

**SURVIVING THROUGH OBLIQUENESS:  
LANGUAGE OF POLITICS IN EMERGING DEMOCRACIES**

**SAMUEL GYASI OBENG & BEVERLY HARTFORD (EDITORS)**

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Chapter 2

LANGUAGE AND POLITICS IN EAST AFRICAN  
SWAHILI PROSE: INTERTEXTUALITY IN  
KEZILAHABI'S *DUNIA UWANJA WA FUJO*  
"THE WORLD, A PLAYGROUND OF CHAOS"

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter aims at describing and analyzing the linguistic and pragmatic devices that Kezilahabi uses in communicating political messages through his literary work. The discussion in the core sections of this chapter hopes to show that people who engage in political talk embed arguments and points of view of others in their own master narratives in a way that foregrounds and privileges their own standpoints. Through embedding, political speakers suppress others' points of view while simultaneously amplifying and solidifying their own. The linguistic and pragmatic strategies that speakers employ bear an inter-textual relationship with other texts or text-types in the speakers' and interlocutors' sociopolitical environment.

Euphrase Kezilahabi, a leading East African Kiswahili novelist, has written six novels: *Rosa Mistika* (1971), *Kichwamaji* (1974), *Gamba La Nyoka* (1978), *Nagona* (1990) and *Mzingile* (1991). The first novel is titled after the principal character, Rosa Mistika. *Kichwamaji* translates literally as "water-head". It is an idiomatic expression that signifies the condition of being crazy. The title of the book is taken from a fictional sick baby with an abnormally big head that is born to a couple. *Gamba La Nyoka* means "Shell of a Snake" and is derived from an incident in the novel in which an ostensibly brave man is scared stiff by the skin a snake has shed off. *Nagona* and *Mzingile* are characters in the texts of the same titles respectively.

Kezilahabi is a unique writer within the East African region. Unlike his contemporaries who aspire to an idealist vision of life in the religious sense or in the socialist realist sense, Kezilahabi is an existentialist author and philosopher. He is basically concerned with the

problems of human existence in whatever guises they present themselves. *Dunia Uwanja wa Fujo*, literally meaning, 'The World is a Playground of Chaos', is one such existentialist 'experiment'. In the book, the author demonstrates that humans exist in order to dramatize their chaos and then, make their exits noisily or quietly. The overtly political content of the novel is confined to the second and third sections.

## POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The concept of political discourse is used in this chapter in the same sense in which Chilton (1990), Van Dijk (1998) and Obeng (1999) apply it. By political discourse, these scholars imply a broad category of texts, which include political speeches, propaganda, and slogans among others. Any text uttered or written that may have political implications or that may influence the outcome of a communicative procedure politically can be regarded as political discourse.

It is clear there is not one universally agreed upon definition of political discourse. Although it is possible to classify some discourses as political depending on their generic characteristics such as content and form, context is primary in determining whether a discourse is political or not. An act of legislation made as a result of a judge's ruling, which becomes the basis for later rulings, can fall within the realm of juridical discourses. On the other hand, should the same legislation be made by an act of parliament through political debate, then such legislation may fall under the broader rubric of political discourse. The characterization of political discourse given above attests to the fluidity of categorizing talk according to situations that obtain on the spur of the moment. Hymes (1974) and Van Dijk (1998) describes other criteria for identifying and defining forms of political discourse. They include the social domain, the communicative event type, setting, participants, roles, functions and aims. These criteria variously inter-animate one another. Moreover, they are part of the wider communicative knowledge that people have. Consequently, an inter-textual analysis of communicative strategies is effective in demonstrating how claims and counter-claims in discourse are established and contested. While all acts of speaking require that the interactants are context sensitive inter-textually, political discourse probably makes the most rigorous demands on participants in this respect.

## INTERTEXTUALITY

Political discourses are best understood through analyzing them from an inter-textual point of view because by their very nature they are highly dialogic. Intertextuality in political discourse operates at two levels that intertwine. A text may exhibit intertextuality from its own cohesive characteristics. Morphosyntactic elements like ellipses, pronouns, and conjunctions are, for example, important cohesive features in signaling how a specific discourse is constructed and how it refers or alludes to other texts. Intertextuality may also be effected through the interaction of the content of the text and the public knowledge from which that text has been drawn.

Mikhail Bakhtin (1981), Julia Kristeva (1980) and Graham Allen (2000) see a text as a meeting point of different texts. All of them argue that a text is a composite of utterances each of which is a form of dialogue. Political discourse in this context can juxtapose language taken from alternative cultural, social and linguistic environments. Intertextuality testifies to the inter-penetration of multiple voices. Individual voices, however, strive to drown and embed other voices.

An intertextual approach to the analysis of political talk in *Dunia Uwanja wa Fujo* enables one to establish that every political utterance is an intersection of other textual surfaces, explicitly or implicitly. Devices of cohesion bring about the explicit intersection of texts. According to Halliday and Hasan (1976), cohesion distinguishes well-formed texts focusing on a topic with well-signaled transitions, from arbitrary and inconsequential sentences. Cohesion is founded on the fact that each sentence after the first is linked to the content of one or more preceding sentences by at least one tie.

Halliday and Hasan identify and describe five types of cohesion. These include reference, substitution, ellipsis, lexical cohesion and conjunction. Reference implies that a word in a subsequent sentence (usually 'it', 'he', or 'she') or a demonstrative ('this', 'that') refers to some entity or action designated by another term in a preceding sentence. In substitution, a word in a second sentence does not refer exactly to the same entity in the first, but to some other entity to which the same term would be applicable. In the sentence, "I do not want to wear this shirt; I want that one", 'one' refers to the second mention of the same idea. Ellipsis is almost the opposite of substitution. Here, part of the previous sentence, which would repeat an idea, is omitted making the second sentence depend on the first for completeness. Instead of asking for instance, "Who else has contributed a chapter in this book?" one may simply ask "Who else?" basing oneself on the logical relations of the discourse in question. Lexical cohesion includes fully meaningful vocabularies that refer to or predicate expressions. Sets of words that tend to turn up in texts because they relate to the same idea are elements of lexical cohesion. Words such as 'the inciting action', 'the major dramatic question', 'the rising action' and 'the climax' tend to appear frequently in the critical idiom of drama.

Finally, conjunction refers to how sentences cohere and progress by means semantic relationships between them. Conjunction may be temporal, additive, adversative or causal. Temporal conjunction shows how events succeed one another through time. In "Before becoming a University lecturer, he had been a driving instructor", events are related temporally. Additive conjunction supplies more information about a topic. The two clauses, "The new discoveries are biased; they are meant to reinforce the same old unacceptable themes" are associated by additive conjunction. The second part adds more information to the sentence. Adversative conjunction yokes paradoxes together. "He is very young. Yet he acts maturely" are two sentences that are connected by a contrastive relationship. Finally, causal conjunction is at work when conditionals such as "if" and inferences like "then" are employed.

Implicitly, texts exhibit cohesion through sensitivity to their pragmatic contexts. Two concepts from the Bakhtinian theory of intertextuality are of particular significance to the understanding of the pragmatic strategies employed by creators of discourses of any type in general and by the author of *Dunia Uwanja wa Fujo* in particular to communicate human experience. These are the centripetal and the centrifugal forces of utterance. Centripetal forces struggle to make things cohere while centrifugal ones tend to set them apart. In linguistic terms, centripetal forces are like a unitary language, with a clearly describable syntactic

structure, that attempts to subvert the realities of linguistic heteroglossia (Clark & Holquist, 1984:13-14). On the contrary, centrifugal forces attest to the fact that context can refract, add to and in some cases subtract meaning from an utterance and therefore, unsettle the apparent syntactic and semantic unity of the text. In concrete communicative situations, centripetal forces are manifested in the presupposition of the existence of common grounds and conventional conversational implicatures among communicators. Centrifugal ones are, however, shown in the potential variability of a communicative act consonant with the inconstancy of contexts. Using the theoretical orientations discussed above, we now examine the context that produces *Dunia Uwanja wa Fujo* and analyze the author's narration of three political speeches contained therein.

### DUNIA UWANJA WA FUJO: THE CULTURAL CONTEXT OF THE POLITICAL DISCOURSE

*Dunia Uwanja wa Fujo* was published for the first time in 1975, eight years after the "Arusha Declaration" in which the Tanzanian president, Julius Nyerere, introduced a declaration with a view to underlining the fact that the Tanzanians themselves were going to be completely responsible for building their country. It emphasized the need for self-reliance. Besides the fact that the "Declaration" demanded that the country's resources be exploited for the benefit of the peasants, it called for an end to the exploitation of human beings by other human beings (Ruhumbika, 1974, Putterman, 1986).

Kezilahabi's novel captures those dramatic and evocative moments in the country's history when political ideologues were sent out to the provinces to preach "the gospel according to the Arusha Declaration". Kezilahabi shows a pervasive disillusionment and pessimism with the way in which the policy of self-reliance is introduced to the people. The author laments the fact that no prior civic educational groundwork had been implemented in preparation for the new economic policy. Nor were the party officials that were responsible for disseminating policy matters well equipped for the job. Nyerere and his supporters were in a hurry to impose their views on the people without sufficient consultation.

To understand why the introduction of a new economic order would invite stiff opposition, a brief biographical description of Tumaini, one of the dominant characters in *Dunia Uwanja wa Fujo* is necessary. Tumaini begins his life in the novel as a spoiled child. As a youth, he has respect for neither peers nor elders. He is implicated in many cases of violating his village's morality, which include impregnating Leonila the daughter of Kasala. He also elopes with Anastasia and runs off with her to Shinyanga. Tumaini eventually marries Anastasia. In Shinyanga, Tumaini spends his inherited resources on drink and sex. After a while, when he senses that he is about to deplete his coffers, he searches for a job and is employed as a government spy. Although his employment brings him some income, he is exposed to very dangerous circumstances. His job alienates him from the people he is used to drinking and having sex with. As a matter of fact, the owner of a local bar conspires with other accomplices to punish Tumaini for scaring customers away from his business premises. Tumaini is savagely attacked by his assailants and narrowly escapes death. Through this harsh experience, he radically changes his way of life. He leases farms from peasants on the outskirts of Shinyanga town and cultivates cotton. In due course, he becomes a big time

cotton farmer and trader. At the precise time when his effort is rewarding him bountifully, the politics of socialism sets in. It is against this background that political talk emerges in *Dunia Uwanja wa Fujo*.

Despite the fact that the foregoing narrative is not articulated but merely suggested in the actual discourse of the proponents of socialist politics in the novel, it provides a firm socio-cultural context that informs the dialogical nature of the political discourse that is in part three of *Dunia Uwanja wa Fujo*. By presupposing the existence of this relevant background information in the political discourses that appear later in the novel, reactions of the opponents to the "Arusha Declaration" are implied. In other words, Tumaini's biographical narrative provides the pragmatic context and the ethnographic frame of reference within which the silent voices of resisters to change are heard.

### MULTIPLE VOICES AND THE MESSAGE OF CHANGE

Kezilahabi employs multiple voices to depict the clash between socialist rhetoric and the established business class of traders and farmers. These several voices are embodied in the use of reported speech and in the privileging of the statements that thematize and foreground politically powerful voices. Tumaini is one of the farmers that the socialist system is bent on destroying. In order to show that his engagement with extensive farming has been overtaken by events and that he is likely to succumb to the inexorable forces of social change, the author embeds the unsaid discourse of free enterprise supporters within the discourse of supporters of the socialist economy.

Consequently, messages that foreground the tenets of "the Arusha Declaration" are coded as continuous and are highlighted more than those that allude to people who support free enterprise like Tumaini. The first two paragraphs of chapter 12 praise Tumaini's economic success. He is both a successful trader and farmer. However, the third sentence suggests that Tumaini is about to be swept away by the new politics. The Swahili text bears this out clearly:

Wakati Tumaini alipokuwa akijijenga, siasa ya Tanzania ilikuwa ikienda motomoto. Bauda ya Azimio la Arusha, jina tu la Tanzania lilianza kuwa kitisho kwa wale wanaoabudu ubepari. Tumaini alikuwa amekwisha sikia habari nyingi juu ya Azimio hilo la Arusha lakini alifikiri liliwahusu hasa Wahindi, Wazungu na wanasiasa wengine.  
(p.167).

At the time Tumaini was stabilizing himself in economic terms, the politics of Tanzania was changing radically. After "the Arusha Declaration", the very mention of the word Tanzania began to send shivers down the spines of those who worshipped capitalism. Tumaini had heard a lot about that Declaration but he thought it was mainly meant for Asians, Europeans and other politicians.

The author juxtaposes apparently contradictory viewpoints. Yet he subtly privileges what "the Arusha Declaration" stands for in morphosyntactic terms. "The Arusha Declaration" is identified as a continuous and thematized message at the expense of the discourse represented by Tumaini. That Tumaini has just heard about the Declaration's intentions makes him vulnerable in the unfolding pattern of events because he is not in a position to control the direction they may take. It underlines the fact that Tumaini is outside of the discourse that is

about to subvert the bedrock of his survival. Tumaini is incapable of naming the world in terms of the happenings that are taking place around him. His lack of clear information in regard to what socialist politics is preaching is an explicit admission that he probably represents an alternative voice that has yet to take concrete shape. John Wilson (1990) proposes a similar interpretation of certain types of political discourse when he observes that there are various competing realities, which come to be reflected in the linguistic structures that we employ to talk about the world.

Kezilahabi uses morphosyntactic devices such as clitic pronouns, verbs and pronominal agreement to construct the political discourse in the aftermath of "the Arusha Declaration". The *ki-* tense feature in Kiswahili is often used to describe actions that happen in juxtaposition. In this case, Tumaini's struggle to make it economically is juxtaposed with the revolutionary events that are taking place in various parts of the country. But it is presented in such a way that Tumaini's effort is slighted in the face of nationwide changes. The *ki-* tense works in conjunction with the pronominal prefixes *a-* in *alikuwa* 'he-was' and *akijijenga*, 'while he was building himself economically' and *I-* in *ilikuwa* 'it-was' and *ikienda*, 'it-went'. These pronominal prefixes refer to and associate in morphosyntactic terms the relationship between what Tumaini does and what the politics of "the Declaration" might do. Cohesive devices of reference and conjunction are used simultaneously to establish the connection.

### STRUCTURAL FORMS AND PRAGMATIC VARIANTS OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE

After the author describes what is happening in seemingly impersonal terms, he presents the reader with an actual setting in which a political rally takes place. The preparation for the rally is structural and is in keeping with actual historical rallies that took place in Tanzania at the time. The setting of the rally is the centripetal force that defines the discourse as political. Besides the setting, there is the crowd and government functionaries who are hierarchically scheduled to speak in an ascending order of seniority.

The first speaker to address the crowd is the most junior official among the dignitaries. Although his brief speech is similar to the second speaker's structurally, his role is significantly more ceremonial than the role of the latter. His objective is confined to drawing the attention of the crowd to the theme of the meeting. This diversity of speakers committed to the development of a single political discourse is demonstrated in the talk back and forth among them. While every speaker attempts to maintain his unique identity, all of them unite and develop their talk around the same topic, which is the death of capitalism and the birth of socialism. The speakers render their speeches by strictly adhering to the unwritten pragmatic guidelines that obtain in this particular situation of performance. The first speaker, who happens to be a District Commissioner, signals the procedure of the talks that follow. First, he signals the fact there is a correspondence between the speaker's rank and the tempo of his performance. The tempo of the District Commissioner's speech is relatively slow. This is not inappropriate since the meeting is supposed to 'heat up' as more senior officials come to the platform to dramatize their speeches.

There is thus an inter-textual relationship among the speakers as they build on and adumbrate one another's messages, and at the same time, as they depict their distinctiveness

as individual speakers. The District Commissioner is a local administrator of Shinyanga. He is used to the people. They are 'his people' so to speak. That is why he talks to them familiarly, prodding and encouraging them to show a positive front towards the visiting official from Dar es Salaam. The District Commissioner begins his talk by shouting slogans:

Uhuru wananchi!, Mkuu wa Wilaya aliwasalimu watu.  
'Kazi ya TANU!', Walijibu.  
Mnajibu kama watu wenye njaa! Aliyetuletea njaa amekwisha kwenda.  
Uhuru wananchi!  
Kazi ya TANUUUUU!, Walijibu kwa sauti ya juu zaidi.(p.168)  
'Freedom to the people!', the District Commissioner saluted the people.  
'It is the work of TANU[Tanzania African National Union]', they replied.  
'You respond as if you are hungry! He who brought us hunger has left.  
Freedom to the people'  
'It is the work of TANUUUUU!' they responded

Highly structured, the District Commissioner's talk performs an additional function of marking off the political rally among other types of discourses. His message is constructed out of a few known slogans and is intended to arouse the listeners emotionally. The administrator empathizes with the audience by drawing on events that sharply contrast in their political history. While the party deserves praise because it brought about independence, colonizers are upbraided suggestively for causing hunger to Tanzanians.

The Provincial Commissioner has a higher rank than the District Commissioner does in the Tanzanian administrative machinery. The Provincial Commissioner therefore uses greater force in communicating his slogans. As a matter of fact, his rhetoric is inflammatory and his tongue is more brutal toward opponents than his predecessor's. The Provincial administrator's talk is more climactic:

Uhuru wa wananchi!, Mkuu wa Mkoa alisema.  
Kazi ya TANUUUUU  
Uhuru na ujamaa  
Kazi ya TANUUUUU!  
Smith!  
Ziiiiiii!  
Kaburu!  
Ziiiiiii!  
Mreno  
Ziiiiiii!  
Bepari!  
Ziiiiiii  
TANU!  
Oyeeeeeeeeee!

Freedom to the people', Said the Provincial  
Commissioner  
It is the work of TANUUUU!  
Smith!  
'Doooooooooown!  
The Boers!  
Doooooooooown!  
The Portuguese!  
Doooooooooown!

The capitalist  
 Dooooooooown!  
 TANU!  
 Long liveeeeeeeee!

The Provincial Commissioner enunciates one-word statements. Yet the crowd responds to them appropriately and relevantly. It appears that political speeches of the kind that we are witnessing have been taking place in many parts of the country and become part of the common public discourse. These slogans and propagandistic statements are structured for the purpose of accomplishing political goals.

For these slogans and propagandistic statements to make sense and to be emotionally effective, their user employs substitution, lexical cohesion and ellipsis. At the time when *Dunia Uwanja wa Fujo* was written, Zimbabwe, South Africa and Angola had not attained their independence. The colonial administrations of these countries are personified in Smith, the Boer, and the Portuguese. By contrasting the personalities associated with colonial rule with the policy fronted by Tanzania African National Union (TANU), the provincial commissioner invokes a text that is familiar to his public. The several devices of cohesion he uses accentuate the mood of the meeting. All the people he attacks are lexically related. They are oppressors of the peasant and the worker. TANU is contrastive in that it has the singular role of bringing down all repressive forces. That accounts for the fact that it requires the support of all the citizens of the country.

The Provincial Commissioner deliberately includes 'capitalist' in the catalogue of oppressors of the common people. The capitalist, especially the Tanzanian one, shares features which allow lexical cohesion with the colonial rulers of Zimbabwe, South Africa and Angola. All of them relate through collocation. They are exploiters of the common people. Because the capitalist is mentioned last, he is the quintessential enemy of the people. At any rate, capitalism is the basis of the oppressive regimes listed in the text. That is why the Tanzanian business class is being fought. TANU is the ultimate mobilizing force of the people in this fight. While the Provincial commissioner's list of slogans emerges spontaneously, it is well coded to hit the enemy where it hurts most politically.

In one instance, the Provincial Commissioner contradicts the District Commissioner in semantic terms. On the one hand, the District Commissioner insists that the colonizer has left, and that is why people should receive his message enthusiastically. On the other, the Provincial Commissioner persists in the fact that the Tanzanian capitalist is in fact exactly the same as the former colonizer. The public neither notices nor is bothered by the contradiction because the facts of the two officials are related in different contexts. The District Commissioner arouses the crowd as to the situation that is in effect without paying attention to the ideological overtones involved. When he talks about independence, he is referring to political freedom. The Provincial Commissioner takes up the same theme but redirects it to anticipate the content of the speech of the speaker who is about to take over from him. His talk implies that political independence does not guarantee economic freedom. Hence his vitriolic attack on the capitalist. Grice's (1975) 'cooperative principle' is applicable in this context. The commissioners are informative, they speak relevantly and they use the implied awareness of the public to construct their political speeches. When the official from Dar es Salaam stands up to speak, the audience is sufficiently inducted to receive his words

## THE DIALOGIC MONOLOGUE OF POLITICAL DISCOURSE

The party ideologue who speaks after the Provincial Commissioner knows that he is the last person to speak. So, he is strategically positioned as the condensation of many disparate views that exist in his listeners' minds. Aware that the political policies he is presenting are not acceptable to all, he sensitively employs pragmatic devices to address the diversities of his audience. His speech bears this out clearly. I quote it in part:

Wananchi, leo nina mawili tu ya kuwambia; lakini sijui kama yatawafurahisha. Tumaini langu ni kwamba mtayafurahia. Nitawaambia. Kwanza kabisa ni Azimio la Arusha, na pili Ni vijiji vya Ujamaa. Nasikia watu wanaguna; bila shaka mambo haya hayajaeleweka. Lakini masikio hayaguni. Kwa hiyo naamini yatanisikiliza. Azimio la Arusha ndugu zanguni linahusu hasa siasa ya Ujamaa na kujitegemea Ujamaa una misingi yake ambayo nitaeleza kwa kifupi. Kwanza kabisa ni usawa wa binadamu. Wewe na mimi tu sawa. Mke na mume ni watu sawa. Utawasikia watu wakisema usawa gani huu! Mbona wewe umekuja hapa na gari! Hayo ni maneno ya kawaida ya wasioelewa usawa wa binadamu. Kama wewe bado unaamini kwamba watuwengine ni nyani kama walivyotuita Wazungu zamani, kama bado unaamini kuna matajiri na wengine huzaliwa watwana, au kama bado unaamini kwamba sisi Waafrika tu watu wa kulaaniwa, basi wewe uko mbali katika siasa yetu ya ujamaa na kujitegemea (pp.169-170).

"My countrymen, today I have two things to tell you; but I am not sure whether they will make you happy or not. My hope is that you will be happy with what I am going to say.

First, it is about the Arusha Declaration, and second, it is about Socialist villages. I can hear some people murmuring. No doubt these concepts have not been well understood. But ears never murmur. So, I believe they will listen to me. Comrades, "the Arusha Declaration" is basically concerned with the socialist politics and self-reliance.

Firstly, socialism is about the equality of all human beings. You and me are equal. A woman is equal to a man. You will hear people say "What type of equality are you talking about?" How come you have come here in a motor car? These are the common words of people who don't understand the meaning of human equality. If you believe that some people are apes the way Europeans used to call us long time ago, if you believe that some are born rich and others are born poor, if you believe that Africans are cursed, then you are very far from our politics of Socialism and self-reliance.

The most striking rhetorical strategy that the speaker adopts to develop his ideas is relating contrasts and turning them to his advantage. His contrasting messages are yoked together and then embedded in a statement that seems to reconcile them. The strategy enables the speaker to develop his theme while simultaneously addressing implied questions that his interlocutors may wish to raise. All the syntactic and lexical items in the above quoted texts aid him in fulfilling his goal. He is not sure whether his message will be well received or not. But he still hopes that it will be received positively.

When the speaker hears murmurs, he senses an air of opposition in the audience. The murmur indexes questions that are being raised as the talk proceeds. At the moment, objectors to the address do not have a clear-cut avenue for delivering their opinions. On sensing the discontent of his audience, the speaker quickly excuses the murmurs, arguing that his facts are difficult to comprehend. Then, to emphasize his uncompromising stance, he employs a metaphorical proverb, 'ears do not complain' and by that, encourages people to listen. The

proverb is also used to order people to listen no matter what their feelings and opinions may be.

Having responded to the people's feelings, he resumes his initial strategy. In most cases, he dramatically simulates the position of an opponent, articulates the opponent's perceived point of view before debunking it. This is exemplified in his discussion of the concept of equality. He owns a car and in his setting, a car is a marker of economic inequality. However, he evades addressing the issue by treating it as unimportant and then forgets about it altogether. To compensate for the evasion, he amplifies the philosophical characteristics of equality.

The evasive strategy that the party ideologue from Dar es Salaam employs is similar to what Obeng (1997) discusses. Obeng observes that evasiveness is an element of indirectness that politicians adopt to avoid candid or obvious statements. Using examples from the Ghanaian political experience, he argues that indirectness is a functional device politicians utilize to fulfill political interests and also, to engage in face-saving acts. The speaker from Dar es Salaam uses indirectness for similar reasons. In other words, he amplifies and foregrounds equality as an attitude of mind rather than as an expression of concrete relations of economic production. The use of the conditional 'if' and the inference 'then' is rhetorically effective in enabling the speaker to impress and overwhelm his listeners with irrelevant but persuasive talk. Arguing along the same line, Lindstrom (1992) demonstrates that in strategizing to win political debate, disputants strive to control the public meaning of what is said, and make their statements sound true while those of their opponents sound false. They do so by shifting context and evoking particular local discourses that are more favorable to their positions. Through transferring his context from the realm of the concrete, everyday experience of the people to the one of abstract discussion, the speaker from Dar es Salaam assigns himself the privileged right to identify and define what is right for his listeners to hear. In epistemological terms, the manipulation of the context of discourse by certain speakers and writers determines which type of knowledge controls the direction of thought in the history of human culture. Politicians do not engage in discourse for self-gratification alone; they do so because society has been conditioned to regard their discourse as of crucial importance to its existence (Foucault 1972).

## CONCLUSION

In this chapter I have described and analyzed some of the linguistic and pragmatic strategies that Kezilahabi uses to communicate political discourses in his novel, *Dunia Uwanja wa Fujo*. Cohesive devices are employed to thematize and to bring about the unity of the political discourses we encounter. On the other hand, pragmatic devices unsettle the unity of the text by enabling politically inspired speakers to manipulate their talk relative to changing contexts. The intertextuality of political discourses lies in this interaction of syntactic and semantic structures on the one hand and pragmatic strategizing on the other. Implicitly, those among discourse weavers who are able to master the pragmatics of specific discourses in relation to other discourses control the world through the type of knowledge they disseminate to it.

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