

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

A RELEVANCE-BASED ANALYSIS OF ATI: A KIKUYU PARTICLE

BY

JOSEPH WERU GATHUMBI

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

THE
PL
8379
.K5G38
2001

May, 2001

NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE

SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY

A RELEVANCE-BASED ANALYSIS OF *ATĪ*: A KIKUYU PARTICLE

By

JOSEPH WERU GATHUMBI

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

Approved:

LIBRARY
NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
P. O. Box 24586, NAIROBI.

Supervisor

Regina Blass
Regina Blass

Second reader

George L. Huttar
George L. Huttar

External reader

S. Nicolle
Steve Nicolle

30328

May, 2001

30328

Student's Declaration

A RELEVANCE-BASED ANALYSIS OF *ATI*: A KIKUYU PARTICLE

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)  _____

Joseph Weru Gathumbi

May, 2001

ABSTRACT

This study is to explore the use of the particle *atĩ* in Kikuyu language. It has been inspired by the call of Blass in her book “that other so-called ‘hearsay’ particles might be usefully re-examined to see whether they ... occur in other than true ‘hearsay’ constructions, and should be reanalyzed as markers of interpretive use” (Blass 1990, 95). In this study, I will seek to show and explain the use of the particle *atĩ* first on the traditional basis and then Relevance theoretical basis. Only after this, that I will give the conclusion that will be based on the plausible analysis.

It is my hope that this study will contribute in the current much talked about hearsay particle and interpretive use, and more so somehow help in the call of Bible translation.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank God for His grace that has sustained me this far. When I have been weak, He has filled me with strength. May all glory be to him.

I am heavily indebted to Dr. Blass for her patience in reading my work and continued; when I was stuck she patiently and understandingly freed me. I really appreciate the deep insights from her lectures and the exposure she gave me to the materials.

Thanks to Dr. and Mrs. Huttar who have been my teachers in the basic truths about languages without which I would not have made it this far. Thanks to Dr. Huttar for being my second reader and Mrs. Huttar for her concern especially for my well being. I appreciate all my linguistics teachers since my tender age especially all those in English Department in Kenyatta University.

I would also want to express my deep gratitude to Paul and his wife Jo for the support you have given me in my toils. I would not forget the people who always prayed for me and showed me love especially in the time of difficulties. I thank my best friend Joseph Mwangi for his concern and encouragement.

If B.T.L. had not given the opportunity to come to N.E.G.S.T. I would not have come this far. I appreciate the resources that donors have given towards this accomplishment.

Finally I am grateful to my family for they have given me peace and allowed me to work for God. May God do to them what I cannot do.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT.....	iv
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS.....	v
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	viii
LIST OF FIGURES.....	ix
CHAPTER I: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Demography and ethnography of the Kikuyu Language.....	1
1.2 Phonological background.....	2
1.2.1 Vowel system.....	2
1.2.2 Cosonant system	2
1.3 Morphology and syntax of Kikuyu	4
1.4 Particles in Kikuyu.....	4
1.5 Previous study.....	9
1.6 Statement of the problem	9
CHAPTER TWO	12
2.0 <i>Atĩ</i> as a hearsay marker in Kikuyu	12
CHAPTER THREE	17
3.0 The grammatical functions of <i>atĩ</i>	17
3.1 <i>Atĩ</i> as a complementiser	17
3.2 <i>Atĩ</i> as a particle	22
CHAPTER FOUR.....	28
4.0 <i>Atĩ</i> and pragmatics.....	28
4.1 Interpretive use and relevance theory	28

4.1.1.0 <i>Atĩ</i> as a interpretive use marker	29
4.1.1.1 Direct and indirect speech	29
4.1.1.2 <i>Atĩ</i> and propositional attitude verbs.....	30
4.1.2 Echoic use of <i>atĩ</i>	32
4.1.3 <i>Atĩ</i> and questions and answers	35
4.2 <i>Atĩ</i> as a procedural constraint on higher level explicature.....	40
4.3 Truth conditionality of <i>atĩ</i>	44
4.4 <i>Atĩ</i> and discourse.....	46
CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION	54
REFERENCE LIST	56
APPENDIX.....	58

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

1pl:	1 st person plural
1 st :	1 st person singular
2 nd :	2 nd person singular
3 rd :	3 rd person singular
APP:	Application
COMP:	Complementiser
DM:	Demonstrative
FUT:	Future
FV:	Final vowel
IM:	Interpretive marker
IP:	Initial prefix
LOC:	Locative
M:	Modal verb
MAN:	Manner
NEG:	Negative
NP:	Noun phrase
P:	Particle
PASS:	Passive
PERF:	Perfective
PF:	Perfect
PST:	Past tense
S:	Sentence
VP:	Verb phrase

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure.....	Page
1. Kikuyu cardinal vowels.....	2
2. Kikuyu consonant inventory	2
3. Morphophonemic processes between vowels	3
4. The phrase structure representing the above rules.....	18
5. Modified phrase structure.....	18
6. A construction showing S-bar constituents where C is empty	20
7. A matrix-less construction representing constructions such as (22) and (25b).....	21
8. A phrase structure representing the use of a particle	25
9. A phrase structure representing example (29)	26
10. A representation of utterances as we have discussed.....	34

CHAPTER ONE

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Demography and ethnography of the Kikuyu Language

Kikuyu is a language that is spoken in the central province of Kenya but it has spread to the other provinces and mainly so in Nairobi as a result of migration of its speakers mainly for business. The name of the language comes from the name of the people that speak it and it is the name of the first man who is said to be the father of the Kikuyu tribe. Kikuyu is spoken by around 5 million people (approximately 20% of the country's population) according to Grimes (1996, 290). In the areas where it is the major language the people are monolingual. The Kikuyu speakers are mainly farmers and business operators. As a result of their social and economic activities Kikuyu speakers interact much with the communities. Kikuyu has three dialects, spoken mainly in central-southern regions of Kenya; Kiambu, Murang'a, and Nyeri. It is classified as follows: Niger-Congo, Atlantic-Congo, Volta-Congo, Benue-Congo, Batoid, Southern, Narrow-Bantu, Central, Eastern, Kikuyu-Kamba group (E-20) (Grimes 290). In this study I have considered the dialect that is spoken in Murang'a (Murang'a dialect), of which I am a native speaker.

1.2. Phonological background

1.2.1 Vowel system

Kikuyu has seven vowels in its inventory all of which can be long or short.

They can be compared with the eight cardinal vowels as in the following figure 1., in which the Kikuyu vowels are in bold.

Fig. 1. Kikuyu cardinal vowels

	Front	Central	Back
Closed	i, i		u, u
mid-close	e, ĩ		o, ũ
mid-open	e, e		ɔ, o
Open		æ, a	a

1.2.2. Consonant system.

Kikuyu has 14 consonants according to Mugane (1997,15). This is the analysis that I followed in this paper. Mugane presents the following chart for the Kikuyu consonant inventory.

Fig. 2. Kikuyu consonant inventory

Nasals	m	n	ny	ng'	
Stops	b	t		k	
Fricatives		th	c	ɣ	h
Glides	w	r	y		

Kikuyu has an open syllable structure and the following syllable patterns can be found in Kikuyu. It has CV, V syllable patterns. It is a tonal language.

There are various morphophonemic processes that go on within words and across word boundaries. Figure 3. shows the morphophonemic processes between vowels.

Fig. 3. Morphophonemic processes between vowels.

First vowel ↓	Second vowel						
	a	e	i	ĩ	o	u	ũ
a	aa	ee	ai	ee	oo	oi	oo
e	ea	ee	ei	ee	eo	eo	io
i	ia	ie	ii	ii	io	iu	iu
ĩ	ĩa	ie	ĩi	ĩĩ	ĩo	iu	eu
o	oa	we	oi	oe	wi	oi	oo
u	ua	ue	ui	ui	uo	uu	uu
ũ	wa	we	wi	wi	uo	ũi	uu

Though Kikuyu has an open syllable pattern the marker of the first person singular in the verb is *n*. So there are some morphophonemic processes when the first person singular marker precedes some consonants such as *t*, *c*, and *k*.

$$\square n + t = nd$$

$$\square n + c = ny$$

□ n + k = ng

□ n + r = nd

If the consonant following k is voiceless, k becomes g [ɣ] while g [ɣ] followed by a voiced consonant becomes k.

These processes will be encountered in this work. I hope the readers will be able to identify them. My glosses are such that the first sentence represents the way of speaking while the second shows the morphophonemic processes.

1.3 Morphology and syntax of Kikuyu

Like most of the other Bantu languages, the Kikuyu language is agglutinating. The verbs are the core of the language. They can be very long, since they can accommodate very many prefixes and suffixes. For example,

1.) *irio niciarugangangiirwo Nyawira*

irio ni – ci – a - rug – ang – ang - i - ir - w - o Nyawira

food IP - it – PST- cook-MAN-MAN-APP-PERF-PAS - FV Nyawira

‘food was quickly cooked for Nyawira’

As in other Bantu languages Kikuyu nouns are divided into classes. Kikuyu has seventeen noun classes. The class of a noun is marked by the prefix with which it begins. Kikuyu exhibits SVO and nominative/accusative system characteristics.

1.4 Particles in Kikuyu

Because I am dealing with a particle it is necessary that show some of the particles that occur in Kikuyu. The following are some of the particles that occur in Kikuyu.

Atĩ: this particle is traditionally portrayed as a hearsay marker and most of the Kikuyu grammarians that I have consulted so far have translated this particle like the English particle ‘that’. This is the particle that I have considered in my study.

Kwoguo ‘so’ – this is a particle that is used to conclude what has been put in a premise before, or it can be used to question the result of the claim, e.g.,

2.) *Weru ena wira mungi kwoguo ndaguthĩ.*

Weru ena wira mungi kwoguo nd - a- gu - thĩ

Weru has work much so NEG-3rd - to-go

‘Weru has a lot of work so he won’t go.’

In questioning a claim it is used in a context, in which the speaker does not understand the relevance of the utterance or he wants to be rude by showing irrelevance of the immediately preceding utterance, e.g.,

3.) A: *Ni nguthii mucii*

Ni n- ku - thii mucii

IP I-FUT-go home

‘I will go home’

B: *kwoguo?*

‘So (what)?’

B must have missed the context of interpreting the utterance of A and by asking this question ‘*kwoguo*’ B is asking A to provide some context that he may have the intended meaning. He is like giving the first part of conclusion and he is asking for completion. This is only true when the speaker has not been rude.

Niguo ‘so that’. This is to introduce reason or purpose.

4.) *Arehe mbeba niguu ngure mburi*

A-rehe	mbeba	<i>niguu</i>	n-gure	mburi
3 rd -brought	money	<i>so-that</i>	I - buy	goat

He brought the money so that I can buy a goat.

Ona akorwo 'even if.' This is usually used when the speaker chooses to do something even when the preferred conditions are not forthcoming, e.g.,

5.) *Ninguthii ona akorwo arega guka*

<i>Ni-ngu-thii</i>	<i>ona – akorwo</i>	<i>a-rega</i>	<i>gu-ka</i>
I –will-go	<i>even - if</i>	he-refuse	to-come

I will come even if he does not come

No 'but'. This is used to cancel the assumption of the hearer. It is used when the speaker first puts the expected (positive) assumptions and then uses this particle to cancel the assumptions. It signals a negative assumption, e.g.,

6.) *Ni ageririe no ndanarikia kurima*

<i>Ni a- ger – ir - ie no ndanarikia</i>	<i>ku-rima</i>
IP 3 rd –try-PEFV-FV <i>but</i> he-did-not- finish	to-weed

'he tried but he did not finish weeding'

Tondu 'because'. This is to give the reason why, or cause.

7.) *Hiti yagiire guoya tondu yari na maguru makuhi*

Hiti	ya-giire	guoya tondu	ya-ri na	maguru	makuhi
hyena	it-got	fear	<i>because</i> it-had with	legs	short

'The hyena feared because it had short legs.'

Anga This is used in various ways:

- a. In interrogative sentences, it assumes the meaning of 'so'.

8.) *Anga ni wooka?*

Anga ni u - a - uka?

P IP 2nd- PST come.

‘So you have come?’

The hearer of the above would be expected to answer: “ yes, I have come”.

b. In statements it has the meaning of ‘it seems that,’ ‘I think that’ or as comment to the statement with *anga*.

9.) *Anga ni gukuura*

Anga ni gu-kuura

P IP to-rain

‘It may rain’

The hearer of the above utterance may say *anga* if he shares the same belief with the speaker.

Githi: This particle is used to signal an expression that ‘you should have known.’ It is always accompanied by negative in the verb and has a sense of asking a rhetorical question, ‘don’t you know?’ For example if one is to ask someone where she is going after they had talked about going to fetch water, the hearer may answer,

10.) *Githi ndirathii kugira mai*

Githi n - ti - ra - thii gu- taha mai

P 1st NEG-PT- go to – draw water.

‘Don’t you know that I am going to draw water?’ (You should have known that I am going to draw water.)

It is also used in exclamations.

11.) *Githi ni wooka!*

Githi ni wa-uka

P P 2nd –come

‘So you have come!’

Kaĩ. This particle is used to ask a surprise question about something that has been done against the expectations of the speaker. For example one who had the expectation that her host would invite a certain person, Kamau, but after arriving she realises that after all Kamau has not been invited, so she may ask her host,

12.) *Kaĩ utaneeta Kamau?*

Kaĩ u –ta – na - ita Kamau?

P 2nd NEG-PST-call Kamau

‘You did not invite Kamau?’

It is also used to comment on what the speaker observes. (This is a kind of interpretive use, which is usually ironical (echoic.) For example, one may comment after being narrated a story about the wisdom of the hare.

13.) *Kaĩ wamabuku ni muugii!*

P hare be wise

‘The hare is so wise!’

Ironically one can comment on the shortness of a short man

14.) *Kaĩ ni muraihui!*

P be tall

‘ He is tall!’

The above ironical statement would not have the touch of irony if it did not have the particle *kaĩ*.

These are some of the particles in Kikuyu. There are others that I have not considered not because they are not important but because of space. From this list of particles, I have considered to study the use of *atĩ*.

1.5. Previous study

There has been some considerable study on the Kikuyu language (Barlow 1951, Gathenji 1981, Gecaga et al 1953, Leakey 1978, Mugane 1997) much of which has been more on grammar and phonology. The grammars that have been written on Kikuyu are quite basic but very helpful foundation. The study of Kikuyu started as early as in 1900 with publications of vocabulary and phrase books. The research has been continuing slowly but steadily.

I am yet to meet any study that has been on pragmatics or on discourse. It is my sincere hope that this study will give insights on the yet to be studied areas on pragmatics in Kikuyu and other related languages.

1.6 The statement of the problem

This study is geared to investigate the particle *atĩ* in Kikuyu. The motivation of this study is that this particle has in the past been analysed as having various functions, as stipulated below, which I will show has to be revised.

Barlow (204, 207) treats *atĩ* just as equivalent to ‘that’ in English. Though he does not say it he seems to have had an idea of this particle being a hearsay marker or a complementiser. In his first interpretation of *atĩ* he gives the following example:

15.) *Tweriruo atĩciira ugaciruo matuku atatu*

Tu - ĩr - ir -w - o *atĩ* ciira u-ka - cir - w - o matuku atatu

We- tell -PERF- PASS-FV that case it-FUT-case-PASS-FV days three

‘We were told that the case will be heard in three days’ time.’

In this example it seems as if Barlow had the idea of a complementiser.

He continues to say that the particle *atĩ* also has several idiomatic functions and he exemplifies his claim with the following examples:

- 16.) *Oiga atia? Atĩ uthii.* ‘What did he say? (He said) that you are to go.’
 17.) *Atĩ atia? (Or atĩ ki?) Atĩ kwi nyamu.* What is that? (lit. they are saying how?)
 ‘(They are saying) that there is an animal.’ (Barlow 204)

In these examples, Barlow seems to have an idea of a hearsay marking.

Leakey (1978, 47) treats *atĩ* as a punctuation marker. He says “*atĩ* most commonly is the opening of a phrase in inverted commas, quoted speech, or sometimes just a comma or pause in the sentence.” The first part of Leakey’s assertion also shows the idea of hearsay marking. Both Barlow and Leakey seem to have a common idea, which they have not identified, that *atĩ* is a hearsay particle. The question here to ask is, “Does this particle go beyond the description that they give it?” I will be attempting to answer this question in this study.

The other thing that both Barlow and Leakey agree on is that *atĩ* has other forms; i.e., *atiri* and *atiriri*. These two forms seem to have the same function, so they are treated as one. The two authors agree that these two are used to introduce new sentences or paragraphs. I find this analysis inadequate for the reasons that I will give in the paper and I will show how Relevance Theory can give a better account for them.

Barlow also says that they are used to attract attention and that they may be translated as “I say” (Barlow, 207). Does this continue to signal a hearsay element or is there something more indicated?

Mugane treats *atĩ* just as English ‘that’. Though he deals with echo questions which are very close to Relevance Theory’s interpretive use, he does not see *atĩ* as an interpretive use marker or even a hearsay marker but as a direct translation of English

grammar. In this paper I will also show, using Relevance Theory, how *atĩ* is used in echo questions.

The other problems that I will be addressing are whether this particle is a procedurally encoded particle or a conceptual encoding particle, and consider the truth conditionality of the particle *atĩ*.

LIBRARY
NAIROBI EVANGELICAL GRADUATE
SCHOOL OF THEOLOGY
P. O. Box 24686, NAIROBI.

3 0 3 2 8

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 *Atĩ* as a hearsay marker in Kikuyu

Utterances that are based on what the speaker heard from someone else can be marked with a hearsay device in Kikuyu. Hearsay markers in the past have been seen as particles or morphological indicators in various syntactic positions as communicating that a report of information by someone else other than the speaker is involved. Hearsay devices have been mentioned by Palmer (1986) and are understood to have the function of indicating the speaker's diminished commitment to the truth of the proposition she expresses. In the recent literature, Blass (1990 b), Itani (1997), Ifantidou (2000) have broadened the use of hearsay to include sentences embedded under constructions with 'say'.

Kikuyu has a hearsay marker as in the following example (18) and also with 'say' constructions as shown in example (19).

18.) *Atĩ Weru niarima*

atĩ Weru ni – a – rima

IM Weru IP- 3RD –weed

'It is being said (that) Weru weeded.'

19.) *Kurerwo atĩ thirikari ni ikugarurwo*

Ku –ra –ir – wo atĩ thirikari ni i-ku –garur - wo

It – PT-say-PASS COMP government be it-FUT-turn-PASS

'It is being said that the government will be turned (there will be a coup).'

Blass (1990, 93) says for such a marker to be purely a hearsay marker it would have to be used to mark only the reporting of speech. Using some data I will show

how *atĩ* is used as a hearsay marker. But I will continue to show that it does not stop there, it also has some other functions that demand a more accommodative analysis than a hearsay marker does.

According to some linguists in the era before Relevance Theory, such devices are considered to be evidentials indicating speaker's diminished commitment to the truth condition of the proposition she expresses. For example Palmer says that 'report' or hearsay particles indicate that what the speaker says has been told to her by someone else and the speaker is therefore not committed to the truth of the utterance she has expressed (Palmer 1986, 7). The speaker that uses hearsay markers indeed does not want to claim that she guarantees herself for the truth of the proposition expressed. All she is responsible for is the faithfulness of her report. If there is any claim about truth, then it is that someone reported something. However, that does not mean that the speaker is not committed to the truth of the proposition expressed, as Palmer (7) claims. In fact the speaker may choose by means of hearsay to show how strongly she is committed to the truth of the proposition expressed. On the other hand she may also use a hearsay device to indicate the opposite: that she is not committed to the truth of the proposition expressed. Consider the following example (20).

20.) *Kirikaniro kiugiite atĩ gutiri mundu ukoona Ngai atari na uthingu nauguo ni guo*

Kirikaniro ki-ug-iite atĩ gu-ti-ri mundu u-ka-ona Ngai a-ta-ri
 agreement it-say-PF COMP it-NEG-be person 3rd-FUT-see God 3rd-NEG-be
na uthingu na uguo ni guo

with holiness and that is that.

'The Bible says that no man shall see God without holiness.'

The speaker reports what the Bible says. If the speaker believes what the Bible says and the hearer knows that the speaker believes what the Bible says, then he will draw contextual implication that the speaker of (20) is committed to the truth of the proposition expressed. However, if the hearer knows that the speaker does not believe in the message of the Bible, then he will draw contextual implications to the effect that the speaker is not very committed to the truth of the proposition expressed. What this shows is that the report as such is neutral to commitment by the speaker. It is the background assumptions about the relationship of the source of the information to the reporter, how much the reporter trusts the source of the utterance that will implicate whether there is commitment to the truth or not.

This confirms what Itani (1997, 48) in her analysis of the Japanese *tte* is saying, that the degree of speaker's commitment is retrieved from the utterance embedded by the particle and attributed to another source. The speaker does not indicate direct evidence for it.

19.) *Kurerwo atĩ thirikari ni ikugarurwo*

Ku -ra -ir - wo atĩ thirikari ni i-ku -garur - wo

It - PT-say-PASS COMP government be it-FUT-turn-PASS

‘It is being said there will be a coup.’

Here, all that can be said about the communication of the truth by the speaker is that “it is being said”. Moreover, regarding the speaker's commitment to the truth of the actual proposition expressed, the hearer needs to know what trust the speaker has in the people who made the claim about the government.

What *atĩ* is to indicate to the hearer is that the proposition expressed is being attributed to someone else and the speaker therefore does not have direct evidence for it. However, in combination with contextual information the hearers can make the

right judgment regarding the degree of speaker's commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed.

Sometimes the immediately preceding co-text makes it clear which part of the utterance is bound to truth. *Atĩ* in (22) below shows clearly that the speaker is reporting that the teacher said something and what he said, echoing (21). As far as truth is concerned, the speaker is only responsible for the truth of the fact that the teacher said something, not the content of what she said. She is however, responsible for the faithfulness of her report of what the teacher said.

21.) A: *Mwarimu auga twike atia?*

Mwarimu a - uga tu - ike atia

Teacher 3rd -say 1pl -do what

'What has the teacher said we do?'

22.) B: *atĩ twike mathabu maya.*

atĩ tu - ike mathabu maya.

P 1pl-do sums these

'(That) we do these sums.'

The utterance in (22) starts with *atĩ* which helps the hearer to recover the higher level explicature (see section 4.2) of B's utterance, see example (23) which is also possible in Kikuyu.

23.) *Mwarimu auga atĩ twike mathabu maya*

Mwarimu a - uga atĩ tu - ike mathabu maya

Teacher 3rd - said COMP we-do sums these

The teacher said that we do these sums

Both (22) and (23) do not make direct claim about the speaker commitment to the truth of the proposition expressed, only to the fact that someone reported something.

I have shown in some length that Palmer's view on the speaker's commitment is faulty. The significance of this will be found in section 4.1.2 when I discuss the echoic use of *atĩ*.

We have seen that *atĩ* marks someone's report, which qualifies the particle to be a hearsay marker. However *atĩ* also occurs with propositional attitudinal verbs like 'think', 'believe', 'know' etc.; this goes clearly beyond 'hearsay'. The following sections attempt to revise the analysis of the particle, to include other uses than hearsay with Relevance Theory.

However, before we treat the pragmatics of *atĩ* further, let us consider the grammatical functions of *atĩ*.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 The Grammatical functions of *atĩ*

Atĩ has mainly two grammatical functions: as a particle and as a complementiser (COMP). As a complementiser it usually occurs in sentence-medial position while as a particle it usually occurs in sentence-initial position. In this section I will show how *atĩ* fulfils these two functions.

3.1 *Atĩ* as a complementiser

According to Radford (1988, 293) complementisers are particles that are used to introduce complement clauses. In my analysis of the grammatical function of *atĩ* as a complementiser I will follow Bresnan (1970) in my analysis. She takes the complementiser (Comp) and sentence (S) as sisters that form a larger unit S-bar (S'). This analysis incorporates two phrase structure rules as Radford puts it. See (i)

$$(i) S' \longrightarrow C S$$

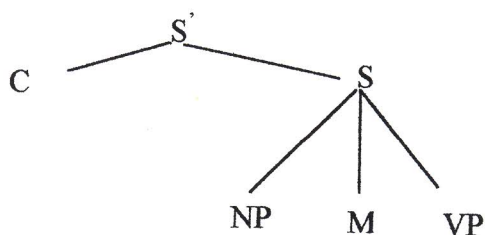
Where C is the complementiser and S is an embedded sentence.

Under S, NP, M and VP are sisters. See (ii) below

$$(ii) S \longrightarrow NP M VP$$

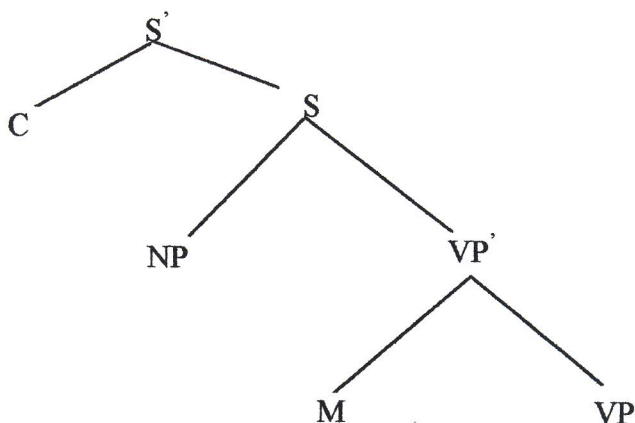
VP is understood as the maximal phrasal expansion of verb (V) and NP as the maximal expansion of noun (N). M is a modal auxiliary. These two rules can be represented in the following phrase structure in figure 4.

Fig. 4. The phrase structure representing the above rules.



I will modify the above structure. (M) in the above structure is primarily associated with the verb which heads VP. Following the argument by Haegeman and Gueron (1999, 95), M selects VP to form a higher projection which for now I call VP'. VP' combines with NP to form S. This then can be represented with the following modified phrase structure in figure 5.

Fig. 5. Modified phrase structure.



Because of the agglutinating nature of the language that I am dealing with, it would be simpler to work on the level of VP¹ rather than going down to its constituents, M and VP. So if we do that we can then refer to VP' as VP such that we can now say that our phrase structure rules are as follows.

$$S' \longrightarrow C S$$

$$S \longrightarrow NP VP'$$

$$VP' \longrightarrow M VP$$

Radford indicates that complementisers are classified according to two criteria: (i) syntactic, which determines whether they are used in interrogative sentences or declarative sentences, and (ii) morphological, which determines whether they are used to introduce finite or non-finite clauses (Radford 302). The former criterion is referred to by Haegeman and Gueron (99) as illocutionary force or mood dimension while the second is referred to as finiteness dimension. In English *that* and *if* are used to introduce finite clauses while *for* is used to introduce non-finite clauses. *Whether* is said to introduce both kinds of clauses. In respect to mood, *that* and *for* introduce declaratives while *whether* and *if* introduce interrogative clauses.

In Kikuyu complements are more limited in number than English. Basically there are only two complementisers, *atĩ* and *kana*. *Atĩ* is used to introduce declaratives while *kana* is used to introduce interrogative clauses. The following are examples that show these uses.

Declarative

24.) *Marimu auga atĩ arutwo nimaguika mathabu*

Marimu a – a - uga atĩ arutwo ni – ma – gu – ika mathabu.

Teacher 3rd -PST–say COMP students IP – they-FUT- do maths

‘The teacher said that the students will do maths.’

Interrogative

25a.) *Marimu oria kana arutwo nimaguika mathabu*

Marimu a – uria kana arutwo ni – ma – gu - ika mathabu

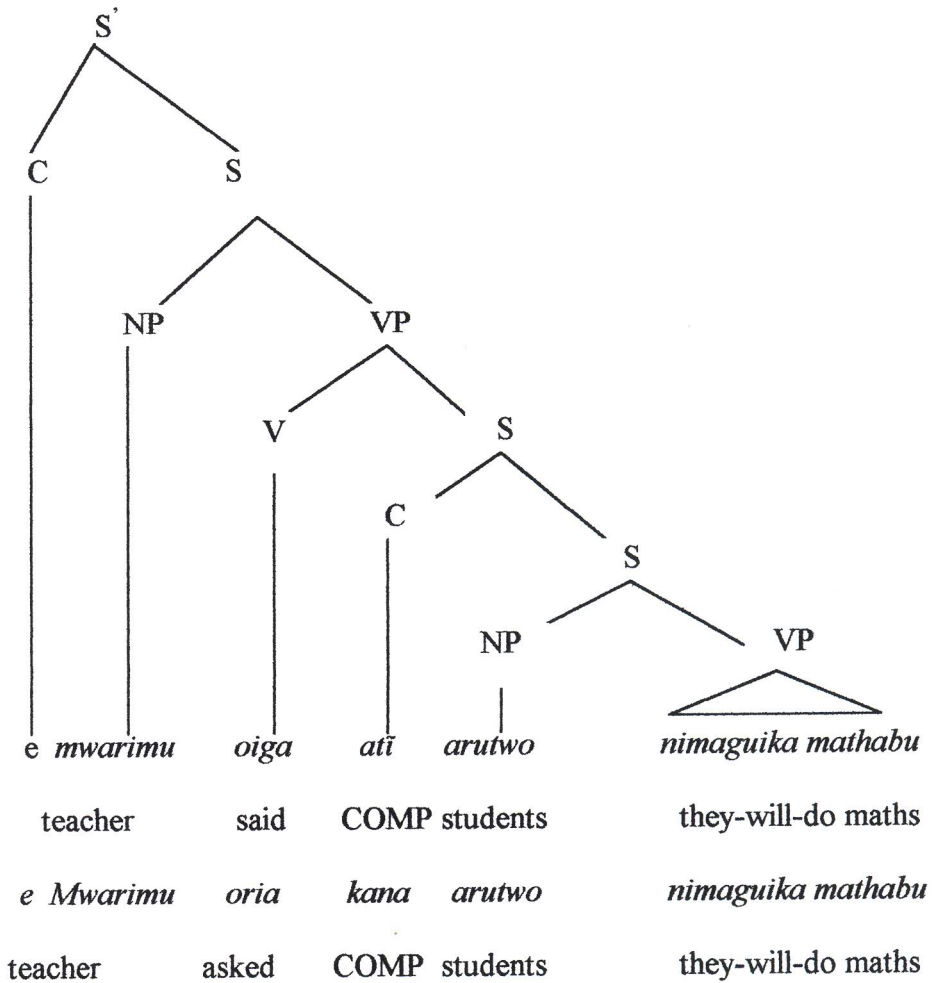
Teacher 3rd –ask COMP students IP–they- FUT- do maths

‘The teacher is asking whether the students will do maths.’

We can represent the two with the following structure. This structure follows the generalisation that has been made by Radford (301) that “all ordinary clauses have the status of S-bar constituents of the schematic form [C S], and thus contain a C

constituent which may either be filled (e.g. by an overt complementiser or inverted auxiliary) or be left empty.” The empty C constituent is marked by e in figure 6 below.

Fig. 6. A construction showing S-bar constituents where C is empty.



25b.) *kana arutwo nimaguika mathabu*

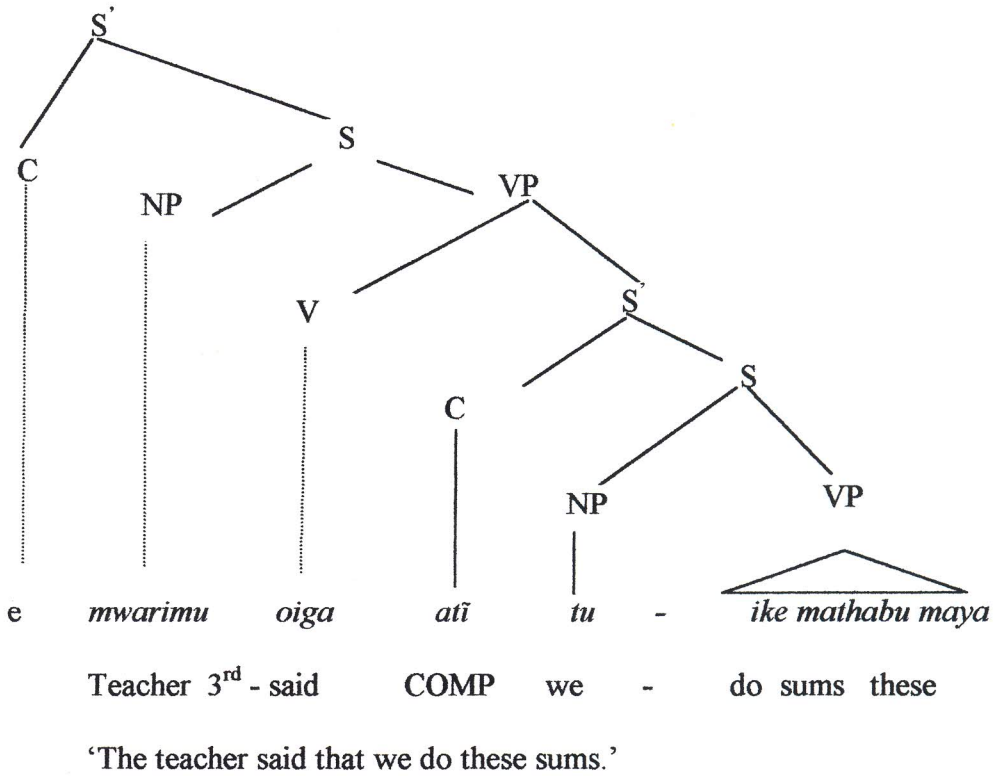
kana arutwo ni – ma – gu - ika mathabu

COMP students IP–they- FUT- do maths

‘(The teacher is asking) whether the students will do maths.’

We can have matrix-less construction – a construction that does not have the higher level part, ‘the teacher said’ – to represent such constructions as (22) and (25b) as shown in Fig 7 below. The dotted line show the ‘higher level’ construction.

Fig. 7. A matrix-less construction representing constructions such as (22) and (25b)



Just as we have some cases in English, we can almost always have a non-overt complementiser in Kikuyu. Compare example 23. repeated below with example 23b

23a.) *Marimu auga atĩ [arutwo nimaguika mathabu]*

Marimu a - uga atĩ arutwo ni - ma - gu - ika mathabu.

Teacher 3rd - say COMP students IP - they-FUT- do maths

‘The teacher said (that) the students will do maths.’

23b.) *Marimu auga [arutwo nimaguika mathabu]*

Marimu a - uga [arutwo ni - ma - gu - ika mathabu].

Teacher 3rd - say [students IP - they-FUT- do maths]

‘The teacher said (that) [the students will do maths.]’

In example 23a, the clause in brackets, the embedded clause, is introduced by *atĩ*, but the embedded clause in example 23b is not introduced by *atĩ*. But the two sentences are interpreted the same way.

Generally, we know that there may not be two complementisers introducing the same clause in English. I will extend this as an assumption to Kikuyu. Having said this, we can say that generally

- (i) Complementisers in Kikuyu can be non-overt without change of meaning or creating ambiguous interpretation of the embedded clause.
- (ii) *Atĩ* introduces declaratives while *kana* introduces interrogative clauses.
- (iii) Usually only one complementiser introduces a clause.
- (iv) *Atĩ* as a complementiser occurs mostly sentence medially prefacing the complement clause.

In this study when *atĩ* fulfils the above, I will consider it a complementiser. However, there are cases in which *atĩ* does not fulfil the above criteria. I will take it in such cases as a particle.

3.2 *Atĩ* as a particle

As I have said above, there are occasions when *atĩ* does not really act as a complementiser. Mostly when it occurs sentence initially, I will argue that it functions as a particle. I will also show the cases where it occurs in sentence initially position and it is nevertheless a complementiser. Usually complementisers in Kikuyu occur in sentence medial position following a matrix clause as the examples so far show. There are cases which are debatable as to whether *atĩ* is a complementiser or particle when it occurs in sentence initial position. This is when for example one is answering what someone has said. In such answers, the speaker usually omits the matrix clause. Let us look at the example (21) and (22) below.

21.) A: *Mwarimu auga twike atia?*

Mwarimu a - uga tu - ike atia

Teacher 3rd -say 1pl -do what

‘What has the teacher said we do?’

22.) B: *Atĩ twike mathabu maya.*

atĩ tu - ike mathabu maya.

P 1pl-do sums these

‘(that) we do these sums.’

From the answer of B it is clear that the *atĩ* is acting as a complementiser for it fulfils all the qualities I have formulated above that complementisers do except (iv). But consider another example below.

25.) *Marauga atia?*

ma - ra - uga atia

they - are - say what

‘What are they saying?’

B’s answer to such question is likely to be as following

26.) *Atĩ mwarimu nioka*

COMP teacher come

‘that the teacher has come.’

It is not clear whether *atĩ* is a complementiser, for it is embedding the answer of a question with *atĩ*. But what if the speaker is reporting what he has heard rather than answering a question? In this case the clause embedded under *atĩ* may be ambiguous in interpretation by A if *atĩ* is made non-overt as in the (27).

27.) *mwarimu nioka*

teacher come

‘The teacher has come.’

The hearer may not know whether the speaker (B) of the answer is reporting what people are saying and so she is answering his question or she is warning him to keep quiet that the teacher has come and therefore she has chosen not to answer his question because the teacher has come. To disambiguate (27), the speaker has to supply *atĩ*. In that case *atĩ* may not just be acting as a complementiser but as what I have called a particle.

We have also said that *atĩ* as a complementiser usually introduces declarative clauses. There are situations in which *atĩ* is used to introduce interrogatives, as the following example shows.

28.) *Atĩ marauga atia?*

Atĩ ma – ra – uga atia?

Atĩ they – are – say what

‘What are they saying?’

Atĩ in the above question is used to indicate that the speaker has an idea that something has been said but she does not know what and she is there looking for information to complete the propositional form (see section 4.1.3 for discussion of *atĩ* and questions). In such situation I call *atĩ* a particle rather than a complementiser.

There is another situation where we will consider *atĩ* as a particle. We have observed above that clauses can only be introduced by one complementiser. So it would be absurd to find two complementisers introducing one clause. Let us look into the following example.

29.) *Marimu oria kana atĩ arutwo nimaguika mathabu*

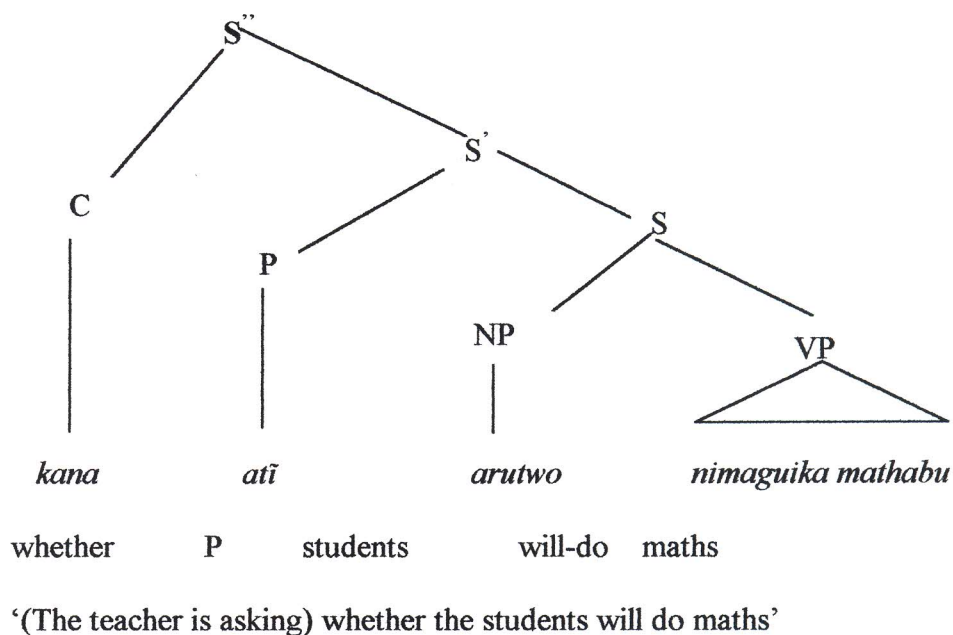
Marimu a – uria kana *atĩ* arutwo ni – ma – gu - ika mathabu

Teacher 3rd –ask COMP *atĩ* students IP–they- FUT- do maths

‘The teacher is asking whether the students will do maths.’

In cases like the above it is clear that *atĩ* is not a complementiser but a particle.

Fig. 9. A phrase structure representing example (29).



The above constructions are under the assumption that *atī* functions in the complement clause. This is strengthened by the second construction where we see *atī* coming after the complementiser.

The particle *atī* is also used when the speaker is in agreement about what has been said. Let us consider the following example where A is informing B that it has been said that her uncle has come and B agrees with her that it is true that it is been said.

30.) A: *atī mama nioka*

P uncle come

‘(it is said) my uncle has come

B: *atī*

P

‘yes’

It should be noted, however, that B is not claiming that actually the uncle has come but she is agreeing with A that it is been said so. In this case we can say that *atĩ* is marking agreement.

Having defined the grammatical functions of *atĩ*, in the next chapter I will attempt to show the pragmatic functions of *atĩ*.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 *Aff* and pragmatics.

4.1 Interpretive use and Relevance Theory.

Sperber and Wilson (1995, 224-231) discuss two ways in which language is used. When an utterance is used to represent the state of affairs in virtue of the propositional form being true of that state of affairs, this particular utterance is being used descriptively. Differently from when an utterance is used descriptively to describe states of affairs in the world, utterances may be used interpretively to represent other representations, which also have a propositional form in that there is resemblance between the two propositional forms. Interpretive use does not necessarily say anything about the truth or falsity of the proposition of the utterance expressed and so the speaker who uses an utterance interpretively is not liable for the truth of the proposition of her utterance. For example, if we have an utterance 'Kamau said that he will bring money tomorrow,' the speaker of this utterance does not describe the state of the world by use of the clause embedded under 'that'. She is representing what Kamau said and so she is not committed to the truth of the embedded proposition of the utterance, that Kamau will bring money the following day. She would only be guilty if she misrepresented Kamau's utterance. Sperber and Wilson note that every kind of utterance is at first interpretively used since it represents the thought that the speaker wants to communicate. But this first level is considered as descriptive use and the interpretive use is where this first level is represented in second level. In the above example, what Kamau said is the first level of representation since his utterance represented his thought, so this is descriptive use.

The speaker of the sentence represents again the thought represented by Kamau. So we can say the original thought is doubly represented. This second level representation is the one that is referred to as interpretive use. With this definition the obvious thing that we see is that what we have been dealing with as hearsay is a kind of interpretive use.

4.1.1.0 *Atĩ* as interpretive use marker.

4.1.1.1 Direct and indirect speech.

In the section above, we have seen that interpretive use involves a second level of representation and we have come to agree that the most obvious interpretive use of utterances is the ‘hearsay’- the reporting of speech - and we can also say reporting of thought. So we can say, as we have seen, that *atĩ* is used to mark interpretive use. Let us see the following example.

31.) *Kamau augire atĩ ni akarehe mbece ruciu*

Kamau a -ug- ire *atĩ* ni - a - ka - reh - e mbece ruciu

Kamau 3rd-say-PFV COMP IP- 3rd FUT-bring-FV money tomorrow .

‘Kamau said that he will bring the money tomorrow.’

The speaker’s above utterance is not representing states of affairs about Kamau bringing money in virtue of its propositional form being true but it is representing someone else’s utterance in virtue of the resemblance between the propositional forms of the two utterances. The speaker of the above is not liable to the charge of lying in case the following day Kamau does not bring the money. This is because the speaker did not make an assertion that Kamau will bring the money but she has reported what Kamau said. In the reporting of speech as in (31) above, resemblance may range from direct to indirect reporting. In direct reporting, the speaker uses a representation that resembles the original in form and content. In direct reporting *atĩ* occurs with what I

will call for now a demonstrative *riri* attached to it. Why I call it a demonstrative is because it acts like a demonstrative pointing to what was directly said. If for example Kamau says

Ningarehe mbece ruciu ‘I will bring the money tomorrow.’

the speaker who directly reports Kamau’s utterance would say the following;

32.) *Kamau auga atī-riri “ningarehe mbece ruciu”*

Kamau a – ug - a atī - riri “ni – n – ka - reh – e mbece ruciu.”

Kamau 3rd –say-FV IM-DM “IP - 1st –FUT-bring-FV money tomorrow.”

‘Kamau said “I will bring money tomorrow’

In indirect report the speaker uses a representation that resembles the original in content but not necessarily in form-- the two utterances share, in some degree, common logical properties and contextual implications.

So, in Kikuyu, direct and indirect speeches are marked with *atī* for interpretive use and direct speech has an additional marker *-rĩrĩ-* to indicate direct speech.

4.1.1.2 *Atī* and prepositional attitude verbs.

In section 2, I pointed out that *atī* is also used with prepositional attitude verbs such as ‘believe’, ‘think’, ‘know’ etc and so disqualifying it from a hearsay marker according to the minimalist definition given by Blass (1990, 93). Let us consider the following examples.

33.) *Nioi atī ningathii*

Ni – a – oi atī ni – n – ka - thi – i

IP-3rd –know COMP IP-1st – FUT- go-FV

‘He knows that I will go’

34.) *Etikitie atĩ niakahona*

A – itik – iit -ie atĩ ni – a – ka – hon – a

3rd-believe – PF-FV-COMP IP-3rd –FUT-heal-FV

‘He believes that he will be healed.’

35.) *Areeciria atĩ nitugathii*

a – ra – iciri - a atĩ ni-tu – ga - thi - i

He-PR–think–FV COMP IP-we-FUT-go-FV

‘He thinks we will go.’

To ‘know’ to ‘believe’, and to ‘think’ are not saying verbs and still they are occurring with *atĩ*. This may not fit well with the traditional hearsay analysis but it is well accommodated in the interpretive use. We can observe that the propositions that *atĩ* marks do not state the affairs in the world but they interpret someone else’s knowledge, thought and beliefs. The first one is interpreting what someone else knows, the second one represents what someone else believes while the last one interprets what someone else thinks. According to Relevance Theory the above utterances achieve relevance by informing the hearer that the speaker has in mind what a certain person has in mind (knows, believes and thinks, respectively).

Atĩ can also be used with the verb of desire-related prepositional attitudes. Kikuyu has only one word to express desirability. The following examples illustrate this use.

36.) *Arenda atĩ guthii tene.*

a – ra- end – a atĩ gu ga– thi – i tene.

3rd-PR-want-FV IM to- FUT-go-FV early.

‘He wants to go early.’

One can represent the desire of another person in an utterance without using the verb of desiring but it is recovered from the information that *atĩ* encodes and context.

37.) *Urakoma niguo atĩ ndugathii*

u – ra – kom - a niguo atĩ nd - u – ga – thi - i

2nd –PR-sleep-FV so-that IM NEG-2nd-FUT-go-FV

‘You are sleeping that you may not go.’

The speaker of the above identifies the desire of the hearer--not to go. She is interpreting the thought of the hearer and she represents it embedded to the particle *atĩ*. She is informing the hearer that she is aware of what he has in mind (his desire) not on the basis of hearsay but on the basis of observation of the behaviour of the hearer. If *atĩ* is placed at the beginning of the utterance, then it would be signaling that the knowledge of the speaker is based on hearsay.

38.) *Atĩ urakoma niguo ndugathii*

atĩ u – ra – kom - a niguo nd - u – ga – thi - i

IM 2nd –PR-sleep-FV so-that NEG-2nd-FUT-go-FV

‘(I hear) you are sleeping that you may not go.’

These two ways of using *atĩ* are acceptable depending on what the speaker wants to communicate to the hearer.

Atĩ occurring with propositional attitudinal verbs shows that the hearsay account is an insufficient analysis of this particle and others that are like it.

4.1.2 Echoic use of *atĩ*

In addition to achieving relevance by informing that the speaker has in mind what a certain person or the speaker said or thinks as I have indicated before, Sperber and Wilson say that an interpretively used utterance may achieve relevance by informing the hearer that the speaker has in mind what someone thinks or has said (or speaker in past) and she has a certain attitude towards the interpretively used utterances. This kind of interpretive use has been referred to as echoic use (Sperber

and Wilson 1995, 238). *Atī* is used in such instances. The following examples show a situation that *atī* can be used in utterances conveying different attitudes.

39.) A: *Nitugathii guthungutha ruciu*

ni – tu – ga – thi - i gu – thunguth -a ruciu

IP-we-FUT-go – FV to – dance – FV tomorrow

‘We will go to dance tomorrow’

B: *atī* (nitugathii guthungutha ruciu)? (excited)

C: *atī* (nitugathii guthungutha ruciu)? (puzzled)

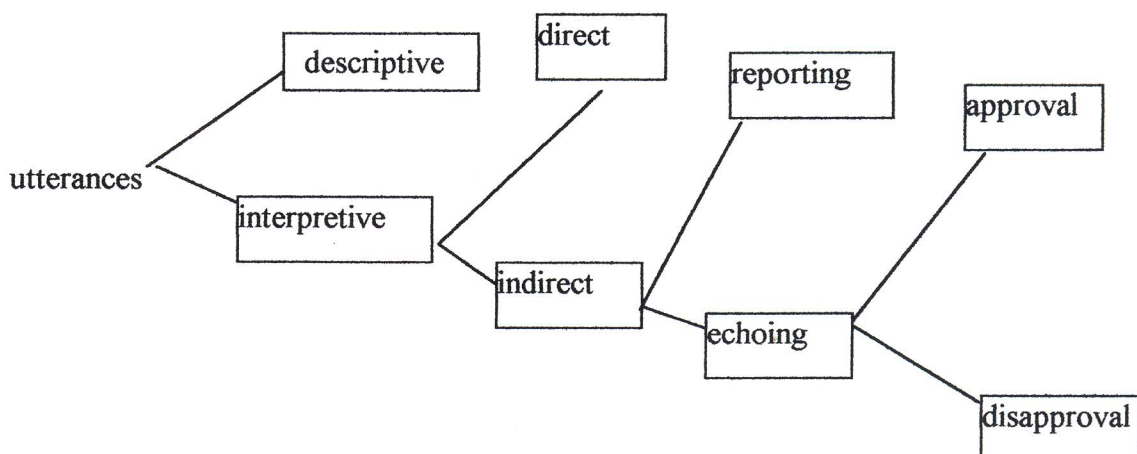
D: *atī* (nitugathii guthungutha ruciu)? (coldly)

Note that the construction embedded under *atī* is optional, as I have indicated. I will discuss this in the next section when I will be discussing the recovery of higher-level explication.

Prosodic features like tone and the minimal information encoded by *atī* make it possible for the hearer of B, C, and D to recover the relevance of their utterance that the speakers are not really looking for information but they are expressing some kind of attitude as they echo what A has said. Speaker B can be said to agree to the idea that they will go to the dance the following day. Speaker C is surprised/disbelieving that A suggests that they go to the dance the following day, maybe because the way he knows A, he did not think that she could propose such a thing. Speaker D disassociates himself from the proposition that is expressed by A. Speaker B can be said to approve the proposition that is put forward by A. In contrast to speaker C, D disapproves the proposition.

The attitude of disapproval communicated by speaker D brings us to the echoic use of irony. So far, we have discussed utterances in such a way that we can represent our discussion on a chart shown in figure 10. below adapted from Hamamoto (1997, 258).

Fig. 10. A representation of the utterances as we have discussed.



While the utterance of B in the example above is an indirect echoic interpretively used utterance, it is not irony for it does not have the attitude of disapproval. But the utterance of D can be said to be a typical case of irony. Sperber and Wilson say that irony involves the communication of an attitude of disapproval in echoic interpretation of a thought attributed to someone else (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 65). This is the case that we see in the utterance of D, and in example (42) below.

Imagine a situation where a young man may be claiming that he is mature to be let free to do things independently but then he makes a childish mistake. His mother may say to him,

40.) *Na atī u-ri mugima*

Na atī u-ri mugima

And IM you-be mature

‘And you are mature.’

The relevance for the hearer of the above does not lie in the speaker intending to communicate what the hearer thinks or has said in the past, though it is communicated, but that the speaker has an attitude towards what the hearer thinks or has said in the past. The contextual effects that the hearer is supposed to recover are what the speaker thinks of what he thinks or said. The above utterance is

communicating disapproval of the speaker to the thought that the hearer has or rather to the claim that the hearer has made in the past.

4.1.3 *Atī* and questions and answers.

Sperber and Wilson treat interrogative sentences as interpretive use of language. They say that they are interpretations of ‘desirable’ thoughts - - “interpretations of answers that the speaker would regard relevant if true” (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 252). Interrogatives get their relevance from indication that their answers are relevant to the person who asks. But sometimes the speaker asks questions the answer to which is relevant to the hearer. For example in cases of offers. So the hearer has the task of identifying by contextual inference to whom the speaker believes the answer would be relevant.

As we discussed in chapter 2, we would expect *kana* to be used in questions as a complementiser and not *atī*. But we also saw that there are cases in which *atī* is used in questions. Let us again look at example (28) repeated below.

28.) *Atī ma – ra – uga atia*

Atī they – are – say what

‘What are they saying?’

This example is a question that is asked after the speaker has an idea that something has been said but she does not really know what it is. This question is relevant because it is an interpretation of an answer desired by the speaker. Consider example

(41):

41) *Atī nu wooka?*

atī nu a - uka?

IM – who 3rd – come?

‘Who has come.’

The speaker of (41) has an idea that somebody has come but she does not really know who it is. This question is again relevant because the answer would be relevant to the speaker.

The two examples above contain Wh-questions and the use of *atĩ* falls in with Sperber and Wilson's claim that such questions are interpretively used in that they communicate that there is a completion of an incomplete thought desired that would complete a propositional representation.

Atĩ is also used in yes/no questions which Sperber and Wilson say have not only a logical form but also a full propositional one. The examples (29) repeated below show this use.

29.) *Marimu oria atĩ kana arutwo nimaguika mathabu*

Marimu a – uria *atĩ* kana arutwo ni – ma – gu - ika mathabu

Teacher 3rd –ask *atĩ* COMP students IP–they- FUT- do maths

'The teacher is asking whether the students will do maths.'

The example above shows *atĩ* has been used with the complementiser *kana* in an interrogative clause. This suggests that *atĩ* is used here purely as an interpretive marker.

One can also have yes/no questions with *atĩ* alone.

42.) *Atĩ mwarimu nioka?*

IM teacher come

'(is it true) that the teacher has come?'

As I have said before *atĩ* can be non-overt. So we can have questions as above without it and example (42) would for example read as follows.

43.) *Mwarimu nioka?*

teacher come

'has the teacher come?'

But the problem with (43) is that the hearer may not interpret the question as a result of attributing the claim that the teacher has come to somebody else. This fits well with the argument that *atĩ* is a procedural constraint.

It has been thought that such particles turn a genuine request for information into an expression of doubt on the side of the speaker (see critique in Ifantidou 2000 on Palidou's claim of Modern Greek particle *taha*.) My argument on this line is that *atĩ* does not really make the interrogatives embedded under it to be expressions of doubt. This can be proved by the fact that doubt can be expressed in interrogatives whether they are embedded under *atĩ* or not. For the speaker to express doubt in any one of them, she uses other paralinguistic features like gestures, tone and facial expression. I would claim that what *atĩ* does in such questions is to mark which part of the utterance is to be taken interpretively or the part that communicates the relevance of the utterance.

Investigating the use of *je* in Swahili, Nicolle (2000) shows that *je* is an interpretive marker. He claims that *je* can be used in information questions and also in yes-no questions. According to Nicolle, *je* occurs in information questions as an enclitic bound to the maximal projection of a verb phrase. This use of *je* resembles the formation of Wh- questions, which are indicated by the question forms with certain interrogative roots (see Nicolle 2000, 178). By using *je* the speaker indicates that a completion of the incomplete thought that is represented by her utterance would be relevant. Nicolle continues to say that unlike wh-question forms *je* does not put a constraint on the type of interpretation that would be relevant to the speaker and therefore would only be used where the utterance interpretation context is constrained enough for the hearer to be able to determine which type of completion would be optimally relevant to the speaker. I would like to claim that *atĩ* in Kikuyu is used in information questions, but unlike *je* in Swahili it occurs independently from the verb.

Differently from how it occurs in echoic questions shown above, *atĩ* in information questions has as final *-a* attached to it to indicate that the construction in which *atĩ* occurs is a question rather than a statement and it occurs sentence final. Let us consider the following examples.

25.) *Marauga atia?*

ma – ra – uga atia

they – are – say what

‘What are they saying?’

Atia indicates that the speaker has asked a question whose answer is relevant. What makes it different from a statement is the *-a* attached to *atĩ*. Compare (25) with (44).

44.) *Marauga “atĩ?”*

ma – ra – uga ati

they – are – say what

‘They are saying “what?”’

In (44) the speaker is quoting what certain people are saying rather than asking a question. The example is exactly the same as (25) both in structure and tone apart from the *-a* attached to *atĩ* in (25). The only way for the hearer to differentiate whether the speaker is eliciting information is by presence or absence of *-a* attached to *atĩ*. My claim here is that the main function of *-a* attached to *atĩ* is to indicate that the construction before *atĩ* is a question rather than a statement and *atĩ* is used to mark the general notion that the questions are interpretive use of language as discussed by Sperber and Wilson (1995).

Nicolle claims that the use of *je* in Swahili gives a range of interpretations and therefore it can be replaced by a more specific wh- question word. This can also be said of *atĩ* in information questions in Kikuyu. For example when a student asks (20),

repeated below, she asks it in a context in which she is certain that the hearer will know what type of completion she expects.

20.) *A: Mwarimu auga twike atia?*

Mwarimu a - uga tu - ike atia

Teacher 3rd -say 1pl -do what

‘What has the teacher said we do?’

If the teacher had said several things that students were supposed to do, for example, doing maths, coming early the following day, doing the language exercise and coming with a panga the following day, it would require a lot of processing effort from the hearer to interpret what type of completion the speaker would regard as relevant, hence reducing the relevance of the utterance. In this case the speaker would tend to use wh-question so as to reduce the processing effort in the interpretation by the hearer of the type of completion she regards as relevant and therefore increasing the relevance of the utterance. For example if she is asking a question specifically to know what the teacher said they should carry the following morning then she would ask as follows.

45.) *A: Mwarimu auga tuke na ki?*

Mwarimu a - uga tu - ke na ki

Teacher 3rd -say 1pl -come with what

‘What has the teacher said we come with?’

If she specifically wants to know what the teacher said they should do in relation to time of reporting to school the following morning, then she would ask as follows.

46.) *A: Mwarimu auga tuke ri?*

Mwarimu a - uga tu - ke ri

Teacher 3rd -say 1pl -come when

‘The teacher said we come when?’

It is interesting how wh-questions are marked as interpretive use of language as argued by Sperber and Wilson but yes-no questions are not marked except when they are echoic.

There is a special way that one can use *atĩ* to answer interpretively. If person A asks

47.) A: *atĩ mwarimu nioka?*

‘(I hear) that the teacher has come?’

The hearer B might answer,

B: *atĩ*

‘IM’

‘I hear (that the teacher has come)’. (This means that B is affirmative that she has also heard that the teacher has come)

So the particle *atĩ* can be used to answer a question as the above where there is no first hand information. In such an answer, the speaker expects the hearer to construct a higher-level explicature ‘I hear that the teacher has come.’ So how does the hearer construct a higher-level explicature? To answer this question, we need to investigate how *atĩ* is involved in the recovery of higher-level explicature.

4.2. *Atĩ* as a procedural constraint to higher-level explicature.

According to Sperber and Wilson (182) an utterance can have more than one assumptions communicated which are developed from a logical form encoded by an utterance. These assumptions are developed by fleshing out a linguistically encoded semantic representation. The product of this development has been what Sperber and Wilson call an explicature. They claim that explicatures are recovered by a combination of decoding and inference. So, if an utterance can have many explicatures, how then does the hearer get to the right interpretation that the speaker

speaker intended, the interpretation that has contextual effects? Relevance Theory provides a solution to such a problem by its claim that there are guides that direct the hearer towards the intended interpretation. These guides have been called procedural constraints (Blackemore 1992, Sperber and Wilson 1993). They are claimed to guide the inferential phase of the comprehension by indicating to the hearer the kind of explicatures he is expected to construct or the kind of contextual implications or effects he is expected to recover.

In this section, I intend to show that *atĩ* is such a procedural constraint on a higher-level explicature. It guides the hearer to construct the intended higher-level explicature. When the speaker B in (21) uses *atĩ* he expect the hearer A to construct a higher-level explicature (22)

21.) B: *atĩ twike mathabu maya.*

atĩ tu - ike mathabu maya.

IM we-do sums these

(‘That) We do these sums’

22.) *Mwarimu auga atĩ twike mathabu maya*

Teacher said COMP we-do sums these

‘The teacher said that we do these sums’

When B says (22) above, the relevance lies in informing the hearer that the speaker has in mind what the teacher has said.

At this point I would like to point out that *atĩ* is optional. The speaker may choose to use it or not. The following example could still be interpretively used even if there is no explicit linguistically encoded device to indicate interpretive use.

48.) *Tuma na Kamau. Ni akarehe mbeca ruciu.*

Tu – uma na Kamau. Ni a – ka -rehe mbeca ruciu.

We -be with Kamau. IP he-FUT-bring money tomorrow.

‘ We were with Kamau. He will bring money tomorrow’.

The second part of the utterance can be interpreted in two ways: descriptively or interpretively. Is the speaker responsible for the truth of the second utterance as he is for the truth of the first or is she attributing the second part of the utterance to Kamau and hence using it interpretively? This puts the speaker at risk of being held responsible for the truth of the second part of the utterance, yet it may be that she meant to use it interpretively. The failure to grasp the interpretation that the speaker intends would be because there is no linguistically marked device to guide the hearer to the speaker’s intended interpretation and this would cause communication breakdown and it may risk the face or credibility of the speaker. To save her face, the speaker has to make sure that the hearer gets the right interpretation, one she intends. According to Relevance Theory the hearer expects the speaker to be relevant enough and that the context required for the interpretation is readily available and that he will be able to achieve the relevant contextual effects with minimal processing effort (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 153). To be optimally relevant the speaker has to make it easiest to the hearer by using the right guiding devices to direct the hearer to her intended interpretation. The speaker would only use (48) if she is pretty sure that the hearer will recover the intended higher-level explicature with minimal processing effort. If the speaker suspects that the hearer may not recover the intended higher-level explicature with minimal processing effort without an explicit linguistically encoded guidance then (49) would be more optimally relevant than (48) if the speaker intended to be understood to be using the second part of the utterance interpretively.

49.) *Tuma na Kamau. Atĩ ni akarehe mbeca ruciu.*

Tu – uma na Kamau. Atĩ ni a – ka -rehe mbeca ruciu.

We -be with Kamau. IM IP he-FUT-bring money tomorrow.

‘ We were with Kamau. He will bring money tomorrow’

Atĩ makes it easier for the hearer to understand the second part of the utterance as being interpretively used and not directly describing a state of affairs that Kamau is bringing money tomorrow. This way the processing effort is reduced, hence increasing the relevance of the utterance.

I have shown in section 4.1.2 that *atĩ* can be used echoically where it is used to indicate speaker's attitude towards the opinion or the thought she echoes. *Atĩ* also guides the hearer to construct a higher-level explicature of propositional attitude. Let us revisit example (40):

- 40.) *Na atĩ u-ri mugima*
 and IM you-be mature
 'And you are mature'

The mother does not intend the hearer to recover a higher-level explicature that 'my mother says that I am mature'. The relevance of the utterance does not lie in informing the hearer that he is mature but it lies in informing the hearer that the speaker has in mind the thought of the hearer (that he thinks that he is mature) and she has an attitude towards it. So the higher-level explicature that the speaker (mother) expects the hearer (son) to recover is like; 'My mother believes that it is ridiculous for me to think that I am mature.' Such higher-level attitudinal assumptions are recovered contextually by enriching the information instructed by *atĩ*. These assumptions are where the relevance lies. I have indicated that the clauses after *atĩ* in examples 39A-D above can be left out. They are repeated below without the optional part.

- 39.) A: Nitugathii guthungutha ruciu
 Ni – tu – ga – thi - i gu – thunguth -a ruciu
 IP-we-FUT-go – FV to – dance – FV tomorrow
 'We will go to dance tomorrow'

B: *atĩ?* (excited)

C: *atĩ?* (puzzled)

D: *atĩ?* (coldly)

Together with other prosodic features, *atĩ* guides the hearer of B-D to construct relevant higher-level explicatures as follows:

- i. B is excited that A suggests that we go to dance tomorrow.
- ii. C is surprised that A suggests that we go to dance tomorrow
- iii. D is disappointed that A suggests that we go to dance tomorrow

If one would be reporting the utterance (19), repeated below, if the hearer is aware of the same rumour about the coup, he responds by uttering *atĩ*.

19.) A: *Kurerwo atĩ thirikari ni ikugarurwo*

Ku –ra –ir – wo atĩ thirikari ni i-ku –garur - wo

It – PT-say-PASS COMP government be it-FUT-turn-PASS

‘It is being said there will be a coup.’

B: *atĩ*

IM

A is expected to recover a higher-level explicature as guided by *atĩ*. Since we have seen that *atĩ* marks interpretive use, the hearer A is guided by *atĩ* to construct a higher-level explicature that B intends him to, and have the characteristic of interpretive use. Such as the following higher-level explicature is expected of A.

B is saying that he has also had in mind what people are saying that there will be a coup.

4.3 Truth conditionality of *atĩ*

Sperber and Wilson strongly refute the argument that any construction that contributes to truth condition of an utterance must be conceptual encoding and all

those that are non-conceptual encoding are non-truth conditional. They claim that some truth conditionals are procedural encoding constructions (Sperber and Wilson 1993). I want to claim that *atĩ* is a truth conditional particle, that is, it contributes to the truth condition of the utterance.

If the standard test for distinguishing truth conditional from non-truth conditional meaning used by Ifantidou to test evidential adverbs (see Ifantidou 2000, 124) is anything to go by, then we can apply it to this particle. She says the test is done by embedding the item to be tested into the antecedent of conditional and seeing if it falls within the scope of ‘if’ and if it does then it is truth-conditional and if it does not then it is non-truth conditional. Let us revisit example (26):

26a.) *Atĩ mwarimu nioka*

atĩ teacher come

‘It is said that the teacher has come.’

26b.) *mwarimu nioka*

teacher come

‘the teacher has come.’

atĩ in (26) helps the hearer to construct a higher level explicature ‘it is said’

If then we apply the test to the above examples then we should be able to know the truth conditionality of *atĩ*.

26c.) *Akorwo atĩ mwarimu nioka tutiguthii nja*

Akorwo atĩ mwarimu ni – a - uka tu – ti – guthii nja

if IM teacher has-3rd come we-NEG-togo outside.

‘If it is said that the teacher has come, we will not go outside.’

The question to ask in this test is said to be ‘under what circumstances does the speaker of (26c) say that they should not go out?’ Is it if (26a) is true, or if (26b) is true? It is clear that the circumstances under which the speaker of (26c) says that they

should not go out is if (26a) is true and not (26b). This shows that *atī* is truth conditional and that it contributes to the truth condition of an utterance. This is verifying the claim of Sperber and Wilson that some procedural encoding constructions are truth conditionals. Moreover, interpretive use has always different truth conditions from descriptive use, because the speaker is not responsible for the truth of the proposition expressed, only the faithfulness of her report.

4.4 *Atī* and discourse

There has been a discussion on what really constitutes discourse analysis. In general, it is understood as dealing mainly with global connectivity and grounding. In this study I am not intending to go into the discussion (for discussion see Blass 1990 and Unger 2000). How one sees discourse analysis is determined by what one takes discourse to be. I see discourse as constituting a combination of linguistic and non-linguistic properties. So, in this study I have taken discourse analysis not only as constituting linguistic investigation but also as being heavily dependent on the role of context in the interpretation process of the utterance in discourse. Blass argues that discourse analysis falls in the domain of pragmatics that is concerned with how utterances are understood and interpreted in context and so discourse analysis is tracing the way the hearer processes the utterance, that is, how the hearer arrives at the meaning that the speaker communicates. This approach to discourse analysis is based on Relevance Theory. In Relevance Theory the speaker is constrained by the hearer's expectation of him being optimally relevant, that is, the hearer expects that the speaker produces a stimulus - a part of behaviour which is designed to be perceived (Unger 2000) relevant enough to reward the hearer of the processing effort and which is also the most relevant stimulus compatible with the speaker's abilities and preferences to communicate. In our case here the stimuli are units of discourse. In

this sense it is argued that discourse is a complex stimulus - units of behaviour that conform to the principle of relevance: “every act of ostensive communication communicates a presumption of its own optimal relevance (Sperber and Wilson 1995, 158).”

The speaker who conforms to the principal of relevance may under certain circumstances be misunderstood or declared irrelevant. The expectation of optimal relevance from the speaker by the hearer is the basis of discourse understanding and analysis (Blass 1990, 12). So as we begin to see the contribution of *atī* in discourse we can say that discourse analysis involves an investigation of how the hearer gets to the intended interpretation of an utterance by the speaker according to the principle of relevance and what contribution this utterance makes to the global relevance of discourse. And how then does the hearer get to the intended interpretation by the speaker? Sperber and Wilson say that the hearer assumes that the first interpretation which has adequate contextual effects and which does not cause any unnecessary processing effort for the hearer to get to it is the interpretation intended by the speaker. That is, the first interpretation found consistent with the principle of relevance must be the intended interpretation. The speaker uses particular linguistic forms to enable the hearer to follow the right path in processing the utterance. When the hearer comes to this interpretation he then stops processing the utterance.

What we are mainly concerned with here is the role that *atī* has in the interpretation of more than one utterances in discourse. *Atī* is one of the linguistic forms the speaker uses to enable the hearer to arrive at a particular interpretation. Unger (2000) says that the expectation, by the hearer, of the relevance created by an utterance may not only concern the type of cognitive effects to be achieved or the level of relevance to be assumed, but also the way in which the utterances are presented to achieve optimal relevance over the discourse as a whole. So, the hearer

may not expect each utterance to achieve the same level of relevance. Unger says for example that early utterances in discourse, e.g., setting, presentation of participants (background information), may have minimal relevance of their own; they may be contributing to increase the relevance (by increasing the effect and reducing the processing effort) of the later utterances in the discourse and therefore optimising the relevance of the discourse unit as a whole. The earlier utterances of a string of utterances may have a relatively low level of relevance individually but the hearer may still pay attention to them because he hopes that they will contribute to the relevance of the discourse as a whole. Some other utterance may achieve a high level of relevance individually. This shows that the relevance created by an utterance may be used in, or may affect, the interpretation of the later utterances. This is to say that prior utterances create a context for the interpretation of the later utterances. In these cases it is mutually manifest (mutual manifestness is shared degree to which the individuals participating in communication are capable of mentally representing an assumption and holding it as true or probably true at a given particular time, see Sperber and Wilson 1995, 38-46) that the speaker will produce a sequence of utterances and she intends to optimise the relevance of the whole sequence; according to Unger a global expectation of relevance is communicated to the hearer. Unger argues that there are various ways in which global expectation of relevance may be raised. The first one is where it becomes mutually manifest at the beginning of the discourse that the speaker is likely to produce a string of utterance and optimise its relevance. For example,

50.) There are several ways of killing a cat. First, you can boil it with its legs tied. Secondly, you can hang it on a tree around its neck. Or you can even put it in the toilet basin, close the basin and then flush (heard from a local radio station).

When the speaker starts the above discourse, it becomes mutually manifest at the start of the discourse that she is going to produce a string of utterances.

The second is where it becomes manifest in the course of discourse that relevance can be increased by addition of more stimuli (utterances), and the speaker is able and willing to do so, for example,

51.) I am too tired to think straight for now. I have spent the whole night working on my linguistic paper, I have worked the whole day and I have not had any rest.

The speaker of (51) provides minimal relevance with her first utterance and then she makes her utterance that she is too tired to think straight more relevant by making it elaborate and explaining why she is tired.

The third way is where the initial utterance may not be sufficiently relevant by itself to achieve any relevance and to achieve relevance there have to be more stimuli, that is, the stimulus has to be more complex.

In this study I am more concerned with the third way and with this background let us revisit example (48) repeated below.

48.) *Tuma na Kamau. Ni akarehe mbece ruciu.*

Tu – uma na Kamau. Ni a –a - ka -rehe mbece ruciu.

We -be with Kamau. IP he-3rd-FUT-bring money tomorrow.

‘ We were with Kamau. He will bring money tomorrow’.

The first utterance does not really raise enough relevance by itself. If the speaker was to stop there the hearer would be left asking a question ‘So what’. This is because there is some missing information and he expects the speaker to supply this information to make the first part of the utterance relevant. In the second utterance we also see that it is in a way dependent on the first one in that the hearer would not

know who would bring the money the following day. So, we can say that the first utterance creates context for the interpretation of the second one.

In the above example, the first part of the utterance is understood as an assertion by the speaker, that is, she is committed to the truth of the proposition of the first part of the utterance and it sets the context of the second one. According to Unger (2000), the first utterance provides the background information and it contributes indirectly to the relevance of the whole unit for it gives access to contextual assumptions. Relevance Theory claims that when an utterance is produced a set of assumptions is communicated. So, the first utterance of the above example communicates a set of assumptions. For the hearer may think of what kind of clothes Kamau had, he may remember Kamau's wife or even that Kamau actually owes them some money. The second part as it linguistically stands is ambiguous. Is the speaker attributing the utterance to somebody else (Kamau) or is she making an assertion that Kamau will bring money? What makes the speaker say that Kamau will bring money tomorrow? Is it because they were together and she noted the kind of dressing he wore and she concluded that he will bring the money and therefore she is making an assertion? Or did they speak with Kamau and he promised to bring money the following day? If the second part is to be understood as being attributed to Kamau and not the speaker herself the speaker has to assume that the hearer's available assumptions allow to him arrive at this interpretation. If the speaker does not trust the hearer to get the right meaning of the utterance from his assumption then she has to use a linguistic form to enable the hearer to process an interpretation that the speaker is reporting what Kamau said. The speaker then would supply *atĩ* to help the hearer to process that she is using the second part interpretively. The result then would be as example 52 repeated below.

52.) *Tuma na Kamau. Atī ni akarehe mbece ruciu.*

Tu – uma na Kamau. *Atī* ni a – ka -rehe mbece ruciu.

We –be with Kamau. IM IP he-FUT-bring money tomorrow.

‘ We were with Kamau. (He said) that he will bring money tomorrow.’

So what the speaker does by supplying *atī* is to reduce the processing effort that the hearer uses to arrive at this, the intended interpretation. *Atī* increases the relevance of the utterance in discourse and the speaker makes sure that she is not misunderstood. It would not have been necessary if the intended interpretation had been recoverable from the context. What *atī* does in this context is it makes the hearer recover that at the time the speaker was with Kamau there was at least some kind of discourse and among the things that they talked about is that Kamau would bring the money the following morning. So we see that apart from helping the hearer to construct a higher-level explicature as we saw in section 4.2, *atī* also connects the hearer to the discourse that happened at minimal level. The significance is not what *atī* encodes but what it helps the hearer to recover.

As I have pointed out in the introduction there is a general agreement that *atī* has forms of *atiri* and *atiriri* and these two forms are treated the same (Barlow 1951, 204, 207 and Leakey 1978, 47) and so I treat them the same and I will talk of *atiriri*. Both of these authors agree that these two forms are used to introduce a new sentence or paragraph. They are not wrong, because actually mostly they are found in the beginning of a sentence or paragraph. But I find their interpretation narrow and inadequate because as in (30) repeated below *atiriri* is used to introduce direct speech.

30.) *Kamau auga atī-riri “ningarehe mbece ruciu”*

Kamau a – ug - a *atī - riri* “ni – n – ka - reh – e mbece ruciu.”

Kamau 3rd –say-FV IM-DM “IP - 1st –FUT-bring-FV money tomorrow.”

‘Kamau said “I will bring money tomorrow.”’

I have explained that *riri* is used as a demonstrative pointing to something near to the speaker. If one was to take this then *atiriri* would be interpreted as ‘interpretively ‘say this.’’ Also, *riri* is used as pause in constructions where the speaker pauses either to think or to mark an utterance. The latter is as in the above direct reporting while the former can be illustrated in the following example:

55.) Ndirarikana kiria agukuite. Agukuite *riri*.....kanyau. Ii agukuite kanyau.

N – ti – ra - rikana kiria a – gu- ku – ite. a – gu- ku – ite *riri* ... kanyau

I – NEG-PR-remember 3rd –to-carry-PF. 3rd –to-carry-PF *riri*.....cat

Ii a – gu - ku - ite kanyau

Yes 3rd –to-carry-PF cat

‘I cannot remember what he had carried. He had carried (pause) a cat. Yes he had carried a cat.’

It is clear that *riri* can be separated from *atĩ* and I want to hypothesise that in the form *atiriri*, *atĩ* is used to help the hearer to interpret the clause that it introduces as interpretively used, while *riri* is used to marked the attributed direct utterance, similarly to quotation marks in writing. This seems as if it would introduce a new sentence or paragraph as Leakey and Barlow assume. What Leakey and Barlow did not say is that this form does not introduce any kind of new sentence or paragraph but it only introduces those sentences and paragraphs in which the speaker is issuing her thought in the discourse. It introduces the thoughts that the speaker injects in the discourse. These thoughts are usually premeditated or argued for before they are uttered or a thought to ask a question or to request something. So according to Relevance Theory it is not strange that this form *atiriri* introduces such thoughts because the speaker can interpretively represent what he thought in the past and interrogatives fall in the category of interpretive use of language. Such examples are found in St. Paul’s letters for example 2 Cor 7:2:

56.) *Atiriri, twitikirieni ngoroini cianyu*

Atĩ-riri, tu-itikirie-ni ngoro – ini cia - nyu

IM-DM we-allow-you heart –Loc of – you

‘Allow us in your hearts.’

Here Paul is presenting his wish- a request” -- to be allowed in to the hearts of the Corinthians. This can be said as ‘what Paul is saying is, ‘I say (*atiriri*) “allow us in your hearts.”’

Galatians 3:1

57.) *Atiriri Agalatia aya aritu, kai murogetwo muu?*

Atĩ-riri Agalatia aya a -ritu, kai mu – roga – it - wo nuu?

IM-DM Galatians these 3rd –foolish, P 2nd Pl-bewitch-PF-PAS who

‘You foolish Galatians, who has bewitched you?’

This can be put as ‘I say, “You foolish Galatians, who has bewitched you?”’

2 Cor 2:1

58.) *No riri, nigutua ndatuire na ngoro yakwa atiriri ndigacokaka kwanyu ndi*

na kieha

No riri, ni – gu - tua n- ta – tu – ire na ngoro yakwa atĩ-riri n – ti – ga

But P, IP-to-decide I –PS-decide-PFV with heart mine IM-DM I –NEG-FUT

coka kwa - nyu ndi na kieha

return of –you I with sorrow

‘I decide in my heart that I will not come to you again in sorrow’

This can be literally explicated as, ‘But this, I decided in my heart, I said this, “I will not come to you again in sorrow.”’

Looking at these examples, I would propose that Relevance Theory would explain the use of the form of *atiriri* in a better way than just saying it is used to introduce new sentences or paragraphs.

CHAPTER FIVE

5. CONCLUSION

In Chapter Two I have shown that though hearsay analysis of the particle *atĩ* accounts for *atĩ* as a hearsay marker, this analysis is not exhaustive because *atĩ* also occurs with propositional attitudinal verbs and therefore goes beyond 'hearsay'. Therefore a revision of analysis of *atĩ* and other particles like it is necessary to include other uses than hearsay.

Chapter Three shows the grammatical functions of *atĩ*. I have shown that *atĩ* occurs in Kikuyu grammar as a complementiser and as a particle. From the grammatical functions of *atĩ* we can conclude that Kikuyu grammaticalises interpretative use discussed in Chapter Four.

The main point of Chapter Four is the argument that *atĩ* is better analysed as an interpretive use marker rather than as a hearsay marker. I showed that *atĩ* marks direct and indirect speech and it is also used with propositional attitudinal verbs. I also showed that *atĩ* is used echoically and in questions and answers. I showed how relevance theoretical analysis sufficiently accounts for these uses.

In section 4.2, I showed that *atĩ* is a procedural constraint to a higher-level explicature and not a conceptual particle. In section 4.3, I have shown that though *atĩ* is a procedural constraint it is truth conditional. This agrees with the claim of Sperber and Wilson (1993) that linguistic elements that are procedural constraints are not necessarily non-truth conditional but they can be truth-conditional. Lastly, I showed

that the *atĩ* contribution to discourse could be well explained in the relevance theory approach.

In short, I am saying that *atĩ* in the Kikuyu language and particles like *atĩ* in other languages would be better analysed in the approach of relevance theory.

REFERENCE LIST

- Barlow, A. Ruffel. 1951. *Studies in Kikuyu grammar and idiom*. Edinburgh: Blackwood and Sons Ltd.
- Blakemore, D. 1992. *Understanding utterances*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Blass, R. 1990. *Relevance relations in discourses: A study with a special reference to Sissala*. Cambridge: C.U.P.
- _____. 2000. Particles, prepositional attitude and mutual manifestness. In *pragmatic markers and prepositional attitude*, ed. Andesren, Gisle and Fretheim, T., 39-52. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Bresnan, J. W. 1970. On complementisers: Towards a syntactic theory of complement types. *Foundation of language* 6: 297-321.
- Gecaga, B. Mareka and W. H. Kirkaldy-Willis. 1955. *A short Kikuyu grammar*. London: Macmillan and Co. Ltd.
- Grimes, B. F. ed. 1996. *Ethnologue: Languages of the world*. 13th ed. Dallas: SIL.
- Haegeman, L. & Gueron. 1999. *English grammar: A generative perspective*. Oxford Blackwell Publishing Company.
- Ifantidou, Elly. 2000. Procedural encoding of explicatures by modern Greek particle taha. In *Pragmatic markers and prepositional attitude*, ed. Andesren, Gisle and Fretheim, T., 119-144. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Itani, Reiko. 1997. A relevance-based analysis of hearsay particles: With reference to Japanese sentence-final particle tte. In *Relevance theory: applications and implications*, ed. Carson, Robyn and Uchida, Seiji, 47-68. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Leakey, L.S.B. 1978. *First lessons in Kikuyu*. Nairobi: Kenya Literature Bureau.
- Mugane, John M. 1997. *Paradigmatic grammar of Gikuyu*. Stanford, CA: CSLI
- Nicolle, S. 2000. Markers of general interpretive use in Amharic and Swahili. In *Pragmatic markers and prepositional attitude*, ed. Andesren, Gisle and Fretheim, T., 173-188. Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Co.
- Palmer, F. R. 1986. *Mood and modality*. Cambridge: CUP.

- Radford, Andrew. 1988. *Transformational grammar: A first course*. Cambridge: CUP.
- Sperber, D. and D. Wilson. 1993. Linguistic form and relevance. *Lingua* 90, 1-25.
- _____. 1995. *Relevance*. Oxford: Blackwell
- “On the Cognition of Genre: A Relevance Theoretic Perspective” (Ph . D. diss. , University of London, 2000)
- Wanjau, W. 1983. *Mwandiki wa mau mau ithamirioini*. Nairobi: Heinemann Educational Books.

APPENDIX

In this appendix, I have pulled out some texts in some of the references that are written in Kikuyu. It should be noted that I have particularly extracted the parts that have the use of *atĩ* and *atiriri* to show how they are used.

Mihiriaga ya Gikuyu (the clans of Kikuyu)

Gikuyu ni ruriri rumwe ruiguaiaine muno..... Ona mungiona Gikuyu

Kikuyu is community one it-unites much...(gap)..... even you-see Kikuyu

gitari na mahiu maingi menyai gukauga atĩ Gikuyu ti arithi. Tene muno

it-not-be with cattle many you to-say *that* Kikuyu not herders. long very

nikwari mahiu maingi niguthira mathirio ni mirimu. ndikuga

there-be cattle many it-to-finish they-were-finished by diseases. I-won't-say

atĩ kuri andu aingi mari na mahiu maingi gukira Gikuyu ti mathai

that there-be people many had with cattle many than Kikuyu NEG Masai

nao niundu matarimaga.

and-them because they-do-not-farm.

‘Kikuyu is one of the very united tribes..... even if you see Kikuyu tribe has no many cattle, take care to say that Kikuyus are not cattle raisers. A long time ago they had many cattle. It is only that they were finished by diseases. I cannot say that there was a tribe that had many cattle that Kikuyu apart from Maasai, and as for them, it is because they do not farm’

Ningi tondu ndoiga atĩ Gikuyu ni ruriri ruiguaine, ni wega kumenywo atĩ

also because I-said *that* Kikuyu is tribe it-unites, is good to-know *that*

ruriri rwa Gikuyu ni ruriri rwa mihiriaga kenda.....

tribe of kikuyu is tribe of clans nine

‘And because I have said that Kikuyu is a united tribe, it is good to know that Kikuyu tribe is divided into nine tribes.’

Hindi mundu wa muhiriga muna oraga mundu wa muhiriga weke, nietagio

when one of clan certain kills one of clan his, he-was-asked

thinjo ya kumenyithio atĩ ni uuru muno mundu kuuraga mundu wa

sucrifice of to-let-him-know *that* is bad very one to-kill one of

muhiriga wake.

clan his.

‘When one of the clan’s man has killed another man from the same clan, he was asked for a sacrifice that he may know that killing a member of his clan was very bad.’

Maundu macio matongoragio ni njama ya muhiriga, na gugatuika

things that are-led by governing-council of clan, and it-becomes

atĩ o muhiriga uri na andu a mithemba iiri.....

that every clan has with people of types two

‘All things were led by the governing council of the clan, and it is in such a way that every clan has two types of people.’

Ningi mundu wothe, ona ari mukuru atĩ ciana ciake ni ituite maciara

also one all even he-be old *that* children his be cut births

ndangirekwo athikiririe cira wa njama.....

he-can-not-allowed he-listen case of governing council.

Niguo mumenye atĩ njama yari hinya athungu matanooka na kugwata

so-that you-know *that* GC¹ had power whitemen they-neg-come and to-hold
wotho wa bururi uyu, menyai atĩ niyoragithagia mundu wa muhiriga uria
 law of country this, know *that* it-made-kill one of clan that
murogi.

witch

‘Also even if one was so old that his children have stopped giving
 birth, he would not be allowed to listen to the case of the governing
 council. So that you may know that the governing council was
 powerful, it used to give mandate for execution of any member of the
 society who was a witch.’

Uria nyumba ya Gikuyu yakagwo (how kikuyu house is built)

Nyumba ya Gikuyu yakagwo githiururi, na mwako wotho ni wa miti na
 house of Kikuyu is-built circle, and building all is of wood and
igitagwo na nyeki na igathingwo na ndoro.

is-roofed with glass and closed with mud.....

‘A Kikuyu house is built in a circle, and all the building is done with
 wood and it is roofed with glass and its wall is made of mud.’

Mwene nyumba iyo angikua muratho unagwo kuonia andu atĩ mwene
 owner house that if-he-dies beam is-broken to-show people *that* owner
nyumba ni mukuu matige gutonya nyumba iyo atĩ matikagwatwo

house is dead they-stop to-enter house that *that* they-may-not-be-caught
ni thahu wa gikuo. Nyumba iyo iragwo atĩ iri thahu.....

by taboo of death. house that was-said *that* it-has taboo.

¹ Governing council

‘If the owner of the house dies, the beam of the house is broken to show that the owner is dead and people should not enter the house that they may not be affected by the taboo that affects the people who come close to the dead. Such is said to have a taboo.’

Mucii kaingi nimuirige na ugekirwo kihingo. Na kio kihingo kiu muthuuri

home often is-fenced and it-is-put gate. And that gate that man

mwene mucii angikua no gukuurwo gituике kimenyithia atĩ mwene

owner home if-he-dies only to-be-uprooted it-become sign that owner

mucii ni mukuu. Nikio kwiraguo atiriri “ngai ni njuru, yunaga igiri ria

home is dead. Is-that is-said IM-DM “god is bad, it-breakes fence of

muhiriga”

clan.

‘The home is usually fenced and it has a gate. The gate is uprooted when the owner of the home stead dies to show people that the owner is dead. That is why it is usually said “a god is bad that it breaks the of the fence the clan.”’

Uria mundu aciaragwo atuике wa muhiriga ungi (How one was born

(adopted) to belong to another clan)

Mundu angithina kana athuurwo ni andu a muhiriga wake no gutuике

person he-if-poor or he-hated by people of clan his can it-become

atĩ ni aguthama muhiriga-ini wake athii guciarwo muhira ungi.....

that IP he-wiil-move clan-Loc his he-go to-be-born clan other.....

‘If one became very poor or hated by the people of his clan it can come to a point that he may transfer from his clan to be born to another clan.’

Mundu oyaga andu na indo ciake ciothe agathi kwa mundu wa muhiriga

one takes people and things of-his all he-goes of one of clan

ungi uria akwenda amuciare. Muthuri. mwene mucii akamuria atĩ-riri “niki

another that he-want he-bear-him. man owner home asks-him IM-DM “what

mukwenda?” Nake mundu ucio ukwenda gucarwo akauga atĩ-riri “ndoka

you-want? And-him one that wants to-be-born he-says IM-DM “I-come

unjiare nduike waaku nii ohamwe na andu akwa othe

you-bear-me I-become yours I together with people mine all

..... ” *A-rikia ku-uga ugwo, akerwo atĩ niwega*

..... he-finishes to-say that , he-is-told *that* it-is-good

a-gacarie mundu wa muhiriga wake uria mangikorwo mari urata.

he-look-for one of clan his that they-may have friendship

‘one took all his people and belongings and he goes to a person of another clan he would want to bear him. The man who is the owner of the home asks him “What do you want?” and the man that wants to be born answers him “I have come that you bear me, I and all my people..... and when he finishes to saying this, he is told that it is good for him to look for somebody from his clan that they might be friends.’

Muthenya wa njiarano wakinya..... Muciarowo

day of being-born it-comes..... the-one-being-born

akerwo atĩ aare ndarua aikare iguru riayo na makanyua

is-told *that* he-spread skin he-sit top of-it.....and they-drink

muuma. Uria manyuaga muuma ni riri, muciarwo niwe wambaga gucuna

oath. how they-drink oath is this, one-born is-one was-first to-lick

rurimi akauga atiriri "ni tondu wanjiara, itangituika mwana waku

tongue-say IM-DM "because you-bore-me I-neg-if-become child your

ndiroriyo ni muuma uyu....."

I-be- eaten by oath this

Nake ucio uguciarana akuga atiriri "nanii ingiaga guguciara utuike

and-him that to-bear says IM-DM "and-I-don't to-bear you you-become

mwana wakwa ndirorio ni muuma uyu

child mine I-be-eaten by oath this.

'When the day of being born comes the one being born is told to spread a skin on the ground and they take an oath. This is how the oath was taken: the one being born is the first one to lick the tongue saying "because you have bore me, if I do not become your child let this oath kill me". And the man who bears the other man says "and also if I won't bear you and you become my child let this oath kill me."'

Miario ya atumia makiruga (talks of women as they cook): A play

Njeri: *Atiriri nyina wa Kamau, atĩ Kamau waku arikuha mwari wa Maina?*

IM-DM mother of Kamau, P Kamau your is-courting daughter of Maina

'Mother of Kamau, I hear that your Kamau is courting Maina's daughter '

Nduta: *Atĩ?cia Kamau wakwa ciarutio naku ningi?*

what? of Kamau of-mine started where then?

'What? On what basis do they talk of my son?'

Njeri: *Muka wa Maina niarakiona toro. Atĩ mwari niarahikio*

wife of Kamau is-seeing sleep. P her-daughter is-getting married

ni muruguo.

by son-your.

‘The wife of Kamau not is finding sleep. Her daughter is getting married by your son’

Nduta: *Atĩ kuhikio? Kamau amuhikie? Kai nimahikagioi?*

P to-be-married? Kamau he-marry-her? P they-get-married?

‘to get married’(ironically) Kamu to marry her? they really get married!’ (irony)

Njeri: *Kwanja niui atĩ mwari ari muhiku mbere ya mathamiire*

by-the-way you-know that daughter was married before of they-moved-guku?

here?

‘By the way do you know that her daughter had gotten married before they moved in here?’

Nduta: *Na atĩ macoke gwiciria atĩ no mahike guku gwakwa. no akorirwo*

and P they-then to-think that can they-married here of-me only if-be

atĩ ndiri mwoyo. meciragia atĩ Kamau ni mundu wa kuhikia

that I-not-be alive they think that Kamau is one of to-marry

ouria akinyira

every-that he-reaches

‘And then they think that they can get married here only if I am not alive. They think Kamau is the kind that marries anybody at sight?’

Kuhonjwo kwa Mwadiki wa Mau Mau (interrogation of Mau Mau writer)

Akioya kabuku kau ga githweri akinjuria atiriri, “Itanya riaku hari

he-took book that of Kiswahili he-asked-me IM-DM “aim yours in

kwandika kabuku gaka riari ririku?” Ngimwira atĩ no meciria makwa

writing book this was which?” I told-him that only mind mine

ndarutire kuri andu aria angi. Akinjuria atiriri, “Nigetha meke atia?

I-got from people that other. He-asked-me IM-DM “because they-do what?

‘He took the Kiswahili book and he asked me, “for what reason did

you write this book? I told him that it was only my ideas that I had

gathered from the other people. He asked me “So that they do what?”

Ngimwira atĩ yari njira omwe ya gukindira uhoru uria nyandikite.

I told-him that it-was way one of pressing message that I-have written

Hau akinjira atĩ njokere tondu atĩ nindamuhenia, na nii ngimwira

There he-told-me that I-repeat because P I-have-cheated-him, and I told-him

atĩ ndiui uria ingihota kuuga na njira ingi

that I-do-not-know how I-can-able to-say with way another

‘I told him that it was just my mind that I got from the other people.

There he told me to repeat because he thought I had cheated him. I told

him that I do not know how to say it in any other way.’

Akinjuria ahingite ritho rimwe atiriri “Githi atĩ ti muuma wanyuite

he-asked-me he-closing eye one IM-DM “P² P NEG oath you-had-drunk

² this is a particle meaning “is it not”

ukarakara muno tondu wa gutunywo ithaka? ona handu hangi kabukuini
 you-angry very because of to-be-denied fields? even place another book-in

gaka githi ndukiuritie atiriri, "tugutura tutangikaga uu kinya ri?"
 this P² you-have-asked IM-DM "we-will-live we-toil this until when?"

"He asked me closing one eye "Is it not that you took oath and you became very angry that land has been taken from you. Have you also written in another place of this book this 'until when will we toil like this'?"

Ngikira nake agithii na mbere kuga atiriri "hatiri nganja atĩ
 I-quiet and-he he-went with before to-say FM-DM "there-no-be doubt that
maundu ma ku nimonanitie atĩ wi muthugundi wa haro. Uri mundu wa
 things of you have-shown that you thinker of war. you-be person of
kuririmbukia marakara ngoroini cia andu niguu atĩ marege gwathikira
 to-aflame anger heart-in of people so-that atĩ they-refuse to-obey
thirikari. Kuringana na woni wakwa ni atĩ we ndungigaruruka ona atia...":
 government *Depending with seeing mine is atĩ* you can-no-turn even what..."

"I kept quiet and he continued, " There is no doubt that your activities are to incite people so that they may not obey the government. According to me you can not change whatever happens".'

Agithoma thoma bairo akindora, akiuga atiriri " Ona athuri a kuhungana
 He-read read file he-me-looked, he-said IM-DM even men of look-for
mahuri kuria uratuire nimoigite haha atĩ niwe watumire ndini ya
 lungs there you-lived have-said here that you-are you-made religion of

gikirithitu yagage bururiini wa Gikuyu niundu wa kwandika witikio wa christian miss country-in of Kikuyu because of writing belief of nduma. Akinjuria na kinyururi atiriri "atĩ nao Gikuyu na mumbi dark". he-me-asked with sarcasm IM-DM atĩ and-them Kikuyu and mumbi nĩ aguitikio?" Nanii ngimucokeria ngimuirira atiriri "iii angikorwo are to-be-believed? And-I I-answered him I-told-him IM-DM "yes-if-there-be kuri undu ta ucio" Akirugama na iguru akiguthuka "atĩ woiga atia? there-be thing like that. he-stood with up he-shouted atĩ you-said what?

'He continued to read the file a little more and then he looked at me and said "Even the men who investigate have said that you are the one who caused Christianity not to spread to the country of Kikuyu because of writing beliefs of darkness". He said to me sarcastically "Kikuyu and Mumbi can be believed." And I answered him saying, "Yes if there is such a thing". He stood up and shouted, "What have you said?"'