

Burn unleavened bread saying you are giving thanks (mockery)

You can even be proud of your freewill offerings you people of Israel,

Because this is what you like to do."

This is what the Lord God says'

As I have demonstrated through these examples, these attitude markers play a very big role in the transmission of the message in Kîîtharaka. They help in making the meanings clear because when they are used properly they make a text to be free of ambiguity. When they are used, the hearer or reader is certain about the opinion of the speaker or the person in focus.

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 CONCLUSION

In chapter two, I described the particle as it is in the field of linguistics. I went further to give examples of such particles in Kîîtharaka which I claim function as attitude markers in discourse.

In chapter three, I looked at these attitude markers in all possible ways from a grammarian point of view: first as adverbials, and then as a complementiser, and I was able to show that they cannot be analysed otherwise, except as particles.

In chapter four I discussed how these particles can be analysed using relevance theory. In part 4.1.0. I showed how they function on higher level explicature: first as echoic markers, and later as markers of mutual manifestiness.

In chapter 5, then I used these attitude markers (*kaayia*, *yaûkû*, *mwa*) among others in written discourse. To do this I picked some portions of scripture and translated them using these attitude markers appropriately. I was able to show that these attitude markers are very helpful in making a text, whether written or spoken clear and free from ambiguities.

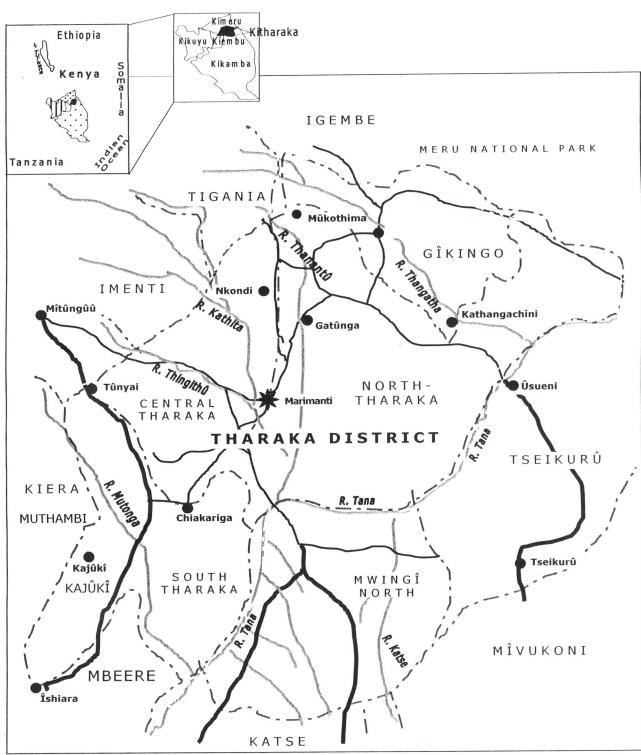
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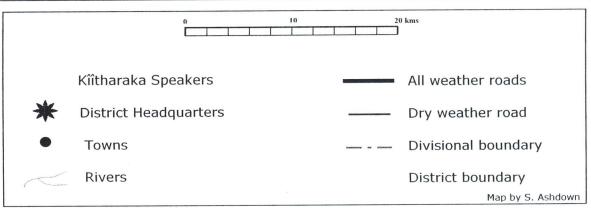
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Map 1. Kîîtharaka speakers





APPENDIX

In this appendix, I have put down some oral narratives which I recorded from some of my informants as they narrated naturally in Kîîtharaka.

Mwîkaamba wa ntamîoro (Mwîkamba son of Ntamîoro)

Ntugû îmwe bai twauma agu muciî na karuayia kara kaniini

day one we-left there home with brother that young

twauga tiga tîthi tûkariûngariûnge naagu îkumbo rîetû

we-said let go take-a walk there river bank ours

tûrî njîrani mbere tûtirakinya îkumbo rîetû twarîkana na mûkûrû ûngî
while-on way before we-arrive river-bank ours we-met with old-man another
etawa Mwîkamba wa Ntamîoro bai nwe ethagîrwa arî mûrogi

îndî ingî I cûûcû itûcethaga nwe.

called Mwîkamba son-of Ntamîoro

but PART he-is-our-grand we-joke with-him.

'One day my younger brother and I left home to take a walk along the river bank by our piece of land. While on the way before we arrived at the river, we met another old man called Mwîkamba son of Ntamîoro who is a witch but he is a grand father we joke with him.'

him is a

witch

Agûtwona ona I tigû Bai nakumbuthûkania na karuayia gaku when-he-saw-us saw it-was us. he-abruptly-ran with my-brother that kaniini nagûkeera mwa ûrî aga nendî ûtiramerua young-one and-told-him PART you-are here even-now you-are-not-swallowed

nkara îno înjirû metho Bai karuayia nako nakwambîîria gûkurura nkara this black in-eyes my-brother and-him started screaming baaci karûngama na îndî gakawatwa baîngaînganîte. Karuayia kethira as-he-ran-away My-brother realized now he-will-be-caught then he-stopped and îmunthî nî îmunthî ûtikara aga nkara gûûka Mwîkamba akawata akeera then Mwîkamba he-got-hold-of-him told-him today is today you-can't live as-nkara Bendamanîîria agû ikumbo, înjirû metho ingûkwira ûkamerue. with black eyes i-will-take-you to-be-swallowed they-went toward river-bank naani nkwona ûgu îî ndaambîîria kûrîra nkiugaga yîyia mûkai maami tûkûûra na and-when I-saw that i-started crying saying IDEO PART my-mother we-are-lost with Mûtugi wetu kûthi Kûmerua Mwîkamba îî. nairîîte Mwikamba he-is-taking Mûtugi ours to-get swallowed.

'When he saw and recognized us, he abruptly ran after my younger brother telling him you mean you are still with your black eyes you un swallowed boy. He started running after him. when my brother realized he would be caught, he stopped running. Mwîkamba got hold of him and told him "this is the day you shall no longer remain as un swallowed with black eyes. I will take you to get swallowed." They went toward the river when I saw it, I started crying saying "ho mother Mwikamba is killing us, he is taking Mûtugi to get swallowed"

Bai ndauga mbu ndauga mbu.

I-said yelling I said yelling

nwaka ndoonere maami agu augîtie rûîro ambûria imbi guugîîre mbu i-just saw my-mother there running run she-asked why are-you-yelling-yells like this i-told-her PART Mwîkamba he-take Mûtugi ours went with him there akîmwîraga namwirîte amerua. Îî bai I reo Mwîkamba telling-him he-is-taking-him to-get swallowed that is when Mwîkamba aathire atombeka karuajia rûûjîni yaûkû bai ireo Mwîkamba ajire nakaana went deeped my-brother in-river PART then Mwîkamba came with-child nguo ikînyûrûkaga rûûjî nakwîra maami nînû nthaka yaku îndî neekenûka. clothes dripping water and-told my-mother there son yours now let-him-go-home Îî noka twacoka nwe kuuma ntugû înu augire atithi kûriûnga îkumbo then we went back and-him from day that he-said he-will not go to-river kaîrî bai naakona Mwikamba nebithaga again if-sees Mwîkamba he-hinds-himself

'I cried aloud but suddenly I saw my mother running. She asked me "why are you crying like this?" I told her "its Mwîkamba who has drugged Mûtugi towards the river saying he is taking him to get swallowed." That is when Mwîkamba dipped my brother into the river [sympathy] that is when he came with him with clothes dripping with water and told my mother, "here is your son he can go home now." That is when we went back together with my brother. Since that day he vowed never to take a walk along the river bank again, even when he sees Mwîkamba he hinds himself.'