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**FACULTY OF ARTS
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH AND COMMUNICATION**

DISSERTATION TOPIC

**An investigation of the relationship between ethnography and implicature:
A case study of Shona Funeral gatherings.**

By

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this to my three pillars of strength; my loving and supportive mother Tendayi Shumbamhini, loving and caring husband Vitalis Matope and the fruit of my womb Tendaishe Matope. Thank you all for believing in me and for your support. I love you all!

ABSTRACT

This dissertation is an exploration of the relationship that exists between ethnography and implicature by combining the two theories, with the Shona (Zezuru dialect) funeral gathering being the case study. The study will analyse utterances made during Shona culture funeral gatherings looking at the linguistic use by investigating how culture influences it to generate implicature through non observance of Grice conversational maxims. Ethnography of communication and conversational implicature were used as the theoretical framework. Observation was the research method used. The results collected reflected that ethnography and implicature can be combined. Norms and genre are cultural factors that dominate the generation of implicature through mainly suspending and flouting of maxims than the other maxims.

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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

Previous researches have been treating ethnography of communication and conversational implicature separately; past researches on the language used at funerals (death) have been analysed from cultural and genre point of view without focusing on how the implicature is actually created. Ethnography of communication suggests that language is culturally constrained. While conversational implicature suggests that what is said can be different from what the speaker actually means. The researcher seeks to investigate the relationship between the two theories or how they complement each other by combining them. Shona culture funeral gathering will be used as the case study of the research by analysing the kind of utterances made and the linguistic use practiced by people to generate implicature. Various subheadings in this introductory chapter will explain more about the research.

1.2 Background of study

An utterance is a spoken word that can be a phrase, a single word or a sentence which can be analysed. In addition this research however focuses on the utterances made and the kind of linguistic use at funeral gatherings of the Shona culture people.

The Shona culture suggests that when a person dies people are informed and they gather at the deceased house to mourn and comfort the bereaved family, to bury the deceased as well as to pay last respect to the deceased. People have different roles depending on; blood relationships, other relations such as friends, as well as the duty they are to make such as the preacher. Bourdillion

(1976) states that Shona believes: all relations and friends should be informed, the next of kin washes and prepares the body for the burial, a beast is ritually killed and given to attendants, and “Sahwira” also known as ritual friend make fun of the immediate relatives of the deceased and so break the intensity of mourning by introducing laughter into the proceeding.

Furthermore, people make contributions to cater for food. The daughters’ in-law does all the household duties such as cleaning the house, fetching water as well as cooking and serving the food.

In addition, some of the beliefs around death are as follows tears disturb the dead from resting and will think of coming back, crying is a sign of pain and when someone cries people comfort them, when funeral arrangements are to be made elders gather and agree on something, there is life after death, when one dies the spirit is said to be wandering and unpredictable. The mentioned beliefs as got great impact on the kind of language used at Shona culture funerals.

The language used at death or funerals is well known for its euphemism. Euphemism is used so as to avoid inflicting pain on the bereaved family. The Shona people use it to generate implicature at the expense of maxims. That is to say, culture is very influential in euphemism; it fails to observe maxims in different ways but it assist in creating suggested or non-natural meaning. That is to say, what is said is different from what is meant.

Past studies have been focusing on the language used on death announcements and obituaries from a genre point of view. In simpler terms language used at death has been studied for what and how it is presented. Most scholars of this subject such as Afful (2011) have their attention on the schematic structures and linguistic features which includes studies done on the characteristics

of language used at death. These include characteristics such as, for example euphemism, metaphorical, figurative language, hyperbolic language among other examples.

According to Hymes (1972) the theory of ethnography of communication suggests that language is culturally constrained. This means that what and how people make utterances is governed by the culture of the particular context in which the utterance is done. Thus what people may actually say might mean something different as a result of the culture that governs the context in which that particular utterance has been said.

Grice (1975) suggest that conversational implicature has two major aspects namely the cooperative principle and conversational maxims. He further notes that, in the cooperative principal “make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.” The maxims to be followed are manner, quantity, quality and relations. Nonetheless, it is not always the case that they are observed. This research seeks to look at how implicature can be generated when maxims are not observed yet cooperation remains present.

It is very much inappropriate to observe maxims in sensitive contexts such as funeral gatherings as they are highly sensitive gatherings. When people observe maxims at such gatherings chaos often results. That why people opt to observe culture at the expense of maxims leading to the generation of implicature. For this to be understood there is need therefore to carry out this current research that combines ethnography of communication and conversational implicature.

Henceforth, the researcher intends to establish the relationship between ethnography of communication and conversational implicature by combining them. This will be done by analyzing utterances made giving attention to the kind of language used to see how culture

influences it to produce implicature whilst failing to observe Grice maxims yet cooperation prevails during such conversations. The Shona culture funeral gathering will be the case study that will allow such an exploration.

1.3 Statement of problem

Previous researches have been treating ethnography of communication and conversational implicature separately as reflected by the previous researches made on the language used at funerals or death that focused on ethnography of communication and on genre. This means that previous researcher looked at how culture affects language and how people ought to speak so as to avoid unnecessary chaos without necessarily looking at how implicature is generated by that kind language. There is need therefore to combine ethnography of communication and conversational implicature so as to understand why people fail to observe maxims due to cultural constraints.

1.4 Hypotheses

It is hypothesized that:

- Ethnography of communication accounts for implicature due to the fact that additional meaning derived through non observance of Grice maxims is accounted for by ethnography of communication.
- People do not observe the conversational maxims in order to make the decoders get the implied meaning from the utterances of the speaker.

- Non observance of Grice maxims is acceptable and normally done at gatherings that are culturally constrained such funeral ceremonies.

1.5 Research questions

The research aims at answering the following questions:

1. What is the relationship between ethnography of communication and conversational implicature?
2. How does ethnography of communication affect the language in use at funeral gatherings to generate implicature?
3. What kind of language is used (linguistic use) as assessed from utterances made?
4. How and in what ways does ethnography of communications causes the utterances made fail to observe the conversational maxims?

1.6 Aims and objectives of the study

The study aims and objectives are as follows:

Aim

The aim of this research is to combine the two theories of ethnography of communication and conversational maxims by analysing the kind of linguistic use and the utterances made at Shona cultural funeral gatherings.

Objectives

- To analyse linguistic use of utterances made during the Shona (Zezuru) cultural funeral gatherings focusing on the kind of language used.
- To explain how some of the factors of ethnography of communication contributes towards the production or generation of implicature.
- To explore the different kinds of non-observance caused by ethnography of communication.
- To develop the theories of conversational maxims and ethnography of communication by showing how they can be combined or work hand in hand by making ethnography of communication account for the generation of implicature.

1.7 Delimitations

The scope of the study is to analyse the utterances and linguistic use made at five Shona (Zezuru) cultural funeral gathering by showing how ethnography of communication generates implicature through nonobservance of conversational maxims. The theoretical framework underpinning this study are ethnography of communication and conversational implicature both were used to investigate or understand how culture constrains language and generate implicature through nonobservance of conversational maxims.

1.8 Limitations

The following were limitations to this research:

- The researcher would have loved to carry out a research on the funeral gathering for all the dialects of the Shona people but time would not permit, this would have resulted in attaining a more in-depth analysis of the Shona as a whole. However, the researcher managed to focus on the Zezuru dialect.
- Even though it was not extremely necessary, the research could have made of interviews, which would have changed the results of the data. However, interviews were not conducted because the results of this study lay in the utterances in action hence observation method was suitable.
- The area of the language used at funeral gatherings has been largely studied by many scholars from a genre point of view and ethnography of communication focusing mainly on death announcements or obituaries. Therefore, the researcher was restricted to limited resources and also ethnography of communication and conversational implicature were treated separately. Nonetheless, the researcher took this as a gap that needed to be filled by this current research.

1.9 Significance of study

This will help the society to understand why people fail to observe conversational maxims in some contexts yet in other contexts they observe the maxims. Thus the society will have a better understanding why people because of culture fail to observe maxims in sensitive contexts such as funerals.

The researcher hopes that this research will have a scholarly impact on the extensive study of ethnography of communication and conversational implicature when analysing utterances from

social gatherings. There is need to consider studying conversational implicature and ethnography of communication simultaneously as it will help people to have a better understanding of how culture impacts on implicature.

The research is important in that it analyses non observance of maxims as it is employed in social gatherings of the Shona culture specifically at the funeral gathering then link it to ethnography of communication. This will assist Zimbabweans to have written work on how the dominant Shona culture influences their language.

The study will assist people in understanding how culture constrains the language in use resulting in implicature. In simpler terms, after reading this project, the reader will understand why people make such utterances that fail to observe maxims yet cooperation remains present.

This will assist in showing the importance of carefully handling sensitive issues. In the sense that people will know how to speak in special ways that will not inflict pain but rather control the pain by using the kind of language that is more appropriate.

This study will improve the current knowledge on conversational implicature and ethnography of communication that have been treated separately by combining the two theories.

1.10 Definition of terms

- **Cooperative principle:** Grice (1975:45) states that, “it is a conversation principle stating that makes your contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.”

- **Ethnography of communication:** Hymes (1972) states that language is culturally constrained. The researcher will use it as ethnography.
- **Conversational implicature:** are inferences calculated on the basis of the maxims of conversations. They also refer to the implications which can be deduced from the form of utterance, on the basis of conversations. The researcher will use it as implicature
- **Implicature:** is the aspect of meaning that a speaker conveys without directly expressing it. According to Thomas (1995) implicature convey an additional meaning beyond the semantic meaning of the words uttered. The researcher focused on conversational implicature.
- **Maxims of conversation:** “are general principles underlying the efficient co-operative use of language, which jointly express a general co-operative principle.” Levinson(1983:101)
- **Funeral:** is ceremony held whereby people gather to mourn the death of a beloved one. It stretches from such a gathering to the burial. The research focuses on the gathering excluding burial hence will refer it to funeral gatherings
- **Culture:** are the characteristics of a particular group of people defined by everything form language, religion, cuisine, social habits, music and art.
- **Utterance:** is the action of saying or expressing something aloud. It can be a word, phrase or a whole sentence that can be analysed.

1.11 Conclusion

The chapter introduced the study and highlighted the thrust of the study. Showing that there is need to combine the two theories of conversational implicature and ethnography of

communication as previous researches have treated them separately as reflected in past researches on the kind of language that is used death which were looked at from a cultural and genre point of view. The next chapter will look at previous researches made on the study, secondly, explaining ethnography of communication and conversational implicature theories that are going to serve as the theoretical framework underpinning the study.

Chapter 2

2.0 Introduction

Previously the study was introduced by giving its background and more about the topic. This chapter will be divided into two sections that is, the literature review and the theoretical framework. The literature review will review what previous researchers say about the language used at funerals (death) highlighting the importance of combining ethnography of communication and conversational implicature. The second section will describe ethnography of communication and conversational implicature showing how the two theories will be used to carry out the research on how culture restricts the kind of language used at funerals to generate implicature at the expense of conversational maxims.

2.1 Review of literature

Makondo (2007) looks at names coined for specific purposes under the following headings: hope, life span, protest and universality of death. For instance, he explains under the universality of death, that death is the order of life and gave an example of 'rufu haruvhikwi' (death is inevitable). Names are used: to console the bereaved and ensures a tranquility exists in the society, to show the cruelty of death, giving it human qualities, rhetorical questions directed to God, describe death as often strikes, showing everyone is drifting towards death. He looks at how culture influences terms used to talk about death without paying particular attention to the generation of implicature. Thus, this current research is a continuation of how culture influences the kind of language used at funerals, not only looking at the names given to death but the actual utterances that people make as well as how implicature is generated by ethnography of

communication through nonobservance of conversational maxims. This will be done by combining conversational implicature and ethnography of communication.

Past researches looked at how the society and culture guide the use of euphemism and linguistic devices used in death announcements. Fernandez (2006/2007) explores the euphemistic language on obituary page from the mid nineteenth century a time when the sentimentalization of death provided a fertile soil for the flowering of euphemism. He mentions that euphemism provided relief in the face of death. He also looks at the main linguistic devices used in Irish Victorian death notices. Those linguistic devices used to compliment the dead and those left behind just because during the Victorian period people were very sensitive to issues of death and social classes. For example he looked at linguistic devices such as; figurative language such as the metaphors giving an example of “death is a joyful life” in the phrase “that abode of peace” referring to death because death is considered a taboo; hyperboles, positively loaded words, negatively loaded words, mitigating apologetic expressions. Thus he looked at the influence of ethnography of communication leaving out conversational implicature. This research is therefore a continuation of the language used at death by looking at linguistic devices used by attendants and how implicature is generated. Hence, the researcher finds it crucial to combine ethnography of communication and conversational implicature so as to understand better the language used at funerals.

Nelson (2009) argues euphemisms are unnecessary and disrespectful to human life that was lost giving an example of “passed away” people were made to feel the cruelty of death. This study is a continuation as it also looks at euphemism. To understand why euphemism is said to be unnecessary there is need therefore to understand the implied meaning of what has been said. This can be achieved by means of combining the two theories of ethnography of communication

and conversational implicature just because euphemism is used for different reasons to imply different things in different contexts. Hence, helping to clarify whether the notion of euphemism is or not unnecessary and disrespectful, through analysing the implied meanings of the euphemism as it is used by speakers.

Previous researches looked the cultural practices done after a person dies. Masanga and Chingombe (2009) carried a research the continued use of “gata” (consultation of a traditional healer to account for the death or life threatening illness of a person) even in life threatening events such as HIV/AIDS. Mandaza (1970:58) “gata” is “a ceremony that is held to determine the cause of death.” it is a traditional way to prove that death is unnatural and has been caused by some evil spirits or curse from ancestors. Its aim is to find the cause of the death and corrective measures to protect the family from the same mishap. This depicts that the Shona culture believe that death is unnatural. Hence there should be some corrective measures done to protect the family from such misfortunes. These are some of the factors that influence how people speak at funeral gatherings. The above mentioned scholars looked at the culture without necessarily looking at language yet the two are related in the sense that before those rituals are done people discuss or talk about it. Therefore, there is need to look at how culture influences utterances made during Shona culture funeral gathering s they related to cultural practices done after the death of a person. The researcher seeks to look at how culture is influential on utterances made at funeral gathering to generate conversational implicature. The current research will look combine the two theories of conversation implicature and ethnography which were treated separately by previous scholars.

Afful (2011) carried out a research on death announcements genre in terms of schematic structures and linguistic features as presented in newspapers in Ghana. He paid particular

attention to seven moves namely; caption, list of family members and organizations/institutions, profiles of the deceased, funeral arrangements, a second list of family members, prescription of attire and invitation. This was done by adopting Swales rhetorical approach in genre analysis. For instance he mentions that captions range from words to sentences which are follow under two categories namely declarative and the imperative giving an example of “he passed on” a declarative and “rest in peace” an imperative caption. This study is a continuation of the language used at death whilst Afful (2011) focuses on obituaries and death announcements the researcher will focus on the actual utterances made during funeral gatherings. He also did not combine ethnography of communication and conversational implicature. It is inadequate to look at the language used from a genre point of view in newspapers without looking at; actual utterances that people make during funeral gatherings, how the type of language used is influenced by culture and the implied meaning of the language used. Thus there is need to combine the two theories of ethnography and conversational implicature as they have been treated separately previously.

Igene (2007) sites Kachru stating that he examines the linguistic features of the use peculiar traditional reference to death in Indian English and further observes that context of culture necessitates the use of indirectness in reference to death in obituary announcements. Thus, Kachuru observed that culture influences the indirectness of the language used in Indian English as shown by the linguistic features used in obituary announcements. This study is a continuation on how culture influences language used at funerals. Kachuru focused on ethnography of communication and ignored conversational implicature. There is therefore, need to combine ethnography of communication so as to understand how the linguistic features and the kind of

language used are influenced by culture to generate implicature so as to have a better understanding of the kind of language used at funerals.

Rawson (1995) states that the over sentimentalization of Victorian obituaries is reflected in a number of euphemistic poetic metaphors and metonymies aiming at substituting taboo words related to mortality. Rawson looks at ethnography of communication only as noted by the fact that he looked at use of euphemism, metaphors and metonymies to substitute taboo words in Victorian obituaries. Taboo words are well known by speech communities and are culturally determined. This shows that Rawson looked at ethnography of communication and did not combine it with conversational implicature. There is need therefore, to look at how culture influences linguistic use and language as well as how it generates implicature for better understanding of the kind of language used at funerals.

Kent (2007) carried out research on funeral oratory and eulogies explaining how contemporary eulogistic practices comforting is derived from extra linguistic features of funeral service and not from the rhetoric of eulogy itself. The three main extra linguistic features of the funeral rites are socio-political, conciliatory and eulogizing. These are the factors that shape the oratory and eulogy used at funerals. Thus the researcher was focusing on other aspects outside of culture that shape how people speak in front of people. The researcher saw it crucial to look at how culture shapes how people during their casual conversations and not oratories and eulogies. Hence there is also great need to look at both ethnography and implicature in a way that will help people understand how people speak and how listeners get the meaning since cultural factors shapes the way people speak.

Mahmoud and Zainab (2011) postulates Carried out a research looking at how and why people interact through death announcements as well as how the death announcements are shaped by sociocultural background. Thus they were looking at how ethnography influences the kind of language used at death announcements without focusing on how it generates implicature. The researcher saw it necessary to include implicature as another theory that needs to be included to the study of language used at funerals as it help understand how people use language and what they actually which is meaning different from what they literally say. Coultas (2003) propagates that, people should know the rules of the society whether written or not and also its rituals and customs as they affect language in use. That is it societal rules, customs and rituals determine the appropriateness of an utterance. Henceforth, this research is continuation on how cultural rules dominate language in use. It will then include the aspect on how culture generates implicature at the expense of maxims.

Coulthard (2007) quotes Keith Basso article on “silence in western apache Apache culture” keeping silent among the western Apache is a response to uncertainty and unpredictability in social relations”. Basso’s ethnography of communication studies comprised of society and culture excluding language. Basso does not combine ethnography of communication and conversational implicature rather he focuses on ethnography of communication as shown by culture that influences silence among the western Apache. It is impossible to talk about conversational implicature where language is ignored rather language needs to be included. thus making it clear that ethnography of communication and conversational implicature were never combined rather only ethnography of communication is applied. This study seek to combine the two theories by including language in the study so as to understand the occurrence of things

(language used) at social gatherings and the culture that govern it, through analysing funeral cultural gathering of the Shona people.

Sherzer (1974:118) “analysed on elaborate ethnobotanical taxonomy of hot pepper from the Cuna, of the kind that would likely be of interest to the ethnoscientists. Sherzer’s interest is in fact this taxonomy constitutes the structural framework of the curing chant. The taxonomy is known fully to specialists in the chant. Its use in the construction of the chant allows for lengthening of the overall performance which is valued by the Cuna as both medically effective and esthetical pleasing as a form of verbal act.” Sherzer based his research ethnolinguistics studies on chanting. To understand the chants better, the implied meaning should be researched so as the society to understand the taxonomy of the chant and not to restrict it to only the specialists. It is of paramount importance to combine ethnography of communication and conversational implicature.

Bloome and Green (2002) states that there is need to carry out a research is need to look at how social context influences the language use showing how a particular group relates to the way they use a language. Thus there is need to understand how social context influences the kind of language used at a particular context. The researcher intends to combine the ethnography of communication and conversational implicature to bring out how social context of funeral gatherings influences the linguistic use showing how the Shona culture people relates to the way they use a Shona language. In other words, the researcher wishes to look at how the Shona culture influences the language used at funeral gatherings as well as how it generates implicature by combining ethnography of communication and conversational implicature.

Bourdillion (1976) pays more attention on the burial of the shona people, mentioning the sprinkling of water on the grave to cool the spirit, sweeping the area of the grave with a branch of a tree to see any violation. He goes on to say that, the spirit of the deceased is believed to be outside the world and is wandering, the spirit is said to be unpredictable which explains the necessity of the cooling. In addition he looks at the roles given to people according to blood relations as follows; the sister's son is the master of ceremony or his equivalency; son-in-law for collecting firewood, digging the grave and other duties; daughters-in-law household chores, preparing and serving food to the guest and the funeral friend is the entertainer so as to relieve the tension of the event. According to Thiong'o (1986) language is the carrier of culture. Bourdillion was describing the beliefs and way of conduct of the Shona people without necessarily looking at the language used to conduct them. It is thus very crucial to look at the kind of language used by the Shona people that show that their beliefs and way of conducting the funeral ceremony are real and also practiced. The researcher seeks to look at the kind of utterances that people make during funeral ceremony showing how such cultural beliefs and norms affect people's language as well as how implicature is generated at the expense of conversational maxims yet still cooperating conversely. Henceforth, there is need to combine the two theories.

Bilmes (1993) suggests that the study of implicature in use involves the study of culture. He further notes that implicature can be restricted and not eliminated. He gave an example of an American culture, Dave who had gone on a date giving more focus on the response priority. The two possible implicatures of "I have a BA in Chemistry" are firstly, it does not mean that one does not have a higher degree in other subjects. The other possible meanings were either BA is the highest degree that one has from Yule or BA or is the highest degree that one has in

chemistry. This means that there is a relationship between ethnography which is cultural and conversation implicature as it encompasses the study of culture. The researcher agrees to the fact that implicature is difficult to eliminate but can be limited. Thus this study will continue showing how culture contributes to the generation of implicature that is in use by using Shona culture funeral gathering as a case study by way of combining ethnography of communication and conversational implicature which were previously separated.

2.2 Theoretical framework

The researcher is going to adopt two theories considered to be very suitable when analyzing utterances amongst the Shona people funeral ceremony: Hymes Ethnography of communication will be used to assess how culture contributes towards constrains/ shapes the kind of language used to generate implicature and Grice conversational implicature was used to assess the implicature that was generated.

2.2.1.0 Conversational implicature

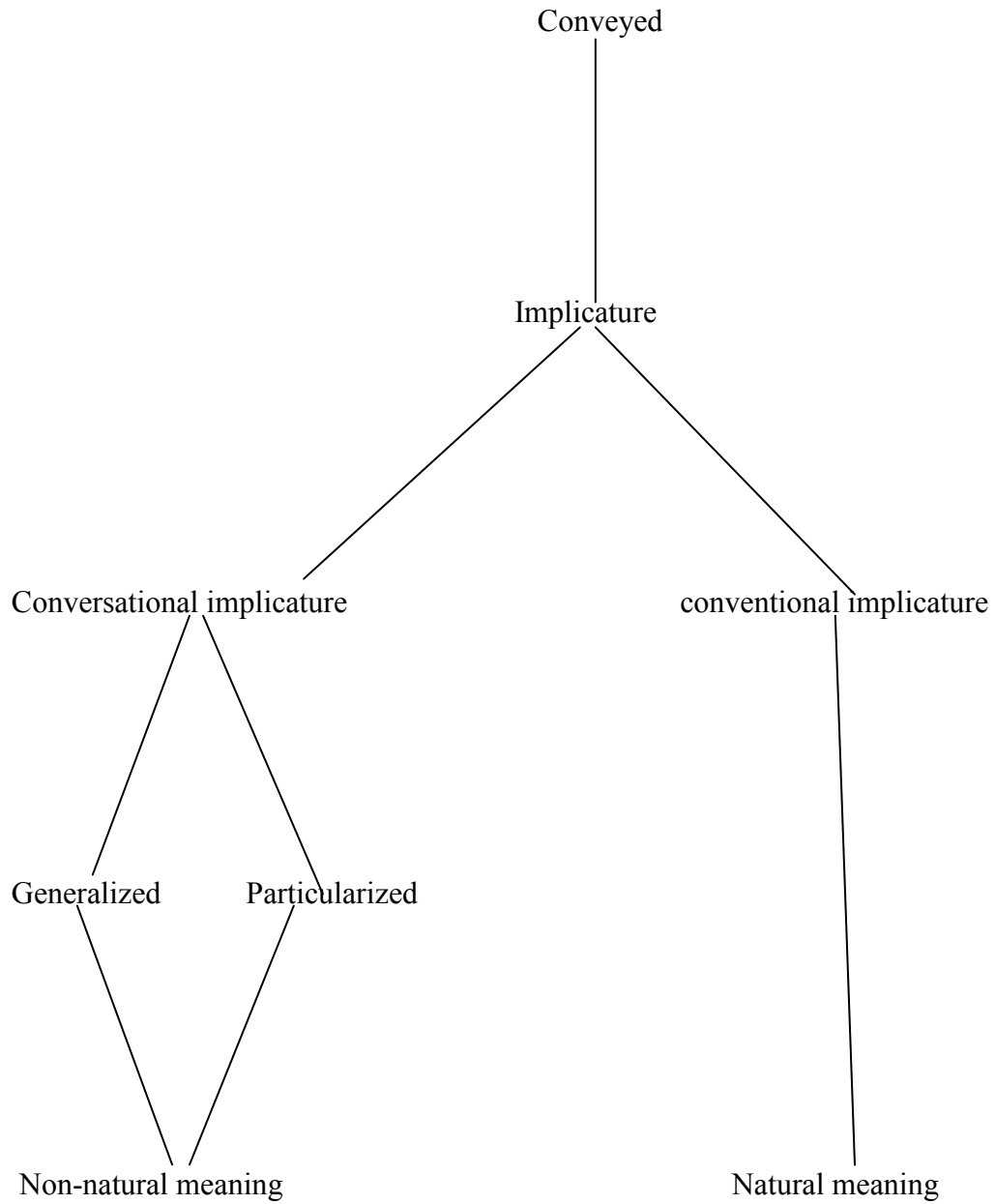
Paul Herbert Grice an American linguistic philosopher proposed the theory of conversational implicature during his second lecture entitled *Logic and Conversation* in his William James lectures at Harvard University in 1967.

According to Thomas (1995) Grice theory is an attempt at explaining how a hearer gets from what is said to what is meant from the level of expressed meaning to level of implied meaning. He goes on to say, Grice introduced the cooperative principle and the conversational maxims in

order to explain the mechanisms by which people interpret conversational implicature. He further notes that, Grice suggested that, people observe certain regularities in interaction and his aim was to explain the regularities that govern the generation of conversational implicature. Grice was explaining regularities that govern the generation and interpretation of implicature through the use of conversational maxims as well as the cooperative principle. The researcher aims at adding ethnography to these regularities as culture is a guide to the formation and the way people construe the suggested meaning of a particular utterance.

Conversational implicature is the non-natural or non-literal meaning. Meaning that which has been stated is different from what is meant. In order to understand implied meaning from what is said Grice proposed that there are two types of meaning: natural meaning (entailment) that is present in every occasion when an expression occurs and non-natural meaning (implicature) which is not part of the entailment and is not explicitly stated and context of the utterance is important. To further understand the non-natural meaning Grice suggests two kinds of implicatures that is the generalized and particularized implicature. Generalized conversational implicature arise irrespective of the context in which they occur. Whereas, particularized implicature arise not only from an utterance alone but from the utterance in context. Grundy (2000) proposed that if the implicature were not divided that it would entail that the maxim of relation stand for all maxims. So this distinction of implicatures allows for more maxims such as manner and quantity. The following is a diagram that distinguishes non-natural meaning from natural meaning:

To distinguish non-natural meaning from natural meaning is the below diagram by Grundy (2000):



2.2.1.2 Cooperative principle

Brown and Yule (1983) stated that conversational implicature is derived from the principle of conversation plus maxim which speakers normally will obey that is known as the cooperative principle. In addition, Grice (1975:45) in the cooperative principle “make your conversational contribution such as is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged.” Maxims are also known as conversational conventions and they are in support of the cooperative principle. Below is a list of conversational maxims:

1. Maxim of quantity

This is a maxim of amount of information a speaker utters, it should neither be too little nor too much than is required. Thus a speaker should make contribution as informative as is required for the current purpose of exchange. They should not make contributions that are more or less informative than is required. An example of such an utterance is,

Q: Are you married?

A: No

The above mentioned is a yes/no interrogation question. The answer given is adequate as such a does not require more or less information than was given by the respondent.

2. Maxim of quality

Speakers must not say what they believe to be false or that for which they lack adequate evidence. This maxim is also known as the maxim of truthfulness. An example of such an utterance is, “Spaghetti Bolognese is very delicious” this gives rise to the implicature that the speaker has enough evidence that spaghetti Bolognese is very delicious.

3. Maxim of relation

Speakers or interlocutors must be relevant to the exchange. In simpler terms, are discouraged from going off topic. For example, if people are talking about soap, the exchange should have something to do with soap.

4. Maxim of manner

Speakers must be perspicuous. In other words, the following should be observed:

- Avoid obscurity of expression
- Avoid ambiguity
- Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity)
- Be orderly.

An example of such an utterance is shown in the below doctor to patient conversation:

Doctor: What is the problem ma'am?

Patient: I broke my left leg.

The patient's response is clear, brief and orderly.

2.2.1.3 Characteristics of Grice maxims

The characteristic features of maxims are used for testing implicature and are as follows:

- Non-detachability and non-conventionality

Conversational implicature is maintained even when an utterance has been relexicalized.

Generated meaning cannot always be made so clearly. What begins as conversational implicature may become the meaning of a lexical item. Implicature changes- implicature

is the property of utterances not sentence. Therefore, same words vary different implicatures on different occasions. That is to say the same utterance can mean different things

- **Calculability**

There are steps that a hearer goes through in order to calculate the intended meaning. In simpler terms, one can work out the steps a hearer is to follow in order to arrive at the implicature. The conversational implicature of an utterance is different from its literal meaning.

- **Defeasibility Cancelability**

Conversational implicature can be cancelled if some other premises to the original one are added. Speaker might imply something and then deny it

- **Indeterminacy**

An expression or utterance that may have a single meaning can give rise to different implicature on different occasions.

2.2.1.4 Non observance of Grice maxims

It is not always the case that these maxims are observed. Types of nonobservance are as follows:

2.2.1.4.1 Flouting a maxim

This is when an encoder deliberately fails to observe a maxim with no intention to mislead or deceive but to make the decoder deduce the non-natural meaning. Flouting according to Thomas (1995:67) is “blatant nonobservance of the maxim (that is the listener has discounted the

possibility that the speaker maybe trying to deceive, or is incapable of speaking more clearly, succinctly), he or she is prompted to look for an implicature.”

The following is an example of a speaker who flouts a maxim:

M: Is this your son?

V: But whom else.

V wants M to deduce the implicature that it is his son. This is a Yes/No interrogation but instead V responds in a way that M know that the answer is yes. Thus the interlocutor V flouts a maxim without the intention to mislead M. That is why V’s response is closely linked to a yes which should have been the answer he should have given.

2.2.1.4.2 Infringing a maxim

It occurs when a speaker, with no intention of generating an implicature and with no intention of deceiving, fails to observe a maxim. In other words, the nonobservance stems from imperfect linguistic performance rather than from any desire on the part of the speakers to generate a conversational implicature. Some causes for such non observance are as listed below:

- Stress
- Drunkenness
- Fatigue
- Excitement
- Nervousness
- Unfamiliarity with the culture of the particular language.

The below is an example of an athlete who is extremely thirsty and is requesting for some water:

M: Water? Water? Water?

The interlocutor is being less informative and unclear because of fatigue.

2.2.1.4.3 Suspending a maxim

Thomas (1995) postulates that, suspending of a maxim occurs may be due to cultural differences or to the nature of certain events or situations. Grice (1975) states that, what is said is not completely true or that there are things the speaker ought not to say. In simpler terms people do not observe maxims and there are not expected to do so. An example is that of telephone conversations:

A calls B asking him where she is:

A: I want to go, where are you?

B: I am at the great hall.

B is lying that he is at the great hall. There are no restrictions for him to observe the maxims at the same time he is not willing to opt out. Thus he is suspending the maxim of truth or quality.

2.2.1.4.4 Opting out of a maxim

This is when speakers are unwilling to cooperate. Thomas (1995:74) postulates that “this when the speaker will be unwilling to cooperate and reveal more than he or she already has. The speaker chooses not to observe the maxim and states unwillingness to do so.” This is very typical in the medical sector or when handling sensitive information. For example:

When an accident occurs news reporters do not reveal the names of the deceased until the next of kin have been notified. The reporter will say:

A: ...the names of the deceased will be announced after the next of kin have been notified.

2.2.1.4.5 Violating a maxim

Grice (1975) suggests that it is the unostentatious nonobservance of a maxim. This is the opposite of flouting a maxim in the sense that, if a speaker violates a maxim they will be liable to mislead. The marketing sector has a tendency to violate in order to sell the product and so is the advertising sector. For example chicken and chips menu advert:

“It’s finger lickin’ good!”

2.2.1.5 Strengths and Weakness of conversational implicature

Listed below are strengths and weaknesses of conversational implicature;

Strengths

- Different cultures have their own way of observing maxims which shows that this is a very applicable theory universally
- It describes the commonly accepted traits of successful communication.

Weaknesses

Thomas (1995) argues that Grice theory has many gaps and several inconsistencies. Listed below are questions that arise when studying Grice theories:

- a) How do we know that a speaker is deliberately failing to observe a maxim and an implicature is intended?
- b) How can we distinguish between types of non-observance for example, opting out and suspending?

The other weaknesses are as follows:

- What aspect of what is said is relevant? That is, what linguistic levels must be referred in a derivation of an implicature?
- Maxims are expected to be universal in every language in which they occur of which it practically impossible due to cultural differences is. Language is culturally constrained thus culture cannot be removed from language rather it governs language use.

Thus, Grice proposed four maxims which are of quality, quantity, relation and manner. One can say Grice cooperative principle and the conversational maxim helps to understand the implied meaning also known as the conversational implicature.

2.2.2 Ethnography of communication

Dell Hymes formulated the theory now known as ethnography of communication. In the beginning in (1962) it was called the ethnography of speaking and was used to study how people talked. Then it was changed to ethnography of communication it included other symbolic means of expression.

Hymes notion of ethnography of communication was aimed at proving that communicative competence was important. That is to say competence in use involves knowledge and ability to

speak in ways that are socially appropriate. This is opposed to Chomsky's grammatical competence which focuses on correctness of grammar in utterances. Hymes theory focuses on how context and culture can influence utterance. He also looked at how people used a language and their patterns.

Hymes proposed six basic units that can assist a researcher in selecting a particular area to focus when studying communication of a particular culture. These include: speech community, ways of speaking, communicative style, speech event, communicative act, speech situation. The researcher will therefore, examine the speech event (funeral gathering), ways of speaking (utterances that are not in line with maxims due to cultural restrictions) and the speech community (Shona community).

Neuman (2003) suggests that Hymes' ethnography of communication describes a culture and provides an understanding of that culture from an insider perspective. Observation can be made from how member of a culture act, speak, think with specific cultural context to give meaning to actions and behaviors of the group. Thus, anyone interested in partaking studies in the field of ethnography of speaking should know the culture of a particular group to understand the way they talk and behave in a particular context.

Hymes (1972) proposes that a speech community is a group of people who share the same rules of speaking as well as the same language. One cannot do without including a speech community when studying ethnography of speaking and in this research the speech community is Shona community.

Ethnography of communication describes how language affects the society. It describes what should and should not, what may or may not be done in certain situation. In other words, it

determines the appropriateness of spoken language in a particular society at a particular context. Coulthard (2007) states that, Hymes ethnography of speaking is concerned with cultural rules by which a social use non use of language is used. One can say, it is culture that governs how language will be used in particular societies as well as specific situations. For example, “makorokoto” (congratulations) and “nematambudziko” are used to express feelings on events. At marriage ceremonies it is appropriate to say “makorokoto” this utterance made to praise those who have wedded and to express jovial feelings of the event. It will be inappropriate to use the same utterance at a funeral gathering instead “Nematambudziko” is used to express sympathy on the family left behind and to express sympathy. It is also inappropriate to use the later mentioned utterance at weddings. Thus cultural rules determine what should be or should not be used in particular contexts within a particular society. In this research cultural rules account for why particular utterances occur are used and why they are considered to be appropriate yet they will be failing to observe conversational maxims.

The speaking model has sixteen components later divided into eight components. They act as a checklist or research tool for ethnographers and are as listed below:

- a) Listed are the sixteen components: Message form, message content, setting, scene, speaker or sender, addressor, hearer/receiver/audience, addressee, purpose/outcomes, purpose/goals, key, channels, forms of speech, norms of interaction, norms of interpretation and genre.
- b) Listed are the eight components presented by the acronym **SPEAKING**:

Setting or scene

Participants or personnel are the people involved and the roles they play, or the relationship they have with other participants.

Ends (purposes, goals and outcomes)

Act sequence (characteristics of both form and content of what is said)

Key (tone, manner, spirit in which an act is done)

Instrumentalities (channel and code)

Norms of interactions and interpretation

Genres are categories of speech act and speech event such as, proverbs and prayers.

2.3 Conclusion

This current chapter was divided into two major categories namely the literature review and the theoretical framework. The literature review looked at the previous researches made on the language used at death and the major gap established was ethnography of communication and conversational implicature were never combined and were never used at the same time in the studies undertaken. Hence, the researcher intends to combine the two theories and use them at the same time so as to have a better understanding of the kind of language used at funerals. The second section looked at ethnography of communication and conversational implicature showing how they will be used as the framework to be applied in the study. Ethnography will look at how language is culturally constrained and conversational implicature will look at non-observance of

maxims and implicature. The next chapter will focus on the research methodology of the current study.

Chapter 3

3.0 Introduction

This chapter looks at specific methods for collecting data of utterances made in the Shona culture at funeral gatherings. The researcher is going to use the qualitative research method to analyze data achieved through observing utterances that mean differently from what has been said due to cultural limitation made during funeral gatherings in the Shona culture and using it as the case study. The research is aimed towards answering the research questions mentioned earlier on in chapter one.

3.1 Case study

Dornyei (2007) suggests that a case study is a method of study in which a particular organization or situation is used to explore an occurrence and to link with this research, Shona cultural funeral gathering of five adult deceased was the case study used to investigate the relationship between ethnography of communication and conversational implicature. This was done through attending five funerals of deceased adults of the Zezuru people in Harare because they were Zezuru funeral cultural gathering and also the researcher had a brief background of the funerals attended. In simpler terms the researcher knew that they were Zezuru people who valued and practiced their culture. The other reason, a researcher of ethnography of communication is required to know the culture of a particular group under study as this will help to the researcher to understand the way that group talks in particular contexts. Shona cultural funeral gatherings

where selected to be the case study because people try by all means to preserve their culture at funeral gatherings just because funeral are culturally valued events.

3.2 Research instruments

Research instruments are used to measure something. Instruments are used to discover and record data and information necessary to the furtherance of the research. Five funerals of deceased adults of the Zezuru people have been attended to collect data. Observation sheet was used as a tool for collecting data. The speaking model will also be used as a checklist just because ethnographers use it as a checklist.

3.3.0 Sampling procedures for data collection

3.3.1 Population sampling

A population sample is defined by Altman (2004) as a portion of a population used to carry out a research. The population study is Shona funeral gathering. The Shona people have been selected to be the population sample because Shona dominates seventy percent of Zimbabwe. The researcher's focused on five adult funerals as attendance of participants is high and also due to time restrictions. From the five dialects of the Shona the research focuses on the Zezuru dialect because the researcher is a Zezuru and thus understands it better than the other dialects. It is required that a researcher partaking ethnography of communication study should understand the culture of the particular group as this will help understand the way in which that particular group talks in particular contexts as propounded by Neuman (2003) and Hymes (1972).

Sampling frame is a list of units to be sampled. In this study the researcher is going to employ a combination of criterion sampling, maximum variation sampling as well as non-proportional sampling procedures.

i) Criterion sampling

This technique has been used to select a specific type of funeral from other funerals. According to Dorynei (2007) criterion sampling is selecting participants who meet some specific predetermined criteria. This has been used to select the Shona funeral gatherings from the other cultures in Zimbabwe such as the Ndebele culture and also it has been used to select the Zezuru funeral gathering from the other dialects in the Shona culture because the researcher understands Zezuru better than the other dialects. It has also been used to select funeral gatherings of adults various kinds of people with different roles attended and generally attendance is more at adult funerals than other ages.

ii) Maximum variation sampling

This method has been used to select the participants. The researcher will select participants according to their roles during or at the funeral gathering as this will allow variation in utterances that people make and achieving better results. Quite a number of participants normally attend the funeral gathering but the researcher focused on three categories namely: *sahwira* (funeral friend), the preacher, and close relatives such as the spouse, children, siblings and parents of the deceased.

iii) Non proportional quota sampling

The researcher is not concerned with having numbers that match the proportions in the population. Thus this is very suitable as the researcher is targeting three categories: the *sahwira* (funeral friend), the preachers and close relatives. For every funeral attended in category of the *sahwira* (funeral friend) one will be chosen, in the category of preachers one will be chosen and in the category of close relatives three will be chosen. This is suitable as roles contribute to the meaning of utterances.

3.3.2 Data Collection Procedure

i) Observation or field work

Observation method according to Cohen et al (2010: 396) “offers the investigator the opportunity to gather live data from naturally occurring situations.” This means that the investigator will get firsthand information and valid data. The researcher observed the following aspects during funeral gathering: how, when and why people use ethnography of communication paying particular attention to the actual contributing factor and how does it contribute to implicature.

According to Robson (2002:310) “...what people do may differ from what they say they do, and observation is a reality check” What people say they do especially in sensitive environment differs from what they actually do. Therefore, the researcher is going to use unobtrusive observation whereby, the participants will be unaware that they are being investigated or observed. The researcher will not inform the participants that they are being observed. Hence, people can freely say what they want to say without being afraid that someone is watching them.

According to Reardon (2006:135) observation is a valuable method for the study of crowds and crowds' behavior. Therefore, it is a very suitable method to use in observing utterances made by people during funeral gatherings in the Shona culture as this is a highly sensitive gathering.

3.4 Limitation of methodology

Below are the limitations of the chosen research methodology:

- a) case study
 - b) sampling
 - c) observation
- a) Case Study**

The case study was not a representation of the whole population thus there was no representation of all the Shona dialects as well as other cultures in Zimbabwe. In other words, it was limited to only the Zezuru dialect.

b) Sampling

Some participants play more than a single role thus they overlap. The researcher had to pay particular attention as this spoiled the collected data.

c) Observation

Observations of utterances made at funerals are from the Shona culture thereby leaving out other relevant material. Interruptions of some utterance were witnessed due to the barrier of noise caused by people who were crying so loud. The researcher failed to record due to the

barrier of cries hence only managed to observe without recording anything. Questionnaires and interviews were not carried out, to answer the research questions, therefore findings from the methodology will be based solely from observational analysis of utterances at funerals which are also limited to the Shona culture.

3.5 Conclusion

The chapter focused on how the researcher has gathered data thereby, providing an overview of the research methodology including the weaknesses of the chosen methodology. The target population and sampling procedures were spelt out, also showing the relevance of the methodology to the study. The researcher chose to observe utterances made at funeral gatherings because it is the convenient method to the research questions. The next chapter will focus on data analysis.

Chapter 4

4.0 Introduction

The previous chapter looked at the research methodology and this current chapter will be analysing the collected data from five funerals observed. It will show how ethnography of communication is accounting determinant factor in the generation of implicature. In other words, some of the utterances collected are going to be analysed looking at how they are shaped. It will also look at the kind of nonobservance that takes place and the kind of maxims that are not being observed by the Shona (Zezuru dialect) culture people at funeral gathering. Data will be presented and analysed at the same time.

4.1.0 Data presentation and interpretation

4.1.1 Preacher utterance findings

The use of euphemism

It is the use of mild or indirect utterances used to talk about something that is unpleasant or negative, below are two utterances made:

The Shona cultural norm is to speak of something that is negative or very difficult to come to terms or grips with in a lightly manner. *mushakabvu arere* (the deceased lying) *Mushakabvu* is the name given to the deceased it does not specify the name of the deceased, thus it is an unclear. The name of the deceased is less frequently mentioned it is replaced by the word *mushakabvu*

because the dead is said to be no longer a part of the living nor a part of the *vadzimu* (family spirits) but their spirit is believed to be wandering until the settling of the spirit is done also known as *kurova guva* (to beat the grave) so the dead cannot be referred to as *vadzimu* but as *mushakabvu*. Henceforth, use of euphemism influenced by cultural norms generates implicature by suspending the maxim of manner.

Another instance of the use of euphemism is when suicide is referred to as *chinhanho*, as shown by the following utterance *Kuitira kuti tisazosvika pachinhanho chasvikwa nehama yedu yatadai kuunganira* (for the sake that we will not take the step that has taken by our relative whom we have gather for or we should not commit suicide like what the deceased did) In the Shona custom it is inappropriate to say negative things about the deceased no matter what the case might be. Suicide in the Shona culture is considered as the work of the evil so a person who commits suicide is not supposed to be blamed. The cultural role of the preacher does not allow him to say the cause of the death so the preacher flouts the maxim of manner by being obscure on how the deceased died so as to focus on emphasising discouragement of committing suicide that the preacher is advocating for people to seek comfort or finding someone they can share their problems with. Therefore, cultural norms and roles generate implicature by flouting the maxim of manner shown by the use of euphemism.

The use of didactic utterance

It is a way of teaching people and words carry what the speaker wants to teach as reflected below;

Didactic utterance is used in teach people the cultural norm that when a person dies, neighbors are expected attend the funeral and to respect those who have suffered loss. *Panenguva yekufara*

penenguva yekusuwa. Panenguva yekudyara panenguva yekukohwa. Zvinonzi chemai nevanochema mugofara nevanofara. Zvinopanetukomana twandaona twepa next door tuchiridza radio pafull blast nzimbodzacho handichataure(there is a time to be happy and a time to be sad. There is a time to plant and a time to reap. It is said cry with those who are crying and celebrate with those who are celebrating. Now there are some boys from the next door whom I saw playing their radio on full blast, the songs I will not mention) Bourdillion (1976) postulates that neighbours are part of the people who are expected to attend local funerals. The aim of the preacher is to teach people that there is a time for everything and is encouraging people to have feelings and to attend funerals like people used to do. The preacher comments on neighbors who were playing music whilst there is a funeral next door. This shows that the next door neighbors do not even bother to respect those that have suffered loss of a beloved one. The preacher began with referring to the word of God and then shifted to the disrespectful boys, instead of begging by stating the disrespectful boys then referring to the word. Thus, cultural norms generate implicature through flouting of the maxim of manner by placing the core of the utterance at the end.

The use of songs

Songs are used to ease and offer hope to the bereaved family. *Kanatakunda tichazoonana, tichazoonana* (if we overcome we will meet see each other We shall meet). Hope is being instilled by mentioning that the living will meet with the dead someday through the use of songs. According to Aschwaden (1982) the Shona believe that they will meet with the dead someday. Songs are a special genre employed to offer hope to the bereaved family but no one has actually witnessed it. Henceforth, cultural norms generate implicature by way of suspending the maxim of quality by saying something that they lack enough evidence.

The use of idioms and Epigrammatic expressions

Idioms are expression well known to its users and epigrammatic is whereby one expresses something such as a feeling or idea in a short and clever or funny way as presented below:

Idioms is a genre well known by its users and the preacher has no need for explaining the idiom to the people but the people will deduce the meaning of the idiom by the way it is used *Chinobururka chinomhara* (what flies always lands). According to Makondo (2007) mentions that death is definite and universal. That is to say death is inevitable. Idioms and epigrammatic utterances are related in the above mentioned utterance in the sense that idioms are used to express everyone will die in a funny or clever way. The atmosphere of death is tense and this preaching is not for burial but for comforting people whilst gathering, the aim is to comfort and mourn not to bury the dead. The preacher relieves the tense atmosphere by indirectly saying that everyone will die in a funny manner so as to make them laugh. Idioms and epigrammatic utterances are genres used to speak of death in a short and clever or funny way. Therefore, cultural genre and setting (ethnography of communication) produces implicature by flouting the maxim of manner by being obscure.

The use of tautology and repetition of lexical items and phrases

Repetition is the repeating word either the exact words or phrases. Tautology is the use of different words that mean the same, as shown below:

Tautology and repetition is of lexical items and phrases are used to give emphasis that death is natural. *Vaedza zvose, zvose zvavaedza kuenda kuchipatara, kuenda kunoona madzichiremba apineapi, zvose zvakaitwa zvakashaya basa nekuti nguva yanga yakwana.* (they have tried everything, everything they have tried, going to the hospitals, visiting different kinds of

doctors, everything that was done was of no use because it was time). According to Bourdillion (1976) the Shona tradition is death is natural for the aged and unnatural for the younger that is why people consult witch doctors after burying the dead. The norm (custom) is death of a younger person is unnatural hence the bereaved family elders consult on the cause of death. *Vaedza zvoise* is the same as *Zvoise zvavaedza*, *kuenda kuchipatara*, is similar to *kundoona madzichiremba* all these phrases have been summed up in the phrase *zvoise zvakaitwa* thus repetition and tautology was done in a serious manner to emphasize that a lot was done in order to make the dead live but it was in vain. The implied meaning was death was caused by time and prolonged illness so there was no need to consult. Cultural norms produce implicature by flouting the maxims of manner and quantity by giving more information than is required and by being unnecessarily too long and unclear as to the actual treatment that was given to the deceased when she was sick.

The use of innuendo

According to Mwandayi (2011) mentions that the Shona culture admits that no one is perfect. Innuendo is a genre used to show that the deceased was imperfect. *Ngatimukumbirirewo kuti Mwari amuregererewo anova anoMugamuchira* (*Let us pray on behalf of the deceased so that the Lord will accept him*) The preacher was indirectly saying that the dead was not a Christian but the word of God says *Munhu ndewa Mwari* (every person is God's) meaning to say despite how evil a person can be everyone is God's child. These intermediating words were said just before prayer. The role of the Preacher does not allow him to criticize the way the dead lived. This is an indirect way of saying the dead was a sinner. Thus, cultural norms and genre generates implicature through suspending the maxim of quantity by more information than is required.

The use of emphatic expression

Emphatic is making your meaning clear because you have strong feelings about a situation or subject. It is a genre employed to show that earthly worries are all done in vain because materials acquired on earth will remain on earth. An example is *Wakauyausina chinhu uchadzokera usina chinhu* (you came with nothing you will return with nothing) No matter what efforts that living beings make to accumulate wealth when they die they will leave everything behind. The rich and the poor will all die and be buried without anything. The preacher was advising people gathered to have more time with God and not to worry about wealth or earthly things because a good relationship with God is better than wealth accumulated on earth. Cultural genre generates implicature by suspending the maxim of quality by giving less information than is required the above utterance requires more information that explains and supports what the preacher actually meant.

4.1.2 Funeral friend (sahwira) findings

The use of metaphorical language

According to Bourdillion (1976) “A sahwira may freely make fun of the immediate relatives of the deceased, and so break the intensity of mourning by introducing a certain amount of laughter into the proceedings.” The funeral friend can freely tease the relatives of the deceased by using metaphors that will make people laugh. The funeral friend relieved the tension of the funeral by using the metaphor *Misodzi yegarwe* (tears of a crocodile) so as to stop the widow of the deceased from crying. The tone is cynical yet the manner is humorous none the less this juxtaposition help to deduce the implied meaning. Hence, cultural norms and roles cause

implicature by flouting the maxims of quality and manner by lying that the widow's tears are unreal and by not directly saying the widow of the deceased should stop crying.

The use of idioms

Idioms are expressions used to generate implicature. The role of the funeral friend permits her to speak the truth about the deceased. The deceased was very abusive everyone present at the funeral knew about that. People at the funeral mentioned that in passing. *wakanganwa chanezuro nehope* (have you forgotten what happened yesterday with sleep or do not forget that your husband was very abusive). The implied meaning was death came as a blessing in disguise. The funeral deliberately gives obscure and little information about the abusiveness of the deceased friend. Thus, idiom is a kind of genre employed by funeral friend. Henceforth, cultural roles and genre produce implicature by means of flouting the maxim of quantity and manner.

Another idiom was used by the funeral friend to show that foul play was suspected even though there was no evidence for such. Mbiti (1975) states that, when someone dies, people try to find out who used sorcery, witchcraft or magic against the dead person. *hapana mutunhu usina muroyi* is an idiom which is similar to (there is no smoke without fire meaning there is a reason to everything) The funeral friend was saying something that she was suspecting and did not have enough information that linked to the death of her friend to have been caused by foul play. Thus, cultural norms and genre generate implicature by suspending the maxim of quality by saying something that they lack evidence.

The use of innuendo

Innuendo is a genre used by the funerals to complain about small and undercooked food. *kwedu kuchafiwawo* (Death will also happen at our place) The friend was complaining against the small amount and under cooked food that they were given. This utterance has nothing to do with food and it is not like the friends take pleasure in death but they are trying to say that the food they have been served is under-cooked and too little. According to Bourdillion (1976:200) “..sahwira’s are honoured guests at the funeral.” Thus the norm is sahwiras’ should be treated in a special manner, for instance, given enough and properly cooked food. It is the norm that food is cooked and served to all present at the funeral gathering. The funeral friend utterance has nothing to do with food that she was referring to. Thus, traditional norms and genre create implicature by flouting the maxim of relation.

The use of epigrammatic expressions and sarcasm

Sarcasm is a genre that is culturally influenced to ridicule the ills of the deceased. Epigrammatic and sarcasm is related in the sense that both emphasise on ridiculing the ills of dead at the same time appreciating the works of the deceased in a short and very funny way. According to Bourdillion (1976) the funeral friend has a permanent jocular relationship with the deceased and the family. Thus the role of the funeral friend allows them to say the truth in joking and funny manner. An example of such an utterance is, *igamba* (is a hero). A sarcastic tone is used by the funeral friend to suggest that dead is a hero because he has more than forty children at the same time she is despising promiscuity. The Shona culture permits polygamy not promiscuity the deceased was promiscuity. A sarcastic tone and manner was also used to the utterance. Cultural

norms and genre produce implicature by suspends the maxim of quality giving a false information that the deceased was good person yet he was promiscuous.

The practice of euphemism and sarcasm

Euphemism is used to ridicule and expose that the deceased was promiscuous. According to Bourdillion (1976) the *sahwira* break the intensity by introducing a certain unit of laughter. The norm is the funeral friend is supposed to make people laugh. The funeral friend together with the daughters-in law acted a short drama to imitate the promiscuous character of the deceased man. During their presentation the funeral friend mentioned that, *vaisada kuona zvemukati kana rokwe richiti mve* (he did not want to see any inner garment or dress pass in front of him or he was promiscuous) Euphemism and sarcasm are related both expose the negative traits of the deceased in a light manner. Most people say positive things about the dead as if they were perfect but the traditional friend is allowed to speak the truth. Cultural genre and norms creates implicature through flouting the maxim of manner by using an obscure utterance that to refer to promiscuity.

The practice of emphatic expression

An emphatic expression is a kind of expression (genre) used to show that the funeral friend has been touch hurt by the fact that the deceased committed suicide. The norm is *afa anaka* (the dead are purely good) only positive words are supposed to be used on the dead the role of the *sahwira* allows them to speak the truth so this is a light way of saying the deceased committed suicide in public. *Akazvitongera pakaoma* (he made a tough and wrong judgement for himself by committing suicide). Cultural norms and roles of participants generate implicature through suspending the maxim manner by being obscure.

The use of allegorical statement

An allegory is a representation of ideas by something, in this scenario it is an object. A dead mouse or a dried maize cob is referred to as a husband offered to an adult female who died without having a husband or being married. The norm is if a lady dies a virgin they are to be given a maize cob or a dead mouse that will act as the husband. It also symbolizes that the deceased lady was a virgin. An example such an utterance is, *O murume wako uyu*. This expression was made whilst presenting and placing the dead mouse to the deceased lady. Thus, cultural acts and norms generate implicature through suspending the maxim of quality by lying that the mouse is and will act as the husband of the deceased lady.

The use of songs

Songs are genres (some kind of expression) used to produce implicature. According to Bourdillion (1976) songs express the merits of the deceased and grief of the family. Praise and mourning songs is a genre used to praise and mourn the dead. The norm is people sing as a sign of mourning and celebrating the merits of the dead. For example, *Tipeiwo nguva yechema gamba redu iri raive gamba* (give us the time to mourn our hero this was a hero...) Genre and norm of the Shona culture generates implicature suspending the maxim of quality by not stating the exact merits since the funeral friend together with other people who singing were not sure of the exact merits.

The use of elliptical expression

Elliptical is suggesting what the speaker means rather than saying it clearly. Elliptical expression is a genre used to negotiate with the deceased to calm down and allow everything to move smoothly even though they might be wrong or people deciding to bury them were the

deceased had refused whilst living. According Bourdillion(1976) Friends are given more dangerous tasks. The norm is when a deceased die with bitterness close relatives or sahwira can negotiate with the deceased to calm down. It is the role of the sahwira to sooth their friend or the close next of kin like the grandmother (especially those who have reached menopause) to negotiate with the deceased. For example, *Dzora mwoyo wako* (calm down and be lenient)It is known as *kupoterwa* or *kutukwa* (shouting at the deceased meaning to negotiate with the deceased with the intention to make the deceased act according to what the living want. Cultural norms and genre produce implicature by suspending the maxim of manner by being not clear as to how exactly the deceased is to act show leniency on the living.

4.1.3 Close relatives utterance findings

The use of shouty and gibberish utterances

Shouty expression is an expressing with a lot of shouting. Gibbering is the state of being unable to speak in a sensible manner mainly because one is frightened, both are reflected below;

Shouty and gibberish utterances were used to expressed pain caused by the death. For example, *Amai Pati!, amai Pati!, amai Pati! amai Pati! amai Pati! amai Pati!* (Mother Pati!, mother Pati!, mother Pati!, mother Pati!, mother Pati!, mother Pati!) The interlocutor was hurt by the death of her sister and extremely stressed and nervous up to the extent of failing to say anything that made sense. Rather she was continuously shouting the above mentioned utterance. The norm is funeral gatherings are events meant for people to express sympathy as well as how they feel about their loss. People are not forced to observe maxims but are allowed to express how they

feel. Hence, cultural norms create implicature by infringing and suspending the maxim of manner by shouting utterances that do not make sense.

The use of parenthetical language

Parenthetical is saying words or expressions that are not directly connected with what one is saying. For example, *vanga vaine funeral policy ndisingazive kuti vamwe vanoti chii* (they had a funeral policy not knowing what other people say). The issue of the wife having a funeral policy is not directly connected with the issue of naming the place where the deceased should be buried. The above mentioned utterance was made by the husband of the deceased during burial arrangements meeting. The norm is if there are any funeral arrangements to be made the elders meet, to discuss and then agree on something. This includes any disputes to be settled. The husband had been asked to mention the place where he wanted his wife to be buried, he failed to respond properly because he did not feel comfortable to state the place because he was stressed and afraid that he did not have the money to contribute to the burial and also he had not paid bride price not even a cent so he felt that he was going to be forced to pay at least something, as it is the norm that every husband should pay bride prize when they decide to stay with someone's daughter, failure to do so, the husband will be penalized by paying something in order for the wife's relative agree to burry their relative, thereby resulting in the husband opting out of the maxim of manner. Cultural norms produce implicature through infringing and opting out of the maxim of relation by giving information that is not directly connected

The use of innuendo

Innuendo is an expression used to generate implicature. According to Bourdillion (1976) the death of a younger person is considered to be unnatural and divination is required. Death of the

people who have not aged is believed to be unnatural. The Shona belief is the witchdoctor has answers to such deaths so they are consulted sometime after burial. *Vatete mukati kufa uku kuri kwega? Handifunge sekudaro. Ndangandati patinopedza kumuviga tombozvifambira* (aunty can you say this death is natural? I do not think so I suggest after the burial is over we should consult). The father of the deceased implied that he suspects foul play has caused the death of his child. Thus the interlocutor is insinuating by saying something that they are not sure of to suggest that they suspect foul play. Culture as identified by norms has great impact on innuendo thereby creating implicature by flouting the maxim of manner and quality by being unclear and saying something that he is not sure of.

The use of a simile

A simile is comparing one thing to the other as shown by the use of like or as. Simile is a genre used to show the cruelty of death. For instance, *vatete kani, vana vangu vapera kudyihwa ndasvinura sedemba* (aunty, my children have been finished eaten my eyes open like carpenter or aunty all my children are dying) A funeral gathering is a setting that does not force people to observe maxims but to express pain. The interlocutor is suggesting that death is taking his or her children and to make matters worse nothing can be done to stop it. This was said in a low spirit and serious tone which expresses deep sense of loss. Hence, the setting of a funeral does not force people to observe maxims rather they give people the freedom to express their feeling. These words are mentioned where mourners are gathered. Genre and norms of the Shona culture generates implicature by suspending the maxim of manner by not directly saying that death is cruel but rather by being unclear through the use of similes.

The use of onomatopoeia

Onomatopoeia is using words that from a sound associated with what is named. For example, *Ndangonzwa yohwe! Amaikani babavangu shava!* (I just heard yohwe! Mother, my father eland!) Act of sequence of the Shona culture has great impact on onomatopoeia resulting in implicature by way of flouting the maxim of manner. *Chii nhai asikana?* (what has happened girls?) Was the question asked instead of just saying the name of the deceased and mentioning that they have died; the interlocutor is describing the screams that were heard without the intention to mislead the receiver but with the intention to make the receiver know that a particular person has died and it is true. The norm is that, when people gather at a funeral they discuss issues of the death of their beloved one, they cry as well as pay their last respect to the dead. The act sequence of funeral in the Shona culture shows that people are informed about the death; they gather and then bury their beloved one. At a funeral gathering mourners are gathered and burial arrangements are made. This statement shows that the interlocutor already assumes that the person who has asked the question already know that someone they know has already died because people can only gather after being informed that so and so has died. So instead of saying the name of the deceased the act sequence will help the person whom has asked the question to deduce the meaning of the utterance made.

The use of circumlocution or periphrases

It is the use of long winding statements until one get to the actual point that should have been state at the beginning. Circumlocution is used when informing the death to close relatives so as to avoid inflicting more pain and to make the receiver accept the unbearable news in more calm manner. For instance, *vauya,pavasvika, ndabvunza kuti varume ava vanodeiko? Zvikanzi, X, X haasi kunzwa mushe, umm, varume ava havana kunaka chose; koizvadiiko?, mwana akasvika kuno musiuo, agosimbirwa neiko? Ndopandati kune mukoma wacho nditaurire chokwadi?*

Zvikanzi X hakuchina (they came, when they arrived, I asked what those man wanted? They said X, X, is not feeling well, umm, these men are not nice at all; what has happened? this child came here not long ago, what is bothering him? I told the brother to tell me the truth? Then he said his brother said to me, his little brother X is no more). The initial question that led to such a response was *Chii chaitika ndiwudzeiwo, ishuwa here kuti X hakuchina?* (what has happened, is it true that X has passed on) This question required a short straight to the point answer instead a very long response mentioned above is given. A funeral gathering does not restrict participants to observe maxims thereby resulting in the generation of implicature. In this case the implied meaning is it is true that X is dead, when the message was given to the interlocutor the interlocutor had already suspected that something was wrong due to the presence of soldiers who had accompanied his son to announce the death of his brother (son to the interlocutor). The Shona culture norm is when death is announced to relatives' people should use long winding language instead of going straight to the point so as to avoid inflicting more pain until the receiver deduce the intended news. The norm creates the implied meaning that it is true that "X" is dead. Circumlocution under the influence of genre of culture generates implicature through flouting and suspending the maxim of quantity and manner by using more words than necessary and not being brief.

The practice of a combination of personification and imagery

Imagery is a figurative way of expressing something in a way that invokes the some of the listeners' five senses. Personification is giving human qualities to something that is non-human to make a point. Death is given human qualities because it is heartless shown through the pain it gives to people left behind. For instance, *Rufu ndimadzongonyodze anobvongodza; anotanga anorodza banga rake remarwadzo obvaakuti pamoyo... chaipo* (Death is a trouble maker, he

causes commotion; he sharpens his knife of pain stabs your heart) The implied meaning is death is a heartbreaker and not that humans are inhumane but for people to have a picture of the pain death causes to those left behind.. This utterance was made to show that death is cruel it destroys the heart causing a lot of pain. Cultural genre generates implicature through flouting the maxim of quality and manner by giving human qualities to a nonhuman and by making unclear statements.

The use of rhetorical questions

A rhetorical question is saying something that one does not need an answer to and is spoken in an honest manner. This is also a kind of genre employed to express pain that death is difficult to accept at once. An example is, *Amai vangu chaivo ndivo here?* (is it really my mother?) The event is sad and painful up to the extent that some people cannot accept the death of their beloved one. They end up asking questions that do not need answers the child was asking if it was her mother who has died yet the child was fully aware that the mother has actually died. Cultural genre generates implicature through suspending the maxim of manner by using questions that they have answers thus being vague.

The use of emphatic utterances

Emphatic utterance is a genre used when there is a situation that needs to be corrected. In this case the deceased had something she wanted to be done. For example, *Mufi pane zvaanga achida* (the dead had something that he or she wanted) the situation of the event generates implicature through suspending a maxim of quantity. The uncle of the deceased was talking to the grandmother of the deceased lady. funeral proceedings had slowed down so the uncle was assuming that the deceased was the one was behind it. The cultural norm is things normally

move slower than is planned especially when the deceased has something he or she wanted to be done and emphatic utterance are then used to show that the interlocutor have strong feeling that the deceased had wanted something to be done which in most cases might be different from what the living would have planned. Cultural genre and norms suspend the maxim of quality by making assumption or saying what they are not sure of.

Another example of such an utterance is *afa neshungu* (the dead has died with bitterness) The aunt of the deceased lady was saddened by the idea that her niece eyes opened whilst her body was being prepared for burial. Furthermore, the husband was continuously insisting that his wife be buried at a nearby cemetery and not at the rural area as their usual custom. The way the husband insisted began to be questionable in the eyes of the aunt. That is when the aunt of the wife said *mukadzi wako afa neshungu* (your wife has died with great bitterness), with intention that the husband generate the implied meaning that his love for his wife was not genuine as he was trying to portray and also he was the one who had caused his wife to die with so much bitterness. The aunt was implying that the husband wanted his wife buried in Harare for other reasons than love as he was trying to portray. The aunt did not have enough evidence to prove that the husband had caused his wife to die with bitterness because the eyes of the deceased who die with anger might open but does not necessarily mean that the spouse will be the culprit there might be other reason so there is need to consult before accusing a suspect. Cultural genre and norms produce implicature by flouting and suspending the maxim of quality by making assumptions which they lack adequate evidence in order for the recipient to generate the implicature

Emphatic expression is a genre used to highlight that the speaker has been hurt by the fact that the family spirit has turned their back on her by allowing death to occur. According to

Bourdillion (1976) Family spirits of the dead are supposed to offer protection but may decide to withdraw it due to either displeasure or avenging spirits. The norm is family spirits are family protectors who can prevent death from happening. For example, *mudzimu yandikanganwa or yandirasisa or yandidambura mbereko*(the family spirits have cut off womb or let me down). Meaning the family spirits has let down the speaker through allowing death to enter their family. Hence cultural norms and genre generates implicature through suspending the maxim of quantity by giving too little information that is required. It is not enough to just state the above sentence without adding information in what way the family spirit has let down the speaker.

The use of an understatement

An understatement is a genre used in circumstances where the truth might be too harsh hence cannot be used but rather a substitution is made. An example is, *Ngativachengetei kuchakatonhorera kudai semunhu mukuru* (lets bury the dead whilst it is cold since he or she is an elder). This was a suggestion from one of the family elders that the deceased be buried early because the deceased practised witchcraft with the fear that the body will change into an animal. It is inappropriate to openly state that the deceased will be buried early because he or she was a witch and people are afraid that the deceased will change either into an animal that or will run wild outside the box. The norm is that a witch is buried earlier to avoid a situation whereby the deceased changes into an animal. Henceforth, cultural norms and genre produce implicature by suspending the maxim of truth by lying that the reason for an early burial is because the deceased was an adult.

The use of irony

Irony is using words that mean the opposite of the literal meaning. Irony is a genre used when complaining. According to Gelfand (1973) the shona believe in God whom they complain to in time of bereavement. The norm is people complain to God whom they believe in. For example, *apa Mwari mandigona* (this time God you have done me good) The speaker is extremely hurt and is complaining to God. Henceforth, cultural norms and genre generate implicature through suspending the maxim of quality by using an utterance which means the opposite meaning by lying.

4.2 Summary

Suspending of maxims is more frequent as compared to other non-observances of maxims. The maxim of manner is in most cases failed to be observed. Culture contributes to such nonobservance genre and norms being the most dominant factors generating implicature through failing to observe Grice conversational conventions. The kind of language used is indirect, light and mostly positive just because it is more appropriate to use positive language for various reasons such as instilling hope that the dead will see the living someday or sympathising and comforting. Negative words are said in situation such as displeasure of the dead and by the funeral friend whose role permits speaking the truth and making fun of the deceased as well as the family of the deceased.

4.3 Conclusion

This chapter was presenting and analyzing the collected data by looking at how language is influenced by different factors of culture such as norms and genre thereby creating implicature through different kinds of nonobservance of Grice maxims such as suspending, flouting, infringing and opting out of maxims. The following chapter is a roundup of the whole research.

Chapter 5

5.0 Introduction

The previous chapters introduced the research, reviewed what other scholars say about the language used at funerals, highlighted ethnography of communication and conversational implicature as the theoretical framework, analysed the methodology as well as the findings from the funerals. This chapter is the conclusion of the study thus summarizes the research undertaken in the study. This chapter therefore is concerned with the summation of the research in terms of the major findings and how the goals and objectives of the research have been reached. It also outlines the recommendations that have been proposed by the researcher towards the further study of the language used at funerals as well as the theories of ethnography and implicature.

5.1 Summary of the study

Previous researches treated ethnography of communication and conversational implicature separately. Past researches on the language used at funerals focused on the language without looking at how culture influences it to generate implicature. Henceforth, the researcher saw it crucial to combine ethnography of communication and conversational implicature so as to improve on the understanding of the language used at funerals as well as to understand the two theories. Past researches made on the topic were reviewed and this included researches on Shona names coined to show the qualities of death. Two theories were used as the theoretical framework and these are ethnography of communication and conversational implicature.

Observation method was used to collect data from Shona specifically the Zezuru dialect because the researcher understands it better than the other dialects. Observation sheet was the research instrument used to collect data from five funerals. Data was collected from the preacher, funeral friend and close relatives to allow variation of results. Different factors of ethnography of communication such as participants, norms and genre contributes to the generation of implicature by mostly suspending, flouting and other forms of nonobservance of mostly the maxim of manner, quantity and quality. Mainly because it is very much inappropriate and unacceptable in the Shona culture to ignore the cultural values and follow the conversational maxims, especially at their cultural gatherings.

5.2 Recommendations of the study

A study that looks at change of language used at funeral gatherings should be carried out because language used is slowly changing but the implied meaning is the same. For instance the use of slang words substituting the formal words has become popular especially among the youths and some elders or adults. This will improve the understanding of utterances made at funerals as well as giving a different perspective on how ethnography and implicature studies are viewed.

A comparison and analysis should be made on all Shona dialects to see how the language used may be different but the meaning remains the same. This will add to the understanding of the language used by all Shona dialects as well as understand their differences in culture. Henceforth, this will further develop the understanding of all Shona dialects language use and culture.

A research should be carried out on how funeral ceremonies are slowly diverting from being a mourning and comforting ceremony to a time of showing off class and status. This is also another factor that is shaping the choice of language in a manner that fit the status and class of individuals. Hence ethnography will generate a generate implicature in a different way than that observed in the current research.

Ethnography of communication and conversational implicature should be studied side by side for better analysis of language.

5.3.0 Conclusion of the study

5.3.1 Discussion of results

This research reflects that a variety of expressions are employed during conversations at funeral gatherings and they are greatly influenced by various factors of culture to produce implicature. The kind of language used at death is well known for euphemism and figurative language use as highlighted in the first two chapters. Overall, from the previous discussion of the results as noted in the previous chapter, the researcher observed that suspending of maxims and non-observance of the maxim of manner had the highest rate of occurrence. The reason behind the nonobservance was factors of culture that governed the spoken words to generate implicature. The norms and genre of culture were the main cause of non-observance.

Various kinds of linguistic use such as euphemism, circumlocution, figurative language, elliptical, epigrammatic, idioms proverbs, songs and repetition to mention a few are used in the Shona funeral gatherings. It is through this kind of language that one can notice the need to

combine ethnography of communication and conversational implicature. In the sense that this kind of expression are influenced by various factors of culture such as participants, norms and genre to generate implicature. Participants in the conversation understand each other by the use of the above mentioned linguistic use. Thus it is very important to combine the two theories as they are interlinked.

Culture influences the choice of spoken words or phrases and the aspects of culture that influences language are as follows; the dead are given other names that refer to the dead, people should attend funeral gatherings like they used to, songs are used to give hope and praise the merits of the dead, appreciate efforts, death of younger people is said to be unnatural, family spirits are family protectors but sometimes they withdraw their protection, funeral friends have a joking relation, funeral friend can freely speak the truth, make fun of the dead and the family of the dead, they are honored guests, females who die as virgins are buried with a dried maize cob or mouse that represents their husband symbolizing their virginity, the corpse has different ways of showing displeasure these include a shadow appearing on the floor or wall of the room where the corpse is lying in state, opening their eyes and mouth, proceedings slowing down , this can only be overcome by calling a diviner or by negotiating with the dead, family elders gather to make funeral arrangements if it is a married woman who has died bride price issues are dissolved before burial is done, words should be chosen carefully to prevent inflicting pain, negative words about the dead are to be avoided.

The above mentioned aspects of culture influence the choice of spoken words generate implicature by failing to observe maxims. The rate of non observance occurs at different levels suspending, flouting, opting out, infringing and violation. The types of maxims not observed

occur at different levels; manner, quantity, quality and relation is the list in descending order of the rate of their occurrence.

The literal meaning of utterances is not the implied meaning of the utterance. In other words, the kind of the language spoken at funeral does not imply what they say rather there is another meaning. This is because culture affects the kind of language used at funeral gatherings.

5.3.2 Overall conclusion

Previous researches as presented in the first two chapters focused on the kind of language used at obituaries and the structure of death announcements from a genre point of view. Other studies looked at the names coined at funerals to describe how people viewed death as well as funerals, so that people could know and understand the meaning and use of the words. The researcher in this study focused on the kind of language in use particularly at funeral gatherings, showing how ethnography of communication influences it to generate implicature by nonobservance of maxims.

From the analysis of the data that was collected in the previous chapter, and the discussions that were done in the previous chapters about the language used at funerals, the researcher observed that, ethnography of communication influences the utterances to generate implicature by non-observance of conversational maxims. Henceforth, the study of ethnography of communication and conversational implicature greatly assists readers to have a better understanding of the kind of language used as it is used at funerals in that it seeks to explain the reasons behind the nonobservances of conversational conventions thereby making the language clear and easier to understand.

Some of the key findings are; ethnography of communication and conversational implicature related in that ethnography accounts for the generation of implicature through non observance of maxims; when people are at social gatherings such as the funerals they try by all means to observe their culture rather than maxims and cooperation remains present and funeral ceremonies are slowly shifting from being a conciliatory function into becoming a time to show off class and status there by affecting the kind of language used by individuals.

5.4 Limitation of the study

Time would not permit the researcher to carry out a survey on all the Shona dialects thus was restricted to look at only one dialect that is the Zezuru dialect. Results obtained would have been better had all dialects been included.

Financial constraints did not allow the researcher to visit rural areas, results would have been better as people in rural areas are more particular about their culture than in urban areas where culture has been diluted though it still is being maintained by others. The researcher managed to select funerals with people who still valued and practiced the Shona culture.

Limited resources very few researches have been made on the kind of language used at funerals. Most of the previous researches on the language used at funerals focused on death announcements, eulogies, obituaries and the names coined at funerals and this was from a genre view as well as ethnography. In other words, the researcher found it difficult to come across many researches that looked at the actual utterances that people use as well the language in use and also failed to come across a research that had combined ethnography and implicature.

Nonetheless, the researcher took advantage and saw this as a gap that needs to be filled by this current research.

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APPENDICES

Observation sheet for the preacher

Observation sheet for sahwira (funeral friend)

Observation sheet for close relatives

Utterances made by preachers

- *Mwari ndiye anotipa maruva ndiye anotitorera-* God is the one who gives and takes away
- *Munhu akazvarwa nemukadzi anemazuva mashoma panyika-* A person born of a woman has a limited time on earth.
- *Chinobururka chinomhara-* What flies always lands
- *Tese tirimakuva chatasiyananacho bedzi neuyu ndechekuti atove guva asi vamwe vose tirimuzira, tichateverawo-* We are all moving grave but the only difference with the deceased is he has died first but all of us are moving towards our death.
- *Shoko randaunza kwamuri manheru anhasi nderekuti Munhu anofanira kuchema zvinetariro. Vanababa nemi anamai nevose varasikirwa ndinoti kwamuri chemai zvinetariro.-* The word I have brought for you is you should have hope in times of great loss . I am advising everyone gathered to have hope.
- *Tinoziva, ichokwadi kuti mushakavu wedu anga ave nenguva refu akasimbirwa. Izvi hazvidi kufambirwa ne kuti n'anga Haiti isugar.-* We all know that the deceased was sick for a long time. This does not require consulting some diviners because they will not say sugar has killed the deceased they will definitely accuse someone to have caused the death.
- *Vaedza zvose, zvose zvaedza kuenda kuchipatara, kuenda kunoona madzichiremba apineapi, zvose zvakaitwa zvakashaya basa nekuti nguva yanga yakwana. -* They have tried everything, going to the hospitals, visiting different kinds of doctors but all was in vain because the deceased time of death was up.

- *Kana nguva yakwana haitarisi kuti urikugeza here, urimusaloon here, uri mutsvuku here, urimusvava here inongosvika chete. Chakakosha ndechekuti yakukwanira ukama hwako naMwari wakamira sei?*- When death time is up it does not matter where you are. What is important is to have a good relationship with God.
- *Zvinonzi ngatimire semuzamba kwena unorara asi uchizomuka*- We should be firm enough that even if we fall we will rise.
- *Panenguva yekufara penenguva yekusuwa. Panenguva yekudyara panenguva ye kukohwa. Zvinonzi chemai nevanochema mugofara nevanofara. Zvinopanetukomana twandaona twepa next door tuchiridza radio pafull blast nzimbodzacho handichataure*- There is a time to be happy and a time to be sad. A time to plant and a time to reap. It is said you should mourn with those who mourn and celebrate with those who are celebrating. Now there are some boys from next door whom I saw playing music I shall not mention the songs
- *Kanatakunda tichazoonana, tichazoonana*.-If we overcome we shall meet, we shall meet
- *Mushakabvu watisiya arere apa*- The deceased whom has left us, sleeping there.
- *Rufu ndimaenzanise*- Death make everyone equal
- *Mutumbi pawanotorwa vanhu vose vanga vachida kuendawo asi munhu wese haanga endewo*- Not everyone managed to go to the mortuary where the corpse was collected
- *Munhu hatimutongere*- We cannot judge another human
- *Vanoda kuonekana nehama yavo yaenda kunovanashe*- Those who want to pay their final respects

- *Kuitaira kuti tizosvika pachinho chasvikwa nehama yedu yatadai kuunganira-* So that will not take the same step that has been taken by our relative whom we are gathered for (we must not commit suicide).
- *Ngatimukumbirirewo kuti Mwari amuregererewo, anova anomugamuchira-* Let us ask on behalf of the deceased so that the Lord will accept him.
- *Wakauya usina chinhu uchadzokera usina chinhu-* You came with nothing you return with nothing.

Utterance made by *sahwira* (funeral friend)

- *Sei vanhu muchinyepa kudaro chokwadi munhu andisvitsa kubus stop makuseni* - Why do people lie this person escorted me to the bus stop in the morning?
- *Chinyarara chinyarara ndonzira yemunhu wose-* Play do not cry that is the road that everyone will take
- *Hamhofu mandirasisa-* Haeland you have let me down
- *Manga muripi? Kutoenda henyu kumafaro isutauya kuzokubatai maoko. kana musingadi kubatwa maoko bva garai mataura.-* Where were you? You had gone to celebrate whilst we came here to console you. If you do not want us to console you just say it
- *Kutowana nguva yekupoda inga rufu runofadza-* You the time to prepare yourself funeral time is a good time
- *Imi mose munoziva kuti baba ava vaisada kuona zvemukati kana rokwe ruchiti mve.-*You all know that the deceased man did not want to see any lady pass by.
- *Dzinza makakudzirwa, zvekukudzirwa zviya, tinyararirei, munotadzisa mweya wake kufamba mushe. Munoti zvamunenungo dzekushanda munhu wese akadaro, uyoka asina.-* You family has been enlarged greatly, stop crying, you disturb his spirit from resting. Do you think that if you are lazy to produce lots of children everyone is like that then that is not the case.
- *Wanga uchida kuti zviitikire ani?-* Whom do you think it should have happened to?
- *Misodzi yegarwe, usingatendi Mwari wakaitasei, heya wakanganwa chanezuro nehope-* Crocodile tears, why do you not take this opportunity to praise the Lord. Have you forgotten what you were going through

- *Waiti ndinoramba ndirishirikadzindoga heya tafanana.*- You thought that I will remain the only widow now we are just the same
- *Kwedu kuchafiwawo*- Death will also happen at our place
- *igamba*- The deceased is a hero
- *Hapana mutunhu usina muroyi*- There is no smoke without fire
- *Akazvitongera pakaoma*- He made a hard judgement for himself (suicide)
- *O murume wako uyu*- Here accept your husband
- *Tipeiwo nguva yekuchema gamba redu, gamba redu*- Give us the time to mourn our hero, our hero
- *Dzora mwoyo wako*- Please be lenient
- *Kutukwa or kupopote rwa*-To shout at or to negotiate with the deceased

Utterances made by close relatives

- *ndangonzwa yohwe maihwe kani, baba vangu shava imi-* I just heard sound of cries, my father eland
- *amai vana vatinoda ava amainini zvakaoma chokwadi-* Mother, these children that we want, it is very painful honestly
- *vana vangu vapera kudiyhwa ndakasvinura sedemba-* My children have been finished eaten like carpenter
- *vauya,pavasvika, ndabvunza kuti varume ava vanodeiko? Zvikanzi, X, X haasi kunzwa mushe, umm, varume ava Havana kunaka chose; koizvadiiko, mwana akasvika kuno musiuno, agosimbirwa neiko? Ndikamuti nditaurire chokwadi? Zvikanzi X hakuchina-* I asked him what those man came here for the very moment when they arrived that is when he said X is not feeling well Mother, I then asked him what was the sickness that had befallen my son who had visited me not long ago, that is when I demanded my son to tell me the truth and then he told me that X is no more
- *Mucheche wangu iwe, muka! Muka kani! Kwaedza!, muka mwanangu kwaedza, wadya here!?*- My baby pliz wake up, it is already in the morning, did you eat something?
- *Musha wangu wazoparara-* My home is now destroyed
- *Wati vana ndovachengeta neiko?-* How will I take care of the children?
- *Ndazviona patamupinza mukati memuchovha kuti apasisi hapachina. Tazongo ramba tongomhanya mhanya asi ndangandazviona-*. I had already noticed that our sister is dead even though we continued running around making efforts with the hope that she lives.
- *Ishuwa here iyo?, chokwadi chaicho here?-* Is it true, Is that the truth?

- *Vano nyanya ndakambovaudza honai, chionai zvazva ita, fara!chifaraka handiti wafara ehe wafara-* I warned them look what has happened, Celebrate, so you are happy yes you are.
- *Amai vangu chaivo ndivo here?-* Is that really my mother?
- *Ana ambuya venyu zvavatopera-*Your grandmother have been finished.
- *Tinoda makwati pasina izvozvo hamupasimuke-*We want money if you do not give us money you will not proceed with the journey
- *Rufu ndimadzongonyodze anobvongodza; anotanga anorodza banga rake remarwadzo obvaakuti pamoyo... chaipo-* Death is heartless it sharpens its knife then it stabs you on your heart
- *Vatete handifunge kuti kufa uku kurikwega Ndanga ndati patinopedza kumuviga tozombozvifambira-* Aunty I do not think that this death is natural I suggest that we consult a diviner after the burial.
- *Amai Pati! Amai Pati! Amai Pati! Amai Pati! Amai Pati!-* Mother Pati! Mother Pati! Mother Pati! Mother Pati! Mother Pati! Mother Pati! Mother Pati! Mother Pati!
- *Apa mwari mandigona-* This time God you hurt done me good this is painful.
- *Vanga vaine funeral policy ndisingazive kuti vamwe vanotichii?-* She had a funeral policy not knowing what will others suggest
- *Mwari munodarireiko?-* God why do you do that
- *Mudzimu yangu yandidambura mbereko-* My family spirits have let me down
- *Mufi pane zvaanga achida-* There is something that the dead wanted
- *Mukadzi wako afa neshungu-* You wife has died with so much bitterness

- *Ngativa chengetei kuchakatonhorera semunhu mukuru-* Let us burry her early since she is an elder (witch)