

**UNMASKING FACE THREATENING AND FACE SAVING ACTS OF
POLITICIANS: A CASE STUDY OF MWINGI REGION POLITICIANS.**

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DECLARATION

1, the undersigned, declare that this dissertation is my original work and has not been submitted for an award of degree in any University.

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my beloved wife Keziah Kalu and to my children Eric, Neema and Furaha who should get inspired.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

C.P –	Co-operative Principle.
C.T.I –	Center for Translation and Interpretation.
F.SAs –	Face Saving Acts
F.T –	Free Translation.
FTAs –	Face Threatening Acts.
M.R –	Mwingi Region.
P.T –	Politeness Theory.
S.AT-	Speech Act Theory.
UON –	University of Nairobi

ABSTRACT

The study discussed the concept of Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) and Face Saving Acts (FSAs) exhibited by politicians from Mwingi Region as they campaigned in that region during elections. This study whose objectives were ; first, to interrogate the Face Threatening Acts and Face Saving Acts of the politicians exhibited by politicians from the Mwingi region. Second, to determine the extent to which the audience read the Face Threatening Acts in the speeches of politicians. Third, to explore Face saving strategies adopted by politicians .The methodology used to determine FTAs and FSAs was by the use of the researcher as he speaks the native language and with the aid of some informants. The study employed the Face Theory a subset of the Politeness Theory developed by Levinson and Brown (1987).It also partly touches Grice's Cooperative Principle to fully decipher the intended meaning in the excerpts. The study used data gathered from excerpts extracted from actual speeches from political rallies and online sources given by the politicians in the native Kikamba and later freely translated and then an explanation given. The study helped the researchers identify those aspects that indicate FTAs and FSAs in the speeches. It also examined the various forms of FTAs and how the listeners perceive and interpret them. On the other hand the study found out the strategies of expressing FSAs by the politicians. This helps to safe the face of the audience and the opponents. The study recommends further study in different regions in Kenya. In spite of FTAs and FSAs being universally accepted concepts, the study recommends further research in different regions that have diverse populations as different cultures express politeness or lack of it in their own way.

DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

1. Discourse – specific use of language in a particular context.
2. Euphemism – A certain way of using substitute words/expressions for the purpose humiliation or expression of being refined in speech.
3. Face Saving Act (FSA) – An act that is used by a speaker or communicator to make his/her interlocutors at ease and relaxed.
4. Face Threatening Act (FTA) – An act that is used by a speaker or communicator to make his/her interlocutor build tension and feel comfortable to continue with a conversation
5. Language – An arrangements of correspondence in discourse and composition that is used by individuals of a specific nation or territory.
6. Politeness – A courteous manner that accepts conventional social usage. This is regard for others.
7. Politics – The art of communicating to influence people to behave in a certain way and especially during elections.
8. Melodramatic- being exaggeratedly emotional or overuse of gestures in one's speech.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Politicians the world over have always been seen and taken as peculiar in many ways that include their mannerisms and especially in the use of language. The language they use in the day to day life and particularly in political rallies is peculiar. One of the most important things is that politicians are necessary and the running of a countries affairs rests with them. Chilton and Schaffner (2002), says that, one of the most important thing is that politicians are essential and the running of a country's affairs rests with them. People do not like living in isolation. They have always endeavored to live as a community of people referred to as a society. This is in the realization that it is better to live together than in isolation as the adage says 'there is security in numbers'. These human beings are able to protect themselves when living together and they can also undertake common services.

When people live together a need arises for the regulation of actions/behavior of the members so that some may not be aggressive towards others and hence this gave rise to the need for a body that would ensure there was harmony and the rule of law. That body is referred to as the government.

The running of a government depends on the politicians. It is the politicians who come up with policies that are supposed to guide the government business and discharge of its mandate to the citizens who have a social contract with the government and would have

to later hold the government to account and if dissatisfied would vote the government out and bring in new leaders with a new mandate. Power is always pursued by politicians as they seek to be at the helm of the government or being in decision-making parlors.

A government has legitimate power to govern and there exists a social contract between the government and the governed. There are certain expectations that people expect from their government and likewise the government expects certain responsibilities from the people. One of them is to vote in certain individuals to represent them in government. The elected and nominated members, in this case, are the politicians. They are an essential pillar in a government as the policymakers on behalf of the people. To get elected by the people, one has to use language to convince the people that he/she is the most suitable to represent them in government. This brings in the idea of competition among politicians and their language differs depending on their level of persuasion.

Politicians have been known to be very convincing and can use any form of language to achieve their ends as Nicolo Machiavelli once quipped, 'the end justifies the means'. Chilton (2004), political discourse involves implicature are crucial in political speech because they let the politicians convey messages implicitly without assuming responsibility for what they have implied.

Listening to politicians one would be able to distinguish a particular use of the language that is both polite and impolite and which is face threatening to others depending on the level of competition. Politicians are also good at mending fences and are seen to be good

at saving the face of their opponents when need be. There is the need for politicians to be polite to each other as they convince voters to vote for them. According to George Bush the American president politeness brings civility. “We have to live up to the calling we share, civility is not a tactic or a sentiment. It’s a determined choice of trust over cynicism, or community over chaos.” Darren (2001)

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Politeness is what distinguishes a civilized human being from a barbarian and therefore it is essential to be careful how speakers choose their words when expressing themselves to the others. Politicians and the voters would be in a win-win situation if the politician would use polite language always. Much of the language used by the politicians make their opponents to lose face as Levinson and Brown (1987) would put it. Many politicians use thinly veiled expressions that make their opponents and audience lose face. They also use aggressive and inciting terms. Some phrases that they employ may be too vulgar to be expressed. This phrases are sometimes face threatening to the audience. Sometimes they result in the use of their native language when they want to use Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) especially in an area with a cosmopolitan audience. The purpose of this study would be to interrogate incidents of FTAs and Face Saving Acts (FSAs) in speeches by politicians during campaigns. The study also intends to show how the audience interpret the FTAs in those speeches. Finally it also intends to show how politicians are able to use FSAs in their speeches after change in political circumstances

1.3 Objectives

These are the objectives that the researchers formulated to help them achieve their goal.

1. To interrogate Face threatening and Face saving Acts of the politicians exhibited by politicians in the Mwingi Region.
2. To determine the extent to which the audience read Face-threatening acts in the speeches of politicians.
3. To explore Face saving strategies adopted by politicians from Mwingi Region.

1.4. Hypotheses

These are the hypotheses the researchers formulated to help them achieve their objectives.

- 1 Mwingi Region politicians use Face threatening Acts and Face saving Acts as they speak in political rallies.
- 2 The members of the audience interpret FTA'S and FSA in the speeches of the politicians.
- 3 Politicians use specific strategies to express Face saving (to the audience and their opponents) in their addresses.

1.5 The Rationale of the Study

Political rallies are vital and they will continue to be relevant in the Kenyan scene. They are supposed to be avenues through which politicians express themselves to the citizens who are voters. The intention of the politicians is to convince and persuade the voters to vote for them, as they have a good vision for the area and therefore should be given a

chance to represent them either in parliament, senate or the county. For politicians to do this, they have to use language with the aim of both persuading and convincing. Good politicians should articulate issues well for the audience to understand their message and make a decision to either elect or reject them.

The justification for this study vis a vis other recent studies include;

Goro (2014), studied FTAs among the Matatu crew especially among conductors against passengers, Mwaniki (2016), studied the same among teachers and parents directed to students during open days in Kenyan high schools .This study goes further to look at both FTAs and FSAs among Kenyan politicians and how the audience interpret the same. It interrogates the FTAs that politicians employ during campaigns, the faces of both the voters and their opponents alike. It further goes ahead show the FSAs that politicians use when political circumstances change. This will show politicians would use language depending on political situation.

This study will be vital in the following ways; first, to the citizens and voters who would be attending political rallies to listen to the politicians and vote for them and be comfortable in those rallies.

Secondly, it will be beneficial to politicians who have to realize the language they use may be making the members of the audience and their opponents to lose Face.

Third, it will be of interest to researchers and academicians who may want to do further research on the area.

Fourth, it will be beneficial to the security agents like the police chiefs who have to deal with unruly mobs incited by politicians against their opponents.

Fifth it will be beneficial to electoral bodies like Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), who are responsible for organizing and conducting elections in Kenya, Electoral observer bodies who are interested in the conduct of politicians during elections for an acceptable outcome.

1.6 Scope and Limitation

The study was carried out on speeches of politicians from Kitui county and specifically Mwingi region where five politicians who were campaigning in the area or other places were followed. An inclusion of some politicians who have either county or national appeal is also mentioned but to a lesser extent.

The study is also limited to the language of the locals, - Kikamba . The language used does not include utterances made in English and Kiswahili a common intrusion in political rallies. The scope of the study covered the language of the politicians from Mwingi Region for two years (2017-2018) during campaigns for the general elections and the aftermath of the repeat presidential elections. The area was chosen since the researcher is interested in the politics of the area and he is a native of the region. The research did not cover other areas of Ukambani or Kenya. The data was collected from You-tube and actual attendance of some rallies.

1.7 Theoretical Frame Work

The study concerned with the use FTAs and FSAs by politicians as they campaign in political rallies. An analysis of political speeches was done to achieve this goal, the researcher employed the politeness and face theory by Brown and Levinson (1987) .The following are instances relevant to this study.

1.7.1 Politeness

Brown and Levinson (1987) as acted in Venuti (2004) says according to politeness theory, speakers have both negative and positive face wants which they strive to respect mutually. Negative face wants are based upon a desire not to be restricted in one's freedom of action. As a result, a speaker will mitigate the imposition implicit in the formulation of a request ,the face threat by encoding of an utterance that fronts difference positive face-wants, in contrast, are based upon the desire to feel appreciated and approved of. In Brown and Levinson's terms, camp can often be seen to involve threats to an addressee's positive face wants by indicating that the speaker does not care about the addresses positive self-image, hence the insults, ridicule and 'put downs'.

Both positive and negative politeness help interlocutors maintain face in conversation.

1.7.2. Face

Face is an image of self, delineated concerning approval, social attributes according to Brown and Levinson (1987). Face is something that is emotionally invested and that can be lost, maintained or enhanced and must be continuously attended to in interaction. This will determine the direction a conversation will take.

Goffman (1957), Face Theory, defines face as the image we present of ourselves to others. He says that our face is like a persona which we offer in a conversation. It changes from situation to situation. There is a connection between cooperative principle and politeness theory in that politeness may be interpreted as being rude for the use of incomplete statements.

1.7.3 Face Threatening Acts (FTAs)

A Face Threatening Acts (FTA) is an act that challenges the face wants of an interlocutor. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), Face-threatening may threaten positive face or negative face. To begin with make a distinction between FTAs that is those that threaten positive face and those threatening negative face. Secondly, those that threaten the hearers face and those that threaten the speakers face.

1.7.4 FTAs Threatening the Hearers Face

These are FTAs that threaten the hearers face. The speaker uses his /her language either consciously or unconsciously and the listeners face gets threatened as he/she interprets the speech or part of it as a face threatening act. There are two ways in which this FTA operate namely: Positive Face and Negative Face.

1.7.4.1 Positive Face

FTAs threatening the hearer's self- image includes first expressions negatively evaluating the hearer's positive face. For instance criticism, disapproval, complains, disagreement among others. The second act would be those that does not care about the hearer's

positive face for example expressions of violent emotions, taboo topics, interruptions, emotional topics.

1.7.4.2 Negative Face

FTAs restricting the hearer's personal freedom include;

To start with, acts predicating a future acts of the hearer orders and requests, suggestions, advice, reminding someone, threats, warnings, dares. Secondly acts predicating a future act of the future towards the hearer offers/promises. Finally acts expressing a desire of the speaker towards the hearer or his or her good, for example compliments, expression of emotions among others.

1.7.5 FTAs Threatening the Speakers Face

These are FTAs that threaten the face of the speaker as he /she delivers the message. These acts threaten the image of the speaker that is to say his /her face wants is interfered with in a way he/she may not want. This may even interfere with the conversation or at least interferer with the direction of the conversation.

1.7.5.1 Positive Face

FTAs threatening the speaker face-image may include; accepting of a compliment, breakdown of physical or emotional control, self- humiliation, confession, apologies among others. Though all the above appear positive they may have the opposite effect to the speaker. Accepting a compliment may appear good but on the other hand it may threaten the face of the speaker. Breakdown of emotion or physical control is humiliating

to the speaker and he/she may regret afterwards. Self –humiliation is a FTA as it makes one to feel bad afterwards. Confession on the other hand like self –incrimination while giving an apology presupposes one was wrong and guilty in the first place all these are FTAs.

1.7.5.2 Negative Face

FTAs threatening the speaker personal freedom include expression of thanks, acceptance of thanks, offers, compliments, apologies among others. Just as in the above the actions appear good and acceptable but it has an opposite effect. The reason being one appears to do some things as a societal obligation and not voluntarily. For instance, expression of thanks and acceptance of thanks are seen as etiquette but it is not all the time one says thanks on his /her own volition. This is how the two qualify to be FTAs threatening the speakers face. Compliments and apologies as said earlier threaten the speakers face as one use them as an obligation.

1.7.6 Politeness Theory

Politeness according to Merian-Webster Dictionary (2015) is an appearance of consideration, tact, deference, or courtesy. Politeness is related to diplomacy and tact.

This theory as earlier indicated was developed by Levinson and Brown (1987) after borrowing heavily from Goffman face theory of the 1950s. They advanced the idea that when the interlocutors are polite the conversation or dialogue tends to be mutual and helping each interlocutor to save face. The theory assumes that we all have face, face

wants and needs. According to Levinson (1987) there are sociological variables when considering FTAs, this are weight, which comprises of power, distance and rank.

Power referring to the power dynamics between the speaker and the hearer. One has to ask the following questions; is the hearer superior or subordinate? Or of the same level to his speaker. The assumption here being that the power relation affects the language and the choice of words that a speaker chooses.

Distance refers to the amount of social distance between the speaker and the hearer. This is a type of proxemics and it affects diction as one considers whether the hearer is a close friend or a distance colleague.

1.7.6.1 Rank

Rank on the other hand refers to cultural ranking of the subject that is the degree of sensitivity of the topic within a particular culture. For instance among the African women it is considered an insult to ask a lady her age. In other places it is what type of job one does especially Nairobians.

It is the assumption of the politeness theory that choices in using a particular politeness strategy depend on the social circumstance in which the speech occurs. That is to the person you are speaking, what is the social relationship with the person and on what topic?

1.7.6.2 Origins of Politeness

According to Levinson and Brown (1987), Goffman (1950) and Paul Grice all agree that the issue of politeness originated with the Chinese, but they all later agreed that politeness was a universal concept developed through social culture and recorded procedures, as in Tsanga (2017) quoting the American Journal of Linguistics(2013).

1.7.6.3 Positive Politeness

Its goal is to enhance the positive needs of the hearer. It is also referred to as positive face redress. It aims at fostering friendliness and camaraderie between the speaker and the hearer. The assumption being that the needs of the speaker are the same as that of the hearer. This is expected to be a motivating factor to sustain the conversation as both the speaker and hearer are happy. This helps the conversation to continue.

1.7.6.4 Negative Politeness

This is a form of politeness that address the hearer's needs for freedom from imposition in making his or her own decision. It is also called Negative Face Redress. One strategy of negative politeness is the use of 'less than certain' phrasing such as perhaps, might, can, and could. It also employs coercion to the speaker for instance employing pessimism for instance, "I am sure you won't want this..."

1.7.6.5 Off Record Politeness

This is a politeness strategy that relies on implications. It is quite indirect and involves the breaking of conversational norms to imply a particular recommend cause of action.

The speaker relies on the assumption that the hearer has the ability to decipher and interpret the speaker's intended meaning, although it is indirectly suggested. This works on the following platform; first, the speaker invites conversational implicatures. Here hints, clues of association, presupposition, understatement, overstatement, tautologies, contradictions, irony, metaphors, and rhetorical questions are employed. Secondly the speaker may be intentionally vague or ambiguous, over-generalizing, displacing the hearer and being incomplete by use of ellipsis (...)

It is good to note that it has been observed those in power have been found to exercise impoliteness more than those in position of relatively low power.

The Co-operative Principle developed by Paul Grice in (1975), George Yule (2004:145), suggests four things you should do in a conversation, namely in your conversation observe the maxims of quantity, quality, relation and manner which are sometimes ignored by politicians in their speeches, giving rise to FTAs.

1.8 Literature Review

Below is the literature review of the relevant literature on Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) and Face Saving Acts (FSA) among politicians. The study enquired into the concept of politeness. This aimed at establishing the extent to which factors such as FTAs and FSAs affect the message perceived by interlocutors and to this context the electorate who form the audience in political rallies. Secondly, it enquired the strategies politicians use to bring about FSAs to both their opponents and the audience whom politicians assume they are electorates and how the audience interprets both the FTAs and FSAs

their intended meaning of the message may lose its effectiveness. It reveals other relevant work on politeness and face theory from other scholars which may apply to this study.

Politeness is very important due to its impact on interpersonal communication. Lakoff 1975:64 says that “Politeness is developed by societies to reduce friction in interpersonal interaction. He continues that politeness is a means of minimizing confrontation in discourse, explicitly designed for the facilitation of communication. Ibid (1989:102).

Leech (1983), developed the politeness principle almost similar to the Co-operative Principle of Paul Grice. He brings forward six maxims of tact, generosity, approbation, modesty, agreement, and sympathy. These maxims work in pairs, i.e. first and second, third and fourth and finally fifth and sixth.

The first pair deals with the cost to the other and maximizing benefit to the other. The Maxim was developed from Searle’s Speech Act Theory (S.A.T) .To him, etiquette is a form of politeness viewed from various aspects of daily life. He also called imperatives as implosives implying this cannot help one save his face in a conversation. Politicians always violate this politeness principle

Watts Politeness View

Watts et al. (1992) a distinction between “first request politeness” and “second request politeness.” These were produced by real-life situations which broke away from other

scholars like Grice, Levinson and Brown. These terms refined by Eelen (2001) and Locher (2002). First request politeness (P1) in verbal associations use express utilization of the expression “Obliging” and “Politeness” to allude to their own particular and others social conduct. Second request politeness (P2) makes utilization of the expressions “Considerate” and “Politeness” as vague ideas in the best down model to refer to types of social conduct.

Brown and Levinson (1987) Face Theory define positive face as the positive and predictable picture individuals have of themselves and their want for endorsement. This is the desire to feel approved of, in other words to maintain a positive and consistent self-image during interactions. Positive face is the need of each person that his needs be alluring to any rate to others.

Negative face by the same author defines negative face as the desire to feel unimpeded, i.e., the freedom from feeling imposed upon by the interaction. This is the need to be imposed by the interaction. A negative face can be likewise characterized by “the need of each capable grown-up ensure that his activities be unobstructed others, Tsanga (2017), quoting Brown and Levinson (1987:62).

Translating the politicians' language and ensure politeness is maintained is somehow challenging. However, the researcher had to establish the best practices to establish what is ‘polite’ and ‘impolite.’ Tsanga (2017), researched on politeness in translation from

English into French, looks at the challenges that are inherent as the two languages are diverse.

Goro (2014), researched on the language of Matatu Crew and concluded that the language was not polite and the passengers were suffering, and the language was almost untranslatable.

1.8.1 Political Discourse

According to Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary (2011), politics is defined as activities involved in getting and use of power in public life to influence decisions of the society. It is viewed as both a social action, and practice and are influenced by both history and power structure.

Chilton and Schaffner, (2001), say political discourse involve actions including linguistic that include power, and it's opposite that is resistance. To the politician, any interaction with the electorate or a duel to themselves.

Guther and Meggle (2002), argues that political discourse does not necessarily emanate from politicians but may come from other communicators in their engagements with their interlocutors. To him, many utterances depending on their nature may qualify to be political discourse.

Most political discourse is a deliberate attempt by one group to push their ideologies on their listeners. The assumption and the suspected outcome being to persuade them to

give them the mandate to represent them in a particular political fora where political decisions are made. In this light, politicians are aspiring for leadership positions to influence decisions that will be favorable to their interests and those of the people they represent.

Political speeches in this context qualify to be political discourse as the aim of the politician include to persuade, convince and influence the audience to see things their way and finally elect them to high office. Political speeches here Chilton and Schaffner (2004) has been used interchangeably with political discourse has the following unique characteristics.

First, politicians portray a positive self- representation where they see themselves as better than their opponents or competitors and therefore a better alternative worth consideration. It is their goal to portray their opponents as unworthy.

Secondly, they portray their opponents in what is referred to as negative other representation. In this way they portray their opponents in bad light. It is this aspect that make a politician to work very hard to convince his listeners that their opponent is a devil incarnate and should not even be listened to.

Third, the use of deictic pronouns the best representatives being ‘us versus ‘them’ and ‘we’ versus ‘they.’ This is a way of creating political camps and portraying the other

party as not capable of leading and they could use any negative adjective to describe them.

Fourth, use of rhetorical questions. This refers to questions that do not require answers as they intend to make the listeners think more about an issue. Most of the time the purpose is to show the listeners that, what they may be thinking about an opponent is wrong. A politician would like the audience to go thinking deeply about his speeches and help them make a favorable decision towards that politician.

Fifth, 'use of biased lexical choices' this is evident as many politicians are good at choosing certain words for maximum impact. They use negative or unfavorable terms towards their opponents to ensure listeners do not favor the opponent's camp.

1.8.2 Other Characteristics of Political Discourse

Besides, Chilton (2004) in agreement with Fairclough (1995) would indicate political discourse as exhibiting the following characteristics.

1.8.2.1 Competitiveness

Political discourse is full of competitive language which is brought about by both the contrastive nature of the politician with their opponents by first the use of positive and negative other representation to themselves and their opponents interchangeably. A politician is like an athlete who aims at winning a race he does this by using language that shows he is in competition with other politicians.

1.8.2.2 Aggressiveness

Political language is quite aggressive and always aims at ‘pushing’ their agenda to the electorate. Their persuasive nature is achieved by a myriad of methods including the use of unfavorable terms as a discussion in the use of ‘biased lexical choices. This may even sound crude to the listeners and some listeners may even be afraid of attending such meetings in future. Some politicians may even result to open abuses directed to opponents.

1.8.2.3 Ideological Character

All politicians assume that they subscribe to certain political persuasion and they are glued and well positioned in a certain stand. This persuasion and stand are what may be referred to as ideology. This is what every politician aims to sell to the audience believing that his /her ideology is the best and it is beneficial to the audience and he/she is the best suited to represent them.

1.8.2.4 Theatricality

Politicians are quite melodramatic, and they exaggerate their actions, speeches in order to attract attention from the listeners. Any politician aims to draw attention to themselves. Here the politician dramatizes and uses high sounding words and adds a loud voice in his speech. The effect being to electrify the audience and create a frenzy.

1.8.2.5 Vagueness

A politician is deliberately vague to avoid any political responsibility. A politician would use euphemisms to deliberately escape any political responsibility. Politicians in addition would avoid the use of direct language. This is a deliberate move to remain impersonal. To achieve this a politician uses both symbolism and thin veiled expressions.

1.8.2.6 Sensationalism

This is the conscious use of language meant to appeal to the psyche and touch the raw emotions of readers/listeners. A politician may even deliberately incite his audience by exciting their emotions. This could lead to violence against perceived opponents and with devastating consequences especially in a cosmopolitan audience with different interests.

1.8.2.7 Use of Symbolism

Politicians are good in the use of symbolism and imagery that go beyond the grammatical meaning. Symbols are representations aimed at stretching the imagination of the listener. Imagery mainly metaphors and similes are significantly employed especially the use of animal character to represent certain opponents. For instance in Kenya one can call an opponent Hare or Snake to caution the audience against them.

1.9 Methodology

In this study, the researcher embarked on the collection of his data from the You-Tube and attending political rallies during campaigns in and shortly after (2017-2018). The researcher who is a native of the region where the political speeches were taking place

and who speaks and understands the language was able to identify the FTAs and FSAs. This was further confirmed by his informants. The researcher got an introduction letter from the Centre for Translation and Interpretation (C.T.I), the University of Nairobi (UON). The researcher proceeded to gather his qualitative data from the above sources. The study relies partly on the library, internet research, observation and direct interview of the members of the audience in political rallies. The researcher then analyzed the data to ensure the objectives were met and recommendations were given for further research.

1.9.1 Description of Research Tools.

Observation and direct interviewing were employed in the collection of primary data. Observations would help in giving direct encounter with the audience and politicians in political rallies. Active participation by the researcher, on the other hand, would be used to gather information from the audience and how they interpret utterances as either face-saving or face-threatening and how the issue is interpreted as either face-saving or face-threatening and how it affects their decision.

Direct interviewing helped the researcher to get more information and clarifications on matters that were not clear. This also assisted in creating a rapport between the researcher and the respondents.

1.9.2. Data Collection Procedure

These are the procedures that the researcher used to collect his data, they include;

1.9.2.1 Observation (Kosso Peter, 2016).

Observation is the active acquisition of information from a primary source. In living beings, observation employs senses. Here the researcher set down and listened to the conversation between the politicians and members of the audience and in this case their interlocutors. The researcher as a native speaker of the language was an active participant, both in the collection of the data and its analysis.

1.9.2.2 Direct Interview

This involved interviewing three informants who had attended at least three political rallies with more than one politician addressing the audience/listeners. This enabled the researcher to collect credible and accurate information regarding the matter under investigation.

1.9.3 Data Presentation and Analysis

Some descriptions were used to analyze the data. The results were later presented using tables, bar graphs and pie charts. Qualitative data was described in narrative form.

CHAPTER TWO

AN OVERVIEW OF POLITICIANS LANGUAGE AND POLITENESS.

2.1 Introduction

The Oxford advanced learners dictionary of English(2015) defines politics as the activities involved in getting and use power in public life and being able to influence the decision that affect a country or a society. Politicians, therefore would be said to be the players or the agents of politics in a state or region. Politicians have a rapporteur of their trade and a kind of specific language that they employ as they communicate in their bid to appeal to the citizens.

Political discourse is made up of ideologies. An ideology according to Ibid, is a system of ideas and ideals which form the basis of economic or political theory and policy. Van Dijk, (1998) an ideology is the foundation of the social representation shared by a social group. Most political discourse is an attempt by one group to push or influence their ideology on their listeners.

Political speeches and henceforth used interchangeably with political discourse has the following characteristics that are vital to the comprehension of political statements. These include:

2.1.1 Competitiveness

Where the politicians think of outwitting his opponents and get elected to the political office in a contest.

2.1.2 Aggressiveness

This is behaving in a threatening way against opponents and speaking as if ready to attack the opponent. Here politicians push their agenda to the audience. They also use biased lexical items, direct insults mockery among others. Sometimes the language is so aggressive that some listeners are afraid of attending future meetings.

2.1.3 Ideological Character

Here a politician aims at pushing his ideas and ideals to the populace with the aim of influencing them. Sometimes a politician would be high sounding and uses appealing language to put across his/her ideas to the would-be voters. Politicians aim at convincing the audience that their ideology is the best and has the best interests of the electorate.

2.1.4 Theatricality

A politician would be melodramatic and he exaggerates his actions, speech in order to attract attention from the listeners. It is the aim of politicians to draw attention to themselves here politicians use high sounding words accompanied by a loud voice in their speeches the effect being able to electrify the audience and creating a frenzy in the audience. This may create a political wave centered on a certain candidate.

2.1.5 Sensationalism

This is the conscious use of language meant to appeal to the psyche and touch the raw emotions of readers/listeners. A politician would deliberately incite his/her audience by

exciting their emotions. This could lead to violence against perceived opponents and with negative consequences especially in a cosmopolitan audience.

2.1.6 Use of Symbolism and Imagery

Politicians are good in employing symbolism and imagery that go beyond the grammatical meaning. Symbols are representations aimed at stretching the imagination of the listener. Imagery mainly metaphors and similes are significantly employed especially the use of animal characters to represent certain opponents.

2.1.7 Euphemism.

This the use of substitute a term or expression with another agreeable term. Most of the time the word to be substituted is negative, vulgar or taboo word. However in politics the use euphemisms is a deliberate effort to escape any political responsibility that is to get away with it

2.1.7 Vagueness

A politician has a tendency of being deliberately unclear and ensuring that his speech is both ambiguous and hazy, this helps them escape responsibility Chilton (2004). Clinton and Schaffner (2001), defined as being political all those actions, linguistic or otherwise that involve power or its inverse resistance. All the above eight characteristics attest to this fact of power struggle or politicians seeking to outdo each other. Political speeches would also involve but not limited to the following according to Chilton(2004) who describes them as serving four functions namely;

First, dissimulation where the quality and quantity of the information to suit the needs of the speaker and in this case the politicians who have the immediate need of convincing the listener he/she is the best candidate.

Second, legitimization and de-legitimization which is used to present the speaker politician in a positive light while discrediting his opponent. This is self-aggrandizement and a covert nature of a politician. He/she operates on the other side of the political river. This is well used to attack those in power by the opposition.

Chinton and Schaffner (2004), further uses discursive strategies to describe also the politicians' language which uses a five point description namely;

2.1.8 Positive Self-representation

This is where the politicians see himself/herself as quite good as compared to his opponent or competitor. This helps him/her to sell his/her image to the listeners as a better alternative /choice. This where politicians would paint themselves as the best and next to God. The audience is convinced to elect them for they are the best to represent their interests.

2.1.9 Negative other Representation

While portraying himself/herself better, he has to paint his opponent in a bad light. He/she has to correctly do it so as to convince the listeners his/her opponent is not worth any consideration. Here the politicians represent their opponents as unreliable and not worth a consideration when voting. The opponent is painted 'black'. The audience is threatened with such words like, 'you are lost if you elect that candidate'.

2.1.10 Use of Deictic Pronouns

This is where one creates some polarity or dichotomy that puts one group side by side and tries to compare them. They include the use of “us” versus “them”, “we” versus “they”. The politicians’ intention is to show the audience /listeners that they should always flow with the speaker and agree to be on his side.

2.1.11 Rhetorical Questions

Here a politician uses questions that do not require answers as their intention is to make the listeners think more over a certain issue. These questions intend to show the listeners what they may be thinking positively about the opponent is wrong. Such questions may include ‘who doesn’t know them?’

‘Don’t you know, whose interests they are working for?’

2.1.12 Biased Lexical Choices

A good politician is a “master of lexicon”. He/she knows which word to use for maximum impact. He uses negative or unfavorable terms for his/her opponent to ensure listeners doesn’t favor his/her camp.

2.2 An Overview of Face- Threatening Acts (FTAs)

A face-threatening act is an act that challenges the face wants of an interlocutor. According to Brown and Levinson (1987), a face-threatening act may threaten either the speaker’s face or the hearer’s face. They may threaten either positive or negative face.

Ibid (1987), make a distinction between the FTAs: to begin with, is those that threaten positive face and those threatening negative face. Secondly, those that threaten the hearer's face and those that threaten the speaker's face.

2.2.1 FTAs Threatening the Hearer's Face.

This are acts that threaten the hearers face. The assumption in the theory of politeness that all humans have face wants and needs. This particular FTAs threaten the face of the speaker as he/ she continue to speak.

2.2.1.1 Positive Face

FTAs threatening the hearer's self- image include first expressions negatively evaluating the hearer's positive face .For instance, criticism, disapproval, complains, disagreements. All these threaten the speaker face negatively. . The second act will be those that do not care about the hearer's positive face. For example expression of violent emotions, taboo topics, interruptions and emotional topics .In this case the face needs of the speaker are threatened as nobody cares about them.

2.2.1.2 Negative Face

FTAs restricting the hearer's personal freedom includes: to start with, acts predicating a future act of the hearer e.g. orders and requests, suggestions/advice, reminding, threats and warnings/dares. Secondly, acts signifying a future act towards the hearer e.g. offer and promises. Finally, acts expressing a desire of the speaker towards the hearer of his/her good. For example, compliments, expression of emotions etc.

3.2.2 FTA Threatening the Speaker's Face.

These are acts that threaten the speaker's face and may even impede a conversation. The face needs of the speaker are threatened and he/she is uncomfortable even if still engaged in the conversation. These acts are further subdivided into positive and negative face.

2.2.2.1 Positive Face

FTAs threatening the speaker's self-image may include; acceptance of a compliment, breakdown of physical or emotional control, self-humiliation, confessions, apologies etc.

2.2.2.2 Negative Face

FTAs threatening the speaker's personal freedom may include; expressions of thanks, acceptance of thanks, offers, compliments, apologies, excuses among others. Here though the actions seem positive, they have negative effect and therefore the name. For instance, expression of thanks is a good thing but sometimes the speaker may be doing it as a convention and protocol so given a choice he /she would not do it. Giving of an apology may be interpreted as a being a form of coercion which is a FTA.

3.2.3 Face Saving Acts (FSAs)

Face Saving Act, are those actions including expressions that satisfy the face wants of the interlocutors. This includes the speaker and the listener

2.2.3.1 Face Saving Acts

According to John Spacy (2016), face-saving is preserving one's social status after a failure, mistake or disagreement.

Several strategies have been used by politicians that include but not limited to the following;

Being Welcoming

A communicator and in this case the politician uses a welcoming tone and words to his interlocutors. The communicator becomes warm towards the audience and in many cases to their opponents who prior to the time of speaking they could not have treated them in the same manner.

Speaking Positively of Others

Good communicators are courteous and they take the interlocutors to be vital to them and address them positively as friends, partners, essential people, ladies and gentlemen and people whom the communicator cannot do without. Politicians need both the electorate to vote for them and opponents for comparison during campaigns.

Use of Flattery and Praise

Good communicators are masters in flattery and praise. They would identify achievements of their interlocutors or things they are talented at and highlight on them. For example if the interlocutor is learned they would highlight their qualifications and where they attained and what the person has been able to do with those qualifications. Politicians really exploit this when their senior or party leader is present and they expect to be viewed in a positive light and probably be appointed to higher office or even be endorsed to the electorate.

Use of Humor

Good communicators intending to save the face of their interlocutors use humor. This is the use of words, situations and even stories that elicit humor and therefore provide

comic relief to the listeners/audience. Some politicians are able to use oral narratives especially tricksters and leave their audience in stitches. Others use proverbs and riddles that help them put their point across. Many times they are able to amuse opponents and the other listeners. Others would employ Biblical register and allusion to drive their point home with a lot of humor. An example is the 'story of the prodigal son', Luke 15:13 (NKJV). Many politicians use it to announce their return from 'diaspora' to take high office.

Change of Tact

This is a communication tool in which a communicator who was diametrically opposed to an interlocutor changes tact and joins the interlocutor and becomes friendly. By doing so they hope to win the trust of the interlocutor and if possible foster co-operation from then onwards. This is a potent tool employed by politicians with their adage that 'in politics their neither permanent friends nor permanent enemies'. Politicians would go to any length even switch over parties and join those they used to perceive as opponents politically and be comfortable in the new dispensation.

Clapping

Clapping of hands is interpreted as a way of appreciation and this is employed by communicators to request the listeners/audience to clap for someone as a way of appreciation. This is not just when they are Masters of Ceremony (MCs) but even after a specific person has spoken before them, before they begin speaking they quote what he/she has said and request the members of the audience to appreciate them by clapping.

Positive Identification with Interlocutors

Here the communicator identifies themselves with the interlocutors. A communicator would keep on using;

- The inclusive pronoun “we”
- “Am” one of you
- Am your long lost daughter
- Am the long-lost son who has come home
- This is my original home
- I want to suffer with you or prosper with you

2.3 Politeness Theory

Politeness according to Merriam-Webster Dictionary, (2015) is “an appearance of consideration, tact, deference, or courtesy. Politeness is related to diplomacy and tact in the way nations deal with each other. This theory was developed by Brown and Levinson, 1987 after borrowing heavily from Goffman’s Face theory of the 1950s. They advance the idea that when the interlocutors are polite, the conversation or the dialogue tends to be mutual and therefore helping each interlocutor save face.

The theory assumes that we all have face (Face want and needs). According to Ibis (1987), there are physiological variables when considering an FTA, these are weights which comprises of power, distance and rank Power refers to the power dynamic between the speaker and the hearer; one should ask the following; Is the hearer superior,

subordinate or of the same level to the speaker. The assumption here belongs that the power relation affects the language and the choice of words that a speaker chooses.

Distance here is intended to mean the amount of social distance between the speaker and the hearer. This is a type of proxemics and it affects diction as one considers whether the hearer is a close friend or a distant colleague.

Rank, on the other hand refers to the cultural ranking of the subject i.e. the extent of sensitivity of the topic within a particular culture. For instance, among the African women, it is considered an insult to ask a mature lay her age. In other places it is the job that one does that is deemed to be offensive especially Nairobians. It is the assumption of the politeness theory that choices in using a particular politeness strategy depend upon social circumstances in which the speech occurs. That is to the person you are speaking to, what is the social relationship with the person and on what topic.

2.3.1 Origins of Politeness

According to an American Journal of Linguistics, as quoted by Tsanga (2017), the issue of politeness and Face theory was associated with Chinese but later Levinson and Brown (1987), while expanding the work of Goff man, Lakoff and Paul Grice, realized that politeness was a universal concept developed through social, cultural and recorded procedures.

2.3.2 Positive Politeness

The purpose of positive politeness is to enhance the positive needs of the hearer. It is also referred to as positive face redress. It aims at fostering friendliness and camaraderie between the speaker and the hearer. The assumption being that the needs of the speaker are the same as those of the hearer.

2.3.3 Negative Politeness

This is a form of politeness that addresses the hearer's need for freedom from imposition in making his/her decisions. It is also called negative face redress. One strategy of negative politeness is employing of less than – specific phrasing such as perhaps, might, can, could. It also employs coercion to the speaker for example employing pessimism for instance, (“I am sure you won't want this...”)

2.3.4 Off- Record Politeness

This is a politeness strategy that relies upon implication. It is quite indirect and involves the breaking of conversational norms to imply a particular recommend cause of action. The speaker relies on the assumption that the hearer has the ability to decipher and interpret the speaker's intended meaning, although it is indirectly suggested. This works on the following platform;

First, the speaker invites conversational implicatures. Here, clues, hints of association, presupposition, understatement, overstatement, tautologies, contradictions, irony, metaphors, rhetorical questions etc. are employed. Second, the speaker may be

intentionally vague or ambiguous, over-generalizing, displacing the hearer and being incomplete by the use of ellipsis (...)

NB: those in power have been found to exercise impoliteness more than those in positions of relatively lower power.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA PRESENTATION

3.0 Introduction

In this chapter a presentation has been made of Face Threatening Acts (FTA's) and Face saving Acts (FSA's) Identified in the excerpts made by politicians in their speeches during campaigns in the political rallies. Here the researcher with collaboration of his informants confirmed. The data was taken from six political rally speeches that were transcribed from voice recordings of actual speeches a free translation and explanation provided. These incidents have been classified, analyzed and interpreted using the Politeness Theory (PT) according to Brown and Levinson (1987), on how the listeners/audience interpret their face being threatened. While in political rallies and how they perceive face politician as using FSA's in their speeches to either save the face of their opponents or the audience.

The researcher followed five politicians from the region .These politicians have been coded and their real names substituted with code names (CANDIDATE A - CANDIDATE E.) other politicians who have been mentioned without the name candidate include M.J, CN, Ny, Nz, R, T, U. political parties and coalitions include KIVANGULI, SHIKA, MBUA, and NGWATANO . All these are code names and the use of capital letters is deliberate for distinction.

3.1 Face Threatening Acts (FTAS)

These are FTAs identified from several political rallies featuring candidate A during campaigns for the 2017 general elections. The table below indicates the same.

Table 3.1: FTAS: Featuring Candidate A¹.

KIKAMBA EXCERPT	FREE TRANSLATION (F.T)	EXPLANATION
CANDIDATE A		
1 ... <i>Ndūkone ta wimūndu mūnene mūno kana te we Ngai. We namanye nzoma yakwa inene kūla ĩthĩo mbee wa yake, nde undu undavya. Tūkaumya mūvutio no mwone.</i>	...Do not think you are so senior or you are God. Know that my manhood is bigger than yours under my pants. You can't tell me anything.	Candidate A telling off the president especially after the repeat presidential elections that many SHIKA COALITION supporters refused to participate and therefore disowned the results. Candidate A would like to say he is also equal or better than the president
2.... <i>wĩa wake i kūmanthana na etu maitu elĩ, mūtavyei aekane na etu maitũ elĩ.....</i>	...His work is to keep on chasing our two ladies, tell him to leave our girls alone	Candidate A telling the president to stop being close with the two Kamba ladies Hon, M. J. and Hon .C .N. Telling the President to leave Kamba ladies alone.
3... <i>Anandavisye niume kyamani (cha KIVANGULI) na ngũlika kyamani kyoo cha – NGWATANO, namūsũngĩa imūselee, nyie nĩ ndongoi Ĩ mūsimumo.</i>	...He wooed me to leave my party KIVANGULI and join NGWATANO I answered him am a leader with a stand.	Candidate A reacting to Candidate B's advice that he leaves KIVANGULI PARTY and SHIKA to join NGWATANO. He reiterated that he cannot leave KIVANGULI.

<p>4...<i>kwĩ'ikethiwa na ũnyuvani kũũ, ima'thi maanyuvane kũla makwenda ithie itwalea.</i></p>	<p>...there will not be any elections here, let them go wherever they want for us we have refused.</p>	<p>Candidate A telling off the president and his supporters' that Mwingi region will not participate in elections but it can be held in other regions or elsewhere.</p>
<p>5.....<i>metũkenga ũvoo wa nzaĩko, nĩmũkũlya mbaitũ nzaĩko no ũsumbĩ syĩkwatanĩye va, na ningi ũkethĩa ndongoi yaitũ ĩkwenda nzaĩko aĩki mekuo aingĩ.</i></p>	<p>...They are cheating us about circumcision, how does circumcision and leadership. If our leader requires circumcision, circumcisers are there.</p>	<p>Candidate A reacting to the claim by their detractors that SHIKA presidential candidate is not circumcised and therefore should abandon him for a better alternative.</p>

Context¹

This excerpts were extracted from speeches made in political rallies as indicated below;

1 & 2 in February 16, 2018 in a political rally in Mwingi Town. He was reacting to the legality of the repeat elections. He declared them invalid.

3, 4 &5 were in July, 16, 2017 while Candidate A was campaigning in Mwingi Town.

FTAs by Candidate B.

These are excerpts of FTAs Candidate B. These are extracts from political parties during the campaigns 2017. These extracts are from two political parties .the table below is a presentation of the same.

Table 3.2 FTAS: Featuring Candidate B².

CANDIDATE B		
KAMBA EXCERPT	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
<p>6...<i>mündũ atakethia I mütumanu mũno na mündũ ũsu mũkwĩta ndongoi, I dongoi ya ilalinda na ndongoi ikethĩwa kĩlalinda ithuonthe tũlika ũkongonĩ</i></p>	<p>...If a person is a fool and the person you are calling your leader is a fool, he is a leader of the blind and if a leader is blind we shall all plunge into a dry river bed.</p>	<p>A criticism against KIVANGULI party leader Candidate E by Candidate B that he (Candidate E) is not a visionary leader and is leading the Kambas to a ditch.</p>
<p>7...<i>Wona ndia isu sya KIVANGULI syaũka syikũlyei kana ĩ KIVANGULI kĩvangũla nthakame, mündũ ũkauma kĩvangũlini no akue?</i></p>	<p>...if you see those KIVANGULI fools ask them if that KIVANGULI is wiping blood. If one moves from the party can he/she die?</p>	<p>Candidate B. dismissing the followers of KIVANGULI as fools and questioning whether being expelled to the party is a matter of life and death. He explains he is not afraid of being expelled from KIVANGULI.</p>
<p>8...<i>tũĩsaa lĩu tũĩsaa kyama, matavye I syama syoo ciatwika lĩu tukaya na tũvũũna.</i></p>	<p>...we eat food we do not eat parties, tell them when their party is food we shall eat and be satisfied.</p>	<p>Candidate B irked by the decision to expel him from KIVANGULI and telling a rally a party is not food. He and his followers would eat and to him parties are not important.</p>
<p>9...<i>andũ a'mwe mathanĩte kuma ĩla naai sukulu, nayu nomakwenda kĩvila, makũlye makeka ata na kula vata ũsu mataakũa andũ ma</i></p>	<p>...some people have ruled from when I was schooling, and even now they want the seat. Ask them what they will do with the seat, what</p>	<p>A dismissal for senior politicians in Mwingi region i.e that Candidate E and Candidate D both have been in leadership for too long and</p>

<i>Mwingi.</i>	they never did for Mwingi people.	they should pave way for young politicians.
<i>IO ...andũ amwe imaathamie, ti'ma Mwingi naikyo matenavata na maendeeo ma Mwingi ona kwoo Tseikuru kwĩ kĩndu kya kwendeka</i>	...some people shifted from Mwingi that is why they have no need for the development of Mwingi. Eventually home of Tseikuru has nothing to be admired.	A criticism against KIVANGULI'S party leader Candidate E that he was shifted from Mwingi and is not development conscious and never developed his ancestral home of Tseikuru.

CONTEXT²

This excerpts were extracted from a political rally in Mwingi Town in March 28, 2017 commenting he is not afraid of being expelled from KIVANGULI PARTY. He was to repeat the same at Nuu market on the same day.

FTAs BY CANDIDATE C.

These are FTAs featuring Candidate C. Just like earlier mentioned for other candidates they are excerpts extracted from speeches during campaigns the table below indicates the same.

Table 3.3 FTAS: Featuring Candidate C³.

CANDIDATE C		
KAMBA EXCERPT	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
<p>11. “...Metinda makūmīte ta makitī ma mūkwato. Na newie makatūvuta matūlūngye kyamanī īndī ithie twī ma ndiwa.....”</p>	<p>....they are nowadays backing like dogs on heat, I had they will expel us from the party, but we are not orphans.</p>	<p>Candidate C reacting to the message of the threat that they were to be expelled from KIVANGULI and could join another party.</p>
<p>12. “...syū mwolio Mwingi ena ūmbano kūū umunthi īndī itūkanītwe kūthi ūmbanonī nūndū itwavutiwe”.</p>	<p>....Mr Relief Food in Mwingi has a political rally today, but we have been warned against attending the rally because we were expelled.</p>	<p>Candidate C explaining why they can’t attend Canddidate E.s political rally and mocking him as Mrs. Relief food, a tag to show he promotes poverty in Mwingi region.</p>
<p>13. “...Andū ma Mwingi mūyona ngwatano no kūya kwa mukwatie. Kwatanai na kula ikiwe ngusūnī na yūsūviwa nesa ndīkang’ewe ni mbūlīli ila mwisi”.</p>	<p>....You Mwingi people can’t be united, you only know how to eat. Unite and be ready with your voter’s card in the pocket. Take care of the card so that they may not be stolen by those crooks</p>	<p>People of Mwingi being urged to be united as they have always rejected calls for unity due to selfishness and politics of bribery.</p>
<p>14. “.....metala kula na maūlinga nasyo, īndī kula cīna andū, wamona matavye kula cīna andū....na andū</p>	<p>... They are counting votes and are proud of their numbers, but they should know, it is People</p>	<p>Candidate E and SHIKA being warned not to think they have</p>

<i>ma Mwingi ti syana syoo.</i>	who have the votes.....and people of Mwingi are not their children.	already won the elections. i.e not to count their chicks before they hatch.
<i>15. “....Kula syĩmĩmanthĩle mingi ona ung’ei ũla mesĩ mũno no mũmanthĩle ũmwe. Kũngi maamanzaa na ũoi.</i>	....There are many ways of looking for votes, even the stealing they excel in is still a method. In other places they use witchcraft.	A warning to KIVANGULI leaders that they should be aware and be warned their votes could be stolen i.e the election could be rigged by their opponents.

CONTEXT³

This excerpts were extracted from Candidate C’s speeches in a political rally in March, 2017. He was reacting on a threat that they will be expelled from KIVANGULI PARTY.

He too expresses lack of faith in KIVANGULI and the party leader. He also wants KIVANGULI and SHIKA to be weary that their votes could be stolen.

FTAS BY CANDIDATE D.

These are excerpts with FTAs spoken by Candidate d in political rallies during campaigns as indicated in the table below.

Table 3.4: FTAS: Featuring Politician Candidate D⁴.

CANDIDATE D		
KAMBA EXCERPT	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
16. “... <i>matavye wamona ũsumbĩ ti ngima kana ndua ai tukakundaswa tyiilie nthĩ, ũsumbĩ ikumanthwa umanthawa na mĩmanthĩle presidency ĩkuo</i> ”.	...When you see them warn them that presidency is not ugali or thick porridge that we shall be allowed to sip while seating. People look for the diligently.	A caution to SHIKA and KIVANGULI in particular to be aware of the underhand tactics in their campaigns and to understand that their quest for the presidency is not a bed of roses.
17. “.... <i>Mbesa sya Kitui kaunti ũkwinengwe no umie mĩndũ kana ũmũnenenie naĩ... M. namanye Nz. na Ny. maĩ ovo...na ndime’waa mbunge.</i>”	.....The money in Kitui County kitty is difficult be given. The only method is to insult someone. Tell governor M. we had Nz. and Ny. who were powerful once.....and today we do not hear them in parliament...	A complaint against Governor M. leadership at the helm of Kitui county government. To the residents he has become so complacent and has got his priorities wrong.
18. “... <i>thĩna wa Ũkambanĩ nĩ tũwĩsĩ, ĩndĩ ve mũndũ ũtawĩsi na aleete kũmanya nĩ wathe na thia.</i>	...we know the problems of Ukambani, and everybody knows it except the one who is snobbish or proud.	...A criticism that some leaders pretend not know the problems of Ukambani. An indictment that some leaders do not know the obvious and their failure to involve people in the identification of Kitui problems and priorities.
19. “..... <i>sivitalĩ sya Mwingi</i>	...All the hospitals of Kitui	A criticism on the state of

<p><i>na Kitui kyonthe syĩ na dawa, ona savuni waũthambia ngũa sya awau ni`wa maneiwe mamanthe kũluma</i></p>	<p>and Mwingi have no medicine. Even soap to wash patients' clothes is missing. I had they were told to look for aloe Vera.</p>	<p>health sector in Kitui county and Mwingi region in particular. They lack medicine base utilities and patients are insulted when they ask for the necessities/provisions.</p>
<p><i>20. "...mathiko ma NGWATANO nĩmo me mwaka ũũ, thi umatavye kavulĩ koo ikenthe, twetele o mũthenya wa mathiko.</i></p>	<p>....the funeral of NGWATANO is being held this year. Go and tell them we have dug their grave. We are just waiting for the day to bury them.</p>	<p>A promise that when SHIKA takes over it will build new hospitals to improve health and ensure there are more births, implying the current leaders have not done enough</p>

CONTEXT⁴

This form a cluster of excerpts collected from a political rally in Mwingi Town on 28th March, 2017 after his fallout with KIVANGULI and declaring himself an independent candidate and warning KIVANGULI/SHIKA leadership and criticizing Governor M. leadership in Kitui County.

FTAs BY CANDIDATE E.

These as indicated are extracts from speeches made at political rallies during campaigns for the general elections in 2017. The table below is a representation of the same.

Table 3.5 FTAS: Featuring Candidate E ⁵.

CANDIDATE E			
KAMBA EXCERPT		FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
21. “..... <i>mathiko ma NGWATANO nĩmo me mwaka ũũ, thi umatavye kabulĩ koo ikenthe, twetele o mũthenya wa mathiko.</i> ”		...the funeral of NGWATANO is being held this year. Go and tell them we have dug their grave. We are just waiting for the day to bury them.	Commenting on how SHIKA will obliterate NGWATANO on the pools.
22. “... <i>Manaisye Candidate We isyũ w’ia, Mũndũ wa mwithe indi Candidate E .nĩ kamũnyambũ kala ketawa kaviti</i> ”		...you said Candidate E is a coward, a man of the tail, but Candidate E is a dangerous slim lion called Kaviti.	Candidate E refuting claims that he is a coward and asserting he is a slim lion called Kaviti that is quite dangerous. That he is capable of great bravery.
23. “.... <i>tũkamenza va te kiw’u, wenzi witu twinaw’o. Matavye mũthenya wa kwenzwa wi vakuvi.</i> ”		...we shall shave them without wetting their heads. Our razor/shaver is at hand. The day of shaving is near.	A clarion call for voters to come out in big numbers to vote and ensure SHIKA defeats NGWATANO.
24. “..... <i>tukethiwa tusunga kura ciitu ta man’g’oi ma mũkwato, nzeele syĩkethĩwa mbingĩ</i> ”		...we shall be guarding our votes, like donkey on heat. Kicks will be plentiful for them to know we have the aim	A call for voters to guard their votes after casting them to ensure rigging doesn’t take place.

<i>kana mo mamamye twĩna mũvango wa usũmbika</i>		of taking over leadership.	
<i>25. “.....ũsumbĩ wa Kenya watwĩkiie wa mbai ĩmwe kana ilĩ. Nũndũ a mwaitu mayasyaa ?..... na Candidate B aũmatĩyaa ta nduu ĩmũndanĩ yũvulia mbemba</i>		...The leadership of Kenya has become a two tribal affair is it because our mothers never gave birth? And Candidate B has continued to follow them like a squirrel that is removing maize seeds.	A complaint that the presidency is oscillating between two communities and an accusation and criticism that Candidate B should stop his association with NGWATANO.

CONTEXT ⁵

These excerpts are a collection from an extraction of a political rally in Mwingi Town during a heated political rally where Candidate E was campaigning for KIVANGULI and SHIKA. He expressed his wish to guard the votes in Mwingi region. He spoke of the duel between SHIKA and NGWATANO. He complained of tribal politics and tribalism in the government.

3.2 Face Saving Acts (FSAs)

Later the researcher was able to identify several FSAs. The FSAs were used by the same politicians who had earlier used FTAs, the only issue being that the political circumstances/context had changed warranting change of tact and the requisite language. The versatility of the politicians as masters of political (environmental adaptation) is captured here. This excerpts includes clapping for an opponent, welcoming, speaking

positively about other politicians who had been hitherto opponents, open appreciation and promise for cooperation.

The researcher was able to observe the following FSAs in the speeches collected from the field or online from YouTube. The excerpts below indicate the identified FSAs. The FSAs involved 5 politicians from the above region extracted from different speeches that were held in three venues namely; Mwingi Town & Migwani Town in (Kitui County) and Komarok in Machakos County but by politicians from Mwingi region in Kitui County.

FSAs BY CANDIDATE A

These are FSAs by Candidate A extracted from speeches made at political rallies. This was after the elections and there was a kind of reconciliation in the two competing parties. The table below represents the same.

Table 3.6 FSAs: Featuring Candidate A⁶

CANDIDATE A		
KAMBA EXCERPT	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
1“...ngamũthokya inyuothe Mwingi mũmanyē twĩ andũ ma mũuo –U wimũthokye ona wenda kũthaamia Mwingi ũka	...I shall welcome all of you, so that you may know we are peaceful people. U you are welcome even if you would want to permanently settle at Mwingi you are welcome	This excerpt shows a change of heart to a welcoming stance after the handshake, welcoming the president with a whole heart to Mwingi and

		declaring that Mwingi people are peaceful.
2. “.....Candidate Eni kana kaitũ twĩ vata nako. Tukakathakya kũthakya na tiĩkakwatĩlĩla kaikavalũke.	...Candidate E is our son that we value. We shall fondly play with him lifting him up but being careful not to let him fall.	A praise for Candidate E. the KIVANGULI party leader and asserting the leaders will support him.
3. “.....silikalĩ ya U ni silikalĩ ya kĩla mũndũ, U sumbika no sumbĩka ta ũmanya kĩthima nĩ kyaku	....The government of U is everyone’s government, president U, rule, rule and know the well is yours.	Candidate A welcoming the president U and asserting that he is the legal President and his government is legal.
4 “...Candidate E.tũkakaũsũvĩa, R. tũkamũsũvia, Candidate D.tũkamũsũvĩa, CN tukamũsũvĩa...	...Candidate E. we shall protect you, R, CN, Candidate D we shall also protect you...	A vow and commitment that Mwingi leaders will protect Candidate E and other opposition leaders.
5“...Candidate D. I ndongoi ya meko, Bwana meko ũka ũtũkethye na ũtutavya ndeto ĩmwe kana ilĩ “.	....Candidate D.is a leader of development, Mr. Development come and greet us and tell us one or two things.	Candidate A appreciating Candidate D. a great opponent during the 2017 elections.

CONTEXT ⁶

This was ion a political rally attended by many politicians after March 9 handshake between the President and the Opposition Leader. KIVANGULI leader a native of Mwingi region was in support and he had called a meeting to chat the way forward for the whole of Ukambani and in particular Mwingi region. Candidate D who had left KIVANGULI was now talking positively about both the party, the president and Candidate E. He vows to work with all the leaders.

FSAs BY CANDIDATE B.

These are extracts containing FSAs from speeches made by Candidate B. the table below is a representation of the same. The table below indicates the excerpts.

Table 3.7 FSAs: Featuring Candidate B⁷

CANDIDATE B		
KAMBA EXCERPT	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
6 “... <i>Candidate E.I daktali, mündũ mūsomu mwĩao wonthe, mũndu wa mũuo na ũtanu...</i>	...Candidate E is a doctor, a person who has read the whole law, a peaceable person and always jovial.	This is a flattery on Candidate E.s personality (Candidate B.and Candidate E were on different camps in 2017 elections). Appreciating him as a man of peace.
7 “.....R ni mwana waitũ na mũndũ we’eka nesa Kenya na Ukambani tũmũthokye kwa mbĩ sya vinya.	...R is our son, a person who has always done good things in Kenya, even in Ukambani. Let’s welcome him with	A welcoming R during a political party in Mwingi. Being praised as a

	heavy claps.	man who has done a lot for the country of Kenya.
8“.....CN ni mwĩtu wa Ukambani, kiveti kĩtu, nyinya waitũ na ndongoi ya maendeeyo.	...CN is the daughter of Ukambani, our wife, our mother and a leader of development.	A welcome to CN in 2017 and describing her as the daughter a clenched name for one who has made it and brought development
9“...Andũ ma Nuu mwimavata ta mũsumbi wenyu Candidate A na Candidate E Ũngamĩla o vau.	...Residents of Nuu, you love your leaders, Candidate A and Candidate E continue with that stand.	Appreciating Candidate E and calling him a “king” together with Candidate A the M.P elect at Nuu in Mwingi central constituency.
10“..... T. wiwa vata mũno, ũkaa Ukambani na mũno mũno kũũ kwatitũ Mwingi...	...T you are precious, come to Ukambani and mainly to Mwingi Region.	This was an invitation for the deputy president to visit Mwingi region to help bring development.

CONTEXT ⁷

In the same rally as no. 7 Candidate B a sworn opponent to the KIVANGULI party leader, Candidate E had a chance of addressing the rally in the spirit of handshake. He appreciated all the regional and national leaders and vowed to work with them.

Part 9 of the table was from a different political rally at Nuu before the repeat elections in 2017. Here he not only campaigned for NGWATANO but also vowed to work with Candidate E if he can win the presidency.

FSA BY CANDIDATE C

This is an example of a Face Saving Acts .these are excerpts from speeches made at political rallies.

The table below shows the excerpt.

Table 3.8 FSAs: Featuring Candidate C ⁸

CANDIDATE C		
KAMBA EXCERPT	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
11. “.... <i>Ngakethasya andũ monthe, na ngethi cya mũuo. Ala makanyuvwa makethĩwa anyanyawa makwa, kuva sila na ala angi imwika.</i>	.... I shall be greeting everyone, with the greetings of peace. Those who will be elected shall be my friends. Kuva sila and others have you heard.	Candidate C. affirming he has buried the hatchet and there was no more war even on his opponents. He is speaking reconciliation and unity whether elected or not.
12 “.... <i>Andũ ma Migwani tanai, kethaniai ngethi cia Messiah no kyethya Candidate C na Mu. na Candidate B</i>	...people of Migwani rejoice, greet each other with the greetings of the Messiah and greet Candidate C and Mu. and Candidate B.	Urging people to be peaceful and to embrace each other despite the heated campaigns. These but in one. This is a campaign “train” including even opponents.
13. “..... <i>Mũndũ ta Candidate D. ekĩte maĩndu</i>	... A person like Candidate D has done much he should be	A praise for Candidate D. and his development

<i>maingĩ na 'kethaswe na akumĩswa ngovia nĩndũ ii ndongoi ya vata</i>	greeted and be honored for is an important leader	record. Candidate D. is campaigning as an independent for the gubernatorial seat for Kitui county.
14 "... Candidate E. mũvĩĩ waitu, twĩvata naku, thii ilovi ũtwetee usyĩmi...	...Candidate E. our boy, we value you, go to Nairobi and bring us game meat.	Candidate E. being mandated to negotiate with other national leaders before the august, 2017 elections on the plight of kambas in the national politics.

CONTEXT ⁸

This was a meet the people tour covering Candidate C, Candidate B, Candidate D and other several MCAs from Mwingi region. This was on April, 2018. The political speeches were in several small townships namely; Migwani, Thokoa, Musuani and Mwingi Town.

Candidate C vowed to work and respect all the leaders especially Candidate D, CN, and Candidate E.

FSAs BY CANDIDATE D.

These are examples of excerpts containing FSAs by Candidate D. collected from political rallies after the general elections.

Table 3.9 FSAs: Featuring Candidate D⁹

CANDIDATE D		
KAMBA EXCERPT	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
<i>15 “....CN ni mwiitu asa, tũkathũkũma imwe, ve’ na ũmaiitha ona ũmwe twi syana sya Ukambani”.</i>	....CN is my sister, we shall work together, and there is no enemy. We are all the children of Ukambani.	Welcoming CN and vowing to work together with her.
<i>16“....Nĩnatanie nona Candidate E na R Mwingi, na mendea Mooseo na namathokya...</i>	...I was glad when I saw Candidate E and R together I wished them well and welcomed them...	A welcome to Candidate Eat Migwani and to wish them well.

CONTEXT ⁹

This was on June 2017 at a gubernatorial rally in Migwani Town. Candidate D was in a political rally and he did not have any other national leader but just some MCAs. He welcomed the party leader Candidate E and vowed to work with him.

FSAs BY CANDIDATE E.

These are excerpts from political rallies made by Candidate E. The table below contains the same

Table 3.10 FSAs: Featuring Candidate E¹⁰

CANDIDATE E.		S
KAMBA EXCERPT	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
17s “..... <i>Mbaitu Andũ ma Mwingi mwi aseo..... Naũka kũũ na mwana asa Wetangula, Musalia, na CN.....mathokye</i>	...My people of Mwingi.....how are you? ...I have come with my brothers Mu., W and CN..... Welcome them.	Welcoming political leaders and allowing them and calling them close
18“ <i>Candidate D no waitũ ona auma KIVANGULI na SHIKA, nye ni kwake mũcii umunthi ngũmũthokya ingĩ kyamani nasyioke wĩani wake wa ã chairman.</i>	..... Candidate D is still ours even if he left KIVANGULI and SHIKA, I am at his home today welcoming him back to the party, and he should go back to his work as the chairman.	Welcoming Candidate D back to KIVANGULI since he had defected from KIVANGULI.

CONTEXT¹⁰

Candidate E the KIVANGULI party leader was in Migwani together with Ms, W. and CN. They were attending the funeral ceremony of Candidate D’s Mother. He vowed to work with Candidate D and requested him to come back to KIVANGULI Party and continue with his duties as a chairman. This was on April, 2017.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter a presentation, interpretation and analysis of the findings from the research is tabled. The collected data was analyzed with the help of descriptions to present the data with percentages of the findings by the respondents. The presentation of the findings was done according to the research objectives.

This section caters for the first and second objectives namely;

1. To interrogate face threatening and face saving acts of the politicians exhibited by politicians in Mwingi region.
2. To determine the extent to which the audience read face threatening acts in their speeches of politicians.

: Negative Other Representation

4.1.1 Instance 1: FTA: Negative other Representation.

This an example of negative other representation where a politician portrays his opponent in negative light so that the electorate may view his candidature as misplaced and therefore not worth to be elected .The Table below illustrates the same. This table is an extract presented earlier in chapter Three Table 1 sub-section 3, featuring Candidate A.

Table 4.1: Example of FTA: Negative Other Representation in a Political Speech by a Mwingi Politician: featuring Candidate A

KAMBA	ENGLISH/FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION/DEEPER MEANING
<p><i>3...Anandavisye niume kyamani (cha KIVANGULI) na ngũlilika kyamani kyoo cha – NGWATANO, namũsũngĩa imũselee, nyie nĩ ndongoi Ĩ mũsimamo.</i></p>	<p>...He wooed me to leave my party KIVANGULI and join NGWATANO I answered him am a leader with a stand.</p>	<p>Candidate A reacting to Candidate B’s advice that he leaves KIVANGULI and SHIKA to join NGWATANO. He reiterated that he cannot leave KIVANGULI.</p>

Here Candidate A uses a Face Threatening Act (FTA) against Candidate B and extends the FTA to the sympathizers of Hon. Joe as the excerpt is being viewed as a leader with no stand. Here ‘negative other representation’ is used portraying a fellow politician in negative light and as one who lacks a sound political stand and one who can be swayed anyhow by any political wave. This would make Joe to lose face.

Still this indicates a positive self-representation in that the politician represents himself as a better alternative to his opponent while painting his opponent in bad light.

4.1.2 Instance 2: FTA: Use of Insinuation to Belittle an Opponent.

This refers to the use of indirect reference to refer to a person. This is a deliberate move and listeners are able to decipher the meaning. Politicians use it to escape responsibility.

The table below represents the same. The Table below illustrates the same

Table 4.2: FTA: Use of Insinuation to Belittle an Opponent.

As indicated in Table 2 sub-section 6. By Candidate B.

KAMBA	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
<i>6...mũndũ atakethia I mũtumanu mũno na mũndũ ũsu mũkwĩta ndongoi, I dongoi ya ilalinda na ndongoi ĩkethĩwa kĩlalinda ithuonthe tũlika ũkongonĩ</i>	<p>...If a person is a fool and the person you are calling your leader is a fool, he is a leader of the blind and if a leader is blind we shall all plunge into a dry river bed.</p>	<p>A criticism against KIVANGULI party leader Candidate E by Candidate B that he (Candidate E) is not a visionary leader and is leading the Kambas to a ditch.</p>

Use of Insinuation to portray Candidate E in bad light as a leader with no vision and who is leading the Kamba community to a ditch. Here the politician is not even mentioning his opponent by name but says.....“the one you are calling a leader”.....’

So to him he is not a leader but an impostor and a pretender to the throne. To him the electorate should be weary of that leader as he is not leading them into the right direction.

He himself has no eyes to see his own way and therefore leading others is just but a tall

order. This is a FTA to the politician and to his ardent supporters who could be in that rally.

4.1.3 Instance 3: FTA: Direct Insult

This where a politician uses a direct insult to attack his opponent. This mainly happens when the opponent in question had earlier attacked the speaker. The table below illustrates the same .Candidate B is featured.

Table 4.3: FTA: Use of Direct Insult

This was shown in Table 2 sub-section7 featuring Candidate B.

KAMBA	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
<p>7... <i>Wona ndia isu sya</i> <i>KIVANGULI syaũka syikũlyei</i> <i>kana ĩ KIVANGULI ĩ wipe</i> <i>nthakame, mũndũ ũkauma</i> <i>wipa-ni no akue?</i></p>	<p>...if you see those KIVANGULI fools ask them if that KIVANGULI is wiping blood. If one movers from KIVANGULI can he/she die?</p>	<p>Candidate B dismissing the followers of KIVANGULI as fools and questioning whether being expelled to the party is a matter of life and death. He explains he is not afraid of being expelled from KIVANGULI.</p>

Here the politician is using direct insult and calling his opponents KIVANGULI fools. To him the party is not a life-giver that is if anyone moves out of the party he/she will die. The listeners would feel threatened as many of them are either members or sympathizers of KIVANGULI and therefore quite uneasy with the politicians' comments.

Insults threaten the face of any interlocutor and therefore when a politician uses direct insults though the listeners may applaud, it leaves many uncomfortable and some may even change their mind and decide that come the Election Day, they will vote for the opponent.

4.1.4 Instance 4: FTA: Use of Imagery and Symbolism

This is the use of representation to convey a message. The imagery and symbolism used rhymes well with the listeners and are able to quickly interpret it and understand .The

Table below indicates such a use by Candidate C.

Table 4.4: FTA: Use of Imagery and Symbolism

As shown earlier in Chapter Three Table 3.3 sub-section 12: Featuring Candidate C

KAMBA	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
<p>“...<i>syũ mwolio Mwingi ena</i> <i>ũmbano kũũ umunthi ãndĩ</i> <i>itũkanĩtwe kũthi ũmbanonĩ</i> <i>nũndũ itwavutiwe”.</i></p>	<p>...Mrs Relief food in Mwingi has a political rally today, but we have been Warned against attending the rally because we were expelled.</p>	<p>Candidate C explaining why they can’t attend Candidate E’s political rally and mocking him as Mrs. Relief Food, a tag to show he promotes poverty in Mwingi region.</p>

Here the politician uses Imagery and Symbolism. The imagery used here is an allegorical/metaphorical name when Candidate E is referred to as Mrs. Relief Food. First referred derogatorily as a lady (an old lady), yet he is a man. Secondly, he is called

‘Relief Food’ a derogatory and repugnant name as the community feels helpless when getting relief food. A politician being referred in such terms has his/her face greatly threatened.

4.1.5 Instance 5: FTA: Use of Deictic Pronouns.

These are pronouns that bring about distinction or a kind of dichotomy. A speaker puts himself or herself in one group and his opponents in another group. This gives rise to the use of the pronouns, ‘them vs us’. The purpose is to discourage voters to listen and even vote for the opponent. This had been indicated in Chapter Three, Candidate D, being our example. The Table below illustrates the same.

Table 4.5: FTA: Use of Deictic Pronouns (‘them vs us’)

No. 16: Candidate D (extracted from Table 3.4 featuring Candidate D)

KAMBA	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
<p>“...<i>matavye wamona</i> <i>ũsumbĩ ti ngima kana ndua</i> <i>ai tũkakundaswa tyiilie</i> <i>nthĩ, ũsumbĩ ikumanthwa</i> <i>umanthawa na mĩmanthĩle</i> <i>ĩkuo</i>”.</p>	<p>...When you see them warn them that presidency is not ugali or thick porridge that we shall be allowed to sip while seating. People look for the presidency diligently.</p>	<p>A caution to SHIKA and KIVANGULI in particular to be aware of the underhand tactics in their campaigns and to understand that their quest for the presidency is not a bed of roses.</p>

This is a warning by Candidate D cautioning SHIKA coalition in general and KIVANGULI in particular to beware of NGWATANO'S underhand tactics and their determination to win the elections in any way possible.

SHIKA and KIVANGULI are represented by 'us' while NGWATANO is represented by 'them'. This creates a sense of competition between the two polarised sides. The two sides are shown as not just immiscible but polar opposites. One side is being cautioned not to be soft and complacent waiting for the presidency to be handed to them but to go out and look for it.

This is a Face Threatening Act. As one group is qualified as good while the other one is bad.

4.1.6 Instance 6: FTA: Use of Biased Lexical Choices

Politicians as said earlier in Chapter Two, are masters of diction. They choose their words carefully for maximum impact against their opponents. The table below illustrates an instance of the same.

Table 4.6: FTA: Use Biased Lexical Choices

As shown earlier in Chapter 3 Table 4 sub-section 21 by. Candidate E

KAMBA	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
<p>21“ ...<i>mathiko ma</i> <i>NGWATANO nĩmo me</i> <i>mwaka ũũ, thi ũmatavye</i> <i>kavulĩ koo ikenthe, twetele</i> <i>o mũthenya wa mathiko.</i></p>	<p>....the funeral of NGWATANO is being held this year. Go and tell them we have dug their grave. We are just waiting for the day to bury them.</p>	<p>A promise that when SHIKA takes over it will build new hospitals to improve health and ensure there are more births, implying the current leaders have not done enough</p>

This was a direct address to NGWATANO that its funeral was at hand and that its grave had been dug to ensure it is buried and forgotten. This was in reference to the then forthcoming general election in August 2017. The choice of Funeral and grave for a party during elections was in itself a FTA. The very mention of ‘funeral’ and ‘grave’ spoils the mood of an event that is expected to be a hilarious duel during campaigns. People in this community fear death and would not want to be associated with the phenomena hence the party that will be buried.

The choice of funeral and grave is an example of the use of biased lexical choices that are face threatening to the opponents and any NGWATANO sympathizer

4.1.7 Instance 7: FTA: Use of Sensational / Inciting Terms

Politicians are good at both persuading and convincing, according to S.A.T. by John Searle (1979), borrowed from Austin J. (1962) words can be concretized and turned into actions. It is in this light that politicians are able to incite members of the public against

their perceived opponents, political rallies. The Table below illustrates an incident of such.

Table 4.7: FTA: Sensational/Incitement

As shown in Chapter Three, Table 1 sub-section 4 featuring Candidate A.

KAMBA	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
<i>4....kwĩ'ikethiwa na ũnyuvani kũũ, ima'thi maanyuvane kũla makwenda ithie itwalea.</i>	...there will not be any elections here, let them go wherever they want for us we have refused.	Candidate A telling off the president and his supporters' that Mwingi region will not participate in elections but it can be held in other regions or elsewhere.

Here Candidate A. telling off the president and inciting people not to participate in the repeat elections. Here sensationalism is employed as this directly appeals to the psyche of the people. It is his intention that he not only appeals but convinces people of Mwingi region not to participate in that election.

This is a FTA in that a listener in that political rally may want to participate in the repeat presidential elections but the politician is threatening even the organizers of elections.

4.2 Face Saving Acts (FSAs)

Saving face is defined as preserving one's social status after a failure, mistake or disagreement John Spacy (2016).

Here the third objective was used to analyse the strategies used to help safe the face by the politicians. Here as indicated earlier, the researcher who is a native speaker of the

language, with the help of his informants were able to confirm the excerpts as incidents of FSAs. It is the audience that observe and interpret an incident as face saving either to them or to the opponent of the speaker.

4.2.0 Various FSAS Strategies.

4.2.1 Illustration 1: Welcoming/Appreciation.

This whereby a politician uses welcoming words and appreciates an otherwise perceived opponent into apolitical gathering and may even offer to introduce him to the public or the voters. The Table below illustrates the same.

Table 4.8: FSA: Welcoming/Appreciation

As shown earlier in Chapter Three Table 11 sub-section1 featuring Candidate B

KAMBA	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
<p><i>“...ngamũthokya inyuothe Mwingi mũmanyeye twi andũ ma mũuo –U wimũthokye ona wenda kũthaamia mwingi ũka</i></p>	<p>...I shall welcome all of you, so that you may know we are peaceful people. U you are welcome even if you would want to permanently settle at Mwingi you are welcome</p>	<p>This excerpt shows a change of heart to a welcoming stance after the handshake, welcoming the president with a whole heart to Mwingi and declaring that Mwingi people are peaceful.</p>

Here is a complete political transformation as the politician becomes friendly and welcomes all his opponents including the president and even requesting him to settle in Mwingi.

The politician is no longer aggressive in his speech but tones down and declares himself a peace loving Kenyan. In this excerpt he begins as an individual but the sentence changes to plural an implication the politician is talking as a representative of the Mwingi people. This is a Face Saving Act.

4.2.2 Illustration 2: FSA: Use of Flattery and Praise

This is where a politician uses flowery words to say good things concerning another politician especially those perceived as opponents or belonging to different political camps. Praise terms are ‘feel good words’ directed at raising the spirit of a person. The table below illustrates the same.

Table 4.9: FSA: Use of Flattery/Praise

Praise

As earlier indicated in Chapter Three Table 12 sub-section featuring Candidate B

KAMBA	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
3“..... <i>CN ni mwitu wa Ukambani, kiveti kitu, nyinya waitũ na ndongoi ya maendeeyo.</i>	...CN is the daughter of Ukambani, our wife, our mother and a leader of development.	A welcome to CN in 2017 and describing her as the daughter a clenched name for one who has made it and brought development

This excerpt is an example of a politician using flattery and praise to a politician who he had perceived as an opponent before. The politician he is flattering belonged to a different political party MBUA, that Candidate A loathed and he had attacked the politician before.

In this excerpt the politician is describing his opponent in good light and adds a feather to her cap as a leader with a track record in development. This is a FSA to both the speaker and the politician being referred.

He goes ahead to call her our mother a respectable reference that shows both admiration and adoration.

4.2.3 Illustration 3: FSA: Use of Humor:

Good communicators know when to employ humor .Politicians employ this literary device as seen in chapter two to create a light moment to other politicians and their listeners. The Table below gives an example of the same.

Table 4.10: FSA: Use of Humor

As indicated in Chapter Three Table 3 sub-section 13 featuring Candidate C

KAMBA	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
13“... Candidate Emuvĩsĩ waitũ, twivata naku, thi ilovi utwetee usyĩmi...	...Candidate Eour boy, we value you, go to Nairobi and bring us game meat.	Candidate Ebeing mandated to negotiate with other national leaders before the august, 2017 elections on the plight of kambas in the national politics to bring a good share to the people of Ukambani

Here the politician is using humor in form of symbolism to commission a senior politician and party leader, KIVANGULI, to go to the capital city – Nairobi to negotiate

with other senior leaders and bring development. The politician is being referred using his pet name – Muvisi (that is a revered boy)

Here the audience/listeners are able to agree with the speaker on his act of commissioning the politician to negotiate with others. In this way the politician is able to save his face and that of his opponent and the audience. The net effect here is that the politician would like the members of the audience to perceive him as their advocate. A good FSA.

4.2.4 Illustration 4: FSA: Use of Positive Representation.

As seen in chapter Two, politicians is able to portray their opponents in very positive terms. This is done to show their opponents and the members of the public that they are people of good will. The table below illustrates the same.

Table 4.11: FSA: Positive Representation.

As indicated in Chapter Three Table 15 Sub-section 16 featuring Candidate D

KAMBA	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
<i>16....Ninatanie nona Candidate E na R Mwingi, na mendea Mooseo na namathokya...</i>	...I was glad when I saw Candidate E and R together I wished them well and welcomed them...	A welcome to Candidate E at Migwani and to wish them well.

Here the politician is using a positive representation to portray Hon. CN in positive light despite being opponents fighting for the same gubernatorial seat in a cut-throat

competition though theoretically in one political coalition(although later Candidate D. decamped from KIVANGULI and SHIKA and vied as an independent candidate as provided in the law). Here the politician describes his fellow politician as his sister and is ready to work together. This is quite accommodating and a great way of saving face.

4.2.5 Illustration 5: FSA: Change of Tact.

This is a complete turn by a politician from what he/she believed earlier to a new set of beliefs. Whether there is sincerity or not, the issue being interlocutors and in this case voters and former opponents tend to believe the politician. The table below indicates the same.

Table 4.12: FSA: Change of Tact

As indicated in chapter Three Table 16 sub-section 18 featuring Candidate E.

KAMBA	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
18.. <i>Candidate D no waitũ ona auma KIVANGULI na SHIKA, nye ni kwake mũcii ũmũnthi nguũthokya ingi kyamani nasyioke wĩani wake wa ũ chairman.</i>	..... Candidate D is still ours even if he left KIVANGULI and SHIKA, I am at his home today welcoming him back to the party, he should go back to his work as the chairman.	Welcoming Candidate D back to KIVANGULI since he had defected from KIVANGULI.

The politician, who is the party leader welcomes his opponent back to the fold. Candidate D. had left KIVANGULI as a Chairman of the party and declared he was to run as an independent candidate citing frustrations in the party during the nominations for

the gubernatorial seat. Here Candidate E changes tact as a FSA and the audience is able to identify with his action.

4.3 Further Analysis

The researcher and his informants were people who had attended three political rallies in Mwingi town and Migwani. The findings also included excerpts from U-tube and Athiani FM. Website/link, two other informants were further used to give further analysis of the data. As a native speaker the researcher was able to identify both the FTA's and FSAs used by the politician and was able to isolate the purpose of the use.

4.3.1 Further Face Threatening Acts, FTAs

The researcher and three of his informants chosen carefully to help him in analyzing his findings were able to confirm the following FTAs.

Politicians were inclined into using FTAs in their speech if an opponent had done a political rally within the vicinity of where he/she was speaking. This made him to use either of the following;

4.3.2 FTA: Use of Direct Insult

The researcher wanted to establish how the audience, (used interchangeably with voters, listeners or interlocutors), are able to identify and interpret a certain FTA on direct insult. The informants were requested through a direct interview to comment on the same and they were able to identify the excerpt below as in Table 4.13 as a Direct Insult.

Direct insults, as indicated in Table 4.1 3 (No.7 Candidate B) Extracted from Table 3.2 in Chapter Three.

<p><i>7...Wona ndia isu sya</i> <i>KIVANGULI syaũka</i> <i>syikũlyei kana ã</i> <i>KIVANGULI ã wipe</i> <i>nthakame, mũndũ ũkauma</i> <i>wipa-ni no akue?</i></p>	<p>...if you see those KIVANGULI fools ask them if that KIVANGULI is wiping blood. If one movers from KIVANGULI can he/she die?</p>	<p>Hon. Candidate B dismissing the followers of KIVANGULI as fools and questioning whether being expelled to the party is a matter of life and death. He explains he is not afraid of being expelled from KIVANGULI.</p>
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I asked them why they thought the above was a FTA and the response was 75% thought this was a direct insult and a face threatening act both to the audience and the opponents while 25% thought it was ok to use such language. The figure below 4.1, a pie chart, shows the responses of the informants.

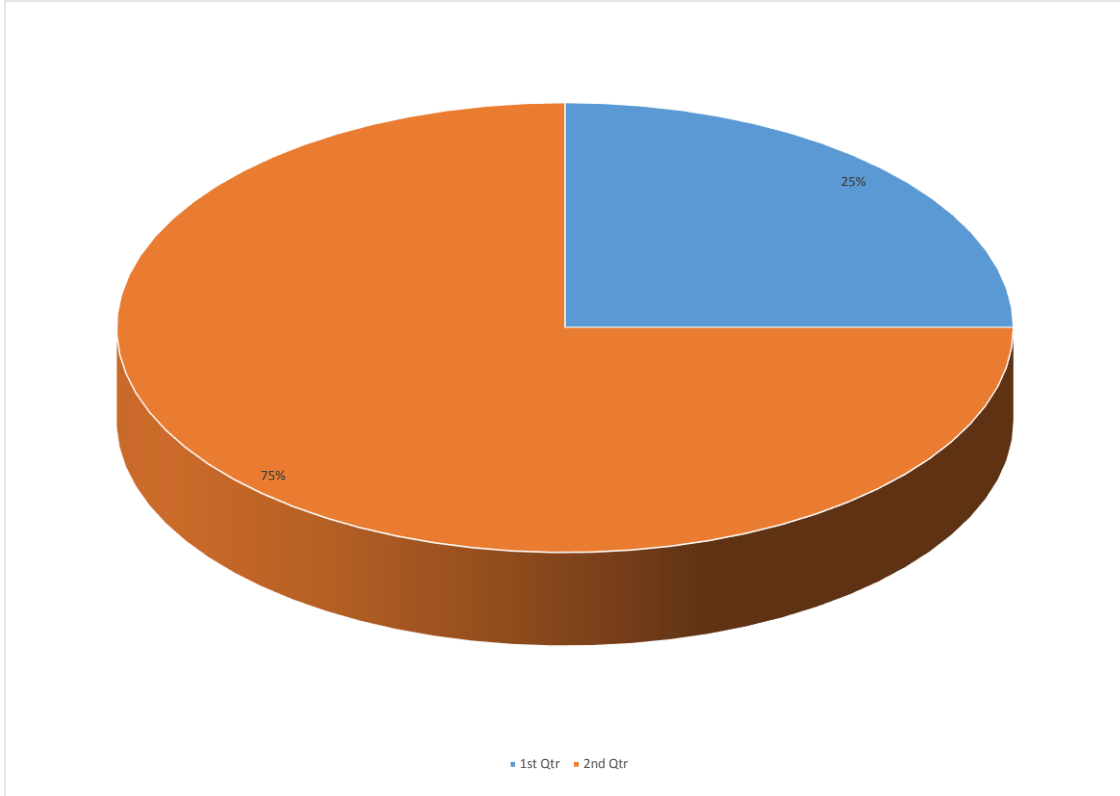


Figure 4.1: A Comparison of Responses from the Informants.

Key

- 75% - Agreed these were FTAs
- 25% - thought the excerpt was not FTAs

The figure shows that 75% of the respondents felt the use of the above concerning moving out of the political party KIVANGULI could cause death was a FTA while 25% thought it was just a way of expression by the candidate.

Negative Other Representation as indicated in Table 4.13

This is a technique employed by politicians whereby the politicians portray their opponents in negative light. The purpose is to discourage the voters from voting for such candidates. The table 4.13 below shows an example of negative other representation

Table 4.14: Sub-section 3 featuring Candidate A

<p>3...<i>Anandavisye niume</i> <i>kyamani (cha KIVANGULI)</i> <i>na ng̃lilika kyamani kyoo</i> <i>cha – NGWATANO,</i> <i>nam̃s̃ng̃a im̃selee, nyie</i> <i>ñ ndongoi Ĩ m̃simamo.</i></p>	<p>...He wooed me to leave my party KIVANGULI and join NGWATANO I answered him am a leader with a stand.</p>	<p>Hon Candidate A reacting to Candidate B’s advice that he leaves KIVANGULI and SHIKA to join NGWATANO. He reiterated that he cannot leave KIVANGULI.</p>
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The informants unanimously confirmed that the politician was using negative other representation to portray his opponent in bad light and the opposite i.e. positive self-representation to portray himself as a good alternative and as a better option during elections.

4.3.3 Use of Deictic Pronouns

As indicated earlier in Chapter Two, politicians employ deictic pronouns to show distinction between them and their opponents ie ‘them vs us’. The researcher wanted to establish whether the listeners in a political party would agree the excerpt below in table

4 .15 is a FTA

As illustrated in Table 4.15: Extracted from Table 4: Sub-section 16, Chapter Three, featuring Candidate D.

<p><i>16. "...matavye wamona ũsumbĩ ti ngima kana ndua ai tukakundaswa tyiilie nthĩ, ũsumbĩ ikumanthwa umanthawa na mĩmanthĩle presidency ĩkuo".</i></p>	<p>...When you see them warn them that presidency is not ugali or thick porridge that we shall be allowed to sip while seating. People look for the diligently.</p>	<p>A caution to SHIKA and KIVANGULI in particular to be aware of the underhand tactics in their campaigns and to understand that their quest for the presidency is not a bed of roses.</p>
--	---	--

The informants was able to identify the above in the excerpts ‘asu’ – Kikamba for ‘they’ and ‘waamona’ – ‘when you see them’ ‘ithye’ – ‘we’ and ‘matavye’ – ‘tell them’ All these were confirmed as FTA’s.

4.3.4 Biased Lexical Choices as Illustrated on Table 4.15

This is the use of terms that are well chosen to malign their opponents. A politician would challenge his opponent for a duel even comparing their private parts like the example below. This is a FTA. See Table 4.16 below.

Table 4.16: FTA: Biased Lexical Choices: Extracted from Table 1, Subsection 1, Chapter Three, featuring Candidate A.

<p>1 ...<i>Ndūkone ta wimūndu mūnene mūno kana te we Ngai. We namanye nzoma yakwa inene kūla ãthĩo mbee wa yake, nde undu undavya. Tũkaumya mũvutio no mwone.</i></p>	<p>...Do not think you are so senior or you are God. Know that my manhood is bigger than yours under my pants. You can't tell me anything.</p>	<p>Hon Candidate A telling off the president especially after the repeat presidential elections that many SHIKA supporters refused to participate and therefore disowned the results. Candidate A would like to say he is also equal or better than the president</p>
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sThe informants were able to identify examples of biased lexical choices for example one using ‘nzoma’ – a club or knob Kerry.

4.3.5 Confirmation of FSAs

In line with the third objective namely to explore face saving strategies adopted by politicians in Mwingi region. The informants were able to confirm the following as FSAs and agreed on the purpose of the use of the same as;

4.3.5.1 Welcoming/ Appreciation

The informants were able to identify this excerpt as containing a welcoming message that is a FSA by politicians who were former opponents and in different political camp. The table 4.17 below illustrates the above.

Table 4.17: Example of FSA: Welcoming/ Appreciation; Featuring Candidate A.

Extracted from Table 6: FSA: Subsection 1.

KAMBA	ENGLISH TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
<i>I;; "...ngamũthokya inyuotho Mwingi mũmanyeye twi andũ ma mũuo –U wimũthokye ona wenda kũthaamia mwingi ũka</i>	<p>....I shall welcome all of you, so that you may know we are peaceful people. U you are welcome even if you would want to permanently settle at Mwingi you are welcome</p>	<p>This excerpt shows a change of heart to a welcoming stance after the handshake, welcoming the president with a whole heart to Mwingi and declaring that Mwingi people are peaceful.</p>

Here the politician is using welcoming and Appreciation as a face saving strategy .this was confirmed by the informants. This excerpt is an admission he had not been welcoming to his opponents this is a FSAs

4.3.5.2 Clapping

This is where a politician would encourage the audience to clap for another politician formerly considered as an opponent. This happens after that politician the former opponent, has spoken , the other politician comments that the speech was good and requests for the audience to clap for him /her and then he /she proceeds to make his own speech .this is a FSA. Table 4.17 below illustrates this.

Table 4.17: FSA: Clapping

KAMBA	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
7 “.....R ni mwana waitũ na mũndũ we’eka nesa Kenya na Ukambani tũmũthokye kwa mbĩ sya vinya.	...R is our son, a person who has always done good things in Kenya, even in Ukambani. Let’s welcome him with heavy claps.	A welcoming Hon. R during a political party in Mwingi. Being praised as a man who has done a lot for the country of Kenya.

This was a strategy that the politician used to appreciate his opponent, before the listeners/ electorate. This is a FSA that helps him not to just save the former opponents face, but his face too. The listeners interpreted this clapping as an act of face saving.

4.3.5.3 Speaking Positively of Others

As seen in Chapter Two, a politician would speak positively of others to save his own face and that of others. This is a FSA. See the example below in Table 4.18

Table 4.18: FSA: Speaking Positively of Others, Featuring Candidate E: Extracted from Table 3.10 subsection 18, Chapter Three

KAMBA	FREE TRANSLATION	EXPLANATION
<p>18....<i>Candidate D.no waitũ ona auma KIVANGULI na SHIKA, nye ni kwake mũcii umunthi ngũmũthokya ingĩ kyamani nasyioke wĩani wake wa ũ chairman.</i></p>	<p>..... Candidate D.is still ours even if he left KIVANGULI and SHIKA, I am at his home today welcoming him back to the party, he should go back to his work as the chairman.</p>	<p>Welcoming Hon Musila, back to KIVANGULI since he had defected from KIVANGULI.</p>

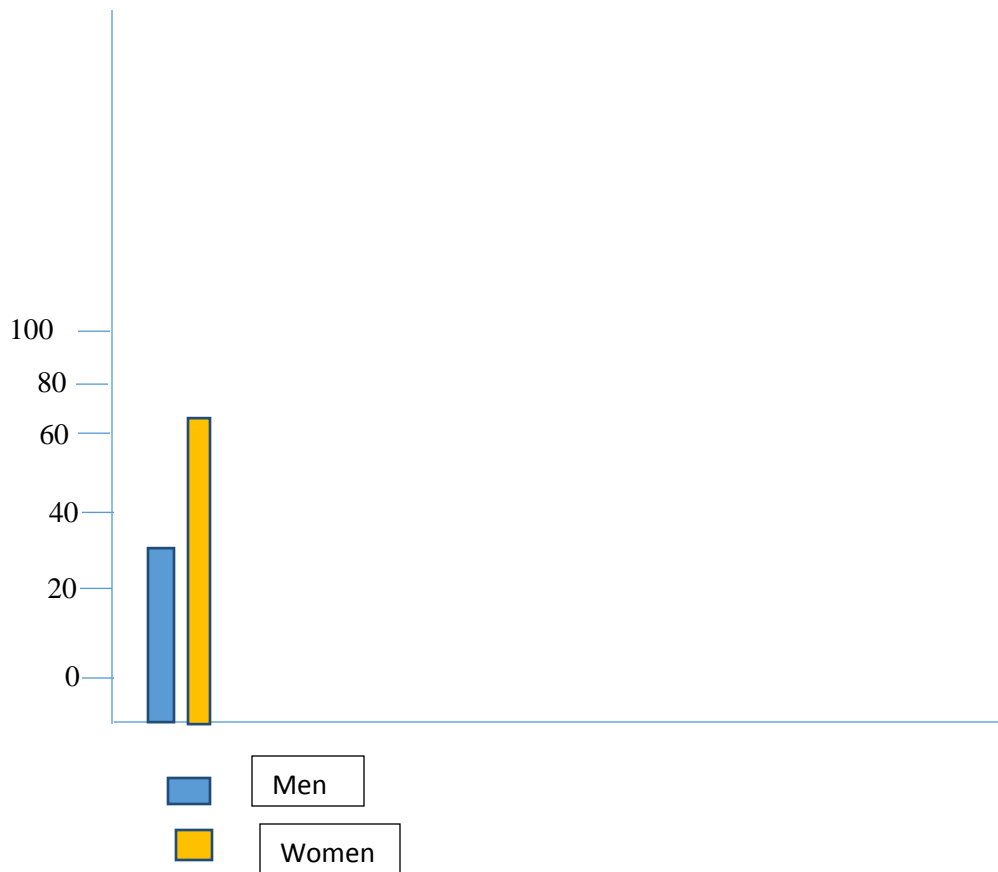
The informants were able to agree that politicians were able to change their tone and opponents they described in negative light, they could later change and describe them very positively.

4.3.5.4 Using Accommodating Terms

This involves the use of inclusive terms like ‘ithye’- ‘we’. The purpose being to identify with the audience as a way of empathy. The would -be voters see the candidate as one of them. The informers unanimously agreed the use of ithye was a FSA.

Analysis by gender showed that the females tended to be more prone to interpret an act as a FSA more than men, 67% of women as opposed to 33% of men. The figure 4.2 below illustrates the same by the use of ITHIE.

Figure 4.2: A Comparison of Respondents Interpretation of FSA ‘ITHYE’ By Gender.



Still on the same breath females were able to identify the piece below as a FSAs by a higher percentage than men. That is 67% of females would agree that a certain phrase is a FSA while men thought it was not.

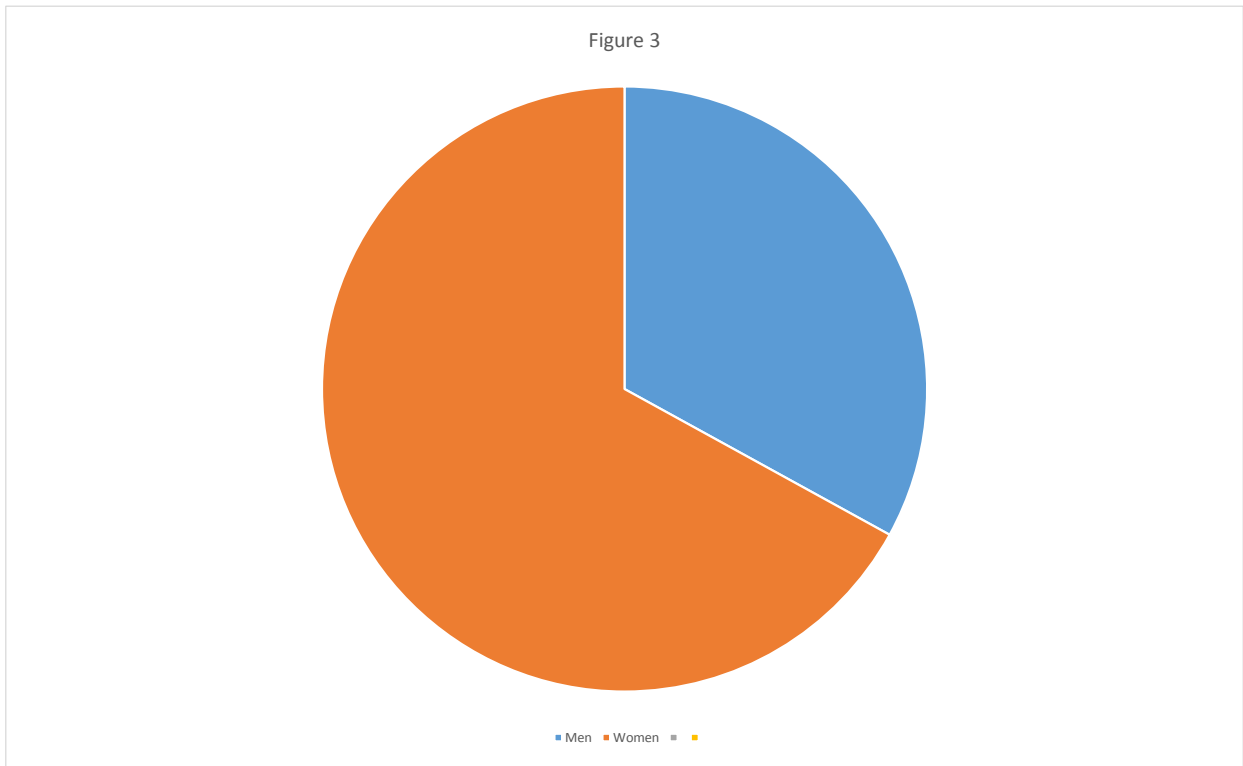
e.g Candidate E *ni mwana waitũ* - Kikamba

Candidate E is our son - English

Men interpreted this as sarcasm by an insincere politician as opposed to women who interpreted it is a FSA by the politician who had been ‘transformed’. The Figure 4.3 below represents the results.

Figure 4.3: A Comparison of FSA Perception by Gender.

The pie chart below clearly shows this results of the said comparison.



33 % men disagree

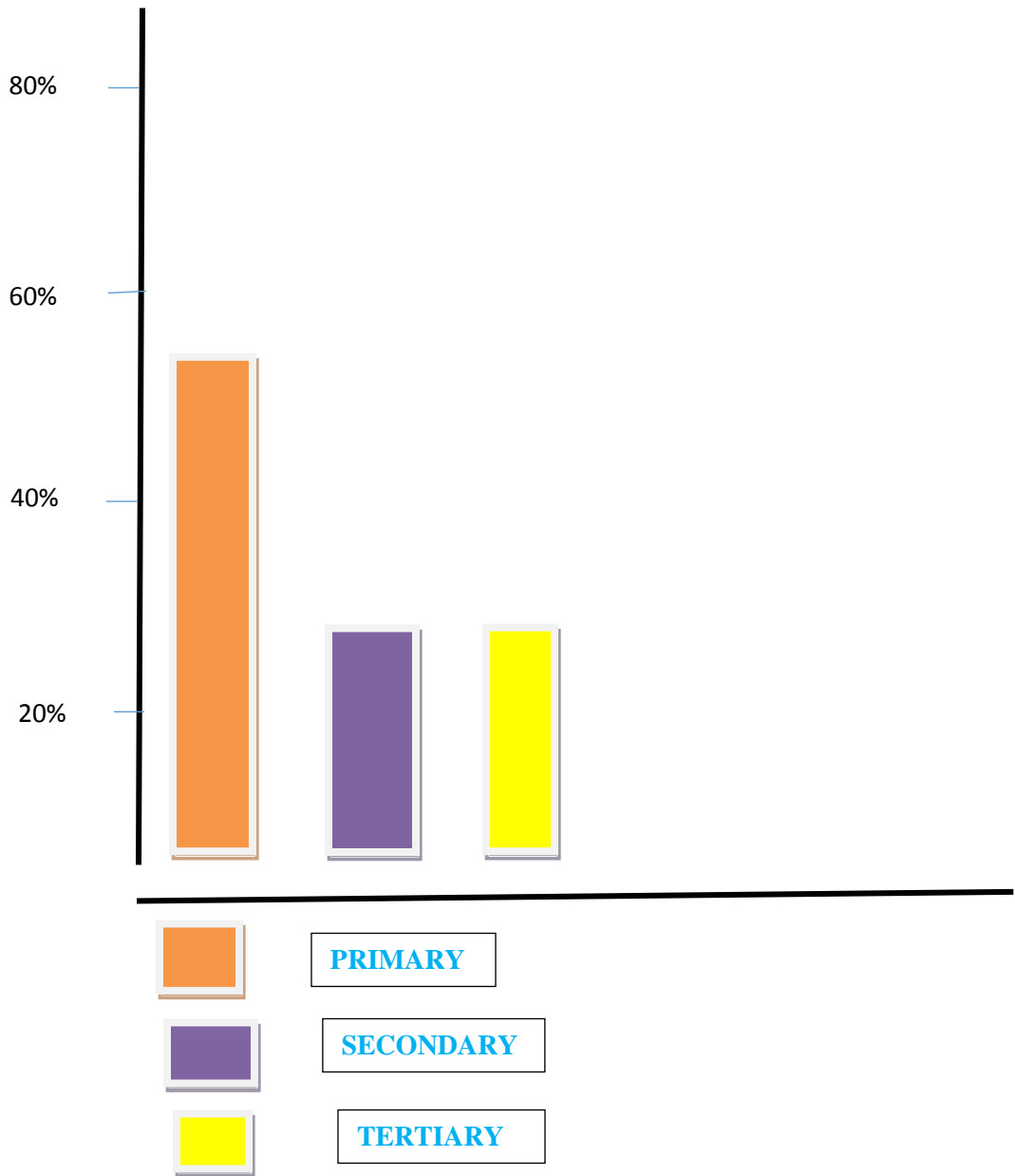
67% women agree

4.4 Educational Level of Informants.

Education level of the informants as are representatives of the voters was an important factor as interpretation of FTAs and FSAs requires a good judgment of which education plays a role Below is a presentation of the educational levels of the informants.

The researcher was interested in the educational level of his informants and while determining them he ensured representation. The figure 4.4 below is a presentation the educational levels of the informants with the inclusion of the researcher.

Figure 4.4: Educational Levels of Informants.



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter a summary of the study is given. It also goes further to give recommendations to politicians, Electoral bodies like Independent Electoral Boundaries and Commission, security agents and lastly it recommends further study and research.

5.2 Summary

In line with research objective number one, the research looked at Face Threatening Acts (FTAs) and Face Saving Acts (FSAs) in the speeches given by Mwingi region politicians in the political rallies during campaigns. First it identifies FTAs and the way they occur in the speeches of those politicians and in what manner they threaten the face of the audience or political opponents and the audience. The study employed both qualitative descriptions and to a lesser degree quantitative while computing percentages. The research went further to discuss those strategies as indicated using politeness theory specifically on the Face Theory dwelling on FTAs and FSAs borrowing ideas of Brown and Levinson (1987).

The research findings show that most politicians use more FTAs in their speeches more than they use FISAs, but it was evident that in different circumstances politicians were able to use FSAs in an issue or with same opponents whom they had used FTA's.

Conclusion

After careful analysis of the findings the study made the following conclusions

Politicians in Mwingi Region use both FTAs and FSAs when campaigning in political rallies. Politicians tended to use more FTAs in their political rallies more than they used FSAs. The politicians only used FSAs when political circumstances change to help them save not only their own face but those of both the audience their former opponents.

5.3 Recommendations

The researcher would like to make the following recommendation;

First, politicians and their opponents should ensure that, they use more FSAs so that their listeners or the audience can be more comfortable in those political rallies.

They should use friendly language in their speeches.

Secondly, the electorate should not applaud politicians who are extremely face threatening so that they can tone down their rhetoric.

Third, the electoral body, Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), political parties to ensure politicians adhere to the set code of conduct that will ensure no incitement of the electorate or insulting opponents.

Fourth, the security agents, the police service, should always provide security and caution certain politicians when they go to the extreme that may threaten peace and unity. Legal measures should be taken to mitigate against this inciting language.

5.4 Recommendations for Further Study

The research recommends more research on;

- i) Regions with multi-ethnic electorate where the language used will be either the national or official language. In Kenya, English and Kiswahili.
- ii) Why the electorate applaud/politicians who extremely use Face Threatening Acts.
- iii) Reasons for electorate attending political rallies.

Reasons

- i) First, regions with multiethnic electorate where people speak only English and Kiswahili may have politicians from different ethnic group and therefore they may be forced to use English and Kiswahili where the FTAs may not come out strongly
- ii) Secondly, Kenyan electorate applaud politicians who use FTAs. This phenomena should be investigated further as would expect the electorate to shy away from such politicians
- iii) Thirdly, electorate attends political rallies to listen to politicians but there could be other reasons why it is interesting to attend political rallies despite the language used.

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