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A CRITICAL LANGUAGE STUDY
OF TANZANIAN PRESIDENTIAL KISWAHILI POLITICAL
ORATORY

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Doctor of Philosophy

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ASTON UNIVERSITY, BIRMINGHAM, UKAZAVELI FEZA LWAITAMA PHD. 1992SUMMARY

The thesis discusses the result of a critical language study (CLS) of Tanzanian Presidential Kiswahili Political Oratory (TPKPO). The CLS was motivated by the belief that one of the principal contributions that linguists could make to the survival and development of their societies is to adopt what Shapiro (1990:12) paraphrasing Foucault (1977) has called "a commitment to a form of inquiry aimed at the continuous disruption of the structures of intelligibility" upon which some of the prevailing hegemonic political prejudices and biases are based.

Fairclough's (1989) ideas regarding the need for and how to conduct CLS were adapted to suit the specific goal of the current study which was to determine the **inter and intra speaker variation within contemporary Tanzanian Kiswahili political discourse taking the oratory ex-President J K Nyerere and that of President A H Mwinyi as a case in point.** The results of the study, which adopted a largely ethnographic research design, permit one to make two important observations about TPKPO.

First, both the scripted as well as the unscripted oratory exhibited features of spoken and written language to some degree with the written discourse features predominating in texts that were being used to project political legitimacy.

The study encourages one to believe that further research into the lectures and harangues of historically important personalities like Julius K Nyerere of Tanzania would provide useful insights into the relationship between the use, on the one hand, of a given set of linguistic forms (in this case: prosody, humour, existential and passive structures, predominant use of nouns as opposed to verbs, adjective, adverbs, modal auxiliaries, and pronouns), and success in political persuasion, on the other.

Secondly, J K Nyerere tended to be more "bookish" in his oratory even when he adopted a "harangue" rather than a "lecture" style in his speech delivery while A H Mwinyi tended to be "colloquial" thus giving an impression of being "warm" unlike J K Nyerere who sounded "bombastic" (Saville-Troike 1982:174). In this case the study encourages one to believe that further study of the stylistic differences between J K Nyerere's and A H Mwinyi's oratory may yield interesting results regarding the role "bookishness" plays in "ideology-building" by "philosopher-kings" as well as the role played by "colloquialism" in "ideology-blurring" by "administrator-kings".

KEY WORDS: DISCOURSE ANALYSIS, POLITICAL DISCOURSE, POLITICAL ORATORY, SPOKEN VERSUS WRITTEN LANGUAGE, SWAHILI STYLISTICS, TANZANIAN POLITICS.

DEDICATION

To Ma Mukalugaisa, my mother, and in memory of Ma Nju'elige, her mother and my grandmother, both of whom taught me the 'etymology' of ema (good or kind), ima (resolute or with faith) and upendo (love or friendship). Also, in honour of Mwalimu Julius K Nyerere and in memory of Malcom X. Listening to the audio-cassette recorded speeches of these two in my teens inspired life-long interest in political oratory.

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KEY TO TRANSCRIPTION NOTATION AND ABBREVIATIONS

- * marks the beginning (and, where the speech had been transcribed in full, the end) of the speech in question.
- + marks the beginning and the end of what is heard as a 'spoken paragraph' (hereby called a P Unit) (See relevant section of Chapter Three for operational definition of 'spoken paragraph').
- (()) marks stretches which are heard as slips of the tongue (SOTs).
- () marks stretches which are heard to have been produced at low key with qualities of intonational subordination, i.e. stretches which are parenthetical.
- + marks points in the discourse flow where one perceives a marked shift upwards in pitch.
- [marks points in the discourse flow where one perceives marked shift downwards resulting in the P Unit being heard to terminate with a grunt-like quality.
- marks words or expressions which are individually heard to have been given a contrastive nuclear tonic prominence.
- marks very short sound gaps heard in between word-fragments produced with a stammering-like quality.
- .. marks relatively short sound gaps heard in between groups of full words (constituting a P Unit) which are heard to have been produced separated by approximately single short intakes of breath.
- ... marks relatively long sound gaps heard in between groups of full words (constituting a P Unit) which are heard to have been produced separated by approximately two fairly long intakes of breath. (Stretches in between either of the two sets of these three dots or one of them and a + at the beginning of a P Unit approximates to a tone unit in Hallidayan English intonation analysis.)
- ndugu viongozi**
"comrade
leaders"
- the space between 'ndugu' and 'viongozi' marks a rough in t the sound prominence-peaks that are perceived to define the production of the syllables that constitute 'ndugu' and 'viongozi'. The phenomenon can be defined as prominence trough between two prominence peaks of two stress-groups units immediately above the level of a segmental sound units analysis of a flow of discourse. 'Ndugu' and 'viongozi' will be treated as constituting words as so perceived in the flow of discourse.

Abbreviations

TPKPO	Tanzania Presidential Kiswahili Political Oratory
CLS	Critical Language Study
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
AD	Arusha Declaration
STO	Slips of the tongue
P UNIT	Spoken paragraph unit
MSA	Mwinyi/Scripted/Data corpus group A
MUA	Mwinyi/Unscripted/Data corpus group A
NSA	Nyerere/Scripted/Data corpus group A
NUA	Nyerere/Unscripted/Data corpus group A
NUB/67	Nyerere/unscripted/Data corpus group B/1967
MUB/87	Mwinyi/unscripted/Data corpus group B/1987
KaUB/90	Kawawa/unscripted/Data corpus group B/1990
SaUB/84	Salim/unscripted/Data corpus group B/1990
KoUB/90	Kolimba/unscripted/Data corpus group B/1990
MreUB/91	Mrema/unscripted/Data corpus group B/1991
MR	Members Resources
PMR	Political Mass Rally
PAP	Political Assembly of Politicians
SDO	Script Dependent Oratory
SIO	Script Independent Oratory

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

"Linguistics would contribute skilled analysis of linguistic means to concerns shared with many other disciplines. It would be central to the work of all who seek to analyse and understand modern life, insofar as it is enacted in communicative conduct"

- D. Hymes (1985:11) 'Towards Linguistic Competence' AILA Review Vol 2 pp 9-24

1.1 OVERVIEW

Religious sermons, university lectures and the political oratory of national party or government leaders have one linguistic factor in common: they are all planned and rehearsed ahead of delivery. Whereas **spoken discourse** is more readily associated with **spontaneous dialogue**, lectures and political harangues are typically **non-spontaneous monologues**. Whether **scripted** or **unscripted**, the three types of spoken monologue discourse tend to be characterised by the use of language which draws on both **spoken** and **written** discourse. It seemed reasonable to me that a study of the oratory by senior national political leaders would provide invaluable insights as to where, how and with what effect features of **both written and spoken language** were exploited in institutional discourse settings. Furthermore, it was my view that such a study would in the process also shed some light on the use to which linguistic structures are put in political mobilisation or de-mobilisation by the given senior political leaders. The study should therefore be of interest to those interested in the study of language variation as a theoretical and applied linguistic science phenomenon (Wilson (1990), Fairclough (forthcoming)) as well as those interested in the language of political leadership in Tanzania as a theoretical and applied political science phenomenon (Reetz (1978), Bitzer & Rueter (1980), Erickson (1985), Gaffney (1989 a&b,1991), Gaffney & Kolinsky (1991)). Some aspects of the study should also be at least of a general interest to linguists interested in broad sociolinguistic issues such as the nature of style and registers in language(Crystal & Davy (1969), Ager (1970,1974,1991)).

In this thesis the results of a six year study of the style of speaking of Tanzania's former President J K Nyerere and that of his successor Mr A H Mwinyi are discussed. The study was motivated by the belief that the acclaimed (Hodd 1988) profound influence

that Mr Nyerere has made on Tanzanian society must have been partly a result of the impact of his style of political oratory on many Tanzanians who listened to his numerous speeches. These were often broadcast live and in full at the occasion of their delivery. Extracts from many of these speeches were also repeatedly re-broadcast as parts of special daily, weekly and annual current affairs programmes on the sole and state-owned national radio outlet, **Radio Tanzania**. The most famous of these radio programmes from which the data for the study was taken include: **Ujumbe wa Leo** (Today's Message), **Majira** (the Times), **Radioni Wiki Hii** (Weekly Magazine), **Kipindi Maalum** (Special Programme). As I will explain later in Chapter Three these extracts were divided up into two groups. These I have called A (See Appendix I and the Data Corpus Group A on the accompanying cassette tape) and B (See Appendix 2 and Data Corpus Group B on the accompanying cassette tape). Group A data was transcribed broadly as shown in Appendix 1. It was then analysed by way of counting the number of times a selected list of linguistic elements were used by the same speaker in unscripted and in scripted modes of speech delivery. Comparison was also made of variation in use of these linguistic elements across speakers. Quantitative observations are made on TPKPO on the basis of this kind of analysis of Group A data. Group B data was transcribed in the same way as Group A data. However, Group B data was analyzed only for the purpose of making qualitative rather than quantitative observations. Both groups of data were subjected to analysis of a qualitative kind which consisted in trying to establish connections between linguistic phenomena and wider non-linguistic issues of concern to philosophy, anthropology, sociology and political science. The communicative purposes served by the various linguistic elements that characterised the analysed speech extracts were commented on in the light of the ethnographic information gained from participant observation as well as from typical ratified hearers of TPKPO as well as interviews with producers and specialists on TPKPO acting as specialist informants. Qualitative and quantitative approaches to data analysis discussed above as well as in Chapter Three are set in creative tension in this study in the sense that only linguistic features like pronominal usage, adjectival use and the noun verb ratio which are amenable to quantitative observation are used in making qualitative statements regarding the matching of linguistic patterns with socio-cultural and political patterns. In this way one hopes to have a firmer basis on which to establish the contribution linguistic can make a understanding social life.

The view that it is right and proper for linguistics to concern itself with the analysis and understanding of "modern life insofar as it is enacted in communicative conduct" (Hymes: loc cit.) is nowadays considered hardly controversial. As Yahya-Othman (1989:65) has aptly put it: "the nature of language as a 'mode of action' is now well recognised." Traditionally, however, mainstream linguistics would largely have

confined itself to research into the phonology and morpho-syntax of languages in their 'ideal' speaker-hearer forms (Chomsky 1957). Criticising this traditional view of the boundaries of linguistics as an academic discipline, Fasold (1990), paraphrasing Hymes (1972), observes that:

"Linguists were paying too much attention to language as an abstract system. They (were) interested in how to describe and explain the structures of sentences that speakers of a certain language would accept as grammatical. How anybody **used** one of those sentences whether to show deference, to get someone to do something, to display verbal skill, or to give someone else information - was considered simply outside the concerns of linguistic theory." (Fasold 1990:39)

Only in the last twenty years or so has there been acceptance by most linguists that such 'ideal' speaker-hearer competence models of language description are inadequate. This inadequacy is especially felt where there is need for an explanation of the functions that are served by any given language forms in any given communicative contexts.

The acceptance of the view that language practice is by nature socially constituted (Fairclough 1989:7) has been encouraged by the growing convergence of interest between sociologists (Hymes 1962, 1964, 1972 a&b; Bernstein 1971, 1972), anthropologists (Malinowski 1960; Goffman 1981), philosophers (Austin 1962; Wittgenstein 1958) and some of the more functionalist structural linguists (Halliday 1978; Sinclair & Coulthard 1975) whose research work has over the years forced them to deal with aspects of language in use which were of an ethnographic nature (Saville-Troike 1982).

Take for example the Kiswahili word '**kupindua**' (to overthrow, or to roll over the other side, or to overturn). A sociologist interested in contemporary Tanzanian society may encounter the word in casual conversation on the subject of betrayal among friends. If for example one member of a marriage partnership leaves his/her partner to go and live with a close friend of that partner, the relevant close friend is said have committed an act of '**kupindua**' (ie betrayal of the friendship of) the relevant partner. This particular use of the word has obvious negative connotations. However, '**mapinduzi**' (revolution), a nominal derivation from the same word, has had a significant history of use with positive connotations in Tanzanian political culture. One possible explanation for this meaning extension of the connotative usage of the word could be this: oppressive political 'partnerships' like colonial rule were often referred to as 'forced marriages' whose betrayal (eg seeking political independence) by the oppressed 'partner' was considered a positive thing to do. Be as it may, a researcher into the political philosophy of the founding father of Tanzanian nationalism, Mr Julius K Nyerere, will encounter the word '**mapinduzi**' in the name of Tanzanian ruling

party, **Chama cha Mapinduzi** (Party of the Revolution), and in numerous documents that the said ruling party (and its predecessors, TANU and ASP) have produced over the years.

In one such document, the **MWONGOZO WA TANU** (TANU GUIDELINES), an explicit attempt is made to prescribe as to how the Tanzanian political leadership would wish everybody to use the term '**mapindunzi**' in political discourse (Coulson 1979:36). The **Mwongozo** was published in 1971 immediately after the military coup in Uganda which brought General Iddi Amin to power. (Mr Milton Obote who was overthrown by General Amin was at that time a political ally of the Tanzanian leadership and his overthrow caused a lot of apprehension.)

Only in the light of this political context can one explain why the definition which the **Mwongozo** offers of '**mapindunzi**' (revolution) specifically excludes any overthrow of a government which was initiated by a small group of army officers at the instigation of foreign powers (as it was alleged in the case of the said Iddi Amin coup) (Coulson 1979:5). The **Mwongozo** characterised military coups such as these as '**upinga mapinduzi**' (counter-revolution). Perhaps more neutrally in connotative terms a change of government is referred to as '**kuangushwa kwa serikali**' (the making a government to fall). In the same vein the Tanzanian governing party, **CCM**, has sought to characterise the 1989/90 government changes in Eastern Europe as '**mageuzi**' (reforms) rather than as '**mapinduzi**' (revolution) as the West European press has done (Lwaitama 1990b). From this small illustration we can see that a critical view of political discourse is required if a study of such discourse is to contribute to the understanding of the relevant socio-political processes which is reflected in the relevant discourse.

A Chomskyan model of language description would be inadequate in explaining why the use of a term such as '**mapinduzi**' (revolution) has been so controversial in Tanzania. This inadequacy is largely due the model's insufficient appreciation of "the connections between language, power and ideology" (Fairclough 1989:5).

A view of language based on ideal speakers and ideal hearers is not best placed as a theoretical framework to guide analyses whose aim is to shed light on how language is actually used by actual speaker-hearers in actual speech events (Hymes 1972). Alternative models of language description have in recent years been proposed which are based on a synthesis of the work emerging from five broad approaches to language study, namely: systemic linguistics (Halliday 1985), cognitive psychology (Kintsch

1983), discourse analysis (van Dijk 1985), conversation analysis (Schenkein 1978) and pragmatics (Levinson 1983).

One such alternative model is that proposed by Fairclough (1985, 1989) which he terms **critical language study (Henceforth CLS)** (Fairclough 1989:5). It is a model whose sub-set which Fairclough (1985) calls critical discourse analyses (henceforth CDA) is also drawn upon in some of qualitative textual analysis to which Group A and B data were subjected. Drawing on traditions of the above five radical approaches to language study (ie systemic linguistics, cognitive psychology, discourse analysis conversational analysis and pragmatics), CLS seeks to discover connections between stylistic choices and socio-economic power relations holding between given speech event participants. My study thesis presents the result of a **CLS** (loc cit. :) of Tanzanian Kiswahili political discourse taking inter and intra-speaker variability within its presidential political oratory as its primary focus. The purpose of the study was to find out the extent to which the written versus spoken dimension is mirrored in the scripted versus unscripted distinction; itself a mirror of variation **within a spoken discourse genre** (Swales 1990).

The results of the study were expected to shed some light on the socio-cultural states and processes that have characterised contemporary Tanzanian society. A close textual examination was undertaken of a set of 160 'spoken paragraphs' or 'paratones' (Brown & Yule 1983:100) extracted from political speeches given in Kiswahili by Tanzania's former President, Mr Julius Nyerere, and the incumbent President, Mr Ali Hassan Mwinyi. Eighty spoken paragraphs constituted Group A data and 80 spoken paragraphs constituted Group B data as further elaborated in Chapter Three. (See Appendix A and B for the speech extracts.)

The speeches were selected from a larger corpus I have collected of speeches given by the two in their relevant official capacities since 1967, the year when the **AZIMIO LA ARUSHA** (the Arusha Declaration) was published. This document has since come to play a role in Tanzanian political discourse similar to that played by holy writs in religious discourse. One interesting aspect of this issue of political documents tending to be treated as sacred texts is the extent to which Mr Nyerere's and Mr Mwinyi's attitudes regarding the sacredness of the **AZIMIO LA ARUSHA (AD)** could be said to vary. While Mr Nyerere was the principal author of the **AD**, Mr Mwinyi was a politically insignificant Zanzibari school teacher at the time of the **AD's** proclamation.

Fairclough's (op cit. :) model of language description recommends itself to someone interested in investigating linguistic phenomena with the view to making a contribution

to the illumination of the role of language in social life. The model is based on two central assumptions which C N Candlin has satisfactorily summarised in observing that CLS is distinguished by its practitioners' belief in the view:

"that language is social practice and not a phenomenon external to society to be adventitiously correlated with it, and that language seen as discourse rather than as accomplished text compels us to take account not only of the artefacts of language, the products that we hear and see, but also the conditions of production and interpretation of texts, in sum the process of communicating of which the text is only a part." (C N Candlin in Fairclough 1989: vii-viii)

Fairclough's model also recommends itself because it is based on two research design principles. The first principle is that some 'research sites' (Candlin op cit.: viii) are more socially salient than others. In this regard the oratory of the most senior political leaders of a country must be more socially significant than the casual conversations of any two or more of that country's most prominent linguists.

The second research design principle which recommends Fairclough's model relates to the selection of ones research topics. As Candlin (op cit.: ix) has observed:

"critical language study identifies particular areas of language as having the greatest meaning potential for the understanding of the social process, privileging certain options from the whole array of features which are present for analysis."(ibid.:)

Applying the same principle, the written versus spoken distinction was adopted as the overall language research topic under which variation within Tanzanian presidential political oratory was investigated. A scripted speech is in many respects a **written** text (it is usually given to journalists well in advance of its "live" production - though embargoed not to be printed until after its oral delivery). Even unscripted speeches are often delivered from notes on a topic (and with a message) which at least part of the audience (eg journalists) would often have guessed at in advance. So one must be able to find some features of written discourse in both scripted and unscripted political oratory.

Such significant sociolinguistic distinctions as standard/non-standard dialects, formal/informal registers, and High/Low languages which are deployed in both scripted and in unscripted speeches point to the need to keep the written versus spoken discourse dimension in our minds as we examine the nature of any type of institutional monologue. This is because the extent to which speeches appeal to institutional legitimacy may be the extent to which such speeches may exhibit features of written discourse.

It is perhaps important to point out right from the beginning that distinctions like **spoken/written, informal/formal, standard/non-standard**, are only analytical distinctions which are themselves assumed to mirror a number of socio-cultural states and processes. Among such states and processes one may include social solidarity and conflict, political mobilisation, and continuity and change in cultural norms. As stated above the current study sought to provide support to the assumptions mentioned above, through a quantitative and qualitative analysis of authentic data drawn from a socio-cultural milieu with which the analyst was most familiar. In the next sections of this introductory chapter of the thesis the overall assumptions and goals of the study are presented in some greater detail.

1.1.1 THE STUDY OF POLITICS, LANGUAGE AND DISCOURSE

Political developments in Tanzania, especially from the mid-1960s to the mid-1980s have attracted a substantial amount of analysis and comment by political scientists, sociologists and economists (Hodd 1986; Hartman et. al. 1986). As mentioned earlier, much of the interest has derived from the perceived influence of the political oratory of Mr Nyerere, Tanzania's President from its foundation in the early 1960s until 1985. A good example of interest which derived such perceived influence is the seminal review by O'Barr and O'Barr (1976) of the literature on the relationship between language and politics which was acknowledged to have been inspired by the work and acquaintance the relevant authors had had with political events in Tanzania in the early part of the 1970s.

Nevertheless, very little has been done to clarify the conditions under which Tanzanian presidential political oratory was produced and interpreted. Only in the work by Maw (1974), and more recently that by Blommaert (1989, 1990) has there been a systematic attempt to analyse the political speeches of Mr Nyerere. Even these two pioneering works have had the drawback of being based on officially tied-up written versions of the relevant speeches. Moreover, their analysis has tended to be premised on an implicit Chomskyan ideal speaker-hearer view of language. Both Maw and Blommaert do not seem to consider it possible that audiences of the speeches they analyse could have consisted of both ratified and non-ratified hearers and over-hearers.

The characterisation of the **intra** as much as the inter-speaker differences in the styles of speaking of Mr Nyerere and Mr Mwinyi is done in a way which goes beyond references "to techniques used (in) elicit (ing) laughter or agreement" (Lwaitama 1986:32). It is

taken as cynical the view suggested in the work by Atkinson (1984) that the elicitation of 'applause' by 'grassroot movements' spokespeople like Mr Tony Benn in England or the late Rev Martin Luther King in the USA can be analyzed in the same way as one would the elicitation of applause by some of the contemporary USA careerist politicians such as Mr Ronald Reagan. There is no evidence to support the view that all styles of public speaking can be reduced to formal linguistic features that can be mimicked. One such mimicable feature of Mr Nyerere's style of oratory is:

"... his way of saying "Ndiyo" (yes) with a high-rising intonation to mean "yes, you must believe me!" and with a low-level intonation to mean "yes, and who dares not believe me!" (Lwaitama 1986:32)

Mr Mwinyi's 'style' would in this regard be reduced to his way of saying "yes, and why not!" by producing "ehee" (as in MUA/P17 in the study data transcripts) with a low-fall intonation accompanied by features of "intonational sub-ordination" (Roach 1983:149) or 'low key' (Brazil 1983:67). Such features of style differentiation, being largely indices of individual idiosyncrasies (Allport & Cantril 1934), would hardly be of prime interest to those investigating style from the standpoint of 'discourse modes differentiation' (Johns-Lewis 1986:208) as most linguists would be (Crystal & Davy 1969; Agar 1985; Hawthorn 1987; Swales 1986 a&b; Bolinger 1980). The approach to style differentiation adopted in this study is inspired by the far more 'critical language study' oriented observation by O'Barr (1976:18) to the effect that:

"A focus on micro level problems of language and politics portends significant possibilities of adding to our understanding of human social relationships on the level of interactional phenomena." (O'Barr 1976:18)

A clarification of the way I use the terms "discourse" and "language" may be in order at this point. "Discourse" is used to refer to naturally occurring language associated with a given social context. Most speakers of a language would intuitively link in their minds certain language style varieties (ie **registers or, as Swales (1990) would argue such varieties should be more appropriately called, genres**) with certain broad sociological contexts.

The **genre** of salutation or greetings, for example, is more readily associated with casual conversational **spoken discourse** than with journal article or textbook **written discourse**. Equally, a sermon, for example, is usually interpreted as a variety of style **within** religious **discourse**. The term is used as a noun head in noun phrases such as "political discourse", "school classroom discourse", "medical discourse", "discourse on colonialism", "discourse on socialism", etc. It is used in this way instead of the term "**language**" to signal the view that the "language" of politics, for example, is peculiar

to a sociological context called "politics". Hence, "**political discourse**" is a concrete and specialised expression of the properties of all human languages in their use in this specialised sociological context. Therefore, whenever the term "discourse" is used it is to emphasise this distinction between "language as an abstract communication system" and "**language as a communication sub-system put to some specialised use**" ie "**discourse**". Linguistic variability within Tanzanian Kiswahili political oratory is investigated within the current debate among linguists about the spoken versus written discourse continuum (Tannen 1982, 1984).

1.1.2 DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND SOCIOLINGUISTICS

The sociolinguistic analysis of natural language is a trend in linguistics which has given rise to a sub-discipline which is called 'discourse analysis' (Coulthard 1977, Stubbs 1983, Brown & Yule 1983). The traditions of this sub-discipline draw on the work by Candlin et al (1974), Sinclair & Coulthard (1975), Schegloff et al (1977), Labov & Fanshel (1977), Goffman (1981) and van Dijk (1984). It is a tradition which is influenced by the theoretical works of linguists like Halliday (1985 a&b) and Bolinger (1980) who themselves appear to be inspired by the works of earlier linguists like Edward Sapir and Benjamin Lee Whorf (Bolinger 1980: viii). These linguists are interested in theoretical questions such as:

"Is a language that has few or no adjectives correspondingly weak in notions of detachable qualities? Is a language rich in verbs correspondingly strong in its concepts of processes as against things which would agree better with modern physics than the noun-heavy languages of Western Europe?" (Bolinger 1980: viii).

What the 'micro-sociolinguistic' analysis (Penalosa 1981:60) of natural language in different discourse contexts does is help answer similar theoretical questions as those above only now posed with regard to variability within the language itself rather than between it and another. As Penalosa (1981:60) quoting Ervin-Tripp (1971) puts it, the objectives of this sub-discipline within linguistics are: "to study the relations between linguistic and social structures at the level of face-to-face interaction" and, therefore, to aim at "observing the behaviour of individuals, rather than of categories, groups or aggregates of people" (Penalosa 1981:60) as Whorf would have done. It is such detailed observation of the behaviour of individuals, especially influential individuals like the President of a country, which affords one greater opportunities to adopt a 'critical language study' perspective (Fairclough 1989:5) in ones study of discourse than would otherwise be possible.

1.2 THE STUDY

Drawing on traditions such as these, the thesis reports on a study which investigated the way individuals - in this case very senior politicians in Tanzania - behave linguistically in different social and physical contexts. Spoken political discourse produced by the President of Tanzania, Mr Mwinyi, (President since November 1985 and Party Chairman since August 1990), and the former President, Mr Nyerere, (President from December 1962 to October 1985 and Party Chairman from July 1954 to August 1990), is analyzed to find out how it varies according to whether the given speech was delivered impromptu or dependent on written notes visible to, at best, some in the audience. Political oratory is also studied to find out if and how it varies according to whether the 'live' delivery of the given speech is offered to an audience consisting of peasant farmers in a village, a mixture of peasant farmers and low paid workers assembled at a city square or consisting of senior politicians assembled in a town hall, and whether sociological conclusions can be drawn from this.

1.3 THE STUDY RATIONALE

The rationale for undertaking this study was a wish to fill a knowledge gap in the growing literature on political discourse. The analysis of political discourse has attracted some attention in recent years (Seidel 1985; Gilling 1986; Geis 1987; Gaffney 1989). Political discourse is, however, arguably a much wider phenomenon than political oratory. The former is the product of activities of all who concern themselves with politics, notably journalists, media communication specialists, social historians and political pressure groups. The latter is the product of professional politicians. It is this which is the subject of this study. The study of such oratory has not (with only a few notable exceptions (See Ager 1970; Atkinson 1984)) in the past been given due weight.

Journalist accounts and tidied-up transcripts of given speeches have tended to be taken as adequate records of the relevant oratory. As a type **spoken discourse** (because **oratory** serves its purpose only insofar as it is delivered "live") its exploitation of **features of written discourse in its pre-delivery planning/rehearsal stage** gives the researcher a unique opportunity to assess the ideological uses of such features as they are exhibited **within institutional spoken monologue**. Since spoken matter can be delivered with varying degrees of preparedness (Benson & Greaves 1973:82-83) - with no aide memoirs, with notes, with partially written out materials, or

with fully scripted material, there is clearly scope for investigating variability in the linguistic product of professional politicians.

This was, indeed, the main justification for choosing to contribute to the growing literature on variation in political discourse but within the context of the issues raised in the literature on discourse variation in general (Shuz 1986, Johns-Lewis & Skelton 1987) and the spoken-written discourse continuum in particular (Tannen 1982, 1984; Halliday 1985a, b&c). The issues discussed in this thesis touch on the following five areas of language use which were selected partly on the basis of their having attracted the attention of several other linguists who have analysed some aspects of political discourse (Fairclough 1989, Wilson 1991, Gaffney 1991):

- a) variation in the use of prosodic features and humour behaviour,
- b) variation in the exploitation of the syntactic possibilities of a language in staging ones' messages,
- c) variation in the extent to which more verbs are used in overall vocabulary selection than nouns,
- d) variation in the use of adjectives and adverbs as markers of evidentiality, and affect and
- e) variation in the use of personal pronouns.

Apart from being areas that had previously attracted the attention of other linguists as pointed out above, the five linguistic features merited attention for three reasons. First, Mr Nyerere's use of ironic laughter in political discourse had been commented on by many journalistic commentators (Obe 1990:5). Evidence from research informants elaborated on in Chapter Three as well as my own previous study of aside-like stretches in lecture discourse (Lwaitama 1983) pointed to the importance of analysing at least some aspects of the prosodic and humour behaviour of both ex-President Nyerere and President Mwinyi. Secondly, an examination of the use of intonational subordination, laughter, passive voice, existential clauses, the nouns versus verbs ratio, adjectives, adverbs, and personal pronoun rendered itself amenable to both a quantitative approach as well as a qualitative (ie ethnographic) approach to the establishment of general tendencies in the deployment of these linguistic features across speakers and speech contexts. At the beginning of each chapter which presents the study results (ie Chapters Four, Five, Six, Seven and Eight) the theoretical framework that informed the selection each of the five linguistic areas is presented in detail.

The third reason for adopting the research design sketched out above (and further elaborated on in Chapter Three) may at this stage be given. Many of the recent

advances in our understanding of 'discourse mode differentiation' (Johns-Lewis 1986:208) (ie language variation according to purpose of use (Saville-Troike 1982; Shuz 1986: 381)), have derived from studies of narrative (Labov & Waletzky 1967; Polanyi 1979, 1982; Chafe 1980; Tannen 1982b, 1984b; Beaman 1984; Farag 1986). Other text types that have been investigated include fiction (Short 1981; Asaad 1987), scientific (Myers 1985a, b&c; Adams Smith 1987; Rounds 1987), journalistic (van Dijk 1984), and religious texts (Smith & Frawley 1983). Indeed, 'narrativity' (White 1981) tends to assume the status of an explanatory metaphor for the understanding of monologic discourse as far as some linguists are concerned (Myers 1985; Gemin 1986:171).

To treat all monologue as a kind of narrative (ie as a kind of presentation of events that happen in sequence) is reasonable enough. But little attention has been given to political oratory as a special kind of monologic discourse in which features of dialogic discourse are incorporated for persuasive and attention-retention effect. Some work has been done on political interviews (Harris 1986) but there is only a small number of studies of extended political monologue (Atkinson 1984, Maitland & Wilson 1985, Gaffney 1991, Wilson 1990).

1.4 REASONS FOR CHOOSING A KISWAHILI DATA BASE

Although Tanzanian presidents do sometimes deliver their political oratories in English (eg at State banquet when hosting foreign heads of states), a deliberate decision was made to look only at those speeches which they had delivered in Kiswahili. First, while there has been a lot of work on language variation, it has largely been based on English data (Biber 1986). Only a few other languages like Chinese (Li & Thompson 1982), Japanese (Clancy 1980) and Seneca (Chafe 1982) have been studied from the standpoint of the debate about the differentiation of and differentiation within spoken and written discourse.

The work by Maw (1974) which, among other things, looks at the possible linguistic differences between a written political text by the former President of Tanzania, Mr Nyerere, and a spoken political text by the same politician, is pioneering. The work by Temu (1971) restricted itself to a consideration of developments in the evolution of Kiswahili political vocabulary. Temu's 1986 subsequent technical consultancy report for UNESCO in which issues relating to developments in Kiswahili political vocabulary are again raised, is also pioneering. Indeed, although there is quite a large body of literature on Kiswahili linguistics (Welmers 1973; Maw 1969, 1981; Maw & Kelly

1975; Whiteley 1968; Wesana-Chomi 1973), much of it deals with the language in an abstract way at phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic levels. Only a very small number of studies have in recent years begun to look at, for example, the interaction of syntax and discourse in Kiswahili (Wald 1979; Russell 1985; Moshi 1985). This then provides the justification for choosing to use Kiswahili data in the study. The thesis wishes to make a contribution to this recent trend in Kiswahili linguistics whereby issues in linguistics are linked with issues in developments in the overall culture of the peoples who use the language being studied (Maw & Parkin 1985).

Almost all of the modern political institutions in Tanzania have been evolved in the last 30 to 35 years of its independent statehood. Moreover, it is also only in the last 30 to 35 years that Kiswahili has assumed a dominant role in national political communication. Before independence in December 1961, it was English which was the language in which national legislative business was conducted. Securing information on the political system in Tanzania has been facilitated by the fact that Tanzania's short history as an independent political entity has attracted a considerable amount of interest among many social scientists.

There is therefore quite a considerable amount of literature on the Tanzanian socio-political system (Cliffe & Saul 1972, 1973; Hyden 1980; Mwansasu & Pratt 1979; Nellis 1972; Prat 1976; Morrison 1976; Nyerere 1966, 1967, 1968 a&b, 1973, 1977; Resnick 1968; Kim et al 1979; Coulson 1982; van Donge & Liviga 1985, 1986).

1.5 FORMULATION OF THE STUDY PROBLEM

In formulating the research problem for this study, one took into account the observation made by Beaman (1984:51) with regard to the differences between spoken and written discourse in English to the effect that:

"... what looks like differences between spoken and written discourse may really be differences in the register, purpose, formality, or amount of planning time of each task."

The study also takes into account the observation by Chafe (1982:36) to the effect that even a language which had "no written tradition may nevertheless have different styles which in some ways parallel the differences between spoken and written languages."

These differences between spoken and written language are discussed more fully in the next chapter. For English, Biber (1986:384) has identified five areas of difference. First, written discourse is claimed to be "more complex, elaborate, and explicit" (O'Donnell 1974, Kroll 1977, Olson 1977) than spoken discourse. Secondly, written language is claimed to be "more decontextualized" (Kay 1977) "or detached" (Chafe 1982) thus more likely to give the impression of being "less personally involved" (Blackenship 1974, Chafe & Danielewicz 1985). Thirdly, written discourse is said to be "characterised by a higher concentration of new information" (Brown & Yule 1983, Krock & Hindle 1982) whereas spoken discourse was more likely to be characterised by greater redundancy in information content. Fourthly, written discourse in English is claimed to be generally "more highly organised" (Akinnsa 1982, Grumpex et al 1984) thus presumably using a greater proportion of meta-comments than would be necessary in English spoken discourse. A pioneering study by Maw (1974) suggests that similar differences can be said to hold for Kiswahili.

The research problem was thus formulated around the question of whether differences could be observed within spoken language which were a reflection of the differences between spoken and written language. These differences were then to be matched with ideological phenomena such as the masking of bias through use of grammatical structures which projected a sense of personal detachment (Kress & Hodge 1979, Fowler et al 1979, Fairclough 1985, Ohman 1986, Geis 1987, Chilton 1988). As Halliday (1985:8) has put it: "we recognise some speech as bookish, and some writing as colloquial." The research study set as its problem finding out the extent to which some speeches can be said to be 'bookish' while others are 'colloquial', both with respect to speeches by the same person in different contexts and by different speakers in similar contexts.

The purpose in seeking to describe the given intra-speaker and inter-speaker style variation was to account for the underlying preferred interpretations (Fairclough 1989) which given producers of texts seek to make to appear natural and thus 'fetishized' (Shapiro 1984:225) through the use of any of the choices that both the spoken and written language provide to language users. The assumption is that speakers seek to encourage hearers to interpret their speeches in particular ways rather than in others. The encouragement takes the form of choices in the lexical and grammatical systems and sub-systems of a language. The study seeks to uncover what these choices that the speaker exploits may be.

1.6 VARIABLES IN RESEARCH PROBLEM

The study problem was therefore formulated around the following three major inter-related questions:

- (a) To what extent does the reported variation between spoken and written language (Birber 1986:384; Maw 1974:11) find parallels in the observed inter-speaker and intra-speaker variation within the given spoken monologue discourse ie Tanzanian presidential political oratory.
- (b) In what way can the observed stylistic variation within the given spoken monologue discourse be said to be related to the observation that the use of certain linguistic patterns such as passivisation and nominalization can be manipulated by text producers in order to give ideological bias to messages through the 'naturalisation' or 'reification' (Thomson 1984:137) of social relations which have definite historical origins, (eg. political institutions, offices, groups, etc., (Shapiro 1984:225)) but which are presented as noncontestable common sense.
- (c) In what way can some of the intra-speaker and inter-speaker linguistic variations within Tanzanian Kiswahili presidential political oratory be accounted for by appeal to the view that the social and political processes of which the given speakers are a part exert contradictory demands on the discourse production process depending on the 'audience design' (Bell 1984) or 'participants framework' (Goffman 1981) of any given speech event.

These three major questions which characterise the major variables defining the formulation of the research problem were further translated into a number of specific questions which guided the search for patterns of language use which could plausibly be explained through appeal to the view that such language patterns mirrored certain patterns in the political processes that typified contemporary Tanzanian society. Below are some such questions:

- (a) How does political oratory by Tanzanian presidents vary according to whether it is script-dependent or not?
- (b) How does political oratory by Tanzanian presidents vary according to whether it is delivered to mass rallies in villages and towns as opposed to being delivered to assemblies of career politicians at national and regional levels?
- (c) What are the syntactic/grammatical and pragmatic indices of the variations in (a) and (b) above?
- (d) Does the oratory of other senior Tanzanian politicians vary in the same way as does that of Tanzania's presidents?
- (e) In what way can the variations within presidential political oratory be accounted for in terms of the nature of Tanzanian politics (Coulson 1982; Hodd 1988) and the evolution of Kiswahili literature and the

Kiswahili language as an indigenous African lingua franca? (Maw & Parkin 1984; Byabafumu 1986.)

- f) In what way do we gain insights about the nature of the Tanzanian presidency revealed through analysis of the use by senior Tanzanian politicians of personal pronouns (in signalling footing (Goffman 1981:124-159) and face management (Brown & Levinson 1978)), lexical and grammatical markers of evidentiality and affect (Biber & Finegan 1989), and thematic structure (Halliday 1985)?
- (g) In what way does the analysis of linguistic variation within Tanzanian presidential political oratory provide support for viewing the modernisation processes taking place in Third World Countries like Tanzania as contradictory and ridden with ambiguities (Goldthorpe 1975, Hulme & Turner 1990) which find parallels in the concerns of left-wing movements in advanced capitalist countries like France (Gaffney 1989)?
- (h) To what extent is there variation within presidential political oratory in the use of paralinguistic features like pitch range shifts for humour (Chapman & Foot 1977) and 'back-channel' (Goffman 1981:138) and to what extent is such variation a reflection of the social and political processes revealed in answering questions (e) to (g) above?

These eight questions were used as a framework within which the three variables investigated in the study could be explained without at the same time being too prescriptive in offering such explanations. It was strongly felt that the study will benefit from avoiding setting up fully worked out hypothesis regarding the relationships holding within and between the three study variables above.

1.7 ORGANISATION OF THE THESIS

After this introduction and background to the thesis, Chapter Two presents the review of relevant literature in greater detail. Chapter Three explains the data collection and data analysis procedures employed. Then examining the most broad features before moving on to the most specific elements whose deployment is more easily quantifiable, Chapter Four discusses variation in the way prosodic features and humour behaviour were exploited. Chapter Five looks at and offers an interpretation of the thematic structures in some of the texts studied. Chapter Six examines variation in the use of the nouns and verbs which have come to characterise Tanzanian Kiswahili Presidential Political Oratory. Chapter Seven discusses ways in which presidential orators use adjectives and adverbs as overt markers of evidentiality and affect. Chapter Eight accounts for the use of personal pronouns in the data corpus. Chapter Nine presents a discussion of the conclusions and applications that are inferred from the study. The transcripts of the extracts of the speeches used in the study are set out in the appendix.

A cassette tape accompanies the appendix. The inter-disciplinary nature of the issues dealt with in this thesis demands that I use the review of the literature to establish the connections between the linguistic, sociological, philosophical, and anthropological strands of the study. This is what I will proceed to do in the next chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

"The television camera has shifted the valued political style from traditional ringing oration at a distance to the illusion of intimate encounter. Kennedy's early campaign style was perceived as "bombastic" by many T V viewers, and Reagan's as "warm" and "sincere."

Saville-Troike (1982:174) The Ethnography of Communication
London: Basil Blackwell.

2.1 OVERVIEW

The oratory of senior national political leaders in contemporary Tanzania, **spoken** as it is, shares two factors with **written discourse** in general: they both are **planned** well ahead of delivery and are both invariably produced with the intention that the text will be available for subsequent processing by ratified and non-ratified hearers and over-hearers after "live" delivery. Written texts are produced to be read and re-read while presidential speeches in Tanzania are often broadcast "live" as well as being assured of being repeatedly re-broadcast in national radio programmes as pointed out in the previous chapter. It is not unreasonable to expect that the ways in which presidential oratory in Tanzania varies must relate to the extent to which there is **inter - and intra-speaker** variation in the **mixing** of features from the **written mode** with features from the **spoken mode**. The degree of mixing will in turn be a factor in some speeches being perceived to be "**bookish**" (Halliday 1985:8) and thus "**bombastic**" (Saville-Troike loc. :) while others are perceived as "**colloquial**" (Halliday loc. :) and thus "**warm and sincere**" (Saville-Troike loc. :).

In Tanzania, television has not yet become an influential instrument of public opinion-making although the radio certainly is influential. Nevertheless, writers like Saville-Troike (loc. :) in the quotation above, point to the broad motivation for the interest in political oratory even where Tanzania is concerned. One may wish to establish the distinctive characteristic features of various styles of oratory. Political scientists, public relation firms and politicians may wish to investigate features which distinguished different oratorical styles for purposes relating to their professions. From a linguistics perspective, however, establishing the characteristic features of different oratorical styles is interesting for the light it may shed on the prosodic, syntactic and pragmatic indices of language variability in general and how such variability acts both as a constraint and as a resource in social life in particular.

The spoken-written continuum is one dimension along which languages have been shown to vary. In more than a decade of work on spoken and written language, key concepts have contributed to an understanding of variability along this dimension. Written discourse is claimed to be 'integrated' (Chafe 1982) and compact (O'Donnell 1974) as a result of increased 'planning time' (Ochs 1979) and lack of 'visibility' (Lakoff 1979) at the point of its 'delivery'. Spoken discourse, on the other hand, is claimed to be characterised by more personal 'involvement' (Chafe 1982) and a lower information density than written discourse (Brown & Yule 1983, Farag 1986).

These and other concepts are reviewed in the subsequent sections of this Chapter as they apply to English (Biber 1986) and to Kiswahili (Maw 1974). Also reviewed are concepts developed by writers who have approached the phenomenon of political discourse from a variety of other perspectives: anthropological (O'Barr 1976, Saville-Troike 1982), philosophical (Kress & Hodge 1979, Fowler et al 1979, Thompson 1984, Shapiro 1984) and sociological (Ohman 1986).

The last section of the Chapter will present a summary of the questions arising from the review which provided the justification for undertaking the current study.

2.2 SPOKEN AND WRITTEN DISCOURSE DIFFERENTIATION

In this section of the review is a summary of the literature on spoken and written discourse differentiation. Biber (1986) makes a critical review of the spoken and written dimension as its applied to English:

"Writing is typically claimed to be more complex, elaborate, and explicit (O'Donnell 1974, Kroll 1977, Olson 1977), more decontextualized (Kay 1977) or detached (Chafe 1982), less personally involved (Blackenship 1974, Chafe & Danielewicz 1985), characterised by a higher concentration of new information (Brown & Yule 1983, Kroch & Hindle 1982), and more highly organised (Akinaso 1982, Grumpex et al 1984)." (Biber 1986:384)

However, some researchers have recently suggested that there were "few (if any) absolute differences" between speech and writing, claiming that "register, topic and other communicative factors are important in the observed differences among spoken/written text types" (Chafe 1982, Chafe & Danielewicz 1985, Beaman 1984, Kroch & Hindle 1982, Tannen 1982). Other researchers have made the radically

counter claim that speech is structurally more complex than writing (Poole & Field (1976) and Halliday (1979) according to Biber (1986:385)).

It would appear that "most previous linguistic studies of speech and writing have compared frequency counts for certain linguistic features across a few spoken/written test types" (Biber 1986:385). It is beginning to be recognised that the difficulty is that, often, little attention is paid to establishing sound conditions for comparability of most of the texts on the basis of which previous studies made their frequency counts. Farag (1986), for example, overcame this problem by controlling the texts to be compared for topic, text producer, text producer familiarity with communicative tasks, text production time, and text type. The results of her study support the view of those who argue that the spoken/written language distinction is a function of the level of "discourse planning" (Kennan 1977) as Chafe (1982) had pointed out. Chafe (1982) sought to explain the observed differences between written and spoken discourses through employing concepts such as "integration/fragmentation" and "detachment/involvement".

Chafe (1982) undertook a study based on 9,911 words of informal spoken extracts and 12,368 words of formal written extracts produced by 14 faculty and graduate students in a university in the United States of America. The informal spoken language was extracted from dinner table conversations, while the formal written language was extracted from academic papers. As Chafe (1982:36) himself admits, the data could only permit comparison of these "two maximally differentiated styles: informal spoken language and formal written language". Chafe (1982:36) also admitted that the comparison was "partial and preliminary". Nevertheless, Chafe (1982), on the basis of the results of this comparative study, was able to propose four concepts which satisfactorily account for most of the differences observed in the deployment of language in the two styles. These concepts are: 'fragmentation', 'integration', 'detachment' and 'involvement'. Chafe (1982:37) then employed the concept of an 'idea unit' which he had proposed in an earlier study relating to narrative discourse (Chafe 1980) as the analytical unit with which the four concepts could be explained.

Having defined an 'idea unit' as a stretch of language in the flow of discourse which has "a coherent intonation contour ... typically bounded by pauses and ... usually exhibit (ing) one of a small set of syntactic structures" (Chafe 1982:37), Chafe then defines fragmentation as "the stringing together of idea units without connectives" ('because', 'however', 'consequently', 'but', etc.), (Chafe 1982:38). The idea units of 'fragmented' discourse are thus characterised by a more frequent use of co-ordinating conjunction like 'and', 'but', 'so', and 'because' introducing them, than is the case with

the idea units of 'non-fragmented' discourse. The opposite of 'fragmentation' is 'integration' which is defined as:

"the packing of more information into an idea unit ... by the use of a variety of devices for incorporating additional elements into an idea unit" (Chafe 1982:39).

Nominalization is one of the syntactic devices used in accomplishing this (ibid.: 40). The use of past and present participles (ibid.: 41) is another such device. Attributive adjectives (loc cit: 41), conjoined phrases (ibid.: 42) series (ibid.: 43), sequences of pre-positional phrases (ibid.: 43) and relative clauses (ibid.: 44) are the other syntactic devices employed in "the packing of more information into an idea unit than the rapid pace of spoken language would normally allow" (ibid.: 39).

Having defined fragmentation and integration in this way, it is not surprising that Chafe (1982) found that his data suggested the thesis that: spoken language was typically fragmented while written language was typically integrated. The use of co-ordinating conjunctions (eg 'and', 'but'), nominalizers (eg 'ization'), participles (eg 'ed'), attributive adjectives, prepositions, post positions, complementizers and relative clauses thus serves as a possible indicator of the degree of fragmentation and/or integration of extracts from a discourse (Chafe 1982:50).

The other two concepts which Chafe (1982) proposed, detachment and involvement, are also defined in terms of the degree of use of certain syntactic devices and elements. Detachment is claimed to be manifested in the use of the passive voice as well as the use of nominalization (Chafe 1982:46). Involvement, on the other hand, is defined in terms of the degree of use of first person references like 'I', 'we', 'me' and 'us', as well as the use of references to a speaker's own mental processes such as "I had no idea", "I can recall", and "I thought" (Chafe 1982:46-47). Involvement is also claimed to be manifested in the use of colloquial expression like "well", "I mean", and "you know", which seem to perform the function of monitoring the communication channel by the speaker (Chafe 1982:47). So, too, is the use of emphatic particles like "just" and "really", fuzziness like "sort of", and direct quotes. Typically, involvement is viewed as a characteristic of spoken discourse while detachment that of written discourse. Degrees of involvement and/or detachment are claimed to be "attributable to different relations of a speaker or writer to the audience" (Chafe 1982:52). When Chafe (1982) applied these concepts in a comparison of ritual and colloquial Seneca (a language of native Americans spoken in New York state but with no widespread use of writing), he was encouraged in his belief that "the same differences may distinguish colloquial language and oral literature" (Chafe 1982:52) as those that distinguished "spontaneous conversational language and formal academic prose" in English (Chafe 1982:49).

Beaman's (1984) study of spoken narratives does, however, question some of the conclusions reached by Chafe (1982). Some of the uses of the conjunction 'and' are shown to be serving functions other than those of mere clause co-ordination (Beaman 1984:79). Farag (1986) made a similar observation. Beaman (1984:49) adopts Lakoff's (1979) six criteria for distinguishing types of discourse on "a continuum ... arranged as to the purpose of the discourse and the environment in which it occurs" (Lakoff 1979:23): 'visibility', 'reciprocity', 'informality', 'spontaneity', 'empathy' and 'inconsequentiality'. This helps Beaman (1984:79) in "finding comparable discourse samples that differ by only the presence or absence of a single feature". Beaman (1984:78) thus is able to conclude from his study that:

"... as Halliday suggests, the types of complexities involved in the two modalities are different. The increased lexical density of writing is balanced by a relative greater number of dependent clauses in speech." (Beaman 1984:78)

Even more interesting from our point of view of the study of discourse styles relating to languages like Kiswahili whose speakers do not have as long a tradition in writing as in 'oral literature' (Chafe 1982), is Beaman's comment that:

"Differences in syntactic complexity between spoken and written modalities previous studies have found often turn out to result from differences in the formality and purpose or register of the discourse rather than true differences between spoken and written language." (Beaman op cit.: 79).

The study by Maw (1974) in which features are presented that are claimed to distinguish Kiswahili spoken discourse from Kiswahili written discourse, was based on a data sample of 10 text extracts each of about 400 words in length (Maw 1974:3). Six of these are written and four spoken. Although individually rated on the criteria of "medium ... and intention" (Maw 1974:1), Beaman's (1984) observations above seem to apply to the general results of the study. Taking the unit of analysis to be a 'sentence', it is claimed that written texts are "longer on average, use more rank-shifted clauses, use more subordination in depth and extent, more elements of structure per clause and more compound or complex nominal groups" (Maw 1974:11). It is claimed that:

"roughly, ... written language is interesting for its complexity, and spoken language for its variety." (Maw 1974:11).

On the other hand it is claimed that 'literary' writing (writing as employed in a written story or fictional narrative) "has some affinity with speech, perhaps more than with

non-literary writing (as in a written political essay), although it also carries some of the characteristics of non-literary writing to extremes" (Maw 1974:33).

The way in which literacy in a language influences the cognitive performance of the person so made literate and thus even his/her oral language has been extensively commented upon by the early 20th century Russian psychologist Vygotsky (1978) and the American linguist and literary critic Ong (1982). The observations by Chafe, Beamen and Maw above, taken together with what cognitive psychology has claimed to be some connection between much exposure to the literary works and reduction in oral flair (Saville-Troike loc cit.), encourages one to wish to take a brief look at anthropological literature on the subject of language and politics. To this we now turn.

2.3 ANTHROPOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

O'Barr & O'Barr (1974), inspired by the political innovations they witnessed in the late 1960s and 1970s in Tanzania, have reviewed anthropological work of relevance to the relationship between language and politics (Radcliffe-Brown (1940), Gluckman (1965), Goody (1968) and Ardener (1979)).

Swartz (1976) describes a case study of the Bena people of modern rural Tanzania whose remnants of village democratic assemblies demonstrate how different in their mode of operation rural peasant political institutions are from models of democratic procedures which assume a multi-party adversarial political outlook.

It will be interesting to find out whether degrees of exposure to English-medium education reflects itself in the degree to which Kiswahili political orators use more or less of styles of public speaking that may be rated as closer to Kiswahili oral traditions or English literary traditions. For it has been claimed that in some non-English speaking societies, certain traditional oral skills:

"are suppressed when members of such societies are studying in English-medium universities, where directness is the valued style and clichés are penalized" (Saville-Troike loc cit.).

This poses the question as to "the effects of literacy upon the communicative systems of pre-industrial societies (O'Barr 1976:412) which is also raised by Halliday (1985 a:10) when he asks:

"To what extent will the characteristics that we find in English across the curriculum - the English of physics or chemistry textbook, or the English in which the teacher discusses a poem or short story, or the English of a student's history essay - also turn up in similar contexts in Thai, or Malay and Indonesian, or in Philippino? Are all languages following the same path as English, putting nearly all content into nominal constructions? And if they are, is this because people began by translating the textbooks from English or is it because this is an essential step that every language has to take?" (Halliday 1985a:10)

Speculative questions such as these are not only of interest in anthropological terms *vis à vis* the evolution of language as seen in relation to the languages of recently literate peoples. Philosophically, questions such as these raise the issue of the ideological meaning of the "noun-heavy" varieties of language which "Western" (Lwaitama 1987) forms of modernization have encouraged. A brief survey of the literature on the philosophical questions pertaining to the relationship between language and politics should give one some idea of the likely manipulative propensities of the preponderant use of nominal structures.

2.4 PHILOSOPHICAL PERSPECTIVE

Works by Kress and Hodge (1979), Fowler et. al. (1979) and Thompson (1984) have raised questions regarding the matching of given syntactic structures and elements with certain "ideological discursive formations" (Fairclough 1985:751; Pecheux 1982:111). Linguists such as Kress, Hodge and Fairclough, while not wishing to obscure the "creative character of interpretation" by engaging in the "dubious assumption that meaning can be 'read off' from syntax" (Thompson 1984:133), have nevertheless drawn attention to:

"a series of syntactic devices which play a vital role in discourse. In particular, the study of nominalization, passivation, the use of pronouns and the structure of tense may provide an initial access to processes of verification within language." (Thompson 1984:137)

Some of the findings of studies of the differences between spoken and written discourse (Tannen 1982, 1984) and of the differences between planned and unplanned discourse (Ochs 1979; Milroy & Milroy 1985:140-156) are capable of being reinterpreted from this philosophical perspective. 'Planned' discourse by adult speakers and writers is likely to be "institutional discourse" (Agar 1985) of one form or other. Institutional discourse tends to "fetishize" (Shapiro 1984:222) relations between people and things. It tends to "verify" those 'transitory' and 'historical' processes which give rise to the

relations that hold between human beings and their environment. The "affiliations" which all lexical choices "assume with institutions, offices, agencies, classes, academies, corporations, groups, guilds, and ideologically defined parties and professions" (Shapiro 1984:225) are played down by:

"representing processes as things, deleting agency and constituting time as an eternal extension of the present." (Thompson 1984:137).

It is this characteristic of 'institutional discourse' which has persuaded some linguists to begin to articulate a 'critical' perspective in the study of discourse (van Dijk 1985:4; Steiner 1985:215; Chilton 1985; Richardson 1985:24-25; Fairclough 1985). It will be interesting to know the ways in which senior politicians in Tanzania vary their oratorical styles in matters of lexical and information density for example, when addressing different groups of people in Kiswahili. Is there tension between the need to use 'institutional discourse' and traditions of village assembly 'fragmentation' and 'involvement'? (Chafe 1982)

2.5 SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

A linguistic study by Ohman (1986) highlights some of the sociological factors that may account for the tension between the demands of speaking on behalf of institutions and impersonal centres, and the natural inclinations of non-institutional persons when they are required to speak on seemingly institutional topics.

Ohman's study needs extended elaboration for the light it sheds on the connections between a focus on the syntactic and lexical patterns in a text and an interest in the wider philosophical and sociological issues that are raised by the observed patterns. The study by Ohman (1986) was based on transcripts of an interview with an unemployed couple in "an old industrial area of Connecticut" in the USA and another interview with the mayor of a town administratively covering the same industrial area. The interview with the unemployed couple took place in the street outside a shopping mall and it was impromptu for the interviewees. The interview with the mayor took place in the Mayor's Office and was by appointment (Ohman 1986:297). Both interviews explored the same subject of "the human costs, the sources, and the possible cures of unemployment in the area" where both the unemployed couple and the mayor resided (Ohman 1986:284).

The interviews were videotaped and later transcribed and analyzed. The unemployed couple used shorter responses in their interview than did the mayor. They used sentences which were shorter; all were constituted by no more than 16 words each. The "sentences" used by the mayor tended to be longer (six of these were constituted by more than 30 words). The unemployed couple used very little co-ordination and subordination in their "sentence" construction. The mayor's language, on the other hand, used quite a lot of co-ordination and subordination. The unemployed couple used very few explicit causal or logical connections while there were many of these in the mayor's language. If we took the mayor's interview responses as typical of a politician's language, then we might say it is more complex syntactically than the language of 'ordinary citizens' even when there is control for topic and audience. The politician's language in this sociological sense is also measured as being more "elaborated" (Bernstein 1971) at other levels of language use. The mayor used many modifiers including derived adjectives like "industrial" and nouns which are used as modifiers such as "unemployment" in "unemployment rates" (Ohman 1986:288). The unemployed couple use very few adjectives and adverbs and these are mainly modifiers of degree. The mayor used more abstract nouns than did the unemployed couple. He also uses more references to the context of speaking than the unemployed couple. They, on the other hand, used fewer references to context than the unemployed couple. This sociological contrast as between the mayor's "elaborated" code and the unemployed couple's "restricted" code, as Basil Bernstein (1971) initially characterised such language variation, was then observed to apply to many of the representatives of the two social categories of people in the study location (Ohman 1986:289). It was then observed that the results of this study at this stage merely confirmed what extensive research inspired by Basil Bernstein on the differences between working-class and middle-class speech had already established:

"Elaborated code users distance themselves more from the immediate situation and from the content of their talk, through abstraction, through passives, through expressions of probability, through suppositions (eg 'I think'), through questions and refusals to commit themselves quickly to definite interpretations of ambiguous experience." (Ohman 1986:289).

Ohman (1986:290-294) thus subjects these sociological findings to some critical philosophical re-interpretations. Basing himself on a view of language which considers:

"Every sign ... a construct between socially organised persons in the process of their interaction ... (and that) therefore, the forms of signs are conditioned above all by the social organisation of the participants involved and also by the immediate conditions of their interaction" (Volosinov ((1929) (1973)) in Ohman 1986:296).

Ohman rejects the conclusions which most have made regarding the differences between the language of "mental workers" and the language of "manual workers" in given specialised contexts such as videotaped interviews and schools. He appeals to the traditions of discourse analysis in proposing that the differences between the language of the mayor and that of the unemployed couple can be accounted for by observing that "the speech situations" and the "moves" that each of the two sets of interviewees made in accepting and confirming the speech situations were different.

The unemployed couple could have quite legitimately felt "like school children being drawn out against their will by an insistent teacher who is asking them to have opinions and ideas so that they may be judged" (Ohman 1986:298). This is why they keep their answers short (to what are in many cases yes-no questions), and express themselves only on matters that are "local and bound to the concrete situation" of their manual labour experience. The mayor, on the other hand, could very easily have perceived himself as performing a public function on behalf of abstract and impersonal institutions like a government in saying whatever he said. In Goffman's (1981) terms, he is not just a "speaker", he is an "animator" speaking on behalf of "authors" and "principals" (who may or may not include himself). His elaborated code is best suited to serving as a "bureaucratic smoke screen" (Ohman 1986:299).

Richard Ohman concludes by pointing out the possibility that "one may talk flaccid nonsense in elaborated codes and hard truth in restricted ones" and that it is only the "social dynamics" of a speech situation which could ever give one sufficient clue as to the interpretative essence of any data deriving from study of political discourse such as this. We can conclude from the sociological evidence above that intra speaker style variation is just as important as inter speaker variations based on class or any dialectal differences. Ohman's work is for me an example of critical language study. Fairclough (1989) provides a synthesis of traditions of micro sociolinguistic studies which one could claim to embrace work such as Ohman's as well as that by Fowlers et al (1979) earlier on.

2.6 SUMMARY

Shuz (1986:381) has proposed three major characteristics which he suggests tend to distinguish language variability as a broad field of linguistic study:

- 1 A concern for viewing language variation rather than the sort of universals upon which grammars are usually based.
- 2 A concern for seeing language in real social contexts rather than as abstract representations.
- 3 A high potential for relationship and application to other fields such as education, sociology, anthropology, psychology and many others." (Shuz 1986:381).

The review of the literature in the last three sections of this Chapter offers support to the proposals by Shuz (1986) regarding the main areas of concern for those who have done work on discourse variation in English and in Kiswahili.

The issues that arise from such literature are broadly the same. The questions that seek to be given answers relate to ways in which language varies according to the **mode of delivery** (which correlates to Crystal and Davy's (1969:74) modalities within the written mode) as well as according to **degrees of preparedness** and "**the relative status and expertise of the speaker viz-a-viz the audience**" (Johns-Lewis 1985:208).

The decision to take the oratory of the most senior Tanzanian political leaders was partly occasioned by the need to find out how the use of language was constrained by social distance and inequality of access to politically relevant knowledge. (See Gaffney (1989) for a detailed discussion of French Gaullist presidents' use of access to politically relevant knowledge in sustaining the presidential practice of personalised politics.) The need look at how discourse was affected by the requirements of the immediate speech situation occasioned the collection of both **scripted** and **unscripted** data. In the next chapter the research methodology which was adopted is discussed. It will be clear that the review of the literature encouraged me take an ethnographic approach, using quantitative observations merely as a guide in establishing significant trends across speakers and speaking contexts, and to seek to describe critically the stylistic shifts in the speeches of Tanzanian presidents which were connected with the purpose for which individual speeches were given rather than attempt broad **quantitative** generalizations based on notions of 'appropriacy' (Fairclough, forthcoming). It will therefore be stressed that the quantitative generalizations that are sought were those which, seek to set the background to the qualitative observations which are based on an ethnographic study of political discourse in contemporary Tanzania.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH DESIGN

"Unlike the experimenter who manipulates variables to determine their causal significance of the surveyor who asks standardised questions of large representative samples of individuals, the case study researcher typically observes the characteristics of an individual unit ..."

Louis Cohen & Lawrence
Manion. (1980:99) In
Research Methods in Education
London: Croom Helm

3.1 OVERVIEW

The research design adopted was one of a case study format in which the syntactic and pragmatic structures that are frequently employed in the paragraphs produced by two Tanzanian politicians in two contrasting contexts were identified and explained. The methodology is 'interpretative' rather than 'normative' (Cohen & Manion 1980:27). As many interpretations of the patterns of usage that observed are offered as are plausible rather than seeking to fit the observed patterns into some interpretative norms of usage established a priori on the basis of what could plausibly be said to be the typical communicative needs of a given discourse community (Swales 1990). The data or information gathered is treated as "the source of hypothesis, of interpretation; (the data) precedes any theorising or explanation regarding that data" (Cohen & Manion 1980:27).

The 'spoken paragraph' (Lehiste 1975, 1979, 1980; Longacre 1979, Winter 1979:96, Hinds 1979:136) is adopted as the unit of discourse whose characteristics in two contrasting discourse contexts are observed. As Cohen and Manion (1980:99) would put it:

"The purpose of such observation is to probe deeply and to analyse intensively the multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle of the unit(s) with a view to establishing generalisations about the wider population to which (those) unit (s) belong."

A selection of syntactic and pragmatic elements are isolated being some of the "multifarious phenomena that constitute the life cycle" of the 160 paragraphs that form the case study's data base.

3.2 DATA CORPUS

The data corpus thus consists of 160 spoken paragraphs divided up into two 2 groups. In the first group there are extracts from speeches which were analysed for the purpose of establishing intra and intra speaker variation within Tanzanian presidential Kiswahili political oratory (TPKPO). There are 80 spoken paragraphs of these. The second group of data consists of 80 spoken paragraphs extracted from speeches by Mr Nyerere (delivered between 1967 and 1991) and by Mr Mwinyi (delivered between November 1985 and 1990). These extracts were analysed for the purpose of providing support to arguments that are advanced regarding the more general characteristics of TPKPO. Among the second group of data there are also extracts from speeches by Mr R M Kawawa, Mr S A Salim, Mr H Kolimba and Mr A Mrema. These extracts are included to support the view that some characteristics of TPKPO are sometimes deployed in the speeches of other senior politicians when they are acting as presidential spokespersons. The paragraphs constituting this part of the data corpus is referred to as group "B" data. Accordingly, the relevant spoken paragraphs are code labelled as;

NUB/67	ie	Nyerere/unscripted/1967
MUB/87	ie	Mwinyi/unscripted/1987
KaUB/90	ie	Kawawa/unscripted/19990
SaUB/84	ie	Salim/unscripted/1990
KoUB/90	ie	Kolimba/unscripted/1990
MreUB/91	ie	Mrema/unscripted/1991

The data in the first category of spoken paragraphs, on the other hand, is made up of 4 sets of 20 paragraphs each. The first 2 sets consists of 40 paragraphs produced by Mr A H Mwinyi and the second 2 sets consists of another 40 paragraphs produced by Mr J K Nyerere. This first group of 80 spoken paragraphs is identified as data corpus group "A". The relevant set of paragraphs are thus coded as below:

"M" stands for "Mwinyi"

"S" stands for "Scripted"

"U" stands for "Unscripted"

"N" stands for "Nyerere".

Because they were going to be used in comparative analyses of a qualitative nature, all these group "A" paragraphs were extracted from the beginning of 4 speeches; 2 each for Nyerere and Mwinyi. Each one of the spoken paragraphs in each of the given set of 20

had to be in contiguity with each other. This particular set was delivered more or less unscripted (though perhaps rehearsed). They have therefore been code labelled as MUA. The "M" stands for "Mwinyi" and the "UA" stands for "unscripted text delivered on the same given occasion by the same speaker". They had to have been delivered between 1984 and 1986 - a year before and a year after Mr Mwinyi replaced Mr Nyerere as the President of Tanzania respectively. The characteristic features of the data corpus are summarised in Table 1.

Table One
CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF DATA CORPUS.

Data Corpus Group	Identifying	Number of Paragraphs and Sampling Procedure	By whom, where and when delivered	Mode of delivery	Immediate Ratified Audience	Ratified Over-hearers	Physical setting of speech event	Historic Ritual Occasion
Group A SET 1	MUA	20 in contiguity from speech commencement	Mr Mwinyi; Kibamba - near Dar es Salaam; November 1986	Unscripted monologue salutations	Peasant Villagers	Regional and political leaders and Radio Tanzania - Ujumbe wa leo listeners	Open field	presidential visit to the village
Group A SET 2	NUA	20 in contiguity from speech commencement	Mr Nyerere; Zanzibar town; January 1985	Unscripted monologue salutations	Townsppeople and peasant villagers	All citizens listening to Radio Tanzania's live broadcast of the event	Sports stadium	Revolution Day Celebrations
Group A SET 3	MSU	20 in contiguity from speech commencement	Mr Mwinyi; Dar es Salaam; November 1986	Scripted monologue report	Members of NEC of ruling CCM	All citizens listening to Radio Tanzania's live broadcast of the event	Assembly hall	Mwinyi one year since succeeding Nyerere
Group A SET 4	NSA	20 in contiguity from speech commencement	Mr Nyerere; Dodoma; February 1984	Scripted monologue salutations	MP's sitting as a standing committee of the Party and members of the NEC of the Party	All citizens listening to Radio Tanzania's live broadcast of the event	Assembly hall	Eve of resignation of former Vice-President Jumbo

Table One (continued)
CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF DATA CORPUS.

Data Corpus Group	Identifying	Number of Paragraphs and Sampling Procedure	By whom, where and when delivered	Mode of delivery	Immediate Ratified Audience	Ratified Over-hearers	Physical setting of speech event	Historic Ritual Occasion
Group B SET 1	NSB/2/67	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Nyerere; Dar es Salaam; February 1967	Scripted monologue salutations	Townsppeople and political leaders	All citizens listening to Radio Tanzania's live broadcast of the event	Open field	Making Arusha declaration public
Group B SET 2	NSB/10/84	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Nyerere; Dar es Salaam; October 1984	Scripted monologue salutations	Members of Kiswahili literacy association (UKUTA)	Representation of national mass media	assembly hall	Open admission of rejection of report of Presidential Commission on Education on language policy
Group B SET 3	NSB/7/85	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Nyerere; Dar es Salaam; July 1985	Scripted monologue salutations	Townsppeople and political leaders	All citizens listening to Radio Tanzania's live broadcast of the event	Open field	Return from Charing OAU Summit in Addis Ababa
Group B SET 4	NSB/10/87	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Nyerere; Dodoma (Kizota); February 1987	Scripted monologue salutations	Delegates to the 3rd National Congress of the Party	All citizens listening to Radio Tanzania's live broadcast of the event	Assembly hall	Pay's Kizota Congress
Group B SET 5	NSB/7/89	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Nyerere; Lindi; July 1989	Scripted monologue salutations	Townsppeople and peasant villagers and political leaders	All citizens listening to Radio Tanzania's live broadcast of the event	Sports stadium	Saba Saba / Farmers Day

Table One (continued)
CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF DATA CORPUS.

Data Corpus Group	Identifying	Number of Paragraphs and Sampling Procedure	By whom, where and when delivered	Mode of delivery	Immediate Ratified Audience	Ratified Over-hearers	Physical setting of speech event	Historic Ritual Occasion
Group B SET 6	NSB/4/90	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Nyerere; Mwanza (Kirumba); April 1990	Scripted monologue salutations	Members of National Congress of the Youth Wing of the ruling Party	Representation of National mass media	Assembly hall	On multi-party versus one-party debate
Group B SET 7	NSB/7/90	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Nyerere; Dar es Salaam; (Mazi Mmoja)	Scripted monologue salutations	Townsperson and political leaders	Representation of national mass media	Open field	On Party's solidarity walk
Group B SET 8	NSB/8/90	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Nyerere; Dar es Salaam; (Karimjee)	Scripted monologue salutations	Members of a special National Congress of the ruling Party	All citizens listening to Radio Tanzania's live broadcast of the event	Assembly hall	Upon Nyerere's resignation as Party Chairman
Group B SET 9	NSB/5/91	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Nyerere; Dodoma; May 1991	Scripted monologue salutations	Townsperson and peasant villagers and political leaders	All citizens listening to Radio Tanzania's live broadcast of the event	Sports stadium	Saba Saba / Farmers Day
Group B SET 10	MBS/7/87	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Mwinji; Dodoma; May 1991	Scripted monologue salutations	Townsperson and members of the NEC of the ruling Party	All citizens listening to Radio Tanzania's live broadcast of the event	Sports stadium	Award of Lenin Prize to Nyerere

Table One (continued)
CHARACTERISTIC FEATURES OF DATA CORPUS.

Data Corpus Group	Identifying	Number of Paragraphs and Sampling Procedure	By whom, where and when delivered	Mode of delivery	Immediate Ratified Audience	Ratified Over-hearers	Physical setting of speech event	Historic Ritual Occasion
Group B SET 11	MBS/1/91	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Mwinyi; Dar es Salaam; (State house); January 1991	Scripted monologue salutations	Representatives of the national mass media	All citizens listening to Radio Tanzania's live broadcast of the event	Assembly hall	After mass cabinet dismissal
Group B SET 12	KaUB/1/91	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Kawawa; Dar es Salaam; January 1991	Unscripted monologue salutations	Workers and managers of Dar es Salaam beer factory	Representatives of national mass media	Assembly hall	On corruption
Group B SET 13	SaSB/7/85	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Salim Ahmed Salim; Dar es Salaam; July 1985;	Scripted monologue salutations	Townsppeople and political leaders	Representatives of the national mass media	Open field	Prime Ministerial visit
Group B SET 14	AmUB/1/91	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Dr Salim amour; Zanzibar; January 1991	Unscripted monologue salutations	Townsppeople and political leaders	All citizens listening to Radio Tanzania's live broadcast of the event	Sports stadium	Revolution Day Celebrations
Group B SET 15	KoUB/1/91	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Kolimba; Mbeya; January 1991	Unscripted monologue salutations	Townsppeople and political leaders	Representatives of the national mass media	Open field	Party Secretary General's visit
Group B SET 16	MreUB/1/91	5 Randomly selected paragraphs	Mr Mrema; Dar es Salaam; January 1991	Unscripted (but rehearsed) radio interview contributions salutations	Listeners to radio Tanzania's Ana Kwa Ana programme	Representatives of the national mass media	Radio station studio	Campaign against crime and corruption

Each paragraph is treated as an independent unit for purposes of comparing the elements which constitute each. It is the paragraph (not the text extract from which the paragraph is isolated) which is the basis of the investigation as to the possible differences between language used in one sub-genre (eg speech by the President of the United Republic of Tanzania to a mass rally) as opposed to another sub-genre of political oratory in Tanzania (eg spoken report by the President of the United Republic to a National level committee of the ruling political party). Although the co-text and the context of the paragraph extracts are inevitably taken into account in establishing the pragmatic value of the given text, the statistical comparisons carried using Group A data take the paragraph rather than the sentence as the basic unit of analysis.

3.3 RATIONALE FOR SAMPLING PROCEDURES WITH SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO GROUP "A" DATA

Several reasons account for the sampling procedures adopted in this study. Firstly, as it has already been argued in Chapter Two, the "spoken paragraph" was selected as the major unit of analysis because the isolation of paragraphs from text extracts could rely on relatively more widely replicable formal and functional criteria.¹ On the other hand it would **not** have been helpful to use "the spoken word" as a unit of analysis for a comparison of sub-genres in discourse analysis terms. Neither would it have been practicable to compare in any great syntactic and pragmatic detail whole discourses as delivered on the relevant occasions. The paragraph was accepted as a manageable and valid unit of analysis.

Secondly, with reference to Group A data, the 20 paragraphs in the same set had to be in contiguity and had to be counted right from the political speech onset. This is because it is reasonable to assume that comparing randomly selected paragraphs from different parts of any given speech would introduce more factors of variability and not less. Much as the times of delivery varied for each speech (and therefore some speeches which were short may have had both the beginning and the end of the extract sampled), it was thought more systematic to extract 20 paragraphs (in contiguity) from each speech rather than randomly selecting paragraphs from different parts of different speeches. With reference to Group B data (ie the data that was selected randomly), the purpose was in this case exemplification of language use rather than statistical comparisons as to such use. That is why it was considered more appropriate in this circumstance to adopt purposeful sampling with respect to the

speeches selected and "random" selection with regard to the parts of the speeches selected that are used in the given exemplification.

Thirdly, again there is something that needs to be noted about Group A data (ie the data which was extracted at the beginning of each of the relevant speeches in order to be able to make some comparative statistical observations on it). With respect to this set of data, the selection of paragraphs by the same speaker delivered on the same occasion allowed for intensive analysis of the pragmatic patterns within each paragraph.

3.4 SUMMARY OF DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

The data selection proceeded in the following way. Firstly, a large collection of audio cassette tape recordings of political speeches by senior Tanzanian politicians was acquired.² From this collection were selected recordings of the speech extracts which constitute the two groups of data A and B mentioned above. At this stage it had already been decided to restrict the speeches selected to those produced by speakers who were performing the functions of the President of the United Republic of Tanzania at the time they delivered the speeches in question either as President, Vice President, or as Prime Minister. It was the paragraphs of unscripted and scripted presidential political oratory whose variability according to discourse context I wanted to study.

The decision as to whether a speech was scripted or unscripted was based on information from journalists and state officials who had witnessed the delivery of the speeches selected. Wherever possible relevant photographs taken by journalists were examined for clues as to whether the given speaker had held any written notes in his hands or had such written notes on the rostrum to which he constantly lowered his eyes. Most of the unscripted speeches were delivered by the given presidential orator when asked to merely salute the given audience rather than when expected to give a keynote address.

On the whole speeches given at village level mass rallies (MR) tended to be unscripted. So too were speeches given at mass rallies in towns where the speaker in question was not the main speaker at that mass rally. (Data Transcript NUA is a good example of this. Mr Mwinyi was then the President of Zanzibar - which together with

Tanzania Mainland from the United Republic - and since the relevant mass rally was on the occasion of a celebration of the Zanzibar Revolution, Mr Mwinyi was the main speaker. Mr Nyerere was invited to briefly offer salutations to the crowd in his capacity as the President of the United Republic (and perhaps also as the Chairman of the ruling party, CCM.) At the other hand of the contextual dimension, speeches delivered to assemblies of politicians/professionals (AP) tended to be scripted.

Where statistical observations have been made, one of the limitations of the study may derive from lack of control over the topics of the various speeches selected. In addition to this, speeches at mass rallies in villages tended to be attended by smaller numbers of 'live' ratified listeners than those in towns. Furthermore, mass rallies in towns tended to be on occasions which were of national historical importance while those in villages tended to be occasions which were of importance only to the villagers concerned.

It is in the light of these possible limitations that the study is restricted to a distinction between audiences consisting of political functionaries and those consisting of villagers or townspeople holding no specific political offices. The former constitute an assembly of politicians while the latter a mass rally. The term rally is used here without any connotations as to the number of people involved. It is used in contrast to the term assembly which is used here to connote restricted access viz a viz the ratified hearers. A rally is an assembly which takes place in an open field with unremitting access to it. In an assembly listeners are usually sitting in designated areas whereas at a rally most listeners are usually standing and even moving about as they wish (but under the supervision of the police).

The third data selection procedure consisted in transcribing twenty two to twenty five spoken paragraphs from the beginning of each of the four speeches selected in the last procedure. Decisions had to be made regarding how much of the phonetic reality of the oratory was to be transcribed. In identifying 'spoken paragraphs' some operational definitions were used. As mentioned earlier, these definitions were cross-checked with several Tanzanians whose Kiswahili was sufficiently fluent but who were not linguists.

3.5 OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

The following terms were extensively used in the data collection and the data analysis. Although, the operational terms bear some resemblance to and are based on the uses

to which they are put in general linguistics literature, it was found necessary to remove ambiguity as to the uses to which they are put in this study by offering operational definitions. The terms provided with such operational definitions are: 'spoken paragraph', 'tone unit', 'noun', 'verb', 'bound pronoun', 'unbound pronoun' and 'full words'.

The term **spoken paragraph** is used to refer to what Cruttenden (1986:54) calls "paratones". A paratone is said to be signalled by the relative widening of the pitch range at which the first (or the start of the only) tone unit of a paragraph is uttered followed by a general narrowing of such a pitch range as the last (or end of the only) tone unit is uttered. It is claimed that topic units in BBC news broadcasts are signalled by prosodic key shifts from high to low and that this best illustrates the use to which paratones are put in English spoken discourse (Cruttenden 1986:54, 126).

The 'spoken paragraph' is here defined on the basis of a perception of a downdrift (Becker 1979:234-238, Bolinger 1964, Hombert 1974, Lieberman 1967, Cruttenden 1979:129) from when one first begins to hear some speech topic fragment until one feels that topic fragment has had its delivery come to an end. Lehiste (1975, 1979, 1980, 1982) has also testified to the plausibility of positing such a phonetic basis for the identification of spoken paragraphs. Hings (1979:136) and Longacre (1979:117) broaden the definition of paragraph to give it grammatical dimensions. Analysis of the data in this study does reveal broad agreement with the assertion of Longacre (1979:117) that:

"the functional parts of paragraphs ... are often marked by overt sequence signals (conjunctions, sentence, adverbs, back reference to a previous sentence, or deictics)".

Analysis of the data in this study also reveals broad agreement with the proposal by Hinds (1979:136) to define a paragraph as:

"a unit of speech or writing that maintains a uniform orientation ... paragraphs are themselves optionally composed of successively smaller units of uniform orientation larger than the sentence ... (in hierarchical organisation) "

For the purpose of this study, therefore, a spoken paragraph will operationally be defined as:

" a sequence of sounds heard to be introduced with high key (often marked by an overt discourse organisational marker such as an ordinal or a subordinating or co-ordinating conjunction) and then heard to terminate with a low key. Such a sequence of sounds must additionally be analytically capable of being viewed as realising a discourse function in the entire speech event of which the given sequence of sounds are merely a part."

As it has already been pointed out, a similar idea of a paragraph is hinted at in Winter's (1979:96) proposal that a paragraph could be conceived of as consisting, essentially, of a 'situation sentence' and a 'sequence sentence'. Minimally a 'situation sentence' would consist of a 'sentence' or clause (or even a phrase) whose purpose is to state a proposition to which another or more subsequent proposition(s) are to be linked. A 'sequence sentence' would then consist of such a sentence(s) or clauses (or phrases) which states something about the originally stated proposition.

The term **tone unit** will be used to refer to what could also be known as tone groups (Maw & Kelly 1975, Cruttenden 1986). It could also be said to correspond to the notion of an "idea unit" (Chafe 1982:37). It is worth noting that its perception was less widely replicable among my non-specialist but fluent Kiswahili speaking informants. Only parenthetical tone units were as easily identified as the spoken paragraphs. Nevertheless I have taken the 'tone unit' as a more relevant unit in analyzing spoken discourse than the 'clause or sentence because the analyst can use formal prosodic criteria in identifying the unit before one attached functional grammatical or semantic in meaning to the unit.

As for full words, these are defined as such strings of sounds that are uttered together as one phonostatic entity with respect to Kiswahili syllable stress rules. These rules state that single syllables given stress placement must be considered to constitute independent word entities even if they are reduplicants such as 'kwa' in "kwa hiyo" (because). Except in very rare cases involving non-Bantu loans, sequences of more than one syllable which are characterised by syllable stress being placed penultimately are considered to form single word entities - not withstanding the number of elements constituting them. (Slips of the tongue and interjection, which were difficult to analyse in this way, were excluded from the list of full words).

Nouns are defined as those words on which certain relevant derivational and inflectional permutations can be performed. These grammatical manipulations include the rule for identifying the nominal class to which a noun belongs by changing the word from singular to plural and vice versa. They may also include placing the

word in a variety of grammatical "slots" to determine whether the words in question behave as words in the noun class category do.

Verbs were also identified on formal criteria. Certain affixes marking a range of grammatical functions can only be attached to verbs and not nouns. On the other hand, certain 'nouns' are turned into 'verbs' by affixing to them certain derivational forms eg 'taifa' (nation) - 'taifisha' (nationalise). Copula 'in' (is) and auxiliary form 'ku wa' (to be) were counted as verbs in their own right. This parallels the fact that all nouns, too, were counted even if some of them may have been performing modifying roles in the nominal groups in which they were found.

The term **bound pronoun** is used to refer to any pronominal concord form which is affixed to a verbal, adjectival or adverbial group in the textual (or discourse) vicinity of a noun for which the pronominal concord marker is acting an anaphora, eg

"watu (people	<u>wa</u> they	na are	sema" saying)
"miti (trees	<u>i</u> it	na being	katwa" cut)
"shamba (the farm	<u>li</u> it	na being	limwa" cultivated)

The pronominal concord forms mirror the noun class system to which every noun in Kiswahili is classified. The pronominal concord markers can therefore be considered to act as grammatical metaphors capable of creative use like all metaphors eg

"lile (that	<u>ji</u> it	tu person	li it	me has	toroka" escaped)
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where a person is being referred to by using the noun class pronominal concord marker normally reserved for non-human things as in

"shamba (the farm	<u>li</u> it	me has been	limwa" cultivated)
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Unbound pronouns refer to those pronouns which are uttered as independent word entities such as

"mi mi"	(I)
"wewe"	(you)
"sisi"	(we)

These are not attached to verbal, adjectival or adverbial groups. They correspond rather well with the notion of a pronoun in English.

Finally, some familiar terms require to have their uses in this study clarified. First, texts of speech are said to have been scripted if the speaker was observed to constantly refer to written notes in the course of delivering such a speech. The speech need not have been written to be read aloud in its entirety. Equally, an unscripted speech a speech delivered without relying on any written notes even if the speech may have been well rehearsed. In contrast, by scripted oratory is meant script-dependent oratory (SDO) and by unscripted oratory is meant script-independent oratory (SIO). It is furthermore important to note that the possible discourse functions of the lexical and syntactic selections that constitute a paragraph will be understood to be its pragmatic pattern. Observations about the various semantic configurations realised by the deployment of various nouns, verbs, pronouns, adjectives, and adverbs will be taken to constitute a paragraph's pragmatic pattern. The pragmatic patterns so identified are also said to carry ideological meanings by which mean naturalized and thus commonsensical bias which could easily pass of as objective fact. This will be in contrast to a paragraph's syntactic pattern which will be taken to consist in the frequency with which certain classes of words co-occur in that paragraph as opposed to another. Such syntactic patterning (eg passivation) are in turn of course interpreted as being part of the means available to a speaker when choice is made to promote certain ideological patterns (ie to present subject-biases as objective facts).

3.6 SUMMARY OF DATA ANALYSIS PROCEDURES

The data analysis consisted in listening to the speech extracts repeatedly noting any patterns of use which could be matched with some feature of the speech context. Matching linguistic form with social and political functions naturally involved proposing plausible implicit or even alternative interpretations of the given speech or part thereof. In offering these critical 'readings' of any of these speech extracts two factors were taken into account: previous research results regarding the ideological correlates of the use of given linguistic forms (eg passives, first person plural pronoun, etc) and the informal observations made by my field research assistant as well as the comments which were made by those senior Tanzanian politicians and journalists who agreed to act as my specialist informants.

In all the chapters presenting the research results (chapters 4 to 8) there is a section which discusses previous research results which provided the theoretical framework

for my data analysis of the given linguistic feature. However, the incorporation of the observations of my field assistant and the off-the-record comments of my participant informants is on the all not done explicitly. It is important, nevertheless, to stress that most of my 'analytical' interpretations of the discourse functions of the speech extracts were based on contextual knowledge which I gained from my field assistant Mrs Martina Kapinga-Lwaitama and from my specialist informants (especially from the of-the-record interview I had with Mr Julius K Nyerere in August 1990 and with Mr Patric Qorro in January 1991). Mrs Martina Kapinga Lwaitama is a primary school teacher by profession. However, since 1977 she has been in retirement from teaching choosing to become a small-holder peasant farmer instead. She has been living in Dar es Salaam since 1978 and she has cultivated a social network of 15 fellow small-holder peasant farmers (4 male and 11 female adults ranging from 30 to 60 years of age) in a village near the University of Dar es Salaam Main Campus known as Changanyikeni. It is her social network which provided her with the spontaneous comments on TPKPO which she in turn passed on to me. I also used her social network of friends and fellow peasant women to gain my participant observation of the process of being a hearer of TPKPO. I played extracts of all the speeches in Data Corpus Group A and B to these friends of hers whenever they came to visit her in the house on the University of Dar es Salaam which we share and observed their spontaneous reactions. I incorporated these spontaneous reactions in my interpretive framework when I analyzed the relevant speech extracts. Apart from ethnographic data I gained in this way from Mrs Martina Kapinga Lwaitama's social circle, I conducted informal interview with the following political personalities:³

- | | |
|-----------------------------|--|
| Mr Pius Msekwa - | former Chief Executive Secretary of TANU, (the predecessor of the governing party, CCM) (interviewed in December 1986 at the Arusha Conference on the Arusha Declaration). |
| Professor Kighoma Malima - | Senior Cabinet minister and ex-President Nyerere's economic advisor (Interviewed in December 1986 at the Arusha Declaration Conference in Arusha). |
| Mr Kinguge Ngombare Mwiru - | governing party's Ideology Secretary (Interviewed in December 1986 at the Arusha Declaration Conference and in March 1990 at the governing party's seminar on events in Eastern Europe). |
| Mr Horace Kolimba - | governing party's Secretary General (Interviewed in March 1990 at the governing party's seminar on events in Eastern Europe). |
| Mr John Malecela - | Prime Minister and former High Commissioner |

in London (interviewed in April 1990 at a seminar organised by Mr Maleala on events in Eastern Europe).

- Mr Julius Nyerere - ex-President and governing party's ex-Chairman (interviewed in August 1990 at a specially requested 40 minutes informal audience).
- Mr Patrick Qorro former Cabinet minister and senior governing party's leader (Interviewed in January 1991)
- Mr Salim Ahmed Salim former Prime Minister and current Organisation of African Unity's Secretary General (Interview in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, December 1990)

In the appendix I have provided an edited version of the kind of questions I put to ex-President Nyerere as a guide to the general observations I usually sought to have the specialist informants comments on.

Since the overall aim of the study was "to produce interpretations of social determinants and effects of discourse which are often not evident to participants" (Fairclough 1990:11), the final responsibility for the analytical interpretations is obviously influenced by my own political biases which include a sentimental attachment to the goals of Pau-Africanism as articulated by the late Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana and the late Malcom X of the USA. I see Julius Nyerere as a leader who also articulated the goals of the socialist wing of the Pau-Africanist Movement.

In the next chapter the prosodic and humour behaviours of or occasioned by Nyerere's or Mwinyi's oratorical style are discussed. The characteristic features of TPKPO would be incomplete without considering how pause, intonational subordination and laughter are manipulated by Tanzanian presidential orators. The incompleteness is more marked when it is acknowledged that it is the prosodic and humour behaviours deployed in political speeches which more readily identifies political oratory as a Kiswahili discourse genre. It is for this reason I proceed in the next chapter to look at these prosodic and humour characteristics of TPKPO.

NOTES.

¹Four Tanzanian speakers of Kiswahili who live in Birmingham but who have had no formal training in Kiswahili phonetics were able to agree on the paragraph segmentations I had made for more than 90% of the cases in the data corpus. It was

more difficult to agree on what either a "spoken sentence" or "tone unit" was. But it would have been even more difficult to agree on what a 'clause' is.

²Most of it was recorded from current affairs radio programmes broadcast by "Radio Tanzania - Dar es Salaam" the national state radio. Some of the tape recordings were secured from journalists with the Tanzania News Agency, SHIHATA, and with two national Sunday papers, MZALENDO and SUNDAY NEWS.

³I also interviewed a number of prominent academic personalities who have had close contacts with Tanzanian political personalities. These include:

Professor G V Mmari	the former Vice-Chancellor of the Universities of Dar es Salaam and Sokoin.
Professor G Ishumi	(Education Department, University of Dar es Salaam)
Professor E Wamba dia Wamba	(History Department, University of Dar es Salaam)
Professor H Othman	(Institute of Development Studies, University of Dar es Salaam)
Professor S Wangu	(Economics Department, University of Dar es Salaam)
Professor S Mushi	(Political Science Department, University of Dar es Salaam)

CHAPTER FOUR

PROSODIC FEATURES AND VOCAL EFFECTS AS CUES FOR HUMOUR AND CLAPTRAP¹

'where more is meant than meets the ear' Milton (Fry 1977:61).

4.1 OVERVIEW

In Tanzania, television is still an insignificant means of political mobilisation. Only the Zanzibar part of the United Republic has a television station. The radio has thus played a critical role in the governance of Tanzania through the use of presidential oratory. That is why the prosodic features and vocal effects that are used in the political oratory of senior Tanzanian politicians are an important variable in any critical study of Tanzanian presidential political discourse.

In the previous three chapters the general theoretical and applied background to and the research methodology adopted in the critical language study of Tanzanian presidential political discourse which is discussed in this thesis is presented. The importance of investigating the nature of presidential political oratory as a special type of institutional spoken monologue discourse is underscored. The discussion of the results of the study will start with most prosodic and concrete phenomena (Chapter Four) and end with the most lexical and abstract (Chapter Eight). In this chapter (Chapter Four), therefore, we shall examine the use of those prosodic features and vocal effects which are often a cue in prompting audience humour and clapping behaviour. The specific features and effects analyzed include such linguistic and extra-linguistic variables (Wittman 1980:315) as pausing, pitch range, laughing and giggling.

As Wittman (1980:315) has correctly observed, the style of delivery of a spoken text is a function of both the linguistic and the extra-linguistic variables. The extra-linguistic refers to the 'paralinguistic' and the 'kinetics' of the speech performance (Trager 1958). The kinetics of a piece of discourse (Gosling 1981) are what Wittman (loc. cit:) has referred to as the gestural-visual features of a channel of communication. This refers to body language phenomena, eg eye contact, hand gestures and facial expression (Roach 1983:150-151).

The 'body language' of Tanzanian presidential political oratory, though not a part of the current study, will be an interesting phenomenon to investigate. Video-taped data would

be required for such an investigation and is not as readily available in Tanzania as is audio-taped data. More importantly, as we have mentioned, in view of the limited importance of television in Tanzanian political culture and the overwhelming role that the radio has played in Tanzanian political mobilisation, the audio-taped data is assessed to be of significant interest on its own. It is how a president is 'heard' on the radio rather than how he/she is 'seen' on a television screen which is of current political significance in Tanzania. That is why, in the study, I concentrated my attention on the paralinguistic features and left out the 'body language phenomena'.

The paralinguistic features are a function of vocal effects such as laughs, sobs, cries, and giggles (Crettenden 1986:179). These vocal effects are treated by some linguists (Crystal 1969:195) as part of the supra segmental or prosodic features which constitute the linguistic variables of a piece of spoken discourse. These linguistic variables that define a style of spoken discourse are in turn divided up into those features that are segmental and those that are supra segmental.

The segmental features are the vowels and consonants defining the phonological system of a given language dialect. The supra segmental features are the prosodic factors like pitch range, loudness and tempo which co-occur with the segmentals in any given utterance. Variation in the articulation of the segmental features of a language can be helpful in identifying the social and regional background of a speaker. As Johns-Lewis (1986:205) has pointed out, there is a lot of literature on the subject of speech style variation at the segmental phonetic level (Labov 1972, Trudgill 1974, 1978; Milroy 1980). However, stylistic variation at this level is invariably conceptualised in macro-linguistic terms like those of social class and ethnic origins. The micro-sociolinguistic dimensions (O'Barr 1976:18) of discourse production and interpretation such as those of intra and extra-linguistic variation which correlated to the field of discourse and the audience design of a given speech event have tended to be neglected. While knowing how speakers style-switched to signal ethnic and social class origins and/or solidarity was important, it was equally important to know how the same speakers style-switched for purposes of ideology-building or ideology-blurring. The second type of language variation seemed to receive less attention in the literature and that is why I chose to make the subject of my study. Very few studies (Atkinson 1984) have investigated in micro-linguistic terms the paralinguistic features of styles of speaking of individual in the public domain like priests, professors and presidents.

4.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Until recently, macro-sociolinguistic concerns like language variation according to social class, ethnicity and geographical spread tended to be upmost in the minds of most sociolinguists. This explains the predominance of studies of the most synchronically stable aspects of linguistic communication (eg stylistic variation within its phonological system ie inter-speaker differentiation in articulating particular consonant or vowel phonemes) over studies of the most volatile aspects in the same regard (eg intra-speaker stylistic variation according to communicative purpose).

The prosodic (ie supra segmental) features of discourse thus tended to attract far less interest than the segmental ones because the supra-segmentals were not previously deemed relevant to a macro-linguistic study of stylistics variation. There has also been a tendency in linguistics to avoid the study of phenomena which were deemed less amenable to quantitative research design. While segmental features can be established by isolating minimal pairs like 'kukata' (to cut) and 'kupata' (to receive), for example, the establishment of supra segmental variables such as 'low key' or 'intonational subordination' (Roach 1983:149) is not that systematic. In most cases various features work in combination to occasion a perception of a given prosodic phenomenon. In the case of 'intonational subordination' (Roach : loc.cit.), for example, pitch range, loudness and tempo factors combine to effect it. Furthermore, the perceptual effect of the use of a particular feature or combination of features is often dependent on the features that accompany the preceding and/or the succeeding chunks of discourse. Thirdly, most audio tape and cassette recordings of spoken discourse are not yet sophisticated enough to 'capture' all and only such sounds that are produced by the relevant speech participants. Pitch, loudness and tempo factors are perceived relative to the phonetic environment which may be distorted by communicatively extraneous sounds like "chairs creaking and buses passing" (Brown & Yule 1983:9).

However, in the light of recent heightened interest in micro-linguistic concerns among some linguists (eg American conversation analysts (Sinclair & Coultherd 1975)), certain aspects of the supra segmental variables in speech style differentiation have recently received extensive documentation, especially where English is concerned (Roach 1983; Bolinger 1985; Johns-Lewis 1986; Crettenden 1986). Of these variables, the most interesting from the point of view of how linguistic variability matches with socio-political variability have been pause phenomena (Barik 1979; Duez 1982), speech rate or tempo (Levin, Schaffer and Snow 1982), and pitch range (Graddol 1986).

The studies by Duez (op cit. :) and Barik (op cit. :), for example, seemed to suggest that "the speech to silence ratio was likely to be higher in public oratory and interview than it is in speech involving reflective interpretation" (Johns-Lewis 1986:204). It was interesting therefore to note a general tendency for ex-President Nyerere to deploy more silent pauses than President Mwinyi and for President Mwinyi's unscripted oratory to display more non-silent pauses (ie false starts and hesitations) than ex-President Nyerere's (see charts). This observation is discussed further in the next section of this chapter, not least because it has been observed in relation to English that:

"some people who do a lot of arguing, notably politicians and philosophers, develop the skill of pausing for breath in such intonationally unlikely places (eg between auxiliary and main verbs or between an article and a following noun if they are adjacent) because they are less likely to be interrupted than if they pause at the end of a sentence." (Roach 1983:145)

Also interesting in the same regard as pause phenomena is the finding by Graddol that 'the pitch characteristics of the performance of technical prose significantly differs from those of dramatic dialogue' (Johns-Lewis 1986:205). Variation in the deployment of marked pitch range shifts in the speeches of Tanzanian politicians (eg intonational subordination and pitch range mimicry) is thus also discussed in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

The last section of the chapter discusses general aspects of audience laughter and clapping behaviour (Atkinson 1984:47) together with the prosodic features and vocal effects which tend to prompt such behaviour.

4.3 PAUSE PHENOMENA AND THE LECTURE VERSUS HARANGUE DISTINCTION

Differences between lectures and harangues are apparent enough when appeal is exclusively made to sociological criteria. Indeed, such sociological criteria are the ones which seem to have been appealed to by the compilers of the Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English (Longman 1974), who defined lectures and harangues thus:

"Lecture - speech spoken or read before a group of people, especially as a method of teaching at universities"
(Longman 1978:624)

"Harangue - a loud or long speech especially one which blames those listening to it"
(Longman 1978:514)

It would seem that most people would agree with the sociological association of a "lecture" with "a method of teaching at universities" and an "harangue" with a method of persuasion used by politicians when they wished to stir the audience into action, action which could be interpreted as mutinous or breaking with some traditions. Such politicians would normally be understood to be "blaming those listening" to them as a means of goading them into taking drastic action of one kind or other.

Appeal to sociological factors would also make it relatively easy to set up oppositions like those between scientific communication and poetic communication (Marcus 1974) and the opposition between "information agency" discourse and "propaganda agency" discourse (Bikkenin 1980:104). Oppositions like these could, further, be related to theories by classical rhetoricians like the 'sophists theory', 'the "knowledge is eloquence" theory', 'the "able man" theory' and 'the methods theory' of what were good speeches (Capp 1971:507). One only needed to establish the topic of discourse, the characteristic features defining the addresser/ audience, and one would then be in a position to characterise the given "speech" as a "lecture" or "sermon" or "harangue".

However, it is argued that a "lecture" as a method of University teaching must be different from a "lecture" as a method of any other kind of "teaching". "Lectures" that are sometimes given in city civic halls by important public figures - academic or non-academic - could not be considered "methods of teaching at universities"! Even when such personages address their audiences in university lecture theatres, they most often use the occasion to agitate for adoption of certain public measures and are less concerned with assisting students of a university increase their knowledge of a particular aspect of their area of academic specialisation. It is suggested that such 'lectures' should qualify as 'harangues' which happen to exploit certain formal features of 'lectures'. Pitch range shift is one of the supra segmental variables which speakers exploit in giving features of a lecture to an harangue. Choice of level pitch and avoidance of too many sudden changes in intonation key are supra segmental features more often associated with the calm argumentation in a lecture than with the heated polemics in an harangue. The use of these features in an harangue will be an example of marked style-shift for purposes of ideology-blurring. Pause phenomena could also be a significant gauge of the extent to which a presidential orator was engaged in ideology blurring or ideology-builder. In a lecture one can expect marked long pauses coinciding with such lecturer's activities as blackboard illustrations and the like. Long speaker initiated pauses in harangues usually tend to signal a wish on the part of the speaker to draw the attention of his/her audience to some part of his/her speech.

Let us take the following extracts from the speeches of Mr Nyerere and Mr Mwinyi in order to illustrate this use of long pauses for attention-drawing purposes:

EXAMPLE 1 - MUA/P12

+((inge)) if it	((kwa)) of	mgepata mbolea if you got fertilizer	kwa in	wingi large quantities
zaidi more	na mka and you	pata got	kugawana gawana to share among yourselves	kwa by
kiasi whatever	yaaa of	((m)) erm	.. itavyowezekana+	in as much as possible

if you got fertiliser in large quantities you could share it among yourselves as much as possible.

EXAMPLE 2 MUA/P14

+ nasiye we too	tuliyeko who are	..	huko there	tutajitaidi we will do our best	pamoja together
tushirikiane we to co-operate with	((na.na.na)) with	mkoa ... the region	ili so	jambo la this of that issue	
la of a	gari vehicle	lisiwe it should not be	ndoto ... a dream	liwe ni it be should be	<u>ukweli</u> reality
... [[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+					

and we who are yonder will do our best in co-operation with regional leaders to make you realise your dream of acquiring a vehicle.

EXAMPLE 3 NUA/P1 & P2

+ndugu comrades	wananchi citizens	...	(LONG SPEAKER SILENCE)		..
kwanze firstly	ningetemia I would wish to use	..	nafasi occasions	hii this	kuwatakieni wote to wish you all
.. baraka blessings	za of	mwaka year	mpya ... New	maana because	ndiyo tuna its the we are case
uanza starting	..	rasmi formally	mwaka Year	mpya+	New

Comrade citizens (LONG SPEAKER SILENCE) firstly I wish to use this occasion to wish all of you a happy new year because this is my first opportunity to do so.

EXAMPLE 4 NSA/P9

+na	..	(SHORT SPEAKER SILENCE)		ningependa sasa ni				
and				I would like now				
..	nia	yangu	..	nikueleza	..	hilo	furugu	..
	purpose	my		is to explain		that	commotion	
mitajitaidi	..	kueleza	..	kwa	wazi wazi	kabisa		
I will try		to explain		with	openness	full		
kwa	ukweli	kabisa	..	ji	..	(kama ikiwezekana)	..	
with	truth	full		so		if it is possible		
zieleweke	..	na	furugu ((uu.))	hii	iishe+			
they be understood		and	the commotion	this	it end			

and (SHORT SPEAKER SILENCE) I would like now to explain the purpose of that political commotion and I hope that after such a clear and completely truthful explanation the commotion will be understood and thus it will be ended.

These examples are taken from many in the data corpus which typically represent the extent to which Mr Nyerere and Mr Mwinyi differ in their deployment of silent pause and filled pause. Mr Nyerere tends to use a lot of silent pauses even in scripted oratory, as in example NSA/P9 above, and at the very beginning of unscripted oratory where one would not expect such long speaker silences, as in example NUA/P2 above. Such silences can be interpreted as indicating that the speaker tends to closely monitor his/her speech delivery even when he/she had had time to plan it ahead of delivery. The speaker tends to behave more like a lecturer in a university teaching situation than a political demagogue trying to hurriedly invite a crowd into clapping for everything he/she says.

Mr Mwinyi's examples of filled pauses eg (MUA/P4, P7, P9, P10, P12, P14, P18, P24), consisting as they do of slips of the tongue and similar hesitation phenomena, are quite typical of natural conversation among friends (Tannen 1984). Even where Mr Mwinyi is giving a presidential promise to assist villagers acquire a vehicle, as in example MUA/P14 above, the hesitation features help him to blur the asymmetrical power relationship between him and the villagers by making that part of his speech sound like a transcript of a conversation among interlocutors with equal social status.

In a study by Goldman-Eisler (1968) it was suggested that "pauses tend to occur at grammatical junctures more often in reading aloud than in spontaneous speech" (Johns-Lewis 1986:205). This finding was in agreement with the results of the studies by Barik (1979) and Levin et.al.(1982) which also seemed to suggest that reading aloud contained fewer pauses that interrupted clause-level junctures than story telling. Reading aloud rules out "repair" in the middle of speech delivery occasioned by the moment-by-moment monitoring of the reception of the speech by the immediate audience. Parallel to these findings, it will appear that Mr Mwinyi adopts more of a story telling style in political oratory than Mr Nyerere. For his part, Mr Nyerere adopts more of a reading aloud mode of oratory than Mr Mwinyi. The complex sociolinguistic factors that may account for this inter-speaker variation would constitute a major study of its own.

Suffice it to say that Mr Mwinyi is a native speaker of Kiswahili, while Mr Nyerere is a second language speaker of the language. Furthermore, Mr Nyerere has admitted to a difficulty in talking in a conversational mode even when circumstances required it (Mr Nyerere : personal communication). It would not be surprising, therefore, if Mr Nyerere was perceived as 'bookish' (Halliday 1985b:8) in his oratorical style, while Mr Mwinyi was perceived as 'colloquial' (loc cit. :) even in his scripted oratory. All of this tends to suggest that the written versus spoken continuum in the differentiation of spoken or written discourses may be a significant variable in determining the role of language in socio-political processes.

4.4 PAUSING, PITCH RANGE EFFECTS AND HUMOROUS BEHAVIOUR

The combination of pausing, pitch range effect and humorous behaviour (Foot & Chapman 1977; Macghee 1979; Powell & Paton 1988) - both on the part of the speaker and the audience - certainly plays an important role in Tanzanian political oratory. The three are used as face management mechanism in the course of speech delivery. The following two examples (examples 5 and 6) of the use of laughter, pause and pitch range effects as politeness strategies are typical of Mr Nyerere's oratorical style. In both examples, Mr Nyerere was delivering a scripted speech to thousands of delegates at a national congress of the Tanzanian ruling party, CCM, and the topic of his address was praise for Mr Mwinyi who he was recommending to the conference for election as the Chairman of the Party in the wake of Mr Nyerere's own retirement from the post on the same occasion. Mr Mwinyi, who was already the incumbent President of the country, was present as part of the audience for the speech.

EXAMPLE 5 NSB/8/90: PA

[SPEAKER CHUCKLING] +umri wake umebadirika kidogo
age his has changed a little

[SPEAKER LAUGHTER] ... kwa miaka mitano ...
by years five

na uzoefu wake katika maamuzi .. ya hali ya..
and experience his in decisions of level of

ya .. ya ngazi za juu .. katika taifa letu ..
of of stage of high in nation our

imebadirika ... sasa uzoefu wake ni wa
has changed now experience his is of

hali ya juu .. kabisa+ [AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]
level of high completely

[SPEAKER CHUCKLING] his age has changed a bit [SPEAKER LAUGHTER] by five years and his experience in decision-making at the highest level in our country has changed his experience in these matters is now very great indeed.

EXAMPLE 6: MSB/8/90:PB

+akasema sasa mimi nitakupa ushauri .. fanya
he said now I I will you give advice do

hivi .. (sasa sijui kama nitakumbuka
like this now I do not if I will
know

.. nitakumbuka zile sifa vizuri) ...
I will remember those qualities good

akasema chagua watu .. chagua viongozi .. wenye
he said choose people choose leaders who have

sifa zifuatazo ... wakweli .. wacha mungu ..
qualities which follow they truthful they believers ..
in God

wasiopenda mali ya dhuluma .. hodari wa kazi
they who do not wealth of injustice expert of work
like

..[AUDIENCE MURMUR] erm .. aakh hiyo hiyo ..
[SPEAKER GIGGLE] what no that that

wasio penda mali ya dhuluma ... mle
they who like wealth of injustice in it
do not

haitamkwiru	..	rushwa	..	wasiopenda	mali
it is not		corruption		they who do	wealth
said				not like	

[AUDIENCE INTERRUPTION WITH LAUGHTER]

[PROLONGED SPEAKER CHUCKLE AND LAUGHTER]+

He said now I will give you advice: go do the following: (now I don't know whether I will correctly recall these good qualities) he said choose people (ie choose leaders) with the following qualities: leaders who are truthful, leaders who are believers in God, leaders who detest wealth acquired through injustices, leaders who are diligent at work [AUDIENCE MURMUR] [SPEAKER GIGGLE] . What? No! That's it he said leaders who detest wealth acquired through injustices - in the scriptures the word corruption is not mentioned reference is made only to detest for wealth [AUDIENCE INTERRUPTION WITH LAUGHTER] [PROLONGED SPEAKER CHUCKLE AND LAUGHTER]

In these two examples, which are extracts from the said speech, Mr Nyerere combines both extra linguistic humorous behaviour like giggling, chuckling and laughing, and paralinguistic features like pausing and pitch range shift, in an attempt to elicit overt approval behaviour - like applause or clapping, giggling and laughing, for parts of his speech which are face threatening.

The comment on the advancement in age of President Mwinyi is accompanied with a friendly chuckle which, together with the matter-of-fact falling intonation and the adjective 'little', suggests an attempt to say that the candidate Mr Nyerere was proposing for the Chairmanship was of the right age. That this was so is not obvious if it is taken into account that at 65, the candidate could be said to be at an advanced age given that 65 is the compulsory retirement age in the Tanzanian civil service. Mr Nyerere needed to balance the traditional reverence for advanced age and the modern quest for youthful and thus dynamic leadership. He interrupts his own speech with a short laugh only to go on to say that the candidate's experience in governance is immense. This observation receives unequivocal approval by way of clapping from the audience. This suggests that the observation on the candidate's age could not elicit a similar spontaneous approval rating from the delegates.

Mr Nyerere then went on to say that Mr Mwinyi had also lived up to the reputation Mr Nyerere himself had attributed to him in 1985 when proposing Mr Mwinyi as the Party's presidential candidate at that time, that of being a leader who was not pompous and who was accessible to citizens from all walks of life who wished to seek his help in

solving their personal problems. The audience again applauded this part of this speech. But Mr Nyerere then followed up this part of the speech with an account of a story of advice he said he had given Mr Mwinyi sometime later, after his election and assumption of the office of the President of Tanzania. He said he had told Mr Mwinyi to take advice from him similar to the advice that the biblical character Moses is said to have received from his father-in-law. Example 6 is that advice.

In delivering his story - which is similar to illustrative narratives that Mr Nyerere uses very often in his oratory - a number of paralinguistic and humour features were used which seemed to have the effect of eliciting humorous behaviour on Mr Nyerere's immediate audience.

One of these features is intonational subordination; a phenomenon which Roach (1983:149) has characterised as:

- (i) a drop to a lower part of the pitch range ("low key"),
- (ii) increased speed,
- (iii) narrower range of pitch, and
- (iv) lower loudness

- (Roach: loc cit.)

Just as in English, intonational subordination in Kiswahili oratory is rather like an interpolation (Winter 1982:143) which is produced with a "throw-away parenthetical style" (Roach: loc. cit.). Good university lecturers are said to produce similar "witty asides" (James 1977).

In Example 6, Mr Nyerere uses intonational subordination to 'down-tone' (Quirk & Greenbaum 1973: 218-220) his invitation to his audience to consider it possible that he could recall the Biblical story incorrectly. In a scripted speech, this invitation for the audience to treat this part of the speech as unplanned and unrehearsed must serve as a face management device. Stretches of unplanned discourse in a scripted speech carry with them the cue that they were said on the spur of the moment and they were not what the speaker set out to say.

If they offended, the speaker could be forgiven for such slips of the tongue. When accompanied with so many short non-clausal juncture pauses as well as audience and speaker giggles and laughter, such "digressions" were very effective as face-savers (Kane et. al. 1977:13).

For as Kane et. al. (op cit.:16) have put it:

"laughter can be used to imitate a cognitive transformation of a situation into a non-serious one or it may indicate acceptance of the meanings conveyed by a source of humour."

In the event, Mr Nyerere increases the humour effect of his manner of telling the Biblical story by allowing the audience to interrupt him with the suggestion that the relevant bad quality was one of not being a corrupt leader, which he then dramatically contradicts by insisting that it was rather the quality of detesting wealth acquired in a corrupt manner! This is in spite of his disclaimer at the start of the narration that his account of the Biblical story could be contested. The belated display of certainty in his account of the story suggests that his supposedly unplanned stretches may not have been as unplanned as he had made them sound when heard after the intonationally subordinated disclaimer.

In contrast to Mr Nyerere who - as shown above - elicits laughter from the audience by producing intonationally subordinated disclaimers accompanied by the speaker's own self-initiated laughter, Mr Mwinyi's humour and applause elicitation devices are more lexical than phonetic. He tends to use expressions, which have humorous associations as in the following example.

EXAMPLE 7: MSA/P4, P5 & P6

MSA/P4

+mwaka	huu	..	(kama miaka	mingine)	...	ulikuwa	na
year	this		like years	others		it was	with
miezi	kumi	na	mbili	..	zenye	siku	.. za jumla
months	ten	and	two		which had	days	of total
.. mia	tatu	na	sitini	tano+			
hundred	three	and	sixty	five			

This year (like all the other years) had twelve months which had a total of three hundred and sixty five days

MSA/P5

+huo ni	muda mrefu	..	kwa	yule	asiye	kuwa na
that is	time long		for	one	who has not	have with

kazi ya kumshughulisha+
work of to keep him/she busy

That is a long time for someone without a lot of work to keep him/her busy

MSA/P6

+lakini kwa wale wenye .. wenye kazi muhimu .. na
but for those with with work important and

hasa ya kuongoza taifa .. kama sisi tulioko
especially of leading a nation like us who are

hapa .. mwaka huu umepita kwa kasi kama kufumba
here year this it has with pace like closing eyes
passed

na kufumbua+ [[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]
and opening eyes

But for those with a lot of important work to do especially that of governing a country like we who are here, this year passed by very fast in the twinkling of an eye.

It should be recalled that this was a scripted speech delivered to the National Executive Committee of the ruling party CCM in 1986, one year after Mr Mwinyi's incumbence as the President. The speech was actually a report to an organ of the Party which is the highest decision making body in between Party biannual national congresses. At the time, Mr Nyerere was still the Chairman of the Party and Mr Mwinyi was the Vice-Chairman.

In these circumstances, paragraphs P4, P5 and P6 in Example 7 appear to have been planned to serve a phatic function ie light-heartedness. But they were all uttered with neutral intonation contours for formal spoken presentation. The only exception was the intonationally subordinated disclaimer in paragraph P4 where Mr Mwinyi concedes that there is no new information in his saying that that particular year had the same number of months as all the other years. This was said in a matter-of-fact style with falling intonation. It is not surprising that that did not immediately elicit a humorous response in spite of its potential at doing so. What seems to have caused muted laughter by the audience is the pairing of the expression "that is a long time" with "for someone without a lot of work to keep him/her busy" in paragraph P5. In paragraph P6 the audience is aroused into clapping by the expression "in the twinkling of an eye".

Very rarely does Mr Mwinyi produce speaker-initiated laughter as a device for prompting audience laughter. Usually he deploys some lexical selection of the kind which is so light-hearted as to prompt some humorous behaviour, however mild, like a smile. Such humour is sometimes overtly expressed by audience applause as in Example 8 below (taken from the same speech as Example 7 above):

EXAMPLE 8: MSA/P24 & P25

MSA/P24

+badala	ya	kulalamika	kwa	upungufu	wa	chakula	..
instead	of	complaining	of	shortage	of	food	
wanalalamika		kwamba	jinsi ya	chakula		kilivyo	
they are complaining		that	the way of	food		it is	
kingi	..	katika	jiji	hata	kingine	..	
so much		in	the city	even	some of it		
kianaachwa	..	na	shirika	la	ugawaji	..	
it is being left		and	Corporation	of	Distribution		
kubunguliwa	na	wadudu	..	kwenye	magala	yao+	
to be attacked	by	insects	in	in	stores	their	

+[[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+

instead of complaining about shortages of food people are now complaining about how food is so plentiful that some of it is now being left by the National Milling Corporation to be destroyed by insects in its stores.

MSA/P25

+((hii))	ili	nitatizo	jingine	jipya	..
this	this	is a problem	another	new	
linalotokana	na	((e.e))	neema+		
which is due to	of		blessing		

this, is another new problem which is the outcome of a blessed situation.

These two paragraphs interpreted together suggest that after the applause prompted by the pairing of "complaining of food shortages" with "complaining of food plentifulness and waste" the president finds it necessary to add that this light-hearted comment on the food situation in the country did at the same time reflect on sober and serious problems facing the country's food storage situation. The food situation was light-hearted, but the food storage situation was not to be treated equally lightly. No wonder this face-

threatening immediate climb-down from the elicited euphoric hyperbole is produced with the appropriate face-saving false starts like "**((hii)) ili nitatizo**" ("((this)) this problem). It is noticeable that this paragraph (ie MSA/P25) and the subsequent one (ie MSA/P26) which expands on this sub-topic of 'neema' (blessing) does not receive audience applause. The clapping comes later (see example 9 below), when the speaker prompts the said applause by producing the low key termination for given paratone, ie by narrowing the width of the pitch range of the intonation groups constituting the relevant spoken paragraph (Cruttenden 1986:54-55; *ibid.*:129; Sinclair & Brazil 1982:146).

EXAMPLE 9: MSA/P26 & MSA/P27

MSA/P26

+neema	ambayo	..	imetokana	na	mwitikio	wa	wakulima	..
the	which		it has come	of	response	of	farmers	
blessing			from					
na	mungu	kuwa	pamojoi	nasi	..	katika	kuisaidia	
and	God	being	together	with us		in	assisting	
awamu	ya	pili+						
phase	of	second						

the blessing which has been the result of the response of the peasants and God being with us in assisting the second republic

MSA/P27

+napenda	vile vile	..	kuushukuru	umma	mzima
I want	also		to thank	the mass	all
wa	watanzania	..	kwa	otulivu	..
of	Tanzanians		for	orderliness	and
na	uvamilivu				
and	patience				
wao	mkubwa	..	katika	kipindi	..
their	great		in	period	of
cha	shida				
of	hardship				
na	matatizo	mengi	..	na	hasa
and	problems	many		and	especially
katika	miezi				
in	months				
minne	ya	kwanza	ya	awamu	ya
four	of	first	of	phase	of
pili+					
second					

+[[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+

I want also to thank the entire Tanzanian masses for their great orderliness and patience during this period in which there were many hardships and problems especially in the first four months of the second republic.

4.5 LOW KEY TERMINATION AND CLAPTRAP

The role of low key termination in prompting audience applause is a stylistic feature of Tanzanian presidential political oratory which is shared to the same extent by both the President Mwinyi, and the ex-President Nyerere. However few or many the succession of spoken meaning units (ie syllables, full words, tone units), the speaker always signals the topic and/or sub-topic shift in the discourse exchanges with low key termination. The audience, on some occasions, in turn seems to observe a ritual rule which states that the presidential orator must on some occasions be applauded merely by having signalled the end of a chunk of discourse which the speaker signals to be relatively complete in itself.

Examples 10 and 11 are two more illustrations of this relationship between low key termination and clapping behaviour.

EXAMPLE 10: MSA/P28

+vyombo	vya	habari	..	(yaani magazeti na redio)
agencies	of	news		that is newspapers and radio
.. vile vile	vimetoa		mchango	mkubwa sana ..
also	they have given		contribution	great very
kuwaamasisha	wananchi	..	katika shughuli	za
encouraging	country people		in activities	for
maendeleo+	+[[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+			
development				

The news media (that is newspapers and the radio) they too have made a great contribution in mobilising the people to undertake development activities.

EXAMPLE 11: NUA/P3

+pili	ningependa	..	uungana	..	na Raisi	..
Secondly	I would like		join		with the	
					President	
wa selikari	ya	mapinduzi	ya Zanzibar	..	na mwenyekiti	
of Government	of	Revolution	of Zanzibar		and the Chairman	
wa baraza	la	mapinduzi	..	kuwakaribisha	na	

of the Council of Revolution to them welcome and
 kuwashukuru .. ndugu zetu wwoote .. ambao walikubali
 to them thank comrades our all who then agreed
 juja kushirikiana nasi .. katika shughuli hizi
 to come to share with us in activities these
 za leo+ +[(AUDIENCE APPLAUSE)]+
 of today

Secondly, I would like to join with the President of the Revolutionary Government of Zanzibar who is also the Chairman of the Revolutionary Council in welcoming and thanking all our brothers and sisters who agreed to come and join in our celebration, is today.

It must nevertheless be pointed out that not every low key termination prosodic feature is followed by applause. There are only three applause points out of 22 low key termination points following each other in succession in data corpus NUA. Furthermore, all the three applauses that are isolated from the first 22 low key termination junctures in data corpus MUA could be interpreted as ritual behaviour signalling gratitude for a promise of assistance to, or encouragement for, the audience rather than behaviour fulfilling the ritual of clapping merely because the presidential orator had produced a low key termination.

4.6 SUMMARY OBSERVATIONS ON CLAPPING AND HUMOUR BEHAVIOUR

Finally, on this point concerning the relationship between clapping behaviour and low key termination, there was a tendency for Mr Mwiya to receive exchange closure (ie low key termination) applauses more than Mr Nyerere, while the latter received more of the humour prompted applause than the former. It is interesting also that exchange closure applause tended to be more a feature of speeches to assemblies of peers, ie other politicians, in municipal halls than that of speeches to mass rallies. The audiences of mass rallies - consisting as they usually do of non-politicians - tended to produce humour prompted applause more than mere exchange closure clapping, ie tamed ritual applause.

Such tamed ritual applause tended to be a characteristic of scripted oratory while the more spontaneous mass rally applause tended to a characteristic of unscripted oratory.

However, all in all, Mr Nyerere was marked out by his use of "ndiyo" (yes) with a rising intonation interpretable as a challenge to the audience to dare disagree with him as

the following instance (Example 12) taken from a partially scripted speech which Mr Nyerere delivered at a mass rally in Lindi (in southern Tanzania on the 7 of July 1989).

EXAMPLE 12 NSB/87/X

P1 +sasa haya .. haya ni mambo yaliyo kwenye
now these these are affairs which are within

uwezo wetu this is bad management you see +
powers our this is bad management you see

P2 because we are the managers katika haya + P3 you see +
because we are the managers in these you see

P3 sisi mwakuamua .. sisi mwakuamua wewe uwezi
we today we we today we you cannot
decide decide

wewe husitaili thirty per cent mm wa thirty per cent
you do not thirty per cent mm of thirty per cent
deserve

yupo lakini siyo wewe .. huu ni uhamnzi wetu
is there but not you this is decision our

.. hapana kutwambia kwamba mamuzi huu tumeizuiwa
do not to tell us that decision this we have been
denied

sasa kuna mtu mmoja oho huko nje ametwambia
now there is a person one oho yonder outside who has
told us

hatuwezi kuwa na namuzi huo .. SPEAKER
we cannot to have with decision this

CHUCKLE .. nani huyo+ SPEAKER LAUGHTER +

AUDIENCE APPLAUSE+

Now these, there are matters which are within our powers. This is bad management you see, because we are the managers in these. You see we are the ones to decide in this day and age, we are the ones to decide. These are matters in our power to decide erm who deserves to pay thirty per cent and to say you are to pay this and you not. This is our right to decide and do not tell us that we are barred from making these decisions by someone out there outside the country telling us we can not make these decisions.

SPEAKER CHUCKLE SPEAKER LAUGHTER AUDIENCE
APPLAUSE

P5 nami huyo + P6 nami huyo .. jitanda zote hizo za
who is that one who is that one efforts all those of

kujitawala **halafu** **kuna** **mtu ..** **katu ..** **nami**
 ruling thereafter there is a person who who is
 ourselves

kastwambia kwamba butwezi ..SPEAKER LAUGHTER
 (PROLONGED)
 telling us that we cannot

Who could that be? Who could that be? All these efforts we made in gaining our independence and you wish to tell us there could still be someone out there telling us we could not exercise our right to decide on these matters? SPEAKER LAUGHTER (PROLONGED)

P7 nami katwambia kwamba batuwezi .. batuwezi
 who is telling us that we cannot we cannot

kikiambia kiwanda chetu tazama bwana haura
 fa factory factory our look here mister these

hawa hawawezi thirty per cent hawawezi maana benk
 here they cannot thirty per cent they because bank
 cannot

ni yetu bwana ... this is rubbish .. na kujema kweli
 is ours mister this is rubbish and to say the
 truth

hii ni aibu sana kudhani kwamba hatuwezi .. hii ni
 this is a very to imagine that we cannot this is
 shame

ni benki ni yetu .. tumezinternationalize ile
 is bank is ours we have nationalized that

benki maksudi kabisa kusudi tuweze kuzi
 bank deliberately very so that we be able to rule

kuzitawala namne hiyo ... kuweza kusema huyu
 to rule over like that to be able to say that one
 them

atapata huyu atalipa twenty per cent kwa sababu
 shall get that one shall pay twenty per cent because

twenty per cent hiyu anaweza yule atalipa thirty per
 twenty per cent this s/he can that one will pay thirty per

cent yule mlanguzi yule anaweza kulipa zendi
 cent that middleman that s/he can to pay more
 one

ndiyo .. lakini hapa .. ni benki yetu hii ..
 that but here is bank your this
 right

msitwambie nyinyi kwamba kwamba .. +SPEAKER
 don't tell us you here that that

LAUGHTER+ +AUDIENCE LAUGHTER+
 (PROLONGED)

Who could that person be telling us we could not take these decisions? Who is saying we can not tell our own firm "look here mister, these creditors can not pay the thirty per cent interest"? We cannot? Why? This is our bank mister! This is rubbish! And to say the truth, it is a great shame that there are these ideas suggesting that we could not decide. This is our bank. We nationalised these banks very deliberately in order to be able to exercise control like this on these banks.

We did this in order to be able to say that this debtor will pay a twenty per cent interest because that is what this one is able to pay, while that other debtor will pay thirty per cent because he/she is a capitalist middle person who can afford to pay more interest on his/her bank loans. That's right! These are our banks! Don't tell us... that.. that..
 SPEAKER LAUGHTER (PROLONGED)

P8 hizi benki tumenationalize .. tumenationalize
 these banks we have nationalized we have nationalized

kusudi tuweze kuwa na uwezo huu wakuweza
 deliberately so we to be with power this of being
 can able

kuamua namna hiyo + so.. huko.. ilo moja kwa
 to decide like that so yonder that is one on

upande wa serikali .. vyama ..ee.
 the side of government co-operatives ee

vyama kwa kweli serikali lazima
 co-operatives in truth government must

visaidieni vyama hivi katika yale umbayo
 them help co-operatives these in those which

tunauwezo nayo tunauwezo nayo ... haya
 we have power over we have power over those

mengine .. tutayaua mashirika haya ... na
 others we will kill them parastatals these and

wengine wako nje wanataka yafe ndiyo+
 others are outside they want them yes
 to die

[AUDIENCE MEMBER INTERVENTION]

sasa tusikubali tusikubali tuwacheke

now	we must not accept	we must not accept	we must laugh at them
wajinga	wale ... nani	anataka	mashirika yetu
stupid	them	who is who wants	parastatals our
yafe	ndiyo	kataeni	kataeni kabisa kabisa
to die	yes	refuse	refuse completely completely
ndiyo	yakwao	hayafi	mbona hala kuja
yes	theirs	do not die	why look at to come
			them
kuua	mashirika	yetu bwana+	
to kill	parastatals	our mister	

These are our banks! We nationalised them so that we may have the power to control them in this way so that we may be in a position to take these decisions! So that is one thing the government must do to help co-operative unions and really, the government has to help the unions in these matters over which we have power to help them! These other things ... otherwise we will kill off our own institutions ... and others out there do wish our co-operatives to die off.

Now, we must not accept this!! must not accept this!! We must laugh in their faces! They are stupid! Who wants our parastatals to collapse? They do not allow their own firms to die out so why should they wish that ours collapse? Look at! Why should they wish to kill our firms, mister?

In this long extract many pitch range, loudness and silent pause features are deployed to present to the audience a chain of apparently disjointed tone units and spoken paragraphs which nevertheless elicited several audience humorous responses. This is especially so when Mr Nyerere poses rhetorical questions followed by his own laughter, as in:

EXAMPLE 12 (REPEAT) NSB/87/X/P4-P6

+ hapana kutwambia kwamba namuzi huu tumezuiwa
do not tell us that this decision we are barred

sasa kuna mtu mmoja oho huko nje ametwanbia
now there is a person out there outside who has told us

hatuwezi kuwa na uamuzi huo .. SPEAKER CHUCKLE ..
we cannot take such a decision SPEAKER CHUCKLE

nami huyo+ SPEAKER LAUGHTER + AUDIENCE LAUGHTER +
who that? + SPEAKER LAUGHTER + AUDIENCE LAUGHTER +

nami huyo + **nami huyo** +
Who is that? Who is that?

In this case, the humour behaviour may be a function of the fact that Mr Nyerere does not mention the International Monetary Fund (IMF) by name, in spite of everyone in his audience interpreting his rhetorical question to be directed against this organisation. During Mr Nyerere's tenure as President, the IMF had failed to impose restrictions on government action in economic affairs. But since 1986 President Mwinyi (who had succeeded Mr Nyerere's government in November 1985) had signed an agreement with the IMF which allowed the IMF to impose stringent restrictions on the government's room for independent action in monetary and fiscal policy formulation.

Mr Nyerere again causes laughter when he continues with his theme of criticising those - who he does not name - who he appears to suggest were not adequately resisting IMF-led foreign encroachment on Tanzania's national sovereignty. The humour behaviour elicited in the example below, again seems to be a function of criticising the IMF and its supporters (who some in the audience must have taken to include President Mwinyi or at least some of Mr Mwinyi's close advisers) without ever mentioning them by name.² Given the intense and polarised public debate about the IMF-inspired policies of Mr Mwinyi's Presidency, the light-heartedness in Mr Nyerere's presentation of the subject must have been a face management strategy:

EXAMPLE 12 (REPEAT) NSB/87/X/P7-P8

msitwambie nyinyi + **AUDIENCE LAUGHTER** + **kwamba ..**
don't tell you people AUDIENCE LAUGHTER that

kwamba .. **PROLONGED SPEAKER LAUGHTER**+ **hizi benki zetu**
that PROLONGED SPEAKER LAUGHTER these are our banks

.. tumenationalize .. **tumenationalize** **kusudi**
we have nationalized we have nationalized deliberately

tuweze kuwa na uwezo
in order to have the power to decide.

Most theories of humour would agree that arousal in our audience of incongruity which is resolved by disparagement of other people's supposed infirmities tends to elicit laughter in such an audience (Sul 1977:41). Indeed, Sul (op.cit.) quotes Zillman and Canto (1976) asserting that:

"humour appreciation varies inversely with the favourableness of the disposition toward the agent or entity being disparaged and varies directly with the

favourableness of the disposition toward the agent or entity disparaging it. Appreciation should be maximal when our friends humiliate our enemies, and minimal when our enemies manage to get the upper hand over our friends" (op.cit.: 100-101).

Mr Nyerere presents the disparagement by the tone of his voice rather than by any set of negative adjectives, apart from his referring to 'them' (whoever they are!) as 'wajinga' (stupid) deserving the injunction 'tuwacheke' (let's laughs at their folly) in the last part of the extended extract.

Mr Mwinyi for his part was marked out by his frequent use of "ehee" with a fall-rise intonation which could be interpreted as "yes, why not". Two examples from a speech he gave to a village audience illustrate this interjection:

EXAMPLE 13 NUA/P16 & P17

NUA/P16

+iwe ni mbegu ya mapato ... ili gari hiyo Mungu
 it be a seed of profits so a that God
 should be that vehicle one

kipenda baada ya muda mfupi ize mwenziwe+
 s/he if after of period a short should another of
 willing give its own
 another

it should be a seed of what you havegained so that that vehicle may shortly thereafter lead to your acquiring yet another god so willing

MUA/P17

+_ ehee ... [[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]
 yes (why not!)

yes, why not!

EXAMPLE 14 MUA/P22 & P23

MUA/P22

+sasa kwa wakati huo pengine nitakuwa na mengi ya
 now of time then perhaps I will have with a lot of

kusema .. kutokana .. na yale nitakayoyaona+
 to say coming out of those which I will then see
 of

Now by then perhaps I will have a lot to say arising from what I will have seen

MUA/P23

+₋ ehee+
yes (why not!)

yes, why not!

The 'ehee' interjection in P17 follows immediately after the speaker has encouraged the peasants to aspire for the acquisition of another vehicle even when they receive the one they were to receive. The 'ehee' interjection in P23 follows immediately after the President has promised to visit the villagers again the following year. Both interjections can therefore be interpreted as a more humorous way of saying 'yes, why not'.

By way of concluding this chapter, it is interesting from the point of view of explaining some aspects of variability along the scripted versus unscripted dimensions to look at another extended extract of a speech by Mr Nyerere. This is taken from the beginning of an unscripted speech he gave to a meeting of members of an association of Kiswahili linguists and poets known at UKUTA in Dar es Salaam in October 1984. The extract is presented in chunks of spoken paragraphs, each followed by my translation of the same. It is interesting to look at the extract because Mr Nyerere formally discussed what he termed the demerits of unscripted oratory:

NUB/10/84

P1 +ndugu chairman .. wa ukuta na ndugu wana ukuta .. na waalikwa wenzangu ... ndugu chairman kwanza ningependa kutoa shukrani .. kwa kuifungua ... nishiriki katika semina hii kwa kuifungua ... kwanza nilipopata mwaliko wa kwanza .. nilisita ... na inawezekana nilifikisha habari kuamba sitaweza .. kwa sababu .. ya kuiogopa semina ... (AUDIENCE LAUGHTER) ... maana semina ya ukuta .. (AUDIENCE LAUGHTER) .. pamoja na kwamba ni semina ya Kiswahili .. nitofauti na semina ambazo nimekwenda kuzifungua +

Comrade chairman of UKUTA and comrade members of UKUTA and fellow invited guests. Comrade chairman, first I would like

to give thanks for being invited to come and participate in the seminar by way of opening it. At first when I got the invitation initially, I had reservations and it is possible I sent word that I could not come. Because I was scared of the seminar. (AUDIENCE LAUGHTER) Because a seminar by UKUTA (AUDIENCE LAUGHTER) in spite of the fact that it is Kiswahili seminar, is a bit different from seminars which I have been invited to open.

P2 +nimegungua semina za wataalam wa taaluma mbali mbali

...

nimefungua semina za .. mabwana shamba .. na mimi si ..
_(si bwana shamba) ... nimefungua za walimu _(mi mwalimu)
. lakini sasa kuna mambo huku wanayazungumza siyaelwei
hata kidogo ... (AUDIENCE LAUGHTER) .. na nimefungua
semina za watu wengine wengi kabisa .. na mambo yao
siyajui sana ... lakini _((hapa)) mlikuwa niliguwa
naogopa kuja+

I have opened seminars of specialists of various professions. I have opened seminars of agricultural officers and I'm not an agricultural specialist. I have opened those of teachers and although I am a teacher, some of the things discussed there I could not follow at all (AUDIENCE LAUGHTER) and I have opened seminars of a lot of other people when I knew nothing about them. But here I was very much scared of coming.

P3 +kwanza _((ni kama hiuyo)) .. nakuja .. kusema .. na
washairi ... halafu wananiheshimu sana washairi hawa
wananiita na mimi nishairi .. [AUDIENCE LAUGHTER] ..
[SPEAKER CHUCKLE] ninayo sifa ya ushairi .. _((ya nongo
tu)) ... kama sifa mliyoneyo ya .. ya kwamba .. mimi ni
mtaalamu sana juu ya mwingereza yule anaitwa shakespeare
yule ... niliwahi kuandika kitabu kimoja kimoja bari
nikajiletea balaa .. [AUDIENCE LAUGHTER] .. watu wakazani
.. [SPEAKER CHUCKLE] mjuzi sana .. wa mambo ya
Shakespeare ... kumbe si kweli hata kidogo ... nadham
nimeweza kuandika shairi moja au mawili ya kajulikana ..
basi .. nikadhaniwa kwamba .. naweza kuandika mashairi ..
kumbe si kweli .. lakini nayasoma .. nayasoma+

First as it is, I am coming to speak to poets and they have honoured me very much these poets by calling me a poet when I am not a poet [AUDIENCE LAUGHTER] [SPEAKER

CHUCKLE]. I have a reputation for being a poet which is false. It is like the reputation I have for being a great specialist on the works of this Englishman called Shakespeare. I once wrote one book and one book only and that has caused me a lot of trouble [AUDIENCE LAUGHTER] people think [SPEAKER CHUCKLE] I am a specialist on the affairs of Shakespeare when actually this is not true at all. I think I have been able to write one poem or two and once they got to be known I then began to be thought of as someone able to write poems when in fact it is not true. But I am able to appreciate them. I am able to read them.

P4 +unaweza .. ukawa .. si fundi wa kupika wali .. lakini ukipikwa .. [AUDIENCEGIGGLE] .. ukaletwa unbele yako .. [AUDIENCE LAUGHTER] ... unaweza kutambua kwamba umepikwa vizuri au umepikwa vibaya ... [AUDIENCE LAUGHTER]+

You could be someone who was not an expert at cooking rice but when given cooked rice [AUDIENCEGIGGLE] when cooked rice is brought before you you may be able to determine rice which is cooked well and rice which is cooked badly [AUDIENCE LAUGHTER]+

P5 +kwa hiyo mimi .. pamoja na kwamba siingi jikoni .. wanaoniletea chakula wanajua .. ((na si mimi peke yangu .. sisi wote)) .. kwamba lazima kiive ... kisipo iva japo sijui kukipika .. naweza nikanungunika kuwa ko chakula hichi kibichit+

Therefore although it is true that I do not go to the kitchen, those who bring me food know ((and it is not myself alone .. all of us)) that the food has to be cooked well and that if it is not cooked - even though I do not know how to cook it - I will complain that this food is not cooked.

P6 +na mashairi nina uwezo huo .. ninao uwezo wa mashairi ... si wezi kuyaandika .. lakini naweza kusema .. ili baya .. ili zuri+

And with poems I have this ability .. I have the ability to appreciate poems .. I can not write them .. but I can say whether a poem is good or not.

P7 +sasa hiyo ndiyo inanipa uwezo hata kuthubutu .. kuja .. kusema anayi ... lakini nasema hiliogopa .. sababu kwanza makuja kuzmngumza na ukuta .. pili nilikuwa

sinayo nafasi .. ya kutoshs ... kwa sababu kwa kweli
kuja mahala kama hapa .. ni vizuri ukajiandaa vizuri ..
na ukaudika .. yale mayokwenda kuyasema+

Now that is what gives me the courage to even dare to come to say a word or two with you although I am saying I was at first very much scared of coming to talk to UKUTA. Secondly I did not have sufficient time. Because really coming here required that one had prepared oneself .. prepared oneself well .. and that one had written what one wanted to go and say.

P8 +husipoandika ziko hatari mbili ... moja .. utaongopa ...
yaami utasema mambo hayana msimamo sawa sawa ... sababu
ukiandika .. utasahihisha ... utachukua muda mrefu sana
kiku sahihisha .. kusana ili halifai .. mpaka yawe safi
kabisa .. halefu ukuja utayasoma+

If one does not write there are two dangers. First you will fumble. That is to say you will say things in a disorderly manner because when you write you are able to make corrections. You will take a lot of time making corrections saying to yourself this will not do until everything is completely OK .. and then when you go to give the speech you will read what you wrote.

P9 +nasema usipoandika moja .. unaweza ukaongopa ..
ukasema
mambo hayafai kusemwa hapo ... na watu umaowaambia ni
wajuzi sana wa mambo hayo+

I am saying if you do not write first you may cheat. You may say things which should not be said at the given venue especially when those you are addressing are very knowledgeable about the matter.

P10 +pili .. utachukua mnda mrefu sana ... hotoba zisizo
andikwa zinayo tabia hiyo .. za kuwa ndefu sana+

Secondly you will take a long time, speeches which are unscripted have this tendency of being long.

P11 +kwa hiyo .. baada ya shukurani .. kushukuru chairman na
wenzako kumikaribisha .. intawaomba radhi .. kwamba haya
.. nitakeyo yasema haya .. yanaweza yakawa na makosa
yote mawili ... kwanza na weza nikasema mambo ambiyo

yatawashangaza kwa sababu hayana npangilio ... pili
 ninaweza kuchukua muda wenu .. mrefu zaidi kuliko ambavyo
 inastahili+

Therefore after expressing my thanks to the chairman and his colleagues for inviting me I wish to apologize that the things I will say here may suffer from the two drawbacks. First I may say things that may surprise you because they are not presented in an orderly manner and secondly I may take a lot of your time than is necessary.

It was indeed a long speech from which this extract was taken and it was a controversial speech, for Mr Nyerere used it to announce his high-handed and controversial rejection of the conclusions of a two-year Presidential Commission on Education to the effect that there had to be a medium of education switch from English to Kiswahili. Since interview evidence suggests he had all along been against the switch, it is also possible that he chose to overtly encourage the view that his unscripted speech could have been unintentionally incoherent. This would serve to dilute the hostility to his heretical views from the point of view of the immediate ratified audience (Lwaitama et.al.1990).

In summary, it can be observed that prosodic factors provide one of the most sensitive indices of the moment by moment monitoring of speech production which is engaged in by speakers of institutional spoken monologues such as political oratory. By critically analysing such factors, great assistance is rendered to the reconstruction of the politeness strategies that even the most powerful presidential speaker (eg Mr Nyerere in the Tanzanian context) has to employ. We have also seen how 'harangue' oratory requires the manipulation of humour behaviour for the same purposes of face management.

In the next Chapter we shall discuss how syntactic manipulations which result in construction of passive and existential sentences also play their role - in the same way as prosodic and humour behaviour - in signalling moment by moment speaker monitoring of oratory production.

NOTES

¹The term 'claptrap' is hereby used positively in the sense in which it is used by Max Atkinson (1984:47). He in turn uses it in the sense in which it is defined by the Shorter

Oxford Dictionary as "a trick, device or language designed to catch applause"
(Atkinson: loc. cit.)

²The July 7th, 1989 Farmers Day speech by Mr. Nyerere (who was then still Party Chairman) was interpreted by sections of the media and the public as a criticism of President Mwinyi's Government viz a viz the handling of relations with the IMF.

CHAPTER FIVE

LINEARITY AND PRAGMATIC VALUE IN MESSAGE STAGING

It is a profoundly erroneous truism, repeated by all copy-books, and by eminent people when they are making speeches, that we should cultivate the habit of thinking of what we are doing. The precise opposite is the case. Civilisation advances by extending the number of important operations which we can perform without thinking about them. Operations of thought are like cavalry charges in a battle - they are strictly limited in number, they require fresh horses, and must only be made at decisive moments. (My emphasis)

- A N Whitehead, *An Introduction to Mathematics*, Henry Holt, 1911, p.61 Cit. in Morris Kline, "Logic versus Pedagogy", *The American Mathematical Monthly*, Vol.77, No. 3, March, 1970 p.275. Cited in F T Mkhailov (1980) *The Riddle of the Self* Moscow: Progress Publishers p.238.

5.1 OVERVIEW

The ordering of analytically distinct elements in an utterance may be referred to as word order or syntax. Other terms are also used in referring to the same phenomenon. Instead of terms such as word order and syntax, which tend to have traditional prescriptive associations, terms such as "topicality, theme and rheme, given/old/new information, focus and presupposition, foregrounding and backgrounding" (Chen 1990:25) are the ones more frequently used in the sociolinguistics sub-discipline of discourse analysis. According to the Prague School linguist, Firbas (1971:240):

"It is in accordance both with the character of human thought and with the linear character of the sentence that sentence elements follow each other according to the amount (degree) of communicative dynamism (CD) they convey, starting with the lowest and gradually passing on to the highest."

In all its essence, the rival British School linguist Halliday (1967:200) agrees with this view of the relationship between the ordering of elements in an utterance (of which a simple sentence or clause is co-terminus) and the communicative use to which such an utterance could be put. At least according to Brown and Yule (1983:155) Halliday believes that "the speaker is obliged to chunk his speech into information units". These message units or "series of packages" (loc. cit.:) are said to be "directly realised in speech as tone groups". Halliday is then said to "suggest that the unmarked structure of information within the information unit will be that given information precedes new information" (ibid:160) which parallels Firbas' (1971:240) proposal that the highest degree of CD is usually conveyed by elements produced later than earlier in the 'linear character' of any given utterance. In an utterance of the following linear character, for example, what is considered to come earlier (according to Halliday's (1985) analysis) is

underlined and what comes later is italicised; the underlined chunk is the theme and the italicised chunk is the rheme of the utterance.

Watanzania walio wengi ni waumini wa dini mbali mbali
(Many Tanzanians are believers in various religions)

The theme part of the utterance is that part which sets the stage or background in the context of which some remarks are made about that theme (eg "*are believers in various religions*"). These remarks constitute the theme of that particular utterance. The speaker begins by saying what or about whom he was about to say something thus creating anticipation for and attention in the part of the utterance. Then he proceeds to say it in the rheme. Thereafter what was the rheme may constitute the theme of the subsequent utterances as in:

Watanzania walio wengi ni waumini wa dini mbalimbali. Dini hizo
zinatufunza mengi.
(Many Tanzanians believe in various religions. These religions teach us a lot.)

In this Chapter the terms 'theme and rheme' or 'thematization' are used in discussing the issues referred to in Firbas' (1971, 1986) and Halliday's (1967, 1985) works on the subject of the communicative function of the ordering of elements in an utterance. It is self-evident that once one has a communicative ritual which demands some degree of spontaneity (and I believe political oratory is such a ritual) it then follows that a critical language study of the theme and rheme of utterances produced as part of such ritual would yield interesting results regarding the explicit and implicit ideological topics and issues informing the relevant discourse. (A good example of the way insights may be gained as to the success or failure of a politician's attempt to set the agenda of the national debate through the analysis of spontaneity in oratory is the case of the former British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher having been reported to produce "community charge" as a 'repair' for "poll tax" in a British Parliament's Prime Minister's Question Time challenge from the Parliamentary Opposition who had all along refused to use the governing party's preferred term of "community charge").

In the next section of the Chapter, the theoretical framework which guided the investigation of this particular aspect of Tanzanian presidential oratory is expanded upon. This is followed by a discussion of the results of an analysis of some of the study data with the view to determining the extent to which there is intra- and inter-speaker variation in the use of passive and existential constructions. Finally, there is a general discussion integrating observations made regarding the use of passive and existential constructions with the general thesis to the effect that such thought processes

which one may find reflected in political oratory are comparable to "cavalry charges" (where) there are many operations or impulsive actions (even if) performed with the help of firmly established habits or skills" (Whitehead in Mkhailov op cit.:). Although political leaders of the stature of Mr Nyerere are often perceived as always "calm and careful" (loc. cit.:) in what they say in their oratory, a careful study of 'theme' and 'rheme' structure of their oratory reveals the fact that they too are sometimes as impulsive as any spontaneous conversationalist in a language.

5.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

5.2.1 LINEARITY AND PRAGMATIC VALUE

A number of theoretical frameworks have been adopted in dealing with the problem of the relationship between linearity and pragmatic value in the linguistic organisation of messages. Notions such as 'dominance' (Erteschik-Shir and Lappin 1977 quoted by Erteschik-Shir 1979:443), 'assertion' (Creider 1979), 'new information' (Chafe 1975), 'focus' (Chomsky 1971; Garcia 1979), 'communicative dynamism' (Firbas 1974), 'comment or rheme' (various authors according to Erteschik-Shir 1979:445), have been proposed to refer to any constituent of a given utterance which a given speaker could be assumed to have directed listeners to pay particular attention to. Linear arrangement of utterance constituents (ie elements constituting a sentence where written discourse is concerned) is one such means available to the speaker in achieving the aim of directing the attention of his/her listeners in this way. Intonation is another means. According to Berry (1977:5):

"Theme and rheme (are) relatable to the function of language to indicate to the hearer how the various ingredients of a message fit together in the message. The theme is the starting point of the message. The rheme is what is said about that starting point."

Berry's (1977) position is similar to Halliday's (1985:38). They both seem to take the clause as the maximal unit of an utterance organised as an information package. (The Prague School linguist, Firbas, seems to work with the notion of a 'sentence' in this regard). To Berry (1977:5-6) a clause is "an amalgam of a number of (grammatical) structures, each of which is relatable to one of the main functions of language". Halliday (1985:38) argues that:

"of the various structures which, when mapped on each other, make up a clause ... the one which gives the clause its character as a message ... is known as thematic structure."

5.2.2 THEMATIC STRUCTURE AND INFORMATION STRUCTURE

Halliday (unlike Firbas) distinguishes the thematic structure of a clause from its information structure. Introducing the notion of 'markedness', Halliday (1967) (according to Brown & Yule 1983:154-155) argues that a speaker is "free to decide where each information unit begins and ends, and how it is organised internally" (Halliday 1967:200) within the constraints set by the thematic structure.

Thematic structure is close to Clements' (1979:287) notion of 'staging' or 'relative prominence'. It is realised through the linear arrangements of the constituents of a clause. Information structure on the other hand is realised through prosodic prominence or intonation. Every clause is said to constitute a tone group or tone unit

"containing one and only one tonic syllable (which is) characterised (by Lehiste 1970) as having maximal moving pitch, maximal pitch height, maximal intensity and/or maximal duration"(Brown & Yule 1983:156).

As shown in the Appendix I used Lehiste's model above in identifying the tone groups that make up the spoken paragraphs which constituted the data corpus of my study (See also Chapter Three for data collection procedures in detail as well as the Key to Transcription Notation for the application of Lehiste's model in summary operational terms).

The theoretic framework adopted in this study is closer to that adopted by Halliday than that by Firbas. Identification of theme and rheme in terms of the linear modification of the message form is rendered more objective by separating it from the process of identifying the information structure of the same message form. This allows one to be in a position to separate the process of analyzing how language elements were actually deployed from the process of proposing plausible pragmatic readings reflected in such deployment. Firbas' (1986) position tends to encourage the view that the process of proposing the plausible pragmatic values of the linear arrangements of elements in a clause can be as objective as the process of identifying the said linearity of clause elements. In other words, Firbas seems to think everyone hears what is there to be heard in an equal and incontestable extent as long as they structurally "know" the language and the topic under discussion. This is a structuralist philosophical stance in research design which I wished to avoid right from the beginning of my study as

pointed out in Chapter One and Three. As Brown and Yule (1983:158) have correctly observed:

"In working with speech read aloud, or with previously rehearsed speech, it is often possible to identify tone groups in the stream of speech, particularly as syntactic boundaries. However, in unplanned spontaneous speech, there are problems in identifying the tone group by phonological criteria alone. In principle ... it should be possible ... in practice it is not."

The approach adopted by Halliday (1967, 1985) in looking at the relationship between linear modification (Bolinger 1952) and communicative value thus renders it more suited to the pursuit of a critical language study of political oratory in Tanzania than Firbas' (1971, 1986). Take, for example, the proposal by Firbas (1986:44):

"An element retrievable from the immediately relevant preceding verbal context and/or immediately relevant situational context is communicatively less important because it contributes less to the further development of the communication."

Such a proposal seems to place contextual factors in a hierarchically superior position to that of linear modification in determining the degrees of CD which elements in any given clause may have. Yet if by 'highest degree of CD' one wishes to refer to 'new information' then it is not helpful to say that one would work such out by identifying what is or is not retrievable from the co-text or context. What is retrievable in **theory** from the prosodic co-text (ie the phonic environment) is not always retrievable in **practice** as it has been pointed out above by Brown and Yule (1983:158). As for what is retrievable from the context (ie sociological and physical environment), this is fairly open-ended from the standpoint of critical discourse analysis.

This renders difficult to operate the proposal by Firbas (1986:44) that:

"An element retrievable from the immediately relevant preceding verbal context and/or immediately relevant situational context is communicatively less important because it contributes less to the further development of the communication."

This is difficult to operate, not least because some 'immediately relevant preceding verbal context' such as a tonic syllable placed on a pronoun in a marked information structure could lead a discourse analyst, who missed hearing the contrastive tonic placement, to miss the intended pragmatic value of that part of the discourse. This is why I wish to separate the process of establishing the thematic structure from that of the information value of the same. The discussion of the relationship between theme and rheme on the one hand and the speakers' possible use of thematisation devices like

passivation and existential constructions is thus undertaken in the next section from this perspective.

5.3 VARIATION IN USE OF EXISTENTIAL AND PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

In order to situate the discussion on the relationship between theme and rheme on the one hand and the construction of what the speaker wishes to be taken as ideologically significant topics and issues within the perspective of the theoretical issues raised in the review of the literature regarding the spoken and written continuum, a set of 40 paragraphs constituting Data Corpus Group A as explained in Chapter Three, 20 each produced by Mr Mwinyi and Mr Nyerere respectively, were analyzed to determine the inter- and intra-speaker variation in the use of passive and existential constructions. Chafe (1982:45) has argued that:

"The detached quality of written language is manifested in devices which serve to distance the language from specific concrete states and events. Such a device in English is the passive voice, which suppresses the direct involvement of an agent in an action."

This is the justification for my taking passive constructions as a test case in this study. Existential constructions have some structural and functional similarities with passive constructions, which also explains why they, too, were included. There is general support for the view that existential and passive constructions are more a feature of UNSCRIPTED than of scripted oratory.

On average Mr Mwinyi uses more existential and passive constructions in his unscripted paragraphs and hardly uses any in his scripted ones. On the other hand, overall, Mr Nyerere uses more existential and passive constructions in his scripted paragraphs than in his unscripted ones. Nevertheless, even Mr Nyerere uses slightly more extra posed passive constructions in his unscripted paragraphs than in his scripted ones. Tables 2, 3, 4 and 5 summarise what variations can be observed in the use of existential and passive constructions. One observes that Mr Mwinyi uses far more passive constructions in both his scripted and unscripted oratory than the combined total of all the existential and extra posed passive constructions he uses. Passive constructions constitute 75% of all passive and existential constructions analyzed in both his scripted and unscripted paragraphs. For Mr Nyerere, on the other hand, existential constructions alone constituted 36.8% of all the passive and existential constructions analyzed from the two extracts of his oratory. Indeed, the combined total of the existential and extra posed passive constructions Mr Nyerere uses constitutes 63.2%

leaving passive construction to account for the remaining 36.8% of all the constructions of this type that he uses in both his scripted and unscripted paragraphs.

TOTAL NUMBER OF EXISTENTIAL AND PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN EACH SET OF 20 PARAGRAPHS IN DATA TRANSCRIPT

MSA, NUA AND NSA.

TABLE 2

	MUA	MSA	NUA	NSA
EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS	1	0	2	5
PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS	8	1	2	5
EXTRAPOSED PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS	2	0	3	2
COMBINED TOTAL FOR EACH OF THE 20 PARAGRAPHS SET	11	1	7	12

TABLE 3
THE NUMBER OF EXISTENTIAL AND PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN EACH PARAGRAPH P1 TO P20 IN DATA TRANSCRIPT NS

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12	P13	P14	P15	P16	P17	P18	P19	P20	TOT
EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS	-	-	-	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	5
PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1	1	1	1	-	5
EXTRAPOSED PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	2

TABLE 4
THE NUMBER OF EXISTENTIAL AND PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN EACH PARAGRAPH P1 TO P20 IN DATA TRANSCRIPT N

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12	P13	P14	P15	P16	P17	P18	P19	P20	TOT	
EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2	.	.	2
PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
EXTRAPOSED PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1	.	2	1	4

TABLE 5
THE NUMBER OF EXISTENTIAL AND PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS IN EACH PARAGRAPH P1 TO P20 IN DATA TRANSCRIPT MUA

	P1	P2	P3	P4	P5	P6	P7	P8	P9	P10	P11	P12	P13	P14	P15	P16	P17	P18	P19	P20	TOTAL	
EXISTENTIAL CONSTRUCTIONS	.	.	.	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	1
PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS	-2	1	.	.	.	3	2	.	.	.	.	8	
EXTRAPOSED PASSIVE CONSTRUCTIONS	1	1	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	.	2

To the above observations we need to add that some of Mr Mwinyi's passive constructions appear to have the pragmatic function of distancing the speaker from his message than from his audience. When in MUA/P4 Mr Mwinyi says:

kuna (there are	dalili za signs of	kuanza beginning	kujiandaa to prepare)
---------------------------	------------------------------	----------------------------	---------------------------------

One feels he is using the existential construction "there are ..." in order to communicate certainty while, at the same time, his use of the expression "signs of beginning to prepare" (ie being at the beginning of the preparations for preparing the farms for the next farming season!) appears to introduce some "hedging" (Lakoff 1972). It is possible this was also an expression of politeness in that Mr Mwinyi did not wish to tell his audience of villagers that they had not yet quite started what they were supposed to have started but that they seemed on their way, nevertheless.

Mr Mwinyi also uses active constructions in which non-human and non-animate objects such as vehicles, as in MUA/P15,

+gari (the vehicle	ifike it should arrive	hapa ... here)
------------------------------	----------------------------------	--------------------------

The vehicle should arrive here.

and in MUA/P16

+iwe (it	ni be	mbegu a seed	ya of	mapato profit	...
ili so that	gari the vehicle		hiyo that	Mungu God	
akipenda he is he likes	baada ya after of	muda period	mfupi a short		
izae it should give birth	mwenzie+ another of its kind)				

It should be a seed that should later on bear more fruit with the possibility of your getting another vehicle.

are personified and placed in grammatical subject position. This makes the given utterances to assume the main pragmatic feature of all passive constructions which is to have as their grammatical subject the recipients of the action of the utterances' main verbs rather than the verbs' agents.

A further example of the use by Mr Mwinyi of these kinds of active constructions which in pragmatic terms could be interpreted as passive structures is this one in MUA/P8 when President Mwinyi tells peasant villagers whom the state wishes to exhort to use more manure in their farms thus:

+samadi manure	hii .. this	inataka it needs	itumike it to be used	...
(muitumie you it should use	vizuri .. well	katika in	mashamba farms	
yenu)+ your				

This manure needs to be used. You should use it well in your farms.

Here one can observe the use of an aside-like-stretch (Lwaitama 1983) realised by an 'intonational sub-ordination' (Roach 1983:148-149) to 'repeat' (at a more quickened tempo and lower key) what he, Mr Mwinyi, had just said ought to be done with manure where 'manure' was personified and made to appear as if it was 'it' which demanded to be used rather than the villagers who were being advised by Mr Mwinyi to need to use it!

Mr Nyerere's existential and passive constructions on the other hand can be described as attempts to present himself as not just an individual, but one who represented a variety of impersonal forces. Most of his existential constructions served the pragmatic function of "impersonifying" the forces that gave him authority to speak the way he did.

In NSA/P14 for example, Mr Nyerere does not tell his audience the source of his knowledge of certain opinions among his political peers. He only says:

NSA/P14

+pili (secondly	yako there are	maoni opinions	..	kwamba that
serikali the government		ya of	Mapinduzi the Revolution	
inapinga it denies	maongozi the leadership		namadaraka .. and authority	

ya Chama ..
of the Party)

Secondly, there are opinions that the Revolutionary Government rejects the leadership and authority of the Party.

One is left with no certainty as to who else other than himself 'knew' of these 'opinions'. The attention of the audience is drawn to the alleged opinions themselves thus encouraging the view that the identity of those who are claimed to hold the said opinions is of no consequence.

It would indeed appear as though Mr Nyerere seems to use "kuna + Noun" (There is/are + Noun) or "kuna + Adjective" (There is/are + Adjective) as a means of positioning certain information elements earlier in the discourse than others. Quirk and Greenbaum (1973:418) characterise the use of existential constructs as a means of allowing noun phrases like "watu" (people) in NSA/P12:

"kuna watu wanao waambia"
(there are people who are telling them)

There are people who are telling them ...

to be conveyed as part of "new information" rather than as part of the "given information" (Halliday 1967:200, Brown & Yule 1983:153-155). Existential and extra posed passive constructions (as in "zimetolewa kauli" (they have been given assertions) NSA/P15) help Mr Nyerere to introduce nominal expressions like "vurugu" (commotion) in NSA/P4, "kauli" (assertions) in NSA/P15, "uvumi" (rumours) in NSA/P4, and "maoni" (opinions) in NSA/P14 which probably serve the pragmatic function of characterizing the nature of the political dispute at hand in terms which reifies (Bolinger 1980:62) the dispute, thus taking the said dispute out of the realm of the specific and concrete to that of the general and mystical. This oratorical stylistic device of mystifying the nature of some political disputes would appear to help the orator to 'distance' the dispute from individual personalities and make it possible for it to be viewed as an impersonal problem requiring the co-operation of all in resolving it.¹

It is interesting to note that the whole subject of the political dispute which culminated in the resignation, in February 1984, of the then President of Zanzibar, Mr A Jumbe, who was also the Vice President of the United Republic and the Vice Chairman of the ruling Party, was popularly referred to as "Kuchafuka kwa hali ya hewa" (the

pollution of the air) (Othman 1986; Throup 1986). In NSA/P5 Mr Nyerere refers to the resolution of the political crisis as an exercise in:

"kusafisha (to clear/to clean)	hali the state	ya of	hewa the air/the weather)
-----------------------------------	-------------------	----------	------------------------------

clearing the polluted air

Whether Mr Nyerere uses more existential and extra posed passive constructions in this way because of the greater influence of English literary forms and Mr Mwinyi uses more of the passives in personification constructions because of his greater affinity to Kiswahili oral narrative forms remains to be further investigated (Mkude 1986; Lwaitama 1989). However, what we can say here from our analysis is that Mr Nyerere speaks more like in a University lecture where the audience usually are made to believe that the identity of who holds what opinion is less important than the fact that the lecturer is saying that the opinion is held. He encourages consensus and a greater focus on the discussion of the issues involved in a political controversy than on the personal identities of those involved. (Mr Nyerere had even written a polemical pamphlet in soon after independence in 1962 titled *TUJISAHIHISHE* in which he exhorted his then TANU party colleagues to learn the styles of political debate in which personal attacks on opponents was avoided). Mr Nyerere's frequent use of extra posed and passive sentence constructions seem to have assisted him greatly in projecting the image of a teacher to all and an enemy of very few of his fellow political leaders. Even those leaders with whom he had serious political disputes leading to resignations such as Mr Jumbe in the case referred to earlier, Mr Nyerere sought to use the features of the lecture genre in to reduce face threats to those in political disgrace thus ensuring political consensus.

In the next and last section of this chapter let us now summarise the main points raised by the results of this aspect of the language of TPKPO. We will pay particular attention to generalisations one can make about the way spontaneity acts both as a constraint as well as a linguistic resource exploited differently by different presidential political orators. Emphasis will be put on ways in which notions like 'theme' and 'rheme' developed by Halliday (1967) and Firbas (1986) are useful in giving a pragmatic account of the syntactic manipulations that we have discussed so far.

5.4 SPONTANEITY AND MESSAGE NEGOTIATION: A GENERAL DISCUSSION

The variation in the use of passive and existential constructions discussed in the last section strengthens one's agreement with the position attributed by Maynard (1986:78) to Weill (1884, 1887) and Methesins (1929, 1936) to the effect that there are 'two orders that must interact in speech: the syntactic match and the match of ideas'. This interaction most commonly takes the form of the speaker presenting something for the hearer to 'lean on' (ie theme), before presenting something to 'reach out for' (ie rheme). Nwogu's (1989:202) study also broadly confirms the general validity of this observation. Existential constructions could be said to be an example of a "syntactic match" which allows the "match of ideas" to have the 'ideas' being offered to be 'reached out for' by the hearer, stand out against the background of a "dummy subject" acting as the thing to 'lean on'. When one says, "Kuna **dalili za kuanza kujiandaa**" (There are signs of beginning to prepare) one allows "**dalili**"(signs) to stand out as the first content word in the utterance (as opposed to the two grammatical words "**kuna**" (existential 'there' + copula 'are'). If one said, for example, "**Dalili za kuanza kujiandaa zinaonekana**" (Signs of beginning to prepare can be seen), "**zinaonekana**" will have a greater chance of standing out in prosodic term than "**dalili za kuanza kujiandaa**". Where one wished to refer vaguely to 'signs of beginning to prepare' rather than to some particular unambiguous thing one had 'seen', the use of an existential construction allows one to make the necessary fudge.

In this general discussion more examples are offered which provide support to the view that the organization of theme and rheme can play a great role in assisting a critical hearer of a presidential speech to reconstruct some of the moment by moment negotiations within themselves in which presidential orators engage.

Three observations can be made regarding the relation between theme and rheme, and the staging of discourse topics and issues. All the three observations are made with regard to the kind of syntactic manipulations which are carried on within each part of the message chunk constituting the smallest meaningful simple sentence-like "idea" units known as clauses. (See Chapter Three and the Key to Transcription Notation for a more detailed clarification of meanings adopted in this thesis of terms such as "clauses" and "tone groups"). The three main observations that can be made regarding thematization in TPKPO are as follows:

- a) Because clauses (ie simple sentence-like "idea" units constituting a "spoken paragraph") tend to be co-terminus with tone groups, the order of elements in the clauses is readily and objectively identifiable in all

cases. However, tonic syllable placement is not equally determinable in all cases. In other words, although it is possible to identify the boundaries of "idea" units because they coincide with prosodic features like breath in-take (ie tone group), it is not equally easy to determine objectively in every case where in the course of delivering a given clause a speaker makes a pitch movement down, level, or up (ie tonic syllable placement). The fact that within the simple sentence-like clause one can easily identify nouns and verbs meant that that theme and rheme were thereby defined in linear terms rather than in both linear and pragmatic terms which would have required determination of tonic syllable placement.

- b) Overall, once entities are produced initially in the clause, the grammatical properties of such entities imposes constraints on what intentions could be produced subsequently within the same clause. They may account for the reformulation and repair which results in spoken discourse - even where scripted oratory is concerned - being characterized by phenomena such as when a speaker starts to say something employing one syntactic pattern only to abandon such a pattern once it is clear its completion will not allow him/her to say what he/she wanted at the end.
- c) It will appear that sometimes the structure of a clause acts as a memory prompt for the production of certain preferred clause structure completion entities. This phenomenon can be said to work on the principle of lexical allocation whereby the speaker starts the clause with certain words and the syntactic pattern prompts a certain pattern completion entity which, in some cases, could be provided by someone in the audience.

Some examples below will illustrate some of these points. Take, for example, a case where Mr Nyerere had forgotten the noun phrase 'tapeli' (trickster) which he remembered after several failed attempts, all marked by shifts in the syntactic patterns with which he started the relevant clauses. He finally was able to 'remember' the word by producing the name of a popular cartoon character called Mr Chakubanga. In this particular case even this was a slip, because the appropriate cartoon character to match the profile of a trickster was not Mr Chakubanga, but Mr Pwagu and Mr Pwaguzi. Someone in the audience is heard to mumble something, but it is not clear whether he got the correct word from the audience or remembered the word on his own on the prompting of the popular cartoon character names Schema he had evoked in the early part of his clause patterns. Some in the audience may even have interpreted the speaker's hesitation as a deliberate rhetorical device aimed at involving the audience the delivery of the given speech. One may wish to pay particular attention to the numerous examples of repetition in addition to the hesitation phenomena to appreciate the moment by moment speech monitoring. Here is the relevant speech extract:

NSB/87/X1

ni are	vyama societies	vyetu + our	vile they	ni vyama vyetu+ are societies our
ni are	vyama societies	vya of	wakulima peasants	wetu+ our
ni are	vyama societies	vya of	wakulima peasants	wetu+ our
wakulima peasants	wanaangaika .. they get hassled		wanaangaika .. they get hassled	
wako there are	watu people	viongozi leaders	wenu your	mle inside
hawana they haven't got	mashamba farm	hana he has no	shamba farm	
hana he has no	chochite+ nothing			
ndiyo + ni yes are	wale they (PLURAL)	wenge with to	kwa this	huyu nani who
tuki ni we to is	yule him/her	chakubanga Chakubanga	akina they (known as)	
chakubanga Chakubanga	wale they (PLURAL)	wanaitwa they called	ni are	wanaitwa they called
siku days	hizi these	matapeli + trickster		
kuna [there are [	matapeli tricksters AUDIENCE APPLAUSE INTENSIFIED	chungu dish	mzima + full]]	AUDIENCE APPLAUSE + CONTINUED

These are cooperative unions of our own peasant farmer who are so hassled and yet we have these people among leaders of cooperative unions who do not even have farm of any kind. These are the tricksters and co-men in the mould of the popular cartoon character called Chakubanga, aren't they? There are so many tricksters and con-men controlling all these unions, aren't there?

The second aspect of theme and rheme of interest to critical language study of presidential oratorical style is the strategy of delaying introduction of the key part of the message as in this case below:

NSB/87/X2

+na and	kwa sababu because	ni are	vyama societies		vya for	
kununua buying	tu only	vina they	vuta attract		wezi thieves	wengi many
sana very	ndani inside	yake themselves	+ you see +			
ni they (are)	vyama societies	vya for	kununua + buying	ni it(is)	mahali a place	
ambapo where	mwizi a thief	akiingia if he entered	pale there			
(akipewa (if he was given	nafasi) a chance)		anapata he (would) get			
utajiri rich	haraka quickly	haraka + quickly	ndiyo + yes			
kwa hiyo therefore	mnao you have (PLURAL)	wezi thieves	wengi many			
+ watoeni + them get out						

+ AUDIENCE APPLAUSE +

And because these are cooperative unions which only deal in buying farm produce from isolated peasant producers they attract a lot of thieves. A thief knows that once in gets to be a leader of a union of this kind he can get rich very quickly (if circumstances allowed). Therefore you have many thieves in your midst, purge them!

Here, the Chairman of the ruling Party is instructing the Government which is headed by a President and a Cabinet from which he had retired two years earlier (this was 7/7/1987) to fire alleged corrupt elements in the co-operative unions. He orders the Minister responsible who was on the platform with him using the expression 'watoeni' (purge them ie get rid of them). This was an imperative with a rHEME only. While some of the passive and existential constructions at least had some 'dummy subjects' to act as the theme, commands to colleagues were considered so sensitive in terms of threats to face (Brown & Levinson 1980) that it was thought prudent to direct them at no-one in particular.

Much later, he was to repeat this instruction to the government on this issue thus:

NSB/87/X3

+ ndiyo + yes	maana because	ndio they are	wenye owners of	union union
hao + them	wanazijua they know	+ them	mali property	yao + their
hawana they have no	shamba farm	hawana they have no	ushirika society	
wowote + any kind	hafugi hey do not rear		kuku chicken	wala neither
hafugi they do not rear		hafugi they do not rear	njiwa + a dove	
+ AUDIENCE LAUGHTER +		lakini but if s/he	akisikia hears	union union
imerudi it is back	hanafurahi he is so happy		anashangilia he applauds	
kabisa completely	wezi thieves	wakubwa +	AUDIENCE LAUGHTER +	
watoeni them get rid of	+ them	watoeni + get rid of them	vile those	ni are
vyama societies	vya of	wakulima peasants	bwana sir	
si not	vya for	matapeli +	AUDIENCE LAUGHTER +	
		tricksters		

These are the kind of people running cooperative unions. They treat these unions as their personal property. They know these unions well. And yet these are the very people who have no farm of their own nor do they rear any animal. They do not even rear a single dove. But as soon as these type of people heard that the regional cooperatives unions were going to be restored to replace state-owned crop buying corporations (largely due to IMF pressure) these thieves began celebrating! Purge them! Purge them from the unions because these are unions bringing together peasant farmers not con-men!

Considering that this was sometime later in the speech, it can be argued that the issue he wanted picked up by the media - which is why he kept returning to it again and again - was one of sacking all the allegedly corrupt regional co-operative union bosses (some of whom were with him on the speech platform).

Mr Mwinyi uses a similar strategy as the one used by Mr Nyerere the example discussed above. He, too, places the message the entities he wishes to be taken up as

the discourse topics and issues towards the end of the relevant tone group or spoken paragraph. The excerpt below is taken from a speech he gave in July 1987 in Dodoma, the new capital city, on the occasion of the ex-President, Mr Nyerere², being conferred with the Lenin Peace Prize by a delegation from the Communist Party of the then USSR:

MSB/87/X1

+mwalimu .. watanzania walio wengi
 teacher Tanzanians who many

ni waumini wa dini mbali mbali..
 are believers in religions many

zilizopo nchini + dini
 which are here (in) the country religions

hizo.. zinatufunza mengi .. ya
 these they teach us many things of a

kidini na ya kidunia +
 religious and of a worldly kind

Teacher, most Tanzanians believe in one of the many forms of religion which are practised in the country. All of these religions teach us many thing, both religious and secular.

+ katika dini ninayoamini mimi..
 in religion which I believe myself

kuna wosia inasemahivi
 there is a teaching which says this

na ukariri.. yoyote mwenye kushuhudia
 and (I) quote anyone who witnesses

maovu .. yanatendeka .. wajibu wake
 evil which happens duty his/her

nikuyazui yasiendele
 is to stop them them not to continue

kwa mikono yake+
 by arms his/her

In the religion in which I believe, there is a teaching which goes as follows and here I quote: who have witnesses an evil being committed, it is his/her duty to stop that evil from being committed by his/her own arms.

+ kama hawezi kufanya hivyo ..basi hayazuie
 if s/he can not do that then s/he should stop

kwa ulimi wake .. yaani aya..+
 them by tongue his/her that is them..

[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]+ yaani
 that is

ayakemee + kama hawezi
 them he should denounce if s/he cannot

kuyakemea .. basi hayakasirikie
 denounce them then them s/he must angry with

+ AUDIENCE APPLAUSE +

If he/she can not do so then he/she should stop the evil by his/her tongue, that is to say he/she must denounce the evil. And if he/she can not denounce it then at least he /she must show anger against that evil!

Mr Mwinyi seems to have prompted an audience applause by his theme and rhyme patterns. The allowance Kiswahili grammar gives for clauses which can be dominated by verb phrases as in

MSB/87/X1

+Kama hawezi kuyakemea .. basi
 if s/he cannot denounce them then

hayakasirikie+
 s/he must be angry with them

If s/he can not denounce it then s/he must be angry with it

where bound pronominal subject concord markers are all attached to the relevant verb phrases, is hereby exploited to the full. He then repeats this structure in the next extract which he delivered immediately after MSB/87/x1, deploying the same thematization strategies:

MSB/87/X2

+mwalimu maouvu mengi yanatendeka
 teacher evils many it is happening

duniani ... zipo dhuluma uonevu
 worldwide there are injustice victimization

nyanyaso .. uroho .. uchoyo .. ukatiri na
 dehumanization greed selfishness brutality

ubabe + bullying	AUDIENCE APPLAUSE +		maovu evils	haya these
mwalimu teacher	hukupata you never have	kupendelea favoured		
kuyavumilia+ being tolerated	zaidi more	kubwa great part	ya of	maisha life
yako .. your	umeitumia you have used	katika in	kupambana fighting	
na against	maovu evils	haya + hama these either	kwa by	kutumia usin
mikono arms	yako .. your	pale where	ilipowezekana .. it was possible	
hama or	kwa by	ulimi tongue	wako .. your	na pale and where
inapobidi it is possible	kwa by	kuyakasivikia+ being angry with them		

AUDIENCE APPLAUSE +

Teacher, there are many evils being committed in this world including victimisation, dehumanisation, greed, selfishness, brutality and bullying! You have never tolerated these evils. You have used a greater part of your adulthood fighting these evils with force of arms were you could, or by denouncing such evils and showing your anger against such evils were those were the only options open to you!

Here is further example this time from Nyerere of the moment by moment negotiation of recall of matter in oratory which provides evidence of features of spontaneity in a scripted speech:

NSB/87/X4

+wakulima peasants	wale those	wamazao of crops	yetu our	ya
ya of	tunayoyaita wee which call	tunayoyaita which we call		
ya of	siku days	zote all	[SHORT SPEAKER CHUCKLE]	
kahawa coffee	mkonge sisal	pamba cotton	tumbaku tobacco	pareto pyrethrum
korosho cashew nut	na and	nini what	nilichosahau I was which forget	

na and	hicho that	nilichosahau it which I forgot
+ yako they are	saba + seven	

Those of our farmers who grow those crops we call our main crops: coffee, sisal, cotton, tobacco, pyrethrum, cashew nuts, and errmm the other one that I have just forgotten because they are seven of these.

This is also a stretch which provides evidence to support the view that it is important to separate the thematic from the information structure if one wished to use the analysis to construct plausible readings of what might have been going on in the mind of the politician as he spoke, as well as in the minds of those who formed his audience. In this particular case for example, it would appear that the Chairman of the Party and all the top Tanzanian leaders (excepting for the President who was on a foreign trip) with whom he was on the speech platform, forgot the name of one of the seven principal crops on which Tanzania depends for its export earnings. The interesting aspect of this slip of the mind, this forgotten crop, was cloves. This crop happens to be the chief export earner for the Zanzibar part of the United Republic of Tanzania. Since the speech was on the occasion of Peasant Day, which was more a celebration of the anniversary of the foundation of TANU, the Tanzania Mainland party which merged with ASP, the Zanzibar islands party, to form the ruling party CCM, than a fully fledged union occasion, it is easy to understand the slip. It is also interesting to note that a crop whose relative importance is far less than that of cloves, that is cashew nuts, was remembered. This happens to be the principal export crop grown in the Lindi town hinterland, whose citizens would have formed the bulk of the 'live' ratified audience. The spontaneity in speech delivery thus affords those who are interested in so-called guffles, asides, slips of the tongue, hesitation and other signals of speech repair work (Fromkin 1973, Cutler 1982 a&b) as evidence for the reconstructed versions of instances of "private speech" (Zivin 1979, Dale 197, Piaget 1959, Vygotsk 1962) in public institutional spoken monologue.

A critical study of thematization in presidential political oratory helps a discourse analyst to work out more objectively the ideological stances and biases that are encouraged by particular vocabulary selections in the course of speech delivery. Examining slips of the tongue and such like allows an analyst to complement his/her study of the most standardised and often used vocabulary choices with a close scrutiny of vocabulary which is consciously or unconsciously avoided.

However, the most widely used and standardised vocabulary choices in Tanzanian Presidential Kiswahili Political Oratory (TPKPO) are considered to merit equally critical scrutiny in their own right. In the next two chapters we discuss this aspect of TPKPO in detail. Observations are made about a critical set of nouns and verbs in Chapter Six and, in Chapter Seven discussions presented of the ways in which adjectives and adverbs are used to explicitly signal the speaker's interpretative preferences.

NOTES

¹Later on in the same speech, Mr Nyerere praised his colleagues in the National Executive of the Party for having shown 'maturity' (kukomaa) in the deliberations on the dispute presumably because they too tended to use these impersonal nominal expressions.

²Mr Mwinyi refers to Mr Nyerere as Mwalimu ('teacher) which is the honorific title Mr Nyerere is popularly known by.

CHAPTER SIX

MODERNIZATION AMBIGUITIES AND THE NOUNS VERSUS VERBS RATION OF TANZANIAN KISWAHILI POLITICAL VOCABULARY

'.. (political) mobilisation consists in large part in public contests for a successful definition of what is declared as the truth.'

- Birgitta Nedelmann (1987) "Individuals and parties - Changes in processes of political mobilisation." European Sociological Review Vol. 3 No. 3, p.187.

6.1 OVERVIEW

In the last chapter we looked at how the necessity for a degree of spontaneity in both unscripted and scripted political oratory allowed for the discovery of a speaker's political biases by critically examining his/her syntactic message staging manipulations and repairs. In this chapter we shall discuss how variation in vocabulary use could help in reconstructing a speaker's political biases from a critical study of some of his/her speeches. The discussion on variation on vocabulary use will be linked to the self-evident tendency for modern political audiences (even in predominantly orate societies such as Tanzania) to associate the truth with written or scripted texts rather than with unscripted texts. This is notwithstanding the fact that unscripted texts tend to facilitate the possibility of the speaker projecting an image of being warm and sincere. Written texts are usually impersonal by design and thus perceived perhaps as objective and unbiased. Islamic and Christian traditions which rely on the myth of holy writs are influential and may have also contributed to this tendency to have greater trust in written sources. Scripted spoken texts would therefore have both the personal warmth of unscripted discourse as well as the impersonal authority of a written text. In a scripted (or in an unscripted but well rehearsed) speech, the authoritativeness of a spoken message by a president is enhanced by the care he/she takes in using political vocabulary in a manner that links him/her to what Fairclough (1989) has called the **members' resources (MRs)** of his/her given audience. To mobilise a political constituency the President has to be aware of a critical set of political vocabulary which his/her potential audiences will find familiar even if he/she intended to use any of that vocabulary in a novel way.

The set of key **nouns** and **verbs** which one could reconstruct from such a president should be able to give on a clue as to the political mobilisation agendas of a given President's times. Equally, a comparison of the way in which individual Presidents

vary in their use of the various types of vocabulary items in equivalent speech contexts could also yield interesting results in terms of uncovering the ideological underpinnings of the relevant mobilisation strategies. Kiswahili political vocabulary is thus discussed, in this chapter and the next one, with this background in mind.

A number of linguists (Scotton 1965; Temu 1971; Ohly 1975; Martins 1988) have written on the subject of Kiswahili political vocabulary. Others (Alexandre 1968; O'Barr & O'Barr 1976) have touched on the subject in general terms in their works on the relationship between language and politics. The discussion by all these linguists regarding the evolution of Tanzanian Kiswahili political vocabulary invariably centres around some set of **nouns** and **verbs**. A small set of nouns and verbs can provide one with a good indication as to aspects that are dynamic and original of the modernization processes which are taking place in Africa with Tanzania as a particularly salient example (Martins 1988).

One noun "**uhuru**" (independence or freedom) and one verb phrase "**kupigania**" (to fight for) dominated political life in Tanzania from 1954 when TANU, the "**chama**" (party) which brought independence on the Mainland, up to 1961 when this part of Tanzania gained independence. The noun "**maendeleo**" (development) and the verb "**kutafuta**" (to look/seek/strive for) have since 1961 become the most important political vocabulary items. Before independence political mobilisation was about "**kupigania uhuru**" (fighting for independence) through "**umoja**" (unity). After independence political legitimacy derived from mobilising citizens "**kutafuta maendeleo**" (to seek for development) through "**juhudi na maarifa**" (hard work with skill).

In the light of these political mobilizational agendas, it has often been found necessary to view political vocabulary innovations in African languages as reflecting on the peculiarities of the modernization processes in the countries involved. Nouns like "**chama**" (political party) and "**bunge**" (Parliament), and verbs like "**kuchagua**" (to elect) and "**kupinga**" (to oppose) are then analyzed by the above mentioned linguists as example of terms referring to political institutions and practices which had largely superficial resemblances with their West European and North American counterparts.

However there are some linguists who take a contrary stand on this issue such as Blommaert (1990:115-131). He has argued that, inter alia:

"Swahili political vocabulary is a mere translation of English notions and concepts, very often using Arabic as an intermediary borrowing source ... The effort in 'building' a suitable Swahili political vocabulary is all geared towards

equivalence with English and other European languages.... In other words, Swahili politics is completely oriented to Anglophone international politics, and seeks to establish terminology and rhetoric as close as possible to English equivalents" (ibid.:127).

Blommaert (1990:127) claims that "modernization is an ironic metaphor for internationalisation, which is, in turn, a euphemism for Westernization". This is a strong claim which can render itself to presumably unintended interpretation.

Blommaert would not perhaps wish to suggest that everything western is invariably modern. The adoption, for example, by the former ruler of the Central African Republic, Jean Bedel Bokassa, of a traditional European political institution by crowning himself a Bonapartist emperor, could hardly qualify as an example of modernization. It would be a good example of "westernization" which is a specific form of "internationalization" ie the attempt to carry out internal political innovations under the influence of international political and economic power blocks. In Africa such influence is invariably exerted by the USA, the UK, France, Belgium and Portugal which are - with the exception of the USA - former European colonial powers still exercising residual economic and cultural neo-colonial influence on their former colonies on the continent.

Blommaert's (op cit.:) approach to the issue of political modernization in Africa also seems to be difficult to reconcile with the observations that have been made by the anthropologist Fei Hsiao Tung (1981:79) who has also warned against mistaking westernization for modernization. Tung (op.cit.:85) states that:

"Modernization means in the last analysis, the expansion of a country's social productive forces with attendant cultural and economic growth through the application of the advanced science and technology of the world."

The Chinese anthropologist (ibid.:79) observes that those non-western societies which have mistaken westernization for modernization have eventually discovered that the mere importation of western technology did not by itself necessarily lead to the expansion of a country's social productive forces ie increase in the productivity of indigenous labour and efficient use of the country's natural resources for the benefit of that country's peoples.

A reconstruction of the key **nouns** and **verbs** which have characterised Tanzanian Kiswahili political vocabulary also tends to raise issue with Blommaert's (op cit.:127) assertions above to the effect that "the effort in 'building' a suitable Swahili political vocabulary is geared towards equivalence with English and other European

languages.." It is not clear what is meant by equivalence between Kiswahili and English political vocabulary. While bilingual glossaries can be made showing some correspondences between individual words in terms of their denotation, often such correspondences may not reveal very much in terms of what those words connote in the context of the specific political cultures of the speakers of the two languages. The Kiswahili term "**chama**" is a good case in point. Although it corresponds to English terms like "**party**", "**group**", "**association**", and even "**gang**" in its denotation (Alexandre 1968), its connotative meaning range in the context of Tanzania's one-party political system could include English terms like "**constitutional monarchy**", "**patriotic front**", "**national convention**", "**constituent assembly**" or even "**bonapartist emperor**".

The Tanzanian Kiswahili equivalent of the English term "**party**" has thus taken on connotative meaning which may not be readily shared by speakers of English who have not familiarised themselves with the political situation in Tanzania since 1965 (at least up to 1990) or equivalent situations in comparable parts of the world. Political innovations such as these are obscured in assertions such as those made above by Blommaert (op cit.:127) especially when he claims that "Swahili politics is completely oriented to Anglophone international politics.."

The other area which raises doubt in Blommaert's (op cit.:127) description of Kiswahili political vocabulary is what seems to be his conceptualisation of the cultural processes that he refers to as, inter alia, "**the effort in 'building' a suitable Swahili vocabulary**" (loc cit.). Since it can be demonstrated that the said **efforts** in evolving a so-called suitable Kiswahili political vocabulary are subjected to often conflicting social currents, it is at the very least misleading not to allow for ambiguity in ones conceptualisation of the Kiswahili political vocabulary modernization **efforts**. One must sometimes be made to feel ambiguous about what constitutes standard Kiswahili political vocabulary when official standardisation agencies like The National Kiswahili Council (BAKITA) expresses (Mkude 1986:526) reservations about the adoption by official bodies such as the ruling party CCM of lexical borrowings like "**programu**" (programme), "**organizesheni**" (organization) and "**sekretariati**" (secretariat) all of which can be said to have the potential to mystify Tanzanian citizens who do not happen to be bilingual in Kiswahili and in English (Lwaitama 1990b). The standardisation of political vocabulary is a mobilizational or a demobilizational resource in the hands of political actors in conflict with each other. Rubagumya (1991) in interpreting the tendency on the part of the governing elite in Tanzania to code-switch into English or to use opaque English loan words (eg **programu**, **organizesheni**, **sekretariati**) in their political discourse (be it in the **Bunge** (parliament) or in Party documents) as a

device to exclude the vast majority of Tanzanians for whom English is a foreign language in which they have negligible proficiency from meaning participation in the political process. Fairclough (forthcoming) makes a similar point about the ideologically biased nature of language standardisation in relation to the whole issue of language variation and appropriacy.

Only (1978) is reported by Mkude (1986:526) to have characterised vocabulary borrowed in this way by some of Tanzania's intellectual elites as constituting "a very strange form" of Kiswahili which ought to be discouraged. From the stand point of CLS the purpose of a study of the political oratory of ideology-builders (Blommaert *op cit.*) like ex-President Nyerere ought to be the exposure of the contradictions within society rather than take such 'builders' as the sole agents of change. Only in this way can our understanding of the modernization processes and their apparent ambiguities be deepened. Vocabulary items which have been coined by the governing Party in the course of the vigorous debate on multipartism illustrate the conflictual nature of political vocabulary standardisation. Nouns and verbs which have an indigenous Kiswahili or African etymology like **mshikamano** (solidarity), **kung'atuka** (to resign from political office at ones own prompting), **mageuzi** (political reform) have been adopted.

This chapter, therefore, discusses the results of an attempt at reconstructing Kiswahili political vocabulary through a critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1985, 1989) of the speeches of several senior Tanzanian politicians. The reconstruction takes the form of a sample list of a proposed set of vocabulary items which can be said to act as a pointer to the contradictions and ambiguities which many sociologists (Goldthorpe 1975; Hulme & Turner 1990) have attributed to the modernization processes taking place in Third World countries like Tanzania. The reconstructed vocabulary list also seeks to establish areas of similarities and differences between processes of political modernization in Third World countries like Tanzania and those in advanced industrial societies like France, the UK and the USSR.

The presentation of the reconstructed vocabulary list is preceded by a discussion of the results of a quantitative study of the noun versus verb ration in a set of 40 spoken paragraphs produced by ex-President Nyerere and incumbent President Mwinyi of Tanzania. This sets the stage for a discussion of the proposed list which consists of a set of nouns and verbs which are offered as vocabulary which would define Tanzanian politics.

6.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: THE VERBS VERSUS NOUNS RATIO

A number of linguists (Kress & Hodge 1979; Fowler et al 1979; Halliday 1985a:11) have commented on tendency for institutionalised knowledge to be presented as 'natural' products stripped of the human agency of 'institutions', offices, agencies, classes, academics, corporations, groups, guilds, ideologically defined parties, and professions' (Shapiro 1984:225). Instead of 'workers who had refused to work' a term like 'the strike' could be used to obscure the fact that when one talks of 'a strike' one is talking of human beings who are engaging in an activity. The verb for this activity is 'to strike' which is itself a more abstract synonymy for "to refuse to work" or "to stop to work in protest".

The theoretical interest in the verbs versus nouns ratio in any particular text is thus occasioned by the assumption that a greater use of nouns and other instances of nominalization should be a good guide in establishing the 'naturalisation' or 'reification' (Thompson 1984:137) of the social relations reflected in texts.

The discussion on the intra- and inter-speaker variation in the use of nouns and verbs is meant to give a quantitative background to the qualitative discussion that will follow regarding the nature of Tanzanian Kiswahili political vocabulary.

6.2.1 WORDS AND INFORMATION PACKAGING

If, as is generally accepted (Witte 1983:323), the 'number of words per t-unit and the number of words per clause' could be used as indices of syntactic complexity, then it should be possible to use the average number of nouns and verbs per spoken paragraph as a rough guide in determining the extent to which information which could have been presented by the use of many independent clauses, tended to be reduced to "less-than-clause status and then embedded in other independent clauses" (Witte 1983:327) depending on audience design and the mode of delivery.

In the case of Kiswahili, the extent to which verbs are used tends to be proportionate with the extent to which bound pronouns are used. These bound pronouns are in effect noun class concord prefixes acting as verbal subjects and objects (Welmers 1973:180) as in:

MSA/P16

'ni-mevutiwa'
(I have been impressed)

NSA/P4

'ya - **liyotolewa'**
(them which weregiven)

Bound pronouns are also used as concord prefixes attached to adjectival and adverbial elements as in, for example:

NUA/P10

'muda **m** **fupi'**
(period it short)

(= *a short period*)

In certain speech contexts it is thus possible for paragraphs to be composed of clauses which use a far smaller proportion of nouns versus verbs than would otherwise be possible if this agglutinative syntactic facility was not available. In spoken discourse contexts eg political oratory, the speech referents (for which nouns would normally be used) are assumed to be recoverable from the discourse context and the bound pronouns are presumed to be sufficient as a cue to the required recoverability.

No wonder then that even the proportion of unbound pronouns such as:

MUA/P5

'zenu'
(yours)

AND MUA/P9

'wetu'
(ours)

tends to be significantly greater in unscripted paragraphs than in scripted ones. Although Mr Nyerere's use of unbound pronouns seems to slightly contradict this, the margin of difference between Mr Nyerere's 5.53% for the unscripted to 6.95% for the

scripted can be considered idiosyncratic compared to Mr Mwinyi's 12.42% for the unscripted to 9.68% for the scripted. Since Mr Mwinyi is a native speaker of Kiswahili while Mr Nyerere is not, it is reasonable to take Mr Mwinyi's style as the more authentically representative.

6.2.2 NOUNS IN SCRIPTED AND UNSCRIPTED ORATORY

Overall, both the unscripted and the scripted paragraphs deploy a greater percentage of nouns than verbs. These nouns divide up into those that form titles of addresses such as:

MUA/P1

'ndugu viongozi ...wa Chama na
(comrades leaders of Party and

serikali'
Government)

comrades leaders of the Party and the Government

where 'viongozi' (leaders) can be taken to be the noun head of a complex nominal group consisting of a premodifying noun, 'ndugu' (comrades) and a postmodifying prepositional phrase 'wa Chama na Serikali' (of Party and Government), which itself consists of two simple nominal groups (each realised by the nouns 'Chama' and 'Serikali') which are linked by the co-ordinating conjunction 'na' (and).

Secondly, other nouns combine to form compound and complex nominal groups which are used most often, especially in the scripted paragraphs of both Mr Mwinyi and Mr Nyerere, as clause-level groups that are either linked by the co-ordination conjunction 'na' (and), or by a marked absence of such discourse markers. Further analysis could reveal similarities in this regard with the characteristics which Maw (1974:15-16) suggested would define Kiswahili persuasive discourse, both written and spoken. These she listed down as:

- clauses mainly linked
- very little dependence
- wide range of main clause class
- subordinate clauses mainly conditioning
- two or three elements of clause structure favoured

- 'nominal' rather than verbal"

By and large, where a paragraph uses many nouns as a proportion of the number of full words it uses, this is usually due to the 'repetition of certain nominal elements such as 'kilimo' (agriculture) and 'wakati' (period) in MUA/P4 and 'mapinduzi' (revolution) in NUA/P11; or due to the naming of various speech referents as in NUA/P11 and in MSA/P7. In NSA/P11 the quotation of a report by another person and use of interpolation to constantly modify and expand on what the speaker is quoting seems to lead to the use of more nouns than would, perhaps, have been the case. The use of parenthetical expressions or interpolation seems also to contribute to the greater use of verbs as a percentage of the average number of full words in a paragraph as in NSA/P5. The majority of the other verbs are part of verbal groups acting as auxiliary forms to main verbal groups such as 'ilikuwa' (it was) in NUA/P11.

The expectation that unscripted oratory will be less planned (Keenan 1977) and therefore less 'organised and institutionalised' (Halliday 1985a) is fulfilled by the study. It also fulfils the expectation that scripted oratory will tend to deploy more nouns than verbs. Confirmation is thus provided to the plausibility of the hypothesis that persuasive discourse information in the scripted mode of Kiswahili political oratory "submits to the tyranny of the noun" just as all institutional discourse in English does (Halliday 1985a:11). Confirmation is also provided to the hypothesis that the political experience thus expressed tends to be interpreted in terms of "products (rather than) processes of being, becoming, moving and changing..." (Halliday 1985a:11). (Also see Kress & Hodge 1979).

6.3 KEY NOUNS AND VERBS IN TANZANIAN KISWAHILI POLITICAL VOCABULARY

6.3.1 POLITICAL CONSTITUENCIES: INSTITUTIONS AND ACTIVITIES

It is proposed that a list of nouns and verbs could be used to account for most of the political activities that have taken place in Tanzania since independence in 1961. That list is offered in Table 6. The list consists of vocabulary items which were isolated from all the speeches from which Data Corpus Group A and B were extracted. The items were further confirmed as the most important in defining the institutions and activities that politicians in Tanzania have to deal with in interviews with specialist informants who included the ex-President Julius Nyerere, ex-Prime Minister Ahmed Salim and University of Dar es Salaam scholars like Professor G Ishumii (a specialist in

the sociology of education in Tanzania), Professor G Mmari (especially in comparative educational systems) and Professor Ernest Wambadia Wamba (a specialist on African history and philosophy).

TABLE 6
List of a sample of nouns and verbs characterising Tanzania
Kiswahili Political vocabulary

Political Power (nguvu ya kisiasa)				
Institutions (vyombo)			activities (shughuli)	
fora pakusemea/ viko	offices ofisi/cheo	documents kumbukumbu	by leader za kiongozi	by led za wafuasi
chama party/association jumuiya mass organisation association kamati kuu central committee	mwenyekiti chairperson rais president katibu mkuu secretary- general/permanent secretary mjumbe delegate hakimu magistrate	katiba constitution azimio declaration/ resolution mwongozo guideline ilani manifesto agizo directive	kutembelia to visit kushukura to thank kuhimiza to exhort kueleza to explain kuamua to decide	kusikiliza to listen kuandamana to demonstrate kugoma to boycott/strike kuhudhuria to attend/participate kutembea to participate in solidarity/charity walk kuhoji to question kuitikia wito to respond to exortations kapiga kura to vote
halmashauri kuu national executive committee bunge parliament/ national ssembly mahakama court mkutano mkuu congress/national conference kongamano symposium	waziri minister katibu secretary mkuu wa mkoa regional commissioner mkuu wa wilaya district commissioner mbunge member of parliament mjumbe wa nyumba kumi ten-cell leader	sheria statute mswada parliamentary bill amri order rekebisho amendment hati certificate permit kumbukumbu za mikutano minutes ripoti reports liseni reports	kusaidia to help/assist kushiriki to participate kutoa nasaha to give advice kukanusha to deny kutoa kauli to state position kutetea to defend kuunga mkono to support	kupiga makofi to clap

Source: A sample of nouns and verbs isolated from speeches on which data corpus A and B were extracted and confirmed as the most important political vocabulary items in interviews with specialist informants especially J K Nyerere and Professor of Educational Sociology G Ishumi and Professor of History E Wamba dia Wamba.

The list consists of NOUNS referring to institutions and VERBS referring to activities. Institutions are divided up into fora, offices and documents. Activities are divided into activities by leaders and activities by the led. The activities by leaders can also be known as leadership tasks or duties, while those of the led can be known as citizen's duties.

This list excludes words which refer to attributes, be they of institutions or of activities. These are considered not to be as stable in the description of political vocabulary as the institutions and activities which they qualify or modify. The role of such words in political discourse is not however insignificant. This is why they are treated separately in the next chapter on markers of evidentiality and affect.

In offering this list I am proposing that the work of a President in a country like Tanzania can be viewed as consisting of exercising power in two ways. In the first way, the President of a country like Tanzania (and any other senior political leader who has prestige similar or very near that of the President)¹ exercises his authority through the power to appoint or influence the appointment of personnel to fill key state offices or through his/her use of political fora to define national goals and interests.

In the second way, the President may also exercise his/her authority through authorship of national documents that are treated like sacred reference texts by both fellow politicians and the majority of that country's citizens. The president may of course, in addition, exercise his/her authority by successfully occasioning the re-definition of categories in such documents. The extent to which a leader has the ability to shift public opinion in his/her favour depends on that leader's ability to occasion the adoption of his ideas and world view by his/her fellow leaders and those they lead. In the following sections of this chapter let us examine how a president uses speeches to explain define or re-define categories of relevance to the country's political life. We will begin with how political institutions are legitimised by being referred to positively.

6.3.1.1 POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS: NOUNS OF OFFICES, FORA AND DOCUMENTS

In the presidential oratory analysed, a pattern emerges whereby salutations consist of references to offices such as 'Ndugu Mwenyekiti' (Comrade chairperson) followed by references to fora such as 'Kamati kuu' (Central Committee). A number of examples are offered below:

EXAMPLE 1: NUA/P1

* +ndugu wananchi ... (LONG SPEAKER SILENCE) ..
comrades citizens

Comrade citizens

Here Mr Nyerere was addressing a mass rally in Zanzibar on the occasion of the islands' celebration of an important national day. 'Citizenry' is analysed to be an office in the political sub-system known as civil society. In the example below it is the offices of fellow senior national political leaders which are referred:

EXAMPLE 2: NSA/P1

+ndugu mwenyekiti hii .. na .. ndugu wajumbe ..
comrade chairman this .. and comrades members
wa kamati hii .. ya Chama+
of Committee this of the Party

Comrade Chairman and comrade delegates of the Central Committee of the Party

Here Mr Nyerere was addressing an assembly of senior political leaders. Even though the speech was being broadcast live over the national radio, the general public had been pre-warned to listen to it knowing they only formed part of an audience of ratified over-hearers. In a speech in which the general public are considered part of a ratified hearers as in the example below, the office of citizenry is explicitly saluted:

EXAMPLE 3: MUA/P1

*+ndugu viongozi wezangu .. wa chama na serikali ...
comrades leaders colleagues of Party and Government
of mine
na ndugu zangu wa Kibamba+
and comrades mine of Kibamba

Comrade fellow leaders of the Party and the fellow comrade citizens of Kibamba

This speech was delivered to a village audience by Mr Mwinyi and the vagueness of the offices referred to was probably a politeness strategy. The President may have wished to avoid protocol ambiguities relating to the fact that he would have been visiting that village in the company of district and regional leaders. For him to have referred to specific office titles he would have had to produce a long list of titles from the regional to the village level. The President's face management strategies are also

demonstrated by his use of the term 'ndugu' (comrade) to accompany the less 'involved' (though perhaps still 'warm') formal office title of 'wananchi' (citizenry). In contrast to the vagueness showed above in the references to offices above, Mr Mwinyi is very precise when referring to similar offices below:

EXAMPLE 4: MSA/P1

* +ndugu comrade	mwenyekiti .. wa chairman of	Chama Party	cha of	Mapinduzi ... Revolution
ndugu comrade	wajumbe .. wa delegates of	Halmashauri Kuu Executive	Kuu Supreme	ya of
Chama ...+ Party				

Comrade Chairman of Chama cha Mapinduzi and Comrade members of the National Executive of the Party.

This was a speech that President Mwinyi gave to an assembly of senior politicians. Although the speech was being broadcast live on the radio, the President was clearly seeking to impress members of his Party's National Executive Committee and its then Chairman, Mr Nyerere. The Chairman and members of the National Executive Committee had been instrumental in his becoming President the previous year. It is of course also true that Mr Mwinyi would also have been seeking to influence public opinion in general by arranging to have his report broadcast live. Hitherto reports like these would have been presented to the NEC of the Party in camera.

We can therefore say that the nouns of Tanzanian Presidential Political Oratory (TPKPO) typically consisted of references to political offices such as **wananchi** (citizens), **mwenyekiti** (chairperson), and **wajumbe** (delegates/members). The nouns that characterised the vocabulary of TPKPO also included words that referred to fora such as **chama** (party), **kamati** (committee), and **halmashauri kuu** (executive committee). Finally, these sets of nouns which defined the political biases contemporary TPKPO included words (which we shall discuss in detail later on in Section 6.3.1.3 of this Chapter) such as **ripoti** (report), **azimio** (resolution), **katiba** (constitution), and **ilani** (manifesto), all of which refer to political documents. These documents, when appeal is made to them as a source of secular objective truth or collective wisdom, are the ones which help a presidential orator to invoke some features of images of spoken discourse even when delivering unscripted oratory. For this reason we will shortly be taking a closer look at these types of nouns. In the meantime, however, let us turn our attention briefly to the kind of verbs which normally accompany the nouns we have discussed.

6.3.1.2 POLITICAL ACTIVITIES; VERBS OF PURPOSES AND DUTIES

These references to offices, fora and documents are invariably accompanied by verbs which, among other things, make references to the purposes for which the speech is given or the duties the President is performing in delivering the given speech. References to political purposes and duties may or may not be explicit. By and large, the speakers purpose in giving the speech provides a clue as to how he/she perceives his/her duty in giving the speech whichever capacity he/she happens to give the speech. Presidential orators usually state whether they spoke both in their Party and Government roles or simply in one of the two roles. Where the President for example happens also to be the Party Chairman he/she will often make reference to this factor. (The metaphorical expression often used to describe this phenomenon of the assumption of the office of the President and that of the Party Chairman by the same individual is 'Kuvao Kofia Mbili' (Wearing Two Hats)). The examples below illustrate this:

EXAMPLE 5: NUA/P2

+kwanza wote firstly all	ningetemia .. I would wish to use	..	nafasi hii occasions	kuwatakieni this to wish you
.. baraka blessings	za of	mwaka year	mpya ... New	maanandiyo tuna because its the we are
uanza ... starting	rasmi formally	mwaka Year	mpya+ New	

First, I would like to use this occasion to formally wish you a happy new year.

This is a typical example of an overtly expressed phatic function of a speaker's turn at speaking. The President is expected to wish his country's citizens a good new year as of ritual as long as the given speech coincides with his first official major speech-making engagement. Hence, the verb group **kutakia heri** (to wish (someone) happiness) which is fairly predictable at the beginning of a speech delivered in these circumstances. Such ritualistic predictability can not be said of a verb like **kueleza** (to explain) in Example 6 below:

EXAMPLE 6: NSA/P9

+na .. (SHORT SPEAKER SILENCE)	ningependa	sasa	ni
and	I would	like	now
.. nia	yangu ..	nikueleza ...	hilo vurugu ..
purpose	my	is to explain	that commotion
mitajitaidi ..	kueleza ..	kwa wazi	kabisa
I will try	to explain	with openness	full
kwa ukweli	kabisa ..	ili .. (kama ikiwezekana)	
with truth	full	so if it is possible	
.. zieleweke ..	na vurugu ((uu.))	hii iishe+	
they be understood	and the commotion	this it end	

What I would like to do now is to explain the crisis in detail and as truthfully as possible in order that the crisis may be resolved.

In this example, the Party Chairman Nyerere stated explicitly that the criterion for judging his speech a success was to the extent to which the way he **explained** what political crisis was about will result in the crisis being ended. This is a typical example of the ideational function of presidential oratory, ie the idea that a President's speech is expected to solve a political crisis by the very act of **explaining** what the crisis is about. Usually this function of political oratory is metaphorically equated with that of a priest's sermon, a psychiatrist's psycho-therapeutic conversational sessions with his/her clients, or a military commander's pep talk to his/her troops before a major battle. (See summary of how ex-President Nyerere, Ex-Prime Minister Salim, Prime Minister Malecela, and ex-Cabinet Minister and senior CCM Party leader Qorro characterised this ideational function in Table 7). Typically, the President makes claims as to the truthfulness of his/her explanations which claims are marked by the use of adverbs and adjectives. This is an aspect of TPKPO which will be looked into at some length in the next Chapter. Of importance to us here is that the politician uses the verb **kueleza** (to explain) to explicitly state what he/she wishes to be taken as his/her purpose in making the given speech. Where there is an acknowledged political crisis, political oratory often plays this role of a political fire extinguisher. But this is not the only ideational function of TPKPO which is recoverable from the analysis of its verb group elements. The use of the verb group **kujionea** (to see for (oneself)) in Example 7 below helps us to identify one of the duties which a President often sets himself/herself in undertaking numerous visits to places where those that he/she wishes to mobilise live or work:



The author and ex-President Nyerere of Tanzania after an interview in London on the 8th of August 1990.

Table 7**Metaphors for the tasks of a presidential orator**

	Psychiatric Therapist (ie helping patients recover from psychological traumas)	Parish Priest (ie helping religious believers regain moral confidence)	Biblical Moses (ie haranguing Israelites)
Nyerere			✓
Salim		✓	
Malecela		✓	
Qorro	✓		

Source Isolated from interviews with ex-President Nyerere (London , August 1990), ex-Prime Minister Salim (Addis Ababa, December 1989), ex-UK High Commissioner and incumbent Prime Minister Malecela (London, August 1990) and ex-Cabinet Minister and Senior Party Leader Qorro (Dar es Salaam, January 1991).

EXAMPLE 7: MUA/P2

+na	mie	pia	ninafuraha	kubwa ..	leo	kuweza	
and	me	too	I am happy	great	today	to be able	
kufika		katika	kijiji	chena ..	ili	kujionea	mwenyewe
to come		in	village	your	so as to	see for	myself
juhudi		zenu ..	za	kujiletea		maendeleo+	
efforts		your	of	bringing yourself		development	

It gives me great pleasure to have been able to come and visit your village and thus be in a position to see for myself the efforts you have made to bring about your development.

Here, President Mwinyi was not letting his audience know what his purpose in speaking was, but rather he wanted to let them know what he considered his presidential duties to be in being with them over and above any speeches he may make. This is a duty which the President finds necessary to explicitly state perhaps because otherwise it might be thought those visited had been singled out as representing a crisis situation which needed to be cleared by him personally (which is sometimes the case).

A final and slightly different example of the way verbs are used to encode information on what the President wishes to encourage listeners to take as his/her purposes or duties is the use of which the verb *kutoa* in "*kutoa shukrani*" (to express gratitude) and "*kutoa taari*" (to give a report) is put in Example 8 below:

EXAMPLE 8: MSA/P2

+kwanza	kabisa ..	napenda	kutoa shukrani	zangu		
first	foremost	I want	to give appreciation	my		
.. za	dhati	kabisa ..	kwako	wewe ..	(ndugu	
which	genuine	very	to	you	comrade	
mwenyekiti) ..	na	kwa	wajume	woote ..	wa	
chairman	and	to	delegates	all	of	
Halmashauri Kuu	Supreme	ya	Taifa ..	kwa	kunipa	
Executive		of	Nation	for	giving me	
nafasi	hii ..	kutoa	taarifa ..	ya	shughuli	
opportunity	this	to give	report	of	activities	
za	selikari ..	katika	kipindi ..	cha	mwaka	mmoja
of	government	during	period	of	year	one

uliopita	..	pamoja	na	matarajio	..	na
which has passed		together	with	expectations		and
kazi	zinazotukabili	..	siku	za	usoni+	
work	which us face		days	of	future	

First and foremost I want to express my sincere appreciation to the Comrade Chairman and Comrade members of the National Executive Committee for giving me this opportunity to present this report to you concerning the government's performance in its first year in office as well as its plans for the future.

On the one hand, in using the verb **kutoa** meaning "to give a report", the President wished to encode interpretative information that here he was stating what his purpose in speaking was going to be ie an ideational function of his speech as illustrated in Example 6 above. On the other hand, in using the verb **kutoa** meaning "to express gratitude", the President is giving the critical hearer some clue as to the interpersonal function between him and his 'live' audience which is that of asymmetry in political power relations with President Mwinyi then occupying an institutional subordinate role vis à vis the Chairman and members of the NEC and CCM.

The issue of asymmetry in power relations within a governing party is sometimes intermediated by appeal to supposedly neutral sources of collective wisdom such as certain political documents are sometimes taken to be by given presidential orators. To the issue of key nouns which refer to reified political texts we now turn, as promised in the last paragraph of Section 6.3.1.1.

6.3.1.3 NOUNS OF POLITICAL DOCUMENTS

Whenever a presidential orator deems it necessary to project authority, references are invariably made to political documents that have assumed the status of sacred texts. In some cases, authentic religious sacred texts have been used in TPKPO to serve a similar function.

Secular texts used in this way in the context of Tanzanian politics include:

- a) Katiba ya Chama (1954, 1958, 1962, 1965, 1977, 1982) (the constitution of the ruling party).
- b) Katiba ya nchi/jamhuri (1962, 1864, 1965, 1977) (the constitution of the country/republic).
- c) Azimio la Arusha (1967) (the Arusha Declaration).

- d) Mwongozo (1971, 1982) (the ruling party's guidelines of 1971 and 1981).
- e) Programme ya Chama (1982, 1987) (the ruling party's 15 year programme).
- f) Ilani ya Uchaguzi (1985, 1990) (the ruling party's General Election Manifesto).

There have been several changes to the party Constitution quite apart from the change which was occasioned by the merge of the Zanzibar's ruling party, ASP (Afro-Shirazi Party) and Tanzania Mainland's TANU (Tanganyika African National Union) to form CCM (Chama Cha Mapinduzi, the Revolutionary Party). The preambles of both the CCM and its mainland predecessor TANU made references to such ideologically explicit issues such as belief in the equality of all human beings irrespective of race, sex or religious belief. This part of the 'Katiba ya Chama' (party constitution) is popularly referred to as the 'imani ya chama' (the party creed).

The TANU party creed was referred to as the authority for the adoption of the policy of 'ujamaa na kujitegemea' (socialism and self-reliance) proclaimed in the 'Azimio la Arusha' (Arusha Declaration) of 1967 (Coulson 1982:176). The TANU party's 'Mwongozo' (Guidelines) of 1971 in turn appeal to the authority of the 'Azimio la Arusha'. The Mwongozo laid down guidelines for the implementation of what was referred to as the country's (and Africa's) mapinduzi (revolution) (TANU 1971) (See also Hayden 1980:159). The CCM party's 'Programu' (the 15 year Party Programme) adopted by the Party Congress at its Kizota meeting in 1987 is preambled by references to the Arusha Declaration of 1967, the Party Guidelines of 1971 and 1981 and to the CCM Party constitution as amended and adopted at its second congress in 1982 (CCM 1988). The ruling party's General Election Manifesto (Ilani ya Uchaguzi) issued in October 1990 declared as its goal the implementation of the relevant five year part (1990-1995) of the Party's 15 year Programme (1987-2002).

It is significant that all political leaders in Tanzania with the exception of its ruling party's chairpersons (and to some extent its vice-chairpersons) usually begin their salutations by uttering the slogans:

- 1) Kidumu Chama Cha Mapinduzi (long live the Chama Cha Mapinduzi).
- 2) Idumu Siasa ya Ujamaa na Kujitegemea (long live the policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance).
- 3) Zidumu Fikra za Mwenyekiti wa CCM (long live the thoughts of the chairperson of CCM).

The first slogan can be taken to be appealing to the authority of sacred forum, chama (the party). The second slogan could be said to be alluding to the sacred document which proclaims the ideological orientation of the country for all time, ie the Party Constitution, the State Constitution and, above all, the Arusha Declaration. The Arusha Declaration has come to occupy the position of a holy writ in the estimation of some leaders like the former Chairman of the ruling party (CCM), the ex-president Nyerere. He is reported (Daily News 19 July 1990 p.1) to have declared on the eve of his retirement from the Chairmanship of CCM when addressing party elders and other functionaries that:

EXAMPLE 9

Take care of the Arusha Declaration otherwise there will come some people who will cheat you saying it is useless. The Arusha Declaration has strong foundations and will last forever and will bring development in Tanzania (loc. cit.).

6.4.1 LEGISLATURE VERSUS EXECUTIVE DOCUMENTS

However this appeal to documents sometimes tends to make no distinction between the legislative and executive offices and fora. Party meetings and seminars are executive while only parliamentary and judicial offices and fora are legislative. A most recent example of this kind of appeal is provided in the speeches that the incumbent Minister of Home Affairs, Mr Augustine Mrema, made in 1990 - 1991. In the campaign that the Minister initiated against "corruption, price hiking, banditry and theft" (Daily News 10 January 1991 p.1), Mr Mrema is reported to have said:

EXAMPLE 10

I am ready to die for my people because it is prestigious for one to die for the toiling masses... If I cannot fulfil what I have pledged to the President and the wananchi as spelt out in the Election Manifesto, then I had better resign (loc. cit.).

Mr Mrema is quickly establishing himself as the champion of the poor in Tanzania in the post-Nyerere era (Africa Events, February 1991 p.34-35) and it is significant that he found it necessary to appeal for his authority not only to the support of the President (to whom he owes his post since it is a Presidential appointment) but also to

the ruling party's sacred documents like the 'Ilani ya Uchaguzi (Election Manifesto). What is noteworthy, especially in this regard, is that Mr Mrema was subsequently challenged (*loc. cit.*) about his statutory authority in demanding that every citizen (with the exception of six senior politicians whom he named) being required to participate in the activities of neighbourhood self-defence groups called Sungusungu², Mr Mrema seemed to suggest that Party documents like the Mwongozo and the Ilani ya Uchaguzi did indeed give one such statutory authority.

In an interview which was broadcast by the Radio Tanzania programme called **Ana Kwa Ana** (Face to Face) in late January 1991, the controversial Minister did not seem to distinguish between the illocutionary force of a statement in a Party document and a similar statement in a state legal instrument like a parliamentary statute. His confusion as to the legal distinction between oral or written injunctions by party leaders on the one hand, and on the other hand, injunctions by legislative fora must have been shared by many Tanzanian citizens of the less elitist kind among whom he was popular.

In an extended extract from the said interview which is reproduced below, the Minister does show similar confusion in his view of who can give punishment to an alleged offender. He seems to suggest that punishment could be given to an alleged offender by a forum or office other than that specified by the country's judicial system. The powers conferred on any forum or office by the judicial system are based on the authority of legislative documents rather than on the authority of political party documents, whatever the latter's perceived sacredness. Here is the transcript of the extract of the said interview:

EXAMPLE 11

- a) **+kwa hiyo ndugu mtangazaji utaona kwamba ili swali la ulinzi limefafanuliwa vizuri sana katika vitabu vyetu (vya chama)+**

therefore comrade announcer you will see that this issue of civil policing has been explained very well in the books of our party

- b) **+kwa hiyo tangu tumeanzisha ulinzi wa jadi tumetoa maagizo kwamba watu kama hao wanaojaribu kutuyumbisha wanaojaribu kudhoofisha hizi jitihada za ulinzi hao watu wanaojaribu kuvuruga jitihada za watanzania za kujitegemea kwa ulinzi ni lazima wakamatwe na ni lazima tuwafikishe mahakamani kwa**

sababu si kweli kwamba hakuna sheria inayotutaka sisi watanzania tuwe tunatimiza wajibu wetu+

therefore since we started the traditional civil policing we have issued guidelines to the effect that those people who are trying to divert us who are trying to stifle these efforts at policing these people who are trying to disrupt the efforts of Tanzanians in self-reliant policing have to be arrested and have to be brought before the courts because it is not true that there is no law which requires us Tanzanians to always fulfil our duties

- c) +ninajua kanuni ya adhabu kwa mfano namba mia moja ishirini na nne inayosema juu ya failure to comply with lawful order maana yake ni kukataa kutii amri halali .. amri halali ya viongozi wa chama na serikali+

I know the law relating to punishment for instance number one hundred and twenty four which talks about failure to comply with lawful order this refers to refusing to carry out a lawful order a lawful order given by leaders of our party and government

- d) +kwa hiyo ulinzi wa jadi ni amri halali (ninavyoona mimi)...imefafanuliwa kwenye mwongozo wa chama ..tumefafanua (ulinzi wa jadi) kwenye ilani ya uchaguzi ... kwa hiyo haiwezekani akatokea mtu.. akajidai kwamba hiyo kazi tunayofanya ni kazi ya kyenyeji hisiyo eleweka ... ni kazi ambayo chama na serikali vinitambua+

therefore traditional self-help policing is a lawful order the way I see it has been explained in the Party Guidelines we have explained the traditional self-help policing in the Election Manifesto therefore it is impossible for there to be a person who claimed that that work which we are doing is underhand and unclear this is work which the party and the government recognised

6.4.2 WRITTEN DISCOURSE AND MYTH

Nevertheless, two further observations can be made regarding this extract. First, it is interesting to note that the Minister uses the noun 'vitabu' (books) as a super-ordinate term for the relevant party documents he refers to later on in the text. This may suggest that written discourse (in this case written party documents) is perceived to confer a measure of sacredness to statements by political leaders. Havelock (1982:167) discussing the cultural consequences of alphabetisation in ancient Greece has this to say about the role of documentation which served as an "encyclopedia of (social) conduct":

All societies support and strengthen their identity by conserving their mores. A social consciousness, formed as a consensus, is as it were continually placed in storage for re-use. Literate societies do this by documentation; pre-literate ones achieve the same result by the composition of the poetic narratives which serve as encyclopedias of conduct (loc cit.).

This may explain why where even the most influential senior politician such as ex-President Nyerere wishes to give uncontestable authority to his explanations of political events, he invariably appeals to the written text. The following extract is a good example:

EXAMPLE 12A: NUA/P5

+kwanza ..	nivizuri ..	(wote) ..	mliopata
Firstly	it is good	all	you were able to get (who heard)
nafasi ..	kusikiliza	moja kwa	moja .. hotuba
opportunity	to hear	one to	one .. speech
.. iliyakwisha	hivi ..	ya raisi	wa Zanzibar
which has ended	just	of the President	of Zanzibar
.. mkayazingatia	sana ..	yate ..	aliyoyasema+
you take note	strong	those	he which was said

+[(AUDIENCE APPLAUSE)]+

Firstly it is a good thing that all of you who have had the opportunity to listen live to the speech which the President of Zanzibar has just delivered should strongly take note of what he said

EXAMPLE 12B: NUA/P6

+na wale ..	ambao ..	hamkuisikia	moja kwa
and those	who	not you did	hear 'live'
moja ..	kwa sababu	imeandikwa ..	nina hakika
	because	it is written	I am sure
itachapishwa ..	mnweze ..	kuipata ..	na
it will be published	you may	it to get	and
kuisoma ..	na	kuyatafakari yale	yaliyosemwa
it to read	and	to think about those	that which was said
.. katika	hotuba	hiyo ...	yatatusaidia .. (wote)+
in	speech	that	it will help us all

and those who did not hear it live because it is written I am sure it will be published and you should be able to read and think about the things he said in that speech because it will help us all.

Another example is provided in an extract which also serves to illustrate the way in which quotation of written documents (in this case, minutes of a meeting) helps the speaker to assume the role of an 'animator' (Goffman 1981) as opposed to that of 'author' or 'sole principal' of the speech delivered:

EXAMPLE 13: NSA/P10

+nitaeleza .. eh ..	(na ni vizuri zaidi nikaeleza
I will explain	and its good more I explained
kama .. alivyoo .. kama .. kwa kweli .. katibu	
as .. he was able as .. in truth .. Secretary	
Mkuu .. eh .. baada ya mazumgumzo ya kameti	
General after of the discussions of Committee	
kuu .. katibu Mkuu wa Chama .. alivyo .. eh ..	
Central Secretary General of Party he was able	
itamka .. furugu hii katika kikao cha Halmashauri	
it mention commotion this in the meeting of Executive	
ya Taifa) .. alisema hivi .. (SPEAKER SILENCE)+	
of National he said this	

I will explain and it is better if I explain the matter as it was explained by the Secretary General after the deliberations of the Central Committee this is how the Secretary General put it this is how he described the political commotion to the meeting of the National Executive Committee and this is what he said

6.4.3 RELIGIOUS DOCUMENTS

In some cases, references are made to religious sacred documents as in the following example:

EXAMPLE 14: NSB/8/90

+na hiyo kazi kaifanya vizuri + lakini nimewahi
 kumpa ushauri mbao mkwewe musa alimpa musa +
 musa + musa + alikuwa anawaongoza wayaudi jangwani
 kutoka misri kwenda nchi hiyo waliyoahaidiwa+
 Katiku safari yake huko + musa ..kabila haja..
 haja tunwa kwenda kuwatoa wayatundi misri
 (mtakumbuka wale mnaujma msaafu hale)

kwamba alikimbia misri +

and that job he had done it well but I have had occasion to give him advice which the father-in-law of Moses gave Moses Moses Moses he was he was leading Jews in the desert from Egypt going to that land which they had been promised in that journey of his yonder Moses before he had he had been sent to go to deliver Jews from Egypt you will remember those who know the scripture concerned that he had run away from Egypt

This extract is taken from a speech Mr Nyerere gave to a special Congress of the Tanzania ruling party CCM of which he was then Chairman. He was disclosing to thousands of delegates of this Supreme policy organ of CCM what he claimed to have previously advised their President, Mr Mwinyi to do regarding the need to delegate authority. It was an extremely face-threatening act for him to have said what he said. He was asking the President of his country to cease allowing people to see him direct on any grievance without passing through lower levels of authority in the land as he himself had done when he was President. And yet, Mr Mwinyi's practice had earned him popularity among the less privileged members of society. What is remarkable is that Mwinyi (later on in the course of this particular Congress) mentioned approvingly the allusions to the advice which Moses' father-in-law is said to have given to Moses.

Furthermore, the term used by Mr Nyerere was 'msaafu' (scriptures). Without collocating it with the Bible or the Qoran it is not clear which of the two religious documents Mr Nyerere is supposed to have advised Mr Mwinyi to read given the fact that Mr Mwinyi is a Muslim while Mr Nyerere is a Christian.

Be that as it may, no religious ill-will seems to have been caused by this reference to the authority of this particular religious document. It is possible that what mattered to the audience was that this was a written source. The degree to which a document acts as a successful instrument of authority seems to depend on:

- a) whether it is a written religious text which all the participants in the speech event acknowledge as such.
- b) whether it is a legislative injunction eg basic law, statute.
- c) whether it is a written political text adopted as a policy statement by a mutually recognised political forum.
- d) whether it is a written political text based on another or other political texts which have themselves by then acquired a reputation as that of a written religious text, due partly to the existence of a political constituency whose language finds reflection in the language of the relevant document.

6.5 DOCUMENTS AND DEFINITIONS

This last point is most significant when one looks at abstract nouns which characterise Tanzanian Kiswahili political vocabulary like 'dhuluma' (injustice), 'wakulima na wafanyakazi' (workers and peasants), 'maendeleo' (development), 'mapinduzi' (revolution). There is always room for debate as to what these terms mean ie what the political establishment would like everyone to mean in using them. Definitions of some of these are constantly being elaborated upon and revised by various senior politicians. The 1971 Mwongozo, for instance, defines 'mapinduzi' in such a fashion as to discourage the use of the term to refer to just any kind of change of political regime. In the Mwongozo the ruling party specifically sought to characterise military coups like that which occurred in Uganda in 1971 (when Idi Amin toppled Milton Obote at the time when Obote had announced a desire to institute socialistic measures) as counter-revolutionary mutinies (Coulson 1982:285). The political changes which took place in Eastern Europe in late 1989 and early 1990 were characterised by the Tanzanian ruling party as 'mageuzi' (reforms) as opposed to 'mapinduzi' (revolutionary changes) as the western mass media tended to refer to them (CCM 1990) (See also Lwaitama 1990b).

The schedule below presents some key **nouns** and **verbs** which have been used by Tanzanian politicians and citizens in the last 30 years (Professor A. Ishumi: personal communication, January 1991). The struggle over the definition of categories is the most significant activity in the creation of documents. Mr Nyerere (personal communication 1990) confirmed that he translated Shakespeare's 'Merchant of Venice' into 'Mabepari wa Venisi' because he wished to encourage the view that all the merchants of Venice in the said drama were capitalist exploiters not just one of them, ie Shylock. Mr Nyerere repeatedly stressed one point: simplicity was the key to effective communication. Thus for him, Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice and Julius Ceasar were what he called "simple" stories and that is why he felt it worth his while translating them into Tanzania's national language, (Kiswahili).

Mr Mwinyi for his part has already sought to redefine two key concepts underlying the policies articulated in the Mwongozo adopted in 1971 and 1981 by the party CCM of which he is himself now Chairman. These are the concepts of '**wafanyakazi na wakulima**' (workers and peasants) and '**unyapara**' (bossiness or managerial high-handedness). In a speech delivered to elders of the Dar-er-Salaam region at the invitation of Dar-er-Salaam Chamber of Commerce in January 1990, Mr Mwinyi declared that Tanzania was a country of peasants, workers and **businessmen**. This implied that he considered '**wafanyabiashara**' (businessmen or merchants) as a

separate and equally respectable category of citizens as were the workers and peasants who all party documents mention as the sole respectable inhabitants of Tanzanian civil society. However, even two months after Mr Mwinyi's re-definition, one businessman still preferred to consider himself a '**mfanyakazi wa sekta ya binafsi**' (a **worker in the private sector**) ie that he preferred to have the category businessman considered as a sub-set of the category worker (Reginald Mengi:personal communication 24 March 1990). He seemed to prefer the extension of the meaning of the term 'worker' in order not to occasion revision of sacred party documents, rather than ad hoc re-definitions which could lead to the erosion of the myth of eternity and sacredness of which the power of documents like the Azimio la Arusha depend.

In another speech on the occasion of his announcement of a new Cabinet after he had asked an earlier team to resign, Mr Mwinyi, on this occasion seemed to suggest that the category '**unyapara**' in the ruling party's Mwongozo could be read to mean '**nyanyaso**' (personal humiliation) in order to accommodate the need to allow '**unyapara**' "kurudi" (to return) - as the President himself put it. His argument seemed to be that if Tanzanians wished '**kuendelea**' (to develop) then they had to allow their '**viongozi**' (leaders) to be '**wanyapara**' (overseers ie bosses with clout). Otherwise leaders would tend not to take responsibility for the inefficiencies of those working under them. Clearly there is divergency here between the definitions of categories offered by established political holy writs and the definition that the incumbent Presidency is beginning to encourage.

In concluding this chapter the following general observations can be made: Mr Nyerere's greater tendency to deploy features of the written mode even in his unscripted oratory seems to coincide with his tendency to accord great respect to the myth of the sacredness of the written word. Mr Nyerere's successor, Mr Mwinyi, on the other hand does seem to be less concerned about such a myth. Since it is reasonable to assume that institutional continuity is better served by according sacredness to written documents it can be said that Mr Nyerere was much more concerned about ideology building and political mobilization than Mr Mwinyi appears to be.

Mr Nyerere's relinquishment of Government (1985) and Party (1990) offices has been accompanied by a greater propensity for middle ranking politicians like the Minister for Home Affairs Mr Mrema to assume presidential roles, something that would have been more difficult in Mr Nyerere's times (with the exception of the rise of the late Mr Sokoine). The contradictions among Tanzanian political elites are just as intense as those between them on the one hand and the international politico-economic elites on the other. Blommaert's (op cit.:) characterization of Kiswahili political modernisation

tends to accord primary importance to the contradictions between these international politico-economic elites (who indirectly influence the modernization efforts in general through control of western technology) and their Tanzanian counterparts. This approach tends to obscure a whole range of new factors which are emerging in the political sphere like the experimentation with novel forms of political pluralism are being discussed and implemented (Shivji 1990; Biles 1992).

Indeed political executive authority in Tanzania, beginning with Mr Nyerere's tenure (1962-1985), has gradually become peculiarly presidentialist (Derfler 1983:3, Hartman 1988, Gaffney 1989). These features of parallel similarity however, have to be balanced against other features which demonstrate significant degrees of differences with western models. Among these latter features one would include the one-party state system. In this system, the party itself assumes the role of a constitutional monarchy or bonapartist emperor (Derfler 1983:9) and loses many of the features of western political parties (See figures 1-4) (See also Shivji 1990). (By the end of 1992, more political innovations would have been implemented in the light of the decision by CCM's NEC in January 1992 directing the government to go ahead with the implementation of the recommendation by a Presidential Commission that the country must move over to a multi-party parliamentary system with entrenched safeguards against religious, nationality and other forms of ethnic discrimination and bigotry (Biles 1992)).

In the light of the developments mentioned above, it will be interesting to undertake a study of the variations in the exploitation of the written documents of the ruling political party, CCM, and those of the newly formed opposition parties in the oratory of senior Tanzanian politicians. Will the trend towards the greater use of verbs rather than nouns reflected in the oratory of President Mwinyi continue? Will there be a greater use of religious texts in the speeches of presidential speakers and less reliance on the creation of alternative secular texts like the Arusha Declaration which were invested with the legitimating myth of all holy writs? How many nominal expressions coined in the Nyerere era like **ujamaa** (socialism) and **mapindunzi** (revolution) will continue to have the same evidential and affective connotations? These and other similar questions could be a guide in a future in-depth study of the vocabulary of TPKPO. Meanwhile, in the next short Chapter we will take a closer look at one aspect of the vocabulary of TPKPO which we thought merited a separate investigation. This is the issue of the variation in the use of adjectives and adverbs as explicit markers of evidential and affective meaning.

NOTES

¹The ruling party's Chairman, its Vice-Chairman, its Secretary-General and key Ministers like the Prime Minister, the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Home Affairs.

²It should be noted that the Minister uses the term 'ulinzi wa jadi' rather than the more popular term 'sungusungu'.

CHAPTER SEVEN

STANCE AND BIAS THROUGH MARKERS OF EVIDENTIALITY AND AFFECT

"All those who are hostages of the past must transform themselves. We must deny the past its attempt to enslave us. The vocabulary of the old society should find no place in our dictionary"

- Nelson Mandela, President of the African National Congress of South Africa, in a speech to anti-apartheid supporters in Cape Town on 2/5/1990 as reported in the Times (London) 3/5/1990 p.9.

7.1 OVERVIEW

A speaker may use language in order to "express attitudes towards knowledge: towards its reliability, the mode of knowing, and the adequacy of its linguistic expression" (Biber & Finegan (1989:93-4) paraphrasing Chafe 1986). This is what is meant by marking evidentiality. The adverbial phrase 'kwa kiasi fulani' (to some extent) exemplifies such a marker of evidentiality. He/she may also select vocabulary with the view to expressing "a broad range of personal attitudes, including emotions, feelings, moods, and general dispositions" (Biber & Finegan op cit.:94 paraphrasing Ochs & Schieffelin 1989). This is what is meant by marking affect. The adjectival phrase 'wa pumbavu' (stupid (people)) exemplifies such a marker of affect. Markers of evidentiality and affect are then taken to be indices of a speaker's bias or stance with respect to his/her message content.

In the previous chapter we looked at the impact on political discourse of the connotative meaning of verbs and nouns. In this chapter, vocabulary selections that overtly or covertly mark evidentiality and affect in TPKPO are discussed. However, because the last chapter covered some of the same ground in looking at the evolution of Kiswahili political vocabulary with specific reference to the standardisation of the use of its key **nouns** and **verbs**, the discussion in this chapter restricts itself to the use of **adjectives** and **adverbs** all of which I would argue are used to mark in marking evidentiality and affect.

The selection of "ndugu" instead of "mheshimiwa", or vice versa, as an honorific is a good example of the use of **noun selection** as a marker of affect. All presidential orators are likely to use "ndugu" to mean "comrade" or "brethren" in all ruling Party fora without regard to official status within the Party. However, the selection of "mheshimiwa", which literally means "honourable", instead of "ndugu" was often used

by ex-President J K Nyerere to signal his displeasure with the person saluted as "the honourable"! Partly as a consequence of this usage of "mheshimiwa" to covertly imply that the person so referred to was "elitist" which in the egalitarian ethics of the ruling Party's **Arusha Declaration** was a mark of negative affect, some of the less egalitarian elements in the Tanzanian Parliament successfully legislated against the creeping replacement of "mheshimiwa" by "ndugu" even in Parliament where the "mheshimiwa" was still supposed to be the official title of MPs.

Choice of language at both the lexical and the syntactic level as a means to mark evidentiality and thus encode stance and bias in ones speech is well demonstrated in the following extract from a speech by ex-President Nyerere which he gave to senior ruling Party leaders at the climax of the political crisis which resulted in the resignation of the then Vice-Chairman of the ruling Party who was also the Vice President of the URT and President of Zanzibar, Mr A Jumbe:

EXAMPLE 1: NUA/P20

P20

+tulipoanza when we started	..	maxumgumzo discussions		yalipoanza they when began	..		
yakuyafungue they (of) opening		madirisha windows	zaidi more	..	wakazue they raised	maneno issues	
mengi many	sana very	ya of	uongo lies	...	nia purpose	ilikuwa it was	nikufungua opening
tu only	..	madirisha windows	zaidi more	..	hewa ya air of	demokrasia democracy	
iingie it be allowed in		zaidi more	..	na and	wenzetu colleagues	..	baadhi ya some of
wenzetu our colleagues	..	hawakuwa they were not	tayari ready		madirisha windows	yale those	
yafunguke they be opened	..	wakaaza they began	kuzua to raise		manemo issues	mengi ya many of	
ovyo ovyo no consequence	...	lakini but	yamekwisha it is finished	...		na and	
kama wenzetu as colleagues		wanavyosema they has say	..	awamu phase	ya of	tatu third	
ikazaliwa it got to be	katika born	hali in	ya of	shwari+ calm circumstances.			

When we started .. when the discussions started about opening windows wider they started rumours which were lies. The purpose was only to open the windows a bit more so that more of the fresh air of democracy would get in. Then some of our colleagues who were not yet quite prepared for the windows to be opened began to raise all sorts of issues which were nonsensical. But anyway all that is behind us and as our colleagues say the third phase government has been born in a climate of calm.

First let us take the passive sentence "mazungunzo yapoanza yakuyafungua madirisha zaidi wakazua maneno mengi ya uongo" (When the discussions started about opening the windows more widely they started rumours which were all lies). To select the noun **mazungunzo** (discussion/consultation) to describe the manner in which one section of the Party's leadership at the highest level sought to impose constitutional changes on the rest of the Party's leadership and on a nation which was then faced with many economic and social difficulties, is to seek to minimise the role played by the splits in the Party leadership which were perhaps the major cause for the political crisis in the first place. The listener is encouraged to view the leaders, of whom the speaker is one, as an harmonious group (ie colleagues) going about the business of opening up the country so that the 'fresh air of democracy' can enter. One is invited to view the political opponents of the dominant Party leaders as rumour mongers and disruptive. Thus the selection of the verb **wakazue** (they started a rumour) which connotes both untruthfulness as well as conspiratorial methods of spreading messages. The use of the noun **uongo** (lies) further reinforces this negative assessment of these mysterious opponents referred to by the use of the plural third person pronoun prefix **wa** (they). These are aspects of the marking of evidentiality and affect which were implicitly addressed in the last chapter and which for some extent are also touched in Chapter 8 which discusses pronominal usage.

Secondly, we observe the use of adjectives like **shwari** (calm) and adjectival phrases realised by prepositional phrases like **ya uongo** (of lies), **ya ovyo ovyo** (of no consequence) and **ya pili** (of second order), which mark evidentiality and affect more overtly. It is the use of adjectives and adverbs in this way which is looked into in this chapter.

The decision to examine the use of adjectives and adverbs as evidentiality and affect markers separate from the use of nouns and verbs for a similar effect, was inspired by a number of theoretical considerations.

7.2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

It has been claimed that written discourse would use more adjectives and adverbs than spoken discourse (Brown & Yule 1983:18). The producer of written discourse is claimed to take considerable time constructing and reconstructing what he/she has to communicate. This is said to result in the production of "complete sentences containing subordinations, frequent modifications via adjectives and adverbs and more than single predicates per referential expression" (my emphasis) (loc. cit.).

The interest in the use of adjectives and adverbs in the scripted and the unscripted oratory of Tanzanian President Mwinyi and ex-President Nyerere is thus motivated by an interest in finding out the extent to which the use of adjectives and adverbs varies between speakers and according to whether the given speech is scripted (ie incorporates many features of written discourse) or unscripted (ie incorporates many more features of spontaneous spoken discourse than those of written discourse). One of the questions that could then be illuminated would be whether speakers who were 'bookish' and 'bombastic' in their oratory would tend to use more adjectives and adverbs than those who were perceived as 'colloquial' and 'warm'.

As a corollary to the above question, there was interest in finding out whether adjectives and adverbs were used more by "ideology-builders" than by "ideology-blurrers". These questions informed the narrower theoretical framework within which discussion in this chapter is undertaken.

In broader terms, inspiration for investigating patterns of vocabulary selection as a resource in uncovering markets of evidentiality affect derives from observations such as the one below made by Halliday and Hassan (1989:v) to the effect that language is "never neutral but deeply implicated in building meaning". The two leading experts on functional grammar then go on to "argue that language is itself not only a part of experience, but intimately involved in the manner in which we construct and organise experience" (loc cit.).

With regard to the role of vocabulary choice in signalling attitudes as to the truthfulness of messages being presented, Seidel (1989:223) inspires an even stronger claim as to the importance of a critical study of vocabulary selections in political discourse, when it is "maintained that meanings of words and phrases have very little to do with purely formal linguistic properties; and that there can be no universal semantics" (loc cit.).

A number of linguists (Chafe 1986; Ochs 1989) have shown interest in lexical and grammatical elements which encode the speaker's attitudes towards propositions presented in his/her utterances. Some have discussed these under the title of hedges (Kakoff 1973; Rounds 1981; Markay & Bloor 1987). Others have discussed these under the title of modality (Quirk et al 1985). While yet others have discussed these under the title of markers of evidentiality and affect (Biber & Finegan 1989). Whatever approach has been adopted, the phenomenon investigated has invariably consisted of a set of adjectives, adverbs and modal auxiliaries whose meaning range crucially involves reference to the positive or negative attributes of the entities or processes that are pre-modified by the given adjectives, adverb or modal auxiliary. In some cases, however, the phenomenon has involved a pair of adverbs and nouns which contrasted with each other on an affective and/or evidentiality dimension. Tables 8 and 9 below provide a summary of the categories and some of the examples of English and Kiswahili lexical items relevant to issues raised.

TABLE 8
ADJECTIVAL AND ADVERBIAL STANCE CATEGORIES AS PROPOSED BY
DOUGLAS BIBER AND EDWARD FINNEGAN (1989).

1. AFFECT
 - a) Positive
 - Adjectives (eg, I feel **fortunate**; it is **amazing** that ...)
 - Adverbs (eg, happily; conveniently; luckily)
 - b) Negative
 - Adjectives (eg, I am **shocked**; it seems **unnatural** that)
 - Adverbs (eg, alarmingly; disturbingly; sadly)

2. EVIDENTIALITY
 - a) Certainly
 - Adjectives (eg, impossible; obvious; true)
 - Adverbs (eg, assuredly; indeed; without doubt)
 - b) Doubt
 - Adjectives (eg, alleged; dubious; uncertain)
 - Adverbs (eg, allegedly; perhaps; supposedly)

Source: Biber and Finegan (1989:98)

TABLE 9

Semantic restriction in the use of Kiswahili terms from pre-1967 to the present time

Term	Pre-1967 usage	1970/80 usage	Post 1980s usage
kupe	tick	exploiter	'sponger'
ndugu	brethren	comrade	'brethren'
mheshimiwa	honourable	'elitist'	honourable
mfanyakazi	working man/employee	proletariat/employee	worker
mfanyabiashara	businessman/merchant	capitalist/middleman	businessman/ industrialist
mkulima	farmer/peasant	peasant	farmer
mwinyi	headman/chief	landlord	chief/boss

Source: Isolated from interviews with specialist informants and checked for formal accuracy in consultation with Dr H Mwansoko of the Institute of Kiswahili Research at the University of Dar es Salaam and Mr G Temu formerly Director of the Institute of Kiswahili Research University of Dar es Salaam.

Take yet another speech extract, for example, from the speech quoted earlier which Mr Nyerere delivered to an assembly of senior Party functionaries on the occasion of the resignation of the Party's then Vice-Chairman:

EXAMPLE 2: NUA/P15

P15

+hatuna	watawala	.. tunachagua	viongozi+
we haven't got	rulers	we choose	leaders

We do not have overlords; all we do is elect our leaders!

In this example, the noun "watawala" (overlords) is contrasted with the noun "viongozi" (leaders) for purposes of drawing attention to the possible interpretation of that contrast as one whereby "watawala" has negative denotation, while "viongozi" has positive attitudinal meaning. This use of these two pairs of nouns to mark affective effect plays a role similar to that which would have been played by similarly contrastive adjectives such as "mbaya" (bad) and "mzuri" (good) when used to pre-modify either the noun "watawala" or "viongozi".

Indeed, one may argue that the use of the copula verb in "we don't have rulers" when contrasted with the use of the verb "to elect" in "we elect our leaders", also serves the role of marking affect and evidentiality.

The attention drawn to the denotative contrast between "ni vigumu" (it is difficult) and "haiwezekani" (it is impossible) in Example 3 below, also serves the function of marking affect and evidentiality:

EXAMPLE 3: NUA/P16

P16

+ilikuwa	ni	vigumu	katika ((awali .. awa))
it was	was	difficult	in
awamu	ya	kwanza ...	(((nasema .. a)) .. nikisema
phase	of	first	I am saying when I say
ilikuwa	ni	vigumu	nakosea ... ilikuwa
it was	was	difficult	Ierr it was
haiwezekani) ...	katika	awamu	ya kwanza kuchagua
it was not	in	phase	of first to choose
viongozi	wetu+		
leaders	our		

It was difficult in the first phase. I am saying that it was difficult - maybe I am wrong - I should say it would have been impossible in the first phase (of the Zanzibar government after the revolution) for the leaders to have sought to be elected.

"Difficult" and "impossible" can only be said to be in contrast subjectively depending on an individual's assessment of the extent of a problem at hand and the resolve of those involved in solving it. However, it is reasonable to suggest that the speaker was in this case encouraging an interpretation of the meaning of these two words whereby the contrast was an 'objective' one ie one which was ideologically neutral.

Mr Nyerere even attributes "kosa" (error) to himself in having selected "vigumu" (difficult) in the first place instead of "haiwezekani" (impossible). But in doing so, he is also attributing universality to the so called truth of the proposition that electing leaders was "impossible" rather than "difficult" for some vague period after the insurrection which brought the incumbent Zanzibar leaders to power. Thus, partisan political judgement is presented as universal truth and ideological disputes are not defended on the basis of specific evidence of the plausibility of given propositions. Opponents in such ideological disputes are thus labelled as disruptive and anti-social elements. Elements like these are then said to bring about 'vurugu' (commotion) and to be responsible for 'kachafuka hali ya hewa' (causing the air to be polluted; this itself perhaps as a euphemism for saying they had given a smelly fart).

Let us now take a look at some of the intra and inter-speaker variations in the use of adjectives and adverbs in TPKPO based on a quantitative analysis of 80 paragraphs drawn from Data Corpus Group A.

7.3 VARIATION IN USE OF ADJECTIVES AND ADVERBS

The inter-speaker variation in the use of adjectives and adverbs to mark evidentiality and affect were considerable as Tables 10, 11 and 12 indicate. Ex-President Nyerere uses more adverbs and adjectives both in the scripted and in the unscripted mode than President Mwinyi does. In the unscripted mode, Mwinyi uses adjectives and adverbs 30% less than Nyerere does. In the scripted mode, Mwinyi uses these markers of evidentiality and affect more but still uses them less by about 45% than Nyerere.

The tendency is for Nyerere to use more adverbs and adjectives in the unscripted mode than in the scripted mode. Mwinyi on the other hand, tends to use fewer adjectives and adverbs in the unscripted than in the scripted mode. Thus, Mwinyi's use of adjectives and adverbs is consistent with one's expectations based on the theoretical framework discussed earlier (see section 7.2 of this chapter). Scripted

speech uses more adjectives and adverbs than unscripted speech. The more 'bookish' the discourse, the greater expectation that more adjectives and adverbs will be used to mark evidentiality and affect. Nyerere's use of these markers is in marked contrast to this expectation. The more 'colloquial' and less 'bombastic', the more 'bookish' ie the greater the use of adjectives and adverbs. Consistency across speakers and speaking mode is observed only with respect to the number of adjectives used as a proportion of the adverbs used. Both Nyerere and Mwinyi use more adjectives as markers of evidentiality and affect than they use adverbs, as Tables 10, 11 and 12 shows.

TABLE 10

Use of adjectives and adverbs by Nyerere and Myinyi in data corpus set A (General)

	Adjectives	Adverbs
MUA	10	12
MSA	19	12
NUA	37	38
NSA	43	25
TOTAL	109	87

TABLE 11

Use of adjectives and adverbs by Nyerere in unscripted and scripted speeches in data corpus set A

	Adjectives	Adverbs	TOTAL
Unscripted	37	38	75
Scripted	43	25	68
TOTAL	80	63	143

TABLE 12

Use of adjectives and adverbs by Mwinyi in unscripted and scripted speeches in data corpus set A

	Adjectives	Adverbs	TOTAL
Unscripted	10	12	22
Scripted	19	12	31
TOTAL	29	24	53

If it is taken into account that Nyerere uses more nouns than verbs as it was pointed out in the last chapter, it is hardly surprising that Nyerere in turn uses more adjectives to qualify the nouns he uses than adverbs which are used to qualify main verbs. What is surprising perhaps is that Mwinyi does not use more adverbs than adjectives to tally with his use of more verbs than nouns. The apparent contradiction in Mwinyi's style of oratory (whereby he uses few adjectives and adverbs but still manages to elicit warm applause) is resolved by looking at the kind of verbs he often uses. These are usually of a metaphoric kind like "akituwezesha" (if he/she enables us) in Example 4 below:

EXAMPLE 4: MUA/P21

P21

+matumaini	yangu ni	kwamba ...	inshaalah	Mungu
hopes	my are	that	willing	God
akituwezesha ..	nije	tena ..	siku za	kilimo
s/he if enables us	I should	again	days of	agriculture

... [[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+

My hope is that, God willing, I should be able to come again during the rainy season when agricultural activities are in full swing.

The expression "inshaalah Mungu ... akituwezesha" together actually conveys the meaning of "God willing". But this is a case of repetition in that "inshaalah Mungu" by itself translates into "God willing", which is then repeated by the verb phrase "hakituwezesha" which literally means "is he (God) enables us", which in turn translates into "God willing".

One is persuaded to argue that popular perception that Mwinyi's speeches are particularly 'colloquial' and thus less 'bombastic' and more 'warm' (Saville Troike 1982:174), may largely be accounted for by his frequent use of metaphoric verb phrase expressions like these. Instead of saying if we are in good 'health', he will say 'if God enables us', thus using a verb "enable" instead of the adjective "good".

In the following three spoken paragraphs by Mwinyi, uses of verbs and nouns with metaphoric meaning to mark evidentiality and affect are further illustrated:

EXAMPLE 5: MUA/P15-17

P15

+gari	ifike	hapa ...	iveze kukusaidieni
a vehicle	it should come	here	it should to help you enable

nyinyi wenyewe .. na pia kusaidajirani zenu
 you yourselves and also to help neighbours your
 .. na pia iwe ni mbegu+
 and also it must be a seed

P16

+iwe ni mbegu ya mapato ... ili gari hiyo
 it should be a seed of profits so a that
 be that vehicle one

Mungu akipenda baada ya muda mfupi izaie
 God s/he if willing after of period a short should
 give birth

mwenziwe+
 another of
 its own

P17

+ehee ... [[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+
 yes (why not?)

A vehicle should arrive here so that it may help you yourselves and even your neighbours acting as a development catalyst. It should be seed from which you should reap profit and from which another vehicle - God willing - could be bought. Yes, why not?!

Here Mwinyi personifies a vehicle by saying it should 'arrive' and he then continues the poetic metaphor by suggesting that once the vehicle has 'arrived' (instead of saying it should be bought or brought!), it should then act as a mystical seed (such as is mentioned in religious texts like the Qoran and the Bible) which bears fruit similar to itself. Without ever using adjectives like 'good' or 'great', Mwinyi uses verbs like 'ifike' (it should arrive) and 'izaie' (it should bear) to mark affect. These verbs are used in conjunction with the "willingness/probability" modal auxiliary in its past tense to encourage the audience to feel that what was merely desirable before the President spoke, is now a distinct possibility. This kind of marking of affect (in this case, the encouragement of a feel-good factor among peasant producers) is further bolstered by side references to the goodwill of supernatural forces like "inshaallah", "mungu akipenda" and "mungu akituwezesh" (which all mean God willing) as well as the use of Mr Mwinyi's idiosyncratic interjection "eeh!" spoken at low key in bringing the relevant paragraphs to an end.

Mwinyi's style of marking evidentiality and affect is thus in sharp contrast to Nyerere's style. One was more likely to find a greater use of adjectives and adverbs like 'ovyo ovyo' (chaotic or of little consequence), 'washenzi' (uncivilised (people)),

'kwa kweli' (truthfully), and 'kabisa' (completely) in Nyerere's oratory than in Mwinyi's. In the following three paragraphs from a scripted speech which Mr Nyerere delivered when he was the Chairman of the governing party CCM, on the occasion of the celebration of its 20th anniversary in Dodoma on the 5th February 1987, Nyerere manages to insert adjectives like 'mema' (good) (in paragraph Px1), 'kuu' (supreme) (in paragraph Px2) and 'mpya' (new) (in paragraph Px3) in his otherwise fairly spontaneous-like oratory delivered to what was a lively mass rally:

EXAMPLE 6: NSB/5/87

PX1

+ leo tumasherehekea pia .. mwaka wa irhirini .. wa kutangazwa azimio la arusha ... ilo .. ni miongoni .. yale mambo mema .. yalioridhiwa kutoka moja ya vyama viwili .. wiliyounda Chama cha Mapinduzi+

Today we are also celebrating the twentieth year of the proclamation of the Arusha Declaration. That one is among those good things which we have inherited from one of our two parties which founded the Revolutionary Party.

PX2

+azimio la arusha .. ndilo linaloeleza itikadi ya chama chetu ... ndio kauli kuu ya lengo letu na misingi yetu ... ndilo msingi wa sera zote za chama no serikali+

The Arusha Declaration is the one which explains the ideology of our Party. It is the supreme statement of our goals and our principles. It is the basis of all policies of the Party and the government.

PX3

+kila miaka inavyopita ... kauli yoyote muhimu upitiwa mara kwa mara .. kuona kama misingi yake bado inaitajiwa katika mazingira mapya+

As the years pass by any one important statement or assertion gets reviewed again and again to see whether its underlying principles are still valid in new environments.

PX4

+Katiba ya marekani kwa infamo .. ina umri wa miaka mia mbili sasa ... lakini bado inatumika ... lakini imarekebishwa mara ishirini na sita+

The American constitution for example is two hundred years old... but it is still in use although it has been revised twenty six times.

Add the three adjectival modifications serve to signal explicitly Nyerere's political stance and bias regarding the issue of whether or not Tanzania's socialist blue print (the Arusha Declaration) should continue to be regarded as a political holy writ, even after the adoption in 1986 of IMF-inspired capitalistic policies in the wake of Mr Mwinyi's accession to the Presidency in 1985.

Indeed, Mr Nyerere seems to assess it as 'polite' to use adjectives such as 'wajinga' (stupid) when referring to powerful international political forces behind IMF-inspired policies in his country as he did in a speech delivered on 7th July 1989 at a lindi mass rally:

EXAMPLE 7: NSB/7/89

+hizi	benki		umenationalize ..	tumenationalize	
these	banks		we have nationalised	we have nationalised	
kusudi	tuweze		kuwa na₁	uwezo	huu wakuweza
deliberately	so we		can to	be	with power this of
	being able				
kuamua	namna		hiyo + so₁..	huko..	ilo mjoa
to decide	like		that so	yonder	that is one on
upande	ya	serikali ..	vy₁ama	..ee.	
the side	of	government	co-operatives	ee	
vyama	kwa	kweli	serikali	lazima	
co-operatives	in	truth	government	must	
visaidieni	vyama	hivi	katika	yale	umbayo
them help	co-operatives	these	in	those	which
tunauwezo	nayo	tunauwezo	nayo ...	haya	
we have power	over	we have power	over	those	
mengine ..	tutayaua	ma₁ashirika	haya ...	na	
others	we will kill them	parastatals	these	and	
wengine	wako	nje	wanataka	yafe	ndiyo+
others are	outside	they want	them to	die	yes
sasa tusikubali	tusikubali	tuwacheke			
now we must not accept	we must not accept	we must laugh			
		at them			

wajinga stupid	wale ... them	nani who is	anataka who wants	mashirika parastatals	yetu our
yafe to die	ndiyo yes	kataeni refuse	kataeni refuse	kabisa completely	kabisa completely
ndiyo yes	kuja theirs	yakwao do not die	hayafi why	mbona look at	hala to come them
kuua to kill	mashirika parastatals	yetu our	bwana+ mister		

These are our banks! We nationalised them so that we may have the power to control them in this way so that we may be in a position to take these decisions! So that is one thing the government must do to help co-operative unions and really, the government has to help the unions in these matters over which we have power to help them! These other things ... otherwise we will kill off our own institutions ... and others out there do wish our co-operatives to die off. Now we must not accept this!! must not accept this!! We must laugh in their faces! They are stupid! Who wants our parastatals to collapse? They do not allow their own firms to die out so why should they wish that ours collapse?! Look at! Why should they wish to kill our firms, mister?

There is no doubt at all that Nyerere - speaking then as the Party Chairman - was making references to the IMF and the Western governments who were behind the financial policies he was haranguing President Mwinyi and his government colleagues to reject. Moreover, there are numerous examples in all Nyerere's speeches of his lack of fear of the consequences of using strong language against what he has often seen as Western governments' meddling in the internal affairs of Third World States.

Nevertheless, Nyerere's use of the pronoun system of Kiswahili seems to be consistent with Mwinyi's. It seems to be designed to compensate for any face threats that may arise from any controversial outburst such as those by Nyerere above. In the next chapter, we take a look at the use of pronouns by both Mr Nyerere and Mr Mwinyi in the management of such face threats, ie in the manufacture of politeness.

CHAPTER EIGHT

FOOTING AND FACE THROUGH PERSONAL PRONOUNS SELECTION

"The speaker is aware of an obligation ... to have less concern for consistency than for experiential involvement ... (The) writer is more concerned with producing something ... that will stand the test of time. I will speak of 'involvement' with the audience as typical for a speaker, and 'detachment' from the audience as typical for a writer."

- W L Chafe (1982:45) 'Integration and Involvement in Speaking, Writing, and Oral Literature'. In D Tannen (ed) Spoken and Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy New Jersey: Ablex.

8.1 OVERVIEW

Variability in the use of personal pronouns has attracted the attention of a number of researchers (Brown & Gilman 1960, Hass 1969, Hymes 1972, Laberge & Sankoff 1979, Chafe 1982, Maitland & Wilson 1985, Rounds 1987). Personal pronouns are considered to be an important linguistic resource in the signalling of such pragmatic meanings as 'positive politeness' (Brown & Levinson 1978:108) and personal 'involvement' and 'detachment' (Chafe 1982:46). It has been observed (Chafe 1982:46) that:

"A speaker's involvement with his or her audience is manifested ... in a speaker's more frequent reference to him or herself."

In this regard, first person references were claimed (Chafe 1982:46) to be used far more in spoken than in written discourse. This variation with regard to the extent to which a speaker/writer orientates him/herself towards the wish to produce "something that will stand the test of time" (Chafe 1982:45) on the one hand, and the wish to project "experiential richness" (Chafe: loc cit) on the other, finds reflection in the variation within Tanzanian presidential political oratory. In such oratory, one observes tension between the need for "involvement" and "detachment" (Chafe: loc cit) on the part of politicians who are usually under varying degrees of institutional status obligations.

It must be pointed out here that more than 80% of the population of Tanzania which is estimated to be about 27 million, live in small and often isolated subsistence farming peasant households (Bryceson 1986). The concerns of these mainly poor peasants are basic and predominantly local rather than national, let alone international. The President of the country is viewed as an all powerful "national" village headman (ie "**mtemi**" in

colloquial Kiswahili). S/he is expected to behave as one of the most senior village elders and traditional healers.

In their role as "**watemi**" (village headmen or chief) elders are revered for being great orators at village assemblies where they would have established their authority through their skill in speaking **impromptu** and yet being able to demonstrate their ability to recall village epic narratives (Havelock 1982) from memory. As a lot of anthropological and sociological studies (Poggie & Lynch 1974, Mead 1974, Landberg & Weaver 1974, Block 1975, Comaroff 197?) have shown, the art of warm fire-side story telling is highly valued in predominantly "orate" societies (Saville-Troicke 1982, Ong 1982). But for a President of a modern African state, the situation is more complicated.

First, although s/he is expected to deliver speeches within these popular traditions of story-telling "involvement", s/he is often forced to adopt some of the written discourse "detachment" traditions of predominantly "literate" societies occasioned by the necessity to deliver most speeches from written scripts often prepared by or in consultation with various experts on subjects about which s/he may have limited knowledge (ex-President Nyerere, August 1990, personal communication & Extract of Nyerere's speech to UKUTA in the Appendix). Secondly, the President's political role can no longer be expected to produce from memory the numerous national and international epic narratives (ie what Mazrui (1986) has termed the "triple heritage" of the 'pagan', the Islamic and the Christian epic legendary tales) which now inform the knowledge base of the President's symbolic healing duties (Edelman 1977). Even in a speech to an audience in a remote village, the President has often got to be aware of the possibility of elements of such a speech being reported in the national and even the international press. A contemporary African President may not be willing to wish to say anything that may please a hundred peasant villagers listening to him on any particular occasion, for example, if what he says may result in a diplomatic row with a major international organisation like the IMF on whose goodwill his government depends for foreign exchange budget stabilisation funds. No wonder there is constant change of "footing" (Goffman 1981:124-159) in order to manage "face" (Brown & Levinson 1978) given all these conflicting oratorical style influences made on the modern African supreme national **mtemi**.

In this chapter, I discuss the role which is played by personal pronouns' selection in expressing change in 'footing' (Goffman: loc cit. :) and 'face management' (Brown & Levinson: op cit. :) by senior Tanzanian politicians. Although it was originally thought possible - and indeed desirable - to compare the pronominal usage styles of four politicians (President Mwinyi, ex-President Nyerere, ex-Prime Minister Kawawa and

ex-Prime Minister Salim), it was later decided to restrict the discussion which constitutes this chapter to the results of the analysis of patterns of pronominal usage in Data Corpus Group A. This was the only data on which valid quantitative generalizations were possible. (See Lwaitama 1990 and Wilson 1990:54 for details on the more extensive empirical research design agenda was postponed to allow for other areas of TPKPO which have taken the bulk of this thesis ie Chapters 4 to 7 to be addressed first before taking up the issue pronominal usage which, as Wilson (ibid.:53) has pointed out, is less culturally constrained.)

Before presenting the discussion based on my research findings, the theoretical framework within which pronominal usage in TPKPO was investigated is highlighted. Particular attention is paid to the work by Chafe (1982) seeking to re-interpret some of its findings in the light of the work by Goffman (op.cit.).

8.2 FOOTING IN PERSONAL PRONOUNS' SELECTION

8.2.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

The variation in the pragmatic functions of the uses of first person singular (ie "we") pronouns, for example, can best be explained by appealing to Goffman's (1981:144) suggestion that the 'speaker' could be analyzed in terms of his "participant frame" status as an 'animator', as an 'author' and/or as a 'principal'. The speaker's role as an 'animator' refers to his or her providing what Goffman calls the "sounding box". This physical function is normally combined with the social roles of being an 'author' and being a "principal".

As an 'author' of a speech, one assumes the role of the selector of "the sentiments that are being expressed and the words in which they are encoded" (Goffman 1981:144). Political oratory at mass rallies (Mrs) (especially village-level mass rallies), seem to be characterised by a greater requirement on the part of the speaker to signal his role as both the animator and author of speeches being delivered than political oratory at Assemblies of Peers (APs) (especially assemblies of politicians which act as studio audiences for speeches being broadcast live to nationwide radio audiences). APs seem to be characterised by a greater requirement for the speaker to signal some distance between his physical status as an animator, his social role as the author (or perhaps the main) 'principal' of the speech. The 'participant frame' status of a 'principal' refers to "someone (or all those) whose position is established by the words that are spoken and who (are) committed to what the words say" (Goffman 1981:144).

It is reasonable to assume that a President of a country is always conscious of the fact that he or she shares his role as a 'principal' of a speech with others with whom he or she leads a government. The use of the first person singular pronouns to signal 'closeness' (or even identity) of the roles of animator and author, and the use of the first person plural hearer-exclusive pronouns to signal 'distance' between the roles of animator, author and principal help a President delivering a speech to 'style-switch' (Saville-Troicke 1982:61-64) from one role to another for pragmatic effect. Table 13 gives a summary of the criteria used in identifying Kiswilihi personal pronouns. Tables 14 and 15 illustrate how personal pronouns are used in a complex way in assisting Nyerere and Mwinyi to change their "footing" in the course of the speech deliveries.

Goffman (1981:128) has defined changing "footing" as:

"implying a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the production or reception of an utterance."

TABLE 13**Summary of Criteria Used in Identifying Kiswahili Personal Pronouns**

	Unbound of Independent		Bound or Independent		Possessive		Reflexive	
	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural	Singular	Plural
First Person	mimi	sisi	ni-	tu-	-angu	-etu	mwenye- we	wenyewe
Second Person	wewe	nyinyi	u-	m-	-ake	-enu	mwenye- we	wenyewe
Third Person	yule	wale	a-	wa-	-eke	-ao	mwenye- we	wenyewe
First Person hearer inclusive	-	sisi	-	tu-	-	-etu	-	wenyewe

TABLE 14

Comparison of total number of personal pronouns (bound and unbound) for each sub-category in each set of 20 paragraphs in MUA, MSA, NUA and NSA

	MUA	MSA	NUA	NSA
FIRST PERSON SINGULAR	17	13	11	8
FIRST PERSON PLURAL HEARER EXCLUDED	5	0	4	26
FIRST PERSON PLURAL HEARER INCLUDED	2	11	5	0
SECOND PERSON PLURAL	12	0	8	4
FIRST PERSON REFLEXIVE	1	0	0	0
SECOND PERSON REFLEXIVE	2	0	0	0
FIRST PERSON POSSESSIVE HEARER INCLUDED	3	6	0	2
SECOND PERSON POSSESSIVE	10	0	0	0
THIRD PERSON PLURAL	0	10	18	11
THIRD PERSON SINGULAR	8	8	4	5
SECOND PERSON SINGULAR	0	2	0	0
TOTAL	53	55	55	61

TABLE 15

Combined total number of First Person Singular, First Person Plural **Hearer-Inclusive** and Second Person Singular and Plural compared with the combined total number of First Person Plural **Hearer-Exclusive** and Third Person Singular and Plural in each set of 20 paragraphs in Data Transcripts MUA, MSA, NUA and NSA.

	MUA	MSA	NUA	NSA
First Person Singular + First Person Plural + Second Person Singular + Plural Hearer - Inclusive (ie I + Inclusive WE + YOU (sg + pl))	31	26	24	12
First Person Plural + Third Person Singular and Plural Hearer - Exclusive (ie Exclusive WE + HIM/HER AND THEY)	5	18	26	42

8.2.2 VARIATION IN USE OF FIRST PERSON PRONOUNS

It is observed that unscripted paragraphs tended to use more first person singular pronominal references than scripted ones, irrespective of whether it was Mr Mwinyi's or Nyerere's oratory. This tended to give support to Chafe's (1982) claims mentioned earlier. However, the picture was far more complex when one looked at how first person plural pronominal references were used. The most striking observation was that Nyerere used far more hearer-exclusive first person plural pronominal references ((eg 'we (ie the President and people listening to him or her) have got to work hard')) in his scripted paragraphs than in his unscripted ones. Mwinyi, on the other hand, used far more hearer-inclusive first person plural pronominal references ((we (ie the President and members of his or her cabinet on whose behalf the President is claiming to speak to those listening to him who are themselves not members of his or her cabinet) will work hard to secure better terms of trade)) in his scripted paragraphs than in his unscripted ones. Indeed, Mwinyi used zero hearer-exclusive first person plural pronominal references in his scripted paragraphs while Nyerere used zero hearer-inclusive first person plural pronominal references in his scripted paragraphs.

Hearer-exclusive first person plural pronominal references appear to serve the pragmatic function of "distancing" the speaker as an 'animator' (Goffman 1981:144) from his or her other role as one of the main 'author' and 'principal' of what he/she has to say. The pragmatic function of hearer-exclusive first person plural pronouns - what in English would be called exclusive "we" as in the study by rounds (1987) - seems to be to help the politician to indirectly signal the necessity for interpreting whatever he or she says in the light of the fact that he or she represented certain social institutions and political power structures and not just himself or herself.

Some of these institutions and power structures were sometimes explicitly stated elsewhere in the discourse. Nyerere, for example, specified that by 'tu-' (we) in NSA/P4 he wishes to refer not just to 'Kamati Kuu' (Central Committee) but specifically to a particular seating of that committee:

NSA/P4

+lakini but	katika in	kikao meeting	chetu hicho ... our that
cha of	kamati Committee	Kuu .. ((tu)) Central	tulikuwa we were

tunajua
we knew)

But at that seating of the Central Committee we knew

In other instances, the institutions and power structures referred to by the use of 'tu-' (or any other variants of Kiswahili exclusive "we" like 'sisi' or 'siye') are not explicitly stated.

President Mwinyi, for example, refers to the Office of the President as "nasiye tuliyo huko" (and we yonder) in MUA/P12:

+nasiye (and we	tuliyoko .. we who are	huko over there	tushirikiane we (must) co-operate
((na . na . na)) with	mkoa .. the region	ili so that	jambo this issue
la of	gari a vehicle	lisiwe lisiwe it should not be	ndoto ... a dream
liwe it should	ni be	ukweli ... a reality	

+ AUDIENCE APPLAUSE +

And we the leaders at national and regional level must co-operate and help you realise your dream by ensuring that you do get the that vehicle.

One could interpret the applause from the villagers Mwinyi was addressing as signalling that they understood Mwinyi to have committed the Presidency to assisting their regional leaders in securing a vehicle for the villagers. The President for his part seems to have selected hearer exclusive "tu-" (English "we") as the pronoun with which to make promises of this institutional nature. Since by then, President Mwinyi had been in power for only one year and many national and regional leaders had not been appointed by him personally, it is reasonable to hypothesise that he needed to politely request for their co-operation in carrying out his wishes to a far greater extent than he would if they had been his personal appointees.

Pragmatic inference is also required in understanding the 'tu-' (we) in 'tukaita' (we called) in Nyerere's NSA/P7 as referring to the Central Committee, which that in "tuka kaa" (we sat) a few lines later in the same paragraph, NSA/P7, as referring to the National Executive ("Halmshauri Kuu").

NSA/P7

+kwa hiyo	tukaita	...	tukaita	mkutano ..	
therefore	we called		we called a meeting		
wa	Halmashauri	Kuu ..	kuanzia	tarehe	
of	Executive (National	Supreme Executive)	beginning from	date	
ishirini na	nne	mwezi	uliopita ..		
twenty	fourth	month	which has passed		
tukakaa	juma	..	zima ..'		
we sat	week		whole		

We therefore convened a week long meeting of the National Executive Committee from the twenty-fourth of last month.

Since the meeting of the National Executive ('Halmashauri Kuu') which sat for a full week was called by someone, and since the previous paragraphs were talking about meetings of the Central Committee, one is encouraged to infer that the 'tu' (we) in 'tukaita' (we called) refers to the Central Committee having been that 'someone' who directed the National Executive to meet.

In reporting to an assembly of fellow politicians (APs) on the subject of the resignation of a very senior politician, Nyerere found it necessary to "annex the authority" (Rounds 1987:22) of all the relevant political authorities of his country. Since the majority of those to whom the report was being delivered 'live' had by implication participated in the decisions he was explaining, it is reasonable to assume that this was a case of a politician using an assembly of peers as a radio/TV studio audience through whom to speak to "by-standers" listening in on the radio/TV sets. The "annexing of the authority" of political institutions of power such as Central Committees and National Executive Committees of ruling parties could be considered to be an attempt by the speaker to create distance between himself, as an 'animator' of the speech, and his other participant frame roles as one (or even the main) 'author' and 'principal' of the speech.

The pragmatic functions of the use of first person singular and the hearer-exclusive first person plural pronouns differ in the direction in which they help the speaker change footing. First person singular pronouns help signal "closeness" or "intimacy" with the message being delivered, while hearer-exclusive first person plural pronouns help to establish 'distance'. When President Mwinyi wishes to praise his audience for what they had done, he uses the first person singular pronoun 'ni' as in MUA/P13:

+jingine **ningependa** ((ku ku.))
 (another thing I would like

kukupeni **pongezi ..**
 to give you congratulations

I will also like to congratulate you.

But when he wishes to promise them assistance in securing a vehicle, as in MUA/P14, he uses the hearer-exclusive first person plural 'tu'. Equally, when the then President Nyerere wishes to state what he wished to be taken as his specific task in delivering the speech he was giving to a special Parliamentary Committee of his ruling party on the subject of the resignation of the Party's Vice-Chairman and the country's Vice-President and President of Zanzibar, he found it perfectly well-formed to use the first person singular 'ni':

NSA/P9

+na ..		(SHORT SPEAKER SILENCE)	ningependa
and			I would like
sasa ((ni)) ..	nia	yangu nikueleza ..	
now	purpose	my is to explain	
hilo zurugu ..	nitajitaidi ..		
that	commotion	I will try	
kueleza	kwa	wazi wazi	kabisa ..
to explain	with	openness	full (complete)
kwa ukweli	kabisa ..	ili ..	(kama ikiwezekana
with	truthfulness	full	so that
			if it is possible
zielwewe ..	na	zurugu	((uu.))
they be understood	and	commotion	(this)
hii iishe+			
this	it end		

What I am presently going to do is to try and explain that political crisis as openly and truthfully as possible hoping in the process to be able to defuse it.

But equally, wherever he wishes to establish that he shared the status of the principal of the speech with others, he style-switched to the use of hearer-exclusive first person plural pronoun 'tu' or explicitly names the institution from whose direction he derived his authority. Most of the hearer-exclusive first-person plural pronouns that Nyerere uses in the 20 paragraphs in Data Transcript NSA, were used to refer to members of

the Central Committee or the National Executive of the Party who attended meetings of these two political bodies which discussed what he calls the "commotion". In fact, the paragraph NSA/P9 where he states the specific goals of his speech, came immediately after seven paragraphs which were concluded with the remark:

NSA/P8

+**'kwa hiyo** ... **tukafanya** **hivyo**
therefore we did that

... **na tukazungumza** .. **vrugu**
and we discussed commotion

hilo+
that

Therefore we did so. We discussed that crisis.

Indeed, Nyerere not only style-shifted from a predominant use of 'tu-' (exclusive-"we") in the seven paragraphs before NSA/P9 to the use of 'ni' ("I") in NSA/P9 and NSA/P10, he also used paragraph NSA/P10 to explicitly encourage the view that what he was about to do in his speech was reiteration of the summary of the discussions by the meetings of the two supreme executive organs of the Party:

NSA/P10

+**nitaeleza** .. **eh** .. **(na ni vizuri**
I will explain and it's good

zaidi nikaeleza **kama** .. **alivyoo**
more I explain as he was able

.. **kama** .. **kwa kweli** .. **Katibu**
as in truth Secretary

Mkuu .. **eh** .. **baada ya** **mazungumzo**
General after of the discussions

ya Kamati **Kuu** **Katibu** **Mkuu**
of the Central Committee the Secretary General

wa Chama .. **alivyo** .. **eh** ..
of he Party he was able

itamka .. **vrugu** **hii** **katika**
it to mention commotion this in

kikao cha Halmashauri ya Taifa)
 the meeting of the National Executive
 .. alisema hivi ..
 he said this

(SPEAKER SILENCE)+

Indeed it is better to explain this crisis in the same terms in which it was characterised by the Party Secretary General when he reported the deliberations of the meeting of the Central Committee at the seating of the National Executive Committee. This is what he said.

Here, Nyerere is signalling distance between himself, as the animator-author of the speech, from himself as but one of the 'principals' of 'the speaking in the turn' (Goffman 1981). It is better, he says, that he gave his explanations of the political commotion relying on the written record of the Central Committee's deliberations on the subject which were presented to the National Executive by 'the Secretary General of the Party', the number three man from the Party Chairman (himself) in the leadership hierarchy. Since the disgrace of the number two man in the party, the Vice-Chairman, is the subject of this speech, he even inserts the qualifications:

NSA/P10

...Katibu Mkuu .. eh baada
 the Secretary General after
 ya mazungumzo ya Kamati Kuu ..
 the deliberations of the Central Committee)

The Secretary General, after the deliberations of the Central Committee.

This appears to be aimed at implying that the Secretary General's explanations of the commotion were actually those of the Central Committee. The Secretary General's role in the speech he gave to the National Executive was that of a spokesperson for the Central Committee. Nyerere also wished that his role in delivering this speech to this more widely representative organ of the party should be interpreted as one of a spokesperson.

Rounds' (1987:22-25) observation regarding the use of the first person plural pronoun "we" in "the language produced by teachers in American University mathematics classrooms" (ibid.:) finds an echo in the results of this study regarding the use of hearer-exclusive "we" in the political oratory of Tanzanian Presidents. The difference is, however, that in Tanzanian Presidential oratory, the use of exclusive "we" seems to

serve the pragmatic function of creating "a perceptual atmosphere of consensuality" (ibid.:) among those who are members of political leadership bodies. Rather than help in "blurring the lines of group membership" (ibid.:) between speakers as representatives of organs of authority and hearers as the subjects of such organs of authority, exclusive- "we" is used to serve the pragmatic function of reminding the hearers that the speaker had to be listened to partly because he was a spokesperson for otherwise impersonal political power structures.

It is not surprising that scripted paragraphs seem to use hearer-exclusive first person plural pronouns (exclusive- "we") more than unscripted ones. It is also perhaps not surprising that first person singular pronouns ("I") are used less in scripted than in unscripted oratory. Similarly, the slightly greater use of hearer-exclusive first person possessive pronouns in scripted as opposed to unscripted paragraphs, can be said to co-relate with the uses of the first person singular and the hearer-exclusive first person plural pronouns discussed above.

As for the uses of the hearer-inclusive first person plural pronouns of which we find more in Mwinyi's scripted than in his unscripted oratory (while finding more in Nyerere's scripted paragraphs and only a few in his unscripted ones), appeal can be made to Brown and Levinson's (1978:188) notion of "positive politeness". The use of hearer-inclusive "we" as in Rounds' (1987:24-25) study referred to earlier, appears to serve the pragmatic function of "minimising the face-threatening act" of, for example, advising adult villagers to abandon certain behaviours and adopt new ones as in MUA/P9 and MUA/P10. This is normally done by "claiming common ground" and indicating that the speaker "belongs to some set of persons who share specific wants including goals and values" (Brown and Levinson 1978:180) which brackets the speaker and his audience together. When President Mwinyi style-shifts from the use of "m-" (you) in MUA/P8 to the use of "tu" (we) in MUA/P9,

MUA/P8

+samadi	hii	..	inataka	itunike	...
manure	this		it needs	it to be used	
(muitumie		vizuri	katika	mashamba	
you it should use		well	in	farms	
yenu+					
your					

This manure needs to be used. You must use it well in your farms.

MUA/P9

+hisiwe it should not be	samadi manure	((tuna)) we are	tumeipata we have it (we get to get it)
lakini ikawa ni but	godoro it is merely	is	tu la a mattress
kulalia to sleep on	ngombe cattle	wetu+ our	only for

We should not get manure only to allow it to be used as mattresses by our cattle.

an implicit attempt is being made by the speaker to "assure the addressee(s) that the speaker considers himself to be 'of the same kind'" (Brown & Levinson 1978:76-77) as the addressees. Here, there appears to be an attempt to indeed "blur the lines of group membership ... and diminish (the) intellectual polarity" (Rounds 1987:25) between those who tell people what the experts say is good for them and those who have to take such advice.

In the light of what has been discussed so far about first person singular and plural pronouns, "ni", "mi mi", etc., (for English "I") and "tu.", "sisi", etc., (for English inclusive and exclusive "we"), it is argued that Chafe's (1982:46) view that one can collapse together all first person references, including "I", "we", "me" and "us", and present them as a single index of a speaker's "involvement" with his audience, is misleading. The statistical values that Chafe (1982:46) offers as representing the differences between spoken and written discourse worked out on the basis of occurrences of the given set of pronouns per thousand words as shown in Table 9, clearly do not differentiate between first person singular and hearer-exclusive first person plural pronouns on the one hand and hearer-inclusive first person plural pronouns on the other.

It is possible to argue that such a distinction as "exclusive-we" and "inclusive-we" may not have led Chafe to significantly different results given the nature of his data which consisted of "dinner table conversations, lectures, personal letters and academic papers by 14 academic people (faculty and graduate students)" in the USA (Chafe 1982:36). However, one is still not convinced of the wisdom of taking the first person pronouns, without distinguishing between singular and plural as well as between hearer inclusive and hearer exclusive, as one of the indices of 'involvement' between the speaker and his audience. Although, in form, both the English and the Kiswahili realisations for the hearer-exclusive and the hearer-inclusive first person plural

pronouns are respectively the same (ie "we" for English and "sisi" or "tu-" for Kiswahili), the pragmatic functions of these two are certainly different. By definition, the hearer-exclusive "tu" (we) signals the function of 'detachment' with the audience, while the hearer-inclusive "tu" (we) signals the function of 'involvement'.

8.2.3 VARIATION IN USE OF SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

It is interesting that Chafe (1982:46) states in passing that second person reference would seem to be also a symptom of involvement, (but that) there were too few examples (in his data) to demonstrate anything of interest. In the study at hand, it is observed that very few second person singular references are made. In all, there were only two occurrences of second person singular pronouns and these were produced by Mr Mwinyi in MSA/P2. They were addressed to Mr Nyerere who was still acting as the Party Chairman in spite of having retired as the President, that office having been assumed by Mr Mwinyi for a year by then. So these will appear to be peculiar circumstances. The only other occasion on which "second person singular" references are made is when senior politicians on the same speaking rostrum as the speaker are being saluted. This, nevertheless, is normally done by the use of nominal rather than pronominal references. One is more likely to hear 'Ndugu Mwenyekiti' (Comrade Chairman) and very rarely "wewe" (you). Second person pronominal selections are associated with imperative sentence construction such as those more readily associated with teacher to pupil and army sergeant major to army recruit interactions.

Second person plural pronouns, on the other hand, are frequently used. Mwinyi used 12 of them in his unscripted paragraphs representing 22.6% of the total number of 53 of all the personal pronouns he used in the first 20 paragraphs he produced on that occasion. He used none in his scripted paragraphs. Nyerere for his part, used eight second person plural pronouns representing 14.5% of a total of 55 personal pronouns produced in his first 20 paragraphs of unscripted oratory produced on the given occasion. He used four of these representing 6.7% of a total of 61 personal pronouns he had used in his scripted paragraphs. One is tempted to conclude that more second person plural pronouns are used in unscripted than in the scripted paragraphs. But since Mwinyi does not use them at all in the scripted oratory, one is forced to exercise caution in interpreting these results. If by "involvement" with the audience one restricts oneself to instances where language is used to signal "visibility, reciprocity, informality, spontaneity, empathy and inconsequentiality" (Beaman 1984:49), then the second person plural - and the second person singular - are, indeed, instances of the speaker's involvement with the audience. If, on the other hand, 'involvement' was

extended to include signalling of "closeness" and "intimacy", in social status terms, then it should be obvious that the hearer-inclusive first person plural pronouns are a better index of such involvement than the second person plural pronoun.

8.2.4 COMPARISON OF PRAGMATIC FUNCTIONS

All in all, in both Mwinyi's and Nyerere's oratory, the use of second person plural pronouns is normally on such occasions as when the speaker is offering praise to the audience as in MUA/P5, MUA/P13 and MUA/P18 or when the speaker is attributing "common ground" among the hearers as part of the "common ground" between them and himself as in NSA/P2:

+kama ..	mlivyo ..	sikia ...
(as	you would have	heard)

As you would have heard.

Those seem to be occasions on which the speaker finds it necessary to address the hearers in his role as an animator as well as in that of an author or part author. It is reasonable in these circumstances to assume that second person plural pronouns would be used more in unscripted than in scripted oratory since second person pronouns - both singular and plural - together with first person pronouns are both singular and plural hearer-inclusive - would increase the perception of 'closeness', 'intimacy' and 'involvement' and reduce that of 'distance' and 'detachment'. The more 'impersonal' one's speech is, the less one will use both first and second person pronouns - be they singular or hearer-inclusive plural, possessive and reflexive. The more informal the speech, the less one would use the hearer-exclusive first person pronouns and the more one will use all the other categories of personal pronouns.

Table 15, which was related to earlier on, summarises what pragmatic variation one observes regarding the deployment of first, second and third person pronominal references in this kind of oratory. First person singular pronouns group together with second person singular and plural pronouns, as well as first person plural hearer-inclusive pronouns in being pronouns that are used more in the unscripted than in the scripted speeches of both Nyerere and Mwinyi. They also appear to serve as positive indices of the speaker's involvement with his/her audience.

TABLE 16**OCCURRENCES OF FIRST PERSON REFERENCES PER THOUSAND WORDS IN
SPOKEN AND WRITTEN DATA**

SPOKEN	WRITTEN
61.5	4.6

SOURCE: W L Chafe (1982:46) 'Integration and Involvement in Speaking, Writing, and Oral Literature' in Tannen D. (ed) Spoken and Written Language: Exploring and Literacy. New Jersey: Ablex Publishing Corporation.

First person plural hearer-exclusive pronouns, on the other hand, group together with third person singular and plural pronouns in constituting a good indicator of the speaker's attempt to pragmatically detach and distance him/herself from his/her audience and/or message. It is therefore not surprising perhaps, that they are used more in the scripted speeches of both Mwinyi and Nyerere than in their unscripted oratory. In this light, Chafe's (1982:412) results and conclusions (summarised in Table 16) regarding the use of first person pronouns (as a group) in determining the speaker's involvement or detachment and therefore, as a variable in differentiating spoken and written discourse, requires further clarification. Having demonstrated how necessary not to make the error of bracketing the first person **singular** pronoun together with the first person **plural** pronoun in pragmatic terms as Chafe (1982) had done, let us take a closer look at the theoretical framework which guided my examination of pronominal usage in TPKPO. The work by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) on politeness phenomena and face management was taken as a principal guide in the discussion.

8.3 FACE MANAGEMENT AND PERSONAL PRONOUNS USE

8.3.1 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In an attempt to provide further clarification of the contextual factors that could account for the variation in the use of personal pronouns within Tanzanian presidential political oratory, the concept of 'face management' developed by Brown and Levinson (1978, 1987) was also deployed in analysing a sample of texts from the data corpus.

The concept of 'face management' (Brown & Levinson 1987:13) takes into account elements of social interaction which have also been incorporated into the development of the concept of 'footing' by Goffman (1981) and the concept of 'audience design' by Bell (1984). The key two elements in any social interaction are 'speakers' and 'hearers'. Someone 'speaks' and someone else or some other people 'hear' what he/she has to say.

Take, for example, an extract from Mr Nyerere's speech to the CCM Party Congress in August 1990, when he referred to the candidate for the Party Vice Chairmanship thus:

NSB4/P23

+ndugu rashid wata .
comrade Rashid they will

(nisamehe)... mimi
me forgive I

namwita rashid
(PRESENT TENSE MARKER) him call Rashid

siku zote ... basi
days all so

msije mka.
you (PLURAL) should not you (get to)

mkashangaa+
you (PLURAL) (get to) surprised

Comrade Rashid will of course forgive me. I always call him Rashid so you (the delegates) should not be surprised.

In this extract the speaker refers to himself in the first person singular

ni samehe
me forgive

forgive me

and

mimi namwita
I (PRESENT TENSE MARKER) him call

I call him

In Goffman's terms (1981), as discussed in the previous section of this chapter, Mr Nyerere was adopting the speaker's 'participant frame' of 'animator', 'author' and 'principal' (all at once) in his interactional 'footing' for this particular stretch of his scripted speech. Indeed, the whole stretch is uttered rather like an after-thought with the verb phrase

ni samehe
me forgive

forgive me

of the first clause-like part of the 'spoken paragraph' (Lehiste 1975, 1979, 1980; Hinds 1979:136) produced with prosodic features of 'intonational subordination' (Roach

addressed to Mr Kawawa personally, and the other

msije mka .	mkashangaa
you should not	you (plural) (get to) you (plural)
	(get to) be surprised

You should not get surprised.

addressed (in the first instance) to the delegates of the Congress.

In Brown and Levinson's (1987:2) terms, Mr Nyerere could be said to have been engaged in saving Mr Kawawa's "self-esteem" or "face" in saying what he said in the extract above. He could also be said to have been engaged in saving the 'face' of all his other "hearers" on whom he was 'imposing' his idiosyncratic deployment of the Kiswahili honorific system.

8.3.2 DEFINITION OF FACE MANAGEMENT

'Face management' refers to the communicative acts which a speaker has to perform in his/her constant search for ways of minimising the effect of what Brown and Levinson (1987:10-11) call 'face-threatening acts' (henceforth referred to as FTA's). It is argued (ibid.:13) that all persons have two 'face-wants':

"the desire to be unimpeded in one's actions (negative face), and the desire (in some respects) to be approved of (positive face)"

Brown and Levinson (op cit.:61) further state that:

"Our notion of 'face' is derived from that of Goffman (1967) and from the English folk term, which ties face up with notions of being embarrassed or humiliated, or 'losing face'"

It is a notion which is clearly bound up with culturally sensitive

"ideas about the nature of the social persona, honour and virtue, shame and redemption and thus to religious concepts" (ibid.:13)

Success in speaking therefore requires the satisfaction of your 'hearers' face wants' ie the minimisation of any FTAs that may be embedded in one's messages. For Brown and Levinson (1987:62):

"We treat the aspects of face as basic wants, which every member knows every other member desires, and which in general it is in the interest of every member to partially satisfy."

It is assumed (ibid.:61) that:

"Since people can be expected to defend their faces if threatened, and in defending their own to threaten others' faces, it is in general in every participants' best interest to maintain each others' face."

It is these efforts on the part of every speaker to attend to the 'face-wants' of all of those spoken to which is called "face management". The strategies employed by speakers in maintaining the faces of his/her 'hearers' are the ones which are called politeness strategies (ibid.:2). Three politeness strategies have been identified (loc cit):

"'positive politeness' (roughly, the expression of solidarity), 'negative politeness' (roughly, the expression of restraint) and 'off-record (politeness)' (roughly, the avoidance of unequivocal impositions)"

Figures 1 and 2 provide in summary form, the elaboration of the first of these two strategies provided by Brown and Levinson (1987:214 & 131). Brown and Levinson (op cit.:23) then go on to observe that there is

"evidence for a tendency for higher strata in complex societies to be concerned especially with negative politeness, while lower strata elaborate internal positive politeness."

They (loc cit.) quote cross-linguistic studies (Levinson 1978; Head 1978; Wenger 1982) confirming

"that pluralization, substitution of third person for second person, and other person switches are widespread throughout the world, and common in that order."

Once more the observation made by Wilson (1990) regarding the universal nature of pronominal finds an echo in the quotation above. Let us explore this further, taking examples from TPKPO, by looking at the way pronominal 'pluralism' universally serves as a politeness marker.

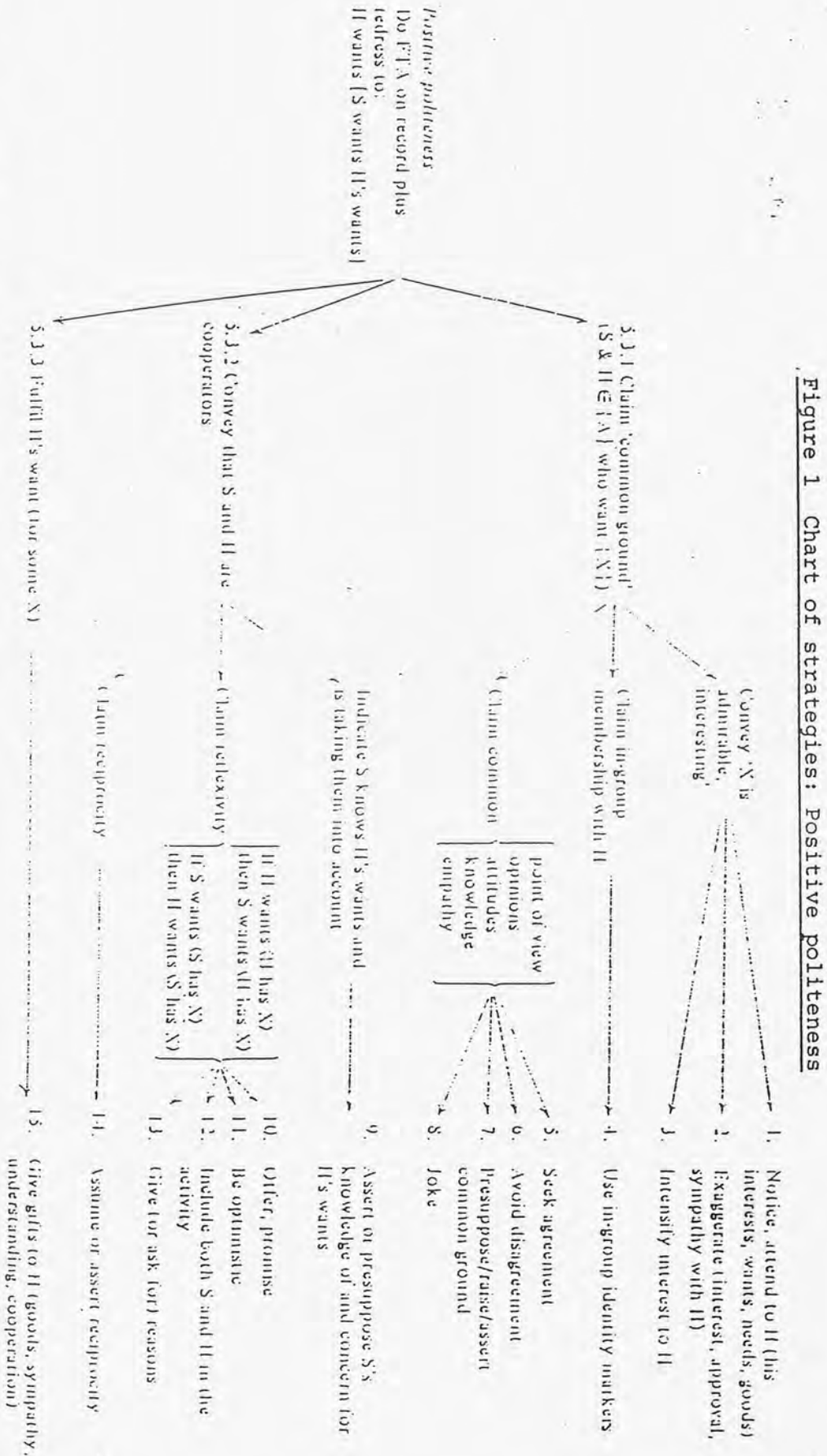
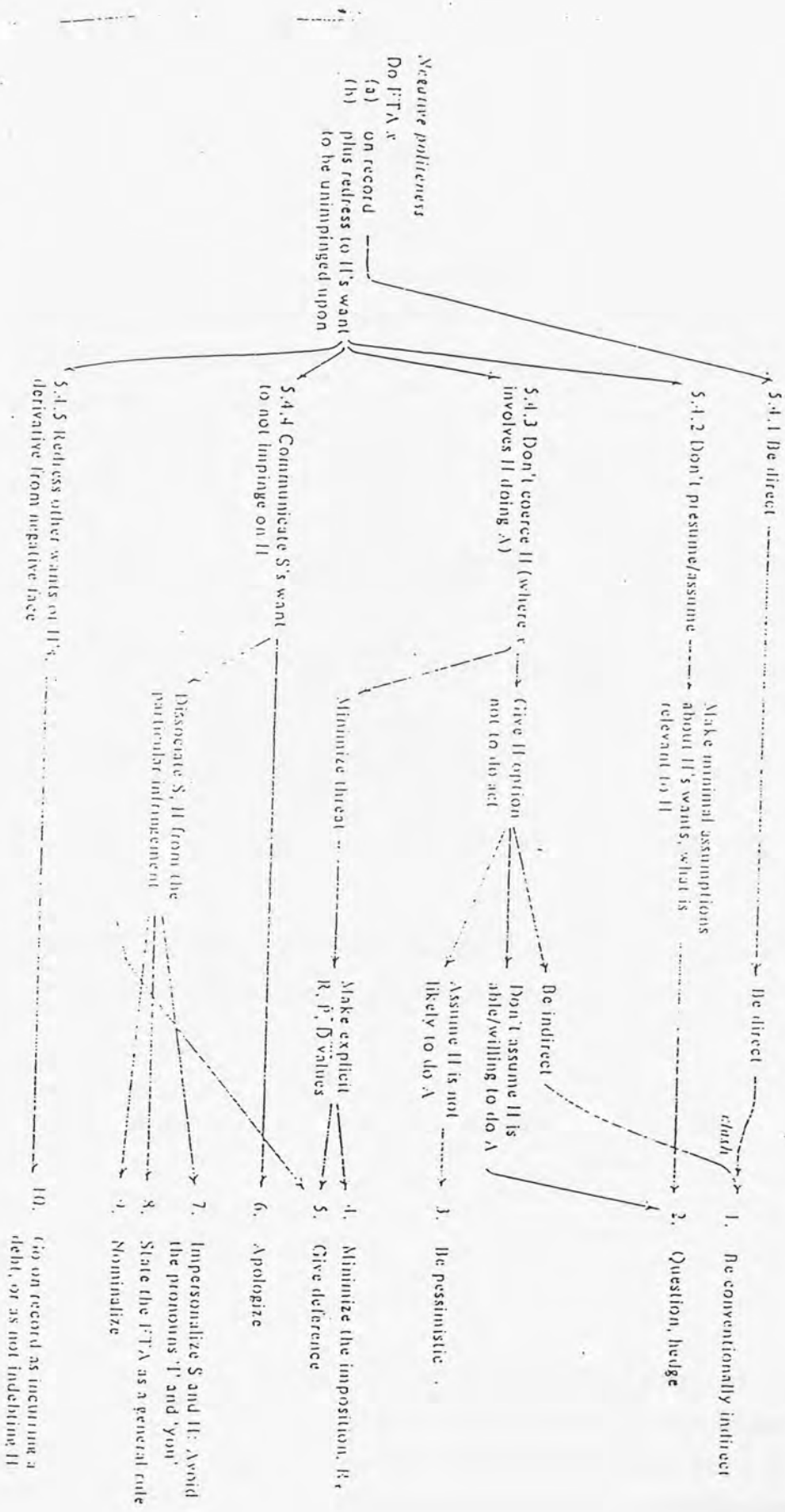


Figure 1 Chart of strategies: Positive politeness

Figure 2 Chart of strategies: Negative politeness



8.3.3 POLITENESS AND PERSONAL PRONOUNS

8.3.3.1 FIRST PERSON PRONOUNS

The observation that "plurality signifies respect" (Brown & Levinson 1987:180) is confirmed by the results of this study. One example of plurality is the style-switch from first person singular, which is the neutral choice for speaker self-reference, to first person plural hearer-inclusive. The switch is deployed as a positive politeness strategy for bringing "together (or merging) the points of view of the speaker and addressee", thus helping to reduce the distance between them (ibid.:119). A good example of the use of hearer-inclusive "tu" (we) in this way was mentioned in the previous section of this chapter:

MUA/P9

+hisiwe it should not be		samadi manure		((tuna)) we are		tumeipata we have it (we get to get it)
lakini but	ikawa it is merely	ni is	godoro a mattress	tu only	la for	
kulalia to sleep on	ngombe cattle	wetu+ our				

We should not get manure only to allow it to be used as mattresses by our cattle.

As mentioned before, President Mwinyi was here addressing a group of village peasants on the importance of these peasants using such manure and his use of

tumeipata
we have it

We get it.

and

ngombe **wetu**
cattle our

(Our cattle)

should not, of course, be interpreted literally. It is used simply as a technique in 'face management'. Telling people what is good for them is a 'face threatening act' and the President has to minimise the threat and satisfy the face wants of these peasants. Their positive face desires acknowledgement that they are equally capable of knowing what is good for them, while their negative face desires acknowledgement that they

have the freedom to act as they so wish (Brown and Levinson 1987:61). Cultural norms regarding age, self-esteem and personal wisdom and the requirement for deference on the part of President Mwinyi, who at the time of the speech delivery in 1986 had been President only for about a year, combined to determine the politeness norms that appear to be operating here. One observes similar pragmatic uses of pronominal pluralism where second person pronouns are concerned. To these let us now turn.

8.3.3.2 SECOND PERSON PRONOUNS

A good example of a style-switch from singular to plural which signifies 'respect' for a hearer's face, is the use to which Mr Nyerere put the third person plural 'wa' (they) in the extract quoted above:

NSB4/P23

+ndugu	rashid	wata .
comrade	Rashid	they will
(nisamehe)...		
me forgive		

Comrade Rashid, you will of course forgive me.

Here the negative face (Brown & Levinson 1987:70) of Mr Kawawa in the eyes of the more junior party functionaries constituting Congress delegates, was indeed under serious threat. Mr Nyerere must have realised this (as an afterthought) for he not only used the more 'intimate' third person plural pronoun to signal to the 'overhearers' and 'eavesdroppers' that he could not have meant an offence to Mr Kawawa because they were intimates, but also offered to lexicalize the 'face management' strategy in actually saying

nisamehee
me forgive

(forgive me)

It is interesting that Mr Nyerere again used the strategy of employing the third person pronoun to refer to President Ali Hassan Mwinyi when he was recommending him to the Congress for the Congress to elect him the Party's Chairman on Mr Nyerere's

retirement. The difference, though, was that Mr Mwinyi was never referred to in the third person plural pronoun. Here is the extract in question:

NSB4/P11

+nasema.. (PRESENT say TENSE MARKER)	ndugu comrade	raisi President	alipoanza he (PAST started TENSE MARKER)
mambo things	haya .. these	yakwenda of going	new street new street
mara meanwhile	nasikia get to hear	yuko he over there	arusha Arusha
matatizo problems	ya of	arusha.. Arusha	lakini aende but he to go
akae mahala .. he to sit somewhere	wamjje they he come to him	watu people	
mmoja one	mmoja one	hivi this	
asikie he to listen	shida zao .. problems their	sasa Now	
viongozi leaders	wetu wa our in	arusha Arusha	
wamekwenda they have gone	wapi ... where	atoke he go away	hapo from there
aende tabora .. ego Tabora	nasikia (I) to hear	leo today	
sijui .. (I) don't know	raisi President	yuko there in	tabora .. Tabora
anasikiliza he listens to	shida problems	az of	watu people
mmoja one (by)	mmoja ... one	raisi President	wetu our
Tunamzungusha We make him go round	nchini in the country		
kutazama ma. to view	matatizo problems	ya of	mtu person

mmoja one by one	mmoja ... (I) say	nasema I (PAST TENSE MARKER)	nili
nilimuwambia .. I told him	yeye he	ni is	msomi a scholar
wa of	misaafu .. the hold books	nikamwelekeza I gave him directions	
sura chapter	ile .. that	akaisome+ he to go and read	

I am saying that as soon as our President started allowing himself to make a trip say to Arusha solely for the purpose of meeting ordinary citizens and listening to their problems directly, one must ask oneself as to what are the regional leaders doing who are supposed to help him. It is outrageous that we are letting our President to be overworked in this way. From time to time I hear that he has gone to Arusha. Another time I hear he has gone to Tabora. All these trips he makes in order to go and try and resolve the problems of individual citizens one at a time. It is outrageous that we should let our President travel around the country in order to do these sorts of things. I am saying I told the President who is an avid reader of holy scripts to go and read a relevant passage from the holy script.

Indeed, the whole narration by Mr Nyerere proceeded as if Mr Mwinyi was not present as one of the ratified hearers at this Party Congress. But actually, Mr Mwinyi - like Mr Kawawa, - was sitting beside Mr Nyerere as he spoke on a raised platform in front of all the delegates to this special Party Congress which was convened to elect the Chairman of the Party upon Mr Nyerere's voluntary retirement at the end of the said congress. So Mr Nyerere adopted as his strategy for managing the 'negative face' threat to Mr Mwinyi², the use of the past tense combined with third person singular pronounal forms, 'yeye' (he) and 'a' (he), thus making that part of his oratory to sound like a fictional narrative embedded in his 'current' speech. Brown and Levinson (1987) refer to politeness strategies such as these as 'points-of-view operations' where the speaker "speaks as if the coding time (ie the central time) were located in a past event" (ibid.:118).

The notion of 'face management' allows one to be able to observe subtle deployment of pronouns to signal power relationships within an apparently monolithic political system. Together with ironic laughter (which was discussed in Chapter 4) by the orator, the personal pronoun system acts as a resource for senior politicians using oratory to influence the political actions of fellow senior politicians. However, the strategies that Brown and Levinson (1987) developed to account for 'face management'

"were never intended as an exhaustive taxonomy of utterance styles, but rather as an open-ended set of procedures for message construction and they therefore do not necessarily provide sensible categories for quantitative research" (ibid.:21-22)

It is clear from our analysis here nevertheless, that the theoretical framework adopted in this study yield results that may be of interest in quantitative terms. In the concluding chapter that follows, suggestions are made regarding how the mainly qualitative observations that are made in this study can be followed up from a more empirical stand perspective. Such a follow up should be in a position to shed more light on issues that are raised in the works by Rounds (1987), Maitland & Wilson (1985), Wilson (1990), and Lwaitama (1990).

NOTES

¹It is worth noting that no Tanzanian politician has ever referred to Mr Julius Nyerere as 'Ndugu Julius' in contexts where Mr Nyerere was one of the ratified hearers, overhearers or eavesdroppers! He has always been addressed as 'Mwalimu Nyerere', 'Mwalimu', "Ndugu Mwenyekiti", or "Ndugu Raisi". He, on the other hand, addresses President Mwinyi as 'Ndugu Raisi' or 'Ndugu Ali'. I have never heard him address Mr Mwinyi as 'Ali' like he refers to Mr Kawawa as 'Rashid'.

²(vis à vis almost all of the ratified hearers, over-hearers and eavesdroppers listening to Mr Nyerere's speech by virtue of Mr Mwinyi being the President of the country even though, at this stage of this Party Congress, he was still the Party Vice-Chairman and therefore still subordinate in status to the Chairman, Mr Nyerere.)

CHAPTER NINE

CONCLUSION AND IMPLICATIONS

"The truth is that in many aspects of politics, style and substance complement each other. Very often they are two sides of the same coin."

- Sir Geoffrey Howe, announcing his resignation as Deputy Prime Minister in the British House of Commons on 13th November 1990, quoted in The Independent (London) of 14th November 1990 p.8.

9.1 OVERVIEW

The growing interest in the language of political leadership among linguists (Atkinson 1984; Geis 1987; Wilson 1990; Gaffney & Kolinsky 1991) has coincided with the major global socio-political changes that have taken place since the oil crisis in 1973, and which culminated in the assumption of political leadership by strong and highly personalised political figures in several countries in Western Europe (eg Mrs Thatcher in the UK; Mr Mitterrand in France) and North America (eg Mr Reagan in the USA) in the early 1980s (Lwaitama 1985). In the shadow of these political changes in the First World, countries like Tanzania have also witnessed major personnel changes in their senior political leadership.

These changes have attracted even greater and wider academic interest among social scientists in the wake of the changes that have taken place in Eastern Europe since the mid and late 1980s (Lwaitama 1990b). In Tanzania, Mr Nyerere, who had dominated the entire 23 years of its first republican phase retired as its first post-independent president in November 1985 to be replaced by Mr A H. Mwinyi (Hodd 1988, Othman et al 1990). Referring to this change in the political leadership of Tanzania, Samoff (1990:12), a political scientist, has made a link between change in political substance and change in political discourse style. This is how Samoff (loc cit. :) puts it:

"The experts have displaced the politicians as the current dominant voice in the struggle for power in Tanzania. A political perspective that understood development as fundamentally a political process and that emphasised politicisation, mobilisation, and to some extent socialism, guided Tanzanian political discourse in the late 1960s and the mid 1970s. The early 1980s saw a return to the view that development is principally a technical process, though of course requiring a supportive political environment".

The critical language study of the political oratory of Mr Nyerere and Mr Mwinyi whose results have been presented in this thesis, linguistic corroboration was sought for claims such as those made above by Samoff (loc cit. :). As we have seen in the previous four

chapters Tanzanian Presidential Kiswahili Political Oratory (TPKPO) was found to vary along a number of dimensions. The said variation impinged on the deployment of the following language forms:

- a) prosodic features which effect pausing, intonation subordination and some humour behaviour like laughing;
- b) syntactic devices like the use of existential and passive clauses which help in the staging of message chunks;
- c) vocabulary choices resulting in the nouns versus verbs ratio characterising given message chunks;
- d) Vocabulary choices resulting in the extent to which adjectives and adverbs are used as markers of evidentiality and affect (eg 'kwa ukweli kabisa'(in complete truthfulness)) by the given presidential orator; and
- e) pronominal selection which is manipulated to realise face management or politeness.

The dimensions along which the use of the linguistic forms above varied include:

- i) The speech mode dimension ie the style of speech delivery varying according to whether the speech was scripted or unscripted. The study shows that the scripted versus unscripted distinction tended to mirror the extent to which features that typifies written discourse are deployed in the given spoken text; scripted oratory deployed more written discourse features than unscripted oratory did;
- ii) The audience design dimension ie the influence which is exerted on the speech delivery by the socio-political profiles of the participants of the speech event (eg whether the ratified audience consists of village peasants, senior national political leaders, or a mixture of peasants, workers and politicians ie 'the masses'); and,
- iii) the physical setting dimension ie the indirect influence which is exerted on the speech delivery by factors such as whether the speech is delivered in an assembly hall, in an open field in a village, in a town's football stadium, or at a city square.

Since written language is often associated with authority and spoken language with casualness inter and intra speaker variation on the spoken versus written dimension must be of interest to a critical linguist. Overall, it was found that the way in which ex-President Nyerere and President Mwinyi deployed language both in their scripted and

unscripted speeches provided confirmation for the observation that in politics (if not in all other areas of human communication) style is indeed inseparable from substance.

9.2 SALIENT OBSERVATIONS FROM THE STUDY RESULTS

As the preceding chapters show, one can also make a series of points relating to the inter and intra speaker stylistic variation within TPKPO. Firstly, J K Nyerere whose style of speech delivery tended to be "bookish" (Halliday 1985:8) and "bombastic" (Saville-Troike 1982:174) was also the one who incontestably qualified as the foremost "ideology-builder" (Blommaert 1990) of Tanzanian society at least in the 1960's through to the 1980's. This is an apparent paradox which may be resolved by adopting the view that nationalist and social welfarist 'ideology-building' requires the use of 'bookish' scripted oratory more than 'free-enterprise' ideology-blurring oratory. Ideology-building seeks the creation of political consensus and homogeneity which are best encouraged by the promotion of a given set of written and thus standardised political texts as sacred. Incorporation of these secular holy-writs in spoken monologues gives the relevant oratory a 'bombastic' and 'bookish' slant.

Secondly, A H Mwinyi, whose style of political oratory was invariably analysable as "colloquial" (Halliday, *Loc cit.:*) and "warm" (Saville-Troike, *loc cit.:*) tended to play more the role of an 'ideology-blurrer' and less that of an 'ideology-builder' in his references to the governing party's sacred political documents. He tended to interpret the connotative meaning range of ideologically important nominal expressions such as "unyapara" (over-lordship or bossiness) and "mfanya biashara" (business person or capitalist) in an idiosyncratic manner. Indeed, he used fewer nominal expressions and deployed more verbs in his speeches than Mr Nyerere. Mr Mwinyi also used fewer passive and existential constructions than Mr Nyerere. These language use tendencies on Mr Mwinyi's part, point to an orientation towards politics which encourages ideological pluralism and heterogeneity in political organisation.

Thirdly, it was the "ideology-builder", J K Nyerere, who tended to use laughter and other prosodic features to humour his strictures against fellow political leaders whom he tended to 'harangue' more than 'lecture'. He, however, tended to adopt the 'lecture' style of deploying speaker 'detachment' markers like the use of exclusive 'we', the third person pronouns, and existential and passive constructions whenever he wished to explain to the 'masses' the nature of a given political crisis with the view to resolving it through the psychotherapy of his oratory. Observations made in a study (Groenewegen 1990) of the style of academic lecturing of a late nineteenth century economics professor at Cambridge University in the UK, Alfred Marshall, could have equally applied to Mr

Nyerere's political oratory style. This is what Groenewegen (op cit.:44) claims was said of Professor Marshall's lecturing style:

"...eyes lit up ,now talking easily, now chuckling over some story, now questioning his class, now pausing impressively, with rapt expression, his eyes in a far corner of the room, now speaking in solemn prophetic tones of some problem of the future. Humour played an important part in his lectures. He had good stories, and no one enjoyed their fun more than himself."

Ex- President Nyerere's style was identical in many respects to that of Professor Marshall, described above, especially when ever it was a mass rally he happened to be addressing. Presumably, assuming the role of a traditional village wise person (ie the 'mwalimu'(teacher)) on those occasions, Mr Nyerere preferred to highlight the institutional nature of the mass mobilisation which he deemed nation-building to require than to stress the personalised roles individuals like him played in these nation-building processes. It may be noted here that one of the apparent paradoxes of modern political leadership styles is that strong leaders stress the importance of ordinary people in political processes more than apparently weak politicians do. (See Gaffney 1989 for a more detailed discussion of the role personalised presidentialism has played in the articulation of French republicanism which on the face of it is premised on the notion of the sovereignty of the ordinary French citizen.)

Fourthly, President Mwinyi, for his part, has been shown to prefer speaker 'involvement' markers such as the use of hearer inclusive 'we', the first person singular pronouns, and the use of a greater proportion of verbs than nouns in constructing message chunks. His speech style is in perfect accord with the trend towards "ideology-blurring" which seems to have gradually become a distinct characteristic of the political disposition of the Tanzanian Government ever since the acute economic crisis of the late 1970s and early 1980s forced it to accept financial loan facilities from the International Monetary Fund (IM)F in 1986 with the usual anti-social welfarist conditions attached (Samoff op cit.). It is perhaps relevant to the discussion so far to remind ourselves that Mr A H Mwinyi became the President of Tanzania in 1985 and that it was his government (rather than that of Mr Nyerere) which signed the agreement accepting the IMF's economic restructuring plans for Tanzania. These plans accelerated the erosion of the ideological outlook of the country as enshrined in the Arusha Declaration. The need for ideology-blurring on the part of Tanzania's political leaders fits in very well with the political mood of the ratified hearers of TPKPO in the late 1980's and early 1990's. Mr Mwinyi's presidency seems to have been characterised by the desire to play down the role and sacrosanctity of institutions and play up the role of individual enterprise and personal responsibility as in a private company. As Rubagumya (1990:18) has put it:

"With the establishment of the second republic in 1985 under President Mwinyi, the emphasis shifted from socialist rhetoric to market-oriented management of the economy in order to satisfy IMF conditionalities."

In general though, style is inseparable from substance even where intra-speaker speech delivery differences are concerned. The study provides support for observations that have been made by several linguists (Halliday 1985a; Kress 1983:128; Bolinger 1980) to the effect that the more institutionalised a piece of discourse is, the more it will tend to express 'reality' as 'a product' rather than as 'a process'. Hence, the tendency for scripted oratory to employ more nouns than verbs in its description of political realities, whereas unscripted oratory deploys more verbs than nouns. Hence, also, the tendency for speeches delivered at mass rallies in open fields, or in city stadiums or at city squares to deploy more verbs than nouns. Hence, too, that such speeches are often characterised by greater use of prosodic features in eliciting audience responses such as applause than the same can be said of speeches delivered to assemblies of politicians in town halls or village school staff rooms.

Several theoretical implications arise from these salient observations derived from the study results.

9.3 THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS

In a critical language study of presidential oratory in the USA, Geis (1987: ix) has observed that:

"When we listen to a president (or any other person who is speaking to us), we are not passive receptors of what is said, but instead construct the messages that we "hear" on the basis of what we think we are hearing. Thus, much of what we take our president to have said may be our contribution, not his."

In the light of our analysis of Tanzanian presidential political speeches in the preceding chapters, the view that Geis expresses above cannot be taken to be literally true. Presidential political orators are successful to the extent to which they are able to anticipate what their audience expects to "hear". They, thus, normally seek to encourage their audience to interpret what they say in a particular way rather than in another. Therefore, it should follow that a critical listener can often work out from a text what a given presenter wished his/her listeners to take as what he/she has said on a given occasion. In a critical language study of presidential political oratory, therefore, the aim should be one of working out as many plausible message interpretations as a given president can be presumed to have been in a position to encourage his/her audience to make of what he/she happened to be saying.

To make this exercise in message reconstruction systematic, linguistic elements such as pronouns are suggested as indices of particular speaker-induced pragmatic biases. It is also suggested that an intensive analysis of the slips of the tongue or any other signs of 'repair work' (Fromkin 1988, Li in preparation) may yield pragmatically interesting results. Many studies of speech errors are based on a view of Chomskyan Performance errors which is summarised in the following observation:

"Give me fruitful error any time, full of seeds, bursting with its own corrections."

-Vifredo Pareto (Quoted in Mackay (1981) itself quoted in Fromkin 1988)

Since the aim in an exercise of this kind is to "focus on language as a social process" (Tannen 1984: xiii) and thus to "explore how language is actually used" (ibid.:) all instances of apparent speech errors are presumed to be meaningful. This is why we take the view that tied-up versions of presidential political speeches are unhelpful from the standpoint of the goals of critical discourse analysis (Fairclough 1985).

Wilson (1990:183) is correct in saying that the function of an analysis of political language is to apply some linguistic concepts such as pronominal selection in the description of a piece of political discourse. To have viewed the investigation which I undertook as an exercise in "a critique of specific political issues" (ibid.:182) would have been an exercise in substituting one type of 'reification' or 'myth-making' with another. What we have demonstrated, however, is that prosodic features, message staging, the verbs versus nouns ration, the various uses of adjectives and adverbs, as well as pronominal selection, served as "ideologically sensitive linguistic tools" (loc cit.:) in the hand of Tanzanian Presidential Kiswahili Political Orators (TPKPOs).

Further research work will be required to validate much of what are offered as qualitative observations of trends and possibilities in the use of the given linguistic forms by presidential speakers in encouraging or undermining given "interpretative repertoires" (Potter & Wetherell 1989:176) or "members resources" (MR) in Fairclough's (1989) terminology. Quantitative research into a more validated set of linguistic forms which matches with an equally more validated set of "versions of action, social processes and societal structures" (Potter & Wetherell, loc. cit.:) may also reinforce or clarify some of the practical implications of the present study.

9.4 PRACTICAL IMPLICATIONS

Three practical implications of the study can readily be identified. The first implication is that although as a largely ethnographic investigation, it does not permit of quantitative generalizations based on its findings, nevertheless it highlights some of the distinctive features of Tanzanian presidential Kiswahili political oratory as a sub-genre (Swales 1990) or sub-language (Kittredge & Lehrberger 1982; Graustein & Thiele 1981) within the subject field of political discourse (Seidel 1985). We can take as an illustration of the practical value of the present qualitative study the more systematic support it gives to anecdotal journalistic accounts of Tanzanian political discourse such as that by Obe (1990). In Obe's (op cit.:) study for example, Julius Nyerere is reputed to use "a spontaneous outburst"(ibid.:5) of laughter as a way of "stressing a point" (loc.cit.:) relating to an issue about which Mr Nyerere has spotted "contradictions and absurdities" (loc.cit.:) in the way his perceived opponents handle the said issue. Mr Nyerere's use of humour was in indeed one of the features of his political oratory style which emerges from the analysis of his speeches discussed in Chapter Four of this thesis. Confirmation is also provided for the need for close analysis of pronominal selection whenever presidential speeches are analyzed irrespective of cultural or idiosyncratic peculiarities (Wilson 1990:53-54; 62). (See Chapter Eight).

Furthermore, confirmation is provided of the need to analyse the vocabulary of TPKPO very exhaustively, stressing a "conflictual" (Rubagumya 1990) rather than an "appropriacy" (Fairclough, forthcoming) understanding of the political modernization processes in Tanzania. This will guard against the tendency to see political modernization in Third World countries like Tanzania as mere imitations of processes taking place in Europe or North America.(See Chapters Six and Seven). Even the message staging features of Mr Julius Nyerere and Mr Ali Hassan Mwinyi are shown to demonstrate the need for media (eg Obe (op cit.:) and academic (eg Samoff op cit.:) political commendatory on the speeches of presidents to include all instances of asides, 'repair work' and back channelling as part of the communication behaviour analyzed rather than to ignore these as 'performance errors' in the best Chomskyan tradition. (See Chapter Five).

The second practical implication of the study is that answers have been provided for a whole range of questions which guided this investigation (See Section 1.6 of Chapter One):

- (a) The reported variation between spoken and written language does indeed find parallels in the observed inter and intra-speaker variation within the given spoken monologue ie within TPKPO. It will be interesting to find out whether similar parallels can be found with respect to religious sermons and university lectures. (See the work by Groenewegen (1990)

on Alfred Marshall a Professor of Political Economy at Cambridge University, UK from 1885-1908).

- (b) The use of certain linguistic patterns such as passivation and nominalization is indeed found to be manipulatable in order to give certain messages political legitimacy by making them easily interpretable as 'common sensical' or 'natural'.
- (c) Even in a predominantly 'orate' society such as Tanzania, it was shown that references to sacred political documents in the written mode such as constitutions and election manifestos tended to confer authoritativeness to spoken monologic messages. It will be interesting to evaluate the significance which documents like the Arusha Declaration of 1967 and the CCM Party Guidelines of 1971/81 will continue to be in the construction of legitimacy in presidential oratory since Tanzania's adoption of political multipartism as after February 1992.
- (d) It was also shown, especially in Chapters Five (on message staging) and Eight (on pronominal selection), that some of the intra-speaker and inter-speaker linguistic variations within TPKPO can be accounted for by appealing to the view that delivering a presidential speech exerts contradictory demands on the speaker as a 'principal', 'author', and 'animator' (Goffman 1981) - all rolled into one - of a speech which, even if unscripted, he/she would have had to 'prepare' jointly with his/her political peers. Even when it was a one-party state, it was superficial (Paxman 1990: vii) to see the President as someone who did not need to negotiate the imposition of his/her political will with a multiplicity of political actors (Mazrui 1986:185).

The third, practical implication of this study is that it draws into sharp focus the need to undertake a wider study of political discourse in Tanzania. Such a wider study could address two areas of analysis. Firstly, a comparison can be made of the language used by politicians at village, district, regional and national levels. Secondly, investigation can be undertaken regarding possible variation in the accounts or news versions of a given presidential political speech which mass media provides to their audiences. (See Nwogu 1990 for a similar study in the field of the popularisation of scientific research findings.) Such a study would seek to link the study of political discourse with the study of mass media communication (Van Dijk 1985). This should have practical implications regarding the training of mass media personnel (and political consultants) in Tanzania.

One further area of in-depth analysis could also be the extent to which individual politicians have made an impact on Kiswahili political vocabulary. This is important especially in the light of the possible future adoption of Kiswahili as a continent-wide African lingua franca (Maw & Parkin 1984; Bijabafumu 1986; Ngugi 1990). The influence that the leaders of the anti-colonial nationalist movements like Julius K Nyerere and the late Jomo Kenyatta have had on modern Kiswahili political discourse should merit systematic investigation in its own right. These two have been leaders of

what Gaffney (1991:7) has termed "currents of thought" in the global Pan-Africanist political movement of peoples of African ancestry (Campbell 1991). Julius Nyerere is also often regarded as one of the foremost leaders of the peoples of the Third World (Goldthorpe 1975; Cohen & Daniel 1981; Mazrui 1986; Hulme & Turner 1990). A thorough study of the contribution of these two to the modernization of Kiswahili vocabulary should be of interest to linguists as well as to philosophers, sociologists, political scientists and anthropologists.

9.5 FINAL COMMENT

In conclusion, it can be observed that the study reported on in this thesis has provided qualitative confirmation for the view that a critical language study of institutional monologue (eg sermons, lectures and political oratory) can help a discourse analyst to further clarify the relationship between language and society. The study has shown the kind of insights that can be gained in our understanding of language as a mode of social action (Yahya-Othman 1989:65) when we analyse critically the language which politicians (and other leaders in society) use when they are carrying out their public speech making engagements. The research work that Bloch (1975) pioneered has been carried further in a comparative sense by the work on the language of political leadership in contemporary Europe and North America (Wilson 1990; Gaffney & Kolinsky 1991; Geis 1987).

The unique contribution of my study is its demonstration of the dialectical relationship between , on the one hand, persuasion for mass ideological mobilisation and the need to encourage the view that institutions and the written word are sacrosanct, and on the other, persuasion for mass ideological de-mobilisation and the need to encourage the view that institutions and written documents can have their roles and meanings interpreted in a laissez-faire way according to individual preferences. The ideology-builder and strong leader like Julius Nyerere sought to 'mask' (ie channel) his personal influence on events by according such influence sacred documental expressin while the apparently much more collectionist leadership of, someone like Ali Hassan Mwinyi tended to project itself as more personalised (and thus syncretically more democratized) with individual cabinet members (including the President) taking individual responsibility for the articulation and interpretation of government policy.

The study of presidential oratory in Tanzania adds an African dimension to the growing research agenda mentioned earlier of the language of political leadership. Studies like my own also provide a foundation on which one may base the organisation of language

awareness programmes (Clark et al 1988) for politicians. As E M Forster in A Passage to India (quoted in Tannen 1984) puts it:

"A pause in the wrong place, an intonation misunderstood and a whole conversation went awry".

Language awareness programmes (even by way of newspaper articles by discourse analysts) may also result in citizens being trained to be able to listen (and read) political texts critically with the view to always seeking to attack the fetishism which texts may acquire when they are interpreted in the most 'common sensical' and 'natural' way possible. (Shapiro 1982, Fairclough 1989). Because style is inseparable from substance, linguistic studies of institutional spoken monologues ought to equip citizenry with the linguistic means to be able to distinguish between speeches which are 'sincere' from those that make a pretence at being sincere. Making a pretence at being 'warm' and 'sincere' has been the trademark of the recent 'colonisation' of formal speech styles by informal speech style resulting in what Fairclough (1990:19) has termed 'simulated' or 'synthetic' 'personalisation' and 'democratisation.' Within the genre of political oratory this trend towards the use of 'synthetic' democratisation has coincided with the assumption of political leadership in the First World by forces of the political right like Mr Reagan and Mrs Thatcher. The present study indicates a similar trend at work in the Tanzania of the 1980's and 1990's. In these circumstances, one of the goals of a critical discourse analyst could be the provision of analyses of political oratory which enabled citizens to warn their leaders in the words of William Shakespeare (Hamlet, Act I, Scene 3) thus:

"This above all:
to thine own self be true
And it must follow
as night the day
Though canst not then be
false to any man"

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APPENDIX 1 "MSA" (DATA)

(TRANSCRIPT OF SCRIPTED SPEECH BY MR A H MWINYI, PRESIDENT UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA TO MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE RULING POLITICAL PARTY, THE CHAMA CHA MAPINDUZI, SITTING IN DAR ES SALAAM IN NOVEMBER 1986: ORIGINAL KISWAHILI VERSION) (APPROXIMATELY 6 MINUTES DURATION) (APPROXIMATE LITERAL ENGLISH GLOSSES PROVIDED)

P1

+ndugu mwenyekiti .. wa Chama cha Mapinduzi ...
comrade chairman of Party of Revolution

ndugu wajumbe .. wa Halmashauri Kuu ya
comrade delegates of Executive Supreme of

Chama ...+
Party

P2

+kwanza kabisa ..napenda kutoa shukrani zangu
first foremost I want to give appreciation my

.. za dhati kabisa .. kwako wewe .. (ndugu
which genuine very to you you comrade

mwenyekiti) .. na kwa wajumbe woote .. wa
chairman and to delegates all of

Halmashauri Kuu ya Taifa .. kwa kunipa
Executive Supreme of Nation for giving me

nafasi hii .. kutoa taarifa .. ya shughuli
opportunity this to give report of activities

za selikari .. katika kipindi .. cha mwaka mmoja
of government during period of year one

uliopita .. pamoja na matarajio .. na
which has passed together with expectations and

kazi zinazotukabili .. siku za usoni+
work which us face days of future

P3

+mwezi huu wa Novemba .. unaikamilishia awamu ya
month this of November it completes for phase of

pili umri wa mwaka mmoja+
second age of year one

P4

+mwaka huu .. (kama miaka mingine) ... ulikuwa na
year this like years other it was with
miezi kumi na mbili .. zenye siku .. za jumla ..
months ten and two which had days of total ..
mia tatu na sitini na tano+
hundred three and sixty and five

P5

+huo ni muda mrefu .. kwa yule asiye kuwa na
that is time long for one who has not have with
kazi ya kumshughulisha+
work of to keep him/she busy

+[[AUDIENCE MUTED LAUGHTER]]+

P6

+lakini kwa wale wenye .. wenye kazi muhimu ..
But for those with with work important
na hasa ya kuongoza taifa .. kama sisi
and especially of leading a nation like us
tulioko hapa .. mwaka huu umepita kwa
who are here year this it has passed with
kasi kama kufumba na kufumbua+
pace like closing eyes and opening eyes

+[[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+

P7

+kwa sababu .. tulikabiliwa na kazi kubwa ..
because we were faced with work great ..
sina shaka hata kidogo .. kwamba sote ..
I have not doubt single movement that all ..
tuliomo katika ukumbi huu .. wajumbe wa
we who are inside hall this delegates of
Halmashauri Kuu .. na wenzetu walio nje
Executive Supreme and colleagues who are outside

ya ukumbi huu .. (kama vile viongozi wa wizara
of hall this like say leaders of ministries

na idara .. viongozi wa mashiraka ya
and departments leaders of corporations of

umma .. na viongozi wa vyama vya (ushi)
public and leaders of societies of co-op

vya ushirika .. wakulima .. na wafanya kazi)
of co-operatives peasants and workers

.. mwaka huu kwao .. umepita kama
year this to them it has passed like

kufumba na kufumbua+
opening eyes and closing eyes

P8

+kwa hivyo .. kama ingebidi tuungame ..
therefore if it would have to confess ..
been necessary

baadhi ya wale tuliomo .. ndani ya ukumbi
some of those we who are inside of hall

huu .. tungeungama+
this we would have confessed

P9

+kwamba ndani ya nyoyo zetu .. tulikuwa
that inside of hearts our .. we were

tukitamani .. siri siri .. siku zende pole pole
we had wished in secret .. days they go slowly

.. na kwamba .. mwezi wa Novemba ukawie
and that month of November it should delay

kufika .. ili angalau .. tuwahi kukusanya ..
to arrive so at least we hasten to

na kusomba mazao yetu (kutoka vijijini) ..
and to transport produce our from villages ..

kabla ya kipindi cha mvua hakijaanza+
before of period of rain it has not started

P10

+kwani sote tunajua .. kuwa Novemba .. (kwa
because we all we know that November .. by

desturi yake) .. haiji peke yake ..
 custom its it does not come alone

uja na mvua+
 it comes with rain

P11

+huo mwenyekiti .. ni mmoja wapo wa ushaidi ..
 that chairman is one of the of victories

kwamba .. (kwa baadhi yetu) .. mwaka wa kwanza
 that for some of us year of first

wa awamu ya pili .. umepita kwa kasi za
 of phase of second it has passed with pace of

kimbunga+
 the hammartan

P12

+nia yangu .. ilikuwa nikuitembetea mikoa yoote
 purpose my it was visiting regions all

katika kipindi hiki cha mwaka wa kwanza ...
 within period this of year of (the first)

ili (miongoni mwa mamhbo mengine) .. nitumie
 so that among of things others I (to) use

nafasi hiyo .. pai kuwashukuru wanachi ..
 chance that also to them thank citizens

kwa kunichagua kuwa raisi wao+
 for to me choose to be president their

+[[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+

P13

+hali kadhalika .. kufanya hivyo .. kungewapa
 situation (the) same to do so/that would have given

wananchi nao .. nafasi ya kumuona kwa macho
 citizens themselves opportunity of to him see with eyes

yao .. yule ambaye .. (mwenzi wao) ..
 own that (one) who mate their

waliyemchagua+
 they themselves him elected

P14

+lakini .. kufumba na kufumbua .. mwaka
however to close and to open (eyes) the year

umepita .. kabla sijawai kutembelea hata
it has passed before I had managed to visit even

nusu ya mikoa yetu+
half of regions our

P15

+nilichowai kufanya .. nikutembelea mikoa tisa
what I had to do is to visit regions nine
managed

tu .. katika mikoa ishirini ya Tanzania Bara ..
only out of regions twenty of Tanzania Mainland

nayo ni Kigoma .. Tabora .. Kilimanjaro ..
which are Kigoma Tabora Kilimanjaro

Tanga .. Ruvuma .. Iringar .. Pwani ..
Tanga Ruvuma Iringa Pwani

Morogoro .. na Dar es Salaam+
Morogoro and Dar es Salaam

P16

+nimevutiwa sana .. na juhudi za wananchi ..
I have been very by efforts of country people
impressed by

kwa kujiletea maendeleo .. katika mikoa hiyo ...
for to themselves development in regions those
bring

na hasa .. mkoa wa Morogoro .. Ruvumma .. na
and especially region of Morogoro Ruvuma and

Iringa+
Iringa

[[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]

P17

+napenda kuwashukuru viongozi wa mikoa hiyo .. kwa
I want to them thank leaders of regions those for

kuelekeza nguva za wananchi .. katika shughuli
guiding energies of country people in activities

za maendeleo .. na hasa .. katika kilimo
of development and especially in agriculture

na ujenzi wa nyumba bora+
and construction of houses better

[[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]

P18

+nilipata nafasi((si .vi)) pai .. yakuwapongeza ..
I go time also of to them congratulating

(nilipokuwa huko) ... na leo napenda kuwapongeza
when I was there and today I want to them
congratulate

tena .. kwa juhadi zao .. za kujiletea
again for efforts their of to bring for themselves

wenjewe .. maendeleo+
themselves development

[[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]

P19

+pia .. ningependa kuchukua nafasi hii .. kuwashukuru
also I would like to take occasion this to them thank

wananchi wote .. kwa imani yao ((ya.ni)) kwangu+
country people all for the trust their for me

P20

+ndugu mwenyekiti ... wenzangu watakumbuka kwamba
comrade chairperson my colleagues they will remember that

.. mara baada ya kuchaguliwa kuwa raisi ..
immediately after being elected as president

wa jamuhuri ya muungano .. nilikiri kwamba ..
of the republic of union I confessed that

kuchaguliwa kwangu ni deni kubwa .. ambalo
being elected my is a debt great which

sitaweza kulilipa .. kwa ukamilifu ..
I never will manage to pay in complete

(kama nilivyokusudia) .. bila ushirikiano mzuri
as I had intended without co-operation good

.. baine yangu .. ne wanenchi wenyewe ..
between myself and country people themselves

walionichagua+
who had elected me

P21

+leo .. napenda kuchukua nafasi hii .. kupitia
today I want to take the occasion this through

kwenu .. (ndugu wajumbe wa halmashanri kuu) ..
you comrade delegates of executive committee

kuwashukurn wananchi hoa .. kwa kuelewa ..
to thank country people these for understanding

na hivyo .. (kwa sababu ya kuelewa kwao)
and therefore because of understanding their

wakaamua kunijoa ushirikiano mkubwa sana ..
their choosing to give me co-operation great very

katika mwaka wangu wa kwanza .. wa kuliongoza
in year my of first of leading

taifa letu+
nation our

+[[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+

P22

+ushaidi wa ushirikiano wao .. (wananchi hao)
the evidence of co-operation their country people these

.. kwangu mimi .. uko wazi kabisa .. wala
to me myself it is clear completely and it's not

haukuijificha+
it is not hidden

P23

+leo .. malalamiko ya watu .. hasa wa Dar es
today the complaints of people especially of Dar es

Salaam .. yamechukua sura mpya+
Salaam it has taken face new

P24

+badala ya kulalamika kwa upungufu wa chakula ..
instead of complaining of shortage of food

wanalalamika kwamba jinsi ya chakula kilivyo
they are complaining that the way of food it is

kingi .. katika jiji .. hata kingine .. kianaachwa
so much in the city even some of it it is being left

.. na shirika la Ugawaji .. kubunguliwa na
and Corporation of Distribution to be attached by

waduda .. kwenye magala yao+
insects in stores their

+[[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+

P25

+((hii)) ili nitatizo jingine jipya .. linalotokana
this is a problem another new which is due to

na ((e.e)) neema+
of blessing

P26

+neema ambayo.. imetokana na mwitikio wa
the blessing which it has come from of response of

wakulima .. na Mungu kuwa pamajoi nasi .. katika
farmers and God being together with us in

kuisaidia awamu ya pili+
assisting phase of second

P27

+napenda vile vile .. kuushukuru umma mzima wa
I want also to thank the mass all of

watanzania .. kwa utulivu .. na uvamilivu wao
Tanzanians for orderliness and patience their

mkubwa .. katika kipindi.. cha shida na matatizo
great in period of hardship and problems

mengi .. na hasa katika miezi minne ya kwanza
many and especially in months four of first

ya awamu ya pili+
of phase of second

+[[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+

P28

+vyombo vya habari .. (yaani magazeti na redio)
 agencies of news that is newspapers and radio

.. vile vile vimetoa mchango mkubwa sana ..
 also they have given contribution great very

kuwaamasisha wananchi .. katika shughuli za
 encouraging country people in activities for

maendeleo+
 development

+[[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+

P29

+vyombo hivyo vimefanya kazi mzuri sana .. ya
 agencies these they have done work good very of

kuwafahamisha+
 informing

APPENDIX 2 'MUA' (DATA)

(TRANSCRIPT OF UNSCRIPTED SPEECH BY MR A H MWINYI, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA TO RESIDENTS OF KIBAMBA VILLAGE ON THE OUTSKIRTS OF DAR ES SALAAM: ORIGINAL KISWAHILI VERSION: APPROXIMATELY 5 MINUTES DURATION.) (APPROXIMATE LITERAL ENGLISH GLOSSES PROVIDED)

P1

*+ndugu viongozi wezangu .. wa chama na serikali ...
 comrades leaders colleagues of Party and Government
 of mine

na ndugu zangu wa Kibamba+
 and comrades mine of Kibamba

P2

+na mie pia ninafuraha kubwa .. leo kuweza
 and me too I am happy great today to be able

katika kijiji chenu .. ili kujionea mwenyewe ..
 in village your so as to see for myself

juhudi zenu .. za kujiletea maendeleo+
 efforts your of bringing yourself development

P3

+dalili nzuri .. (nilizoziona)+
 signs good I have seen

P4

+kilimo .. ingawa nimekuja wakati mbaya.. sio
 agriculture although I have come time bad not

wakati wa kilimo .. nimekuta wakati ((wakiwa))
 time of agriculture I have come time of/dr/of

wa kiangazi .. lakini ((kumekuna)) kuna
 of dry season but to have/there are there are

dalili za kuanza kujiandaa ... kwa kilimo
 signs of to begin to prepare for agriculture

kinachokuja+
 environment

P5

+nimeona vile vile ... juhudi zenu .. za kubadirisha
I have seen also efforts your of changing

mazingara ya uchumi ... kwa vile mmeanza
environment of economy because you have begun

kuwa na mifugo+
to have with domestic animals

P6

+matumaini yangu ni kwamba .. ehee .. matunda ya
hopes mine are that erm fruits of

mifugo .. mtayatumia yvema ... katika kusaidia
domestic you will use them well in helping
animals

ukulima wenu+
farming your

P7

+maana .. kutokana na ((mu)) mifugo .. tunapata samadi+
because coming from domu domestic animals we get manure

P8

+samadi hii .. inataka itumike ... (muitumie vizuri
manure this it needs to be used you it should use well

.. katika mashamba yenu)+
in farms your

P9

+hisiwe samadi ((tuna)) tumeipata lakini ikawa
it should manure we/are we have it got but it merely
not be

ni godoro tu la kulalia ngombe wetu+
is a mattress only for to sleep on cattle our

P10

+inafaa ile itumike ... kwa wingi... na mimi
it is of that it be used on a large scale and I
value (it)

.. mikidhani labda .. ehee .. (sijui wataalamn wa
I thought perhaps erm I don't know experts of

kilimo wanasemaje) .. lakini... kwinginepo
agriculture what they say but in other places

huona pahali kama pale uwekwa majani
one sees such a place such as that it is grass
place covered with

makavu ... ((waka)) pata kulalia wale ng'ombe+
dry they get to sleep on those cattle

P11

+naaa ... mambo yao yooote yakaingia mle ...
and things theirs all get inside in that

halafu .. ehee .. ukikumba ile unakumba .. ehee ..
and then erm when one collects that one collects erm ..
(thing)

mbolea ... ya samadiii .. na nyingineyo inayosaidia
fertilizer of manure and some other which helps

samadi+
the manure

P12

+((inge)) ((kwa)) mgepata mbolea kwa wingi
if it of if you got fertilizer in large quantities

zaidi ... na mka pata kugawana gawana kwa
more and you got to share by
among yourselves

kiasi yaaa ((m)) .. itavyowezekana+
whatever of erm in as much as possible
extent

P13

+jingine ningependa ((kuku)).. kukupeni pongezi ..
another I would like to to give you congratulations

kwa uhamuzi wenu huu wa kujiunga pamoja mkakaaa
for decision your this of joining together living

mkakaaa pamoja ... na matokeo yake ni kama haya
living together and the results of is as here
this

tunayoyasikia .. hapa mna shule .. hapa mnaaa ..
 we have heard here you have school here you have

gari (au karibu mtapata gari)+
 a vehicle or soon you will get a vehicle

P14

+ nasiye tuliyeko .. huko tutajitaidi pamoja
 we too who are there we will do our best together

tushirikiane ((na.na.na)) mkoa ... ili jambo la
 we to co-operate with the region so this of
 with that issue

gari lisiwe ndoto ... liwe ni ukweli ...
 a vehicle it should not be a dream it should be a reality

[[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+

P15

+gari ifike hapa ... iweze kukusaidieni nyinyi
 a vehicle it should come here it should enable to help you you

wenyewe .. na pia kusaidia jirani zenu .. na pia
 yourselves and also to help neighbours your and also

iwe ni mbegu+
 it should be a seed
 be

P16

+iwe ni mbegu ya mapato ... ili gari hiyo
 it should be a seed of profits so a that
 be that vehicle one

Mungu akipenda baada ya muda mfupi iza
 God s/he if willing after of period a short should
 give birth

mwenziwe+
 another of
 its own

P17

+ ehee ... [[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+
yes (*why not!*)

P18

+na and mji town wenu your huu .. this kijiji village chenu your (cha.cha) of

Kibamba Kibamba hichi .. this muwe you should have na have a vehicle zaidi more ya than

moja one kwa depending kiasi on mambo things yanavyokwenda+ as they go

P19

+ilo ni that is jambo thing zuri good ... naaa .. and endeleeni go on nalo+ with it

P20

+na and kwa in kweli reality .. kwa for leo today sina I have mengi much not got

yakusema it to say ... maana because nimeona I have seen kama as nilivyosema .. I said earlier

ehee erm ... sikupata I did not get bahati the chance kuja to come siku days za of

kilimo agriculture .. nikaona me to see kilimo agriculture chenu your ... nimekuja I have come

siku days za of matayarisho+ preparation

P21

+matumaini hopes yangu my ni are kwamba that ... inshaalah willing Mungu ... God

akituwezesha s/he if enables us .. nije I should come tena .. again siku days za of kilimo agriculture

... [[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]]+

P22

+sasa kwa wakati huo pengine nitakuwa na
 now of time then perhaps I will have with

mengi ya kusema .. kutokana .. na yale
 a lot of to say .. coming out of of those

nitakayoyaona+
 which I will then see

P23

+ ehee+
 yes (*why not!*)

P24

+basi kwa haya .. ((mafup)) machache .. nawatakieni
 so with these short it few I wish you

heri na mafanikio .. katika juhudi zenu .. za
 merry and successes in efforts your of

kujenga ujamaa+
 to build socialism

P25

+asanteni sana+*
 thank (*you*) very

APPENDIX 3 "NUA" (DATA)

(TRANSCRIPT OF EXTRACT FROM UNSCRIPTED SPEECH BY MR J
K NYERERE, THEN PRESIDENT OF UNITED REPUBLIC OF
TANZANIA: TO PUBLIC RALLY: ZANZIBAR: JANUARY 1985)
(ORIGINAL KISWAHILI VERSION) (APPROXIMATELY MINUTES
DURATION) (APPROXIMATE LITERAL ENGLISH GLOSSES
PROVIDED)

P1*

+ndugu wananchi ... (LONG SPEAKER SILENCE) ..
comrades citizens

P2

kwanza ningetumia .. nafasi hii kuwatakieni wote
firstly I would wish .. occasions this to wish you all
to use

.. baraka za mwaka mpya ... maana ndiyo tuna
blessings of year New because its the we are
case

uanza .. rasmi mwaka mpya+
starting .. formally Year New

P3

+pili ningependa .. kluungana .. na Raisi
Secondly I would like .. to join .. with the
President

.. wa selikari ya mapinduzi ya Zanzibar .. na
of Government of Revolution of Zanzibar .. and

mwenyekiti wa baraza la mapinduzi ..
the Chairman of the Council of Revolution

kuwakaribisha na kuwashukuru .. ndugu zetu woote
to them welcome and to them thank .. comrades our all

.. katika shughuli hizi za leo+
in activities these of today

+[(AUDIENCE APPLAUSE)]+

P4

+ndugu wananchi .. napenda .. kuwaombeni ..
comrades citizens I like .. to you request ..

mambo .. **mawili+**
things two

P5

+kwanza .. **nivizuri** .. **(wote)** .. **mliopata**
Firstly it is good all you were able to
get (who heard)

nafasi .. **kusikiliza** **moja** **kwa moja** .. **hotuba**
opportunity to hear one to one speech
(*'live'*)

.. **iliyakwisha** **hivi** .. **ya** **raisi** **wa** **Zanzibar**
which has ended just of the President of Zanzibar

.. **mkayazingatia** **sana** .. **yate** .. **aliyoyasema+**
you take note strong those he which was said

+[(AUDIENCE APPLAUSE)]+

P6

+na wale .. **ambao** .. **hamkuisikia** **moja** **kwa**
and those who not you did hear *'live'*

joja .. **kwa sababu** **imeandikwa** .. **nina** **hakika**
because it is written I am sure

itachapishwa .. **muweze** .. **kuipata** .. **na**
it will be you may it to get and
published

kuisoma .. **na** **kuyatafakari** **yale** **yaliyosemwa**
it to read and to think about those that which was
said

.. **katika** **hotuba** **hiyo** ... **yatatusaidia** .. **(wote)+**
in speech that it will help us all

P7

+la pili **ninalotaka** **kulisema** .. **linausiana**
thing second I what I wish to it say it has a connection

na awamn **ya tatu** .. **ya** **selikari** **ya** **mapinduzi+**
with the phase of third of Government of Revolution

P8

+serikali **hizi** .. **kila moja** **imekuwa na** **kazi**
government these each one it has got (with) work

yake .. kwa subabu .. kila jambo linawakati
its because each thing it has time

wake .. (nchi ukua .. kama mtu)+
(of its) own a country grows like a person

P9

+ni kweli .. kama .. ndugu mwenyekiti wa
its true as comrade Chairman of

Baraza la mapinduzi amavyosema .. leo ..
Council of Revolution he what (he) said today

mapinduzi .. ya Zanzibar yametimiza miaka
the revolution in Zanzibar it has completed years

ishirini na moja .. na kwa hiyo .. yame
twenty and one and therefore it has
(twenty one)

.. yamepita kipindi cha ntoto (nchi ya
it has gone past a period of childhood the country of

Zanzibar imepita kipindi cha utoto na sasa
Zanzibar it has passed period of childhood and now

imekuwa .. mtu nzima)+
it has become (a person) adult

P10

+kwa mtu mzima in kweli ... kwa nchi ..
for (a person) adult its true for a country

miaka ishirini na moja .. ni muda mfupi sana+
years twenty and one is period a short very
(twenty one)

P11

+lakini .. ni kweli vile vile .. nchi ..
but its true also a country

nayo .. inapita katika vipindi ... tulikuwa
it also it passes through periods we had

na kipindi cha kwanza .. awamu ya kwanza ..
with periods of first the phase of first ..
(the first phase)

ya mapinduzi ... namkijua mapinduzi ni
of the revolution and if you know a revolution is

mapinduzi a revolution	..	awamn phase	ile that	msiitazamie you should not expect it	..	
ingeweza it would have		ikawapeni it would give you		rukasa permission of		yaknpigeni you balloting
kura (votes)	...	haikuwa it was not	wakati time	wake of it	...	mimi I
nakumbuka I remember	..	tukuznmgumza (then) talking together	na with	..		memba a member
wa baraza of Council	la of	mapinduzi the Revolution	wakati time	ule that	..	
amatutania he/she teasing us		Watanzania Tanzanian	Bara Mainlanders	..		anasema he/she saying
Tanzania Bara Tanzania Mainland		one man one one man one	vote vote	..		Tanzania Tanzania
Nisiwani Islands	one man one man	one panga one matchet	..		Tanzania Bara Tanzania Mainland	
mtu person	mmoja one	kura vote	moja one	..	Tanzania Tanzania	Wisiwani Islands
						mtu person
mmoja one	panga matchet	moja one	... na and	..	kwa kweli its true	ilifanana it was in agreement
na wakati with time	wake its	...	haukuwa wakati it was not time	wa kura+ for balloting		

P12

+ikafanya it did	kazi work	yate its	..	ika it	..	ikamalizika it completed	...
kosa mistake	..	ililikuwa it was	nikujaribu trying	kuiendeleze to extend	hali circumstance		
ile that	..	lakini but	hali circumstance	enyewe itself	ilistahili it was appropriate		
wakati: time	ule that	...	kuendeleza to extend	hali circumstance	ile that	iwe ya so it is	
kuduma permanent	..	hapo that	lilikuwa it was	kosa+ a mistake			

P13

+ikaja (then it	awamu the phase	ya of	pili second	...	awamu the phase	ya of	pili second	..
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came

isingeweza **kuindeleza** **hali** **ile** **ilikuwa**
it could not have extended circumstances that it had

lazima **ibadiri** .. **ianze** **kufungua** **madirisha** ...
of necessary to change it begin to open windows ...

hewa **mpya** **ianze** **kuingia** **katika** **muisha** **ya**
air new it begin to enter in the life of

Wazanzibar .. **punguza** **panga** **kidogo+**
Zanzibaris reduce matchets a little

P14

+na .. **awamn** **ya** **pili** .. **ilifanya** **hiyo** **kazi** ..
and phase of second it did do that work ..

watu **wengine** **wakafurahi** .. **wengine** ..
people some they were happy others ..

hawakupenda ... **lakini** **ilikuwa** **ni** **hatua** **ya**
they did not like but it was was step of

mwanzo **tu** **yakufungua** **madirisha** ... **ya**
beginning only it (of) opening windows ... of

kuanza .. **kuleta** .. **aina** **mpya** **yakuchagua** ..
beginning bringing a kind new it (of)choosing ..

viongozi **wetu** .. **na** **kujua** **ipo** .. **kwambo**
leaders our and to know its there that

tunachagua **viongozi** .. **(kama** .. **alivyosema**
we are choosing leaders as he had said

.. **ndugu** **mwenyekiti** **wa** **Baraza** **la** **Mapinduzi)+**
comrade chairman of Council of Revolution

P15

+natuna **watawala** .. **tunachagua** **viongozi+**
we haven't got rulers we choose leaders

P16

+ilikuwa **ni** **vigumu** **katika** ((awali .. awa))
it was was difficult in

awamu **ya** **kwanza** ... (((nasema .. a)) .. **nikisema**
phase of first I am saying when I say

ilikuwa **ni** **vigumn** **nakosea** ... **ilikuwa**
it was was difficult I err it was

haiwezekani) ... katika awamu ya kwanza kuchagua
it was not possible in phase of first to choose

viongozi wetu+
leaders our

P17

+awamu ya pili .. tukaenza .. kidogo ..
phase of second we are beginning slowly

knonyesha kwamba lazima twende hulo
to show that of necessity we (must) that way
move

nasema baadhi walikubali baadhi hawakupenda ..
I am saying some they agreed some they did not like ..

lakini vile vile .. ilikuwa ni vigumn .. awamn
but also it was was difficult .. phase

ya pili .. kufanya zaidi ya hapo+
of second to do more than of that

P18

+kuma watu wangeofu mno .. kama .. awamn
there are people who would have very much if phase
been terrified

ya pili ingepita ... ilibidi .. ifungue
of second it would have it was necessary it to open
passed

madirisha kidogo .. isiyafugue saana .. upepo
windows a little it (had) not to open very much the wind

usije ukavuma mno .. kuna watu wengine
it not to it to very much there are people others
come rustle through

walikuwa hawako tayari .. kupambana na upepo wa
they were they not ready to face with the wind of

demokrasia zaidi+
democracy more

P19

+kosa alikuwa kufungua madirisha kidogo ...
the mistake it was not to open windows a little

kosa lilikuwa ni kuyaacha yammefunguliwa
the mistake it was in to leave them them to be left open

kidogo **hivyo** **hivyo** **kwamba** **iwe** **ndiyo** **hali**
 a little like that that it be actual circumstance

yakudumu ... +
 which is permanent

P20

+tulipoanza .. **mazumgumzo** **yalipoanza** ..
 when we started talks they when began
 (*discussions*)

yakuyafungua **madirisha** **zaidi** .. **wakazua** **maneno**
 they (of) opening windows more they raised words
 (*issues*)

mengi **sana** **ya** **nongo** ... **nia** **ilikuwa** **nikufungua**
 many very of lies purpose it was was opening

tu .. **madirisha** **zaidi** .. **hewa** **ya** **demokrasia**
 only windows more air of democracy

iingie **zaidi** .. **na** **wenzetu** .. **baadhi** **ya**
 it be allowed more and colleagues some of
 in

wenzetu .. **hawakuwa** **tayari** **madirisha** **yale**
 our colleagues they were not ready windows those

yafunguke .. **wakaaza** **kuzua** **manemo** **mengi** **ya**
 they be opened they began to raise issues many of

ovyo **ovyo** ... **lakini** **yamekurisha** ... **na**
 no consequence but it is finished and

kama **wenzetu** **wanavyosema** .. **awamn** **ya** **totu**
 as colleagues they has say phase of third

ikazaliwa **katika** **hali** **ya** **shwari+**
 it got to in circumstances of calm
 be born

P21

+ningependa **kwitunia** **nafasi** **hii** .. **kwanza**
 I would like to (it) use occasion this first

knwapongeza **wananchi** .. **kwaa** ... **kwamba** **tulifika**
 to (them) thank citizens that we arrived

hapo .. **salama+**
 there peacefully

P22 APPENDIX 4 "NSA" (DATA)

+na ninapenda kuwapongeza .. vile vile .. viongozi
and I want to (them) thank .. also .. leaders

.. wa awamn ya tatu+
of phase of third

+[(AUDIENCE APPLAUSE)]+

E1

-adugu wawazazi adugu wajumbe ..
council members council members

wa kamati ya Chama
of Committee of the Party

E2

-kama mliyo kamati kuu ..
if you would have heard Council Central
(the Central Committee)

ya kamati ya Hukumatulimwami ya Taifa ..
of Committee of Executive Supreme of National
(the National Executive Committee)

Wakutana kuanzia tarehe kumi ..
I met beginning from date wa

na hita mwazi uliopo
and member which has passed
(six/over)

E3

kwira kawaida kila kingakuma ni koteo ..
usually meeting that would have been meeting

the kupokea mapendekezo ya kutiba ..
for receiving proposals of the Committee

mapendekezo ya kubadiri katiba ya Chama ..
proposals of changing the constitution of the Party

yanayotokana na magizo (k.s.) ya kutiba ..
which stemmed from instructions of proposals

yanayotokana na magizo yanayotokana
which stemmed from instructions which stemmed from

APPENDIX 4 "NSA" (DATA)

(TRANSCRIPT OF EXTRACT OF SCRIPTED SPEECH BY MR J K NYERERE THEN PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED REPUBLIC OF TANZANIA TO SPECIAL (PARLIAMENTARY AND NATIONAL EXECUTIVE) COMMITTEE OF THE RULING PARTY, THE CHAMA CHA MAPINDUZI, SITTING IN DODOMA IN FEBRUARY 1984 (ORIGINAL KISWAHILI VERSION) (APPROXIMATELY 10 MINUTES DURATION) (APPROXIMATE LITERAL ENGLISH GLOSSES PROVIDED)

P1

+ndugu mwenyekiti hii .. na .. ndugu wajumbe ..
comrade chairman this .. and .. comrades members
wa kamati hii .. ya Chama+
of Committee this .. of the Party

P2

+kama .. mlivyo .. sikia ... kamati kuu ..
as .. you would have heard .. Committee Central
(the Central Committee)
ya kamati ya Halmashauri kuu ya .. ya Taifa ..
of Committee of Executive Supreme of .. of National
(the National Executive Committee)
ilikutona .. Chamwino .. kuanzia .. tarehe kumi
it met .. Chamwino .. beginning from date ten
na sita .. mwezi uliopita+
and six .. month which has passed
(sixteen)

P3

+kwa kawaida .. kikao kile kingekuwa ni kakao
normally .. a meeting that wouldhave been meeting
cha kupokea .. mepedekeizo .. ya takiba ..
for receiving .. proposals .. of the Constitution
mapendekezo ya kubadiri katiba ya Chama
proposals of changing the constitution of the Party
yanayotokana na maagizo ((ba.)) ya serikali ..
which stemmed from instructions of government
yanayotokana na maagizo yaliyotolewa na
which stemmed from instructions which had been given by

Halmashauri kuu ... na kwa kawaida kingefuatiwa
 the Executive Supreme and normally it would have
 been followed

.. na kikao kingine cha Halmashauri kuu ya
 and a meeting another of Executive Supreme of

Taifa .. ambacho nacho kingeendelea kuyazumgumza
 National which it (too) it would have to discuss them
 continued

mapendekeze hayo+
 proposals these

P4

+lakini katika kikao chetu hicho .. cha kamati
 but in meeting our that .. of the Central

kuu .. ((tu.)) tulikuwa tunajua .. kwamba ..
 Committee we were we knew that ..

kutokana na ma .. pendekezo haya .. ya Chama
 stemming from .. proposals these of the Party

.. yaliyotolewa na ((Halm.)) Halmashauri kuu ..
 which were given by the Executive Supreme

yakubadiri katiba .. yetu .. katiba ya
 they (on) changing constitution our .. Constitution of

Mnungano .. katiba .. ya serikali ya Zanzibar ..
 Union the Constitution of the government of Zanzibar

na kuimarisha .. mnungano .. (kutokana na
 and to strengthen the Union stemming from

mapendekezo hayo) .. zimetokea fufugu nyingi ..
 proposals those there has commotion much ..
 occurred

imetokea uvumi mwingi sana .. nduini ... wa ovyo
 there has rumours many very in the country of trash
 occurred

ovyo tu .. watu wanasema mambo ya ajabu ajabu ...+
 trash only people they are things which strange strange
 saying are

P5

+tukadhani katika hali hiyo .. kujidai kuanza
 we thought in circumstances those to pretend to begin

kuzumgumza to discuss	mapendekezo proposals	yale those	ya of	katiba the Constitution	..	kwa in
kweli truth	.. (ya of	mabadiriko change	ya of	katiba) the Constitution	..	kwa kweli in truth
tutakuwa si we will be not	wa kweli of truth	..	tutaknwa kama we will be like	watu people		
tunaogopa who feared	ukweli the truth	uhvyo as it is	nchini in the country	..	tujifiche to hide	
kuanze beginning	kuzumgumza to discuss	mambo things	ambayo which	..	kwa kweli in truth	..
hali halisi circumstances real	..	haiwaruhusu it did not allow you	..	mkazumgumza you discuss		
mapendekezo proposals	hayo these	.. ni it	vizuri good	kwanza to begin	mzumgumze to discuss	hiyo that
furngu commotion	iliyotokea which happened	..	na and	baada ya after	kuona seeing	
mlikofikia where you had	..	(na hasa and especially	baada after	ya to	kusafisha clear	
hali ya hewa) state of air	..	ndipo thereafter	kweli really	mwanze you start	.. eh ..	
utaratibu the procedure	.. wa for	kuzumgumza discussing	..	mapendekezo proposals	..	ya of
kubadiri changing	katiba the constitution	..	(kama as	yatakavyokuwa they will have been		
yameonekana) they would have been seen		kutokana deriving	((na.))	na mawazo from ideas	..	
maoni opinions	ya of	wanandi the citizens	..	na maoni and opinions	ya of	Halmashauri the Executive
kuu+ Council						

P6

+kwa hiyo therefore	tukakubaliana we agreed	..	kwamba that	sisi we	katika in
((Halmashau))	..	katika in	kamati the Central	kuu Committee	.. tuzumgumze should discuss
hali condition	hiyo that	... na and	tukakubaliana pia we agreed also	..	kwamba that
(state of affairs)			(among ourselves)		

tuite .. Halmeshauri kuu .. (infanye) ..
we call the Executive Council it do

Halmashauri kuu ya Taifa .. ifanye kikao maalum
Executive Supreme of National it do a meeting special

.. nacho .. nayo iache kuzumgumza .. (ma)
it it it leave discussion of

mapendekezp ya katiba .. izumgumze .. hii fumgu
proposals of constitution it be discussed this commotion

hii .. na tuone chanze chake nini .. na sababu
this and we see source its what and reasons

zake nini .. na tuone mwisho wake ...+
its what and we see end its

P7

+kwa hiyo tukaita ... tukaita mkutano .. wa
therefore we called we called a meeting of

Halmashauri kuu .. kuanzia tarehe ishirini na
Executive Supreme commencing date twenty

nne mwezi uliopita .. tukakaa juma .. zima
fourth month which had passed we sat week whole

.. wiki nzima tumekaa pale tukizumgumza .. mpaka
week it whole we met there we discussing until

.. tarehe thelathini .. (tuta) tukamaliza+
date thirteenth (tuta) we finished

P8

+kwa hiyo ... tukafanya hivyo ... na tukazumgumza
therefore we did that and we discussed

.. furugu hilo+
commotion that

P9

+na .. (SHORT SPEAKER SILENCE) ningependa sasa ni
and I would like now

.. nia yangu .. nikueleza .. hilo furugu ..
purpose my is to explain that commotion

mitajitaidi .. kueleza .. kwa wazi wazi kabisa
I will try to explain with openness full
(complete)

kwa ukweli kabisa .. ili .. (kama ikiwezekana)
 with truth full so if it is possible
(complete)

.. **zieleweke .. na furugu ((uu.)) hii iishe+**
 they be understood and the commotion this it end

P10

+nitaeleza .. eh .. (na ni vizuri zaidi nikaeleza)
 I will explain and its good more I explained

kama .. alivyoo .. kama .. kwa kweli .. katibu
 as he was able as in truth Secretary

Mkuu .. eh .. baada ya mazungumzo ya kameti
 General after of the discussions of Committee

kuu .. katibu Mkuu wa Chama .. alivyo .. eh ..
 Central Secretary General of Party he was able

itamka .. furugu hii katika kikao cha Halmashauri
 it mention commotion this in the meeting of Executive

ya Taifa) .. alisema hivi .. (SPEAKER SILENCE)+
 of National he said this

P11

+alisema .. ndugu mwenyekiti .. hali m,baya na
 he said comrade chairman situation bad an

furugu ya kiasa nchini inajulikana sana ...
 commotion of politics in the it is known well
 country

hali hiyo imejitokeza katika sura nyingi ...
 situation that it has shown in faces many
 itself

naamini .. ndugu wajumbe .. kwa ruksa yako
 I believe comrades delegates with permission your

wataeleze .. na kutoa uchambuzi wa kina zaidi
 they will explain and to give analysis of depth more

hapa katika kikao hiki (yaani kikao kile cha
 here in the meeting this that is the meeting that of

Halmashauri Kuu) .. Lata hivyo .. kwa kuanzia
 Executive Supreme never that in starting
(however)

naomba nichukue fursa hii .. kutaja mambo
 I ask I take opportunity this to mention things

machache **yaliyojikokeza** .. **katika** **majadiriano** **ya**
 a few which showed themselves in discussions of
Kamati Kuu .. **(maana tulikaa siku tatu tukizungumza**
 Committee Central that is we met days three we discussing
 .. **na haya yakajitokeza) ... (mamb.) .. mambo**
 and these they shown themselves things
ambayo ni sehemu ya misingi ya hali mbaya .. ya
 which are part of bases of situation bad of
 (source)
furugu **ya siasa nchini+**
 commotion of politics in the country

P12

+kwanza .. **kuna watu .. wanaowaambia .. wananchi**
 first there are people who are telling people
wa Zanzibar .. kwamba mazungumzo ya marekebicho ya
 of Zanzibar that discussions of revisions in
katiba .. ni nbinu ya Bara .. kutaka kumeza
 constitution are strategies by Mainland to want to swallow
Zanzibar ... wananchi wengi wa Zanzibar .. wameanza
 Zanzibar many of Zanzibar they have began
kuamini uoumi huu ... hali kadharika .. Bara ..
 to believe rumour this case in addition Mainland
wako wananchi wanaoamini kwamba .. kwa sababu ..
 there are citizens who believe that because
((twa)) .. kwa sababu ya hofu hiyo .. (ya kumezwa)
 because of fear this of being swallowed
.. Zanzibar inajiandaa kuvunja munngano+
 Zanzibar it is preparing to break the Union

P13

+((il.)) ilo la kwanza
 that is the first

P14

+pili .. yako maoni .. kwamba serikali ya Mapinduzi
 secondly there are opinions that government of Revolution

.. inapinga maongozi na madaraka .. ya Chama ..
it disagrees with the leadership and authority of the Party

(yaani supremacy ya Chama) ... kwa mambo yanayohusu
that is supremacy of the Party ... for matters which concern

Zanzibar .. jambo ambalo ni kinyume cha katiba ya
Zanzibar a thing which is contrary to constitution of

Chama cha Mapinduzi .. na pia inapingane ne
the Party of Revolution and also it disagrees with

msingi iliyomo katika katiba ya serikali ya
principles (it) incorporated in constitution of government of

Munngano .. na katiba ya serikali ya Mapinduzi ya
Union and constitution of government of Revolution of

Zanzibar+
Zanzibar

P15

+tatu ... zimetolewa kauli .. hadharani .. na
thirdly they have been given assertions in public by

watu waliokaribu na uongozi wa serikali ya
people who are close with leadership of government of

Mapinduzi ya Zanzibar .. za kupinga muungano .. na
Revolution of Zanzibar they opposing Union and

kukebei (miz.) misingi ya umoja wa taifa letu ..
ridiculing principles of unity of nation our

na vile vile kukashifu siasa yetu ya ujamaa na
and also insulting politics our of socialism and

kujitegemea+
self-reliance

P16

+lililobaya zaidi .. ni kwamba .. kauli hizo
what is bad more is that assertions these

za uani .. hazikukanushwa ... na waliohusika
of treason they were not denied and those who were
concerned

hawakukemewa+
they were not reprimanded

P17

+nne ... mwenendo .. wa watu waovu ..
fourthly the behaviour of people evil

umejitokeza ... si hapa nchini tu .. lakini hata
it has shown itself not here in the only but even
country

katika nchi za nje .. ambako wametangaza
in countries of outside where they have announced

maneno ya kupinga muungano .. na kashifa nyinginezo
words of opposing the union and insults others
(statements)

kiasi kwamba .. heshima na sifa ya taifa letu
such that the pride of fame of nation our

imepakwa matope ... hata marafiki wa Tanzania ..
it has been mud even friends of Tanzania
rubbed with

wameingiwa na wasi wasi kuhusu hatima ya
they have with worry regarding final outcome of
experienced

umoja wetu .. na uhai wa taifa letu+
the unity our and the life of nation our

P18

+tano .. nidhahili .. kwamba .. hali .. ya
fifthly it is clear that situation of

fumgu .. kama hii .. inaweza kuhatarisha usalama
commotion like this it can endanger the security

wa nchi yetu ... na kwa kweli wakati wakukaribia
of nation our and in truth the time it close to

miaka ishirini ya Mapinduzi ya Zanzibar .. zilipatikana
years twenty of Revolution of Zanzibar there were

taarifa usalama wa Zanzibar .. ulikuwa hatarini
reports the security of Zanzibar it was in danger

.. kutokana na njama za maadui wa serikali ya
stemming from conspiracies of enemies of government of

Mapinduzi na serikali ya Muungano ... ingawa
Revolution and government of Union although

njama hizo zimekwisha .. (dhib.) dhibitiwa ..
conspiracies those they are finished to be controlled

lakini but **adui** the enemy **anaweza** he/she may be able **kuanza** to start **upya** a new ... **wakati** at time **ambapo** when

hali situation **ya** of **vurugu** commotion **ya** of **siasa** politics .. **ineendelea** it is continuing

sambamba parallel **na hali** with situation **mbaya** bad **ya** of **uchumi+** economy

P19

+sasa now **hizo** those **ndizo** are .. **vurugu** commotions .. **zilizokuwa** which were

zinavumishwa+
they being spread

P20

+na sis and we .. **tumekaa** we have sat .. **katika** in **Halmashauri** Executive **kuu** Supreme ...

kama as **nilivyosema** I had said **kuanzia** beginning **tarehe** date ((nn.)) **ishirini** twenty

na nne fourth ... **mpaka** until **tarehe** date **thelathini+** thirteenth

P21

+tumeyazumgumza we have discussed .. **maneno** words **hayo** those .. ((ma.ma.)) **mambo** things
(*matters*) (*matters*)

hayo those .. **kwa kirefu** in depth **sana** great .. **kwa uwaziwazi** in openness **na ukweli** and truth
(*realism*)

sana great .. **kwa moyo** in hearts **safi** clean .. **kwa** in **udugu** comradeship .. **na kwa** and in
(*without malice*)

kuheshimiana kabisa respecting each fully ... **na** and **tuliongozwa** we are guided **na uzalendo** by patriotism
other

.. **wa nchi** of country **yetu+** our

P22

+mwisho **wa mazumgumzo** **haya** .. (kama **mnavyojua**) ..

at the end of discussions these as you know
ndugu .. **Abud Jumbe** .. **ambaye** .. **alikuwa ni** ..
 comrade Abud Jumbe who was (was)
mwenyekiti **wa Baraza la Mapinduzi** .. (na kwa hiyo
 chairman of Council of Revolution and therefore
 .. **raisi** **wa serikali** **ya Mapinduzi** **ya Zanzibar)**
 president of government of Revolution of Zanzibar
 .. **makamu** **wa mwenyekiti** **wa ccm** .. **na makamu** **wa**
 deputy to chairman of CCM and deputy to
raisi **wa jamuhuri ya muungano** .. **aka omba**
 president of republic of Union he asked
ajihudhuru .. (baada ya **mujadala huo**)+
 he resign after debate that

P23

+**na Halmashauri kuu** .. **ya Taifa** .. **ika kubali**
 and Executive Supreme of National it agree with
 .. **ombi** .. **la makamu** .. **kujihudhuru** ... **na baadaye**
 request of deputy to resign and later
 .. **ndio** **Halmashauri kuu** .. **ikaa** .. **mteua** ..
 that is Executive Supreme it appointed
ndugu **Ali Hassan Mwinyi** .. **kuwa** **mwenyekiti** **wa**
 comrade Ali Hassan Mwinyi to be chairman of
muda **wa Baraza la Mapinduzi** .. **na raisi** **wa**
 (temporary) of Council of Revolution and president of
 period
muda .. **wa serikali** .. ((wa.)) **wa Zanzibar** ..
 (temporary) of government of Zanzibar
 period
na vile vile .. **ikatangaza** ((uta.)) **utaratibu utakaofuata**
 and also it was announced procedure which will
 be followed
kwa mujibu **wa Katiba** **wa kufanya** **ya fuatayo** ..
 by authority of constitution of doing of following
kwanza .. **kuchagua** .. **mwenyekiti** .. **wa Baraza** ..
 first to elect chairman of Council
la Mapinduzi .. **wa kudumu** .. **na raisi** **wa Zanzibar**
 of Revolution of permanent and president of Zanzibar
wa kudumu ... **baadaye** ... **baada ya** **hatua** **hiyo**
 of permanent later after steps those

.. eh .. ((tu.)) kufuata ((ku.)) kuendelea .. eh
 to follow to continue

.. kufuata utaritibu .. kwa mujibu wa katiba
 to follow procedures by authority of constitution

.. kuchagua makanam wa mwenjekiti wa CCM .. na makamu
 to elect deputy of chairman of CCM and deputy

wa raisi wa Jamuhuri ya Muungano+
 of president of Republic of Union

P24

+sasa kama nilivyosema .. nia yangu .. eh .. na
 now as I had said purpose my and

kazi yangu .. eh .. hivi sasa .. nikuwaelezeni
 job my right now it is to (you) explain

.. na kulieza taifa zima .. mambo hayo .. ambayo
 and to(it)explain nation entire matters those which
 to

Kamati Kuu .. na baadaye Halmashauri Kuu wamekuwa
 Committee Central and later Executive Supreme they have
 been

wakiyazumgumaza .. kwa muda mrefu huo .. nilioueleza
 they them discussing for period long that which I
 explained

... na narudia tena .. ndugu Spika .. (ingawa kwa
 and I repeat again comrade Speaker although in

hapa sio spika) .. ndugu Chifu .. na ndugu
 here you are Speaker comrade Chief and comrade

mwenyekiti na wajumbe .. eh .. nawashukruni kwamba ..
 chairman and delegates I you thank that

mmenipatia nafasi hii .. kusudi mweze kuya
 you have given me opportunity this so that I be able

.. kuyaeleza .. hayo mambo+
 to them explain those matters

APPENDIX 5 "/NSP/2/87"

Px1 +leo tumasherehekea pia .. mwaka wa ishinni .. wa kutangazwa azimio la arusha ... ilo .. ni miongoni .. yale mambo mema .. yalioridhiwa kutoka moja ya vyama viwili .. wilibounda Chama cha Mapinduzi+

Today we are also celebrating the twentieth year of the proclamation of the Arusha Declaration. That one is among those good things which we have inherited from one of our two parties which founded the Revolutionary Party.

Px2 +azimio la arusha .. ndilo linaloeleza itikadi ya chama chetu ... ndio kauli kuu ya lengo letu na misingi yetu ... ndilo msingi wa sera zote za chama no serikali+

The Arusha Declaration is the one which explains the ideology of our Party. It is the supreme statement of our goals and our principles. It is the basis of all policies of the Party and the Government.

Px3 +kila miaka inavyopita ... kauli yoyote muhimu upitiwa mara kwa mara .. kuona kama misingi yake bado inaitajiwa katika mazingira mapya+

As the years pass by any one important statement or assertion gets reviewed again and again to see whether its underlying principles are still valid in new environments.

Px4 +Katiba ya marekani kwa infamo .. ina umri wa miaka mia mbili sasa ... lakini bado inatumika ... lakini imarekebishwa mara ishirini na sita+

The Constitution of the United States of America for instance is two hundred years old now but it is still in use, although it has been adjusted twenty six times.

Px5 +Kwa hiyo haishangazi kusikia watu wengine .. wakinongona ... kwamba azimio la arusha linaitaji .. marekebisho ... hata mimi ndugu rais .. nakubali .. kwamba azimio la arusha linaitaji marekebisho+ [AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]+

Therefore it is not surprising to hear some people whispering that the Arusha Declaration needs to be revised. I, too, Comrade President agree that the Arusha Declaration needs some revisions. [AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]

Px6 +mnaopiga makofi mtashangaa mtashangaa nitakapo yatamka marekebisho+ [AUDIENCE LAUGHTER]+

Those of you clapping will be surprised when I state the revision I have in mind. [AUDIENCE LAUGHTER]

Px7 +nasema hata mimi ndugu raisi na ndugu wananchi hata mimi nakubali kwamba azimio la arusha litanaitaji marekebisho+

I too am saying, comrade President and and comrade citizens, that I also agree that the Arusha Declaration needs revisions.

Px8 +ni dhahiri kwa mfano .. kwamba linaitaji kuhaririwa katika toleo jipya ili litaje CCM badala ya tanu .. kila mahali ambapo tanu inatajwa ... [SPEAKER CHUCKLE] ... ukiacha mambo kama haya .. yakulihariri .. ebu tuone tena misingi yake+

It is obvious for example that it needs to be edited so that the revised edition mentions CCM instead of TANU .. so that everywhere where TANU is mentioned ... [SPEAKER CHUCKLE] But leaving alone things like those concerning editing .. let us see again what the principles of the Arusha Declaration are.

Px9 +sehemu ya kwanza .. ya azimio la arusha inaeleza imani ya chama ... kwamba binadamu wote in sawa ... kwamba kila mtu anastahili heshima ... kwamba kila raia ?? sehemu ya taifa .. na anayo haki kushiriki na wengine katika serikali tangu ya mitaa .. ya mikoa .. hadi serikali kuu ... kwamba kila raia anayo haki ya uhuru wa kutoa mawazo yake .. ya kwenda anakotaka .. wa kuamini dini anayotaka .. na kuamini dini anayotaka .. na kukutana na watu .. mradi havunji sheria ... na kadharika+

The first section of the Arusha Declaration explains the Party Creed which is that all human beings are equal; that every person deserves to be respected; that every citizen is a part of the whole nation; and that everyone has the right to participate with others in the government from the local to the regional, all the way to the central government. Every citizen has the right to express opinions freely and to go where s/he wishes; to believe in any religion of his/her choosing and to meet with any people so long as he/she did not break the law; and so on.

Px10 +misingi yote ni ya namna hiuyo ... ↑(nani anataka tuibadiri misingi hiyo) [SPEAKER SILENCE] [PLATFORM AUDIENCE LAUGHTER]+

All the principles are of that kind (who is it who wishes to change those principles?) [SPEAKER PROLONGED SILENCE] [PLATFORM AUDIENCE LAUGHTER]

Px11 +wanaweza kuwako watu wachache wanaotaka hivyo .. lakini

si umma wa wakulima ha wafanyakezi wa tanzania+
[AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]

There could indeed be a few people who wished to do that but these could not be the majority of the peasants and workers of Tanzania [AUDIENCE APPLAUSE]

Px12 +siku zote kuna majadiriano mengi ndani ya chama ..
kuhusu mambo mbali mbali ... lakini ↑(hata) siku moja ..
sijapata kumsikia mwanachama yeyote akisema kuwa
angependa tuibadiri misingi ya azimio la arusha+

On many occasions there have been debates within the Party concerning many issues; but ↑never has there ever been a day when I heard any member saying that he/she would wish to change the principles of the Arusha Declaration.

Px13 +mimi siamimi ndugu rais .. kama mmoja wa chama chetu na
taifa letu utadumu kama chama cha mapinduzi .. kitaiacha
mizingi hiyo+

I do not believe comrade President that the unity within our Party and without our country could continue to be preserved if the Revolutionary Party abandoned those principles.

Px14 +wala siamimi .. kama chama cha mapinduzi kinastaili
kuendelea ↑(kuwepo) .. kama kitaacha kuwa chama
kilicho tayari kuitetea misingi hiyo kwa maneno yake
na kwa vitendo vyake+ [AUDIENCE PROLONGED APPLAUSE]

Moreover I do not believe that the Revolutionary Party will deserve to continue ↑(to exist) if it abandoned being a Party which was prepared to defend those principles in its words and in its deeds. [AUDIENCE PROLONGED APPLAUSE].

Px15 +madhumuni na malengo, .. ya chama chetu .. yote yanatokana moja kwa moja na misi, ngi ya azimio la arusha ... hakuna kitu cha kubadiri .. hisipokuwa kama tunataka kusahihisha lugha+

The aims and goals of our Party all stem directly from the principles of the Arusha Declaration ... There is nothing to revise there except if we wish to make corrections of expression errors.

Ken
 Prof. G.R.V. Njeri,
 VICE-CHANCELLOR



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Our ref. SUA/ADM/I.1/3/77

Your ref. _____

Date 22nd Sept. 1986

✓ A.P. Lwaitama,
c/o Mrs. Catherine Johns-Lewis,
Department of Modern Languages,
University of Aston,
BIRMINGHAM B4 7ET,
U.K.

Dear Mr. Lwaitama,

Thank you for your letter of 28th August, 1986. I found the papers very interesting and I hope that all those who read them will get the message you are trying to put across.

Lady Bird's reply to the question put by Discourse Analyst on Nyerere's views on life in the rural areas could include reference to Mwalimu's efforts to extend to the rural areas such amenities as will make life there bearable and interesting. This tallies with Mao Tse Tung's maxim to urbanize the countryside and ruralize the urban centres! Electricity, clean piped water, dispensaries, rural libraries, improved communication in the rural areas etc. would, at least in theory, make it unnecessary for youth to move to the urban centres. The International Community has given Mwalimu credit for improving the lot of those in the rural areas.

Wouldn't decision to move back to Butiama rather than retire at Msasani be a symbolic gesture of this lifetime commitment to improve life in the rural areas?

Wish you the best in your studies.

Yours sincerely,

Prof. G.R.V. Mmari,

VICE-CHANCELLOR

APPENDIX 6 SAMPLE OF RESEARCH CORESPONDENCE

Mr Ulli Mwambulukutu
Tanzania High Commission
London

1 August 1990

Dear Mr Mwambulukutu

Further to the conversation we had on the phone on Monday 23 July 1990 please find enclosed a **fact sheet** on the subject of my PhD studies and the kind of data I would like to secure in the event of its being possible for you to arrange a brief informal off-the-record consultation between me and Dr Julius K Nyerere when he is next in London.

I will endeavour to confirm with you on the phone on Friday 3 August 1990 regarding when you would advise me to be in London in readiness for any chance arising of my securing the audience with Dr Nyerere.

I will of course abide by your advice and guidelines in all matters relating to this issue.

Yours sincerely

Azaveli Feza Lwaitama
Flat 10 Room 5
Vauxhall Court
Aston Street
Birmingham B4 7EB

PS During office hours urgent messages can be left (for me to pick up later in the day) with my Department's Research Secretary at phone number **021 359 3611 extension 5461**. (Department of Modern Languages, Aston University, Birmingham B4 7ET)

Fact sheet

LWAITAMA'S PROPOSED AUDIENCE WITH DR NYERERE

1 Name of scholar

Azaveli Feza Lwaitama

2 Office Address in Tanzania

Lecturer in Communication Skills, Department of Foreign Languages and Linguistics, University of Dar es Salaam, P O Box 35040 Dar es Salaam

3 Office Address in UK

Research Student, Department of Modern Languages, Aston University, Birmingham, B4 7ET

4 Subject PhD Study

Discourse Analysis of Kiswahili Political Oratory with special focus on the speeches of ex-President Julius Nyerere and incumbent President Ali Hassan Mwinyi

5 Purpose of Overall Research Study

Identify some formal and functional characteristics of the Tanzanian "Presidential" Kiswahili speech genre and variations within the genre. Ultimately the aim is to gain insights on the subject which could be of interest to linguists, communication skills tutors, journalists, political scientists and politicians.

6 Output from the Study

A PhD thesis and later a book on Political Discourse in Tanzania.

7 Purpose of Audience with Dr Nyerere:

To seek his informal evaluation as a specialist informant of some my hypotheses on aspects of his style of oratory:

eg.

- 1) what were some of the factors which influenced the decision to translate Shakespeare's Julius Ceaser and Merchant of Venice at the time (you) did the translations?
- 2) what criteria/indicators do (you) use to measure whether your speech has been well received/has had the intended impact (apart from clapping!)?
- 3) what attitude would (you) take towards any politician who it was claimed imitated (your) style of speech delivery?
- 4) is/are there any book(s) (you) would wish to be translated into Kiswahili most urgently?
- 5) how would (you) assess the likely impact of the introduction of TV broadcasting on political speech making in Tanzania?
- 6) what could be the effect of the re-introduction of a private and foreign owned daily print media in Tanzania vis-à-vis some of the political discourse norms that have evolved in recent years eg the "presidential" address to Dar es Salaam Elders

which is broadcast live and whose written transcript is (often) subsequently printed in full by the daily press?

- 7) what are some of the factors which (you) have had to take into account in deciding what topics to talk about, where (ie village assembly or town/city stadium) and with what degree of preparedness; (ie scripted or unscripted delivery)?
- 8) what metaphor would (you) use in describing the role political oratory plays in the history of an oppressed people?