

**COMMUNICATIVE EFFECTIVENESS OF FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN
DOWRY NEGOTIATION DISCOURSE AMONG KIKAMBA SPEAKERS**

BY

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DECLARATION

This project is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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DEDICATION

This thesis is a special dedication to five people who are very close to me in life:

John Kangutu, Mary Mukami, Yvonne, Laura and Hope.

You are my guardian angels in life.

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ABSTRACT

This study focuses on explaining how the interpretation of figurative language is realized in the Kamba dowry negotiation. The study attempts to clarify how the participants in this social-cultural practice overcome the constraints related to the figurative language. Interpretation leading to successful communication; thus paving way for marriage to take place .The research outlines the informativity of figurative language as well as the role of cultural background knowledge in the interpretation of the figurative expression in the dowry negotiation among the Akamba.

Using qualitative research methods of direct observation and interviewing the study reveals that interpretations of these figures of speech are realized pragmatically through narrowing and broadening processes of lexical pragmatics theory and that cultural knowledge acts as a context for inferencing .The deeper and hidden meaning of the figurative language as shown by the many functions it plays in a communication discourse makes it appropriate for use in the Kamba dowry negotiation practice.

KEY FOR ABBREVIATIONS

BG-Bridegroom's side

B-Bride's side

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CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter outlines the general overview of the research topic of the study. The chapter incorporates; the introduction to the background of the study, statement of the problem, objectives, hypotheses of the study, rationale, scope and limitation of the study, theoretical framework of the study, literature review, the research methodology and the significance of the study.

1.1 BACKGROUND OF THE STUDY

This study tries to explain how the constraints of interpreting figurative language in Kamba dowry negotiations are overcome and how this language suffices as appropriate language code due to its rich functional role in the communication field.

Cultural background knowledge of the participants is examined for there exists a great deal of inferencing by the participants for them to arrive at the speaker's intended meaning.

It is clear that the study intends to clarify, examine and evaluate how the use of non-literal language performs effectively the communicative role in the dowry negotiations among the Kamba speakers.

The relationship between language, social structure and the social practices is well cemented and no one can oppose this reality. Figurative language is part of the culture and it forms a part of primary means of communication in many cultural activities

(Salzmann 2004:48). Dowry negotiation therefore being a paramount cultural practice in the Kamba community is mostly conducted using figurative language.

Lotman (1978:211-32) states that no language can exist unless it is steeped in the context of culture, and no culture can exist which does not have at its center the structure of natural language.

Every cultural discourse according to (MacDonnell, 1986) is characterized by a dialogue which is carried on by a certain groupings of utterances or sentences, which differentiate it with other types of discourses, she states” dialogue is the primary condition of discourse; all speech and writing is social (Ibid: 1) and goes onto say, discourses differ with the kind of institutions and social practices in which they take shape and with the positions of those who speak and whom they address.

The relationship between figurative language and the cultural in which it is used has been under investigation to find out whether the cultural context plays a major role in the interpretation of the speakers’ meaning.

Nerlich and Clarke(2002 P 560-561) stress the importance of understanding word meaning as having fuzzy boundaries and being context-sensitive; they state “the view that sentence meaning is the sum of the meanings of the words used in the sentence must be replaced by a view of sentence meaning as being the result of integration and inferential processes feeding on clues other than those contained in the meaning of each word in

isolation, that is clues arising from the context of the sentence and the wider context of the situation of the discourse.”

(Nerlich and Clarke, P 2002 P 560) context here refers to the cultural knowledge that is shared between the speakers and listeners. (Gibbs 1998, P 261-262) calls it common ground information.

The current study intends to establish the vital relationship between the use of figurative language, the discourse of dowry negotiation in which it is used and try to determine the role played by the cultural background information as context in the interpretation of the total meaning of utterance used in the exercise.

1.2 THE AKAMBA, KIKAMBA LANGUAGE AND KAMBA DOWRY PRACTICE

1.2.1 The Akamba

The Kamba people also referred to as Akamba is a Bantu ethnic group found in the southeastern region of Kenya which is largely a semi-arid area. The tribe occupies the Machakos county, Kitui county and Makueni county in the present day Kenya; other regions which have a significant number of the Kamba people are Shimba hills, Kwale and Mariakani areas of the Kenyan coast. Tanzania hosts approximately 5000 Kamba people in Muheza district in Tanga region this is according to Kenyan Bureau of statistics (2011). The Kikamba language according to Guthrie (1948) belongs to the central branch of the Bantu language of Kenya.

1.2.2 The Kikamba Language

Kikamba is the language of the Akamba. According to Guthrie (1948) belongs to the central branch of Bantu language of Kenya. Heine and Mohlig (1980) postulate that Kikamba has four dialects which are: Masaku dialect, south Kitui dialect, Mumoni dialect and Northern Kitui dialect.

Mwove (1985) cited in Kaviti (2004) classifies Kikamba into two dialects which have sub dialects.

1) Kitui dialect

Sub dialects: Kitui North, Kitui Central, Kitui Eastern and Kitui Southern varieties.

2) Masaku dialect

Sub dialects: Kilungu, Makueni and Masaku variety (the standard).

The language code under Guthrie (1967) classification is (E55) meaning that it belongs to zone E of Kikuyu-Kamba group (E50) which is composed of Kikuyu (E51); Kiambu (E52), Kitharaka (E52), and Kithaisu (E56). This group is currently referred to as Thagicu group.

1.2.3 Dowry practice

The custom of paying dowry in Kamba community is mandatory. The bridegroom's parents are expected to give dowry to the bride's family. Eachclan of the Akamba people has a group of elders who meet and set general guide lines and rules on how and what should be paid as dowry. Some of the commodities used as dowry includetwo drums of honey popularly known as "ithembe" two blankets as well as twobed sheets, on top of the list are 48 goats which must be delivered tothe bride's family in spite of how long the

duration and lastly a big goat “Ndua itaa” brought to the bride’s family which symbolizes that the bed which the bride used to sleep on has now been bought by the groom’s family.

Mutua (2012)

Before the dowry is agreed upon by both sides of the family, there occurs a rigorous exercise of negotiation on the dowry to pay. This negotiation exercise is compulsory and it is undertaken by elders from both families. The language used for the negotiation usually comprises of figurative language involving: similes, hyperboles, metonymy, synecdoche among others. The participants in the negotiation should be well versed with this language to avoid traps set by other participants from one side and also avoid being seen as naïve in the usage of the language. At the end the two sides agree on the dowry to pay and on top of that form a family/clan friendship which is vital for thriving of the young family.

1.3 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

There are constraints in interpreting of figurative language used in Kamba dowry negotiation exercise due to the wide disparity between the encoded literal meaning and the communicated meaning of the utterances. There exists a high risk of misinterpretation of the figurative expressions meaning if the participants in the negotiation exercise take the linguistically specified meanings as the ideal meaning communicated by these expressions. The cultural traits and attributes associated with this highly coded language calls for high level of inferencing by the participants for them to arrive at the communicated meaning of this coded language of which if not well coordinated can lead to communication breakdown. In spite of all these interpretation challenges, participants

in Kamba dowry negotiations continue to use this figurative language unabated and the objectives of these negotiations are successfully achieved.

This research study attempts to unravel how the appropriate interpretations are arrived at by the participants in the exercise; secondly it seeks to find out the motivation behind the use of this language by examining its functions in the discourse and lastly evaluates the role of cultural background knowledge in the entire process of negotiation. This study is undertaken under the umbrella of lexical pragmatics theory by Reinhard Blutner. The study is underpinned on the lexical pragmatic processes namely; lexical narrowing, approximation and metaphorical extension. Some earlier studies related to the current study include; Effects of taboo and euphemisms in the Kamba culture by Wambua (2009); Njagi (2013) studied on the influence of power relations by Ki-embu proverbs basing her study on the Critical Discourse Theory. Mulatya (2013) looked at the interpretation of Kikamba proverbs by primary school pupils using cognitive approach. This is the first study which attempts to analyze the Kamba dowry negotiation figurative lexicon under lexical pragmatics.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

This study is set out to achieve the following objectives:

- i) To show how the intended meaning of the figurative expression is pragmatically realized in Kamba dowry negotiation discourse.
- ii) To find out the communicative functions of figurative language used in Kamba dowry negotiations.

- iii) To investigate the role of cultural knowledge in the interpretation of figurative expressions in Kamba dowry negotiation exercise.

1.5 RESEARCH HYPOTHESES

The hypotheses for this study are:

- i) The meaning of the figurative expressions in Kamba dowry negotiations is pragmatically realized.
- ii) Figurative language used in Kamba dowry negotiations has communicative functions.
- iii) Cultural knowledge plays a significant role in interpreting of figurative language used in Kamba dowry negotiations.

1.6 RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

There appears to be a highly significant presence of figurative expressions use in Kamba dowry negotiation discourse. This use of the expressions appears to be so well coordinated despite the hidden meaning found in these expressions such that at the end the two parties which are participating in this socio-cultural exercise come to an agreement with each other.

This study embarks on investigating out the reasons behind this communicative ability of the figurative expressions in the said discourse and determines whether their usage can be linguistically explained.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATION

The study focuses on three figures of speech as part of figurative language namely: metonymy, hyperbole and similes. These figures of speech are described and analyzed from the spoken point of view as used in the dowry discourse among the Kikamba speakers. In this study syndecdoche is regarded as a type of metonymy for substitutes in Kikamba syndecdoche have a significant association.

The study considers the natural interactional setting as the ideal setting. This is to ensure the authenticity of the research is maintained and avoid making false and invalid conclusions.

This study is limited to ki-masaku dialect of Kikamba and the standard variety.

Lexical pragmatics theory by Reinhard Blutner is the model applied in analyzing the figurative expressions in focus.

1.8 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The lexical pragmatics approach has been adopted for this study because of the nature of the meaning expressed. There is a discrepancy between what is said and what is meant.

The theory was proposed by Reinhard Blutner (1990) in his publication 'The Journal of Semantics'. It was later developed by Wilson (2003) in his pragmatics lectures at Harvard University. The theory analyses meaning through the context and thus it is effective in the representation of concepts.

The model focuses on the study of meaning change. The lexical pragmatic approach presents the view that lexical items of a language are analyzed systematically and interpreted according to a particular context.

The contribution of semantics to the total interpretation of utterances is more restricted than how it was originally perceived. Lexical pragmatics tries to account for these pragmatic phenomena that are connected with the semantic under-specification of lexical items.

1.8.1 Lexical Pragmatics (Reinhard Blutner)

Lexical pragmatics starts from the hypothesis that the meaning expressed by a lexical unit is underdetermined by its semantics and provides a framework to study the processes involved in bridging the gap between the encoded and the communicated meaning of lexical units.

The basic idea of lexical pragmatics was launched in a now classical paper (McCawley, 1978). Discussing several examples – including the much quoted example in which *kill* and *cause to die* are distinguished, McCawley argued that ‘a lexical item and a syntactically complex equivalent of it may make different contributions to the interpretation of a sentence without making different contributions to its semantic structure’ (McCawley, 1978: 257). Alluding to Grice’s (1967) maxims of conversation, McCawley demonstrated that the difference between the linguistically encoded semantic structure and the suggested interpretation is a consequence of general principles of cooperative behaviour and as such is systematic and predictable. As a consequence, he claims, there is no need to formulate idiosyncratic restrictions that must be incorporated

into the relevant lexical entries in order to restrict the system of interpretations. The suggested division of labour between semantics and pragmatics has important consequences for keeping semantics simple and for applying the semantic tool of decomposition.

The two sub theories which make up lexical pragmatics theory are;

- 1) Lexical semantics
- 2) Conversational implicature

1.8.1.1 Lexical semantics

Lexical semantics is concerned with word meaning. Words may either be taken to denote real things in the world or concepts, depending on the particular approach to lexical semantics. The units of meaning in lexical semantics are lexical units, which speakers can continually add to throughout their life through learning new words and their meanings (Mmbwanga, 2010:4). For instance the Kikamba word for basket, *nthungi*, has acquired a new meaning in dowry discourse, ‘the contents in the basket for the bride’s parent’ showing that people have the potential to add new meanings to the already existing words.

Another example of a word that has acquired new meanings in addition to its original one is *usuu* meaning porridge the word is currently also used to mean ‘the money given to elders after settling a dispute.’

The goal of lexical semantics is to study the relationship between the words and the mentally represented concepts they encode. Lexical semantics goes further to account for

multiword units. These are cases where a group of words have a unitary meaning which does not correspond to the individual meaning of the words used (Pustejovsky, 1995:47).

The word *voya* means 'to plead' but it has also acquired another meaning 'to pray'.

In the same way, the word *nzuki* which means 'bee' is also used to mean 'traditional liquor'. The above examples are a clear evidence that words may have other meanings separate from their original denotations.

1.8.1.2 Conversational Implicatures

Conversational implicatures refer to the relationship between what is articulated and what is meant in a conversation. The term was introduced by Paul Grice who suggested that there is a set of overarching assumptions which guide the conduct of conversation. Speakers of a language are able to draw inferences about what is meant but not what is actually said. The ease with which people recognize and interpret implicatures begins from their knowledge of how people in their linguistic community use language to communicate with each other (Saeed, 1993:204).

Grice pioneered the belief that 'not all facts about word use give direct insight into word meaning'. However; his strict distinction between what is said (semantics) and what is implicated (pragmatics) does not take account of pragmatic processes in communication. conversational implicature is therefore not associated with any expression but is usually implicitly inferred from the use of a certain utterance from the context (Levinson, 1983:9.)

1.8.2 Lexical pragmatics processes

Lexical pragmatics investigates the mechanisms by which linguistically-specified word meanings are modified in use. Following Wilson (2003) and Carston (2002), we can distinguish three basic lexical pragmatics processes: narrowing, approximation and metaphorical extension.

1.8.2.1 Narrowing

Narrowing refers to the use of a lexical item to convey a more restricted interpretation than the semantically encoded one. Examples are the use of the word *drink* to mean ‘alcoholic drink’ or the use of *smoke* to mean ‘smoke your joint’ (at least in Amsterdam, where everybody knows the request ‘please smoke inside’). Another example concerns the interpretation of reciprocals (Dalrymple, Kanazawa, Kim, Mchombo, and Peters, 1998). Consider for instance the following example:

(1a) The girls saw each other.

(1b) The girls are sitting alongside each other.

Sentence (1a) entails that every girl saw every other girl. This contrasts with sentence (1b) which obviously does not entail that each of the girls is sitting alongside each of the others (expressing a much weaker proposition, instead). The interpretation that is strongly preferred in these and similar cases is best described by the strongest meaning hypothesis: A reciprocal sentence is interpreted as expressing the logically strongest candidate truth conditions (given a lattice of propositions that structures the set of possible interpretations) which are not contradicted by known properties of the relation

expressed by the reciprocal scope when restricted to the group argument. The starting point for this kind of strengthening is the minimal meaning that can be expressed by reciprocal sentences.

The interpretation of adjectival modification provides another example of narrowing (Lahav, 1989). Normally, adjectives like *red*, *pregnant*, or *straight* are considered to be *intersective* adjectives, i.e. their meaning can be represented by one-place predicates and the combinatorial semantic operation that corresponds to adjectival modification is the intersection operation. Interestingly, Fodor & Pylyshyn (1988) conclude that these assumptions may explain the feature of systematicity in the case of adjectival modification.

For example, when a person is able to understand the expressions *brown cow* and *black horse*, then she should understand the expressions *brown horse* and *black cow* as well. Unfortunately, the view that a large range of adjectives behaves intersectively has been shown to be questionable. For example, Quine (1960) notes the contrast between *red apple* (red on the outside) and *pink grape fruit* (pink on the inside), and between the different colours denoted by *red* in *red apple* and *red hair*. In a similar vein, Lahav (1989, 1993) argues that an adjective such as *brown* doesn't make a simple and fixed contribution to any composite expression in which it appears.

In order for a cow to be brown, most of its body's surface should be brown, though not its udders, eyes, or internal organs. A brown crystal, on the other hand, needs to be brown both inside and outside. A book is brown if its cover, but not necessarily its inner pages, is mostly brown, while a newspaper is brown only if all its pages are brown. For a potato

to be brown it needs to be brown only outside. Furthermore, in order for a cow or a bird to be brown, the brown color should be the animal's natural color, since it is regarded as being 'really' brown even if it is painted white all over. A table, on the other hand, is brown even if it is only painted brown and its 'natural' colour underneath the paint is, say, yellow. But while a table or a bird is not brown if covered with brown sugar, a cookie is. In short, what is to be brown is different for different types of objects. To be sure, brown objects do have something in common: a salient part that is wholly brownish. But this hardly suffices for an object to count as brown. A significant component of the applicability condition of the predicate 'brown' varies from one linguistic context to another. (Lahav, 1993: 76).

Polysemous nouns such as **opera**, **concert**, **school**, and **government** (Nunberg, 1979) provide a third illustration of narrowing. For instance, we can identify three conceptual variants for the interpretation of *school* – the institution-, building-, and process-readings:

(2a) The school is part of a highly successful chain of language schools. (institution reading).

(2b) The school is situated in the centre of the city. (Building-reading)

(2c) The school takes place away from the mainland. (Process reading)

Bierwisch (1983) stresses that the semantic entry for these *institutional nouns* is underspecified with regard to the level of conceptually salient sense. He proposes a certain 'purpose' representing the core meaning of a given institutional noun. For instance, the purpose for 'school' is teaching and learning. It is this semantic condition which discriminates the core meanings from each other. Further, Bierwisch (1983) proposes

several functions or ‘templates’ for specifying the particular interpretations of the noun under discussion. In the case of ‘school’, these functions refer to conceptual primes specifying institutions, buildings or processes related to the given purpose.

In Kamba dowry negotiation cases of narrowing are found when words like *mwiitu* meaning girl is interpreted to mean *,mutwawa* the bride. This narrowing also applies to the male counterpart, *mwanake*, bridegroom.

1.8.2.2 Approximation

Approximation refers to the process of interpretive broadening where the interpretation of a word with a restricted core meaning is extended to a family of related interpretations. Cases in point are loose uses of numbers (e.g., *1000 students* used to mean ‘about 1000 students’; cf. Krifka, 2007a), geometric terms (e.g., *square* used to mean ‘squarish’; cf. Wilson, 2003), colour adjectives, where the precise colour value can deviate from the lexically addressed focal colour (e.g., *red* in *red nose*, *red bean*, and *red flag*). Recanati (2004) introduced the term ‘modulation’ to describe the underlying mechanism of contextual modification. Providing a precise model of this mechanism is one of the big challenges facing lexical pragmatics.

1.8.2.3 Metaphorical extension

Metaphorical extension is a type of broadening that extends the space of possible interpretation much more radically than approximation. A good introductory example is English perception words (cf. Sweetser, 1990). Following John Locke and Ferdinand de Saussure, Sweetser (1990) claim that the feature of arbitrariness could be taken as a sufficient condition for the presence of semantic information. It is certainly an arbitrary fact of English that *see* (rather than, say, *buy* or *smell*) refers to visual perception in an

utterance such as ‘I *see* the tree’. Given this arbitrary association between a phonological word and its meaning, however, it is by no means arbitrary that *see* can also have an epistemic reading, as in ‘I *see* what you’re getting at’. Moreover, it is not a coincidence that other sensory verbs such as *smell* or *taste* are not used to express an epistemic meaning. Sweetser (1990) sketches an explanation for such facts and insists that they have to do with conceptual organization. It is our *knowledge* about the inner world that accounts for vision and knowledge being highly related, in contrast to, say, smell and knowledge or taste and knowledge, which are only weakly related for normal human beings. If this claim is correct, then the information that *see* may have an epistemic meaning but *smell* and *taste* do not, no longer needs to be stipulated semantically. Instead, this information is pragmatic in nature, having to do with the utterance of words within a conceptual setting, and can be derived by means of some general mechanism of conceptual interpretation.

Another case of broadening that cannot be classified as approximation is the phenomenon of *predicate transfer* (Nunberg, 1979; Sag, 1981; Nunberg, 1995), exemplified by the following:

(3a) The ham sandwich is sitting at table one. (Preferred Interpretation: The one who ordered a ham sandwich is sitting at table one)

(3b) There are five ham sandwiches sitting at table one (Preferred Interpretation: There are five people who ordered ham sandwiches sitting at table one)

(3c) Every ham sandwich at the table is a woman. (Preferred Interpretation:

Everyone who ordered a ham sandwich is a woman).

Sag (1981) and Nunbergian (1995) assume that the intension of the head noun (ham sandwich) has to be transferred to another property in order to get the intended (Nunbergian) interpretation (preferentially to the property of being the orderer of the ham sandwich).

Under metaphorical extension, the following types of broadening are also covered;

1.8.2.4 Hyperbole

Hyperbole is a type of broadening which allows the concept in discussion to wander further from the encoded concept being communicated Wilson (2002)

Example

2 a) Kikamba: Ninũyite mwiiitu waku

English: I have stolen your daughter.

In hyperbole, people speak in exaggerations like in the above utterance the implied meaning is your daughter has been married in my home but I had not reported. The word ‘nĩũyĩte’ ‘stolen’ is an exaggerated term here which in normal circumstances would mean I haven’t reported to you that my son is staying with your daughter.

Other exaggerations are;

- He took a century to explain
- The musicians put the who city to a stand still
- Mary crushed from a tree

1 b) The young boy is starving.

Meaning; the young boy is very hungry.

This would be regarded as an approximation if the boy was extremely hungry to the point of dying but it is a hyperbole if the boy is normally hungry.

1.8.2.5 Category Extension

This kind of lexical broadening involves the use of a name of a salient category member to apply to a broader category to which it belongs. Proper names of political leaders, gifted players and countries may end up being used to denote the whole broader category. (Glucksberg 2001: 38-52)

3a) Robert Mugabe is the Hitler of today. This means that Robert Mugabe has the characteristics of Hitler thus he qualifies to be Hitler through extension.

Words which denote items and concepts which are salient members in a certain category are often extended to refer to a broader category; these words usually are previously used as brand names, thus an utterance.

3b) I need Colgate may be understood as not asking for Colgate toothpaste but for any brand of toothpaste.

3c) I usually wash my clothes with Omo. Omo in this expression might not mean the Omo brand but any other powdery detergent.

1.8.2.6 The Ad Hoc concept

The notion behind this concept in lexical pragmatics theory is that the concepts named by words are inferentially adjusted when we process utterances. The resulting concept could be narrower or looser/ broader than the lexical concepts (Barsalou 1987/1993); Carston 1996/97, 2002, Wilson and Sperber 2000/02). The concept adjustment involves both broadening and narrowing or both (MC Glone 1997).

According to this approach concepts are always adjusted when accessed in context. These adjusted concepts are represented with a star after them as in SQUARE* in the utterance

- The flower garden is square.

When we hear the above utterance the concept SQUARE is adjusted to a concept SQUARE* which has a broader sense/meaning than SQUARE like roughly SQUARE and not absolutely square when referring to two different adjusted concepts another star is added as in SQUARE** in

- The room is SQUARE.

It follows from the loose use account that for the correct interpretation of figurative language like metaphor, similes, hyperbole, metonymy among others in a given context, the logical and encyclopedic information of the encoded concept are carefully sorted in order to ensure the right interpretation. The ad hoc concept constructed includes or overlaps with the denotation of the encoded concept.

According to lexical pragmatics approach, the relatively strict distinction between the lexical meaning and contextual meaning enables the construction of the Ad Hoc concept which is deployment in communication by pragmatic principle, this justifies the claim that the lexical meaning is just the starting point for inferential comprehension, and the concept denoted by use of a word may be different from the concept encoded Wilson lecture notes (PLIN 3001) 2006-07:10).

1.9 LITERATURE REVIEW

This section discusses the past studies related to this study which shed more light to it:

In his unpublished M.A thesis Mulatya K (2013) analyses the comprehension of proverbs as form of Kikamba figurative language by standard eight pupils.

Mulatya employs the cognitive approach in his work. He questions the ease at which proverbs are comprehended at social-cultural practices by the participants, a question this study tries to answer when it comes to comprehension of similes, metonymy, hyperbole and in Kamba dowry negotiation.

Taboo and euphemisms being part of figurative language were studied by Wambua (2009) in his unpublished M.A Thesis; Wambua goes out to question the effects of these figures of speech in Kamba culture. The current study links with his work by the fact that figurative language use is a common practice in cultural practices; like dowry negotiation.

Njagi T (2013) in her unpublished M.A Thesis University of Nairobi studied on power relations- A case study of proverbs in Ki-embu. Njagi analyses proverbs as a form of figurative language which is employed in natural language. In her analysis she uses the Critical Discourse analysis to show how individuals and institutions use proverbs to bring power imbalances and in particular in gender related activities where females are regarded as less powerful. The current study employs lexical pragmatics theory in analyzing the figurative language in Kamba dowry discourse.

Erastus Mulwa (2012) commends on the importance of dowry negotiation, and goes to term it as a ritual which has set rules; one of these rules as highlighted in this study is the

use of figurative language, by the participants who are mainly elders. The use of the figurative language is regarded as a strategy of boosting interaction by affecting coherence and cohesion through its many functions.

David Mutua in his work “the Kamba people” (2012) talks on dowry practice in the community, as apart from dowry items, the dowry negotiation exercise is important and significant and as for his current study figurative language is employed in the exercise, which is one of the most observed practices due to its significance and ensuring the continuity of the community.

Arijana Kriskovic (2009) in *metonymy based on cultural background knowledge* asserts that figurative language of which it comprises metonymy should be interpreted through inferencing processes together with the social discourses in which it is used in consideration. This study recognizes the need for inferencing and the social context and in addition the functional role of the figurative language in interpretation of its meaning. In fact it links with Kriskovic’s study for one of the three figures of speech analyzed here is metonymy which is used in the dowry negotiation among Wakamba.

Raymond.W. (2001) in *evaluating contemporary models of figurative language understanding* argue out that figurative language interpretation should not be based on a single theory, but a single figure of speech should be first analyzed to determine which theory applies in its interpretation. This study analyses figurative language uses lexical pragmatics theory.

Foucault,(1972) while showing the relationship between discourse and statement states “Those utterances and texts with some form of truth-claim and (how many do not?)Are ratified as knowledge and can be classified as statement. This study considers use of figurative language in dowry discourse, a part of cultural knowledge required by the participants to carry out the practice satisfactorily through ensuring healthy social interaction among the concerned people in the discourse.

Lakoff 1987, Sperber & Wilson 1986/1995, Gibbs 1994, while arguing on the lexical pragmatics approach to figurative language acknowledge that figures of speech such as metaphor or metonymy are not mere linguistic deviceserving ornamental or literacy purposes but correspond to mental “figures” grounded in cognition. This study appreciates the functional role and the significance of discourse context in interpretation of thefigurative language usinglexical pragmatics approach.

1.10 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This section discusses the research methodologies that were used in the collection of data in the collection of data in the study. The data collection procedures and the research design are described.

1.10.1 Data Collection Procedures

During the field research, similes, metonymies and hyperboles expressions commonly used in Kamba dowry negotiation were collected through direct participant observation and interviews. The participant observation enabled the researcher to observe the use of the features of speech in the dowry discourse.

Interviewing the respondents enabled the research to get an in depth information on the figures of speech in focus which enabled him interpret their meanings. The interviews were mainly focused on the functions and meaning of the figurative expressions employed in the socio-cultural discourse.

1.10.2 Research Design

The qualitative research design was applied in this study. The figures of speech in focus, namely similes, metonymies and hyperboles commonly used in dowry negotiation among the Akamba was collected through participant observation and interviewing (semi-structured). The interviewing steps were;

Firstly; in order to have a representative sample of the target population, the researcher chose subjects who were homogenous, by ensuring that all were speakers of Kikamba and shared common culture. A small sample was used. The choice of the subjects was determined by age, gender and competence.

The ages of the respondents was above fifty years the reason for this being that dowry negotiation among the Akamba is reserved for the elders only due to their competence in the cultural knowledge and maturity. Females interviewees ensured that the level minded and mentally healthy subjects were chosen, this ensured authenticity of the figures of speech collected.

Secondly; open ended questions were asked to the respondents and were also given chance to elaborate on the figures of speech and their use in dowry negotiation. The respondents explained the effects, functions and figurative meaning of the figurative

expressions in the cultural practice of dowry negotiation. They also answered questions on the role of cultural knowledge in getting the interpretation of the figures of speech.

Finally the researcher undertook audio recording of live sessions of dowry negotiations to examine and evaluate the expressions usage.

1.10.3 Data Analysis

The data collected is analyzed under principles of Blumstein's lexical pragmatics approach. The analysis features the literal meaning of the figures of speech versus the intended meaning, the functions of the figurative language in the Kamba dowry negotiation exercise and finally the role of cultural knowledge as a context in the interpretation of the figurative expressions meaning in the dowry discourse among the Akamba.

1.11 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The linguistic significance of figurative language in Kamba dowry negotiation discourse has not been studied. This study will shed light on the role of the figurative language in socio-cultural practices in the community. The way the figurative language boosts interaction among the participants resulting to excellent execution of the practice is looked into.

The study will act as a reference to other scholars who are interested in furthering the research on the role of figurative language in socio-cultural discursive domain.

1.12 CONCLUSION

This introductory chapter has discussed the background of the study Akamba people, Kikamba language, dowry negotiation practice among the Akamba; statement of the

problem, research objectives and research hypothesis. The chapter has ascertained that lexical pragmatics theory is the most suitable approach for the study. Literature review, research methodology and the significance of the study have been outlined in this chapter.

1.13 DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Ad hoc concept - this is concept conceived after narrowing or broadening of the lexicalized denotation.

Archive discursive – is a set of rules employed in a given period in a given society.

Cognitive effects – are the assumptions derived after the activation of mind by stimuli.

Context - the information already stored in the mind (encyclopedic entries) of a concept.

Communication - is the exchange and flow of ideas from one person to another, it involves a sender transmitting idea, information, or a feeling to a receiver (Pearson, 1983).

Communicative- to be communicative is the ability to communicate that is to exchange thoughts, ideas, information and feeling.

Communicative effectiveness – is the ability to exchange ideas and other information in the desired way.

Cultural knowledge - is the information one has which comprise of beliefs, norms, values, practices etc. about her culture.

Cultural discourse – is the communicative field of culturally and historically located meanings.

Discourse - The totality of codified language (vocabulary) used in a given field of intellectual enquiry and of social practice such as dowry and religious. (Foucault, 1980).

Discourse analysis – this is the analysis of language beyond a sentence or utterance.

Dowry – this is the material wealth given to the parents of the bride by the bridegroom's family.

Effectiveness - is the capability of producing a desired result, when something is deemed effective it means it has an intended or expected outcome or produces a deep, vivid impression. (Herper, Douglas 2011); "etymology online" [www.etymonline .com](http://www.etymonline.com).

Encyclopedic entry – is the mentally stored information on a concept.

Echoic notion – is a case of interpreting one's thoughts.

Figurative language - this is a language that uses words or expressions with a meaning that is different from the literal interpretation. Example of figurative language includes similes and hyperboles. (Glucksberg, Sam, 2001).

Hyperbole – is use of exaggeration as a figure of speech.

Inference – any form of a conclusion brought forth linguistic stimuli.

Lexical pragmatics – it is an interface between semantics and pragmatics.

Metonymy – is a figure of speech in which a concept or thing is substituted for that of another to which it is related.

Pragmatics – this is the study of the relationship between language and contexts.

Processing effort – is a psychological meaning searching device.

Simile – is a figure of speech in which a narrow or wide comparison is made.

Stimulus – is any communicative though, gesture, utterance, movement among others which has with it communication.

Utterance – the actual speech in a situation.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives a detailed theoretical account of figurative language with an emphasis on the figures of speech in focus in this study. A general analysis of figurative language including definition and classification is given. Definitions, classifications, interpretations and the place of the figures of speech in spoken discourse are elaborated.

The theoretical analysis of these figures of speech is limited to spoken discourse; for this study is concerned with dowry negotiation, an exercise which is a speech event.

2.2 FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE AND COMMUNICATION

Figurative language refers to words and groups of words (figures of speech) that have a different meaning; other than the literal meaning of the words (Fussel 1998).

Figurative language is used in any form of communication such as in daily conversations, articles in newspapers, advertisements, novels, and poems among others.

Perrine (1982) gave four main reasons which enhance communicative effectiveness of figurative language.

- Figurative language enhances creative imagination;
- It is a way of bringing additional and much longed for imagery which makes abstract things, ideas and concepts abstract.
- Figurative language is a way of adding emotional of intensity to otherwise merely informative statements and conveying attitudes along with information.
- It is a way of saying much in brief compass.

2.2.1 Classification of figurative language

The classification of figurative language has taken a broad direction. Perrine (1982) classifies it into seven types namely; metaphor, simile, personification, metonymy, paradox, overstatement, understatement, irony and illusion.

Keraf (1998) divides figures of speech into two classifications namely: rhetoric and analogy

Rhetoric incorporates: alliteration, assonances, anastrophe, apophasis, apostrophe, asyndeton, polycyndeton, chiasmus, ellipsis, euphemism, litotes, paradox, hyperbole and oxymoron; analogy covers simile, metaphor, allegory, personification, allusion, metonymy, irony and synecdoche.

Muliono (1989) divides figurative language into three categories namely: (analogy/comparison) which consists of simile, metaphor and personification; contradiction which consists of hyperbole, litotes and irony; association which consists of metonymy, synecdoche and euphemism.

MacArthur (1992:402) classifies those figures of speech that achieve their effect through associations, comparisons and resemblance as metaphorical; these figures of speech include: antithesis, hyperbole, metonymy and simile.

This study employs Keraf (1998) classification where the figures of speech under study: simile, metonymy, and hyperbole are classified under analogy. These figures of speech

will be analyzed from conversational perspective in which the case of discourse will be considered; the reason being that dowry negotiation fails under spoken discourse.

2.3 SIMILES

In a conversational discourse, a simile is a figure of speech in which a more or less fanciful or unrealistic comparison is made using: like, but, as, similar, same as, resembles, among other words. (Mc Arthur, 1996:935).

Example

(1a) Rumours of his death spread like wild fire (to become known to more and more people very quickly).

(1b) She is like a fish out of water (she is uneasy in an unfamiliar situation)

Simile is an ancient rhetorical practice from the Bible to contemporary texts; simile is ever present in conversational discourse. Since the Quintilian times, simile has been ranked among the many varieties of speech figures.

Simile is a semantic figure based on comparison (Bredin 1998), a mental process playing a central role in how we think, view and talk about the world, which usually associates different entities, this comparison of entities results with a judgment which can either be in an affirmative or negative form: with the affirmative form, there is an agreement of likeness between the entities compared (the earth is like a ball), and the negative affirmative asserts denial of likeness. (the earth is not like a ball).

A simile can be defined as the statement of a similarity relation between two entities, which are essentially different but thought to be alike in one or more respects, or a non-similarity relation. A simile has a tripartite structure (Fromhillague (1995:73-74),

consisting of a topic (the entity described by the simile, vehicle) (to which the topic is compared) accompanied by a marker of comparison, ‘similarity features’ the properties shared by the topic and vehicle which can be expressed explicitly or implicitly. These entities of comparison can be persons, objects, processes, events, feelings and ideas.

The similarity between simile and metaphor occurs in their establishment

In argumentation, simile (and analogies) are used both as exegetic tools for clarification and as devices for developing and constructing new theoretical concepts.

2.3.1 Classification of similes

Similes have been classified in many ways by many scholars on the basis of various criteria. A basic distinction is that between objective; originating from concrete, physical experience and subjective similes; stemming from individuals association mechanisms, actually seeing as objective versus thinking as (Fromhilhague 1995: 77-78). Another classification is then grounded on the semantic distinction between literal and non-literal comparisons (Ortony 1993), as illustrated below:

(1c) Mangoes are like oranges

Maembe mailye masungwa (Kikamba)

(1d) Illiteracy is like a disease

Ũtumanu nota ũwau (Kikamba)

(1c) Above is a literal simile

(1d) Is a non-literal simile

In non-literal similes, topic and vehicle are not symmetrical: the two entities can not be reversed; if they are reversed, the simile may become meaningless;

Example: disease is like illiteracy

Sometimes the meaning may change substantially (E.g. Surgeons are like butchers and butchers are like surgeons. Furthermore non-literal simile can drop **like** (e.g. illiteracy is a disease) while literal ones cannot (e.g. apples are mangoes).

In Kikamba, **like** is represented by two words that are ‘nota’, and ... ‘**ĩilye.**’...**ilye.**’ takes different prefixes depending on the number, and class of nouns being described.

Example

(1f) A mango is like an orange. English

- Iembe **ĩilye** ĩsungwa (singular) (kikamba)
- Maembe mailye masungwa (Plural)
- “nota” is usually used in comparing abstract nouns. Example;

(1g) Wendo nota ũwau. (kikamba)

- Love is like sickness. (English)
- Uĩ nota ũtĩfwa. (kikamba)
- Wisdom is like inheritance. (English)

On the connection between the topic and the vehicle however; there are three differences between them; namely similes compares the entities while metaphor conceptually assimilates them to one another (Bredin 1998); the former can be literal or non-literal, the latter is only non-literal; the former signaled by a variety of comparison marker; simile has less power, suggestiveness and effectiveness, than a metaphor.

Similes can fulfill various functions, (Fromhilhague 1995:88-94. They serve to communicate concisely and efficiently as seen when used in a conversational discourse, they extend the linguistic resources available;

Secondly similes function as cognitive tools of thought in that they enable us to think of the world in novel; alternative ways namely: they can create relations of similarity; in discourse they can also fulfill more specific functions depending on the particular exercise they are being involved. In scientific texts, they play an important role; of clarifying concepts.

2.3.2 Similes Interpretation In Lexical Pragmatics

Similes interpretation is not a case of ad hoc concept formation as with other figurative language like metaphors, hyperboles, metonymy among others. They are assumed to work rather differently and it is the literal lexical concept, rather than the broadened ad hoc concept that appears in their explicature as in the following examples.

(1h) Mũmbe ailyĩ ndata (kikamba)

Mumbe is like a star (English)

Mumbe ni ndata kikamba (Kikamba)

Mumbe is a star metaphor (English)

MUMBE IS A STAR *(ENGLISH)*

The reason for this seems clear enough for it would make a little sense to say some one is a member of a certain category e.g. “a star”(Carston 2002:357-358).

Simile interpretation involve the comparison of emergent – properties shared by the topic and the vehicles, O’ Donoghue (2009) points out that there are instances of similes which simply have no direct metaphorical counterpart and vice versa and she makes a persuasive case for there being certain context in which similes are a more effective communicative devices than their corresponding metaphors. In this current study, the analysis of similes is also viewed from such a communicative perspective for the study focuses on communicative effectiveness of figures of speech including the similes in Kamba dowry negotiation.

Davidson (1978:41) claims famously that all similes are true. Because everything is like everything “and it is presumably in this line that Glucksberg (2008:68) has in mind when he writes of the comparison theory that “Similes are always literally true because any two things must always be like each other in one way or the other.”

Interpretation of similes in Kikamba, and in particular in dowry negotiation, is first assisted by the utterance which comes after the simile expression.

Example

(1i)“Mündũ ndailyĩ mbũi, ndathoeeka.” (Kikamba)

A person is not like a goat, she can’t be valued.

The interpretation of the simile takes the continuum dimension, as suggested by Sperber and Wilson (2002:3) where the interpretation will range from literal, through loose to figurative. According to this approach (1i) above means a person is invaluable.

2.4 HYPERBOLE

There is no one who does not exaggerate. In conversation, men are encumbered with personality and talk too much” (Ralph Waldo Emerson)

(Mahony. D (2003), Hyperbole is the use of exaggeration as a rhetorical device or figure of speech. It may be used to evoke strong feelings or to create a strong impression, but it is not meant to be taken literally.

(Richard Nordauist), Hyperbole is a figure of speech (A form of irony) in which exaggeration is used for emphasis or effect.

Hyperbole is a kind of ‘structuring’ of reality where there are competing realities; it can enable sharp focus on one account of reality and downplay rival account, and it brings the listeners into the perspective of the speaker in powerful way. Although it may be heard as a counter to other claims to describe reality, or as describing impossibilities, hyperbole is not heard as an act of lying. (McCarthy and Carter 2004:152).

This study adopts McCarthy’s definition of hyperbole due to its, consideration of the participants in a conversation; the communicative effectiveness of the hyperbole is well captured by the phrase” it brings the listeners into the perspective of the speaker in a powerful way,” and also”. Hyperbole is not heard/ viewed as an act of lying “ (McCarthy).

Hyperbole according to classical rhetoric is a figure of speech of bold exaggeration” (Preminger 1974:359) and has been since the time of ancient Greeks one of many figures of speech discussed within the general framework of rhetoric. Rhetoric in the ancient world was associated with persuasive speech and the exercise of power, and centuries of

treaties on eloquence and techniques of expression testify to this. Only recently pioneers such as Fontainer (1968) shifted the study of figurative rhetoric into everyday spoken hyperbole (McCarthy and carter 2004) and much of the literature on hyperbole in spoken language is subsumed within studies of verbal irony and humour (Gibbs 2000).

Hyperboles use n Kamba dowry negotiation discourse takes the perspective of everyday conversation, however; the conversation in this discourse is a little bit formal and there are rules which dictate the conversation.

In a conversation context, which is very interactional, hyperbole underlines the expressive and interpersonal meanings fore grounded in its use. Intensification, humour and banter, solidarity, antipathy, intimacy, along with evaluative and persuasive goals, are all recurrent features. Dowry negotiation discourse is basically a social conversation and the use of hyperbole will probably take aforementioned features and others related specifically to the discourse like love and affection, wealth, physical features of the bride and the bridegroom among others; the two sides negotiating do employ the hyperboles in their talk depending on the impression they want to create to the other party.

The interactive nature of hyperbole in this institutionalized informal conversation is very significant; it creates a social bond between the two parties involved. The listener reaction is very crucial to the interpretation and the success of hyperbole, if they are negative about the whole exercise they will interpret the meaning negatively unlike if they are positive where they will interpret the meanings positively and boost the

friendship and social tie which will definitely result to marriage between the two love birds.

2.4.1 Classification of hyperboles

(McCarthy and Carters 2004) classifies hyperboles into five basic categories, which also apply in Kikamba language:

(1) Expressions of numbers (millions of hundreds of etc) (2) words referring to large amounts /quantities (masses of, loads of etc (3) adjective modification of amount(s) and number(s) (4) time expressions (years, weeks, hours etc) and (5) size, degree and intensity (enormous, endless, gigantic etc.)

Concordances must be taken into consideration while deciding whether an item is used hyperbolically or not, in addition, the contexts of use in which the said hyperboles occurs should be verified to avoid potential misinterpretations.

So as to enhance reliability in identification of hyperboles in doing negotiation the study adopts McCarthy and Carters (2004) criterion. Hyperboles in conversation must display at least three of the following characteristics (pp 162-163).

(1) Disjunction with context (2) shifts in footing (3) count factuality not perceived as a lie (4) impossible words (5) extreme case formulations and intensification (6) relevant interpretability.

Another variable to be considered in identifying hyperbole in conversation is the humorous effect associated with it. This humorous effect is part of the listener's response. Humour is one of the primary goals of hyperbole (Long and Graeser 1988; Roberts and Kreuz 1994).

Kikamba hyperbole classification goes in line with McCarthy's classification, however in Dowry negotiation some classes are more in use than others, namely:

- Adjective modification of nouns

(2a): Kalekye nĩ mūsomu mūno (Kikamba)

Meaning: Kalekye is educated (English)

- Time expressions

(2b) Tūnamweteelile myaka na myaka (Kikamba)

Meaning: We waited for a long time. (English)

- Referring to large amounts

(2c) Twĩenda mbũi itataĩka (Kikamba)

Meaning: We need many goats (English)

- Expressions of numbers

(2d) 'Twamũetee ngili na ngili sya mbesa' (Kikamba)

Meaning: We have brought a lot of money

2.4.2 Hyperbole interpretation in Lexical Pragmatics

According to the account of loose uses of language which has been developed within Relevance Theory under lexical pragmatics by Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1986/1995,

2008). Hyperbolic uses of language are cases where a linguistically encoded meaning is broadened to varying degrees. For instance

(2e) Mūtukū swallowed the bread he was given

‘Mūtukū anamelilye mūkate ũla ũnanengiwe.’

In the above expression the concept communicated by the hyperbolic use of the word swallow, ‘melya’ in the utterance is a concept with broader denotation than that of the lexically encoded concept. Here it means he ate it abnormally fast with a characteristic high “speed” in it.

This view of hyperbole is part of a bigger account of pragmatics of language use in which a key claim is that there is a continuum from literal uses (the limiting case) through various kinds of loosening (broadening) including approximations (marginal broadening), category extension, hyperboles and metaphors with no clear cut-off points between these apparently different kinds of loose use.

This process of interpreting hyperboles involves the pragmatic construction of an occasion specific (Ad hoc) concept which is shaped by encyclopedic information associated with the lexically encoded meaning e.g. general and cultural knowledge. In this case only the components of associated on that particular occurrence of use play a role in the concept formation process.

For example

In Kamba dowry negotiation, it is very common to hear an elder say

(2f) Mwĩĩtu ũũ ndaakũnwa (Kikamba)

This girl was never caned (English)

Meaning: The girl was not frequently caned. The ad hoc concept NDAAKUNWA*

Is the basis of this interpretation.

The successful interpretation of this hyperbole depends much on the prior cultural knowledge which the participants have, it is very interesting that most of them will interpret it correctly, that the utterance implies that she is disciplined, and the utterance doesn't mean that she did not get a beating in her life time.

2.4.3 Hyperbole in lexical semantics

Attempts have been made at classifying English adverbs of degree semantically, some of which are hyperbolic (Spitzbardt; 1965; Bolinger 1972), and which are useful for establishing taxonomy of hyperbole from a semantic perspective. The corpus of hyperbolic elements in a natural conversation as with the dowry negotiation in this study includes all grammatical categories: nouns, adjectives, verbs, adverbs, numerical expressions, quantifiers (minor word classes) and lexico –grammatical strategies such as the superlative degree and idioms.

As far as this study is concerned semantically, hyperboles are semantically classified into two main dimensions:

- Predominantly quantitative

- Evaluative dimension.
- Predominantly quantitative dimension involves upscales or downscales of quantity or magnitude in excess.
- Evaluative involves a subjective evaluation which shows speakers emotions and attitudes which can be either positive or negative.

2.5 METONYMY

Metonymy is a figure of speech mostly employed in rhetoric involving “the use of the name of one thing for that of another of which it is an attribute or with which it is an attribute or with which it is associated” (Nerlich, Clarke and Todd 1999) metonymy has been known as a figure of speech since the times of the ancient Greeks; which mostly was employed in rhetoric and literature.

Koch defines metonymy “as a trope that takes its expression from near and close things and by which we can comprehend a thing that is not denominated by its proper word” (Koch 1999, p-141).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) from a cognitive linguistics perspective views metonymy as a cognitive process that plays an important role in human thought and language; these cognitive linguists base their argument to the principle which asserts that word meaning includes all our knowledge, not only linguistic, but at the same time, world knowledge “Encyclopedic knowledge” which stem from both mental and physical experiences (Zic Fuchs, 1991).

Panther and Thornburg (1998, 2003) refer to metonymies as a natural inference, a scheme that stipulates associations of concepts can be easily activated and employed in inferential processes.

For this study, the interest on metonymies will be on their communicative effectiveness in dowry negotiation discourse which is basically conversation among the Kamba elders.

2.5.1 Classification of metonymies

Metonymy can be used in a number of associations like:

- a. A greater thing represents a smaller thing.
- b. An author represents the book
- c. The sign represents the signified
- d. Container represents the container.

Panther and Thornburg 1999 (P. 334-338) classify metonymies pragmatically into three groups: referential metonymies, Predication metonymies and illocutionary metonymies (or speech act metonymies.).

- **Referential metonymies**

These are metonymies which are used for indirect referring.

Example:

Like a name of an institution or nation for helps in identifying the intended referent.

Kenya to mean the president of Kenya in;

(3a) Let us hear from Kenya.

- This is Amboseli, Masai Mara and Tsavo West; to refer to lions from these game reserves.

- **Predicational metonymies**

These types of metonymies employ use of statements to refer to other different statements. This kind of metonymy exemplifies the potential for actuality metonymy.

Example

(3b) Mutiso nūnesie kuīva mathiĩ

Mutiso was able to pay the debt (English)

(3c) Mutiso nūnaĩvie mathiĩ (Kikamba)

Mutiso paid the debts (English)

(3b) can be used to stand for (3c), however in (3b) the speaker predicts the ability to pay the debt; in (3c) the speaker predicts the actuality of paying the debt.

- **Illocutionary metonymies**

In this case one illocutionary act stands for another illocutionary act.

(3d) Ndyĩšĩ vala mwongeli ũĩ (kikamba)

I don't know where Mwongeli is (English)

(3e) Mwongeli eĩva? (Kikamba)

Where is Mwongeli? (English)

Sentence (3d) has a direct illocutionary force of an assertion about what the speaker does not know but in many contexts it is used with the indirect illocutionary force of (3e)

question that is to say (3d) may stand for (3e),. This extends the notion of metonymy into the ordinary language use other than only the associative notion.

In Kikamba language metonymy takes the form discussed, however the associative aspect of metonymy reigns in the dowry negotiation discourse.

Example

People are referred to from the place they come from e.g. **Kitui** for those coming from Kitui. People are also referred to as per their clan for instance, an elder may be referred to as **Mutangwa** for he is from that clan.

People are also referred to from body parts, example **hands for help**, i.e. “moko” in Kikamba. Container for contained reference as in, **yakiti** for a packet of milk; in (3f)

(3f) ‘Nenge vakiti ũmwe’

Meaning: give me a packet of milk.

2.5.2 Metonymy in spoken discourse

This study concentrates its attention in the spoken discourse for dowry negotiations take place in form of speech conversation. Inferencing in spoken discourse where metonymy is used plays a very great role in the interpretation of the metonymic meaning. In this study, culture-specific knowledge is crucial in order for the participants in the dowry negotiation discourse to make the correct inferences of the metonymies being employed: metonymies which are used mostly in the dowry negotiation discourse are based majorly on the cultural knowledge. The participants in the negotiation exercise share the same cultural knowledge for this reason, communication is successful and effective.

Example

(3g) Atumĩa meenda nzũkĩ (Kikamba)

The elders are in need of a bee. (English)

Meaning: elders are in need of beer (English)

Atumĩa meenda kalũvũ(Kikamba).

“nzũkĩ” bee is associated with “kalũvũ”

“Traditional brew “in Kamba society

The cultural knowledge of the participants in the negotiation exercise plays a great role in interpreting the meaning of the metonymy and thus making the communication successful. This is clear evidence that in a spoken discourse like the dowry negotiation cultural knowledge is very crucial for the metonymic interpretation just as the universal knowledge.

2.5.3 Metonymy and Communication

The use of metonymy in a discourse ensures effective communication through different ways, some of these ways are:

- **Naming**

Metonymy is a figure of speech that consists of using the name of one thing for that of something else, with which it is associated; this solves the communication barrier which would have arisen in a discourse if the real names of people, objects are not known.

(3h) ‘Eka mũthaisũ ũya aneene?’ Kikamba

Let this ‘mũthaisũ’ talk? (English)

Far it is not easy to know the people by names at first meeting during dowry negotiation, thus participants are referred to from the area where they came from e.g., Mũthiasũ- from Thaisũ land as in (3h) above.

- **Short hand**

In verbal communication, when the literal description of the intended referent is itself a noun phrase that expresses a complete and coherent concept, metonymy originates as a type of abbreviation or short hand. (Clark, 1978, Numberg, 1978, 2004; Jackendoff, 1997) e.g. **the Malaysia H17** airline crash has been shortened to Malaysia H17.

Example

(3i) ‘Athonũa nimooka’ (Kikamba)

‘Ngali ila syikuite athonua nisyooka’

The in-laws have arrived

The vehicles carrying the in-laws have arrived

The word “athonua” in-laws stand in a continuous relationship to the word ‘ngali’ vehicle, on this approach metonymy is produced by deleting one or more items from a certain linguistic sequence.

- **Innovative uses of words**

According to Hopper and Traugott (1993) new and innovative ways of saying things are brought by speakers seeking to enhance expressivity.

This is done through “deroutinizing” of constructions ways to say old things; this improves informativeness for the hearer and at the same time allows the speaker to convey attitudes towards the situation.

Example

(3j) Kikamba: ‘ündũ ũũ wienda mĩtwe mĩseo’

English: This case needs goods heads.

Although heads “ mĩtwe’ is a used to refer to people based on the part whole relation between heads and people; in the above case it is extended to the level of cognitive informativity; heads in this case refers to intelligent and informative people.

2.5.4 Discourse-pragmatic functions of metonymy

Metonymy enhances cohesion and coherence of the utterance in a discourse . In using of metonymy one content stands for another but both are actively activated in the hearers and speakers minds; metonymy is an efficient way of saying two things for the price; of one’ that is two concepts are activated while only one is explicitly mentioned. (CF Radden and Kovesces 199:19)

This enhances cohesion of the utterance for two or more topics are covered by mention of one label. In conversational discourse it also limits the time of speaking as with the case of short hands at the same time enhancing communicativeness.

Example

Mbuĩ: gray hair, refers to the old people in Kikamba, and is a word commonly used in dowry negotiation for instance one elder may say

(3k) 'Eka twiw'e woni wa mbuĩ.'

Let us get opinion of the gray hair.

The mention of the word brings cohesion in this way, the old people are **recorded** as wise and experienced and explicitly, the gray hair is a mark of old age, so the participants concur unanimously with expression and its double interpretation.

2.5.5 Metonymy Interpretation in Lexical Pragmatics

Metonymy in lexical pragmatics theory is viewed as a variety of echoic use. According to Kaplan (1989:558ff) it is very possible to create and use a proper name to refer to a given object irrespective of the prior meaning associated with the expression vehicle; this results to a new use of the expression that does not conform to the pre-established use anymore. This intention popularly referred by Kaplan as 'Referential' takes the center stage and becomes dominant over the intention to use a word with the meaning already established leading to a case of spontaneous dubbing.

Creative metonymy is viewed as a case of spontaneous dubbing where at initial stage this dubbing occurs internally and at secondary level it is used in communication.

Example

úú níw'o mútwe witú

'This is our head.'

The referring expression mútwe “head” in the expression is used echoically. It is not used as a truthful description of the referent but as the appropriate way of interpreting the leader in the Kamba dowry negotiation discourse.

Barsalou’s theory of ad-hoc concept formation which is based on representation of concepts through frames (Barsalou 1992) metonymic expressions denote non-lexicalized ad-hoc concepts, the speaker of the above given utterance who for example is referring to an elder by name “Kioko” constructs an ad-hoc concept which he/she thinks will communicate the specific assumptions about him she wants to convey. This ad-hoc concept contains one value named MÚTWE “HEAD” representing KIOKO. The speaker selects this expression “MÚTWE “and uses it to lexicalize the given value, in his mind she hopes that the hearer will be able to construct the intended ad-hoc concept and interpret the expression to be referring to “KIOKO”.

According to this Barsalou’s theory, metonymy thus involves connections among objects/concepts. The formation of the ad-hoc concept may draw from the whole array of values and attributes within a given frame for an object or an individual.

Where metonymic description does not activate an ad-hoc concept but yields the referent directly. It has acquired the ability to function as a directly referential expression, as it happens with many nicknames; which does not require any descriptive “cue” as in;

Maswílí níwavika kúú.

The hairy has arrived.

This refers directly to the person who is long haired and can be directly accessed in the dowry negotiation exercise.

2.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter highlights general theoretical discussion of figurative language emphasizing on, simile, hyperboles and metonymy which are the figures of speech in focus in this study. The relationship between figurative language and communication is looked at, the classification of figurative language, similes in conversation, similes classification, and classification of hyperboles, hyperbole in relevance theory pragmatics and hyperbole in semantics.

Metonymy definitions, classification of metonymy, metonymy in spoken discourse the association between metonymy and communication is analyzed. Discourse pragmatics functions of metonymy and metonymy as conversational implicature analyses are done.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 INFORMATIVITY OF FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE AND ROLE OF CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE IN KAMBA DOWRY NEGOTIATION.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter explains the broad and deep informativeness of figurative expressions and the role of cultural background knowledge in Kamba dowry negotiation discourse.

The effective analysis of the three figures of speech in focus that is; similes, hyperbole and metonymy is examined and described; these communicative functions of the figures of speech in discourse form the core part of communicative effectiveness realized in the dowry negotiation. For better understanding of the figures of speech, Kikamba examples are given together with their English translations and the meaning.

3.2 INFORMATIVITY OF FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

This is concerned with the unique ability of figurative language to communicate more information than the literally encoded meaning; this is strongly manifested in socio-cultural practices where the linguistic expressions are regarded as the core constituent of the practice.

The case of figurative language is strongly entangled by culture, society and other specific modes of communication that it is difficult to separate them. Dowry negotiation is an important socio-cultural exercise among the Kamba people and in order to make it authentic as well as maintain its place in the community it employs figurative language.

(Grice 1975,1978) in his postulation of maxims hypothesized that, if discourse participants cooperate by expressing themselves as clearly, concisely, and completely as possible, then potentially ambiguous figurative language must accomplish certain communicative goals better than literal language (Gerrig and Gibbs 1988,Glucksberg, 1989, Kreuz long and church 1991). This means the benefits of using figuration must outweigh potential costs of being misunderstood. This cohesion of figurative language does not make it less communicative. (Hoffman and Kemper, 1987) asserts that if the sufficient context is provided, it takes no more time to understand figurative expressions than to understand the literal ones.

According to this study, communicative effectiveness of figurative language can only be considered in terms of the accomplishment of the dowry negotiation discourse goals.

3.3 DISCURSIVE ROLE OF KIKAMBA FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE

This section discusses the various roles played by Kikamba figurative language in a spoken discourse. The roles are analyzed to find out whether they have a significance to the whole discourse topic, or not and if the use of the figurative language is indeed effective. Some figures of speech are believed to play the same roles while others are very different in their functioning, this depends on the interpretation of their meaning by the participants involved, which calls for involvement of the cultural background information if the discourse topic is inclined to culture. Dowry negotiation is a cultural practice among the Kamba people, so from the start we infer that cultural background knowledge is helpful in interpretation of the figures of speech employed. A central notion

in looking at the roles of figurative language in this section is “the effect of figurative language depends on the discourse communities where it is used.”(Barton, 2007).

3.4 COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS OF SIMILES

3.4.1 Simile: A figure of comparison and description

Similes in Kikamba language are a kind of comparison, they really require individuation of both the source and target concepts, and an evaluation of what they have in common, however this comparison is figurative and not literal for the compared things are incomparable in real life. There is use of vivid or startling images to suggest unexpected connections between the source and the target.

Example

(1a) Mwĩitũ ũũ tũũmũnenga nĩ mũtũne ta ndũlũ na nĩ mũuu ta ĩvũĩ (Kikamba)

The bride we are giving you is as red as pepper and humble as a dove (English). The meaning of this simile utterance, which is, the bride is stunningly beautiful and humble is well realized through the relevance theory which holds that greater relevance is achieved by the combination of greater cognitive effects with as little processing as possible” “other things being equal.” In the encyclopedic entries of the participants/listeners, they well know how red is pepper, that is “it is sparkling red so they easily interpret the meaning, likewise they understand how humble is the dove and thus they easily get the meaning of the expression.

Culturally, these expressions are used for comparison and description of concepts of comparison that are available in the community and are well understood by each and every one.

The functional semantic theory recognizes the similes as part of the components of the dowry negotiation discourse because of their function of comparison and description. Thus the use of similes is very effective in the dowry negotiation discourse for by its ability to compare entities; clarity of ideas, concepts and items is achieved in the discourse.

3.4.2 Similes as a thought Provoker

The use of similes in Kamba dowry negotiation discourse attracts the attention of the listeners, encouraging their imagination to comprehend what is being communicated. In addition to this it inspires life-like quality in the conversation .Similes also engage the participants to think outside the box and enlarge their perspectives of viewing the world for instance when one commends.

Example

(1b)Kikamba: Kĩveti kũĩ kyaile kũsũvĩwa ta kanyinya.

English:This woman should be taken care of as the queen mother.

The simile will definitely provoke the thoughts of the listeners for they will start imagining how the queen mother is taken care of by the ants and why so, and if not what will happen; from the expression they will gather a lot of information which they never had in the past or it was in the implicit form. This will enhance their thinking ability and expand their world view.

3.4.3 Similes as tools for highlighting and emphasis.

The similes employed in Kamba dowry negotiation play the crucial role of highlighting and emphasizing on crucial information. Simile is significant in mapping attributes including appearance, shape, size, colour among others.

Example

(1c) Kikamba: ũnge’i mũsyi ũũ wĩ mwoo ta kyoa thano.

English: Theft in this home is as rare as frog in summer’

This expression which is given by a bride’s side elder trying to show how the family is morally upright highlights and emphasizes on how theft vice is rare among its members. It’s uncommon to encounter a frog during the dry season and thus the simile is effective when used to show rareness of theft. Relevance theory accounts for the interpretation for great cognitive effects raises the level of relevance. The mention of a frog in summer brings the great cognitive effect which then relates the two entities in comparison resulting to relevance. The lexical pragmatics theory accommodates the similes for it is employed in such cultural discourses like the dowry negotiation in focus. This theory views the simile as a tool of social interaction for it plays a given task, like the above simile explains how the vice of theft is rare in the family and so the bride is not a thief.

3.5 COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS OF HYPERBOLE

3.5.1 Humour in Kikamba hyperbole

Most of the Kikamba hyperbole expressions are fully packed with humor. This humour brings a comic relief in dowry negotiation discourse, which is usually conducted in a tense atmosphere for two sides taking part in it are strangers to each other: and the

cultural exercise is regarded as sacred for the marriage which follows is a sacred union which should not break.

Example

(2a) Kikamba: Atumia aa onthe maña nzwĩ mĩtwenĩyoo nundu wa kwĩsilya ũndũ mekũka kũmwĩa.

English: These elders have lost their hair in the process of thinking how they will negotiate with you.

The humor in this expression comes in when the listeners observe the hairless elders who most probably have lost their hair due to old age and visualize how they seriously engaged in thoughts about the exercise, one would definitely laugh.

The cultural background information plays a very great role in interpreting this hyperboles which are occasion specific ad hoc concept; for instance, the listener know very well that the elders are hairless due to old age, they also know that the elders have an experience of dealing with dowry negotiation.

Use of hyperboles in dowry negotiation is part of the Kamba culture and this explains their communicative effectiveness in the discourse. The function the hyperbole is performing in this dowry negotiation of bringing comic relief boosts the interaction of the participants which leads to the successful execution of the cultural ritual.

3.5.2 Emphasis and persuasion in Kikamba hyperbole

In Kamba dowry negotiation, hyperbolic expressions are used to create emphasis of effect. The speaker in using them tries to create a strong impression to the listener, however; the expression should not be taken literally. For instance if an elder states;

(2b) Kikamba: Kūsomethya mwĩĩtũ ũũ kuminĩte kila kĩndũ musyĩnĩ ũũ

English: Educating this girl cost us everything in this family.

The meaning of this hyperbole is educating the girl was a hefty exercise which was costly.

This is to emphasize how it was costly to educate the girl and indirectly inform them they should pay a high bride price.

“kĩla kĩndũ,” ‘everything’ is a radical type of broadening according to lexical pragmatics which allows the concept in discussion to wander further from the encoded concept, and form the ad hoc concept KILA KINDU* EVERYTHING*

Hyperbole expressions are employed for the purpose of persuading in Kamba dowry negotiation. These can either be negative or positive depending on the speaker’s choice.

Example

(2c) Kikamba: Mwĩĩtha mwaťũaa mwalea kũťũnenga mwĩĩtu ũũ.

You would have killed us by denying us this girl/ bride.

This expression comes from the bridegroom’s delegation to persuade the bride family to reduce the bride price to their expectations so as to marry the girl. It has an emotional factor in it so as to sway the other party; this is brought by the word “kill” “kũaa”

The word “kūaa” has a different meaning from the literal one in this context, it is a broadening case of hyperbole in lexical pragmatics theory, resulting to the ad hoc concept ‘KŪAA*’ KILL*.

According to lexical pragmatics theory, this expression is part of culture and it is usually employed in a dowry negotiation discourse where it has effects and meaning to the participants.

According to this theory, hyperbolic expressions like this one are functional tools in the cultural discourse. For instance by using the above expression, the persuasion effect of the hyperbole will be felt by the participants; leading to change of stance.

3.6 COMMUNICATIVE FUNCTIONS OF METONYMY

3.6.1 Concreteness of description in Kikamba metonymy

Kikamba metonymy helps the listener in a discourse achieve concreteness of description by giving specific concrete detail connected or associated with the phenomenon in discussion, the speaker evokes a concrete and life like images and reveals to the listeners certain feelings of her own, this enhances connectedness between the speakers and listeners, thus enhancing cohesion among them.

For example

(3a) Nzele ya athonua nīyīetwe mena waūnī

Bring the in laws’ calabash they are thirsty

The metonymy aspect is brought by the use of words “nzele” “calabash”; in a dowry negotiation discourse among the Kamba ,” nzele” for calabashes stands for the “traditional brew” “ kalūvū” and every associating activity around its drinking affair.

The interpretation of the given metonym is a type of lexical broadening in lexical pragmatics theory where a more broad sense of word is used than the one encoded example “nzele” for a drink. This association is one of container for the contained. “Nzele” is the equipment used to serve the traditional brew “kalũvũ”.

“Nzele” is a function word in this dowry discourse for it carries with it an important message and meaning, thus it is well accommodated in the Akamba culture together with its many interpretations.

According to the lexical pragmatics theory the use of such figurative expressions is a linguistic component of culture; this qualifies the metonymic expression to be effective in this socio-cultural practice.

3.6.2 Referential role of Kikamba metonymy.

In dowry negotiations most of the times, the people involved are strangers to each other; the first maiden introduction does not enable the people’s names to stick to their memories, in this case they are mostly referred to depending on certain features to differentiate them. For instance an elder would easily comment:

(3b) Kikamba: Makoti amba ũneena ũndũ wa ngasya ñno

English: Makoti, first talk on the bride price.

The elder is named “ makoti” for he has been associated with the coat he is wearing, in such circumstances you find that there is no one in coats and if he/she is there, the colour of the coats can be used in reference, for instance;

(3c) Makoti osa mwanja ũũ ũneene. (Kikamba)

White coat take this opportunity to speak. (English)

Physical characteristics like baldness, height, plumpness, skin colour among others are also used for reference. Lexical pragmatics theory accommodates this referential role of metonymy through category extension which is a type of lexical broadening. The meaning of the encoded lexicon is extended such that it can apply to a broader category depending on the context.

The use of the discussed attributes for reference will only apply in the dowry negotiation discourse under course and not in any other.

3.6.3 Linguistic economy in Kikamba metonymy

The metonymy expressions are usually shorter compared with their non-metonymic counterparts, this avoids boring of the participants by using long wordy expressions which to some extent can lead to misunderstanding. For instance; an elder would say:

(3d) Kikamba: Nduku nĩwe ũnaĩ maaũ maĩtũ, tũmanthĩei angĩ.

English: Nduku was our **legs**, find others for us.

This expression means that Nduku was the one whom they used to send to and from, so they need a replacement, and they might be asking for **a car or a motorbike**.

3.6.4 Metonymy as thought provoker

Use of Kikamba metonymic expressions, provokes the thinking of the listeners in dowry negotiation discourse. In order for the listeners to link the associations between the target and vehicles, she must think. This allows her a room to judge the right interpretation of the expression, and provides her with other dimensions of associations.

Example

If one says,

(3f) Kikamba: mĩtwe ĩla yĩ mbũĩ yũmbane

English: let the gray haired heads meet.

One would be asking whether they are needed because of their old age, only later to realize that the gray haired are associated with experience and wisdom.

Lexical pragmatics views these metonymic expressions as echoic cases of lexical broadening, for the encoded word has an extended meaning, outside the normal meaning.

The cultural lexical pragmatics theory of discourse regards these expressions as part of the culture for they are firmly incorporated in the cultural linguistic pattern of the community.

This lexical pragmatics theory recognizes the role of the figurative expressions as tools of performing certain communicative functions, and thus they are not misplaced, for their roles are clearly spelt in the cultural practices like dowry negotiation.

3.7 FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE AS WAY OF EXPRESSING EMOTIONS

The separation of one with his/her family is usually an emotional experience; emotions run high because of the bond which exists between the one who is to join another family, that is the bride and the rest of her family members. To provide succinct ways of stating and expressing ideas that would be lengthy and unbearable, figurative language is used to accommodate this. Ortony (1975).

In addition to this, figurative language adds vividness or intensity to a message, which enables the listeners to reach at the emotional state of the speaker bringing in cohesion between the communications.

Emotions are subjective experience and subjective experiences are not easy to capture in literal terms. Emotions are also complex, made up not only of affective responses, and the like (Ekman and Davidson, 1994). The figures of speech in this study serve to capture these intense diverse components of emotions. Sometimes emotional reactions differ in intensity and figurative language enables a way of communicating the intensity of the emotions. The total meaning of an utterance has the emotional aspect in it and by expressing the emotional bit, the listener in a discourse understands the speakers meaning more, enabling effective communication between them.

Example

Ndũũ ñilyi mũĩ mũnini no nginya ũngithw'e ñĩ kana wĩane.

“Friendship is like a seedling it has to be watered to grow.”

The affective emotional brought by this simile ensures the intensity and emphasis of the message is got very well by the addressee. Apart from getting meaning that they have to keep on minding the welfare of one another for the friendship to grow the emotion brought by the imagery of a young tree plays a vital role.

Example

Kikamba: Ũĩmĩ wakwa ndũneena ũmũnthĩ.

English: “My tongue cannot talk today.”

This hyperbole is loaded with emotion of the addressee, who most probably is a parent of the bride in the dowry negotiation; the mother in particular; she is overcome by emotion for seeing her daughter leave her to another family. In this case the audience is able to grasp the message clearly from the hyperbole.

Example

Kikamba: ũthoni nota mūkambĩ wĩna mwĩtũ ndũlea ũkũkwata.

English: To be an in-law is like measles if you have a girl you must be on.

Kikamba: Nĩwa ta mũnyambũ ũvenetwe kaswii.

English: “I am feeling like lioness whose cub has been taken away.”

The above simile used in Kamba dowry negotiation communicates the emotional aspect of the addressee. This simile is used by one of the brides delegate to show the bridegroom’s delegate of how angry and sad they are now that their girl is being taken away. It is used to imply to the bridegroom’s family elders that they should know that the girl was highly valued in the family and thus they should pay the requested dowry price without complaint.

Whatever one wants to communicate is expressed more through the emotions which can easily be read from his/her tone and other prosodic features. Facial expressions also communicate a lot about the emotions one has.

Example

Kikamba: Ngasya ko yi laisi, o ng’ombe miongo ilinosyo mukuiva.

English: Dowry price is cheap; just twenty cows are what we shall pay.

These words uttered by the bridegroom’s elder express the negative emotions in him/her concerning the hefty price asked by the bride’ family. The listeners will probably calm him/her down.

Metonymy is also used as a way of expressing emotions. If there is a misunderstanding between the negotiators referential metonymies will be used, where people will be referred to by the names of the places they come which are associated with reactivity.

Example

Kikamba: Ngũlia ño kwatūtavye mwĩenda ũtũnenga kyaũ.

English: “You Ngũlia, tell us what you have for us.”

Ngũlia is a place, associated with backward people in Mwingi; by referring a person by the place it means you have a negative emotional attitude about them, for they are irritating and uncooperative for their ways of life are rigid.

The above metonymy expression implies that the speaker is fed up with the uncooperative nature of the bridegroom’s side which comes from Ngũlia region and he emotionally communicates to them by referring them by the place they come from, meaning he is fed up.

The above examples provide some insight on how figurative language is used in emotional communication, however; it should be noted that the emotional level associated with the figures of speech varies. A simile in the above examples is the one which seems to be expressing the highest level of emotion, followed by hyperbole, and metonymy.

The emotions communicated by these figures of speech enables the participants to come closer to each other for the emotions are a way of communicating, this is supported by Cohen, 1979, Gerrig and Gibbs, 1988) who claim “figurative language use creates a sense of closeness between speaker and listener in a meaningful social situation.”

3.8 THE ROLE OF CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE IN KIKAMBA FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE INTERPRETATION

This section highlights the role of cultural background knowledge when it comes to interpreting of the figurative language used in dowry negotiations.

Experience as shaped by ethnicity, race, language, religion, sexual orientation, geographical area, socio economic status, gender among other factors, exposure to ones culture equips someone with the cultural knowledge which plays a very big role on how he/she views his/her world. This cultural knowledge influences how one interprets the meaning of figurative language in a socio-cultural discourse. As a context, it is regarded as (Sperber and Wilson 1986). Emphasizing on the role of context of which cultural knowledge is part of (Bransford and Johnson, 1972, 1973) that claim that the understanding of not only depended on our knowledge of the language but also our knowledge of the world.

For example

Tiũseo kwĩkala mwilũ

It's not good to be like a lizard

This simile used to caution people who are unreliable and dishonest to desist from the unbecoming behavior.

3.8.1 Cultural background knowledge in discourse

In any discourse the automatic interpretations of what is written or spoken in that discourse is based on pre-existing knowledge structures that is the familiar partner from previous experiences are the one used to interpret new experiences.

This cultural background knowledge comes in a form of

- Scheme, which is a pre-existing knowledge structure in a memory.
- Frames. Which is a fixed static pattern.

The epistemic common ground that allows discourse production and understanding needs definitions in terms of culture.

(Van Dijk, 1997). Discourse production and understanding knowledge and cultural knowledge acquisition and change usually presuppose discourse. This cultural background knowledge incorporates the social knowledge and anthropological knowledge.

The Kamba dowry negotiation is a clearly defined socio-cultural discourse with its set rules and regulations. The participants taking part in it, that is the elders are well equipped with the cultural background knowledge, both the scheme and the frame, and they don't find it difficult to interpret the figurative language employed there. They have the cultural knowledge of how the practice goes on together with the practice goes on together with the linguistic expressions used.

3.8.2 Cultural background knowledge in communication

There is a very close relationship between cultural knowledge and communication. This is because the cultural knowledge is gained through communication where people intercept and get to know cultural beliefs, behaviour, rules rituals laws or other patterns

of life. On the other hand lack of adequate cultural knowledge will easily lead to misunderstanding between people leading to collapse of communication.

Glen fisher employed an analogy of computer to state that culture is comparable to the “programming” of an individual mind (Fisher, 1997).

He went on to comment that’s with this cultural programming a person can generally be able to function appropriately and effectively in his/ her own culture; success and failure in communicating with other depends on this cultural programming which is basically cultural knowledge which a person has obtained.

In the Kamba dowry negotiation, for gone to interpret the figurative language employed there correctly and end up ensuring effective communication one needs to be equipped with the cultural knowledge which include roles, beliefs values among others, this virtues is what is referred to as subjective cultural knowledge Traindis and Albert(1987).

Effective communication behaviours entail social consciousness, which is reflected in the verbal and non-verbal in tractions which are shape by the cultural knowledge.

3.8.3 Cultural knowledge as a context in lexical pragmatics

In lexical pragmatics theory pragmatics context is a psychological construct which is developed in the course of interaction. (Sperber and Wilson 1986:15) state in their relevance approach context does not refer to some part of external environment of the communicational partners, be it the text preceding or following an utterance, situational

circumstances, cultural factors, among others; it rather refers to part of the assumption about the world or cognitive environments it is called (Gutt 2000).

Cultural background knowledge of the speaker and the listener in a conversation form part of the cognitive environment which is very important when it comes to interpretation of total meaning of utterances. To achieve the right interpretation, listener automatically aims for optimal relevance which is achieved by picking the relevant context which will help them process the utterance correctly. The shared beliefs, experiences, ideologies, values, morals and many other concepts which form the cultural background knowledge comes in handy in the correct processing of figurative expressions are examined from the cultural perspective; what they mean from the past cultural experience and the right interpretation are made with ease.

For instance: an elder in Kamba dowry negotiation only state.

ũkwati ũilyĩngetha, ndwĩ mwene.

“Richness is like harvest it doesn’t have a permanent owner.”

This simile can at best be interpreted by a person who shares cultural background knowledge with the elder.

The cultural experienced on harvest in the community forms a bulk of context when it comes to interpretation.

The listener has to be equipped with the knowledge and experience that a harvest in the community is sporadic and unreliable sometimes you can plant and have a plenty of

harvest and other times you harvest nothing due to shortage of rainfall. From that knowledge, it is easy to get the meaning that the dowry price should be reasonable enough for the bridegroom's family to pay bridegroom's family from being unreliable and untrustworthy.

The lizard in Kamba culture is believed to be a very slippery reptile which is hard to be eaten, thus when this simile is expressed in a dowry negotiation, its meaning is well understood for they share the cultural background knowledge.

The interpretation of hyperbole expressions is also influenced by the cultural background knowledge, for instance

Mbula tumueete tukathelela uo

“We have reared Mbula such that we are finished off.”

“We have used a lot of resources to bring up Mbula.”

The cultural background knowledge of “tukathelela uo” will help the participants listeners interpret the meaning of the hyperbole expression well.

It simply means a lot of resources have been used including the parents energy.

Metonymy interpretation is also determined by the cultural background knowledge. The associations between the words are derived from the real life experienced which is part of the cultural background knowledge of the people using the metonymy.

Example

Ikovo iyĩkaa musyĩ

“A boot doesn't have a home.”

Meaning: “fighting destroys families.”

The Akamba people once were under the colonial rule and the colonial soldiers who were very brutal, leading up to this metonymic expression.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter has dealt with the effects of figurative language in dowry negotiation discourse. Some of the areas covered are communicativeness of figurative language and the role of Kikamba figurative language in a dowry discourse. The discursive effects of simile which includes the comparison and description, thought provoking and emphasizes effects are also described. Communicative effects of hyperbole metonymy are also outlined and appropriate example given.

The role of cultural background knowledge in the interpretation of figurative expressions used in Kamba dowry negotiations is looked from discourse and pragmatic dimension. Its role in communication domain is also explained.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS.

This chapter discusses the data collected in the field through participant observation and unstructured interviews with respondents who exclusively are the Kamba elders, both male and female. The analysis of the data will be grounded in the lexical pragmatics theory.

4.1 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

This discussion will focus on the meaning, informativity and functions of a selected number of simile, hyperbole and metonymy in the dowry negotiation discourse among the Kamba people. The researcher will aim to establish the relationship between the figurative expressions and their communicative meanings in the dowry discourse; using the lexical pragmatics theory.

4.1.1 SIMILES FINDINGS

Similes in dowry negotiation discourse among the Kamba people serve the purpose of giving information about a person, an idea, or an object that is not well known by the listeners by comparing it with that which is known or familiar (CF. Miller 1993:373). This comparison feature of the simile enhances comprehension of the entity being talked of, thus avoiding misunderstanding and misinterpretation by the listeners/ addressees.

I. Wendo nota úwau

(Love is like sickness)

In the Kamba community, it is believed that no one can hide sickness (úwau). When one is sick she is helpless and can't assist herself, so he seeks help from the other health

people who are close to him/her. This helpless condition of the sick one equals to that of someone who is in love. When one is in love he/ she would like assistance from the person who he/she loves for he is emotionally unstable and disturbed just like the sick person. This meaning is well accounted for in lexical pragmatics where there is no ad hoc concept formed in the explicature simile expressions (Carston 2002). The meaning of ‘úwau’ in the simile explicature remains to be the lexically encoded concept.

The lexical pragmatics theory treats communicative as formative of social life and as culturally meaningful; communication has language as the main medium, thus the use of the simile expressions *wendoniówau* is culturally acceptable and forms part of the social life of the community, for language is part of the community’s culture. (Carbaugh 1996, 2005).

II. Mwaitó úú aíle kúsóvíwa ta kanyinya.

“This mother should be cared for like the queen mother.”

The notion of caring is the one under comparison in this simile. The simile expression means that the bridegroom’s elders who include the bridegroom’s parents should ensure that the bride’s mother (who is believed to have played a very great role in the bringing up the bride) should be well taken care of. The participants know how the queen mother is provided with everything it deserves by the ants through their encyclopedia entries and so positive cognitive effects are activated by the stimulus which is the simile expression up to the level of relevance. (Sperber and Wilson 1995).

As a simile, it’s explicature has the literal lexical concept by the utterance, this means that the attributes, characteristics of the caring of the queen mother “kanyinya” should

feature in the caring of the bride's mother. The lexical pragmatics theory accounts for the comprehension of the simile in that the simile expression carries with it a crucial communication which is well rooted in the community it is well known that the bride's mothers' should be rewarded through being taken care of for the role they played in bringing up the girl, and thus it is part of the social life. The word "kanyinya" and "mwaitú" are words which are very informative to the community and, this is a common knowledge among the participants (Edwards and Mercer 1987). The weight of the message in the simile expression through the core words is easily conveyed.

4.1.2 HYPERBOLES FINDINGS

Indowry negotiation discourse among the Akamba, hyperbole expressions are mostly used by the bride's elders to create a good impression of the bride and the bride's family in general. The bridegroom's elders use them when trying to show how concerned and interested in the bride, in doing so they create very strong impression to the bride's family making it loosen its demands. (Mahony, David 2003).

III. Mwiítha mwatúaa mwalea kútónenga mwítu úú.

"You would have killed us if you deny us this girl."

According to Kamba tradition, it is a tragedy if a man is denied a wife due to non-payment of dowry price. It is a great shame and embarrassment to the bridegroom's family and clan and everything is done for this catastrophe to be avoided.

The denying of the bride is equated to killing "kúaa" in the hyperbole above, however; "mwatúaa" here meaning killing us depicts a different concept "ad hoc concept" different from the linguistically specified lexical concept (Carston 1997,2000a, 2000b, Sperber and

Wilson 1998, 2000, Wilson and Carston 2006). The ad hoc concept formed from the “MWATŪAA” is broader than the lexically encoded concept and will include negative feelings like heart breaking, shocking and humiliating and painful feelings.

According to lexical pragmatics theory, the most fundamental building blocks of discourse are those utterances or parts of text which have an effect (Macdonnell, 1986). The hyperbole above has an appealing effect which can make the bride’s family loosen their stance. The equating of the denial with killing which is a very sensitive matter in the community shows explicitly how it will affect the other side; this will result to a higher level of kindness in the bride’s family resulting to reduced bride price.

IV. Mwítu úú ndaakúnwa

“Thy girl has never ever been caned”.

The meaning of the hyperbole is that the girl is morally upright and is not indisciplined. The parents and elders from the bride’s side market their daughter to the man’s side with an intention of luring the other party to pay a higher bride price which has been proposed. In addition to this, they would like to create a good impression of their daughter which will have a positive effect in her marriage in the future.

Lexical pragmatics theory accounts for the comprehension of the hyperbole through the ad hoc concept formation of lexical pragmatics. The concept which is encoded by the word “ndaakúnwa” “has never ever been punished” will undergo an inferential adjustment to form an ad hoc concept (NDAAKŪNWA*) thus making the explicature of the lexically encoded hyperbole to be

Mwítu úú NDAAKÚNWA*

This newly formed concept is broader than the lexical specified concept and includes implications like; no severe punishment was meted on the bride she wasn't caned many times bringing the implicature according to 'Grecian theory that she is morally upright'.

The listeners/ hearers in the dowry negotiation start by looking for a certain expectation of relevance based on their past experiences and their encyclopedic entries following a path of cognitive effects according to the relevance- theoretic comprehension procedure to arrive at the ad hoc concept NDAAKÚNWA*; which interprets: being morally upright in the context of dowry negotiation (Sperber and Wilson 1986).

Lexical pragmatics theory asserts that meaning of utterances in a discourse should be interpreted depending on the social context in which they are made. The hyperbole expression above owing to the fact that it is made during dowry negotiation, its interpretation is anchored to the exercise resulting to the interpretation that "the girl is morally upright" (Michael Foucault).

4.1.3 METONYMY FINDINGS

The use of metonymy in Kamba dowry negotiation is mostly referential. The metonymy used in the discourse play a referential role which enhance economic use of language in the communication domain.

The use of body parts in naming and referring of concepts, objects and people is conspicuously employed in the discourse.

Example

V. Mútómía úú níwe mónuka witó.

“This elder is our mouth”.

Meaning: The elder is our spokesperson.

The hearer of this metonymic expression understands the meaning of the expression through inferring the role of the “*mónuka*” which is relevant to the concept which is relevant to the concept which is “speaking” (Sperber and Wilson 1986:230). By doing this she comes to a conclusion that the elder being spoken of will be the one asking and answering questions as well as offering suggestions on their behalf, that is their opinions will be passed through him just as the mouth expresses ones opinions and suggestions.

Lexical pragmatics theory accounts for this meaning by noting that the word “*mónuka*” for mouth is used echoically, that is, it is not taken as a truthful description of the referent but an appropriate way of identifying him in the given discourse. The ad hoc concept “*mónuka*” is built by taking the encyclopedic knowledge as a frame- based structure (Barsalou 1992) where MOUTH “MÚNUKA” is seen as a value for frame MAN with attribute “EXPRESSION”. The hearer arrives at the right interpretation by pursuing on inferential process of hypothesis formation and evaluation until he arrives at the relevant interpretation of the utterance.

The use of the above metonymic expression according to the lexical pragmatics theory is communicative in the dowry negotiation discourse, for its meaning is easily accessed by

the hearers in the given context. In fact this kind of expression forms part of the entire socio-cultural practice of dowry negotiation thus its place is well reserved. (Scollo 2011).

VI. Atumía maetewe nzele.

“Bring the elders the calabash”.

Meaning: Bring the local traditional brew to the elders.

The association between the calabash and the traditional brew is that one of the container and the contained. The association which the people participating in the dowry negotiation exercise are quite well aware of enables the meaning to be easily accessed. The context also assists the interpretation of the meaning of “nzele” calabash. Normally “nzele” means a piece of a mature well dried gourd normally used for serving food and drinks. In the context of dowry negotiation among the Kamba it refers to the drink “kalóvú” which is taken by the elders after negotiation Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 38).

The lexical pragmatics theory accounts for the meaning of this metonym by regarding the concept encoded by the word “nzele”. This new concept is arrived at using the relevance theoretic comprehension procedure and using contextual assumptions based on the encyclopedic entry of the existing concept NZELE enables the hearer to start deriving cognitive effects until he has enough ones to satisfy his expectations of relevance when he stops. This new concept NZELE* is the most relevant one in the discourse of dowry negotiation and the participants are well quite aware of its meaning. Barsalou (1991).

Lexical pragmatics theory considers such a metonymic expression readily meaningful in a dowry negotiation exercise which is a socio-cultural practice. The lexicon in the

expression used metonymically “NZELE” forms part of the socio life along with its associated concepts concerning its usage viability in the dowry negotiation among the Kamba.

VII. Ngovia tuetee íthangu na kalamu

“Hat, please bring particular us a paper and a pen.”

Meaning: A person who is wearing a hat in the negotiation to bring forth a paper and a pen.

The hearers of this metonymic expression get the meaning of the metonymically used word and its detonation with the individual. They interpret that the speaker is referring to the person who is wearing a hat. The speaker in his thought should have already noted that none else in the group is wearing a hat apart from this individual; the referent also knows that he is the one referred and acts.

In this type of metonymic expressions, there is no formation of ad hoc concepts; the metonymic description yields the intended referent directly, here metonymy acquired the ability to function as a directly referential expression as it happens with many nicknames (Gibbs 1987, 1989).

4.1.4 CONCLUSION

In this chapter findings of the functions and how interpretations of similes , hyperbolesand metonyms in Kamba dowry negotiation have been discussed .

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the summary, conclusions and recommendations reached for in this study.

5.2 SUMMARY

This study focused on the communicative effectiveness of figurative language in dowry negotiations among the Wakamba. The research had the following objectives: to show how the intended meaning interpretation of figurative language is pragmatically realized in Kamba dowry negotiation, to find out the functions of Kikamba figurative expressions in dowry negotiation discourse and finally to explain the role of cultural knowledge in the interpretation of figurative expressions used by the participants in Kamba dowry negotiation.

The study was based on the lexical pragmatics theory. Lexical pragmatics theory argues that words are understood in context and comprehension involves adjusting the encoded concepts to reflect specific meanings intended by communications (Clark 2013).

According to lexical pragmatcs theory communication is a socially situated practice which involves a rich semantic web of presumed knowledge. The inclusion of figurative language in dowry negotiation a socio-cultural practice is seen as a social way of communication in the exercise (Carbaugh 1996, 2005).

The general analysis and description of figurative expressions was covered in chapter two. Chapter three dealt with the informativity of figurative expressions in Kamba dowry negotiation discourse in particular where functions of the figures of speech in focus are detailed. The role of cultural knowledge in the interpretation of figurative language is looked at from both discourse and pragmatic dimension.

Chapter four discusses the findings of the research, who and when a particular figure in focus is used is analyzed including how the participants in the Kamba dowry negotiation manage to interpret the meaning of these figures of speech appropriately.

5.3 CONCLUSIONS

The following conclusions derived from the tentative outcomes were deduced from the research study.

Firstly, there is a strong relationship between Kikamba figurative expressions and the intended meaning in dowry negotiation discourse. This relationship is realized through the lexical pragmatic processes of lexical narrowing and broadening.

Secondly, there are significant effects and functions of figurative expressions used in Kamba dowry negotiation discourse. The effects and functions include, comparison, thought provoking, emphasis, humour, persuasion, referencing among others.

Thirdly, there is a significant role played by the cultural knowledge of the participants in the interpretation of figurative expressions in the Kamba dowry negotiation. The cultural knowledge acts as a context in which the interpretation of the figurative language is processed.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FUTURE STUDY

This research has focused on the communicative effectiveness of figurative language among Kikamba speakers in dowry negotiation discourse, the main focus being on similes, hyperbole and metonymy; there is a need for a study on the communicative role of proverbs and idioms in the same discourse. It will also be intriguing to study symbolism in Kamba dowry negotiation discourse and its communicative significance.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE EXPRESSIONS USUALLY USED IN KAMBA DOWRY NEGOTIATIONS

Common similes used in Kamba dowry negotiations

	Kikamba	English	Meaning	Function
1.	Mūtũne ta ndũlũ.	As red as a pepper.	Stunningly reddish	E/C/P
2.	Mũuu ta ïvũĩ.	As humble as a dove.	Very humble	E/C/P
3.	Kūsũvĩwa ta kanyinya.	To be taken care of as a queen mother.	Greatly taken care of	E/C/P/D
4.	Mũo ta kyoa thano.	To be rare as frog in summer.	Extremely rare	E/C/P/D
5.	Mũĩ ta kawembe.	Sharp like a razor.	Very clever	E/C/P/D
6.	Kũthangaa ta mũthwa .	Hardworking like an ant.	Very hard working	E/C/P
7.	Kũlũngala ta ndata.	To be upright like a stick.	Being upright	D/C/E/P
8.	Kũkũa ta nguu .	To be old like a tortoise.	Very old	E/C/P
9.	Mwanake ta syũa.	Beautiful as the sun.	Very beautiful	E/C/P
10.	Wendo nota ũwau.	Love is like sickness.	Can't be hidden	E/C/P
11.	Kwendana ta ndumbũ.	Loving like young doves.	Much love	E/C/P
12.	Kũthea ta mwela wa nzyoka.	To be clean like a young snake.	To be very clean	D/C/E/P
13.	Kusemba ta nyaa.	To run like an ostrich.	To run very fast	E/C/D/P
14.	Kwakana ta mwaki.	Furious like fire.	Very furious	P/C/E/D
15.	Kĩmbithĩ ta ũtukũ.	Secretive as night.	Too secretive	E/C/D//P

16.	Muyo ta mūka ūkathi.	Sweet as a woman who will go to her home.	Very sweet	E/C/E/P
17.	Kuneneva ta nzou.	Big like an elephant.	Very big	C/E/D/P
18.	ūtumanu nota ūthūngū.	Ignorance is like British.	Utter ignorance	C/D/E/P
19.	Nzeleke ta nzoka.	Cunning like a snake.	Very cunning	E/C/P/D
20.	Kwīkūmba ta ūta.	To bend like a bow.	To have a great bend	E/C/P/D
21.	Kwīa ta mbisu.	Black as a pot.	Being pitch black	E/C/P/D
22.	Kūthina ta ngitī ite kīthu.	To suffer like a paw less dog.	Great suffering	D/C/E/P
23.	Ngūmbau ta mūnyambū.	Brave as a lion.	Very brave	D/C/E/P
24.	Kūthīna ta īlaī ite kwoko.	Suffer like a handless monkey.	Great suffering	E/C/D/P
25.	Malangi maingī ta ngo.	Multi-coloured like a leopard.	Unpredictable	E/C/D/P
26.	Kwītha mī ilī ta ivuti.	Double - bodied like a gun.	Not predictable	E/C/D/P
27.	Kuvuvuana ta īlondu.	To be confused like a sheep.	Very confused	E/C/P
28.	Kwia ta mbisu.	To be black as pot.	Very black	E/C/P
29.	Kūthitha ta īlasa.	To be cold as a frog.	Being very cold	E/C/P
30.	Kūthūka ta mūoi.	To be evil like a witch.	To be very evil	E/C/P

Common hyperboles used in Kamba dowry negotiation

	Kikamba	English	Meaning	Functions
1.	Mwĩĩtha mwatũaa mwalea kũtũ nenga mwĩĩtu ũũ	You would have killed us by denying us this girl.	Caused a disappointment	PE/E/H
2.	Atũmĩa aa onthe maĩna nzwĩĩ mĩtwenĩ yoo nũndũ wa kwĩsilya ũndũ mekũka kũmwĩa.	These elders have lot hair on their heads in the process of thinking how they will tell you.	Are serious with the negotiations	PE/E/H
3.	Asyai aa mathelele sukulu maĩsomethya mwĩĩtu ũũ.	These parents have been completely exhausted educating his girl	Have spent a lot	PE/E//H
4.	Twooka mbaĩ yonthe.	the whole of the clan has come.	Many people have come	PE/E/H
5.	Twamũetee kĩla kĩndũ.	we have brought you everything.	We have brought many thins	
6.	Twienda makili na makili ma mbesa.	we need thousands and thousands of money	A lot of money	E
7.	Vaĩ mũndũ uĩlyĩ take ũtũinĩ ũũ.	no one is like him in this village.	She is well behaved	PE/E
	Mbũi ii nisyo nzeo vyũ kitũũni kyakwa.	these are the best goats in my shed.	The goats are healthy	PE/D
8.	ũĩmĩ wakwa ndũneena ũmũnthĩ.	my tongue can not talk today.	Can't talk a lot	E/D/EM
9.	Nĩĩwa ta nĩya mũndũ .	I feel like eating a person	I'm hungry	E/P/H
10.	Ndĩna vinya wa ũneena.	I don't have energy to talk	Won't talk much	PE/EM
11.	Akũite ta nguu.	he/she is as old as a tortoise.	Very old	E/D
12.	Twĩna ũtanu ũte kĩthimo.	we have immeasurable joy	Very happy	E/D

13.	Mūtũmĩa ũũ nĩwe kĩla kindũ.	this old man is everything.	Of importance	E
14.	Mwiitũ ũũ aĩlyĩ syũa.	this girl is like the sun.	She is beautiful	E/D
15.	Vaĩ andũ angĩ naona mailyĩ tenyu.	I haven't seen other people like you.	You are slightly unique	E/D
16.	Twĩete malĩ mĩtũkĩ vyũ, ona ngũkũ yĩmelya mbeke .	We shall bring the wealth very fast; a hen will never swallow a grain before coming.	We shall bring the dowry soon	E/D
17.	Maũũ makwa maĩthi .	my legs can't walk	I'm tired	E/D/EM
18.	Ndeto isu syĩmeleka.	Those words can't be swallowed.	The words are not nice	E/P
19.	Ninywĩ ngai sitũ.	You are our gods.	You are our support	E/P
20.	ũthoni uũ nĩ munene, nĩwaũtema na ĩthoka.	This in-law ship is extra ordinarily big; it is for cutting with an axe.	The relationship is good	E/D
21.	Nĩĩwa ta mũnyambũ uvenetwe kaswii	I feel like a lioness whose cub has been taken away.	I'm devastated	E/EM/D

Kikamba Metonyms Used In Dowry Negotiations

	Kikamba	English	Meaning	Function
1.	ũũ niwe itho yitũ	This man is our eye.	Is our guide.	CD
2.	Mwiitũ uũ niwe maaũ maitũ	This girl is our legs.	Our messenger	CD
3.	Ngũlĩa ĩno kwatũtavye mwĩenda ũtũnenya kyaũ	You "ngũlĩa" tell us what you have for us.	From Ngulia region	CD,R
4.	Etei mĩtwe vamwe	Bring heads together.	Let us reason together	CD/R /L
5.	Mūtũmĩa ũũ niwe mũnuka witu	This elder is our mouth.	Is our spokesperson	CD/R/L
6.	Eka twĩwe ũneeni wa kĩvĩla	Let us hear the chair's opinion.	The leaders opinion	CD/R/L
7.	Twĩenda ũkomo wa mwĩitu	We need the girl's bed.		CD/R
8.	Silikali yĩvaa	The government is here.	Governments representative	P/R
9.	Twienda ithembe ilĩ	We need two drums.	Two tins of honey	R/L
10.	Mavũngũ nimaetwe mwei ũsu ungĩ	Bring the hoofs next month.	Bring the cattle	P/R/L
11.	ĩkovo ĩyĩkaa mũsyĩ	A boot doesn't have a home.	A brutal man	CD/R/P/L
12.	Kĩĩ ni kyo kĩthĩo kitũ	This is our culture.	Part of culture	R/P

13.	Kiveti kīī nīkyo mūsyī ũū	This woman is this home.	She is the manager	CD/P
14.	Ino nīyo mbaī ya mūtangwa	This is the mutangwa clan.	A representation of Mutangwa clan	R/P
15.	Ngovia tuetee ĩthangū	“Hat,” bring us a paper.	A man wearing an hat	R/L
16.	Matenzawa aenda va?	Where has “matenza wa”-“who doesn’t share”.	Unshaved person	R/L
17.	Atūmīa maetewe nzele.	Bring the elders the calabash.	Traditional brew	R/L/CD
18.	Nienda matū menu.	I want your ears.	Listen	R/L/CD
19.	īkanisa nīyīuthokywa ĩla ĩngī.	The church will be invited in the next a meeting.	Church’s representatives	R/L
20.	Tutetheesyeyi na moko eli.	Help us with two hands.	Two assistants	CD/R/L
21.	Amba kwosa muvuko uu.	First get this bag.	Money	R/P/L
22.	Eteī ĩsilia ya ũthoni.	Bring the in-laws sufuria.	Food for the in-laws	R/P/L

KEY:C-Comparison ; D-Description ; CD-Concreteness and description; EM-Emotion E-Emphasis; H-Humour; L-Linguistic economy ; PE-Persuasion; R-Reference; PO-Politeness.

APPENDIX B

AN EXTRACT OF A DOWRY NEGOTIATION PROCEEDINGS ON 1ST JULY 2014 AT PHILIP WAMBUA'S HOME (KAEANI VILLAGE).

B:Nĩtwamũthokya kũu kwa Philip Wambua ñngĩ na ñngĩ ñw' ai mwĩ athokye mũsyĩnĩ ũũ ni mũvea.

Iĩ nĩ kyathi ili na kila kya mbee ni kwamba kuete ntheo na indi kila kingi ni kuneenanisya ngasya na mwiitutavya indi undu wa mathaa tweew'ana, kana tow'o muvango uilyi?

BG:Ii, uilyi ou vai movinduku.

B:Twambiliilya na ntheo, twiendaa kyondo na mavula na wimbi mbee vyu.

Kyondo kya syitae ni kii kila kikwendeka, ndwiyaikisya ni kilitu ta ivia, wimbi uu nula mutune ta ngala sya mwaki naw'o uendaa nthungini isu.

Kila kingi ni ithumba sya maiu meu vyu na angi methi mwinamo?

BG:Ii me vaa na mavulanitwe na makolovia.

B:Makolovia nimatwaawa ta ntheo! Ai ni tukwonywa mandu maeni kuu ni Kibwezi kii.

Ve ula liu ukuuwawa naw'o nimwooka naw'o.

Inyia wa Joseph ukila uvwikwe ivula na uyosa isuka no yaku.

Esther ukila undetheesye, yithanthaite ta itu ndiitonya nyioka.

Vaa ve mavula angi eli naisuka no umwe ndyene ula ungi na indi tukula twa mwaitu.

Mwendwa noututwaa vala vangi, yu isu tutwaiisye ni ntheo.

Ila tweetisye ila twakomanie ni:

Ngano mbela itatu, mbemba imwe, musele kilo miongo itano, sukali kilo ikumi, mboso kilo miongoili (vooka ikumi) ileti itano sya sota , vooka inya, lita ikumi sya iia, makaa ileve yimwe, nthasya mukwa na vaasya.

Syonthe ni syooka?

BG:Ila itevo nisyikuka.

B:Syiuka na maau maumite va, niona mwisa kwiitha mwi syitawa me ndaia muno.

Nyi nienda kindu kiivuute ta ivuku ila tunaivaa wakeeli twaisye nitukaete ila syiutiala vamwe na vaasya munini.

Andu aa konimesi kithio, kweew'ai mateuvathukanya nthakya mukwa na vaasya wa asyai.

Kila ukuite vaa mwanamwendya ni nthakya mukwa, vaasya nukaete kyathi kila kingi.

Kila kingi ni nzele ya kukilya atumia, na kuatiia mbui , nimwaete maiu angi? Syindu ii tumanai ooyu nikana tuendee na kyathi kya ngasya yu.

Ni muvea nundu wa kyathi kiu kya ntheo, tulikei kuneenanisya ngasya yu.

Twitiei ala matuetete vaa, Kingee

Mutuku twiendaa umanya kana niwoonie kiveti vala ve Mwikali kana nokwikalanya muendee nakwikalanya.

BG:Ii asyai ninoonie kiveti no nokyo kitumi nina syana itatu na mwikali.

B:Syana itatu, watheie!

Ni muvea,

Mwikali niwoonie muimiu vala ve Mutuku kana nokwikalanya.

Ii ninamwonie.

Vatekwananga ivinda nundu ivinda yiilyi mbesa nimweew'a atumia kana andu aa nimekwenda kwikamusyi na kwoou twambiliilye ngewa sya ngasya otondu kithio kyendaa.

Ithyi mbai ya Aiini twasiawa eitu maitu na syindu ii:

Mbui syithaa syi miongo ina na nyanya, miongo ina nga, nyanya nume.

Ng'ombe thanthatu itano nga ila nzeo vyu na nzau imwe nene ya kikamba, nthumba sya maiu syithaa syi itatu nene ta nzou, imwe mbiu ta ndula na ili mbithi. Mbemba makunia miongo ili na angi ikumi ma mboso, nzuu makunia atano na nthooko makunia atano, ithembe sya nzuki ili na nzele ya atumia na suva kana kikombe kya ala matathengeea nzele na indi vaasya wa asyai wa mbesa selesele ngili maana eli. Ni mwanya wenyu wa uneena, nomwambe kumaala vanini.

BG:Mbaitu na musyi uu wa Wambua , mbai ya aiini, nitwaoanya ta mbaa Matheka na ve syindu tukwenda kuneenanisya iulu wa ngasya isu, ni muutwitikilya?

Ii mwanya wivo.

Twimukulya kwa ndaia mutuolangile mbui isu ivike miongo itatu nundu wa thano uu wikw'o, unaminie ituu syitu vyu na mavungu ala twinamo nimaini na tukamuetee isu mwititye, syana ii ikw'a ni nzaa.

B:Ningwiw'a nimwisi kwasya iveti mbaa Matheka. Syindu sya mana nisyathelile wa mwendya.

Kila kingi mbemba kwitu syi muo ta maumao ma nguku, notamuutuekea isu tukaete ila ingi.

Mbemba nisyyuawa na nokuuu mukuua, kithio kiilyi mwiao no nginya kiatiiwe. Vate kithio vai mundu muka mutonya ukwata. Twimwiithukiisya vya na kumumiisya ethiwa vai kivuthya mwinakyo. Kwi andu me ngui ta malai na asu nimo tutetikila matutwaie aka maitu.

Kila kingi tuumukulasya nduu ino yitu ni undu wa ivinda yila muutunenge ni kana tuete ngasya ino, twienda umukulya mutunenge miaka itatu ni kana twiivange.

Ithyi twiina undu na ivinda, ona mukakua miaka ngili vai undu kila kivo nonginya mukaete syindu ila syawetwa.

Nzele ila mwiikuite yiiva munenge atumia na suva wa aka?

BG:Yivo na notwose ivinda yiu tukathyumua na tuineenanisya maundu ala angi itina, mekalyei nthi

**AN EXTRACT FROM DOWRY NEGOTIATION PROCEEDINGS ON 1ST JULY
2014 AT PHILIP WAMBUA'S HOME [KAEANI VILLAGE].ENGLISH
TRANSLATION**

B: Welcome to this family of Philip Wambua and feel at home.

BG: Thanks.

B: The two events for this day will be first is to bring 'ntheo` and then we engage in dowry negotiation and if all goes on well then something concerning the pre-wedding will be mentioned, doesn't the programme say this my brothers and sisters?

BG: `Yes it is like that, no change

B: Let's start with the `ntheo` first what we need from the bridegroom's delegation of a basket `kyondo`, blankets and finger millet

This is the basket for `syitae` parents of the bride which is needed, you can't put it on the back of yourself it is heavy as a stone. The finger millet is the type which is as red as burning coal and it is supposed to accompany the basket.

The next are bunches of bananas where one should be excellently ripe and another one raw, do you have them now?

BG: `Yes we have and they are mixed with avocadopeas.avocado fruits are part of `ntheo`! you people from kibwezi you will show us great new things.

B: The next is the food cooked which is brought to the bride's family, do you have it?

BG: `Yes it is there`.

B: If it is there then I call upon Mama Joseph the bride mother to rise so as to be covered with the blanket and also the sheet.

`Esther rise and assist me, it's as wide as the sky I can't do it myself.

There are two other blankets and bed sheets I can't see the bed sheet and then some clothes for the bride mother.

My brother take us to the next step, we are still in the `ntheo` session.

When we met first we asked for 3bales of wheat flour, one maize bale, fifty kilograms of rice,sugar,,10 of beans, 5crates of soda `I can only see four `milk 10litres,1 debe of charcoal `nthakya mukwa` and an envelope `vaasya`.have all this items come?

BG: Those which have not come will come later.

B: From where will they get legs to come? I can see I have `syitawa` who are very respectful

BG: I would like an exercise which is open like a book .When we were here on Tuesday we agreed that those items which will not come by today will be accompanied by an envelope some other day probably during the pre- wedding. What is there is a small envelope.

B: These people are knowledgeable of the culture and customs! Hear them they can't differentiate `nthakya mukwa` and the bride parents envelope.

My brothers what you have now is the `nthakya mukwa` the envelope you will bring it with you in the next function .The next item is' Nzele' a calabash of rising the elders and for the accompaniment of the goats have you brought other bunches of bananas? Send for these items as first as possible so as to go to the step.

Thank you for cooperating in the `ntheo` now we can start the dowry negotiation.

Call for us those who have brought us here `kingee`Mutuku we would like to know whether you have seen a wife in Mwikali or you are simply staying together. Yes parents I have seen a wife and for confirmation we have three children in our marriage.

B: Three children when you had already completed the `ntheo` ritual!

Alright,

Mwikali have you seen a husband in Mutuku or it is simply cohabiting?

Yes I have seen a husband in him.

To avoid time wastage, for time is like money I hope elders you have heard for yourself that these two are in need of having a home; then there is a need for us to proceed with negotiation to enable this come true.

We of `Aiini` clan, these are the things which we need for dowry

The goats are forty eight in number, forty females and eight males, six heads of cattle the hooves are composed of five females and one male, the five females should be the best hybrid and the bull should be the typical Kikamba type, three bunches of bananas as big as elephants, one ripe as wild berries and the rest two should be raw. Twenty sacks of maize and other ten of beans, cowpeas five sacks and five sacks of pigeon peas, next on the list are two buckets of honey and the `nzele` and a bottle for those who don't take `nzele` and then the envelope `vaasya` for the bride parents which contain two hundred shillings .now it is time for you to react to this proposal. You can take a break and negotiate outside.

BG: My people and in particular the family of wambua we have consulted as members of Matheka's family on your dowry proposal; now we request you to give us the permission to present our reactions.

B: It's alright taking your time.

BG: We are requesting you to reduce the number of hooves you have asked to thirty heads this is due to consuming drought which ate most of our sheds living behind an insignificant number; If we bring the number you have demanded these children will starve.

B: You people of Matheka family I hear you know how to pay the dowry; free things are no more, i am sorry my brothers.

BG: Our next request is to give us some time to bring the maize because we don't have the maize; it is as scarce as hens urine, but we assure you we shall bring after the harvest.

B: But my brothers you can buy these bags of maize, remember culture is like law it has to be followed if we fail to follow it you won't get a wife we will listen to you if you have respect but not like others who are cunning like monkeys whom we can't give them our girls. Lastly we request for more time to prepare and bring the dowry if you allow us three years we shall meet all your demands.

Brothers we are not hurrying you even if you take one millennium there is no problem what is there you should make sure you have brought those items.

Where is the `nzele` which you have brought to the elders and the bottles for the women?

BG: They are there and it is alright for us to take a break before the next sitting, let the elders relax.

APPENDIX C

AN EXTRACT FROM A DOWRY NEGOTIATION RECORDED ON 18TH SEPTEMBER 2014 AT MÛTÛA MÛNYENZE'S HOME: MBÍÍ VILLAGE

BG:Nitwamûthokea twina vata, mwana wakwa anambiie niwendanie na mwiitu wenyu.

Nitwooka tûmanyane kana ndeto isu ni syaw'o kwisila eli.

Ni asanda

B:Nienda kwosa mwaanya ûû nimuthokye kûû kwitû, ndiûneena mûno nina mûnûka ûla
ûûneena ûndûwakwa. Ni asanda ni saa sya kûmanyana.

B:Nitawa Mutua Manyenze ninyie ithe wa kelitu kaaya ketawa mûmbe.

Ûla mwanake ûnambiie nûke wake niwe ûûya.

Mwana nûkwasya nûlilikene kana vaa kwakwa ndiendaa ngûi.

Kelitu kakwa no kamwe ta syûa , no niendee na ûsûania.

Nitwamûthokya kûû kwitû kwa mbaa mumo

Mûmbe ambiie mwanake nûûya ûla ûkwenda itina wa kûmantha nthi yonthe ninamanthie
na nowe ninoonie.

Mûmbe niwatavisye mwanake ûya kana ûsomete mbiti kaakaa.

Ii twasomaa yimwe niwisi na niwambiie ayûka vaa ooka avoyete. Yila tûkweeya ngewa
esa kûka vaa akuite ta mbulû ngeni

Mbai yitû yitawa atangwa, twendete nyama, na nau wakwa na nyinyia wakwa mataite
nyama matiwa nesa.

Mwana ûû nikwatya niwiyûmbanisye, wakila ndumo syonthe wethia ûvotwa no kûû

BG:Iii

Umaalai

B:Mwanake ûû niwatûtavisye ndeto, na kûû kwitû tûtieaa ngewa na syana, twamwia enûke akaete asyai. Tûtanenganite mwiitu vaa twambaa ûtheewa mwiitu.

Vaa kwitû ve ûndu tûtheeaa.

Nimwooka mwiûmbanitye kûthea?

BG:Mbûi inya na íngí na índí muitutavya mwíendaa malí yána ata.

B:Kûû kwitû tûtima kíthio mûno, mbûi no ila noona vaya nza kana ve ingi?

BG:Mwíitu ûsu yíla nínamwonie nínamwendie na namûetee mbûi ya íiya na mweew'a.

B:Kûthewa mwíitu tíkw'o kûnengwa mûka nitûûaa aka naitû nituiawa eítu maitû syindû sya kwaasya.

Ng'ombe itano- nga inya na nzaû ímwe

BG:Ona nísí mwíty'a íkumi na ilí, ûkw'a yíla noonie mwíitu ûsu namanyie nou mwana wakwa niwatetheka..

B:Mama ekana na siviti.

Mwana ûmwe aendie kunewa mwíitu na eewa suva wísa kwíyía vaa kwa muthonuu.

Kya kelí mbûi miongo thanthatu,

Nthûmba sya maiu , ímwe mbú na ímwe mbíthí.

Andû ma sûltan ní ma kisasa. Na ti nthûmba ya kamûlu na kithembe kya ûki wa nzûki.

Kelítu kaa ketawa mûmbe níkendete mûno, mûtambite ûkosa nimûûndavya nesa ûndû mûûthi ûkasûvia.

Ninakasomethisye mûno.

Kithembe kík kya úkí ní ngoyoo na kíyaílíte kwítha na nginda, kana mwoona mwíítu úyú ailyi nginda múikwona e múkelemu?

Kíla kígí ní ndata ya mutumia na ní silingi ngili ikúmi na itano.

Kíla kígí ní nthasya múkwa, ngili itano, kíla kígí ní mavula. Mavula methaa me atatú na kíla ívula yíthíawa na suka, syítu ní múasa na eenda ívula ya Reymond. Ala angi ni ma asyai ma asyai ma mwíítu na asyai ma asyai ma mwanake. Kíla kígí ní sukálí kílo íana yímwe. Nínakwongela íkunia ya katatú, úka mbola wimúthwii munene.

BG: Twiina ngú, mbaí íno yitú ni atongoi.

B: Kavísí kaa kasomete kakavika va:

Ivuku ni yimwe primary, form four ni eli, diploma ni eli na degree ni atatú, na ndikilii ingi ni ana.

BG: Asomete mbiti kaakaa, na núsomete utakítali.

Mwanake uu ena vinya ta lelue na ena mawia maingi, kundu kwingi ona nthi sya nza. Musele **B:** makunia eli ma musele wa mwea yaani kilo iana yimwe.

Makunia miongo itano ma mbemba nituumwongela miongo ili mavike miongo muonza, niwathukumie tuisaa nyama ithyi.

Makunia miongo ili ma nzuu.

Sota ni ileti miongo ili na itano, matangi eli manene ma lita ngili miongo thanthatu, nundu niwe unautaa kiw'u – ndinambokua nio kelitu.

Uusu waikie mitungi ili- mitungi ino niyikuka.

Musyi witu ni mutambu ta ulenge niw'o ukwiw'a tuimwitya syindu mbingi.

Vaasya ya musyai, ila no nginya munengane, ithyi mbaa Munyenze tukamukolya na liu.

B:Kwatutavyei muvango wenyu uilyi ata kwatutavyei mukatuyia mwiitu indii? Mwa mwosa nukuendee kuungamia mavata ala unaungamiiia kana ndeendee?

Etei nzele ya atumia mena wauni mwingi.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

After greetings

BG: We have come here for our son has informed us that he has found a lover in this family. We would like to confirm whether those words are true from them. Thank you.

B:welcome to this our family; I wouldn't talk much for I have the mouth which will speak on my behalf. This is time for introductions.

I am Mutua the father of this girl Mũmbe.

This is the young man who is seeking for a wife?

I have only one daughter like the sun (demonstrating) and I am still pondering whether to give her away or not; anyway welcome to this home.

Mũmbe, you informed me that this is the man you got after searching all over the earth.

Yes father. He is the one.

Did you inform him that you have studied the hyena's palate? It is for this reason that I have brought her the best quality goats; Ĩya na mweewa. In our family we buy women and sell our women.

Alright our dowry is made up of five cows, four male and one bull.

I thought you would ask for twelve for your girl is a beauty and befits our son!

Don't be in hurry and mouthy, we don't want you to shed tears like a proverbial son who cried in his in-laws home.

Secondly, we need sixty goats, 48 female and 12 male, 2 bunches of Bananas,, one ripe, one raw, and not 'Kamulu' type, the best quality, we know the sultan people are ignorant of the culture.

One drum of honey, the pure honey not the raw; for our daughter as you can see is pure and not contaminated, a walking stick which goes for fifteen thousand; 'Nthsya mukwa'- which goes for ten thousand, 3 blankets, one for the bride's parents, and the other two for the brides and bridegrooms grandparents. These blankets should be accompanied by bed sheets. These blankets are of 'Raymond's model.'" Next is 100 kilograms of sugar. He knows we schooled together.

He should be heavily loaded with money like a British tourist for our clan is Atangwa and we greatly like meat.

Young man hope you are prepared, you have gone over hills and valleys to reach here where your love is. Hope you don't want to get this girl and after you start looking for others whose breasts are as sharp as nails. These days young men are treating girls as monkeys, are you ready to stay with him forever?

Yes!

You may go out.

B: This young man informed us of his intentions, but in our family children are not allowed to seek wives or husbands for themselves, so we sent him to bring his parents. First of all have you come with "ntheo", which precedes the dowry negotiations.

B: Yes! We have done that's, we have brought four goats, so that after you inform us the wealth you need as the bride price.

Those are the goats which I have seen or there are others?

BG: When I saw this girl I liked her, therefore I will add two more so as to make three.

Be patient in-law, you are very rich, we know.

We are not cowards is a leading clan, Munyenze family is well known.

B: By the way is your son learned? How many books does he have? Has he completed his education?

BG: Our son is well educated, and he is as powerful as rail, he has ventured inn many businesses.

B:The next item is rice, two sacks, the Mwea type each of 50 kilograms, fifty sacks of maize, the workers need them for their upkeep, twenty sacks of cowpeas, twenty five crates of soda, two gourds of porridge, and lastly the envelope for the parents.

B: Lastly inform us about your plans, when are you planning to steals this girl? And if I may ask will she continue providing for the parents? Digest those words and bring a reply after a short while.

Meanwhile let the calabash for the aged come to quench their thirst.

APPENDIX D: THE KAMBA DOWRY IS MAINLY INFORM OF GOATS

