

PRAGMATICS OF DHOLUO PANEGYRICS

BY

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DECLARATION

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God bless you in abundance.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my late mother, Mary Awuor Owiti Nyar Dudi, who provided the foundation for me to pursue this study.

ABSTRACT

Dholuo panegyrics (*pakruok*) reflect social issues that can only be contextually understood with reference to societal norms and Luo cultural practices. Dholuo panegyrics entail deliberate use of indirect references comprising implicit meanings. Dholuo panegyrics are full of indeterminacies such as ambiguities, metaphors, ironies and implicatures that are difficult to interpret as understanding them is contextually determined because of the use of figurative language. This study provides meaning of an utterance as an interpretation beyond literal meaning, which requires a hearer to resolve the indeterminacies to establish the speaker's implicit meaning of Dholuo panegyrics. The aim of the study was to explain how hearers bridge the gap between the encoded linguistic meaning of an utterance and the speaker's intended meaning of Dholuo panegyrics. Specific objectives were: to identify interpretive mechanisms required in order to interpret Dholuo panegyrics, explain how hearers interpret speakers' meaning of Dholuo panegyrics and determine role of contextual information in the interpretation of the panegyrics. It was important to investigate interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics in social contexts since previous studies provide literal meaning, which do not require interpretation strategies. The study adopted Relevance Theory propounded by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson (1995) founded on two principles: communicative principle and cognitive principle. This study was carried out in Nyang'oma Division, Bondo Sub-County. The study population comprised 200 utterances of Dholuo panegyrics. The study employed analytical research design. Purposive sampling technique was used to identify 10 informants of age thirty-five and above. Two hundred panegyrics were collected in different contexts by use of interview and observation schedules. The panegyrics were randomly sampled then a systematic sampling procedure done. To determine reliability, a pilot study was carried out to test reliability of the research methods and instruments. The study sample was not the same respondents used in the pilot study. This was to determine validity. Findings: understanding of Dholuo panegyrics is achieved by inferring the meaning of the speaker's utterance; communicators must provide interpretive mechanisms on the basis of contextual information to resolve the indeterminacies in different contexts, identify and classify types of panegyrics. Recommendations: users of Dholuo panegyrics should be conversant with socio-cultural strategies and discourse directions to appropriately interpret panegyrics. The study suggests further research to investigate panegyrics in other languages for future comparative studies and intercultural understanding of panegyrics. This study has contributed to the field of Linguistics, particularly, to scholars interested in Dholuo panegyrics.

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OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS OF TERMS

Ad hoc- Mental representations whose instantiation is sensitive to context of the relevant cognitive task or the modified concept which is the output of the mutual adjustment process; a concept used to suit a particular context (far from the lexical meaning) of the utterance based on information readily available.

Appropriacy – Use of suitable utterance in the context.

Cognitive environment – A mental situation.

Competence – The ability to use socio-cultural rules and rules of discourse to produce and understand utterances in different contexts for their social sense.

Concept loosening (broadening) –The use of the concept that is less literal, that is sharing some logical and contextual implication with the original, for example, metaphorical talk.

Concept narrowing (enrichment) – The application of a concept that describes an extension of general entities to convey a more restricted set of entities when uttering a sub-set of a certain domain.

Context – Any information that provides a successful interpretation for an utterance.

Contextual assumption – The hearer’s first interpretation of an utterance in an attempt to derive the speaker’s intended meaning.

Contextual implication – The hearer’s interpretation (conclusion) that makes the utterance relevant in the expected way by the speaker; a conclusion deducible from both input and context.

Contextual information – Anything that the hearer can reasonably suppose the speaker to have intended him to take into account to determine what the speaker means.

Echoic – To attribute a concept to someone else, and not to commit yourself (speaker) with the truth or description of some state of affairs in the world.

Explicature – A term used to refer to a literal meaning of an utterance.

Implicature – This is an inferred meaning (the act of meaning or implying one thing by saying something else). An assumption not explicitly communicated by an utterance.

Indeterminacy –This is a property of linguistic forms such that their semantic value is underspecified and needs to be enriched in ways particular to the context in which they occur.

Inference – This is a conclusion a hearer forms about an entity based on information communicated by the speaker.

Interpretive resemblance – A notion that is used to describe a relationship between two proposition forms.

Logical form –The underlying representation of the propositional content of a sentence in a form that may be declared true or false.

Loose language – Figurative language.

Optimal relevance – A term that is used to refer to the most relevant interpretation in the context of use.

Ostensive stimulus– This is evidence a speaker provides in his/her utterance to create a presumption of relevance.

Panegyrics – Praise names.

Positive cognitive effects (contextual effects)–A sensible/meaningful difference.

Pragmatic coherence –This is used to refer to efforts to make the words uttered meaningful within the situational and cultural context of the exchange.

Pragmatic competence – This refers to the ability to comprehend and produce a communicative act, which includes one's knowledge about the social distance, social status between conversationalists involved, the cultural knowledge and the linguistic knowledge explicit and implicit.

Presupposition – A meaning taken as given which does not need to be asserted.

Reflexivity – Is the tendency of a speaker to provide some comment in the utterance that guides a hearer on how the speaker wants to be understood.

Relevance – The relationship between what a speaker says and the context in which the utterance is applicable.

Semantic content – This refers to elements drawn from the context of utterance which contribute to the literal meaning.

Speaker/speaker's meaning – What a speaker intends to convey in a particular speech context.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents the background information to the study grounded on: the Luo and their language, culture in society, the social life of the Luo and the historical background of panegyrics. The chapter also includes the statement of the problem, research questions and objectives, scope and limitations, significance of the study, the theoretical framework and a general summary of the entire chapter.

1.1 Background to the Study

1.1.1 Dholuo

Dholuo is a language spoken by the Luo who live along the eastern shores of Lake Victoria in both Kenya and Tanzania. Dholuo falls under the Nilotic languages; a broader cluster known as the Nilo-Saharan Group (Ojwang', 2007). Dholuo is closely related to Acholi, Lang'o and Padhola spoken in Uganda. It has two mutually intelligible dialects (Stafford, 1967; Oduol, 1990 and Ojwang' 2007). Stafford mentions that Trans-Yala dialect is spoken in parts of Gem, Alego, Imbo and Ugenya (all of which fall in Siaya County) and South Nyanza dialect is spoken in Kisumu, Homa Bay and Migori Counties. Oduol (1990) states that South Nyanza variety is spoken in a wider geographical area and Okombo (1997) further mentions that Dholuo varieties are distinct enough in their lexical and phonological features to enable one identify a dialectal zone a speaker comes from merely by the way he speaks. The South Nyanza dialect is regarded as standard, as it is the one in most of the literature of Dholuo including the Bible and the readers for school. The Kenya Population and Housing Census- Kenya Bureau of Statistics (2010) reveal that Dholuo is spoken by 4.6 million people in Kenya. Amuka (1992) observes that Dholuo is a

common language among the Luo and is therefore used in the homes and in daily conversations. Amuka (1992) further states that the Luo identify themselves as a unit that has preserved their cultural heritage wherever they reside, for example, Dholuo panegyrics are part of culture, not only practised by Luo residing in both the rural and urban settings but also in social activities. Today, Dholuo panegyrics are performed in bars, night clubs and restaurants, for example, *Ramogi* Night (an event where various Luo socio-cultural activities are performed or exhibited mainly for the conservation of the Luo culture). This indicates that indigenous music and dances of the Luo are today performed to culturally diverse audiences (Amuka, 1992).

1.1.2 Culture in Society

Culture and language are inseparable since language is the principal means by which we conduct our social lives (Claire, 1998). For this reason, human beings conserve culture for their own survival and comfort. They live by culture which models behavior in some general and specific ways. Culture is created, learnt and borrowed, accumulated and transmitted from one generation to another. White (1960), Cohen (1970) and Ayayo (1980) argue that functions of culture encompass all aspects of life in any society. When language is used in various contexts, it is intertwined with culture in multiple and complex ways. Additionally, Ayayo (1980) states language is a system of signs that is seen as having a cultural value. Speakers identify themselves and others through their language use, and they view their language as a symbol of their social identity. Common attitudes, beliefs and values are reflected in the way members of the group use language, for instance, speakers make conscious choices on what to say, when to say it and how to say it, and also what to hold back. Therefore, language expresses cultural reality (Ayayo, 1980). Every society has its own socio-cultural ideologies which stress certain elements in the

society's social structures. Culture therefore ought to be a starting point for our sustainable development (Ayayo, 2000).

Culture is the source of living law which dominates life. Ayayo (2000) observes that new elements of culture are added, old elements may be dropped; some more normative ones resist change or change slowly while others that express ethical and moral values as well as functions of culture in human society always remain the same in all human societies. Therefore, culture and its functions are the cornerstones of a constitution of any human society. Ayayo (2000) adds that functions of culture remain constant from one generation to another. Trudgill (1995) acknowledges that the society's attitudes, values and world view may be reflected in its language, and he adds that attitude can determine choice of a lexical item over another. Ogone and Orwenjo, (2008) observe that folklore is the expressive culture, including tales, music, dance, legends, proverbs, jokes, popular beliefs and customs within a particular population comprising traditions of a particular culture, sub-culture or group. It can also be conceptualized as the set of practices through which those expressive genres are shared. Folklore is common to all human societies: hence understanding, appreciating and sharing another culture's folklore transcends race, colour, class and creed more effectively than any other single aspect of our lives and as an element of our past and present society. Folklore is something that all people can value, and it is no less than any other part of people's history and heritage; as such must be documented and preserved as a legacy for the future. Panegyrics are part of the folklore of people. The Luo of Western Kenya, just like most of African societies, has a rich oral tradition history (Ogone and Orwenjo, 2008).

1.1.3 The Social Life of the Luo

Panegyrics constitute to cultural lives of Luos, for example, in the domain of entertainment. Alembi (2002) observes that the Luo love entertainment, that is, song and dance which involves praises. The Luo love listening to music (*thum nyaluo*) commonly in marriages, funerals, cleansing rituals, leisure and entertainment (Mboya, 1997). This observation clearly shows that the Luo have a strong traditional cultural entertainment encompassing many indoor and outdoor activities. For instance, in the past the Luo community had its sources of music and traditions of using praise names. Today among the Luo, music and dance still exist, especially in the rural community. Song and dance are accompanied by musical instruments like *nyatiti* (an eight-stringed musical instrument) which is very famous among the Luo. *Nyatiti* is played at beer parties, political rallies and during general entertainment sessions in the Luo community (Finnegan, 1970).

However, entertainment has become commercial, for example, the *nyatiti* which patrons are ready to pay for (Amuka, 1992). The *nyatiti* player is invited to all important ceremonies like marriages, funerals or any other significant event; the *nyatiti* player is always accompanied by a lady-dancer (*jamiel*) who is expected to dance with the audience on production of incentives, which is giving gifts for excellent singing or dancing. The audience is allowed to stop the *nyatiti* player in order to praise themselves and their friends, which is done on production of money. This kind of inducement during performances is referred to as *fuwo jathum* in Dholuo (based on the researcher's knowledge of Dholuo). Amuka (1992) asserts that the *nyatiti* occasion is not just a musical session, but an integrated socialization process where people announce their virtues and get to learn the art of *nyadhi* 'ceremoniously with a lot of pride', a highly valued personal

trait. The language of *nyatiti* is normally very lofty, proverbial, metaphoric and rich in panegyrics (Amuka, 1992).

Alongside *nyatiti*, at other times of enjoyment men take part in *okumba* dance carrying *okumba* (shield) and wearing *kondo gweno* (chicken feathers), while other men spread out *buombwe* (creepers) and *lumbe* (grasses) over their necks (Mboya, 1997:141). Women wear *olembo* (a small skin worn round the waist) with *tigo* (beads) around their necks and waists. Most women, according to Mboya (1997:143), wear *chiend oboke* (a kind of decoration made from leaves worn around the waist) with *tigo* and *ligisa* (a crown cap made of beads or brass). Elderly women wear *ratego* (a brass or iron wire worn around the legs or arms). Apart from *okumba* dance, *otenga* dance (a dance with shoulders) is performed by both men and women as the women chant praises of their in-laws.

Besides the context of *nyatiti*, Raymond (2005) observes that beer drinking is also a great traditional leisure among the Luo, and hardly any ceremony or an important gathering of elders goes without beer drinking, which is organized for various reasons such as marriage ceremonies. During such occasions there is music; song and dance composed of praises by both men and women to entertain people. *Wend kong'o* (beer party songs) consists of the actual drinking of traditional brew which is mainly a drink for the elderly (*jodongo*). According to Mboya (1997), the traditional brew is of two types: *kong bel* or *otia* (beer made of sorghum) and *kong kal* (beer made from finger millet). Mboya (1997) observes that when people are drinking that is the time a singer sings and all present sing as they dance, ululating joyously; women dance *otenga* as others dance *nyono* (a women's dance). There is music, song and dance in funerals to praise the departed, to console the bereaved and express pain and agony. Men and women perform

sigiya/giyo (a moment of singing and a moment of speaking), performed by men during funerals or in any calamity as women perform it in pairs during celebrations or enjoyment (*mor*). For instance, *denko* is a dirge done by women. In addition, marriage is one of the most celebrated occasions among the Luo (Mboya 1997). The Luo adhere strictly to their culturally established norms, values and beliefs of marriage because of the importance and respect they have for marriage (Mboya, 1997:73-85). For this reason, praise songs are given prominence among the Luo; subjects of praise are individuals with outstanding characteristics, for example, attractiveness, leadership qualities, bravery and wealth.

Self-praise in the middle of a musical performance (*pakruok* ‘praise name’) is part of music and dance; *sigalagala* ‘ululation’, which is mostly done by women, marks the climax of the performance. A person can have as many praise names as his life circumstances can permit, meaning that Dholuo panegyrics do not have fixed meanings since their meanings change from one context to another. This study set out to explain how hearers use socio-cultural background to understand Dholuo panegyrics in different contexts of use.

1.1.4 Panegyrics

Walton and Poole (1982) state that in ancient Greece and Rome panegyrics was a public speech or praise or written composition devoted to some person, group of people or public body such as a government or army. A speaker or composer of panegyrics was known as a panegyrist. The panegyric was a formal speech or poem praising some distinguished person, object or event. Panegyrics were mostly used in festivals especially at a time of religious significance which was

a regularly recurring programme of cultural exhibitions, performances and competitions. This was considered something of an art form showing off the speaker's skill in oratory.

The main aim was to please listeners by praising the subject's home country, the family, the birth and education but anything that was likely to cause embarrassment was left out. Walton and Poole (1982) add that in the Roman Empire, panegyrics were used and were preserved as Latin collection at state funerals to catch the eyes of the public. The panegyrics were less comprehensive, much shorter and less factual. The panegyrics were turned from eulogy to something pleasant for the subject of the panegyric and the audience to hear. This means that panegyrics were used to brag or praise one self, commend, compliment, elevate, exalt or flatter. The panegyrists described actions as orderly and planned, and often as having splendour and beauty. However, most of the panegyrics did not aim at completeness; hence listeners interpreted them considering a particular situation for a particular purpose, place and time. Rees (2010) states that panegyrics were formed as an important part of the ceremonial stately occasions.

Similarly, in the African society panegyrics are viewed by scholars as a type of oral literature (Owiti, 2013). Finnegan (1970) observes that the panegyrics are the most developed and elaborate poetic genre in Africa. Panegyrics are used among the African people, and their use is nearly universal. Panegyrics are used for self-praise, and may also describe clans, human beings or inanimate objects, and are explicitly laudatory. Amuka (1978) suggests that panegyrics are derived from social activities, hence are social tools used for communication in social activities to express social affairs - they convey the perceptions, emotions, desires, norms and morals of a society. Therefore, panegyrics form part of daily speech to anyone with a working knowledge of

the language. The term panegyric is equivalent to *pakruok* in Dholuo. Amuka (1978) suggests that Dholuo panegyrics comprise short expressions, statements, phrases and sentences. Some provide clues for analyses, interpretations and conclusions.

The most obvious feature of almost all panegyrics is their brevity. Amuka (1978) continues to say that the concealed meanings of panegyrics that are unknown to listeners whether only one word or more, are complete with the socio-cultural background and context. Panegyrics are naturally less comprehensive, shorter and less factual hence causes interpretation problems to hearers because of their indirect references that lead to ambiguities, implicatures and ironies which this study sought to explain how hearers resolve them. Amuka (1992) further states that Dholuo panegyrics are like a game with words: one is praised or praises oneself in order to provoke response, and initiates verbal performance. The meaning of every panegyric is practically deduced from the conversations in which they occur, and in most cases they are indirect references to the subjects (Amuka, 1992), which is problematic to hearers of Dholuo panegyrics to interpret.

In Rwanda, a panegyrist does not directly substitute one name for the other, but masks the royal lion by talking about the qualities of the lion, and refers to the king by terms as ‘Hunter of Zebras’, ‘mane carrier’. However, there is no explanation of how hearers interpret the indirect references hence provides a gap that this study set out to address. Masolo (2000) observes that panegyrics and their contexts seem interdependent in explaining and communicating various messages. Praise names occur in words, phrases and often in whole sentences.

Masolo further observes that the most frequent subjects for panegyrics are humans and sometimes they are self praises, which this study set out to investigate (panegyrics in relation to humans). People's praise names are associated with power, character, physical appearance and achievements; hence panegyrics are used to describe a trait which is a response to a given circumstance (Masolo, 2000). Moreover, this study embraces Masolo's (2000) definition of panegyrics: expression of social and personal relations. However, Masolo (2000) fails to point out that panegyrics are usually a form of a joking session aimed at provoking laughter for entertainment as well as to ridicule unbecoming behavior in the society. This study therefore, focused on panegyrics as a form of entertainment: jokes, praise of oneself or of others as well as to ridicule unbecoming behaviour.

Owiti (2013) agrees with Amuka (2000) that panegyrics reflect social issues in a manner that can only be explained by understanding the societal norms and cultural practices. Therefore, panegyrics form part of entertainment in form of fun on words meant to elicit laughter (Owiti, 2013). The language used in panegyrics may be archaic and lofty, meaning that there are often use of figurative forms of expressions (Amuka, 1992), which are difficult to understand because of indeterminacies such as ambiguities, implicatures, metaphors and ironies. Onishi and Murphy (1993) state that non-literal language does not lead to one single interpretation across a given topic of communication, but requires encyclopedic entries to disambiguate them. Finnegan (2012) observes that praise of a person or a thing is not something to be expressed in a straight forward language, and stress is laid on conformity to tradition as it is evident that a man's status is recognized and re-affirmed by the use of the praise names.

However, there are informal occasions when praises are used in the same way as speeches or commentaries in other contexts, such as in eulogizing a prominent leader's office, his ancestry and power in Muslim Kingdoms: Mali, Spain and Russia (Morris, 1964). Panegyrics can also be used for personal gain, a possibility frequently exploited by a soloist who uses the praises to stir people to excitement, and in the process gifts are showered on the praise soloists from enthusiastic audiences, as Finnegan (2012) notes that a Hausa soloist exploits this.

In addition, Amuka (1992) observes that panegyrics is a category of language which praises the mighty deeds of heroes, past and present traditions of various people. For instance, Finnegan (2012) cites that panegyrics are frequently comparisons to animals such as the lion, rhino and elephant which are used to refer to the subject's strength, whereas some panegyrics are comparisons to natural phenomena such as a hero is likened to a storm, a rock and a downpour. However, no classification of panegyrics has been done. Panegyrics may be completely conveyed in metaphorical terms as they are used to praise one's life and experience, and are not a mere recounting quantity of heroic deeds. It is therefore evident that panegyrics use figurative language, which means that panegyrics have underlying meanings, which demand processing efforts for appropriate interpretation. Salvatore (2009) admits that humour is created for purposes of entertainment as well as satire. Dholuo panegyrics employ use of figurative language to achieve particular effects (Omolo, 2014). Evidently, figures of speech are not only used to praise and talk of good values but are also used to ridicule or mock, for instance, certain animal metaphors are used in some contexts to derogatively refer to people because of the cultural beliefs of the community (Omolo, 2014).

Myers and Simms (1985) define figurative language as the creative manipulation of the semantic structure of language. Therefore, the figurative linguistic devices related to this study are irony, exaggerations, ambiguity and metaphors. Omolo (2014) asserts that the Luo culture is relayed in panegyrics and it is difficult to interpret the conveyed messages without understanding the context. The panegyrics used as data in this study are analyzed using the tenets of Relevance Theory which involve cognition, communication, understanding cognitive effects and processing effects in the interpretation of utterances. Data used in this study is explained in the context of the cultural references in Dholuo utterances in which they occur. Omolo (2014) observes that panegyrics also make some members of the society a subject of mockery, as the language used is figurative. In this study we therefore explore metaphoric language used in Dholuo panegyrics and how they are interpreted in their contexts of occurrence.

Evidently, listeners of Dholuo panegyrics have difficulty interpreting the panegyrics because of their implied meaning, which is the focus of this study, as they are problematic because implicatures in a given context are subject to multiple interpretations by different people. This is so because the literal meanings do not always represent all that the speaker intends to convey, and neither do they reflect the concealed meanings, for instance, at times different symbols may mean different things to different groups of people (Omolo, 2014). Thus, this study employs Relevance Theory which involves cognition, comprehension and communication to elucidate the problem of interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics: determine how context is used in making inferences about the speaker's intended meaning to achieve optimal relevance. Amuka (2000) therefore explains that panegyrics are full of figures of speech and their meanings have to be unraveled in relation to the context of the utterance. Wilson and Sperber (2012) state that a

metaphor is a form of linguistic broadening whereby the meaning communicated is far from the literal meaning – the meaning communicated by the use of a particular word differs from the linguistically encoded meaning assigned by the grammar. This is an indication that Dholuo panegyrics are full of indeterminacies like implicatures, ironies, metaphors and ambiguities which require interpretation strategies.

However, Amuka (2000) restricts himself to one type of panegyrics that only involves self-praise whereas this study goes beyond self-praise. In addition, Kreuz and Graesser (1991) observe that meanings of words are related to their different contexts, and this calls for a pragmatic study which explains how hearers infer the speaker's intended meaning from the clues provided by the utterance and context. Sperber and Wilson (1982) argue that the search for the interpretation on which an utterance will be most relevant involves the search for the context which will make interpretation possible hence, interpreting figurative language is the hearer's task, which this study set out to find out how a hearer performs the task of interpreting figurative language used in Dholuo panegyrics in order to achieve optimal relevance.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Dholuo panegyrics are often not expressed explicitly. Non-literal language is not easily interpreted since the linguistic meaning falls short of the information which a speaker intends to convey. The non-literal senses in Dholuo panegyrics are difficult to understand without understanding their contextual usage since they are full of indeterminacies such as ambiguities, metaphors, ironies and implicatures which require interpretation strategies because of their indirect references. Therefore understanding Dholuo panegyrics is contextually determined.

Furthermore, verbal communication is not entirely free from miscomprehension, and in most cases, the hearer might not necessarily make the correct inferences: the decoded linguistic meaning may therefore fall short of determining the speaker's meaning. This study therefore, set out to investigate how hearers resolve the indeterminacies in order to establish the speaker's implicit meaning of Dholuo panegyrics. This study goes beyond literal meaning of utterances by providing meaning as interpreted in context of use.

1.3 Research Questions

The study was guided by the following research questions:

1. What interpretive mechanisms are required for the interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics?
2. How do hearers make an interpretation of a speaker's meaning of Dholuo panegyrics?
3. What is the role played by contextual information in the interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics?

1.4 Aim and Objectives

The aim of this study was to investigate how hearers connect the gap between the encoded linguistic meaning of Dholuo panegyrics and the speakers' intended implication of an utterance in context of use.

The specific objectives were to:

1. Identify the interpretive mechanisms required for interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics.
2. Explain how hearers make an interpretation of the speaker's meaning of Dholuo panegyrics.
3. Determine the role of contextual information in the interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics.

1.5 Scope and Limitations

To achieve the research objectives, the researcher undertook a pragmatic analysis of Dholuo panegyrics. That is, the pragmatic analysis targeted the interpretation of the speaker meaning that form Dholuo panegyrics. This study was carried out in Central Sakwa, Nyang'oma Division in Bondo District, which is between River Yala to the North and Lake Victoria to the South and West (Provincial Surveyor, Kisumu, 2012). Priority was given to social interactions, which were live performances (songs and dances) in ceremonies like marriages, beer parties and funeral ceremonies since these are some of the likely sources of the panegyrics.

The study targeted adults of age thirty-five and above, who at least knew and understood Dholuo and the Luo culture (see Appendix I).

The adults of age thirty-five and above were perceived to be competent Dholuo speakers, whereas children or teenagers were incapable of providing standard language forms (Milroy, 1987). The study focused on the aspects of meaning that cannot be predicted by linguistic knowledge alone taking into account the question of how the speaker's presupposition or presumption work on the interactions. There were fifteen locations of the study and each location was determined by the occasions, events or ceremonies at a particular time. This means that locations changed from time to time. The study was limited by the following factors: First, the study focused on what is implicated rather than what is said. Second, panegyrics collected from Bondo Sub-County alone among four counties mainly inhabited by Dholuo speakers are representative of the whole Luo community in Kenya.

1.6 Justification

Cognitive Linguists like Lakoff and Johnson (1980) observe that language is metaphorical, which reflects the output of a cognitive process by which language is understood. Language is replete with figurative language, which makes the understanding of panegyrics problematic as a result of indeterminacies that require critical analysis to comprehend (Onishi and Murphy, 1993). Carston (2004) recognizes that there is a range of tasks involved in determining the proposition explicitly communicated, for example, a word which seems to have a single meaning in the linguistic system can still be used to express concepts on different occasions of the utterance. Owiti (2013) admits that there are studies on panegyrics by various scholars like Perkin (1978), Amuka (2000), Masolo (2000) and Mwangi (2009) but none is explaining how the indeterminacies are resolved in order to derive the speaker's implicit meaning. For example, Masolo (2000) posits that panegyric is an expression of social and personal relations but fails to state that panegyrics are used for entertainment as well as to ridicule. Amuka (2000) restricts himself to self-praise, Owiti (2013) is concerned with how humour is created in Dholuo panegyrics and Omolo (2014) focused on literal meaning of utterances. Despite the many studies carried out on panegyrics, none of the studies has targeted interpretation of panegyrics in context. Therefore, the interpretation of panegyrics in context is an important phenomenon that needs to be studied. In connection with the problem of communication and interpretation, pragmaticists such as Carston (2002), Recanati (2004), Wilson and Sperber (2004) have conducted studies on communication versus interpretation to explain how hearers assign context-dependent significance to utterances in order to derive speaker meaning, and have come to a consensus that communication is successful if the hearer understands exactly what the speaker means. This means that if one was to specify a range of similar interpretations that are close to what the

speaker intends to convey, they would then share the same content (context that is recognizable by both the hearer and the speaker). This study therefore aimed to delineate this shared content, which defines verbal communication since it determines what a successful communication entails at the most fundamental level. Finally, the study hoped to give insights in determining the speaker's intended meaning of utterances using panegyrics, hence provides a source of reference to scholars of linguistics who may be interested in finding out how Dholuo panegyrics are interpreted in context. This study is of significance to the field of linguistics particularly to pragmaticists since meaning of figurative language goes beyond the linguistically encoded meaning. Additionally, this study is of significance to researchers who may be interested in finding out how meaning of Dholuo panegyrics is context-dependent.

1.7 Theoretical Framework

This study adopted the principle of relevance theory propounded by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson (1986/1995). The Relevance Theory is an inferential approach to pragmatics, hence the goal of inferential pragmatics is to explain how the hearer infers the speaker's meaning. Therefore, the Relevance Theory is founded on two central principles: namely the cognitive principle and the communicative principle.

The cognitive principle claims that human cognition is geared to the maximization of relevance (Sperber and Wilson, 1986b:260). The cognitive principle entails the following components:

- a) Other things being equal, the greater the positive cognitive effects achieved by processing an input, the greater the relevance of the input to the individual at that time.

- b) Other things being equal, the greater the processing effort expended, the lower the relevance of the input to the individual at that time.

The communicative principle, according to Sperber and Wilson (1995:260), claims that utterances create expectations of optimal relevance: in the optimal relevance, an ostensive stimulus is optimally relevant if: the utterance is presumed to be at least relevant enough to be worth the speaker's effort to process it, and the most relevant one that is compatible with the speaker's abilities and preferences such as desires, intentions and interests (Sperber and Wilson, 1995:270).

Ostensive communication entails:

- a) The information intention: the intention to inform an individual of something.
- b) The communicative intention: the intention to inform the audience of one's informative intention (Wilson and Sperber, 2004).

Sperber and Wilson (1995) assert that an ostensive stimulus creates a presumption of relevance, and the notion of optimal relevance is meant to hasten what a hearer of an utterance is entitled to expect in terms of effort and effect. For example, a man might touch your arm and point to his empty glass, wave it at you and ostentatiously put it down in front of you, stare at it or say, "My glass is empty." By producing an ostensive stimulus by waving the glass, the speaker encourages his audience to presume that it is relevant enough to be worth processing. Therefore, if you just happen to notice his empty glass, you may automatically conclude that he might need another drink (Wilson and Sperber, 2004). Ostensive stimulus, provided by a speaker leads the audience to higher expectations of relevance as it creates a presumption of relevance.

1.7.1 Relevance and Cognition

According to the Relevance Theory, utterances raise expectations of relevance because the search for relevance is a basic feature of human cognition, among several competing inputs which communicators may exploit. The relevance theoretic account of cognition and communication, according to Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995) has practical implications for pragmatics, which means that verbal comprehension starts with the recovery of a linguistically encoded sentence meaning that must be contextually enriched in a variety of ways to yield a full-fledged speaker's meaning. There may be ambiguities and referential uncertainties to resolve, ellipses to interpret, and other underdeterminacies of explicit content to deal with.

There may be implicatures, metaphors and ironies to interpret. All this requires an appropriate set of contextual assumptions, which the hearer must also supply.

The communicative principle of relevance and optimal relevance suggest a practical procedure for performing these sub-tasks and constructing a hypothesis about the speaker's meaning. The hearer should take the linguistically encoded sentence meaning; following a path of least effort, he should enrich it at the explicit level and complement it at the implicit level until the resulting interpretation meets his expectation of relevance: when a hearer following the path of least effort arrives at an interpretation that satisfies his expectations of relevance, in the absence of contrary evidence, this is the most plausible hypothesis about the speaker's meaning.

1.7.2 The Key Concept in Relevance Theory

Context is of central importance within the framework of Relevance Theory. The context of an utterance is the premises used in utterance interpretation. Sperber and Wilson (1986:15) assert

that a context is the psychological concept of the hearer's assumptions of the world; knowing a language requires knowing how non-linguistic matters influence what an utterance and its speaker means. Context does not only refer to physical factors, immediate preceding utterances or text, situational circumstances or cultural factors but also refers to part of the hearer's cognitive environment. Therefore contexts are infinite; they also include speaker, audience, time, locations, mutually perceived objects and common assumptions made by language users. Sperber and Wilson (1986:39) point out that one's cognitive environment is a set of facts that are manifest to him. The cognitive environment stresses the importance of the information available for processing the utterance or text. Consequently, a context is part of cognitive environment (which acts on the basis of the external environment) that can be employed in the interpretation of an utterance. Sperber and Wilson (1986:141) add that the choice of a particular context is determined by the search for relevance, and successful communication hinges on the potential context that is mutually shared by the conversationalists. Therefore, in order to make an utterance optimally relevant, certain contextual implications have to be considered.

1.7.3 Contextual Effect and Processing Effort

Wilson (1994) defines relevance in terms of contextual effect and processing effort: that the greater the contextual affects the audience achieves, the greater the relevance of the utterance; but the greater the processing effort the audience needs to obtain these effects, the lower the relevance. Sperber and Wilson (1986) state that in terms of Relevance Theory, a text is relevant to an individual when its processing in a context of available assumptions yields a positive cognitive effect. Contextual/cognitive effects are obtained when the new information interacts with a context of existing assumptions in one of four ways: by strengthening an existing

assumption, by contradicting and eliminating an existing assumption, by weakening the existing assumption or by combining with an existing assumption to yield a contextual implication. In order to be relevant, an utterance must yield at least some contextual effects. Relevance, therefore, depends on the interaction of contextual effects and processing effort; the more contextual effects an utterance yields, the more relevant it is; the less processing effort the hearer spends, the more relevant an utterance is. The degree of relevance that an audience obtains varies according to the amount of contextual effects the text yields, plus the processing effort the text costs (see Table 1).

Table 1. Graded Relevance

| Relevance | Contextual Implication/Effect | Processing Effort |
|------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| Optimal | Fully comprehensible | Without unnecessary effort |
| Strong | Relatively clear | Without some necessary effort |
| Weak | Implied | Considerable effort taken |
| Irrelevant | vague and unclear | All the effort is in vain |

Adopted from Zhou (2004:236)

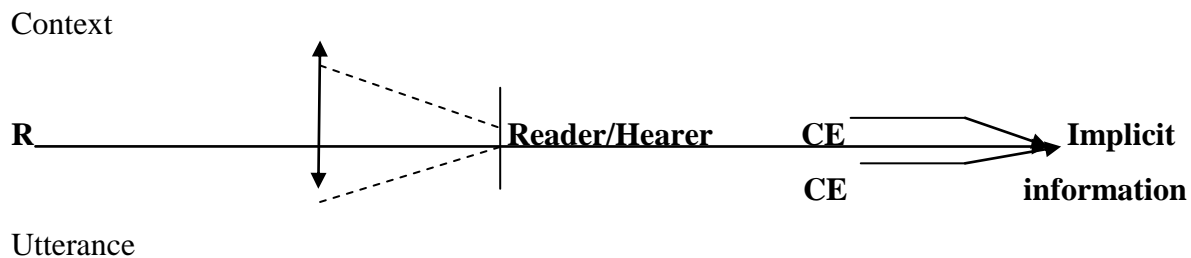
What makes an input worth picking from the mass of competing stimuli is not just that it is relevant, but that it is more relevant than any alternative input available at the time of an utterance. This is because there are other relevant inputs around but they cannot all be attended to; the degree of relevance makes an input worth picking among other stimuli. Therefore, according to the Relevance Theory, optimal relevance is achieved when a hearer derives worthwhile conclusions by processing an input without unnecessary effort. In the same way, a hearer may not achieve optimal relevance if she (the hearer) requires greater processing effort in order to compute an utterance (Sperber and Wilson, 1986).

1.7.4 Consistency with the Principle of Relevance

Wilson (1994) states that an utterance that is being interpreted is consistent with the principle of relevance only if the speaker might rationally have expected it to be optimally relevant to the audience. Relevance Theory therefore differentiates between two models of language use in which human minds process information: the descriptive mode and the interpretive mode. In relevance theoretical terms, an utterance is said to be used descriptively when it is intended to be taken as true of a state of affairs in the world (Sperber and Wilson, 1986). An utterance is said to be used interpretively when it is intended to represent what someone said or thought (Gutt, 1998:44).

Figure 1 shows how a hearer processes implicit information.

Figure 1. Processing the implicit information



Adopted from Sang, Z. (2006:53).

Key

R – Relevance

CE – Contextual effects

Sperber and Wilson (1986b:137-138) observe that in processing the implicit information, an utterance can bring some cognitive changes to the hearer's context. Guided by the principle of

relevance, the hearer processes the utterance combined with the modified context. In this way, the hearer would perceive enough contextual effects without expending unnecessary effort. Therefore, the positive contextual effects help to strengthen the relevant implicit information and eliminate the information of weak relevance (see Table1 p.20).

1.7.5 Relevance and Comprehension

The relevance theoretic comprehension procedure applies in the same way to the resolution of linguistic underdeterminacies at both explicit and implicit levels. The hearer's goal is to construct a hypothesis about the speaker's meaning which satisfies the expectation of relevance raised by the utterance. This overall task can be broken down into sub-tasks (Wilson and Sperber, 2004:261-262):

- a) Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about explicit content (in relevance theoretic terms, explicatures) through decoding, disambiguation, reference resolution, and other pragmatic enrichment processes.
- b) Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual assumptions (in relevance theoretic terms, implicated premises).
- c) Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual implications (in relevance theoretic terms, implicated conclusions).

Wilson and Sperber (2004) state that comprehension is an on-line process, and hypothesis about explicatures, implicated premises and implicated conclusions are developed in parallel against a background of expectations which may be revised or elaborated as the utterance unfolds. The hearer may bring to the comprehension process not only a general presumption of relevance, but more specific expectations about how an utterance will be relevant to him (what cognitive effects

it is likely to achieve), and these may contribute through backward influence, to the identification of explicated and implicated premises. Therefore, each sub-task (a) to (c) involves a non-demonstrative inference process embedded within the overall process of constructing a hypothesis about the speaker's meaning.

Relevance theorists, Wilson and Sperber (1986/1995), have argued against Grice's (1989b) framework that metaphor, hyperbole and irony should be given parallel treatments. Grice's analysis of irony is an overt violation of the maxim of truthfulness that a variant of the classical rhetorical view of irony as literally saying one thing and figuratively meaning the opposite. According to Relevance Theory, verbal irony involves no special procedures but is perceived as interpretive use or echoic use of language. An utterance may be interpretively used to present another utterance or thought that it resembles in content. The best known type of interpretive use is reported speech or thought.

An utterance is echoic when it achieves most of its relevance by expressing the speaker's attitude to views that the speaker implicitly attributes to someone else (Sperber and Wilson, 1986). Consider example (1):

1. Peter: That was a fantastic party.

Mary: a. [happily] Fantastic.

b. [puzzled] Fantastic?

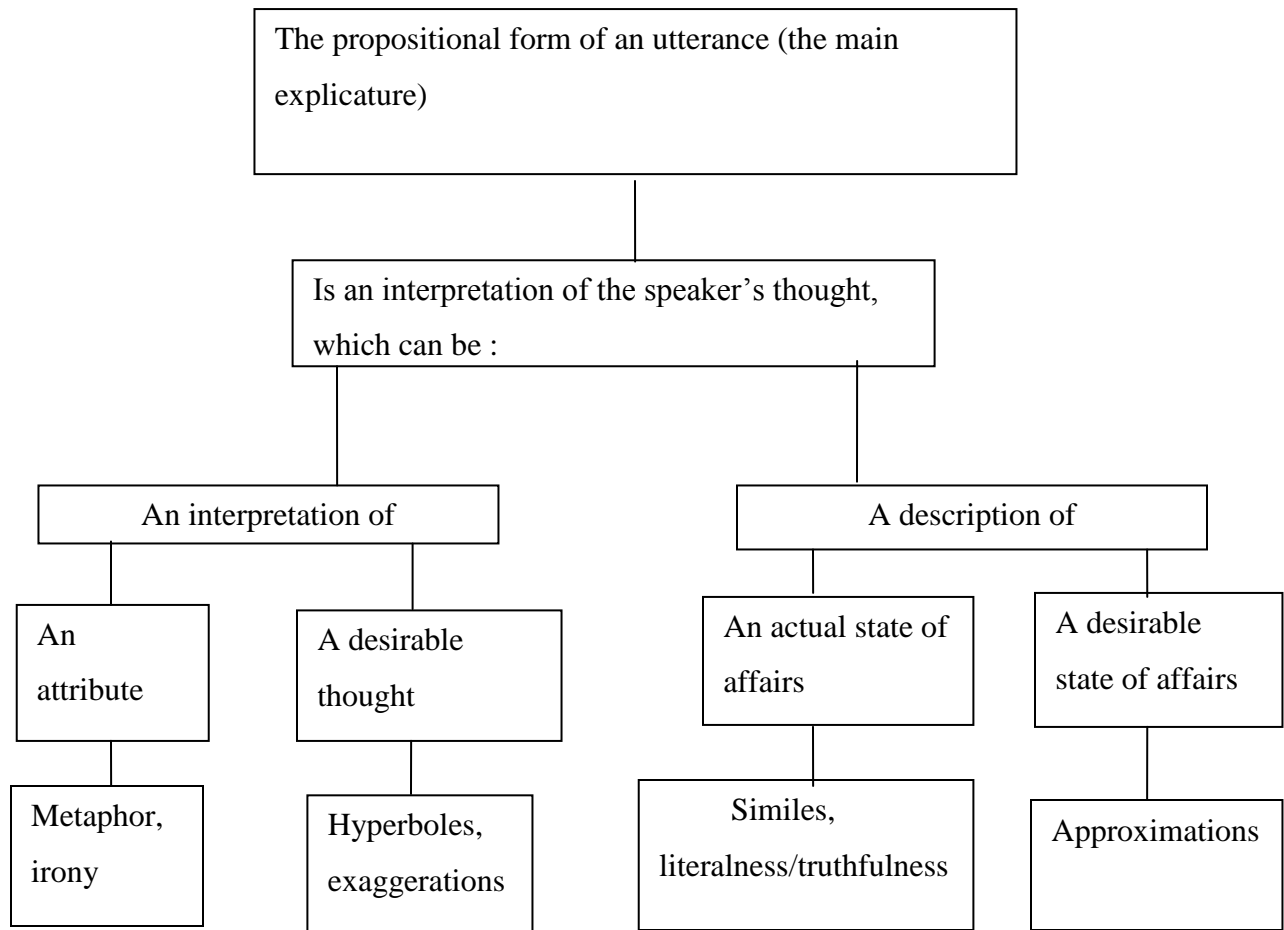
c. [scornfully] Fantastic!

In (1a) Mary echoes Peter's utterance in order to show that she agrees with it; in (1b), Mary indicates that she is wondering about Peter's utterance, and in (1c) Mary indicates that she disagrees with Peter's utterance. The attitudes conveyed by use of an echoic utterance are very

rich and varied. The speaker may indicate that she endorses or dissociates herself from the thought or utterance she is echoing, for example, that she is puzzled, angry, amused, intrigued, skeptical, bitter or mocking to an attributed utterance or thought.

Mary's utterance in (1c) is ironical because she could be mocking Peter and echoic because Mary is puzzled. This approach sheds light on many cases of irony, that is, irony involves a higher order of metarepresentation ability than metaphor. On the relevance theoretic account, Sperber and Wilson (1986) state that the interpretation of echoic utterances involves the ability to recognize that the speaker is thinking, not directly about a state of affairs in the world, but about another thought or utterance that is attributed to someone else. Consider the representation of aspects of verbal communication in the schematic Figure 2

Figure2 .Aspects of verbal communication



Adopted from Sperber and Wilson (1986:232)

Every utterance is an interpretive expression, meaning that any utterance involves a relationship between its propositional form and a thought of the speaker. Sperber and Wilson (1986) acknowledge that any representation with a propositional form can be used either descriptively or interpretively (see section 1.7.4 p.16).

On one hand, when used descriptively, it can be a description of a state of affairs. On the other hand, it is used interpretively, which can be an interpretation of some attributed thought which it

is required to address in a certain way. Sperber and Wilson (1986) admit that Relevance Theory is a theory of communication and interpretation and recommend the idea that the utterance of a particular sentence can express different propositions in different contexts.

The whole utterance interpretation is a matter of inference, and taking account of the speaker's mental capabilities and preferences required for carrying out any of the pragmatic tasks like adjustments of lexical concepts, disambiguation and fixing indexical references involved (Carston, 2007). The framework of Relevance Theory explains how the hearer of Dholuo panegyrics infers the speaker's meaning on the basis of contextual use of the panegyrics. This was done by using the theory to identify and explain interpretive mechanisms, identifying contextual factors involved in the interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics and how their meanings are derived with respect to pragmatic knowledge of the world.

1.7.6 Truthfulness and Relevance

Sperber and Wilson (1986) observe that verbal communication is not governed by expectations of truthfulness but expectations of relevance, which are raised by literal, loose and metaphorical talk. Lewis (1983) observes that there is a regulatory and a moral obligation of truthfulness in linguistic behaviour. To be truthful is to try never to utter sentences that are false in a language. This means that to be truthful in a language is to form beliefs in a certain way that attributes truthfulness in the language, and tend to respond to another's utterance of the language by believing that the utterance is true in the language (Lewis, 1983:167). Tropes, generally present a great challenge because most utterances are not literally true, since they are figuratively or loosely expressed. Therefore, Lewis (1983) comments that figurative and literal utterances do not differ in the kind of meanings they have, but in the way these meanings are expressed and

retrieved (truth of an utterance depends on the context). He continues to say that the meanings of figurative utterances are derived by systematic departure from their literal meanings. Sperber and Wilson (1998a) argue that figurative interpretations are totally context- dependent, and that the context is not fixed but constructed as an integral part of the comprehension process.

Literal and figurative interpretations are arrived at in the same way, by constructing an interpretation that satisfies the hearer's expectations of relevance. According to Relevance Theoretic accounts, metaphor understanding involves the construction of an ad hoc concept (*) from an encoded concept, which is constructed as part of the explicit content of the metaphor, while the lexically encoded concept is preserved in the simile.

Ad hoc concepts are presented in capital letters with an asterisk (*).Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995) state that understanding metaphorical uses of language is a kind of loose use, involving no special mechanisms dedicated to the interpretation of metaphors alone or figurative language.

From the loose account, the result of understanding a metaphor is the logical and encyclopedic information attached to the loosely used encoded concept, which is organized into two separate groups of properties: those that are taken as part of the intended interpretation and those which are not. The significance of the metaphorical meaning, which is the new concept overlaps with the denotation of the encoded concept. The ad hoc concept is therefore, pragmatically produced from the encoded one, and contributes to the explicit content of the utterance, see example (2) from Wilson and Carston (2006:17, 28-29):

2. That surgeon is a butcher.

The speaker might be understood as implying that the “surgeon” in the utterance is very incompetent, dangerous, not to be trusted with lives of patients. According to Relevance Theoretic accounts of metaphor interpretation, the implications are derived by adding to the context, encyclopedic information made accessible by the encoded concept BUTCHER* (or by other concepts activated by the utterance or the discourse) and deriving the contextual implications which would be incorporated into conclusion about the speaker’s meaning. Vega-Moreno (2004:298) states that our knowledge of “butcher” does not include the assumption that butchers are incompetent and dangerous. The properties the hearer takes the speaker to be attributing to the surgeon are not part of his representation of “butcher”, so must be derived by some other means than simply searching through his knowledge about butchers. For instance, the utterance might activate the hearer’s knowledge of surgeons, which might include the logical feature (that is a DOCTOR) and more or less evidenced encyclopedic assumptions of a SURGEON as shown:

- a) Works in a hospital, showing concern for people’s welfare.
- b) Operates on human beings or cuts human flesh.
- c) Requires great medical training.

The processing of the utterance is likely to raise a question in the hearer’s mind about why the speaker thinks that the surgeon ought to be dismissed due to (negligence, incompetence and dangerous). Alternatively, the word BUTCHER would activate the hearer’s knowledge of butchers, which might include the logical features that a BUTCHER IS A BUSINESSMAN WHO SELLS MEAT and more or less evidenced encyclopedic assumptions such as:

- d) Sells meat.
- e) Cuts meat.
- f) Requires training and skills.

Given that a surgeon cuts flesh in a similar fashion as a butcher, the surgeon would be regarded as incompetent and dangerous to patients and would deserve to be dismissed. As a result of the mutual adjustment of context, explicit content and cognitive effects, the speaker of the utterance might therefore be understood as asserting that the surgeon in question is a BUTCHER* (where a BUTCHER* is a person who cuts flesh in the way appropriate to butchers) and implicating that he ought to be dismissed because, being a BUTCHER*, he performs operations in a grossly, incompetent and dangerous way. This explains the effect of pragmatic interpretation process as a way of loosening such as approximations, rather than narrowing of the lexical meaning resulting in broader than narrower denotation. It is evident that figurative uses of language present a great challenge because the utterances are not literally true; therefore this study explains how hearers retrieve meanings of metaphors.

1.7.7 Summary

This chapter provided background information to the study by presenting an introduction to Dholuo, giving an overview of culture in society and explaining the social life of the Luo in relation to panegyrics. Further, the chapter has stated the problem, research questions, objectives, scope and limitations of the study, significance of the study and the Relevance Theory. The chapter therefore raises issues that require scrutiny. The next chapter seeks to review the existing literature pertaining to the study with an intention of pinpointing the gap.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter entails the literature reviewed by explaining how a hearer uses context to bridge the gap between the linguistic meaning of a sentence and what is said by a speaker. The literature guides and informs the study at hand with a view to pinpointing the knowledge gap the study hopes to fill. The chapter is divided into three sub-sections that help in establishing the framework on which the study is based. The sub-sections are: interpretive mechanisms, how hearers construct an interpretation of the speaker's meaning and the role of contextual information. The review focuses on pragmatic studies with the intention of connecting the review to the objectives of the study, and finally exposing the gaps in the literature.

2.1.1 Interpretive Mechanisms

This sub-section focuses on objective one of this study, which is set to identify mechanisms a hearer must provide for a successful communication since mechanisms operate in different contexts, and the same mechanism operating in different contexts may lead to different interpretations. Pragmatics is concerned with features of language, which are referred to as mechanisms (appropriacy, context, relevance, reflexivity, inference and non-literal meaning). Agler (2012) observes that mechanisms are the basis of determining outcomes of communication; mechanisms refer to social knowledge, cultural knowledge and experience of communicators hence mechanisms tell us how communicators relate, how individuals come to believe what they do or what they draw from their past experiences. Norms of appropriate usage mean that the particular choice of utterance made carries within it some definition of the context,

a socio-symbolic expression of the relative status of the conversationalists and their attitude to each other (Fischer, 1958). In line with what Fischer states on how mechanisms are related to context, Agler (2012) further posits that mechanisms are used in utterances themselves which conventionally direct users of language to the context of use. Thus, the interaction between mechanism and context is what determines the outcome.

Hymes (1971) asserts that rules derived from regular associations between verbal and other social behaviour are used creatively to convey social meanings, to maintain, modify or challenge the form of relationships. Particular combinations of place, time and participants conform to expectations as to be part of the taken for granted background to interaction. Sperber and Wilson (1995) assert that mechanisms are used by communicators to check if they have achieved the most relevant interpretation in the context of use. This means that different kinds of usage take their meaning from the particular circumstances in which they occur, which are unlikely to be accounted for under some domains. Therefore, Hymes (1971) raises some problems: it is difficult to understand or interpret a conversation in which the conversationalists know nothing about each other, and have no shared content to which they can refer. In agreement, Robins (1971:35) states that:

once someone speaks to you, you are in a relatively determined context, and you are not free to say just what you please. If that someone is a social superior, or occupies a clearly defined role relative to your own then the style of the conversation is considerably constrained.

Agler (2012) observes that if knowing what a speaker means relies on certain features of context then communication is a challenging activity. When context is taken into consideration, interpreting ambiguous utterances, implicatures and a metaphor is problematic, which this study

sought to address. Furthermore, Claire (1998:25-27) states that for production of meaning, the interpretation of events is grounded in each person's experience and field of perception. Claire (1998) continues to state that the context of situation and cultural context in which verbal actions take place constitute various actions; the context permeates the utterances with the necessary pragmatic coherence. Therefore, as the speakers communicate, they draw on frames of expectations that they have in common with other audience who share the same background and the same cultural context. Based on these expectations, speakers position themselves in relation to the situational context of a given exchange by means of contextualization cues, which are evidence of situated inferences that speakers make based on their culturally shared expectations and applied to the situation of the exchange. The contextualization cues give the exchange pragmatic coherence, which the participants maintain by observing a principle of conversational co-operation, which prompts them to align their expectations onto those of others by playing various participant roles (Claire, 1998).

Claire (1998) posits that all the actions of participants are attuned to the cultural norms and conventions of the group they belong to and to its attitudes and beliefs. Hymes (1971) suggests that what underlies effective communication is the native speaker's extensive knowledge of the social etiquette of language choice. Cultural context refers to what a culturally competent member of a speech community knows in order to perform roles open to him in contexts where he is likely to encounter various actions. Garfinkel (1972) argues that conversationalists do not only re-interpret what they hear, they extensively add to it from their cultural knowledge.

Claire (1989) asserts that conversationalists employ their cultural knowledge to help in the interpretation of utterances as meaning is not only created through what speakers say to one

another, but through what they do with words in order to respond to the demands of their environment. Trudgill (1993) states that the society's attitudes and values may be reflected in its language, and he points out that attitude can determine choice of a lexical item over another. Trudgill's (1993) statement was worthwhile in this study as the figurative language a speaker might use depends on the attitude he wants to portray. However, Claire (1998) having asserted that conversationalists employ their cultural knowledge to help in the interpretation of utterances, it remains unclear how conversationalists add their cultural knowledge to what they say and hear in order to understand an utterance in the context of occurrence. Thus, using Relevance Theory this study set out to explain how hearers employ their cultural background, which is an interpretive mechanism, to derive a speaker's intended meaning. In addition, Mey (2001:221) emphasizes the importance of socio-cultural context and relentlessly states that the social context in which the conversationalists are situated empowers them as well as limits them by the conditions of their social life. Hence, Mey (2006) asserts that indirect utterances do not derive their meaning from their semantic content but from the context. However, Kecskes (2008) observes that Mey (2001, 2006) is right emphasizing the importance of situation and environment in production of meaning and comprehension, but the wording of linguistic expressions is as important in shaping meaning as the context. Kecskes (2008) continues to say that Mey's theory is not consistent enough in describing the relationship between the semantic content of expressions and the actual situational contexts. Kecskes (2008) claims that both the speaker and hearer are equal participants of the communicative process.

They both produce and comprehend relying on their most accessible and relevant knowledge expressed in their private contexts in production and comprehension. This means that interpretation of an utterance results from the perspective of both the speaker and the hearer.

Kecskes and Zhang (2009) argue that speakers and hearers are constrained by societal conditions but as individuals they all have their own goals, intentions and desires that are freely expressed and recognized in the flow of the interaction. Searle (1979:49) and Morgan (1978:269) agree that there is a distinction to be made between meaning and use, but what is less recognized is that there can be conventions of language and conventions in a culture of usage that are not conservative. Further, Kecskes (2008) suggests that in situation-based utterances, speakers and hearers do not only fit their contribution to the given situation but also establish and confirm the social situation.

Yule (2010) states that interpretation is not totally based on the words, but on what the hearer thinks the speaker intended to convey since we must use word meanings, the context and pre-existing knowledge as we work towards deriving a speaker's intended meaning. Agler (2012) asserts that the indeterminacy of the result of communication exists not in the mechanism but in the context. This would help the study identify mechanisms a hearer employs to interpret the speaker's utterance in order to achieve optimal relevance.

2.1.2 Interpretation of the Speaker's meaning

This sub-section handles objective two which explains how hearers interpret the speaker's meaning in context. Blakemore (1991) states that in interpreting an utterance, the hearer has three main questions to answer: what did the speaker intend to say? What did the speaker intend to imply? What was the speaker's intended attitude to what was said and implied? Therefore, a pragmatic study provides insights on how contextual use enriches and shapes the meaning of utterances. Frege (1990) therefore states that knowing the sentence meaning is to know the

conditions or situations under which it is true; and the number of circumstances which a particular sentence is true or false is unlimited. Bergen, Levy and Goodman (2014) argue that facts about interpretation are determined by the communicative setting in which the expression is used, and not simply the expression's semantic content.

Regarding interpretation, Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995) claim that among all the stimuli in a communicative environment, utterances have a property which raises an expectation of relevance in a hearer. Agler (2012) observes that a speaker's utterance contains some feature that conventionally directs the hearer to the context. Therefore, Sperber and Wilson (1982) suggest that the goal of pragmatics is to explain how hearers infer meaning from evidences or utterances provided in a given situation, time and place. For instance, ad hoc concepts (see section 1.7.6 p.20) where a hearer is able to infer the speaker's intended meaning from evidences provided by the utterances and the circumstances in which they occur.

Njuguna (2010) in her M.A dissertation focused on how hearers interpret the speaker's intended meaning and stated that the hearer is expected to extract meaning out of the speaker's use of loose language, which was used in this study. Njuguna (2010) contributed to this study since she explains how the human cognitive faculty operates in order to derive the speaker's intended meaning. Omolo (2014) also posits that metaphors are implicatures that need cognitive processing. Since most of the data in this study is non-literal, Njuguna's work is applicable to panegyrics which are forms of loose language that need reasoning.

Liu (2006) further explains two lexico-pragmatic processes that hearers use to adjust concepts: lexical narrowing, which refers to a situation in which a word is used in a more specific sense than the encoded one, and lexical broadening which is used to convey a more general sense than the encoded one with consequent widening of the linguistically specified denotation. Wilson and Sperber (2004) observe that there are various processes that fall under lexical broadening: approximation, hyperbole and metaphorical extension. For example, Wilson (2006) mentions that in metaphorical extension, the meaning communicated by a particular word or phrase differs from the linguistically encoded or literal meaning assigned by the grammar. Onishi and Murphy (1993) state that non-literal language requires encyclopedic entries to disambiguate them hence Assimakopoulos (2008) acknowledges that during utterance interpretation, an encoded concept gets pragmatically adjusted forcing one to construct ad hoc concept in its place. Whenever a speaker makes an utterance, a hearer will be expected to look for encyclopedic entries in search of relevance. The hearer will follow a path of least effort in deriving cognitive effects by considering interpretations in order of accessibility (Wilson, 2006).

Wilson (2008) states that the hearer will take the linguistically encoded sentence meaning to access the contextual information and stop when the expectation of relevance is satisfied. The hearer enriches the linguistically encoded sentence meaning at the explicit level and complements it at the implicit level until the resulting interpretation meets the hearer's expectation of relevance, and stops processing at the point as in example (3):

3. He is a devil.

'Devil' as used in utterance (3) is a metaphor, and it encodes the concept DEVIL*. The hearer's encyclopedic knowledge on devils includes information outlined in (a) to (e):

- a) They are evil.
- b) They are cruel.
- c) They are destructive.
- d) They are evil spirits.
- e) They live in hell.

For a hearer to correctly interpret the utterance, the hearer uses the concept DEVIL* with its associated encyclopedic knowledge listed above as a starting point for constructing a hypothesis about the concept that the speaker wants to express and the implications the speaker intended to convey that the addressee is inhumane. In constructing a hypothesis about the speaker's meaning, the hearer has to answer three questions: what was the speaker's explicit meaning? What was the speaker's implicit meaning? What was the intended context (contextual assumptions)? Wilson (2007/2008) posits that any interpretation should satisfy the hearer's expectation of relevance. Therefore, lexical meanings are adjusted in order to satisfy expectations of relevance.

Recanati (2004) observes that the concept communicated goes beyond the literal meaning of the word, phrase or sentence. Grice (1975) observes that sentences rarely stand alone: people make connections between them, that is, in conversations people try to find a coherent link between utterances. Grice (1975) further states that when an event is described, people consider whether or not it corresponds to a fact in real world, hence the interpretation of panegyrics involves

construction of ad hoc concepts. Wilson and Carston (2007) point out that ad hoc concept is based on interaction among encoded concepts, contextual information and pragmatic principles. Further, lexical pragmatic processes are driven by the search for relevance (Wilson and Sperber, 2004). Searle (1979) argues that literal sentence meaning depends on certain background assumptions; many aspects of speaker meaning result from the assumption that the communicators expect each other to be cooperating. Similarly, communicators have mutually known expectations of each other to make their contributions such as required, at the time at which it occurs, and by the accepted purpose or direction of the conversation in which they are engaged. Gibbs (1994) and Giora (1999) claim that literal meaning is a phenomenon at the level of utterance meaning hence, during interpretation, it is not necessarily an expression's literal meaning that is activated. Hence this study goes beyond the literal meaning to achieve optimum relevance. Frege (1990) further explains that in a communicative environment, a speaker chooses a sentence by reasoning about the beliefs a listener would form if she (the listener) interpreted an utterance according to its semantic content. With regard to what Frege states, the speaker is likely to choose an utterance that is effective at communicating his (the speaker) intended meaning. In turn, the listener interprets an utterance by reasoning about which intended meaning would have made the speaker most likely to choose the utterance.

Trudgill (1995) also points out that the lexical item a speaker might choose to use depends on the attitude that he wants to portray. This is an indication that conversationalists have mutually known expectations of each other to make their communication such as it is required, at the stage at which it occurs, and by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which they are engaged. Searle (1979) observes that in some contexts an utterance may have multiple

interpretations and a hearer may not easily compute the speaker's intended meaning. Hence this study sought to explain how a hearer ensures that his interpretation of a speaker's utterance is exactly what the speaker intended to convey contextually.

2.1.3 Role of Contextual Information

This sub-section addresses objective three which seeks to determine the role of contextual information in defining what a speaker means. Agler (2012) states that context plays a fundamental role in interpreting language. Context helps in determining what was said, what was meant and how we choose to respond. Atkinson, Kilby and Roca (1988) claim that pragmatics is concerned with features of language use, which appear together and not in isolation. This means that there is a relationship between what we say and the context in which it is relevant. Agler (2012) observes that contexts are vast; they include speakers, audiences, common presuppositions made by language users, time, locations and mutually perceived objects. Fishman (1971) describes context as the co-occurrence of setting, topic, interlocutors related to each other in a particular way. Fischer (1958) states that norms of appropriate usage mean that the particular choice of utterance made carries within it some definition of the context, a socio-symbolic expression of the relative status of the conversationalists and their attitude towards each other. Hence Agler (2012) asserts that during communication there are some features in the sentence itself that conventionally directs the language users to the context. Katz (1977) observes that there are different things a speaker can mean, even when using his words in a literal way. What one says in uttering the words can vary, so what determines what one says cannot be facts about the words alone but must also include non-linguistic matters. Therefore this study examined how context influences the interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics

Agler (2012) further states that knowing a language requires the non-linguistic capability to know how context influences the interpretation of utterances. Contextual information is anything that the hearer is to take into account to determine the speaker's communicative intention. Contextualists like Recanati (2004) assert that what a speaker means depends on the context. This is to say that the hearer can reasonably suppose the speaker to have intended him to take into account to determine what the speaker means. Pragmatic information concerns facts relevant to making sense of a speaker's utterance of a sentence or other expressions. The hearer thereby seeks to identify the speaker's intention in making the utterance. Since the intention is communicative, the hearer's task of identifying the speaker's intention is driven by the assumption that the speaker intends him to do this (contextual information aids the hearer's inferences only in so far as it can reasonably be taken into account). Yule (2010) explains that when interpreting an utterance, we must use word meaning in context and have some pre-existing knowledge of what would be the speaker's intended meaning.

From the fact that the speaker is uttering the sentence, the hearer assumes the sentence meaning is never part of what is being communicated. The communicative presumption as Bach and Harnish (1979) call it comes into play even if what the speaker means does not extend beyond or depart from the sentence meaning of the speaker's utterance. The speaker's utterance is never part of what a sentence encodes that it has to be used literally – the hearer must infer (even if by default) that it is being used literally. The utterance might contain the word literally, but that word can also be used non-literally. Grice (1989b) points out that the pragmatic study of verbal communication starts from the assumption that an important feature of most human communication both verbal and non-verbal is the expression and recognition of intentions. Bach

and Harnish (1979) affirm that a speaker succeeds in communicating if the hearer identifies his intention.

Pragmatic interpretation is an exercise in which the hearer infers the speaker's intended meaning from evidence the speaker has provided for this purpose. Therefore, pragmatics is concerned with features of language use, which Sperber and Wilson (1995) state that the features are mechanisms used by communicators to check if they have achieved the most relevant interpretation. Recanati (2004) highlights that what is said is always dependent on context, which this study sought to state through interpreting Dholuo panegyrics. However, the decoded linguistic meaning is the starting point for an inferential process that results in the attribution of meaning as Clark and Schober (1992) argue that word choices can bring a change, which can influence people's interpretation and reaction. Frege (1990) posits that sentence meaning is directly connected to the grammar: it has to do with situations that the sentence deals with, and comes from word meanings hence; utterance meaning is related to both grammar and context.

Schroeder (2005) and Liu (2006) note that context is important in the interpretation of utterances, thus meaning is context-dependent. Anyim (2010) analyzed meaning through context by investigating the role of context in understanding sense relations in Dholuo and the extent to which meaning is measured through lexical pragmatic processes. Owiti (2013) investigated how humour is created in Dholuo panegyrics for purposes of entertainment as well as satire, and observes that it is difficult to interpret messages in panegyrics without understanding their contexts. Omolo (2014) points out that context of an utterance helps to reveal the speaker's

intention. Hence this study contemplates the relationship between meaning and context to determine the role of context in the contextual interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics.

Furthermore, Agler (2012) suggests that knowing what a speaker means relies upon knowing certain features of a context, which makes communication a challenging activity.

Sperber and Wilson (2002) state that in order to decide what the speaker intended, the hearer may have to resolve indeterminacies such as reference assignment, disambiguation and implicatures to comprehend utterances. This study sought to explain how hearers resolve the indeterminacies contextually because much of what is communicated in social interactions is not explicitly said but inferred from the context as in examples (4) to (7) from Sperber and Wilson (2002:3-23):

4. They gave him life.

It is not easy for us to interpret this utterance because we do not know who the referential expressions 'they' and 'him' refer to. Utterance (4) is ambiguous since hearer has to disambiguate and assign references to make sense of the utterance.

5. The school is close to the hospital.

It is not easy to tell which school or hospital and how close the school is to the hospital as stated in the utterance (5). The utterance is ambiguous: the speaker of the utterance has not provided enough information to enable the hearer process the utterance without much effort. A hearer cannot tell which specific school or hospital the speaker is referring to in the utterance

In (4) and (5) listed, a hearer may assign appropriate interpretations to the vague expressions or approximations to appropriately understand both utterances. Many utterances also convey implicit meanings (implicatures) as in (6) and (7)

6. The party was as you would expect.

It is unclear from the utterance in (6), which is the specific expectation that the speaker is referring to 'as you would expect'. This may implicate that the party was either good or bad, which is vague and a hearer cannot easily tell which one in particular.

7. John is a soldier.

The construction in (7), may literally mean that John is a member of an army whereas metaphorically, John has some qualities of a soldier or ironically, John could be a coward in a different context. The utterance has many possible interpretations which make it difficult for a hearer to correctly construct the speaker's intended meaning.

Sperber and Wilson (1986) assert that pragmatic interpretation involves the resolution of such linguistic indeterminacies on the basis of contextual information. Furthermore, much of the information that humans retrieve in conversations are underspecified in the literal meaning of what is said. This is the reason why this study focuses on the implicit meaning since speakers do not explicitly state their intended meaning of the utterances. With regard to pragmatic interpretation, the hearer's task is to find the meaning the speaker intends to convey, and the goal of pragmatic theory is to explain how the gap between linguistic meaning and the speaker's intention of uttering a sentence is resolved. Sperber and Wilson (2002) admit there are

pragmaticists who argue that pragmatic interpretation is ultimately a non-demonstrative inference process which takes place at a risk because there is no guarantee that the meaning constructed even by a hearer correctly following the best possible procedure, is the one the speaker intended to convey. Carruthers and Smith (1996) observe that both hypothesis construction and hypothesis evaluation are rational processes geared to the recognition of speaker's intentions, carried out by a theory of mind module dedicated to the attribution of mental states on the basis of behaviour. Fodor (1983) argues that pragmatic interpretation is not simply a matter of applying mind-reading abilities to a particular communicative domain. It is therefore evident that verbal comprehension presents special challenges, and exhibits certain regularities. For example, in the domain of grammar; there comes a point at which pragmatic choices are made based on contextual information, which this study set out to explore.

Sperber and Wilson (1986a) identify reference resolution as a pragmatic process, where the hearer has to choose among a range of linguistically possible interpretations of a referential expression (for example, 'I', 'now', 'this', 'they') on the basis of contextual information. Lewis (1970) and Kaplan (1989) observe that one way of handling reference resolution is to set up contextual parameters for the speaker, hearer, time of utterance, place of utterance, and treat the interpretation of referential expressions such as, 'you', 'here' and 'now' as initially determined by reference to these. However, Predelli (1998) states that the code-like pragmatic rules proposed so far do not work well. For example, even if 'now' refers to the time of utterance, it is still left to the hearer to decide whether the speaker on a given occasion, meant *now this moment, this minute, this hour, day, week and year*. For other referential expressions (for example, 'he', 'they', 'this', 'that'), and for disambiguation and other aspects of explicit

communication illustrated in (4) to (7), it is hard to think of a code-like treatment at all. Gernsbacher (1995) identified the cognitive processes and mechanisms that underlie language comprehension, hence observes that miscomprehension arises when hearers have to deal with competing meanings of a word or phrase in context of occurrence.

This study sought to delineate how hearers use context to choose the most accessible interpretation from a range of contextually available interpretations. Theoretical accounts of pragmatic interpretation by scholars such as (Lewis, 1979; Sperber and Wilson, 1986, 1995; Origgi and Sperber, 2000) suggest that within the communicative domain, it is indeed rational for hearers to follow a path of least effort in constructing a hypothesis about the speaker's meaning, and that the pragmatic interpretation process is therefore inferential. Verbal communication involves a mixture of coding and inference. For Grice (1989), the crucial feature of pragmatic interpretation is its inferential nature. Sperber and Wilson (1986) argue that the key to communication lies in more basic facts about human cognitive, and that communication is understood in exactly the same way as co-operative communication. Sperber and Wilson (1986) reject Grice's (1989) co-operative principle but accept the inferential nature of communication and the importance of speaker intentions whereas; Wedgwood (2006) is concerned about the resolution of context sensitivity which arises from an interpretation point of view. Clark (1996) posits that some linguistic expressions do not have a literal meaning as they do not represent anything, which means that for proper understanding of language users of language have to capture the pragmatic meaning of utterances. This study therefore, set out to determine the role of contextual information in the retrieval of implicit information as data is indeed left underspecified when using language.

This was done by analyzing the relationships between linguistic forms and the users of those forms, referring to the speakers' intended meanings, their assumptions and their purposes, mainly focusing on the aspects of meaning that cannot be predicted by linguistic knowledge alone – taking into account the hearer's knowledge of context. However, there are instances of miscomprehension or cases of hearers making wrong inferences like in ambiguous and metaphorical utterances where there is need to explain how hearers resolve such indeterminacies using contextual knowledge.

2.1.4 Summary

This chapter has dealt with literature in order to identify the knowledge gaps the study hopes to fill. The chapter has provided an elaborate literature on interpretive mechanisms, how hearers make an interpretation of a speaker's meaning and the role of contextual information. From the foregoing review, it is evident that speaker meaning is the essence of communication but there are instances where hearers fail to interpret speaker's meaning as in the case of ambiguous and metaphorical constructions. Therefore, this contradiction forms the basis on which this study is founded. The next chapter focuses on the research methods that guided the study.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The chapter outlines research techniques employed in the collection and analysis of the data in this study. Specifically, the chapter provides a description of the research design, the study area, sample size, study population and sampling technique, methods of data collection, methods of data analysis used in this study and conclude by explaining how the collected data was presented and analyzed.

3.2 Research Design

The study adopted an analytical research design, which is effective for a qualitative study where techniques such as interviews and observations are involved. The analytical design involves knowledge of the target language by the researcher, but rather than accessing intuitions directly, the researcher bases generalizations upon an independently collected data (Milroy, 1987). The researcher determined and reported findings of the study the way they occurred in their social natural settings, by describing behavior, values and characteristics of the subjects without any influence. Analytical research design enabled the researcher to describe and explain why or how events (beer parties, church weddings and funeral ceremonies), behavior and utterances were happening with the aim of uncovering the underlying meaning of Dholuo panegyrics by analyzing Relevance comprehension procedures in their utterances to show how they arrive at contextual meaning.

3.3 The Study Area

The study was conducted in Nyang'oma Division within Bondo Sub-County, Siaya County in Kenya. The study targeted Dholuo speakers in Nyang'oma Division, which encompasses five sub-locations: Bar-Kowino, Migwena, Nyaguda, Uyawi and Nyang'oma. The Kenya Population and Housing Census – Kenya Bureau of Statistics Report (2010) provide that Nyang'oma Division has a total population of 238,780 Dholuo speakers. The main medium of communication in Nyang'oma Division is Dholuo. The study used South Nyanza dialect, which is used in education and broadcasting (Ojwang', 2007).

The area was found appropriate for the study because it is mainly inhabited by native speakers of Dholuo, and the researcher wanted to collect data from their natural settings away from a multicultural community, that is, naturally occurring expressions while communicating, and where the study participants would mainly speak Dholuo. Baker (2004) states that researchers study people in their own environment in order to understand things from their perspective (researchers seek to understand better the role of information in people's everyday lives).

3.4 Study Population

The target study population consisted of two hundred utterances of Dholuo panegyrics collected from natural settings of Luo social gatherings such as funerals, church weddings and beer parties. The number two hundred was the point of saturation reached: no other new Dholuo panegyrics were collected (Labaree, 2002). Indigenous adult Dholuo speakers of age thirty-five and above, who had knowledge and experience in Dholuo according to (Milroy, 1987) were purposively sampled from Nyang'oma Division in Bondo Sub-County, Kenya; the study population was

selected from various social functions that were randomly sampled in each sub-location. Data was collected from every function attended as shown in Table 2.

Table 2. Statistics of Social Functions Attended in the Study Area

| Sub-locations | Beer Parties | Funerals | Weddings | Total |
|----------------------|---------------------|-----------------|-----------------|--------------|
| Migwena | 1 | 4 | 2 | 7 |
| Bar k'Owino | 1 | 4 | 2 | 7 |
| Uyawi | 2 | 3 | 1 | 6 |
| Nyang'oma | None | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Nyaguda | 2 | 4 | 1 | 7 |
| Total | 6 | 19 | 9 | 34 |

Source: Field data (2014)

Table 2 shows that a total of thirty-four social functions from which two hundred Dholuo panegyrics were collected: six social functions of beer parties, nineteen social functions of funerals and nine social functions of wedding ceremonies.

3.5 Study Sample and Sampling Technique

This study used purposive sampling technique, in which the researcher used her own judgment to sample informants who had the relevant capability to supply qualitative data required by the study, hence allow in-depth interviews (Kothari, 2004). In a judgmental sample members who are selected are good prospects for accurate information (Kothari, 2007). Purposive sampling was used to identify local individuals who could directly provide information and help the researcher understand the study population and the cultural environment, that is, ten adults of age thirty-five and above.

The ten local informants from Nyang'oma Division were assigned numbers 1 to 10 so as to adhere to ethical concerns of the study (the informants were to remain anonymous throughout the study). The target of ten informants was expected by the researcher to provide sufficient data to enable justifiable conclusions. Moreover, Sankoff (1980) states that a linguistic behavior is more homogenous than other types of behavior studied in social surveys, hence this linguistic study did not need a large sample. On one hand, Norman and Yvonna (2000) propose that a maximum of ten informants can provide valuable data for a qualitative study. On the other hand, Patton (1990) points out that intensive investigation and identification with the informants cannot handle large numbers: the more deeply the study penetrates the fewer cases it can handle. Babbie (2010) asserts that large samples are unnecessary in qualitative studies. Basing our argument on these observations, ten informants were purposively sampled from Nyang'oma Division, and the researcher took them through the consent letter (Appendix III), which they later completed and returned the completed copies to the researcher.

The inclusion criteria of the informants were guided by the following factors: first, the adult informant of age thirty-five and above who spoke Dholuo as their main medium of communication (see Appendix I); the informant who could produce and comprehend Dholuo panegyrics and grammatical structures of Dholuo sentences as they are considered proficient compared to other members of the community and having traditional attitudes and values in language use to suit different occasions (Milroy, 1987). Second, the informant who had lived in the community for most of his lifetime and had been using the language as the main medium of communication (Milroy, 1987). Data was collected for three months, that is, from August to October in 2014 then was re-organized for better understanding and verified to come up with the

actual meanings of Dholuo panegyrics. This was done by questioning the informants (who were both female and male purposively selected from the live social functions attended in Nyang'oma Division) for interpretation and to confirm meanings of Dholuo panegyrics.

A total of two hundred utterances encompassing Dholuo panegyrics constituted a sampling frame out of which a study sample of forty panegyrics were selected and analyzed. The panegyric number two hundred marked the point of saturation: a point at which there were no other new panegyrics (Labaree, 2002). The utterances were each assigned a number (1 to 200) in form of a list by the researcher according to Kothari (2004). The panegyrics were taken from live social functions in Nyang'oma Division (funerals, weddings and beer parties). A systematic sampling procedure was used to obtain the actual study sample of forty Dholuo panegyrics which was representative; Sankoff (1980) observes that large samples tend to be redundant. A systematic sample is one in which every k th subject on a list is selected for inclusion in the sample (Kothari, 2004). The k th refers to the sampling interval hence the value of k is determined by dividing the population size by the sample size ($200/40=5$) The main principle of random sampling is that anyone within the sample frame has an equal chance of being selected by picking every k th individual numbered in the frame (Kothari, 2007). A number between 0 and 10 was randomly selected as a starting point. Beginning with the fourth panegyric, every fifth panegyric was selected throughout the population of two-hundred Dholuo panegyrics as follows: 4, 9, 14, 19, and 24...199.

3.6 Instruments of Data Collection

This section discusses the two methods that were used in data collection, notably non-participant observation and interviews.

3.6.1 Non-participant Observation

The researcher employed non-participant observation which according to Ogula (2005) is a method of obtaining information (see Appendix II) by viewing and taking notes; it can only be used to study the present, not the past or the future. Ostrower (1998) posits that non-participant observation is a qualitative research method for gathering primary data without interacting with its participants in a naturalistic setting in order to obtain a better understanding of the insiders' behavior. The researcher was present on the scenes but did not participate or interact with insiders to any extent since the researcher's role is only to listen and observe (Spradley, 1980). The researcher took an overt position in the settings and took notes, recorded what was observed and heard. The recording was done using a smartphone; Raento (2004) proposes that a smartphone is a research tool for social scientific research. The researcher directly observed participants' social behaviors and events in their natural contexts such as funerals, weddings and beer parties in which Dholuo panegyrics were prevalent (observing what was currently happening). Direct observation aims at examining and analyzing people's behavior without any influence.

The researcher observed participants' social behaviors, activities, events, and made careful objective notes about what was seen and heard from the participants in a field note book. Polit and Hungler (1987:271) assert that field notes are much broader, more analytic and more

interpretive. Notes from observation were directly written into the field note book using shorthand and acronyms to quickly note what was happening and being said. Notes were immediately expanded after collecting data and typed into a computer file. The data was collected from thirty-four social functions that comprised live performances manifesting the use of Dholuo panegyrics within the area of study, that is, three social activities from each sub-location (see Table 2 p.49). However, funerals were more common than other activities like weddings and beer parties. This therefore, means that most of the data used in this study was obtained from funerals.

3.6.2 Interview

The researcher undertook detailed interviews using interview schedule (see Appendix I). The interview schedule was used to interview the ten local informants who were purposively sampled from the social functions from which data was collected in Nyang'oma Division. Purposive sampling is a technique that requires the researcher to make the final decision in terms of who does and does not participate in the study (Ostrower, 1998). Oral interviews were carried out through open-ended questions with the informants in Dholuo (see Appendix I) straightaway after direct observations of events and people's behaviors: the researcher was able to interview ten informants. The interview was carried out much like a dialogue between informants and interviewer, who was the researcher, and there was no ordering of topics since the respondents were free to answer in their own words. This was to enable respondents give their experiences, opinions and feelings in their own way. Siedman (2006) states that open ended questions are used in interviews and researchers employ follow up questions based on the responses offered by the interviewee designed to discover more details about the respondent's experience. With the

permission of the interviewees, recording was used as a back-up to help capture every bit of the utterances as Spradley (1980) observes that it is difficult to write down everything. Each informant was interviewed by the researcher once with every session lasting for at least an hour of which the informants were aware and comprising at least four panegyrics. A time and place was agreed upon prior to conducting the interviews. Baker (2004) observes that a researcher should approach participants in their environments rather than having them coming. The researcher focused on those interactions that were relevant, and any expression without the use of Dholuo panegyrics was ignored.

3.6.3 Validity and Reliability

The research instruments were pretested prior to the research (Baker, 1994). The pilot study was carried out in December, 2013 at Manyatta Estate in Kisumu County to see if the proposed study instruments and techniques performed as anticipated. The pilot study was carried out to determine reliability. The researcher collected data on Dholuo panegyrics guided by her intuition since she is a native speaker of Dholuo and purposively selected four respondents for the pilot study. Ostrower (1998) states that purposive sampling is appropriate for pilot studies where the researcher is trying to determine whether a problem is viable on a larger population. The respondents were two males: a *boda bodaman* (a motor cyclist) and a carpenter; and two female respondents: a teacher and a vegetable vendor who were native speakers of Dholuo to be interviewed (using a tentative interview schedule) on how hearers of Dholuo panegyrics contextually interpret the speakers' intended meaning of the panegyrics; the researcher carried out a personal interview. The respondents were native Dholuo speakers of age 35 and were not part of the study sample, and this was done to determine validity, which is the extent to which a

test measures what it is supposed to measure (Kombo and Tromp, 2006), hence genuine results.

The respondent's responses in the pilot study helped to shape the questions in this study.

The pilot study was useful for determining reliability - testing methodological and analytical tools that gave the researcher a general picture of the thesis. The researcher collected data objectively and finally drew conclusions which were applied to the target population under study. The study pointed out the need for an observation schedule to enable the researcher observe behavior of participants and what is currently happening.

3.7 Data Analysis

The data was analyzed qualitatively: qualitative findings were reported by describing social behaviours of respondents, events and contexts of utterances, explaining how actual meanings of Dholuo panegyrics were derived. Field notes from both observations and interviews were expanded immediately after collecting data before the researcher's memory of the details could fade. Where field notes were not perfect the researcher listened to the recorded data in order to pick words that could be joined to produce intelligible meanings without distorting the original meaning which was meant by the speaker. The findings from interviews and observations drawn from situations, interpersonal interactions and environment in which these events occurred were analyzed qualitatively and discussed to verify meanings of Dholuo panegyrics. The researcher organized the data by undertaking content analysis of the data by reading to ensure that data are correctly categorized into themes and sub-themes, to examine and merge the sub-themes into main themes (panegyrics derived from animal names, panegyrics based on attractiveness and panegyrics expressing relationships) that would become the basis of analyzing the data; transcribing the panegyrics and interviews into English (the language of the study). This was to

enable readers who do not understand Dholuo get the exact meaning of the panegyrics. This means that the translation of the panegyrics into English was as close as possible to the original meaning of what was meant by the speaker. Where the researcher was not sure, she consulted proficient native speakers of Dholuo in Nyang'oma Division because the panegyrics were cultural-based. Competent members' guidance was sought through interviews and they helped in the interpretation, use and meaning of particular panegyrics uttered. Finally, the researcher identified and coded the data (descriptions of behavior, thoughts, utterances, contexts) so as to classify the responses considering the study objectives.

The researcher organized the responses under the main themes (panegyrics derived from animal names, panegyrics based on attractiveness, panegyrics expressing relationships) according to the metaphors they employ. By organizing the data the researcher was able to be acquainted with the data and identify errors to clearly understand and examine the data, which was organized by question (put the data from each question together) to look across all respondents and their answers in order to identify consistencies and differences).The researcher then interpreted the way in which meanings were produced in Dholuo panegyrics by attaching meaning and significance to the analysis. Attention was given to the categories and word choices or phrases used: verbal actions, events and contexts of occurrences.The panegyrics were categorized according to the figures of speech they employ based on the encyclopedic entries (subjected to Relevance Theory) of the metaphors that are in the mind of the hearer. The data was finally presented in form of prose.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

The study was directly concerned with human beings, which called for the researcher to seek a research permit from the Maseno University Ethics Review Board (Appendix IV). Prior to the commencement of the field research, the researcher ensured that the various chiefs in charge of Nyang'oma Division in Bondo were informed about the research and the proposed dates of data collection (August to October, 2014). Chiefs passed the information in their various sub-location meetings. The study participants took part voluntarily and were fully informed about the procedures involved in the research, after which the participants gave their consent in order to participate (see Appendix III), and allow the researcher to use a smartphone as well to record their utterances in the various venues. The researcher assured the participants that the information obtained would not be made available to anyone not directly involved in the study so as to get respondents' permission to use their words. This was mainly to avoid putting the informants at a risk, for example, psychological harm as a result of their participation. The informants were given numbers one to ten; hence they (the informants) remained anonymous throughout the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter is concerned with data presentation, analysis and discussion of the research findings. The chapter therefore presents summarized live performances comprising nineteen from funerals, nine from modern weddings and six from beer parties (Table 2 p.49). Each panegyric is first given in Dholuo then directly translated into English. The explanations that follow are in English with an attempt to remain as close as possible to the original and intended meaning. Additionally, in instances where direct translation is not possible, an explanation is provided from the researcher's insights as the analyst based on context and supplemented by field interviews. This chapter categorizes Dholuo panegyrics into five categories: panegyrics derived from animal names, panegyrics based on attractiveness, panegyrics for industriousness, panegyrics based on natural phenomena and panegyrics expressing relationships in a bid to answer the study questions and objectives, which are presented and discussed in this section in relation to how they are interpreted based on the tenets of Relevance Theory which involve cognition, communication, comprehension cognitive effects and processing effects in the interpretation of utterances.

4.1.1 Interpretive Mechanisms required for the Interpretation of Dholuo Panegyrics

This section handles objective one that seeks to identify mechanisms such as relevance, inference, reflexivity, appropriacy and context required for the interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics using animals, birds, social insects and qualities of human beings metaphorically.

Goatly (1997) says that metaphors as used in panegyrics highlight or predict different attributes of the phenomenon under investigation. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that metaphor is not only a matter of language but also a phenomenon of thought and action. This means that our conceptual system is basically metaphoric in nature. Metaphors go beyond the surface appearance of objects and human beings; they make a listener attend to some likeness between two or more objects (Davidson, 1978). Therefore, Nesi (1995) asserts that metaphors are common in most cultures and can evoke strong emotional responses. Familiar words take a new extended meaning when used as metaphors. Diegnan (2003) adds that through metaphors, people express a picture of reality, that is to say, attitudes conveyed by means of metaphors are conventional views attached to the cultural values held by a community. For instance, animal metaphors are used in panegyrics across languages to refer to human behavior just as K'o'veces (2002) states that human behavior is understood in terms of animal behavior. Sperber and Wilson (1986) as well as Goatly (2006) notes that a pig is used metaphorically to indicate human filthiness and greediness.

Gibbs (1999) and K'o'veces (2003) point out that the ways in which animal metaphors are used are influenced by cultural conventions (many aspects of animal metaphors are culture specific). Finnegan (2012) agrees with what Sperber and Wilson (1986) state that meaning assigned to a particular animal metaphor is culture and context dependent. Hence, the evaluation of one same animal metaphor may vary from one community to the other (Harris, 1985), which means that interpretation is not universal. Therefore, the Luo community is not an exception: animal metaphors express different qualities of human beings in different contexts. However, some metaphors connote negative meanings while some portray positive meanings associated with

desirable characteristics of people, for example, a lion and a bull are associated with positive human values like courage and strength (Rodriguez, 2009).

4.1.1.1 Panegyrics Derived from Wild Animal Names

This section presents data on the following wild animals: elephant, buffalo, lion, hyena and tortoise associated with strength, power, cowardice and determination respectively.

Ogunade (2004:183) observes that human life is incomplete without other creatures. The physical attributes and habits of animals form the basis of the metaphorical allusions made to a particular animal, for example, one's strength may be conveyed by referring to him as a lion, an elephant or a rhino. For instance, the Yoruba use an elephant to refer to might and prestige (Olateju, 2005), which is not different among the Luo who use the elephant to refer to masculinity because power or might is linked to men.

At a wedding ceremony comprising the young and the old in Nyang'oma Division, the groom's family welcomes both the groom and the bride with ululations '*sigalagala*' amid song '*wer*' and dance '*miel*' into the reception hall.

The groom's aunt praises the groom as:

8. *Onyona liech.*

'Onyona, the elephant'.

K'o'veces (2003) states that animal metaphors are used across languages in reference to human behavior as Nilsen (1994) observes that most metaphors used with men are usually based on the

size (big), and strength of the animal. Among the Zulu, a hero is referred to as a crocodile because of its power and bravery. Olateju (2005) also notes that among the Yoruba, an elephant is used to refer to might and prestige. Similarly, in Luo cultural context, the elephant is associated with masculinity. Respondent 7 aged 47 years old when interviewed, said that *liech* (an elephant) is a panegyric used culturally only to praise men among the Luo because an elephant represents power or strength, which is equated to men. The respondent commented: *liechen nying ma ipako gochuo mathuondi* (elephant is a name used to praise strong and powerful men).

This is so because men are associated with power and the Luo also believe that the men are physically stronger than women, who are seen as small domestic animals, for example, a cat and a dog (Nilsen, 1994). The decoded linguistic meaning is the starting point for an inferential process that results in the attribution of meaning (Grice, 1989b), that is, the semantic content of an utterance determines the literal meaning. Therefore, the decoded linguistic meaning of *liech* acts as the speaker's evidence which evokes the cultural knowledge of an elephant (*liech*) in the hearer's mind; among the Luo leaders were traditionally expected to lead their people in battle: a leader therefore is a person who takes the forefront in battle. This is in line with Ayayo's (1980) observation that language expresses cultural reality. The hearer connects the literal interpretation with the context of the utterance to guide him to make an appropriate inference (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995). The hearer therefore makes inference from the evidence, cultural knowledge and the circumstances in which the speaker makes the utterance. This is because an input is said to raise expectations of relevance (Wilson and Sperber, 2004) as in extract (8) *liech* raises optimal relevance which enables the hearer to process without unnecessary effort.

Nesi (1995) suggests that metaphors can evoke strong emotional responses, which means that familiar words take on new extended meanings when used as metaphors. The hearer explores the encyclopedic entries of the elephant (is rarely challenged, a domineering animal, strong and is the leader of other animals in the forest). To interpret the utterance, the hearer broadens the metaphor elephant to include the ad hoc concept ELEPHANT*, which gives the interpretation of the metaphor depending on the context of use as shown:

- a) Explicit content: Onyona is an elephant (*liech*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: Onyona is huge, powerful, strong and a warrior.
- c) Contextual implications: Onyona is a strong African man.

The speaker interpretively uses the utterance *liech* (an elephant) to express her thought of Onyona, who has displayed the qualities of an African man (strong and brave). The hearer derives the literal meaning from the semantic content of the utterance then he connects it with the background knowledge and socially enriches it to infer the intended meaning of the ad hoc concept *LIECH** in the context of occurrence.

A man from the neighbourhood, at a funeral in Bark' Owino mourns his friend praising him (the deceased) as:

9. *Jowi ja mwomo onindo.*

'The buffalo that makes wild attacks has died'.

Besides the elephant image as seen in extract (8), we have the buffalo (*jowi*), which according to a male informant 3 aged 65 years old, the Luo associate character traits of a buffalo (*jowi*) with death, because death is cruel (*kiny*) and attacks anybody just as buffalo (*jowi*) does. An elephant

is a brave animal (*jowi en le ma thuon*). Traditionally, among the Luo, the buffalo's skin was used to make shields which warriors used for defense during wars (Mboya, 1997). Therefore, the utterance in extract (9) might mean that the deceased was the shield of the community. In the same context, a rhino (*rao*) can also be used because it has the same qualities (daring) as the buffalo (*jowi*).

The speaker of the utterance carries a spear (*tong'*) and a shield (*okumba* made of buffalo's skin because the skin is tough) threatening to throw the spear in the air as he chants *jowi, jowi, jowi onindo...* moving in different directions looking for death (*tho*) in the deceased's home. Culturally, the speaker is believed that he is chasing away death so that death may not recur in that home. Ayayo (2000) asserts that when language is used in different contexts it is intertwined with culture in various ways. Nonetheless, a female informant 7 aged 47 years old says that apart from death being associated with buffalo (*jowi*), a person, especially a male is praised as *jowi* to mean tough, daring and fearless because culturally a man is expected to protect his family. Relevance Theorists, Wilson and Sperber (1981) state that the hearer's goal is to construct a hypothesis about the speaker's meaning which satisfies the expectations of relevance raised by the utterance.

The encyclopedic entries of buffalo (wild animal, has strong horns for defense, has a tough skin, has hooves, feeds on grass and is strong and daring), which is the shared content by both the speaker and a hearer, according to Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995), helps a hearer to easily construct the hypothesis. Moreover, Wilson and Sperber (2004) observe that utterances raise expectations of relevance in their hearers, which creates a presumption that the utterance is at

least relevant enough to be worth the hearer's processing effort. The hearer therefore, constructs hypotheses about the explicatures and implicatures of the speaker's utterance. The utterance is presumed to be optimally relevant by the hearer, expectation raised by recognition of the speaker's ostensive behaviour and acceptance of presumption it conveys. The panegyric in extract (9) achieves relevance when the hearer finds reasons as to why the speaker refers to the deceased as *jowi* in the circumstances, which is the most relevant to the hearer. The hearer enriches the logical form: wild, daring, unapproachable and dangerous, which provides easy access (fully comprehensible) to the contextual assumptions of the utterance to explain why the deceased is praised as *jowiby* deriving ad hoc concept *JOWI** as shown:

- a) Explicit content: The deceased, a buffalo that makes wild attacks, has died (*jowi ja mwomo onindo*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The deceased was strong, dangerous and protective.
- c) Contextual implications: The deceased was strong, uncowed and fearless hence was the protector of the people.

The hearer assumes that the utterance is optimally relevant to him, guided by his background knowledge of *jowi*, and assumes that the utterance will achieve relevance by answering why the deceased is called *jowi*. In this circumstance, the hearer uses the logical form of the utterance to derive contextual assumptions, which the hearer uses as the implicit premise in deriving the expected explanation of the speaker's behaviour provided that the utterance is interpreted on the explicit side.

At a beer party in Nyaguda, a man is praised as:

10. *Sibuorwuod gi nyiri*.

‘The lion a brother to girls’.

According to informant 3 during an interview, *sibuor* is used to refer to a person who has leadership qualities. Lion (*sibuor*) culturally symbolizes authority, power and strength because among the Luo, the lion is depicted as the king of the jungle. Hence, the lion as a metaphor is used to refer to leaders. Similarly, the Mandigo from Sierra Leone frequently used comparisons to various animals such as lion, rhino or elephant to express actions and qualities of a hero (Morris, 1964). Cattle and wild animals are commonly used among the Zulu and Swazi of South Africa, for instance, the lion and the crocodile represent a powerful, cruel, authoritative person and a killer (Finnegan, 2012). Brother to girls (*owad gi nyiri*) is also used in the utterance to inform the audience that the addressee has many sisters; culturally girls represented wealth among the Luo because when they (girls) got married, dowry in form of animals was brought so the more girls one had the wealthier he was. In the same way, among the Luo, the rhino (*omuga*), elephant (*liech*), hippo (*rao*) and buffalo (*jowi*) are some of the animals whose actions and qualities are used to describe strength, power and achievements of various people.

The Luo shield (*okumba*) was made of buffalo (*jowi*) skin because of the belief that the buffalo is strong (Mboya, 1997). Claire (1998) states that culture and language are inseparable since language are the main means by which we conduct our social lives. Therefore, going by Claire’s statement, considering power and strength, one’s sexual prowess can be praised using the utterance if the man praised is a polygamist since this is allowed by the Luo (said by a male informant 5 aged 49 years old).

Economic or political prominence can also make a person be referred to as *sibuor* because of his reputation among the people. In this context, the addressee is praised as *sibuor* because he is seen as a king since he is viewed as brave and powerful in the community.

In extract 10, the addressee is not literally a lion and a hearer explores her background knowledge of *sibuor* (feed on flesh of prey, wild animal, fierce, brave and powerful) instead of the hearer looking around for a lion (*sibuor*), because she assumes that the speaker is optimally relevant by considering the logical features of *sibuor* which do not fit in the context. This means that it is not what the speaker intends to convey. To interpret the utterance, the hearer broadens the metaphor lion to include the ad hoc concept *SIBUOR**, which gives the interpretation of the metaphor according to the context of occurrence. The hearer will select only the characteristics which are appropriate in the context of use as shown:

- a) Explicit content: The man praised is a lion (*sibuor*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The man addresses issues without fear.
- c) Contextual implications: The man is brave and powerful

The hearer is guided by the linguistically encoded word meaning of *sibuor* and using contextual assumptions made accessible by the encyclopedic entry of the linguistically encoded impression, she starts deriving cognitive effects, which she modifies to construct an ad hoc concept (*SIBUOR**) since the utterance is an interpretive expression of the speaker. When she has enough idea/thought of *SIBUOR** from the context of occurrence of the utterance to satisfy her expectations of relevance (by picking out the most relevant stimuli in the context of the utterance) she stops processing the utterance, which means she has produced the speaker's intended meaning (contextual implication).

At a beer party in Uyawu a man is described as:

11. Onyango *otoyo*. 'Onyango, the hyena'.

Morris (1964) states that characteristics of animals such as their actions, their lifestyle, the way they eat and the way they move are metaphorically used to describe a person if he has similar characteristics. For example, a filthy person is likened to a pig as in Islamic religion; pigs are considered unclean.

A brave person is represented by a lion and a monkey represents a mischievous person (as mischievous as a monkey). Similarly, among the Mandingo frequent praises are comparisons to an animal or series of animals, for instance, lion, elephant and rhino represent strength hence, they are used to convey actions and qualities of a hero (Morris, 1964). In Dholuo, a hyena (*otoyo*) as used in extract (11) is a wild animal and its cowardly (said by informant 6 aged 35 years old). A hearer will look for encyclopedic entries of *otoyo* (wild, fearful gluttonous, feeds on both fresh and rotten carcass) because the literal interpretation of the utterance is not true in the context of occurrence (the addressee is not a hyena). The hearer will look for implicatures (through inference) that would make the utterance relevant since the concept communicated by the word hyena (*otoyo*) is different from the lexical meaning of the word. The encyclopedic entries about hyenas (dangerous, wild, greedy and coward) will help the hearer understand the utterance following what Cohen (1970) and Ayayo (1980) assert that functions of culture comprise all aspects of life in any society. Therefore, the hearer infers the speaker's intended meaning from the evidence provided by the utterance and the context of use. The hearer may rule out some of the encyclopedic entries depending on the context, and Onyango (the addressee) will be said to be either gluttonous or cowardly.

Sperber and Wilson (1995) state that it is the encoded concept that is treated as a point of access to an ordered array of encyclopedic information from which a hearer is expected to select in constructing satisfactory overall interpretation. The hearer therefore, uses the logical form of the utterance to access contextual assumption that the addressee is an agitator, which is not in the encoded concept *otoyo*, but maybe a related concept *OTOYO** with a broader concept, which shares with encoded concept *otoyo*:

- a) Explicit content: Onyango is a hyena (*otoyo*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: Onyango runs away from challenges.
- c) Contextual implication: Onyango is a coward.

The hearer treats the linguistically encoded word meaning as an evidence (starting point) of the speaker's meaning in the situation in which the utterance occurs (Sperber and Wilson, 1995), and supplies it with the background knowledge she shares with the speaker to construct a new concept *OTOYO**, which is the speaker's intended meaning of the utterance.

At a wedding ceremony in Nyang'oma, the groom's aunt praises him as:

12. *Opuk jakinda, owad gi Owaga.*

'The tortoise is determined, brother to Owaga.'

The tortoise (*opuk*) is an animal that depicts the quality of determination. English simile states: as slow as a tortoise. A tortoise is slow in nature but the slow speed does not deter it from travelling long distances. Traditionally, many animals undermine the tortoise because of its speed, which makes it show a lot of effort in work and eventually challenges other fast animals (obtained from informant 7 aged 47 years old). The tortoise is slow but sure; meaning the

sluggishness eventually leads to accomplishment. Alembi (2002) observes that the Luo love entertainment (song and dance which involve praises) commonly in marriages. Hence at a wedding in extract (12), the groom's aunt introduces him as *owad gi* Owaga and continues to praise him (the groom) in her speech as *opuk jakinda* because the groom persistently went to her looking for a bride, he eventually succeeded in getting a girl to marry (she said that a determined person reaps as stated in this expression - 'jakinda *emakeyo*'). The speaker also provides genealogical information (*owadgi* Owaga), which may act as the speaker's evidence to guide a hearer towards achieving optimum relevance. The speaker's explanation that the groom persistently asked her for a girl to marry helps the hearer to find the reason why the groom is praised as a tortoise (*opuk*).

The hearer connects this information with the background knowledge of *opuk* (slow in movement and at times remains unnoticed) since an input in communicative principle, is said to raise expectations of relevance (Wilson and Sperber, 2004). He (the hearer) then provides the encyclopedic assumption to interpret the utterance, enriching the encoded sentence meaning and supply the contextual assumption to yield contextual implication *OPUK** as follows:

- a) Explicit content: The groom is a determined tortoise (*opuk jakinda*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The groom does not easily despair.
- c) Contextual implications: The groom was not in a hurry to marry. He was slow but finally succeeded in marrying (a slow person does not miss the mark).

The speaker uses *opuk* as a description of the groom's trait. It means that the word *opuk* is interpretively used by the speaker to indicate what she implies. Therefore, the hearer infers the speaker's meaning from the utterance provided by the speaker as stated by Sperber and Wilson

(1986) that communication is inferential. In addition to inference, Claire (1998) states that construction of meaning/interpretation of events is grounded in each person's experience and field of perceptions.

4.1.1.2 Domestic Animals used in Dholuo Panegyrics

This section presents data on domestic animals: namely a dog, cat, bull and goat. The animals portray lavish life, principled man, sexual prowess and unknown qualities correspondingly. Behavioural characteristics of domestic animals are known and their metaphors are formed based on the actions and habits of the animals, which are indirectly transferred to human beings. For instance, a cat is known for its friendly and curiosity (curiosity killed the cat in English); the sheep is known for gentility or at times for stupidity and the goat for stubbornness.

A man at a beer party in Uyawu praises himself as:

13. *Omondi guok ocha pesa.*

'Omondi, the dog who is least concerned money'.

The beer party was composed of adult men and women in one of the male participant's homesteads. Raymond (2005) confirms this by stating that beer drinking is a great traditional leisure among the Luo, and hardly any ceremony or important gathering goes without beer drinking. In extract (13), an animal is used to refer to a person in line with what Rodriguez (2009) observes that in the African setting, animals are used metaphorically to refer to human behavior positively or negatively. Ogone and Orwenjo (2008) posit that panegyrics being part of the folklore of the people, it is common to all. For instance, the Yoruba like other African communities, the sheep refers to gentility or crowd followers, and elephant refers to might and

prestige (Olateju, 2005). The Luo use the dog for hunting (*dwar*) and security (*rito*) because it is a faithful companion, though, culturally the dog (*guok*) symbolizes promiscuity, which is offensive. Olateju (2005) further states that understanding metaphoric utterances involves perception of attitudes, experiences or disposition of both the speaker and the hearer.

Therefore, *guok ocha pesa* as used in extract (13) is a panegyric used to praise both prosperous men and women who have finances and do not mind spending money lavishly because they have enough for their basic needs. This interpretation was obtained from informant 6 who has lived in Nyang'oma since 1980. She (informant 6) added that *ja pesa wang'e lando* (the one with a lot of money has a cheerful face) can also be used in place of the panegyric *guok ocha pesa*.

In the party, there was a singer who was specifically invited to entertain people. When a specific singer is invited to such occasions, participants are aware that the singer is to sing and dance on financial inducement (*fuwo jathum*), which Amuka (1992) notes that entertainment has become commercial. In the same way, among the Yoruba (Morris, 1964), on festive occasions singers and drum players welcome attendants with songs, chants or praises, and they are usually led by soloists. Morris (1964) continues to say that praise can be used to make money or profit; the Hausa soloist stirs people to excitement and the attendants in turn shower gifts on praise poets. Likewise, a Luo lady singer is stopped by the audience in the middle of the song in order to praise themselves and their friends on production of money (*fuwo jathum*).

In this context, human beings are aware of the value of money unlike the dog that has no regard for money. Moreover, culturally beer (*kong'o*) is mainly a drink for the elderly (*jodongo*), and when people are drinking that is the time a singer sings and all sing as they dance (Mboya,

1997). Finnegan (1970) asserts that *nyatiti* is often played during entertainment sessions in the Luo community. In the middle of song and dance, a man praises himself as Omondi *guok ocha pesa* because he attributes the character of the dog to himself; the speaker uses *guok* interpretively to praise himself.

The hearer of the utterance explores his knowledge of *guok*, to find reasons as to why the man refers to himself as a dog (*guok*) when he is not, by considering the logical features provided by encyclopedic entries: a dog is dangerous because of its bite, a dog provides security, is used for hunting, a domesticated animal. With this information, the hearer enriches the encoded sentence meaning (a). The hearer then starts to derive cognitive effects to meet her expectations of relevance as far as the context of the utterance is concerned to derive the speaker's intended meaning *GUOK** (c) as follows:

- a) Explicit content: Omondi is a dog who is unconcerned about money (*guok ocha pesa*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: Omondi is so wealthy that he is unconcerned about money issues.
- c) Contextual implications: Omondi spends lavishly.

The cognitive principle of relevance theorists, Wilson and Sperber (2004), state that an input is relevant to an individual when it connects with background information she has available to yield conclusions that matter to her. For this reason, the hearer uses the background knowledge of *guok* (a dog) to help her pick the most relevant input available at the time of the utterance. The hearer comes to this conclusion as an ad hoc concept (*GUOK**) because of the behavior of the speaker during the party (uncontrollably induces the singer), and does not mind buying beer (*kong'o*) for everybody present or gives money to the singer indiscriminately, whereas the rest of the participants are spending money sparingly. The person praised always gives and is ready

to give his last cent to mean that money is not a problem to him, which literally refers to somebody who is well-off.

At a funeral in Nyang'oma, a woman who had come to pay homage to the deceased mourns and utters:

14. *Awuoro tho ma onego Onyipaka ywayo tek.*

'I am in shock about the death of Onyi the cat, which is not easily pulled or pushed'.

K'o'veces (2003) states that human behavior is understood in terms of animal behavior hence, animal names are suitable means for describing undesirable habits and attributes. Amuka (1978) adds that panegyrics are derived from social activities; hence they are used for communication in social activities to express social affairs. K'o'veces (2003) and Amuka (1978) agree with Goatly's (2006) statement that cowards are represented as chickens and unpleasant women are represented as cows. Nesi (1995) claims that metaphors are common in most cultures, therefore, Dholuo is not an exception and that is why a cat (*paka*) is used in extract (14) to refer to Onyi; the word *paka* is a Swahili word for a cat borrowed by the Luo.

The Luo keep various pets like dogs and cats for security and hunting mice respectively; they have as a result learnt that the cat is an animal that does not easily move from its position when one pulls or pushes it whereby the act of pulling/pushing means that it is being forced to move. When the cat is pulled, it will always remain firm on the ground and may only move after much effort is applied to pull it. Similarly, there are people who have a similar character to the cat: they

are not easily compromised no matter what. The speaker may make the utterance happily to commend or sneeringly to satirize (Omolo, 2014).

A hearer has to consider the speaker's attitude towards the addressee to guide her to the speaker's meaning, that is, to achieve relevance (Trudgill, 1995). Similarly Masolo (2000) states that Dholuo panegyrics are aimed at provoking laughter for entertainment as well as to ridicule unbecoming behavior in the society thus creating satire. In a similar way, Olateju (2005) states that physical attributes and characteristic traits of animals can be used to satirize, rebuke or castigate a person whose conduct is condemnable. Hence, Amuka (1978) states that panegyrics form part of daily speech to anyone with a working knowledge of the language. The hearer therefore, explores his background knowledge of the cat by processing the logical features of the cat evidenced by the encyclopedic assumptions: a cat is a pet, does not die easily unless it is poisoned, and hunts rats, snakes, it is mischievous, and in English expression a cat has nine lives. The hearer then enriches the encoded sentence meaning and supplies the contextual assumptions as follows:

- a) Explicit content: Onyi was a cat that is not easy to pull (*paka ywayo tek*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: Onyi was not easily influenced.
- c) Contextual implications: Onyi was a principled man.

The hearer uses the linguistically encoded sentence meaning to guide her to the speaker's intended meaning via communicative principle of Relevance Theory. She uses the contextual assumptions that can be accessed through encyclopedic entry of the linguistically encoded concept, derives cognitive effects and when he has enough evidence from the context of

occurrence to satisfy his expectations of relevance, she comes to a conclusion (*PAKA**), which is the implied meaning of the speaker.

During a reception at a wedding in Nyang'oma in the presence of both the young and old participating in song and dance, a woman describes a male participant as:

15. Aila *rwath*

'Aila, the bull'.

Finnegan (2012) cites that panegyrics are frequently comparisons to animals and are conveyed metaphorically to praise one's life and experiences. Traditionally, among the Luo, bulls are viewed as strong animals because they are used to plough land, obtained from informant 5. A male informant 3 states that users of Dholuo panegyrics choose Dholuo terms for use in utterances depending on the context. This therefore means that words are used to achieve relevance in a particular context. Informant 3 also added that the metaphor *rwath* also has a sexualized connotation- the act of ploughing can also refer to the sexual act (the addressee is the bull that ploughs land, which is the woman). Finnegan (2012) suggest that panegyrics have underlying meanings due to the use of figurative language. The hearer of the panegyric in extract (15) will look for implicatures that would make the utterance relevant since the concept communicated by the word bull (*rwath*) is different from the lexical meaning of the word. The hearer tries to establish why the man is referred to as *rwath* when he is not actually one. She explores her knowledge of *rwath* which includes the logical features (strong, used for ploughing, pulls carts, has sexual powers, is domesticated and is a source of food) evidenced by encyclopedic assumptions. She interprets the utterance by enriching the encoded sentence

meaning and supplies the contextual assumptions to derive an ad hoc concept *RWATH** as illustrated:

- a) Explicit content: Aila is a bull (*rwath*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The addressee (Aila) is sexually powerful.
- c) Contextual implication: The speaker is aware of Aila's sexual competence.

This means that the man treats the encoded sentence meaning of *rwath* as evidence to the speaker's meaning. He interprets the utterance by broadening the metaphor *rwath* to include the ad hoc concept *RWATH** according to the context to achieve relevance. From the given encyclopedic entries, only a few can be used to fit the addressee. The hearer (with a working knowledge of the language) selects only characteristics which are appropriate in the context of use since metaphors in Relevance Theory are context-dependent.

At a funeral after the burial of a village elder (*magenga*) in Migwena, a man praises himself as:

16. *Diel bor ka orie*

'A goat that is fully stretched'.

The speaker was among the men related to the deceased, who gathered around a fire (*magenga*) to watch over the grave in the night. They were roasting a hen which was eaten there around the fire (according to the Luo culture). In the process of a heated argument over their qualities, a man referred to himself as *diel bor ka orie* to imply that the conversationalists were unaware of all the addressee's qualities/capabilities. Amuka (1978) observes that panegyrics are social tools used for communication in social activities to convey the feelings, perceptions, emotions, desires, norms and morals of a society. All these aspects are entailed in culture, which Claire

(1978); Ogone and Orwenjo (2008) assert that is intertwined with language. Although a goat is culturally known for its stubbornness, a hearer of extract (16) uses the linguistically encoded sentence meaning to guide him towards relevance, which is in line with what Sperber and Wilson (1995) state that verbal comprehension starts with the recovery of a linguistically encoded sentence meaning, which acts as evidence that guides the hearer towards relevance. The hearer therefore contextually enriches it in a variety of ways to yield a full-fledged speaker's meaning. Katz (1977) asserts that there are different things a speaker can mean, even when using her own words literally. Therefore, what determines a speaker's meaning cannot be facts about the words alone, but must include facts about the context of occurrence like, Amuka (1992) emphasizes that, meaning of panegyrics is deduced from the conversations in which they occur since they are often indirect references to the subjects.

The hearer uses the linguistically encoded sentence meaning, which acts as the speaker's evidence to guide him in deriving the speaker's meaning of *DIEL**. The hearer finds out why the speaker refers to himself as a goat (*dial*) by exploring the context of the utterance in order to provide appropriate contextual assumptions, which he must supply to derive the speaker's intended meaning as shown:

- a) Explicit content: The speaker is fully stretched (*dial bor ka orie*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The speaker is capable of doing many things.
- c) Contextual implications: The speaker has some abilities or qualities that are not known by many.

The speaker interpretively attributes the qualities of a goat that is stretched full length (*dial bor ka orie*) to himself, in line with what Sperber and Wilson (1986:232) suggest that every utterance

is an interpretive expression; any representation with propositional form can be used either descriptively or interpretively. In this case, the utterance is an exaggeration (interpretive resemblance), that is, both the speaker and the goat (*diel*) have a comparable quality that is referred to in the utterance.

4.1.1.3 Panegyrics Derived from Birds

Birds presented here are the eagle, kite and quail, which characterize predators, wise person and cherished person respectively.

MacArthur (2005) notes that bird metaphors represent small size, youth, domesticity and entertainment; they are used as an endearment: birds are symbols of love or show a state of being in love (lovebirds) in both English and Spanish. Goatly (1997) observes that birds are used metaphorically to highlight or predict different attributes of the phenomenon under investigation. K'o'vecse (2003) states that in the African culture, eagles are known for powerful eyesight because they can locate their prey from far. For example, a beaver represents a hard worker because it seems to be working all the time; they live in groups and are cooperative. Likewise, in English, there are similes as proud as a peacock, as wise as an owl (in Persian and English) and a dove symbolizes peace. Similarly, Swahili speakers use the eagle to represent intelligence (*mwerevu kama mwewe*). The vulture represents a person who exploits a situation, and chickens represent cowards. Odaga (2005) states that among the Luo, a dusty brown coloured bird, (*hundhwe*) represents a chatterer. This is evident in extracts 17 to 19 as shown:

At a funeral of a man in Nyang'oma, the deceased's daughter-in-law praises the deceased as:

17. *Fadheongo wang'e riek.*

'Father, the eagle with excellent eye-sight'.

The utterance, as used in extract (17), is the same as saying in English that the addressee is hawk-eyed implying intelligent or in Swahili (*mwerevukama mwewe*). The Luo use the utterance to praise both wise men and women whose wisdom is acknowledged by individuals or society: *manoipako go mon gi chuo ma wigi ler* (that is used to praise both men and women with clear minds and are full of wisdom) obtained from a male informant 2. Finnegan (1970) comments that knowledge of culture contributes to the understanding of panegyrics hence the eagle is culturally known for its ability to spot its prey from far because of its excellent sight. The eagle's eye sight is appreciated by using the utterance to represent an intelligent person. Like the eagle, a wise person makes good plans, advises people well and sees things beforehand. A woman praises her father in-law as *ongo wang'e riek* to suggest that the father in-law has always advised the daughter in-law.

A hearer of the utterance does not have to look around for the eagle but finds out why the woman refers to the father-in-law as an eagle (*ongo*). The hearer searches her background knowledge of an eagle (*ongo*) which includes the logical features such as a scavenger, spots its prey from far. The hearer enriches the linguistically encoded sentence meaning and supplies the contextual assumptions to derive the speaker's intended meaning *ONGO** as follows:

- a) Explicit content: The father-in-law was an eagle with excellent eye-sight (*ongo wang'e riek*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The father in-law was an advisor and a counselor.
- c) Contextual implications: The father in-law was valued for his wisdom.

The word *ongo* is interpretively used in the utterance to refer to the addressee, and it stirs the hearer's mind to begin processing the utterance because the speaker intentionally (as indicated in the communicative principle) uses the word to guide the hearer to her (speaker) expectations of

relevance. Sperber and Wilson (1995) assert that a speaker must have a good reason (which is the speaker's evidence) to suppose that what she says will be relevant to the hearer who is quite safe to assume that the speaker intended him to derive some of the implications that he (hearer) derives.

During a function after burial (*duogo e liel*) in Nyang'oma, people ate and drank, and as people were being served food, a woman shouted:

18. *An otenga miaha pile.*

'I am the kite that is always a distinguished guest in a homestead'.

Culturally, the Luo do not serve their guests vegetables (from a male informant 3 aged 47 years old). In case vegetables must be served, it has to be supplemented with something different such as meat, fish, chicken and eggs. If the visitor had to be served vegetables, then it must be *beakuoga* meaning vegetables that was cooked and reheated many times with milk butter or ghee added to it each time (Odaga, 2005:28). The kite only feeds on flesh, hence any person who only eats flesh is likened to the kite (*otenga*) or such a person can be termed as *jamiluma* (a person who has a craving for sweet and good food). Therefore, a bride (*miaha*) is treated as a guest for some time after which she hosts other guests. Culturally, the Luo believe that a bride (*miaha*) is a very important guest and should be given a pleasant welcome in her new home. From the utterance, the kite does not cease to be a guest, but is always a guest (*otenga miaha pile*) or, the speaker could say that a young one of a kite does not eat vegetables (*nyathi otenga ok chamalot*) to mean the same thing as *otenga miaha pile*. Masolo (2000) argues that the use of panegyrics is dictated by circumstances, and it is used to describe a trait which is a response to a given circumstance.

Claire (1998) posits that all actions of participants are attuned to the cultural norms and conventions of the group they belong to and to its attitudes and beliefs. Therefore, a hearer of the utterance uses the circumstances in which the utterance is made as the Luo culture provides that there is no gentility when it comes to food: *ger dendi to ikethnyingi* (treasure your body but abuse your dignity) and the background knowledge of the utterance to correctly interpret the utterance. Malinowsky (1971) and Bassnet (1991) agree with Claire pointing out that word and sentence meaning largely depend on the culture of the speech community. The hearer has to apply cultural knowledge in order to effectively interpret the utterance. In circumstances where a person does not like or eat vegetables, such a person is referred to as *otengamiaha pile* or when a person praises himself as *otenga miahapile*, he indirectly means that he does not eat vegetables so do not give him vegetables in case he is your guest. This is similar to Amuka's (1992) observation that panegyrics are mostly indirect references to subjects. The hearer then uses the background knowledge of the kite (*otenga*) and a bride (*miaha*) to explore his encyclopedic knowledge of the words, which he uses to enrich the explicit content and supplies contextual assumptions to derive the speaker's meaning *OTENGA** as shown:

- a) Explicit content: The addressee has traits similar to a kite that does not eat vegetables (*otenga miahapile*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The addressee as a guest who is not served vegetables.
- c) Contextual implications: The addressee does not want to be served anything to do with vegetables since he is a guest.

The encyclopedic knowledge shared by both the speaker and the hearer, guides the hearer to derive the speaker's meaning. The hearer does not look around for a kite but is guided by his expectations of optimal relevance, which makes the utterance fully comprehensible and enables

the hearer to process the utterance without unnecessary effort. Amuka (1978) states that a hearer is one with a working knowledge of the language which will certainly enable the hearer process the utterance. Sperber and Wilson (1995) state that an input is relevant when it is more relevant than any other input available at the time of processing. Therefore, the hearer processes the utterance and stops when he has achieved the most meaningful conclusion, which is more relevant than any other. The hearer uses the encyclopedic knowledge to connect with the contextual assumptions to arrive at the conclusion (contextual implication), which is deducible from both the input (utterance) and the context (Sperber and Wilson, 1995).

During a beer party in Nyang'oma, a man praises his female in-law (*yuoro*) as:

19. *Olundja aluru inang'o gi kuon.*

'The anus of a quail eater is licked with ugali'.

Mboya (1997) and Raymond (2005) note that beer drinking is a great traditional entertainment among the Luo, and during such occasions there is music, song and dance loaded with praises.

Informant 3 who praised himself as *koth wuon chiemo* 'rain the owner of food' when interviewed, explained that the utterance (*olund ja aluru inang'o gi kuon*) is used to refer to a person of significance (associated with power, achievements, character and physical appearance) that people wish to associate with in the society. He further explained that the quail (*aluru*) is a delicacy in the Luo community: *aluru en chiemo mamit ahinya* (the quail is a delicacy).

The quail is rare and expensive therefore, it should not be wasted. This is why the Luo feel that the anus of a quail eater should not be cleaned using any other thing but ugali. This implies that the quail (*aluru*) is a delicacy in the Luo culture that should not go to waste. *Ja aluru* (quail

man/woman) is used to refer to a person who keeps or sells quails as it is believed that a quail man/woman eats a lot of quails. Nilsen (1994) argues that the choice of animal name may shed light onto the expectations and beliefs a society holds about people. Similarly, Masolo (2000) adds that people's praise names are associated with power, character, achievements and physical appearance. The speaker of the utterance makes the utterance to indirectly indicate that the addressee is of great importance to him and he does not regret having her (addressee) around.

Finnegan (1970) observes that panegyrics are explicitly complimentary, and this is why the speaker in extract (19) uses the utterance to publicly commend the in-law and also to inform those present of how important the in-law is or how much he values the in-law. The utterance is not practical but is an exaggeration used to express how delicious the quail is, and due to the fact that it is enjoyable, one would want to do anything possible in order to eat the quail. The panegyric is figuratively used to describe somebody treasured or well-regarded all through. Sperber and Wilson (1986) assert that successful communication hinges on potential context that is mutually shared by the conversationalists. A hearer therefore, explores his background knowledge, which in this context is cultural knowledge, of quail (*aluru*) by processing the logical features of *aluru* evidenced by encyclopedic assumptions: quail (*aluru*) is a precious small bird and a delicacy; it is rare and not easily affordable. The hearer enriches the encoded sentence meaning and supplies the contextual assumptions to derive the speaker's intended meaning as follows:

a) Explicit content: The woman's value is compared to the quail (*olund ja aluru ma inang'o gi kuon*).

b) Contextual assumptions: The woman has remarkable attributes that many would be glad to have.

c) Contextual implication: The woman is highly cherished.

K'o'vecse (2003) points out that a speaker chooses a sentence by reasoning about the cultural knowledge that a hearer would form if they heard the utterance made. The hearer has to comprehend the utterance culturally and the circumstances of occurrence in order to derive the speaker's meaning of the utterance (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995). This endorses Amuka's (1978) assertion that panegyrics form part of daily speech to anyone with a working knowledge of the language. The woman in the utterance is appreciated for her attributes which are likened to *aluru* (the utterance is descriptively used to refer to the woman). The hearer considers the linguistically encoded meaning of *aluru* as an evidence that he uses to derive the speaker's meaning (*ALURU**) by enriching the explicit content and connect with the contextual assumptions to yield contextual implications.

4.1.1.4 Panegyrics for Industriousness

These are panegyrics used to express usefulness of both male and female individuals who are responsible and take the initiative to do things. For example, an individual who is a custodian of people's property or creator of wealth is commended because it is believed that wealthy people got their wealth from hard work and diligence. Moreover, a woman is praised for being industrious for holding the family together, for being honest, generous and faithful; however, they seem to be considered as being of less value compared to men (Rodriguez, 2009).

4.1.1.4.1 Social Insects

Gordon (1996) remarks that social insects such as bees, ants, termites and wasps display the highest level of organization, cooperation and division of labour, which people attribute to. For example, among the Luo, characteristics of termites and wasps are attributed to diligent and cruel people respectively. The social insects collaborate towards achieving a goal, for example, building an anthill (Gordon, 1996). Gordon adds that ants or bees exhibit a high degree of self organization, which is equivalent to problem solving capability attributed to human beings.

A man (a brother to the deceased) in Migwena praises the deceased (a woman) as:

20. *Owilamama jakinda ka biye.*

‘Owila my mother is as industrious as the termite’.

The termite is considered a hard worker. Despite its tiny size it is able to build a huge anthill. The panegyric in extract (20) in English is ‘as busy as a bee’ and in Kiswahili, *mwenye bidii kamamchwa*. Bees and termites are industrious social insects (Gordon, 1996). The termite is able to do this because it works with a lot of determination, which makes it succeed. It works tirelessly till it achieves what it wants (informant 2). Similarly, at a funeral of a woman; a man who came to pay homage to the deceased praises her as *jakinda ka biye*. The speaker uses the word *mama* (mother) figuratively to show the relationship between them (speaker and the addressee). The utterance therefore is a simile, which the speaker uses interpretively to describe the deceased as *biye* because the deceased possess attributes of the termite (*biye*). Hymes (1971) says that what underlies effective communication is native speaker’s extensive etiquette of language choice. What a speaker implies is not given directly (Amuka, 1992) hence the hearer

must infer it from the evidence, *biye*, provided and the context as indicated by Sperber and Wilson (1995), in their communicative principle. The hearer employs the mind in searching for the meaning in the given communication situation (Masolo, 2000) by thinking of possible reasons why the deceased is compared to *biye* (the termite). He (hearer) explores his background knowledge of *biye* because he considers the speaker to be optimally relevant (Wilson and Sperber 1986), which enables him to process the utterance and derive the ad hoc concept BIYE* without unnecessary effort:

a) Explicit content: Owila was as industrious as a termite (*jakinda kabiye*).

b) Contextual assumptions: Owila never stopped working hard in pursuit of something she wanted.

c) Contextual implications: Owila was ambitious and hard working.

The hearer uses interpretive resemblance to interpret the utterance by providing the encyclopedic assumption of the utterance, enriching the encoded sentence meaning and supplies the contextual assumption (b) to derive contextual implication BIYE* (c).

At a funeral in Bar k'Owino, the deceased's father in his tribute said that the deceased had stayed for long as a bachelor and people used to tease him (the deceased) as:

21. *Kich ma owuodho*.

'An overgrown bee'.

The father to the deceased is happy that his son (the deceased) has not died a bachelor (*musumba*). Although he is saddened by the son's death, he (the father) is happy because the son has left a family behind. Bees, like termites in panegyric number (20) are social insects that move, work and live in groups/colonies. Human beings keep the bees for honey which is used as

a source of food and medicine. The bees sting when provoked, specifically as a defense mechanism against their enemies. For this reason, bees are handled carefully since they can be dangerous and for their unforgiving nature, especially the mature ones.

The hostile nature of bees is used among the Luo to ridicule and castigate members of the community (Omolo, 2014) who have reached the age of marriage, but have not done so due to personal reasons. Marriage is a concern to the community because it is one of the Luo rites of passage that every member of the community is expected to observe. This perspective was obtained from male informant 4. Therefore, when an adult woman or man takes too long without getting married, the community gets concerned by referring to them as *kich ma owuodho* (aged and no longer useful) in any social gathering where they are present. This is done to provoke them to marry since they are aggrieved by the utterance. A man or woman, whose time for marriage has long passed, according to the expectations of the community, is always very hostile and this is why she is likened to the bee. Their time is long overdue because, maybe, their age mates are far much ahead in terms of marital life, for instance, the age mates have their families already.

Utterance (21) is offensive in the circumstances of the utterance. The bee (*kich*) in utterance (21) is loosely used to provide the hearer with a picture that evokes the hearer's senses that a bee is a cruel insect but worst when overgrown. The hearer uses the ordinary words of the utterance to interpret the meaning that would be contextually understood (Omolo, 2014) since *kich* as used in the utterance does not represent diligence. The hearer then infers the utterance as it acts as the speaker's evidence (Wilson and Sperber, 1995) because she considers the speaker to be

optimally relevant as Wilson and Sperber (1986:381) claim that a speaker tries to be as relevant as possible in the circumstances of the utterance. The hearer therefore, uses the linguistically encoded meaning to guide her to the speaker's meaning by finding reasons as to why the addressee was referred to as *kich ma owuodho*:

a) Explicit content: The deceased was an overgrown bee, meaning a senior bachelor (*kich ma owuodho*).

b) Contextual assumptions: The deceased remained single for long.

c) Contextual implications: The deceased married at an advanced age.

The hearer treats the encoded word meaning bee (*kich*) as an ostensive stimulus to the speaker's meaning. Guided by her expectations of relevance, and using contextual assumptions made accessible by the encyclopedic entry of the linguistically encoded concept (that overgrowing a stage may make one wild), she starts deriving cognitive effects and stops when she has derived a meaning that satisfies her expectations of relevance (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995). However, the conclusion does not contain the explicature (a) and contextual assumptions (b) but ad hoc concept *KICH**, which has undergone broadening warrants the derivation of the cognitive effects required to satisfy the hearer's expectations of relevance (Wilson and Sperber, 2002).

4.1.1.5 Panegyrics Based on Human Qualities

Qualities or achievements of human beings are mostly used to describe popular or famous people, and this enables some people to have permanent praise names whereas others have several praise names among the Luo. In this sub-section, various qualities (hard work, diligence, liveliness) of different people are used to praise the subjects. Actions and qualities of the subject may be conveyed metaphorically or literally.

At a funeral during a burial ceremony in Nyang'oma, a woman noticed a man who was very busy in the kitchen preparing food and at the same time he served as a messenger (*ja lwedo*) being sent to do this and that, and referred to him as:

22 *.Jakech ratego.*

‘A hungry person works hard in order to get something to eat’.

Infunerals within the Luo community, people are assigned various duties to ensure success of the burial ceremony and after the funeral a vote of thanks is said and in most cases any surplus food is left for the bereaved family and their guests. The Luo value food just as Oniang'o (2003) observes that food is fundamental to human survival. For instance, food is basic for averting hunger and maintaining health hence, makes people happy emotionally and socially contented. There is a Luo saying that states: one eats where she works (*kama itiyie ema ichiemee*). So, whoever wants to eat or gain must work hard. Therefore, the Luo like any other community, work in order to earn a living, and those who have nothing to eat (*jakech*) work harder (*ratego*). This means that *jakech* is ready to do any work available in order to have something to eat because hunger weakens the body and can result to death. Hunger (*kech*) therefore compels one to toil no matter how difficult or tedious the work may be.

During an interview, informant 9 aged 51 years old, emphasized that the Luo are concerned with the well-being of those around them: *jaluoohero ng'ama otho* (the Luo love the dead, more so, people who have come to pay tribute to the deceased): the Luo ensure that there is enough food to feed mourners regardless of the number of people to be fed. A hearer of the panegyric *jakech*

ratego explores his knowledge of the utterance which he assumes to be the speaker's evidence as Wilson and Carston (2007) point out that a hearer infers speaker's meaning from the evidence provided in the context of occurrence.

In the same context, the addressee could also be praised as a strong donkey (*punda ratego*); the addressee has attributes of a donkey (*punda*) as the donkey is known among the Luo as a beast of burden because it is mainly used to perform heavy tasks like ploughing, carrying heavy loads and works tirelessly (informant 10). The hearer then uses the background knowledge (Bassnet, 1991) to contextually enrich the explicit content to access contextual assumptions, made accessible by the encyclopedic entries of the linguistically encoded concept. She (the hearer) starts to derive cognitive effects without unnecessary effort because she believes the speaker is optimally relevant. She complements the contextual assumptions to yield the speaker's intended meaning (Sperber and Wilson, 1995) as shown:

- a) Explicit content: The man is a person who works hard to earn a living (*jakech ratego*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The man is too involved in activities, cooperative and responsible, determined and does not want failure.
- c) Contextual implications: The man is willing to do any work so long as he earns a living at the end.

Sperber and Wilson (1995) state that the contextual implication is the resulting overall conclusion which satisfies the speaker's expectation of relevance, which a hearer derives as a result of treating the linguistically encoded meaning as an evidence that triggers some events that guide him to the intended meaning, *JAKECH**. Trudgill (1995) confirms that attitude can determine choice of a lexical item over another. Hence, the speaker refers to the addressee as

jakech ratego because of the addressee's behaviour (doing odd jobs) but not that the addressee is a hungry man (*jakech*). The hearer therefore, infers the speaker's meaning on the basis of contextual use of the utterance (Omolo, 2014).

At a funeral of a prominent figure in Migwena, a brother to the deceased praises him (the deceased) as:

23. *Wuoyi ma randiga.*

'Odida, a gigantic man'.

A male informant 5 aged 65 years old, explained that gigantic (*randiga*) is used to describe both men and women who are good organizers, prudent and diligent. Such a person is a good planner who organizes things well in good time and whatever he spearheads does not fail hence, the person is considered wise and industrious. Therefore, the Luo community makes use of such people whenever there is a communal activity that needs to be attended to such as funeral arrangements, preparations for marriages or ceremonies in which they take charge (informant 5). By doing this, they become famous in the community.

The Luo believe from their experiences that a gigantic person (*randiga*) is tall and hefty (*ogangore*), which qualifies him to be strong and powerful (Odaga, 2005). A female informant 8 aged 48 years old stressed that *randiga* is used to describe prudent and diligent people regardless of their physique, and she gave examples of people in the community whose body structures disqualify them from being referred to as *randiga* (gigantic) yet they are described as prudent

and diligent because of their actions. Wilson and Carston (2007) claim that meaning of utterances are deduced from evidences provided by the utterance in their context of use.

A hearer therefore assumes that the speaker's utterance is the evidence that guides her to the intended meaning of the utterance; she (the hearer) explores her background knowledge of *randiga*, which acts as the speaker's evidence (Sperber and Wilson, 1995). The hearer uses the evidence in her mind to access the logical features of *randiga*: huge, strong and powerful, and she then uses the context (her understanding of the deceased, the relationship between the speaker and the deceased) to enrich the encoded sentence meaning and supply the contextual assumptions as shown:

- a) Explicit content: The deceased was tall and robust (*randiga*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The deceased was an organizer, diligent and did not want failure.
- c) Contextual implications: The deceased was known for being industrious.

The evidence provided by the speaker satisfies the hearer's expectation of relevance because it evokes positive effects or memories of certain experiences in her (hearer) mind. The positive effects enable the hearer to construct a hypothesis about the speaker's meaning which is closely related to linguistic decoding as Sperber and Wilson (2002) state that both hypothesis construction and hypothesis evaluation are processes geared to the recognition of speaker's intentions. The hearer therefore assumes that the speaker intended her to derive the implications that she (the hearer) does derive.

At a wedding ceremony in Bark' Owino at the reception, a bride's aunt gives a speech in which she praises the bride as:

24. *Nyar Kamenya ma ok menyne taya.*

'A daughter from Kamenya who does not need a lamp'.

Kamenya is a clan in Gem, Siaya County. It is significant in extract (24) because women from there (Kamenya) outshine those from other clans, according to informant 1, who described ladies from Kamenya as disciplined and determined (*joluorkendojokinda*).

Informant 1 added that among the women he has come across, the ones from Kamenya are comparable to none. A lamp (*taya*) lights up a house or homestead hence the addressee is likened to a lamp. *Taya* produces light (*ler*) where there is darkness and so is the addressee. Light (*ler*) as used in the utterance represents life, vigor and liveliness which is in line with Trudgill's (1995) statement that society's attitudes, values and world view may be reflected in its language.

However, literally the utterance means that the bride does not need light because she comes from a place where there is light and she is all bright. A hearer may not see that light or brightness and begins to wonder why, leading to the processing of the utterance. In this context the bride has qualities that are comparable to the light from a lamp; this means that the addressee is not in the real sense a lamp as used in the utterance. The speaker therefore attributes qualities of a lamp to the bride, which means that she (the speaker) metaphorically uses a lamp in reference to the bride. The hearer of the utterance will explore his background knowledge of *taya*, which acts as the speaker's evidence that is meant to guide the hearer towards achieving the intended meaning

of the utterance in the context of use (Wilson and Carston, 2007). The speaker uses the evidence cognitively to access the logical features of a lamp (*taya*): produces light for all in the vicinity, brightens an environment, is a basic necessity in every household and cannot be hidden. He then uses the context of use (Omolo, 2014) to enrich the encoded sentence meaning and supply the contextual assumption to derive the intended meaning of the utterance *TAYA** as shown:

- a) Explicit content: The bride is compared to lamp in a homestead (*taya ma ok menyne taya*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The bride lights up a homestead, she is sparkling, lively and active.
- c) Contextual implications: The bride is an ideal wife, welcoming, accommodating and home maker.

Claire (1998) states that construction of meaning is grounded in each person's experience and field of perception hence, both the speaker and the hearer share the encyclopedic knowledge of *taya* (lamp), which acts as the speaker's evidence which satisfies the hearer's expectation of relevance (Sperber and Wilson, 2002).

4.1.2 Interpretation of the Speaker's meaning of Dholuo Panegyrics

This section presents and discusses panegyrics based on attractiveness to explain how hearers make an interpretation of the speaker's meaning of Dholuo panegyrics in objective two of this study. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) state that some animal metaphors are formed based on physical appearance or feature of an animal; some for admiration while others are used because of their negative features to humiliate someone.

Rodriguez (2009) observes that animal metaphors used in reference to women offer a window on the role given to women in the society as women tend to be seen as inferior and subordinated to

men - compared to men, women are usually weaker. This is in line with what Nilsen (1994) says that the choice of the animal name may shed some light onto the expectations and beliefs society holds about males and females. For example, most metaphors used with men are usually based on size (big), strength and habitat of the animal (wilderness). Extracts 25 to 27 indicate how beauty is expressed among the Luo in various contexts. On the contrary, women are seen as small domestic animals, which might suggest that a woman's place should be confined to the domestic arena.

Furthermore, Eble (1996) explains that women are seen as pets that keep company hence used as an endearment term, for instance, a dog is known as a man's best friend because they are known for being noble and reliable but when the characteristic of a dog is applied to a woman or a man, it conveys negative connotations implying promiscuity. MacArthur (2005) suggests that there are metaphors representing women in the guise of chickens, bitches or vixens to demean women. He adds that metaphors may become means of transmitting and perpetuating certain norms for the benefit of a particular speech community. Nevertheless, the Luo do not only use animals to describe women, but also use certain words based on the physical appearance and traits of a woman in question such as slender (*rapudo*) and brown (*lando*); words are used based on the relationship between the conversationalists like my beauty (*oberana*) and my love (*jaherana*). Apart from use of words, objects are also used to refer to women, for instance, small tin lamp (*tach nyangile*). Beauty, among the Luo does not only refer to physical appearance but also character as in extracts 25 to 27.

4.1.2.1 Panegyrics Derived from Physical Appearance

This sub-section deals with panegyrics derived from physical appearance and traits of the subjects since among the Luo, beauty of human beings does not only refer to physical appearance but more or less as shown in extracts 25-27.

At a funeral ceremony after burial (*duogo e liel*) in Nyaguda comprising both young and old. It was a ceremony in which relatives and friends of the deceased converged to celebrate according to the Luo culture as Claire (1978) claims that language and culture are inseparable. People ate and drank beer (*kong'o*) which was prepared locally as it is in the Luo custom that no such occasions go without beer (Raymond, 2005). After the ceremony, the deceased's belongings, particularly, clothing is shared out among the relatives. There was also song and dance such as *dudu* (song and dance performed by women) accompanied with chants (*sigweya*) and ululations (*sigalagala*) to mark the climax of the performances (Alembi, 2002). As the people ate and celebrated, adults praised their wives and in-laws (*yuoche*) for purposes of entertainment as Morris (1964) observes that panegyrics stir people to excitement. Self praises (Alembi, 2002) are also created and performed by adult individuals in the ceremony. A man praised his female in-law as:

25. Nyangi *jaber ma chuongote wenge gi*.

‘Nyangi the beautiful one that men stare at’.

A female informant 10 asserts that it is the physical appearance of ladies that attract most men, and there are those ladies whose beauties outdo others (*ber neno*). As much as men get attracted to beautiful ladies, they stare at the most beautiful ones as beauty can be fixating: *nyiri moko beyomanyalo kawo pach ng'ato* (some ladies are so beautiful that one may unconsciously stare

at) obtained from a male informant 4 aged 38 years old. However, in this context there could be many outstanding ladies, and a hearer will want to know why the speaker only refers to Nyangi as beautiful (*jaber*) as there are other beautiful ladies present. A female informant 7 added that *jaber jahula* 'a beautiful one with bad traits' can be used in the same context sarcastically. Figuratively, a speaker in the same context could add *berni otoy*a (your beauty has struck me) to show how the speaker has been completely baffled by Nyangi's beauty (the addressee). The hearer will look at Nyangi to confirm the speaker's utterance, and if the utterance is not true he will look for other possible reasons: Nyangi is well behaved; a good dancer or the utterance is an endearment. The utterance could also be an exaggeration from the literal perspective because of the phrase *ngotewenge gi* (stare or look with popping eyes), where the hearer will look for a more general meaning of the utterance than the linguistically encoded meaning of the utterance (Wilson, 2003). Ironically, as Salvatore (2009) states, humour is created for purposes of entertainment as well as satire, the utterance could mean that the addressee is unpleasant, or the utterance was just meant to draw attention.

Since the goal of pragmatics is to explain how hearers infer the speaker's meaning from evidences provided by the utterance in their context of occurrence (Wilson and Carston, 2007), the hearer has to be guided by the speaker's evidence as it is stated in the communicative principle (Wilson and Sperber, 2004) that an ostensive stimulus creates a presumption of relevance. What makes an input worth picking from the mass of competing stimuli, according to cognitive principle of Wilson and Sperber (2004) is not just that it is relevant, but that it is more relevant than any other input available to the hearer at the time of the utterance.

a) Explicit content: Nyangi is so beautiful that men stare at (*jaber ma chuongote wenge gi*).

b) Contextual assumptions: Nyangi is a sight to behold, lovely and attractive.

c) Contextual implication: Nyangi's beauty is spell bounding hence, men ogle at her.

The hearer uses the evidence provided by the speaker, cognitively (the hearer interprets the utterance by reasoning about what would have most likely made the speaker choose the utterance) relates it with the background information she already has and connects with the circumstances in which the utterance occurs.

At a wedding ceremony (*nyasi mar arus*) in Nyang'oma as the bride and the groom march into a reception hall, a female related to the bride sings a song and praises the bride as:

26. *Jaber nyiri nyonomos, obera.*

'The most beautiful of all girls, is walking gracefully'.

Morris (1964) observes that panegyrics play a role in rites of passage, for instance, when one moves from one status to another, during initiation of boys among the Sotho and Galla. Weddings are also occasions where the bride and the groom are showered with praises by their friends, relatives or professional composers (Morris, 1964). The Luo community is not left out. Therefore, in extract (26) the bride is praised as the most beautiful of all girls (*jaber nyiri*); male informant 3 says that *jaber nyiri* literally means that there is none as beautiful as the bride whereas a female informant 10 says that the utterance is an endearment used to refer to any lady since they (ladies) are believed to be beautiful, and that is why men get attracted to them. Despite ladies being beautiful, some outdo others forcing some men to stare with their mouths agape at the most beautiful ones (male informant 4) as in panegyric (26). Swahili speakers talk of *mrembo* (beautiful) and *mrembo kama malaika* (as beautiful as an angel) to refer to the most beautiful

one. *Nyono mos* (walking gracefully) is used in the utterance to stress the bride's beauty because she is conscious of her manner of dressing or appearance hence, walks slowly. *Obera* is equivalent to *jaber* (beautiful) obtained from informant 4.

The speaker uses both *jaber* and *obera* to emphasize the addressee's beauty. A hearer is therefore, guided by the communicative principle of relevance (Wilson and Sperber, 1981), as the recovery of implicature. The hearer's goal is to construct a hypothesis about the speaker's meaning, which satisfies the expectation of relevance raised by the utterance (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995). The hearer assumes that the speaker's utterance is optimally relevant and begins processing it by constructing appropriate hypotheses about explicit content, contextual assumptions guided by the speaker's evidence to derive the intended contextual implications in the absence of opposing evidence as shown:

- a) Explicit content: The bride is the most beautiful girl (*jaber nyiri*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The bride's beauty outshines other girls.
- c) Contextual implications: The bride is a sight to behold.

The first assumption to occur to the hearer is activated by the evidence in the speaker's utterance as he tries to achieve relevance by answering why the speaker refers to the bride as *jaber nyiri* (the beautiful of all girls). The logical form of the utterance provides easy access to the contextual assumptions, which in the context of use, does not apply. Therefore the hearer combines the explicit premise and the implicit premise to arrive at the implicit conclusion (ad hoc concept *JABER NYIRI**) which satisfies the speaker's expectation of relevance. Nonetheless, the utterance is an exaggeration since often there are many beautiful girls attending such functions, and some may be more beautiful than the addressee. In this context, the speaker uses

broadening to derive the contextual assumptions by combining the explicit content with other appropriate premises to achieve relevance.

At a wedding ceremony in Nyang'oma, a woman related to the bride praises the bride as:

27. *Tiga ng'ute bor, rambanyanyathi Oyar.*

'The giraffe with a long neck, one with a gap between the two front teeth of upper jaw, child of Oyar.'

The speaker utters this as both men and women from the groom's family come to take the bride from her home for a wedding ceremony gracefully. There is also song and dance complemented with ululations (*sigalagala*) and praises (*pakruok*) from the bride's family who display the art of *nyadhi* 'ceremoniously with a lot of pride' as they present the bride. The panegyric in extract (27) follows Masolo's (2000) definition of Dholuo panegyrics as a display of self-virtue (*chamonyadhi*).

Culturally among the Luo, a long neck (*ng'ute bor*) is associated with beauty, and the giraffe represents beauty because of its beautiful skin. Similarly brown ladies (*lando*) and brown men (*silwal*) are connected to beauty and handsomeness respectively. However, *lando* and *silwal* may be used non-literally. Informant 2 states that Luo men admire ladies with long necks than ladies with shorter necks (*othung'/opong'*); they are culturally considered beautiful because the long necks are admirable especially when necklaces are worn around them (Mboya, 1997) hence, animal metaphors are used to praise women's beauty. Also informant 2 added that *ng'uteong'olo* 'the one whose neck has lines' is another panegyric equivalent to the panegyric in extracts (27).

The panegyric entails culture and is in line with what Ayayo (1980) recognizes that common attitudes and values are reflected in the way members of a speech community use language. A giraffe's long neck together with its beautiful skin brands it beautiful hence, among the Luo, the giraffe is compared to beautiful ladies. However, the utterance can be true or an exaggeration, yet, it is believed that brides are beautiful because grooms always pick on the ones who satisfy their description of a beautiful bride: *gima ber ber mana niwuongo* (a person will always love what is his or hers) obtained from a female informant 9.

It is the addressee's long neck that makes the speaker refer to her as a giraffe since a giraffe is beautiful. This acts as an ostensive stimulus (evidence) provided in the speaker's utterance. Therefore, a hearer uses the ostensive stimulus provided by the speaker to infer the speaker's meaning; by providing an ostensive stimulus, the speaker encourages the hearer to presume that it is relevant enough to be worth processing (Wilson and Sperber, 2004). The speaker provides another panegyric in the same utterance as the evidence, one with a gap between the two front teeth in the upper jaw (*rambanya*) to express the bride's beauty. Culturally, it is believed that the gap (*mbanya*) adds beauty to a female, and this makes a female with the gap (*mbanya*), be called the one with a gap (*rambanya*). In Kiswahili, *mwenye mwanya* (*rambanya*) is used to directly describe a person with a gap between the two front teeth in the upper jaw.

The hearer explores his background knowledge of the evidences provided (*tiga* and *rambanya*) which he (the hearer) connects with the linguistically encoded sentence meaning using contextual assumptions. He then uses contextual information (Amuka, 2000) to enrich the encoded sentence meaning until he reaches his expectations of relevance by picking out the most

relevant stimulus in the context of the utterance, which is the one that yields great cognitive effects with least processing effort (Sperber and Wilson, 1995) as shown:

- a) Explicit content: The bride is a giraffe with a long neck (*tiga ng'ute bor*) and with a gap between the two front teeth in the upper jaw (*rambanya*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The bride has a long neck and a gap between her teeth that make her more beautiful, lovable and admirable; she is commendable.
- c) Contextual implications: The bride is gorgeous.

The speaker has not directly given what she implies, and since hearers are interested in speaker's intended meaning, the hearer deduces what the speaker implicates by connecting the utterance and contextual information to find meaning that fits her expectation of relevance, which conforms to what Sperber and Wilson (1986) state that communication is more of basic facts about human cognition, and that communication involves cooperation of the conversationalists (Finnegan, 2011). This cooperation enables the hearer to instantly interpret the speaker's meaning of *TIGA** in the context of use.

4.1.3 Role of Contextual Information

This section discusses panegyrics expressing relationships: activities or behaviours and objects such as blanket, cooking pot, underwear, trousers, bicycle, leopard's skin and herbal medicine that are mainly connected to relationship but are metaphorically used to refer to people and their social behaviours in various contexts. This is to determine the role of contextual information in the interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics as concerns objective three of this study.

Kecskes and Zhang (2009) state that speakers and hearers are constrained by societal conditions but as individuals, they all have their goals, intentions or desire that are freely expressed and recognized in the flow of the interaction. Therefore, the metaphors to be discussed here express relationships that are not directly interpreted in the contexts of use.

4.1.3.1 Objects used in Dholuo Panegyrics

These are inanimate things that form praise names; some are expressed figuratively and some use obscure language as in extracts 28-36 to express relationships among various people.

At a funeral in Bar k'Owino, a father-in-law to the deceased eulogizes the daughter in-law sadly:

28. *Yawa nyar Ng'iyabarangetonindo.*

'This is unfortunate; a lady from Ng'iya, the blanket has passed on'.

One who does not discriminate against anybody, that is, accommodates everybody (interpretation according to a male informant 4 and a female informant 9). A blanket (*baranget*) is a covering used to keep people warm when sleeping at night. The blanket does not have the right or wrong side neither does it select who to cover and who not to cover; a blanket can cover many people at ago. The fact that a blanket does not have the right or the wrong side represents indiscrimination, said differently, it can accommodate anyone. Therefore, the blanket is used metaphorically to describe a person who is indiscriminative or accommodative because most people tend to choose who to love care for or help depending on their relationships. The person praised as *baranget* (blanket) is one who loves, cares and helps anybody she comes across, the deceased is therefore, likened to a blanket.

At a funeral of a renowned woman whose death grieved many, a father in-law in desperation (*yawa*) eulogizes the deceased as *baranget* is gone and people are left without a covering (*baranget*): people are left in the cold, which represents grief in the situation of use. The speaker also provides the origin of the addressee (*nyar Ng'iyā*). A hearer uses his background knowledge of *baranget*(covers one when sleeping, provides warmth, found in every house, protective and can be shared) to derive the explicit content of the utterance in the context of use. He (the hearer) then enriches the explicit content because the addressee is literally not a blanket by employing his background knowledge of blanket (*baranget*). The hearer then supplies the contextual assumptions to yield contextual implications, which is an ad hoc concept *BARANGET** as follows:

- a) Explicit content: *Nyar Ng'iyā* was a blanket (*baranget*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: *Nyar Ng'iyā* was loving and protective to many.
- c) Contextual implications: *Nyar Ng'iyā* had no boundaries in her relationship with people/was accommodating.

The hearer must understand the context of occurrence, that is, background knowledge, contextual knowledge and encyclopedic information which he cognitively connects with the utterance in order to achieve relevance in the expected way, that is, appropriate in the context of use. Mey (2001) points out that no communication can be understood properly unless it occurs within the environment in which it is meant to be understood. This enables the hearer to choose the most relevant interpretation of the utterance from other possible interpretations as stressed by Sperber and Wilson (2004) who observe that the hearer's goal is to find an interpretation of the speaker's meaning that satisfies the expectations of relevance.

At a funeral of an elder (*jaduong*) in Nyaguda, a woman praised herself as:

29. *Dhako agulu piere ochayo mach.*

‘A woman is a cooking pot whose bottom is accustomed to fire’.

The utterance in extract (29) means that a woman is like a pot that does not fear fire. She uttered this to her male in-law (*yuoro*) who was sympathizing with her because of the work she was doing: she (addressee) was busy preparing food as well as performing other duties in and outside the homestead, for instance, attending to mourners as they arrive. Informant 10 praised herself as *laro ok fwal* ‘a lawn that cannot be carried into a house,’ and said that users of Dholuo panegyrics check on the mood of performers in the different contexts of use. *Agulu* is a cooking pot, and in any cooking process fire (*mach*) is used, which directly heats the bottom part (*pier*) of the cooking pot (which shows the relationship between *agulu* and *mach*). Since the cooking takes place everyday, the bottom part is heated hence, it gets used to the heat. In a similar way, Luo women have their duties which they perform frequently (according to the expectations of the community). The women are aware of the duties which they perform without complaining and neither are they scared of the duties some of which are tedious, for example, the conjugal duties which they have to perform. Fire (*mach*) as used in the utterance represents tasks a woman performs. In a different context (marriage) *mach* would be used to denote the sexual act and *pier agulu* to signify a woman’s bottom. This would mean that women are so much used to the sexual acts (is a duty they must perform) that they do not complain (informant 10).

At a funeral in Nyaguda a woman praised herself as *dhako agulu piereochayo mach* when one of the men realized that she had worked a lot and asked her to stop working and have a break or

delegate some duties to other people. The speaker attributes the qualities of *agulu* to herself (that is interpretive resemblance) she does not directly mean that she is a cooking pot. The man (hearer) explores his knowledge of *agulu* to find a reason as to why the speaker praises herself as *agulu* yet she is not one, by processing the logical features of *agulu* evidenced by encyclopedic assumptions. The man (hearer) therefore, uses the sentence as an evidence to help him easily derive what the speaker intends to convey (Wilson and Sperber, 2004). The hearer then enriches the encoded sentence meaning using societal conditions, speaker's goals or intentions (Kecskes and Zhang, 2009), and supply contextual assumptions to derive an ad hoc concept *AGULU**, which is the speaker's intended meaning as shown:

a) Explicit content: The woman is a cooking pot that is accustomed to fire (*dhakoagulu piere ochayo mach*).

b) Contextual assumptions: The woman is strong and determined in her wifely chores.

c) Contextual implications: The woman is hardy, industrious and tolerant.

The hearer is guided by his expectations of relevance (Sperber and Wilson, 1995), and using contextual assumptions made accessible by the encyclopedic entries of the linguistically encoded concept, he starts deriving cognitive effects and stops processing the utterance when he has achieved his goal (the overall interpretation that is relevant in the expected way by the speaker). Sperber and Wilson (1995) explain that a hearer achieves relevance by following a path of least processing effort (that is an interpretation that does not engage the brain a lot).

At a beer party in Uyawi, a woman refers to a man named Ogola as:

30. *Sirwari moti ma ilonyo gi long' chuth.*

'An old underwear that is removed together with trousers'.

Luo men like other men put on underwears (*sirwari*) with their trousers. The trousers often look good and admirable hence, the pants are expected to be as presentable as the trousers since the outlook of the men's outfits is pleasant. A male informant 5 who speaks both Dholuo and Kiswahili and had lived in Nairobi for 15 years and since retirement in 1987 he has been living in Bar k'Owino. He (informant 5) praises himself as *Atis pamoja* 'Atis together', which has the same interpretation as the utterance in extract (30). Ironically, some underwears are unpleasant or do not match the owners of the good looking trousers. Such ugly or old underwears are shameful so in case the owners must remove their outfits, they remove the trousers together with the underwear's instead of removing them one at a time so that the awful underwears are not seen. The word *old (moti)* as used in the utterance is interpretively used to refer to something shameful. For example in cases of women, waist petticoats worn by women (*afuong'o*) are used instead of underwears (*sirwari*). For this reason, *sirwari moti* is used to describe a shameful person, that is, to mock as Omolo (2014) observes that panegyrics are not only used to praise but also to ridicule.

Informant 5 indicated that the utterance in extract (30) is often used to describe something that is shameful or nasty and should not be exposed; instead it should be avoided or done away with. In case one must have it, then it should not be exposed in public. When the utterance is used to describe somebody like in extract (30), then it indirectly refers to the person's character. For example, the people at the beer party are mainly adults but of different social classes whereby the host asks about the whereabouts of one of the men (Ogola) she expected to come and the

response she gets from one of the women around is, *sirwari motima ilonyo gi long' chuth* to indirectly inform the host not to bother about the man.

Literally, a hearer would look around for old underwear (*sirwarimoti*), and also wonder why one should remove his underwear together with the trousers instead of removing them one by one as is the case. The word old (*moti*) which is an interpretive resemblance of unpleasant and shameful helps the hearer find the reason why the addressee is referred to as old underwear. The utterance stirs the hearer's mental picture of *sirwari moti* which makes him explore his background knowledge and encyclopedic knowledge of *sirwari moti*. The hearer then enriches the explicit content using the contextual assumptions which he supplies to derive contextual implications *SIRWARI MOTI** as shown:

- a) Explicit content: Ogola is old/ugly underwear that is to be removed together with trousers (*sirwari moti ma ilonyo gi long' chuth*).
- b) Contextual assumption: Ogola is old and of no use, offensive and shameful.
- c) Contextual implications: Ogola's character is offensive, uncivilized and should be handled as an old and uglyunderpants (*sirwari moti*) that should not be exposed.

The hearer would also want to know why the speaker is telling the host to forget about one of the valued people. The second part of the utterance, *ilonyo gi long' chuth* which is done to avoid exposing *sirwari moti* leads to the answer (30c). The hearer uses the surrounding talk about Ogola and the situation of the talk to get to what the speaker intends to convey, which conforms to what Sperber and Wilson (2004) uphold that the contextual implications should be internally consistent in the sense that they are suitably justified by the context of occurrence, and Amuka (2000) also argues that panegyrics are full of symbolism and their meanings have to be derived

in relation to the context of the utterance. The speaker therefore, implies that such uncivilized and bad mannered person should not be allowed to mix or stay with people because he is likely to cause embarrassment.

During a celebration after the burial of a man in Nyang'oma, a woman referred to John the in-law of the deceased's widow as:

31. *Long' lilo.*

'Just but a trouser'.

This happens as John expresses his interest to inherit the widow: *yuora kik idew antie* (my in-law do not worry I am here) and when the speaker, who is the widow's close friend realizes, she indirectly informs the widow by the utterance not to accept John or John's request. A female informant 7 whose praise name is *apuoyo tin to goyo rude* (a rabbit is small in size but gives birth to twins) explained that the utterance in extract (31) is used to refer to a man who lacks sexual prowess. She (informant 7) continues to explain that trousers (*long*) is used as a covering that Luo men use to cover their nakedness (specifically sexual organs), and *lilo* means without. Trousers (*long'*) are often associated with men and that is the reason why the utterance is mostly used to refer to men as it is believed that the trousers cover their private part. Therefore, when one is referred to as *long' lilo* it literally means that the man has nothing beneath his trousers, that is, the man has no sexual organs to cover or it figuratively means the man lacks sexual prowess or is impotent. In the same manner, the phrase *long' lilo* can also mean that the trousers worn by the addressee is ironically covering nothing, this implies that the man is sexually ineffective.

Among the Luo, men are considered as leaders of their families and homes (biblically – Ephesians 5:23 –men are the heads of their homes or families) by working hard to have wealth in form of animals, land, food and children so as to be able to provide for their families. This is also used as one of the qualities for leadership in the community (Mboya, 1997). However, there are men who do not want to work hard (they are irresponsible) and as a result they have nothing to assist their families with: they become a burden, and such men are said to be *long' lilo*. In literal sense, the utterance may be used to describe impotent men. Ironically, the utterance may be used interpretively to describe monogamous men who are perceived as being sexually inactive unlike their polygamous counterparts. The latter group can sexually serve more than one woman. In Luo cultural context, a polygamous man is praised because of his sexual prowess.

Therefore, this is a clear evidence of their sexual prowess, which is indirectly stated in the utterance and it also stresses that the addressee is incompetent and worthless in the context of the utterance. A hearer considers the speaker to be relevant and quickly explores her background knowledge of *long' lilo*: without a covering or naked, without the reproductive organs, which she assumes to be the evidence provided by the speaker. She then tries to find an answer to why the man is referred to as *long' lilo* yet he has trousers on. The hearer enriches the explicit content and supplies the contextual assumptions to yield the speaker's intended meaning *LONG' LILO** as:

- a) Explicit content: John is just but trousers (*long' lilo*).
- b) Contextual assumption: John is weak, tired, lacks sexual prowess.
- c) Contextual implication: John does not qualify as wife inheritor (*jater*) because he cannot sexually satisfy a woman.

The talk and the context of the conversation guides the hearer towards relevance or else, the hearer may not easily derive the speaker's meaning since the utterance is likely to have several interpretations, for instance, the addressee could be lacking the expertise, he could be unwilling or he does not do good work. K'o'veces (2008) underscores that words or expressions encode prior experience of the individual with these linguistic elements in social situations.

At a beer party in Bar k'Owino, in the middle of song and dance a man came across his female in-law whom he had not seen for some time and he wondered why the in-law was so lost (*yuora ilal manade*). The woman responded:

32. *Ibende ilalna yuora, to ikiya ni dhako ndiga.*

'You are also lost my in-law but do you not know that a woman is a bicycle'.

Cyclists keep their bicycles safely such that nobody can ride without their consent. Culturally, among the Luo women are compared to bicycles to imply that a woman needs care and protection (Owiti, 2013). If one does not take care of his woman/wife (satisfy her sexual desires), another man can take; the act of not keeping a bicycle well represents sexual irresponsibility, which is attributed to men who do not take good care of their wives (obtained from informant 1 aged 45 years old). Therefore, in the context of the utterance, the concept communicated goes beyond the literal meaning of the utterance because the addressee is not literally a bicycle. Informant 8 during the interview said that a woman does not go anywhere and miss to be seduced (*dhako ok dhi wuoth ma ok oser*) is almost similar to the panegyric used in extract (32). She (informant 8) added that the panegyrics are used to warn men who are married to take good care of their wives: *dhako nyaka rit maber, nono to ng'ato orito ni go* (a woman must be well taken care of or else someone will take care of her for you). Searle (1979) states that literal

sentence meaning depends on certain background assumptions, which in this context a hearer will use to enrich the contextual assumptions in order to derive the speaker's intended meaning.

Gibbs (1990) states that in a communicative environment, a speaker chooses an utterance by reasoning about the beliefs a listener would form if she interpreted the utterance according to its semantic content. A hearer in turn interprets the utterance by reasoning about which intended meaning would have made the speaker most likely to choose the utterance. Since a hearer's task is to find the meaning the speaker intends to convey (Sperber and Wilson, 1986), he will look for encyclopedic entries of the utterance (easy to maintain, it is metallic and economical, needs care and maintenance) in search of relevance. The hearer does this by taking the linguistically encoded sentence meaning to access the contextual information which satisfies his expectations of relevance as stated by Wilson (2008) that any interpretation should satisfy the hearer's expectation of relevance, and enriches the explicit level and complements it at the implicit level until the resulting interpretation meets his expectation of relevance as shown:

- a) Explicit content: The addressee is a bicycle (*dhako ndiga*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The addressee needs care and maintenance.
- c) Contextual implications: The addressee is being eyed by others and therefore the owner should take care and maintain her.

Bicycle as used in extract (32) is metaphorically used, and it encodes the concept BICYCLE*. The hearer's encyclopedic knowledge of bicycle includes information that a bicycle is a means of transport, can be stolen if not kept safely and not all can afford it, is easy to maintain and is economical. For the correct interpretation, the hearer uses semantic broadening to derive the concept BICYCLE* with its associated encyclopedic knowledge as a starting point for

constructing a hypothesis about the concept the speaker intends to express and the implications the speaker intended to convey (that a woman is like a bicycle hence, should be well taken care of or else can be taken away by somebody else). This means that the concept communicated goes beyond the literal meaning of the utterance (Amuka, 2000). Owiti (2014) corresponds to Amuka (2000) that it is difficult to interpret utterances without understanding the context in which they are used.

At a funeral of a chief (*ogaye*) in Bar k'Owino, a female mourner aged 52 years old related to the deceased wept to express pain and agony praising him (the deceased) as:

33. *Yuoro law kwach*.

'An in-law is a leopard's skin.

A leopard's skin (*law kwach*) as used in utterance (33) was used in the past by the Luo to make garments (Mboya, 1997) because of its beauty, that is, the spotted skin. The garments (*abola/pien*) were loosely tied across the shoulder worn by only respected people like a village chief (Mboya, 1997), and the panegyric has been in use to date. According to a female informant 9 from Nyang'oma, she affirmed that she feels good when praised just as any other Luo because both men and women love to be praised publicly, more so, for recognition. *Yuoro*, a brother to one's husband or a sister to one's wife (*semeji* borrowed from Kiswahili word, *shemeji*, for an in-law). In Luo community, a brother to one's husband is somebody of great value, for example, when one's husband dies, traditionally, it is the brother in-law (*yuoro*) that takes up the responsibilities of the deceased (obtained from informant 5 from Bar k'Owino). This also applies when one's wife dies whereby it is an unmarried sister to the deceased that is expected to take up

her sister's marital responsibilities. He (informant 5) indicates that the panegyric is used as an endearing remark though, not all in-laws (*yuoché*) are willing or qualify to take up the deceased's responsibilities. Therefore, in-laws were and are still valued and respected; no one wishes to offend them in any way. Informant 5 also added that in the same context when a speaker changes the tone of the word *kwach*, then the utterance *law kwach* in (33) would mean that an in-law is a borrowed garment hence, should be handled with care, one can only have for a short time because the owner may need it any time, that is, without notice. Hence borrowed items are not dependable.

The speaker in the context of the utterance uses the word *yaye* to express desperation and provides *law kwach* as evidence that Sperber Wilson (1995) refer to as an ostensive stimulus that creates precise and predictable expectations of relevance not raised by any other stimuli. A hearer of the utterance therefore, only pays attention to the stimulus that seems relevant enough in the context of occurrence because the speaker encourages her hearer to presume that the utterance is relevant enough to be worth processing, by providing evidence. The hearer explores his background knowledge of *law kwach*, invoked by the speaker's evidence and relates them to derive enough true contextual implications which satisfy relevance (Sperber and Wilson, 1995). The utterance does not apply to the addressee in the context of use therefore, the hearer enriches both the explicit content and contextual assumptions through narrowing and broadening to derive ad hoc concept *LAW KWACH** to arrive at the intended meaning of the utterance as illustrated:

- a) Explicit content: An in-law is a leopard's skin (*yuoro law kwach*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The speaker valued the deceased; the deceased was a darling to the speaker, who she depended on.

c) Contextual implications: The speaker and the deceased were in a close relationship.

The speaker of the utterance uses interpretive resemblance to attribute properties of leopard's skin (*law kwach*) to the in-law (*yuoro*). The speaker therefore implies that she cherished the deceased.

At a beer party in Migwena, comprising both adult males and females participating in beer party songs (*wend kong'o*) and dance (*miel*) in one of the homesteads. They praised themselves and one another, for example, a woman praised one of the men as:

34. *Manyasi nyiri.*

'Herbal medicine for ladies'.

The men present laughed loudly, while some women ululated (*sigalagala*) in agreement. Gibbs (2005) notes that beer drinking is a great traditional pastime among the Luo whereby only adults are allowed to participate whereas children can only watch from a distance.

Traditionally, *manyasi* is herbal medicine used by the Luo community for cleansing after a person breaks traditional practices of the community (taboos commonly related to marital matters) which results to *chira*, a condition in which one grows thin and usually dies, or could cause instant death (Odaga, 2005:68). *Nyiri* (girls/ladies) is generally used in reference to a female. A male informant 1, who had lived in Nyaguda since birth, said that the herbal medicine (*manyasi*) is used for cleansing (*hosu*) by a medicine-man or cleanser (*jahoso*), who for instance, sprinkles charm to cure or revive. The respondent added that Dholuo panegyrics are mainly used for praise (Amuka, 1992), recognition and for motivation. Wilson and Sperber (2004) correspond to Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995) that a speaker intentionally uses language to enable a hearer

to easily derive positive cognitive effects; ostensive stimulus is the most relevant one, which is yielding the greatest effects for the smallest processing effort that the hearer is willing and able to produce. The speaker's reflexivity/evidence therefore, activates the hearer's background knowledge of *manyasi*, to find out why the addressee is referred to as *manyasi*, which metaphorically refers to the man. The utterance (the man is herbal medicine to ladies) has sexual connotations (Owiti, 2013). The hearer believes that the speaker's utterance is appropriate in the context of use and begins processing the utterance as shown:

- a) Explicit content: The man is herbal medicine to ladies (*manyasi nyiri*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The man satisfies girls' needs, revives/heals ladies.
- c) Contextual implications: The man is sexually endowed.

The hearer explores his knowledge of *manyasi* and finds that the explicature (a) is literal hence, does not apply to the addressee because his knowledge of *manyasi* does not include the assumption (b). The hearer then explores his contextual information (Amuka, 2000) which he relates to his background knowledge for ad hoc concept *MANYASI**, the contextual implication (c), which is the intended meaning of the utterance.

At a beer party in Nyaguda a woman praises herself as:

35. *Nyach maomwomo sindende.*

'Sexually transmitted infections that injections cannot contain'.

The utterance was uttered by a woman when a man tried to embrace her in his arms to express his intention of having a love relationship with her. A female informant 9, praised herself as *aukayamo* 'wind that brings rainfall and very destructive', said that the utterance in extract (35) is usually used to refer to both male and female who prove to be difficult. Therefore, *sindende* as

used in the utterance indirectly refers to either a man or a woman depending on who the addressee is. However, *nyach* is a general term for STIs except HIV/AIDS (*ayaki*). From time immemorial, Luos are aware of STIs (*nyach*), which were at first managed using traditional herbs (Mboya, 1997) before the introduction of injections (*sindende*). Informant 9 added to the interpretation of extract (35) that some of the STIs did not respond to injections: they kept recurring and were considered contagious, shameful and dangerous hence, infected people were shunned by relatives and friends. This meant that contact with someone affected with such diseases that were considered shameful was a trespass and as worse as violation of a taboo (Sontag, 1978). Again, in line with diseases, Sontag (1978) observes that diseases are wrapped in metaphors: any disease that is treated as a mystery is extremely feared and is felt to be contagious. In this context the phrase *omwomo sindende* as used in the utterance is a representation of a difficult person, a condition or situation that is unmanageable, and the person or condition is likened to *nyach*, which according to the Luo community is shameful. Therefore, the utterance is used non-literally because modern medicine is able to treat STIs, but it is used metaphorically to denounce or mock a person.

A hearer of the utterance will be attracted to the word *nyach* (which is the evidence provided by the speaker's reflexivity) since *nyach* is very sensitive, and will ask herself why the terminology. She then explores her knowledge of *nyach* since she believes that the utterance is relevant and worth processing, which Sperber and Wilson (1995) claim that utterances are evidences which guide the hearer towards the speaker's meaning. The hearer processes logical features of *nyach* (shameful, kills if untreated, sexually transmitted, a sign of immorality) evidenced by the encyclopedic assumptions and enriches the encoded meaning of the utterance as shown:

- a) Explicit content: The addressee is sexually transmitted disease that cannot be medically controlled via injections (*nyachma omwomo sidende*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The addressee is shameless, headstrong and difficult to handle.
- c) Contextual implications: Given that the woman is obstinate, no man can handle her.

The word *nyach* in the utterance has prompted the retrieval of contextual assumptions as Sperber and Wilson (1986/1995) state that the central claim of the relevance-based account of pragmatic processing is that the audience assumes that the linguistic meaning of the utterance is a guide to the speaker's intentions. Therefore, the hearer connects the linguistic meaning of the utterance to her knowledge of the addressee to direct her towards the intended meaning of the utterance *NYACH** in accordance with what Mey (2001) emphasizes that the wording of linguistic expressions is as important in shaping meaning as the situation in which they are used and supplemented by extra linguistic factors.

At a funeral after burial (*duogo e liel*) whereby in-laws had come for an overnight stay (*budho*) at a funeral of their father in-law in Migwena as is the Luo custom. During the occasion there is song and dance or music to keep people awake throughout the night. In the process of song and dance, there is use of panegyrics accompanied by chants (*sigweya*) and ululations (*sigalagala*) as people eat and drink. A woman praises her in-law (*yuoro*) as:

36. *Ja mach piere tindo.*

‘A man of fire whose buttocks are small’.

Like other African communities, the Luo associate men with power or strength but literally, *ja mach* means a man of fire while *piere tindo* means small buttocks. Informant 1 who speaks only Dholuo and some Kiswahili said that *mach* (fire) as used in the utterance represents sexual prowess. This is because a man with small buttocks should be having a small body, which makes

the man light and does not encourage laziness (informant 10). For this reason, the small body represents vigor and such a man is believed to be a performer hence, responsible in the bedroom. Therefore the panegyric in extract (36) is not literal but is interpretively used to describe a man who is sexually active (*jamach*), which is, describing the man's sexual prowess. This also means that the panegyric is not only used to refer to small bodied men but all men who are sexually energetic regardless of their body size. The panegyric as used in the context represents the addressee's energy (*mach*), that is, the addressee is strong and as a result does commendable work: *ja tich maler kor ka mach* (a sexually experienced mananda passionate lover) obtained from informant 10.

Katz (1977) says that there are different things a speaker can mean even when using her words literally, hence a hearer in this context will immediately want to find out why the addressee is praised as *ja mach piere tindo*. Crystal (1985) acknowledges that panegyrics are a reliable reflection of the way of thinking and behavior not just of an individual but of the whole community. The utterance could therefore be used to either inform the audience of the addressee's sexual competence or to compliment his sexual prowess as Finnegan (1970) observes that culture contributes to the understanding of panegyrics. For a hearer to derive the speaker's meaning, she uses the cultural knowledge of the utterance (Claire, 1998) as the background information of *ja mach* (produces fire), that acts as the speaker's evidence. She explores her encyclopedic entries of *ja mach* (a fire fighter, walks around carrying fire, is ever at a fire place, burns people or things) to find an answer as to why the man is branded *ja mach piere tindo*. The hearer enriches the explicit content using her encyclopedic entries and supplies contextual assumptions using contextual information to derive ad hoc concept *JA MACH*

*PIERETINDO** as the hearer's encyclopedic knowledge does not apply to the speaker's intended meaning of the utterance in the context of use.

a) Explicit content: The addressee is a man of fire with small buttocks (*ja machpiere tindo*).

b) Contextual assumptions: The addressee is a passionate lover.

c) Contextual implications: The addressee's small buttocks are to his advantage: he is sexually active and has sexual prowess.

The hearer descriptively interprets the utterance depending on the shared modification of context and cognitive effects in an attempt to satisfy her overall expectation of relevance, guided by the speaker's evidence. The hearer refers to the encyclopedic entries of the utterance in her mind and looks for the correct interpretation of what the speaker means in the context of use as Amuka (2000) asserts that meaning of panegyrics can only be unravelled in relation to the context of the utterance.

4.1.3.2 Panegyrics Derived from Natural Phenomena

A natural phenomenon refers to anything not man-made. This includes natural events like thunder, downpour and sun-rising as in extracts 37-40. Finnegan (2012) observes that comparison to natural phenomena is frequent, for instance, a hero is likened to a storm. Similarly, the Luo use natural phenomena like *lwanda* 'rock' to refer to energetic or hardworking individuals.

At funeral of a man in Bar k'Owino, a woman mourns the deceased referring to him as:

37. *Kalausi wuod Sakwa*.

'Whirlwind, the son of Sakwa'.

Besides animals like buffalo (*jowi*) and elephant (*liech*) some natural phenomena are used to represent strong or destructive forces. Mboya (1997) explains that among the Luo there are different types of wind (*yembe*) apart from the whirlwind (*kalausi*), for example, *auka* is destructive and it comes with rain. In the same way, *auka yamo* can be used to describe a powerful or strong person instead of *kalausi*; *ombalo* is the wind that blows from South (*milambo*) to the North (*nyanduat*). A male informant 2 states that whirlwind (*kalausi*) is a type of wind that blows in a circular pattern (*mawinyore/luorore*) like a whirlpool, and Mboya (1997) says that whirlwind (*kalausi*) is believed to be a sign of rain but it is often destructive. Informant 2 further explains that panegyrics are not just used anyhow but are used depending on the context of events. Therefore, in extract (37) characteristics of whirlwind (*kalausi*) are attributed to renowned people, like politicians to acknowledge their power as in extract (9) where buffalo (*jowi*) has been used to praise the subject as strong and fearless.

The speaker in extract (37) speaks of the son of Sakwa (*wuod Sakwa*) to provide the originality of the addressee. Sperber and Wilson (1995), in their communicative principle of Relevance Theory, claim that utterances automatically create expectations (derived from the background knowledge of the utterance) which guide the hearer towards the speaker's meaning. A hearer therefore chooses the interpretation that best satisfies these expectations from the available stimuli because the search for relevance is a basic feature of human cognition (cognitive principle of Relevance Theory). The hearer assumes the utterance to be optimally relevant in the context of use and begins to process it by constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the explicit content through decoding and creating hypothesis about contextual assumptions as follows:

- a) Explicit content: The deceased was a whirlwind son of Sakwa (*kalausi wuod Sakwa*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The deceased was strong, fearless and powerful; he was outgoing and pulled crowds.
- c) Contextual implications: The deceased was a great and influential person.

The hearer's interest is to achieve relevance which he does by trying to answer the question why the addressee (*wuodSakwa*) is called *Kalausi* because what is meant is not said in the utterance. The hearer is guided by the word *kalausi* together with its logical features (the whirlwind is destructive, draws people's attention and is both strong and powerful), which the speaker has used interpretively to refer to the addressee. The hearer then enriches the encoded word meaning and supplies the contextual assumptions made accessible by the encyclopedic entry of the linguistically encoded concept, and finally derives the intended meaning of the utterance.

At a funeral in Nyaguda, a wife to the deceased eulogizes her husband as:

38. *Chieng' ja mondo*.

'The sun the early riser'.

The characteristic of the sun (*chieng'*) of rising early every morning, is what the speaker has attributed to her husband; an early riser (*ja chiew okinyi*). An early riser (*ja mondo*) is known for punctuality, keeps time and attends to his duties promptly, unlike a lazy person (*ja nyao*) who does not rise early to attend to his duties. Morris (1964) observes that use of natural phenomena is also common. Therefore, *chieng'* (sun) depicts a hard worker. Sperber and Wilson (1995) assert that hearers infer what speakers implicate from contextual evidence including what was said or uttered, meaning that a hearer's interpretation depends on features of the context of the utterance. A hearer in this context begins processing the utterance by finding out why the speaker

praises her husband as *chieng'ja mondo*. The hearer processes the utterance by exploring his knowledge of *chieng'* using the encyclopedic assumptions of *chieng'*: provides light and heat or warmth, rises early every morning in the East and sets every evening in the West. The encoded sentence meaning guides the hearer to the speaker's intended meaning, and since a hearer's goal is to construct a hypothesis about the speaker's meaning which satisfies the expectation of relevance raised by the utterance (Wilson and Sperber, 1981), the hearer constructs a hypothesis about the explicatures and implicatures in the utterance to derive ad hoc concept *CHIENG' JA MONDO**, which is the intended meaning of the utterance as shown:

a) Explicit content: The deceased was an early riser like the sun (*chieng' ja mondo*).

b) Contextual assumptions: The deceased was an early riser, he observed time and was energetic, and he never failed to do his duties.

c) Contextual implications: The deceased was time conscious, dedicated and diligent.

From the contextual assumptions (b) the hearer assumes the speaker is optimally relevant to him because the assumptions in (b) answer why the deceased is praised as *chieng' ja mondo*.

The logical form of the utterance provides easy access to the contextual assumptions, which is used as an implicit premise in deriving the ad hoc concept via enriching the contextual assumptions to yield contextual implications (c).

At a wedding ceremony in Migwena at the reception; people (both young and the old) were being served different types of food and a man asked to be served chicken (*gwen*) which was over. When he was told that the dish he had asked for was over, he responded:

39. *Ankoth goyo gima oyudo e laro.*

'I am the rain that pours on whatever it finds on the lawn'.

The addressee quickly requested that he should be served whatever was there. The people around laughed and shouted at the speaker repeating the utterance (*koth goyo gima oyudoe laro*). Amuka (1992) observes that one is praised or praises oneself to provoke response and to initiate verbal drama. Similarly Masolo (2000) states that some panegyrics are used to defame one. Informant 8 says that as much as panegyrics are praises, some directly describe individuals and a speaker may use to inform the audience who the addressee is. From the utterance, it is true that the rain falls indiscriminately. It does not choose what to pour on or what not to pour on. This is the reason why the man refers to himself as the rain that pours on what it finds on the lawn (*koth goyo gima oyudo elaro*). In another context (marital) the utterance has sexual connotations that the addressee is a person that goes to bed with any woman that comes his way. This interpretation was obtained from informant 4.

A hearer explores the logical features of the rain (*koth*): rains at will, rains indiscriminately and is a natural source of water, to find an answer as to why the man referred to himself as *kothgoyogimaoyudo e laro*, which the hearer uses to help her enrich the explicit content and supplies contextual assumptions using contextual information to derive ad hoc concept *KOTH GOYO GIMA OYUDO ELARO**. This is because the hearer's encyclopedic knowledge of the utterance does not apply to the speaker's intended meaning of the utterance in the context of use. Malinowsky (1971) notes that meanings of words and sentences largely depend on culture of the speech community. The hearer therefore, explores his background knowledge of the rain (*koth*) in relation to the Luo culture but connects it to the context (Amuka, 2000) by enriching the encoded

sentence meaning to derive contextual assumptions which he supplies to yield contextual implications as follows:

a) Explicit content: The man is the rain that pours on whatever it finds on the lawn (*koth goyo gima oyudo e laro*).

b) Contextual assumptions: The man has no choices.

c) Contextual implications: The man eats anything palatable.

Given that the rain falls at will and falls indiscriminately, it would be regarded that it does not care when it wants to fall hence there is an interpretive resemblance between the rain and the man, which he interpretively attributes to himself in the context of use.

At a wedding reception in Bar k'Owino, there was song and dance as people stayed (*budho*) with the couple. In the process a man (the groom's cousin) danced moving forward and embraced the groom. As this happened, a woman chanted from behind:

40. *Ochi wuod minwayamo yuor mon, rwak wendo.*

'Ochi my mother's son, the wind and an in-law to women, welcome the guest'.

People cheered happily as Ochi and the bride danced. Alembi (2002) says that session of praises (*pakruok*) is a process of socialization. The bride gave a broad smile instead of limiting the man. Informant 4 expressed that in the Luo socio-cultural set up, the wind is referred to as the husband of women since a woman is only supposed to be undressed by her husband or an in-law. The fact that the wind can lift up a woman's dress is as if to undress her (Owiti, 2013), and this is what causes the speaker to refer to Ochi as *yamo* (the wind). Further, Luo in-laws (brothers or sisters to one's wife or husband) touch or embrace their male or female in-laws generously to express

affection. Similarly, Luo culture does not allow such contacts in cases where such relationships do not exist. Informant 10 concurred with informant 4 who said that in-laws are free with each other. In the Luo community, the in-laws and husbands are compared with the wind (*yamo*) because it blows off women's clothes exposing their body parts but they do not complain or restrict the wind. The wind also does not choose whose dress to blow or the part of the body to expose. Therefore, a man who touches a woman like the wind publicly and generously is described as an in-law to women (*yamo yuor mon*). According to the communicative principle of Relevance Theory (Sperber and Wilson, 1986/1995) every utterance addressed to someone creates a presumption of relevance, together with more specific expectations about how relevance is to be achieved, particularly, about contextual implications to be derived. For a hearer to find an overall interpretation that satisfies these expectations, she uses the utterance to activate her knowledge of wind (*yamo*) to find why the man is described as the wind (*yamo*), which might include the logical feature (wind is a natural feature) evidenced by encyclopedic assumptions (wind cannot be restricted, blows at will, blows anything and can be destructive). Literally, the man is not wind therefore, the hearer enriches the encoded sentence meaning and supplies the contextual assumptions to derive an ad hoc concept *YAMO** as follows:

- a) Explicit content: The man is an in-law to women and shares similar traits with wind (*yamo yuor mon*).
- b) Contextual assumptions: The man has no inhibitions with his touch; the man has no boundaries because he is the woman's husband.
- c) Contextual implications: The man is the bride's in-law and is free to touch or embrace her.

Sperber and Wilson (1995 p.18) emphasize that the context in which an utterance is understood must be strictly limited to mutual knowledge for successful decoding. The hearer uses

interpretive resemblance, that is, the relationship between the wind (*yamo*) and the addressee (Ochi), and connects with the context of occurrence (Omolo, 2014) to derive the speaker's intended meaning.

4.1.6 Summary

The foregoing chapter was concerned with data presentation, analysis and discussion of findings of the study. The section has presented sample utterances from social contexts of panegyrics in Dholuo and directly translated them into English. The researcher has also provided possible explanations from her own insights as the analyst based on context and supplemented by field interviews where direct translation was not possible. This chapter concludes that on one hand, human behavior is best understood in terms of animal behaviour, and this therefore means that animal names are appropriately used to describe both desirable and undesirable behaviors of human beings, using different types of animals, for example, wild animals like the elephant and the buffalo that are considered powerful and strong. On the other hand, there were other traits not necessarily associated with animals, for instance, inanimate objects and natural phenomena.

On beauty, physical attributes and traits of animals are used to compliment a person's actions. Mostly, Dholuo panegyrics are expressed in figurative and obscure language and this is why even inanimate things (for example, a blanket, a cooking pot, old underwear and a bicycle) are sources of praise names for human beings as in extracts(28) – (36). Besides animals, there are natural phenomena in extracts (37) - (40), for instance, the sun and wind which are attributed to human beings. Birds and social insects are also used metaphorically among the Luo to highlight different attributes of human beings for instance, the eagle, bees and termites or ants.

Nevertheless, meanings of words or phrases and sentences depend on culture of the Luo community and context. The next chapter presents a summary of findings, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter comprises four sections, namely: summary, conclusions, recommendations and suggestions for further research. The organization is as follows: section 5.2 presents a summary of the findings of the study, section 5.3 contains the conclusions of the study whereas section 5.4 provides the recommendations from the findings of the study and finally, section 5.5 focuses on suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The study set out to explain how hearers of Dholuo panegyrics bridge the gap between the encoded linguistic meaning of an utterance and the speaker's meaning of Dholuo guided by three objectives to: identify mechanisms required in order to interpret Dholuo panegyrics, explain how hearers make an interpretation of the speaker's meaning of Dholuo panegyrics and determine the role of contextual information in the interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics. Objective one establishes that features of language such as context, relevance, reflexivity and inference are mechanisms that hearers use to help them interpret Dholuo panegyrics, but context is an important factor in utterance interpretation. However, there is no particular interpretive mechanism used for the interpretation of a specific category of Dholuo panegyrics. This is an indication that the interpretive mechanisms are not used in isolation as there is a relationship between what is said and the context in which the utterance is relevant; the situation of an utterance affects its interpretation. Therefore, hearer must make use of mechanisms on the basis

of contextual information for successful communication, which calls for cooperation between the speakers.

In other words, meaning of an utterance is inferred based on linguistic context of the utterance; speakers choose to produce utterances that maximize informativeness about features relevant to their communicative goal. Evidently, inference involves intelligence as users of Dholuo panegyrics express their utterances indirectly to challenge mental capabilities of their audiences. Therefore, relevance is not achieved from the utterance or context alone but from both the input and context, which is made possible by the speaker's reflexivity.

However, the speaker's reflexivity alone does not guarantee relevance, meaning that all the interpretive mechanisms are engaged not singly in every communicative situation but as a group.

The second objective focuses on how hearers make an interpretation of the speaker's meaning of Dholuo panegyrics. Dholuo panegyrics is full of indeterminacies such as ambiguity as in extract 13, metaphors in extracts (9) – (12), irony in extract (31) and exaggerations in extracts (25) – (28), which hearers have to interpret to determine speaker's meaning of an utterance. The indeterminacies present a challenge because they are not literally expressed but hearers use the same mechanisms to interpret figurative language since truth of an utterance depends on the context. This means that context is important in complementing the meanings encoded in the language. This study establishes that a hearer requires knowledge of the speaker's identities, the place and time of the utterance from which he deduces what the speaker intends to convey. Combination of time, place and participants conform to expectations as part of background information that both the speaker and the hearer share and to which they can refer in order to

successfully communicate. A hearer, particularly, needs to have knowledge of the background information in order to fully interpret an utterance, which is evidenced by the fact that language concerns culture. There are aspects of meaning provided by an utterance that interact with cultural and social knowledge during the processing of speaker meaning. This therefore establishes that meanings assigned to a particular subject are dependent on culture or background knowledge and context.

Furthermore, an utterance is evidence of the speaker's meaning, and comprehension is achieved by inferring the meaning from the evidence provided by both the utterance (whether literal or figurative) and the context. This means that an utterance is a piece of evidence about the speaker's meaning: the words used in an utterance only indicate the concepts that are constituents of the speaker's meaning. In other words, panegyrics accomplish both semantic and sociolinguistic functions in communication. A hearer uses the utterance as the linguistically encoded evidence and when an utterance has several possible interpretations, the hearer chooses the best assumption that is the most relevant in the context of use. Moreover, retrieval mechanisms of human beings tend to activate potentially relevant assumptions. A speaker provides some evidence of his meaning by trying as much as possible to be relevant, which a hearer infers on the basis of the evidence and the context because the speaker intends his hearer to discover the intended meaning of the utterance. A hearer must recognize the speaker's evidence and is also guided by the expectation that utterances should meet some specific standards: for instance, an utterance should connect with available contextual information to yield what a speaker intends to convey. The hearer enriches the encoded sentence meaning at the explicit level and complements it at the implicit level by supplying contextual assumptions

which combine with it to yield enough conclusions to make the utterance relevant in the expected way.

Linguistic utterances are central in a successful communication since the speakers make choices which carry within them some evidence (definition of the situation) that guides a hearer: in extract 30, the words '*sirwari moti*' which is the speaker's evidence, stirs the hearer's mental picture of *sirwari moti* which makes him explore his background knowledge to find the reason why the addressee is branded so. The speaker's evidence in addition to background information help a hearer to use the least effort (less mental effort) to process the utterance to come to a conclusion that is relevant (the speaker's intended meaning) in a particular context. It is therefore clear that a hearer combines contextual knowledge, background knowledge and the encyclopedic meaning about an utterance to determine the meaning which the speaker intends to convey with the utterance.

Lastly, objective three focused on the role of contextual information in the interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics. Dholuo panegyrics are mostly metaphorical, and do not have fixed meanings because their meanings differ from one context to another. Moreover, metaphors are associated with cultural aspect attached to a particular community hence, social and cultural environment influence the understanding of metaphors. It is therefore evident that meaning depends on the understanding of the context (for instance, cultural and social) and the speaker's intention; this therefore means that meaning cannot be achieved without context. Further, use of panegyrics is dictated by circumstances, that is, panegyrics reflect cultural views, attitudes held by members of a community towards particular subjects in the various contexts of use. What a speaker implies is

not directly given as users of Dholuo panegyrics choose words, phrases or sentences based on their relevance. A hearer therefore interpretively or descriptively infers what the speaker implicates from contextual evidence such as background knowledge shared by the conversationalists, relationship between the conversationalists, time and place of the utterance. What the speaker implicates is not part of the conventional meaning but depends on contextual features of the utterance as in deriving ad hoc concepts, for instance, the conventional meanings of *baranget* in extracts(28) and *agulu* in extracts (29) do not apply in the context of occurrence. As a result, the hearer searches for meaning in any given situation of communication. This is established in the way use of Dholuo panegyrics reflects the relationship between the speaker and the person being praised, for example, in extract (17), a woman praises the deceased who is her father in-law as *ongo wang'e riek* because of the relationship between the two of them. It is therefore established that users of panegyrics are aware that meaning depend on context hence, their choices of words, phrases and sentences are dictated by context (situation of an utterance affects its interpretation). In other words, non-literal meanings are context-dependent.

5.3. Conclusions

With regards to the findings of the study, the following conclusions are drawn: objective one deals with the mechanisms required in order to interpret Dholuo panegyrics. In other words, a speaker uses language reflexively by providing the evidence which expresses his intended meaning which is fulfilled by the hearer recognizing it. This therefore evidently means that the sentence meaning is directly connected to grammar and context, which has to do with situation that the sentence deals with, and comes from meanings of words and from the way the words are

put together. A speaker ostensively indicates that he wants the audience to see his utterance as relevant for the communication to be successful because he (the speaker) needs the responsiveness of his audience for the success of communication. He (the speaker) must be relevant in the context of the utterance because the hearer believes that what a speaker utters is appropriate at the place and time of use.

Context and relevance are effective devices necessary for successful communication. For a hearer to successfully interpret an utterance, she has to understand the sentence meaning and the context of the utterance. Therefore, the use of panegyrics reveals the relationship between the speaker and the audience (what the conversationalists know about each other) at the time and place of the utterance. Dholuo panegyrics are mostly metaphorical hence they reflect human values and the way they think about individuals and their relatives. To unravel their underlying meanings is a task that needs both social and cultural competence whereby the conversationalists can produce and interpret both verbal and social contexts using sociocultural rules and rules of discourse (background knowledge to which conversationalists can refer).

Objective two focuses on how hearers construct an interpretation of the speaker's meaning of Dholuo panegyrics. Speaker meaning results from the assumption that the conversationalists expect each other to be working together because they have a mutually known expectation of each other to make their contributions as required, at the time of occurrence by the purpose of the communication in which they are engaged. Utterances are evidences of the speaker's meaning which a hearer infers the meaning from the evidence provided by both the utterance and context. For a successful communication the conversationalists require an interpretation of socially determined meaning. Therefore, interpretations are arrived at by constructing an interpretation

that satisfies the hearer's expectations of relevance with the help of contextual knowledge, background knowledge and encyclopedic meaning about the utterances; the context for the interpretation of utterance includes assumptions derived from a hearer's memory: social assumptions, cultural assumptions and various assumptions derived from encyclopedic information stored in the memory. In conclusion, relevance of Dholuo panegyrics is achieved by native speakers of Dholuo, who can understand and interpret the panegyrics employing background knowledge, encyclopedic meaning and context of use.

Objective three highlighted the role of contextual information in the interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics. It emerged that there is a relationship between what is said and the context in which it occurs; hence an utterance can express different concepts on different occasions of the utterance. If a speaker's intention of an utterance is to convey information indirectly, then contextual information is necessary for the interpretation of the speaker's meaning. Contextual information is mainly important in interpreting non-literal utterances because their meanings are concealed as what is said does not capture all of the explicit content of a speaker's utterance. Hence, hearers unravel the hidden meaning (implicit meaning) by connecting the background knowledge of the utterances and the context of occurrence. Since Dholuo panegyrics are mostly metaphorical, they involve mental processes by which metaphorical utterances are understood since hearers engage their mental faculty in the context of the utterance in order to achieve relevance. Therefore, meaning of metaphorical utterances is context-dependent, that is, it is interpreted differently by different people in different contexts.

5.4 Recommendations

The following recommendations were made in light of the findings and conclusions of the study:

1. In line with objective one which concerns interpretive mechanisms, panegyrics are deeply connected to culture hence, cultural knowledge acts as the background knowledge and is an integral interpretive mechanism as it shows that culture and language are inseparable and it means that when language is used in contexts of communication, it is intertwined with culture. Moreover, people use metaphors to express reality, which is attached to cultural values held by the community. It is the background knowledge (social and cultural beliefs) that is shared by both the speaker and the hearer. Users of Dholuo panegyrics should understand the significance of the societal norms and cultural practices of the Luo community. This will enhance the use and interpretation of the panegyrics among Dholuo speakers.
2. Regarding objective two, which explains how hearers interpret speaker's meaning of Dholuo panegyrics, a speaker provides evidences which may be relevant at the time and place of an utterance, and the evidences which a hearer contextually complements to yield speaker's meaning. This means that a hearer may not interpret the speaker's intended meaning of an utterance if there is no evidence provided by the speaker. Users of Dholuo panegyrics should therefore be aware of the importance of the speaker's evidence and provide it in the various contexts of use to encourage different hearers of Dholuo panegyrics to interpret the intended meanings of the panegyrics in their contexts of occurrence.

3. Objective three determines the role of contextual information in the interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics. It is difficult to interpret messages conveyed without understanding the contexts in which the panegyrics are used. Hence both the speaker and the hearer of Dholuo panegyrics should have the ability to use socio-cultural guidelines and discourse rules to understand Dholuo panegyrics in different contexts. This will enable the hearer to connect his background information, actions and interactions of the conversationalists with context of use to achieve relevance.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

This study underlines the gap between sentence meaning and the speaker's intended meaning of Dholuo panegyrics using the Relevance Theory by Sperber and Wilson (1995), which was an improvement on one of Grice's (1989b) maxim of relevance which claims that utterances automatically create expectations of relevance which guide the hearer towards the speaker's intended meaning. A pragmatic study of Dholuo panegyrics was undertaken to examine conventions of the Relevance Theory entailed in its two principles: communicative principle and cognitive principle. This study was interested on speaker's meaning, not focusing on the phonetic or grammatical form of an utterance but on what the speaker's intentions and beliefs are in different contexts of use.

It was evident that meaning depends on the hearer's understanding of the context and the speaker's intent evident in the utterance. However, more investigations should be done because not much has been done on the interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics in context, and today the

social activities like funerals, weddings and beer parties are not only restricted to Dholuo speakers:

1. Apart from Dholuo, it is advisable to investigate panegyrics in other languages of the world for future comparative studies for intercultural understanding of panegyrics.
2. This study was mainly concerned with panegyrics among adults therefore; we suggest that there could be panegyrics for teenagers and theyouth which may call for an investigation to be undertaken for further research.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX I: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR ADULT RESPONDENTS IN BEER PARTIES, FUNERALS AND WEDDINGS

A researcher at Maseno University would like to find out some facts about the interpretation of Dholuo panegyrics in Nyang'oma Division. Be assured that:

- Your identity will not be referred to anywhere in the final report.

The information you will give will purely be used for academic purposes.

Personal information

1. How old are you?

General information

2. How long have you lived here?

1. Since birth 2. Over ten years

3. Which language do you speak and understand?

1. Dholuo 2. Kiswahili 3. English 4. Others (specify)

4. How often do you use Dholuo?

1. Always 2. Rarely

5. Do you have a praise name?

1. Yes 2. No

6. When do others refer to you by a praise name?

7. Who are praised using Dholuo panegyrics?

8. How do people acquire praise names?

9. What is the value of Dholuo panegyrics?

1. Praise/self-esteem 2. Empowerment/motivation 3. Recognition/achievement/character

10. Why are Dholuo panegyrics used in various interactions?

11. How often do you use Dholuo panegyrics?

12. Who performs Dholuo panegyrics?

13. How are Dholuo panegyrics learnt?

1. When acquiring L1 2. Through experience

14. How do you interpret Dholuo panegyrics in various contexts?

15. What mechanisms are used to interpret Dholuo panegyrics?

16. What happens if an utterance has several interpretations in one context?

APPENDIX II: OBSERVATION CHECKLIST

| CATEGORY | INCLUDES | RESEARCHER'S NOTES |
|--|---|--|
| Verbal behaviour and interactions | Who speaks to whom and for how long, who initiates interaction, moods, attitudes, tone of voice | Dynamics of interaction, general environment or setting, gender, age |
| Actions: physical behaviour and gestures | What people do, who does what, who interacts with who, who is not interacting | How people use their voices to communicate different emotions, what individual's behaviour indicate about their feelings towards one another |
| Relationships: personal distance | How close people stand when addressing one another | What personal distance suggest about their relationships |
| Personality: people who are given preference | Identification of people who receive a lot of attention from others in the social gatherings | The characteristics of these individuals, how different are they from others, are they well known or are they strangers |
| Appearance and state | Age, gender, attire, attractive or unattractive, pleased or proud | Anything that shows membership in the community, social status, socio-economic class |

APPENDIX III: LETTER OF CONSENT

Baruwa

‘Letter of Information’

Pakruok mag Dholuo

‘Pragmatics of Dholuo Panegyrics’

An japuonjore e Mbalariany mar Maseno ma ikore mar yudo digri mare mar ariyo. Weche ma abiro yudo kuomu abiro tiyogo e nono pakruok mag Dholuo. Omiyo baruwani biro tiegi mondo iyie kata kik iyie bedo achiel kuom jo duok nonro ma abiro tiyogo.

‘I am a student at Maseno University, preparing to obtain a degree of Master of Arts in Linguistics. The information I collect from you will be used in this study. This letter therefore, provides the information required for you to make an informed decision about whether to participate.’

| |
|----------------------------------|
| <i>Nying japuonjore/jachung’</i> |
| Name of student/ investigator |
| <i>Mbalariany</i> |
| University |

Tiend nono pakruok mag Dholuo.

‘Purpose of the Research’

Somoni biro nono kaka joluo winjo tiend pakruok kaluwore gi kuonde ma opogore opogore ma iwachoe pakruok. Kaiyie mar bedo ja duok nonro e nono pakruok mag Dholuo, daher mar penji penjo kama in emaiyero ni inyalo wachonae lony mari to gi kaka pachi paro ewi kaka joluo winjo tiend pakruok kaluore gi ng’ama owache.

‘This study will investigate how hearers of Dholuo panegyrics interpret the speakers’ meaning in different contexts. If you choose to participate in this study, I would like to interview you at a public location of your choice to discuss and ask you questions about your experiences, perceptions as well as your own opinion on how Dholuo panegyrics are interpreted.’

Gima somoni biro konyigo kaka jaduok nonro.

‘Benefits from participating.’

Ibiro somo mang’eny ewi kaka jiwino tiend pakruok kaluwore gi kama gi saa ma jawache owachee.

‘You will learn more about Dholuo panegyrics, be able to understand and interpret them contextually, more so, to interpret the speaker’s intended meaning of the utterance.’

Lal manitie kuom bedo jaduok nonro.

‘Risks from participating.’

Onge kata matin.

‘There are no risks at all.’

Seche ma nonruok biro kawo.

‘Time commitment required.’

Nonruok nyalokawo chakre saa achiel nyaka seche ariyo. Mano tiendeni nonruok biro kawo kinde matin kata malach kaluore gi kaka in iwuon idwaro.

‘The estimate time of interviews required is from one hour to two hours. This means that the interviews will take as much or as little time as you are comfortable with.’

Chudo.

‘Remuneration.’

Onge chudo mora mora kuom bedo ja duok nonro e somoni.

‘There is no payment for participating in this study.’

Kaka abiro mung’oweche ma ayudo kuomu.

‘Confidentiality of data.’

Weche duto abiro kano e kompiuta mara e yo ma onge ng’ato manyalo yudo mayot. Nyingi ok anatigo kamoro amora, gik ma andiko duto eikalatase kata buge abiro wang’o. Weche ma akano e kompiuta abiro rucho te kaasetieko go. Kata mana gik ma andiko ma atero e mbalariany, onge nying ng’ato mabiro betie kata achiel.

‘All the information collected will be stored in the computer of the researcher and will be password protected. No information that will identify you personally will be kept, all paper records will be burnt and all electronic raw data files will be deleted so that the data cannot be recovered. At the university, all the information will be presented anonymously.’

Kadi her weyo gi e kore ka nonro podi ok orumo.

‘Withdrawing from the study.’

Kadiponi idwaro weyo giekore to in thuolo. Kaidwaro timo kamano, go sime ne jachung'maduong'.

‘You have all the rights to withdraw from the study at any time and for any reason. If you would like to do so, contact the investigator by telephone.’

Thuolo gi puoth.

‘Ethics Approval.’

Somoni ne onon ma opuodhi gi jokomiti matimo nonro e Mbalariany marMaseno.

‘This study has been reviewed and approved by the Ethics Committee of Maseno University.’

Duoko.

‘Results.’

Duoko mar somoni ibiroornu.

‘A summary of the results of this study will be sent to you.’

Yie bedo Jaduok nonro.

‘Informed Consent Form.’

Pakruok mag Dholuo.

‘Pragmatics of Dholuo Panegyrics’

Ayudo baruwa miasomo kendo awinjo tiend somoni. Owinjore na, omiyo ayie mar bedo ja duok nonro. ‘I have received the letter of information and I have understood the nature of the study. I therefore agree to participate as all questions have been explained and answered to my satisfaction.’

Tarik:

Date:

Nying ja duok nonro:

Singruok (lwedo makorachwich ma thuo):

Name of respondent:

Signature of respondent (right thumb print):

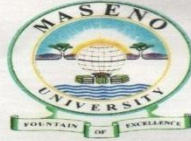
Nying jachung' maduong':

Singruok:

Name of investigator:

Signature of investigator:

APPENDIX IV: RESEARCH PERMIT



MASENO UNIVERSITY ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Tel: +254 057 351 622 Ext: 3050
Fax: +254 057 351 221

Private Bag – 40105, Maseno, Kenya
Email: muerc-secretariate@maseno.ac.ke

FROM: Secretary - MUERC

DATE: 5th December, 2014

TO: Beatrice Atieno Owiti,
Department of Linguistics,
School of Arts and Social Sciences,
Maseno University, Maseno, Kenya.

REF: MSU/DRPC/MUERC/00094/14

**RE: Pragmatics of Dholuo Panegyrics. Proposal Reference Number:
MSU/DRPC/MUERC/0094/14**

This is to inform you that the Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (MUERC) determined that the ethics issues raised at the initial review were adequately addressed in the revised proposal. Consequently, the study is granted approval for implementation effective this 5th day of December, 2014 for a period of one (1) year.

Please note that authorization to conduct this study will automatically expire on 4th December, 2015. If you plan to continue with the study beyond this date, please submit an application for continuation approval to MUERC Secretariat by 2nd November, 2015.

Approval for continuation of the study will be subject to successful submission of an annual progress report that is to reach MUERC Secretariat by 2nd November, 2015.

Please note that any unanticipated problems resulting from the conduct of this study must be reported to MUERC. You are required to submit any proposed changes to this study to MUERC for review and approval prior to initiation. Please advise MUERC when the study is completed or discontinued.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Bonuke Anyona,
Secretary,
Maseno University Ethics Review Committee.

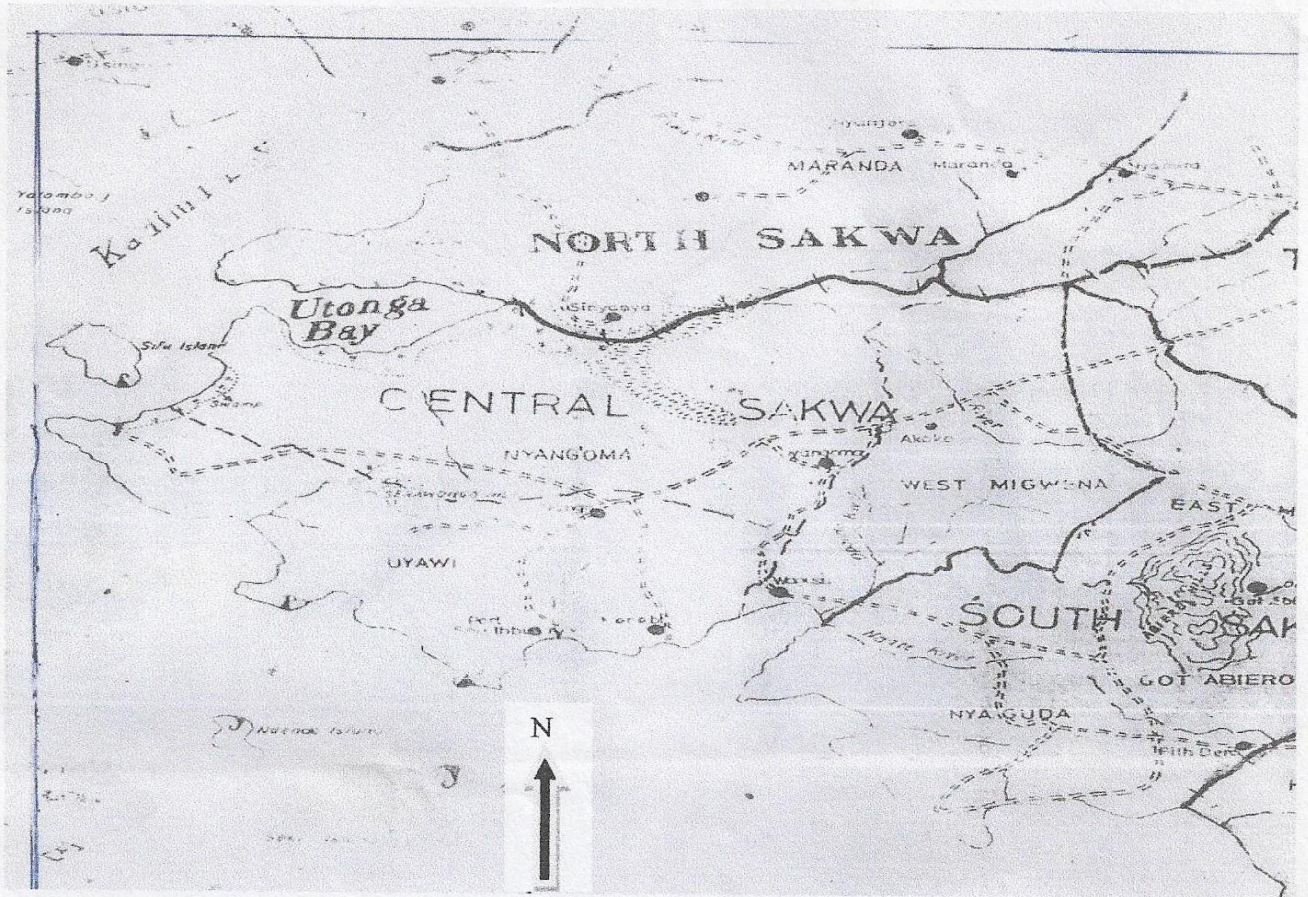


Cc: Chairman,
Maseno University Ethics Review Committee.

MASENO UNIVERSITY IS ISO 9001:2008 CERTIFIED



APPENDIX V: MAP SHOWING SUB-LOCATIONS IN NYANG'OMA DIVISION



Source: Provincial Surveyor Kisumu (2012)