

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE  
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

THE METAREPRESENTATION MARKER *gu:*  
A BUDU PARTICLE

BY

'ANZETAKA DANGA'

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

JUNE, 2003

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Student's declaration

**THE METAREPRESENTATION MARKER *gu*: A BUDU  
MARKER**

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 necessary those of the Nairobi Evangelical  
Graduate School of Theology or the Examiners.

Signed)   
Anzetaka Danga

June, 2003

## ABSTRACT

The present study focuses on some uses of the metarepresentation marker *gʉ* in the Budu language. Metarepresentation markers were first called interpretive markers by Blass (1989,1990), but have so far come to be marking mainly hearsay, speech acts, propositional attitude and echoic use. But *gʉ*, unlike most metarepresentation markers which only mark the above, can also replace truthfunctional logical connectors, such as ‘and’, ‘or’, ‘if ...then’, and also the negative. Throughout this paper I want to attempt to explain the pragmatic interpretations of some of its commonest use based on Relevance theoretical principles. I want to show that *gʉ* can function not only as a ‘hearsay’ marker, but also can replace logical connectors depending on the function they have in the environment. I will show that although *gʉ* presents a range of functions it only has two main grammatical uses: a complementiser and particle. Finally, provide a conclusion that will be based on the plausible analysis.

I do hope that the present study will bring new insight in the current area of interest in the study of ‘hearsay’ markers and interpretive use. The study will also be a contribution in enhancing the understanding of the particle *gʉ* in Budu discourse for the benefit of Bible Translation work.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Praise be to the Lord for his goodness, care, and tender mercies upon my life along my two year's training at NEGST. I am thankful for his provision for all my needs and sustaining my health so far.

My thanks will go first to Doctor Regina Blass for her availability, supervision and advice without which this work could never have come to completion. I am grateful for her suggestions, encouragement and patience while directing this work. Despite her multiple tasks, she always found time for the supervision of this work even setting aside some of her priorities.

I am greatly indebted to Doctor George Huttar for being instrumental in making my admission process a success. Despite multiple occupations, he always made himself available in assisting me with technical advice and encouragement.

My appreciation also goes to Mrs. Huttar for being my second supervisor and for her suggestions and encouragement, which have been conducive to the accomplishment of this work.

I wish to express my deep gratitude to the Budu Project consultants namely: Miss. Bettina Gottschlitch, Loren and Beth Koehler, Fred and Claerje Frieke in being initiators and key persons in finding financial support for my training. I am greatly indebted for their unfailing material and moral support during my training.

I am thankful to the S.I.L. Eastern Congo Group staff at large for their moral and material support in various ways during my training.

I do appreciate my dad Danga Mandoboy and my mum Bonzago Nutuako for moral and material support and earnest prayers to us.

It would be a lack of gratitude not thanking the President of my church community C.E.C.C.A./16, the Head Pastor of Buta and brother Engama. The latter were key people who made every possible effort, and were successful in obtaining my transcripts from the Buta Teacher Training College despite insecurity on the road, and long distance separating Isiro from Buta. Without such an effort my admission at NEGST could never have been possible. I would to present my thanks to the C.E.C.C.A./16 church leaders as a whole for their prayers and support for my family.

Finally, I am grateful for my family: my wife Suzan for her unfailing love, moral support during my training, my son Mandoboy and my daughter Nikosi for their encouragement and help in taking various chores in our home.

May all those who assisted me behind the scenes find here my deep gratitude.

May God bless you all.

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

<b>1S</b>	- First person singular
<b>2S</b>	- Second person singular
<b>3S</b>	- Third person singular
<b>1Pl.</b>	- First person plural
<b>2Pl.</b>	- Second person plural
<b>3Pl.</b>	- Third person plural
<b>Ass.M</b>	- Associative marker
<b>AM</b>	- Aspect marker
<b>Clit.</b>	- Clitic
<b>Comp.</b>	- Complementiser
<b>Contr.M</b>	- Contrastive marker
<b>DET</b>	- Determinant
<b>EMP</b>	- Emphasizer
<b>Fut</b>	- Future
<b>Ideo.</b>	- Ideophone
<b>MM</b>	- Metrepresentation marker
<b>OM</b>	- Object marker
<b>P</b>	- Particle
<b>P.Cont</b>	- Present Continuous
<b>Pst.</b>	- Past
<b>PERF</b>	- Perfective

**Pres.** - Present

**QM** - Question marker

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# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Statement of the problem

The problem raised in this work is that the use of the Budu metarepresentation marker *gũ* presents a variety of interpretations in context. The particle has different pragmatic interpretations in context and different grammatical functions. I will argue that it has only one semantic meaning in all contexts, that is, it is a metarepresentation marker, and grammatically, it has two basic functions: a complementiser and a particle. Consider (1) to (6) to see the variety of interpretations.

#### *Gũ* as ‘according to’ or ‘as to him’

1. *Gũ mwana bɔ a- kutua andei*  
MM child that 3S.P.Cont. go back home  
“(That) The child is going back home.”

#### *Gũ* as ‘and’

2. *Tomo, gũ Bobi, gũ Idey ba- bana bu bhalua*  
Tomo MM Bobi MM Idey 3Pl. be.Pres. children DET letter  
“Tomo, and Bobi and Idey are students.”

**Gũ as 'or'**

3. Gũ bɔ wa- bhi gũ wa- tukuo

MM MM 2S go.Fut. MM 2S. stay

“(That) (either) you go or you remain,”

wa kyia ta?

2S.Fut. do how

“What shall you do?”

**Gũ as condition marker 'if'**

4. Gũ ma- a- kyia nu falanga ambu mu-kuu saa ngiina.

MM 1S.Pst AM be with money would 1S buy watch that

“If had money I could have bought that watch.”

**Gũ as negative marker**

5. a): Ajũ wa- yɔ kupopoko yoni biɛ

QM 2S know to read know QM

“Do you know how to read?”

b): gũ kũ dɛkɛkɛ

MM also little

“Not a bit.”

**Gũ as a complementiser**

6. Inoo u- sigo gũ idyo yi- sio sioo

My mother 3S.Pst. say Comp. Food 3Pres. finish finish

“My mother said that food is finished.”

As far as the division of the work is concerned the work has been subdivided in the following manner: Chapter one is focussed on the introduction. The second chapter deals with the grammar of the language. Chapter three is based on the use of *gɥ* in Relevance Theory. Chapter four deals with logical operators. Chapter five is focussed on the study of other metarepresentation markers in Budu. Finally, chapter six is the conclusion.

## **1.2 Data collection**

My data had four main sources of collection. Firstly, Budu folktales in the Koya dialect. Being in possession of a number of folktales in my language I read all of them and came up with a list of instances where the particle *gɥ* is used in Budu traditional stories. Secondly, I used tape recorded material taped on August 2<sup>nd</sup> 2002 from a talk delivered by my dad who is eighty years old, at my home area Wamba in DRC. Thirdly, I referred to my own knowledge of the language as a native speaker. Fourthly, I also consulted a number of Budu booklets written as literacy material in Budu.

## **1.3 Literature on the problem**

Noh (2000, 74) claims that metarepresentation markers involve second order interpretation whereby the speaker's thought is itself used to represent another thought or utterance attributed to someone other than the speaker at some other time. Metarepresentation can be metalinguistic or interpretive. Metalinguistic use involves direct quotations whereas interpretive use involves the reporting of somebody else's utterance or what has been said before. Nicolle (2000, 175) in dealing with markers of general interpretive use in Amharic and Swahili has mentioned that indicators of

specific types of interpretive use may function under specific conditions; as a metarepresentation use.

The particle *gʉ* among other is used to indicate ‘hearsay’ that is to report information received from somebody else. Elly Ifantidou (2000, 134) covering the particle *taha* claims that interpretive markers in general are procedural encoding and procedural metarepresentation markers constraints on higher level explicatures. She argues these metarepresentation markers guide construction of the intended higher level explication, which expresses reporting evidence or speaker’s attitude. I would claim that the particle *gʉ* functions in a similar manner.

#### **1.4 Information about the Budu People and their Language**

The Budu language is spoken in the northern part of the Democratic Republic of Congo. The Budu people live in the Oriental Province, Haut-Uele District, in the administrative territory of Wamba. The map in appendix shows the exact location of the Budu territory. As far as the linguistic situation is concerned, Budu is included in Niger-Congo, one of the major language families of Africa. According to B.Grimes Ethnologue (2000, 89), the Budu community population is estimated at 180,000. Currently, it is important to note that they might be more or less than the figure we have mentioned above. The area has been devastated by the war for several years now; thus the exact figure is unknown.

Other Bantu languages spoken in the neighboring area of Budu territory are Bali, Ndaka, Lika, and Lese, while Mangbetu and Mayogo are Sudanic languages. However, Budu is closely related to Ndaka and Nyali, a language spoken around Bunia (eastern part of Congo). Nyali and Budu have a lot of similarities because they have a common origin. The Budu language has four major dialects: Nita, Koya,



Mahaa, and Malamba. The Bible translation project has started both in Nita and Koya with the Gospel of Luke already completed. The lexical similarity between Koya and Nita is estimated at 93%. There are a number of linguistic publications written about the Budu language. As a speaker of the Koya dialect, all my data is based on that dialect.

### 1.5 Literature on the language

There are a very limited number of linguistics works on Budu. Most of the work is done in the area of grammar, specifically in verbal morphology. The following works are about Budu: Assobeatisio Bafau'ndey (1985) *Les formes et les temps verbaux en Kibudu*; Francois Xavier Bokula, (1966) *Elements de la Grammaire Budu et de vocabulaire de la langue Bodo*; Assangama, (1983) *Langue Bantu du Nord-Est du Zaire Esquisse Phonologique et grammaire*; Loren Koehler, (1995) *An underspecification approach to Budu Vowel Harmony*; Anzalekyeho (2003) *Tense, Aspect and Mood in Budu*; and this paper entitled '*The Metarepresentation Marker ɠɛ. A Budu Particle*.

### 1.6 Morphology and Syntax

Budu like most Bantu languages, is an agglutinating language. It has SVO word order, featuring a nominative /accusative system. The Budu noun phrase usually includes a noun followed by a demonstrative adjective, a possessive pronoun or an adjective. The verb phrase includes a main verb and an auxiliary verb or a noun accompanying a verb. The verb phrase may be followed by a preposition phrase or a modifier. Budu has a noun class system including fourteen classes pairing according to singular and plural forms. Class 1 and 2 include nouns referring to animates. Class

3 to 11 refer to inanimate whereas class 14 refers to abstract nouns. Budu pronouns form two categories as bound and free pronouns. Bound pronouns are attached to the verb as subject and object pronouns. Free pronouns are not attached to the verb and agree with noun they refer to.

## 1.7 Phonological background

### Vowel System

Budu has an Advanced Tongue Root (ATR) value system which demonstrates vowel harmony. The +ATR include the following vowels: i e o u  $\tilde{u}$  and the -ATR vowels include vowels : / ɪ ε a ɔ ʉ  $\tilde{u}$  /

The Koya dialect has 11 vowels.

Fig.1 Koya vowel chart

	i	ɪ	e	ε	a	ɔ	o	ʉ	$\tilde{u}$	u	$\tilde{u}$
High	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+
Low	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-
Round	-	-	-	-	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Nasal	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	+
ATR	+	-	+	-	-	-	+	-	-	+	+

## Consonants

Fig.2. Koya Consonant chart

Budu, particularly the Koya dialect has 38 consonants

	Bilabi- al	Labio- dental	Alveo- lar	Post- Alveo- lar	Palatal	Velar	Labio- Velar	Glottal
Plosive	b p		t d		c ɟ	k g	kp gb̂	
Implo- sive	β		ɗ		ʃ			
Labial- ized	βw					kw gw		
Affri- cate				t̂s d̂z				
Frica- tive		f v	s z					h
Nasali- zed	m		n		ɲ	ŋ		
Labia- Lized	mw							
Prena- Salized	<sup>m</sup> b	<sup>m</sup> v	<sup>n</sup> d <sup>n</sup> z		<sup>n</sup> ɟ	<sup>n</sup> g	<sup>n</sup> kp̂ <sup>n</sup> gb̂	
Appro- ximant /.lat.			l					
Central Appr.					j		w	

## CHAPTER TWO

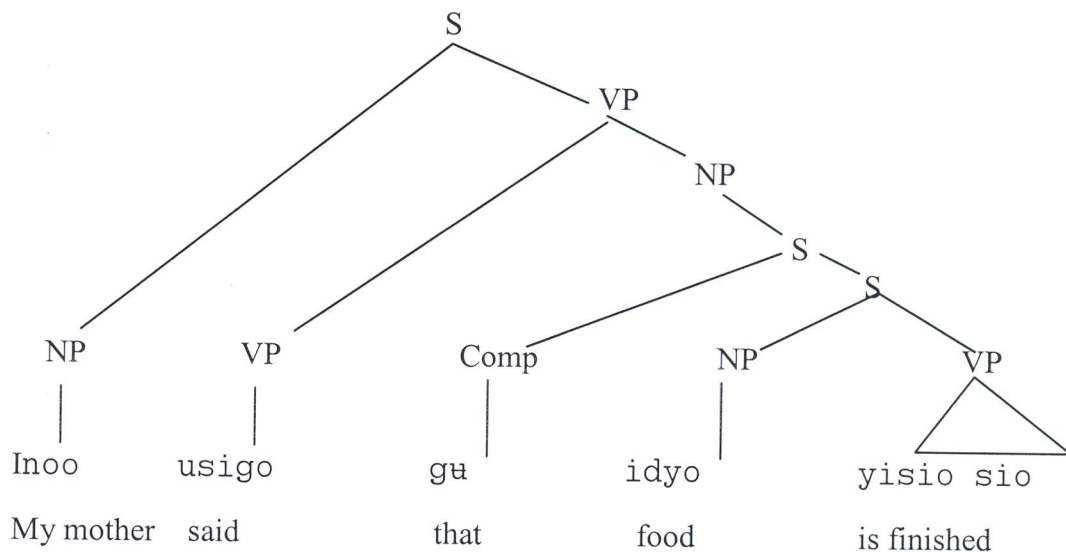
### THE GRAMMAR OF *gũ*

#### 2.1 *Gũ* as a complementiser

In this section we will discuss the use of *gũ* as a complementiser introducing a complement clause. *Gũ* is used with verbs like *say*, *think*, *believe*, in declarative clauses. The embedded NP completes the idea expressed in the matrix NP. A complementiser usually occurs in complement -initial position. In this section I will demonstrate that *gũ* can be used to fulfill that function.

1. Inoo      u-      sigo    *gũ*      idyo    yi-    sio    sioo
- My mother 3S.Pst.    say      Comp.    food      3Pres.    finish    finish
- “My mother said that food is finished.”

Fig 3: Phrase structure representing *gũ* as “according to”



*Gɥ* can be used as complementiser with a non-overt matrix. In such usage there is a matrix sentence used implicitly to avoid the repetition of the question which would be part of the response. When speaker (2a) asks a question, speaker (2b) may respond using *gɥ* sentence initially. Despite the fact that the matrix sentence is non-overt *gɥ* still maintains its function as a complementiser.

2. a): Anɥ            u-            sigo    tani?

Your mother    3S.Pst    say        what?

“What did your mother say?”

b): Gɥ    idyo    yi-            sii    sio

Comp. food    3S.Pst        finish    finish

“(That) food is finished.”

The matrix sentence “she said” is implicit here.

## 2.2 *Gɥ* as a particle

In this section we will focus on the use of *gɥ* as a particle. *Gɥ* as a particle can be used in various sentence positions: initial, medial but not final. It can be interpreted as ‘so’ or ‘according to’ and seems to be representing what has been said before. As a particle it can occur in various positions in the sentence where it is supposed to represent something that has been said before but left implicit. There is no way *gɥ* could function as a complementiser in these positions, since it is not introducing a complement clause.

*Gɥ* can work in various ways functioning in ellipsis. In (3) *gɥ* as a particle can be interpreted as “too” with the sense of “as well”. Speaker (3b) expresses that

the hearer is in a similar condition or status as speaker (3a). *Gũ* may occur sentence-initially, or sentence-medially; in certain cases it can be followed by a different complementiser than *gũ* as we will see in the next section. The particle *gũ* marks implicit information found in a previous utterance. In English the translation would be ‘so do you’ or ‘you too’ as shown in (3)

3. a): Wa- a- nononoko bakaĩ

2S AM laugh a lot

“You laugh a lot.”

b): Abhana gũ ɥwɛ

even MM you

“So do you.”( too)

The function of *gũ* here is really like English ‘*so do you*’ which replaces the implicit part of the sentence that was used in A’s sentence.

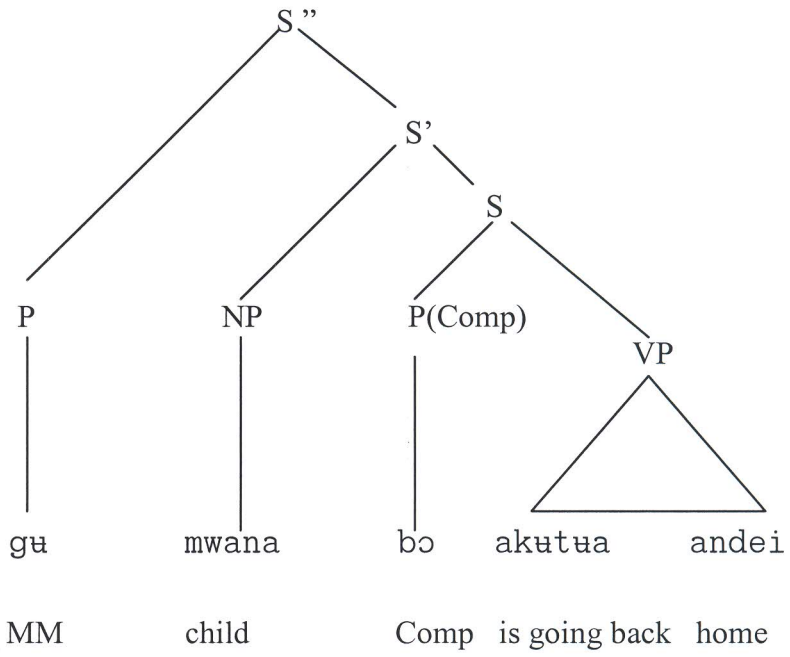
In utterance (4) *gũ* represents what has been said before and what will be said after the speech introducer. That *gũ* is not functioning like a complementiser in this case is because there is another complementiser *bɔ* used which is also a metarepresentation marker with a slightly different use than *gũ*. In the function below it functions as ‘according to’, ‘as to him’ or ‘then X said.’

4. Gũ mwana bɔ a- kũtũa andei

MM child Comp 3S going back home

“(That) The child (said) he is going back home.”

Fig 4. Phrase structure representing *gũ* as 'according to' (4).



The word for word translation of the above shows *gũ* at the beginning of the matrix sentence. There is, however, no verb of saying. The particle *gũ* is representing that speech.

As shown in the above example the verb *say* is not appearing in the sentence but it is implied. The question is why do Budu people choose to drop the verb 'say' and use *gũ* instead? My hypothesis is that it is used to report something that has been said and therefore indicating metarepresentational material.

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## CHAPTER THREE

### *gr* RELEVANCE THEORY

#### 3.1 Interpretive use

Sperber and Wilson (1986/ 1995, 231) make a distinction between *descriptive use* and *interpretive use* of language and thought. An utterance or assumption can be descriptively used to represent a state of affairs – that state of affairs that would make it true. Or it can be descriptively used to represent another utterance or thought which resembles it. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995, 231) every utterance is, in the first instance, interpretively used to represent a thought of the speaker. The proposition expressed by the utterance is put forward as resembling a thought that the speaker wants to communicate. The interesting question is whether that thought is itself entertained as a description of a state of affairs – in which case I shall regard the utterance itself as descriptively used – or as a metarepresentation of some further thought or utterance, which it resembles. In this latter case the original utterance is doubly interpretive: the proposition expressed is put forward as resembling a thought of the speaker, which is in turn entertained as a representation of some further utterance or thought, which it resembles.

For the purpose of my work I will be focussing on interpretive use which is included in metarepresentation. According to Sperber and Wilson such utterances involve a higher level explicature, and are sometimes marked by special markers



which have been referred to as interpretive use markers (Blass 1990, 93-222). The analysis of my data has shown that the Budu particle *ɔu* fulfills a similar function.

The Budu particle *ɔu* used in reports indicates that the speaker is not the source of information but that what she reports is received from somebody else. In utterance (5) we have an example showing the function of *ɔu* as a metarepresentation marker. There is a higher level explicature expressed by the fact that *ɔu* replaces a whole matrix sentence and embeds a propositional clause. The sentence below indicates that the speaker is not the source of the information.

5. *ɔu*    *ngama*    *a-*                      *kusoko*    *bombi*    *andongo* .  
 MM    chief        3S.PRES.cont    call            people    at his place.

“(That) the chief is calling people at his place.”

### 3.2 Metarepresentation

According to Wilson (2000, 411) a metarepresentation is defined as a representation of a representation, a lower order representation embedded under a higher order representation. The reproduction of the same words or thoughts is called *metalinguistic use* and in the case of reproduction by resemblance. Resemblance is a matter of degree and can be manifested in interpretive use to a higher or lesser degree. Wilson (2000, 424-427) claims that there are mixed quotations which exploit both, metalinguistic and interpretive resemblance. Reports of thoughts, on the other hand, and metarepresentation of thought in general, are interpretive. According to Sperber and Wilson, humans have the ability to construct mental and public representations of many different types. Our minds can represent the sound of the bell, the smell, and the image, an appearance of something, even the speech. Other types of representation are

conceptual, logical or mathematical. The purpose of my analysis is not to describe in depth all aspects of metarepresentation, but I will simply focus on a description of some general aspects of linguistic metarepresentation showing how a speaker can reconstruct mental ideas or metarepresentations of whatever they are being told by the speaker. Supposing I am telling a story to someone about a river monster. The hearer will reconstruct a mental picture of the monster she has not seen yet. She will construct an image of the monster following the description she is hearing. She will represent mentally the appearance of the monster even though she has never seen it. There may be assumptions drawn such as the monster is dangerous and can kill. The hearer can also draw contextual assumptions such as 'It is dangerous to walk in the forest'. It forces the hearer to construct images making a computation in her mind. The hearer can retell the story to a second hearer. In describing the river monster the speaker will use *gɥ* in front of each utterance of description to mean she has not seen the monster herself. In the description of the monster the speaker constantly uses *gɥ* at the beginning of each sentence to help the hearer keep the metarepresentation, as shown in example (6).

6. Gɥ banisini ba bu ngbo ngbo ngboo

MM river monsters 3Pl.be Ass.M red red red

nɥ baa- kyia anizini

and 3Pl. be in the river

Gɥ ba- kyia nɥ ndii ya ita ita

MM 3Pl be with hair Ass.M long long

Gɥ ba- a- binda babhibha kija ba- bɥ- a

MM 3Pl. Pres. AM beat drums then 3Pl come out

anu itetete yi nizini

LOC. side DET. river.

Ga ba- a- dya atanga.

MM 3PI AM eat eggplant

“(That) the river dwarfs are brown and (that) they live in the river. (That) they beat drums and come out at the river bank. (That) they have long hair. (That) they usually eat eggplant.”

Another use of *ga* as a metarepresentation marker is in reporting the price. In the situation of a sale at the market, speaker (7a) asks the price of an article of clothing. Now (7b) is giving the price on behalf of the owner who is not around. By using *ga* the speaker distances herself from the responsibility of the price fixed. To show that she is not the one who has fixed the price, she uses the metarepresentation marker *ga*. In that case there are two metarepresentation levels that are constructed; one for the report and the other for the attitude. For example ‘I do not like the owner selling the cloth for fifty shillings.’

Original seller to temporal seller: (7a) speaking to (7c).

7. a): Epaku ya nu makumi boku

cloth is with ten five

“The cloth is fifty.” (It costs fifty)

Customer

b): Epaku ya nu upitani

Cloth is with how much ?

“How much is the cloth.?”

Temporal seller

c): Gũ        makumi    boko

MM        ten        five.

“(That) fifty.”

### 3.3 Procedural and conceptual marker on higher level explicature

Infatidou (2000,134) argues that hearsay markers in general encode procedural constraints on explicatures; they guide the construction of the intended higher level explicatures which mark the proposition expressed as being interpretively rather than descriptively used. Conceptual markers are defined as hearsay adverbials and parentheticals, as well as evidential adverbials.

In his discussion of the metarepresentation marker *ati* in Kikuyu, Gathumbi (2001, 40) citing Sperber and Wilson (1995) points out that “An utterance can have more than one assumption developed from the logical form of an utterance. These assumptions are developed by fleshing out a linguistically encoded semantic representation.” He argues that the Kikuyu marker *ati* is a procedural marker and constrains relevance on higher level explicature. The procedural marker helps to constrain the intended higher level explicature. Considering this function I would claim that *gũ* is a procedural marker of metarepresentation use which guides the hearer to construct a higher level explicature. In the communication process the speaker intends to communicate a given interpretation assuming that the hearer will recover that interpretation.

Regarding higher level explicature, it is often the case that the utterance is not made explicit but the speaker may use certain linguistic markers which indicate

that the speaker intended message functions on a higher level explicature. Such phenomena may be conceptual, as in the case of sentential adverbs, or it may be procedural as in the case of particles that have a similar function to instruct the construction of a higher level explicature.

Within relevance theory, there are linguistic markers encoding procedural marking which are called constraints whose job is to constrain the use of contexts as indicated by Blakemore (1992, 137). She claims that “A speaker may use a linguistic expression to indicate how the utterance it introduces is to be interpreted as relevant. Since the hearer is forced to supply particular contextual assumptions in order to interpret the utterance in accordance with the meaning of such an expression, the speaker must be regarded as imposing constraints. Wilson and Sperber (1993, 14, 15, 21, 22 ) holding a similar view as Blakemore indicate that “Those markers that bear on deduction of implicatures are *constraints on implicatures*, those that bear on the filling of proposition form, like pronouns, and the formation of higher level explicatures, such as ‘hearsay’ markers and attitudinal particles are *constraints on explicatures*. Those that function particularly to construct higher level explicatures are *constraints on higher level explicature*.” Based on this claim, *gũ* is a marker that is a constrain on higher level explicature.

In this section we want to consider the particle *gũ* and demonstrate that it has no conceptual meaning but a procedural function to instruct the formation of a higher level explicature. Utterances with *gũ* help the hearer to achieve optimal relevance by less processing effort to reach that intended message. In example (8), the speaker is attending a meeting that goes on for hours and hours. Because of the delay, she communicates that she is tired and wants to quit the meeting. Relevance lies in

constructing a higher level explicature for the hearer ‘I wish that...’ The speaker wants to direct the hearer by using the procedural constraint.

8. Ubhua wu- sio gʉ zʉ.

Meeting 3S end MM clit.

“I wish the meeting would end.”

### 3.4 Uses of *gʉ* in Budu

#### 3.4.1 Report

Sperber and Wilson (1995, 259) claim that “On the most basic level, every utterance is a more or less faithful interpretation of a thought a speaker wants to communicate.” In utterance (9) the speaker wishes to inform the hearer that he will marry a wife. The relevance lies in the fact the speaker has an informative intention that he wants to communicate to the hearer. The hearer will then report the same utterance said by Amboko to a third hearer using *gʉ*.

9. a): Ma- chika moi ngiinani.

1S.Fut. marry woman that

“I will marry that woman.”

b): Amboko u- sigo gʉ a- chika moi ngiinani.

Amboko 3SPst say Comp. 3S.Fut. marry woman that

“Amboko said that he will marry that woman.”

#### 3.4.2 Metalinguistic use (Direct speech)

There is a difference between metalinguistic use and interpretive use: the metalinguistic use is about quotation and interpretive deals with resemblance. Noh

(2000, 29) discussing representation points out that metalinguistic use can involve several varieties of echoic use, including cases of mention, direct quotations, free indirect speech and echoic use in condition. Quotation is used to quote the actual words of the original speaker. Utterances with *gũ* may be used to mark direct quotation. This can be for reasons of report or attitude – agreeing or disagreeing. Consider (10) where someone’s speech is marking a direct command with an attitude conveyed, for example disapproval.

10. A-      *sigo*   *gũ*:   “Bua abei”

3S.Pst   say      MM   “Go   out”

“He said, ‘Go out’”

### 3.4.3 Interpretive use (Indirect speech)

It is expressed by verbs such as say, tell, instruct. It is intended to report the utterance of the original speaker indirectly. In interpretive use the speaker reproduces an utterance by resemblance, not verbatim. The resemblance can be to a higher or lesser degree. Consider (11):

11. A-      *sigo*   *gũ*   *u* - bua   abei.

3SPst   say      MM   he   go      out

“He told to him to go out.”

### 3.4.4 Echoic use

Sperber and Wilson (1995, 237) define echoic utterances as being “interpretation of a thought of someone other than the speaker.” They are attributive in that the utterance is itself an interpretation of someone else’s speech or thought.

They differ from the above in that they are expressed for attitude. Since irony is echoic and conveys an attitude it falls under this category (see section (3.4.4.3)). These interpretations achieve relevance by informing the hearer of the fact the speaker has in mind what so-and-so said, and an attitude towards it. In the following sections we will cover the different ways echoic use is realised.

#### 3.4.4.1 Echo sound

Echoic use can be done by echoing a sound produced by someone. For instance, when uttering an exclamation, a speaker can shout after a surprise, regret or disappointment or an awful event. Speaker (12a) will scream to express her emotion. Speaker (12b) retelling a third speaker will echo the exclamation, with attitude an such as scorn by using *ɣu*. In example (12) the utterance with *ɣu* indicates that the speaker (12b) is not the original individual to utter a shout, but as she retells it she has an attitude about the shout. She may make fun in echoing the shout and utterance to express her attitude such as mockery, or admiration. This also applies to other possible attitudes.

12. a): Hu! i kanzi ngasa tu imani!

Excl.M kind of luck what

“Wow ! What luck!”

b): Gu hu! i kanzi yi ngasa tu imani!

MM Excl.M kind of luck what

“(That): Wow! What luck!”



*Gũ* can also be used with onomatopoeia to echo sound produced by non-humans. The sound can be produced by things such as rain falling on the roof. The speaker imitates the sound to make the hearer to represent mentally the falling sound as the rain hits the roof as in the example (13). The speaker expects the hearer to share the same contextual background to know which sound represents what action and with what meaning it is associated.

13. *Gũ* kaba kaba kaba

MM kaba kaba kaba

(That) kaba !kaba! kaba!

#### 3.4.4.2 Echo question

In Budu it is common to ask questions to find out what is going on. Depending on the situation a speaker may echo a question asked by a different person. In the example below speaker A makes a statement, then speaker B may ask a question about what has been said. By doing that, she echoes the statement in question form and expresses an attitude about it. By using *gũ* the speaker implicitly uses the speech act verb “I am asking ...”. There is expectation of relevance in that the speaker B wants to make it clear that she is echoing somebody else’s statement. B answering, echoes questions.

14. a): Danga *ũ-* sa anũ Nairobi

Danga 3S.Pst. go to Nairobi

“Danga went to Nairobi”

b): Gũ Danga ɯ- sa gbanĩ

MM Danga 3S.Pst. go where

“(That) Where did Danga go?”

*Gũ* as a particle is used in Wh-questions especially when the hearer wants to indicate that he has not understood what the speaker has said. In example (15) we have speaker A telling B that she is going somewhere. She says ‘I’m not around’ literally ‘I’m not there.’ Then B doesn’t hear what A has said. To request repetition of the message he will use *gũ*. The question will contain the particle *gũ* that metarepresents the previous utterance.

15. a): Ma- mbũ- komũ - zũ nani ee

1S AM Neg. Adv. there Ideo.

“I am not there.”

b): Gũ ta

(That) what

“It is said what?” Actually meaning “what”

Metarepresentation interrogatives in Budu involving Wh- question types such as *anĩ* “who”, *gbanĩ* “where”, *jũ tanĩ* “why”, *ati tũ imanĩ* “when”, *tanĩ* “how” are preceded by *gũ*. In the example below the particle replaces the previous utterance and means “What did you say?” My claim is that *gũ* functions as a particle and is echoically used because it replaces the matrix clause embedding the whole of the previous utterance.

### 3.4.4.3 Irony

In Budu *gɥ* can be used in echoing a speaker who claims to be able to do something or that something is the case and later it proves not to happen or to be so. If some one claims that he can climb a palm tree, then he fails to climb, someone else can say *gɥ* ironically to repeat what he has said. The echoic use is typically interpretive in that it resembles A's utterance but is not identical. The reason is that in Budu culture irony would be expressed by making the echo in more general terms in order to save the echoed person's face. This shows that resemblance to the original can be expressed to a higher or lower degree.

16. a): Ma- yo ikoo

I know high (to climb)

“I know how to climb.”

b): Gɥ gue mungana aka a - yo ikoo

MM man one LOC 3PS know high (to climb)

“(That) a man knows how to climb”

## 3.5 Propositional attitude

Anderson and Thorsein (2000, 3) has mentioned that there is a distinction between communicated propositional content on the one hand and communicated attitudes to that content on the other, the idea being that in interactive discourse we not only express propositions, we also express different attitudes to them. That is, we communicate how our mind entertains those propositions that we express. A speaker is capable of making mutually manifest (Sperber and Wilson 1986,1995) an attitude of belief, desire, hope, doubt, fear, regret, or pretense that a given proposition P

represents a true state of affairs, which attitude the communicator will attribute to the speaker if the communication is successful. This view demonstrates that that propositions do not always mean what they express, but an attitude expressed by *gɥ*.

Sometimes *gɥ* may also be used in non-attributive use constructions to express doubt.

In this case *gɥ* helps to establish the higher level explicature ‘it is possible that P...’.

The doubt is expressed especially when someone is not sure about something or an exact date when a given event took place, as in example (17).

17. Ya ndɥ gɥ a- wo mbise ɥ  
 It is as if MM 3S.Pst died after DET.  
 dite lɥ bakuku nɥ Bangbetɥ  
 war DET our ancestors with Ngbetu

“It is possible, he died after our ancestor’s war with Ngbetu tribe.”

In chapter four section 4.5, we discuss negation with *gɥ* when the marker occurs at initial position. Without the marker, the utterance would simply be a positive statement. The utterance (18) below suggests that the speaker doesn’t only state that nothing has been given but the higher level explicature suggests that the speaker has a negative attitude for nothing being given. Budu custom requires that the groom gives the dowry. He is expected to give it before or after the wedding. If he fails to do so, people will ask what he has given. The pragmatic interpretation of *gɥ* not only marks strong denial but it also eliminates the expectation of getting something and there is an attitude expressed by the speaker. To express discontent, the response will include the interpretive marker *gɥ*. As in (18a) people ask a

question about what he has given. The speaker (18b) not being happy doesn't openly state that 'I am unhappy he didn't give anything', but he expresses a discontent attitude through the proposition.

18. a): Swaḱ      ɥ      mwana   u-      nzo   ḱma ?  
          husband      DET      child      3.Pst      give      what

“What has the husband of our child given?”

b): Gɥ      kɥ      a-      nzo      ḱkyɛmɥ  
          MM      also      3Pst      give.      something

“He didn't give anything.”

An alternative response would be:

gɥ      kɥ      dɛkɛkɛ  
          MM      also      little

“Nothing.”

In this section we see that *gɥ* does not only function as a reportative marker, but also marks implicit information of propositional attitude. In utterance (19) the implicit information can be recovered pragmatically. Implicit information can be recovered from the immediate context. The other part of information can be pragmatically derived from utterance when for instance the speaker communicates an idea and the part is not explicitly communicated in the utterance. The particle *gɥ* serves as a procedural marker guiding the interpretation to help recover the interpretation. Different interpretation can be recovered as shown in the utterances below. In utterance (19) *gɥ* can be interpreted as 'are you attempting?'

19. G<sub>u</sub> a- boto zii n<sub>u</sub> ikondo

MM 3S.Pres. touch snake with hand

“(He attempts) to touch the snake.”

In utterance (20) *g<sub>u</sub>* can be interpreted as ‘Do you think’.

20. G<sub>u</sub> wa- dya bakobo bapini ku nangana

MM 2S eat chicken two alone

“(Do you think) you can eat two chickens alone?”

In utterance (21) *g<sub>u</sub>* can be interpreted as ‘The only problem is that’.

21. a): Mwana oo gue ngia ambu a- nazana woko ngia

child Ass.M man this could 3S inherit widow this

“This boy could inherit this widow.”

b): A g<sub>u</sub> tiga deneke

3S MM now small

“(The only problem is that) he is too young.”

### 3.6 Comparison

Comparison in Budu is expressed by the use of *nd<sub>u</sub>*. But when using *g<sub>u</sub>* before it, we may have two possible interpretations. The speaker may mean that a weak man may resemble a woman in terms of behaviour. A second interpretation may be that the speaker disapproves a man behaving as a woman. The properties of weakness resemble that of a woman because a woman lacks virility and is considered by the society as a weak person emotionally as well as physically. Such evaluation is based on social conventions of how Budu society views a woman. The example (22)

implies that a man, who is kept implicit in the utterance, proves unable to carry out work requiring strength and endurance. He is a weak man.

22. A: *Gu ndu moi*

MM like woman

“Like a woman.”

The usual comparison would be:

B: *Gue ngia a- a- kyananaka ndu moi*

Man this 3S AM behaves like woman

“This man behaves like woman.”

### 3.7 Metaphor

According to Carston (2002, 349) “metaphorical use of language is a kind of loose use of language involving no special interpretive mechanism or processes; it is understood in accordance with the standard procedure of evaluating interpretive hypotheses in their order of accessibility.” There are “attributions of properties which, taken literally, are inapplicable to its subject.” In Budu utterances involving insult can be considered metaphorical. This metapresentation marker *gu* can be used when a speaker insults someone. Instead of saying for instance one has a deformed head, he means ‘Your head is deformed’ and has a metarepresentation of something in mind having properties of deformity. The utterance will just contain *gu* followed by the noun and adjective as in example (23). In insulting the speaker has in mind an object she may attach to the deformity, for instance, a sweet potato. So the underlined sense would be “Your head is a sweet potato”, the sweet potato having an irregular form.

23. a): Gũ      ũ̃ tũ      bũ      pokobo  
 MM    head      Ass.M    deformed  
 “Deformed head.”

The insult can be said as in (23a).

- b): ũ̃ tũ      ndũ      gũ      wangũtũ  
 head      like      MM      sweet potato  
 “Head like sweet potato.”

The example (24) provides an example of another use of metaphor in Budu for insult.

24. Wa-      yo      gũ      nɛmbɔ  
 2S.Pres.    think    MM      pig  
 “You think (that ) a pig.”

### 3.8 *Gũ* and other implicit import

We have already seen that *gũ* can replace information given in previous utterance. In this section I would like to show how *gũ* can signal implicit import that has not been mentioned before. The propositional form of the utterance in (25) expresses the idea of a container being filled with water, not mentioning the size of the container. Neither is the verb explicitly marked nor is the agent determined. The ideophone used with certain verbs may stand alone. The *gũ* indicates that there is an implicit verb and occurrence of some previous action causing the water to fill, whose circumstances are not mentioned.



25. Gɔ mɛpɔ bɔ kyɛɛ

MM water Ass.M ideo.(full)

“Water was full.”

A great number of verbs remain implicit in ideophone utterance used with *gɔ* as a short cut. The speaker avoids the use of the verb and adverbs assuming the hearer will recover the verb form from its ideophone. These forms are commonly used in narrative. The table below gives evidence of ideophone usage in combination to stand for verbs or adjectives.

Fig 4: Table of verbal ideophones with *gɔ*.

IDEOPHONES REPRESENTING VERBS	ACTUAL VERB	IMPLICIT INFORMATION	EXAMPLE
<i>gɔ djomu</i>	sit down	He sat down	The man sat down
<i>gɔ taba</i>	take down	He took something or something was taken	He took a knife
<i>gɔ gubu</i>	bend down	He bent down doing something	He were busy working
<i>gɔ gbatata</i>	Cut down or burned down	Everything cut down	1.The trees and grass was cut down. 2.The house was burned down.
<i>gɔ nyɛ</i>	Quiet, finish	The place was finished	After cutting the trees the place was quiet i.e. was completely finished.

Fig. 5. Table of adjectival ideophones with *gũ*.

IDEOPHONES REPRESENTING ADJECTIVES	ACTUAL ADJECTIVES	IMPLICIT INFORMATION	EXAMPLE
<i>gũ ngwa</i>	washed clean	being in state of washed and clean	the cloth was (washed and became) clean
<i>gũ pi</i>	black	Something was black	The door was black
<i>gũ zia</i>	light	Something was light or not heavy	The bag was light
<i>gũ pɛ</i>	bright	bright or quality of bright	The sun was bright
<i>gũ mvì</i>	pressed down	Someone pressed down something or someone	The soldier pressed the thief down on the ground.

It is common among Budu to express implicit language with ideophones. A whole sentence can be constructed on the basis of such ideophones each in combination with the particle *gũ* which stands for each verb. The verbs do not appear in the utterance in lexical form, but they are pragmatically recovered by inference process. Example (26) is a sample of an ideophone used with *gũ*. These ideophones each describe a series of verbs expressing successive events keeping all these events implicit as shown in the table above.

26. Gue a- ka, gũ dzomu, gũ tuba nu upanga,

A man 3S.Pst. come MM ideo. MM ideo with machet

“A man came, sat down, took a machet and ,”

G̃u gubu, m̃a g̃u gbatata.

MM ideo. place MM ideo.

“busy at work, and the place(bush) was cut down.”

Sperber and Wilson point out that what is said is largely determined by conventional meaning, i.e. encoded meaning, but it is not the case that all encoded meaning goes into determining what is said. The distinction has to be made between pragmatic inference that contributes to recovery of the explicitly communicated content and pragmatic inferences which eventuate in implicated assumptions. I agree with Sperber and Wilson that utterances with *g̃u* contribute to explicature of what is said and not to implicature.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### USES OF $g\text{u}$ IN UTTERANCES WITH LOGICAL CONNECTIONS

#### 4.1 Introduction

$G\text{u}$  can occur in sentences with logical operators such as *and*, *or*, *if*, and the negative, and seems to replace the linguistic markers of these operators. The question is, does  $g\text{u}$  in these sentences replace logical operators with extra metarepresentational meaning, or is it just a metarepresentational marker? If indeed  $g\text{u}$  is including the logical operators in its meaning then it has a different sense from the metarepresentation markers and would play a different grammatical role. For the sake of Occam's razor (do not multiply senses without reason (Paul Grice 1989,47)), we propose that  $g\text{u}$  in these cases is still a metarepresentational marker, but that it can represent not only what has been said before but also contextual material (thought). This material includes the logical operators. Carston (2002, 226) has shown that "Many utterances of negative sentences require pragmatic narrowing akin to that of conjunction 'and'. She adds by saying that some negative utterances involve a tacitly (that is not linguistically indicated) metarepresentational use, whose pragmatic recovery brings with it further element of pragmatic enrichment of the proposition expressed." These negations have effect on truth conditions can be derived by pragmatic means. Based on this, I claim that truth conditional operators can be derived by pragmatic means and are not part of the meaning of  $g\text{u}$ , but that  $g\text{u}$  represents thought that includes the truth conditional meaning of the operators. This

has consequences for grammar as well, since we are only dealing with one particle and not a number of different ones. In the following sections we will look at those logical operators included in *gɥ*.

#### 4.2 Co-ordination ‘And’

The particle *gɥ* seems to function like a conjunction and could be represented grammatically as ‘and’. Its interpretation could be ‘as well as’ mentioned above because *gɥ* could be understood in such a way that it shows that a number of people or things all have the same identification. It seems that *gɥ* instructs to metarepresent this identification for all the subjects of the same category. *Gɥ* can be used as a marker of coordination only between noun phase contents looked upon as separate items and not as units in the sense that they complement each other. For instance, ‘husband and wife’ would be understood as a unit and are complementing each other and can therefore not have *gɥ*. The example (27) shows the use of *gɥ* when all the three people have the same identification.

27. Tomo gɥ Bobi gɥ I dey ba bana bu bhalua

Tomo MM Bobi MM I dey 3Pl. be.PRES. children DET letter

“Tomo, (and) Bobi (and) I dey are students.”

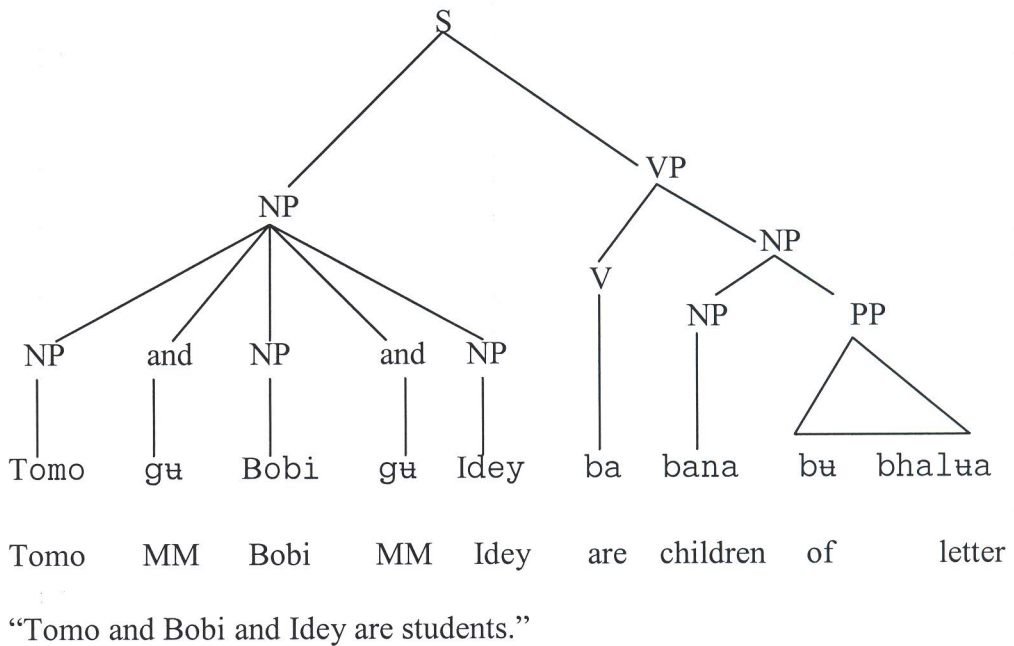
The sentence can also be said with the particle *nɥ* ‘and’ as in (28)

28. Tomo, nɥ Bobi, nɥ I dey ba bana bu bhalua

Tomo and Bobi and I dey 3Pl. be.PRES. children DET letter

“Tomo, and Bobi and I dey are students.”

Fig. 6: Phrase structure representing “and”



The sentential and verb phrase coordination cannot be marked with *gɔ* but rather has a different marker *mbɔ* as in (29)

29.    Boi        bɔ-        kɔa        idyo    ba-        mbɔ-    i-        zia
- Women    3S.Pst    bought    food    3S.Pst.    AM        OM        cook
- “Women bought food and cooked it.”

### 4.3 Alternation ‘Or’

Whenever an ‘or’ interpretation is involved, *gɔ* is used prefacing the two conjuncts in alternation. In the appropriate context it conveys an alternation. It is usually used with a following question. Questions are metarepresentational and they

represent their answers. *Gũ* is therefore a metarepresentation marker and nothing else.

It does not mean ‘or’.

The use of *gũ* implies that a choice has to take place. The idea of alternation “or” is implied and doesn’t show up overtly in the sentence. The double use of the particle *gũ* is marking alternatives to chose from. So there must be some reason other than just the logical connection why *gũ* replaces the logical connection. In Budu the two alternating conjuncts are marked with *gũ*. In every case where *gũ* replaces “or” marker there is a question following. Questions in relevance theory represent their answers, so they are interpretively and not descriptively used. Danga, Ramtu, Blass (2003) discussing new insights into metarepresentation marking, noticed that such utterances having questions following alternatives conjuncts are metarepresentational. Our hypothesis is that the utterances with *gũ* mark conjuncts replacing the “or” marker and represent the possible answers of questions.

30. a): *Gũ*    *bo*    *wa-*    *bhi*        *gũ*    *bo*    *wa-*    *tukuo*

MM   MM   2S    go.Fut    MM   MM   2S    stay

“(That) either you go or you remain.”

*wa-*        *kyia*        *ta?*

2S.Fut    do        how

“What shall you do?”

b): *Ma-*    *bhi*        *bhii*

1S        go.Fut    go.Fut

“I will go.”

31. Gũ ato gũ anũ wa- a- kũnda anĩ bukai?  
 MM your father MM your mother 2S AM love who more  
 “Who do you love more: your father or your mother?”

#### 4.4 Condition

In his discussion of the conditional clause marker *altsa* and *da* in Norwegian, Thorsein in (Anderson 2000, 64) distinguished the conditional *da* from interrogative *da*. According to him, in the conditional *da* metarepresented thought is always one that serves as a contextual apodosis. If the speaker endorses the apodosis, she is bound to endorse the protasis as well. Comparing *gũ* with *da* I will claim that *gũ* metarepresents the speaker’s thought, not a thought attributed to the interlocutor as the case with *da*. The particle *gũ* can mark the condition in declarative sentences at the protasis level whereby the speaker expresses an action intended to be accomplished in the past or recent past. However, *gũ* can mark the protasis of a condition to indicate the metarepresentation involved. The speaker is forced to cancel or change her intention due to certain circumstances expressed in the apodosis. *Budu* can express condition with *gũ*. In example (32) there is a counter-expectation expressed by the speaker whereby she wishes to communicate that if she had had some money, she would have bought that watch.

32. Gũ ma-a- kyĩa nũ falanga ambũ mũ-kũa saa ngĩĩna.  
 MM 1S Past be with money would 1S buy watch that  
 “If I had some money, I could have bought that watch.”



There is another marker for condition in Budu, *ambu ndu* ‘if’ condition, as in (33). The difference between the two is that *gu* marks an implicit condition, but *ambu ndu* is an explicit condition.

33. *Ambu ndu ma-kyia nu falangaambu mu-kua saa ngiina.*

If Pst be with money would 1S buy watch that

“If I had money I could have bought that watch.”

The counterfactuality is responsible for the use of *gu*. Following Noh (2000, 207) for what she calls counterfactual cases like (34) have a higher level explicature of the sort: I believe that if P then Q, which behave differently from Noh’s case. The implication being that the speaker cannot achieve the desired expectation due to lack of means.

34. a): *Zii ngiina u. hia hia*

Snake that 3S escape escape

“That snake has escaped.”

b): *Ga ma- a- kyia nu ukakauambu mu- uwa waa*

MM 1S.Pst AM be with stick could 1S kill kill

“If I had a stick, I could have killed it.”

The normal “if” conditional clause would be:

c): *Ambu ndu ma- a- kyia nu ukakauambu mu- uwa waa*

If 1S.Pst AM be with stick could 1S kill kill

“If I had a stick, I could have killed it.”

In Budu the usual condition marker is *ndu* or *ambu ndu* ‘if’ in the protasis, while

the apodosis is marked by the particle *ambɛ* ‘I would have’. Instead of these two

Particles, *ɔɛ* can be used in counterfactual condition. There is a cancellation of the

intended action and the speaker means that if the action of the protasis is cancelled the

resulting action of the apodosis is also cancelled.

## 4.5 Negation

### General use of negation in Budu.

Payne (1997, 282) in discussing negation says that: “A negative clause is one that asserts that some event, situation, or state of affairs does *not* hold. Negative clauses usually occur in the context of some presupposition, functioning to negate or counter-assert that presupposition.” He further adds that: “The most common negative strategies in any language are those used to negate an entire proposition.” He describes these strategies as clausal negation. He also points out that the ones that are associated with particular constituents of clauses are referred to as constituent negation. In this section I will discuss the use of *ɔɛ* in marking negation in the light of the above statements. First, I will discuss the normal negation in Budu. Negation is marked by negative modal verbs such as *mbɛ*, *ambaka*, *ambakɛ*, which always precede the verb, and the morpheme of negation *kɔmɛ* which comes before or after the verb. It is common to have a combination of two negatives *mbɛ* and *kɔmɛ*, within the same sentence functioning as a discontinuous negative.

The form of negation in Budu varies depending on the verb tense. The form used determines whether the action did not occur in the past, in which case the form is *mambikinye* ‘I didn’t’. If it is not an action occurring now *mambaka* ‘I don’t’,

or *mambuku...bisiongo* ‘I will not’, used to negate an action occurring in the future. It is important to note that the two negative modal verbs, *ambaka* and *ambuku*, express habitual actions. In example (35) the speaker uses a form of negation using *gu* followed by the particle *ku*. Negation using *gu* followed by *ku* means ‘also’ and intensifies the negation. So, the combination of these two particles *gu ku* forms the negation when it replaces what has been said before. Consider examples (35) and (36) below.

35. a): Aju wa- yo kupopoko yoni biε

Q.M 2S know to read know Q.M

“Do you know how to read?”

b): Ma- mbaka yo kupopoko

I do not know to read

“I don’t know how to read.”

This same answer can be given using an implied negation as in (36)

36. Gu ku dekekeε

MM also little

“Not a bit.”

Negation is normally looked upon as semantic as shown in (35b). But negation can be implied. The question is, how can negation be simply implied? The answer lies in the speaker’s intention and in the principle of relevance. *Gu* occurs in negated utterances and in answers to overt questions. By answering with *gu* the speaker

usually represents part of the questions which is the representation of an answer. But I would indicate that *gɥ* is used only to represent what was mentioned in the question and left implicit in the answer. According to my intuition there is a denial of the hoped answer involved. So, *gɥ* negates his positively phrased answer of the question. Therefore, we are dealing with metalinguistic negation. But how does a Budu speaker know that (36) is a negation, since there is no overt marker? A possible hypothesis would be that the word *kɥ* ‘also’ which is a parallel marker can also have a confirmatory use. The rest of the logical form can be filled by inference, including the negative as shown in (37b).

37. a): Swaɪ            ɥ            mwana    u-            nzo    ɪma ?

husband        DET        child        3.Pst        give        what

“What has the husband of our child given?”

b): Gɥ        kɥ        a-        nzo        ɪkyɛmɥ

MM        also        3Pst        give.        something

“He didn’t give anything.”

gɥ        kɥ        dɛkɛkɛ

MM        also        little

“Never.”

The example (38b) shows an other case of a negation drawn by inference.

38. a): Ajɥ        ɥ- na- zɥ        ɪsɛ            kɥ        nanɪ        biɛ?

QM            3S see clit        his father        also        see        QM

“Did she see her father?”

b): G<sub>u</sub> z<sub>u</sub> k<sub>u</sub> a- m<sub>u</sub>na

MM clit. also 3S see

“(Not) did she see him.”

#### 4.6 Cause-effect relationship

Budu uses the particle *j<sub>u</sub>* ‘because’ to express cause-effect relationship.

Cause-effect relationship also can be expressed using the particle *g<sub>u</sub>* preceding the particle *j<sub>u</sub>*. The speaker wants to metarepresent the cause expressed by the speaker of the previous utterance. She distances herself from the truth indicating that whether the cause is true or not is not her responsibility. The original sentence is embedded in the *g<sub>u</sub>* clause and the role played by the particle is to signal that a higher order representation is used to make a metarepresentation of an other speaker’s utterance and expressing attitude to it.

39. ð- dya k<sub>o</sub>m<sub>u</sub> idyo g<sub>u</sub> j<sub>u</sub> ð<sub>u</sub>kwe ka b<sub>u</sub>ka<sub>i</sub>

3S PERF. eat not food MM because salt is strong

“He didn’t eat the food (that) because the salt was strong.”

## CHAPTER FIVE

### OTHER METAREPRESENTATION MARKERS

#### 5.0 Introduction

There are other metarepresentation markers in Budu which I would like to explain briefly. In this section we will look at the use of *gɥ* when it comes sentence initially. In the following sections I will look at other Budu particles *bɔ*, *gɔɔ*, *angɥ* functioning as complementisers. As complementisers they function in a similar way as *gɥ* to report somebody else's utterance. My hypothesis is that *gɔɔ* is a variant of *gɥ* but with slight difference in usage as we will discuss below. The speaker passes information attributing it to the original speaker. In these instances *gɥ* can occur in initial or medial position. In this latter case it is occurring in initial position functioning as a matrix clause. Comparing all these metarepresentation markers with *gɥ* we realise that all these other markers do not function as particles, whereas *gɥ* has double functions: as complementiser and as particle.

#### 5.1.1 *Gɥ* “It is said that...”

It is a reportative markers used just as described in the section on complementiser.

40.    Gũ    toku    ǁ-    kwa    akũ    ɸpĩa.  
 MM   elephant   3S.Past.   fall    in    the pit.

‘It is being said (that) the elephant fell in the pit.’

### 5.1.2 *Bɔ* “that”

This particle is used interpretively to instruct the addressee to construct a higher level explicature. A child is expecting that food is ready but her mum tells her it is not. She is reporting to her brothers and sisters what her mother has said as illustrated in (41).

41.    Inoo        u - sigo   bɔ    idyɔ ya- mbũ- pĩ a kɔmũ.  
 My mother   3S    said    Comp. food 3S   AM    cook   not

“My mother said that the food has not cooked yet.”

### 5.1.3 *Gɔɔ* “that”

*Gɔɔ* is a metarepresentation marker functioning as complementiser and it occurs sentence initial and sentence medial. It differs from *gũ* in that its function is limited to complementiser and cannot replace a logical operator. It is used only in reporting what someone said.

42. Bombi ba- a- kusigo   gɔɔ    jɛnɛ    a        anizini ngia.  
 People 3Pl. AM say        Comp. crocodile 3S.Pres.be river    this

“People are saying that there is a crocodile is in this river.”

#### 5.1.4 *Angu* “It is said that”

*Angu* is a hearsay marker and means ‘they say’, but unlike *gɔɔ* it occurs at the beginning of the sentence just as *gu*. It is chiefly used to report what somebody has said but involves an attitude of doubt. While reporting the information, the speaker is distancing herself from the truth but at the same time with much doubt and hesitation. One seems to be more reserved from spreading information that might prove to be wrong later on.

43. *Angu ngama a- nu kweso.*

MM chief 3S.Pres.be with sickness

“(That) the chief is sick.”

#### 5.1.5 *Bu* “that”

*Bu* occurs in initial and medial position. It is used to metarepresent a state or quality of something such as colours quality, state, and situation. The speaker uses it making sure that the hearer shares the contextual environment with the hearer. The speaker and the hearer share the same contextual knowledge of the thing being metarepresented.

44. *Gu ipaku bu tuu.*

MM cloth MM white

“(That) the cloth is white.”



In normal description the speaker could say:

Ipaku ya bu tuu  
 Cloth is MM white

“The cloth is (that ) white.”

The speaker can simply omit the subject and can refer to the whiteness in general.

45. Bu tuu  
 (That) white  
 “(That) White.”

### 5.1.6 *Bwani* “so”

This particle functions as an evidential that indicates that the proposition expressed is intended to be imbedded in a higher level explicature expressing mutual manifestness. Speaker indicates that she has full evidence.

The utterance in (46) is made of two metarepresentation markers communicating a complete idea. The first one is functioning as a metarepresentation marker on its own without a verb reporting what a speaker has said. The second metarepresentation marker stands for the implied information or proposition content of the speaker. The content of the utterance is supposed to be known by the listener. The speaker expresses an attitude towards the truth of the utterance and avoiding to repeat the content.

46. Gǝ bwanǝ

MM so

“(That) It is so” or “It is said so.”

We can summarise the Budu metarepresentation markers in the chart below.

Fig 8: Table of Budu metarepresentation particles

Marker	Complementiser or Hearsay	Particle	Position	Irony	Attitude
gǝ ‘that’ ‘It Is said’	+	+	Initial	+	+
			Medial		
bǝ ‘that’	-	-	Initial	-	+
			Medial		
bɔ ‘that’	+	-	Medial	-	-
			Final		
gɔɔ ‘It Is said’	+	-	Initial	+	+
			Medial		
angǝ ‘it Is said’	+	-	Initial	-	-
			Medial		
bwanǝ ‘so’	-	+	Final	-	+

## 5.2 Double metarepresentation

It is a complex usage of metarepresentation consisting in the use of combinations of two metarepresentational particles functioning as complementisers or evidentials. We will attempt to explain briefly their functions in the following sections.

### 5.2.1 *Gu bo* “that that”

In example (47) the first marker *gu* is a complementiser signaling that the speaker is reporting what has been said by somebody and the second marker *bo* is a complementiser introducing an embedded clause.

47. *Gu bo ikaa yi idyo ya- kaza.*  
 MM MM house of food 3S burning

“The granary is burning.”

### 5.2.2 *Angu bo* “that that”

Functions as in 5.2.1

48. *Angu bo moi angu u- nuta bana baatu*  
 MM MM wife his 3S bore children three

“That that his wife bore three children.”

### 5.2.3 *Bwani bo* “so that”

It is used to mean ‘it is like that that’. The first ‘that’ stands for an evidential whereby the speaker uses this evidential to metarepresent the whole idea mentioned before and mentioning it back by using as complementiser.

49. *Kusigo bwani bo na- kua matuka ya ido.*  
 To say MM Comp. 2S buy a car it is good

“To say so that you will buy a car, it is a good idea.”

#### 5.2.4 *Gũ bwani* “that so”

It is used as an evidential marking information someone is agreeing to be the case.

50. a): *Gũ bana bu bhalua ba-mbu-kulipa*

MM children of school 3Pl. not pay

*bhalua nu igo ngia*

school with year this

“It is said that children will have free education this year.”

b): *Gũ bwani*

MM so

“It is said so.”

## CHAPTER SIX

### CONCLUSION

The present paper focuses on the pragmatic study of the Budu particle *gɔ* which we identified as a metarepresentation marker, instructing the addressee to construct a higher level explicature of the form ‘X said that P’. We have shown that the marker has a wide variety of uses, such as hearsay, echoic use, propositional attitude and that it can replace logical operators. We have shown that *gɔ* is mainly used for interpretive use, except for its use in direct speech where it is metalinguistically used. Concerning its grammatical function it is either used as a particle or a complementiser.

As we have shown that *gɔ* can also be used in comparison, metaphor and the replacement of concepts as mentioned under section 3.8. These subjects fall out of the normal metarepresentation analysis, as spelled out so far, since they seem to indicate representation of thought. What we are not sure about at the moment is whether the analysis of metarepresentation needs an extension or these uses need to be treated differently. They are definitely subject for further research. I also introduced briefly some other metarepresentation markers and showed how they roughly differ from *gɔ*.

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## APPENDIX

The texts in this appendix have been selected from Budu folktales. They contain some uses of the particle *gu* as it is naturally used. Only parts of stories with high frequency of the use of the particle have been selected.

### 1<sup>st</sup> Story: The Youth and the Old.

*Ngama u bandambu a:sa aku watini, bambujono nu*  
The chief of young men went to the farm, and met with  
*mabhiu wu ikazii. Gu ngama achwa bhangu, ikazii nu*  
devil of a snake. That chief he run away, the python with  
*ngama utu, ngama aku esi. iyo ubuu. muwouo! ingyoe!*  
chief head, chief on ground. Him shout. "I die! Death  
*ikeniee huu! Gu ikazii nayo bu mvi, yambumugubunikio*  
come Oh!". That python with him that IDEO. then it rolled itself  
*nu ndutu. iya basa bangu, ba:ka bambufaniso kudaka.*  
on body. When they went running, they came then they began panicking  
*"Bakyatani! Ani aboto! Babenda ta! Ndu kakwaka kawa*  
"What to do! Who will touch! How to beat! If we cut we will kill  
*ngama wa! Ndu kasia zii ngia apipo ngama pipoo."*  
chief kill! If we leave snake this will finish chief finish."



“The young men’s leader went to the farm, and he met a giant python. The young men’s chief attempted to run away, the python beat him with its head the young men’s chief fell down crying: ‘I die! Death! Help! Oh!’ The python held him tight, rolling itself around him. When they went running, coming to the spot trembling. What to do! Who will touch! How to beat! If we cut we’ll kill the chief. If we leave this snake it will kill the chief.”

*Aka bomu Awikoko a:mbutunguo bo: “Musa -zu kubukuo*

Immediately, Awikoko had an idea that: “Let me go to ask

*tidhoo moni ngika. ambusa. Kija a:ngakia ise moni*

my dad matter this. He went Then he explained his dad matter

*ngikakunani. Gu ise bo: “εε mwana aseme inu na:sigo*

that. Then his dad said that “Yes, son my you you said

*bo nadhuka likweikwei ku-liboo, nadakia bata imani”*

that you will kill the old people all, are you panicking again what?”

*Ku bwani ise ambumusigio bo: “Ndu wa-bhi chika misangabi*

so, his dad said to him that: “If you go take frogs

*kija wagisoko napeε wa ngama, ndu ikazii ya:na misangabi*

then you will throw in front of chief. When python will see frogs

*yasia ngama siani ambubwanaka, nambuwa zii ngiinani.”*

it will release chief release then he will escape, and you kill snake that.

“Then Awikoko got an idea that: “Let me go and ask my dad for

advice for this issue.” Then he went and explained the matter to his father. Then his father said: “My son you said that you would kill all the old men, why such a trouble now.” Therefore, his father said to him: “Go and take a few frogs, then throw them in front of the chief. When the python sees the frog it will release the chief, then you kill the snake.”

*Awikoko ambutua andei, ambukyia ku ndu aku ise*

Awikoko went back home, and he did also as at his dad

*a:musigio-oo. ikazii yambusia ngama. aka bomu bange*

told him. Python released chief. Now then, his fellow

*bandambu bambufaniso bokonoko: “Awikoko ani unapania kee*

youth began wondering: “Awikoko who taught you trick

*ngiinani. “Gu Awikoko bomu: Emε ma:wa komu jene ikweikwei*

that?” Then Awikoko said that: “Me I killed not did old

*ngiiseme, ma:munaya aku ugbu. Iya musa nayo kubukuo*

mine. I hid him at cave. When I went with to ask him

*a:mbunapania ndu anani.” Gu bange bo: “Sa kukpata ato,*

then he showed me as that way.” Then his friends said: “Go to follow your dad

*uchoo ya andei.”Awikoko a:mbusa kukpata ise. Bandambu*

let him appear here home.” Awikoko he went to follow his dad. The youth

*ba:mbuna ndu gu ibo bambambia moni. Ayoo yakusigo bomu*

they saw as if that them they do not know matter. My friend this is to say that

*ikumbu yaakwanana tuku kubio nu likweikwei, ju la*

village is fit only to be with the old, because they are  
 ɔchɛchɛɛ wɔ mbɪmbanaka.

the stream of wisdom.

“Awikoko went back and did exactly what he was recommended by his dad. The python released the chief. Then, his friends started wondering saying: “Who on earth taught Awikoko such a bright idea?” Awikoko responded saying: “I did not kill my dad, I hid him in a cave. When I went to consult him he just taught me the trick!” His friends said: “Go and bring your dad back home.” Awikoko went to follow his dad. The young men felt that they were nothing but ignorant. My dear, this means that it is right to have old people in a society since they are a source of wisdom.”

## 2<sup>nd</sup> Story: Parrots and demons.

*Amati u kyananaka yango, Akumoni ungwia kinda kuhatanaka*

In of behaviour his, Akumoni set off for a trip to gather food

*anututu. Nani ana ihuu yi baku yi babhii. Kunu ima*

in the forest. There he saw hole of parrots of demons. Immediately,

*giinani a:mbudito kiso baku. Iyo kijo ekoo a:gbuka*

that climbed up to take out parrots. Him to climb down he found

*babhii ya esi utupe*

demons here down plenty.

“As he was accustomed, Akomoni set out for a trip to the forest to gather food. While moving around in the forest, he came across a parrot’s hole belonging to demons. Immediately, he climbed up and caught the parrots. As he was climbing down he saw a host of demons.”

*Gu ibo nayo bo: “Kilikili hiyo! Chwinikio mata.” Akumoni*

Then they said to him that: “You are in trouble! Dare to escape!” Akumoni

*kpakpakpa ndutu nu matii aku igbata, nu uba nguunani. Gu*

trembling body with urine at feet, with fear that. Then

*iyọ bo: “Batidhoo mambuku nu dite lu ndenu. Ku jene*

him that: “Dear fathers I do not have with war of you. Since a long time

*maahata kujiso baku. Ndu aka makyia tani?” Gu babhii*

I have wished to keep parrots. Now then I shall do what?” Then the demons said:

*nayo bo: “Ku ndu isu kambuku nu dite lusoo. Togo, ndu*

to him that: “As well as us we do not have with war yours. Yet, if

*wakunda kusa nu baku, timia watini. Aka masigo-oo aka*

you want to go with parrots, cut the field for us. As I am saying here

*watini wunyia nyia-a. Gu babhii nayo, bo: “Tidhoo ,chika*

the field was found found. Then demons said that: “Father, take

*kind nu baku busoo, sa nabo. Bumbua mbua. mombi*

the journey with parrots yours, go with them. Let them be blessed. nobody

*oobubinda.*

beat not them.

“They said to him: “You are in trouble! Dare to escape! Akomoni was gripped with fear. He was unable to control his urine that ran on his feet as the result of fear. Then he said: “You fellow, I have no problem with you. It has been my desire ever since to keep parrots. Now then what do you want me to do?” Then the demons said to him: “We also have no problem with you.” Yet, if you want to take the parrots, we request you to clear the land and make a field for us. In a short while the land was cleared. They said to him: “Our fellow, take the parrots they are yours and go. May they be well kept. Let nobody beat them.””

*Iya Akumoni a:tua nayo aku watini, a:gbuka baku buseni*

When Akumoni returned from field, he found parrots gone

*ku bubomu. Gu iyo nu Abakana bo:Natuisio tuku baku busεε.*

all Then he said to Abakana that: “Give me back only parrots my

*Ku nu ima ngiinani, Abakana a:mbuungwia kindi. Ati u*

Immediately, Abakana set off on a journey. In the middle of

*gbondo a:sa kuchoo aku ikumbu mingana yi babhii. Gu iyo*

forest he went to arrive at a village one of demons. Then him

*nayo bo: “Juu bambakabaa ipa ngia. Kwaa kwaka.*

with him that Forest they do not cross it hour such. Sleep here

*Ku bwani, wanabhiaka ikyεε ngia ya neme aku mesu.” “Nu*

Therefore, you will wipe something that is with me at eyes.” With

*imani inoo?” A:mbuchwikio kumbo: makyembu, lanja... mabhii*

that mum?” He mentioned several things: cleaning leaves leaves... demon

*a:mbutata ku liboo gu: “Chukoo, tuku nu udada.”*

rejected all things that : “No, only with tongue.”

“When Akomoni returned home, he found that the parrots had all gone. Then he said to Abakana: “Give back my parrots. Immediately Abakana set off for a trip. In the middle of the forest he came across a demons’ home. One of the old demons said to him it not proper to carry on in the forest at such an hour, you better stay for the night. So, you are going to help me clean something in my eyes.” “With what mum?” He enumerated a number of items to use : cleaning leaves, leaves.” The demon rejected all these saying “No, just use your tongue.””

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