



HAL
open science

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SWAHILI POLITICAL SPEECHES

John Hamu Habwe

► **To cite this version:**

John Hamu Habwe. DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SWAHILI POLITICAL SPEECHES. Linguistics.
University of Nairobi, 1999. English. NNT : . tel-01257830

HAL Id: tel-01257830

<https://shs.hal.science/tel-01257830>

Submitted on 20 Jan 2016

HAL is a multi-disciplinary open access archive for the deposit and dissemination of scientific research documents, whether they are published or not. The documents may come from teaching and research institutions in France or abroad, or from public or private research centers.

L'archive ouverte pluridisciplinaire **HAL**, est destinée au dépôt et à la diffusion de documents scientifiques de niveau recherche, publiés ou non, émanant des établissements d'enseignement et de recherche français ou étrangers, des laboratoires publics ou privés.

**Discourse Analysis of Swahili
Political Speeches**

1999

DISCOURSE ANALYSIS OF SWAHILI

POLITICAL SPEECHES

IFRA



No.

IFRA003335

Date

KE/HABT808.5

BY

JOHN HAMU HABWE

*A Thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the Degree of Doctor of
Philosophy of the University of Nairobi*

1999

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented in any other University.

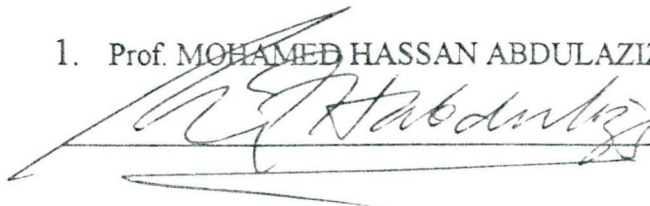
JOHN HAMU HABWE



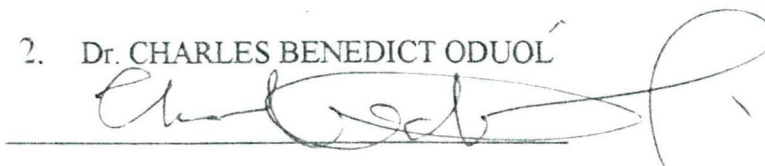
25.6.1999.

This thesis has been presented for examination with our approval as University supervisors:

1. Prof. MOHAMED HASSAN ABDULAZIZ



2. Dr. CHARLES BENEDICT ODUOL



DEDICATION

*I dedicate this thesis to my parents;
my mother Alice and my father Mr. Mganga,
for supporting my educational enterprise even
when it reached levels they could not comprehend
and even when it partly conflicted with their
wish for me as their son.*

ε

TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
Acknowledgements.....	iv
List of Symbols.....	vii
Abstract.....	viii
CHAPTER ONE	
1.0 Introduction.....	1
1.1 Statement of the Problem.....	6
1.2 Aims and Objectives.....	9
1.3 Hypotheses.....	10
1.4 Rationale.....	11
1.5 Scope and Limitation.....	14
1.6.0 Theoretical Approaches.....	16
1.6.1 Cohesion Approach.....	16
1.6.2 Grice's Implicature Theory.....	18
1.6.3 Topic Framework.....	21
1.7.0 Literature Review.....	23
1.7.1 Review of Swahili Discourse Literature.....	23
1.7.2 Review of Theoretical Literature on Discourse.....	29
1.7.2.1 Discourse.....	29
1.7.2.2 Text.....	33
1.7.2.3 Dialogue.....	38
1.7.2.4 Pragmatics.....	42

1.8.0	Methodology.....	46
1.8.1	Methods of Data Analysis.....	49
1.8.2	General Remarks on Data.....	50

CHAPTER TWO

SOME PRAGMATIC STRATEGIES IN SWAHILI DISCOURSE

2.0	Introduction.....	63
2.1	Metaphor.....	65
2.2	Rhetorical Questions.....	78

CHAPTER THREE

IMPLICATURE IN SWAHILI POLITICAL

SPEECHES

3.0	Introduction.....	89
3.1	Code-Switching.....	89
3.2	Honorifics.....	98
3.3	Truth.....	105
3.4	Narratives.....	118
3.5	Dialogue in Swahili Speeches.....	125
3.6	Humour.....	146
3.7	Politeness Phenomena.....	150

**TOPIC AS A COHERENCE PRINCIPLE IN
SWAHILI POLITICAL SPEECHES**

4.0	Introduction.....	179
4.1	Topic Assignment.....	180
4.2	Topic and Coherence.....	183
4.3	Topic Shift Markers.....	199
4.4	Topics in Political Discourse.....	217

CHAPTER FIVE

COHESION IN SWAHILI RALLY SPEECHES

5.0	Introduction.....	226
5.1	Reference.....	227
5.2	Lexical Cohesion.....	237
5.3	Conjunction.....	246
5.4	Substitution.....	256
5.5	Ellipsis.....	260

CHAPTER SIX

6.0	Conclusion and Summary.....	275
6.1	Suggestions and Recommendations for Further Research.....	285
7.0	References.....	287
8.0	Appendix 1.....	300
8.1	Appendix 2.....	330

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is impossible to thank all persons who have helped me during the course of my doctoral research. However, only a few people deserve mention.

First, I thank my two supervisors, Prof. Mohamed H. Abdulaziz and Dr. Charles B. Oduol who were always friendly and understanding and supervised my work with dedication and a real sense of duty as professional guides. Without these two exercising their outstanding ingenuity perhaps this work would not be complete. They showed great interest in the work and this served as a great source of inspiration on my part.

I am so grateful to the late Professor Jay Kitsao for the contribution he made to this study before falling sick and finally going to be with the Lord. If destiny was kind, it should have let him see the fruits of his labour.

Thanks are also due to Prof. Okoth Okombo who always offered me sympathetic advice. Perhaps he, than any other, understands the shaky pedestal on which I was nurtured; perhaps the ground Prof. Okombo prepared is coming of age even as he continues to serve as a role model to my linguistic enterprise.

Special mention goes to the Germany Foundation DAAD and the Deans Committee of the University of Nairobi for funding this field work. Their generous funding determined the success of this research.

I thank my parents, Alice Apasi and Hamu Mganga for sacrificing to educate me. I also wish to thank my beloved children Josiah, Everlyne, Brenda and Sheila for their patience during my course of writing this thesis. They succeeded in the test of living with a father who was academically obsessed at times to the detriment of the family. Mr. H. Webuye then a close friend, confidant and associate gave me special financial advice and moral support during the course of this study, I thank him most sincerely. I am also greatly indebted to George Mweri for his academic support and advice as a colleague and also for helping me in the collection of data for this study.

Amos Omutakhi of the Germany Embassy assisted me during the course of my research. I wish to thank him most sincerely for his understanding as he collected data for this thesis in both Nairobi and Mombasa. His patience, expedience and skill have contributed immensely to the success of this work.

Dr. Yahya-Othman (Saida) and Dr. Lwaitama of Dar es Salaam University impressed me by the fearless and bold critical remarks they made on my work. This thesis owes a lot from their direction. In the same wave, I wish to thank

Dr. G. Nutter for the assistance he offered me with reading materials of various kind and the special interest he had in my research. Thanks are also due to Dr. J.B. Amayi for his advice and support with reading materials from India.

My dear partner, friend and close confidant T'resa Ambasa's sterling support, advice and encouragement is highly appreciated. More than anybody else she determined the last steps of this work as she stood with me emotionally and psychologically. She did it so well because she knew how and when to do it. Thanks, again, to her for expending that much effort for the one she dearly loves.

Lastly, I extend my thanks and gratitude to Penninah Rapasi for typing this thesis with a heart of commitment and Nancy Wanjala , with Elizabeth (Liz) Gacao for re-setting and printing it.

And Christ Jesus for the GRACE.

LIST OF SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Aud:	Audience
...:	Pause
...:	Long pause
():	English words in the data
[]:	Comments on the discourse and alternative translation
*:	Unclear sections
Vb:	Verbal
Nm:	Nominal
Cl:	Clausal
R:	Reference
Ps:	Personal
dem:	demonstrative
c:	Comparative
L:	Lexical
Syn:	Synonymy
Hyp:	Hyponymy
Cl:	Collocation
Rep:	Repetition
C:	Conjunction
Cs:	Causal or Logical
Adv:	Adversative
Add:	Additive

ABSTRACT

This study attempted an understanding of political language in Kenya. It specifically focused on the problems of cohesion, coherence and pragmatic meaning in selected texts of Swahili political speeches. To handle these disparate problems of Swahili discourse, we used the eclectic approach that comprised of Cohesion approach by Halliday and Hasan (1976), Topic Framework approach by Brown and Yule (1983) and the Implicature approach by Paul Grice (1975).

This thesis is organised into six chapters. The first chapter is an introductory chapter. It treats introductory elements of this study i.e. introduction, statement of the problem, aims, rationale of the study, hypotheses, scope, literature review and finally methodology.

The second chapter which deals with pragmatic meaning focuses on two rhetorical devices i.e. metaphor and rhetorical question. Although these two devices, metaphor and rhetorical question have been traditionally treated as figures of speech, we re-focused on them as bases for pragmatic implicatures in specific discourse situations.

The third chapter like the second chapter, deals with aspects of meaning. Some of the aspects treated include, dialogue, truth, politeness, honorifics etc. It has been demonstrated, in this chapter, that meaning in political speeches goes beyond the usual linguistic properties of an utterance in a context of situation. Politicians twist meanings to fit situations, their own expectations and the assumed needs of the audience. In this language game, politicians maintain a unique working relationship with not just the government of the day but also satisfy the emotional, and affective needs of their audiences. Meaning looks somewhat blurred and eclipsed but strong implications and undercurrents are expressed which the audience, given their contextual knowledge and cultural dispositions interpret easily.

The fourth chapter handles the question of topic coherence. The subtle concept of topic is treated to understand how topic functions as a coherence principle of Swahili texts in specific discourse domains. Utterances of various kind in a speech, it has been shown, are a strand to a fragment in a way that is highly principled and fairly predictable. Political speeches in Kenya show a high sense of topic coherence and signalling as speakers move from one paratone to another. The topic is therefore interpreted as a complex entity having a number of topic related elements contributing to it.

The fifth chapter treats cohesion from a Hallidayan perspective. Aspects like substitution, ellipsis, reference, lexical and conjunction cohesion are investigated. In using cohesion approach to account for connectivity and linking it was evident that lexical cohesion and reference cohesion were the most salient and prevalent types in rally political speeches in Kenya. Lexical cohesion was more prevalent because of its clarity. Reference cohesion on the other hand was more favoured by speech animators because of economy in referring to other elements in a textual world. Cohesive elements in chaining both inter-sentential and intra-sentential elements create a configuration that expresses a clear semantic meaning.

The last chapter is a conclusion. It offers a summary of this thesis and suggestion for further research. This study was field based . It used filmed data that was recorded by audio-visual equipment and was finally transcribed and analysed focusing on specific aims.

CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

The present study is about strategies in Swahili discourse. Most specifically, it deals with political rally speeches in Kenya. The term discourse is used here in a more inclusive sense to refer to an overall communicative activity that subsumes text, context and rules of interpretation. Discourse analysis on the other hand refers to the linguistic approach that studies discourse. This study has been greatly influenced and motivated by studies whose approach is to investigate language beyond sentential confines by considering the contexts of use and rules of interpretation. These studies have resulted from a change in view expressed by a cross-section of disciplines about the approaches that have been treating language as an abstract system of phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics in total disregard of situations of use. This study therefore emphasised the use of language and situations in which it occurred. Ever since the 60's, there has been a proliferation of studies on aspects of language use. There has been a resurgence of studies that combine varied approaches and methods to the problem of language use. Some of the disciplines involved are; sociolinguistics, ethnography of speaking, text analysis and discourse analysis. Discourse analysis has had its main thrust from sociology and linguistics. Pragmatics has been influenced by philosophy and linguistics, whereas ethnography of speaking has been influenced by anthropology, and sociolinguists by linguistics and sociology.

One of the most important domains that have greatly attracted researchers of discourse is the domain of politics and its language. Most researchers of discourse analysis are seeking to establish whether or not political language requires certain linguistic strategies unique to it (Fairclough 1989; Wilson 1990; Fowler 1985). These researchers of discourse analysis have endeavoured to investigate the features that characterise the language of politics. Further, it has been argued that politics right from 'societies of antiquity has had an overwhelming importance in people's lives and its investigation is therefore in order. Besides politics relating with people directly and immediately it also displays a complex language matrix on which politicians depend, for persuading, commanding, threatening, bargaining, reassuring, imposing and reasoning (O'barr 1976; Candlin 1989; Lwaitama 1995).

The existing literature on Swahili political studies reveals the lacuna that exists in the political domain (Whiteley 1981; Mutahi 1977; 1980). Even more directly on political discourse, there exists only a handful of studies (see 1.7.0 Literature Review). The sketchy literature available attests to a rich ground with endless possibilities of research. In this research we intend to contribute towards the understanding of discourse linking and pragmatic meaning in oral political speeches by Kenyan politicians. The discorsal approach we have adopted in

this study differs from sociolinguistic approaches which are mainly correlational. Sociolinguistic approaches are based on what is said where and by who and to whom.

They lack greater motivation for why something is happening and an indepth understanding of meaning as is exemplified in texts of discourse which is what the study will address (Dijk 1985:1; Fishman 1972; Fairclough 1989).

We are using the term Swahili to refer to both the people who use Swahili language and the language itself. Sometimes the language is written with the prefix 'Ki-' denoting that it is a language. Swahili language belongs to the Bantu family of languages of the Niger-Kordofanian whose most distinguishing feature is their noun class system with a remarkable similarity in vocabulary. Some of the cognate Bantu languages found in Kenya are Taita, Pokomo, Luhya, Meru, Embu, Gikuyu and Kamba. Swahili language has over fifteen dialects. Some of the major languages being; Kiamu, Kimvita, Kijomvu, Kiunguja, Kipemba, Kihadimu and Kitumbatu. As an East African lingua franca Swahili is used as a means of communication among people of various ethnic backgrounds.

This study uses the standard variety of Swahili Language as a standard of judgement. Sometimes the political speakers diverge from this standard variety. Divergence is in the form of incomplete sentences, wrong concordial agreement and sometimes meanings that are not consistent with the standard form. The inception of the standard Swahili was in the efforts of the Inter-territorial language committee of 1930 (Mwansoko 1991; Whiteley 1969) The standard variety is Kenya's national language. It is used for general communication among people of different backgrounds. Politically, Swahili is vital as a mobilising language (Mutahi 1980, Abdulaziz and Osinde 1997:44). In Tanzania, the standard variety is both the official and national language (Abdulaziz 1971; Harries 1968; Whiteley 1969). Swahili language has a striking uniqueness when compared to most Bantu languages. It lacks tone and has a high Arabic element in its lexicon. The Arabic element has resulted from loan words from the Arabic language during the Swahili language's historical, religious and cultural contact with it. The term Swahili, as we have noted, can also be used to refer to members of a community who speak Swahili as their first language. These communities occupy the East African Coastal strip right from Somali, up to Mozambique (Nurse 1985). As a people, the Swahili are better defined as a cultural group with a complex cultural fabric. The culture of the people who are referred to as Swahili is urban, mercantile and heavily

Islamic in nature. The Swahili are Africans, Asians and Arabs maintaining a high inter-marriage within the three groups (Yahya-Othman 1994; Salim 1973; Bakari 1982; Mnyampala and Shihabuddin (1971; Harries 1968).

A political speech is defined in this thesis as a monologic text whose purpose is to advance matters related to the running of the state either directly or indirectly.

A political speech takes place in a political event. Our understanding of politics and political activity is based on the Oxford English Dictionary (1933:1032) which defines 'political' as:

Of, belonging or pertaining to state or body of citizens, in government and policy, especially in civil and secular affairs; public, civil or pertaining to the science of art of politics.

As we know, political activity is broad and political speeches are only an aspect of it. We treat a political speech as a sub-genre of political discourse whose language may have resemblance to other activities like parliamentary debates, political seminars by political scientists but again which maintains its uniqueness

as an independent sub-genre. As a discourse, a speech is defined as a hortatory type of language (Longacre 1976; Beekman et al 1981) as opposed to procedural, narrative and expository types of discourse.

1.1 Statement of the Problem

In this study, we attempt to describe, analyse and interpret some aspects of Swahili political speeches. Swahili political speeches like other discourse types and genres have a conventional organisation of language, unique to them. A study to investigate the exact nature of this language to establish how it functions in human communication is therefore a worthwhile academic undertaking.

Available literature on Swahili linguistics reveals a concentration on the study of grammatical aspects of Swahili language (Polome 1967; Myachina 1981; Ashton 1944; Bakari 1982; Kapinga 1983) to mention a few. These studies have operated only within sentential confines. Important in their analyses have been problems pertaining to the phonology, morphology and Swahili syntax. They did not focus on structures of concrete use which are made to bear with real discourse situations which are sometimes replete with performance errors but contextually appropriate.

Little effort has gone into accounting for language phenomena beyond the sentence in Swahili language. The following problems need to be addressed: what makes disparate discourse sentences hang together? Why is some utterance relevant to one discourse and completely irrelevant to another? How is meaning conveyed in concrete situations? Does a discourse always reflect its semantic properties when in use or does it not? How does meaning differ from one discourse to another? What makes a fragment of a discourse seem as belonging together? How do listeners come to know that some specific discourse has just begun? Again, how do they know that a joke is just being concluded, for example? Yet even more important is, how do speakers move from one topic to the other? Is it haphazard or is it signalled? What matters in real communication? Is it the grammaticality of an utterance and its completeness or is it its relevance in terms of who says what to who and why? These issues and many others are the concerns of modern approaches to analysis of discourse. Various theorists e.g. Coulthard 1989; Hymes 1972; Halliday and Hasan 1976; Dijk 1985; Grice 1975 are advancing paradigms to account for the phenomena mentioned above in different languages. This is why a study on Swahili language will not only be accounting for specific Swahili properties but also contributing to theoretical knowledge in discourse. Some research has been conducted on political oratory on Swahili language in

Tanzania by Blommaert (1990) and Lwaitama (1995). However, there still exist knowledge gaps in this area of political rhetoric. One of the most important domains that behoves us to shed light on is that of rally speeches in Kenya. Some of the pertinent aspects that are worth focusing on are implied meaning, emotive expressions, the role of narratives, rhetorical questions, metaphors, political lexicon, dialogue, code-switching, among others. Apart from pragmatic aspects cited above, there are issues related to connectivity and linking. One wonders, for example, what are the exponents of Swahili language cohesion? How does the genius of the language realise them, especially in political speeches and how do they link disparate fragments of a Swahili speech? Related to connectivity is the issue of topic. What is topic and what is its role as a coherence principle? Does it or does it not organise a speech into a coherent whole? If it does how does it do it?

In an attempt to analyse Swahili political rally speeches, problems of theory emerge especially in the handling of Swahili discourse data. Owing to a multiplicity of elements in discourse data and varied theoretical interests pursued by different researches, would an eclectic approach to theory be more revealing? This is due to lack of a comprehensive theory that can account for a variety of discourse phenomena in a nutshell. Of even equal importance is the

question of methodology that is ideal for research in Swahili discourse analysis.

How much data is ideal and

why?

And most important is how is it to be collected? Some of the questions raised above need to be addressed so that a comprehensive understanding of language use can be realized. This study aims at shedding light on some of these questions raised above.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

The study was based on three aims:

To attempt a description of cohesive devices of political rally speeches in Kenya with a view to finding out the types and how they link political speeches.

To describe and analyse some aspects of pragmatic meaning.

To study the topics of political rally speeches in Kenya to establish how topic applies as a chaining and coherence principle.

1.3 Hypotheses

This study tested the following hypotheses:

That the organisation and pragmatic meaning of Swahili political speeches in Kenya can be analysed by using an eclectic approach to discourse analysis.

That topic is the strongest coherence principle of the Swahili political speeches.

That cohesion is the surface manifestation of semantic relationship that points to deeper coherence in Swahili political speeches.

That meaning in Swahili political rally speeches is often implied.

That code-switching is a concomitant feature of Kenyan political rally speeches.

Although the hypotheses we have may look disparate and unrelated there are some areas of relatedness. The first hypothesis refers to the eclectic approach we are using in this thesis. The second and third hypotheses refer to linking and connectivity of syntactic elements that contribute toward both semantic and pragmatic meaning. The fourth hypothesis is mainly pragmatic meaning. The

last hypothesis, that is about code switching relates to pragmatic meanings as well. We aim to test how code-switching is a discourse strategy for evoking pragmatic meaning.

1.4 Rationale

This study focuses on political language. Politics as we have mentioned in the introduction to this thesis is of central importance to man. Man is responsible for the formation of political institutions which later exert force on his life. Man has therefore been described as a political animal. In the modern world, politics has permeated human life to the extent that there is no corner of human life which is free of either direct or indirect political influence. Although a number of means are available to politicians of various types for controlling the populace e.g. coercion, jails, courts, police, etc. the one strongest means which politicians use is language. Effective use of language alone can distinguish a good politician from a bad one. It is language which made Dr. Martin Luther King Junior the world famous civil rights fighter he was. This kind of view justifies why studies have to be done on varieties of political language to understand how they function in the management of human affairs.

We also find it reasonable on our part to argue that we are studying Swahili speeches in their own right so that their characteristics are brought to the fore. This is true in view of the fact that since Swahili differs from other languages in its grammatical structure, it is plausible to assume that it will differ from them in its discursal organisation as well. It is only important that aspects of the discursal organisation of Swahili are investigated and described. Interesting claims have been made by practitioners and theorists concerning approaches of discourse analysis. This research provides a means of testing those theoretical claims in cohesion and pragmatics and also regarding the concept of topic. In this way, we shall be making Swahili language bear with modern thinking in the area of discourse analysis.

English is an important medium of oral and written communication in Kenya. English is Kenya's official language (Whiteley 1968; Marshad 1993; Mazrui and Mazrui 1995). It is normally used in delivering formal speeches on public holidays by presidents, cabinet ministers, etc. Sometimes after the speeches have been delivered in English, Swahili is used to get the masses understand the main points in the political speeches. Swahili, on the other hand, is used during mass rallies and other meetings. Underscoring the role of Swahili in the politics of Kenya, Mutahi (1977:21) observes:

As a political tool Kiswahili is very useful. Apart from cutting across linguistic barriers it has the largest possible audience in the country. It is because of this reason that some political leaders in pursuit of national unity are forced to advocate for more use of Kiswahili in all sectors of life. In multi-lingual constituencies Kiswahili is a prerequisite for any candidate who wants to be elected to any electoral post unless his ethnic group is predominant.

Where the communities use one dominant local language, that local language is used. English is normally regarded as elitist and a language for the learned and top brass leaders (Mutahi 1980). Since this thesis focuses on mass rally speeches where Swahili is mostly used, it justifies our choice of Swahili language as a source of data.

At an even broader level of discourse analysis, there has been interest in discourse analysis that goes beyond studying language as an end in itself. We believe, therefore, that an investigation on the rhetorical language and its

organisation in Kenya should lead to a higher level of consciousness and to more understanding of politics. It may not be entirely true that audiences do not follow what political speakers say. However, such a research would raise the level of consciousness about what goes on in political language. Some paradoxes of political language include skewed meanings, what constitutes truth and what does not, what anecdotes imply and what rhetorical questions are strategies for, for example.

i.

Since discourse analysis is tilting itself toward a practical end by researching on problems that affect man in his day to day life, it is responding to practical problems, and therefore is an area worth expending effort on.

1.5 Scope And Limitation

Although we have already mentioned that this study is about Swahili political discourse, we must admit here that political discourse is broad and refers to a wide range of activities. The term political discourse may refer to journalistic commentaries, parliamentary debates, political pressure groups, political conferences, labour activities, political dialogues, *barazas*, political science activities, political speeches, etc. (Haugerud and Njogu 1991; Corcoran 1979; Edelman 1971).

In this research, however, we focus only on speeches in situations of day to day interaction between the speakers and their audiences. Speeches may be of different kinds e.g. presidential speeches, formal and informal speeches e.t.c. We further confine ourselves to live rally speeches. We take a common understanding of a rally as a large public meeting especially meant for political purposes (Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English 1987:858). So, we treat a rally speech as sub-genre of political discourse.

There are two important media of delivering speeches. One medium is visual and the other medium is oral. Visual medium can refer to either graphic or modern electronic systems like televisions which have become very popular in American and British campaigns, and in many other countries of the Western world. This study, however, addresses itself to orally delivered speeches which have not been written prior to their time of delivery. This is a common practice in Kenyan rhetoric where speeches are delivered without much planning and prior documentation.

We confine our research to two main cities (see Methodology). They are Nairobi and Mombasa. These two cities are treated as being methodologically significant in Kenyan political oratory.

Two main latitudes which emerge in Kenyan politics are grassroots and national. Although national politics have a special case of presidential speeches (Lwaitama 1995) in this research, we address ourselves to national politics which are non-presidential. The national speeches are well in accord with the two cities which have a national character. This national level has a significant feature of employing Swahili as its language as opposed to grassroots politics which in most cases use local languages especially in areas where there are no people from various backgrounds.

1.6.0 Theoretical Approaches

As we have already stated, the research we are undertaking consists of various disparate elements. It is therefore open to an eclectic approach. The three approaches we are using are:- Cohesion approach by Halliday and Hasan, Topic framework approach by Brown and Yule, and the Gricean Implicature theory.

1.6.1. Cohesion Approach

One of the aims of the present research is to investigate the surface linking or connectivity of rally political speeches. This is to establish how the spoken texts of rally speeches are strung together so that the understanding of one textual element is dependent on that of the other. To handle such textual relationships,

we find the cohesion approach guiding and more revealing because of its capacity for analytic and descriptive adequacy. Cohesion is mentioned and discussed in a number of works e.g. Brown and Yule (1983); Dijk (1977); Dressler (1985); William (1990); Beaugrande and Dressler (1981); Njue (1989); Widdowson (1977); but it is Halliday and Hasan (1976) who have popularised it and given it a firm theoretical direction.

According to Halliday and Hasan (1976) and Halliday (1985) a cohesion approach can capture the textual ties that enable a text to hold together. Halliday and Hasan discuss the following types of cohesion; reference, substitution, ellipsis, lexical cohesion and conjunction. Reference cohesion expresses a semantic relationship existing between the co-reference item and its antecedent or post-cedent. Substitution and ellipsis refer to replacements of elements. Substitution is one where a pro-form replaces an element whereas there is zero replacement of the elliptical elements. Lexical cohesion refers to a relationship between lexical items, e.g. where a superordinate term may replace a specific word or words relating in a collocative way. Finally, conjunction is the type of cohesion that has got to do with propositional (clausal) linkages e.g. adversative, additive and temporal relationships.

1.6.2 Grice's Implicature Theory

Political speakers assume a considerable amount of information which they and the audience share. This leads to many implied expressions. Speakers also mean a lot more than the surface semantic sense (Leech 1983). For example the Swahili sentence:

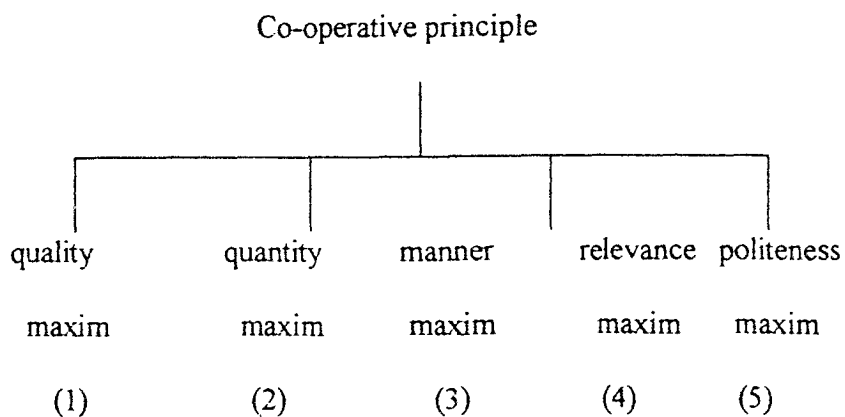
"Njuguna hatashinda kura ya Nairobi",

"Njuguna will not win the elections in Nairobi"

may mean, for instance, Mwamzandi will win that election since he has mass support in Nairobi. The audience on their part use prior-knowledge to infer the most correct implications. So, the shared knowledge is the basis for those inferences (Gibbs 1987). In analysing such context based meanings, we shall find the Gricean implicature theory most useful. The basic ideas of this theory were formulated and articulated by Grice in a lecture in 1967, and later published the views in 1975 in an article 'Logic and conversation' that appeared in Cole and Morgan (1975). The main gist of this theory is that there appears to be a conversational (we are applying it more broadly here) constraint which governs people's use of language in a co-operative way. He called this constraint the co-operative principle. The co-operative principle has four maxims, namely, quality maxim, quantity maxim, relation maxim and manner

maxim. The quality maxim has got to do with truth. It constrains a speaker to speak only that which he considers true or that for which he has sufficient evidence (see Leech 1983). The quantity maxim is about the amount of information, i.e., to say that which is sufficient for a certain topic. That is, do not say more or less in a given context of situation. The relevance maxim has got to do with how related to the situation one's contribution is. Lastly, the manner maxim regulates the way or style of saying something. Something has to be said in a clear and effective way so that the audience may follow and appreciate the message. The most significant contribution of this theory, however, is that this regulative system is non-constitutive (Searle 1969) and hence can be flouted for a number of reasons in varying contexts of situations. Basing on the culture or prior knowledge and rules of interpretation, listeners can understand when somebody is violating the maxim for truth reasons and so long as other maxims are held, one can still be regarded to be operating within the co-operative principle. The Gricean principle and its attendant maxims have a number of features; (Leech 1983). They apply variably to different contexts of use; They apply to varying degrees; They can be in conflict with one another; they can be contravened or flouted without meaning failure to observe the co-operative principle. It has been argued (Leech 1983:79) that the Gricean maxims are not sufficient in accounting for why people are always indirect in

their expression. We shall follow Leech (1983) in the suggestion of politeness. However, we shall only suggest politeness as a maxim part of the co-operative principle. We are doing so because we believe that the maxims of the politeness principle in Leech (1983) can at best be looked at as mere sub-maxims of a major maxim of politeness. This is a maxim that completes the co-operative principle by regulating on polite behaviour. The banter principle can be accounted for under the quality maxim, the irony principle can be accounted for by the quality maxim. Leech does not, in our opinion, give sufficient reasons as to why the co-operative principle and the politeness principle have to be separate. Below is the rhetoric of the co-operative principle with the politeness maxim.



By making the politeness maxim part of the co-operative principle, the politeness maxim is given full status of a constitutive maxim rather than being a fringe maxim.

1.6.3 Topic Framework

In our investigation of Swahili political speeches, we are interested in the notion of topic, its management and how it functions as a coherence principle. In doing this, we use the topic framework approach. The topic framework constitutes a rejection of characterising a discourse topic in terms of a single proposition (Brown and Yule 1983:73). Rather, it constitutes seeing topic broadly with reference to the activated elements from the text domain and other elements from the physical context.

According to Brown and Yule (1983), the activated elements constrain a speaker to speaking topically, that is within the topic framework.

The topic framework is composed of elements which the speaker and the addressee share and which give the topic of their discussion direction and this may be elements both from physical context such as place, and preceding text of discourse. For example a topic framework which would have 'political arena' as a physical attribute cannot allow a speaker to speak about cell biology

or rheumatism unless the speaker relates it to the topic framework. External features include time, place, addressor, addressee, physical environment, etc. On the other hand, text features include, titles, questions, noun phrases and sentences in prior or preceding text of a discourse.

According to the topic framework approach, a certain topic is determined by considering the activated features and then working out a set of things the speaker is talking about. The topic is then drawn comprehensively because no single proposition can summarise a topic.

Since most topic titles are assigned beforehand, we shall refer to a speaker speaking topically when he is speaking about a topic given beforehand. But we shall refer to speaker's own topic for a topic generated by himself. Within the topic framework we also have the concept of topic markers.

When a speaker moves from one topic to another, certain linguistic markers, e.g. 'na' and, 'lakini', however, 'isipokurwa', except etc. are used. These we refer to as topic shift markers. The markers show that a speaker is leaving the earlier topic and beginning another one.

1.7.0 Literature Review

This section has two parts. One part is about literature review relating to Swahili political discourse and Swahili discourse in general. The next section consists of a review of theoretical literature. We are interested in four main elements in this section, namely, discourse pragmatics, text and dialogue. These elements have been treated and defined differently in discourse literature. Our treatment of the same elements is meant to reflect our theoretical biases on them; something we think is vital for the comprehensive understanding of this thesis.

1.7.1 Review of Swahili Discourse Literature

Whereas the structural aspects of Swahili language abound in a gamut of literature, a small body of literature exists on Swahili discourse. An even scanty literature has focused on the site of Swahili political discourse.

Lwaitama (1988) is one of the significant works on Swahili political speeches. Lwaitama wrote on the personal pronominal styles by two senior Tanzanian politicians, Nyerere and Mwinyi. He found out that varied use of pronouns is not only a mark of personal style but is also conditioned by contexts of use.

The unscripted paragraphs of both Mwinyi and Nyerere use more first person singular pronouns than their scripted paragraphs. Second person plural

pronoun was only used by both speakers for praise and common ground. On the other hand, first person plural *'tu'* was used when signalling institutional power. Sometimes *'tu'* *'we'* was used in a hearer-inclusive way for intimacy and involvement.

Another study is by Lwaitama (1995), this study is much broader than the one cited above. Using a critical language approach Lwaitama investigated the presidential styles of oracy. Lwaitama studied the speeches by former Presidents of Tanzania Nyerere and Mwinyi. Some of the aspects discussed include, vocabulary types - nouns, verbs, syntactic formations, e.g. passives as opposed to active sentences, the personal pronouns, employed by speakers, both for personal style and suitability of context. Extra-linguistic features like pauses, giggles and chuckles etc., were also studied.

Lwaitama's research differs from our study in a number of respects. The present study is not using a critical language approach. It focuses on topic and cohesion; something Lwaitama's work did not treat. Pragmatic aspects of political language were studied but on presidential and Tanzanian political rhetoric.

The other significant work in Swahili political discourse is one conducted by Blommaert (1990). He examined four speeches by Nyerere and argued that they exhibited a duality, in style, of both the traditional and Western rhetoric. Particularly significant is the choice of genre. Written work tended to be the preserve of new topics that would demand argument and hence long and complex sentences. Written genre shows a tremendous amount of detachment and careful reasoning. On the other hand, oral speeches are for repeating the already laid down policies for the point of reinforcing them. Oral language then seems the selected genre for speaker involvement and strong empathy with the audience. Oral speeches are a ground for linguistically marked features like jokes, tag questions, etc. Blommaerts' work differs from the current study because it is based only on speeches by Nyerere and examined written and oral materials. The study by Blommaert also had fairly different aims and purposes of comparing written and oral materials to determine their styles in respect with President Nyerere's oratory. However, it is crucial for our reference in this thesis.

Msanjila (1989) conducted a sociolinguistic survey that was aimed at investigating the rules of formal address in Tanzania. After independence he found out that the addresses were '*mtukufu*' '*mheshimiwa*' honourable '*bwana*' gentleman and '*bibi*' lady. This changed to '*ndugu*' the Tanzanian '*Ujamaa*',

equivalent for comrade. The terms were meant to indicate the creation of a classless society founded on the Ujamaa philosophy by the first President of Tanzania, Julius Nyerere. Msanjila observes that the terms are merely fallacious. They do not reflect the social reality of the society in question. Msanjila's study is only limited to the terms of address. Although our research is dealing with honorifics, it is doing so in the broad pragmatic rubric and by using the implicature theory of Grice.

One of the works conducted on Kenyan rallies is by Haugerud and Njogu (1991). The two researchers adopted the position that political language is by and large implied and political speakers are strategists who convey their information in certain ways beneficial to their personal and national goals. Particularly important in this research is the phenomenon of collusive pretence. Haugerud and Njogu's study is particularly relevant to our present research because of its treatment of certain aspects, like dialogue, code-switching, etc. that bear pragmatic implications. However, it differs from the present work in view of the fact that its data was based on Embu language with a small Swahili element. Some aspects like cohesion that we are treating are not dealt with in their study.

Some works have been carried out on Swahili discourse. Although they are not directly on political rhetoric, they are important for reference purposes because they deal with other discourse types. One of these works is by Njue (1989). This work deals with the cohesion patterns of story tellers in the Mvita dialect. Njue set out to investigate the type of cohesion characterising this genre and how it helped one effect his story telling. He found out that the back reference - the anaphoric type of cohesion was significant in story telling. One, it tied up the story and two, it gave a clear semantic reading of the story. Njue's work is important to the present research because of the cohesion approach is used. However, its focus on the story is one major difference it bears with the present research.

Some other work on pragmatic aspects of Swahili discourse is by Habwe (1989). The work investigated some strategies of conveying meaning among the Mvita speakers during casual conversations. The meanings are implied and the discourse type is highly dependent on context of situation. Another thing the work did was to try and understand the interpretative procedures. The work will be referred to on matters of general meaning in discourse. However, it is particularly different since it deals with casual conversation.

One of the works done on Swahili discourse on the politeness phenomenon is

by Yahya Othman (1994). She argues that among the Swahili people of Zanzibar, one needs to uphold the ethos of his communal society hence the need for not just the face-saving strategies for speaker-addressee but also for the third party. A number of strategies are used; silence, change of topic, innuendo (*vijembe*) etc. This work will be an important point of reference for us on politeness as the motivation for some of the communicative styles (Leech 1983). However, its confinement to the politeness phenomena is the major difference it has with our study besides the Tanzanian society of Zanzibar studied.

Michira (1993) is yet another work done on Swahili discourse. He studied the language of vendors at Gikomba market and the language of Swahili advertisements on Kenya radio. Using a stylistic approach, he found that both languages displayed a high level of code-mixing. The syntax of both languages is fairly simple, the ungrammaticality is overtly seen, etc.

This work differs from our present study because it is on business language. However, it is an important referral point for our work.

Njogu (1994) wrote on dialogic poetry in East Africa. He examined the 'Gungu' among the Swahili of Zanzibar. He also examined 'Kimondo' of the Swahili of Lamu and 'Gichandi', among the Gikuyu of Kenya. Unlike Mikhail Bakhtin (1973, 1981, 1986) as quoted in Njogu (1994) who had argued that

the novel is highly dialogic and proceeded to argue that poetry was inherently monologic, Njogu, by using varied data both from Kikuyu language and Swahili, has argued that even poetry is highly dialogic. This is because of its capacity to reach to its past retrogressively and future in time progressively. Poetry, like the novel, Njogu has argued, has a multiplicity of languages and that the performance itself is dialogic by the mere presence of a retorting audience through comments and reply to the composer's poem and the fact the performance is inter-textual and socially placed.

The work by Njogu is relevant to this study in that it uses a Swahili data besides Kikuyu data and also because it is handling dialogue, which is one of the discourse styles we are investigating in this thesis. However, Njogu's work is focused on dialogue by using the fluid Bakhtinian approach.

1.7.2 Review of Theoretical Literature on Discourse

1.7.2.1 Discourse

The existing body of literature on discourse shows that 'discourse' is one of the concepts that are widely used and yet ill defined (Schiffrin 1994:5; Stubbs 1983:12). The most obvious reason for this discrepancy is the divergency of origins from which the researchers come and hence the broad use to which the term is put. Each group of researchers tends to have different interests and

assignments from other groups. The groups of researchers also differ in their theoretical stances which finally affect the way they view this concept.

The term discourse has sometimes been used interchangeably with the term text. According to this view, when one is dealing with matters of text he can be said to be dealing with matters of discourse as well (Stubbs 1983:9). However, this view has been challenged by scholars who hold what we shall refer to as a complex view of discourse. (Fairclough 1989; Leech 1983; Leech and Short 1981). These researchers see text as only an integral part of discourse and therefore the question of alternation does not arise.

Another interesting way discourse has been viewed arising more from conversational analysts (Schegloff, Sacks, Goffman) cited in Levinson(1983) is that discourse refers to dialogue (Macdonell 1981:1). According to this view any communication act that is dialogic, having interlocutors who take turns qualifies as discourse.

This view stands in juxtaposition with the view which sees text as referring to monologues. However, many scholars agree that discourse may refer to both dialogue and monologue (Crystal and Davy, 1969:68).

Some other ways of looking at discourse have had very little impact on theoretical thinking in this area. One of these views is that discourse is spoken and text is written. Crystal (1987:116) says:

Discourse analysis focuses on the structure of naturally occurring spoken language as found in such discourses as conversations, interviews, commentaries, and speeches. Text analysis focuses on the structure of written language, as found in such texts as essays, notices, road signs, chapters.

Implicit in this quotation is the view that the entities of analysis on which analysis is applied are referred to as discourse and text when they are spoken and written respectively. However, Crystal concedes that the distinction between text and discourse on the basis of medium is far from being clear cut. Scholars still talk of spoken and written discourse and others about spoken and written text (Brown and Levinson 1983:6-9; Crystal and Davy 1968:68).

One of the most influential ways in which the term discourse has been defined is when it is used to refer to any organisation above the sentence. This position has been referred to as both functional and structural (Schiffirin 1994:20; Richards et.al 1985:83; Halliday and Hasan 1976; Edmondson 1991). As a structure, discourse is an organisation beyond the sentence. The kind of organisation is put together by both cohesive and coherent elements to ensure its unitary sustainability. As a functional entity, discourse is normally contrasted with formal grammar or specific aspects of it, like phonology, morphology and syntax. However, discourse is a matter of how the various phonological, morphological syntactic elements function in concrete use, something that makes discourse relate to performance (Chomsky 1957) and parole (Saussure 1916). According to this view, data for discourse constitutes the elements in use rather than contrived constructions amenable to purely theoretical linguistic research. In spite of the popularity of this view as a way of characterising discourse it has failed to make a neat difference between text and discourse. However, it offers good comparison between the sentence as an entity for syntactic study and the overall extra-sentential organisation and configuration that is the province of discourse inquiry.

Yet the most theoretically significant view that we refer to here as the complex approach to what discourse is could be attributed to Fairclough (1989); Coulthard and Sinclair (1975); Leech (1983); Leech and Short (1981:209).

According to this view discourse is a complex entity constituting a number of aspects.

Discourse, according to this view comprises first, the text and this can be either written or spoken. Secondly, it includes the circumstances of use or context where there is addresser, addressee with not just the communicative goals but also the rules of interpretation. According to this view of discourse, one can not talk of discourse without a text. This is because a text is an integral part of discourse without which no discourse can be said to exist (Fairclough 1989).

Discourse, essentially, refers to a communicative activity. This is where the term discourse differs from text which only refers to a system of visual or auditory linguistic signs. Discourse denotes an overall organisation of a communicative activity with interpretive rules and goals in a specified context impinging on what is said or written. In our view this seems the most tenable definition of the term discourse.

1.7.2.2 Text

We saw in the section on discourse that text as a matter of fact is part of discourse. This is when discourse is seen as an overall communicative act in a certain specified context. What then is a text and what is it not? The definition

of a text by Richards et al (1985:292) represents most of the views expressed by linguists, they say thus text is.

a piece of spoken or written language. A text may be considered from the point of view of its structure and/or its functions, eg. Warning, instructing, carrying out a transaction... A text may consist of just a word, e.g. 'Danger' on a warning sign, or it may be of considerable length, e.g. a sermon, a novel or a debate.

The view of what a text is by Leech and Short (1981:209) parallels the one quoted above partly. Leech and Short both define text from both the structural and functional point of view. Text, according to them is a linguistic communication that expresses semantic meaning and which may be spoken or written. Text according to Short and Leech (1981) is seen as merely message expressed in visual or auditory symbols. The definition by Richards et al above maintaining that a text can be used to warn, instruct, confuses the system a text is and what it is used to do in a discourse situation. Although the definition is partly right by saying that text is a spoken or written piece of information, it fails to give a clear-cut distinction between the broader discourse and text which is

only an element of discourse. A text can only be used to partly warn when it is in actual use. In such a situation, it is not the text that is solely responsible for warning but the overall discourse. The warning as a speech act is dependent not just on the linguistic expression but on the context and general rules of communication in a given situation.

The most excellent example ever given representing this view of text as opposed to discourse is that, if one pulled a drawer and got out a message, **DRIVE SLOWLY, CHILDREN CROSSING AND HOSPITAL AHEAD**, this would be a text but it would not be a discourse. However, it can be made part of a discourse if it is used in an actual communicative activity. The communicative activity as it were would target some audience on some correct situation and place. This view is also expressed by Brown and Yule (1983) who say that a text is either a verbal or written record of a communicative event.

Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) and Halliday and Hasan (1976) have, however, emphasised on relationships that tie together elements of a text and facilitate co-interpretation (Brown and Yule 1983:190). Perhaps Halliday and Hasan's (1976) standpoint is the often quoted one due to mainly its formal and explicit character. According to their position, a text is based on the concept of cohesion. A sentence or a sequence of sentences can be bound together by

cohesive power (see Hasan 1971). The cohesive power of a text means that several text elements are capable of being interpreted in the light of prior or post elements in a text. Like Richards et.al (1985) they say a text can be a single sentence and more, so long as it is a well knit configuration of dependencies (Indangasi 1988). Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) on the other hand argue that cohesion is not enough standard for something being able to stand as a text. They argue coherence, intentionality, acceptability, informativity, situationality and intertextuality are other elements, apart from cohesion, that make a piece be regarded as a text.

Perhaps Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) see a text in this way because text and discourse to them refer to one thing. This is true because aspects like coherence, intertextuality, intentionality are normally realised in a discourse activity rather than a text. Such an argument is tenable when we refer to other researchers who deal with textlinguistics.

This same view is evident in Dijk (1977) who maintains that text is the abstract representation of discourse. This is because he regards discourse as the actual or concrete realisation of a text. He for example says:

These are reasons which have led us to assume
that utterances should be reconstructed in terms of
a larger unit, viz that of text. This term will here

be used to denote the abstract theoretical construct underlying what is usually called Discourse.

Dijk (1977:93) then treats various aspects of coherence, the aspects that Beaugrande and Dressler (1981) refer, to as being the conditions for coherent text. So, as a matter of fact to textlinguistics, what makes a text is coherence rather than only cohesion.

Petofi (1985:209) has however given four main characteristics of a text. One, he says that texts are elements of language use. Two, he says texts can only be autonomous to some degree. In a paragraph, a sentence would be a text in its own right, for example. Three, texts bear meaning. This means that texts are not just a series of signs but meaningful signs that relate to the designata. And four, texts fulfil some communicative function.

The term text therefore essentially refers to a section of discourse. The larger discourse gives text a frame that is institutionalised for operation. It is that text of discourse that is a system of communicative linguistic signs. These signs can be verbal or written. The system is organised in such a way that it is seen as

belonging together as an entity. However, within the large system, there exists micro-systems that may be texts in their own right. Example, a poem in an anthology is a text yet the anthology is an overall text.

1.7.2.3 Dialogue

The word dialogue is derived from the Greek word meaning 'to converse'. Dialogue does not necessarily mean conversation between two people. It could mean two people or even more. It is based on the concept of turn. In some speech events interlocutors keep changing speaking turns as either passive or active speakers. It is in this regard of exchange that dialogue applies.

Dialogue is, in most cases, thought of in relationship to the concept of monologue where there is only one speaker or one voice (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Levinson 1983; Njogu 1994).

The concept dialogue is important to this research. It helps to set a difference between a language type that is characterised by exchange of turns and that with only one dominant speaker. The former we have referred to as a dialogic activity and the latter monologic activity. Crystal and Davy (1969:69) have

observed that a monologue is a text where no response is expected. Dialogue on the other hand is what constitutes an utterance with alternating participants. Some other interesting view of dialogue is represented by Njogu (1994:2). Following Bakhtin (1973, 1981, 1986), Holquist (1990) and Mukarovsky (1977) he describes the term dialogue when he says:

It is reciprocal interaction; a passing through and a going apart. Dialogue is a relation characterised by tension; by simultaneity of presence and absence. It is the inter-relation between utterances. Used in reference to texts as discourse units, dialogue is inter-textual... Further, dialogue ... is not restricted to the temporal and spatial immediacy of the interlocutors. This is because we respond to the immediacy of each other's gestures and utterances. Utterances are echoes of past experiences; of other encounters.

According to this position, a text is in relationship with prior works, with present works and anticipatory future works. Every utterance according to Bakhtin is dialogic in nature. Cited in Njogu (1994:5). Bakhtin (1973:2) says about inherent dialogic nature of utterances:

Any utterance...makes response to something and is calculated to be responded to in turn. It is but one link in a continuous chain of speech performances.

A work like a novel, according to this position, is considered to be highly dialogic having a high level of novelness because of its nature of having a multiplicity of forms interacting with one another. One form of language interacts with one another. One theme is in dialogue with another. Utterances elsewhere in poetry are equally so regarded because of their intertextuality and their social placement (Njogu 1994).

Mukarovsky (1977:86-87) whom Njogu (1994:3) cites says that the conditions of dialogic relationship are that; one, each participant must have an opportunity of alternating between active and passive roles during an encounter; two, that

the speaker and addressee need to consider the context of situation in their interchange; and three, that the unfolding discourse will have two or more contexts evolving out of the exchange. To that effect therefore even a soliloquy, traditionally regarded as monologue *par excellence*, would be dialogic.

It is agreed to a large extent by this study with the interesting position of Bakhtin and his followers. The study however, chooses to focus on the more narrow and more restricted physical dialogue structure that can be naturally observed rather than one which has to be interpreted and supposed. Regarding the above stated position on dialogue Njogu (1994:2) states the following:

In linguistic discourse, dialogue is usually used synonymously with conversation; presupposing the physical face to face existence of at least two individuals in verbal exchange.

This position that Njogu (1994) refers to as linguistic is the one we favour in this study because it can enable us make a juxtaposition between the traditionally understood position of monologue that we see and experience in

political rallies in Kenya and the dialogue encounters which sometimes emerge as pragmatic strategies. We also favour this position because, according to the Bakhtinian view, the concept of monologue can not hold, and he thus says that all utterances are dialogic. If the concept of monologue cannot hold, then the concept of dialogue, in our view, also collapses. It is so because the terms are defined in a bipolar relationship with one another just the same way up and down are defined. Dialogue is an expected feature of conversation, court discussions, debates, etc. whereas monologue has been an expected feature in lectures, sermons, speeches, etc.

1.7.2.4 Pragmatics

Pragmatics is one of the central concepts to this study because of our interest in how meaning is expressed in Swahili political speeches. This study seeks to determine whether or not meaning is expressed directly in political speeches. Various theorists and practitioners have attempted definitions of what pragmatics constitutes. The theorists have intended to show where the borderline lies between semantics and pragmatics proper. These scholars have shown divergent and convergent views on this subject (Ferrara 1985; Levinson 1983; Stubbs 1983; Leech 1983; Thomas 1983; Schiffrin 1994). The most insightful view is expressed by Morris (1938).

According to Morris (1938), syntax deals with the relationship holding between signs. Semantics deals with the relationship between signs and their designata. Pragmatics on the other hand deals with the relationship between signs and their users. Morris was operating within a behavioural framework. He thus saw all the three approaches as only part of the larger semiotics theory. Although this position by Morris continues to influence thinking in pragmatics as an approach to discourse, it is too broad to delimit the real concerns of pragmatics. It is in this understanding that we find the broad definition of characterising pragmatics as merely language in use (Leech 1983; Fairclough 1989). When pragmatics is seen as language in use or merely a relationship between the signs and their users as we have already pointed to, it becomes fairly intricate to draw a hard and fast boundary between pragmatics and socio-linguistics, or even discourse analysis, ethnography of speaking, text linguistics and social psychology. This is because all these areas are interested in language in use.

A more specialised view of pragmatics is the one represented by the speech Act Theory which sees language as social action that is made possible by what Austin (1962) has called felicity conditions. This approach tends to limit the business of pragmatics to only meaning as understood in context. One can say it partly draws from Morris since it has heavily centralised context and the users. However, even more important to this view in its attempt to explain meaning

(Grice 1975:58) is speaker meaning. This kind of meaning differs from the conventional propositional meaning (see Schiffrin 1994). Thomas (1993:92) gives support to the idea of speaker meaning as the core of pragmatic inquiry. However, she identifies two levels of pragmatic meaning. According to Thomas, level 1 speaker meaning assigns sense and reference leaving speaker meaning level 2 to assign force or value to the speaker's words. She argues, further, that the semantic knowledge gives a range of meanings and the Gricean maxim then assigns specific senses and reference in some context. According to this view, if a fellow passenger was asked to ask the driver (on a long distance coach) what time they would get to Birmingham and if the driver retorted, saying, "it is a big place" then the driver is said to have misunderstood the speaker meaning level 1 (Thomas 1993:93).

Whereas it is true that reference is extremely tricky and problematic for a semantic approach, to explain sense is a clear case of semantics, in our view. A speaker could use reference in a way that is only bound to some context and hence requiring pragmatic understanding (Schiffrin 1994:198). However, any language should be able, using semantic knowledge, to assign senses. That is, if senses mean like Thomas (1993) does use it, to refer to mere propositional meaning. This is what the passenger means by 'when'. Thomas assumes that

all uses are always ambiguous in contexts. It is, however, not true (Searle 1975; Schiffrin 1994:192). There are only some cases when it is so, and even then the context disambiguates such meanings. Thomas' stance blurs an attempt at getting to the division of labour between pragmatics and semantics. Our understanding of pragmatic meaning is expressed in the words by Searle (1975:59):

The simplest cases of meaning are those in which the speaker utters a sentence and means exactly and literally what he says... But notoriously, not all cases of meaning are this simple: in hints, insinuations, irony and metaphor - to mention but a few examples - the speaker's utterance meaning come apart in various ways. One important class of such is that in which the speaker utters a sentence, means what he says, but also means something more.

In our view, pragmatics lies where a speaker means 'something more' in

Searlean terms. This constitutes our contention with Thomas (1993) because the passenger does not mean anything more by asking when they would arrive in Birmingham. It is a clear case of communication breakdown - a communication that is based on semantic knowledge and can be analysed by semantic approaches. The position by Searle parallels the one by Leech (1983:6) when he says that semantics refer to what X means and pragmatics what a speaker means by X. This is to make pragmatics user centred, like Morris (1938) saw it (See Bates 1976). It is to see pragmatics as being intention and goal oriented rather than being system bound. When pragmatics is seen this way, then one can see the role of the co-operative principle.

When the maxims are followed in a straightforward way then that is an inclination to semantics and when there is some flout of the maxims and hence indirectness then that becomes the province of pragmatic investigation. However, as Leech (1983:6) says there cannot exist a clear-cut boundary with these two terms. It is safe to see them as mere tendency towards one rather than the other.

1.8.0 Methodology

Our research was largely field-based. From the very beginning we were

concerned with the accuracy and credibility of our discourse analysis data. It was for this reason that we made sure that the fieldwork was well organised to fit the demands of concrete data. We were a lot careful with the initial collection, filming in which we participated and the final transcription having been done, we cross checked the data to ensure it was accurately transcribed. This practice accords well with the approaches in discourse analysis that rely on corpus data as a true reflection of what happens in concrete situations of use as opposed to tailor-made data (Schiffirin 1994:203; Milroy 1987) that is used by theoretical linguistics as a standard practice.

The field study was made in two main phases. The first phase of the research constituted visits to four selected districts - Kisumu, Kakamega, Nairobi and Mombasa. In the four districts we were able to determine the general pattern of rally speeches and their general characteristics.

In the second phase, two areas thought to be representative were selected. These areas were Nairobi and Mombasa. The former was selected because the speech makers were expected to be non-native speakers of Swahili language. The latter was selected because the speech makers were expected to be native and near-native. By near-native, we mean people who speak Swahili with a fluency close to that of native speakers and whose language is closely related in grammatical

and vocabulary cognates with Swahili. A common guiding factor, however, is that Mombasa and Nairobi constitute the major cities of Kenya with a fairly reasonable degree of political activity. Whereas Mombasa constitutes the hub of coastal political activity with near-native and native speakers of Swahili language, Nairobi on the other hand is Kenya's capital city and hence the centre of most political activity with a diversity of politicians considered to be non-native speakers of Swahili language.

We collected, by way of participant observation and audio -visual recording, political speeches at mass rallies. Apart from the audio-visual recordings, contextual information e.g. sex, age, education, place of rally, nature of audience was collected to help in the interpretation.

In section 1.8.2 we have some general remarks on the corpus data. That will further help in understanding of the speeches of pragmatic meaning.

Eight speeches were randomly collected in both towns of Mombasa and Nairobi as constituting the research sample. After collecting the eight speeches in Nairobi and Mombasa, we assigned random numbers for each category and finally selected four speeches for the final research sample. The four speeches were considered representative because the sample size was largely determined

by the qualitative approach that we were to apply and also because of the practicality of analysing such micro-elements that are responsible for cohesion.

Coupled with field research, this research, needless to say, was also based on library materials. The library material were vital in accessing information on theoretical paradigms and literature review.

The other important method of research that used was the consultation we made with scholars versed in matters related to Swahili language and discourse analysis.

1.8.1 Methods of Data Analysis

The primary data that was collected was analysed, interpreted and described by focusing on pragmatic aspects like code-switching, dialogue, honorifics, metaphor, etc. The aspects of cohesion like substitution, reference, lexical cohesion etc. were also studied. Finally, we focused on aspects of topics like topic markers, topic description and topic coherence. The approach we used was mainly qualitative.

The method was meant to demonstrate the resources available to Kenyan mass rally speech makers and how they used them for meaningful communication within the political institution.

In our study we analysed disparate aspects of discourse, cohesion, topic and pragmatic meaning. We often used the same materials. For this reason, we commented on some parts of our data more than once from different vantage positions. An excerpt may be discussed for cohesion and yet found crucial in yielding some vital insights of meaning and topic. This helps in showing that a text can be used to demonstrate all these textual and discoursal relationships and hence this approach was important for exemplification.

In the body of the thesis, we have sometimes offered double translations for clarity of expression. Our translation, however, is aimed at giving one a Kenyan Swahili world view rather than an English world view.

1.8.2 General Remarks on Data

In this section we discuss general features that characterise our data. Besides the general features which characterise the speeches as a discourse type, we aim at showing some of the features that are unique to each speech. Some of the

features we shall highlight will be discussed in greater detail in the analytic chapters.

Our data constitutes of four speeches of varying length from Nairobi and Mombasa (see methodology). Some general characteristics traverse the data. All the speeches display the structural organisation of beginning, middle and end (see Stubbs 1983; Linde 1985). The middle, is normally a large chunk divided up into paratones based on the notion of topic (Brown and Levinson 1983). It is possible to see each paratone focusing on some topic that can be expressed comprehensively or in terms of a topic entity as 'women' or 'children'. The data for this study which was collected by means of participant observation and recording exhibits the use of facial expressions, hand movements, all serving diverse functions. The back forward head movements and up down hand movements serve to emphasise points whereas facial expressions serve to show the mood of the speaker regarding the topic or any other situation in both the linguistic context and context of situation. Strong empathy and speaker involvement is shown by an elaborate use of pronouns like '*sisi*' 'we' and first person singular pronouns like '*mimi*' 'I' or its bound form '*ni-*' 'I'.

The voice of the speaker is another distinguishing feature in this discourse of political rallies. The voice of the speaker is raised above the noises of the audience in the background. The voice also carries a tone of authority and assurance. In many instances the speeches are characterized by whistling, murmuring, cheers, sometimes jeers and handclapping. The features we have cited above often accompany dialogic encounters.

Most sentences in the four speeches are dependent on the linguistic context of situation. The sentences occur without the head noun but only with agreement markers. The agreement markers, which sometimes are treated as pronominals, refer to the earlier and later contexts in the text. Most of the references in the spoken data serve deictic rather than cohesive functions.

It is interesting to note that none of the speakers code-switches to a mother tongue. The code-shifting is restricted to the two languages, the standard Swahili and English, revealing the vital role the two languages play in political circles in Kenya at a national level (Abdulaziz and Osinde 1997).

The speeches treat a wide range of issues as topics. There does not seem to be any domain where an issue can be drawn for a political speaker. The topics however, are made to bear relevance to the context of their utterance. Some of

the topic entities which the speakers treat comprehensively as topics are: the voting exercises, developmental projects, the trading problems and lawmaking in the city of Nairobi, the permit for holding public rallies, cleanliness in the city of Nairobi, matters of the opposition, etc.

The speeches display individual characteristics and styles. Jahazi's speech provides, perhaps, an interesting example of a harangue in the political domain. The speech is the longest, stretching over several minutes. One distinguishing mark of Jahazi's speech is his use of an elaborate dialogue (see dialogue). The elaborate dialogue shows a high level of audience involvement in the speech. Long, complex and compound sentences are a common feature in Jahazi's speech mainly because of his logical reasoning.

Although most speeches are characterised by code-switching, Jahazi's speech is the only one that makes use of an Arabic greeting formula '*Asalam aleikum warahamtulla wabarakatu*'. This probably shows Jahazi's link to Islam and hence it's culture. It may be important to mention that Jahazi like Nassir comes from Mombasa. Like Nassir, Jahazi code-switches from the standard Swahili variety to the Kimvita dialect (a dialect spoken on the Island of Mombasa). He, for example says:

(1) *Sitotukirwa* for the standard [*sitachukua*]

I will not take

(2) *Utungu* for the standard [*uchungu*] pain

Numerous pauses characterise Jahazi's language. The pauses are an expected feature of oral communication especially when it has little prior planning. The following are examples of pauses: speaking about the opposition he says:

(3) *Kila mahali ambapo.... Juzi*

Everywhere where..... Recently

(4) *Hawa ndugu zetu wa upinzani wanatu..... mi...*

These opposition brothers of ours make us..... I...

Besides the pauses the speech also displays a number of fillers, another feature that characterises spoken texts.

Examples: Speaking about international crime where the International Centre was bombed in America he says:

(5) Ile Inter..... eh?

That Inter.....eh?

Metaphors cut across all the speeches. However, it is in Jahazi's speech that they are used extensively and revealingly. Some of the metaphors are:

(6) *Kupoza moto*

Cool tempers

(7) *Tangaza vita*

Declare war

(8) *Alimrusha Mpakistani*

Captured a Pakistani [literally, flashed]

The metaphors, as we shall see later, serve a number of functions. Chief among the functions being to excite the audience which expects arousal more than referential information.

Sayings also mark Jahazi's speech as unique from the rest. Jahazi, for example says:

(9) *Hii ni vita si mchezo wa bao.*

This is war not a chess game.

(10) *Umoja ni nguvu na kutengana ni udhaifu.*

Unity is strength and disunity is weakness.

Whereas narration is a feature common to all the speeches, it is Jahazi who uses it most extensively. Jahazi uses it for justification of what he is saying.

Kimondo's speech is the shortest. Kimondo himself says he does not wish to take a long time because of there being many speakers. One of the features that distinguishes Kimondo's speech from the rest of the speeches is the presence of an elaborate conclusion coda. The following elements signal an ending:

- *Kwa hayo machache mimi nitaishia hapo.*

With those few remarks I wish to stop.

- *Lakini nataka tuhubiri umoja; umoja; umoja; Mzee asikie.*

But I want us to preach unity; unity; unity; so that *Mzee* may hear.

- *Ahsante*

sana

Thank you so much

- *Harambee!*

- *Jogoo*

Jogoo (literally cock)

- *Jogoo; nyayo*

Jogoo, nyayo (literally footsteps)

- *Ahsante*

Thank you.

Besides the lengthy and elaborate conclusion, coda, Kimondo opens his speech with a greeting. Note this is a normal way of opening speeches. He says:

Wasichana, vijana hamjambo?

How are you, boys and girls?

Unlike Jahazi who uses a highly standardised Swahili form, Kimondo's data reveals some forms that are divergent from the standard variety (which we have already said we use in this thesis as a standard of judgement) in concordial agreement. The following is an example of what we are referring to from Kimondo's speech:

Lakini kuna kitu moja mimi nataka kusema

[Lakini kuna kitu kimoja ningetaka kukisema] standard form

But there is one further thing I wish to mention.

Such forms that also characterise Kirima's speech are expected and accepted. Similar forms would not be accepted, if for example, the same speech was being delivered in Dar es Salaam. A high standard variety is spoken in Dar es Salaam, any able politician is expected to master it well.

Kimondo's speech is characterised by shorter expressions. This feature sets a difference between his speech and Jahazi's speech. The dialogue in Kimondo's speech is far from being elaborate. Kimondo uses dialogue only in a few instances.

Like most speeches Kirima's speech opens with a greeting. Like Kimondo, the Swahili spoken by Kirima shows even greater divergence from the standard variety. The following are some of the examples:



Kitu mimi nataka ni hii

[*Kitu nitakacho ni hiki*] standard form

This is the thing I want

Wakawachiliwa yote

[*wote wakaachiliwa*] standard form

They were all released.

Some of the differences between Kirima's Swahili and the standard form is at sound level. The following are the example where 'a' is preceded by 'h' and 'r' is replaced with 'l':

Hati [ati] that

Kula [kura] voting card

Like in Kimondo's case, the Nairobi audience expects and accepts such forms. The Nairobi speakers display use of the other strategies other than the correctness of grammar. It is also interesting to note that a highly standardised form of Swahili language may create communication problems to the Nairobi audience. It may be less effective than the forms we have cited above.

The speech by Kimondo also displays cases of pausing like in the following cases:

Lakini leo leo...

But today.....

Namwambia wa..... was..... wasijaribu kuu.....

I told him no... not to try to.....

Nassir's speech has a different opening. Unlike most speeches whose opening is a greeting, Nassir simply says:

Siku ya leo inajisemea yenyewe. Haina haja kusema.

This day speaks for itself. There is no need of speaking.

This means that whereas a greeting is a traditional way of opening a speech it need not necessarily be there. Some other strategies could be used to open the speech. The two utterances Nassir uses do not contribute anything in terms of content but they are merely phatic. Nassir's speech does not have a conclusion coda either. However, conclusion is only signalled by repeating an utterance.

Nassir who is a native speaker of Swahili language (Mvita dialect) uses code-switching as a strategy. He uses English forms in a number of cases. However, of great uniqueness, he also code-switches to the Kimvita dialect. The following are the examples:

He uses the word '*salamu*' to mean 'message'. The standard form would have preferred the use of '*ujumbe*' or '*risala*'. Shorter forms like '*nasema*' instead of the standard forms '*ninasema*' 'I am saying' are preferred.

Probably one of the most distinguishing feature in Nassir's speech is his use of the lexical features that are unique to the Coast Province of Kenya. The lexical elements help to create an environment that is Coastal. The words which cohere are: Likoni, Pwani, Mabajuni, Mombasa, Wadigo and Lamu. All these are names of places and people from the Coast region of Kenya.

Perhaps it is also important to mention another important cohesion feature which both Nassir and Kimondo use. It is only in Nassir's speech and Kimondo's speech that we see the cataphoric reference. The speakers refer to themselves in the course of their speeches, something that is rare in most

political speeches. The cataphoric reference is long range, traversing several paratones.

As we have mentioned earlier most of the speeches share certain features expected of rally harangues. However, the speeches display individual characteristics. In the analytic chapter we shall analyse these features in greater detail.

CHAPTER TWO

FIGURES OF SPEECH AS PRAGMATIC STRATEGIES

2.0 Introduction

The *raison d'être* of this chapter is to examine some of the language resources available to Kenyan rally speech makers and how they use the resources for the vital task of social control. The aspects we examine in this chapter are metaphor and rhetorical questions. These two devices have been traditionally referred to as figures of speech. However, in this chapter we examine them as aspects of pragmatic inferences.

A political speech maker finds himself in a tricky position where he has to communicate not just his ideas but his feelings as well. For him to achieve his goals, a number of strategies have to be put in place. The political speaker has to satisfy himself and still keep the audience satisfied, cheering and entertained.

Even more challenging for a political speaker is that he has to make his address bear with the dynamics of spatial and temporal contexts. To some politicians in power, many tools could be at their disposal. These are tools of coercion which are used for the purposes of effective communication, arousal of feelings and social control.

However, the most important tool for any successful politician is the extent to which he manipulates his language to hold the attention of his audience so that the audience can cheer and support him even when it (the audience) does not agree with him in principle or understand him. The supportive role of the audience is the one that creates the politicians we see today.

Yet importantly the politician's address has to adhere to the institutionalised demands of his discourse. A political speech needs to conform to the norms and traditions of political speech making in some cultural set-up. It does not have to look like a lecture or a religious sermon. Yet a certain speech delivered on some specific date time and for a certain purpose has to be highly personalised to maintain its uniqueness and that of the speech animator. Although it may begin with a salutation or even another opening like '*harambee*' 'Kenyan spirit of unity' followed by declaration of purpose or intent and have a fossilised conclusion coda '*nyayo*' 'footsteps' it has to make a difference to meet the immediate goals of its delivery.

In political speaking, meanings may be expressed directly or indirectly. The indirect meanings only make sense in the relevant contexts of situation. The remarks of Edelman (1970:130) about meaning

are aptly put as he says:

The realistic study of political language and its meanings is necessarily a probing not only of dictionaries, nor of word counts but of the diverse responses to particular modes of expressions of audiences in disparate social settings.

2.1 Metaphor

A great deal has been written on the concept of metaphor both in literature and linguistics (Myers and Simms 1989; Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English 1992; Leech 1969). Most of the researchers agree on the basic view that metaphor has got to do with meaning transfer.

From a pragmatic point of view, we seek to view metaphor as a falsity . We shall argue that cases of metaphor are breaches of the quality maxim of the co-operative principle (Levinson 1983; Grice 1975).

Political rally speeches display use of metaphors. As Fairclough (1989:119) puts it, metaphors are not necessarily restricted to poetry and literary discourse

but also traverse the language of politics. The speeches from Mombasa and Nairobi give evidence to the use of metaphor by political speech makers.

Let us consider the examples from the data. Kirima's speech has a case of metaphorical use when he says:

(1) *Mimi sitaki kushambulia mtu*

I would not like to attack anybody

Kirima's expression, '*kushambulia*' 'attack' is a breach of the quality axiom in the context in which it occurs.

However, a deeper interpretation that is possible with pragmatic tools finds it informative and relevant.

How, then, does a pragmatic interpretation of metaphor proceed? The general guide for metaphor interpretation is as follows:

- (i) Speaker S says P
- (ii) He wants hearer H to know that he says P
- (iii) However, because of context C he wants hearer H to see Q

So, by saying P and meaning Q that is where the quality maxim is flouted. The pragmatic principles can help in upholding meaning Q.

Although Kirima says '*kushambulia*', 'attack', it is unlikely he wants to be heard as meaning 'attack'. It is important to consider the context in which Kirima utters the above statement. This was said during Kirima's campaigns for the Starehe parliamentary seat. The audience Kirima is addressing is a volatile one. It is not a completely calm audience that would be satisfied with ordinary literal expressions like '*kukosoa*' 'criticize'. This is a group that has what Russel, cited in Mazrui (1977:177), calls collective excitement and which he (Russel) describes as "a delicious intoxication, in which sanity, humanity, and even self-preservation are easily forgotten, and in which atrocious massacres and heroic martyrdom are equally possible". Mazrui (1977:177) continues to add that "If a leader has the power to arouse collective excitement over an issue, this is an important asset in the great gamble of politics". So, Kirima uses this metaphorical expression to excite, ignite stir and evoke the feelings and emotions of his Nairobi audience when he responds to a situation where the city of Nairobi has been left with no good care to the extent that it has turned into a dirty place. Heaps of garbage can be seen even from where he is addressing the crowd and they are a concrete pointer to what he is saying. Looking at the heap of garbage, Kirima says he would not like to 'attack'

anybody to but only say during his tenure of office as deputy mayor, the city was clean.

Similar expressions like the one we have seen in Kirima's speech can be seen in Kimondo's speech too. Kimondo refers to himself as '*askari*' 'soldier'. He uses the expression metaphorically and the audience proceeds to infer the implied meaning. Like in the example above from Kirima's speech, the truth maxim has been flouted because Kimondo is not literally a soldier but he chooses to refer to himself as soldier.

Kimondo makes this reference during a rally organised to demonstrate against the anti-government activities of Odongo - a run-away dissident. Kimondo wishes that his audience may see him working as a soldier. In the Kenyan context, soldiers are known to be loyal to the government of the day. They also take command when it is issued. Yet they are also swift and quick in action. In their work, they are expected to freely serve the citizens of Kenya. In the obtaining context, the metaphorical expression of a soldier serves a vivid and effective function of showing that Kimondo is swift and acts on command. He further points out in the speech that he has not acted according to his will but that of KANU party. The analogy of a soldier serves to demonstrate Kirima's dedication to his party. It is for that reason Kirima says:

- (3) *Mimi ni askari, na askari kazi yake ni kuambiwa
nataka kumuua mtu hii*

I'm a soldier , and the work of a soldier is to be
told 'kill this person'

A further example can be seen in Jahazi's speech. He says:

- (4) *Wamekwenda kumwangukia yule balozi, wanamramba
maguu.*

They have gone to bow before that ambassador
[Literally, they have gone to fall at the
ambassador and to lick her feet]

An attempt at making semantic interpretations of this utterance presents one with difficulty. What Jahazi says the opposition members have done does not have a historical parity. It is only when one takes a pragmatic approach that it becomes possible to read the pragmatic undercurrents implied in the utterance. Like in Kirima's case of referring to criticism as '*kushambulia*' 'to attack' we need to remember that Jahazi is addressing a highly sensitive group. He has a duty not only of communicating information *per se* but also to evoke and stir,

the groups emotion. This is a group that wants to be excited emotionally and if possible incited. To such a group, metaphorical expressions are ideal in communicating such sensitive information as the one above.

Jahazi is speaking to an overly Coastal audience at the KANU office at Majengo. Unlike the case of Kimondo where there was a demonstration in Nairobi at Kenyatta International Conference Centre (henceforth K.I.C.C.), the KANU followers at Majengo are only being prepared for a demonstration to come. This occasion presents Jahazi with an opportunity to criticise the opposition parties for their non-co-operation with the government of President Moi.

In the utterance above Jahazi is referring to an occurrence whereby some members of the opposition paid a courtesy call to the then American ambassador to Kenya, Aurelia Brazil. This is normal. However, Jahazi opposes it and calls it 'falling before her and licking her feet' literally expressed.

One mark that distinguishes Jahazi's use of metaphor is creativity and the accompanying impact or effect. This being a largely Muslim audience the expression '*kumwangukia balozi na kumramba maguu*' 'falling before the ambassador and licking her feet' amounts to worship at the face value. It is abominable for human beings to kneel before any human figure other than the

creator in this case, Allah. At the surface level, Jahazi makes the audience get jilted at the act of the opposition group. The implied meaning is even more resentful that it reduces the opposition groups to worthless entities who cannot tell where to go and stoop for favours. Furthermore, the utterance implies that the Kenyan opposition adores the American authority and is submissive to it. It is even worse in this case when the men from the opposition have to bow to a woman. Such bowing is only expected of a man to his father or an elder but most appropriately God. This powerful metaphor succeeds in implying that the opposition is subordinate, and surrenders to external authority - something that contradicts the principle of any political party in an independent country.

Let us look at yet another vivid metaphor by Jahazi. He says:

(5) *Wao ni kozmen.*

They are peeping Toms.

The word '*kozmen*' 'peeping Toms' refers to the men who peep at women as they bathe or as they engage in businesses like 'preparing a (woman) bride for '*Harusi*' 'wedding' and where men are not allowed to be present. When such men are discovered they are detested and treated as social outcasts. The Swahili cultural songs commonly known as '*taarab*' castigate such men for

their immoral behaviour. When Jahazi is speaking about the movements of the opposition which are always in conflict with governmental goals and those of society, he refers to them as *'kozmen'* 'peeping Toms'. Of course such an expression presents us with some semantic oddity in the linguistic and cultural environment. Although he speaks to an audience well familiar with the practices of *'makozmen'* peeping Toms' It is unlikely that he literally means that. However, he means that the practices of the opposition are as outrageous as those of the *'kozmen'* peeping Toms'. Like in the earlier cases of metaphorical interpretation, the audience assumes that Jahazi is still confined to the cooperative principle. It is upon this assumption that they infer meanings whose understanding they are assisted by the cultural and situational context to grasp.

A listener without knowledge of the cultural context may not know what it means. In this case it is still arguable that this expression is a falsity whose desired meaning lies not in what it says but what is implied by it. The opposition supported the striking lecturers, doctors and yet when the government of Kenya 'agreed' with the doctors and lecturers to resume duty the same opposition was not consulted. As a people, they have behaved as worthless intruders and people with no respect for regulations much the same way as the *'kozmen'* 'peeping Toms.

This powerful metaphor by Jahazi succeeds in toning down the strength of the opposition. Jahazi wants the audience to know that it would be contradictory for any member of society to give them support since they are all the time ready to support subversive activities. Jahazi being a former oppositionist who has barely crossed to the ruling party KANU seems to be in a better position of understanding the opposition groups.

Nassir uses metaphorical expressions in a number of places during his speech. Below we examine one example of a case of metaphor:

(6) *Unamunia wewe. Yule mtu anakuuzia.*
Kukufanya wewe mjinga. Akuachia jasho.

You buy. That person sells to you. Makes you
stupid and leaves you sweating.

[You buy. That person sells the land to you. He makes you
stupid and leaves you with problems].

Nassir is commenting on the land buying in the Coast province of Kenya. Many problems are associated with the land buying and selling. This is because most of the people selling plots and pieces of land are not sincere. To warn the

audience he says;

Akiachia wewe jasho.

Leaves you sweating

This last utterance of the excerpt cited above cannot be understood literally. Nassir is certainly making a statement and expects that the audience would derive an implicature. He says P but he wants to be heard as meaning Q. Nassir speaks at a time when people have been conned of large sums of money. The metaphorical expression is meant to imply great trouble. Sweat as we know may come as a result of hard work or high temperatures. Nassir uses it to hint at the hardship the land buyers would have if they made transactions in ways not legally known. The power of this inference is in the fact that Coast province is a region with high temperatures and sweat is a common thing. The Coastal dwellers know how uncomfortable sweat can be and as a result know that it is something to avoid.

Political language seems a fitting ground for the metaphor than legal language, for example (Crystal and Davy 1969). Legal language seems to appeal more to reason and mass rally language appeals to emotion, affect, dispositions and moods.

How do we account for the metaphorical expressions whose examples we have cited? Metaphors are favoured because it is believed that they constitute some of the elements of a successful speech. Haugerud and Njogu (1991:15) argue:

In central Kenya's relatively egalitarian pre-colonial societies oratorical skill, along with military powers, contributed to personal reputations. So too *baraza* audiences today judge the rhetorical skills of those who address them.

An effective speaker talks forcefully and engages and excites listeners. The elements of success may include a historic style, and a skilful use of humour, irony, mimicry, proverbs, curses, or figures of speech.

Emphasis our own

According to the above quotation, a metaphor as a figure of speech may be used as a mark of good speaking along with other styles. In a number of cases, therefore, this seems to be a prompting factor for metaphor use.

However, this is at a more general level. Two major reasons seem to us to be

the most prompting for metaphorical use. One, politicians are interested in communicating not referential information alone but affective feelings as well. Through the metaphorical use they express these feelings. This reason explains why Kimondo in another case of metaphorical expression refers to political contests as '*kupigana*' 'to fight'. He says:

(7) *Kwa sikuamini umoja tungepigana na Kiriina.*

If I did not believe in unity I would have
fought with Kirima.

[If I did not believe in unity I would have contested
against Kirima].

The expression '*tungepigana*' 'we would have fought' seems the most exciting way of expressing Kimondo's message. The literal expression would be less arousing to the rally audience.

A speaker who uses less or none of these sensitive expressions runs a risk of boring his audience. On the other hand, a speaker who uses metaphors

creatively like Jahazi is normally regarded as a good speaker. Blommaert (1990:124) says:

'Purely spoken text is the locus of the already known'. Rallies 'which are part of spoken texts do not generate any new ideas and hence fitting for the use of falsities like metaphor.

The second reason why politicians at rallies, form implicative expressions and especially the metaphor is, the metaphor has a kind of duality that favours their double-edged character. One can understand this if we refer back to the example (5) by Jahazi;

'Wao ni kozmen'

They are peeping Toms

By using such an expression it is easy for a politician to deny what the expression means if conditions demand so. One feature of implicatures is that they are cancellable in other situations. Jahazi may easily deny what he means by '*kozmen*' 'peeping Toms' since the context of utterance will have altered. If he is accused for having implied that the opposition are outcasts and worthless he might insist he meant a different thing. This is true since pragmatic inferences are probabilistic and not direct meanings (Leech 1983). He might

argue that by '*kozmen*' 'peeping Toms' he meant the politicians were merely critical of the ruling party. Metaphors, therefore, provide an easy way for denial of the implied meanings.

2.2 Rhetorical Questions

The term rhetorical question has been defined by various researchers (Leech 1969; Richards et al 1985). Nearly all of them agree that rhetorical questions are like forceful statements that are in question form and require no answer.

Unlike metaphors which flout the quality maxim of the co-operative principle, the rhetorical questions are a special breach of the quantity maxim. This maxim states 'say enough information as it is necessary in a given place'. Although at face value some information is carried by a rhetorical question, at a deeper level the information intended by the speaker is supplied.

The pragmatic inference of a rhetorical question is done on the basis of the understanding that there exist two major questions in language. First, is the normal question with an information gap. The second is the rhetorical question with a seeming information gap on the surface but with information at a deeper level; information which can only be retrieved with the understanding of the co-operative principle and the inference rules in a context of situation.

A look at Nassir's speech reveals a wide range of exploitation of this pragmatic resource. He says:

(8) *Hakuna saa ya kusingizia* President Moi *hataki Nassir.*

Alikwambia saa ngapi? Chumbani kwako?

There is no time of saying President Moi does not like Nassir. When did he tell you? In your room?

Nassir is delivering this speech when he is facing opposition from his constituency. To respond to that situation he finds the rhetorical question ideal. In real terms, it looks blank but as an underlying strategy it looks loaded since the audience can make correct inferences of what Nassir means. Let us reconsider the above question and see how its interpretation is arrived at.

- i) Speaker S asks question Q
- ii) He wants Hearer H, to Hear Q

- iii) However because of context C
 he wants H. to infer P

When Nassir in example (8) asks,

Alikwambia siku gani? Chumbani kwako?

When did he tell you? In your room?

The audience, from knowledge of the co-operative principle and rules of interpretation in the context of Mombasa politics, know that the two questions are not normal questions seeking information. On the contrary, they are giving the information they seem to be seeking. The audience finds Nassir's question as breaching the quantity maxim which though is upheld at a deeper level with the availability of filler information. Nassir knows that the audience knows he knows the President did not speak to them. Some other derived implicature from Nassir's question is that the President would not speak to anyone anyhow and worse still in his room. So, he has not spoken to them anyway.

The audience can even make finer interpretations. One such interpretation can include information such as the names of the persons Nassir is alluding to. It is interesting to see how the audience responds.

(9) *'Sema mzee. Sema, sema'!!*

Say *mzee*, say say!!

[Speak *mzee* speak]!

The response indicates that they understand they have made a successful interpretation of the rhetorical question.

Other interesting rhetorical questions from Nassir's speech refer to a case where he is talking about the welfare of the Coastal people. He emphatically demonstrates that nobody likes the Coastal people. He asks:

(10) *Yuko mmoja aliwapa shamba?*

(11) *Yuko mmoja aliwapa kazi?*

Is there anyone who gave you land?

Is there anyone who gave you jobs?

In the obtaining context C Nassir can be heard asking the two questions above, however, he wants his audience to know he is saying;

Hakuna hata mmoja aliyewapa shamba.

Hakima hata mmoja aliyewapa kazi

There is nobody who gave them land.

There is nobody who gave them jobs.

How do we know he is saying this? It is because the two rhetorical questions which satisfy all the conditions of semantic meaning are less informative in the obtaining context. They only become informative when they are thought about in terms of the extra-linguistic knowledge.

The audience somehow knows that Nassir is aware they are landless and jobless and he knows (they share cultural knowledge) that nobody gave them land or jobs. He asks a question which at a deeper interpretational level emphasizes the fact that nobody has cared about the audience like he has himself.

It is interesting to note the speed at which the audience interpret the rhetorical questions and make responses to what Nassir is talking about. The audience actually replies by giving the implied meaning of '*hakuna*'. To all the questions they reply '*hakuna*' 'there is none'. This is exactly what Nassir means, that nobody gave them a job or land. However, a closer look seems to find an extension of the implication in the air. Since Nassir had been quite instrumental in looking for jobs for the Coastal people then it is most likely he

implies that 'nobody else loves the Mombasans except he (Nassir) who has given them jobs and probably land.

What is then the motivation for the rhetorical questions here? One, Nassir is using the rhetorical questions as a strategy. Nassir attenuates his impolite expression to his people. He is faced with a tricky situation of both issuing his bitter feeling and also maintaining polite behaviour. Another reason that seems to prompt the use of the rhetorical questions as a resource to politicians here is that it seems a very effective way of manipulating the feelings of the audience. When Nassir poses the rhetorical questions, he manipulates their point of view. This view seems to be in agreement with what Leech and Short (1981: 282) say; 'The question is a direct appeal to the reader'. Here, they are referring to a case in a novel.

When a speaker like Nassir makes such an appeal to his audience, he then minimises distance between himself and audience. He draws them much closer and they get involved in his thinking.

Jahazi's speech also shows use of the rhetorical devices.

(12) *Waweza kutukua Kenya ukampa Raila Odinga
mkokoni?*

Can you take Kenya and hand it to Raila Odinga?

(13) *Je walipoketi pamoja opposition ilishauriwa?*

When they sat together was the opposition consulted?

Raila Odinga at this point was in Ford Kenya Party before moving to National Development Party (NDP) where he later compromised his militant strategies and openly supported President Moi and his government. He had established himself as a fiery and fearless politician. It is against such background that Jahazi poses the question of whether it is possible to take Kenya and give it to him. Jahazi knows that Raila Odinga is a member of parliament. However, Jahazi is here concerned with the entire country, Kenya. On the surface, Jahazi's question sounds like it is seeking information.

However, because of the contextual cues like who Jahazi is, and his relationship with the opposition he seems like he is asking P and he wants his audience to believe Q. In this case, he wants the audience to infer that Raila Odinga can only be a member of parliament, but he cannot rule Kenya as president. It is interesting to note that he asks the same question of Wamalwa, who, like Raila Odinga, is in the opposition and he is seeking the high office of presidency.

After looking at the speeches by Jahazi and Nassir from Mombasa, we turn to the two speeches from Nairobi. Kimondo's speech has the following examples of rhetorical questions:

(14) *Tutarudi kufanya kazi gani na kazi tulifanya
tukamaliza?*

What else is there to be done when we have completed the
task?

Hii taabu gani na sisi tuna uhuru wetu?

What problem is this and yet we have our
independence?

Kimondo is a Kikuyu by tribe and a former freedom fighter. When he speaks about the Odongo issue in Kenya where it is said that Odongo is planning to overthrow the democratically elected government, he merely poses a rhetorical question to the audience.

Here by work he refers to 'maumau' 'pre-independence freedom struggle in Kenya' which was an uprising against the colonial British government. When one hears Kimondo ask the question, one may think he is seeking for an answer from the crowd. However, one familiar with the contextual background would know that Kimondo is stating something rather than asking a question.

However, like we saw in the cases of Jahazi and Nassir , the rhetorical question serves to minimise distance between the speaker and audience by drawing support. However, Kimondo cannot be said to be saving-face. Rather, he uses the rhetorical question to state something absolutely. There is a finality and absolutism in the rhetorical question not found in a statement. The finality is caused by the fact that the person who is being told something is made to say it himself. The rhetorical question can not leave a listener with a chance to deny what he has himself said and confirmed. Even his other question in example 15.

A rhetorical question has a great force and it helps a speaker to refute the Odongo scenario with total finality. Of course, Kimondo knows the problem, however, he is only saying `such a thing should not arise at all. Such means of expression are liked by the crowd because they generate in them the sensation concomitant with rallies. Considering that the people being spoken to are mostly from the KANU party such supportive questions are really ideal.

During his campaign rally, Kirima finds rhetorical questions a crucial resource.

He asks:

(15) *Wakati ule iko meya, na mimi iko deputy wako,*
 unakwishaona takataka kama hii?

The time you were mayor and I your deputy, did
you ever see garbage like this?

(16) *Je, huyu ni Ungwana?*

Is this gentlemanly behaviour?

In the example where Kirima is speaking about the situation of garbage in Nairobi which is alarming, he is also trying to save his face. He is being polite. Stating what he is asking could amount to straight arrogance on his part as former deputy mayor and it could even cost him the seat he is vying for. On the same issue he asks whether it is right to have such a garbage and in which case the answer is clear that it is not.

The rally speeches in Kenya make a wide-range of exploitation of this device of rhetorical-question as we have said before sometimes for face-saving, something that can be accounted for by the politeness maxim. They also use it to minimise distance between themselves and the audience and to state things with finality. Sometimes they use it as a way of generating dialogue. So, in a sense the rhetorical question becomes a polite way of saying something which, if openly said in a statement could cause resentment. In conclusion one may observe that

rhetorical questions are devices which politicians employ to say certain messages indirectly.

CHAPTER THREE

IMPLICATURE IN SWAHILI POLITICAL SPEECHES

3.0 Introduction

The last chapter and the present one are closely linked. They are all concerned with pragmatic meaning. To analyse pragmatic meaning, we are using the Gricean implicature theory (1975). In the last chapter we focused more on the rhetorical devices, of metaphor and rhetorical questions. We essentially intended to establish how they can be accounted for by this research. Although literary theories, namely the comparative theory and interactive theory had been used to account for the devices in literature, we advocated more for a pragmatic approach. Such a pragmatic approach was capable of arresting and underpinning key explanations by helping us argue that the rhetorical devices, metaphor and rhetorical questions were a breach of both the quality and quantity maxim of the co-operative principle, respectively.

In this chapter, we focus on other functional aspects i.e. code-switching, humour, dialogue, truth in politics, honorifics and politeness. We attempt to explain how these aspects can be seen as bases for implicature and hence pragmatic meaning.

3.1 Code Switching

Code-switching has been defined in linguistic literature as a change from one language variety to another during a speech event (Oduol 1987; Richards et al

1985; Saville-Troike 1989). Code-switching is, however, different from lexical borrowing. Bentahila and Davies (1982) cited in Oduol (1987:109) say that for an utterance to qualify as a case of lexical borrowing, it has to be integrated in a language's phonological, morphological system. The case of code-switching is different because the utterances in question have to display features of the different languages involved.

Saville Troike (1989) distinguishes two major types of code-switching. Inter-sentential code-switching and intra-sentential code-switching. The former type is code-switching above clause level, while the latter type occurs within the sentence, sometimes referred to as code-mixing.

In Kenya, code-switching is a common phenomenon. The codes which are commonly mixed are English and Swahili. Sometimes speakers commonly switch from native languages like Dholuo, or Maasai to Swahili and vice-versa. Speakers also code-switch from English to native languages and vice-versa.

In the area of politics, code-switching is common between Swahili and English. This is because of the problems arising from the roles of these two languages which are defined as national language and official language respectively; each without a clear-cut domain. At presidential level, code-switching provides a means of reaching the common people. For example, during Jamhuri day (one

of the independence holidays in Kenya), the president may deliver an address in English to later give its main points in Swahili so as to reach the masses. Alternatively, if the speech is given in Swahili, the president may take some time to give its main points in English to target the foreign dignitaries who do not understand Swahili.

However, important to this study, is not the sole question of switching languages but to find out the prompting reasons and the pragmatic implications accompanying such code shifts. Code-switching as a pragmatic strategy is a breach of the Gricean maxim of style. This is a maxim that demands that one communicate in a way that is clear and in accordance with the requirements of a specific speech event. A clear demonstration of this is when somebody wanting to show he is educated for example, speaks German during an address where nobody understands it, in which case he will have flouted the maxim that insists on clarity of presentation of one's ideas.

In the speeches we have recorded, inter-sentential code-switching was not noted. However, many cases of intra-sentential code-switching were observed. This is in view of the fact that rallies in Nairobi and Mombasa constituted masses who knew Swahili fairly well and English not as well. A complete code-switching to English would present the political speakers with communication problems.

Let us look at the speech by Nassir.

(1) *Lakini mimi* 'I will never go out of my line with
Moi alone

(2) *Na ikiwa ni kweli baina ya mimi na President,*
aweza kumiita, Naam

Nassir 'Come here my brother'

But as for me I will never go out of my line with
Moi alone.

[As for me, I will not stop supporting Moi]

And if it is true, between me and the President, he
may call me,

Okay Nassir, come here my brother.

[And if that be true, the President may summon me,

Nassir, come here my brother].

Looking at the context of situation, one wonders why Nassir is using the technique of code-switching. He is himself a man of humble educational background and who is also a native speaker of Swahili language (Mvita dialect).

Why, then, does he use English since he is speaking to people who have a high command of Swahili language?

First, Nassir's use of English is meant to reinforce and mark out areas of great import and prominence in his speech. English to Nassir is therefore a tool for emphasis (Saville-Troike 1989). This is why he gives his view regarding his commitment to the President in English:

‘I will never go out of my line with Moi alone’.

Nassir uses English in this case to make an emphatic assertion about his commitment to President Moi's government.

Secondly, the use of English by Nassir seems an attempt to raise himself to the level of a national politician. Of course leaders of national level are expected to have mastered the English language which is Kenya's official language. This is a prerequisite for anybody vying for a parliamentary seat in Kenya (Haugerud and Njogu 1991:10; Mutahi 1980; Mbaabu 1996).

An attempt to speak English on the part of Nassir is therefore an attempt to identify with such national leaders. Such an identification with the English-speaking leaders wins Nassir favour from the constituents who vote him in parliament because code-switching to English makes a politician look respectable. Elsewhere in Embu the study by Haugerud and Njogu (1991:11) reveals that even the speakers who are less competent in English will attempt to

code-switch to English for self-elevation to national levels and elitist ranks.

The second example by Nassir is even more interesting. In this example, Nassir speaks again about his relationship with the President of Kenya, Moi. He switches codes as he speaks about this relationship. Only keen listeners can infer the implied meanings in this context as Nassir tries to quote the President by using English. It serves to point to the kind of politicians President Moi and Nassir are. Of course, Nassir also wants to show he enjoys a high level relationship with the President. This view agrees with Saville-Troike (1989) who says that code-switching can be used for purposes of direct quoting.

However, in Nassir's case, it is not just the quoting but it is a pointer to the national level status and group he and the President belong.

Jahazi like Nassir, uses the technique of code-switching. Below, we examine some of the examples:- Some of which like example (4) we have referred to on

(3) *Nafikiri tumepasi test hiyo.*

(4) *Je walipoketi pamoja opposition walishauriwa?*

I think we have passed that test

Was the opposition consulted when they met?

Jahazi's speech reveals these cases of intra-sentential code-switching. The use

of *'tumepasi'* is a case of lexical borrowing because of the integration of the word in the Swahili phonological system. However, the use of 'test' is a case of switching codes in a clause. This is because the word 'test' retains English characteristics (Oduol 1987). What pragmatic implicatures can be drawn from these uses of English on Jahazi's part? Like Nassir, he is a man of humble educational background and at Mombasa he is speaking to an audience which has a high communicative competence in Swahili. Jahazi, by using English, seeks status and identity with national politicians. This is because Jahazi is speaking on a national issue - the Odongo issue. It is not an issue affecting Mombasa alone. He realises that his audience is not only Coastal but also national since their speeches are televised. He makes an attempt to code-switch to English to make impression to his wider audience.

In Nairobi, we look at the speeches by Kirima and Kimondo.

In both cases of Mombasa and Nairobi, we note that the code-switching is not between English and the ethnic languages but rather Swahili and English. This point reinforces the argument we are making about group identity.

Remember that in both towns, Nairobi and Mombasa, Swahili and English, are the dominant languages of political expression.

(5) ...*hawa ni wananchi. Ni kukosa kazi*

ndiyo wanaweka hawker

- (6) *Kwa hiyo kila mtu a make sure anakwenda Ziwani tarehe tano.*

...these are *wananchi*. They engage in hawking activities because they have no jobs

Therefore every body should make sure he goes to Ziwani on the fifth.

Although there is a mix-up of English and Swahili in what has been popularly known as *Sheng'* language (a language spoken by the youths in Kenya, Abdulaziz and Osinde 1997) it is unlikely that Kirima is code-switching as an attempt to speak *sheng'*.

Like in the earlier cases, code-switching in Kirima's case is prompted more by group identity than anything else. One can argue that it is probably because Kirima is using 'hawker' for lack of a Swahili word - which has been one of the reasons for code-switching (Saville-Troike 1989). However, we again ask why does he not code-switch between English and Kikuyu or any other Kenyan language? It is clear that Swahili as a political language in this city, seems to bear this conspicuous character that reveals Education and status - something

that wins the politician prestige and favour both from his fellow politicians and the masses. Somehow, the language is used as an open mark of this important identity. Kimondo's speech reveals similar pragmatic techniques as he says:

(7) *Nimeshakuwa* member of parliament

I have been a member of parliament.

In this example, Kimondo finds it vital to assert his position that he has been a member of parliament. So, to do this, he code-switches to English. The code-switching reinforces his point. His assertion and the code-switch therefore are both meant to bear and mark status for him as a politician of national ranking and character.

In conclusion, we may observe that in Kenyan political rhetoric it seems that the two languages-Swahili and English are often mixed. This is because of their functions, one as a national language and hence important for promoting national identity and mass support (Swahili) and the other as an official language that is meant for status elevation. It is important to remember at such mass rallies if one started his speech in English and spoke in it throughout it would meet with strong resentment because it will be treated as elitist (Mutahi 1980). Swahili, is however, the welcome language being perceived as the

common man's language. It shows that a politician is a man of the people since the politician is speaking to the people in a language they understand. However, too much of Swahili may imply lacking in national respect, honour and characteristics that go with speaking English.

3.2 Honorifics

Honorifics is a technical term for names of honour. Honorifics are an aspect of what has been called social deixis (Levinson 1983; Lyons 1976). We shall discuss honorifics in this thesis as they form a basis for pragmatic implicatures for political discourse. Our other task will be to explain how honorifics can be accounted for by the Gricean co-operative principle. Some of the questions we shall be raising are; what is the linguistic relevance of honorifics to political discourse? Why does political discourse need honorifics, anyway?

Honorifics are accounted for by the maxim of relevance and the politeness maxim. According to the maxim of relevance, one uses in a context the most relevant linguistic terms and says only enough that is relevant to a certain situation. According to the politeness maxim one needs to care more about others' feeling than self. Political language is about power, strategising, influencing, mobilising and control and as a result it has got to do with, among other things negotiation of standpoints, relating with people, and an attempt at polite behaviour and effective communication. A speaker needs to relate to the

audience in a way that does not lead to communication breakdown (Grice 1975; Leech 1983).

Nassir who is referred to as 'Bwana Chairman has many other titles; he could be 'baba', 'father', 'ndugu', 'brother', which are aspects of social deixis. However, that title 'Mwenyekiti' 'Chairman' is the most relevant. When Jahazi is speaking, he is duty bound to observe the maxim of relevance by using the most fitting honorific term in the most fitting context of situation.

Looking at Nassir's speech it is clear that he knows whom he is referring to. On this occasion, he talks of 'Mgeni Mheshimiwa', 'Guest of Honour'. Look at the following excerpt:

(8) *Mgeni Mheshimiwa kwa bahati nzuri wewe si mtu
wa kueleza mambo ya Mombasa au ya Pwani.
Ni mtu ambaye wajua.*

It is fortunate that our Chief Guest you need not be told anything about Mombasa or the Coast because you know everything already.

Note that Nassir refers to Francis Baya (then P.C. Coast Province) as 'Mgeni

Mheshimiwa 'Guest of Honour'. Remember that even the title of 'Provincial Commissioner' is not immediately relevant to the present context. The title of '*Mgeni Mheshimiwa*' 'Guest of Honour' is the most relevant. Nassir knows how much cultural information he shares with his audience. It is on the basis of this knowledge that he chooses the most fitting honorific term. Then '*Mgeni Mheshimiwa*' 'Guest of Honour' is a person accorded great respect and the audience is aware of this kind of reference and the attendant respect. This honorific term besides being relevant shows a great deal of co-operation since politeness is shown by its use. Nassir affords to be polite by making this relevant and yet most fitting polite reference. At some point he refers to President Moi when he says:

(9) *Watu wa magazeti waandike* 'straight to President
Moi'.

The Newsmen should write straight to President
Moi.

Mr. Nassir understands that only the honorific title 'President' can presuppose the kind of information upon which he is basing his idea. It is true that he could as well have said 'Moi' yet that will not be the most relevant reference in the obtaining discourse. Only when the term 'President' is used does 'Nassir' presuppose 'power', 'prestige' and 'control'. It is to the 'president' that Nassir

says '*Na mimi nasema nitakuwa my loyalty*', probably to mean he will be loyal to the president. Besides being a relevant honorific term, it helps 'Nassir' to be polite since no much communication can proceed without relating politely where possible (Yahya - Othman 1994, 1995).

The speeches from Nairobi by Kimondo and Kirima show similar exploitation of honorific titles to make certain implications. From Kimondo's speech, we have the following extracts:

- (10) *...nansikia Rais wetu Mtukufu akienda katika pahali katika dunia hii ya Kenya na mimi sijasikia akisema hataki kabila fulani.*

When our Honourable President is visiting places in this world of Kenya, I have never heard him say he does not like this tribe or the other.

- (11) *Lakini nataka tuhumbiri umoja, umoja, Mzee asikie.*

But I want us to preach unity, unity. So that mzee may hear.

When we look at the first example where the President visit is referred to as

'Rais wetu Mtukufu', 'our Honourable President', we see another case of relevance where Kimondo uses the word 'Rais' to make the right reference. He uses 'Mtukufu' as an honorific title for the President. Later, President Moi refused the honorific title saying that it only referred to God and claimed he was God fearing himself. However, some politicians like Kimondo still insist on

using the title '*Mtukufu*' 'Honourable'. The politicians have used it because of the implicature the audience draws from its use. It helps them show how the President is so dignified as to merit respect. In this context it certainly is used to show the President's ability against those who are opposed to his governance. If he is '*Mtukufu*' 'Honourable', then he cannot be challenged by men. Not even Odongo can challenge him effectively. The relevance of the honorific term like we have seen before helps to dignify and glorify the President and make him a divine leader; a King David of some kind.

In another instance Kimondo refers to the President as 'Old man' '*Mzee*' 'Old man' is an honorific term in Kenyan politics. It was used during the tenure of President Kenyatta alongside other titles like '*Baba wa Taifa*' the 'Father of the Nation', later in President Moi's tenure of office, he is also referred to as '*Mzee*' 'Old man' Kimondo knows that unlike the old man in the industrial world who is abandoned in a home for the old after his youthful days are over, the African old man is a respectable and appreciated person. He is wise, protective, and full of advice. So, when Kimondo refers to President Moi as '*Mzee*' 'Old man' even if his age is such that he is himself older, he implies Moi is a protective, wise old man. In Africa, an old man of such wisdom deserves to rule and lead people. By using the two honorific terms '*Mtukufu*' 'Honourable' and '*Mzee*', Oldman Kimondo certainly presents President Moi as an able ruler whom, in the present context, Odongo can not challenge

effectively. The polite maxim of the co-operative principle accounts for all these choices of honorific terms in political contexts. Note that there are some contexts where the term *'mzee'* 'Oldman' can be used differently from the use we have seen above.

Kirima refers to the audience as *'mabibi na mabwana'*, 'ladies and gentlemen'. It is possible he could have said *'wanaume na wanawake'*, 'men and women' but only at the risk of being impolite. He would be considered impolite if he said this. Only *'bwana and bibi'* 'gentlemen and lady are polite honorific choices for such a discourse. Of course there are discourses like a Christian religious discourse where relevance would demand other honorific terms like *'ndugu'* 'brother' *'dada'* 'sister' be used. However, in such a polite gathering *'mabibi na mabwana'* 'ladies and gentlemen' imply responsibility, status and respect. When somebody is referred to as *'bibi'* 'lady' the speaker wishes that the audience may draw on the background cultural information and understand what he implies. The choices are not haphazard. Kirima understands it too well. Now that he is asking for votes he can only use formal addresses and titles which are polite or implicative of responsibility and respect on the part of other, since according to Yahya - Othman (1995) he is imposing face- threatening acts on the people.

In another example, he refers to Ngumba as 'Honourable Ngumba'. As we have argued before, each speaker operating within a regulative principle of communication needs to understand the relevance of his reference terms. Andrew Ngumba's brother in domestic circles would not refer to him as 'honourable'. He would use another honorific term if it be necessary. However, in such a context of political speech-making Kirima finds 'honourable' as a fitting honorific term. Of course the term evokes status, power and prestige. Although Ngumba may not be in parliament at the time of Kirima's speech, it is to imply Ngumba is still important. He once was in parliament and he has held very responsible positions like being the City of Nairobi mayor, something that Kirima refers to in his speech. So, the weighting of Ngumba's title is that if he is 'honourable' and he has agreed to associate and support Kirima, then Kirima is operating with a deserving group of people and he himself is respectable, too.

3.3 Truth

Truth in Kenyan rally harangues is an interesting phenomenon. The study carried out by Haugerud and Njogu (1991) has revealed cases of truth manipulation during *baraza's* (a Swahili term meaning place where people take counsel. In modern politics it means a gathering). Truth in political rhetoric is, however, complicated by the fact of how we come to understand that this is truth and the other is not truth. Putnam (1971) quoted in Wilson

(1990:9) says that what is logical or what is true much depends on your model of truth and logic.

Our interest in truth is based on the co-operative principle. The truth governing maxim states that on an occasion one is supposed to say the truth or say that which he believes to be true. That is, saying that for which one has evidence. Truth in Kenya politics therefore means what the context of situation, cultural artefacts, the mass media, hold as true at a certain point in time.

How then will this constitute a linguistic analysis rather than an analysis of politics? As we already know, whatever is said can only be said through language. To what extent what is said reaches the hearer depends on how it has been expressed by means of language. We shall be showing not only how politicians manipulate the truth but also how they carve certain frames of reality for audiences and become pace and reality setters. (Wilson 1990:11).

What is not commonly known to be reality becomes reality, which the politicians want their audiences to hear and believe. They become frequent violators of the truth maxim of communication. However, it is important to find out why they do it. What implicatures do they want audiences to derive? Of course, they share knowledge with the audience about those realities. Then, how do they want to be interpreted and how do the contexts of situation favour those interpretations? When we discussed the metaphorical expressions, we

found that they, too, constitute a breach of the quality axiom of the co-operative principle. However, the truth we are investigating in this section has a much broader application. It is not bound to a traditional device of rhetoric like a metaphor or a rhetorical question.

Kimondo, during the Odongo demonstration at K.I.C.C. utters the following statement:

(12) *Kwa hivyo sisi zote tukiwa watu wa Kenya hatuna kabila.
Kabila yetu ni Kenya.*

Therefore all of us being Kenyan people, we have no tribes. Our tribe is Kenya.

Anybody listening to Kimondo's speech would be disturbed by that denial of tribes, Kimondo knows that he is a Kikuyu by tribe yet he makes denial of tribes.

It is quite interesting again to refer to what he says earlier in the text.

(13) *Na tena mimi nikisikiliza kwa redio na kwa 'T.V.' namsikia Rais wetu Mtukufu akienda katika pahali katika dunia hii ya Kenya. Na mimi sijasikia akisema hataki kabila fulani.* (See sec. 3.2, Honorifics, example 10).

And also, when I listen to the radio and watch television, I hear our President visiting places in the world of Kenya. And I have never heard him say he does not like this tribe or the other tribe.

Note this statement (13) presupposes that Kenya has tribes. This is because if the President has never said he does not like any tribe, it means he loves all tribes; then, implicative in this statement is that Kenya certainly has tribes. Why, then, does Kimondo breach the quality maxim? Comparing the two utterances cited above, we can argue at face-value that Kimondo's speech is characterised with contradictions.

However, a closer look at Kimondo's utterance that Kenya has no tribes, finds Kimondo still within the co-operative principle. He may appear superficially false on the surface but he implies some undercurrent which he and the audience have a capacity to infer. That he is saying P but he means Q.

When Kimondo makes this utterance, he certainly is implying that Kenya is united inspite of its ethnic diversity. The presence of many tribes would mean disunity. However, one tribe which he says is Kenya would imply unity. Kimondo, by uttering this implicative statement succeeds in manipulating the thinking of the people. He shifts them from a segmented tribal ground to a unified national ground. However, because he knows that the idea of tribes is firmly rooted in people's minds he would rather let them think of one tribe and not one nation.

Kimondo is saying this at the right time. This is a point in time when Kenya has been independent for far too long to think about tribal differences. Also, there is a case of Odongo who wishes to overthrow the government through his military designs. People look really segmented over the issue which carries with it tribal undertones and it is likely Kimondo could be thinking, that one of the causes of the Odongo Schemes is tribal. Now, if that is true, then, he declares Kenya a tribe.

Other cases of interesting assertions are found in the speech by Kirima. In his opening remark Kirima says:

(14) *Kwanza, namsalamu nyinyi nyote wana KANU*

First, I greet all of you KANU members.

Kirima says this during his campaign rally in Nairobi. When Kirima says that, at first instance, it appears a correct assertion. However, closer scrutiny reveals some falsehood which is not consistent with the quality axiom which entails the fact that no speaker who wishes to communicate should say that for which he lacks evidence. What Kirima is saying, 'I greet all of you KANU members' could be true, but, at the moment, he has no tangible evidence that all the people he is greeting are KANU followers. The place at which he is delivering his speech is Kenya Bus Station in the city of Nairobi. This was known to be an opposition zone during the advent of the multi-party era. It is unlikely that all the people he is greeting are KANU followers. Why then does Kirima refer to the mass rally as comprising of only KANU followers while he knows it is possible to have other people who are non-KANU members? It is most likely that Kirima is making an implicature. He wants to be heard as saying that KANU party has such a mammoth following. Of course, this can help strengthen the party especially during the time of his speech when most people are crossing from the opposition to KANU. Such a statement can easily lure people into such a crossover.

However, for immediate implication, Kirima is certainly implying that he is popular. If this is the day he is soliciting for votes and many people have gathered, when he refers to all of them as KANU, members he wants to be heard as implying that KANU as a party is popular and as a KANU candidate he is equally popular. What then would be the aftermath of such a remark on the population? This is a strategy of over-rating a party and as a result demeaning the other party. This strategy psychologically affects the non-KANU followers into supporting the KANU party.

Some other interesting case of falsity in Kenyan politics is evident in Nassir's speech. He says:

(15) *Nataka kurwaambia ndugu zangu wa Kenya walioko hapa, walioko pahali pengine, kama si kwa sababu Mungu mwenyewe kupenda kutuwachie kiongozi kama Mtukufu Rais Bwana Moi, tungekarwa na hatari kubwa. Kwa sababu nimeona zile serikali ambazo zina kabila moja, dini moja rangi moja, lugha moja, na kuuswana kama paka.*

I want to tell my Kenyan brothers who are here, and elsewhere if it were not for God who gave us a President like His Excellency President Moi we would be having many problems. Because I have seen those governments which have one tribe, one religion, one colour, one language and yet killing each other like cats.

The second utterance of the excerpt is basically false. There does not exist anywhere in the world a nation of the type Nassir is referring to. It is then interesting to find out why Nassir dares say something which is completely untrue. However, he certainly cannot be saying it for the sake of saying it. There is something he is implying. What he implies can be well understood if we refer to the linguistic context in which he says:

(16) *Na nikikumbuka sisi hapa Kenya tulivyo na makabila mengi, dini nyingi, lakini Mungu ametufanya tuishi hivi kwa amani ninasema ambariki Bwana Moi. Ampe afya njema tuzidi kuendelea mbele.*

And when I consider us here in Kenya with many tribes, many religions but God has blessed us with love, I say may God bless President Moi. He should give him health so that we may continue forging ahead.

Although Nassir knows there is no such country he chooses to say such a country exists. The truth value of the utterance is not important but its implicature. This accords well with what Edelman (1970:115) says about political language: 'Accuracy is not an important characteristic of political language, but the appraises common to members of a group'. Nassir certainly wants to draw a parallel between such non-existent country of one tribe, one government, one language, one colour one religion with a plural system that Kenya is. If he referred to a genuine country with as many tribes, religions, languages as Kenya, he would not succeed to make the kind of glorification he wanted to make about Moi. However, by breaking the regulative maxim of truth, he implies that Moi is a reward from God. He has managed tasks which other people could not manage even when they were put in a better place (the non-existent country) than Moi as a long serving politician and President of the Republic of Kenya. In spite of many tribes, Moi has afforded Kenya unity and peace.

Whether Nassir sincerely believes what he is saying or not is another matter. However, he has linguistically succeeded in giving people a thinking frame on President Moi. Remember, this is being said at a time when Kenya is celebrating Moi day. This is a special day set aside to honour President Moi. This also shows the relevance of what Nassir is saying. Let us consider another case of falsity from Nassir's speech,

(17) *Siasa tulizonazo ni kuwasaidia. Nina harambee kumi na nane. Bwana P.C. ukipata shilingi mbili uniletee. Ninafanya hapa Bondeni Girls' Secondary School, Mvita boys Secondary. Nafanya huko Mtongwe, harambee kwingineko na Gong kwa mayor, kila pahali.*

The politics we have are is developmental. I have eighteen harambees. Mr. P.C. If you get two shillings give it to me. I am conducting a harambee at Bondeni Girls Secondary School. I am also conducting harambee in Mtongwe, other places and Gong at the mayors, everywhere.

It is highly doubtful whether Nassir actually has eighteen harambees to conduct. However, he chooses that falsity so that his audience may derive some implicature. From the obtaining context, Nassir simply means that he is hardworking, concerned with people's plight and hence popular. Further, he means that he is involved in projects and hence he is the kind of person who knows about modern politics and consequently should get people's support. This is the so called politics of development. Nassir refers to this kind of politics as the 'politics of helping out'. One would come to a clear understanding when Nassir says he conducts harambees '*Kila pahali*', 'everywhere'. How is it possible for Nassir to conduct harambees everywhere? 'This is common language in politics. The language of falsity; yet the most favoured by both politicians and audience. Like in the case of 'eighteen harambees' Nassir implies he is development conscious. What could Nassir be meaning by asking the Provincial Commissioner to give him two shillings? This is only implicative and not to be taken as a real literal statement. Why then does numerical number for example, and hard truth not matter in politics? One can argue that in this kind of politics, politicians are concerned with drawing support and mobilising people. The chief concern for Nassir here seems the need to draw support which comes easily with such falsity than hard truth.

The kind of features characterising the speeches of Kirima, Kimondo and Nassir are also evident in Jahazi's speech. Jahazi says:

(18) *Lakini mabalozi wamefanywa wao ni magavana
wetu hapa na opposition.*

But, the ambassadors have been made our
governors here by the opposition.

The utterance does not bear a semantic truth value in the context. It is therefore inconsistent with the truth maxim. There *is* no day which the opposition made the ambassadors governors. Jahazi knows that this is not true. However, he says it to imply something. Jahazi, in this context, is likely to be implying that the ambassadors have been accorded too authoritative a role and, of course, given the accompanying honour. This role enables them (ambassadors) to comment carelessly on Kenyan affairs. This implication is revealed in the following linguistic context. The ambassadors as a result behave like they are rulers. The falsity in the utterance is meant to be interpreted as 'power'. This is the power that the ambassadors wield. Most ambassadors who wield this power tend to come from countries that have economic and political power. So, when Jahazi refers to ambassadors being made 'governors' he has no intention of referring to an ambassador from Djibouti or Uganda, for example. He means ambassadors from super-power countries like America, Germany or Britain.

Let us look at yet another example in Jahazi's speech:

- (19) *Kwa hivyo, aseme asemavyo lakini mwisho wa hayo yote Odongo tutampata hapa nchini.*

Therefore, let him say what he wants [wishes] to say but finally we shall have Odongo back in this country.

In the example, Jahazi is referring to a case where Odongo has run to Uganda and the Ugandan authorities have not decided on repatriating him. Jahazi utters something which he does not seem to have evidence for. That whatever President Museveni says, Odongo shall finally be brought to Kenya. Why does Jahazi decide to tell a charged audience something he does not seem to be sure about? Is he flouting the quality maxim of co-operative principle purposely? Or has he a special reason for 'this breach of truth maxim'? Again, given the context of situation, the audience is able to draw certain inferences. Jahazi knows that Odongo to some extent is a threat and Jahazi has himself confessed '*Kenya nzima hailali kwa ajili ya Odongo*'. 'The whole Kenya does not sleep because of Odongo'. He also needs to show that Kenya is a powerful country. Kenya can still get him the same way superpowers get their criminals. Of

course KANU followers and the people interested in peace would like such an implication of assurance.

In conclusion, one can say that political language, especially rally language, quite often than not is meant to mobilise and generate intense emotion. Whatever is said is never an end in itself but a means to an end. It is not uncommon in Kenya, for example, to hear politicians make blank promises of building roads, bridges, schools, etc. Sometimes those promises bear very little truth if any but they are only used as strategies to draw support from people.

3.4 Narratives

Narratives are generally regarded as stories, chronologically told (Wales 1985; Holman 1980).

In this thesis, we shall use the notion narrative to mean a story told about an event which is normally in the past tense (Linde 1985).

When one looks at the four speeches that we are using as our data, they reveal a wide use of narratives as a pragmatic technique. The question is why do politicians narrate events, especially of successes and failures of some people or even themselves? Then, probably most important, do these narrations serve any pragmatic functions? Can implicature be generated from them or not? Jahazi

uses even more narratives than his Mombasa counterpart and the Nairobi speech makers. Let us examine some of the examples from Jahazi's speech.

(20) *Juzi Mwamerika alimrusha Mpakistani mmoja.
Alitekwa akachukuliwa mpaka Amerika,
akashtakiwa kuwa yeye alikuwa kiongozi wa
kupiga bomu ile Inter... eh? Conference Centre
katika New York.*

Recently an American captured a Pakistani. He was captured and taken up to America and was accused that he was the leader of the bombing of that Inter ... eh? Conference Centre in New York.

Why does Jahazi use this narrative at this point in time? Jahazi flouts the maxim of quantity. He is certainly saying more than he is supposed to say. We say this since a speech can be delivered without necessarily telling a story. We can come to a clear understanding of this exploit when one goes to a chemist and asks for a drug and besides gives a story, say of a man who suffered Aids, as excess information.

In some areas, like in a busy office, where people are strict on information presentation one might be told 'we do not entertain your stories here'.

However, in political rhetoric, stories seem to be a more favoured style. Jahazi uses the narrative here to give justification and global authenticity to what he is saying. The implication here is that, if the Americans had to arrest a Pakistani, then, Kenya has the right to do the same. Secondly, he implies that if the Pakistani was arrested, then, in the same way Odongo who seems subtle will be brought to book as well. Jahazi is giving Kenya hope and provides more drive to forge ahead in the search for Odongo. The international reference legalises Kenya's activities as acceptable. Another example of the narrative technique is when Jahazi cites the case of Carlos. He says:

(21) *Juzi juzi yule Marcos aitwaje, sijui nani?*

Aud: Carlo!!

*Carlos. Carlos aliletwa juu juu Sudan. Alikarwa
amejificha kule. Carlo alishtakiwa Paris
kwa karwa gaidi wa dunia nzima. Au siyo
bwana?*

Recently that Marcos, what is he called, I do not know who is that?

Aud: Carlo!!

Carlos: Carlos was brought shoulder high from Sudan. He was hiding there. Carlo was accused in Paris for being a world criminal. Or is it not so?

Like in the first case of the Pakistani who was handed over to the Americans for trial, Jahazi again uses a different narrative, but still on crime, as supportive evidence for what Kenya is doing. Note that like in the earlier case, he is exploiting international latitude in his examples. The audience, given the context, that there is a man (M) who has run away to country (C) can derive the implicatures from the narratives. Remember if one did not have a capacity to interpret and appreciate the narrative, it can only be a story well told. Jahazi sometimes even asserts that whatever Kenya is doing is not unique and thus indicating the implication carried by the narrative.

Nassir uses narratives rarely. One narrative in his speech is:

(22) *Tumekuwa rafiki na President Moi. Amekuwa Vice-President wangu. Amekuwa President wangu na mimi*

*naona mambo anayoyafanya yana heri na mtoto wangu
na ndugu yangu. Hakunidharau kwa sababu kidogo ni
mweupe au nina nywele (nyaziza*) Amenifikiria kama
ndugu yake.*

We have been friends with President Moi. He has been my Vice-President. He has been my President and I have seen what he does has been of benefit to my son and my brother. He did not neglect me because I am a little brown and with some different hair. He has always thought of me as his brother.

Anybody listening to Nassir's speech would, on the surface, have a feeling Nassir is drifting into irrelevant narrations of his past life. However, a keen person would easily notice the technique he is using. The narrative is first and foremost relevant to the context of Moi day. Nassir uses the story of Moi day implicatively. He uses it to strengthen and support his assertion that Moi is a God given president and, secondly, he uses it to win favour not just for himself as a politician but for the Coast people as well. This is because the narrative is a praise of President Moi's past activities to Nassir. The audience can derive further inferences i.e. it explains why Nassir has remained loyal to the President and why his Coastal people have to do the same. This, he says in a context

where people are trying to put a wedge of division between him and President Moi.

In Nairobi, we see similar techniques of narrative use. Remember narration and narratives are techniques much favoured by the African in his day to day life and they seem to have overflowed into politics. Kirima says:

(23) *Mimi bado kuwa M.P. na mimi
nilimwambia wanasumbua hawker
wawache. Namwambia wa... was...
wasijaribu ku... kusumbua hawker.
Wakawacha sababu mimi ni wa KANU na
KANU ndiyo serikali. Ni kweli?*

I'm not yet an M.P. And I told those that are disturbing hawkers to stop doing so. I told him st... st... they should not try to dis... disturb the hawkers. And they stopped doing so because I am of KANU and KANU is the government. Is it not true?

Like in the earlier case, we have seen, Kirima seems to say more than he should by referring to his past events. A speech, like in his campaigns, should constitute telling his Nairobi audience why he wants to go to parliament: A speech in this case is expected to dwell on the present and future. However, this retrospective approach is a technique. A number of inferences can be made from this narrative.

One, he says he was able to stop the harassment of hawkers even before he became member of parliament. This implies if he became member of parliament he could do a lot more. This accords well with promissory characteristics of Kenyan campaign politics. Secondly, he says he is a member of KANU party; that is why he was able to stop the harassment. This implies that KANU as a party is powerful and sympathetic to people's needs and in this situation, a party to vote for.

In Kimondo's speech, we find a favourable story for Kenyan politicians, to which we have partly referred in example (14) Sec. 22 Rhetorical Questions)

- (24) *Tutarudi kufanya kazi gani na kazi
tulifanya tukamaliza? Wakati tulikwenda
msituni ilikwa mara moja. Tulikwenda
tukapigania uhuru na tukapata.*

What else is there to be done when we have completed the task? The time we went to the forest was once. We went to fight for our independence and we got it.

This short narrative, serves key purposes in Kimondo's speech. It serves to offer support to the fact that Kenya does not need a bloody struggle at this point in time. Further inferences can be drawn such as if Kenyans fought for independence in the forest, then, it is enough reason for it to be united. This narrative also implies the presence of peace in the country of Kenya.

Narratives are common in rally speeches, they mainly give support to claims made, draw favour and give authenticity to what is taking place in certain speech events. They are some kind of evidence which the audience may know little or nothing about. They remain a key tool of the speech animator to manipulate the views, positions and vantage points of his audience.

3.5 Dialogue in Swahili Speeches

It is generally assumed that the *ordos naturalis* of a political speech structure is monologic. This means it is expected that one speaker will be taking the floor from the beginning of a speech to the end. However, when we look at the political speeches from Mombasa and Nairobi given during rallies, we find

dialogue as one of the significant dramatic features. From the Gricean point of view only the monologue style is expected according to the tradition of speech making. However, one finds a breach of this expected manner of presentation.

When we look at Jahazi's political speech, we find a widespread use of the dialogue technique. See example below:

(25) *Kenya nzima hailali kwa ajili ya nani?*

Aud: Odongo!!

The whole of Kenya does not sleep
because of who?

Aud: Odongo!!

In this excerpt, Jahazi seems to be using this technique to solicit for support from the audience. It is possible that part of the audience does not believe what he is saying. However, through dialogue he affords to convince the audience to agree that it is Odongo who makes the entire Kenya worried.

A look at Jahazi's speech also reveals a very important use to which the dialogic strategy is put. When a politician gives a speech, he may not know how popular he is as a politician. One way of establishing this popularity is through speaker initiated dialogue. When the audience replies in the affirmative and

support, that becomes a confirmation of his popularity. Alternatively, a speaker may want to monitor or gauge how popular what he is saying is. Dialogue in this respect becomes quite a resourceful technique for such audience-monitoring, since it provides a way of looking at the audience.

In Jahazi's speech, he speaks about many topic entities but with a stand that favours his own party-KANU. Each time he appeals to the audience to try and gauge it's stand over the issues in question.⁶ What seems a breach of the manner maxim seems to favour the relevance maxim to a great extent. Examples:

(26) *Mtu akiwa chokochoko kajificha pahali mafichoni
tushamgundua ni haki yetu kumdai. Au siyo?*

Aud: *Ndiyo!!*

If a person becomes a problem, and goes somewhere in hiding, when we discover him it is our right to ask for him. Or is it not so?

Aud: *Yes!!*

Jahazi finds this message tricky relaying in a proposition. He says something about the run-away criminals. However, he is not sure that his audience completely agrees with him. To check whether what, he is saying is popular, he asks: '*Au siyo?*'. 'Or is it not so'? First, he gauges whether the masses follow and agree with him. Secondly, he, induces them to take on that line of thinking by forcing agreement through dialogue. In this case, the people agree and so Jahazi proceeds. There are cases when the audience may refuse to make a positive response. In that case, a politician might be forced to change information or strategy altogether since rally politics is telling people what they want to hear. Another time when Jahazi checks his information with the audience is when he says:

(27) *Carlo alishtakiwa Paris kwa kuwa gaidi
wa dunia nzima. Au siyo Bwana?*

Aud: *Ndiyo!!*

Carlos was accused in Paris for
being a world criminal. Or is it not so?

Aud: Yes!!

Note, however, that the audience most of the time never disagrees with the speaker. However, it is the amount of people answering that politicians use as gauge for support. If what the politician is saying is unpopular, then, only a few

people respond. Sometimes there is total silence and this is indicative of non-compliance. If the whole audience is in compliance, then, the response is encouraging. Now this brings us to another function of dialogue. Politicians, put their supporters strategically in the crowd to keep cheering the speaker every time he initiates some form of dialogue. Haugerud and Njogu (1991) call this stage-managed drama. In such kinds of drama, the supporters know that what they are supporting is not necessarily true but it is for popularising a certain position, agenda, party or person. At some point in Jahazi's speech, the address turns almost 100% dialogic with no side being dominant on the floor. At this point, the supporters of Jahazi and KANU enter into that dialogic frame simply for dramatic reasons rather than truth and genuine support and it is in this case that the roles of the speech animator and the audience are collapsed so that they become one in view and position. This gives the politician favour because he is being supported and popularised.

(28) *Hata wakiwa chama kimoja cha watu kama kumi.*

Nani unaamini Kenya apewe?

Aud.: Hakuna!!

Kuendesha nchi hii

Aud.: Hakuna!!

Kulinda

watu

hawa

Aud: *Hakuna!!*

Na kuleta amani

Aud.: *Hakuna!!*

Kushinda Rais Moi

Aud.: *Hakunaaa!!*

Even if they were like a party of ten
people.

Who do you believe should be given Kenya?

Aud.: There is none!!!

To run this country

Aud.: There is none!!

To protect these people

Aud.: There is none!!

And to bring peace?

Aud.: There is none!!

Than President Moi?

Aud.: There is none!!

The section that maintains this dialogue is fairly small. It help's Jahazi in saying that nobody can rule except President Moi. However, this is entirely doubtful but that is not the issue to Jahazi or to the audience. Their sole aim, by using this strategy, is to popularise the name of President Moi and vilify the

opposition side as being unworthy of leadership. In expressing such information which stands high doubt, dialogue as a strategy makes most listeners draw an implicature that what Jahazi is saying is largely true since the audience supported him. The main issue is to have somebody say 'yes' or 'no' to questions whose answers always favour the position of the speech animator.

Important too, to the dialogue strategy, is an attempt to retain and sustain the interest of the listeners. There is a high likelihood that the audience could lose interest. To keep the audience alive and make them stay you have to maintain and engage them in continuous dialogue. This way, the audience feels that it is sharing in the role of speech animation. Such a feeling helps to tie together the speaker and the audience. In this way whatever information that is being given is like it is coming from the Mombasa people. You will notice Jahazi uses what has been described in discourse analysis as the inclusive 'tu' 'we' when he speaks to show the collective and common ground of the speech (see Lwaitama; 1995).

Dialogue may be initiated via rhetorical questions. When it is initiated through rhetorical questions, sometimes it may serve as a face-saving strategy. The meaning that is implied in the rhetorical question is later shouted by the people.

In that way, the speaker manages to show politeness for not uttering a face-threatening act by himself. He resorts to the use of the audience to say it as he takes cover under the rhetorical question.

(29) *Umpe opposition utampa nani?*

Aud.: *Hakuna!!*

Give the opposition, who will you give?

[who in the opposition would you give the
presidency?]

Aud.: There is none!!

Jahazi succeeds in maintaining his politeness - something that is governed by the politeness maxim of the co-operative principle. The audience shouts '*Hakuna*' 'none'. However, though that is what he implies, Jahazi can still say he never said it.

Sometimes dialogue is generated by a genuine way of seeking information. See example below:

(30) *Juzi juzi yule Marcos aitwaje, sijui nani yule.*

Aud.: Carlo!!

Recently that Marco's, what is he called, I do not
know who is that?

Aud.: Carlo.

This aspect of dialogue may seem like it does not have serious pragmatic implications. However, through it, we are able to tell that a speaker is not a sole speech maker. All he speaks on is not new. This is because the audience seems to follow what he says because it has known it prior to delivery. Such a position then lends support to what Blommaert (1990) says that oral speeches do not seem like they are a ground for saying new ideas. They are, rather, grounds for reiterating, repeating, rephrasing, mobilising and urging people about certain known policies, positions and aspects.

It seems a speaker may freely seek information from the crowd. This also means that Jahazi knows his audience so that he can tailor his speech in a way that is exactly fitting it.

A look at the second speech from Mombasa by Nassir reveals more or else similar strategies as found in Jahazi's speech. Nassir like Jahazi does not use dialogue for the sake of it but as an implication of something which he and the audience understand because of their shared knowledge (Gibbs 1987).

Like Jahazi, Nassir uses dialogue to get support from the audience. At some point, he says that the Coast people would like to receive the same treatment as Luhya, Luo, Maasai etc. He is urging the government of Kenya over this matter. Wanting to gauge whether his idea has popular support, he asks the people:

(31) *Nyinyi watu mwakubali nyinyi?*

[You people do you agree?]

Aud: *Ndiyo, ndiyo!!*

Yes, yes!!

This is certainly a way to gauge whether the idea he is presenting is popular. Now that the audience has confirmed with applause, it helps not only to make it a strong idea for the Coastal people but it also helps to anchor Nassir as a politician who is mindful of people's needs.

However, the people must be asked whether they like what Nassir is saying. Note, again, there is a lot of stage-management in this act of dialogue in that Nassir's supporters can carry the day by shouting to popularise the idea and hence popularising Nassir.

One interesting thing connected to stage-management in Nassir's speech is that unlike Jahazi who asks rhetorical questions and normal questions to the audience, Nassir's audience seems to respond on its own. This means that Nassir's dialogue in most cases is audience generated. This is a clear case of stage-management. The people, interject to cheer-up by saying certain words and sometimes crow and clap and even make noises that can not be properly recognised. All these serve the main purpose of support of the speaker's position and ideas. Dialogue is used here implicatively as a conduit for speaker support. This is not because of the popularity of the ideas but simply a case where the stage has been managed in such a way that Nassir's supporters laud him. The most interesting thing about such stage drama is that even the part of the audience that had been quiet now starts to cheer in support.

Nassir's dialogue comes as a result of touching on the sensitive areas in politics. Let us look at the following example.

(32) *Leo wengine hapa, hata hawajapata
uongozi, mwangalie yule mwarabu.*

Today some here, have not gotten the leadership,
look at that Arab.

This is a sensitive aspect in Nassir's political career. It serves as a way of generating dialogue because of the undertone it carries. The audience knows that he implies some specific people, for that reason, they give him support.

Nassir's speech like Jahazi uses the strategy of dialogue for politeness sake. He puts rhetorical questions to the people to let them generate the answers themselves. The example below which we have already referred to partly in Sec. 3.2, Rhetorical Questions in example 10, exemplifies this:

(33) *Yuko mmoja aliwapa kazi?*

Aud.: *Hakima!!*

Is there anyone who gave you a job?

Aud.: There is none!!

Only the maxim of politeness can account for such rhetorical questions that end up in a dialogic structure. Remember, nobody can hold Nassir responsible for saying that nobody gave the Coastal people jobs. This is because he never said so. However, through a rhetorical question and then consequently through the dialogue with the audience, the presupposed information is brought to the surface.

It is again true to argue that Nassir solicits for direct answers from the audience, like in the following example which we have also referred to earlier on pg. 81:

(34) *Hakuna saa ya kusingizia President Moi
hataki Nassir. Alikuambia saa ngapi?
Chumbani kwako?*

There is no time for saying
President Moi doesn't like Nassir.
When did he tell you? In your
room?

Through such rhetorical questions, which in most cases, end up in dialogue, he succeeds in appealing directly to the audience and hence letting them share in the speech making and also retaining their interest. Like we have said before the audience has no obligation to stay on. It is the speaker through such strategies as dialogue that can keep it engaged.

The dialogue that is generated both by Nassir as the principal speech maker and the audience serves to show the speaker's popularity. It also serves to show the popularity of the ideas he is speaking about. A speaker who dares not use dialogue is like a traveller who does not use a compass during his journey. This

is because, dialogue for Nassir like it is for other politicians, serves as a monitoring device for gauging his popularity among the people.

However, what seems to be one major function of the Nassir dialogue, mostly audience-generated, is it serves to popularise Nassir and KANU as a party. This is because whatever he says the audience retorts by shouting 'Jogoo' - KANU emblem. One can argue, the audience uses dialogue here to popularise KANU ideals at the same time.

When we look at the speeches from Nairobi, we still find them characterised with the feature of dialogue. However, it is important to mention that this dialogue does not have the three slots of initiation, reply and feedback like classroom discourse (Sinclair and Coulthard 1975; Coulthard 1981; and Brazil 1982; Oduol 1987). The structure of dialogue manifested in the speeches both from Mombasa and Nairobi has only two slots of initiation and reply.

What then is the motivation of dialogue? What are the implications for the use of this strategy in Nairobi?

A look at the data reveals that dialogue serves multiple functions in Nairobi. When we look at Kirima's speech, we find dialogue that is both audience and speaker generated.

When the speaker generates dialogue in most cases, it is meant to manipulate the audience's point of view. Kimondo is like one who leads an idea in one direction. And like in Jahazi's and Nassir's speeches most of the questions asked are hardly denied. See examples below:

(35) *Kwanza ninamuuliza, si muko tiyare?*

Aud.: *Ndiyo!!*

First I ask you are you ready?

Aud.: Yes!!

(36) *Nawambia wa... was... wasijaribu
Ku...kusumbua 'Hawker' wakawacha sababu
mimi ni wa KANU, na KANU ndiyo serikali. Ni
kweli?*

Aud.: *Kweli!!*

I told those harassing the hawkers to stop and they stopped because I am from KANU party and KANU is the government. Isn't it true?

Aud.: Yes!!

Looking at these two examples from Kirima's speech we can see how Kirima uses dialogue as a strategy to persuade the audience. In the first example, where he asks the audience whether they are ready for voting, he manipulates them into saying 'yes'. Since he has earlier on referred to them as 'wana KANU' being ready on their part means ready to vote for KANU party and hence Kirima. Since the question is tactfully put thus exploiting the maxim of manner, the audience is manipulated into agreeing if they are ready to vote for him. Kirima says he has told the government not to harass hawkers. He engages the audience into dialogue, by asking them to confirm that he (Kirima) is a KANU party member and KANU party is the government: That implies that KANU party is supreme and hence anybody who supports it will get the acceptance.

Kirima again succeeds in persuading the people to believe that KANU party is the government. The people confirm this through dialogue. It is not true that KANU party is the government. KANU party is only a political party. However, Kirima succeeds to make that strong implication that KANU party is powerful because it is the government and in this way, he persuades and influences people's point of view about KANU party.

Kirima also uses dialogue to engage his audience. This is a function we have seen in both Jahazi's and Nassir's speeches. Example:

(37) *Hapa Hapa Railway si hapa?*

Aud: *Ndiyo eee!!*

Here, isn't the railway station here?

Aud.: Yes, eee!!

In this exchange, one can only see Kirima engaging his audience for general supportive reasons. In another example he says:

(38) *Hii zinaitwa matatu?*

Aud.: *Ndiyo!!*

These are called *matatu*?

Aud.: Yes!!

In this use again, Kirima is merely engaging his audience in dialogue to maintain and retain its interest in what he is saying. This is because he could just say that the vehicles he was pointing at were *matatus*. However, because he wants to claim some common footing with his audience, he engages them in dialogue.

Kirima like his counterparts uses dialogue as a conduit for rhetorical questions. Referring to the example again he says:

(39) *Huyu ni ungwana?*

Aud.: *Si ungwana!!* (See Sec. 2.2. Rhetorical Questions example 16)

Is this gentlemanly behaviour?

Aud.: It is not gentlemanly behaviour.

Most of the rhetorical questions serve the politeness function. It is more crucial for Kirima who is seeking a parliamentaryⁱ seat. And like we have said before they generate the required responses.

Kimondo unlike the rest of politicians uses dialogue as he opens and as he closes his speech. The opening dialogue is quite common where a speaker starts by shouting a slogan to which people reply. For example, he could say '*harambee*' and the audience would reply the same way. In his opening remarks, Kimondo greets the crowd. This helps to minimise distance between him and the audience and enables him to gain a common ground with them. The greeting serves to achieve a unified ground from which Kimondo proceeds.

The dialogue at the end like the one at the beginning serves to strengthen the unity between the audience and the speaker. This is further strengthened by the way that '*harambee*' is used. This dialogue also serves to mobilise the audience into supporting KANU party.

Kimondo like Kirima and the Mombasa politicians also uses dialogue to serve as a gauge. He, for example, says:

(40) *Nimeshakuwa 'member of parliament ' na
miliono nikimwachia Kirima. Hamukaiona?*

Aud.: *Tuliona!!* (Sec. 3.1, Code Switching)

I have been a member of parliament. And you
saw me step down for Kirima. Did you not see?

Aud.: We saw!!

Kimondo here, first states that the people saw him as he left the KANU party or Kirima. As if to confirm whether the people agree or not, he asks them a question which they have to confirm. So, he succeeds by gauging the people's position about that utterance. Since the people confirm that they saw him leave the seat for Kirima he uses this technique to urge for unity among KANU party people.

The audience-generated dialogue is another case of stage-management where the KANU supporters cheer-up the views Kimondo expresses. For example:

(41) *Kwa hivyo sisi sote tukiwa watu wa Kenya hatuna
kabila. Kabila yetu ni Kenya.*

Aud.: *Ndiyo!!* (clapping) (Sec. 33, Truth) we have

referred to the same example).

Therefore all of us being Kenyan people we have
no tribe. Our tribe is Kenya.

Aud.: Yes!!

In such cases, the audience serves to support such assertions. Like we said before, the assertions do not have to be true, so long as they imply something in favour of the goals being pursued by the political speaker. The above utterance is a fallacy. However, it gains more grassroots support. This is because other than the speaker implying that Kenya is united it is urging for further unity. The audience support it as true and hence making it more strong. Another case of audience initiated dialogue is:

(42) *Na tukishikana, tutamwezesha na tutarahisisha
kazi kwa Mtukufu Rais.*

Aud.: Very good!!

And if we are united, we shall make work for
President Moi easy.

Aud.: Very good!!

This being a day of demonstration in favour of President Moi, anything uttered in strong support of his leadership generated support and cheering from the audience.

The audience confirm that they support what Kimondo is saying. This indicates that he is on the expected line. Note that it is not possible for anybody to say anything negative against the President and still get the same support. The response here is an assurance. In many places during Kimondo's speech, the audience keeps lauding him. It brings us to another case of stage-managed drama but now in Kimondo's speech.

In conclusion one may observe that Kenyan political rallies are replete with dialogic structures. However, the dialogic structures rather than being just normative serve certain pragmatic functions (See Lwaitama 1996; Njogu and Haugerud 1991; Mazrui 1977.) Although it has been argued before that the dialogue serves to retain audience interest, generate support, act as a face-saving strategy, it is evident that politicians use dialogue on a large scale basically to monitor the effect of what they are saying to the people. Since it is possible in oral communication to monitor (Guinchi, 1977; Brown and Yule 1983) what one says so that one could change strategy or improve on it

The dialogue structure which is a violation of the two maxims of the co-operative principle i.e. manner and relevance is an important tool for any politician. It also serves as a populist way of making an idea on a stand get firmly in the minds of the audience. Although it violates the two maxims of the co-operative principle the implication made by the use of the dialogue is understood by the speakers and audience.

3.6 Humour

Jokes are expressions meant to amuse or generate humour. They are a common feature of casual conversation especially amongst equals (Leech 1983; Gumperz 1982).

However, in political rally speeches jokes look misplaced. They seem irrelevant in a case where some politician is talking about a serious matter to try and make a joke to amuse people. Why do politicians use jokes among their techniques? What is their relevance? How can the co-operative principle account for their presence?

Jahazi makes use of this strategy. He says:

(43) *Na pale tuliambiwa na yule aliyekuwa siku
moja....Nipeni japo kwa siku moja.*

And when we were told by one politician .. Give me
presidency even for a day.

Jahazi is alluding to a case where Jaramogi Oginga Odinga once said he should be allowed to rule Kenya for a day since that had been a life long dream. He refers to it in a jocular way and causes laughter. Although he only makes allusion the audience is capable of interpreting the message accurately. In fact, the section of the joke is more amusing because the name of the person is not included so that the audience could make interpretations for themselves. He continues the joke over laughter like this:

(44) *Nipeni Japo siku moja nitawale*

Aud.: [Laughter]

Yeye angepewa Kenya ingekuwa iko siku hii?

Give me even for a day so that I may rule.

Aud.: [Laughter]

If he were given Kenya, would we survive the day?

Although this is a serious joke Jahazi is making, it helps to tone down a tense situation. Jahazi affords to say a serious matter with a jocular tone that could have cost his face. For politeness sake, he puts the matter in the form of a joke so that it does not stand out as too serious and becomes a face-threatening act.

Remember he is making the joke about a highly respectable Kenyan politician who at the time of this speech is already dead. Further, Jahazi uses the joke to question the ability the opposition has in ruling Kenya. Note that the Jaramogi he is referring to was an eminent opposition leader in Kenya. If he would behave like Jahazi demonstrates, then, the opposition cannot claim to have had any meaningful direction. What would a man benefit in ruling a country for a day, for example? From this joke, there is an underlying undercurrent of immaturity, unreasonableness and lack of knowledge and hence inadequacy on the part of the opposition.

Nassir like Jahazi uses this technique of passing jokes to a listening audience. Making an attack on his opponents, he says:

(45) *Leo wengine hapa, hata hawajapata uongozi, mwangalie yule Mwarabu (See sec. 3.5 Dialogue Example 32).*

Today some here have not gotten the leadership, look at that Arab.

Today, even before some become leaders, they start saying, look at that Arab.

This is a joke Nassir is making to mock the indigenous Africans who refer to him as Mwarabu (an Arab). The punchline of the joke is that President Moi is already a ruler and he considers Nassir as a brother. However, some of the indigenous opponents refer to him as an Arab even before they become rulers. So, he implies, if they become rulers, how much worse would they be as racists?

Nassir uses the joke to tone down a tense situation. He also uses it to politely hit at his opponents. At least when challenged why he said it, he could as well say it was a mere joke. Most politicians like taking cover under such jokes. Since jokes are a light way of saying strong messages, politicians use them for politeness sake. This is because like in Jahazi's speech he refers to Jaramogi Oginga Odinga in a joke which carries very serious implications. Nassir's support does not just come from people of Arab ancestry in Mvita or people of mixed race. He is supported by indigenous Africans not just from the Coast but from the entire country. If he chooses to say what he is saying as a fact it may divide the Coastal strip on racial and ethnic lines. Remember among the chief determinants of winning a Mvita seat is the factor of race and religion. This is too serious a matter to be said with a stone face. However, as a joke, the matter can then be said lightly.

Not many jokes were observed in the speeches from Nairobi. However, an isolated case from Kirima where he refers to the city mayor as councillor wonderful. This only helps to tone down an otherwise tense situation. The joke in this case is carried by the word 'wonderful'. Why would a mayor be called so? The joke becomes a way of enhancing a climate of a less tense situation more especially when Kirima has been blaming the City Commission for abandoning the City's sanitary condition.

In conclusion, we may observe that even if not many jokes were recorded they are one of the pragmatic tools that characterise political speeches during mass rally drives. They are a light means used by politicians for conveying strong messages, which otherwise said, could imply impoliteness unattenuated. Impoliteness would interfere with the communication between speaker and audience.

3.7 Politeness Phenomena

Politeness generally refers to an attempt by a speaker to linguistically show that he cares about the other's feelings (Yahya-Othman 1994:141; Leech 1983:131). In discussing politeness, we emphasize on the manner of saying rather than on the content of what is said.

So much literature has been written on the politeness phenomenon. Fraser (1990) quoted in Yahya-Othman (1994:143;210) has presented four main positions on politeness emerging from the research that has been carried out.

The first position is the social norm view which he attributes to people's general understanding of politeness. The second position is the conversational maxim view attributed to the seminal work of Grice (1975). Thirdly, is the position of the face-saving view attributed to Brown and Levinson. Lastly, is the position of the social contract view which is associated with Fraser (1990).

Politeness is generally motivated by three main factors:

There is the factor of social distance where a speaker feels he has to express himself politely because of the social distance between himself and his audience.

Secondly there is the power relations between the two. Thirdly is the amount of imposition a speaker makes to his addresser by way of request or otherwise (Yahya-Othman 1994).

We shall investigate the politeness strategies of rally harangues by mostly using the conversational maxim view of Grice. However, as we have already noted earlier, instead of seeing politeness as a parasitic sub-maxim of the co-operative principle, we have modified the co-operative principle, to have a further maxim

of politeness. By looking at rally speeches, we shall endeavour to understand the conditions motivating the polite behaviour, the strategies of polite behaviour and the parties involved in polite behaviour. Remember, when discussing humour, honorifics and rhetorical questions, we have seen some aspects of politeness. However, in this section, we examine politeness where it is given the highest rating.

According to the Gricean co-operative principle a speaker is bound to observe certain regulative maxims to be able to communicate effectively with his audience. Political discourse being a terrain of delicate relations, one finds that he, as a speaker, has to maintain polite behaviour. Otherwise impoliteness can ruin his co-operation with his audience. (Leech 1983; Grice 1975).

Kirima's speech has tended to use a number of strategies to show polite behaviour. Note that we have already discussed the lexical strategy under honorifics. This has been used by Kirima to a greater extent like in the following examples:

(46) *Sababu wananchi wamesungumza mengi.*

Because *wananchi* have said a lot.

(47) Honourable *Ngumba na viongozi*..

Honourable Ngumba and the leaders...

(48) *Mabibi na mabwana kabla sijaondoka*..

Ladies and gentlemen before I leave...

The three utterances above use what we refer to as lexical strategies for politeness. Kirima refers to the audience as '*wananchi*'. This is a polite term that is used to refer to the citizens. It gives them a sense of belonging, possession and ownership. '*Mabibi na mabwana*' 'ladies and gentlemen' implies responsibility on the part of those to whom the term is referred. Kirima refers to Ngumba as 'honourable' thereby using a polite term. What exactly prompts him to use these terms? Why does he use them to the people and Ngumba? Kirima uses the terms '*mabibi na mabwana*' 'ladies and gentlemen' and '*wananchi*' 'citizens' because of the kind of imposition he is making on the people by asking them to vote for him (Fraser 1990). This is Kirima's campaign rally and he can only manage to get votes from the people by being more and more polite to them. He makes sure that their feelings are not tampered with, hence his search for co-operation. And to Ngumba; Kirima uses a polite lexical term for the same reason. Ngumba is his supporter in the KANU party so, Kirima refers to him as a third party in a polite way.

Besides using the lexical strategies, Kirima uses a prefacing strategy to maintain polite behaviour, and hence, being consistent with the politeness maxim. We look at two examples of prefacing as a way of saving face.

- (49) *Mimi sitaki karweka chumvi.....lakini, leo, leo ... sijui ni nani alitoa 'order' wale hawker iko hapa karibu na railway wafunziwe?*

I do not want to add salt [exaggerate]. But today today... I do not know who gave the orders for those hawkers near the railway station to be chased away? [evicted]

- (50) *Mimi apana taka sema hati serikali hapana fanya kazi. Lakini tunauliza wa make more improvement of Nairobi.*

I do not want to say that the government does not carry out its duties. But we are asking them to make more improvements of Nairobi.

In the first example, Kirima uses the preface, '*mimi sitaki kuweka chumvi*'. 'I do not want to add salt' [exaggerate] to mean he does not wish to stir the audience or agitate it by exaggerating the problem at hand. By saying he does not wish to exaggerate he succeeds in toning down and mitigating the impolite element of the blame. This enables Kirima to maintain a co-operative relation with the third party - the City Council of Nairobi. Remember, even the mayor of the City Council is present at this meeting, so, to ensure that he does not lose face, he decides to preface his utterance and hence 'observing polite behaviour'. You will also notice that Kirima is saying the government should make 'more improvement' and not 'improvement' thus implying some improvement has already been made. This expression further helps in strengthening the politeness intent.

In the second example, he directly refers to the government. Unlike in the earlier example, he prefaces this utterance so that he can remain in group solidarity with the government. Kirima is vying for a seat on a KANU ticket yet he finds he has to criticise the government of the day responsible for the fault of non-collection of garbage in the city. His want as a candidate, a man of the people who needs to say what people would need hear, conflicts with his desire to maintain a polite conduct by remaining within the co-operative principle. To do this, he prefaces his utterance '*mimi apana taka sema hati serikali hapana hafanyi kazi*'. Note that he uses '*ati*' a particle that is usually

used to tone down impoliteness in Swahili language in an utterance (Yahya-Othman 1994). For fear of reprisal and probably punitive measures like the government withdrawing support, Kirima, is forced to maintain polite conduct by prefacing his utterance with an element that looks somewhat like an excuse.

Politeness in politics is not only realised by using lexical strategies and prefacing only. A speaker may also seek to be polite by being more and more indirect (Leech 1983).

(51) *Ingefaa wapawe ... wapewe uhuru ya biashara yao.*

It would be better if they were given... they should be given
freedom in their businesses.

This is a case where Kirima finds his want as a candidate, conflicting with his membership of KANU party and his relationship with the government. So, it behoves on him to offer some solutions to the *matatu* situation in Nairobi.

Kirima knows that the arm of the government is involved in the movement of *matatu* vehicles from one point to another. However, instead of saying that 'the *matatu* mini-buses operators should be given freedom of business, something

that would constitute an order on his part to the government and KANU party, he prefers to say it indirectly by using, 'ingefaa' to mean 'it would be better.' When he uses 'ingefaa' 'it would be better' he now succeeds in being indirect and polite. He implies the government should correct the malaise and on the other hand he implies some respect for his government.

Although Kirima is speaking at a time when the multi-party politics had swept the country, he knows that there still existed censorship within and outside the KANU party.

Kirima, to a large extent, breaks the quantity maxim to be polite. He says:

7) *Leo, si kuta ... si kutaka kutaja tulisema na
nani....Nikanwambia mutu moja huyu mkubwa kutoka leo
hawker ya starehe wachana naye kwanza.*

Today I did not wa... I did not want to mention the
person I spoke with. ... I told a big man from today
leave Starehe hawkers alone for a while.

Kirima does not refer to the big person in question because as a third party, he has an obligation to him for positive face. Saying who he is would mean

exposing him to the people that he had been responsible for the behaviour of moving hawkers and therefore Kirima would not be consistent with the politeness maxim. Kirima, therefore, chooses not to name the big person; something that enhances co-operation.

We have already discussed that rhetorical questions are most of the time motivated by a desire not to be impolite. Sometimes speakers seek to put their ideas in question form (see sec: 2.2 rhetorical questions)

Kimondo's speech at the K.I.C.C. uses varied strategies, for politeness. One of the most dominant strategies he uses is the inclusive 'we'. During the Odongo demonstration, instead of making an imposition on the people by, for example, telling them as addressees what they should do, he chooses not to tell them directly. He, instead, uses the inclusive 'we'. Let us look at some examples:

(53) *Kazi yetu leo ni kazi kidogo*

Our work today is small [our work is not much].

(54) *Kazi ya Nairobi ni nyinyi viongozi wote tuwe
pamoja.*

The work of Nairobi is for you leaders to ensure we are united.

[Our task as leaders in Nairobi is to be united]

In example (53), Kirima makes the task that is ahead of them a collective responsibility, and hence, not giving the addressee the full cost. Here, one can argue that politeness is enhanced. Example (54) is even more illuminating since he refers to the leaders as *'nyinyi'* 'you' but, later, returns to the collective responsibility by saying *'tuwe'* 'we should be'. In this way, he is consistent with polite behaviour. If he would have said *'Kazi ya Nairobi ni nyinyi viongozi mtwe pamoja'*, he would be implying lack of unity and responsibility on the part of the leaders to unite. He can only say that at the risk of his face. Of course, in a sense, this would also imply he is responsible himself.

(55) *Ni kuonyesha imani yetu na uaminivu wetu kwa rais Moi pamoja na serikali'.*

It is to show our obedience and loyalty to President Moi
and the government.

The task that lies a head of the people is to show commitment to President Moi and the government. There is a sense in which Kimondo would be so impolite if he said '*yemu*' 'yours' to exclude himself.

In this example, he would maintain impolite behaviour not just to the audience to whom the full cost would be implied, but also, to President Moi. This would mean Kimondo is not ready to show commitment to President Moi. To be consistent with the politeness maxim of the co-operative principle, Kimondo uses the inclusive 'we' to show that he is sharing the cost of the responsibility.

As we have already mentioned above in the speech by Kirima, Kimondo also uses lexical strategies like, '*Mzee*' 'Old Man' '*Rais wetu Mtukufu*' Our Honourable President. This helps to show the power relationship existing between him and the President. Kimondo clearly aligns himself with the ruled. The President, in this case, a third party, is shown politeness.

When a political speaker is speaking, he is holding a turn. This turn-taking is a much clearer phenomenon in Kenyan rally speeches where there is extensive dialogue. One of the general rules of good speaking is never to take more time than you are required to take. Although how much time one takes when speaking is not provided for by a specific regulative maxim of the co-operative

principle, too much time on the dais could infringe on the quantity maxim. Kimondo is conscious of this underlying requirement and in his speech he keeps making meta-discourse comments. This can be interpreted as polite behaviour in two ways. He is seeking for permission to hold the floor a while longer, and two, he is cautious on time so that he does not bore the audience with too much information which would be irrelevant. In this way he conducts himself politely. Let us look at the examples:

(56) *Kwa hiyo nami sitaki kuchokeza kwa sababu kuna watu, kuna viongozi wengi watakaosema. Lakini kuna kitu moja mimi nataka kusema.*

Therefore, I do not want to tire you because there are people . There are many leaders who will speak. But there is one thing which I would like to say.

(57) *Kwa hiyo, Kazi ya Nairobi, na mimi sitaki kuchukua muda mrefu.*

Therefore, the work of Nairobi, and I do not want to take a lot of time.

It could be argued that Kimondo can say that he does not wish to take a long time even when he would speak for really too long. This strategy keeps to engage the listeners. However, in this context, Kimondo's speech is a brief one lasting 6 minutes. Why then does he make meta-discourse comments? He is certainly appealing to the audience for attention and this minimises his imposition to them. He makes sure that the time he speaks to them has been sought for and that he has assured them that he is taking a short time.

i.

Like his fellow speech makers, Jahazi uses polite forms and strategies to negotiate his relationship not just with the audience but also third parties. One of the chief strategies he uses is the inclusive 'we'. Let us look at the examples below:

(58) *Tumekirwa na mwezi wa Ramadhan na
tukajaaliwa kuimaliza kwa furaha.*

We have had the fasting month of *Ramadhan* and we were blessed to finish it happily.

(59) *Na wale ambao wanaendelea na sita tuombeane
tuimalize...*

And those who still continue fasting for six more days,
we should pray for one another so that we may finish it.

As a leader, Jahazi uses - 'tu-' 'we' in *'tukajaaliwa'* and *'tumekarwa'*. This helps to minimise distance between Jahazi and the audience. This therefore helps to maintain polite behaviour on his part.

If Jahazi were to refer to the audience using second person pronoun (plural), it would seem like he is removed from them and that would generate an impolite feeling since the audience would see themselves as other. However, in using the inclusive 'tu' 'we', he succeeds in sharing ground with the audience. In example (59), he refers to 'the' extended fasting' which he as a person and speech maker needs not take part because it is optional. However, even after referring to those people as *'wale'* 'those' thus increasing distance, he returns to the inclusive 'we' when he says *'tuombeane'*, 'let's pray for one another'. In most African societies, whenever distance is expressed between one party and the other, there is a feeling of disunity and hence impoliteness. However, any attempt by a speaker especially a leader to show that he is collectively part of the audience is interpreted as polite behaviour.

Jahazi also uses indirect means to show politeness. For example, when telling his audience about a story they may not be familiar with, he says:

(60) *Pengine mlikirwa hamjui...*

May be you did not know...

As opposed to *'nafahamu mlikirwa hamjui'*, 'I know you did not know'. He succeeds in being polite. Since it can be impolite to say somebody does not know something, especially directly.

To say so, one needs to tone down theⁱface-threatening act. Although the utterance serves as a preface to further information of the story but it is said politely. No offence can be taken. At some level telling people information which they know constitutes a breach of the quantity maxim.

To be on the safe side, he uses the utterance as a justification to convey the information. In that way, he maintains polite behaviour and also the other maxims of the co-operative principle.

We saw in Kimondo's speech constant meta-discourse comments of not taking a long time. This is a floor holding strategy which also serves as polite behaviour.

It is even used in a more interesting way in Jahazi's speech who speaks for nearly 20 minutes. Jahazi says this to indicate to the audience he knows the rules governing floor holding and turn-taking strategies. In a sense,

he is asking for leniency on the part of the audience. To know that it is the audience to seek for more permission from or to tell whether you are taking long or not constitutes their elevation and hence polite behaviour. This means a speaker is aware of the rule of not speaking too much as to tire the audience which may be impolite. More important, it also indicates that Jahazi recognises that the people are the ones who matter.

Jahazi, like Kimondo and Kirima in Nairobi, employs varied lexical strategies ranging from honorifics like *'ndugu'* 'brother' *wananchi'* 'citizens' to possessive (plural) forms like *'wetu'*, *'yetu'* etc. These lexical strategies help to elevate the audience. Like we said in the case of Kirima, using *'wananchi'*, 'citizens' to refer to the audience gives them a sense of right and belonging. A term like *'ndugu'* 'brother' minimises distance between the rulers and the ruled and hence politeness.

Finally, Jahazi uses a minimising strategy. Example:

(61) *Kikitokea kitu kidogo, balozi, asema kama yeye
amepewa yeye ndiye anatawala hapa.*

If something small happens an ambassador speaks as if
he is the one who rules over us here.

(62) *Juzi, kulitokea mushkili kidogo na balozi wa Amerika.*

Recently, there was a slight misunderstanding with the American ambassador.

In the first example, he is showing polite behaviour to the third party, the government. He is doing so by minimising the problems that occur. He calls them *mushkili kidogo* small. In the second example, there was a difference between the American ambassador and the government. It was not a small problem. However, Jahazi calls it '*mushkili kidogo*'. This he does for reasons of politeness. If he became consistent with the quality maxim thus admitting the problem was big, he can only do it at the risk of impolite behaviour. Jahazi wants to find fault with the opposition and to spare the government blame. To do this, he calls the problems the government is unable to handle effectively and which call for the intervention of the opposition as '*kidogo*' 'small'.

The last speech we analyse here is by Nassir. Like the other speeches Nassir is conscious of his responsibility to be polite to ensure further communication, hence co-operation.

One of the most interesting strategies by Nassir is what we refer to here as minimising strategy. Nassir who uses more first person (singular) than any of his counterparts uses the singling strategy minimising to a great extent. During this time, Nassir blames people for a number of things. However, when he wants to make such blame, because it may be assumed the people could be part of the audience, he refers to them using second person (singular) pronouns. For example he says:

- (63) *Hakuna saa ya kusingizia President Moi hataki Nassir. Alikwambia saa ngapi?* (See sec. 2.2 Rhetorical Questions. Example 8).

There is no time of saying President Moi does not like Nassir. When did he tell you?

Nassir uses a singular agreement marker for politeness sake. This implies that in the crowd he is addressing, there is only one person opposed to him and this helps him mitigate the harsh feelings the audience would have gotten if the agreement was plural. You will remember even in other speeches by Kimondo and the rest of the politicians, the enemy is singled out. For example Kimondo

refers to Odongo as one person and so does Jahazi. This kind of strategy serves to imply all is well except for that one case. This is a strategy for politeness. In the case of Jahazi and Kimondo, the government's face is saved. However, in Nassir's case, Nassir manages to maintain a working relationship with the audience when he refers to his opponent as one.

Yet another strategy which Nassir uses is lexical. He uses words that are inherently polite to address the guest of honour and people. These words are like 'Mheshimiwa', 'Guest of Honour' 'kuomba', 'request', 'ndugu', 'brother'. Possessives like 'zangu', 'mine', 'zetu', 'ours' are all used to express possessiveness and hence polite behaviour.

(64) *Mimi nataka kuomba ndugu zangu wa
Mombasa wakiwa watu wana title deed au
maalotment waiuza barabarani msimume
muje hadi pale pahali.*

I want to request my Mombasa brothers if you see people with title deeds or allotment certificates selling [them] on the streets do not buy until you see that place.

Looking at the two examples, we note a high degree of politeness. Nassir uses 'ndugu' 'brother' like Kimondo, and Jahazi, to achieve a collective and unified stand with his people. This is true when we consider in Kenya, politicians are members of the elite class who stand quite removed from the so-called masses. So, when a politician uses the word 'ndugu' 'brother', it is meant to indicate he considers himself as part of the common people and hence politeness is implied.

In the first example, Nassir uses the word: 'kuomba' as a polite word to relate to his audience. It shows he cares about these problem. Remember, there are some contexts like a boss talking to his secretary where the word 'kuomba' could serve as a commanding illocution (Austin 1962; Wittgenstein 1953). However, here, it serves as a polite word to the audience.

Nassir also uses the inclusive 'tu-' 'we' for politeness. Examples:

(65) *Lakini iwe ukweli tupendane*

But let us sit down and love one another.

Like we said in earlier examples from Jahazi Kimondo and Kirima, the use of 'tu-' 'we' shares out the responsibility and minimises cost on the part of the audience. Nassir is heard to be sharing the cost with them and hence its politeness.

Indirect insinuations are also manifest in Nassir's speech. He says in an example we have referred to in sec. 3.6. Humour, example 45:

(66) *Leo wengine hapa hata hawajapata
uongozi, mwangalie yule Mwarabu.*

Today some here have not gotten the leadership, look at that Arab.

[Today, even before some become leaders they start saying, look at that Arab]

Nassir is comparing the President to other politicians. He finds it polite not to refer to the names of the people hence flouting the quantity axiom to uphold the politeness axiom. We saw the same with Kirima who declined naming some big person for the same reasons.

In politics, there exists a number of other strategies. One way in which political speakers maintain a polite relationship is through greeting the audience. In Africa, and we suppose in other places too, a greeting is a way of establishing friendship and showing that one cares about the other. Anybody who meets the other and does not greet them especially if he/she is the one, according to the local ruler of floor holding is supposed to greet is likely to be seen as impolite, etc. (See Omar 1991; Yahya Othman 1995). One of the first gestures of

politeness is the greeting. Jahazi assumes the audience is evenly Islamic and uses the preferred Muslim salutation: *Aasalaam Aleikum Warahamtulla*. This may appear phatic but it certainly has polite undertones. This means Jahazi recognises the audience and their religious beliefs and accords them respect - something that is consistent not only with Islamic conduct but also with the general African cultural behaviour. When two people meet, a greeting serves as a basis upon which the rest of the conversation is built. This is as true in casual conversation as in politics (Yahya Othman 1995). A speaker to address an audience who stands without a greeting may be seen as arrogant and hence showing negative face.

In Nairobi, Kirima opens his speech with a greeting. He says:

(67) *Kwanza, namsalamu nyinyi nyote wana*

KANU.

First, I greet you all KANU members.

First, it means he notes the politeness import carried by a greeting when addressing such a gathering. He simply cannot start addressing the audience without a greeting. It serves also as a speech initiator. But most important is its implication which means all is well on the part of the speaker and he is asking the audience to respond hence showing politeness.

Kimondo also begins his speech with a greeting. He says:

(68) *Wasichana, Vijana, hamjambo?* (See sec. 1.8.2

General Remarks).

Aud.: *Hatujambo!!*

Girls, young boys, how are you?

Aud.: We are alright!!

It is not clear why Kimondo calls the audience *vijana*. But being of advanced age himself, it may have been used normally to greet his juniors in age or politics. If this is true, then, Kimondo is using age as a way of negotiating further for his fitness in the present position as a leader. Remember, we said that in Africa 'mzee', 'old man' is considered an advisor and therefore a fitting leader (see honorifics).

It is also possible that Kimondo, having witnessed the demonstration of the people from Nyayo House to K.I.C.C., refers to them as '*vijana*' 'youths' and '*wasichana*' 'girls' to partly refer to physical ability that has enabled them demonstrate and also to imply the youthfulness and vigour they need as KANU cadres.

Only Nassir's speech out of the four does not have an opening of a greeting. He says:

(69) *Siku ya leo inajisemea yenyewe. Haina
haja hata kusema.*

This day speaks for itself. There is no need of speaking.

Sometimes the openings which most of the time serve as greetings are not like the casual greetings of '*hujambo*' 'how are you' '*sijambo*' 'I am alright' (Omar 1991). They may take the party slogans like, '*harambee*', '*Nyayo*', etc. This is why we note the difference in Nassir's opening. Of course, this is a different strategy of opening. However, it also has polite implications. Nassir means that the day is wonderful because the people have turned up to observe it. So, in itself it is a polite expression - having to acknowledge what people have done and indirectly expressing thanks to them. They have made the day so exciting. It

seems like in the openings that is when one has to show his relationship with the people and as Leech (1983) says, show more cost to thyself and benefit to them. Mind them a lot more. A greeting means that you are minding the welfare of others. You ask about their welfare and if they care, they would ask about yours. In political rallies such an extension of the other asking for your welfare is not provided for. However, the audience only responds to the question regarding their welfare and sometimes not by words but by clapping their hands.

Political discourse to some reasonable extent can be described as an attempt to negotiate favours either from the government or from those in power. Sometimes the favours are sought from the crowd especially when a speaker is seeking support like Kirima (see data). Leech (1983:132) calls the attempt for speakers to maximise praise for the other as an approbation strategy.

Jahazi says:

*Lakini nataka kumpongeza sana Bwana
Chairman kwa kuandaa mkutano huu na
vile vile kwa speech yake ambayo
ametueleza kinaganaga maana na
madhumuni ya mkutano.*

But I want to congratulate the Chairman so much for organising this meeting and also for his speech in which he has told us clearly the meaning and purpose of this meeting.

Jahazi, as it were, is offering praise to Nassir, here described as other. It is possible that someone could praise himself but only at the risk of sounding an impositor and therefore impolite. Jahazi employs this approbation strategy when he says:

(71) *Nataka karwapongeza ndugu Waislamu wote ambao wamefanya kazi kubwa sana.*

I want to congratulate all my Muslim brothers for accomplishing such a big task.

Although Jahazi is a Muslim and he is included in the group, the praise is directed more to the other than self. Here, he wants to praise the general Muslim public. This is a strategy to praise other.

Nassir also employs such a strategy in his speech. He says:

(72) *Nataka kuwambia ndugu zangu wa Kenya walioko hapa, walioko pahali pengine kama si kwa sababu ya Mungu Mwenye kupenda kutuwachie kiongozi kama Mtukufu Rais Bwana Moi, tungekuwa na hatari kubwa.*

I want to tell my Kenyan brothers who are here, who are in other places, if it were not for God who gave us a leader like his Excellency President Moi we would have many problems.

Nassir who sounds so subtle offers praise both to God and President Moi. This kind of strategy is meant to show his loyalty to the President. It also serves as a means of winning crowds indirectly for President Moi.

Similar strategies are seen in Nairobi. Kimondo praises the President when he says:

(73) *Na tena mimi nikisikiliza kwa radio na kwa T.V. namsikia Rais wetu Mtukufu akienda pahali katika dunia hii ya Kenya: Na mimi sijasikia akisema hataki kabila fulani. (See Sec: 3.2 Honorifics and Sec: 3.3 Truth where we have*

referred to the same example).

And also when I listen to the radio and watch television. I hear our President visiting places in this world of Kenya. And I have never heard him say he does not like this tribe or the other.

Kimondo makes the praise of the President to the audience. This is an attempt to see Moi as a good leader at a time when people are demonstrating in his favour. Politeness is a key relationship holder especially in Africa where a head of state determines where you will be now and tomorrow. Approbation strategy is hence used for such praise.

(74) *Kwa si kukuamini umoja tungepigana na
Kirima.*

If I did not believe in unity, we would have fought with
Kirima.

This certainly amounts to self praise. However, because of the approbation strategies sub-maxim the benefit of Kimondo's goes to the people - KANU.

In conclusion we may observe that it may be important to use pragmatic strategies like metaphor, rhetorical questions, humour, etc. However, if a politician needs more strong support and applause from the masses he needs to also employ politeness strategies. These strategies could be lexical, indirect expressions, using the collective elements, etc. The politeness strategies are the ones that ensure continuity and sustainability of communication because they create a friendly working environment.

CHAPTER FOUR

TOPIC AS A COHERENCE PRINCIPLE IN SWAHILI POLITICAL SPEECHES

4.0 Introduction

In chapter three, we saw how speakers in Kenya rally speeches use certain pragmatic strategies in relaying information across to the audience. The focus in the third chapter was more on pragmatic meaning. In this chapter we now focus on what the speaker is talking about. We use the comprehensive approach of characterising topic not as a mere title or proposition but rather as a broad entity constituting elements that relate in a specific way. In this case, the activated elements of a discourse have to relate to what we refer to is this thesis as topic framework. This is some kind of pool that helps define some elements as relevant or not relevant during a speech event. It is assumed in this approach that topics belong to individual speakers since they are the ones who build them from stage to another.

We shall concentrate more on aspects like topic assignment, topic shift markers what topics are and the means of analysing a discourse in terms of topics.

4.1 Topic Assignment

One of the features of topic distinguishing casual talk and many other discourse types is that in casual conversation no single topic is fixed or assigned before hand (Brown and Yule 1983:89; Crystal and Davy 1969). Topics are negotiated by the participants according to the principle of relevance. One of the most important guide is, what is relevant here, to me to him and now (Coulthard 1981). In rally speeches, the position is fairly complicated. As a rule, topic titles are assigned before hand and it is on the basis of this arrangement that licences are issued. If any group organises a rally it is imperative that group declares what it aims to speak to the people about (Haugerud and Njogu 1991:14).

However, as various speakers take part in a meeting whose purposes and intentions are declared, often, many other topical issues not central to the meeting emerge. In Kenya, the declaration of purpose on the part of rally organisers serves two main functions. Firstly, it is a security measure and secondly, it also serves to prepare the audience psychologically for its participation.

If we look at Kimondo's speech we can see the examples for the claims we are making above. The rally which Kimondo addresses is organised by the KANU Party; Nairobi branch. The organisers of the meeting obtained a permit for it.

Nassir, like his counterparts, has several topics. He speaks on the issue of the day which is about Moi's status and performance as a politician. Also, he speaks on the problems of plot-purchasing, then he addresses the audience on travel permits and lastly he speaks on development.

One thing which is clear is that there are topics whose titles or key entities are assigned before hand and the audience knows about them. They may not, of course, know the elements that may finally constitute the composite discourse entity of topic. It is true as we have seen that political speakers get a chance to speak about other issues. It is important to observe that although speakers generate speaker topics they normally relate those speaker topics to the topic framework. The topics need to relate to the purposes, aims and intentions of the day.

If we look at Jahazi's speech, how does the issue of *Ramadhan*, the opposition and the issue of the chairman relate to the speech event and the context? Jahazi introduces his speech by the topic *Ramadhan* and the topic serves as a unifier. Since Jahazi is speaking to an audience which is exclusively Muslim it helps him achieve common ground with his audience. The topic of the chairman relates immediately to the KANU - party and the organised meeting. On the other hand, the topic on the opposition has great bearing on unity. It relates to

the activities of Odongo almost immediately. The opposition, like Odongo, have not worked as they should with the government of the day.

In a way, all the speaker topics need to relate to one another and have a relationship to the day, people and major goals of the KANU party. No topic should be seen as completely irrelevant. For example, it can not be in order for a politician on this day to advocate for the rights of the opposition members of parliament which the Kenya government has denied them. Looking at Kimondo's speech, we can draw similar conclusions. Although he generates his own topics, like that of unity and the topic entity on the permit of the meeting, they are all relevant to the context of the speech event and therefore topic framework. Unity among KANU leaders is a relevant issue to the immediate context since it is a context with people who are KANU supporters. The issue of the licence is relevant because it points to the unity of the people. It helps Kimondo demonstrate that the people are working as a team.

In conclusion, one can say that any issue can constitute a topic of a political speech. However, it has to be made relevant to the context.

4.2 Topic And Coherence

There are many ways in which a fragment may be tied together. One way is by cohesion (see chapter 5). Cohesion refers to the means by which elements of a text hang together so that the interpretation of some text elements is dependent

on other elements in the same text. Although Halliday and Hasan (1976) sound ambivalent, we have argued that cohesion is only present when there is an explicit surface element in a text. In cases where there is no such surface element then we have argued for the presence of coherence. Coherence can be global or local. Global coherence tends to be broader, requiring larger structures, whereas local coherence is contiguous and may not require such large structures. Parts of a discourse may also cohere by means of the speech acts present (Widdowson 1977; 1979). Other researchers like Crombie (1985) and Hoey (1983) argue that a discourse may also cohere because of the relationships holding between sentential predicates and arguments. This type of coherence, they have called, intra-clausal coherence. Dialogic coherence is one where a discourse is said to hold together because of the relationship between such discursal values as initiation, reply and feedback. Yet most important to this chapter is topic coherence where elements hold together because of their relatedness to some topic. Four main questions will interest us in this section. Firstly, how does the notion of topic help to understand coherence of an utterance? Secondly, how can the topic framework explain such a relationship? Thirdly, how does topic ensure coherence at both local and global levels? Lastly, what finally coheres together a whole speech?

Most researchers find the notion of topic important because it helps to explain how sentences tie together into chunks. (Brown and Yule 1983:70), so that it is possible to discern that a piece of fragment is about 'money' and the other about

'sex' or 'dance'.

Let us examine some examples from the data. In Jahazi's speech one of the fragments begins this way:

- (1) *Lakini wazee wa tangu kale wamesema umoja ni nguvu na kutengana ni udhaifu.*

But like the old wise men of long ago have said
unity is strength and separation is weakness.

It ends with:

- (2) *Siku ya maandamano ndiyo hasa sababu tutazitoa za Odongo na tunatumai mpaka hapo Rais Museveni atakarwa ashagamua kumwita Odongo*
[clapping of hands]

During the day of demonstration we shall give the
reasons for our demonstration against Odongo and I hope until
then President Museveni will have decided to hand over
Odongo to us.

What exactly binds together this long fragment about Odongo that is full of dialogic interactions, anecdotes, expositions, etc. It is true there are lexical clues that ensure cohesive continuity, chief among them being names like 'Odongo', 'Museveni'. However, besides the cohesive devices, one can find coherence if the notion of topic is appealed to. There is a sense in which the fragment is about one thing and not the other thing. In this case, the chunk seems to be about the run-away dissident-Odongo as a key entity. The following are some of the elements that constitute the topic framework.

- (3) (i) The meeting is in Mombasa at Majengo-KANU hall
- (ii) The speaker is Jahazi
- (iii) Jahazi was formerly an oppositionist, and a former member of parliament.
- (iv) The main issue or the purpose of the meeting is to denounce the activities of Odongo and to give KANU party support.
- (v) The KANU Party, Mvita branch has organised the meeting.
- (vi) The audience constitutes Mombasa dwellers, the majority being local people and the rest from upcountry.
- (vii) The other activated elements constitute, sentences, noun phrase that are thematised in the text.

Jahazi as the speaker ensures that whatever he speaks is well tailored to meet the demands of relevance (Grice 1975; Coulthard 1981). So, his utterances need to relate to the demands of the linguistic, physical and cultural contexts. Each sentence falls within the topic framework and that very sentence helps in broadening the scope of the topic framework pool so that whatever follows that sentence has to relate to it in a special way. The issue of Odongo is relevant to the context and Jahazi can be said to be speaking topically. He is speaking topically because he is contributing to the same topic as Nassir, Msechu, the Mayor of Mombasa, Mwidani and other speakers of the day. Although Jahazi uses the narrative technique and speaks about Carlos, for example, the narrative falls within the topic framework since it is used to justify why Kenya behaves the way she does. The narrative on Carlos ties up with the prior elements in this fragment. We can appreciate how relevant many of the utterances in this fragment are if we imagined Jahazi saying;

(4) *Mbu hao ni wengi.*

Those are many mosquitoes.

Such an utterance would not be consistent with the demands of the topic framework. We would be made to ask 'why that, then and in this context?' The utterance does not develop the topic framework in anyway unless if it

were referring to the likes of Odongo as 'mbu', mosquitoes small and weak but bothersome and dangerous.

Another interesting topic fragment from Jahazi's speech that is long is the one on the opposition . It begins with:

(5) *Tatu sitotukarwa muda mrefu. Tatu ni karwa hawa ndugu zetu wa upinzani...*

Thirdly, I won't take a long time. Thirdly is that these opposition brothers....

One of the key questions to ask is: how do the various sentences cohere to make up the fragment or chunk? It is true one can give a paraphrase of the fragment as 'the activities of the opposition'. But this is not by any means to say that this paraphrase is the topic. The topic is made up of various elements that are developed comprehensively . For example, this fragment is full of anecdotes, dialogic encounters, questions, answers, descriptions, expositions ,etc. However, all the parts involved can be seen to be about one issue or entity. Let us look at a few examples and demonstrate how coherent the elements are:

(6) *Nawajua mpaka ndani, ndani ya matumbo yao.*

I know them inside out. even inside their bowels.

(7) *Vyuo Vikuu vimefunguliwa wanaendelea. Opposition wameachwa wakichungulia. Wao ni makozmen eeh?*

The Universities opened and they are continuing. The opposition have been left out peeping. They are peeping Toms eeh?

When we examine the two topic elements above , one wonders how they relate to the rest of the topic elements to make a coherent and continuous fragment. Jahazi says he knows the opposition, it therefore helps to justify why Jahazi is the appropriate person to talk about the opposition. The second element, on the other hand, shows why the opposition members can not be genuine leaders. In a sense, the two elements cited above help to build-up the topic further. The two elements can be said to be about one thing with the rest of the elements in the text. As we mentioned above the fragment we are referring to has a beginning and an end. However, that is not enough to make the chunk coherent. Elements need to relate to one another and fit in the topic framework.

A further question is how do the various chunks fit together in one speech? Can Jahazi's speech be seen as one whole because all the elements fit in the physical context? They are relevant to the occasion of their delivery. They are also marked as we shall see in the next section (4.3).

The other speech we analyse is by Nassir. One of the fragments centred on one topic starts like this:

(8) *Lakini bwana leo ni siku ya Moi day. Mimi nataka kuomba ndugu zangu wa Mombasa,... muone pale pahali.*

But *bwana* today is Moi day. I want to request my Mombasa brothers, You should see that place first.

The fragment ends with the following utterance:

(9) *Tutakupa pesa zako na tiwaregeshee mashamba walioko pale pale.*

We shall give your money back and return land to the people of that place.

Although this chunk of discourse is tied by cohesive elements, it can still be argued that its elements relate to one central issue. Let us see how the following topic elements relate to one another:

(10) *Uende ukaone pahali pale.*

You should go and see that place.

(11) *Yule mtu anakuuzia na kukufanya mjinga.*

That person sells to you, and makes you look stupid.

(12) *Mtu huyo atakuachia jasho*

[That person will leave you with problems]

That person will leave you sweating

These elements (10,11 and 12) hold together because they are related to the problem of land-buying. The first element (10) which urges the people purchasing land to get to see the piece of land first before buying it serves as a cautionary statement. The second utterance and the third one show the danger one may fall into if he does not take pre-cautionary measures when buying land.

Each element has a specific function in the topic complex. The elements relate not only to the prior elements but even to the following elements in the discourse domain. It is this complex relationship that makes it possible to say that the discourse is about one thing. It is important to observe that the discourse elements are thematised and staged so that their order is significant. Like in the fragment cited above, its last utterance serves as an ending because its goals are conclusive. There is no way the chunk would begin as referred to earlier in example 9 above thus:

(13) *Tutakupa pesa zako na tuwaregeshee mashamba watu
walioko pale-pale.*

[We shall give your money back and return land to the
people of that place]

This utterance serves to close up the topic complex because of its conclusive nature. When one sees it, it indicates something has gone before it.

One other fragment Nassir turns to is the one about *harambee*. At least, *harambee* is one of the key elements in the topic complex. It begins with the following element:

- (14) *Mimi mwenyewe nimekuwa ndani ya siasa kwa miaka
thelathini.*

I myself have been in politics for thirty years.

It ends with:

- (15) *Wale watoto wetu wasiokuwa na kazi wapate kujisaidia
na kazi*

Those children[youths] of ours who do not have work
will find work to do.

This fragment seems to focus on development. It has a number of elements that
constitute WHAT THE SPEAKER IS TALKING ABOUT. For example:

- (16) *Tusaidiane na wale maofisa wa KANU wote.
Ofisi ya KANU inaketi bure.*

We should co-ordinate and co-operate with those KANU officers.

KANU office is unused.

The first element, example (16) is about co-operation. It contributes to the topic framework on how the development will be co-ordinated. The second element answers the question of where the business will be carried out. It is very interesting to note that the speaker refers to the KANU office in Majengo; a situationally relevant location for the KANU group. It fits well with the overall KANU party projects. The project is not to be taken anywhere else but in the KANU building. So, in a sense, the two elements referred to are cogs of different function on the larger topic machine. They are contributing to one common topic. The two elements and the rest of the elements in the fragment tie together functionally to make the topic whole.

Let us consider some few examples from the Nairobi data. One of the topics in Kirima's speech starts in the following way:

(17) *Ya pili mimi napiga ahsante sana kwa wale waliwacha
kazi ya: kuja hapa kunusikiliza*

Secondly, I express thanks to those people who left their business to come and listen to us.

The fragment ends with:

(18) *Lakini tunawauliza wa 'make more improvement of Nairobi'*

But we are asking them to make more improvement of Nairobi [to improve the standard of Nairobi].

Kirima's utterance cited above, with a formerly marked linguistic element '*ya pili*' serves to open a new topic. The utterance does not fit neatly in the text domain of the chunk. However, it fits well in the broader campaign context. In the electioneering process vote-seekers, constantly thank the audiences as a way of showing appreciation for their support. It is not immediately clear how the thanking relates to the rest of the elements that follow it as a thematised element. Otherwise, the rest of the elements in the topic fragment are well tied together in relation to WHAT THE SPEAKER IS TALKING ABOUT. We can see a few examples below and explain their topical coherence.

(19) *Si mnaona, je huyu ni uungwana*

You can see, is this gentlemanly behaviour?(See Example 16
Rhetorical Questions sec. 2.2).

(20) *Kwa hivyo kitu ya maana ni utumwe ufanye kazi*

Therefore, the most important thing is to work when you have been send.

One thing that is clear with these two topic elements is, they tie well with the electioneering context in Nairobi.

The first element is a rhetorical question to the audience. As characteristic with rhetorical questions the speaker is implying this is not gentlemanly behaviour. The question relates to prior elements that refer to the problem of garbage and sanitation in Nairobi.

The second element explains why the situation of garbage is bad in Nairobi. This is because the person who was elected to parliament did not do his work effectively. Had he done, he did, he would have cleaned the Nairobi city for the people. The two elements help to build the topic complex to the extent of diversity. The topic framework is therefore dynamic. It keeps changing as the activated elements in the context of situation and textual context change. How does the situation of garbage relate to the Starehe elections? Starehe happens to be within the city environs. Being a section of Nairobi, any problem affecting the city affects Starehe as well. It would make a great difference if Kirima was talking about the garbage situation in Kisumu or in London because these places

would not be related to his topic framework. Speaking on the same speaker topic, Kimondo says:

(21) *Habari ya hiyo permit mnasikia mukiambiwa, si mimi nilichagua kwenda kuchukua hiyo permit. Ni viongozi hawa walikaa chini wakasema 'wewe Kimondo chukua hiyo permit'. Kwa hiyo ni jukumu ya viongozi wote wa Nairobi kuchukua license.*

The issue of the permit you are being told about, I am not the one who selected myself to secure the permit. These leaders are the ones who sat down and said 'Kimondo take that permit'. Therefore, it is the responsibility of all the leaders in Nairobi to request for that license.

When one reads those various topic elements there is a feeling they are about one general topic. This is because of their topic coherence. They are developing the same topic. Each element therefore contributes in some way to the building of the topic. The first element answers the question in why Kimondo went to secure the permit and the second one answers the question who sent him to secure the permit.

The third element is general. It talks about responsibility regarding the permit; who is supposed to collect the permit. In this case, Kimondo says it is the responsibility of all Nairobi leaders look for a permit. Those elements hold that part of a fragment together because there is a sense of commonality. Again, it is only so when we see topic not as a static entity but as an ever changing dynamic element. A title may be given but it does not successfully express what is being developed across elements. When Kimondo is speaking at K.I.C.C. he makes sure that once he introduces the idea of permit. He develops it only with relevant parts so that it may be seen as one continuous discourse.

The idea of permit fits the context because the permit is about the rally that is going on. Although as one listens he/she might have the impression that Kimondo is going off the mark, he makes sure that Kimondo remains relevant to the goals of the rally and the KANU party. This is one thing that creates topic coherence. That, besides various fragments being well knit, the topics that are discussed even when they are introduced by the speakers, adhere to the moods, needs, goals and general party aspirations. Through the idea of permit, Kimondo is able to speak about what the roles of the leaders are in getting a permit for a rally. The day being a rally day, this becomes a relevant topic for the framework.

4.3 Topic Shift Makers

In Kenyan political oratory, there are certain linguistic markers that show that a speaker is introducing a new topic or he is concluding a topic. These formal markers appear in other discourse types like stories where we have markers like, 'Once upon a time, Do you know what? etc. (Linde 1985; Stubbs 1983; Njue 1989). Let us consider each speech in turn.

In Kimondo's speech each topic is clearly and conspicuously marked by certain linguistic signals. The first topic which is about the person of Odongo and the issue of loyalty begins thus:

- (22) *Kazi yetu leo ni kazi kidogo. Ni kuonyesha imani yetu
na uaminivu wetu kwa rais Moi pamoja na serikali (See sec.
3.6 Humour Example 53).*

Today we have a short business.

It is to show our obedience and loyalty to President Moi
and the government.

This is a beginning remark after the normal salutation. Kimondo does not just move to the new topic. He has to signal when he is starting a new topic. First

he acknowledges there is business so that the speech does not seem to concern itself with a mere chat. Secondly, he announces what may seemingly be topic in Keenan's (1977) terms. However, this is a mere title; something that becomes an entity of the topic framework. Although this topic does not end with a clear linguistic coda the other topic which is fairly related to the first one is signalled with clear cut linguistic markers. Kimondo says:

(23) *Kwa hivyo, kazi ya Nairobi, na mimi sitachukua muda
mrefu, ni moja.*

Therefore, the business of Nairobi, and I do not
want to take along time, is one.

Were it not for this linguistic marker it would be possible to argue that the first topic is continuing. However, two things indicate the beginning of a new topic. One is when Kimondo, like in the first topic announces again '*kazi ya Nairobi*' 'the business of Nairobi' which he says is one. That announcement signals the beginning of a new topic though fairly, and remotely related to the prior topic. Two, he says he would not take a long time. This is in consonant with the rules of public speaking - that you need to lead your audience to the next idea. Each time showing them how far you have gone and how much time you intend to take so that you do not become the source of boredom.

The third topic is signalled by the following utterances:

- (24) *Kwa hivyo mimi sitaki kucheza kwa sababu kuna watu
. Kuna viongozi wengi watakaosema. Lakini kuna kitu
moja mimi nataka kusema.*

Therefore I do not want to tire you because there are many people. There are many leaders who will speak. But there is one thing which I would like to speak about.

The first utterance signals what has gone before. It shows Kimondo is aware of the floor-holding rule which is part of the topic framework in this sub-genre.

The utterance that signals a new or fresh topic is:

- (25) *Lakini kuna kitu moja mimi nataka kusema. (See sec. 1.82 General Remarks on Data).*

But there is one thing which I would like to speak about.

This shows that Kimondo clearly prepares his audience for the next topic. He does not start haphazardly. He systematically indicates that he wishes to speak about one more thing. Then he moves on to announce what may be considered as the title of the topic when he says:

(26) *Habari ya hiyo 'permit' mnasikia mukiambiwa.*

The issue of permit that you are being told about.

This utterance serves as a clear announcement of what follows. The audience uses it as an element of the topic framework and a basis for interpreting the rest of the topic representations.

It may be necessary to ask why Kimondo announces what he wants to speak about to the audience. Perhaps he finds it necessary to announce what he wants to speak about because speech making in this rally seems a shared activity. That being the reason, the speaker makes sure he clearly signals to the audience when he is moving to a new topic. In this way, the common title becomes part of the shared information of the topic framework which the audience uses to respond and interpret whatever follows.

Kimondo's speech has clear finishing codas thus agreeing with Stubbs (1983) and Linde (1985) that discourses do not just come to abrupt ending without traditionally acceptable means of ending them. When he comes to the end sometimes he repeats information. This shows a political rally speech does not come to an abrupt end. He says:

(27) *Kwa haya machache mimi nitaishia hapo.*

With these few remarks I will stop here.

This line clearly indicates that Kimondo has finalised his speech and the audience should expect no more information.

However, a political speech seems to have other formulaic linguistic markers that are used at the end of a speech. Kimondo says:

(28) *Lakini nataka tuhubiri umoja, umoja, umoja mzee asikie.*

Asante sana. (See sec 3.2 Honorifics)

Harambee!!

Aud.: *Jogoo!!*

Jogoo,

Nyayo.

Ahsante!!

But I want us to preach unity, unity, unity so that *mzee* may hear.

Thank you so much.

Aud.: *Jogoo!!*

Jogoo, Nyayo. Thank you.

Repetition normally signals the ending of an event. However, like we have said, before in rallies there are known formulaic expressions for finishing an event. Here, Kimondo concludes by saying '*ahsante*' 'Thank you'. Besides the '*ahsante*' he says '*harambee*' which is the Kenyan slogan for unity. The audience answers:

Aud.: *Jogoo!!*

'*Jogoo*' is a KANU symbol. This shows that KANU is in agreement with what he says.

Kimondo finally says:

Nyayo, Jogoo. Ahsante!!

Nyayo, Jogoo. Thank you!!

Nyayo is also a KANU slogan. It means footsteps. It is associated with President

Moi's Philosophy of Peace, Love and Unity. President Moi used it first when he succeeded *Mzee* Jomo Kenyatta as president in 1978. He promised to follow President Kenyatta's '*Nyayo*' 'footsteps'.

Kirima's speech like Kimondo's displays more or less similar linguistic markers for topic shift. In this discourse, Kirima is the dominant speaker and he is the one responsible for all the topic shifts. This is unlike casual conversation where there is no clear dominant speaker and in most cases any speaker could alter the topic.

In the first instance where Kirima seems to be talking about 'the voting', something that is the central issue for the day he asks:

(29) *Kwanza, ninamuuliza si muko tayari?*

First I ask are you ready?

The element '*kwanza*' 'first' is meant to be a topic marker. Kirima does not just start talking about voting even if it is the main topic title of the day. Kirima effectively signals it.

The second topic is marked in a somewhat complex way. Kirima breaks what he has been saying about seeking for votes by the phrase:

(30) *Kitu mimi nasema ni hii.*

I am saying this thing.

This phrase introduces the topic that he dwells on at length; the issue of hawkers in Nairobi city. Kirima seems to regard this as a central issue for his audience who seem affected by the problem. It is unlikely he would continue without signalling from the first topic to the second one. This shows Kirima is well aware that he is moving onto some other topic to which the attention of the audience needs to be drawn.

As if the issue of hawkers and that of garbage in the city constitute a line of issues, he introduces this other topic by a numerical element. He says:

(31) *Ya pili, mimi napiga ahsante sana kwa wale
waliwacha kazi yao wakaja hapa kutusikiliza.*

Secondly, I wish to thank those who left their
business to come to listen to us.

This utterance serves as an introducer. This is clear from the element '*ya pili*', 'secondly'. This element signals a prior topic to which '*ya kwanza*' 'firstly' refers. The rest of the phrase, beginning with:

(32) *Mimi napiga ahsante....*

I wish to express thanks....

This seems like it is one of the topic elements. However, it also serves to introduce the next topic by referring to the audience. It is like the speaker is getting a foot with the audience first.

Other topics in Kirima's speech are introduced even more overtly. The fifth topic is introduced by referring to the audience:

(33) *Mabibi na Mabwana neno ingine moja la*

*maana ambaye liko hapa sasa tunaweza kuona. Hasa
matatu haya.*

Ladies and gentlemen we can see another important issue that we have. Especially these *matatu* [it concerns the *matatu*].

The first phrase serves to introduce the topic on the issue of *matatu... neno ingine moja la maana ambaye liko hapa..!* It is an explicit topic marker. The element that follows, which partly introduces the topic announces the issue of *matatu*. The issue of *matatu*

then becomes the constraining frame to later interpretations of the topic (Brown and Yule 1983).

Kirima introduces fellow leaders to the public. He uses the following phrase to mark topic shift:

(34) *Mabibi na mabwana kabla sijaondoka ... iko
watu ingine ningetaka kuwaonyesha.*

Ladies and gentlemen before I leave ... there are some
people I wish to introduce to you.

Like in the former topic on garbage Kirima addresses the audience as '*mabibi na mabwana*' 'ladies and gentlemen' then he goes on to announce what he wants to do.

Kirima successfully marks topic shift and even announces the next topic so that he can add that information of 'introducing to the topic framework. Without this marker, it can be hard for the audience to treat what he will have said as relevant and coherent.

Introducing yet another topic Kirima says:

(35) *Yangu ya mwisho, kura ni tarehe kumi.*

My last thing is about the voting day which is on tenth.

Kirima is talking about his last topic which he introduces as:

(36) *..Kura ni tarehe kumi.*

.. Voting day is on tenth.

This then gives him an opportunity to talk about the voting process and the regulations governing it and urges the voters to be ready for the voting exercise.

Although Kirima says the previous topic is his last, he also talks about something different - the meeting. After talking about the voting day he says:

(37) *nirudie tena.*

I repeat again.

After this he talks about the meeting in which the Vice-President is to be guest of honour.

Another speech we consider is by Jahazi. How does Jahazi mark topic shift?

Jahazi's speech like the two speeches we have examined from Nairobi by Kimondo and Kirima show explicit topic markers. In his opening remarks, Jahazi greets the audience:

(38) *Aasalamu aleikum warahamtulla wabarakatu. (See sec. 1.82).*

This is a Muslim greeting. He uses it because it is part of the topic framework. There seems to be shared knowledge that most people are Muslims and therefore such greeting is normal with them. However, the greeting does not indicate the beginning of the topic.

It indicates the beginning of the whole speech. Just like we have seen in the case of Kimondo and Kirima, Jahazi introduces his long speech by a greeting. To start a topic he uses a clause to announce that he is starting a new topic. He says:

(39) *Nataka kiwapongeza ndugu Waislamu wote
ambao wamefanya kazi kubwa sana.*

Now I want to congratulate my Muslim brothers for
accomplishing such a big task.

This opening utterance becomes the banner for any further interpretation. Whatever is later said by the speaker or the audience is meant to link to the introductory utterance. The utterance merely says what the speaker intends to do. Jahazi like the rest of the speakers we have analysed believes in leading his audience to what he wants to speak about. He cannot proceed on a topic until he and the audience share enough background information for its understanding and interpretation.

When Jahazi comes to the second topic his marking of shifting is more implied.

He says:

(40) *Lakini nataka kumpongeza sana Bwana Chairman kwa
kuandaa huu mkutano na vile vile kwa speech yake
ambayo ametueleza kinaganaga maana na madhumuni
ya mkutano.*

But I want to congratulate the Chairman so much for organising this meeting and also for his speech in which he has told us clearly the meaning and purpose of this meeting.

In this excerpt, Jahazi marks movement from the former topic to the present one by using the contrastive element 'lakini', 'but'. It is also true that as the rest of the utterance is information giving, it serves to convey a new topic.

The third topic is opened more or else in the same way by having a contrastive element 'lakini', 'but' in the beginning of the clause. This element pre-supposes earlier information which is different from the present one in some respect.

Jahazi says:

- (41) *Lakini kama wasemavyo wazee wa tangu hapo kale
kwamba umoja ni nguvu na kutengana ni udhaifu. (see
sec.1.8.2 example 10).*

But like the old wise men of long ago have said, unity is
strength and separation is weakness.

Jahazi uses this utterance to move to the controversial topic of the day and thus speaking topically. The saying serves as a tentative topic title for what follows. Whatever else Jahazi speaks about the Odongo issue is indicative of unity or disunity. The saying serves as a topic shift marker. However, the topic marker bears relevance to the topic. One thing to understand about topic shift markers is that they do not need to be part of the topic complex. They only signal a change over from one topic to another. Topic shift markers behave much the same way disjuncts behave at sentence level.

The fourth topic is signalled by an announcement. The announcement starts with an adverbial element:

(42) *Tatu, sitotukarwa muda mrefu; Tatu ni kuwa hawa
ndugu zetu wa upinzani wanatu*

Thirdly, I would not take a long time. Thirdly is that these opposition brothers of ours make us...

Here, a new topic is signalled by almost three things.

First, the numerical element 'tatu', 'thirdly' which sometimes does not agree with the number of topics the speaker has spoken about.

Secondly, it is the excuse that he would not take a long time. This kind of excuse normally comes in speaking politically when the speaker wants to begin or to talk of a new topic. Sometimes it may be used in isolation or with accompanying elements.

Thirdly, the new topic is marked by the very phrase:

(43) ...*hawa ndugu zetu wa upinzani wanatu...*

... these opposition brothers make us...

This phrase is meant to announce not only that the speaker is moving to a new topic but also what topic it is.

Nassir's speech like the rest of the speeches we have looked at show explicit linguistic markers. Nassir's opening remark which also serves as a topic marker is:

(44) *Siku ya leo inajisemea yenyewe. Haina haja hata kusema.*

This day speaks for itself. There is even no need of speaking.

The clause indicates that the speaker wants to speak about something. This beginning phrase does not say much in terms of propositional semantic meaning. However, the coming topic is announced by the phrase;

(45) *Kwa sababu hii amani tulio nayo.*

Because of the peace that we have.

This phrase hints at the topic that follows. Together with the preceding utterance it serves to mark the beginning of a topic.

Nassir like Kirima, marks his topic shift by referring to a section of the audience. He says:

(46) *Lakini Bwana leo ni siku ya Moi day*

But *bwana* to day is Moi day.

When Nassir utters that statement it is indicative that he is breaking from the earlier topic and moving to the other topic. At this point he starts the topic that deals with land problems. It is important to note that Nassir's phrase starts with a contrastive element. The contrastive element, '*Lakini*', 'but' helps to set the earlier topic from the one Nassir wants to embark on.

The topic that follows is marked in the following way:

(47) *Bwana P.C. Mgeni wetu wa Heshima mimi siwezi ku ...*

Leo ni siku ya Moi day.

Bwana P.C., our Guest of Honour I cannot ... Today is

Moi day.

Nassir marks the new topic by addressing the problem to the P.C. He is making a special appeal. Like in the earlier topic, he repeats the phrase, 'Leo ni siku ya Moi day'. This phrase serves to move the audience from the earlier topic and give them a new direction. The last topic in Nassir's speech is marked in the following way:

(48) *Watu wanataka mapenzi Bwana P.C.*

Bwana P.C. people want love.

This phrase marks topic shift because it summarises the earlier topic. This phrase enables Nassir to move to a new topic.

One important question we have been attempting to answer is how the whole speech holds together. The speech holds together first, because of the relatedness of the topic complex and secondly because of the topic shift makers which help to link one chunk of a speech and another. With the topic shift markers, a speech by either Jahazi or Kirima can be seen as a continuous discourse. Without the topic markers the speech will be segments of fragments each dealing with its own topic.

4.4 Topics In Political Discourse

In this section, we analyse a sample of topics. We have already pointed out that a topic cannot be paraphrased in one proposition or cannot be effectively captured in a title. However, different elements may express the complex entity the topic is. Brown and Yule (1983) have emphasized that there is no single way in which a topic title can characterise topics. In Kimondo's speech, there are three topic fragments. The first fragment can be characterised as follows in terms of what the speaker is talking about:

- (49) - *Kazi ya leo ni kuonyesha imani na uaminifu kwa Rais Moi na serikali yake.*
- *Odongo aambiwe Kenya haiwezi kurudi msituni.*
- *Kazi ya msituni iliisha*
- *Maana tayari tuna uhuru wetu.*
- *Odongo ataadhibiwa vikali akirudi.*
- Today's work is to show our loyalty to
President Moi and the government
- Odongo should be told Kenya cannot go to
the forest.
- The work in the forest got completed.
- Because we have our independence.

- Odongo will be punished severely on his return.

In this topic, example (49) fragment there are several elements which have been altered for clear expression, the speaker starts by declaring the purpose of the meeting. Kimondo then moves to the key elements of his speech, that of Odongo saga. Odongo is to be told that the people of Kenya cannot go back to the forest to fight (like in the case of Mau Mau, the pre-independence freedom struggle in Kenya). Kimondo then proceeds to say why, Kenya cannot go to the forest; all the work was done. Furthermore, Kenya has its independence. The last element cautions that if Odongo came, he would be punished severely.

Let us look at another example from Kirima's speech. Kirima has a total of six topic fragments. The following is a composite of elements in topic (4).

- (50) - *Neno lingine ni matatu haya*
 - *Leo matatu zinaletwa hapa kesho yake*
zinahamishwa
 - *Yafaa matatu wapewe uhuru wa biashara*
 - *Hali hii inatokana na kutokwa na*
mwakilishi wa Nairobi
 - *Mimi sijawa M.P. lakini niliwaambia*

wasiwasumbue hawkers

- *Waliacha kwa sababu mimi ni KANU na KANU ndiyo serikali*
- *Wale M.P. mliochagua hawana 'say'*
- *Mimi nataka tuwe na maendeleo Nairobi.*

- Another thing are these *matatu*
- Today the *matatu* are brought here, tomorrow they are moved
- The *matatu* should be given freedom of business operation.
- This is caused by having no proper representative
- I'm not yet an M.P. but I told them not to disturb the hawkers.
- They stopped, because I am a member of KANU and KANU is the government.
- the M.P.s you elected have no say
- I want us to have development in Nairobi

When we consider this fragment, we may think of a number of titles, i.e. '*matatu*', 'vehicle' 'hawkers' business', or 'business in Nairobi', etc. One of these can

comprehensively capture what it is the speaker is talking about wholesomely. However, the various elements that are cited above can characterise what Kirima is speaking about.

In the first element, Kirima may be said to be announcing what he wants to speak about, i.e. the *matatu* vehicles. The second element exposes the problem. This is the problem of having no fixed point of operation for *matatu* vehicles. In this kind of movement *matatu* operators lack freedom in their business.

The third fragment offers a solution, that the *matatu* operators should be given a free hand in business. The fourth element, which in our view, should have come earlier, perhaps in the third position, is about the cause of the trouble. Kirima feels it is due to lack of good representation in Nairobi, which he himself, when elected to parliament promises to ensure is solved. In the fifth element, he shows why he is a suitable candidate himself. Kirima says, although he is not a member of parliament, he had appealed to the authority not to disturb the hawkers. This means if he became a member of parliament he would do much more. The sixth element is about why the government responded positively. Kirima says it is because he, (Kirima) is a member of KANU party and KANU party is the ruling party. By this, he means anybody else would not manage to deliver services if he came from other parties. The seventh element ~~contrasts~~ the one we have as a sixth element. It castigates the abilities of the earlier members of parliament as having no authority, of course implying, he would

have the authority himself. Lastly, he says why he is speaking about this problem. He is speaking about this because he is interested in the development of Nairobi.

We see a fragment that is well knit and fitting well within the topic framework and practices of Kenyan electioneering rallies. All these elements constitute what Kirima is speaking about.

In Mombasa, we look at Jahazi's speech. He has four fragments in all. The first topic which is actually speaker's topic is about *Ramadhan*.

- (51) *Nawapongeza Waislamu kwa kazi yao*
- *tumekuwa na mwezi wa Ramadhan*
 - *Tumejaaliwa kuimaliza*
 - *Mungu ametupa sisi Waislamu jaribio*
 - *Wale wanaoendelea na sita tuombeane*

 - I congratulate the Muslims for this task
 - We have had the holy month of *Ramadhan*
 - We have been blessed by God to finish it
 - We have been given a trial(test)
 - We should pray for one another because there are

those who will continue with the six days of
fasting.

Although a suitable topic for Jahazi's fragment can be '*Ramadhan*' 'fasting month' and it can be said to be one of the key elements in the description of the topic, it cannot be all the speaker is talking about. Let us consider the elements. Jahazi gives thanks to the Muslim fraternity. The second element gives the reason. The reason is about the fasting. The third element constitutes some thanksgiving to the Muslim God, Allah, who has enabled them to complete the fasting month. In the fourth element Jahazi describes what the fasting entails in principle. He says it constitutes some test from God to see whether the Muslims are still loyal to God. Lastly, he makes an appeal that some few Muslims would continue fasting after the *Ramadhan* month. They normally fast for six more days after the holy month. Jahazi appeals that to Muslims to pray for one another during the extended period of fasting.

This is a fragment with different elements each contributing significantly in its own way in building up the topic entity.

Lastly, we look at Nassir's speech. In this speech, we see four topic fragments well marked linguistically. We look at the last topic fragment.

- (52) - *Nimekarwa katika siasa miaka thelathini.*
- *Hakuna siasa tena*
- *Siasa tuliyo nayo ni kusaidia watu*
- *Nina harambee kumi na nane*
- *Ninafanya Bondeni Girls, Mvita Boys,*
Mtongwe, n.k.
- *Nitaongeza cherahani kwa kazi ya ufundi*
- *Tutamwita Bw. P.C. atufungulie chumba cha*
ufundi
- *Lakini msinipinga maana siendi kwa Moi*
kupitia ye yote
- *Mmenipinga tangu miaka ya sabini*
- I have been in politics for thirty years.
- There is no politics in Kenya anymore
- The politics we have is developmental.
- I have eighteen harambees at Bondeni Girls,
Mvita Boys, Mtongwe, etc.
- I will supply more sewing machines for
artisan work.
- We shall invite *Bwana*. P.C. to open for us the
place for artisan operations.

- But do not oppose me because I do not go to
Moi through anybody.
- You have opposed me from nineteen
seventy.

When we look at this fragment, we see Nassir saying he has been in politics for thirty years. This utterance justifies him to say what he later says about politics.

In the second utterance, he says that there is no politics anymore. He goes on to say that the politics we have is to help people. This third utterance explains the denial he makes in the second utterance. In the fourth utterance, he states the number of developmental projects he has for which he is conducting *harambees*. This utterance is meant to demonstrate that Nassir, after thirty years has now adopted the right politics of development (see Haugerud and Njogu 1981). In Kenya, 'siasa' 'politics' is said to be bad. So, people are encouraged to embark on development which is considered a good thing. Nassir, in the fifth utterance, concretely enumerates the places where he is conducting *harambees*. These places are meant to give authenticity to Nassir's claims.

The sixth utterance is about a fairly different matter but which still relates to development. In this utterance Nassir talks about starting a project at Majengo KANU office for those youths who cannot get jobs. We can see how the elements fit together

with the prior elements. It fits well in the topic framework set by an utterance like the second one above which says there is no politics in Kenya now but helping people. As if to crown it, he says he would invite the Provincial Commissioner to open workshops for them. This element contributes as a means of associating the P.C. to the projects. Of course, Nassir earlier appealed to the Provincial Commissioner to give him some support in the *harambees* he is conducting. Associating the P.C. is like associating the government because he is a government servant. In this chunk, Nassir reverts to his general allegations he made in earlier fragments regarding being opposed. Remember it is made relevant by the use of the contrastive element '*lakini*' 'but'. This contrastive element helps to signal that he is moving to something else though related Nassir is making this appeal in the light of the earlier utterance. Finally, he reminds the people that they have opposed him from nineteen seventy four. These two last utterances are meant to be a challenge to the people of Mombasa. Why do the Mombasa people oppose Nassir in spite of the fact that he initiates development projects?

CHAPTER FIVE

COHESION IN SWAHILI RALLY SPEECHES

5.0 Introduction

In chapter four, we were mainly concerned with the concept of topic in political speeches. By using the topic framework, we demonstrated how elements of a fragment hang together to make a coherent whole. We also identified what topics the speech makers talk about. In this chapter, we are interested in a different aspect of linking. By using the cohesion approach by Halliday and Hasan (1976) and the labelling method by Halliday (1985), we attempt to understand how speeches hang together and how individual sentences relate with one another.

We investigate, in this chapter, the cohesive devices that are responsible for cohesing various parts of a speech together to facilitate co-interpretation in the referencing process. Particularly important are the following questions:

- (i) to what extent are political speeches cohesive?
- (ii) do political speeches need cohesion of their own kind?
- (iii) to what extent can cohesive devices be said to link rally speeches so that one part of a speech can be seen as related to the other?

5.1 Reference

In this section, we discuss a type of cohesion known as reference. This is a type of cohesion where a reference item, like an anaphoric element, copies semantic features of another item occurring in a text. The relationship between the two items in the text is semantic.

If, for example, a name like Hasan is used, an anaphoric reference co-referring to it will have the same semantic features with the antecedent e.g. + man, + tall, + brown, etc. (Halliday and Hasan 1976; Abadiano 1995). However, in spite of the underlying semantic relationships, there has to be a surface element that has to conspicuously mark the relationship (Dijk 1985:108; Abadiano 1995). A look at the field data collected both from Mombasa and Nairobi reveals very interesting results. We shall look at each speech in turn.

The speech by Kirima shows a high frequency in the use of the reference type of cohesion compared to the other types; ellipsis and substitution. We have (36) cases of reference in the speech by Kirima. Out of this, (33) cases are personal reference as compared to only (3) cases of demonstrative reference and no case of comparative reference. Most of the time, in this speech, references like *'mimi'* 'I' and *'hapa'* 'here', *'Nikamwambia'* 'I told him/her' are context dependent. The audience can discern what they refer to by looking at the context. This makes a great deal of Kirima's speech exophoric rather than endophoric in the sense that it refers to the context of situation. The *'mimi'* reference which refers to the speaker cannot be interpreted without being

connected to the context of situation. One notes from the data that the references are mainly anaphoric rather than cataphoric. This means if a speaker has to refer to something cohesively, he first of all, refers to it by name before he can refer to it using anaphoric references. This kind of reference helps to give the speaker and the audience common ground and shared knowledge which politicians strive to offer in order to establish a working relationship with the audience. The speech by Kimondo, shows similar trends. It has a high degree of context dependency. Kimondo uses many references i.e. *'kazi yetu'* 'our work', *'tukonaye hapa'* 'we have here' *tulifanya tukamaliza*, 'we completed'. *'Pamojana nyinyi'* 'together with you'. The references *'yetu, hapa, -tu-, nyinyi'* are non-cohesive. They are exophoric. They refer the listener to the context of situation. The listeners who happen to be in the same context as the speaker are capable of interpreting what those referring items mean.

A look at the cohesive patterns shows a higher frequency in the reference type of cohesion compared to conjunction, substitution and ellipsis. The count reveals (41) cases of reference in the text out of which (40) cases are personal references and (1) case for demonstrative reference and no case for comparative reference. Like in Kirima's speech, demonstrative references and comparative references do not seem favoured cases in Kimondo's speech. Most cases of demonstrative reference are deictic rather than cohesive. The case below demonstrates this point:

(1) *Hiyo ndiyo tukonaye 'hapa'.*

That is what we have 'here'.

In this example, *'hiyo'* 'that' refers to something aforementioned but the demonstrative *'hapa'* 'here' is exophoric. It refers to something external to the text. This makes the reference exophoric and hence non-cohesive. The reference can only be cohesive when referring to another element in the textual world.

Unlike Kirima's speech which is largely anaphoric, Kimondo uses a forward cataphoric reference that is referring to himself. Kimondo refers to himself as *'mimi'*, *'I'* *'mi'*, 'I' and by using other morphologically bound particles like *'ni-* 'I'. Later Kimondo mentions his name; something that provides a cohesive relationship in the text. However, most of his references like we have mentioned above are exophoric. He says, *'tulienda'*, 'we went'. *'tulifanya'*. 'we did'. These references are all non-explicit in cohesive terms.

The speech by Mohammed Jahazi is the longest of all the speeches we are examining. However, it follows the same trend as the two speeches we have discussed. It heavily relies on the context of situation because the listening audience can get the cues for interpretation from the context of situation.

This lack of explicitness in the verbal text seems to be a sign or an indication of closeness of the speaker to the audience.

It means both the speaker and the audience have a lot in common that the speaker does not have to make references excessively cohesive by using explicit techniques. The count reveals (140) references out of which (4) are demonstrative references, (136) personal references and no case for comparative reference. Most of the references are anaphoric hence making Jahazi's speech excessively anaphoric rather than cataphoric. Let us look at one of the examples:

(2) *Jambo linalotuwasha kwanza, ni Odongo. Au siyo bwana? Odongo atuwasha hatulali.*

The issue that is troubling us first, is Odongo. Is that not so *bwana?* Odongo is troubling us that we cannot sleep.

In the example above, the prefix 'a-', which is normally a case of concordial agreement in Swahili, is used for cohesive purposes. It makes a back reference to the name 'Odongo' in the text. Although when used normally, it ties sentential elements together like in this case it agrees with the sentence head 'Odongo'. However, besides this, it also marks cohesion by agreeing with the reference 'Odongo' in the first sentence - something that gives it an intersentential role rather than just being an intra-sentential reference item.

Finally, looking at Nassir's speech, we see that it has (102) cases of reference. In this, speech (101) are personal reference cases and (1) is a case of demonstrative reference and no case of comparative reference cohesion. This trend agrees with

the three trends we have already seen in the speeches by Kirima, Kimondo and Jahazi. It looks like Nassir, and the rest of the speakers, Jahazi favours personal reference as a cohesive device over demonstrative and comparative reference.

One can conclude from Nassir's speech that the type of reference cohesion which has the highest count above ellipsis, substitution and conjunction is the most favoured type in Nassir's speech.

From the examples above we have seen, some conclusions can be drawn. Thus, the most favoured type of cohesion in political rally talk other than lexical cohesion is reference cohesion. The speakers find it necessary to refer back to what they have said by using either bound or morphologically free forms. In rare cases, they use the technique of forward reference, technically known as cataphora. In a number of cases one finds anaphoric cases. It also seems arguable that most of the speeches delivered orally heavily rely on the context of situation since at a time of delivery, the speaker and the audience are capable of making a discernment of whatever is meant. The references that point to the world external to the text in most cases serve deictic functions rather than cohesive ones. The heavy reliance on the context of situation is a concomitant feature of oral texts. It also means that the audience and the speaker share mutual knowledge on whose basis many interpretations are made. That a speech orally delivered relies heavily on the situational context is something that agrees with Crystal and Davy (1969). The heavy reliance of oral speeches on the context of situation makes them different from graphic media of a novel, for example, that has to be cohesively marked or else no interpretation is possible.

The characters identity can only be delayed, like in the case of Armah's (1969) novel *THE BEAUTIFUL ONES ARE NOT YET BORN* but it has to be mentioned if the meanings in the novel have to be finally processed. This is because such a novel does not heavily depend on contextual cues like the speeches do for the interpretation.

What then is the role of reference cohesion in the political speeches? It is clearly evident that reference cohesion serves economic functions. In a spoken speech, it is more economical for a speech to use a coreferential item like 'a-' instead of having to mention the entire noun phrase.

Let us look at the examples below from Kimondo's speech: (See sec 37, where we have also referred to the same example).

- (3) *Kazi yetu leo ni kazi kidogo. Ni kuonyesha imani yetu na uaminivu wetu kwa Rais Moi pamoja na serikali. Hiyo ndiyo tukonaye.*

Today, we have a short business. It is to show our obedience and loyalty to President Moi and the government. That is what we have to do today.

In this example, the demonstrative reference item 'hiyo' 'that' refers to the two utterances above. It is an economical way of saying something. Such a reference is economical to a speaker who handles an audience that is conscious

of time.

Another example from Nassir's speech below offers further support to this claim.

(4) *Mimi nawambia ndugu zangu wa Pwani na wale
wanaishi hapa.*

I tell you my brothers from the Coast and those who stay
here.

(5) *Yuko mmoja aliwapa shamba?*

Is there one who gave you land?

In the examples above, '-wa -' is a bound form that refers to '*ndugu zangu wa pwani na wale wanaishi hapa*'. My brothers from the Coast and those who stay here!

It would be extremely cumbersome and uneconomical for the speaker to keep referring to the longer item. Nassir instead chooses to use the economical form '-wa-' for easy and quick reference.

Reference type of cohesion also serves as a threading element. It chains together parts of a discourse by letting co-referential items refer to antecedents. Sometimes, the reference is at sentence level and because of strong sentential

configurations, the chaining is superfluous (Halliday and Hasan 1976). We have ignored, in this thesis, this sentential chaining. There are times when the referencing cuts across a paragraph, two clauses, etc. By so doing, it helps to tie the speech together into a unitary whole. The following example from Jahazi's speech demonstrates this chaining role.

- (6) *Juzi Mwamerika alimrusha Mpakistani mmoja. Alitekwa... akachukuliwa mpaka Amerika akashtakiwa kuwa yeye alikuwa kiongozi wa kupiga bomu ile inter - eeh? Conference Centre katika new York. Hawakumchukua?*(See example 20 Sec. 34, narratives, where we have partly referred to the same extract).

Aud.: *Walimchukua*

Pengine mlikuwa hamjui. Alibebwa Bwana juu juu, Rais huu, eeh nani? Prime Minister Bhuto alimtoa.

Recently an American captured a Pakistani. He was captured and taken up to America and was accused that he was the leader of the bombing of that inter.... eeh? Conference Centre in New York. Did they not take him?

Aud.: They took him!

May be you did not know. He was carried shoulder high,
President hum eeh who? Prime Minister Bhuto gave
him to the authority.

If you look at this example, you will notice that there is a chain of references that help the reader by tying together varied elements of a collection of sentences as one chunk or one fragment. The chain is as follows:

- (i) *a- a- a- yeye- a-m*
- (ii) *-m -a...*

The chain shown above helps the audience to know that it is listening to a single topic. The referring items are only surface manifestations of an underlying coherent discourse that bears a semantic relationship.

(7) *Mimi nasema Mungu ambariki Bwana Moi.*

(8) *Na ikiwa ni kweli baina mimi na President aweza
kuniita. Naam Nassir.*

I say may God bless President Moi.

And if it be true, the President may summon
me. Nassir, come here my brother.

The relationship between sentence (7) and sentence (8) is a cataphoric one. The reference item *'mimi'* 'I' refers to Nassir which is mentioned much later in the speech (see appendix). The earlier example from the speech by Jahazi is fairly short range in terms of tying sentences together. However, the relationship between *'mimi'* 'I' and 'Nassir' is a long range one. It stretches over several sentences in his speech. This is because when the speaker is one, there is no likelihood of confusion. The references can stretch over as many sentences as possible. It seems reasonable to argue that if and when first person singular/plural is marked by cohesive patterns in a speech there is a tendency of it being long range and cataphoric.

However, when the speaker refers to the second person singular and plural, third person/singular and plural there is a tendency of the reference being short range. It is important to note that in political speeches 1st person and second person cohesion is rarely marked. Only in a few cases do we have these persons being marked cohesively. Most of the time, cohesion is marked in the third person. This is, the other person. This is explained by the fact that the speaker and audience are there in the context of situation so it is not necessary to mark them by cohesive means since in the context they are easily discernible. The Swahili sentence matrix as we have said before is normally subject marking and object marking. Because of this kind of marking Swahili looks overly cohesive than English which does not necessarily have to mark these elements.

5.2 Lexical Cohesion

This section deals with the lexico-grammatical relationships that obtain in a text. In these relationships, words relate to one another as antonyms, synonyms, hyponyms, collocatively, or by way of repetition that is partial or total. Let us look at each speech in turn. When we examine Kirima's speech we find that lexical cohesion has the highest unit count of all. It has (139) cases against (36) of reference. Out of the (139) hyponymy never occurred; synonymy recorded two cases; collocation four cases; antonymy no case and repetition recorded (133) cases. Kirima can be said to have favoured this type of cohesion where things are repeated from time to time.

Let us consider some of the repetition examples in the data by Kirima. When we look at the data, we can see the word '*kura*' 'vote' repeated over and over again. Remember the repetition of this word is appropriate since this is Kirima's campaign rally for Starehe's seat and he is propelled to talk about '*kura*', 'vote', all the time. Another lexeme that is repeated over and over again is '*serikali*' 'government'.

This word is repeated because Kirima is speaking on matters related to the government. Many other lexical items like 'chairmen', 'secretary' are equally repeated. These items are repeated and if you listen to patches of Kirima's speech you get the feeling that you are listening to one connected speech. Sometimes Kirima's repetition is so direct and intentional as the examples below demonstrate:

(9) *Kwa hivyo tutakuwa na wageni ngapi?*

Aud: *Nne!!*

Wageni Ngapi?

Aud: *Nne, wengi!!*

Wageni ngapi?

Aud: *Wengi!!*

Therefore we shall have how many visitors?

Aud: Four!!

How many visitors?

Aud: Four, many!!

How many visitors?

Aud: many!!

In other cases, he openly says he wishes to repeat some thing.

The following is an example of direct repetition.

(10) *Nirundie tena. Mkutano wetu ambaye 'Vice President'
ndiye mgeni wa heshima itakuwa Ziwani, Kariokor.*

I will repeat again. Our meeting in which the Vice
President will be the guest of honour will be at Ziwani,

Kariokor. [Our mee ing will be at Ziwani, Kariokor. The Vice-President will be the guest of honour].

In this case, two names of places Ziwani and Kariokor earlier on mentioned are repeated in the above utterance.

In Kimondo's speech, lexical cohesion, like in the case of Kirima's speech, has the highest frequency over other types of cohesion. The event revealed about (71) cases of lexical cohesion. Out of these cases, hyponymy had no case, synonymy had one case, repetition had (58) cases, collocation (11) cases and antonymy had (1) case. In Kimondo's speech, repetition is the one with the highest frequency of occurrence. The following are examples of repetition cases from the data. Lexical items like 'Nairobi', '*tukisikana*' 'if we hold on to one another' '*Mtukufu*' 'Honourable', 'Kenya', are repeated. One can understand why names like 'Nairobi' and 'Kenya' are repeated. Kenya is the country about which the speech is made and 'Nairobi' its capital city. '*Mtukufu*' 'Honourable' is an honorific address for the President of Kenya and the speech is made about the President hence the repetition of the lexical item '*Mtukufu*'. 'Honourable' '*Kusikana*' means being united. Its repetition is in order since the speech is emphasizing on unity. Njue (1989:57), analysing cohesion of Swahili narratives reveals that the repetition in Swahili stories is in the names of characters. Such names are repeated because the narrator has to refer to them time and again in the course of his/her narration.

In the speech by Kimondo, words like 'election' collocate with words like 'serikali' 'government,' 'tutashinda' 'we shall win', 'member of parliament'. All these are cases of collocation. They are lexical items from one domain. This is the domain of power and government.

The speech by Nassir has a higher count of lexical cohesion over and above other types of cohesion. Antonymy had one case of occurrence, collocation (10), repetition (119), synonymy (3) hyponymy (0) and (133) cases in all. Nassir's speech then shows a more or else similar pattern of lexical cohesion with the earlier speeches.

Jahazi's speech, like Nassir's speech, has a count of lexical cohesion that surpasses reference. It has (152) cases of lexical cohesion. Out of this (2) are hyponymy, (2) synonymy (135) repetition (21) collocation and (0) antonymy.

The evidence from the data shows that repetition is a much favoured style of political rhetoric. Perhaps it is vital to ask why? It seems from the data that repetition is used for clarity. Although it may sound cumbersome having to repeat some lexical elements, however, it helps the speakers to be much clearer than the case would be when using reference or any other type of cohesion. We shall consider some few examples from the data. In Jahazi's speech, we have repetition of the name of the supposedly dissident, Odongo. In most cases,

Jahazi prefers to repeat the lexeme rather than use an anaphoric reference. An anaphoric reference may be easy to use because of its economy, however there is a high risk of confusion. The Odongo issue is a delicate one at the time the speech is being made and it requires anyone referring to it do so clearly. So, although repetition looks clumsy and loading at times, it is a much clearer way of saying something; naming names of certain characters. Lexical repetition is also a much favoured type of cohesion in Swahili narratives. This is because, sometimes, as Njue (1989:61) points out, reference especially by forms like pronominal forms can be confusing. Looking at another example in Nassir's speech, we find him repeating some information that appears in the preceding section (see data).

- (11) *Vile wanavyofanyia Waluo ndugu zetu wapenzi wetu watufanye vile vile. Vile wanavyofanyia Wabaluhyia, watufanyie vile vile - Vile wanavyofanyia Maasai watufanyie vile vile.*

Like they do to the Luo our dear brothers they should do the same to us. Like they do to the Luhyia they should do so to us. Like they do to the Maasai they should do so to us.

In this repeated section, a number of names like 'Maasai', 'Luhyia', 'Waluo' are responsible for lexical cohesion, and specifically repetition. Nassir uses this

strategy to attain clarity and to stress his message to the people of Mombasa. This brings us to another role of repetition, i.e. it helps not only in making a point clear but also in impressing the point deeply in the minds of the people.

Lexical cohesion and repetition in particular is easier to use on the part of a speaker than probably reference, and substitution. On the part of a listener, it facilitates easy processing of information. Let us consider some examples from the data.

Kimondo says:

(12) *Wakati tulikwenda msituni ilikuwa mara moja.*

Tulikwenda kupigania uhuru na tukaupata. Hii ni taabu gani nyinyi na tuna uhuru wetu?

The time we went to the forest was once. We went to fight for independence and we got it. What problem is this and yet we have our independence?

In this excerpt, Kimondo mentions the word 'uhuru' 'independence'. He refers to it a second time by using the anaphoric reference '-u-' in 'tukaupata'. However, because he appreciates the ease with which a repeated item is processed, he repeats the word 'uhuru' three times. Besides this strategy providing easy processing of information for his audience, it makes it easy for Kimondo speaker to refer to various parts of the text. This position concurs with Dressler (1985:78) who says 'lexical recurrence contributes to cohesion. It also minimises effort on production and facilitates reception'. The human mind is

such that it finds repeating a lot easier than using something new. This explains the high frequency of this type of cohesion in the four speeches we are examining.

It is interesting to note that even some discourse types of graphic media favour repetition. Abadiano (1995:307) found out that this type of cohesion is high in expository writing of the African-American children.

A further example from Kirima's speech shows why repetition is a more favoured form of cohesion in political rally speeches. It is easier to produce and to process on the part of the listener. He says:

(13) *Mabibi na mabwana kabla sijaondoka hapa hata na mnajua mimi ndiyo, 'Chairman' wa Starehe, iko watu ingine ningetaka kuwaonyesha.*

Ladies and gentlemen before I leave and you know, I am the Chairman of Starehe, there are some people I wish to introduce to you.

The two lexical items entering into a cohesive relationship are 'Chairman' and 'Starehe'. They enter into a cohesive relationship by way of repetition. They have been aforementioned (see data) but the speaker decides to mention them again.

He could have chosen to use other types of cohesion. He may have alternatively said:

(14) *Mimi ndiye kiongozi wa hapa'*

I am the leader of this place.

By so doing, he will have used a superordinate word '*kiongozi*' and a demonstrative to replace 'Chairman' and 'Starehe' respectively. This therefore paves way for direct repetition which by its very count one can argue is a favoured form of cohesion in rally speeches in Kenya.

Let us explain further why repetition is favoured in rally speeches. One, the rally speeches that are extemporaneous harangues have little or no preparation. They are not like written speeches where the writer has all the time to weigh on what style to adopt and can therefore effectively use fairly complicated forms to produce like substitution. The oral rally speeches are made to an audience in a tense and mixed atmosphere where the audience expect the speaker to quickly say something. In this situation, repetition is a more handy type of lexical cohesion than even collocation, hyponymy or other to use. On the other hand, the listeners have a hard time having to listen to the speaker, read his signs, the context for quick interpretation. They are capable of interpreting all types of cohesion, however, lexical cohesion and especially repetition is a much easier form for them.

Lexical cohesion, probably because of its explicitness is more important in

linking than any other type of cohesion. Reading a fragment where names like 'Nairobi' and 'Mombasa' have been repeated and this gives an impression that the fragment is connected. It is also true that when one reads a fragment where lexical items relate as hyponyms, antonyms or collectively one is bound to know this is one fragment. This is one way we get to know that a given text is legal language or religious language. The vocabulary exemplifies a register or a piece of a discourse as one (Davy and Crystal 1969).

Let us consider our earlier examples in Kirima's speech where we said the words '*serikali*' 'government' and '*kura*' 'vote' are repeated across a number of paratones. One knows he is reading one coherent novel as he continues to read names like 'Obierika' and 'Okonkwo' in Things Fall Apart by Achebe. A look at Jahazi's data shows similar lexical recurrence with the cohesive power? Lexical words like 'Odongo', 'Carlo', 'opposition', '*balazi*', e.t.c are repeated. One can argue that the speech is about one entity. The lexical cohesion therefore helps to put certain fragments together.

It is important to know that the repetition may be centred on some topic entity like 'Odongo' in the case of Jahazi's speech and the word 'Kenya' in Nassir's speech. This links together sentences. Once a speaker repeats a name, it is one way of showing that he is still talking about the same topic or issue.

Words that enter into a collocative relationship like repeated forms also cause clauses to hang together. The speech by Jahazi provides an excellent example of

items like; *'waislamu'*, *'Ramadhani'*, ('fasting' month) *'tukajwaliwa'*, 'we were blessed' *'Mwenyezi Mungu'*, 'God' *'sita'* 'six days of fasting' All these are words that collocate. They make the initial paratone in Jahazi's speech hang together as one and related.

In conclusion, one can therefore observe that in spite of giving a provision for clarity, ease of production, lexical cohesion is important for threading pieces, fragments, and clauses together. A listener is capable of following a text as one.

It is important to also observe that lexical cohesion becomes an important signaller of topic change. When a speaker is dealing with topic X, then, the lexical pattern tends to lead in some direction. When he changes to yet another topic, the lexical pattern also changes to yet another direction. This is best exemplified by topic movements in Jahazi's speech. When he talks on *Ramadhan* (fasting month), the lexical patterning is of a different kind when he talks about matters of the opposition or when he congratulates the Chairman, Nassir, for calling the meeting. In a sense, lexical cohesion becomes the surface signaller and indicator of topic fragments. However, it has to be noted that some words like *'kura'* 'vote' in the case of Kirima's speech may traverse even topic fragments.

5.3 Conjunction

Apart from reference and lexical cohesion, conjunction is the other most important type of cohesion in political rally speeches in Kenya. This is a type of

cohesion which presupposes that something has gone before or will appear in a text because of the presence of conjunctive elements. In this section, we consider four types of conjunctive elements. First, are the additive; second, are the adversative, third, are the temporal and fourth, the causal conjunctive elements. We shall go over each speech in turn.

When we consider the speech by Jahazi, we find the type of cohesion known as conjunction registering (39) cases. Out of these cases, (13) are additives, (10) are adversatives (7) are temporal and (9) causal elements.

Nassir's speech has a much lower count of conjunctive type of cohesion. Out of the (21) cases of conjunction, (6) are additive (8) adversative, (1) temporal and (6) causal elements.

The speeches recorded in Nairobi show a more or else similar inclination. In Kirima's speech where we have a total of (19) cases (7) are additives, (4) adversatives, (1) temporal and (7) casual. Then, finally, in Kimondo's speech, we have (18) cases. Out of these cases, (6) are additives (4) adversatives, no temporal case and (8) causal cases.

A look at the data indicates a low score for the temporal type of cohesion. This is because all the four speeches are replete with temporal cases. However, they do not perform cohesive function, rather, they perform deictic functions. The temporal cases can only be understood in the context of situation where the speech is occurring with the help of contextual cues or background information.

In Nassir's speech we see the following example:

(15) *Leo ni siku ya Moi day'.*

Today is Moi day.

Although the word 'today' is a temporal element, it does not serve cohesive functions because it does not refer to the text. For that reason, it only serves deictic functions by pointing to the day of the occasion, and can only be understood by referring to evidence beyond the linguistic text. We also see another example in Kirima's speech when he says:

(16) *Lakini leo leo,...*

But today today....

If this item were referring to something in the prior text or in the latter text, then, we could say it serves to cohere the text i.e. to interpret something in the text requires that you refer to it, Only then, would it be serving cohesive functions. It is not an antecedent nor is it a coreferential item.

In the speech by Jahazi, we see a good example of a temporal element that is cohesive. He says;

(17) *Sasa madai haya si ya Kenya tu...*

Now these claims are not just unique to Kenya...

Although this element '*sasa*' 'now' may seem non-cohesive in fact it is cohesive. Jahazi uses it to refer to the evidence he has adduced in the earlier text of criminals elsewhere being recalled for trial. In understanding this element one has to look back. This means when you read it, it beckons you to understanding what has been said prior to it. It succeeds in linking the latter parts to the present parts for coherent discourse. Conjunction cohesion by additives seems a very crucial type of cohesion to a political speaker. In many cases, we find politicians employing it.

In Nassir's speech, it has a high count closer to the sub-type we call causatives and logical cohesion. It is important to find out why. Additives seem an important way of developing a point further more especially on the same vantage

position. As the additives are employed, they help the reader or listener to appreciate what has gone before. As a matter of fact, to appreciate what is added one is prompted to know to what it is being added. Let us consider some examples:

(18) *Na ikiwa ni kweli, baina mimi na President aweza kuniita
naam Nassir.*

And if it be true, the President may summon me
Nassir. Come here my brother.

The additive 'na', 'and' links this clause to the earlier information where Nassir is challenging the people who say that President Moi does not like him. He is challenging them by using rhetorical questions. Now he finds it adequate to add further information on what he has said. This is when he uses the conjunctive as a signaller that the information is merely additive to the foregone information. One can see that the information lends further support to the idea that President Moi does not hate Nassir as such because there are times when he (the President) could summon Nassir for a chat, meaning that they are friends.

In Jahazi's speech, we observe the following example:

(19) *Lakini nataka kumpongeza sana bwana Chairman kwa
kuandaa mkutano huu na vile vile kwa speech yake.... Pia*

*akadondoa shida ambazo zinatukabili katika eneo letu la
mji na jimbo la Pwani.*

But I want to congratulate the Chairman so much for organizing this meeting and also for his speech... Also, he has explained the problems that beset us in our city and the Coast Province.

In the above quotation, the conjunctive is cohesive since it refers to the information that precedes it. As one listens to Jahazi's speech, it is possible to understand the information which is in the clause whose initial is *'pia'*, 'also' is additive to the earlier information. It is not possible to treat the clause that begins with *'pia'* as an opening clause of a discourse. It has to be treated as a clause building on the earlier information.

Additive information helps to build ideas. Like in this case, Jahazi is able to build information from one idea to another using this type of cohesion so long as the ideas are related. The same is true of the additives that are appearing in other speeches by Kimondo, Kirima and Nassir. The additives are of many kinds e.g. *'pia'*, 'also', *'tena'* again *'na'*, 'and' *'tatu'*, 'three' to mention a few.

Apart from additives, the other type of cohesion that is significant in political rally speeches is the causative. This type of cohesion unlike the additives shows the logical relationship between clauses. Let us look at the following examples:

(20) *Kwa hivyo wale M.P. [Member of parliament] mlichagua hakuna... eeh say.*

(Parenthesis our own)

Therefore the MPs you elected eh... did not have a voice.

In this example there is the logical marker, '*kwa hivyo*', 'therefore'. Kirima is using the causative element to tie this clause to his earlier remarks where he says that problems have been in Nairobi City. Himself (Kirima), though not already a member of parliament, is already trying to tackle the situation. For that reason, he refers to the earlier clauses and ties them with the present one by using the element '*Kwa hivyo*'. 'therefore'. The logical relationship is such that there are problems in Nairobi and these problems follow from lack of good and adequate representation in parliament.

In Kimondo's speech, we find another example:

(21) *Kwa hivyo kuchukua hiyo licence mtu asichukue kama ni Kimondo.*

Therefore nobody should think it is Kimondo's initiative to take the licence.

Kimondo is alluding to a situation where he was sent by the KANU organising group to get a permit for the meeting. From what he speaks, it seems some people think he did it out of his own initiative. However, he says he was sent to get the permit.

In the oral rally speeches, it seems politicians have to defend their ideas. Because of this situation this logical conjunction is handy to them in that it gives them a way of tying earlier elements with the latter. There is a sense in which politicians want to show that whatever they are presenting has some causal relationship. This is a good tool for the defence of what they do and say to people. The politicians struggle to show that what they do is logical. One more example from Jahazi is in order:

(22) *Kwa hivyo sisi ni lazima tusikae tu hivi hivi.*

Therefore we must not just sit without being on the alert.

In this example, Jahazi uses the logical conjunctive to refer to the remarks he has made earlier about the opposition, in which he has said there is nobody among the oppositionists who can rule Kenya or do anything significant. It is from this position he says since the opposition is incapable of anything and yet it is fighting to have power, logically the KANU people need to fight it if peace is to be maintained.

Adversatives, like additives and causatives, are also very important in oral rally speeches in Kenya. It seems they, unlike the additives which are used to add information from the same point of view, show a logical relationship and mark a point of divergence. In the oral speeches, they play a crucial role of showing topic shift. Let us see some examples below. Kirima says:

(23) *Mimi sitaki kushambulia mtu.*
Lakini ukipinduka hapa kidogo, . . .

I would not like to attack anybody.

But if you turn across there, . . .

Kirima is expressing two situations which are incompatible. On one hand, he says he does not wish to attack somebody; yet on the other hand he has to attack somebody. Adversatives are important in piecing together this contradictory views of a speaker. When the conjunction is used to introduce a clause, listeners expect information that is not compatible with the earlier information. Remember complete incompatibility of information cannot hold together in one speech.

In Nassir's speech, we see another example:

(24) *Wale watoto wetu wasiokirwa na kazi wapate kujisaidia na kazi. Lakini msinipinge mimi siendi kwa mtu ye yote kupitia kwa Bwana Moi*

These children [youth] who do not have work will get work to do. But do not oppose me. I do not go to anybody via Moi.

In this example, Nassir is presenting the idea of developing the KANU office in Majengo for training of intermediary skills. However, he says he does not entertain opposition. This is why he uses the adversative 'lakini', 'but', to indicate he is saying something not in line with the developmental projects he has been talking about.

In Jahazi's speech, we find a case where adversatives, because of their role of point in view, are used to begin new topics. For example;

(25) *Lakini kama wasemavyo wazee wa tangu hapo kale kwamba umoja ni nguvu na kutengana ni udhaifu....*

But like the old wise men of long ago have said unity is strength and separation is weakness...

The adversative '*lakini*', 'but', is the initial of a new topic different from the earlier one that has gone before.

In conclusion, conjunction is a very crucial type of cohesion especially for tying clauses together into one whole. Just like reference and repetition, it pieces together patches and patches of texts. Halliday and Hasan (1976), have argued that conjunction is not cohesion *per se* the way reference is. This is because reference is more direct in copying semantic attributes of a certain item. However, conjunction only indirectly, signals that something has gone before or is being expected and it is a central type of cohesion in creating a cohesive textual world.

5.4 Substitution

Substitution is a form of reference where an item is replaced by a proform. This can either be a proverb or even an item referring to a longer element like a clause. We have already seen that lexical cohesion is a much preferred type of cohesion because it ensures clarity of political rally speeches in Kenya. Reference cohesion too is much favoured because of economical reasons. It is easier to refer to a long noun phrase by reference than having to produce the whole of the noun phrase. Conjunction is also a much likeable type of cohesion because it facilitates logical reasoning and build-up of information. In Jahazi's speech we have a total of (10) cases of substitution. Out of these (9) cases are for clausal substitution, (1) case for verbal substitution and nil for nominal substitution. In Kirima's speech, there was no case of substitution recorded. In

Kimondo's speech like Kirima, there was no case of substitution recorded. Lastly, in the speech by Nassir, there was one case of clausal substitution. Substitution has a low count of cohesion compared to ellipsis. Njue (1989:64) points out that substitutional forms are rare in Swahili oral narratives. He argues that the narrators prefer lexical cohesion. Due to Jahazi's personal style, we get to record a number of cohesive strategies that are substitutional in nature. Let us look at some of the examples from Jahazi's data.

(26) *Mwisho, watu walisikilizana. Au siyo?*

In the end, the people agreed. Or is it not so?

The case of substitutional cohesion affects the tie 'siyo' 'not so' and the earlier clause. In Swahili, this expression is a fixed one. It is not sensitive to the prior clause like in English language. In English, the case is different because the question tag is sensitive to the initial clause. Let us look at the following example.

(27) John is a robber, is he not?

Peter is not good, is he?

In English, the question tag which in most cases is not treated as a separate entity is sensitive to the prior information. It changes with whether the earlier sentence refers to a person or just an object. It also changes depending on whether the sentence is positive or whether the sentence is negative. Normally, it operates in

opposite polarity. If the sentence is negative then, the question tag is positive and vice versa. However, the case is different in Swahili where the expression is fixed occurring either as *'siyo'* for some dialects and *'siyo'* for the standard dialect.

It is also important to mention that in Swahili sometimes the expression occurs as a tag. When it does, then, there is no use of *'au'*. *'Au'* with some pausing makes the element an independent expression and in which case we treat the cohesion involved as non-sentential. Note that the expression is a contraction of the form:

'Au si hiyo' - Au siyo

The *'hi'* is deleted from the expression as a result of the morphological rule of contraction in Swahili language (Polome 1967).

In the example above, *'siyo'* refers back to *'mwisho watu walisikilizana'* 'at last people agreed with one another'. It refers back to it by repeating the information by using a proform. *'Siyo'* cannot be said to be a reference item in the sense of the reference we saw earlier. It is a fixed expression which is used as a substitute for the longer form.

Another example from Jahazi is;

- (28) *Carlo alishtakiwa Paris kwa kuwa gaidi wa dunia nzima.*
Au siyo?

Carlos was accused in paris for being a world criminal.

Or is it not so?

Again, like in the earlier example, *'siyo'* is a contraction of *'si hiyo'* plus the negative form. *Siyo* as we have seen substitutes the prior information i.e. *'Carlo alishtakiwa Paris kwa kuwa gaidi wa dunia nzima'*. The question tag is highly strategic since it is not seeking any information from the audience but it requests the audience to confirm the already said information.

In most cases, the information is confirmed in favour of the speaker. Like in this case, the information is confirmed in favour of what Jahazi says.

In Nassir's speech, we have the following example of substitution:

- (29) *Nyinyi watu mwakubali nyinyi*
Aud.: *Ndiyo hivyo!!*

You people do you agree?

Aud.: Yes, it is so!!

The element 'hivyo' replaces what has gone before that the Coast people should have the President and the government doing for them what he does for others. As we can see, it becomes a quicker way of repeating the same information in some different way.

From the data we have examined, it is evident that substitution is not a much preferred type of cohesion. There could be a number of reasons. One, types of cohesion operate in some trade-off fashion. A speaker may prefer lexical cohesion which we have seen has the highest count in the corpus we are examining over the rest. However, considering that a speaker needs to be clearer and clearer we can account for lexical cohesion's higher count. It is also important to note that like the sub-type of reference cohesion, demonstrative, substitution is so much context dependent. Many cases of substitution refer the reader in the context of situation rather than linguistic context.

5.5 Ellipsis

We have already said, in the introduction, that in principle substitution and ellipsis are the same types of cohesion. They are about the same principle of replacement. The only difference between these two types of cohesion being, whereas substitution is about replacement by structural words known as proforms, ellipsis is about replacement by a zero. The data we have, has demonstrated that political speakers favour ellipsis over substitution. Let us view some of the counts we have from various speakers.

Nassir's speech had (6) cases of ellipsis, out of these, (3) were clausal ellipsis and (3) cases of nominal and nil for verbal ellipsis. Jahazi who had a longer speech than his Mombasa counter part, Nassir had (32) cases of ellipsis in all. Of this (17) were cases of clausal ellipsis, (2) nominal ellipsis and (13) verbal ellipsis. Kirima had (20) cases of elliptical operations - (13) cases for clausal ellipsis; (2) for nominal and (5) for verbal ellipsis. Kimondo, unlike Kirima, had few cases of ellipsis mainly because of the length of his speech and style. He had (5) cases in all. The (0) of the cases were for clausal ellipsis, (3) nominal and (2) for verbal ellipsis.

Let us examine some of the cases we have from Jahazi's speech:

(30) *Tusii...sii hawana cha kuwapa. Mwisho watu
walisikizana. Au siyo?*

Aud: *Ndiyo!!*

Let us not, they had nothing to give. Finally people
agreed with one another. Or was it not so?

Aud: Yes!!

In the above example, Jahazi asks the audience to confirm some information and it replies by saying 'yes'. To understand fully what the audience means by their reply, one has to refer to an earlier text to know what has gone before, otherwise

a fuller reply would have been:

Aud: *Ndiyo, mwisho watu walisikizana*

Aud: Yes, finally people agreed with one another.

The rest of the sentence is deleted out of the reply because the information can be read from the prior text. Let us look at another interesting example from Jahazi's speech. In some other dialogue, he says:

(31) *Naani unaamini Kenya apewe?*

Aud: *Hakuna!!*

Who do you believe should be given Kenya?

Aud: None!!

In the example above, like in the earlier case, it is not possible to grammatically understand the reply by the audience since the reply is only elliptically related to the earlier utterance. The full information is:

Hakuna mtu ambaye tunaamini Kenya apewe

This clause is understood by referring to the preceding text.

In Nassir's speech, we have the following cases of clausal ellipsis:

(32) *Tutakupa pesa zako na tuwaregeshee mashamba
wale walioko pale pale.*

Aud.: *Ndiyo, ndiyo!!*

We shall give you your money and return land to people
of the place.

The reply by the audience can only be understood as being elliptical. This is so because some information has been cut out which would make a decontextualised utterance understood. In this case, the audience can be understood as saying,

Aud.: *Ndiyo, Ndiyo, tutakupa pesa zako na tuwaregeshee
mashamba wale walioko pale.*

Aud: Yes!!! We shall give
you your money and
return land to the
people of that place.

This would be a full sentence showing or indicating agreement. In most cases, the people listening to the audience, in this case for example Nassir understands

this by filling the empty slot with filler information in the prior discourse.
(Levinson 1983)

Why then is this elliptical form a much favoured type of style in discourse? It seems to us that the discourse moves with a high tempo. For that matter, shorter forms like these are much favoured than fuller utterances like we have shown above with full information or even having to replace the slot with a substitute. This style provides economy not just for Jahazi and Nassir but even for speakers like Kimondo and Kirima. This position agrees with Dressler (1985:80) who argues that elliptical styles are not only economical in production but also respect the needs of receiver by being quantity significant.

According to this argument, the quantity of information is such that the receiver can process it with ease. If we agree with the ease with which one processes a reference form then, the elliptical form is even easier to process.

We must remember in the political speeches we are analysing, the speech makers have the role to speak. The audience only interferes in to confirm, agree, disagree or cheer the information the speaker is giving. In this case, the floor holding rules of the political speech are such that anybody who interrupts does it using very economical styles hence ellipsis in dialogue.

Other types of ellipsis discernible as we have shown are nominal and verbal. Let

us examine some examples from Kimondo and Kirima. Kirima says:

(33) *Si mnaona? Je, huyu ni ungwana?*

Aud.: *Si ungwana!!*

Huyu ni ungwana?

Aud.: *Si ungwana !!*(Sec. 2.2 example, 16 where the same material is partly used).

You see. Is this gentlemanly behaviour?

Aud: It is not gentlemanly behaviour!!

Is this gentlemanly behaviour?

Aud: It is not gentlemanly behaviour!!

In this excerpt, Kirima asks the audience to confirm the information. The audience does confirm it two times with the required tempo so that they do not interrupt the main speaker too much.

The tempo, like in the earlier cases we have seen, demands brief forms. Now in this case- the noun is deleted. A fuller response from the audience is supposed to have a demonstrative that acts like a noun.

(34) *(Huyu) si ungwana.*

This is not gentlemanly behaviour.

However, for reasons of speed, the audience retorts to the question by producing the verb phrase. This is a verb phrase of a copula verb in the negative form. In Kimondo's speech, we have an interesting example of nominal ellipsis:

(35) *Viti ni nyingi ya KANU. Sijui ni mia mbili, ni mia mne.*

KANU seats are many. I do not know whether they are two
- hundred, or they are four hundred.

In the example above from Kimondo's speech, there are two cases of nominal ellipsis. The word left out is 'viti' 'seats'. A normal grammatical sentence should have read:

Sijui ni viti mia mbili, ni viti mia mne.

Such a clause can be understood out of context. The clause in the corpus data can be understood because of the earlier 'viti' to which reference can be made by the presence of the zero element.

The following are examples of verbal ellipsis. Kimondo says:

(36) *Muliona nikiwachia Kirima*

Hamukuona?

You saw me leave for Kirima

Did you see?

[You saw me step down for Kirima. Did you not see?]

In this example, the verb phrase is omitted. A fuller expression should have read:

Muliona nikiwachia Kirima

Hamukuona [nikiwachia Kirima]

The verb phrase in brackets is omitted and its understanding is only possible if one referred to the prior text.

(37) *Naani unaamini Kenya apewe*

Aud.: *Hakuna!!*

Kuendesha nchi hii

Who do you believe should be given Kenya?

Aud.: There is none!!

To run this Country.

In this example, the missing element is the verb phrase *'anayeweza kuendesha nchi hii'*. This element is verbal that marks the noun with a morphological element *'a-'*. Its understating can only be possible with reference to the text

above.

One would realise that apart from economy, elliptical cohesion, clausal, verbal and nominal serve an important function of avoiding repetition. We have seen in earlier cases of reference and substitution where repetition is avoided by putting a semantically empty word. In this case, repetition is a zero replacement. The presence of the gap shows where something should have been if the sentence was complete. We must say that we saw repetition serving very crucial functions of clarity and emphasis, however it can create monotony which may serve to distance the speaker and the audience. It is only true that if a listener can follow an empty gap, that is indicative of the fact he is following whatever else has gone before in the text.

Another important function of the gaps we have seen is chaining. Let us refer to our earlier example again from Kimondo's speech:

Viti ni nyingi ya KANU. Sijui ni mia mbili, ni mia nne.

In this example, the second clause has the word 'viti' 'seats' omitted twice and hence being responsible for cohesion. The understanding of what the second clause refers to compels some back reference. In this case, one cannot see these two as a mere collection of sentences but as sentences which depend on one another. This chains them into some discourse that can be given a common reading.

There is an important point regarding elliptical cohesion we wish to raise now. We have argued above that cohesion only occurs when we have explicit markers like *'moyo'* or a repeated item like *'kura'* 'vote'. However, if there is no such explicit marker one can not claim the existence of cohesion. If we agree with that position, how justified are we to claim the existence of cohesion of the elliptical nature since it does not have an explicit marker.

We shall argue that ellipsis is a type of cohesion because something can be seen to be missing in the structural configuration. Let us consider one more example:

(38) *Wakati ule iko meya na mimi iko deputy wako unakwisha
ona takataka kama hii?*

Aud.: *Hapana!!*

The time you were mayor and I was your deputy did you
ever see this kind of garbage?

Aud: No!!

In the example above we can correctly argue that there is cohesion because of the linguistic elements. However, in a case of coherence one requires further conventional information for its interpretation. For example.

(39) Juma: Answer the phone

Mary: I'm in the bath

The relationship is not necessarily structural but borne out of situational context and conventional behaviour.

KIRIMA - NAIROBI

Collection Count

{PRIVAT E } ps 1.R33	dm R3	c R0			36
Hyp 2.L0	Syn L2	Rep L133	C1 L4	Any L0	139
C1 3.E13	Nm E2		Vb E5		20
C1 4.S0	Nm S0		Vb S0		0
Add 5.C7	Adv C4		Tm C1	Cs C7	19

Table 2

KIMONDO- NAIROBI

Cohesion Count

(PRIVAT E } ps 1.R40	dm R1	c R0			41
Hyp 2.L0	Syn L1	RP L58	cl L11	Any L1	71
cl 3. E0	NM E3	vb E2			5
cl 4.S0	NM S0	vb S0			0
Add 5.C6	Adv C4	Tm C0		cl C8	18

Table 3

NASSIR- MOMBASA

Cohesion Count

{PRIVAT E } ps 1.R101	dm R1	c R0			102
Hyp 2.L0	Syn L3	Rep L119	C1 L10	Any L1	133
cl 3. E3	Nm E3	vb E0			6
cl 4. S1	Nm S0	vb S0			1
Add 5. C6	Adv C8	Tm C1	cs C6		21

Table 4

JAHAZI - MOMBASA

Cohesion Count

{PRIVAT E } ps 1. R136	dm R4	c R0			140
Hyp 2. L2	Syn L2	Rep L135	cl L21	Any L0	158
cl 3. E17	Nm E2	Vb E13			32
cl 4. S9	Nm S0	Vb S1			10
Add 5.C13	Adv C10	Tm C7		Cs C9	39

CHAPTER SIX

6.0 Conclusion and Summary

We set out to test five hypotheses in this thesis. The hypotheses were:

That the organisation and pragmatic meaning of Swahili political speeches in Kenya can be analysed by using an eclectic approach to discourse analysis.

That topic is the strongest coherence principle of the Swahili political speeches.

That cohesion is the surface manifestation of semantic relationships that point to deeper coherence in Swahili political speeches.

That meaning in Swahili political rally speeches is often implied.

That code-switching is a concomitant feature of Kenyan political rally speeches.

This study was therefore based on four speeches collected in the two cities of Kenya, Nairobi and Mombasa. It made use of a small quantity of corpus data because of the qualitative approach applied. The main aim was to make an intensive analysis of each speech we selected. This study has sufficiently accessed a fairly large amount of speeches in four Kenyan districts; Kisumu, Kakamega, Nairobi and Mombasa by participant observation and finally we

decided to focus on the two said major cities. This was done purposely and intentionally because the aspects we were studying like metaphor, rhetorical questions, problems of connectivity were fairly represented in most speeches accessed.

We focused on three main problems of discourse. Firstly, is the problem of connectivity by using cohesive means; secondly, the problem of pragmatic meaning and lastly, the problem of topic coherence.

Meaning in-political speeches in Kenya is often implied. A number of strategies seem to be common to this discourse type.

The metaphor like we saw in chapter two seems a popular means of expressing meaning. Since it overshadows the surface meaning it offers the speech makers the double-edge through which they can make denials. This is because whatever they mean can only be interpreted and can therefore be denied if need be. This same observation goes too for the rhetorical questions. It is a way of implying something without necessarily saying it. In other words, it is a way of letting the audience speak for itself. Again, if need be, the politicians can effectively deny it by saying they did not say it. Most importantly these two devices are an important instrument of reaching the moods, dispositions and feelings of a charged audience at a mass rally in Kenya.. Failure to use metaphorical expressions and rhetorical questions would turn a political rally into a lukewarm event.

In chapter three, we focused on seven elements. The elements were; code-switching, honorifics, truth, narratives, dialogue humour and politeness. These elements are important in generating implicature, in Swahili speeches.

Dialogue as a structural feature, among other things, plays the important role of retaining the interest of the audience by letting it take part either through audience or speaker generated dialogue. In a number of cases it is used as a face-saving strategy. Even more important it provides an excellent means for the speaker monitoring the feelings, actions, and reactions of his audience regarding himself as a political personality, his ideas and the popularity of his party. The politician may focus questions on certain subjects. He may ask his audience to confirm some truths or make some denials. Although in some cases the dialogue responses may not reflect the actual feelings of the people.

Politeness as a feature is important to political discourse. The Politicians need to extend their politeness not just to the second party but to the third party as well. The politeness strategy is a means by which the politician gets both mass support and government support.

Narratives as an aspect of political speeches pose a problem since they seem like a serious infringement on the quantity maxim. However, narratives are used as

a base for implicatures. In most cases, they provide authentic support as to why something is being done the way it is being done. A feature which is certainly a borrowing of the African story-telling sessions lends support to the politician. The politician cites international stories, like in the case of Jahazi and Nassir to justify Kenya's position.

Another interesting feature of political rhetoric are the honorific expressions like 'bibi', 'lady', and 'bwana', 'gentleman' 'mhesimiwa', 'mtukufu', 'honourable' and 'mzee'. 'old man'. They have been treated separately because they constitute a special case of politeness. In Kenyan rally speeches, the president is referred to by all sorts of honorifics. Other important people in the political and administrative establishment are referred to as well by honorific terms. The honorific terms are a strategy of establishing a polite working relationship with those in power and the masses and also creating of a harmonious relationship between those in power.

Truth in politics is measured in this thesis by the degree by which a speaker is regulated by the quality maxim of the co-operative principle. Politicians often infringe on this maxim either by using special devices like metaphor or by being flatly wrong. The facts of life are generally eclipsed most of the time. The truth is twisted by either being given a broader or a stricter view. Rather than the politician being dismissed as merely a liar, it is important to consider what he implies. In most cases, the politician is ever twisting the political landscape by

saying not what 'was' or 'is' but what 'should be'.

The politician generates strange vantage points and parameters of seeing reality and hence truth. A case in point to which we have referred in the thesis is when Kimondo is saying Kenya has no tribes. This is a lie if one were to try and understand the propositional meaning of the utterance. However, as an implicature it insists on unity and reinforces that if there is a tribe at all, it is one, and that is Kenya itself.

Jokes are also a common feature of this discourse. They help to tone down an otherwise tense situation. In some cases they provide a channel through which serious matters are said to amuse the audience without much bigger implication meant or annoyance intended.

Code-switching is a prevalent feature. In the data we analysed only intra-clausal code-switching was reported. This device, when used, implies group solidarity on one hand and self-elevation on the other. However, it has to be used to a minimal scale. Only in the sentence can it be used so that a speaker does not seem to be elitist and therefore losing touch with the mostly illiterate or semi-illiterate masses. Swahili language is a symbol of cultural unity. It is a mobilising language which politicians use to forge unity on an issue. On the other hand English is elitist. It symbolises class and good education. The audience is happy when their leader has some of it, otherwise, too much use of it can also, during mass rallies cause resentment.

The co-operative principle is a fitting approach in accounting for why political speakers are indirect as they address political rallies. However, it misses the politeness maxim which has to be its constituent maxim. Grice (1975) used the politeness maxim only as a parasitic sub-maxim of explaining why in some cases the quantity maxim is flouted, for instance. However, we suppose it is a full fledged maxim and we propose it as so. The co-operative principle would then have, quantity, quality, manner, relevance and politeness maxim as complete rhetoric. -

The last analytic chapter of this thesis focused on cohesion. Five main types of cohesion in Swahili political speeches were studied. These elements are, reference, ellipsis, substitution, lexical, and conjunction.

It was clear that oral speeches, because of the high dependency on the context of situation, had only some reasonable level of cohesion (See Tables). Most demonstratives referred to place *'hapa'*, 'here' *'hapo'* 'there' and persons *'muyo'*, 'that' *'muyu'* 'this'. The demonstratives were used to perform deictic functions rather than cohesive functions. On the whole, the speeches can be said to have exhibited both endophoric and exophoric references - only the former is cohesive.

Political speeches favour lexical cohesion especially the specific type of repetition. This concurs with Njue (1989) and Abadiano (1995) who found a

high count of repetition in Swahili stories and expository essays of Afro-American children respectively. This would therefore mean this type of cohesion cuts across a number of discourse genres. Conjunction type of cohesion which is third in count was used in joining clauses. The additive type and the adversative are fairly frequent as compared to the temporal type of cohesion.

Ellipsis is common in dialogue. However, substitution is rare as a type of cohesion. The reference type of cohesion which is second to lexical cohesion in count is frequent. However, only the sub-type of personal reference is highest in count. This cohesion repeats long structures in an economical way. Demonstratives, like we have mentioned earlier on, refer a lot more to the context of situation rather than to the linguistic context. Cohesion hangs together sentences, fragments and even the whole speech as a continuous discourse. The reference type of cohesion which has proved to be long range is important in connecting the entire speech.

Although in this study we did not look at the Swahili sentential cohesion, it appears, the Swahili sentence, because of the subject and object markers, is heavily cohesed than say an English sentence. This sentential cohesion affects larger texts which are dependent on it.

When one is listening to a political speech, it is possible to tell that he is still listening to the same speech because of the threading and chaining capacities of cohesion. Cohesion serves the important function of relating semantic meaning and lexico-syntactic structures in a more economical and clear way. Cohesion as a relationship is only present when there is a surface element. Even when the element is a zero, it has to be structurally felt. Otherwise, the relationship will be one of coherence.

Coherence is what a listener brings to a text- by virtue of some culture, practice or tradition. Coherence is a much subtle relationship than cohesion. Although there are many types of coherence, we focused on one type known as topic coherence. This is the type of coherence where a set of sentences come to be seen as related because they are contributing to one topic. The notion of topic can be used therefore to account for why some sentences are about one central issue. The utterances are seen as a composite of elements constituting what a speaker is talking about. In a special way, the notion of topic accounts both for global and local coherence. The topic shift markers which range from contrastives like '*lakini*' to announcements of what the speaker would like to speak about help to thread-up a whole discourse of a speech as one continuous discourse. Apart from cohesion which is normally an overt relationship tying-up elements of a text through lexical, pronominal or elliptical strategies, topic coherence also makes chunks and fragments hang together. The notion of topic

as applied here constitutes a rejection of topic being used to mean a phrase or a mere title.

On the contrary, it is a composite entity with elements contributing in some way as cogs in a complex machine. The elements have to be themselves relevant to the topic framework which they contribute to.

The notion of topic framework has been used successfully to analyse conversational data. It also can be used to analyse speeches where there is one dominant speaker. The idea of speaker topic and speaking topically applies differently. In conversation, speaking topically means contributing on the same topic like speaking on a Tuesday accident. Each speaker has to speak on the Tuesday accident. Speaker topic means one speaker may speak on the Tuesday accident and another on the Thursday accident. However, the two topics have to be relevant to the topic framework, among other things speaking on an accident and not sex, for instance. In political discourse, speaker topic refers to a speaker's own topic like Jahazi's *Ramadhan* 'Muslim fasting month' is a title of his own topic or Kimondo's permit topic, etc. Speaking topically here means contributing to the topic whose title or heading was assigned before hand. In most cases politicians like generating topics of their own besides those whose titles have been assigned before hand.

Our data was collected in Mombasa and Nairobi. The aim of accessing speeches from Mombasa was to find out how the native and near native speakers made speeches compared to non-native speakers. In this research it is apparent that Mombasa speakers tended to have a higher linguistic competence, with a fresh use of metaphors. However, all the speakers both from Nairobi and Mombasa demonstrated a mastery of a linguistic communicative competence repertoire since they knew how to reach their audience with the strategies like metaphor, rhetorical question, good topic coherence, etc.

One of the problems of discourse today like we have pointed out before, is one of a fitting theory. There is not a one body of tenets that can analyse and interpret discourse phenomena. In this thesis we have used an eclectic approach. Three theories have been used to account for disparate aspects of discourse. The three approaches work in a fitting sense in analysing surface and underlying connectivity and the problems of pragmatic meaning.

This study had five hypotheses. The first hypothesis has been positively tested by showing that discursal organisation and aspects of pragmatic meaning can be analysed by an eclectic approach. We had the eclectic approach constituting of cohesion approach, topic framework approach, and implicature theory.

The study has also tested the hypothesis regarding cohesion positively by showing that cohesion is a surface feature pointing to underlying organisation.

The study has also tested the fifth hypothesis positively showing that rally speeches in Kenya are characterised with code switching.

The study has also revealed that meaning is largely implied. A number of strategies like narratives etc. are responsible for the implicatures.

Finally, the study has demonstrated that topic is by and large the strongest coherence principle, being used by speakers to achieve relevance and by the audience to interpret what is relevant and what is not relevant.

6.1 Suggestions And Recommendations For Further Research

This is a pioneer study in the analysis of Swahili political discourse data in Kenya. It emphasised, as much as possible, the use of concrete field data. We have made available these field data on audio—visual cassettes collected for the reference of future researchers in this area of discourse. Such an emphasis on field data is consonant with modern approaches and methods of discourse analysis. It has to be pointed out that getting concrete data for analysis is a challenging attempt because the researcher has to lie in wait until an event relevant to his research is being conducted to access the data. Sometimes the

problems of security, finance may hinder the collection of such data.

As we indicated in our literature review, very little effort has gone into studying different genres of Swahili discourse. More specifically not enough literature has been built on the genre of politics and the sub-genre of rally speeches. Our study was merely laying ground for such a research in Kenya. This has been evidenced by the broad based approach we took in the six chapters.

For future research, we suggest a more narrow and more focused study. Three main problems on which more light needs to be shed and which this study could not attempt are, kinesics, acquisition of language and prosody. A study is necessary to underpin the nature and role of gestures, head movements, hand movements and other body signals in contributing to pragmatic meaning and general discourse. Important too, is a study on the nature of prosodic elements like intonation, stress, tempo and duration. It is possible that in oral media these elements play a key role in modulating meaning. The problem that also behoves us to shed more light on is how, given the difference in the cultural set-ups in Kenya, children come to acquire the communicative competence of managing various discourse genres.

REFERENCES

- Abadiano, H.R.(1995). ' Cohesion Strategies and genre in Expository Prose: An analysis of the Writing of Children of Ethnolinguistic Cultural groups'. In M. Morgan et al (eds) **PRAGMATICS Vol. 5, No.3.** pp.299-323.
- Abdulaziz, M.H. (1971). 'Tanzania's National Language Policy and the Rise of Swahili Political Culture'. In W.H. Whiteley and D. Forde,(eds). **Language Use and Social Change: Problems of Multi-Lingualism with Special Reference to Eastern Africa.** London: O.U.P.
- Abdulaziz, M.H. and Osinde, K.N. (1997). **Sheng and English: Development of Mixed Codes among Urban Youth in Kenya.** In M.H. Abdulaziz (ed.) **International Journal of the Sociology of Language.** Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Achebe, C. (1958). **Things Fall Apart.** London: Heinemann
- Adewole, S.M. (1986). 'A syntactic Basis for Noun Classification in Kiswahili. In M. Mulokozi et al (eds). **Journal of Institute of Kiswahili Research.** University of Dar-es-Salaam. Vol. 53/1 & 53/2, pp. 37-49.
- Allan, K. (1986). **Linguistic Meaning Vol2** New York: Routledge.
- Armah, A. (1969). **The Beautiful Ones Are Not Yet Born.** Nairobi: Heinemann.
- Ashton, E. (1947). **Swahili Grammar Including Intonation.** London: Longman.
- Austin, J.L. 1962). **How to do Things with Words.** Caredon: O.U.P.

- Bakari, M. (1982). **The Morphophonology of the Kenyan Swahili Dialects.** Published Ph.D. Thesis. University of Nairobi.
- Bakhtin, M. M. (1990). **Art and Answerability: Early Philosophical Essays.** (Ed). Austin: University of Texas.
- _____/Volosinov, V. N. (1973). **Marxism and the Philosophy of Language.** Trans by Ladislav Matejka and I. R. Titunik. Cambridge, M. A.: Harvard University Press.
- _____(1981). **The Dialogic Imagination.** The University of Texas Press.
- _____(1984). **Problems of Dostoevsky's Poetics.** Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- _____(1984). **Rabelais and His World.** Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- _____(1986). **Speech Genres and Other Essays: Late Essays** Austin: University of Texas Press.
- Bates, E. (1976). **Language and Context: The Acquisition of Pragmatics.** New York: Academic Press.
- Beaugrande, R. et al (1981) **Introduction to Text Linguistics.** New York: Longman.
- Beekman, J. et al (1981). **The Semantic Structure of Written Communication.** Texas: Summer Institute of Linguistics.
- Bentahila, A and Davies, E. E. (1983) 'The Syntax of Arab-French Code-Switching'. In **Lingua** Vol. 59 pp 301 - 330.

- Biber D. and Finegan, D. (1989). 'Style of Stance of English: Lexical and grammatical marking of evidentiality'. In H. Jernudd et al. (eds) **The Politics of Language Purism**. New York Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 93-124.
- Biersteker, A. and Njogu, S. (1991). 'Multilinguism in Kenya'. In M. Bloch (ed) **International: American Council of Teachers of Foreign Languages, Annual Review**.
- Blommaert, J. (1990). 'Modern African Political Style: Strategies and genre in Swahili Political discourse'. In *Discourse and Society*. London pp. 115-131.
- Brown, G. and Yule, G. (1983). **Discourse Analysis**. London: Cambridge Press.
- Canale, M. (1983). 'From Communicative Competence to Communicative Language Pedagogy.' In J.C. Richards et al (eds). **Language and Communication**. London: Longman.
- Chomsky, N. (1957). **Syntactic Structures**. Massachusetts: M.I.T Press.
- _____ (1965). **Aspects of the Theory of Syntax**. Massachusetts: M.I.T Press.
- Cole, P. and Morgan, L. J. (1975). **Syntax and Semantics'** Vol. 3 New York: Academic Press.
- Corcoran, E.P. (1979). **Political Language and Rhetoric**. Queensland: University of Queensland Press.
- Coulthard, M. (1981). **An Introduction to Discourse Analysis**. London: Longman

- Crombie, W. (1985). **Process and Relation in Discourse and Language Learning**. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Crystal, D. (1987). **The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language**. Cambridge: O.U.P.
- Crystal, D. and Davy D. (1969). **Investigating English Style**. London: Longman Group.
- Dijk T. V. (1985). 'Introduction: Levels and Dimensions of Discourse Analysis.' In T. V. Dijk (ed) **A Handbook of Discourse Analysis**. London: Academic Press. Vol.2.
- _____ (1985). 'Semantic Discourse Analysis'. In T.V. Dijk: **A Handbook of Discourse Analysis**. London: Academic Press. Vol. 2.
- _____ (1985). 'An Introduction, The Role of Discourse Analysis in Society" **A Handbook of Discourse Analysis**. Academic Press. Vol. 4.
- _____ (1977). **Text and Context: Exploration in the Semantics and Pragmatics of Discourse**. New York: Longman.
- Dressler, W.(1985). 'A Morphology' in T.V. Dijk: **A Handbook of Discourse Analysis**. London: Academic Press. Vol.4.
- Edelman, M. (1970). **The Symbolic uses of Politics**. London: University of Illinois Press.
- Edmondson, W. (1981). **Spoken Discourse**. London: Longman.
- Fairclough, N. (1989). **Language and Power**. New York: Longman Group.
- Ferrara, A. (1985). "Pragmatics" in T.V. Dijk (ed): **A handbook of Discourse Analysis Vol. 2**. London: Academic Press.

- Firth, J. R. (1975). **Papers in Linguistics**. London: Oxford University Press.
- Fishman, J. (1972). **Sociolinguistics**; Massachusetts. New Bury House Publisher Inc.
- Fowler R. (1985). 'Power'. In T. V. Dijk (ed). **A Handbook of Discourse Analysis**. London: Academic Press. Vol. 4 pp.27-42.
- Gibbs, W.R. (1987). 'Mutual Knowledge and Conversational Inference'. In Mey Jacob et al (eds). **Journal of Pragmatics**. Vol 11. No 2 October.pp. 561-588.
- Grice. P. (1975). 'Logic and Conversation'. In P. Cole and J. Morgan (eds). **Syntax and Semantics 3**. New York: Academic Press, pp. 41-58.
- Guinchi, P. (1977). 'Understanding Spoken Discourse in a Second or Foreign Language: Pedagogical considerations'. In E.O. Keenan et al (eds). **Discourse Across Time and Space**. University of California: Department of Linguistics.
- Gumperz, J. (1982). **Discourse Strategies**. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J. J. (1964). **Linguistic and Social Interaction in two Communities American Anthropology two communities (66(6) part 2,pp. 137-153.**
- Habwe, J.H, (1989). **Pragmatiki Katika Mazungumzo ya Kawaida ya Kimvita**, unpublished M.A. Thesis, University of Nairobi.
- Haiman F.S. (1967). 'Democratic Ethics and Hidden Persuaders'. In R.L. Jahnesen (ed). **Ethics and Persuasion**. New York: Random House Inc.

- Halliday, M.A.K. and Hasan, R. (1976). **Cohesion in English**. London: Edward Arnold.
- Halliday, M.A.K. (1985). 'Dimensions of Discourse Analysis: - Grammar'. In T. V. Dijk (ed). **A Handbook of Discourse Analysis** London: Academic Press. Vol. 2, pp. 29-56.
- Hasan, R. (1971). 'Text in the Systematic-Functional Model'. In W.Dressler (ed). **Current Trends in Text-Linguistics**. New York: Walter de Gruyter pp.228-246.
- Harries, L. (1968). 'Swahili in Modern East Africa'. In J. Fishman et al (ed). **Language Problems of Developing Nations**. New York: John Wiley and Sons.
- Haugerud, A. and Njogu S.K.(1991). **State Voices in the Country Side: Politics and the Kenyan Baraza**. African Studies Center, Boston University.
- Hoey, M. (1983). **On the Surface of Discourse**. London: George Allen Publishers.
- Holec, H. (1985). 'You did say Oral Interactive Discourse'? In P. Riley (ed). **Discourse and Learning**. New York: Longman.
- Hofman, T.R. (1993). **Realms of Meaning**. New York: Longman.
- Holman, H.C. (1960). **A Handbook to Literature**. New York: The Odyssey Press.

- Hymes, D. (1972). **Communicative Competence**. Pennsylvania: Philadelphia.
- Hymes, D. (1972). 'Model of Interaction of Language and Social life'. In H. D. Hymes and J. Gumperz (eds) **Directions in Sociolinguistics**. New York.
- Indangasi, H. (1988). **Stylistics**. Nairobi: Nairobi University Press.
- Kapinga, M.C. (1983). **Sarufi Maumbo ya Kiswahili Sanifu**. Taasisi Ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili University of Dar es Salaam.
- Keenan, O. E. (1977). In Keenan Ochs and Tina L. Benett (Eds) **Discourse Across Time and Space**.
- Kress, G. (1990). 'Critical Discourse Analysis'. American Review of Applied Linguistics" (APAL) **Foundations and Application of Discourse Analysis**. Cambridge University Press pp. 84-99.
- Kempson, R. (1975). **Presupposition and the Delimitations of Semantics**. London: Cambridge University Press.
- Leech and Short, M. (1981). **Style in Fiction**. London: Longman.
- Leech, G. (1969). **A linguistic Guide to Poetry**. London: Longman.
- _____ (1983). **Principles of Pragmatics**. London: Longman.
- Levinson, S. (1983). **Pragmatics**. London: Cambridge Press.
- Linde, C. 1985). 'The Organisation of Discourse'. In Shopen and William (eds) **Style and Variables in English**. Cambridge : Winthrop Publishers pp. 84-114.

- Longacre, R. (1976). **An Anatomy of Speech Notions**. The Reter Rider Press.
- Longman Dictionary of Contemporary English** (1987). London:
Longman.
- Lwaitama, A.F. (1988). **Variations in the Use of Personal Pronouns in the Political Oratory of J.K. Nyerere and A.H. Mwinyi**.
- University of Dar es Salaam.
- _____ (1995). **A Critical Language Study of Tanzanian Kiswahili Presidential Political Oratory** Ph.D. Thesis. Birmingham:
Department of Modern Languages, Aston University in
Birmingham U. K.
- Lyons, J. (1968). **Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics**. New York:
Cambridge University Press.
- _____ (1976b). **Semantics**. New York: Cambridge
University Press.
- Macdonell, D. (1986). **Theories of Discourse**. Blackwell.
- Mark, H. (1988). 'Thematic Unity and Evidence for the Presence of
Paragraphs. In Evelyn Pike and Rachael Saint (ed). **Work
Papers Concerning Waorani Discourse Features**. Summer
Institute of Linguistics.
- Marshad, H A. (1993). **Kiswahili Au Kiingereza?** (Nchini Kenya).
Nairobi: J.K.F.
- Mazrui, A. A. and Mazrui A.M. (1995). **The Political Economy of an
African Language**, Nairobi: E.A.E.P & James Currey.

- Mazrui, A. A. (1971). **The Political Sociology of the English Language: An African Perspective.** Paris: The Hague.
- Michira, J. N. (1993). **Uchanganuzi wa Kimtindo wa Lugha ya Wachuuzi na lugha ya matangazo ya biashara redioni.** M.A. Thesis: University of Nairobi.
- Milroy, L. (1987). **Observing and Analysing Natural language: A Critical Account of Sociolinguistic Method.** Basil Blackwell: Oxford.
- Mukarovsky, J (1977). **The Word and Verbal Art: Selected Essays.** New Haven. Yale University and Russel, B, (1962). **Power** London: Unwin Books.
- Murray, J.A.H. (1933). **The Oxford English Dichotomy.** Oxford: At the Clarendon Press.
- Mutahi, K.E. (1977). 'The Development of Multilingualism in Kenya'. In a **Historical Association of Kenya.**
- _____ (1980). **Language and Politics in Kenya 1900-1978: Staff Seminar** University of Nairobi.
- Msanjila, Y.P. (1989). 'Sociolinguistic Rules of Formal address in Kiswahili'. In D.P.B. Massamba et al (ed) **Jarida la Taasisi ya Uchunguzi wa Kiswahili. Vol.56.** Dar es Salaam University pp. 59-76.
- Myachina, E.N. (1982). **The Swahili Language: A Descriptive Grammar.** London: Routledge.
- Mnyampala, M. and Shihabuddin, C. (1971). **Historia Ya Kiswahili.** Nairobi: Oxford University Press.

- Myers, J. and Simms, M. (1989). **The Longman Dictionary of Poetic Terms**. London: Longman.
- Mwansoko, H.J.M.(1991). **Mitindo Ya Kiswahili Sanifu**. Dar es Salaam: D.U.P
- Njogu, S. K. (1994). **Dialogic Poetry: Contestation and Social Challenge in - East African Poetic Genres**. Michigan: A bell and Howell Company.
- Njue, J. G. (1989). **Muala Katika Kiswahili: Umuhimu wake Katika Uchambuzi wa Ngano za Waswahili**. Unpublished M.A. Thesis: University of Nairobi.
- Nurse, D.(1985). 'A Linguistic Reconsideration of Swahili Origins'. In H. N. Chittick and J.E.G. Sulton (ed). **Azania Journal of the British Institute in Eastern Africa** Vol. XVIII pp. 127-150.
- O'barr, W. and O'barr, J.(1976). **Language and Politics**. Mouton: The Hague.
- Ochs, E. Schieffelin, B. (1989). 'Language has a Heart'. In Bjorn H. Jernudd et al. **Language Purism**. New York: Mouton pp. 7-25.
- Ochs, E., and Schieffelin, B. (1982). **Acquiring Conversational Competence**. London: Routledge.
- Oduol, C.B. (1987). 'Maintenance of Communication in Primary Classrooms: Some Evidence for the Role of Elicitation and Code-Switching in English in the Medium Schools in Kenya'. University of Aston in Birmingham.
- Omar, A. S. (1991) 'Conversation Openings in Kiswahili'. The Pragmatic Performance of Native and Non-Native Speakers. In E. Wesana Chomi and H.J.M. Mwanzoko **Journal of the Institute of**

Kiswahili Research, University of Dar es Salaam Vol. 58,
pp 12-24.

Palmer, F. (1976). **Semantics** New York: Cambridge University Press.

Petofi, J. S. (1985). Language as A Written Medium: Text. In N.E.
Collinge (ed) **An encyclopaedia of Language**. London:
- Routledge.

Polome, E. (1967). **Swahili Language Handbook**. Sussex
Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Richards, J. et al (1985). **A Longman Dictionary of Applied Linguistics**.
London: Longman.

Ross, D. (1988). 'Chronological and Logical Discourse Chains' in
Everlyn G. Pike and Rachael Saint (eds). **Work-Papers
Concerning Waorani Discourse Features**: Summer
Institute of Linguistics.

Salim, I.A. (1973). **The Swahili Speaking Communities of the Kenya's Coast
1895-1965**. Nairobi: East African Publishing House.

Saussure, F. de. (1996) Course in General Linguistics. Ed. Charles Bally and
Albert Reidlinger. New York: Philosophical Library.

Saville-Troike, M. (1989). **The Ethnography of Communication**.
Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Schiffrin, D. (1994). **Approaches to Discourse Analysis**. Cambridge:
Blackwell Publishers.

Searle, J. R. (1975). 'Indirect Speech Acts'. In P. Cole and J. Morgan (eds).
Syntax and Semantics 3. New York: Academic Press, pp. 59-
82.

- Searle J. (1969). **Speech Acts: An Essay in the Philosophy of Language**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Seidel, G. (1985). 'Political Discourse Analysis'. In Teun V. Dijk (eds). **Handbook of Discourse Analysis**. London: Academic
- Sinclair, J.M. and Coulthard, R.M. (1975). **Towards An analysis of Discourse: The English used by Teachers**. London: Oxford University Press.
- Sinclair, J. M. and Brazil D. (1982). **Teacher Talk**. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Steere,E.(1950). **A Handbook of the Swahili as Spoken at Zanzibar**. London: The Sheldon Press.
- Stubbs, M. (1983). **Discourse Analysis: The Socio-linguistic Analysis of Natural Language**. Blackwell Publishers.
- Suzman, M. S. (1995). 'The Discourse Origin of Agreement in Zulu'. In A. Trial, R. Vossen (eds), **The Complete Linguist Papers in Memory of Patrick Dickens**. Koln: Rudiger Koppe pp. 319-337.
- Thomas, J. (1983). 'Cross Cultural Pragmatic Failure. In **Applied Linguistics - Journal** Vol. 4 No. 2. pp. 91-112.
- Wales, K. (1985). **A Dictionary of Stylistics**. London: Longman.
- Whiteley, H. W. (1968). 'Ideal and Reality in National Language Policy. A case Study from Tanzania'. In Joshua Fishman et al (ed). **Language Problems of Developing Nations**. New York: Wiley.

- _____ (1969). **The Rise of a National Language**: London Methuen.
- Widdowson, H.G. (1977). **Teaching Language as Communication**.
London: Oxford University Press.
- _____ (1979). **Explorations in Applied Linguistics (I)**. London:
Oxford University Press.
- _____ (1985). **Explorations in Applied Linguistics (2)**. London:
Oxford University Press.
- Williams, J. M. (1990). **Style: Toward Clarity and grace**. Chicago and
London: The University of Chicago Press.
- Wilson, J. (1980). **The Pragmatic Analysis of Political Language**.
Basil Blackwell/Oxford.
- Wittgenstein, L.(1953). **Philosophical Investigations**. New York:
Macmillan.
- Yahya-Othman, S. (1994). 'Covering One's Social Back: Politeness
among the Swahili. In Teun Van Dijk (ed) **TEXT and
Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse**.
New York: Mouton de Gruyter pp. 141-161.
- _____ (1995). 'Aren't you going to greet me? Impoliteness
in Swahili Greetings. In Teun Van Dijk (ed.) **TEXT on
Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse**.
New York: Mouton de Gruyter pp. 209-227.

APPENDIX

A POLITICAL SPEECH

NASSIR -MOMBASA

SIKU YA LEO INAJISEMEA YENYEWWE. HAINA HAJA
-HATA KUSEMA

AUD: [CLAPPING AND MAKING NOISE)

KWA SABABU HII AMANI TULIONAYO

AUD: [A CROW LIKE THAT OF A COCK AND CLAPS]

NATAKA KUWAMBIA NDUGU ZANGU WA KENYA
WALIOKO HAPA, WALIOKO PAHALI PENGINE KAMA SI
KWA SABABU MUNGU MWENYE KUPENDA
KUTUWACHIE KIONGOZI KAMA MTUKUFU RAIS
BWANA MOI, TUNGEKUWA NA HATARI KUBWA. KWA
SABABU NIMEONA ZILE SERIKALI AMBAZO ZINA
KABILA MOJA, DINI MOJA, RANGI MOJA LUGHA MOJA,
MWISHO ZIKIUANA KAMA PAKA NA NIKIKUMBUKA
SISI HAPA KENYA TULIVYO NA MAKABILA MENGI
DINI NYINGI LAKINI MUNGU AKATUWEKA NAMNA HII

NA MAPENZI, MIMI NASEMA MUNGU AMBARIKI
BWANA MOI. AMPE AFYA.

AUD: [CLAPPING].

MGENI MHESHIMIWA BAHATI NZURI WEWE SI MTU
WA KUELEZWA MAMBO YA MOMBASA AU YA PWANI.
NI MTU AMBAYE WAJUA. LAKINI TAABU, PENGINE
HUKUFAHAMU ILIKUWA KUTOKA MBELE TAABU.
TAABU KIDOGO ILIKUWA KUTOKA MBELE; LAKINI
- MIMI NIMEZIONA ZILE TAABU. WATU
WANALAZIMA... KAMA SISI TUNA 'PRESIDENT'
MMOJA NA TUKIWA NA 'MAPRESIDENT' WA SIRI,
SABABU KAMA HUKUPITA KWAKE YEYE ULIOKUA NA
MKUBWA, YEYE ATAKUTAFUTIA NJIA LAZIMA
AKUANGUSHE. HATA ZA KUTAFUTIA NDUGU YAKO
HASWA. HATI NDIYO INAWEKWA KWA SABABU YA
PESA ILI AKUANGUSHE WEWE NA SIJUI SABABU.

AUD: [CLAPPING AND MAKING NOISE.]

AMPE PESA NDUGU YAKO. AJUE KAMA KUTETA NI
HATARI. AMPE MSHANGILIE MAPESA NA AAMBIWE
MIMI NDIYO MWENYEWWE HIZI NI ZA BWANA
PRESIDENT MOI. HUYU NASSIR NI BURE. NA MIMI

NASEMA NITAKUWA 'MY LOYALTY'... WATU WA
MAGAZETI WAANDIKE, 'STRAIGHT TO PRESIDENT -
MOI AND NO OTHER MAN'.

AUD: SEMA MZEE, SIASA MCHEZO!! [CLAPPING])
TUMEKUA RAFIKI NA 'PRESIDENT' MOI AMEKUWA
'VICE-PRESIDENT' WANGU. AMEKUWA 'PRESIDENT'
WANGU. NA MIMI NIMEONA MAMBO ANAYOFANYA
- YANA HERI NA MTOTO WANGU NA NDUGU YANGU.
HAKUNIDHARAU MIMI KWA SABABU KIDOGO NI
MWEUPE AU NINA NYWELE NYAZIZA*. ANIFIKIRIA
KAMA NDUGU YAKE. LEO WENGINE HAPA, HATA
HAWAJAPATA UONGOZI, MWANGALIE YULE
MWARABU. NYINYI, KETINI HUKO NYUMA TUONGEE.

AUD: [INTERRUPTED BY CLAPPING AND NOISE]

KWA HIVYO SIASA KAMA HIZI,

AUD: SEMA, SEMA, SEMA MZEE!!
YA ZAMANI AMBAYO MTUKUFU RAIS HAZITAKI TENA
KUZISIKIA. WATU WASIGAWANYWE MALIENDA*
MASHAMBA ENDA. HUYU 'CHAIRMAN' WA KANU
ANAPATA SHILINGI NGAPI MSHAHARA ATOBOKE
ATAKAOGA*

AUD: [MAKING NOISE WHICH SUBMERGED SPEAKERS
VOICE]

LAKINI NI HATA UKISIKIA WATU WENGINE
WANATAKA KUANZA KAZI KUBWA HATI
WALIOZIPIINGA MIMI. MIMI NASIKITIKA JAMENI.

AUD: [MAKING NOISE]

WANAMDANGANYA NANI NDUGU?

AUD: JOGOO!! [NOISY]

- LAKINI IWE UKWELI TUKETINI TUPENDANE.

AUD: [A CROW LIKE COCK]

MIMI NAWAMBIA NDUGU ZANGU WA PWANI NA
WALE WANA OISHI HAPA. HAKUNA MTU
ANAWAPENDA NYINYI. YUKO MMOJA ALIWAPA
SHAMBA?

AUD: HAKUNA!!

YUKO MMOJA ALIWAPA KAZI?

AUD: HAKUNA!!

SASA NYINYI MWATETEMESHA KWA NJIA ISIYO
KUWA NA MAANA YA KITU GAN MWATAKA NINI
UONGOZI? UTACHAGULIWA NA WATU. WATU.
HAKUNA SAA YA KUSINGIZIA 'PRESIDENT' MOI
HATAKI NASSIR. ALIKWAMBIA SAA NGAPI?

CHUMBANI KWAKO?

AUD: SEMA MZEE SEMA SEMA!!![- NOISY]

NA IKIWA NI KWELI, BAINA MIMI NA PRESIDENT
AWEZA KUNIITA NAAM NASSIR 'COME HERE MY
BROTHER [STRESSING WITH HIS HANDS] WE WILL
SEE! KUJA TUJADILIE. KWA HIVYO YETU SISI

NASEMA MGENI MHESHIMIWA TUNAKATAA AMANI.

KILA MTU KAMA ALIVYOSEMA MEYA KUNGU

- NJERE*, IKIISHWA... KAMA MTU HAKUWEZA KUZUIA

KITI CHAKE MWENYEWWE MIMI NAZUIA CHANGU CHA

MVITA: PENZA HUKUZUIA CHAKO CHA LIKONI

HUKUZUIA CHAKO CHA KISAUNI? NASEMA NASSIR

ALIPOTEZA KITI NA MIMI CHANGU NAKIZUIA.

LAKINI BWANA LEO NI SIKU YA MOI 'DAY'. MIMI

NATAKA KUOMBA NDUGU ZANGU WA MOMBASA,

MUKIONA WATU WANA 'TITLE DEED' AU WALETE

MAALOTMENT WAUZA BARABARANI MSINUNUE.

MPAKA MUJE MUONE PALE PAHALI. MPAKA UENDE

UKAONE PALE PAHALI. KUNA WENGINE

WANANUNUA HUKO KUNA WATU MIA TANO MIA

SITA UNANUNUA WEWE YULE MTU ANAKUUZIA

KUKUFANYA WEWE MJINGA AKUWACHIA JASHO.

UNAFIKIRI SASA TUTAONGOZA WALE WATU MIA
TATU AU WATU MIA TANO? KWA SABABU WEWE
PESA ZAKO? TUTAKUPA PESA ZAKO NA
TUWAREGESHEE MASHAMBA WALE WALIOKO PALE
PALE.

AUD: NDIYO, NDIYO!! [CLAPPING]

BWANA 'P.C.' MGENI WETU WA HESHIMA, MIMI
SIWEZI KU LEO NI SIKU YA MOI DAY. NATAKA
KUKUOMBA WEWE UENDE UKATUPELEKEE SALAMU
MOJA TU.

KAMA WATU WA LAMU, MABAJUNI, WADIGO
WALIOKO HAPA MAMBO YA MIPAKA NA MAMBO YA
USAFIRI TUFANYWE VILE VILE MLUO AKITOKA
KISUMU KWENDA UGANDA. MASAI AKITOKA KI...
MASAI KUENDA NYANEE....TANZANIA NA
WABALUHIA WALIOKO KATIKA BUSIA. VILE VILE SISI
SISI TIMEZAANA. KUNA BAJUNI MMOJA HUKO LAMU
NA MMOJA HUKO MOSHI. TUMEZAANA HAPA
WADIGO KUTOKA GARISA MPAKA VANGA.
WANAUUANA SHARTI WALINDWE.

KWA HIVYO TUNAIOMBA SERIKALI 'THROUGH' MOI
'DAY' TENA NITAMALIZA NIRUDI NA HAPA

UBADILISHE UKASEMA NASSIR.

AUD: [CROW AS COCK]

VILE WANAVYOFANYAA WALUO NDUGU ZETU
WAPENZI WETU WATUFANYIE VILE VILE. VILE
WANAVYOFANYIA WABALUHYA WATUFANYIE VILE
VILE . VILE WANAVYOFANYIA MASAI WATUFANYIE
VILE VILE. NYTNYI WATU MWAKUBALI NYTNYI?

AUD: NDIYO HIVYO!!

- HAYA INUENI MIKONO JUU WASIKIE

AUD: [MAKING NOISE]

WATU WANATAKA MAPENZI BWANA P.C. WANATAKA
UKWELI WA MAMBO AMBAYO NI MAZURI. SISI
TUNAAMINI. MIMI MWENYEWE NIMEKUWA NDANI
YA SIASA KWA MIAKA THELATHINI. KAMA HAKUNA
TENA SIASA KATIKA KENYA.

AUD: [A CROW OF COCK]

NI MTU ATAKA KUPIGANIA KUWA MBUNGE, ATAKA
KUWA 'COUNCILLOR'. ATAKAKUWA CHOCHOTE.
LAKINI HAKUNA SIASA. SIASA TULIZONAZO NI
KUWASAIDIA. NINA HARAMBEE KUMI NA NANE
BWANA P.C.. UKIPATA SHILINGI MBILI UNILETEE.
NINAFANYA HAPA BONDENI 'GIRLS SECONDARY

SCHOOL' , MVITA 'BOYS SCHOO'. NAFANYA HUKO
MTONGWE HARAMBEE. KWENGINEKO NA GONG
KWA MAYOR. KILA PAHALI. AJE ANISAIDIE
HARAMBEE ANISAIDIE. KUTUKANA HAPA SI KITU.
AMA NINI?

AUD: WAAMBIE BABA!!

TUSAIDIANE NA WALE MAOFISA WA KANU WOTE
TUTAWEKA KWA SABABU NAONA ILE OFISI YA KANU
INAKETI BURE. KITU CHA KUFANYA NITAONGEZA
ZEREHANI ZILE THELATHINI UPATE KUSHONA
KATIKA KANU NA PIA PAHARI PA KUFUNDISHA
NAMNA YA KUFANYA SEREMALA NA NAMNA YA
KUJENGA NYUMBA. NA NATIA 'TYPEWRITER'
JANUARI TUTAMWALIKA BWANA P.C. AJE
ATUFUNGULIE. WALE WATOTO WASIOKUWA NA
KAZI WAPATE KUJISAJIDIA NA KAZI. LAKINI
MSINIPINGE MIMI SIENDI KWA MTU YOYOTE KUPITA
KWA BWANA MOI. NIKITAKA NITAKWENDA
MWENYEWWE. HATA MUMENIPINGA KUTOKA
'NINETEEN SEVENTY FOUR'. MUMENIPINGA
'NINETEEN NINETY', MUNANIPINGA MPAKA SASA.

LAKINI MIMI 'i WILL NEVER GO OUT OF MY LINE,
WITH MOI ALONE!

AUD: TUKONA WEWE!! [CLAPPING]

A POLITICAL SPEECH

KIMONDO WAGURA

NAIROBI

WASICHANA, VIJANA HAMJAMBO?

AUD: HATUJAMBO!!

HAMJAMBO TENA?

AUD: HATUJAMBO!!

KAZI YETU LEO NI KAZI KIDOGO. NI KUONYESHA
IMANI YETU NA UAMINVU WETU KWA RAIS MOI
PAMOJA NA SERIKALI. HIYO NDIYO TUKONAYE HAPA
NA KUAMBIA BWANA ODONGO, KENYA HAIKO
TAYARI KURUDI MSITUNI. TUTARUDI KUFANYA KAZI
GANI NA KAZI TULIFANYA TUKAMALIZA? WAKATI
TULIKWENDA KUPIGANIA UHURU NA TUKAPATA. HII
TAABU GANI NYINYI, NA TUNA UHURU WETU? KWA
HIVYO PAHALI POPOTE ALIPO NA WALE
WANAMWEKA WAJUE AKIJA HAPA HAWATAONA
NYAMA ZAKE. TUTAGAWANYA KIDOGO KIDOGO.

AUD: [CLAPPING]

IKWE SIKU HIYO NDIYO CHAKULA UGALI. KWA

HIVYO KAZI YA NAIROBI, NA MIMI SITAKI KUCHUKUA MUDA MUREFU, NI MOJA. KAZI YA NAIROBI NI NYINYI VIONGOZI WOTE TUWE PAMOJA. TUSEME NA MSEMO MOJA NA ILE MSEMO TUTASEMA NAYE NDIYE ITATUONYESHA 'ELECTION' YA 1997 KAMA TUTASHINDA.

AUD: 'VERY GOOD' !!![CLAPPING]

LAKINI KUKIWA TUTAWACHANA WAKATI HUU HATA WAKATI WA 'ELECTION' TUTAWACHANA KWA HIVYO NINGEWAULIZA VIONGOZI WOTE WALIO HAPA NA WASIO KUWA HAPA VITI NI NYINGI YA KANU. SIJUI NI MIA MBILI NI MIA NNE. MTU AJE AKIWA ANATAKA KITI. HATA MIMI NIKIKOSA MIMI NITAKUWA NYUMA YENU NA VILE MTANIAMBIA NI HIVYO NITASEMA

AUD: [CLAPPING]

NIMESHAKUWA 'MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT',
NA MULIONA NIKIMWACHIA KIRIMA. HAMUKUONA?

AUD: TULIONA!!

KWA SI KUKUAMINI UMOJA TUNGEPIGANA NA KIRIMA LAKINI KUKUAMINI UMOJA HATUKUPIGANA. NA MINI NDIYO NILIKUWA MSTARI WA MBELE WA KUMUUNGA MKONO NA KUSEMA

UKIWA HUTAKI KIRIMA, HATA MIMI HUNITAKI. KWA
HIVYO TUNATAKA WATU WA NAIROBI WASIKANE. NA
TUKISIKANA TUTAWEAZA NA TUTARAHIZISHA KAZI
KWA MTUKUFU RAIS.

AUD: VERY GOOD!! [CLAPPING]

NA TENA MIMI NIKISIKIZA KWA RADIO NA KWA T.V.
NAMSIKIA RAIS WETU MTUKUFU AKIENDA KATIKA
PAHALI KATIKA DUNIA HII YA KENYA. NA MIMI
- SIJASIKIA AKISEMA HATAKI KABILA FULANI.

AUD: 'VERY GOOD!!! [CLAPPING]

KWA HIVYO SISI SOTE TUKIWA WATU WA KENYA
HATUNA KABILA YETU NI KENYA.

AUD: NDIYO!! [CLAPPING]

KWA HIVYO MIMI SITAKI KUCHOKEZA KWA SABABU
KUNA WATU. KUNA VIONGOZI WENGI
WATAKAOSEMA. LAKINI KUNA KITU MOJA MIMI
NATKA KUSEMA.

HABARI YA HIYO 'PERMIT' MNASIKIA MUKIAMBIWA.
SI MIMI NILIJICHAGUA KUENDA KUCHUKUA 'PERMIT'.
NI VIONGOZI HAWA WALIKAA CHINI WAKASEMA
WEWE KIMONDO CHUKUA 'PERMIT'. KWA HIVYO NI
JUKUMU YA VIONGOZI WOTE WA NAIROBI

KUCHUKUA 'LICENCE' HIYO. MIMI NI ASKARI. NA
ASKARI KAZI YAKE NI KUAMBIWA NATAKA
KUMUWA. UA MUTU HII. NIKIUA NDIYO NITAUJIZA
MAKOSA. NIMEFANYA MAKOSA?KWA HIVYO
KUCHUKUA HIYO 'LICENCE' MUTU ASICHUKUE KAMA
NI KIMONDO. MUTU ACHUKUE NI VIONGOZI WOTE
WA NAIROBI PAMOJA NA NYINYI.

AUD: SAWA!! [CLAPPING]

~ KWA HAYA MACHECHE MIMI NITAISHIA HAPO.

LAKINI NATAKA TUHUBIRI UMOJA; UMOJA; UMOJA;
MZEE ASIKIE. ASANTE SANA. HARAMBEE.

AUD: JOGOO!!

JOGO NYAYO ASANTE

[]

A POLITICAL SPEECH

JAHAZI MOHAMED

MOMBASA

AASALAAM ALEIKUM ALHAMUDULAHI WABARAKATU. SASA NATAKA 'KUWAPONGEZA NDUGU WAISLAMU WOTE AMBAO WAMEFANYA KAZI KUBWA SANA. TUMEKUWA NA MWEZI WA RAMADHANI NA TUKAJAALIWA KUUMALIZA NA FURAHA. INGAWA ULIKUWA NI WA KWELI WA MSUKOSUKO. LAKINI NAFIKIRI TULIPEWA 'TEST' NA MWENYEZI MUNGU KUONA JE, WANGALIKO AU WAMEREGAREGA? NAFIKIRI TUMEPASI 'TEST' HIYO NA WALE AMBAO WANAENDELEA NA SITA TUOMBEANE ILI TUMALIZE NA PIA TUPATE FAIDA YAKE. LAKINI NATAKA KUMPONGEZA SANA BWANA CHAIRMAN KWA KUANDAA MKUTANO HUU NA VILE VILE KWA 'SPEECH' YAKE AMBAYO AMETUELEZA KINAGANAGA MAANA NA MADHUMUNI YA MKUTANO. PIA AKADONDOA SHIDA AMBAZO ZINATUKABILI KATIKA ENEO LETU LA MJI NA JEMBO LA PWANI. AKATOA PIA... AAH MASHAURI YA NAMNA TUNaweza KUTATUA SHIDA HIZO.

LAKINI KAMA WASEMAVYO WAZEE WA TANGU HAPO KALE
KWAMBA UMOJA NI NGUVU NA KUTENGANA NI UDHAIFU, SASA
TUMEPATA BAHATI KUBWA YA KUONYESHA NGUVU YETU NA
KAMA KWELI TWAWASHWA SISI NA SHIDA HIZI TUMEPATA
NAFASI YA KUONYESHA ULMWENGUMZIMA UTUNGU WETU
TULIO NAO KWAMBA SISI TWATOAKA NJE NA TUNA HIVI
[CLENCHED FIST].

JAMBO LINALOTUWASHWA KWANZA NI ODONGO. AU SIYO
BWANA?~ ODONGO ATUWASHA HATULALI. KENYA NZIMA
HAILALI KWA AJILI YA NANI?

AUD: ODONGO !!

ODONGO HUYU MMOJA. NA MIMI NAFIKIRIA KWAMBA BWANA
RAIS MUSEVENI AKIKAA NA AKALALA AKAPIMA FAIDA YA KUWA
NA UHUSIANO WA KENYA NZIMA NA WATU WA KENYA ULIOANZA
TANGU HAPO JADI NA JADI, ZAMA ZA ZAMA NA AKAMWONA
ODONGO HUYO MMOJA AKAMWEKA KWENYE MIZANI YAKE
IKAPIMA IKAONA ODONGO NI BORA KULIKO UHUSIANO HUO,
NAONA NI KAMA KIONGOZI ALIVYOKO MUSEVENI SIJUI KAMA
MIZANI YAKE Yaweza kumwambia ODONGO NI BORA KULIKO
KENYA NZIMA? AU WATU WA KENYA. KWA HIVYO ASEME
ASEMAVYO LAKINI MWISHO WA HAYO YOTE ODONGO
TUTAMPATA HAPA NCHINI. ODONGO ATAKUJA NA HAPA HAPA NI

NUSU MTU KIHOLELA. ODONGO ATAPATIKANA NA MASHTAKA
NA ASIMAME NA AULIZWE KISA NA MAANA. AU SIVYO
WANANCHI?

AUD NDIYO!!

KWA HIVYO MIMI NAAMINI HAYA MADAI YETU NI YA HAKI TUPU.

KILA MAHALI AMBAPO...[uses hand signals }

JUZI MWAMERIKA ALIMRUSHA MPAKISTANI MMOJA. ALITEKWA
AKACHUKULIWA MPAKA AMERIKA AKASHTAKIWA KUWA YEYE
ALIKUWA KIONGOZI WA KUPIGA BOMU ILE INTER... EEH?
CONFERENCE CENTER KATIKA NEW YORK? HAWAKUMCHUKUA?

AUD: WALIMCHUKUA

PENGINE MLIKUWA HAMJUI ALIBEBWA BWANA JUU, JUU RAIS
HUU, EEH NANI? PRIME MINISTER BHUTO ALIMTOA. JUZI JUZI
YULE MARCOSI AITWAJE, SIJUI NANI YULE?

AUD: CARLO!!

CARLOS, CARLOS ALILETWA JUU JUU SUDAN. ALIKUWA
AMEJIFICHA KULE. RAIS WA SUDAN ALIMTOA CARLO. CARLO
ALISHITAKIWA PARIS KWA KUWA GAIDI WA DUNIA NZIMA. AU
SIYO BWANA?

AUD: NDIYO!!

SASA MADAI HAYA SIYO YA KENYA TU KWAMBA TWAANZISHA
SISI BWANA MTINDO WA DUNIA NZIMA. HASA HAYO MATAIFA

MAKUBWA NDIYO YAMEANZA KUTUONYESHAAAA! MTU AKIWA
CHOKOCHOKO-CHOKO, KAJFICHA PAHALI MAFICHONI
TUSHAMGUNDUA. NI HAKI YETU KUMDAI, AU SIVYO?

AUD: NDIYO!!

NI SHERIA YA DUNIA HII YOTE NA TUSHAONYESHA MIFANO
YAKE. AMERIKA WAMETUONYESHA. MAFARANSA
AMETUONYESHA. SI NDIO WAKUBWA WA DEMOKRASIA HAWA?
WANAOTWAMBIA WAO LAZIMA TUFUATE DEMOKRASIA. KAMA
HAMKUFUATA 'DEMOCRACY' MTANYIMWA PESA. KAMA
HAMKUFANYA HIVI SASA TWAIFUATA ILE YAO AMBAYO
WAMETUONYESHA MFANO. ODONGO HATAKUJA?

AUD: ATAKUJA!!

ATAKUJA NA TWAMDAI KIHAKI. KWA HIVYO BWANA CHAIRMAN
TUNAKUSHUKURU NA HIYO SI YA HAPA. SIKU YA MAADAMANO
NDIO HASA SABABU TUTAZITOAA ZA ODONGO NA TUNATUMAI
MPAKA HAPO RAIS MUSEVENI ATAKUWA ASHAAMUA KUMWITA
ODONGO [CLAPPING OF HANDS].

TATU SITATUKUWA MUDA MREFU. TATU NI KUWA HAWA NDUGU
ZETU WA UPINZANI WABTU... MI... HASA ZAIDI WANIFANYA
NIWAFIKIRIE NI WATU WA NAMNA GANI? NI VIONGOZI AU NI
MAPANYAKOO AMBAO WAMEKUJA TU AU WAKAJALIWA KUJA
KWA SABABU MI-SIELEWI MSIMAMO WAO. NA NDIO NIKAENDA

NIKACHUNGUA NIKAKAA HUKO. NAWAJUA MPAKA NDANI.
NDANI YA MATUMBO YAO [CLAPPING].

KWA SABABU HAWANA MSIMAMO. JUZI MADAKTARI
WALIPOGOMA BADALA YA WAO KAMA VIONGOZI KUTULIZA
MAMBO WALIUNGANA NA MADAKTARI. MSI ... MSI... FANYE KA:
MSIFANYE MAMBO SPITALI, MSITIBU WAGONJWA
WAKAENDELEA... LAKINI HAKUNA ANAYEWAZA KUTATUA
MATATIZO BAINA YA MFANYIKAZI NA TAJIRI YAKE ISIPOKUWA
NI SERIKALI YENYEWWE. NA NI SERIKALI ILIYOKUWA IMEWAAJIRI
MADAKTARI. NA NI SERIKALI TU PEKEE YAKE AMBAYO INGEKAA
NA MADAKTARI IKATATUA. JE WALIPOKETI PAMOJA OPPOSITION
ILISHAURIWA?

AUD: HAIKUSHAURIWA!!

SI WALISIKIZANA? MADAKTARI SI WALIFANYA KAZI?

AUD: WALIFANYAA!!

OPPOSITION NA KUPINGA KWAKE NA KUWAUNGA MKONO
WALIISHIA WAPI? [LAUGHTER] WAKAACHWA WAKICHUNGULIA
KAMA KOZMEN WAMEGOMAA. WAA... WALE WA UNIVERSITY.
WAALIMU WA UNIVERSITY. OPPOSITION TUNAWAUNGA
WAMEWAUNGAA WAGOME MEE KUSOMESHA VIJANA WETU.
BADALA YA KUTULIZA NA KUPOZA MOTO WAO WANAONGEZA
PETROLI KWA FAIDA YA NANI?

AUD: YAO!!

KARIBU MWAKA MZIMA VYUO VIKUUU VIMEFUNGWA
KIUCHOCHEZI. TUSII: SI HAWANA CHA KUWAPA. MWISHO WATU
WALISIKIZANA AU SIYO?

AUD: NDIYO!!

VYUO VIKUU VINA FUNGULIWA WANAENDELEA. OPPOSITION
WAMEACHWA NJE WAKICHUNGULIA. WAO NI MAKOZMENI EEEH!
MPAKA LEO KIILA KINACHOTOKEA. JUZI KULITOKEA MUSHKILI
KIDOGO NA BALOZI WA AMERIKA. WAO NI WANAKENYA HATA
KAMA BALOZI WA AMERIKA ATAFANYWAJE NI KATI YA SERIKALI
NA AMERIKA, WAO OPPOSITION NI RAIA. LAZIMA WASIMAME
KAMA WANAKENYA AU SIVYO?

AUD: NI KWELI!!

WANAKWENDA KUMWANGUKIA YULE BALOZI WANAMRAMBAA
MAGUU. WANAJIFANYA WAO WAAMERIKA ZAIDI. SIYO
WANAKENYA. WANASHAMBULIA SERIKALI YAO [POINTING TO
SELF] KWA KITENDO AMBACHO MABALOZI WANGAPI ULAYA NA
WAPI WATEKWA NYARA, WAUAWA WAFANYWA MAMBO. HATA
BALOZI WETU WENYEWEE KATIKA KENYA HIYO HUTOKEA KATIKA
UBALOZI NA BALOZI ASHAFUNDISHWA NAMNA YA KUJITETEA
YEYE MWENYEWEE. KUNA SHERIA ZA ULIMWENGU ZA DUNIA
NZIMA. BALOZI AKIFANYWA HIVI AJITETEA HIVI [USES HANDS

SIGNALS] NA UHUSUAIANO SIYO KATI YA BALOZI NA KENYA.
UHUSIANO NI KATI YA BALOZI NA NCHI YAKE LAKINI MABALOZI
WAMEFANYWA WAO NI MAGAVANA WETU HAPA NA OPPOSITION.
KUKITOKEA KITU KIDOGO BALOZI ASEMA KAMA YEYE
AMEPWEWA YEYE NDIYE ANATAWALA HAPA. AMBAPO SIVYO.
NA NI JUU YA OPPOSITION KAMA MAMBO HAYO YAMETOKEA
WASIMAME NA SERIKALI YAO KAMA WAKENYA. HATA
WAKAENDA AMERIKA HAWAWEZI KUWA WAAMERIKA. NA PALE
WALIPOSIKIZANA KATIKA YA SERIKALI YA KENYA NA YA
AMERIKA KUHUSU KITENDO HICHO MISAMAHA IKASEMWA,
OPPOSITION ILIACHWA WAPI? WALISHAURIWA? WALIITWA
KATIKA MKUTANO HUO?

BASI WAMEJIFANYA WAPUMBAVU NA WAJINGA WASIOKUWA NA
UONGOZI HATA KIDOGO. KWA HIVYO WANANCHI TUTACHUKUA
SERIKALI YA KENYA HII TUKUFU NA VILE VILIVYOMO VYOTE
TUMPE WAMALWA KIJANA?

AUD: [LAUGHER CLAPPING] HAPAANA!!

APEWE YEYE. HAYA TWAKWAMINI WEWE TUTALALA SISI HAPA?
APEWE RAILA ODINGA? WAWEZA KUTUKUA KENYA UKAMPA
RAILA ODINGA MKONONI? UMWAMBIE HAYA....

AUD: AAAA MATATIZO!!

NANI YUKO KULE AMBAYE MWATAKA TUMPE YEYE UZITO WA

KENYA HUU TULIO NAYO. TUMELE MIAKA YOTE HIYO?

AUD: HAAKUNA!!

UMPE OPPOSITION UTAMPA NANI?

AUD: HAAKUUNA!!

HATA WAKIWA CHAMA KIMOJA CHA WATU KAMA KUMI. NAANI
UNAAMINI KENYA APEWE?

AUD: HAKUNA!!

KUENDESHA NCHII HII?

AUD: HAKUNA!!

KULINDA UMMA HUU?

AUD: HAKUU!!

NA KULETA AMANI?

AUD: HAKUNAA!!

KUSHINDA RAIS MOI?

AUD: HAKUUNA!!

HAKUNA WAO W. ENYEWU WAMETUONYEHSA HAWAWEZI

AUD: HATA KIDOGO!!

KWA HIVYO SISI NI LAZIMA NA LAZIMA TUSIKAE TU HIVI HIVI.

HAWA WATU TUPIGANE NAO KIUME NA KIKE VILE VILE.

TUPIGANE NAO BILA HAYA.

AUD: BILA WASIWASI!!

BWANA CHAIRMAN TANGAZA VITA NA OPPOSITION.

TUSIWACHEZEE HIVI HIVI KUWASHIKASHIKA HIVI TUWA ...WAJUE
HICHI NI CHAMA CHA TAWALA NA KINA 'MAJORITY'.

AUD: [CLAPPING]

WANAONA ETI BADO MNYANG'ANYIRO. PIA WANAVYOJIPELEKA
NI KWAMBA UCHAGUZI HAUKUFANYWA. HAKUNA RAIS
ALIYECHAGULIWA BADHO TU KUNA UBISHI HAPA NA PALE.
WAKIFANYA HIVI WAO WANaweza KUCHUKUA UONGOZI
WATAUCHUKUA KUTOKA WAPI?

AUD: 'NEVER!!

WALISHINDWA KIKURA. MIMI NILIKUWA HUKO SIKU HIZO.
TULISHINDWA.

AUD: [LAUGHTER]

WALISHIDWA KIKURA. WALISHIDWA KIKILA AINA NA WALIPATA
VITI FULANI FULANI. NAIROBI UANGALIE SI OPPOSITION
WALISHINDA KATIKA UDIWANI AU SIVYO?

AUD: NDI VYO!!

ILE CITY NAIROBI COUNCIL ILE YATAWALIWA NA KINA NANI?

AUD: NA OPPOSITION

MA KANU?

AUD: HAPANA!!

NA NANI?

AUD: UPINZANI!!

SI UPINZANI? WEMEIWEZA KUENDESHA NAIROBI?

AUD: HAWAWEZI!!

MPAKA SASA KUMEKUWA NA MAYOR WAWILI [USING TWO FINGERS TO SHOW] TENA KAMA SERIKALI, KAMA ISINGEKUWA KUZUIA HUYU ANGEKUWA HAYUKO. SASA LEO WANGEKUWA WATAWALA WAO NI PRESIDENT LEO TUNGEKUWA NA NANI?

AUD: [NOISE OF RESPONSE (COULDN'T BE DECIPHERED TAPE)]

NA PALE TULIAMBIWA NA YULE ALIYEKUWA SIKU MOJA

...NIPENI JAPO KWA SIKU MOJA

AUD: [LAUGHTER]

NIPENI JAPO SIKU MOJA NITAWALE

AUD: [LAUGHTER]

YEYE ANGEPEWA KENYA INGEKUWA IKO SIKU HII. BASI MABWANA, MIMI SINA MANENO MENGI LAKINI NATAKA KILA MMOJA WENU AJUE HII NI VITA SI MCHEZO WA BAO. HI NI NINI?

AUD: VITAA!!

NA SASA SISI TUNA NGUVU NYINGI. LAKINI TUSITUMIE NGUVU HIZI KAMA AMBAYE ANAZO PEZA CHUNGUNZIMA LAKINI TUSIJUE NAMNA YA KUZITUMIA PEZA HIZO. ZITAKETI?

AUD: HAPANA!!

HIZO PESA HAZITAISHI. WEWE UTAKUJAKUKOPA KILA MAANAKE UNASHIKE WEWE NA NINI. HATA UKITAHAMAKI MTU WAKO

ATAKUJA NA ZINAKWISHA HATA HUWEZI KUMZIKA. SASA SISI
TUNA KILA KITU NA WAKATI WA KUZIKA KABISAA NI HUU.
'ELECTION' IJAYO IKISHA KUJA HAIMA TUPO HATA MOJA
AHASANTENI.

A POLITICAL SPEECH

GERISHON KIRIMA

NAIROBI

KWANZA NAMSALAMU NYINYI NYOTE WANA KANU. KWANZA
NAMUUULIZA SI MUKO TIYARE?

AUD: . NDIYO!!

MUKO TIYARE?

AUD: WAZI NDIYO!!

HOYEE

AUD: [WHISTLING HOYEE]

KANU HOYEE!!

AUD: HOYEE!!

SABABU WANANCHI WAMESUNGUMZA /MENGI. HONOURABLE
GUMBA NA VIONGOZI WOTE WEMESUNGUMUZA NA TUMEKWISHA
OMBA KURA YA KUTOSHA. KITU MIMI NASEMA NI HII. KITU
TUNATAKA MJUMBE HAPA NI WA KUWEKA AMANI. MIMI SITAKI
KUWEKA CHUMVI. LAKINI LEO LEO, SIJUI NI NANI ALITOA
'ORDER' WALE 'HAWKER IKO HAPA KARIBU NA 'RAILWAY'
WAFUNZIWE? HAPA HAPA 'RAILWAY' SI HAPA (POINTING)?

AUD. NDIYO, EEE !!

NA HATA KAMA MUTU ALIKUWA NA KIU AKIUMWA NA JUA ALIKUA WAMBIWE WALIONDOKE MBELE YA KESHO. ALAFU ILE MAMBO NILISIKIA. NIKAULIZA SERIKALI YA KANU HAWA NI WANANCHI . NI KUKOSA WANAKOSA KAZI NDIYO WANAWEKA ILE 'HAWKER'. WAKAWACHILIWA YOTE.

AUD: [CLAPS]

LEO SI KUTA.....SI KUTAKA KUTAJA TULISEMA NA NANI. NIKAMWAMBIYA 'HAWKER'.. WAKO NA KAZI NYINGI SANA YA KUTAFUTA KURA. AKIENDA KUTAFUTA KURA ANAKUTA ILE... EEH KITU YAKE KUSHAKWENDA. AKIENDA KUTAFUTA KURA, ANASIKIA EH, ILE GUNIA YANGU NAKUTA NAKUSHAKWENDA. NIKAMWAMBIA MUTU MOJA HUYU MKUBWA - KUTOKA LEO 'HAWKER' YA STAREHE WACHANA NAYE KWANZA.

AUD: [CLAPPING AND WHISTLING]

NA ILE ATASUMBULIWA NA 'HAWA' AH ...NA... EJA ASKARI YA 'CITY'; YA 'CITY COUNCIL' AU POLISI AJE ANIONE.

AUD: NDIYO!! [CLAPPING]

MAANA YAKE ANAKWENDA KUTAKUTA KULA KURA KULE KICH.....KULE KULE KULE KULE ALAFU ANAKUTA GUNIA YANGU ANAKWENDA. ALAFU HUU TUNAULIZA UMASKINI? YA PILI MIMI NAPIGA ASANTE SANA KWA WALE WALIWACHA KAZI YAO

WAKAJA HAPA KUTUSIKILISA. MAANA 'HONOURABLE' GUMBA ANATAJA KITU MOJA KUBWA SANA. MIMI SITATAKA KUSHAMBULIA MUTU. LAKINI UKIPINDUKA HAPO KIDOGO, [HE POINTS AT THE AUDIENCE TO GIVE WAY] EBU FANYENI NAMNA HIYO. FANYA HAPO NAMNA HIYO KIDOGO.

EH MNAONA? [HE POINTS AT THE HEAP OF GARBAGE NEARBY]

MNAONA? 'HONOURABLE GUMBA KUJA HAPA KIDOGO. NA USICHOKE. EBU HAPA HONOURABLE GUMBA. KUJA WAKATI ULE IKO MEYA NA MIMI IKO 'DEPUTY' WAKO UNAKWISHA ONA TAKATAKA KAMA HII?

AUD: HAPANA !!

EH MNAONA?

AUD: HAKUNA!!

SI MNAONA? JE HUYU NI UNGWANA?

AUD: SI UNGWANA!!

HUYU NI UNGWANA?

AUD: SI UNGWANA!!

KWA HIVYO KITU YA MAANA NI UTUMWE NA UFANYE KAZI. MIMI APANA TAKA SEMA. HATI SERIKALI HAPANA FANYA KAZI. LAKINI TUNAUJIZA WA 'MAKE MORE IMPROVEMENT OF NAIROBI'. MABIBI NA MABWANA NENO INGINE MOJA LA MAANA AMBAYE LIKO HAPA SASA TUNAWENZA KUONA. HASA MATATU HAYA. HII

ZINAITWA MATATU?

AUD: NDIYO!!

LEO INALETWA HAPA KESHO INATOLEWA NAPELEKWA ILE KONA.

SI KWELI? KESHO KUTWA INATOLEWA INAPELEKWA PANDE ILE.

SI NI KWELI? INGEFAA WAPEWE...WAPEWE UHURU YA BIA SHARA
YAO.

AUD:[CLAPPING]

HIYO YOTE INATOKANA NA KUTOSUNGUMUZA NA KUTOKUWA

NA MWAKILISHI WA NAIROBI. MIMI BADO KUWA 'M.P.'. NA MIMI

NILIMWAMBIA WALE WANASUMBUA 'HAWKER' WAWACHE.

NAMWAMBIA WA...WAS...WASIJARIBU KU ... KUSUMBUA

'HAWKER'WAKAWACHA SABABU MIMI NI WA KANU NA KANU

NDIYO SERIKALI. NI KWELI?

AUD: KWELI!!

KWA HIVYO WALE 'M.P.' MLICHAGUA EH... HAKUNA 'SAY': NI

KUSEMA TU NAPINGA. AKISEMA HUYU WACHILIA YEYE HAWEZI

KUWACHILIWA SABABU ANASEMA YEYE NAPINGA MIMI NATAKA

TUWE NA 'DEVELOPMENT' KATIKA NAIROBI.

MABIBI NA MABWANA KABLA SIJAONDOKA HAPO HAPO NA

MNAJUA MIMI NDIYO 'CHAIRMAN WA STAREHE, IKO WATU INGINE

NINGETAKA KUWAONYESA. KWANZA MINI NANGE... NINGETAKA

'SECRETARY' NA 'TREASURER' WA 'WARD' ZOTE SABA WAJE HAPA.

'CHAIRMAN', 'SECRETARY', 'TREASURER' WA STAREHE 'WARD'
ZOTE SABA KAMA WAKO KAMA WAKO 'SECRETARY TREASURER'
WA 'DIVISION' YA STAREHE. WA DIVISION YA STAREHE [THOSE
CALLED CLIMB THE DAIS]. NA HATA 'SECRETARY' NA KIONGOZI
WA KINA MAMA... HAYUKO. IKO ULAYA.

KWA HIVYO NINGETAKA KILA MOJA - KILA MOJA ASEME
HARAMBEE MOJA ILI MASAA ISIISHE KAMA WEWE BADO
KUSALAMIA WATU YAKO. BWANA 'WONDERFUL' KAMA BADO
KUTOKA HAPA ...[HE CONFERS WITH ANOTHER PERSON]
UNaweza KUSUNGUMZA? BASI ANASEMA ANATAKA
KUSALAMIA WATU YAKE.

AUD: ..EEE!!

NI SAWA SAWA?

AUD: NDIYO!!

KAENI HAPA KARIBU

YANGU YA MWISHO, KURA NI TAREHE KUMI

KURA NI TAREHE KUMI, KWA HIVYO KILA MUTU AWE TAYARI,

YULE MUTU ANAPOTEZA KURA YAKE AENDE ZIWANI KARIOKOR.

NI SAWA SAWA? NA KUAMUKA NI ASUBU?

AUD: ASUBUHI!!

SAA KUMI NA MBILI. NIRUDIE TENA. MKUTANO WETU AMBAYE

'VICE PRESIDENT' NDIYO MGENI WA HESHMA ITAKUA ZIWANI

KARIOKOR. TAREHE TANO SAA SABA....SAA SABA ZIWANI
KARIOKOR NDIYO 'VICE PRESIDENT' ATAKUWA MGENI WA
HESHIMA. WATAKUA VILE VILE NA 'GENERAL SECRETARY'
BWANA J.J. KAMOTHO. TARHE HIYO TANO SAA SABA.

WATAKUWA NA CHAIRMAN WA KANU BWANA NDOLO AYAH KWA
HIVYO TUTAKUWA NA WAGENI NGAPI?

AUD: NNE!!

WAGENI NGAPI?

AUD: NNE, WENGI!!

WAGENI NGAPI?

AUD: WENGI!!

KWA HIVYO KILA MUTU A'MAKE SURE' ANAKWENDA ZIWANI
KARIOKOR TAREHE TANO. YAANI 'FRIDAY' SAA SABA AWE UKO .
VILE VILE KINA MAMA WOTE NA 'YOUTH' WOTE WAENDE UKO
KABLA SIJAMALIZA NINGEULIZA 'COUNCILLOR' WA HAPA... NA
AKUJE SUNGUMUZA... SANA TUNAKWEBDA 'COUNCILLOR'
WONDERFUL'..... KUJA HAPA. KUJA HAPA KARIBU USALAMIE. NA
NI KUSALAMIA TU HAPANA KUZUNGUMZA. SAA MBAYA
[COUNCILLOR TAKES THE MICROPHONE] NA NITARUDI [AS MR.
KIRIMA MOVES AWAY FROM THE DAIS] [END OF HIS SPEECH]

A POLITICAL SPEECH

SHARIFF NASSIR

MOMBASA

SIKU YA LEO INAJISEMEA YENYEWU. HAINA HAJA HATA

KUSEMA .

AUD: (CLAPPING AND MAKING NOISE)

cs
C

KWA SABABU HII AMANI TULIONAYO.

AUD: (A CROW LIKE THAT OF COCK AND CLAPS)

ps
R

NATAKA KUWAMBIÄ NDUGU ZANGU WA KENYA

ps
R

ps
R

WALIOKO HAPA, WALIOKO PAHALI PENGINE KAMA

SI KWA SABABU MUNGU MWENYEWU KUPENDA KUTU-

ps
R

WACHIE KIONGOZI KAMA MTUKUFU RAIS BWANA

ps
R

MOI, TUNGEKUWA NA HATARI KUBWA. KWA

cs
C

ps
R

SABABU NIMEONA ZILE SERIKALI AMBAZO

ZINA KABILA MOJA, DINI MOJA, RANGI MOJA

LUGHA MOJA, MWISHO ZIKIUANA KAMA PAKA .

add
C

ps
R

ps
R

rep
L

ps
R

NA NIKIKUMBUKA SISI HAPA KENYA TULIVYO

NA MAKABILA MENGI DINI NYINGI LAKINI

rep
L

ps
R

MUNGU AKATUWEKA NAMNA HII NA MAPENZI,

ps rep ps ps rep ps ps
R L R R L R R
MIMI NASEMA MUNGU AMBARIKI BWANA MOI. AMPE

ps
R
AFYA. TUZIDI KWENDA MBELE.

AUD: (CLAPPING).

MGENI MHESHIMIWA BAHATI NZURI WEWE SI MTU WA

nm
E
KUELEZWA MAMBO YA MOMBASA AU YA PWANI. NI

rep ps nm adv
L R E C
MTU AMBAYE WAJUA. LAKINI TAABU, PENGINE

ps syn rep
R L L
HUKUFAHAMU ILIKUWA KUTOKA MBELE TAABU. TAABU

ps - rep adv ps ps
R L C R R
KIDOGO ILIKUWA KUTOKA MBELE LAKINI MIMI NIMEZIONA

ps rep rep ps ps ps
R L L R R R
ZILE TAABU. WATU WANALAZIMA... KAMA SISI TUNA

cl ps ps rep
L R R L
'PRESIDENT' MMOJA NA TUKIWA NA 'MAPRESIDENT' WA

SIRI, SABABU KAMA HUKUPITA KWAKE YEYE ULIOKUWA

NA MKUBWA, YEYE ATAKUTAFUTIA NJIA LAZIMA AKUANGU-

add
C
SHE. HATA ZA KUTAFUTIA NDUGU YAKO HASWA. HATI

ps rep
R L
NDIYO INAWEKWA KWA SABABU YA PESA ILI AKUANGUSHE

ps
C
WEWE NA SIJUI SABABU.

AUD : (CLAPPING AND MAKING NOISE)

ps rep rep
R L L
AMPE PESA NDUGU YAKO. AJUE KAMA
cl cl
L L
KUTETA NI HATARI. AMPE MSHANGILIE
rep
L
MAPESA NA AAMBIWE MIMI NDIYO MWENYEWE.

rep rep rep dm
L L L R
HIZI NI ZA BWANA PRESIDENT MOI. HUYU

add ps
C R
NASSIR NI BURE. NA MIMI NASEMA
ps
R
NITAKUWA 'MY LOYALTY'.... WATU WA

MAGAZETI WAANDIKE, 'STRAIGHT TO
rep rep
L L
PRESIDENT - MOI AND NO OTHER MAN'.
syn
L

AUD: SEMA MZEE, SIASA MCHEZO (CLAPPING) !!

ps rep rep
R L L
TUMEKUWA 'RAFIKI' NA 'PRESIDENT' MOI:
ps ps
R R R
AMEKUWA VICE-PRESIDENT WANGU. AMEKUWA
rep ps
L R
PRESIDENT WANGU.

add ps ps
 C R R
 NA MIMI NIMEONA MAMBO ANAYOFANYA YANA HERI NA
 ps ps ps ps
 R R R R
 MTOTO WANGU NA NDUGU YANGU. HAKUNIDHARAU
 ps ps
 R R
 MIMI KWA SABABU KIDOGO NI MWEUPE AU NINA NYWELE
 * ps ps rep ps
 R R L R
 NYAZIZA. ANIFIKIRIA KAMA NDUGU YAKE. LEO WENGINE
 rep
 L
 HAPA, HATA HAWAJAPATA UONGOZI, MWANGALIE YULE

MWARABU. NYINYI, KETINI HUKO NYUMA TUONGEE.

AUD: [INTERRUPTED BY CLAPPING AND NOISE]

cs
 C
 KWA HIVYO SIASA KAMA HIZI
 rep rep rep rep
 L L L L
 AUD: SEMA:SEMA:SEMA:MZEE

ps rep rep ps
 R L L R
 YA ZAMANI AMBAYO MTUKUFU RAIS HAZITAKI TENA
 ps rep
 R
 KUZISIKIA. WATU WASIGAWANYWE MALIENDA MASHAMBA

cl
 L
 ENDA* HUYU 'CHAIRMAN' WA KANU ANAPATA SHILINGI

NGAPI MSHAHARA ATOBOKE ATAKAOGA*

AUD: (MAKING NOISE WHICH SUBMERGED SPEAKERS VOICE)

adv rep
 C L
 LAKINI NI HATA UKISIKIA WATU WENGINE WANATAKA
 ps ps
 R R
 KUANZA KAZI KUBWA HATI WALIOZIPINGA MIMI. MIMI
 NASIKITIKA JAMENI.

AUD: (MAKING NOISE)

rep
L
WANAMDANGANYA NANI NDUGU?

AUD: JOGOO (NOISY)

adv
C
LAKINI IWE UKWELI TUKETINI TUPENDANE.

AUD: [A CROW LIKE COCK] !!

ps rep ps rep
R L R L
MIMI NAWAMBIA NDUGU ZANGU WA PWANI NA
rep
L
WALE WANAOSHISHI HAPA. HAKUNA MTU
ps ps
R R
ANAWAPENDA NYINYI. YUKO MMOJA ALIWAPA

SHAMBA?

AUD: HAKUNA

cl
E
rep ps
L R
YUKO MMOJA ALIWAPA KAZI?

AUD: HAKUNA

cl
E
cm ps
C R
SASA NYINYI MWATETEMESHA KWA NJIA ISIYO

ps
R
KUWA NA MAANA YA KITU GANI? MWATAKA

rep cl rep
L L L
NINI UONGOZI? UTACHAGULIWA NA WATU.

rep
L
HAKUNA SAA YA KUSINGIZIA 'PRESIDENT'

rep ps rep
L R L
MOI HATAKI NASSIR. ALIKWAMBIA SAA NGAPI?

CHUMBANI KWAKO?

rep rep rep rep
L L L L
AUD: SEMA MZEE SEMA SEMA (- NOISY)

add C NA IKIWA NI KWELI, BAINA MIMI NA PRESIDENT

ps R AWEZA KUNIITA NAAM NASSIR 'COME HERE

syn L MY BROTHER (STRESSING WITH HIS HANDS)

ps R WE WILL SEE! ps R KUJA TUJADILIE. cs C KWA HIVYO

rep L YETU SISI NASEMA MGENI MHESHIMIWA TUNATAKA

rep L AMANI. KILA MTU KAMA ALIVYOSEMA MEYA

* rep L KUNGU NJERE IKIISHWA... KAMA MTU HAKUWEZA

ps R KUZUIA KITI CHAKE MWENYEWI MIMI NAZUIA

ps R CHANGU CHA MVITA. nm E PENZA HUKUZUIA CHAKO

nm E CHA LIKONI HUKUZUIA CHAKO CHA KISAUNI?

rep L ps R rep L NASEMA NASSIR ALIPOTEZA KITI NA MIMI

CHANGU NAKIZUIA.

adv C rep L rep L rep L LAKINI BWANA LEO NI SIKU YA MOI 'DAY'.

ps R MIMI NATAKA KUOMBA NDUGU ZANGU WA

MOMBASA , MUKIONA WATU WANA 'TITLE DEED'

AU WALETE MAALOTMENT WAUZA BARABARANI

ps R ps R MSINUNUE. MPAKA MUJE MUONE PALE PAHALI.

rep L rep L rep L MPAKA UENDE UKAONE PALE PAHALI. KUNA

rep L WENGINE WANANUNUA HUKO KUNA WATU

MI TANO MIA SITA. UNANUNUA WEWE YULE MTU
 ANAKUUZIA KUKUFANYA WEWE MJINGA AKUWACHIA JASHO.
 UNAFIKIRI SISI TUTA'ONGOZA WALE WATU MIA TATU
 AU WATU MIA TANO? KWA SABABU WEWE PESA ZAKO?
 TUTAKUPA PESA ZAKO NA TUWAREGESHEE MASHAMBA
 WALE WALIOKO PALE PALE.

AUD: NDIYO, NDIYO (CLAPPING) !!
 BWANA 'P.C.' MGENI WETU WA HESHIMA MIMI SIWEZI KU...
 LEO NI SIKU YA MOI DAY. NATAKA KUKUOMBA WEWE
 UENDE UKATUPELEKEE SALAMU MOJA TU. KAMA WATU
 WA LAMU, MABAJUNI, WADIGO WALIOKO HAPA MAMBO
 YA MIPAKA NA MAMBO YA USAFIRI TUFANYIWE VILE VILE
 MLUO AKITOKA KISUMU KWENDA UGANDA. MASAI AKITOKA
 KI... MASAI KUENDA NYAN.... EE.... TANZANIA NA
 WABALUHYA WALIOKO KATIKA BUSIA. VILE VILE SISI
 TUMEZAANA. KUNA BAJONI MMOJA HUKO LAMU
 NA MMOJA HUKO MOSHI. TUMEZAANA HAPA WADIGO
 KUTOKA GARISA MPAKA VANGA. WANAUUANA SHARTI
 WALINDWE.

cs
C
KWA HIVYO TUNAIOMBA SERIKALI 'THROUGH'
ps ps
R R
MOI'DAY' TENA NITAMALIZA NIRUDI NA HAPA
rep
L
UBADILISHE UKASEMA NASSIR.

AUD: (CROW AS COCK) !!
rep rep
L L
VILE WANAVYOFANYIA WALUO NDUGU ZETU
rep
L
WAPENZI WETU WATUFANYIE VILE VILE. VILE
rep rep
L L
WANAVYOFANYIA WABALUHYA WATUFANYIE
rep rep
L L
VILE VILE. VILE WANAVYOFANYIA MAASAI
rep
L
WATUFANYIE VILE VILE. NYINYI WATU MWAKUBALI
NYINYI?

AUD: NDIYO HIVYO !! c1
S
HAYA INUENI MIKONO JUU WASIKIE

AUD: (MAKING NOISE) !!
rep rep rep
L L L
WATU WANATAKA MAPENZI BWANA P.C.
ps
R
WANATAKA UKWELI WA MAMBO AMBAYO NI
ps ps
R R
MAZURI. SISI TUNAAMINI. MIMI MWENYEWU
ps rep rep
R L L
NIMEKUWA NDANI YA SIASA KWA MIAKA THELATHINI.
rep rep
L L
KAMA HAKU NA TENA SIASA KATIKA KENYA.

AUD: (A CROW OF COCK;) !! ,

rep
L
NI MTU ATAKA KUPIGANIA KUWA MBUNGE,
ATAKA KUWA 'COUNCILLOR'. ATAKA KUWA
ps
R
CHOCHOTE. LAKINI HAKUNA SIASA. SIASA
rep rep
L L
TULIZONAZO NI KUWASAIDIA. NINA HARAMBEE
ps
R
KUMI NA NANE BWANA P.C.. UKIPATA SHILINGI
rep rep ps
L L R
ps ps ps
R R R
MBILI UNILETEE. NINAFANYA HAPA BONDENI

'GIRLS SECONDARY SCHOOL', MVITA 'BOYS
rep
L
SCHOOL'. NAFANYA HUKO MTONGWE HARAMBEE.

KWENGINEKO NA GONG KWA MAYOR. KILA
ps ps syn rep ps
R R L L R
PAHALI. AJE ANISAIDIE HARAMBEE ASINISAIDIE.

KUTUKANA HAPA SI KITU. AMA NINI?

syn
L
AUD: WAMBIE BABA !!

ps rep
R L
TUSAIDIANE NA WALE MAOFISA WA KANU WOTE

TUTAWEKA KWA SABABU NAONA ILE OFISI
rep rep rep
L L L
YA KANU INAKETI BURE. KITU CHA KUFANYA

ps rep
R L
NITAONGEZA ZEREHANI ZILE THELATHINI UPATE

rep
L
KUSHONA KATIKA KANU NA PIA PAHALI PA
rep
L
KUFUNDISHA NAMNA YA KUFANYA SEREMALA

NA NAMNA YA KUJENGA NYUMBA. NA NATIA
 'TYPEWRITER' JANUARI TUTAMWALIKA BWANA
 P.C. AJE ATUFUNGULIE. WALE WATOTO
 WASIOKUWA NA KAZI WAPATE KUJISAIDIA NA
 KAZI. LAKINI MSINIPINGE MIMI SIENDI KWA
 MTU YOYOTE KUPITA KWA BWANA MOI.
 NIKITAKA NITAKWENDA MWENYEWE. HATA
 MUMENIPINGA KUTOKA 'NINETEEN SEVENTY
 FOUR'. MUMENIPINGA 'NINETEEN NINETY',
 MUNANIPINGA MPAKA SASA. LAKINI MIMI
 'I WILL NEVER GO OUT OF MY LINE, WITH
 MOI ALONE'

AUD: TUKO NA WEWE (CLAPPING) !!

End

A POLITICAL SPEECH

KIMONDO WAGURA

NAIROBI

WASICHANA, VIJANA HAMJAMBO?

Ps

R

AUD : HATUJAMBO !!

Ps

R

HAMJAMBO TENA?

Ps

R

AUD: HATUJAMBO !!

KAZI YETU LEO NI KAZI KIDOGO. NI E^{nm}

KUONYESHA IMANI YETU NA UAMINIVU WETU KWA RAIS

dm

R.

MOI PAMOJA NA SERIKALI. HIYO : NDIYO TUKONAYE HAPA;

add

C

NA KUAMBIA BWANA ODONGO, KENYA HAIKO TAYARI

rep

L

rep

L

rep

L

KURUDI MSITUNI. TUTARUDI KUFANYA KAZI GANI NA KAZI

rep

L

TULIFANYA TUKAMALIZA? WAKATI TULIKWENDA MSITUNI

e1

L

ILIKUWA MARA MOJA. TULIKWENDA KUPIGANIA UHURU NA

rep

L

TUKAPATA. HII TAABU GANI NYINYI, NA TUNA UHURU WETU?

cs

C

ps

R

ps

R

KWA HIVYO PAHALI POPOTE ALIPO NA WALE WANAMWEKA

ps

R

ps

R

WAJUE AKIJA HAPA HAWATAONA NYAMA ZAKE. TUTAGAWA-

NYA KIDOGO KIDOGO

(AUD: [CLAPPING])

IKWE SIKU HIYO NDIYO CHAKULA UGALI.
cs rep rep Ps Ps
C L L R R
KWA HIVYO KAZI YA NAIROBI, NA MIMI SITAKI

rep
L
KUCHUKUA MUDA MUREFU, NI MOJA. KAZI YA

rep
L
NAIROBI NI NYINYI VIONGOZI WOTE TUWE

ps
R
PAMOJA. TUSEME NA MSEMOMOJA NA ILE MSEMOMO

ps ps cl
R R L
TUTASEMA NAYE NDIYE ITATUONYESHA 'ELECTION

ps cl
R L
YA 1997 KAMA TUTASHINDA.

AUD: 'VERY GOOD' [CLAPPING]!!

adv ps
C R
LAKINI KUKIWA TUTAWACHANA WAKATI HUU

rep ps
L R
HATA WAKATI WA 'ELECTION' TUTAWACHANA.

cs ps rep
C R L
KWA HIVYO NINGEWAULIZA VIONGOZI WOTE

cl nm nm
L E E
NYINGI YA KANU. SIJUI NI MIA MBILI NI MIA

rep
L
NNE. MTU AJE AKIWA ANATAKA KITI. HATA

ps ps ps ps
R R R R
MIMI NIKIKOSA MIMI NITAKUWA NYUMA YENU

ps ps
R R
NA VILE MTANIAMBIA NI HIVYO NITASEMA

AUD: [CLAPPING]

ps
R

NIMESHAKUWA 'MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT'

add
C

ps
R

vb
E

NA MULIONA NIKIMWACHIA KIRIMA. HAMUKUONA?

vb
E

AUD:

TULIONA !!

rep ps cl
L R L

KWA SI KUKUAMINI UMOJA TUNGEPIGANA NA

rep
L

adv
C

rep
L

rep
L

ps
R

cl
L

KIRIMA. LAKINI KUKUAMINI UMOJA HATUKUPIGANA.

add ps
C R

ps
R

NA MINI NDIYO NILIKUWA MSTARI WAMBELE WA

ps any
R L

KUMUUNGA MKONO NA KUSEMA UKIWA HUTAKI

rep
L

ps
R

ps
R

cs
C

KIRIMA, HATA MIMI HUNITAKI. KWA HIVYO

rep
L

cl
L

cs
C

TUNATAKA WATU WA NAIROBI WASIKANE. NA

rep
L

TUKISIKANA TUTAMWESHA NA TUTARAHISIZA

rep
L

rep
L

rep
L

KAZI KWA MTUKUFU RAIS.

rep
L

AUD:

VERY GOOD [CLAPPING] !!

add
C

ps
R

ps
R

NA TENA MIMI NIKISIKIZA KWA RADIO NA KWA

ps
R

rep
L

rep
L

ps
R

T.V. NANSIKIA RAIS WETU MTUKUFU AKIENDA

rep
L

KATIKA PAHALI KATIKA DUNIA HII YA KENYA.

add ps ps ps ps
C R R R R
NA MIMI SIJASIKIA AKISEMA HATAKI KABILA FULANI.

rep
L
AUD: VERY GOOD [CLAPPING] !!

cs rep rep
C L L
KWA HIVYO SISI SOTE TUKIWA WATU WA KENYA
rep rep
L L
HATUNA KABILA ...KABILA YETU NI KENYA

AUD: NDIYO [CLAPPING] !!

cs ps ps
C R R
KWA HIVYO MIMI SITAKI KUCHOKEZA KWA SABABU
rep rep rep
L L L
KUNA WATU. KUNA VIONGOZI WENGI WATAKAOSEMA.
adv ps rep
C R L
LAKINI KUNA KITU MOJA MIMI NATAKA KUSEMA.

HABARI YA HIYO 'PERMIT' MNASIKIA MIKIAMBIWA.

ps ps
R R
SI MIMI NILIJICHAGUA KUENDA KUCHUKUA
rep rep
L L
'PERMIT'. NI VIONGOZI HAWA WALIKAA CHINI
rep rep rep
L L L
WAKASEMA WEWE KIMONDO CHUKUA 'PERMIT'.

cs rep
C L
KWA HIVYO NI JUKUMU YA VIONGOZI WOTE WA
rep rep cl ps
L L L R
NAIROBI KUCHUKUA 'LICENCE' HIYO. MIMI
add rep rep
C L L
NI ASKARI. NA ASKARI KAZI YAKE NI KUAMBIWA

cl_L rep_L rep_L ps_R rep_L
NATAKA KUMUWA. UA MUTU HII. NIKIUA NDIYO

ps_R ps_R cs_C
NITAUJIZA MAKOSA. NIMEFANYA MAKOSA? KWA

rep_L rep_L rep_L
HIVYO KUCHUKUA HIYO 'LICENCE' MTU

rep_L rep_L rep_L rep_L
ASICHUKUE KAMA NI KIMONDO. MTU ACHUKUE

rep_L rep_L
NI VIONGOZI WOTE WA NAIROBI PAMOJA NA

NYINYI.

AUD: SAWA [CLAPPING] !!

ps_R ps_R
KWA HAYA MACHACHE MIMI NITAISHIA HAPO.

adv_C rep_L rep_L
LAKINI NATAKA TUHUBIRI UMOJA; UMOJA;

rep_L syn_L
UMOJA; MZEE ASIKIE. ASANTE SANA.

cl_L
HARAMBEE. !!

AUD: JOGOO. !!

rep_L
JOGOO NYAYO ASANTE.

A POLITICAL SPEECH

JHAZI MOHAMED

MOMBASA

AASALAM ALEIKUM ALHAMUDULAH! WABARAKATU. tm SASA _C

NATAKA KUWAPONGEZA NDUGU WAISLAMU WOTE AMBAO ^{cl}

WAMEFANYA KAZI KUBWA SANA. TUMEKUWA NA MWEZI ^{ps}

WA RAMADHANI NA TUKAJAALIWA KUUMALIZA NA FURAHA. ^{cl} ^{ps} ^{cl}

INGAWA ULIKUWA NI WA KWELI WA MSUKOSUKO. LAKINI ^{adv} ^{ps} ^{adv}

NAFIKIRI TULIPEWA 'TEST' NA MWENYEZI MUNGU KUONA ^{cl} ^{ps} ^{cl}

JE WANGALIKO AU WAMEREGAREGA? NAFIKIRI TUMEPASI ^{ps} ^{ps} ^{cl} ^{ps}

'TEST' HIYO NA WALE AMBAO WANAENDELEA NA SITA ^{rep} ^{ps} ^{cl}

TUOMBEANE ILI TUIMALIZE NA PIA TUPATE FAIDA YAKE. ^{adv} ^{ps}

LAKINI NATAKA KUMPONGEZA SANA BWANA CHAIRMAN KWA ^{cl} ^{ps}

KUANDAA MKUTANO HUU NA VILE VILE KWA 'SPEECH' ^{vb} ^S

YAKE AMBAYO AMETUELEZA KINAGANAGA MAANA NA

MADHUMUNI YA MKUTANO. PIA AKADONDOA SHIDA ^{add} ^{ps} ^{cl}

AMBAZO ZINATUKABILI KATIKA ENEO LETU LA MJI NA

JIMBO LA PWANI. AKATOA PIA.... AAH MASHAURI YA ^{ps} ^{any}

NAMNA TUNAWEZA KUTATUA SHIDA HIZO. LAKINI KAMA ^{rep} ^{adv}

WASEMAVYO WAZEE WA TANGU HAPO KALE KWAMBA UMOJA
 NI NGUVU NA KUTENGANA NI UDHAIFU. tm_C SASA TUMEPATA
 BAHATI KUBWA YA KUONYESHA ^{rep}_L NGUVU YETU NA KAMA
 KWELI TWAWASHWA SISI NA SHIDA ^{rep}_L HIZI TUMEPATA NAFASI
 YA KUONYESHA ULMWENGU ^{syn}_L MZIMA UTUNGU WETU TULIO
 NAO KWAMBA SISI TWATOKA NJE NA TUNA HIVI (CLENCED
 FIRST]

JAMBO LINALOTUWASHA tm_C KWANZA NI ODONGO AU SIYO BWANA? ^{cl}_S
 ODONGO ^{rep}_L ATUWASHA ^{ps}_R HATULALI. ^{rep}_L KENYA NZIMA HAILALI KWA
 AJILI YA NANI?

AUD: ^{rep}_L ODONGO !! ^{cl}_E

^{rep}_L ODONGO HUYU ^{ps}_{dm} MMOJA. ^{ps}_R NA MINI NAFIKIRIA KWAMBA

BWANA RAIS MUSEVENI AKIKAA NA AKALALA AKAPIMA FAIDA
 YA KUWA NA UHUSIANO WA ^{rep}_L KENYA NZIMA NA WATU WA

KENYA ULIOANZA TANGU HAPO JADI NA JADI, ZAMA NA

^{ps}_R ZAMA NA AKAMWONA ^{rep}_L ODONGO HUYO ^{ps}_{dm} MMOJA ^{ps}_R AKAMWEKA ^{ps}_R

KWENYE ^{rep}_L MIZANI YAKE IKAPIMA IKAONA ODONGO NI BORA

KULIKO UHUSIANO HUU, ^{cl} NAONA NI KAMA KIONGOZI

ALIVYOKO MUSEVENI SIJUI KAMA MIZANI YAKE YAWEZA

rep L rep L cl E
KUMWAMBIA ODONGO NI BORA KULIKO KENYA NZIMA? AU
rep L rep L cs C ps R ps R
WATU WA KENYA. KWA HIVYO ASEME ASEMAVYO LAKINI

MWISHO WA HAYO YOTE ODONGO TUTAMPATA HAPA NCHINI.

rep L ps R rep L
ODONGO ATAKUJA NA HAPA HAPA NI NUSU MTU KIHOLELA.

rep L ps R ps R
ODONGO ATAPATIKANA NA MASHTAKA NA ASIMAME NA
ps R cl S
AULIZWE KISA NA MAANA. AU SIVYO WANANCHI?

AUD: NDIYO!! cl E

cs C cl L
KWA HIVYO MIMI NAAMINI HAYA MADAI YETU NI YA HAKI

TUPU. KILA MAHALI AMBAPO... (USES HAND SIGNALS).

ps R
JUZI MWAMERIKA ALIMRUSHA MPAKISTANI MMOJA. ALITEKWA

ps L rep L ps R rep L ps R
AKACHUKULIWA MPAKA AMERIKA AKASHTAKIWA KUWA YEYE
rep L
ALIKUWA KIONGOZI WA KUPIGA BOMU ILE INTER... EEH?

CONFERENCE CENTRE KATIKA NEW YORK?

ps R
HAWAKUMCHUKUA?

ps R
AUD: WALIMCHUKUA!!

rep L
PENGINE MLIKUWA HAMJUI ALIBEBWA BWANA JUU, JUU

rep L
RAIS JUU, EEH NANI?

cl
L
PRIME MINISTER BHUTO ALIMTOA. rep rep
L L JUZI JUZI YULE MARCOS

dm
R
AITWAJE, SIJUI NANI YULE?

AUD: CARLO !! vb
E

rep rep ps rep rep ps
L L R L L L
CARLOS, CARLOS ALIETWA JUU JUU SUDAN. ALIKUWA

ps dm rep rep ps rep
R R L L R L
AMEJIFICHA KULE. RAIS WA SUDAN ALIMTOA CARLO.

rep ps
L R
CARLO ALISHTAKIWA PARIS KWA KUWA GAIDI WA DUNIA

cl
S
NZIMA. AU SIYO BWANA?

AUD: NDIYO!! cl
E

tm rep rep
C L L L
SASA MADAI HAYA SIYO YA KENYA TU KWAMBA TWAANZISHA

cl
L
SISI BWANA NI MTINDO WA DUNIA NZIMA. HASA HAYA

hyp
L
MATAIFA MAKUBWA NDIYO YAMEANZA KUTUONYESHA!

rep
L
MTU AKIWA CHOKOCHOKO-CHOKO, KAJIFICHA PAHALI

rep
L
MAFICHONI TUSHAMGUNDUA, NI HAKI YETU KUMDAI, AU

cl
S
SIYO?

AUD: NDIYO!! cl
E

rep rep rep
L L L
NI SHERIA YA DUNIA HII YOTE NA TUSHAONYESHWA MIFANO

rep ps ps rep
L R R L
YAKE. AMERIKA WAMETUONYESHA. M FARANSA AMETUONYESHA.

ps dm ps
R R R
SI NDIO WAKUBWA WA DEMOKRASIA HAWA? WANAOTWAMBIA

ps rep rep
R L L
WAO LAZIMA TUFUATE DEMOKRASIA. KAMA HAMKUFUATA

rep
L
'DEMOCRACY' MTANYIMWA PESA. KAMA HAMKUFANYA HIVI
nm ps ps rep
E R R L
SASA TWAIFUATA ILE YAO AMBAYO WAMETUONYESHA MFANO.
rep ps
L R
ODONGO HATAKUJA?

ps
R
AUD: ATAKUJA!!

ps rep rep cs rep
R L L C L
ATAKUJA NA TWAMDAI KIHAKI. KWA HIVYO BWANA

rep
CHAIRMAN TUNAKUSHUKURU NA HIYO SI YA HAPA. SIKU

YA MAANDAMANO NDIO HASA SABABU TUTAZITOA ZA
rep rep rep ps
L - L L R
ODONGO NA TUNATUMAI MPAKA HAPO RAIS MUSEVENI ATAKUWA
ps ps rep
R R L
ASHAAMUA KUMWITA ODONGO (CLAPPING OF HANDS).

tm tm
C C
TATU SITATUKUWA MUDA MREFU. TATU NI KUWA HAWA
rep
L
NDUGU ZETU WA UPINZANI WABTU... MI... HASA ZAIDI

WANIFANYA NIWAFIKIRIE NI WATU WA NAMNA GANI? NI
rep ps ps
L R R
VIONGOZI AU NI MAPANYAKOO AMBAO WAMEKUJA TU AU
ps cs ps
R C R
WAKAJALIWA KUJA. KWA SABABU MI-SIELEWI MSIMAMO WAO.

add dm
C R
NA NDIO NIKAENDA NIKACHUNGUA NIKAKAA HUKO.
ps rep ps
R L R
NAWAJUA MPAKA NDANI. NDANI YA MATUMBO YAO

(CLAPPING).

cs ps rep
C R L
KWA SABABU HAWANA MSIMAMO. JUZI MADAKTARI WALIPO
ps rep
R L
GOMA BADALA YA WAO KAMA VIONGOZI KUTULIZA MAMBO

ps ps ps
R R R
WALIUNGANA NA MADAKTARI. MSI... MSI... FANYE
ps rep cl cl cl
R L L L L
KAZI MSIFANYE MAMBO SPITALI. MSITIBU WAGONJWA
ps adv
R C
WAKAENDELEA... LAKINI HAKUNA ANAYEWEZA KUTATUA

MATATIZO BAINA YA MFANYIKAZI NA TAJIRI YAKE

rep add rep
L C L
ISIPOKUWA NI SERIKALI YENYEWI. NA NI SERIKALI
ps rep add rep
R L C L
ILİYOKUWA IMEWAAJIRI MADAKTARI. NA NI SERIKALI TU
ps ps ps rep ps
R R R L R
PEKEE YAKE AMBAYO INGETATUA NA MADAKTARI IKATATUA.
ps rep ps
R L R
JE WALIPOKETI PAMOJA OPPOSITION ILISHAURIWA?

ps
R
AUD: HAIKUSHAURIWA!!

ps rep rep rep
R L L L
SI WALISIKIZANA? MADAKTARI SI WALIFANYA KAZI?

rep
L
AUD: WALIIFANYAA!! nm
E

rep ps ps
L R R
OPPOSITION NA KUPINGA KWAKE NA KUWAUNGA MKONO

ps
R
WALIISHIA WAPI?

ps ps
R R
(LAUGHTER) WAKAACHWA WAKICHUNGULIA KAMA KOZMEN

dm rep
R L
WAMEGOMAA. WAA... WALE WA UNIVERSITY. WAALIMU

rep rep ps ps rep
L L R R L
WA UNIVERSITY. OPPOSITION TUNAWAUNGA WAMEWAUNGA !!

rep cl adv any
L L C L
WAGOMEI KUSOMESHA VIJANA WETU. BADALA YA KUTULIZA

any
L
NA KUPOZA MOTO WAO WANAONGEZA PETROLI KWA FAIDA

YA NANI.

AUD: YAO!!^{c1} E
rep
L
KARIBU MWAKA MZIMA VYUO VIKUU VIMEFUNGWA KIUCHO-
CHEZI. TUSII: SI HAWANA CHA KUWAPA. MWISHO WATU^{rep}
ps
R
WALISIKIZANA. AU SIYO?^{c1} S

AUD: NDIYO !!^{c1} E-
rep L ps R ps R rep L
VYUO VIKUU VINAFUNGULIWA WANAENDELEA. OPPOSITION
rep L ps R ps R rep L
WAMEACHWA NJE WAKICHUNGULIA. WAO NI MAKOZMEN
EEEEH? MPAKA LEO KIILA KINACHOTOKEA. JUZI KULI-
rep L ps R
TOKEA MUSHKILI KIDOGO NA BALOZI WA AMERIKA. WAO
ps R rep L rep L
NI WANAKENYA HATA KAMA BALOZI WA AMERIKA ATAFAN-
rep L rep L ps R
NYWAJE NI KATI YA SERIKALI NA AMERIKA, WAO
rep L ps R
OPPOSITION IN RAIA. LAZIMA WASIMAME KAMA
ps R rep L c1 S
WANAKENYA AU SIVYO?

AUD: NI KWELI!!^{c1} E
ps R rep L ps R
WANAKWENDA KUMWANGUKIA YULE BALOZI WANAMRAMBAA
ps R ps R rep L
MAGUU. WANAJIFANYA WAO WAAMERIKA ZAIDI. SIYO
rep L ps R rep L ps R
WANAKENYA. WANASHAMBULIA SERIKALI YAO (POINTING
rep L
TO SELF) KWA KITENDO AMBACHO MABALOZI WANGAPI

ULAYA NA WAPI WATEKWA NYARA, WAUAWA WAFANYWA
 MAMBO. HATA BALOZI WETU WENYEWE KATIKA KENYA.
 HIYO HUTOKEA KATIKA UBALOZI NA BALOZI ASHAFUNDISHWA
 NAMNA YA KUJITETEA YEYE MWENYEWE. KUNA SHERIA ZA
 ULIMWENGU ZA DUNIA NZIMA. BALOZI AKIFANYWA HIVI
 AJITETEA HIVI (USES HAND, SIGNALS) NA UHUSIANO SIYO
 KATI YA BALOZI NA KENYA. UHUSIANO NI KATI YA
 BALOZI NA NCHI YAKE. LAKINI MABALOZI WAMEFANYWA
 WAO NI MAGAVANA WETU HAPA NA OPPOSITION. KUKI-
 TOKEA KITU KIDOGO BALOZI ASEMA KAMA YEYE
 AMEPEWA YEYE NDIYE ANATAWALA HAPA. AMBAPO
 SIVYO. NA NI JUU YA OPPOSITION KAMA MAMBO HAYO
 YAMETOKEA WASIMAME NA SERIKALI YAO KAMA WAKENYA.
 HATA WAKAENDA AMERIKA HAWAWEZI KUWA WAAMERIKA.
 NA PALE WALIPOSIKIZANA KATIKATI YA SERIKALI YA
 KENYA NA YA AMERIKA KUHUSU KITENDO HICHO MISAMAHA
 IKASEMWA, OPPOSITION ILIACHWA WAPI? WALISHAURIWA?
 WALIITWA KATIKA MKUTANO HUO? BASI WAMEJIFANYA

ps R ps R ps R rep L
 WAPUMBAVU NA WAJINGA WASIOKUWA NA UONGOZI HATA
 rep L cs rep L
 KIDOGO. KWA CHIVYO WANANCHI TUTACHUKUA SERIKALI
 rep L
 YA KENYA HII TUKUFU NA VILE VILIVYOMO VYOTE TUMPE

WAMALWA KIJANA?

AUD: [LAUGHTER CLAPPING) HAPAANA !! c¹_E
 ps R ps R
 APEWE YEYE. HAYA TWAKWAMINI WEWE TUTALALA SISI
 rep L
 HAPA? APEWE RAILA ODINGA? WAZEZA KUTUKUA KENYA
 rep L ps R
 UKAMPA RAILA ODINGA MKONONI? UMWAMBIE HAYA...

syn L vb E
 AUD: AAAA MATATIZO!! E
 dm p rep L
 NANI YUKO KULE AMBAYE MWATAKA TUMPE YEYE UZITO WA
 rep L *
 KENYA HUU TULIO NAYO. TUMELE MIAKA YOTE HIYO?

c¹_E rep L
 AUD: HAAKUNA UMPE OPPOSITION TUTAMPANANI?

AUD: HAAKUUNA!! c¹_E
 rep L
 HATA WAKIWA CHAMA KIMOJA CHA WATU KAMA KUMI.
 rep L
 NAANI UNAAMINI KENYA APEWE?

AUD: HAKUNA !! c¹_E

KUENDESHA NCHII HII? vb E

AUD: HAKUNA!! c¹_E

KULINDA UMMA HUU? ^{vb}_E

AUD: HAKUU !! ^{cl}_E

NA KULETA AMANI? ^{cl}_E

AUD: HAKUNAA !! ^{cl}_E

KUSHINDA RAIS MOI? ^{vb}_E

AUD: HAKUUNA !! ^{cl}_E

^{ps}_R HAKUNA WAO ^{ps}_R WENYEWE ^{ps}_R WAMETUJONYESHA ^{ps}_R HAWAWEZI

AUD: HATA KIDOGO!! ^{vb}_E

^{cs}_C KWA HIVYO SISI NI LAZIMA NA LAZIMA TUSIKAE TU HIVI

^{rep}_L HIVI. HAWA WATU TUPIGANE NAO KIUME NA KIKE VILE

^{rep}_L VILE. TUPIGANE NAO BILA HAYA.

AUD: BILA WASIWASI!! ^{vb-cl}_E

^{rep}_L BWANA CHAIRMAN ^{rep}_L TANGAZA ^{rep}_L VITA NA OPPOSITION.

^{ps}_R TUSIWACHEZEE ^{ps}_R HIVI HIVI K UWASHIKASHIKA ^{ps}_R HIVI TUWA...

^{ps}_R WAJUE ^{rep}_L HICHI NI ^{cl}_L CHAMA CHA ^{cl}_L TAWALA NA KINA

"MAJORITY".

AUD: [CLAPPING]

^{ps}_R WANAONA ^{add}_C ETI BADO ^{ps}_R MNYANG'ANYIRO ^{ps}_R PIA WANAVYO-

JIPELEKA NI KWAMBA UCHAGUZI HAUKUFANYWA.

rep L ps R
HAKUNA RAIS ALIYECHAGULIWA BADHO TU KUNA
ps R ps R
UBISHI HAPA NA PALE. WAKIFANYA HIVI WAO WANAWA-
rep L ps R
WEZA KUCHUKUA UONGOZI WATAUCHUKUA KUTOKA WAPI?

cl
E
AUD: 'NEVER!!!

ps R rep L rep L ps R
WALISHINDWA KIKURA. MIMI NILIKUWA HUKO SIKU
ps R
HIZO. TULISHINDWA .

AUD: (LAUGHTER)

ps R rep L rep L ps R rep L
WALISHINDWA KIKURA. WALISHINDWA KIKILA AINA
add C ps R
NA WALIPATA VITI FULANI FULANI. NAIROBI
rep L ps R
UANGALIE SI OPPOSITION WALISHINDA KATIKA
cl S
UDIWANI? AU SIVYO?

cl S
AUD: NDI VYO!!

rep
L
ILE CITY NAIROBI COUNCIL ILE YATAWALIWA NA KINA

NANI?

rep vb
L E
AUD: NA OPPOSITION !!

rep
L
NA KANU?

AUD: HAPANA !! cl
E

vb
E
NA NANI?

- rep
L vb
AUD: UPINZANI !! E

rep ps rep
L R L
SI UPINZANI? WAMEIWEZA KUENDESHA NAIROBI?

vb
AUD: HAWAWEZI !! E

cl
MPAKA SASA KUMEKUWA NA MAYOR WAWILI (USING TWO

add rep
C L
FINGERS TO SHOW) TENA KAMA SERIKALI, KAMA

ps dm ps ps
R R R R
ISINGEKUWA KUZUIA HUYU ANGEKUWA HAYUKO.

rep ps
L R
SASA LEO WANGEKUWA WATAWALA WAO NI PRESIDENT

rep
L
LEO TUNGEKUWA NA NANI?

AUD: 'NEVER'!! ^{c1}_E

AUD: (NOISE OF RESPONSE COULDN'T BE
BE DECIPHERED ON TAPE]

NA PALE TULIAMBIWA NA YULE ALIYEKUWA SIKU MOJA

^{rep}_L
...NIPENI JAPO KWA SIKU MOJA.

AUD: (LAUGHTER)

^{rep}_L ^{rep}_L ^{rep}_L ^{rep}_L
NIPENI JAPO SIKU MOJA NITAWALE

AUD: (LAUGHTER)

^{rep}_L ^{rep}_L ^{ps}_R
YEYE ANGEPEWA KENYA INGEKUWA IKO SIKU HII?

^{cs}_C ^{rep}_L
BASI MABWANA, MIMI SINA MANENO MENGI. LAKINI

^{rep}_L ^{c1}_L
NATAKA KILA MMOJA WENU AJUE HII NI VITA SI MCHEZO

WA BAO. HII NI NINI?

AUD: VITAA!! ^{vb}_E

^{add}_C ^{adv}_C
NA SASA SISI TUNA NGUVU NYINGI. LAKINI TUSITUMIE

^{rep}_L
NGUVU HIZI KAMA AMBAYE ANAZO PESA CHUNGUNZIMA.

^{adv}_C ^{rep}_L
LAKINI TUSIJUE NAMNA YA KUZITUMIA PESA HIZO.

ps
R
ZITAKETI?

cl
AUD: HAPANA!! E

rep ps cl
L R L
HIZO PESA HAZITAISHI. WEWE UTAKUJA KUKOPA

KILA MAANAKE UNASHIKE WEWE NA NINI. HATA
rep
L
UKITAHAMAKI MTU WAKO ATAKUFA NA ZINAKWISHA.

ps tm
R C
HATA HUWEZE KUMZIKA. SASA SISI TUNA KILA KITU

NA WAKATI WA KUZIKA KABISAA NI HUU. 'ELECTION'

* rep
L
IJAYO IKISHA KUJA HAIMA TUPO HATA MOJA.

AHSANTENI!

A POLITICAL SPEECH

GERISHOM: KIRIMA

NAIROBI

KWANZA NAMSALAMU NYINYI NYOTE WANA KANU. KWANZA

^{ps}_R ^{ps}_R
NAMUULIZA SI MUKO TIYARE?

AUD: ^{c]}_E
 NDIYO !!

^{ps}_R ^{rep}_L
 MUKO TIYARE?

AUD: ^{rep}_L ^{c]}_E
 WAZI. NDIYO !!

- HOYEE !!

AUD: ^{rep}_L
 [WHISTLING) HOYEE !!

^{rep}_L
KANU HOYEE!!

^{rep}_L
AUD: HOYEE!!

SABABU WANANCHI WAMESUNGUMZA MENGI. HONOURABLE

^{rep}_L
GUMBA NA VIONGOZI WOTE WAMESUNGUMUZA NA TUME-

^{c]}_L
KWISHA OMBA KURA YA KUTOSHA. KITU MIMI NASEMA NI

^{rep}_L ^{e-]}_L
HII. KITU TUNATAKA MJUMBE HAPA NI WA KUWEKA

^{adv}_C
AMANI. MIMI SITAKI KUWEKA CHUMVI. LAKINI LEO LEO,...

SIJUI NI NANI ALITOA 'ORDER' WALE 'HAWKER IKO HAPA

^{rep}_L
KARIBU NA 'RAILWAY' WAFUNZIWE? HAPA HAPA 'RAILWAY'

SI HAPA (POINTING)?

AUD: NDIYO, EEE !! E^{cl}
add
C
NA HATA KAMA MUTU ALIKUWA NA KIU AKIUMWA NA JUA
ps R cs C
ALIKUA WAMBIWE WALIONDOKE MBELE YA KESHO. ALAFU
rep L
ILE MAMBO NILISIKIA. NIKAULIZA SERIKALI YA KANU^L
ps R rep L ps R
HAWA NI WANANCHI. NI KUKOSA WANAKOSA KAZI NDIYO
ps R rep L ps R ps R
WANAWEKA ILE 'HAWKER'. WAKAWACHILIWA YOTE.

AUD: [CLAPS]

LEO SI KUTA..... SI KUTAKA KUTAJA TULISEMA NA NANI.
syn L rep L ps R
NIKAMWAMBIYA 'HAWKER'.. WAKO NA KAZI NYINGI SANA YA
ps R ps R rep L rep L ps R
KUTAFUTA KURA. AKIENDA KUTAFUTA KURA ANAKUTA ILE....
ps R ps L rep L ps R
EEH KITU YAKE KUSHAKWENDA. AKIENDA KUTAFUTA KURA,
ps R ps R rep L rep L
ANASIKIA EH, ILE GUNIA YANGU NAKUTA NIKUSHA KWENDA.
rep L rep L rep L
NIKAMWAMBIA MUTU MOJA HUYU MKUBWA - KUTOKA LEO
rep L ps R
'HAWKER' YA STAREHE WACHANA NAYE KWANZA.

AUD: [CLAPPING AND WHISTLING]

add ps ps *
C R R
NA ILE ATASUMBULIWA NA 'HAWA' AH... NA... INA ASKARI
ps R ps R
YA 'CITY'; YA 'CITY COUNCIL' AU POLISI AJE ANIONE.

AUD : NDIYO! (CLAPPING)
 ps R rep L rep L rep L
 MAANA YAKE ANAKWENDA KUTAFUTA KULA KURA KULE
 KICH..... KULE KULE KULE KULE ALAFU ANAKUTA GUNIA
 ps R rep L cs C rep L
 YANGU ANAKWENDA. ALAFU HUU TUNAUJIZA UMASKINI?
 add C
 YA PILI MIMI NAPIGA ASANTE SANA KWA WALE WALIWACHA
 rep L rep L
 KAZI YAO WAKAJA HAPA KUTUSIKILISA. MAANA 'HONOURABLE'
 rep L ps R rep L
 GUMBA ANATAJA KITU MOJA KUBWA SANA. MIMI SITATAKA
 rep L adv C
 KUSHAMBULIA MUTU. LAKINI UKIPINDUKA HAPO KIDOGO,

[HE POINTS AT THE AUDIENCE TO GIVE WAY] EBU FANYENI

NAMNA HIYO. FANYA HAPO NAMNA HIYO KIDOGO.

EH MNAONA? [HE POINTS AT THE HEAP OF GARBAGE NEARBY]

rep L rep L rep L add C
 MNAONA? 'HONOURABLE GUMBA KUJA HAPA KIDOGO. NA
 ps R rep L rep L rep L
 USICHOKE. EBU HAPA HONOURABLE GUMBA. KUJA WAKATI
 ps L
 ULE IKO MEYA NA MIMI IKO 'DEPUTY' WAKO UNAKWISHA ONA

TAKATAKA KAMA HII?

c] E
 AUD: HAPANA!!
 nm E

EH MNAONA?

c] E
 AUD: HAKUNA !!
 nm E

SI MNAONA? JE HUYU NI UNGWANA?

AUD: SI UNGWANA ^{nm}_E !!

HUYU NI UNGWANA? ^{rep}_L

AUD: SI UNGWANA ^{nm}_E !!

KWA ^{cs}_C HIVYO ^{rep}_L KITU YA MAANA NI UTUMWE NA UFANYE ^{rep}_L KAZI.

MIMI APANA ^{rep}_L TAKA ^{adv}_C SEMA ^{rep}_L HATI ^{rep}_L SERIKALI HAPANA FANYA

^{rep}_L KAZI. LAKINI TUNAU^{adv}_CLIZA WA 'MAKE MORE IMPROVEMENT OF

NAIROBI'.

MABIBI NA MABWANA NENO INGINE MOJA LA MAANA AMBAYE

LIKO HAPA SASA TUNAWENZA KUONA. HASA MATATU HAYA.

HII ^{dm}_R ZINAITWA ^{ps}_R MATATU? ^{rep}_L

AUD: ^{c1}_E NDIYO !!

LEO ^{ps}_R INALETWA HAPA KESHO ^{ps}_R INATOLEWA NAPELEKWA ILE

KONA. ^{c1}_E SI KWELI? ^{ps}_R KESHO ^{rep}_L KUTWA ^{ps}_R INATOLEWA INAPELEKWA

PANDE ILE. ^{c1}_E SI NI KWELI? ^{ps}_R INGEFAA ^{rep}_L WAPEWE.... ^{ps}_R WAPEWE

^{ps}_R UHURU YA BIASHARA YAO.

AUD: [CLAPPING]

HIYO ^{dm}_R YOTE ^{ps}_R INATOKANA ^{ps}_R NA KUTOSUNGUMUZA ^{rep}_L NA KUTOKUWA

^{rep}_L NA MWAKILISHI WA NAIROBI. MIMI BADO KUWA 'M.P.'

adv C rep L rep L
 NA MIMI NILIMWAMBIA WALE WANA'SUMBUA 'HAWKER' WAWACHE.
 rep L rep L
 NAMWAMBIA WA.... WAS....WASIJARIBU KU... KUSUMBUA
 rep L rep L rep L rep L
 'HAWKER' WAKAWACHA SABABU MIMI NI WA KANU NA KANU
 rep L cl E
 NDIYO SERIKALI. NI KWELI?

cl E
 AUD: KWELI

cs C dm R rep L
 KWA HIVYO WALE 'M.P.' MLICHAGUA EH... HAKUNA 'SAY':
 rep L rep L
 NI KUSEMA TU NAPINGA. AKISEMA HUYU WACHILIA YEYE
 rep L rep L
 HAWEZI KUWACHILIWA SABABU; ANASEMA YEYE NAPINGA.

syn L rep L
 MIMI NATAKA TUWE NA 'DEVELOPMENT' KATIKA NAIROBI.

rep L rep L
 MABIBI NA MABWANA KABLA SIJAONDOKA HAPO HAPO NA

rep L rep L
 MNAJUA MIMI NDIYO 'CHAIRMAN WA STAREHE, IKO WATU

add C
 INGINE NINGETAKA KUWAONYESHA. KWANZA MIMI NANGE...

rep L rep L rep L
 NINGETAKA 'SECRETARY' NA 'TREASURER' WA STAREHE

ps R rep L
 'WARD' ZOTE SABA KAMA WAKO. KAMA WAKO 'SECRETARY

rep L rep L rep L
 TREASURER' WA 'DIVISION' YA STAREHE. WA DIVISION

add C
 YA STAREHE [THOSE CALLED CLIMB THE DAIS]. NA HATA

rep L cl L
 'SECRETARY' NA KIONGOZI WA KINA MAMA... HAYUKO.

ps R
 IKO ULAYA.

cs rep rep ps
C L L R
KWA HIVYO NINGETAKA KILA MOJA. KILA MOJA ASEME
rep
L
HARAMBEE MOJA ILI MASAA ISIISHE KAMA WEWE BADO
rep rep
L L
KUSALAMIA WATU YAKO. BWANA 'WONDERFUL' KAMA
BADO KUTOKA HAPA... [HE CONFERS WITH ANOTHER
rep rep
L L
PERSON] UNaweza KUSUNGUMZA. BASI ANASEMA ANATAKA
rep
L
KUSALAMIA WATU YAKE.

AUD: EEE!!

NI SAWA SAWA? E^{vb}

AUD: NDIYO E^{cl} !!

KAENI HAPA KARIBU

Im rep
C L
YANGU YA MWISHO, KURA NI TAREHE KUMI.
rep rep rep rep cs rep
L L L L C L
KURA NI TAREHE KUMI, KWA HIVYO KILA MUTU AWE
rep rep
L L
TAYARI. YULE MUTU ANAPOTEZA KURA YAKE AENDE
E^{cl}
ZIWANI KARIOKOR. NI SAWA SAWA? NA KUAMUKA NI
ASUBU?

rep
L
AUD: ASUBUHI!!

rep
L
SAA KUMI NA MBILI. NIRUDIE TENA. MKUTANO WETU
AMBAYE 'VICE-PRESIDENT' NDIYO MGENI WA HESHIMA
ITAKUWA KARIOKOR. TAREHE TANO SAA SABA.....

rep rep rep
L L L
SAA SABA ZIWANI KARIOKOR NDIYO 'VICE-PRESIDENT'

ps rep rep add
R L L C
ATAKUWA MGENI WA HESHMA. WATAKUA VILE VILE NA

cl rep ps
L L dm.
'GENERAL SECRETARY' BWANA J.J. KAMOTHO. TAREHE HIYO
rep rep rep
L L L
TANO SAA SABA.

ps rep rep
R L L
WATAKUWA NA CHAIRMAN WA KANU BWANA NDOLO AYAH.

cs rep
C L
KWA HIVYO TUTAKUA NA WAGENI NGAPI?

AUD: NNE cl
E !!

rep rep vb
L L E
WAGENI NGAPI? E

AUD: NNE, WENGI!! vb
E

rep rep vb
L L E
WAGENI NGAPI? E

AUD: WENGI. cl
E !!

cs rep rep rep rep
C L L L L
KWA HIVYO KILA MUTU A 'MAKE SURE' ANAKWENDA ZIWANI

rep rep rep rep
L L L L
KARIOKOR TAREHE TANO. YAANI 'FRIDAY' SAA SABA AWE

ps add rep
R C L
UKO. VILE VILE KINA MAMA WOTE NA 'YOUTH' WOTE WAENDE

ps
R
UKO. KABLA SIJAMALIZA NINGEULIZA 'COUNCILLOR' WA

rep rep
L L
HAPA... NA AKUJE SUNGUMUZA... SANA TUNAKWENDA

rep rep rep rep
L L L L
'COUNCILLOR' WONDERFUL'..... KUJA HAPA. KUJA HAPA

rep rep rep
L L L
KARIBU USALAMIE. NA NI KUSALAMIA TU HAPANA KUZUNGU-

MZA. SAA MBAYA [COUNCILLOR TAKES THE MICROPHONE]

NA NITARUDI (AS MR. KIRIMA MOVES AWAY FROM THE DAIS)

[END OF HIS SPEECH).