

**CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURE IN DOWRY NEGOTIATIONS
AMONG THE MARAGOLI OF WESTERN KENYA**

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DECLARATION

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

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this project to four important people in my life; my mother Florence Afandi and father Ephraim Nandimo Vivere, for their unwavering support in my academic journey, my sister and benefactor Mary Musimbi Avuyali for enabling me to pursue my high school and undergraduate studies and my wife Priscillah Njambi for believing in me and supporting me throughout my post graduate studies.

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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Negotiation	A discussion involving two parties whose aim is to reach an agreement about the issue at hand.
Participant	A person who is taking part in a dowry negotiation exercise.
Bride	In this study, bride refers to the woman who is betrothed and is set to be married when dowry negotiation is successfully finalized.
Groom	A man who is set to marry a specific woman after the dowry negotiation exercise is successfully finalized.
Dowry	The cattle, or in some situations the money, given to the bride's family by the groom's family after the successful completion of the negotiation process.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CI	Conversational Implicature
CP	Cooperative Principle.
NACOSTI	National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation.

ABSTRACT

The research sought to identify and analyze Conversational Implicature in dowry negotiations among the Maragoli in Vihiga County of Western Kenya. This research adopted a pragmatic approach to the understanding of meaning in conversations using observation and interviews as data collection methods. The analysis was conducted within the framework of Paul Grice's (1975) theory of Conversational Implicature (CI), which examines meaning beyond words that are used by speakers, that is indirect or implicit speech acts or what is meant by a speaker's utterance that is not part of what is explicitly said (Nordquist, 2020). According to this theory, participants in a communicative exchange are guided by a principle—the Cooperative Principle (CP)—that determines the way in which language is used to achieve a desired communicative outcome. Levinson (1983) underscores the centrality of CI by stating that it is one of the most important ideas in pragmatics. This approach is complemented by Sperber and Wilson's (1986, 2002) Relevance Theory which argues that Grice's maxims can be replaced effectively by a single principle of 'relevance'—that the speaker tries to be as relevant as possible in the circumstances. Using this two-pronged approach, data from two dowry negotiation events were qualitatively analyzed with three key objectives: to identify how Conversational Implicature is realized in Lulogooli during dowry negotiations; to establish the various forms of Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli as used during dowry negotiations, and to describe the linguistic/communicative functions that Conversational Implicature performs in Lulogooli during dowry negotiations. The research also sought to evaluate the universality of the Cooperative Principle, specifically whether it applies to conversations in a non-European (Bantu) language such as Lulogooli. The findings of the study revealed that Conversational Implicature in Maragoli dowry negotiations is expressed through metaphors, flattery, and irony. The findings further revealed that CI is used in dowry negotiations among the Maragoli to impress, save face and convince.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 INTRODUCTION

1.1 General Introduction

This chapter forms a background and general introduction to the study, beginning with Lulogooli language. It also includes a statement of the problem, research objectives, research questions, research assumptions, significance of the study, as well as its scope and limitations.

1.2 Background to the Study

Marriage is a lifelong commitment by two people to each other, signified by a contract sanctioned by the state or religion for many people. (Animasahum & Fatile, 2011). Marriage is an integral custom of every society in the world. In most societies, marriage is governed by the rules and cultural requirements of that community. Marriage ceremonies within Africa vary between countries and regions due to the diversity of culture and religion throughout the continent.

In Africa, marriage is a respected institution which is conducted with utmost adherence to communities' culture. According to Solanke and Ayodabo (2017), Africans go to churches, mosques, and courts to formalize marriage relationships to fulfill religious and legal implications.

Solanke and Ayodabo (2017) say, 'in the minds of Africans and as a general rule, marriage processes are incomplete without traditional rites and procedures being performed.' One of the procedures involved is dowry payment, which involves giving cattle or cash, whose quantity is subject to negotiation. There are several stages to the tradition, and it is seen as a way of thanking the bride's family for bringing the bride up, but there is no sense that the bride is being bought.

In Senegal, the bride price is commonly paid in Burkinabe culture and is largely a symbolic act. There is no set amount, and a little money is given but it is mainly in goods such as kola nuts, drinks, cigarettes and some ethnic groups may give a goat. However, a bride's family is not normally too demanding. In some communities of South Africa, bride price or *Lobola* involves the groom's family presenting either money or cows or both to the bride's family as a gesture of his willingness to marry her. The payment of brideprice is a sign of the man's commitment to take care of his wife and is seen as a symbolic act and a necessary part of upholding culture, rather than a purchase (Needham, 2015)

In Kenya, customary marriage is one of the marriages acceptable in the law (Marriage Act, 2014). This kind of marriage is conducted in line with the cultural dictates of the communities where it is conducted. Cultural practices such as dowry negotiations and dowry payment are carried out before a traditional wedding is conducted.

Ohta (2007) says that the Turkana transfer livestock as bride wealth. The number of livestock sometimes amounts to two thirds of the property of the groom's family. Both the groom and the bride's families seek support from all the people with whom they have established social relationships. African countries are multilingual and multicultural. However, marriage practices on the continent bear similar events. Luloogoli, as a speech community and as addressed in this study, is a medium through which the Maragoli culture is transmitted.

The Maragoli community is rich in culture. Marriage is one of the community's institutions that are steeped in cultural practices and customs. One of the key cultural practices around marriage is dowry payment (*uvukwi*). It is a rigorous process that involves negotiation as one of its central tenets. Other important cultural rituals revolve around child (newborn) naming ceremonies and circumcision ceremonies.

Uvukwi begins with the groom's family notifying the bride's family of their readiness to pay dowry. The two families then agree on when elders from the groom's family would visit the bride's side to negotiate the amount of dowry to pay. During this visit, the groom's side may choose to take with it some cows and money to mark the beginning of a negotiation. After a successful negotiation, the bride's family sets a date to go and inspect the animals that are to be brought to their home. This process is called *kwahura*. This is then followed by the dowry payment (*uvukwi*), which is done by the groom's family.

The practice of negotiation is important in the dowry payment and the subsequent marriage process among the Maragoli. It does not merely determine the amount of dowry to be paid but also enhances the mutual respect of the two families involved in the process because the two families are usually keen on forging a long-lasting, cordial relationship.

In African context, to negotiate a marriage usually signifies the communication and transactions between two families before a marriage is contracted. Johnson (1993) says negotiation is a process in which individuals or groups seek to reach goals by making agreements with others. This process often includes offering concessions and demanding them from other parties, but functions best when it serves as a method of discovering mutual interests and joint pay offs. In this study, negotiation occurred between parties because both had something to offer and gain. The parties were willing to invest in the relationship and showed the interest to use negotiation as a means to maintain a long-lasting relationship.

Marriage negotiation is an aspect of culture; therefore, language is used as a form of expressing it. Kiriro (2011) defines culture as the totality of a people's way of life and values as influenced by the process of continuity and change dictates of the environment. It includes all aspects of human life like language, beliefs, taboos, behaviour, religion and literature. Culture, therefore, plays a major role in the way linguistic items are chosen and used according to their meanings.

Yule (1996) explains that language is analyzed in context; meaning the situational environment within which an utterance is made. Katz et al (1998) observe that there is a large body of evidence as well as theoretical argument that people need to analyze, the literal meaning of an expression, before arriving at its intended non-literal meaning.

Muaka (2018) says that language in African societies is at the centre of interrelationships between individuals, society, and culture; it permeates every aspect of human existence within each society. As such, language is used during African cultural practices. One of these cultural practices is marriage negotiation. Language is a tool to express or to convey thoughts, ideas, concepts, or feelings and emotions during this cultural event.

This communication is highly dependent on the correct interpretation of the meaning of what is said because the meaning of what is said by speaker's utterances is not limited to the conventional meaning of words and symbols used. Therefore, the study of meaning in language is one of the key components in the understanding of human communication.

Language practice plays a key role during the dowry negotiations (*rivolana*) among the Maragoli. The participants involved use language in indirect ways in order to arrive at an amicable settlement of the size of dowry paid to the bride's family. The

groom's family on the other hand indirectly tries to convince the bride's people to settle on amount that is affordable.

The indirectness of the language is not only meant to persuade the other party but also as a face-saving move meant to avoid appearing as if the families are engaged in a business transaction of exchanging the bride with cattle; that is the bride's family selling their girl and the groom's family buying a wife. For instance, the participants do not refer to cows directly as cows; they call them stick (*visara*) For Example, one of the negotiators from the bride's side in one of the negotiations said, "*Kwenya visara ishirini*" (we would like to get 20 sticks, to mean twenty animals).

This research examined this indirect use of language (in this case Lulogooli) in the negotiation process to ascertain the Conversational Implicature contained in it. Conversational Implicature, according to Grice (1975), is an indirect speech act. This means that what is meant by a speaker's utterance is not what is explicitly said. In other words, Horn (2006) explains that 'what a speaker intends to communicate is characteristically far richer than what he/she directly expresses; linguistic meaning radically underdetermines the message conveyed and understood.' Grice argued that in a communicative event, participants are guided by a subtle rule, the 'Cooperative Principle', that the speaker and the listeners cooperate in order to be relevant in their conversational contributions or carry out successful conversations.

1.3 Background to Lulogooli

Lulogooli is one of the dialects of Luhya macro language, which is one of the Bantu languages spoken in Sub-Saharan Africa. The Luhya ethnic group occupies the Western part of Kenya and parts of Uganda. The language belongs to the language family that stems from Niger-Congo superfamily found in Sub-Saharan Africa. It then branches into the following subfamilies: Atlantic Congo, Benue Congo, Bantoid, Bantu, Northeast Bantu, Great lakes Bantu and Lulogooli-Kuria (Guthrie 1967-1971). Lulogooli is in Zone E (E40) according to Guthrie's classification of Bantu languages which is based on geographical and genetic considerations.

The Luhya ethnic group has seventeen language groups with varying degrees of mutual intelligibility, among them is the Maragoli, who speak Lulogooli (Osogo, 1966). According to Boyd (2005), a dialect is a speech form which is related to a particular language. One language may have several variations or dialects. Dialects are variations of the same language, therefore are mutually intelligible. Such variations arise from natural changes in language or due to contact with and influence from other languages, but it is mostly due to geographical (physical separation) and socio-economic factors (social stratification). "Every language has social and geographical dialects; therefore, geography and social context shape dialects. Sheng, for example, comes to add to this repertoire of Swahili social variants." (Githiora 2002: 163)

A dialect, according to Trudgil (2003), is “a variety of language which differs grammatically, phonologically and lexically from other varieties and is associated with a particular geographical area and/or a particular class or status group” As for this study, Luhya as a macro language has a number of speech forms which have variations but are closely related. Boyd (2005) states that ethnicity (in the form the research refers to the Luhya ethnic group) is a complex concept, entailing self-identity, shared experiences in a specific community or community segment, at various levels and many other factors. Thus, language is only one factor in the ethnolinguistic description of a people, or an ethnic group.

According to the 2019 Population and Housing Census, the Maragoli, with the population of 2.1 million, is the second largest group of Luhya, which has a population of 6.3 million (Kenya National Bureau of Statistics, 2019). The Lulogooli speakers largely inhabit Vihiga County, even though scores of other Lulogooli speakers are spread across the country.

1.4 Statement of the Problem

A dowry negotiation among the Maragoli is an important cultural practice. As a speech event, the practice is conducted using language as the main medium of communication. The language is implicitly used to persuade, impress and to save face.

In Maragoli culture, it is a norm that during marriage negotiations, dowry as the main subject, is not directly mentioned. The subject is described by use of indirect references. No study has been done on this indirect deployment of covert implicit meanings during dowry negotiations among the Maragoli. Figures of speech such as metaphors, irony, and fake praise/flattery which contribute to Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli have not been studied.

Besides, little has been done on the applicability of Conversational Implicature and Cooperative Principle on African indigenous languages specifically in Lulogooli in a bid to ascertain their universality. This study sought to fill this gap in pragmatics of Lulogooli.

1.5 Research Objectives

The objectives of the study were:

- i. To identify how Conversational Implicature is realized in Lulogooli during dowry negotiations.
- ii. To establish the various forms of Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli as used during dowry negotiations.
- iii. To describe the various linguistic functions that Conversational Implicature performs in Lulogooli during dowry negotiations.

1.6 Research Questions

The following questions guided the study:

- i. How is Conversational Implicature realized in Lulogooli during dowry negotiations?
- ii. What are the forms of Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli as used during dowry negotiations?
- iii. What linguistic functions does the Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli perform during dowry negotiations?

1.7 Research Assumptions

- i. Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli takes place during dowry negotiations.
- ii. Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli, during dowry negotiations, takes several forms.
- iii. Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli performs important linguistic functions during dowry negotiations.

1.8 Justification and Significance of the Study

Language is a crucial tool in communication and interaction. It is a tool to interact, communicate, in a sense, means to convey thoughts, ideas, concepts, or even feeling. The understanding of meaning plays a vital role in overall human communication (Hofmann, 1993). Therefore, the study of meaning is critical in

communication. Pragmatic analysis of utterances in conversational exchanges aids in understanding the unintended and intended meanings.

According to Suryadi and Muslim (2019), an interpretation of an utterance cannot be done independently from its context. This is why Grice's notion of Conversational Implicature was important in this study. While several studies have been done on the semantic meaning of words in Lulogooli and lexical variations in meaning in Lulogooli, little has been done on the Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli discourse. The research yielded useful linguistic data on the use of Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli which, it is hoped, will be used by linguistics students, researchers, and scholars.

Further, it is hoped that the study will add to the existing knowledge of Lulogooli which will be useful to the young generation of the Maragoli community in appreciating and preserving its language and culture.

1.9 Scope and Limitation

The research was confined to the Lulogooli speakers in Vihiga County of Western Kenya, specifically Sabatia Sub County. The research focused on a single type of speech event: dowry negotiations because it is rich in the use of implicit language that is meant to persuade, save face and maintain mutual respect between parties (Levinson 1983). Lulogooli speech used in such events is replete with metaphors,

irony, fake praise, and symbolism that contribute to Conversational Implicature that this study delved into.

1.10 Summary

This chapter looked at the general background to the study. A brief background of Lulogooli language has been discussed. The chapter has established the research objectives which include showing how conversational implicature is realized in Lulogooli during dowry negotiations. The questions that guided the study, justification and significance of the study as well as the scope and limitation have also been presented. This chapter also highlighted the gaps the study has filled. Finally, this chapter provided the rationale behind the choice of dowry negotiations as the speech event to examine in order to understand CI. The next chapter focuses on the review of the literature related to the study.

CHAPTER TWO

2.0 LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on a review of the literature related to the study and the theoretical framework of the study. The literature review covers the topic of meaning beyond what is uttered (pragmatics). The notions of Conversational Implicature and Grice's Cooperative Principle (1975) have been reviewed in the theoretical framework, while Relevance Theory by Sperber and Wilson (2002) has been examined against Grice's CP with specific reference to Lulogooli.

2.1.1 Studies on Conversational Implicature and the Cooperative Principle

Martini (2018) focused on the everyday conversational Implicature of Indonesian students of the English Education Department of the University of Kuningan. The researcher found out that individuals extensively use utterances that are not informative or do not convey enough or too much information. Observation and recording were the primary data collection methods in this qualitative study. These findings show that around 40 percent of the 80 utterances in this study belong to generic conversational implicature, while the other 60 % belong to particularized conversational implicature.

Ali (2019) presented a study in which CI and Grice theory were applied to Arabic dialogue. After translating it from Arabic to English, the author used Grice's CP to

analyze the discussion. On one hand, semantics is concerned with the meaning of a word or phrase. On the other hand, practical ideas are concerned with how a term or word is used in a sentence. The similarities and contrasts between semantics and pragmatics were examined by the author. Researchers found that Arabic speakers disregarded the Cooperative Principle and instead used CI in their discourse.

Ali (2020) carried out a study to investigate CI in English communications. In this study, the author focused on the words used in a discussion to understand better how people communicate. The message was analyzed using a descriptive-pragmatic technique. Cooperative principles and their many forms were examined in detail by the researcher. The discussions were primarily gathered via the use of the Internet and YOUTUBE. An essential finding of this research is that functional terms are necessary for CI generation.

Li (2021) investigated the usefulness of implementing the Conversational Implicature Theory in pragmatics to advise English majors on enhancing their listening comprehension capacity. It attempts to identify an effective teaching technique for conversational implicature. The theory of conversational implicature is examined in this paper. The results revealed that the experimental class's capacity to infer conversational implicature is clearly superior to that of the control class, increasing students' listening comprehension.

Almanea (2021) conducted a study on Conversational Implicature in Najdi Arabic in Saudi Arabia and Kavetska (2020) carried out a study on the understanding of Conversational Implicature by native and Non-native speakers of English. Bahia and Elsheikh (2022) did a study on the role of Conversational Implicature in daily conversations.

Bahia and Elsheikh's study (2022) supported Grice's idea of conversational maxims, which the researchers found evident in daily conversations. The study also revealed how these maxims are violated and that conversational implicatures are context-dependent in many situations. The researchers also stressed, based on the findings of the study, the centrality of Conversational Implicature in successful communication. Riro, M., et al. (2021) looked at the violation of the Cooperative Principle among Facebook users in Kenyan political discourse. This study helped this research in providing a model of analyzing violations of the conversational maxims in Lulogooli during dowry negotiations.

Language is used to convey a message, exchange information or represent a certain situation (Halliday 1985). Hence, language can be used to perform certain acts, and this is what Halliday calls the 'instrumental function' of language. Besides, language is a tool through which individuals in society express their ideas, emotions, attitudes and feelings. Language has certain communicative functions which are based on the needs of a person or community. It is also used as a tool of

expression or to adapt to social integration in each environment or circumstances and finally, as a tool for social control (Troike, 2003).

Language is not only a means of communication but also a means of creating and maintaining social relationships among the speakers of the language. Halliday and Troike's studies helped the study in linking the meaning of words used in Lulogooli during dowry negotiations to the context and describing the functions performed by Conversational Implicatures contained in the words.

There are several perspectives in the analysis of language in communication. Psycholinguists, for example, study the psychological principles that are involved in how language is processed and represented which also explains why Noam Chomsky (1957) emphasizes the cognitive aspects of language. On the other hand, sociolinguists focus on social attributes of interlocutors in relation to how they communicate using social parameters such as age, sex, gender, or ethnicity.

An ethnographic approach on the other hand examines how language in communication is influenced by culture. Language therefore plays a crucial role in communicating society's cultural perspectives and world view (Levinson 1983). Sacks (1984) recognizes that study of language communication emphasizes the importance of language of everyday talk and how it is used to communicate intended and unintended messages.

As language is crucial in communication, so is meaning (Kroeger, 2019). For communication to take place effectively, there must be an understanding of the utterances used in a communicative exchange. This understanding must be shared between or among the interlocutors (Van Dijk, 1997)

Kroeger (2019) suggests three levels of meaning:

- i. Word meaning
- ii. Sentence meaning
- iii. Utterance meaning which is also referred to as speaker meaning.

Word and sentence meaning are the conventional meanings which can universally be decoded from the meanings of words and sentences. This is more like the dictionary or literal meaning of words in a language. On the other hand, utterance meaning, according to Kroeger, goes beyond the meaning of words and sentence and includes the context in which the speaker uses an utterance. This study looked at the utterance meaning of words and utterances that were used during the dowry negotiations among the Maragoli. This kind of meaning helped the study in revealing the Conversational Implicatures in Lulogooli.

Fasold (1990) also observed that when people use language, they do more than just try to get another person to understand the speaker's thoughts and feelings. Katz et al (1998) also noted that an understanding of the processing of figurative language is central to several critical issues such as the relationship between language and thought, how we process language and how we comprehend abstract meanings.

Grice, in his study on Conversational Implicature, used western languages to validate his propositions and this explains in part why he attracted criticisms from other linguists. Several studies have been conducted to examine the applicability of Grice's Cooperative Principle and Conversational implicature with findings showing that CI is evident in non-western languages. This study sought to further evaluate the applicability on a non-western language, in this case Lulogooli.

2.1.2 Studies on Marriage Dowry Negotiations

Comaroff (1980) states that 'bride wealth transactions have a central theme in anthropological studies because important social relationships, especially those of age mates and in-laws, are expressed in the transactions.' The payment of bride wealth (dowry) in African context is more often a matter of social and symbolic significance as well as economic reciprocity, being part of a long series of exchanges between the two intermarrying families.

Posel, Rudwick & Casale (2011) say that the custom involving the provision of marriage payments in cattle or cash, from the groom's family to the parents of the bride, is widely practiced in Southern Africa and has various names among the African Language speakers: *lobolo* in Zulu, *Roora* in Shona and *Bohali* in Lesotho.

According to Matsela (1990), traditional marriage in Lesotho was planned by parents who would choose a wife for their son. Choosing a girl was particularly

important. Those who were involved did so in a resolute and honest manner so that their son would marry somebody to make him and the rest of the family members proud and happy. They considered the type of family from which the girl they were going to marry came, especially the mother, in relation to whether she is physically strong, clean and of commendable behaviour.

Chelangat (2013), looked at a lexico-pragmatic analysis of Kipsigis marriage dowry negotiations; a study that sought to find out the lexical items used by the Kipsigis Marriage negotiations and their meaning. The study demonstrated ‘that for a good negotiation to take place, interpersonal relationship has to be realized, and this was done by using relevant lexical items (language).’ Since this study focused on pragmatic meaning of key lexical items in marriage negotiations, it was useful to this study in gathering and analyzing data as the study was based on dowry negotiation as a speech event.

Bwonya (1998) studied the gender dimensions in Maragoli marriage ceremonies. The study depicts the bride and bridegroom as literary personae; the singers are also to comment on men’s and women’s breaking society’s moral laws. This study, which focused on Maragoli marriage ceremonies that include dowry events, helped this study in the interpretation of pragmatic meaning of certain utterances used in marriage negotiations which are the focus of Conversational Implicature.

Baron (1990) says that negotiators in a good mood also tend to make more concessions during face-to-face negotiations, but this general concessionary tendency may not always be in the best interest of negotiators, as negotiations do not necessarily purely take the individual views that each negotiator wants. As an important cultural event, a dowry negotiation required good negotiation skills so as to ensure a successful negotiation process.

Kimani (2021) used a pragmatic approach to analyze marriage dowry negotiations in local communities in Africa. After carrying out his research, he concluded that ‘some lexical items which are used in marriage negotiations are also in daily usage but their meanings differed according to the context of use.’ He further found out that lexical items that showed interpersonal relationships created a good environment for the negotiators to speak their minds.

According to Duranti (2001), linguistic anthropologists study the role played by language (and other semiotic resources) in the constitution of society and its cultural representation. To pursue this goal, linguistic anthropologists have ventured into the study of everyday encounters, language socialization, ritual and political events, scientific discourse, verbal art, language contact and language shift, literary events and the media. Guilliver (1955) conducted a comprehensive survey of the Turkana, concerning who contributed to the bride wealth animals on the groom’s side, and

who received them on the bride's side. Through these transactions, people create, confirm, and revitalize their social relationships.

Gachara (2012), in his study of metaphors used in marriage negotiations among the Agikuyu, argues that the art of communication is especially important in marriage negotiations among the Agikuyu. He notes that those negotiators who use language effectively will have an edge over the others during the negotiations. Since his study focused on metaphors, which communicate implicit meaning, it was relevant to this study in interpretation of the metaphors the flattery used in Lulogooli during the dowry negotiations.

2.2 Theoretical Framework

2.2.1 Introduction

This research falls under the general field of pragmatics specifically lexicopragmatics. This section will examine in detail Grice's theory of Conversational Implicature and the Cooperative Principle. Sperber and Wilson's Relevance theory will help to further understand the Cooperative Principle considering purpose or relevance of a talk exchange.

2.2.2 Grice's Theory of Implicature

The term implicature is taken from the Philosopher HP Grice (1913—88), who developed the theory of the Cooperative Principle. On the basis that a speaker and

listener are cooperating and aiming to be relevant, a speaker can imply a meaning implicitly, confident that the listener will understand.

Griffiths (2006) defined implicature as giving inferences depending on standards existing for the utilization of language, such as the amplified agreement that speakers must point out the real information when they communicate. In pragmatics, Conversational Implicature is an indirect or implicit speech act: what is meant by a speaker's utterance that is not part of what is explicitly said. (Nordquist, 2020).

The use of Conversational Implicatures is inevitable for effective communication. Conversational implicatures could be used to provide a variety of communicative purposes. Levinson (1983) supports this idea by declaring that Conversational Implicature is one of the most important ideas in pragmatics. Bouton (1994) says that the importance of conversational implicatures in expressing a message indirectly is well-established.

According to Grice (1975) Conversational Implicature in conversations is the meaning that is inferred and goes beyond what is said or meant. This means that conversational implicatures are pragmatic inferences. Speakers more often convey meanings that often do not correspond to the meaning of words, phrases and sentences used in speaking.

For example,

A: Bob, can we go out tonight?

B: I have not paid my house rent.

In this conversation, person B's response to A's question implies several meanings that go beyond the meaning of the words used in the response, though person B clearly does not directly answer A's question. The utterance, 'I have not paid my rent' implies that B has financial difficulties and cannot afford to go out, which requires money. Person A understands what B implies because the two interlocutors observe CP. This, according to Grice, is Conversational Implicature which must be capable of being worked out by participant in a speech event.

Grundy (2000) sums up that knowing the Cooperative Principle and its maxims enables an addressee to draw inferences as to the implied meanings (or implicatures) of utterances. However, Verschueren and Ostman (2009) indicate that the maxims comprise the Cooperative Principle in toto, with implicature external to it. Particularized conversation implicatures are subsumed under Cooperative Principle since it is intended to be a means of making conversational contributions 'cooperative'. Devitt and Hanley (2006) state that Grice presents his Cooperative Principle and conversational maxims as guidelines of how to communicate successfully.

Mey (2004) stated that Conversational Implicature is something that is inferred in conversation or it is intention inferred. In other words, Conversational Implicature is the meaning that is not conveyed directly but implied in utterances. Conversational Implicatures occur when violating the maxims of the cooperative principle.

Green (1990) noted that Grice's concept of Cooperative Principle contributes much in the study of implied meaning for its role as the baseline the hearers use to infer the utterances whose meaning conform with the maxims, to recognize the utterances that deviate the maxims and interpret the deviations p. Thus, adherence to the Cooperative Principle allows both speakers and listeners to have collaborative roles in thinking about what the other has in mind. (Yule, 1996).

2.2.2.1 Key Tenets of Grice theory of Implicature used in the study

The research used a Gricean approach to examine the implicatures that are used in Maragoli dowry negotiations, specifically its tenet of the Cooperative Principle, which was used to analyze the meaning of utterances used in the negotiations to determine how the participants violated the conversational maxims resulting to conversational implicature.

According to Grice (1991), participants in a conversation cooperate during the conversation. He says that the entire process is guided by certain rules which the

participants consciously agree on to achieve a desired goal. This notion is called Cooperative Principle (CP). The principle requires participants to ‘make your contribution such as required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged’ (Grice 1991)

This principle is guided by four maxims.

- i. Maxim of Quantity
- ii. Maxim of Quality
- iii. Maxim of Relation
- iv. Maxim of Manner

The Maxim of Quantity is concerned with the amount of information that participants give out in a conversation. This maxim obliges participants to make contributions that give adequate information. The participants should not make their contributions more or less informative than is required.

The Maxim of Quality requires participants of a conversation to make contributions that are truthful; not to say that which they believe is false and that which they lack adequate evidence of. The Maxim of Relation requires participants to be relevant by keeping to the topic of the talk exchange and not to divert the conversation to other topics. Finally, the Maxim of Manner calls upon participants to make their contributions with clarity and avoid ambiguity.

According to Grice, participants may choose to do four things with relation to the maxims. The participants may choose to observe the maxims. That means they don't break any of them. The participants may choose to opt out of the maxims. This means that a participant is conscious of his/her eminent violation of a maxim but offers to mitigate its effect. This involves the use of hedges such as 'I am not sure about this...' this means a speaker opts out of the quality maxim or 'Sorry to digress...' to mean the speaker is about to opt out of the maxim of relation.

The speaker may flout the maxims. This means that the speaker fails to abide by the maxim, something that the addressee or hearer recognizes. This is often used in sarcastic remarks. For example, as grooms' people were gathering to embark on the journey to the bride's home and it happened that one of the men has not arrived and therefore Kilasi asks: *Amuriodo avee hai? Kucherevaa vaya.* (Where is Amuriodo? We are running late).

Nakeva responded: *Omanyee avee nende mukari wakaviri wayareti mugorova yigu* (You should know he just recently married a second wife) Kilasi simply wants to know what is happening that Amuriodo is late but the response he gets violates the Maxim of Relevance with an implication that perhaps Amuriodo is late while enjoying a new marriage. A speaker may choose to violate the maxim and therefore lie, without the knowledge of the hearer. Grice says opting out of a maxim, flouting

a maxim, or violating a maxim often leads to an implied meaning which then is referred as Conversational Implicature.

In example (I), the implicature of the utterance, 'I have not paid my rent,' is that the speaker does not have money hence cannot go out. The conventional meaning would be the speaker has not met his obligation of giving out monthly money for the house he is living in hence he risks being locked out of the house. This conventional meaning does not respond to the question asked by person A. A conversational implicature is realized when a maxim is violated (Davis, 2000). Thus, for example Lulogooli speakers violate maxims to bring about intended Conversational Implicature during dowry negotiations as this study revealed.

Allott (2018) maintains that Conversational Implicatures, which are implied by the speaker in making an utterance, are part of the content of the utterance but they are not encoded by the linguistic meaning of what has been uttered. Though phrased as a prescriptive command, the Cooperative Principle is intended as a description of how people normally behave in a conversation. Jeffries and McIntyre (2010) describe Grice's maxims as "encapsulating the assumptions that we prototypically hold when we engage in conversation". This means that in every conversation, these maxims are covertly applied.

2.2.2.2 Particularized and Generalized Conversational Implicature

According to Grice, particularized conversational implicatures require specific contextual knowledge for the hearer to infer a particular meaning while generalized conversational Implicature does not require knowledge of context. Generalized Conversational Implicatures (GCI) are inferences that refer to the non-explicit meaning that occurs by default in any type of context (Grice, 1975).

It is information that is ‘inferred in a prototypical way, if there is no specific information that denies or contradicts it. By contrast, Particularized Conversational Implicatures (PCI), also called ad-hoc implicatures, are intricately linked to particular contexts; that is, the success of these inferences is linked to knowledge about very specific contextual information.’

Conversational implicature, as shown by Grice, ‘is the meaning that is covert and which the listener infers. In conversational exchanges, the speaker and the addressee must cooperate where it is evident that conversational implicature is interlinked with the shared covert rules between interlocutors.’ The implied meaning is communicated when the conversational maxims are violated (Davies 2000). The meaning, as Allot (2018) says, is not determined by the linguistic forms of the utterances used.

This understanding of CI and CP helped in further determining how the two are expressed in Lulogooli during this study. The study revealed how and when the conversational maxims are violated or flouted in Lulogooli. Conversational maxims helped to analyze the utterances made in Lulogooli during the dowry negotiation process to determine the application of the Conversational Implicature. The maxims helped reveal metaphors, sarcasm and ironic statements used during the talks.

2.2.3 Lexico-pragmatics

According to Yule (1996) pragmatics refers to the study of meaning in context. It is concerned with meaning as conveyed by the speaker and decoded and interpreted by the hearer. Its focus is therefore on what speakers actually mean by the utterances they make in communicative event.

Lexical pragmatics is a research field that tries to give systematic and explanatory accounts of pragmatic phenomena that are connected with the semantic underspecification of lexical items. Cases in point are the pragmatics of adjectives, systematic polysemy, the distribution of lexical and productive causatives, blocking phenomena, the interpretation of compounds and many phenomena presently discussed within the framework of cognitive semantics. (Blutner, 1998).

According to McGregor (2009), the notion of meaning in linguistics concerns that which is expressed by sentences, utterances, and their components by language.

The message or thought in the mind of the speaker is encoded in a way that it sends a signal to the hearer in a way that the message can be got. He adds further that the context which is being communicated in a language contributes to meaning which makes a language effective.

The goal of lexical pragmatics is to explain how linguistically specified (literal) word meanings are modified in use. While lexical-pragmatic processes such as narrowing, broadening and metaphorical extension are studied in isolation from each other, relevance theorists (Carston, 2002).

Lexico-pragmatic theory as developed by Blumstein (1998) has it that words are adjusted and fine-tuned in context so that the proposition expressed is different from their lexically encoded sense and function in a context to express meanings that the speaker intends to convey. This study used this model to find out the subtle meanings of the utterances used in Lulogooli during the dowry negotiations. The theory was chosen due to its ability to explain how lexical items in the dowry negotiations are affected by the discourse context.

Widdowson (2000) defines context as 'those aspects of the circumstance of actual language use which are taken as relevant to meaning. It is a schematic construct' Yule (1996) defines context as physical environment in which a word is used. The notion of context is vital in understanding meaning.

Therefore, pragmatic meaning is interpreted in relation to the relationship between linguistic forms and users of linguistic form as Yule (1996) puts it. This meaning can be understood clearly by closely looking at the behavior of interlocutors (Wilson 2016), separate from the linguistic forms they use. The notion of context in interpretation of pragmatic meaning is also key. It is the understanding of context—whether situational or cultural—that leads to the overall understanding of the meaning beyond linguistic forms.

2.2.3.1 Key Tenets of lexico-pragmatic Theory used in the Study.

In Lexical pragmatics, the concepts communicated using words may differ from the concepts encoded in the following ways: lexical narrowing, lexical broadening and lexical borrowing. According to Sperber and Wilson (2004), lexical narrowing is a situation where a word is used in a more specific sense than the encoded one resulting to narrowing of the linguistically specified denotation.

Wilson and Sperber (2006) define lexical broadening as the case where a word is used to convey a more general sense of meaning with the encoded one with consequent widening linguistically specified denotation. Fromkin (1993) says that borrowing is a process by which one language or dialect takes and incorporates some linguistic elements from another. Heine & Nurse (2000) further explain that the path of lexical borrowing shows the path of cultural influence.

This understanding of pragmatic meaning and the concept of context guided this research on the analysis of the pragmatic sense of the utterances made during the dowry negotiations among the Maragoli.

2.2.4 Relevance Theory

Relevance Theory is a framework for interpreting utterances. This theory was put forward by Sperber and Wilson (1986) as an alternative to Grice's Cooperative Principle. Wilson and Sperber state that, 'The argument of this theory is that Grice's maxims can be replaced effectively by a single principle of relevance—that the speaker tries to be as relevant as possible in the circumstances—which, when suitably elaborated, can handle the full range of data that Grice's maxims were designed to explain.'

This means that in a conversational exchange, participants do not merely cooperate based on mutually agreed on rules; they strive to be as relevant in their contributions as possible. The theory takes its name from the principle that 'every utterance conveys the information that is relevant enough for it to be worth the addressee's effort to process it.' Sperber and Wilson (1995).

Carston (2010) says, 'It is a basic assumption of Relevant Theory that the meaning encoded in the linguistic expression type that a speaker utters inevitably underdetermines the content he/she communicates, not only her/his implicatures but

also the propositional content he/she communicates explicitly.’ The study effectively used this theory to analyze the lexical items and phrases used in Lulogooli which have broadened senses hence eliciting Conversational Implicatures.

According to Sperber and Wilson, relevance theory involves lexical broadening as one of the tenets. Other tenets include lexical narrowing and lexical borrowing. In lexical broadening, a word is used to convey a more general sense of meaning with the encoded one with consequent widening of the linguistically specified denotation. In broadening, the meaning of the word becomes broader and more inclusive than the earlier meaning.

In Maragoli dowry negotiations, the words *mmbinaji* and *mudechi* mean a cook who would be preparing porridge but when broadened, it means that the groom is about to get a wife, who would be taking care of him and his home. The participants in the dowry negotiation would not refer to the bride directly but used the word *mmbinaji* or *mudechi*. For example, a participant may say, *mwikura witu avee korogendo rwo kohenza mmbinaji* (Our son has embarked on a journey to look for a porridge cook). The study specifically used the concept of lexical broadening in the process of interpreting the other meaning of specific terms and phrases that are used during the negotiation exercise.

While Grice has it that in inferring a speaker's meaning, the hearer is guided by the expectation that communicative behaviours should meet certain standards that is a cooperative principle and conversational maxims, relevance theorists, hold it that a presumption of optimal relevance is the overall guiding principle of a communicative event.

Grice's Cooperative Principle and Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory differ on the notion of the 'motivation' or the rationale of the conversational exchanges. While CP has it that participants in a conversation must cooperate and they must be guided by the conversational maxims, Relevance Theory postulates that participants in a talk exchange are 'motivated' to make certain utterances by the desire to be relevant in particular circumstances. The theory was relevant to the study when establishing the functions of the Lulogooli implicatures such as face saving, convincing and pleasing.

2.2.4.1 Key Tenets of Relevance Theory used in the Study.

The main assumption of Relevance Theory is that human beings are endowed with a biologically rooted ability to maximize the relevance of incoming stimuli (linguistic utterances). This makes inference one of the key tenets of the theory. Within this model, utterances are not automatically decoded; they are only pieces of evidence about speaker's meaning which, often, if not always, underdetermine the literal meaning of the coded message.

Communication involves the use of a code (i.e the grammar of a language), but inference plays a major role in turning the schematic coded input into fully propositional interpretations. One of the major contributions of Relevance Theory is the claim that there is a much wider gap between the (coded) sentence meaning and the (inferred) speaker's meaning, which must be filled inferentially. The notion of inference provided a framework to this study through which participants' utterances used during the negotiations were analysed to get their inferential meaning, which contributed to Conversational Implicature.

Thus, inference was used in analyzing the data from the field with a view to determining how specific words and phrases used in Lulogooli have assumed more meaning than the linguistically encoded one. This helped us during analysis, to extract the various forms of Conversational Implicatures in Lulogooli during dowry negotiations such as metaphors, ironies, sarcasms, fake praises and exaggerations in Lulogooli during the dowry negotiations.

2.3 Summary

This chapter has looked at language use and meaning in communication and the notion of pragmatics and lexico-pragmatics, in which the study was anchored. The chapter has also examined two major theories which guided the study: Grice's theory of Conversational Implicature (Cooperative Principle) and Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory. This latter theory comes in as a follow up on Grice's

postulations and Sperber and Wilson attempt to criticize the CP by Grice. The Relevance theory offered guidance on the violation of the maxims in Lulogooli and the motive behind it. The theory's tenet of lexical broadening was used in the study to analyze and describe the various forms of Conversational Implicatures. The next chapter deals with the methodology used in the research.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the research design, area of study, study population, sampling technique and size, research instruments, validity and reliability of research instruments, data collection procedure and ethical considerations during the research.

3.2 Research Design

The research used descriptive research design that involved collecting information without changing or manipulating the environment. During the study, the researcher interacted with the participants and through observation, collected necessary linguistic data. The study also used qualitative methods of analysis as the focus was on the primary data from recorded dowry negotiations and information from resource persons.

Qualitative design has been found suitable in its precision in describing the uniqueness of phenomenon (Atkinson, 2005) Qualitative design assisted in identifying and describing the forms of Conversational Implicatures that are used in Lulogooli, the similarities of the implicatures with regards to different dowry negotiations, as well as describing the linguistic functions the Conversational Implicatures perform.

Hair (2006) further says that qualitative research tends to focus on the collection of detailed amounts of primary data from relatively small samples of subject by asking questions or observing behaviours.

3.3 Area of Study

The study was carried out in Vihiga County, Western Kenya. The county borders Nandi County to the east, Kisumu County to the west and Kakamega County to the north. According to Vihiga County's official website, Vihiga County has four sub counties: Luanda, Hamisi, Sabatia, Emuhaya and Vihiga. (www.Vihiga.go.ke. Accessed November 20, 2022).

The rationale for choosing Vihiga County for the study was the fact that the researcher had easier access to the community as he speaks Lulogooli. However, the study narrowed the focus on Sabatia Sub County. Besides, the practice of dowry payment in its traditional form is widely practiced in the region, making it ideal for the study. The Maragoli living in other parts of the country have embraced modern methods of dowry payment such as the use of money hence the negotiations are not culturally conducted as they are done in Vihiga County.

3.4 Target Population

The target population of the study was the Lulogooli speakers in Vihiga County, specifically Sabatia Sub County. The male adults between the ages of 25 to 70 years,

who form part of the group that participates in dowry negotiations, were targeted during the study. This is because dowry negotiations in the community are exclusively carried out by men as demanded by the community's culture.

3.5 Sample size

The research purposively sampled two dowry negotiations in Sabatia Sub-County in Vihiga for analysis. Two conversations from the negotiations were transcribed and analyzed.

3.6 Data Collection Procedure and Instruments

The research relied on observation and interviews as the main methods of data collection. The data collection procedure involved the researcher attending the dowry negotiation exercises among the Maragoli, observing and recording the verbal exchanges on a digital audio recorder.

The observation was a passive one in that the researcher observed and recorded without actively participating in the exercise, which was ideal for this research as it largely relied on spontaneous uses of language in a dowry negotiation setting. Participant observation, according to O'Connor (2005), is embedded in the belief that natural behaviours are more likely to be representative of certain traits within the group, such as shared perceptions or beliefs.

Bruyn (1966) argues that it is through outright participation as a member of the group that the cause of the phenomenon could be fully understood. Spradley (1997) finds that modern rationale for participant observation methodologies is more profound as a means of promoting an initial stage of inquiry.

The research also relied on interviews to collect data, guided by interview schedules, which were prepared by the researcher. Participants in the dowry negotiations were interviewed on whether there was implicit use of language in the negotiation process and whether it achieved the intended purpose. The interviews were useful in examining the effectiveness of Conversational Implicatures as used in the negotiation as the interviewees responded to the question of what was achieved when the participants used indirect language.

3.6.1 Validity and Reliability

Test-retest method (Kothari 2004) was used to ascertain reliability. A re-interview of the participants was done after a week and the results were consistent. The accurate interpretation of Conversational Implicature (humour, metaphors, flattery, irony, e.t.c.) during the negotiations resulted in an amicable agreement in the end. The study established that in cases where the CI was not accurately interpreted, the participants failed to agree. At such that point the negotiation process temporarily stopped and the participants began to consult among themselves.

The side that extensively deployed the use of CI, an independent variable in the study, during the negotiations achieved a favourable outcome at the end as it impressed and convinced the other side. This is realized in negotiation I, where the groom's negotiators used CI to successfully to reach an agreement of twenty five cows and thirty thousand shillings as dowry, a target they had before the negotiation.

The findings of this study of implicature in Lulogooli can extend to other Kenyan speech community and more widely across other African language speech communities as seen in the examples (Agikuyu, Ghana etc.) presented in the literature review of this project.

3.7 Data analysis and Presentation

The post-field research exercise involved transcription and translation of audio recorded conversations and qualitative analysis of the data using content analysis procedures. The meanings of the utterances used were analyzed in relation to the intended purpose of the utterances. The agreements reached at the end of the dowry negotiation processes were analyzed and compared to the language used in the actual negotiations.

The utterances were analyzed based on the four maxims of Cooperative Principle: Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner (Grice 1975). This helped the research in realizing and describing the various forms of Conversational Implicatures used in

Lulogooli during the dowry negotiation exercise. The data analyzed was presented in narrative approach because the study is ethnographic since contextual features such as setting, genre, participants, goals, time, and place (Hymes 1974) are considered while interpreting discourse.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The researcher first sought research permit from National Commission for Science, Technology, and Innovation (NACOSTI) in Kenya. This was followed by establishing contact links with the local administration in Sabatia Sub County especially with the village elders and assistant chiefs in the sub county. These people were the contact persons for the researcher who informed him of the upcoming marriage ceremonies. The researcher identified one member of the community (resource person/consultant) within the area of the study who is well versed with the Lulogooli language to consult for nuanced interpretation and translation of the utterances that were made in Lulogooli.

The researcher then, through local authorities, asked for permission from families that were conducting marriage ceremonies. The researcher, who relied on the willingness of the respondents, clearly explained to them the intentions of the researcher and what the research was all about before he asked for their consent. The respondents and the families involved were assured of utmost confidentiality in handling the data from their ceremonies.

3.9 Summary

This chapter has discussed in detail how the research was conducted. The eight areas that we focused on in this chapter include research design, variables of the research, area of the proposed research, target population, sample size, data collection procedures and instruments, validity and reliability of research instruments, data analysis and presentation and finally the ethical considerations that were observed during the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

4.0 DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is a presentation and analysis of data collected during dowry negotiations among the Maragoli in Vihiga County. The first section discusses ways in which Conversational Implicature is realized in Lulogooli. The second section consists of a description of the various forms of Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli while the third section of this chapter identifies the functions the Conversational Implicature plays during dowry negotiations.

As noted in section 3.3, data collection for this project was carried out in Sabatia Sub-county of Vihiga County. A smart phone was used to record the proceedings of two marriage dowry negotiations with permission granted by the chief of Mudete Sub location of the same sub-county. The audio-recorded data was transcribed and translated into English by the researcher.

One man, aged seventy years (consultant), assisted in giving expert information on Maragoli dowry rites and the interpretation of the indirect language that was used during the proceedings. Marriage negotiations were about the choice of words in order to create a friendly rapport and make good grounds for negotiations to take place. Before the marriage negotiations began, the two negotiating parties took their various sitting positions. The groom's side took the left-hand side while the bride

took the right hand side signifying that they are the major focus of the exercise as the bride belongs to them.

Interpersonal relationships were created by various lexical items that the negotiators used. Respect for one another was important in the negotiation. According to Blutner (1998), the meanings of words are frequently pragmatically adjusted and fine-tuned in context to express meanings that a speaker intends to convey.

4.2 Indirectness in Language Use

One of the findings of this research is that Conversational Implicatures in dowry negotiations among the Maragoli is realized through inferences and indirectness. Grice (1991) talks of Conversational Implicature which deals with what is inferred from certain utterance from context.

Yule (1996) explains that language is analyzed in context; meaning the situational environment with which an utterance is made. During the dowry negotiations, the participants involved used indirect speech, and for communication to effectively occur, the participants had to infer the meaning of what was said by means of implicature. According to the consultant, this manner of communication was meant to be a face-saving act to avoid creating the impression that the negotiation was a business transaction.

As seen in the following excerpts of the negotiation events from which data for this study was collected, the groom's spokespersons indirectly declared the intention of their presence in the bride's home:

Excerpt A (Negotiation II)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Basi inafasi ni yinyu avandu ve Evohovore mkovole kivareti.*

Translation: Now it is your turn people of Evohovore to tell us what brought you here.

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Vandu vi Ichatamilu, vwiraa. Mkurindi vurahi sana. Vala kukunyi kuganaganya anoho koveku hano kumadiku gaviri gavaga nitari mwima gwu Murogori gugaya. Kuduchi hano chigira koveye ni rigembe rivura muhini. (pause) Muyayi witu yarinagenda nahenza mmbnaji. Yaroroa mmbinaji mgasu rigari. Ku rwayamuronda, yarora yingira hango hano. Ku akutumi kuzi kumtevera nigava anyara kuvugura mmbinaji zana.*

Translation: People of Ichatamilu, good afternoon. You have treated us well on this occasion. In fact, some of us have thought for a moment to extend our stay for two or three days but the culture of *Murogori* [Founding Father of the Maragoli people] does not allow. We have come here looking for a handle for our hoe. (pause) Our son was out looking for a good porridge cook and came across one who, upon following, came to this home. He has sent us to come and ask whether he can be allowed to take the cook.

Excerpt B (Negotiation I)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Kuyanzi ku vageni vitu yava. Ku chigira kwa kuria kwiguti, kwakumanyana, ni vurahi kumanye vageni vitu vari vakovole ndi?*

Translation: We are happy about our visitors. Given that we have eaten and we are satisfied, we have known each other, it is now time our visitors told us why they came)

2ND PARTICIPANT (groom's uncle):

(clearing his throat) *Asande mno, amitu. Kuyanzi kandi kuri mkukukaribishi hango hano. Kwa kuria kwiguti. [pause] Kuzi hano chigira mwikura witu yari nagenda narora riauwa llahi shimbi numugizi gunu, ku yari anyara kuvuna riauwa zana da chigira rivee nu mwene. Ku kuzi kumanya kuri anyara kuvugura riauwa zana mwene nava uvugila.*

Translation: Thanks, my brother. We are happy how you have welcomed us here. We ate to our satisfaction. We are here because our son saw a beautiful flower near this home while on a walk and desired to pluck it but because it belonged to someone, he could not just pluck it. He decided to send us to come and ask whether he could pluck it with the permission of the owner.

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Korori ni hano humwikura winyu yarora riauwa. Ku mukovole, muraha riauwa zana ni kuri ni riu mmuritu?*

Translation: We have seen it is indeed here that your son saw the flower. So, tell us whether you will just pluck the flower as if it is in the forest. (loud laughter is heard in the room)

In these two excerpts, the grooms' representatives do not explicitly state that they have come to seek a wife for their sons. They use figurative language to deliver their message. In excerpt A, the 2nd Participant said their son was on a walk looking for a 'porridge cook' and saw one who entered the bride's home. He did not want to state that their son was looking for a wife; he referred to the bride indirectly as a 'porridge cook' that their son was looking for.

By implicature, the bride's side interpreted this to mean they had come to ask for their daughter's hand in marriage. In excerpt B, the spokesperson told the bride's side that they had come to officially pluck a flower from their home. As explained by the consultant, this indirectly implied that that they must pay dowry (the

permission) for their son's wife to be. In both excerpts, the speakers evaded the main purpose of their visit by using many words in passing their message.

The bride's representatives nodded in approval to the groom's representatives' utterances. Their spokespersons then welcomed the groom's team, signaling the start of the negotiation. The inferred meaning of the utterances above, according to the elderly consultant, is that the groom's side is ready with something (dowry) and that it is ready for a negotiation.

The utterance *Kuzi hano chigira mwikura witu yari nagenda narora riauwa llahi shimbi numugizi gunu* presupposes that the groom and the bride have already known each other; that they have courted and are willing to be formally betrothed. In Maragoli culture, the groom is left at home when elders go for the negotiation; he is only briefed about the agreement reached. According to the consultant, the groom is not expected to freely visit the bride's home. He is supposed to keep a respectable distance with the in-laws even during the marriage negotiations. This distance begins on the day the negotiation is conducted when the dowry is finally accepted and in future. The groom's male peers represent him during the negotiation and drive the cattle into the bride's home. However, before the negotiation, the elders engage the groom in a lengthy discussion about his preparedness for the rigours of marriage.

In both negotiations, the bride's spokespersons indirectly sought to know from the groom's side what they had brought along as part of the dowry before the negotiation began as brought out in the excerpts below.

Excerpt C (Negotiation I)

1ST PARTICIPANT: (addressing the 2nd Participant from groom's side) *Amwavo, kovoleko kuri muzi.*

Translation: Brother, tell us the way you have come.

2ND PARTICIPANT: (after a brief consultation with other members from groom's side) *Basi ku kunyi kuzi mikono miere da. Waswihili vavora mikono miere jikombwa da. Kuzi ni visara vinne nende migoye rikomi na jitano. Ku mbore ndi manyi kuri mwenya dave.*

Translation: We did not come empty-handed because as Swahili people say empty hands cannot be licked. We have four sticks fifteen thousand ropes, but we do not know your wishes.

Excerpt D (Negotiation II)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Korori ni hano humwikura winyu yarora riauwa. Ku mukovole, muraha riauwa zana ni kuri ni riu mmuritu?*

Translation: We have seen it is indeed here that your son saw the flower. So, tell us whether you will just pluck the flower as if it is in the forest.

3RD PARTICIPANT (groom's side): *Paya, kuzi mmuritu da.* (continued laughter) (We did not come to a forest)

4TH PARTICIPANT (From the bride's side): *Kavori ko vaya.*

Translation: Then say how you came

2ND PARTICIPANT: (Clearing his throat) *Kuzi mikono miere dave. Kuzi ne visara vitano, nende migoye makomi gaviri jokovoha visara zana hala. Ku kuvuri kumanya nigava muravugila kuri kuzi.*

Translation: We did not come empty-handed. We have five sticks and twenty thousand ropes, but we do not know whether you will accept.

In excerpt C, the bride's spokesperson asked the groom's side how they had come. The literal meaning of this could have been, 'which means of transport they used travel' or 'how their journey was.' However, the indirect meaning the spokesperson implied is what the groom's side had as part of dowry. In excerpt D, the bride's spokesperson elicited laughter when he asked the groom's side whether they were to pluck the flower as if it were a wildflower that one does not have to pay for.

In a witty and indirect way, the spokesperson was asking what the groom's side had come with as part of the initial dowry before the negotiations began. 'The flower' metaphorically refers to the bride and the 'plucking' is metaphorical for taking the bride for marriage. The 2nd participant, who understands the implicature, responds indirectly by referring to cattle as 'sticks' and money as *migoye* as part of what they will give in exchange of 'the flower'

The utterance, *kuzi mikono miere da* (we did not come empty handed) was used in both negotiations as seen in excerpts C and D. The Conversational Implicature behind the utterance is that the groom's side understands that a bride cannot be taken for free and that they were obligated by culture to pay dowry hence they had come with 'something'.

The groom's side violated the Grice maxim of relevance by giving responses that were not related to the questions asked. However, due to their mutual understanding, the bride's team understood the message to imply that the groom's team has come with part of the dowry to signify the start of a negotiation.

Excerpt E (Negotiation I)

1ST PARTICIPANT (bride's spokesman): (clearing his throat) *Vwiraa mwosi. Ndoraa kivara ni chimbura ku nu vurahi kumanye kikoreti hano. Si gave ndio vaya?*

(Good afternoon, you all. Since this is a rainy season, it is important to discuss what brought us here or what do you think?)

The utterance *kivara ni chimbura* (Translation: it is a rainy season) indirectly meant that there was need to hurry up and save on time. This utterance was said by one of the negotiators from the bride's party after the exchange of pleasantries at the beginning of the negotiation had gone on for some time.

In the two negotiations, it was observed that the participants on both sides took some time before broaching the subject at hand. This too was meaningful. They spent some time exchanging pleasantries and speaking briefly about current affairs in their regions and the entire country such as climate and state of the harvests, the rising cost of living and the trends in politics at that time among other issues.

The consultant explained that the participants skirt around the real matter of dowry negotiation at the beginning in a bid to cast a picture of people who have come to

forge a friendship and not to transact a business. The utterance *kivara ni chimbura* signaled that the bride's side was ready to discuss the dowry matter and allow the groom's people to back home as soon as possible because according to the Maragoli tradition, evening should not fall when the groom's people are still in the home of the bride. This is considered disrespectful among the Maragoli.

Excerpt F (Negotiation I)

1ST PARTICIPANT (bride's side): *Asande. Kuyanzi kuri muzi. Korori kuri muvee, mwivichi vurahi munyi navandu ve heshima. Kuriauwa riu mwikura winyu yarora, murakuha visara ishirini na vitano nende migoye arubaini.*

Translation: Thank you. We like the way you came. The way you are well-dressed, you are respectable people. For the flower your son saw in this home, give us twenty-five sticks and forty ropes.

2ND PARTICIPANT (groom's side): *Tanji mkoheku vwiyanu kusingiriku ichova hake vukindu vukukubiku*

Translation: please allow us some time to stand out to get some fresh air.

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Kandi ndio vurahi.*

Translation: That is good.

(The participants from the groom's side walk out as those from the bride's side talk amongst themselves. After a short while, the groom's party walks back into the room.)

The utterance *tanji mkoheku vwiyanu kusingiriku ichova hake vukindu vukukubiku* (please allow us some time to stand out and get some fresh air) meant that the groom was requesting for time to go out and consult about the demand made by the bride's side and produce their offer or an agreement. The groom's party did not explicitly state that they are going to consult over the dowry demand by the bride's side.

However, the bride's side understood the implicature that they were going to discuss the demand from their side and agreed to it. The bride's party was also left in the house discussing the progress of the negotiation. We relied on Lexico-pragmatic theoretical framework in this conversational analysis to interpret the intended meanings of the above utterances during the negotiations. The successful understanding of the intended meaning aided in the ultimate realization of the aim of the negotiations: reaching an agreement on the amount of dowry to be paid for the bride.

In conclusion, indirectness in language as it was observed during the negotiation serves to bring out the Conversational Implicature which is seen through the perspective of Grice theory of CI.

4.3 Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli

The study found out that Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli used during dowry negotiations is realized through metaphors/metaphorical expressions, flattery, and irony. This sub section will analyse these forms of conversational implicature inherent in Lulogooli as manifested in dowry negotiations.

4.3.1 Metaphors and Metaphorical Expressions

Lakoff and Johnson (2003) define a metaphor as 'a fundamental mechanism of mind, one that allows us to use what we know about our physical and social

experience to provide understanding of countless other subjects.’ Lakoff and Johnson (2003) therefore look at a metaphor as understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another. This study examined metaphors as words or expressions that mean something different from their literal definitions.

Underwood (2023) defines a metaphor as a figure of speech that describes an object or action in a way that is not literally true but helps explain an idea or make a comparison. She says that a metaphor states that one thing is another thing; it equates those two things not because they actually are the same, but for the sake of comparison or symbolism.

According to Katz et al (1998), the function of a metaphor is to extend human communication and conceptual capacities. They are windows to the systems of knowledge that are relevant and central in each culture. Metaphors and metaphorical expressions were used in Maragoli dowry negotiations as seen in the following excerpts.

Excerpt G (Negotiation I)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Asande. Kuyanzi kuri muzi. Korori kuri muvee, mwivichi vura hi munyi navandu ve heshima. Kuriauwa riu mwikura winyu yarora, murakuha visara ishirini na vitano nende migoye arubaini.*

Translation: Thank you. We like the way you came. The way you are well-dressed, you are respectable people. For the flower your son saw in this home, give us twenty-five sticks and forty ropes.

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Tanji mkoheku vwiyanu kusingiriku ichova hake vukindu vukukubiku*

Translation: Please allow us some time to stand out to get some fresh air.

The word *visara* (sticks) was used in the excerpt G to metaphorically refer to ‘cattle’ to avoid appearing business minded. The cattle would be counted as sticks. In negotiation I, the groom’s spokesperson said, *korora kurahana visara rikomi na vitano nende migoye ishirini*. Translation: we shall give fifteen sticks (cows) and twenty ropes (twenty thousand). In both negotiations, the words *zimbonu* and *migoye* (cow leashes) were used to imply the money that is given to the bride’s family as part of the bride price.

Excerpt H (Negotiation I)

1ST PARTICIPANT (bride’s side): *Kwamanya kivara chinyu ni chimbura na marova marahi. Kori ndi kuvuri kuzia mmang’ana manyingi chigira kivara ni chimbura. Reti visara makomi gaviri na vitano nende migoye makomi gavaga.*

Translation: We know that your land has pleasant weather and good soil. So, without going into so much back and forth, you give us twenty-five sticks and thirty ropes)

(The 2ND PARTICIPANT turns to the other participants from the groom’s side for consultation. They speak in low tones)

2ND PARTICIPANT (groom’s side): *Kwakuganaganya kumang’ana gamuvoye na chigira kwenya korete imbulizani kuzifamili ziviri yizi makandi kwenya mwikura witu anyore mashiga, kuvugili kuvaha visara makomi gaviri na vitano ma nende migoye makomi gavaga.*

Translation: We have thought about your demand and because we want to bring a cordial relationship between the two families and that our son should get cooking stones (a cook), we agree to give you twenty-five sticks and thirty ropes.

Mashiga (cooking stones) refers to the bride. Among the Maragoli, a wife has various roles that she is expected to perform. Key among them is taking care of the home and cooking for the husband and the entire family. By referring to the bride as cooking stones, this figuratively means that the groom's people are about to get someone who will provide stability and help their lineage grow to eternity. Jakendoff (1983) says that languages we speak hand down to us ready-made categories which we regard as commonsense.

Goatly (2007) says that we may think, naively, that the information conveyed by language is about real world, while in fact we have conscious access only to the projected world—the world as unconsciously organized by the mind: and we talk about things in so far as they have achieved mental representation through the process of organization.

Excerpt I (Negotiation II)

2ND PARTICIPANT (groom's side): *Vandu vi Ichatamilu, vwiraa. Mkurindi vurahi sana. Vala kukunyi kuganaganya anoho koveku hano kumadiku gaviri gavaga nitari mwima gwuMurogori gugaya. Kuduchi hano chigira koveye ni rigembe rivura muhini. (pause) Muyayi witu yarinagenda nahenza ummbnaji. Yaroroa mmbinaji mgasu rigari. Ku rwayamuronda, yarora yingira hango hano. Ku akutumi kuzi kumtevera nigava anyara kuvugura mmbinaji zana.*

Translation: People of Ichatamilu, good afternoon. You have treated us well on this occasion. In fact, some of us have thought for a moment of extending our stay for two or three days but the culture of Murogori does not allow. We have come here looking for a handle for our hoe. (pause) Our son was out looking for a good porridge cook and came across one

who, upon following, came to this home. He has sent us to come and ask whether he can be allowed to take the cook.

Mashiga is alternatively used with *mmbinaji* or *mudechi* which loosely translate to a cook. One of the tests the bride is subjected to when she finally arrives at the groom's home is to prepare ugali for the family. Ugali is the staple food among the Maragoli and a woman who cooks it well is said to be qualified for marriage. The mother-in-law has several ways of confirming whether the ugali is well-cooked including sending someone outside the compound to smell the cooking ugali.

The utterance *kovee nende rigembe kuzi kehenza muhini* (We have a handle and we have come to look for a hoe), as used in excerpt I, is also metaphorically used to refer to the groom (*rigembe*) who has come to look for a bride (*muhini*). The interpretation of the implicature in the metaphor is that just like a hoe cannot be complete without its handle, the groom is incomplete without a wife, who they have come to look for.

Cameron (in Gibbs, 2008: 198) looks at linguistic metaphors as expressions in language that have the potential to be understood metaphorically. She further explains that although context may offer evidence of speaker's intentions and interpretations, this evidence is not required for identification of metaphors. This means that the identification of linguistic metaphors is using words or phrases that potentially link to a vehicle (base) domain which is distinct from the domain of the surrounding on-going talk (the target).

Excerpt J (Negotiation I)

2ND PARTICIPANT (groom's side): *Vandu vitu mmanyage enzori yakutaga karunu yiyi genyeka emere erete matunda. Korora kurahana visara rikomi na vitano nende migoye ishirini. Muravugila?*

Translation: You should keep in mind that the seed we are sowing now in this meeting should sprout and bring forth fruits. We shall give fifteen sticks and twenty ropes.

5TH PARTICIPANT (from Groom's side): *Kwenya kuvugirizane korombe vurina*

Translation: We should agree and make a cordial friendship.

1ST PARTICIPANT (bride's side): *Mmanyage utarora nnya vukana, dada yata vuza zing'ombe. Girigari riauwa rytu ni rigasu.*

Translation: He who never saw his mother when she was young may think his father wasted his dowry. Indeed, our flower is beautiful)

3RD PARTICIPANT (From bride's side): *Mmanyage mmbinaji yaduka.*

Translation: The porridge cook is qualified.

The utterance *mmanyage mmbinaji witu yaduka* (The porridge cook/bride is well raised) was said by one of the negotiators from the bride's side. The inferred meaning is that the bride's team will not settle for less as their girl is well-raised hence will be a good wife to the groom's family. According to the elderly consultant, the phrase 'good wife' among the Maragoli does not simply mean the bride will be a good wife to the groom but to the entire family and community the groom belongs to.

In the above excerpt, the proverb, *utarora nnya vukana, dada yata vuza zing'ombe* (he who never saw his mother when she was young may think his father wasted his

dowry) is used by the spokesperson of the bride's side to convince the groom's side that their girl is beautiful and well-behaved hence they (groom's side) should not have hesitated to give the amount of dowry demanded; they should not have thought that they were throwing their cows away.

In Excerpt J, one of the participants from the groom's side in his plea to the bride's group to accept their offer used the metaphor *enzori* (seed) in this utterance: *mmanyage enzori yakutaga karunu yiyi genyeka emere erete matunda* (You should keep in mind that the seed we are sowing now in this meeting should sprout and bring forth fruits). The intended meaning of this utterance is that the negotiation should yield cordial relationship which should bind the two families together for greater good. It was hoped that with this reminder, the bride's side would have softened their demands and agreed to what the groom's side was giving.

The negotiators from both sides of the negotiation exercised caution with the language they used in the process, bearing in mind that it was to determine the future relationship between the two families. The participants adopted a calm tone even when some of them seemed, judging by their facial expressions, not to agree with the other side. Therefore, whatever the agreement, the negotiators knew that it was to be the beginning of a relationship that should have stood the test of time.

4.3.2 *Riauwa*—Flower as a metaphor

The bride in both negotiations was metaphorically referred to as *riauwa llahi* (a beautiful flower) to refer to the bride.

Excerpt K (Negotiation I)

1ST PARTICIPANT (Bride's spokesman): (clearing his throat) *Vwiraa mwosi. Ndoraa kivara ni chimbura ku nu vurahi kumanye kikoreti hano. Si gave ndio vaya?*

Translation: Good afternoon, you all. Since this is a rainy season, it is important to discuss what brought us here or what do you think?)

ALL PARTICIPANTS: *Yee!* (yes)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Kuyanzi ku vageni vitu yava. Ku chigira kwa kuria kwiguti, kwakumanyana, ni vurahi kumanye vageni vitu vari vakovole ndi.*

Translation: We are happy about our visitors. Given that we have eaten, and we are fine, we have known each other, it is now time our visitors told us why they came.

2ND PARTICIPANT (groom's uncle): (clearing his throat) *Asande mno, amitu. Kuyanzi kandi kuri mkukukaribishi hango hano. Kwa kuria kwiguti. [pause] Kuzi hano chigira mwikura witu yari nagenda narora riauwa llahi shimbi nu mugizi gunu, ku yari anyara kuvuna riauwa zana da chigira rivee nu mwene. Ku kuzi kumanya kuri anyara kuvugura riauwa zana.*

Translation: Thanks, my brother. We are happy how you have welcomed us here. We ate to our satisfaction. We are here because our son saw a beautiful flower near this home while on a walk and desired to pluck it but because it belonged to someone, he could not just pluck it. He decided to come and ask whether he could pluck it.

The elder avoided directly telling the bride's side that they had come to pay dowry and take their daughter as a wife to their son. By use of a flower in reference to the bride, the elder sought to impress the bride's side so that they may have it easy

during the negotiation for the bride price. As something lovely and attractive, a flower is considered valuable hence when a girl is compared to it, the implicature is the girl was valuable and that she was supposed to attract a high amount of dowry. Therefore, the metaphor of a flower was used as a bargaining tool by the bride's side.

4.3.3 *Koromba Vwinamilu. (Paving the Way)*

Excerpt L (Negotiation I)

1ST PARTICIPANT (bride's side): *Asande mno. Korora munyi na vandu va heshima na kwenya kuhambane. Mwikura winyu anyoye mashiga marahi. Vandu vinyu vosi ni vakomere.* (laughter in the room)

Translation: Thanks a lot. We have seen you are good people. Your son has found a good cook. All your people at home will add weight.

2ND PARTICIPANT (groom's side): *Nitari muyanze mukuvugili kuhane cha kovenacho, kuri ndari nimboye mwithanga, kuri vyinamilu. Manukwirane kandi na kandi. Muravugila?*

Translation: We plead with you to accept what we have as I had said at the beginning just as a start. Then we shall come back repeatedly. Do you accept?

Excerpt M (Negotiation II)

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Asande sana amwavo. Kari kunyi kwenya zifamili ziviri yizi zihambane. Ku kurahana karunu ndi visara vitano, nende migoye makomi gaviri korombela vwinamilu ili kujagiza isafari yiyi.*

Translation: Thank you so much brothers, we also desire the two families to unite for posterity. We will give you five sticks and twenty ropes to start off this journey)

The phrase *koromba vwinamilu* was used by the groom's party in both negotiations as seen in excerpts L and M. The implicature in the utterance is that the groom's side had no intention of clearing the entire bride price agreed upon; they had part of the dowry to mark the beginning. This utterance is derived from the art of farming. Maragoli community practices farming as its economic mainstay.

Before a farmer cultivates his/her land for a new season of planting, he/she cultivates a small part of the land to mark the beginning of a rigorous cultivation exercise ahead. It is believed that the farmer uses this small part to summon more energy for the entire cultivation exercise ahead. This is what is referred to as *vwinamilu*. This metaphoric expression is used in dowry negotiations to mean the bride's family will give part of the dowry to mark the beginning of more to come.

Dowry payment among the Maragoli is not meant to be conclusive (Kabaji, 2005). The groom is expected to keep taking some dowry to the bride's home after some years as a way of staying connected with the bride's people. It is an exercise that is meant to cement strong ties between the two families.

4.3.4 Flattery

Flattery refers to insincere praise meant for the sake of compliments or for the sake of deception (Elylon and Heyd, 2008) According to Searle (1975), flattery, just like praise, is an expressive speech act that enables speakers to express their feelings

towards the hearer. Elylon and Heyd (2008) state that speakers use flattery for the sake of compliments and as a means of deception intended to achieve something for them.

Communication between people often includes praise for performance or status. Praise has rewarding (Lam et al., 2008) and socio-emotional effects [e.g generating feelings of competence and happiness (Burnett and Mandel, 2010)] There are two types of praise in daily conversation: sincere praise and flattery, which are differentiated on the basis of their relatedness to one's performance, that is, feedback reliability (Fogg and Nass, 1997).

This study analyzed how participants in marriage negotiations used flattery to achieve a favourable dowry agreement. In both negotiations, the participants from the bride's side used utterances that were intended to praise the participants from the groom's side so as they may accept their dowry proposals as illustrated in Excerpt N below.

Excerpt N (Negotiation II)

2ND PARTICIPANT (groom's side): *Korori ndi kunyi kuduchi ku visara rikomi na vitano nende migoye makomi gaviri.*

Translation: We think the much we can afford is fifteen sticks and twenty ropes.

1ST PARTICIPANT (bride's side): *Hamoni hinyu hang'ereng'ana, garorekaa wamuturi ni indahi rigari anoho ni kuri kumurindi hano?*

Translation: Your faces are shining, an indication that where you have come from is a really good place or is it the food, we have fed you today?

The utterance *hamoni hinyu hang'ereng'ana, garorekaa wamuturi ni indahi rigari anoho ni kuri kumurindi hano?* as used in Excerpt N was tactfully used by the bride's side to win over the groom's side. The intended meaning of the utterance was that judging from the way the groom's people are healthy (with shining faces), they are economically able people who should not find it hard to give the bride price required. The utterance was used by the participant from the bride's side as part of the flattery, a negotiation skill, meant to soften the stance of the groom's side and make them give in to their demands.

A similar utterance was used by one of the participants from the bride's side in negotiation I: *kuri muvee, mwivichi vurahi munyi navandu ve heshima* (Translation: The way you are well-dressed, you are respectable people.) The intended meaning was, being well-dressed is a sign that the groom's people are economically well off. Besides, the elder who used the utterance implied that as respectable people, the groom's side should not have a problem giving in to their demand.

Kwamanya kivara chinyu ni chimbura na marova marahi. (We know you come from land that has adequate rain and fertile soil) This utterance, as used by the spokesperson from the bride's side, implied that the groom's home was endowed with resources owing to good weather. As an agricultural community, the Maragoli believe that land is the ultimate source of wealth. Fertile soils that support the growth of many crops and livestock keeping mean that people are economically

able. Therefore, the elders used this utterance to convince the groom's side to give in to their demand as they are economically well-endowed back home.

4.3.5 Irony

Verschueren (1999) states that irony means the intended meaning is completely the opposite of what is literally said. Irony is a universal phenomenon, which is a literary device that merely includes all cultural uses in daily conversations, yet 80 per cent of the people are unfamiliar of its intended meaning and take it literally (Siger and Taha, 2012).

The participants in both negotiations used utterances and expressions whose meanings were the opposite of what was intended as shown in the excerpts below.

Excerpt O (Negotiation II)

1ST PARTICIPANT: (bride's side) (after whispering something to the others in his group) *Asande mno. Kuvugili kuri muzi. Nitari riauwa rytu rinu ni rigasu mno. Riasembelwa vurahi rianeta. Kwenya visara makomi gavaga nende migoye makomi gatano.*

Translation: Thank you so much. We accept the way you came. However, our flower is so beautiful and healthy. It has been taken care of well. We ask for a token of thirty sticks and fifty ropes.

5TH PARTICIPANT (from groom's side): *Vandu vitu, mwakuvitila.*

Translation: Our people, that's too much for us.

4TH PARTICIPANT: *Ku kuvahe vuza mmbinaji?*

Translation: Do we give you the bride for free?

The utterance *mmbinaji kupahe vuza* was used by the ironically to downplay the ‘token’ they have received from the groom’s side. It was part of the negotiation strategy by the bride’s side. In Negotiation II, one of the participants used the utterance *korora kuragona yinu* (We will spend the night here) after a protracted haggling and near impasse. The utterance ironically meant they needed to reach an agreement in order to let the groom go back home lest the evening fell when they were still at the bride’s home, an abomination.

In conclusion, metaphoric expressions, flattery and irony are manifestations of the CI in Lulogooli. This finding helped to achieve one of the objectives of this study aimed at establishing the forms Conversational Implicature as used in Lulogooli during dowry negotiations. The analysis of these forms, using the lexico-pragmatic theoretical framework and Grice’s maxims of relevance, manner, quality and quantity, reveals that the ultimate purpose of the negotiations is reached when there is a mutual understanding of the intended meaning of the linguistic forms used.

4.4 Linguistic functions of Conversational Implicature

This sub section deals with what Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli achieves; what participants seek to achieve by use of the forms of Conversational Implicature. Tsuda (1993) explains that the function of Conversational Implicature is a framework of indirect speech that has three purposes: violation of Grice’s Cooperative Principle, power and solidarity and joking as indirect expression.

Conversational Implicature in dowry negotiations among the Maragoli is used in four ways which include impressing, convincing, face saving and creating friendly or relaxed atmosphere during the negotiation process.

4.4.1 Use of Conversational Implicature to Impress

Both parties in the dowry negotiations attended by the researcher used language in a way to impress each other. According to the elders the researcher interviewed, indirectness in language is a sign of wisdom. By use of such indirect language, on one hand the groom's people were keen on convincing the other party that their girl is getting into a family of wise people. On the other hand, the bride's side was keen on showing the people from the groom's side that they are a family of wise people and that it was a privilege for them to have their daughter.

This utterance made by the groom's side as seen in Excerpt B is meant to impress:
mwikura witu yari nagenda narora riauwa llahi shimbi nimugizi gunu, ku yari anyara kuvuna riauwa zana da chigira rivee nu mwene. Ku kuzi kumanya kuri anyara kuvugura riauwa zana. (Our son saw a beautiful flower near this home while on a walk and desired to pluck it but because it belonged to someone, he could not just pluck it. He had to come and ask whether he could pluck it that is why we are here).

The bride's spokesperson responded with figurative language equally meant to impress. He used the utterance: *utarora inya vukana, dada yata vuza zing'ombe, girigari mukaniu ni mgasu* (he who never saw his mother when she was young may think his father wasted his dowry. Indeed, our girl is beautiful) Besides impressing, this response was also meant to prepare the groom's party for the dowry demand that they may place for the bride.

The participants in the negotiations were cooperating—the key tenet of the Cooperative Principle—as they mutually understood what the figurative language used in the negotiation implied. Even when the utterances made were meant to impress, the participants would get this intended meaning, and the process would move to the next step. The popular notion in marriage negotiations in Maragoli community is that when the bride is a stunning beauty and well-educated, the groom should pay a high amount of dowry without bargaining. This explains why the bride's negotiators will mention the beauty and the education level of the bride to raise the stakes in the negotiation.

4.4.2 Use of Conversational Implicature to convince.

The study established that the main purpose of the negotiation was for both parties to convince each other to accept their proposal for the bride price. While the bride's party tried to convince the groom's party to accept their dowry demands, the groom's party nudged the bride's party to lower the bride's price. The resource

person the researcher talked to said that it is always the case that the bride's negotiators would start the negotiation with the highest possible amount of bride price with the hope that it will be negotiated to a particular amount acceptable to them. However, there is a particular price that they cannot go below.

On the other hand, the groom's side quotes the lowest amount they can with the hope that they will negotiate and raise it to an agreed upon price. Just like the bride's side, the groom's side comes to the negotiation with a particular price which they cannot go beyond.

In negotiation I for example, the researcher noted that the groom's side started with the price *visara vinne ni zimbunu rikomi na jitano* (four cows and Ksh 15,000 for cow leashes) The bride's spokesperson revealed that their expected price was at least twenty-five cows and forty thousand shillings. The researcher established that the groom's target was twenty cows and at Ksh 10,000 each and at least twenty-five thousand shillings in cash.

In the end, it was agreed that bride price would be twenty-five cows and thirty thousand shillings. The bride's side agreed to accept four cows and twenty thousand shillings for a start. The language that was used was meant to convince the other side to agree to their demands. The fake flattery and the metaphorical expressions were meant to make the other side see the sense in accepting a particular price.

The utterance *mmoni mwinyu mung'ereng'ana, wamuturi nindahi rigari* (your faces are shining, an indication that where you have come from is a good place), was used by the bride's side in an attempt to convince the groom's side not to bargain further. The groom's representative used the utterance *mmanyage enzori yakutaga karunu yiyi genyeka emere erete matunda* (You should keep in mind that the seed we are sowing now in this meeting should sprout and bring forth fruits) in an attempt to emotionally appeal to the bride's side to soften their demands.

The researcher established that the side that had elders who had the ability to use language convincingly achieved the best price during the negotiation. According to the elderly consultant, this explains why each side would carefully select elders who are renowned for their impressive speaking and negotiation skills. This function was analyzed within the larger theoretical framework of Cooperative Principle as the participants cooperated and understood the purpose of the utterances used was to convince the opposite sides to accept their proposals of bride price. Even when the cooperative maxims were violated, the participants would easily infer the intended messages.

The main purpose of dowry negotiation among the Maragoli is to determine the amount of dowry to be paid to the bride's family by the groom. It is believed among the Maragoli that dowry is meant to be a token of appreciation given by the groom to the bride's family. It is not supposed to be viewed as material gain. (Kabaji, 2005)

This is the reason participants in a negotiation exercise do not mention the bride price directly in order not to appear as if they are transacting a business. The indirect use of language is meant to hide the intention of the full process.

4.4.3 Use of Conversational Implicature as a Face Saving Act

The participants in the negotiation events that the researcher attended used Conversational Implicature to save their face to avoid appearing as if there were led my desire for material wealth. Even when the negotiation became heated, the real reason for the exercise was not mentioned. This indirectness of language was manifested through the metaphorical expressions, fake praises and exaggerations used by the participants.

The metaphorical expression (Excerpt B) *mwikura witu yari nagenda narora riauwa llahi shimbi nimugizi gunu, ku yari anyara kuvuna riauwa zana da chigira rivee nu mwene. Ku kuzi kumanya kuri anyara kuvugura riauwa zana* (Our son saw a beautiful flower near this home while on a walk and desired to pluck it but because it belonged to someone, he could not just pluck it. He decided to come and ask whether he could pluck it) was used to avoid directly stating that the groom had come to seek a hand in marriage of the bride.

The participants did not mention the subject of the negotiation, bride price, by name. The names *visara* (sticks), *zimbunu* or *migoye* (ropes) were used figuratively to refer

to the bride price. These utterances were analyzed using the relevance theory, specifically the code versus inference tenet. The metaphorical names contribute to inferential meaning, which the participants were able to infer from the speakers during the negotiation process. This inferential meaning of the speakers, as was found out from some of the participants interviewed, was a face-saving act that was meant to show that the occasion was not just about the material brideprice but the union of two families.

4.4.4 Use of Conversational Implicature to foster good rapport

The language that was used in the negotiations that the researcher attended was calm and cordial even when the participants were communicating firm positions during the process. The use of utterance *mmanyage enzori yakutaga karunu yiyi genyeka emere erete matunda* (You should keep in mind that the seed we are sowing now in this meeting should sprout and bring forth fruits) was meant make the negotiation relaxed and friendly.

The utterance *hamoni hinyu hang'ereng'ana, garorekaa wamuturi nindahi rigari anoho kuri kumurindi hano?* (Your faces are shining, an indication that where you have come from is a good place or is it the food, we have fed you today?) elicited laughter in the room during negotiation II hence relieving the tension evident in the room. However, the utterance violated the maxim of relevance as it was not related to the subject at hand. The violation of this cooperative maxim results into the

implied meaning meant to create a sense of humour which contributed to a cordial rapport during the negotiation.

Dowry payment among the Maragoli, as it was established by this study from the interviews carried out, is meant to serve the purpose of uniting the groom and bride's family and foster a cordial relationship. A dowry negotiation therefore is expected to be a friendly exercise that should reflect how the two families should relate in future.

4.5 Summary

This chapter examined in detail how Conversational Implicature is realized in Lulogooli during dowry negotiations, using inference and indirectness in language use such as metaphor and other devices like flattery and irony. The various forms of CI such as metaphorical expressions, flattery and irony have been looked at in this chapter. Lastly, the linguistic functions of CI in Lulogooli have also been discussed.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a summary of the findings, the conclusion of the study and the recommendations for further research on Conversational Implicature in dowry negotiations among the Maragoli. The study used the Grice theory of Conversational implicature (Grice 1975), Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1986) and the Lexico-pragmatic theory (Blutner, 1998) to analyze data.

5.2 Summary of Research Findings

The first objective of this study was to identify how Conversational Implicature is realized in Lulogooli during dowry negotiations. Regarding this objective, the research revealed that conversational implicature in dowry negotiations among the Maragoli was realized through inferences and indirectness. The participants in the negotiations avoided using direct language in discussing dowry. This was meant to minimize the transactional aspect of the negotiations. Conversational Implicature was also used as a face-saving measure and a tool to prove wisdom from both sides of the negotiation.

The creative use of language was taken to be a sign of wisdom, knowledge of language and culture. On one hand, the participants from the groom's side attempted

to show off to the bride's side that their daughter will be married to intelligent people, on the other hand, the bride's side attempt to show off its linguistic prowess to the groom's side was meant to send a message that their daughter came from people endowed with wisdom. This also served as a bargaining tool on the bride's side.

The study also aimed at establishing the various forms of Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli as used during dowry negotiations as the second objective. It was revealed that Conversational Implicature in Lulogooli is realized through metaphorical expressions, flattery or fake praise and irony. Conversational Implicature in dowry negotiations among the Maragoli is meant to impress, convince, save face and create friendly/ relaxed atmosphere during the negotiation process. This finding achieved the third objective of the study; to describe the linguistic functions that Conversational Implicature performs in Lulogooli during dowry negotiations.

5.3 Conclusion

Our findings demonstrated that during dowry negotiations among the Maragoli, messages are conveyed through implicature. The CI is meant to save face by use of indirect speech to avoid making the event appear like a business transaction, but a unifying and friendly event. The study also concludes that effective realization of the intended purpose of a discourse depends on shared knowledge between the

speaker and the hearer, which enables the hearer to make correct interpretation of the indirect utterances i.e., presuppositions. The final agreement reached between the two parties in the dowry negotiations depended on the mutual understanding of the language used.

The study established that CI in Lulogooli spoken during dowry negotiations takes the form of indirect language that mostly involves inferences. Besides, there are various forms of CI in Lulogooli as used during dowry negotiations which include metaphorical expressions, flattery, and fake praise. The study also demonstrated that the Cooperative Principle and the conversational maxims apply to Lulogooli, a non-European language.

5.4 Recommendations

The study focused on Maragoli dowry negotiations, how CI is manifested and its functions. Our study established that the two sides in the negotiations used lexical items that denote politeness to forge a friendly atmosphere during the negotiations. Participants also employed proverbs and sayings in their use of language for similar purposes and to convey politeness. This study therefore recommends further research into these areas of politeness and use of proverbs. More research is recommended to ascertain the applicability of CI and conversational maxims in more Kenyan and other African speech communities.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Consent form for participants (18 years and above)

The information regarding this study is well explained to me. I have been given a chance to ask questions, which have been answered to my satisfaction. My participation in this study is entirely voluntary. I have been assured that my records and details will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

Name of the participant.....

Signature..... Date.....

Researcher's statement

I, the undersigned, have explained to the participant, in language s/he understands, the procedures to be followed in the study and the risks and benefits involved.

Name.....

Researcher's signature.....Date.....

Appendix II: Observation Schedule

Dowry Negotiation Number.....

Location of the Study.....

Home.....

Date Time.....

Number of Participants.....

Appendix III: Interview Schedule

INTERVIEWER: The Researcher.

INTERVIEWEE..... AGE.....

1. *Ng’otevaa hee, kivuni ki kichijiraa rivonala rie vukwi mpaka riveho?*

What do you think is the goal to be achieved in a dowry negotiation?

2. *Murivolana riawakuturamu yiri, mwakunyariza konyora chamwenyangi?*

Has the goal been achieved in the dowry negotiation you have just attended?

3. *Murivolana riene yirio, rimoroma riavandu rikonyaki?*

What role did language play in achieving the goal?

4. *Romoroma rutumikaa murivolana riene yirio ni ryivisu? Chigiraki?*

Is the language used in the dowry negotiation explicit? If not why?

5. *Kovekuho nende havundu murimoroma rwa rimoroma ryinu rikonyi?*

Are there instances when your language helped in the negotiations?

Appendix IV: Dowry Negotiations

DOWRY NEGOTIATION I

14th October 2023. Mudete, Sabatia sub-county, Vihiga County.

Inside Joram Amiani's house. There are eleven people in total; five from the groom's side and five from bride's side. It is 2.00 pm. The two parties are facing each other with a space in between.

(An introduction session is done where all the participants say their names and where they come from. After the introduction, there is an animated conversation, riddled with banter, as the participants from both sides exchange pleasantries. This goes on for 21 minutes.)

1ST PARTICIPANT (Bride's spokesman): (clearing his throat) *Vwira mwosi. Ndoraa kivara ni chimbura ku nu vura hi kumanye kikoreti hano. Si gave ndio vaya?* (Good afternoon, you all. Owing to the fact that this is a rainy season, it is important to discuss what brought us here or what do you think?)

ALL PARTICIPANTS: *Yee!* (yes)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Kuyanzi ku vageni vitu yava. Ku chigira kwa kuria kwiguti, kwakumanyana, ni vura hi kumanye vageni vitu vari vakovole ndi.* (We are happy about our visitors. Given that we have eaten, and we are fine, we have known each other, it is now time our visitors told us why they came)

2ND PARTICIPANT (groom's uncle): (clearing his throat) *Asande mno, amitu. Kuyanzi kandi kuri mkukukaribishi hango hano. Kwa kuria kwiguti. [pause] Kuzi hano chigira mwikura witu yari nagenda narora riauwa llahi shimbi nu mugizi gunu, ku yari anyara kuvuna riauwa zana da chigira rivee nu mwene. Ku kuzi kumanya kuri anyara kuvugura riauwa zana*

(Thanks, my brother. We are happy how you have welcomed us here. We ate to our satisfaction. We are here because our son saw a beautiful flower near this

home while on a walk and desired to pluck it but because it belonged to someone, he could not just pluck it. He decided to come and ask whether he could pluck it)
(A moment of silence ensued.)

1ST PARTICIPANT: (nodding his head) *Mmmmhh, oyoji vurahi kandi sana. Ngotwe kumanya nigava mwikura winyu avee ni risuvira mwene riauwa ria yarora ni ria hano.* (Mmmmhh, you have spoken well. What I don't know is whether your son is sure that the flower he saw belongs to this family)

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Kwakoyoga nu mwikura witu na aveye ni risuvira kabisa.*
(We have talked to our son and he has assured us that the flower is from this home)

3RD PARTICIPANT: (facing the 1st participant): *Ambo vakovole kuri vazi. Anoho ndi vaya?*
(let them tell us how they have come, or what do you say?)

4TH PARTICIPANT: *Ovoye vurahi, amwavo.*
(you have said it well, brother.)

1ST PARTICIPANT: (addressing the 2nd Participant) *Amwavo, kovoleko kuri muzi.*

(Brother, tell us the way you came)

2ND PARTICIPANT: (after a brief consultation with other members from groom's side) *Basi ku kunyi kuzi mikono miere da. Waswihili vavora mikono miere jikombwa da. Kuzi ni visara vinne nende migoye rikomi llara na jitano.*

Ku mbore ndi manyi kuri mwenya dave.

(We did not come empty-handed because Swahili people say; empty hands cannot be licked. We have four sticks fifteen thousand ropes, but we do not know your wishes) (the participants from the bride's side murmur amongst themselves.)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Asande. Kuyanzi kuri muzi. Korori kuri muvee, mwivichi vurahi munyi navandu ve heshima. Kuriauwa ria mwikura winyu yarora, murakuha visara ishirini na vitano nende migoye arubuini.*

(Thank you. We like the way you came. The way you are well-dressed, you are respectable people. For the

flower your son saw in this home, give us twenty-five sticks and forty ropes)

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Tanji mkoheku vwiyanu kusingiriku ichova hake vukindu vukukubiku* (please allow us some time to stand out to get some fresh air)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Kandi ndio vurahi.* (that is good.)
(The participants from the groom's side walk out as those from the bride's side talk amongst themselves. After a short while, the groom's party walks back into the room)

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Vandu vitu mmanyage enzori yakutaga karunu yiyi genyeka emere erete Matunda. Korora kurahana visara rikomi na vitano nende migoye shirini. Muravugila?*
(You should keep in mind that the seed we are sowing now in this meeting should sprout and bring forth fruits. We shall give fifteen sticks and twenty ropes.)

5TH PARTICIPANT (from Groom's side): *Kwenya kuvugirizane korombe vurina* (we should agree and make a cordial friendship)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Mmanyage utarora inya vukana, dada yata vuza zing'ombe, giragari riauwa rytu ni rigasu.* (he who never saw his mother when she was young may think his father wasted his dowry. Indeed, our flower is beautiful)

3RD PARTICIPANT (From bride's side): *Mmanyage mmbinaji yaduka.*
(You should put in mind the porridge cook is qualified)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Kwamanya kivara chinyu ni chimbura na marova marahi. Kori ndi kuvuri kuzia mumang'ana manyingi chigira kivara ni chimbura. Reti visara makomi gaviri na vitano nende migoye makomi gavaga.*
(We know that Your land has pleasant weather and good soil. So, without going into so much back and forth, you give us twenty-five sticks and thirty ropes)

(The 2ND PARTICIPANT turns to the other participants from the groom's side for consultation. They speak in hushed tones)

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Kwakuganaganya kumang'ana gamuvoye na chigira kwenya korete imbulizani kuzifamili ziviri yizi makandi kwenya mwikura vitu anyore mashiga, kuvugili kuvaha visara makomi gaviri na vitano ma nende migoye makomi gavaga.*

(We have thought about your demand and because we want to bring a cordial relationship between the two families and that our son should get cooking stones (a cook), we agree to give you twenty-five sticks and thirty ropes)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Asande mno. Korora munyi na vandu va heshima na kwenya kuhambane. Mwikura winyu anyoye mashiga marahi. Vandu vinyu vosi ni vakomere.* (laughter in the room)

(Thanks a lot. We have seen you are good people. Your son has found a good cook. All your people at home will add weight.)

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Nitari muyanze mukuvugili kuhane cha kovenacho, kuri ndari nimboye mwitanga, kuri vyinamilu. Manukwirane kandi na kandi. Muravugila?*

(We plead with you to accept what we have as I had said at the beginning just as a start. Then we shall come back repeatedly. Do you accept?)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Mmbeyage nende risuvira ni mwirane vala kukunyi kukeherana?* (laughter)

(Are you sure you will come when some of us are still alive? Indirectly implying whether they will take long before they bring more dowry)

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Kunyi navandu va heshima. Kohenzi vurahi.* (We are respectable people. Look at us well)

(The groom's side hands over an envelope with money. The 1st Participant opens it, counts the content and nods in approval. They all file out to have a look at the cows brought by the groom's party)

(The participants mingle and talk animatedly among themselves)

DOWRY NEGOTIATION II

21st October 2023. Ichatamilu village, Sabatia Sub County. Vihiga County.

Events unfold in Jandi Atsiaya's house. There is a group of eight people; four from the groom's side and four from the bride's side. All the participants gathered in the house at around 3.28 pm. There is some noise as the participants greet each other and engage in small talk for about 20 minutes.

A moment of introduction follows. 1st Participant (from the bride's side) introduced his team by names and then welcomed the groom's side, whose spokesperson (2ND Participant) introduced his team and where they come from.

[This part of the Conversation is deliberated not included here by the researcher as it was not possible to quote exactly who was speaking.]

1ST PARTICIPANT (Bride's Spokesperson): *Vwiraa ga vandu va Murogori. Ndora zisaa zia kwisunda sana. Asande sana ku vageni vitu kutura Evohovore.*

Kuryi vurahi, kunywe, makandi kumanyani. (pause) Kundora kuvuri kufana avakuzi vuza kukuba zimbaka. Nikubange ridiku ria zimbaka (interrupted by laughter in the room) Koyoge ku kijiri kuza hala. Ku vageni vitu, kakovoliku kichigiri mutura Evohovore muza mumugizi gunu chigira si gave mkogendele vuza. Anoho mboye vuvi?

(Good afternoon, people of Murogori I can see time is moving fast. Thank you to the visitors from Evohovore. We have been fed well, we have drunk, and we know each other now. I think we should avoid appearing as if our main agenda is to engage in a chitchat, which I am sure we will set another date for, let us dig into the issue that brought us together. Let people from Evohovore tell us why they came

to visit us. I am sure their visit is not in vain. Have I spoken badly?)

SOME PARTICIPANTS: *Awa!* (no)

OTHER PARTICIPANTS: *Ovoye vuza vurahi.* (You have just said it well)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Basi inafasi ni yinyu avandu ve Evohovore mkovole kivareti.* (Now it is your turn people from Evohovore to tell us what brought you here)

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Vandu vi Ichatamilu, vwiraa. Mkurindi vurahi sana. Vala kukunyi kuganaganya anoho koveku hano kumadiku gaviri gavaga nitari mwima gwuMurogori gugaya. Kuduchi hano chigira koveye ni rigembe rivura muhini. (pause) Muyayi witu yarinagenda nahenza mmbinaji.*

Yarora mmbinaji mgasu rigari. Ku rwayamuronda, yarora yingira hango hano. Ku akutumi kuzi kumtevera nigava anyara kuvugura mmbinaji zana mwene nava uvugila.

(People of Ichatamilu, good afternoon. You have treated us well on this occasion. In fact, some of us have thought for a moment of extending our stay for two or three days but the culture of Murogori does not allow. We have come here looking for a handle for our hoe. (pause) Our son was out looking for a good porridge cook and came across one who, upon following, came to this home. He has sent us to come and ask whether he can be allowed to take the cook with the permission of the owner)

3RD PARTICIPANT (From the groom's side): *Amwavo, ovoye vurahi. Mwikura witu yarora riauwa hango hano. Kuyakukutuma kuzi kumwahira riauwa zana.*

(Our son saw a beautiful flower in this home and has sent us to come and pluck it up for him.)

5TH PARTICIPANT (groom's side): *Kwakuza hano kuvugirizana ku kindu kinyara kuhambanya zi famili ziviri yizi*

(We have come to agree about something that can unite these two families)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Asande mno. Kuvahuli vurahi na muzi na mang'ana marahi. Nitari hango hano Nyasaye yakuyaniza. Koveyeku no vogeheru vwa wavinaji ama amauwa kuri movoye dave. (he was interrupted with laughter from the participants) Ku mburi kumanya riauwa ki, ama mmbinaji uriha wu mwikura winyu yarora?*

(Thank you. We have heard you well and you have come with very good intentions. However, God has blessed us abundantly. This home does not have a shortage of porridge cooks or flowers as you put it. So, I fail to understand who your son has trained his sights on) (participants from the groom's side confer in low tones)

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Riauwa llavu, riavaranga Maria nirio ria mwikura witu yarora.*

(The white flower—brown lady—by the name Mary is what our son saw)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Korori ni hano humwikura winyu yarora riauwa. Ku mukovole, muraha riauwa zana ni kuri ni riu mmuritu?*

(We have seen it is indeed here that your son saw the flower. So, tell us whether you will just pluck the flower as if it is in the forest) (loud laughter is heard in the room)

3RD PARTICIPANT: *Paya, kuzi mmuritu da. (continued laughter) (We did not come to a forest)*

4TH PARTICIPANT (From the bride's side): *Kavori ko vaya. (then say how you came)*

2ND PARTICIPANT: (Clearing his throat) *Kuzi mikono miera dave. Kuzi ne visara vitano, nende migoye makomi gaviri jokovoha visara zana hala. Ku kuvuri kumanya nigava muravugila kuri kuzi.*

(We did not come empty handed. We came with five sticks and twenty ropes to tie the sticks together. We beg to know if you will accept the way we came)

1ST PARTICIPANT: (after whispering something to the others in his group) *Asande muno.*

Kuvugili kuri muzi. Nitari riauwa rytu rinu ni rigasu mno. Riasembelwa vurahi rianeta. Kwenya visara makomi gavaga nende migoye makomi gatano.

(Thank you so much. We accept the way you came. However, our flower is so beautiful and healthy. It has been taken care of well. We ask for a token of thirty sticks and fifty ropes)

5TH PARTICIPANT (from groom's side): *Vandu vitu, mwakuvitila.*
(Our people, that's too much for us)

4TH PARTICIPANT: *Ku kuvahe vuza mmbinaji?*
(Do we give you the bride for free?)

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Korori ndi kunyi kuduchi ku visara rikomi na vitano nende migoye makomi gaviri.*

(We think the much we can afford is fifteen sticks and twenty ropes.)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Hamoni hinyu hang'ereng'ana, garorekaa wamuturi ni indahi rigari anoho ni kuri kumurindi hano?*

(your faces are shining, an indication that where you have come from is a good place or is it the food we have fed you today?)

kuchigira kwenyi kuzyi mumanyingi dave, kofi visara makomi giviri na mnane nende migoye makomi gane.

(Given that we don't want to go into so much, give us twenty-eight sticks and forty ropes)

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Ku karechi kutange kwisundiku hachova hake.*
(Please allow us first to go out a bit)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Vurahi. Vwiyangu ni vwinyu.*
(It is fine. You have the time)

(The negotiation takes a break of like ten minutes.)

2ND PARTICIPANT: *Vandu vitu, kwa kwehenza vurahi korori kuraduka ku visara makomi gaviri na vivaga nende migoye makomi gavaga.*

(Our people, we have considered your request carefully. We can only afford twenty-three and thirty ropes)

(The participants from the bride's side literally put their heads together)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Vandu ve Evohovore, kwenya korombe vurina vudinyi. Kwenya mwihi riauwa rytu kutura mumarova gitu muzyi kuritaga winyu na murirombe rizizagili koneta na koveye ni risuri numunyi. Kurwayago, kuvugili kuri mutari.*

(People of Evohovore, we want to foster friendship and make it strong. We want you to uproot the flower plant from our soil and go plant it in your soil and make it continue to flourish and we believe in your abilities. Therefore, we accept your offer)

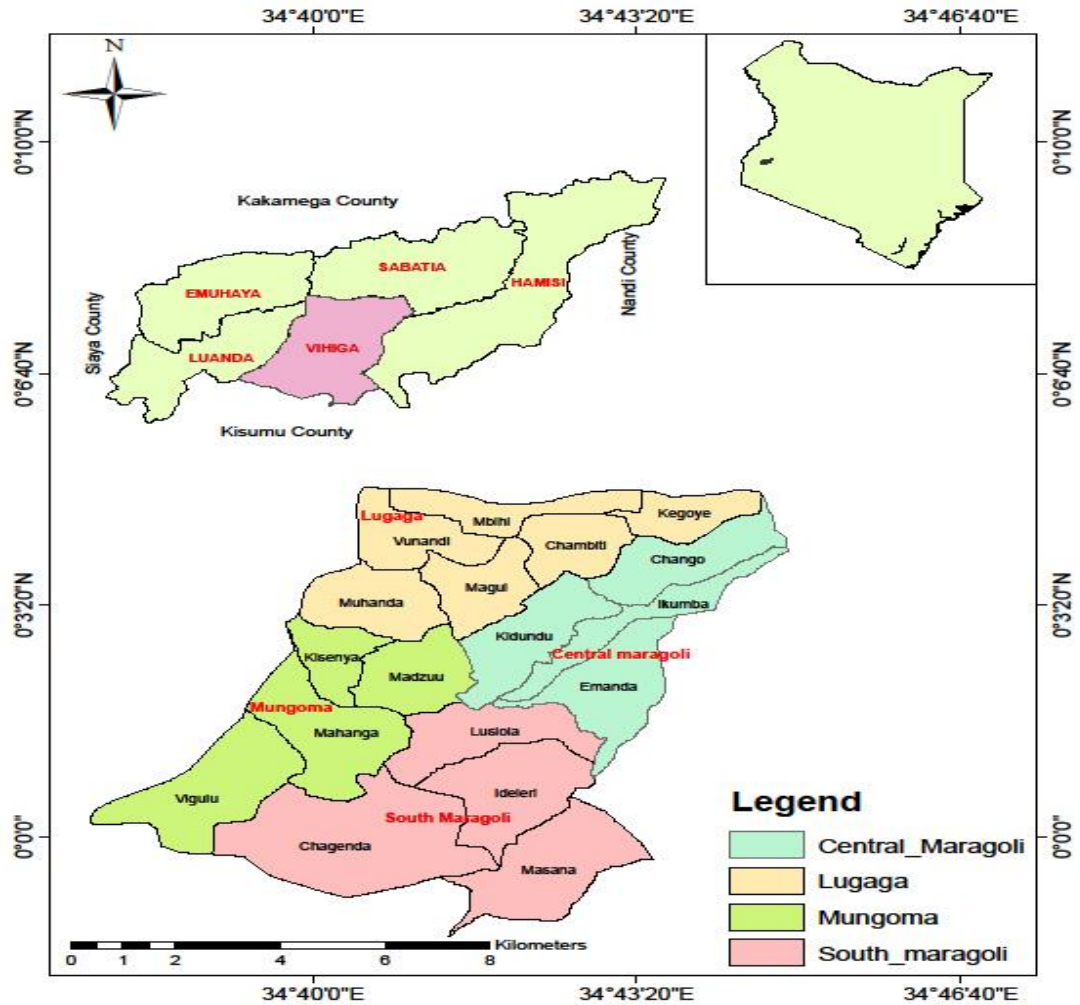
2ND PARTICIPANT: *Asande sana amwavo. Kari kunyi kwenya zifamili ziviri yizi zihambane. Ku kurahana karunu ndi visara vitano, nende migoye makomi gaviri kuri vwinamilu ili kujagiza isafari yiyi.*

(Thank you so much brothers, we also desire the two families to unite for posterity. We will give you five sticks and twenty ropes to start off this journey)

1ST PARTICIPANT: *Asande sana. (Thanks a lot)*

(The 2nd Participant removes an envelope laden with money and hands it over to the 1st Participant. After a short moment of counting, he nods in approval. The negotiation ends as all participants walk out to inspect the cows brought by the groom's side).

Appendix V: Map of Sabatia Sub county



Appendix VI: Research Approval



**KENYATTA UNIVERSITY
GRADUATE SCHOOL**

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Internal Memo

FROM: Executive Dean, Graduate School

DATE: 30th August, 2023

TO: Vivere Sailas Nandiemo

REF: C50/CE/27950/2019

C/o Literature, Linguistics & Foreign Languages Dept.

SUBJECT: APPROVAL OF RESEARCH PROPOSAL

We acknowledge receipt of your revised Research Proposal as per our recommendations raised by the Graduate School Board of 12th July, 2023 entitled "Conversational Implicature in Dowry Negotiations among the Maragoli of Western Kenya."

You may now proceed with your Data Collection, Subject to Clearance with Director General, National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation.

As you embark on your data collection, please note that you will be required to submit to Graduate School completed supervision Tracking and Progress Report Forms. The Forms are available at the University's Website under Graduate School webpage downloads.

Also, please ensure that you publish article(s) from your project before submitting it to Graduate School for examination as per the Commission for University Education and Kenyatta University guidelines.

Thank you.


ELIJAH MUTUA
FOR: EXECUTIVE DEAN, GRADUATE SCHOOL


C.c. Chairman, Department of Literature, Linguistics & Foreign Languages.


Supervisors:

1. Prof. John Githiora
C/o Department of Literature, Linguistics & Foreign Languages
Kenyatta University

EM/ino


Appendix VII: Research Permit


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: 358112 Date of Issue: 17/September/2023

RESEARCH LICENSE




This is to Certify that Mr. NANDEMO SAILAS VIVERE of Kenyatta University, has been licensed to conduct research as per the provision of the Science, Technology and Innovation Act, 2013 (Rev.2014) in Vihiga on the topic: **CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATION IN DOWRY NEGOTIATIONS AMONG MARAGOLI OF WESTERN KENYA** for the period ending : 17/September/2024.

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358112
Applicant Identification Number

Walter M...
Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY &
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 Legal Notice No. 108: The Science, Technology and Innovation (Research Licensing) Regulations, 2014

The National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation, hereafter referred to as the Commission, was established under the Science, Technology and Innovation Act 2013 (Revised 2014) herein after referred to as the Act. The objective of the Commission shall be to regulate and assure quality in the science, technology and innovation sector and advise the Government in matters related thereto.

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 - ii. Adversely affect the lives of Kenyans
 - iii. Be in contravention of Kenya's international obligations including Biological Weapons Convention (BWC), Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization (CTBTO), Chemical, Biological, Radiological and Nuclear (CBRN).
 - iv. Result in exploitation of intellectual property rights of communities in Kenya
 - v. Adversely affect the environment
 - vi. Adversely affect the rights of communities
 - vii. Endanger public safety and national cohesion
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14. The Commission shall have powers to acquire from any person the right in, or to, any scientific innovation, invention or patent of strategic importance to the country.
15. Relevant Institutional Scientific and Ethical Review Committee shall monitor and evaluate the research periodically, and make a report of its findings to the Commission for necessary action.

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