

THE ROLE OF CONJUNCTIONS IN KIKAMBA
CONVERSATIONAL DISCOURSE

BY

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been submitted for the award of a degree in any other university. All the sources have been acknowledged.

Signed Jacinta Ndambuki Date 1/11/96

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This thesis has been submitted with my approval as the university supervisor.

Signed Dr. Kimani Njoroge Date 4/11/96

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

TITLE PAGE.....	i
DECLARATION	ii
COPYRIGHT.....	iii
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	iv
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES.....	vii
DEDICATION	viii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	ix
ABSTRACT	xi
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION.	
1.0 INTRODUCTION	1
1.0.1 BACKGROUND TO THE LANGUAGE	1
1.0.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	1
1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM	5
1.2 DEFINITION OF TERMS	6
1.3 ABBREVIATIONS AND TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS	7
1.4 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY	7
1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY	8
1.6 HYPOTHESES	9
1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS	9
1.7.1 SCOPE OF THE STUDY	9
1.7.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY	9
1.8 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK	10
1.9 METHODOLOGY	16
1.9.1 LOCATION OF STUDY	16
1.9.2 DATA COLLECTION	16

1.9.3 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION	17
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CHAPTER TWO:LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION	18
2.1 GENERAL OVERVIEW OF CONVERSATION ANALYSIS	18
2.2 STUDIES ON AFRICAN LANGUAGES.....	19
2.3 CONJUNCTIONS IN CONVERSATION BASED STUDIES	21
2.4 CONJUNCTIONS IN TEXT BASED STUDIES	31
2.5 OTHER STUDIES	35
2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY	43

**CHAPTER THREE:THE ROLE OF ADDITIVE AND ADVERSATIVE
CONJUNCTIONS IN CONVERSATIONAL DISCOURSE.**

3.0 INTRODUCTION	45
3.1 ADDITIVE CONJUNCTIONS.....	45
3.1.1 NA	46
3.1.2 KANA	53
3.2 ADVERSATIVE CONJUNCTIONS	60
3.2.1 INDI/ATEO	60
3.2.2 MBONA AND LAKINI	64
3.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY	66
ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER THREE	67

**CHAPTER FOUR:THE ROLE OF CAUSAL, TEMPORAL AND CONDITIONAL
CONJUNCTIONS IN CONVERSATIONAL DISCOURSE.**

4.0 INTRODUCTION	68
4.1 CAUSAL CONJUNCTIONS	68

4.1.1 NUNDU	68
4.1.2 KWOOU	73
4.1.2.1 TURN-TAKING.....	73
4.1.2.2 COMPLETION OF AN ADJACENCY PAIR	75
4.1.2.3 ORGANIZING AND MAINTAINING DISCOURSE TOPICS	76
4.2 TEMPORAL CONJUNCTION	79
4.2.1 INDI	79
4.3 CONDITIONAL CONJUNCTION.	81
4.3.1 ETHIWA	81
4.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY	86
ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR.....	87

CHAPTER FIVE: CONCLUSION

5.0 INTRODUCTION	88
5.1 THE ADDITIVE AND ADVERSATIVE CONJUNCTIONS	88
5.2 THE CAUSAL, TEMPORAL AND CONDITIONAL CONJUNCTIONS	89
5.3 PROBLEMS IN THE RESEARCH	90
5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH	91
5.5 SUMMARY	93

BIBLIOGRAPHY	94
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LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES.

1. FIGURE 1: CONJUNCTIONS AS DISCOURSE MARKERS	23
2. TABLE 2: COMMON ENGLISH CONJUNCTIONS RANKED ON THE BASIS OF FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCE IN NATURALLY OCCURRING CONVERSATIONS.....	30
3. TABLE 3: KIKAMBA ADDITIVE AND ADVERSATIVE CONJUNCTIONS.....	45
4. TABLE 4: KIKAMBA CAUSAL, TEMPORAL AND CONDITIONAL CONJUNCTIONS.	68

DEDICATION

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ABSTRACT

In this thesis, the question addressed is; what functions do conjunctions perform in Kikamba conversational discourse? The analysis of the conjunctions is done within a conversational analysis framework, an approach that makes reference to context as a crucial aspect in the description of linguistic forms. The basic objective of the research was to find out the functions some of the conjunctions perform in Kikamba conversational discourse and to describe to what extent context determines these functions. The study is based on the assumptions that conjunctions perform various functions in discourse and that their use is determined by the context.

The research was carried out in Machakos District. Data on the conjunctions was recorded from natural conversational settings by the use of a portable audio tape recorder. The study found out that participants use conjunctions to organize, manage information and facilitate conversational interaction. The thesis contributes to a growing body of knowledge on the role of grammar in discourse and also brings out the social as well as the informational aspects of the role of conjunctions in discourse. The study is particularly important for pedagogic reasons because it would appear that teachers should work towards the acquisition of communicative competence for students much more appropriately by use of conversations rather than formal grammar.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.0.1 BACKGROUND TO THE LANGUAGE

Kikamba is the language spoken by the Akamba People of the Eastern Province of Kenya. Guthrie (1948) classifies the Kikamba language as belonging to the central branch of the Bantu languages together with the Kigikuyu, Kimeru, Kitharaka and Kiambu.

The Kikamba speaking people are mainly found in the Machakos, Kitui, Makueni and Mwingi districts. The two main dialects commonly identified in the language are the Machakos and Kitui dialects. Kitavi (1992:2) observes that there are significant variations within these two dialects. The Machakos dialect is the one normally taught in schools and also to non-native speakers learning the language. It is also the one used in Kikamba broadcasts and in written literature such as in the bible. As a result, it has come to be regarded as the standard dialect (Kitavi *ibid*). It is the dialect upon which this study is based.

1.0.2 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

This study deals with conjunction as an aspect of the grammatical system of the Kikamba language. Briefly, grammar is the description of the structure of a language: the way in which linguistic units such as words or phrases combine to produce sentences in the language (Richards, Platt and Weber, 1985).

Crystal [1985: 15] defines conjunction as,

a term used in the grammatical classification of words to refer to an item whose primary function is to connect words or other constructions.

The conventional classification of conjunctions distinguishes between coordinating and subordinating conjunctions. Coordinating conjunctions join units of the same rank as in the Kikamba sentence;

Mūtūa na Mūli nī anyanya.

Mūtūa and Mūli are friends.

The coordinator 'na' joins the nouns Mutua and Muli.

Subordinating conjunctions on the other hand join a subordinate clause to a main one. For example,

Mary ndaneethi kyainī nūndū anaī mūwau.

Mary did not go to the party because she was sick.

The subordinator 'nūndū' joins the subordinate sentence 'she was sick' to the main one 'Mary did not go to the party'. The second clause is subordinate in the sense that it can only be interpreted as being dependent on the main clause.

Since the traditional concern of linguistic analysis has been the construction of sentences, the traditional classification basically emphasizes on the syntactic properties of conjunctions and not their pragmatic functions.

In recent years however, there has been an increasing interest in analyzing the way sentences work in sequence to produce coherent stretches of language. This interest has grown out of the search by

scholars for larger linguistic units than the sentence, a search which has led to the **discourse level** of linguistic analysis. Hatch (1990: 266) describes it as 'a level of description that concerns itself with the structure of spoken interaction'.

Two main approaches have developed from this shift in emphasis: discourse analysis and text analysis (Crystal, 1987). Discourse, in linguistic terms refers to the messages and circumstances in which these messages are received and interpreted. Discourse analysis refers to the analysis of the communicative functions of the messages and how they become meaningful for their users in a language.

Crystal (ibid) states that 'discourse analysis focuses on the structure of spoken language as found in conversations and interviews. Text analysis on the other hand focuses on the structure of written language as found in essays'. Edmondson (1981) holds a similar view referring to spoken language as 'discourse' and written discourse as 'text'. The distinction is not a clear cut one because some scholars (e.g Brown and Yule, 1983: Crystal, 1987: Levinson, 1983) talk of spoken and written 'discourse' while others (e.g Halliday and Hassan, 1976: Van Dijk, 1977a) talk of spoken and written 'text'. The term discourse will be used in this study to refer to interactive spoken language as opposed to the written non-interactive language.

Interest in studying the role of conjunctions in discourse has developed from the growing realization that conjunctions as linguistic phenomena do not neatly fit into the syntactic

categories of contemporary linguistics. In this regard, Stubbs states quite simply that conjunctions :

are not really part of the structure of syntactic units, rather they have a sequencing function of relating syntactic units and fitting them into textual or discourse context.

(1983:78)

Unfortunately, however research that has been done on the role of conjunctions in discourse has focused mainly on monologue data rather than conversation (Halliday and Hasan, 1976; van Dijk, 1977a). In recent times, with the shift in emphasis from the sentential to the discourse level of language study, scholars are beginning to explore the use of conjunctions in conversation. This is because conversation provides authentic use of conjunctions in contextualised utterances. In discourse, an utterance represents the most basic functional unit of communication. For the purpose of this study utterances will be seen in Lyons (1977: 36) view 'as products of ordinary language behaviour'. Levinson (1983) observes that conversation has been found to be the single most important dynamic context of language use. By investigating the role of conjunctions in Kikamba conversational discourse this study forms part of the wider research on the role of grammar in discourse.

The analysis of the selected conjunctions has been done within the conversational analysis framework as devised by the conversational analysts (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974).

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The traditional approach to linguistic analysis largely ignores the study of conjunctions in conversational discourse. This has been the case because the sentence-based grammars that have been used to study conjunctions ignore context which is vital to the understanding of the role of conjunctions in discourse. Conjunctions are of great interest to the study of the sequential organization of conversational discourse since their functions are largely to do with the organization of connected discourse.

From the literature reviewed, most of the research that has been done on conjunctions has been based on investigating their role in the written text. There has been a notable lack of such emphasis on the study of conjunctions using data based on conversation. Conversational analysis has also mainly been done using data from the Indo-European languages [Ford, 1993; Sacks et al, 1974].

There is therefore a gap in regard to how conjunctions are used in naturally occurring conversational discourse and especially in relation to languages other than the Indo-European languages.

In this study, the researcher sought to identify some of the conjunctions and to describe the functions they perform in Kikamba discourse. Further, the researcher sought to establish the role context plays in the description of the functions of the conjunctions in the conversational discourse.

1.2 DEFINITION OF TERMS

1.2.1 Conversational Discourse

According to Levinson (1983:284) 'conversational discourse refers to a continuous stretch of spoken language.' In other words, it simply refers to a set of utterances which cohere together.

1.2.2 Distribution

The term distribution in this study has been used to refer to the discourse slots in which a particular conjunction occurs. These environments include the initial, medial and final positions of an utterance.

1.2.3 Utterance

Crystal (1987) defines an utterance as a unit of speech before and after which there is silence and a change of speaker, which is also a functional unit of communication in conversation.

1.2.4 Turn

This term is used in the study to refer to the minimum contribution by a speaker in a conversation.

1.2.5 Context

Brown and Yule (1983: 25) define context as the circumstances in which language is used.

1.3 ABBREVIATIONS AND TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

- () to give additional information.
- [] to indicate overlapping speech.
- ... to indicate pauses and hesitations.
- .
- to indicate end of statement.
- ?
- to indicate questions.
-
- to indicate a word cut in delivery.
- CA Conversation(al) Analysis.
- TCU Turn Constructional Units.
- NTRI Next-turn Repair Initiator.

1.4 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

Most of the linguistics research carried out in the Kikamba language has been in the areas of syntax (Mutisya: 1988; Mwove:1987; Whiteley and Muli:1962) and historical linguistics (Kitavi: 1992). This research has largely ignored discourse analysis.

Most studies that have been carried out on conversational discourse have mainly dealt with the structure of conversation (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974). Many of these studies have concentrated on the structure of conversational discourse in the classroom situation (e.g Juma (1991); Sinclair and Coulthard (1975)). Even those studies that have investigated the role of conjunctions in conversation, have mainly focused on the Indo-European languages, especially English. This study needs to

Ford's proposal that:

Clearly much conversational analysis work remains to be done using data from languages other than English.

(1993:151).

The present work is important in that it shows the nature of some of the conjunctions, their functions, and how context determines their functions in Kikamba conversational discourse. The study is particularly useful to the field of linguistics and to language teachers since it is becoming more widely recognized in language pedagogy that our assumptions about the grammar of a language cannot be based exclusively on idealized sentence level descriptions derived from native speaker intuitions alone. In this way the study provides a more comprehensive understanding of the communicative role of conjunctions in discourse.

Being a relatively new area of language study, the place of discourse analysis in linguistic theory is not yet clearly defined. As a result, much research from diverse languages of the world is needed to delimit its boundaries. In short, this study will expand the body of knowledge on the role of grammar in discourse as well as contributing to linguistics in general.

1.5 OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To identify and describe the functions of some of the conjunctions in the organization of Kikamba conversational discourse.
2. To determine the role of context in the description of the functions of conjunctions in Kikamba conversational discourse.

1.6 HYPOTHESES

1. Conjunctions function as discourse markers in the sequential organization of Kikamba conversational discourse.
2. Context plays an important role in the description of the functions of conjunctions in Kikamba conversational discourse.

1.7 SCOPE AND LIMITATIONS

1.7.1 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

This research is in the area of language study known as discourse analysis. Conjunctions in the relevant literature are also known as discourse markers or connectives (Schiffrin, 1987). Since conjunctions constitute a broad class, this study only focuses on the conversational use of selected conjunctions which are categorized into the semantic-pragmatic categories of additive, adversative, causal, temporal and conditional.

The analysis of conjunctions in this study integrates the semantic and pragmatic levels of linguistic analysis.

1.7.2 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

Due to the limited time and resources only the discourse functions of selected conjunctions were investigated.

All the data was collected from subjects in natural conversations thus limiting observer influence on the language produced by the subjects.

The setting in which a particular discourse event occurs affects the kind of discourse structure that emerges. The data was

collected from selected conversational settings thus limiting the emergent discourse structure.

Finally, in this study we have not attempted to analyze paralinguistic features of context such as body orientation, gaze and voice quality. These are some of the features that participants in linguistic interaction take advantage of to bring about a comprehensive understanding of a language event.

1.8 CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

The conceptual framework employed in this study is the Conversation Analysis model (CA) designed to analyze spontaneous conversation by Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson (1974). It is a pragmatic and empirical model that is used to study records of naturally occurring conversation to establish what properties are used in a systematic way when people interact via language.

Throughout the work it is assumed that it is possible to recognize a grammatical category; conjunction which has the semantic_ pragmatic subcategories; additive, adversative, causal, temporal and conditional in language. It is also assumed that the category of conjunction can be identified, described and compared across diverse and unrelated languages. Although an explicit justification for these assumptions is not sought, they provide a firm basis for the study.

Sacks et al (Ibid) maintain that an analyst can only arrive at authentic interpretation of the way interactants use language to communicate when he strives to use the talk of the participants

themselves. In this way the model is appropriate for the discourse oriented linguist whose interest is language use.

For Sacks and the colleagues, discourse is described in terms of interrelationships between units which occur in a hierarchical order. In this case, a given rank is made up of one or more units of the rank below it to form the following rank-scale;

conversation

topic

sequence

pair

turn

Since there are various aspects of the CA model, only those concepts that are relevant to the analysis of the role of the selected conjunctions in Kikamba conversational discourse have been taken into consideration.

Starting from the bottom of the rank-scale is the **turn** which is one of the most fundamental concepts of conversational analysis. The turn-taking system offers a set of principles that account for the smooth alternation of the participants in a conversation. In conversation, for example, the roles of the speaker and hearer change constantly. The person who speaks first becomes a listener as soon as the person addressed takes his turn.

The CA model has a useful vocabulary to refer to the projectable places where turn-transfer occurs. The units out of which turns can be constructed are referred to as **Turn Constructional Units (TCUs)**. Each speaker is allotted one of the

TCUs. The end of a TCU constitutes a place where speaker-change could occur and this place is referred to as the **Transition Relevance Place** because it marks a place at which a transition from one speaker to another can, but need not, occur.

The Transition Relevance Place for a turn is a likely location for turn transfer and if a speaker has not pre-selected the next speaker then others may select themselves. When the speakers self-select, it is predictable that the first to start will gain the floor with others dropping out. In CA this rule is known as the 'first starter rights' (Sacks et al, 1974: 704). There is also the possibility that the current speaker may self-select and continue talking after a possible completion point whenever another does not self-select. These terms are relevant to this study because the researcher has used them in explicating the role of conjunctions in Kikamba conversational discourse. The turn-taking system is also crucial to this study in the establishment of the distribution of conjunctions in the conversational structure. This is because their distribution is embedded within the turn-taking system.

The conversationalists use the concept of projectability to explain how a participant is able to precisely begin his turn relative to the completion of a prior one. They point out grammatical, intonational and pragmatic signals as the features that project a speaker's possible turn completion. The simplest technique for instance is to employ what Sacks(1973) calls 'an utterance incompleter'. The conversational analysts indicate this as the technique open to the speaker who wishes to continue past a

particular 'possible completion'. Utterance incompleters are grammatical items like conjunctions whose importance in conversation is that they turn a potentially complete utterance into an incomplete one.

The turn-taking system provides a foundation for making sense out of two related phenomena: Simultaneous talk and silence. Simultaneous talk occurs when two or more speakers talk at the same time and thus overlap in their speech, while silence occurs when no one is talking. For example:

A: **Thĩna waku nĩ mwaũ?** What is your problem?

B:

I? Vaiĩ...

Eh? None...

When A asks B what his problem is, silence from B which is indicated by the dots necessitates a further prompt eh? which in turn overlaps with B's answer.

The next unit after the 'turn' is the **adjacency pair** which constitutes the other crucial principle of CA. This unit is used in the identification of the structural organization of conversation. The adjacency pair is the smallest and most basic unit in the conversational sequence (Schegloff and Sacks; 1973). It consists of two turns, one partly supplying the first pair part and the second partly responding with a second pair part, as the following question-answer adjacency pair illustrates,

A: Nĩũandĩkĩte mbathi sya kwaya? Have you written the choir songs ?

B: Nyie nĩandĩkĩte o imwe. I have just written some.

Since conversations are structured sequences of turns, a first pair part makes a second one 'relevant'. For example the question (in the first pair part) above is only meaningfully interpreted when in the second pair part the answer related to the question is given. Typical adjacency pairs include question-answer, greeting-greeting, offer-acceptance/refusal. The product of the first pair part of any adjacency pair limits the options for what will follow it.

For each adjacency pair there is a preferred response and the dispreferred response. For example an offer is most likely to be followed by either an acceptance or refusal. An acceptance is preferred in this case because it occurs most frequently and a refusal is dispreferred because it is less common (Schegloff and Sacks, Ibid:296).

Next in the rank-scale after the adjacency pair is the concept of **sequence**. In the CA model, the communicative process in conversational interaction through the basic units the turn and the pair is seen to produce a conversational sequence. The adjacency pair as a sequential unit in conversation is relevant to the present study because the conjunctions have been analyzed with reference to how they are embedded in certain conversational and therefore sequential contexts.

The other important unit of conversational discourse is **topic**. Looking at the hierarchical organisation of discourse content, topic may be characterised in terms of the topmost elements in the hierarchical representation. In very simple terms topic refers to what is being talked about in a conversation. A chunk of conversational discourse then can be treated as a unit of some kind because it is on a particular topic. What is being talked about changes within a conversation making topic change a recurrent feature in conversation. For example speakers stop talking about 'money' and move on to 'politics'. The point of speaker change which could be treated as the end of one chunk of conversation is what usually acts as a guide to the end of a topic.

The CA Model is also governed by the principle of **context** which refers to the circumstances in which discourse is produced. The context involves the participants, the place, the topic and generally the culture within which all these are embedded. Context therefore governs how the meaning of the participants' talk is to be interpreted because it contributes to the overall interpretation of the message. This principle of context is relevant here because the conjunctions and the discourse within which they function have been appropriately analyzed by a consideration of the principle components of context.

In the following example, the context acts as a source for interpreting what the utterances actually mean.

M : I'm your mother.

S: **But it is Fri:day.**

(adopted from Ford, 1993: 6)

The context is an argument between a mother trying to get her son to go to bed and the son on the other hand wanting to convince his mother to let him stay up because it is a Friday. Knowledge of the cultural context that Friday is an exceptional day with respect to sleep time since there is no school on Saturday explains why the son starts his turn by the use of the conjunction 'but'; to show that he does not wish to sleep early contrary to his mother's expectations.

1.9 METHODOLOGY

1.9.1 LOCATION OF STUDY

The research was carried out in Machakos district, Eastern Province, Kenya.

1.9.2 DATA COLLECTION

The source of data for the study on the discourse functions of conjunctions in Kikamba was naturally occurring conversation. The conversations were collected from a variety of contexts which included the home, market, religious services, and street encounters. It should however be noted that the data collected from these contexts is not intended to show a comparative study of conjunctions in different sectors of society. Rather, the data is limited to these contexts because setting imposes structure on the emergent discourse. Thirteen sessions of conversations were

collected for the study. A portable audio tape recorder was used to record the conversations.

1.9.3 DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION

Preliminary data analysis included the replaying of the cassettes in order to identify the Kikamba conjunctions. The taperecorded data was transcribed in ordinary orthography and the diacritic mark (◌̄) that distinguishes \bar{i} from i and \bar{u} from u was also indicated. Two kinds of conjunctions have been traditionally realized across languages; coordinators and subordinators. This two-fold classification is however not maintained in analyzing the discourse functions of conjunctions in Kikamba discourse because it does not appropriately account for the pragmatic functions of conjunctions. Halliday and Hassan's (1976) categorization of English conjunctions is used to provide the semantic_pragmatic categories for the analysis of conjunctions in this study. The conjunctions are analyzed using Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson's Conversational Analysis model (1974) after which a discussion is made of the discourse functions conveyed by each conjunction. Preference is made for the CA approach due to the fact that it takes account of the pragmatic aspect of linguistic analysis.

In all the cases, the conversational fragment where the relevant conjunction is found, it is given a free translation into English. The relevant aspects of context are also included since they are indispensable in the analysis of language in use.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 INTRODUCTION

Most of the literature reviewed was mainly on English discourse because English is a very widely studied language. The first part gives a brief general overview of Conversation Analysis. This overview puts the present research into the proper perspective. A few studies on African languages which are also relevant to this study are then discussed. The literature review is further divided into two broad categories; conjunctions in **conversation-based** studies and conjunctions in **text-based** studies. Finally, studies that do not specifically focus on conjunctions but are nonetheless relevant to the current study are reviewed.

2.1 GENERAL OVERVIEW OF CONVERSATION ANALYSIS

Much work on Conversation Analysis addresses verbal structuring or organization of naturally occurring conversation. Although the Conversation Analysis model was originally used by sociologists, it has in the last one decade achieved widespread acceptability in other disciplines particularly linguistics. This is attributed to the fact that researchers from linguistics have become increasingly aware of the importance of social context for the analysis of the role of grammatical features in discourse.

The appropriacy of the CA model to the analysis of conjunctions in discourse therefore lies in its appeal to context in the analysis of grammatical forms. Corsaro (1985) describes

the model as 'context_free' in that conversation can accommodate a wide range of situations, participant identities and changes of situations, and also 'context_sensitive' such that it narrows parameters of social reality in a local context in van Dijk (1985:171).

2.2 STUDIES ON AFRICAN LANGUAGES

A number of studies have been conducted in Kikamba and other African languages which are relevant to this study. One of these studies is 'A Practical Introduction to Kamba' (Muli and Whiteley, 1962). It provides a grammar of the language for both native and non-native speakers wishing to acquire a working knowledge of Kikamba. The two writers identify the following Kikamba connectors:

na	and, also, with
ĩndĩ	but
kana	or
nũndũ	because
o: na kau	even though
kana	that
atĩ	that

They do not however investigate how these conjunctions are used in conversation. They classify these connectors under the group 'invariable words'. This name implies that conjunctions are outside the whole system of grammatical agreement which characterizes other word classes such as nouns, verbs and

adjectives.

The study is also useful to the present one because the writers make useful observations on the role of tone in the Kikamba language. They observe that Kikamba may be described as a tone language¹ in the sense that some words may be distinguished from one another on the basis of their tone-pattern as the following words illustrate:

Mwaki (- _) fire (high-low pitch)

Mwaki (_ _) builder (high-high pitch)

Looking at the Niger-Congo languages, Welmers (1973) surveys a variety of phenomena which appear commonly in African languages or languages of one family group. In regard to conjunctions he observes that in the vast majority of African languages, a single simple monosyllabic word 'na' is usually used for 'and'. For example, a beginner acquiring Kikamba may erroneously assume that he can use 'na' to join utterances without the knowledge that this concept has other semantic connotations. It may for instance mean 'also, with' depending on the context.

Welmers notes that the subject of conjunctions needs attention because a learner may be led to the assumption that one can use the same word to join words or other constructions. His observation that this is not simply true in any African language is a useful one to the concerns of this study which seeks to establish the different discourse functions of 'na' among other Kikamba conjunctions. The conjunction 'or', is more complicated than 'and' in Niger-Congo languages, for example he notes that in the Kpelle

language, 'or' is expressed by a two-word phrase 'kpa man' which apparently means 'no, also'. In Igbo it is expressed as "m'o bu" meaning that "it may be". In the Fante language there is a simple conjunction /a'naa/' for 'or' which may however be used as a question-marker at the end of a yes-no question.

2.3 CONJUNCTIONS IN CONVERSATION BASED STUDIES

One of the studies that has investigated the role of conjunctions in conversation is Schifffrin's (1987) study on discourse markers. A discourse marker is a sequentially dependent item which signals the relationship between different parts of discourse (Crystal, 1985). Schifffrin (op cit) uses a discourse framework in which emphasis is on the way sentences work in sequence to produce coherent sequences.

Her study focused on the use of a variety of linguistic expressions in interaction; 'and', 'but', 'or' (discourse connectives), 'because' and 'so' (causal conjunctions), then (temporal conjunction), and 'oh', 'well', 'y'know' (particles) by Jewish speakers in America. The scholar highlighted various functions of the selected expressions in interaction. Her study is relevant to the present study because of its focus on the role of conjunctions in conversation. Schifffrin (Ibid) was working within a discourse framework in which she views conjunctions as having various functions within the overall integration of discourse. She views discourse as a product of several interlocking components: exchange, action and idea structures, an information state and a

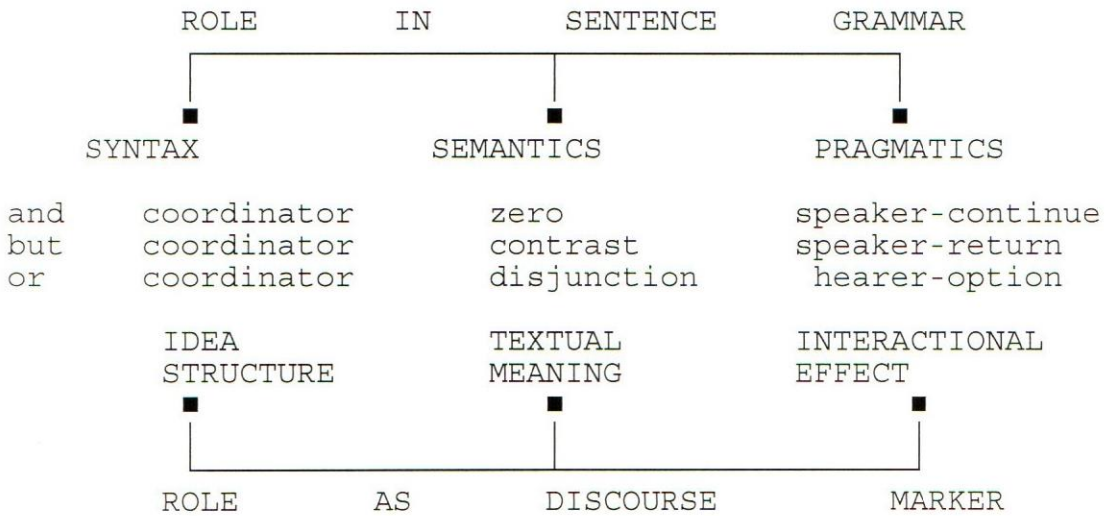
participation framework.

The exchange and action structures are non linguistic in the sense that they are essentially pragmatic due to the role which speakers and hearers play in negotiating them. In Schifffrin's view the exchange is the minimum unit of language interaction and is made of a series of utterances that compute interactive meaning through the basic unit the 'turn'.

On the other hand, the action structure deals with the speech acts since it stems from the fact that language is used to perform actions in different contexts. In support of this view, Stubbs (1983a: 1) says that language that is used to report is different from that which is used to explain. The ideational structure is linguistic because the units within it are semantic, that is, the units within it are propositions with semantic content.

The difference between Schifffrin's study and the present one is that the latter investigates the role of conjunctions in conversation within a conversational analysis framework. The scholar summarizes her findings on the use of the coordinating conjunctions 'and', 'but', and 'or' in English discourse as follows:

Figure 1: Conjunctions as discourse markers



(adopted from Schiffrin, 1987:190).

The figure above suggests that the discourse roles of the connectives parallel their grammatical roles. In other words the linguistic properties of the conjunctions interact with the discourse slots in which they occur to produce their discourse functions.

She found that the connective 'and' has two roles in conversation. First, it coordinates ideas in a conversation and in this way, it signals that we have a unit that is connected to a structurally equivalent unit somewhere in the prior discourse. Secondly, the connective 'and' has a pragmatic effect as a marker of speaker continuation in interaction. The identification of what is being coordinated or continued is not provided by the connective 'and'. Such identification necessitates looking at the content and the structure of ideas in conversation. Let us look at Schiffrin's own example;

Sally: You lived in West Philly? Whereabouts?

Zelda: Well, I was born at 52nd and em...oh: I forgo-
well...I think its 52nd and Chew.

And I-then lived at uh 49th and Blair.

Sally:

Which is

West Ph- Where's that?

Zelda: It's right off 49th and (Main).

Sally: Oh.Oh yeh. Yeh.

Zelda: That's where I lived.

And then we moved here.

where Zelda re-opens an interactional unit (her answer) whose completion had been interrupted by Sally's request for locational information. **And** in the above case displays an upcoming utterance as part of a not yet completed interactional unit.

On the use of the connective 'but' she observes that it marks an upcoming utterance as contrasting prior ideas or actions in a conversation. Such use of 'but' she contends, can only be clearly shown by looking at the discourse content and structure. For example in question-answer pairs she observes that 'but' marks the speaker's efforts to return to a prior concern to fulfil a prior expectation imposed upon by the question as seen in the example below;

Jack:a. It was called N.E.P.

b. It was a little before R.N._N.R.A.

c. **But** they called it N.E.P.

in which Jack is describing the economic polices of the Soviet

Union; he refers to a particular policy of the 1920s which he misnames. In (b) he self-repairs from R.N. to N.R.A and in (c) he returns to his description of N.E.P with **but**.

The connective 'or' is used as an option marker in conversation. It differs from 'and' and 'but' because it is more hearer-directed. Whereas 'and' marks speaker continuation and 'but' marks a speaker's return to a point, 'or' marks a speaker's provisions of options to a hearer. Let us further use the following discourse fragment to illustrate this function of 'or' (Schiffrin 1987:177).

Jack: a. I'm-I'm speaking how kind every is in the movie.

b. **Or** uh...how a poor working girl is out looking for a job, with a hundred and ninety dollar suit on her back!

In this example, '**or**' provides idea options in a case in which Jack is arguing that American movies never present a realistic view of life. He presents the two options by the use of the conjunctions '**or**' to support his generalization about the lack of realism in American movies.

Ford (1993) examines work of adverbial clauses in naturally occurring American English conversations. The difference between her study and the present one is that the turn-constructive units she focuses on are those referred to as independent and dependent clauses in traditional grammatical terms. In the current study, the turn-constructive units are utterances and these may be single words, phrases or clauses. Although she does not deal with

the discourse organizational functions of conjunctions per se, her findings on the distribution and functions of conditional, temporal and causal conjunctions in adverbial clauses are relevant to the current study. She observes that conjunctions play an important role in the turn-taking system as described by Sacks et al, 1974.

Conjunctions are for example some of the options that a speaker has for extending his turn. This may happen in conversation after an utterance has been displayed as both grammatically and intonationally complete. Ford (ibid) notes that there are various conversational contexts in which previously completed utterances are extended by conjunctions.

For example;

H: Yeah but what you ea:t, if you eat greasy foo:d

N: We:eh he said it's no:t the fact you've eaten the greasy food, it's the fact that you worry about it.

And that makes you break ou:t.

(adopted from Ford, 1993:105).

The connector 'and' introducing the third clause explicitly marks that clause as a continuation of the prior utterance even though that utterance has already been marked as complete intonationally. These post-completion extensions in turns are normally related to the preference structure at work in a particular conversational sequence.

The preference organization as discussed by the conversational analysts has to do with the system that enables participants in a conversation to maintain an understanding. This has to do with the

notion of the adjacency pair where a distinction between preferred and dispreferred options is made. The notion of **preference** as used by Levinson is a structural notion that corresponds to the linguistic concept of **markedness**. The distinction is characterized thus;

preferred seconds are unmarked, they occur as structurally simpler turns; in contrast dispreferred seconds are marked by various kinds of structural complexity.

(Levinson, 1983: 307)

The following contrastive pairs of examples from Levinson (ibid) clearly illustrate these two notions:

Example 1: Preferred response

Child: Could you .hh could you put on the light for
my .hh room

Father: Yep

Example 2: Dispreferred response

C: Um I wondered if there's any chance of seeing you
tomorrow sometime (0.5) morning or before the
seminar (1.0)

R: Ah um (.) I doubt it

C: Uhm huh

R: The reason is I am seeing Elizabeth

In Example 1, the granting of a request is done without significant delay and with a single word 'Yep'. In Example 2 in contrast, a rejection of a request for an appointment is done after some significant delay.

Dispreferred responses are thus characterized by delays, prefaces and accounts. Preferred responses on the other hand tend to occur quickly after the previous speaker ends his/her previous turn (without delay), they tend to be direct (without preface) and they tend not to necessitate explanation (without account).

From her study, Ford (op cit) found out that the conjunction 'because' plays a major role in the repair sequence. A repair sequence as used by conversational analysts is often initiated by what is called a 'next-turn repair initiator' (NTRI). NTRIs are recipient prompts that signal lack of understanding or hearing in conversation. They appear in the recipient turn following a troubled spot (Sacks et al, 1977). For example,

Son: **I didn't buy the book**

Father: **mm... did not_**

Son: **Because eh I found the shop closed**

the son in this exchange uses the connective 'because' to introduce information addressing interactional trouble since the response is a dispreferred one to the father in the context.

From her study, Ford (op cit) concludes that the causal conjunction 'because' works as a general introducer of background information where a recipient has displayed a need for further elaboration. It typically occurs in final positions after an utterance that is intonationally complete. She also confirms the finding by Ford and Thompson (1986) that the conjunction 'if' occurs predominantly in discourse organizational initial position while temporal conjunctions occur mainly in initial position to

structure a piece of talk around shifts in time or situation. All these observations especially on the distribution and functions of conjunctions in conversation make that study relevant to the present one. Ford's study is directly relevant to the present study because she also uses the conversational analysis model.

The study by Fox (1993) on the use of anaphora in spoken English discourse also complements the present one because like Ford (1993), she also uses the conversational analysis model in order to emphasize on the structural nature of conversation. She argues that analysis of conversational discourse requires a model that captures the units that serve to organize it, a claim that the researcher in the present study takes into consideration by using the conversation analysis model.

McCarthy's (1984) paper on Some Vocabulary Patterns in Conversation although having its focus on lexical cohesion and not conjunctions has claims that are useful to this study. The scholar stresses that vocabulary in conversation as in written text can be viewed from two points of view: the transactional (content) and the interactional (how this content is negotiated among the participants). Both of these views are useful in explicating the role of conjunctions in Kikamba discourse although much of the focus of the present study is on the interactional role of the Kikamba conjunctions. He concludes that speakers use words in a systematic and patterned way for interactive purposes, a finding which he comes up with using the turn-taking system as an integral component of Conversation Analysis.

The Collins Birmingham University International Language Data Base (COBUILD) project (1987) also has useful implications for the current study. The project, based at Birmingham University was aimed at creating a dictionary for the learners of English as a second language using a database of 7.3 million words from naturally occurring language.

Table 2 below shows the ranks occupied by some of the most common English conjunctions among the first one hundred words, when they are ranked on the basis of frequency of occurrence.

Table 2: Common English conjunctions ranked on the basis of frequency of occurrence in naturally occurring language.

Conjunction	Rank
and	3
but	22
or	28
if	43
when	49
then	65
because	81

[Adopted from McCarthy,
in Carter and McCarthy, 1988:149]

By implication, in order for a Kikamba speaker to acquire communicative competence as defined by Widdowson (1979a:249) as, 'a set of procedures for realizing the discourse value of linguistic elements in contexts of use', it would be necessary to master the use of conjunctions in Kikamba conversational discourse.

Having examined conjunctions in conversation, we now turn to conjunctions in text based studies.

2.4 CONJUNCTIONS IN TEXT-BASED STUDIES

This study has also been informed by findings from text-based studies particularly [de Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981; Halliday and Hasan, 1976; van Dijk (a), 1977]. Central to these studies is the view that the written text is a language unit with a definable communicative function characterized by the principles of cohesion and coherence. This view is referred to as 'the text-as-product view' (Brown and Yule, 1983: 24).

Halliday and Hasan (1976) in their work on Cohesion in English use the model of cohesion to examine the resources for text construction. They identify various cohesive relations that bind the text together. These include reference, substitution, ellipsis, lexical cohesion and conjunction. They also recognize and propose a discourse based approach to the study of conjunctions. They note:

Conjunctive elements are not cohesive in themselves but indirectly by virtue of their specific meanings they are not primarily devices for reaching out in either the preceding or following text, but they express certain meanings which presuppose the presence of other components in the discourse

(Halliday and Hasan, Ibid:226)

The conjunctive cohesive link is established because interpretation of an element in one clause presupposes information from a prior clause. This means that conjunctions help create discourse because they form an interpretive link between two parts within a text. Although the two scholars discuss the concept of conjunction from a semantic perspective, their work is particularly significant because they provide the researcher some of the necessary categories for the analysis of the conjunctions in

Kikamba discourse.

The two researchers further classify conjunctions into four main categories, additive typically 'and', adversative typically 'but', causal typically 'so' and temporal typically, 'then'. They recognize 'and' as a texture creating device which contributes additive meaning by tying an upcoming proposition to a prior proposition.

Halliday and Hasan (Ibid) observe that attempts to assign meaning to conjunctions at both sentence and discourse levels are complicated by their openness to both external and internal meanings. External meaning is 'inherent in the phenomena that language is used to talk about' and Internal meaning on the other hand is 'inherent in the communication process' (Ibid:241).

For example,

- a) **Next he inserted the key into the lock.**
- b) **Next he was incapable of inserting the key into the lock.**

in each of these sentences by virtue of the temporal conjunctive element next can be seen to presuppose some preceding textual environment.

In a), the cohesion has to be interpreted in terms of the experiential function of language. It is a relation between meanings in the sense of representations of contents, i.e, our experience of external reality. Here the conjunction next may be located in the phenomena that constitute the content of what is being said. In (b) the cohesion has to be interpreted in terms of

the interpersonal communicative function of language. It is a relation between meanings in the sense of representation of the speaker's own 'stamp' on the situation, (i.e his choice of words to reflect his attitudes, mood etc). In other words, the conjunction next may be located in the interaction itself, the social process that constitutes the speech event. Internal meaning encompasses expressive and social meanings, the non-referential information usually included in the domain of pragmatics. Such a distinction leads one to search for ways in which the internal meanings of conjunctions (their pragmatic uses) are extensions of their external meanings (their semantic values).

For Halliday (1985) a similar distinction between 'ideational' and 'interpersonal' components of meaning in a language exist. His interest is in constructing a functional grammar of English using the systemic theory which is a theory of meaning as choice and in which the forms of a language are seen as performing functions. He identifies three major conjunctive relations, these are: elaboration, extension and enhancement. These relations, he postulates, are the kinds of expansion observed in clause construction.

Using the theory of text grammar, Van Dijk (1977a) isolates items in various syntactic categories as belonging to the wider group of connectives. From the syntactic category of conjunctions he focuses on the semantics and pragmatics of the subordinators and coordinators. He observes that the typical task of connectives is to express relations between facts. For example he observes that

the conjunction 'and' can be used in various contexts to express different relations besides coordination. This observation is particularly relevant to this study because it illustrates the importance of context in explicating the role of conjunctions in conversation. He also observes that the disjunct 'or' gives either exclusive or inclusive options in discourse. On the connective 'but' he observes that it basically expresses contrastive meaning. All these observations point to the need for an analysis of the role of conjunctions in conversation which van Dijk (1977a) does not provide.

Other scholars who belong to the group of scholars known as text grammarians are de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981). They view conjunction as one of the surface signals that contribute to the cohesion and therefore coherence of a text by tying bits of a text together. They also refer to conjunctions as junctive expressions and the relation that they give as junction because their function in a text has to do with joining pieces of the text together. Their findings are very similar to those of Halliday and Hasan (1976). Their observation that conjunctions deserve a discourse based approach is particularly useful to this study in which the researcher investigates the role of conjunctions in conversation.

The work on conjunctions by Lakoff (1971) focusing on three English conjunctions 'and', 'but', and 'if' contains a useful statement to this study; that appropriate language use requires the consideration of pragmatic information. For instance he notes that the conjunction 'and' is used with the presupposition of temporal

sequence and this comes about simply because such a case of the conjunction 'and' shows that events are generally narrated in the order in which they occur.

Leech and Svartvik (1975) mainly focus on how conjunctions in English are used in linking constructions. In coordination the two scholars note that 'and', 'but' and 'or' are the most commonly used while in subordination conjunctions such as 'if' and 'because' are the most commonly used. The two researchers observe that coordination is often a looser connection than subordination and it is more characteristic of spoken than written language. Subordination tends to give a clause a less important part in the information given by an utterance.

2.5 OTHER STUDIES

Relevant to our research also is the work by Buyonge (1995) whose relevance to this work lies in its pragmatic approach to the study of presupposition and implicature in the use of modal constructions, conditionals and honorifics in Ekegusii.

Buyonge's work also gives us a possible starting point in identifying and analyzing conjunctions in the language under consideration. This is particularly because semantic criteria have been used to identify conjunctions in Kikamba as in his study. The work is also useful because it emphasizes on the indispensability of context in a pragmatic analysis of grammatical forms. In this respect he adopts Richards and Schmidt's definition (1983, viii - ix)

Pragmatics is a study which is relative to speakers in particular events, it is context sensitive and must take account of the varying communicative values more or less implicit in what people say.

(in Buyonge, 1995:25).

Also useful to this study is Grice's [1975] study which proposes that there is a general agreement of cooperation between participants in conversation such that each participant can expect the other to conform to certain conventions in speaking. The conventions otherwise known as **maxims** have to do with the quantity (informativeness), the quality (truthfulness), the manner (clearness) and the relevance of conversational contributions. These maxims are essential to any linguistic theory which purports to explain how inferences are made from what is said in interaction along with the speaker's presuppositions and their knowledge of the world.

The Cooperative Principle is an important component assumed to be naturally at play in our conversational analysis framework. It is actually an indispensable component of the framework simply because the role of conjunctions in conversation cannot be worked out without the assumption that the principle is at work.

Relevant to this study also is the work 'Discourse Analysis' by Brown and Yule (1983). The central concern of their work is to examine how any language whether spoken or written is used to communicate for a purpose in context. Unlike the present study which uses only one discourse type: conversations recorded at different social settings, their study uses data from a variety of additional discourse types such as extracts from newspapers,

notices, contemporary fiction and graffiti.

This work is particularly useful to the present study because it offers important insights that are taken into consideration in the present research. For instance the two scholars point out the Conversational Analysis model by Sacks et al (1974) as a more promising approach to the analysis of discourse. They also recognize the contribution of Speech Act Theory formulated by Austin (1962) to the achievement of coherence in conversational discourse. They note;

The principle interest of Speech Act Theory for the discourse analyst is that it provides an account of how some unconnected utterances in conversational discourse form a coherent sequence.
(Brown and Yule, op.cit: 232)

The importance of the Speech Act Theory lies in its view of the utterance, the basic unit of this study, as a functional unit in conversation. In other words an utterance is seen as an action. In this theory, an utterance has two kinds of meaning;

1) The propositional meaning i.e. the literal meaning of an utterance also known as the locutionary act. For example the utterance "Shoot the snake", literally refers to the propositional content of the utterance.

2) The illocutionary meaning i.e the communicative function of the utterance in context for example the utterance "shoot the snake" may be taken as a command being issued to someone to shoot a certain snake in a certain context. Such an utterance is said to have illocutionary force if the actual shooting of the snake occurs.

For the two researchers, conjunctions are some of the linguistic elements which would be claimed to be explainable only in terms of an utterance-as-an action analysis. Brown and Yule (op cit) also show the relation between the notion discourse analysis and pragmatics which are often confused;

In discourse analysis, as in pragmatics we are concerned with what people using language are doing and accounting for the linguistic features in the discourse as the means employed in what they are doing.

(Ibid: 26).

The work on pragmatics by Levinson (1983) is also relevant to the present study particularly due to its emphasis on the role of context in the analysis of grammatical features. The scholar also views the Conversation Analysis model as the most appropriate one to the study of conversational discourse. From a very broad perspective, the scholar identifies two main approaches to the study of conversation; Discourse Analysis (DA) and Conversation Analysis (CA). He offers a lengthy comparison between the two approaches and identifies a remarkable underlying uniformity of views between them despite their differences;

A basic assumption (probably right) as far as it goes is that the level at which coherence or order in conversation is to be found is not at the level of linguistic expressions, but at the level of speech acts or interactional moves that are made by the utterance of those expressions.

(Levinson op.cit:288)

He views conversation as the most basic kind of language usage. Hoey (1991) holds a similar view by observing that 'dialogue is originally the aspect of language most directly involved in the relation of grammatical forms to particular

situations'.

Levinson (op.cit) discredits earlier discourse models by discussing their weaknesses in relation to the study of conversation. He argues that Discourse Analysis employs the methodology and the kinds of theoretical principles & concepts typical of linguistics. They mainly use the following procedures;

- 1) Isolation of a set of basic categories or units of discourse.
- 2) Formulation of a set of concatenation rules stated over those categories delimiting well-formed sequences (coherent discourses) from ill-formed discourse (incoherent discourse)
- 3) There is typically an appeal to **intuitions** concerning for example what is and what is not coherent discourse.

In this broad category fall the text grammarians like de Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) and van Dijk (1977a) and also the rather different work based on Speech Acts by researchers such as Labov and Fanshell (1977) and Sinclair and Coulthard (1975). For Levinson (op cit), conversational analysis as practised by Sacks, Schegloff & Jefferson (1974) is a rigorously empirical approach whose methods are essentially inductive, meaning that search is made for recurring patterns across many records of naturally occurring conversations. Unlike discourse analysis which emphasizes on rules as used in syntactic description, for CA, emphasis is on the interactional & inferential consequences of the choice between alternative utterances. Levinson (op cit) further contends that CA is not totally dismissive of intuitions but emphasizes on what can actually be found to occur not on what one

would guess would be odd (or acceptable) if it were to do so.

The general properties that Discourse Analysis theorists of conversation would subscribe to are the following taken verbatim from Levinson (1983:289).

- (i) There are unit acts (*speech acts* or *moves*) that are performed in speaking, which belong to a specifiable, delimited set
- (ii) Utterances are segmentable into unit parts (*utterance_units*) each of which corresponds to (at least) one unit act
- (iii) There is a *specifiable function*, and hopefully a *procedure*, that will map utterance units into speech acts and vice versa
- (iv) Conversational sequences are primarily regulated by a set of *sequencing rules* stated over speech act (or move) types

There are however problems that arise for each of these properties which make such models of DA fundamentally inappropriate for the analysis of conversation.

The first property is problematic for the simple reason that the possible number of perlocutionary intents that a speech act may have are unlimited.

The second property also has a weakness in the sense that there is no one to one correspondence between utterance units and speech acts.

As such, this creates problems for the third property in that there is no simple form-to-force correlation. Some attempts to bridge the gap between what utterances literally mean and what utterances actually do using theories of indirect speech acts have failed.

In regard to property (iv) the assumption that there is a set of sequencing rules stated over speech acts or related categories which govern the sequential organization of conversation has its problems in that e.g paired utterances like questions and answers, greetings & greetings motivates the sequencing rules approach. What should be noted is that conversation is not basically constituted by such pairs and the rules that bind them are not of a quasi-syntactic nature but more so, are determined by conditional relevance closer to Gricean maxims. For instance, questions can be followed by reflections of the presuppositions of the question, statements of ignorance, denials of the relevance of the question etc as in the case below;

8:A. what does John do for a living?

B:a) oh this and that

b.) He doesn't

c:) I've no idea

d:) What's that got to do with it?

What Levinson (1983) seems to be saying in the above example is that no syntactic rules govern conversation. From the foregoing, he concludes that it seems reasonable then to turn to CA

as the approach that at least at present has most to offer in the way of substantial insight into the nature of conversation. DA is inappropriate because its methods and theoretical tools from mainstream linguistics are inappropriate in the domain of conversation.

In Schiffrin's (1988) paper on conversation analysis is portrayed the important role that context plays in the interpretation of conversational discourse. She contends that our social-cultural knowledge provides an interpretation which allows us to discover reasons for the underlying coherence of conversation. She also observes that conversation is orderly not because of the order among sentences but because of the ways in which speakers and listeners coordinate their joint production of meanings and actions.

Habwe (1989) focuses on the pragmatics of conversational discourse of the Mvita language. He underscores how mutual knowledge, cultural knowledge and rules of conversation explicated under Grice's (1975) cooperative principle come to play an important role in the interpretation of meaning. He singles out the turn-taking system, topic and adjacency pair as the structural units in his study, units that have been used in the present study.

Juma (1991) examines the structure of classroom discourse in Kenyan secondary schools. Like Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), she observes the basic exchange structure as consisting of three parts: initiation, response and feedback. Stubbs (1983) also contends

that unless some form of feedback occurs total exchange is incomplete. Juma (op cit) suggests that more research ought to be directed towards showing the role of vocabulary in the exchange structure, a proposal that the researcher in this study takes into consideration.

Karanja (1993), carried out a discourse analysis of the structure of Kenya Broadcasting Corporation Television (KBC) Discussion Programmes. Using Hymes' (1974) ethnography of speaking components of context, the scholar examines the exchange patterns and salient patterns of language use with particular attention to the structural organization especially on the turn-taking system and the adjacency pair. Her study differs from this study due to its focus on formal conversation as found in interviews.

2.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In conclusion a relatively rich linguistic tradition exists in western scholarship that has mainly attempted to analyze English conjunctions. Having this background in mind, the researcher attempts studying conjunctions in Kikamba along the same lines. The present characterization of Kikamba natural language conjunctions in the following chapters therefore focuses less on their formal and logical properties and more on their semantic and pragmatic properties. In this connection, Stubbs (op.cit: 36) notes;

as knowledge of the syntax, phonology and semantics of various languages has increased, it has become clearer there are specific phenomena that can only naturally be described by recourse to contextual concepts.

In view of the importance of context in the analysis of conjunctions, aspects of the discourse context and what they contribute towards describing and understanding language are used in all the discussions of the role of conjunctions in Kikamba conversation. This importance is accorded to context because the analysis of discourse necessarily involves pragmatic considerations as Brown and Yule (op.cit: 26) note;

Doing discourse analysis certainly involves doing syntax and semantics but it primarily consists of doing pragmatics.

Halliday and Hasan's (op.cit) semantic_pragmatic categories of conjunctions are employed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

THE ROLE OF ADDITIVE AND ADVERSATIVE CONJUNCTIONS IN CONVERSATIONAL DISCOURSE

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter deals with the role of Kikamba additive and adversative conjunctions identified in the data collected. The conjunctions are shown in the table below:

Table 3 Kikamba Additive and Adversative Conjunctions

CATEGORY	EXPRESSION	GLOSS ENGLISH
ADDITIVE	na	and
	kana	or
ADVERSATIVE	ĩndĩ (ateo)	but
	lakini	but
	mbona	but

The different conjunctions in the table above perform various functions in encoding, organizing and maintaining conversational discourse.

3.1 ADDITIVE CONJUNCTIONS

Additive conjunctions are used in discourse to continue utterances either by way of adding information or offering options to speakers in conversation.

3.1.1 NA

The conjunction 'na' glossed in English as 'and' is classified as an additive because it is used to add information in discourse and to create discourse continuity. In general this conjunction is used in conversation to perform a **connective role**. There are various aspects of this connective role.

First 'na' functions as a marker of **speaker continuation**. This function often emerges in cases where a speaker initiates an utterance but is interrupted by another speaker. Let us consider the discourse fragment below;

1.A: Indi ūmwīītu wa Mūsyoki Where is Mūsyoki's daughter?
aīva?

B: Aenda ūsisya ūla Mūdū She has gone to see that
amūnenga sick sheet. person to get a sick sheet.

A: Mūdū wīva? Which person?

B: Mūdū wīva? neew'a eewa Which person? I hear she was

A: ou

nī-
i

 told so

by-
Is

sick sheet kokwosa ilī? she getting two sick sheets?

C: Eendaa kūmwona va? Where has she gone to see him?
kowamwīa ekūū? has she told him she is here?

B: Amwīa evaa opposite She told him she is in the
nyūmba ya katatū third house opposite the
sivitalī. hospital.

A: $\boxed{\text{Na}_1-}$
C: $\boxed{\text{Ndathi.}}$

$\boxed{\text{And}_1-}$
 $\boxed{\text{Let her go}}$

A: Na₂ yu athi...na yu
athī eweka alea īta
mũndũ ũngĩ nĩkĩ?

And₂ now she went... and now
she went alone why didn't she
call someone else?

The three speakers in this discourse fragment are discussing a visitor (Mũsyoki's daughter) who is staying with them. She has decided to go for a sick sheet at the hospital without their assistance and this action displeases them.

As **A** starts to wonder why the visitor decided to go to the hospital alone by use of 'na' her utterance is interrupted by **C** whose utterance overlaps with that of **A**. In an attempt to connect and thus continue her interrupted utterance, **A** once more continues her utterance with 'na'. Thus a speaker continues using 'na' as seen in this discourse context to indicate that what she is going to say is connected to what she has just said.

The conjunction 'na' is also used in conversation to signal efforts to control over the topic of conversation. Such efforts are normally exhibited in contexts where an interruption after the utterance of 'na' makes a speaker lose the floor. Such occurrences of 'na' are basically at utterance initial position. This is the position in a conversation at which a speaker can appropriately continue an interrupted utterance and thus regain control over the topic of conversation. Let us examine the example

below;

2. A: Nyie neesĩ takũnawa visa I thought it was a free
mana. photograph.
- B: (Itheke.) (Laughter.)
- C: Keka...na₁- May be...and₁-
- B: Lakini kũthambĩthya But printing those things
nyamũ isu kũo mbesa wee. is quite expensive.
- D: Nouna...nounatũyĩie. He conn...he conned us.
- C: Na₂ ũimbĩthya siana? And₂ how much would you
charge me?
- A: Yo kũthambĩthya nĩkweeteteie. Anyway printing (exposures)
is expensive.

C starts to say something but is immediately interrupted by **B** after the utterance of 'na₁'. After this interruption **C** does not give up the floor but goes back to pursue his prior topic; his wish to know how much he would have been charged. He therefore uses 'na₂'. In this scenario, the interrupted speaker was observed to return to talk about the high cost of printing exposures. Such a return indicates a speaker as not being ready to lose the floor and thus lose control over the topic of conversation.

The other function of 'na' has to do with **information structuring**. Information structuring involves the management of information between the speaker and the hearer. It deals with how speakers organize and package information using the smallest conversation units. This function comes about due to the fact that

Mūtūa is in similar fees problems as **A**'s children is actually a confirmation that **B**'s use of 'na' in this context is a request for additional information to be given on the topic at hand by any member of the group. **C** is however irrelevant because she does not provide the expected solution and therefore the information is not managed as expected.

An adjacency pair² may be said to be the most basic unit of the conversational sequence when conversation is seen as a series of turns that are sequentially organised. It consists of two turns, one partly supplying the first pair part and the second partly supplying the second pair part. Examples of the adjacency pair are the question-answer and greeting-greeting pairs.

Speakers often work to fit their discourse into these basic units of conversation by use of the connective 'na'. For example in case of an experience being reported in a narrative, it may be in the form of an adjacency pair. In such a case, 'na' is used to **structure information** as in conversational fragment 4;

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>4 A: Wa - wawaa īvu wītonywa
o īvu?</p> | <p>When your belly is sick
you get an injection on
the belly?</p> |
| <p>B: Ai!</p> | <p>Hey!</p> |
| <p>C: Ukatonywa īvu <u>na</u>₁ tīūvūngū.
Nzwīlī anambīle aitonyela
singano vaa <u>na</u>₂ aitonyela</p> | <p>You are injected on the
belly <u>and</u>₁ it is not a
lie. Nzwīlī told me he</p> |

ngalĩ ĩno.

injects you here on this
side of the belly and₂
injects this other side.

In this discourse fragment, an elderly woman **C** tries to convince her son **A** and daughter **B** that she has heard of a certain hospital where the doctor administers an injection right on the spot where pain is emanating from. **A** obviously unbelieving about such a situation asks a question to which the mother provides an answer.

The conjunction 'na' is used to structure information in that the first instance of 'na₁' in **C**'s answer part of the adjacency pair is used to assert that one actually gets an injection exactly where the pain emanates from. The second instance of 'na₂' in the final part of **C**'s answer to **A**'s question is additive in the sense that it is used to add the information that one can actually get an injection on the belly in an attempt to convince her hearers.

Further, in a question-answer adjacency pair, 'na' is used to initiate a request for elaboration of an answer. For example;

5.A: Ndinda na₁ nĩwĩsĩ
nĩwambũkaa ĩ. Aneena ekaa
maũndũ atesilĩtye.

You know and₁ Ndinda talks
too much. She acts
without thinking.

B: Amwĩie ata?

What did she tell her?

Amwĩie ata?

What did she tell her?

C: Oke okomũandĩka.

To come so that she employs

her.

A: Ai, aseūvīw'e business nee
kyau...

Hey, to have some business
prepared for her ...

B: Na₂ alea ūmūandīka?

And₂ didn't she employ her?

A: Auma vu aisyoka ayūka
aimanthīla angī ngalīko ee.

When she leaves that place, she
comes and starts looking for
others this side.

B: Nīneewa nūnaandīkie kelītu
ī ...

I heard that she employed
another girl eh ...

The first instance of na_1 simply connects **A**'s utterance to the prior discourse while the second instance of na_2 initiates the question part of the adjacency pair to seek for a clarification to **B**'s earlier question about what Ndinda had told her house girl.

The conjunction 'na' also functions as a marker of **topic change** in a conversation. Consider;

6. A: Asii, G.V nowīsī kwī andū
mathuitwe nī G.V ona mena

Hey, don't you know that G.V
makes some mouth ulcers to
worsen?

itau ino

nokaa?
Ikanono ka.

to

worsen?
They worsen.

A: Na₁ indī nyie mwīītu wa
Mūsyoki ūū nyie ī...

And₁ then this daughter
of Mūsyoki...

Na₂_yu nīūkūlya makomāī,

And₂ now let me ask you, did

Kavulieli nowe ūnesie
kūamūka auw'a kyai kana
mūndū mūka nowe
ūnookīlile?

Gabriel get up to make the tea
after they had slept or did the
woman wake up?

A's child has mouth ulcers all over her mouth, a condition which brings about a discussion on the negative effects of the drug known as Genitian Violet on some people. The first instance of na_1 by **A** marks the topic change from the discussion on Genitian Violet to that of disappearance of Musyoki's daughter. When no one responds after **A**'s prolonged silence she changes to a topic which had been discussed in the prior discourse.

The second instance of na_2 within the same utterance as 'na' thus marks this topic change from the disappearance of Musyoki's daughter to a different topic about Gabriel and his newly married wife. Thus 'na' is used whenever a speaker wishes to shift from one topic of a conversation to another.

3.1.2 KANA

The conjunction 'kana' (or in English) serves various functions in conversational discourse. The most basic function of this conjunction was found to be the marking of a speaker's provision of options to a hearer. Such options may either be interpreted as inclusive or exclusive depending on whether one option is taken into consideration or both are taken into consideration as seen in the next discourse;

7. A: Kyumwa kīya kitū kī andū aingī menāī. That church of ours has many sinners.
- B: M....aoi. Yes... witches.
- A: Na mūdū akavalūka kana ome aendete ūwosa ūmwīī. And someone will either dry up or fall while going to receive the body (of Christ).

The fact that the options which kana presents to a hearer may be interpreted as either inclusive or exclusive means that this conjunction provides hearers with a two way choice between accepting only one of the options or both. For example in the above piece of discourse there are two possible ways to interpret 'kana'.

In the first case it may be said that **A** is directing the hearer to choose only one option; that the evil people in the speaker's church will fall to the ground when going to receive the body of Christ. When only one of the options is taken into consideration then 'kana' is interpreted as having an exclusive meaning. In such a case then, only one of the options is permissible.

Secondly we could say that **A** is directing the hearers to choose both options. This would mean that 'kana' is inclusive in the sense that both options are taken into consideration.

'Kana' also plays an important role in arguments. It is used to mark different pieces of support as a speaker's multiple evidence for a position. It serves this function by being interpreted as marking inclusive options because taking both

options into account provides cumulative support for strengthening a position in an argument. This is illustrated in the following conversational fragment;

8. A: Na yu kwaisya ayĩtete Now just see he brings
- B: kĩla mũndũ-
aetete everybody-
he brings
- A: na aimũnenga fifteen and gives him fifteen
shillings. shillings.
- C: Fifteen? Anaile umũivĩthya Fifteen? He was supposed
ten ketha nĩwe unasponsete to charge you ten if he
ĩvisa. had paid for the photograph
- D: Kana osoo...kana ũndũ iĩvawa, Or he takes ... or
ethĩwa no seven. whatever it costs even if
it is seven.

C and D are friends who took a photograph which was paid for by a friend. They believe they have been overcharged and they are thus giving options as to how much they should have been charged. C suggests that if their friend had paid for the photograph, he should have charged them ten shillings and not fifteen. D however opts for seven shillings. 'Kana' is thus inclusive in this discourse context in the sense that although one option out of the two would suffice, both options are permissible. Hence C and D can use the two options to support the fact that their friend

overcharged them.

The same interpretive possibilities for 'kana' are shown in discourse fragment 9 during a Women's Group meeting;

- 9 A: Kwoou mwĩnenga ũũ yu? So whom are you going to give
Ninywĩ mũũmanya ũla now? You are the ones to
mũũnenga. decide who to give to.
- B: Aie...kana₁ tũkwatanĩsyē. No...or₁ we make a combination.
- C: Kwatũvangei. Nĩtũũkũna Let's decide. Are we going to
kula kana₂ vevĩtwa ata vote or₂ what shall we do? But
vaa? Lakini ndwene yu- now you see-

The participants are trying to establish who to give their next financial joint contribution. An argument arises from the claim by each of them that they all have problems and therefore they are all in need of money.

A challenges the rest that they have to decide on who to give the contribution. **B**'s suggestion is that they should for example combine contributions for two people at a time, a suggestion that is marked by 'kana' in the context.

C offers another suggestion, that they should vote or even come up with another decision. Either of these options is permissible; they can vote and decide on one person or they can combine the contribution for more than one person at a go. If both options are taken into consideration, then 'kana' has an inclusive meaning. In this way 'kana' may be said to have an interactional advantage

because both options in this case have a joint effect in allowing group members to decide on what criteria to use in order to give out the next financial contribution to the deserving person.

'Kana' was also observed to be used to mark inclusive options to hearers in conversational contexts where some clarification is sought as in conversational fragment 10;

- | | | | | |
|--------|--|--|--|------|
| 10. A: | Mūvaka ona tūla twana
tūnini twookila. | Until even the little
children got up. | | |
| B: | <table border="1"><tr><td>M...</td></tr></table> | M... | <table border="1"><tr><td>M...</td></tr></table> | M... |
| M... | | | | |
| M... | | | | |
| C: | <table border="1"><tr><td>M...</td></tr></table> | M... | <table border="1"><tr><td>M...</td></tr></table> | M... |
| M... | | | | |
| M... | | | | |
| A: | Twaambīla kwīka ta kīla
kīveti. | They started imitating
the mad woman. | | |
| C: | Johnstone nīwe ūnīkwīnīthasya?
Nī Johnstone kana nī... | Is it Johnstone who was
conducting the choir? Is
it Johnstone or is it... | | |
| A: | īī | Yes. | | |

In a chatting session after a church service during which a mad woman had attracted the attention of the members, **C** seeks clarification on the name of the choir master by use of 'kana'. The clarification that it was actually Johnstone is given by **A**.

The functions of 'kana' already discussed are accomplished in both utterance initial and utterance medial positions.

A remarkable observation that was made in regard to the usage of

the context above where the provision in the turn_taking rules for the selection of the next speaker is seen to directly motivate tag_formation. The function of the turn_ender 'kana' in Kikamba seems to be explicable only in relation to the turn_taking system.

Another case of the use of 'kana' in utterance final position as a question tag and which has the same interpretive possibilities as in the case above is in the context of a request for a clarification as in the piece of discourse below;

- 12 A: Koita ndependia nondũ It depends on how someone
wendete nyama. We noũta likes meat. He can even sell
nyama aketa ũta. meat and salivate.
- B: Mama ngamanya ve kasama Mum is there some meat
kana? or?

B wants to clarify from his mother whether supper will have some meat in it. This placement of the conjunction 'kana' in utterance final position provides one option and omits the other. In such a case, the omitted option is recoverable from the discourse context. For example, it would appear that **B** wanted to know whether there is meat or there is no meat and hence the use of the conjunction 'kana' as a question tag.

In general the conjunction 'kana' may be described as hearer-directed in the sense that it elicits illocutionary acts on the part of the hearer i.e in giving options to a hearer it functions as a discourse marker of a speaker's action towards his own utterances.

3.2 ADVERSATIVE CONJUNCTIONS

Adversative conjunctions are so called because they express contrast between upcoming and prior utterances. The basic meaning of these conjunctions is 'contrary to expectation'. Such expectation may be derived from the content of what is being said or from the communication process.

3.2.1 INDI/ATEO

The terms 'ĩndĩ' and 'ateo' are Kikamba expressions glossed in English as 'but' due to the fact that they both express contrast. Thus both variants are semantically synonymous. Out of the two realizations of contrast 'ĩndĩ' is most commonly used. Infact 'ateo' was only used twice in all the conversations collected for this study.

The most basic function of 'ĩndĩ' in conversation is to express contrast between an upcoming utterance and a prior one. For example;

13. A: Nĩenda kembisye Mũtitũnĩ. I would like it to drop me at Mũtitũnĩ.
- B. Keũvisya tũ. It will drop you really.
Indĩ ngũkũlilye ĩthea But I asked you Ndinda's
Ndinda kaatĩ ĩla yaku father, when you keep your card
waia ĩkotinĩ ũkesa ũnewa in your coat, who will give you
mbesa nũũ? money?
- C. Mũkanzangĩa toũenge mbesa. If you contributed you would

give me money.

where **B** uses 'ĩndĩ' to contrast the expectation that C (Ndinda's father) would walk about with his card and collect money since it was a card designed to collect money for a harambee. Contrary to this expectation, he keeps the card in his coat pocket an action which prompts his wife **B** to be concerned about who will contribute money for him.

In some contexts it may not be easy to understand the contrast in expectations as in the next conversational fragment.

- 14.A: Yo Laeli anambĩie nee Rachel told me she was
kanaĩ ĩvu...kawaa pregnant... she got
ndetema... malaria ...
kanaĩ kanatwawa. she had just married.
- B: Na ĩndĩ mooka kwoo ... And then when they came to
their place...
- A: M ... M ...
- B: Yu kauma Ilovi, nako kooka Now on leaving Nairobi,
kalea kaithi kwa Mũtũngi. she refused to go to Mũtũngi's
(home).
- A: Kanatwaĩtwe kwa Mũtũngi? Was she married at Mũtũngi's?
- B: M ... ateo kauma Ilovi Yes... but on leaving Nairobi
kataathi kwa Mũtũngi. she did not go to Mũtũngi's.

In this extract, 'ateo' contrasts the expectation that the young

newly married woman being discussed got sick and went to stay at her rural home contrary to the expectation that she was supposed to go to her husband's rural home (Mūtūngi's home) when she left Nairobi.

In such a case, it is not easy to say why a contrastive relationship exists between two utterances. For instance, if only the semantic content of the utterances above is taken into consideration, the contrast may not be clearly understood. This is because, the contrast is buried within speakers' and hearers' culturally shared world knowledge.

The contrast expressed by 'ateo' can only be clearly understood when one has the world knowledge that when a woman marries particularly in the African context, she is expected to stay at her husband's home and not her natal home.

'Indī' is often used in conversation when a speaker wants to portray a **positive self image**. This is particularly the case when what a member of the conversation says contrasts with a speaker's sense of what would constitute a suitable self image for presentation to the hearers as in;

15.A: We, mūngī, Masai ūo You, whoever, Masai you are
kaūkola. a bit sly.

B: Indī ka kyaū yu nengī But, now slyness for what?

A: Kitumi nūndū ivīla ii The reason is because did
atakuie wakyumwa? he not carry these seats on
Sunday?

C: Ee Yes

- A: Ila wakuie yu ūkwatie When you carried them away, you
 ūmbia kītambaa watilile started saying you had cut up the
 Monday. Wakītilaa kīnini material on Monday. Why did you
 nīkī? No wai ūtila cut a little of it? Why didn't you
 kīanīīē mita ilī? cut two metres to fit?
- B: Mbona now'o twaisye But that is what we agreed.
- A: No wai ūtila mita ilī Why didn't you cut two meters to
 syīanīīē ilī? fit?

Prior to this discourse fragment **A** had made an arrangement to have her seats repaired by **B**. **A** accuses **B** of being sly and failing to finish the task as they had agreed.

In order to maintain a positive self image and not succumb to **A**'s allegations that **B**, the carpenter, is a sly man, he initiates his utterance with 'īndī'. His utterance however contrasts his attempt to convince **A** that he had done what they had agreed upon; yet he had not. Thus **B** would like to portray himself as a genuine carpenter to his hearer although failure to perform his duty as required compels **A** to see him as not.

Besides these conjunctions there are other adversative conjunctions that have been borrowed from Kiswahili language and which will be discussed in the next section.

3.2.2 MBONA AND LAKINI

Two other conjunctions that consistently emerged as discourse markers of contrast in the data collected are 'lakini' and 'mbona'. These conjunctions have been borrowed from Kiswahili into the Kikamba language and have become very popular among Kikamba speakers. 'Mbona' is used to express contrast in relation to what we may refer to as **interactional expectations**. These expectations may be described as the expectations that speakers and hearers hold towards each other in a conversation. For example a speaker may expect to receive certain information from a hearer or he may expect to provide certain information to a hearer.

The question-answer adjacency pair is a convenient focus for such use of 'mbona' because answers are formed in response to multiple expectations created by a prior question.

'Mbona' is thus used to express contrast when such interactional expectations are not met. Consider;

- | | |
|--|---|
| 16.A: June, Katũnge ayũka vaa
mwĩĩvo? | June, were you here when
Katũnge came? |
| B: Akua paperbag. | She carried a paperbag. |
| A: Katũnge ayũka- | When Katũnge came- |
| C: <u>Mbona</u> mbemba noii vaa. | <u>But</u> the maize is just here. |
| A: Nĩwakua mbemba? | Did she carry the maize? |

A arrives home in the evening to find some maize which was supposed to have been taken to the maize mill has not been taken. **A** asks her question expecting to be told exactly whether or not Katunge brought the maize. When this is not explicitly stated by

B, **C** intervenes expecting to provide the appropriate information to **A** in the context. 'Mbona' in **C**'s utterance is thus seen to serve the purpose of mitigation in the face of non-compliance to a question.

Whereas 'mbona' simply marks contrast, 'lakini' additionally functions as a marker of **speaker- return**. 'Lakini' is thus usually used when a speaker wishes to return to an earlier point; a function which makes it a point-making device as in;

- | | |
|--|--|
| 17. A: Wakito mūkania? | You warned him? |
| B: Na indī mwa wī wiitū
ndwitikīla kwaa. | And then you belong to us,
you cannot agree to get lost
from us. |
| C: Na yo ndyīsa kwaa ona
ngeka ata ... | I cannot get lost no matter
what ... |
| B: <u>Lakini</u> ndwīsī kana kīla
mūsyī withwaa ūsyāitwe
mūdū wa kwaa? | <u>But</u> don't you know that every
home normally has one person
who is destined to get lost? |

When chatting amongst young men who are friends, **B** argues that everyone is vulnerable to 'getting lost' in this world. 'Getting lost' in this context is used to mean being the 'black sheep' in the family. **C** however feels convinced that he cannot get lost whatever the case. In an effort to once more assert that every home has a black sheep, **B** initiates his utterance with 'lakini' in order to emphasise his point and express a contrast to **A**'s conviction that he cannot be the black sheep of his family.

3.3 CHAPTER SUMMARY

This chapter has dealt with Kikamba additive and adversative conjunctions. It would appear that 'na' and 'kana' share some properties. This is for example seen in signalling of the offering of options to a hearer. There are also other conjunctions which share similar properties that shall be dealt with in the next chapter.

END NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. A turn is also referred to as a move by some scholars (e.g Crystal: 1985; Sinclair and Coulthard: 1975). The term is used as part of the study of conversational structure where by conversation is seen as a sequence of conversational turns. The contribution of each participant is seen as part of a co-ordinated rule governed behaviour.
2. Levinson (1983) attempts a lengthy definition of the notion adjacency pair. He observes that it is not always easy to identify the two parts of an adjacency pair in which case he proposes the use of a more general term 'conversational sequence'.

CHAPTER 4

THE ROLE OF CAUSAL, TEMPORAL AND CONDITIONAL CONJUNCTIONS

IN CONVERSATIONAL DISCOURSE

4.0 INTRODUCTION

The discourse analytical approach taken here in analyzing Kikamba causal, temporal and conditional conjunctions necessarily involves pragmatic considerations.

The Kikamba conjunctions identified and dealt with are grouped into three categories as shown below;

Table 4: Kikamba causal, temporal and conditional conjunctions

CATEGORY	EXPRESSION (KIKAMBA)	GLOSS (ENGLISH)
CAUSAL	nũndũ	because
	kwoou	so
TEMPORAL	ĩndĩ	then
CONDITIONAL	ethĩwa	if

The conjunctions will now be analyzed in terms of this three-way classification.

4.1 CAUSAL CONJUNCTIONS

Causal conjunctions express a cause-effect relationship in discourse. Each conjunction will now be examined in turn.

4.1.1 NUNDU

In all the cases of the use of 'nũndũ', the general function of this conjunction is to give a **reason**. In this respect, this Kikamba conjunction is very similar to the English conjunction

'because'. A reason may simply be taken as something that explains or excuses an action. For instance;

1. A: Inyia kote wī vata nake The mother really likes him
 nūndū ūndū wamwīa nīw'ō because what she tells him is what
 wīkaa. he does.
B: Iī nī ūndū ūseo. Yes that is a good thing.

'nūndū' in the case above is being used by **A** to give the reason why the mother likes her son: he always does whatever she tells him.

Whenever it occurs at utterance medial position, this conjunction basically serves what we may simply refer to as a narrow scope. Narrow scope refers to the role of the conjunction 'nūndū' as being the basic one of giving a reason. For example in the conversation extract below;

2. A: Aiee neew'ie Ekaī atasya No I heard Ekai say that
 katwīka nīkeūkūkūna, if he has to beat you,
B: M... M...
A: Kaūkūnaa mumanītwe nūndū he beats you thoroughly
 ve mūndū nīwaa kaumisye because I hear there is a man
 navu kathiūūkyā na mavia he chased from that
 nginya nyūmba. place up to his house.

the conjunction 'nūndū' has a narrow scope in the sense that its discourse function can only be appropriately described as having a

less central interactional role than at utterance initial position. In this case **A** therefore maintains the opinion that the person under discussion beats other people viciously. In order to support this opinion he tells the story of how the notorious character beat up another man until he went to hide in his house.

In addition to the performance of the basic function of giving a reason, 'nũndũ' has a more central interactional role at utterance initial position than at medial position. It has a wide scope because of the various aspects of this basic function that emerge at this position.

First the conjunction 'nũndũ' performs an important role in regard to the notion of background information¹ as in;

3. A: Nĩkĩwe manyanya ma silingi I would like tomatoes for ten
ĩkũmi... shillings...
Nũndũ aa ũmbĩte ma for how much are
kyaũ? these?
B: O ĩkũmi. Just ten (shillings).
Kwoou ngwosee? So shall I pick them for
you?
A: Iĩ. Yes.

where it is being used to preface new information between the speaker and the hearer.

After **B**'s provision of an answer; that the tomatoes cost ten shillings, **A** uses this information that has now become 'given'

she carries all her clothes and generally her belongings to her marital place.

The causal conjunction 'nūndū' is also used to initiate an answer in a question-answer adjacency pair as in;

5. A: Numisye ī īīa sokonī. I got the milk from the market.
B: Sokonī va? Where at the market?
C: Nūndū yīikuītwe nī Because it had been carried by
andū sokonī na ikuu aī people in gourds that is why
yīienda ūkama. it is almost sour.

In addition to explaining why the milk is tasting sour, **A** is also answering to **B**'s question as to where the milk had come from, that is at the market.

At utterance-initial position, 'nūndū' is also used to give a reason to confirm a prior speaker's statement. For instance;

- 6.A: Nesa īwa noūvūngū I later heard it was all
vai mavūngū. lies there were no hoof marks.
B: Nūndū twaenda twethīie Because when we went there we
nyūmba yaanī mavūngū ala we found that the marks in the
mevo nīma mbūi lakini shamba belonged to goats but not
ti ma ng'ombe. cows.

In this piece of discourse, **A**'s neighbour claims that his

neighbour's cows had strayed into his shamba and caused damage. **A** believes this was a lie because the marks found at the neighbour's shamba belonged to goats and not to cows as had earlier on been alleged.

4.1.2 KWOOU

The Kikamba expression 'kwoou' may generally be glossed as 'so' in English. It is a conjunction that is used to achieve a variety of conversational tasks. Such tasks include turn-taking, completing the part of an adjacency pair and organizing and maintaining discourse topics.

4.1.2.1 TURN-TAKING

In relation to turn-taking, 'kwoou' plays a major role in the exchange of speech from the speaker to the hearer. This exchange has to do with the transition of responsibility from the speaker to the hearer and it is thus centred around the accomplishment of a particular interactional task.

Transitions from the speaker to the hearer are only potential in the sense that if a hearer does not take an offered turn the speaker may simply continue (Sacks, Schegloff and Jefferson, 1974). The potentiality of conversational transition has one main implication for the use of the conjunction 'kwoou'; that is it has a dual role in conversation. First it shows that a hearer has an option to take a next turn and secondly it allows a speaker to continue if such an option is not taken.

Let us consider;

7. A: We nīmūvinyīīe ena she has very many problems.
thīnanga. Kwoou... So... if we hurry up we can
tūkakatīanīsyā no go there...
tūthi vo...na twauma and from there...
vo...

B: Vai mūdū ūtethaa There is no one who does not usually
ena thīna. have problems.

After **A**'s observation that one of their colleagues who is absent during the meeting has many problems, she pauses to open up what conversational analysts refer to as 'turn space' to hearer **B** who then self selects following the CA rule 'first starter rights' (Sacks et al, Ibid). An examination of this conjunction in the Kikamba turn-taking system shows that it is a turn transition device which is used to mark a likely turn transition place. A turn transition device is a turn signal that indicates the likelihood of a shift in taking a turn from one speaker to another. At this place a transition from one speaker to another can, but need not, occur. In such cases where 'kwoou' explicitly functions as a turn transition device, it is often followed by explicit turn transition markers such as long pauses as in the above example.

Turn transitions proposed by the use of 'kwoou' without explicit turn transition markers on the other hand allow a speaker

to continue if no turn exchange occurs. This happens in cases where the transition is potential rather than actual as seen in example 8;

8. A: Namo makamanya mathĩna
ala wĩnamo nĩ kana metonya
ĩka ata? ũkũtetheesya.
- B: Iĩ.
- C: Kĩndũ kya mũthemba tosu.
- B: Kwoou mena mũkutano wakatatũ
matukũ ĩkumi na elĩ...kwoou...
mwĩthwe mwĩyũmbanĩtye
mũthĩ mũkaneene ũndũ mũkwenda
- They can also know the
problems you are
experiencing so that they
are in a position to do
what? to assist you.
- Yes.
- Something like that.
- So they have a meeting on
Wednesday the twelfth...
so... be prepared to go
tell him what you wish.

During a women's group meeting, the chairperson **B** tells the others of the proposed activities with their councillor. The first instance of 'kwoou' simply marks a confirmation that the councillor is holding a meeting on the specified date. The second instance of 'kwoou' marks a potential turn transition since when no one else takes the floor, speaker **B** continues her utterance.

4.1.2.2 COMPLETION OF AN ADJACENCY PAIR

The Kikamba conjunction 'kwoou' also plays a key role in the completion of an adjacency pair. Take for example in the context of a request-compliance pair as in:

9. A: Solution ̄la nzeo no ya
m̄tumioo athame oke k̄ū.

The best solution is for this
man to move over to this
place.

B: kwoou ooka k̄ū maisha
makaseūva?

So by his coming here life will
be alright?

C: Akoka k̄ū m̄im̄tonya.

By his coming here you may not
put up with him.

B's request for information as to whether the shifting of his friend to join him at his place of work will make life interesting is initiated by 'kwoou'. The provision of the answer that if he comes they may not manage to put up with him is compliance to the request. In this case 'kwoou' therefore completes the request/compliance pair by confirming the request for information.

4.1.2.3 ORGANISING AND MAINTAINING DISCOURSE TOPICS

Organizing and maintaining discourse topics is closely related to the notion of information management. 'Kwoou' is used to organise and maintain discourse in its complementary use with 'n̄ndū'. Unlike 'n̄ndū' which is used as a discourse marker of unshared background knowledge, i.e. information which is not mutually understood by the speaker and the hearer, 'Kwoou' is used when newly shared information in a conversation works as a basis for interpretation of upcoming discourse. A case in point is discourse fragment 3 in 4.1.1 at the market scene where 'n̄ndū' was

seen to preface unshared information between the speaker and the hearer.

- 10.A: Nīkīwe manyanya ma silingi I would like tomatoes for ten
īkūmi... shillings...
Nūndū aa ūmbite ma kyaū? For how much are these?
B: O īkūmi. Just ten shillings.
kwoou ngwoosee? So shall I pick them for
you?
A: Iī. Yes.

After **B**'s answer that the tomatoes cost ten shillings the participants acquire a basis for interpreting the ensuing discourse since both participants now have common knowledge concerning the price of the tomatoes. Thus 'kwoou' prefaces a change in background knowledge since it is only on the basis of the shared knowledge that the tomatoes cost ten shillings that **B** seeks for a clarification as to whether to pick **A**'s tomatoes.

This is a case of the complementary use of 'nūndū' and 'kwoou' to organise and maintain the discourse. Another case of such complementary use of the two conjunctions to perform a similar function is conveyed in the discourse below.

- 11.A: Na nīwīsī Sūngū nūnatwīvithīe? And do you know Sūngū
tricked us?
B: Va? Where?

A: <u>Nūndū</u> i	<u>Because</u> eh
B: e	e
A: Ila ɿla ũnatwĩtie atũkũne visa,	When when he called us
	us for a photograph,
B: ee	ee
C: <u>Kwoou</u> ndanaĩĩite ũtũkũna na	<u>So</u> he was supposed to
kĩla mũndũ ayĩetewe visa yake.	pay for it and bring every
	one a photograph.

In this discourse **A** wants to convince his colleagues that one of their friends Sungu tricked them. Upon **B**'s question as to how Sungu had tricked them, **A** starts to give a reason which in this case represents unshared information for the participants. 'Kwoou' on the other hand prefaces the shared background knowledge and thus it is used to draw the conclusion that Sungu actually tricked his friends because he was supposed to bring each of them a photograph, but he did not.

Thus the conjunction 'kwoou' is used in conversation to instruct the hearer to recover a conclusion which has already been presented in the prior discourse. The conclusion in this case is that Sungu tricked his friends. Such a conclusion is otherwise mutually known because of the just presented support or reasons as seen in the case above.

In summary if 'kwoou' is compared to other conjunctions already discussed it may be said to share some properties and also differ

in specific ways. For example 'kwoou' and 'na' share a pragmatic effect of speaker continuation but differ because kwoou functions as a turn transition device. While 'kwoou' marks speaker continuation as an alternative to participant change in potential transition locations, 'na' is used when continuing is the preferred option.

4.2 TEMPORAL CONJUNCTION

4.2.1 INDI

The Kikamba conjunction 'ĩndĩ' is glossed in English as 'then'. This conjunction however differs from the conjunction 'ĩndĩ' discussed in 3.1.2 in that the former is pronounced with a high-falling intonation pattern realised as (- _) while the latter is pronounced by the low-rising intonation pattern realised as (_-). The meanings of the two words are distinguished from each other on the basis of tone given that Kikamba is a tone language and as such, two structurally similar words can be semantically different on the basis of their tone pattern.

The conjunction 'ĩndĩ' is a deictic element because it facilitates the analysis of utterances in context. It was noted that in all the cases of the use of this conjunction, the most basic function was temporal consequence. Consider;

- | | |
|--|--|
| <p>12. A: Tūtikiĩndũ twĩtala ĩ,
 Tũvange we yu ĩla ĩngĩ
 wiũka ũndĩthĩsya, ĩndĩ tĩw'o
 niũka ũmũivĩthya.</p> | <p>We will not count anything
 now eh, we will only
 plan what to do the
 next time, <u>then</u> that is</p> |
|--|--|

when I will make you pay.

where **A** is telling his friends about a villager who claims that his neighbour's cattle have destroyed his crops and he will not make the owners of the cattle pay at this particular time. However the next time this happens 'then' that is the time he will make them pay for it.

Just like other conjunctions already discussed, 'ĩndĩ' was also found to function in relation to the notion of **background knowledge**. It is used as a confirmatory expression in cases where a speaker requests for confirmation. For instance;

13. A: Kanywie ndawa keyũwae She took poison yes...at the
yĩĩ... kũya mathikonĩ. funeral.

B: Kanywe ndawa keyũwae? She took poison to kill
herself?

A: Nĩkũnywa ĩndĩ She could take it then.

The important thing to note here is that what is usually the focus of a request for confirmation is background knowledge assumed to be common knowledge for the speaker and the hearer. In this exchange, **B**'s request for confirmation as to whether the girl they were discussing took poison at the funeral is complied to by an answer that ends with 'ĩndĩ'. The usage of 'ĩndĩ' in this case is appropriate on the basis of the background knowledge the hearer and speaker share about the girl i.e she has been suffering from Aids as explained in discourse prior to this exchange. 'Indĩ' is thus

antecedent and the consequent. An understanding of these components is essential if we hope to explicate the discourse functions of 'ethīwa'. In a language like English, the antecedent is marked by 'if' while the consequent is marked by 'then' so as to produce an if _then construction. As will be seen in most cases, Kikamba typically marks the antecedent marking of the consequent being optional.

A remarkable observation about this conjunction unlike the others concerns its structural complexity. A general note on this by Ferguson et al 1986:3 says,

Conditional conjunctions often interact closely with other domains, notably causals, temporals and modals, thus making analysis difficult.

For example in the extract below, the interpretation of the conditionality expressed by 'ethīwa' requires an understanding of the close interaction between this conjunction and the causal 'nūndū'.

16. A: Notīenda ūkokenayo You go and bring it with you.
B: M..
- A: **Ethīwa** ndūkūka nayo, **If** you do not come with it, you
wīthīe nīwanengwe lainī will at least have booked it
īngī **nūndū** yu imbesa **because** you will have paid the
nīwaīva. money.

The condition expressed by 'ethīwa' in the above case is that if

B does not bring over the tractor because he will have booked it, he should get another solution before coming home. A causal relationship is also expressed in **A**'s utterance in that **A** is directing **B** to get another solution in case he does not get the tractor for the simple reason that he would have paid money for it.

'Ethīwa' is also used in Kikamba conversation to express conditionality in the consequent as in extract 17 below;

- 17.A: Yīī Sūngū, nyie new'aa ūyītwa Sūngū. Kanīsī ūyayo yeetawa ata. Yes Sungu, I used to hear him being called Sungu. I do not know his real name.
- B: Iī, ndyīw'aa ūyītwa Sūngū Yes, I also used to hear him being called Sungu.
- A: Nyie ndīsī Kīoko ūsu, etha nūla wathūkūmaa Athi River, waathūkūmaa na maloli. I don't know that Kioko if he is the one who used to work with lorries at Athi-River.

where **A** claims that he only used to hear of someone called Kīoko but he did not know him whereby the conditionality is expressed between the speaker's lack of knowledge of the person named Kioko and the place where he used to work.

Another case of conditionality in the context of the consequent is the discourse fragment below;

18. A: kwaete ila syakwa. Just give me that one of mine.

B:Kove imwe.

ethiwa syake thirty
nĩsyĩkwaa, syaku nĩsyo
syĩuma va?

There is none.

If thirty for him cannot
be found, where will yours
come from?

where **B** tries to convince **A** that there is no money to pay him for the job he had done for the day. The conditionality is seen in **B**'s pledge that money for another participant is lacking, a condition which nullifies **A**'s hopes of getting money.

A close interaction is also observed between 'ethiwa' and 'lakini'. For example;

19. A: Mūtuse koi speed take

Mūtuse does not have speed
like him.

B: Wĩva we?

Which one?

C: Kawaĩte maaũ natiiee keea
Kamanthe ou.

He told Kamanthe that his
legs got sick.

A: Lakini Mūtuse ethiwa
wasyaa nde speed kokwona
komwaakomana.

But if you normally say
that Mūtuse does not have
speed, then you have never
met him.

In addition to expressing a contrast to the prior discourse that Mutuse really has speed, **A** gives a reason that it is just that **B** and **C** have never encountered him.

When 'ethiwa' occurs with 'ĩndĩ' its usage implies that a conversational sequence is potential rather than actual as in the following piece of discourse;

20. A: Mũndũ asyaĩtwe va, Mũsyĩ
ũyaa mũndũ wa kwaa. No matter where someone
is born, every home has a
black sheep.
- B: M.. M..
- A: Mũndũ ũngĩ... vangii
ninii... Another person... in other
cases whatever ...
- C: Ninii Whatever
- A: Naka ĩndĩ₁, na ka ĩndĩ₂
ketha namo aũme naseo And then₁, and then₂ if men
are good, a home does not
miss a good person.
vayaa waũseũva.

where participant **A** wishes to convince his friends that every home has a black sheep. 'Indĩ' here simply gives a potential relationship of temporal consequence that even if men are good, every home has a black sheep because it is only a hypothetical condition that is being expressed.

In relation to the notion of background information, 'ethiwa' is also used to introduce what is known as new information in discourse i.e it prefaces unshared information as in the conversational fragment below;

- 21 A: Ko ũwau wonthe wa ũtonywa? Does all sickness deserve an
injection?
- B: Nzwĩlĩ anambĩie ona Nzwĩlĩ told me even if₁ your
wenthwa₁, ũwaĩte kũũ leg is sick he will inject
metonya kwo, ethĩwa₂ ũwaĩte you on the leg, if₂ you have
ĩvu wĩtonywa o ĩvu. an ailing in the belly he
will even inject the belly.

where **B** provides new information to **A** that there is a doctor who injects someone on the belly or even on the leg. New information in discourse is that information which participants in a conversation do not take for granted and in this way it contrasts common information that participants take for granted.

4.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

In this chapter Kikamba conjunctions falling in the three categories have been dealt with within the conversational analysis framework. The causal, temporal and conditional conjunctions constitute a broad area in this study. The notion of context has played a key part in the explication of the discourse functions of these conjunctions. Unlike the other conjunctions, the functions of 'ethiwa' are seen to be complicated by its interaction with other conjunctions notably the causals and the temporals. In the next chapter, the findings in this study are summarized and recommendations based on these findings are made.

ENDNOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR

1. According to Brown and Yule (1983) background information is that knowledge which the speaker and the hearer use as a basis for the interpretation of their discourse. **Given information** is that which the participants treat as known in the context while **new information** is that which participants treat as unknown.

2. 'Etha' and 'wethwa' and 'ketha' were identified in the data collected as being variants of 'ethīwa'. Although no differences between them were found, further study might identify subtle distinctions.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter observations, implications and a summary of the research findings for this study are made on the basis of the research objectives and hypotheses. The general problems the researcher encountered during the research are also highlighted and some solutions suggested. Finally, recommendations for further research are also made.

5.1 THE ADDITIVE AND ADVERSATIVE CONJUNCTIONS

The research shows that Kikamba additive and adversative conjunctions perform specific discourse functions. These functions have only been appropriately described by a consideration of the role context plays in their description.

The study of 'na' reveals that it is a very 'dynamic' linguistic form in the sense that through the use of this conjunction, a speaker can accomplish numerous conversational tasks in different contexts. This conjunction performs a connective role and thereby creates discourse continuity. In relation to the other conjunctions discussed, 'na' was found to share some properties. For example when compared with 'kwoou' , both conjunctions share a pragmatic effect of speaker continuation. Further while 'kwoou' marks speaker continuation as an alternative to participant change in potential transition locations, 'na' is used when the preferred option is taken.

Through the use of the additive 'kana' different

illocutionary and perlocutionary acts are accomplished. These are primarily hearer-directed in the sense that this conjunction requires the hearer to perform certain acts.

The adversative conjunctions play a particularly important part in the Kikamba discourse which may be described as speaker-directed in the sense that a speaker manages to perform a variety of functional contrasts by use of these conjunctions. It would appear that given the dynamicity and development of language, the adversative conjunctions 'lakini' and 'mbona' may cease to be merely cases of code-switching but actually part of Kikamba vocabulary as the case of 'safari' in English. This observation stems from the high frequency of the usage of these two words in Kikamba discourse relative to the other Kikamba adversative conjunctions.

5.2 THE CAUSAL, TEMPORAL AND CONDITIONAL CONJUNCTIONS

These three categories of Kikamba conjunctions have been the subject of discourse/pragmatic studies primarily in English discourse. From the study it is quite apparent that interlocutors achieve a variety of functions by the use of the Kikamba conjunctions that fall into these categories. The causal conjunctions 'kwoou' and 'nũndũ' clearly indicate that a speaker can use two different conjunctions complementarily to accomplish functions which would otherwise not be appropriately realised by a single conjunction.

The notion of background knowledge is a central feature in the

discussion of the discourse functions of these conjunctions. It involves the structuring, management and organisation of information between the speaker and the hearer in the communicative process.

In comparison to the causal and temporal conjunctions the conditional conjunction may be described as more 'dynamic' due to its constructional complexity. In all the discussions, aspects of the discourse contexts and what they contribute to the overall interpretation of the conjunction in question were taken into consideration.

Hence our two hypotheses;

1. Conjunctions function as discourse markers in the sequential organization of Kikamba conversational discourse
2. Context plays an important role in the description of the functions of conjunctions in Kikamba conversational discourse

are upheld in regard to the categories of conjunctions described.

5.3 PROBLEMS IN THE RESEARCH

One of the major problems in the study was the lack of research works on the Kikamba language within the discourse/pragmatic perspective. As a result most of the literature reviewed in this study is mainly derived from English. More research in Kikamba, it is hoped would alleviate this problem and lead to the production of discourse-based studies.

The other problem that was encountered was in relation to the difficulty in data translation of the Kikamba conversations into English without changing the speaker's intended meaning. This does not mean that one cannot translate Kikamba conversations into English but that precision is required so as to maintain the original intended message that a speaker wished to convey in a given context.

Another problem was in relation to data collection where the researcher found it difficult to collect the conversations without arousing much suspicion from the speakers. This was partially solved by seeking the help of a research assistant.

5.4 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

From the observations made the researcher makes the following recommendations for further research;

First it would be more lucrative to examine conjunctions in Kikamba discourse using a greater corpus of data than what has been used in the present study. Such a study may even focus on all the conjunctions and at all the levels of linguistic analysis; the grammatical, semantic and pragmatic levels. This would in general develop descriptive linguistics into a more strongly data-based field of knowledge.

Secondly a more indepth investigation of the interaction and usage of different Kikamba conjunctions within a piece of discourse would lead to a deeper understanding of the role of conjunctions in Kikamba discourse. More emphasis should also be placed on the

aspect of intonation in Kikamba Language.

Thirdly the study of conjunctions in Kikamba may be extended to other areas of study for instance Second Language Acquisition. A possible area of investigation for conjunctions may be; the acquisition of conjunctions by a Kikamba native speaking child. Celce-Murcia and Larsen-Freeman (1983) support the use of discourse and data-based research especially in regard to the acquisition of linguistic forms thus;

it is commonplace these days to acknowledge that the acquisition of a language involves more than the acquisition of forms and meanings of structures - it involves learning how to use these structures in context.
(in Ford 1993: 149)

The results of the present study also add to a growing body of research findings that should serve as resources for language pedagogy which now recognises the need for the context-sensitive and empirically grounded approach to the study of language categories.

Further, it would appear that there is much to be gained by way of substantial insight into the social functions of discourse. In general, more research into the study of discourse may lead us to important insights into aspects such as gender and legal discourse just to mention but a few of the areas where discourse analysis is relevant. In this connection van Dijk (1985:2) concludes,

We expect more from discourse analysis as the study of real language use, by real speakers in real situations than we expect from the study of abstract syntax or formal semantics.

Finally, traditional grammarians have studied conjunctions from a syntactic perspective. As a result, the discourse/pragmatic aspects of this linguistic category have always been ignored despite many linguists proposing that conjunctions can only appropriately be described by recourse to discourse based approaches. There is therefore need for more context-sensitive approaches to the study of conjunctions.

5.5 SUMMARY

This research has dealt with the role of conjunctions in Kikamba conversational discourse. The research has revealed that Kikamba speakers use conjunctions as markers of discourse to organize the presentation of information and to manage their participant roles. The research also reveals that the use of conjunctions in conversational discourse is determined by context. Without consideration of the way interaction is accomplished through the turn-taking system, we would only have an inadequate understanding of conjunctions in this study.

The objectives and hypotheses originally formulated are thus upheld in the present study.

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