



# English Literature and Language Review

ISSN(e): 2412-1703, ISSN(p): 2413-8827

Vol. 3, No. 9, pp: 82-90, 2017

URL: <http://arpgweb.com/?ic=journal&journal=9&info=aims>

## The Observance of Gricean Conversational Maxims by Tanzanian Politicians in T.V. Hosted Interviews

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**Abstract:** This study aimed at appraising the observance of Gricean maxims by Tanzanian politicians in T.V. hosted interviews. The study adopted Grice (1975) cooperative principle in finding out politicians' observance of the Gricean quality and quantity maxims. The interviews are from EATV 'Mkasi' session and involved Honorable Mwigulu Nchemba from CCM and Hon. Zitto Kabwe from CHADEMA and only their verbal responses were subjected to analysis. Content analysis for data collection was used and the study involved a case study design. The study findings show that politicians did not adhere to these conversational maxims as they responded to questions employing different forms of non-observances include flouting and opting out of maxims as well as maxim clash. These non-observances were meant to persuade the viewers and gain social and political credibility, achieving politeness, imposing and suppressing/avoid any face-threatening, and building the speakers' positive images and that of their parties. However, the inferences drawn from the findings were the two politicians like other members of public service did not often observe the maxims, meaning that they intentionally chose to be non-literal and opted for indirect communication, even in their non-observances of the maxims they remained communicative in a richer and profound way than if they were literal and direct.

**Keywords:** Maxims: Politicians: Non-observance.

### 1. Introduction

The operating idea about communication states that people involved in conversation will ideally cooperate with each other. This cooperation can be manifested in several ways (Leech, in Putri (2011)). Grice (1975), who was interested in interaction in communication, laid groundwork for interactional pragmatics. He was fascinated by how the hearer gets from the expressed meaning to the implied meaning (Dornerus, 2005). Grice's aim was to find out how the hearer infers from what is said to what is meant. He then developed what he called *Conversational Principle* (CP henceforth). The CP has this overall maxim, 'Make your contribution such as it is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged' (1975:45). He gave the four super-maxims that guide his theory. These maxims include quality which has the sub-maxims state (i) Do not say what you believe to be false (ii) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. Also, quantity sub-maxims state (i) Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purpose of the exchange). (ii) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required. Furthermore, the manner sub-maxims state (i) Avoid obscurity of expression, (ii) Avoid ambiguity, (iii) Be brief (avoid unnecessary prolixity), (iv) Be orderly. The last is relevance maxims with only a single maxim that is "be relevant". What he holds from conversation point of view is that the speaker in talk exchange may fail to fulfill a maxim in various ways like to violate, opt out, flout or he may be faced by a clash.

Khosravizadeh and Sadehvandi (2011) posit that to convey the meaning through the medium of communication, interlocutor should follow certain strategies or what the language philosopher Grice (1975) has termed as Cooperative Principle (CP). As such, in political interviews politicians habitually equivocate and their utterance by nature is always ambiguous, vague, wishy-washy, indirect and obscures (Songqing, 2008). In this regard, as conversational maxims are concerned, Politics may be a specific context in which the CP is recognized to be in danger Al-Rassam (2010). Thus, the fundamental question the researcher asks which triggered this study is: Do Tanzanian Politicians observe Gricean maxims on their interviews? The quest of this study therefore is to appraise Tanzanian Politicians' observance of Gricean conversational maxims in TV show interviews. Using a case study of EATV *Mkasi* session hosted by three interviewers to a representative from CCM (Hon. Mwigulu Nchemba) and another from CHADEMA representative (Hon. Zitto Kabwe), the study examines whether maxims observance is the

case in these two politicians from two different political parties and examines on how they purposively choose not to observe the maxims.

## 2. Related Literature Review

Kamalu and Agangan (2011) from Nigeria examined the speech by President Goodluck Jonathan's declaration of his candidacy for his party's presidential primaries. The study employed a qualitative approach in the analysis of the text. Critical Discourse Analysis and Systemic Functional Linguistics were employed to unwrap the underlying ideology and persuasive strategies used in the declaration speech. The researcher found that there was the use of rhetorical and metaphorical devices by politicians to match with that of Al-Faki (2014) as he revealed there were conscious deployments of diverse rhetorical strategies by the President to articulate an alternative ideology for the Nigerian nation. The study, however, matched with Al-Rassam (2010) as it showed that the President used a variety of persuasive strategies such as appeal to ethno-religious sentiments alignment with the suffering majority of the country, and reconstruction of childhood experiences to entreat and manipulate the conscience of his party and other Nigerians.

Kondowe *et al.* (2014) analyzed Malawi political newspaper cartoons on President Joyce Banda on how they employ linguistic features in their portrayal of political leaders. Twenty cartoons depicting President Banda and her government were selected from the Nation newspaper from October 2012- May 2013. The data were analyzed under the framework of Grice's conversational implicature and it was found that Malawi cartoonists deliberately failed to adhere to the conversational maxims. It was observed that cartoons blatantly flouted, opted out and suspended Grice's maxims. However, flouting the maxim of manner was the dominant way chosen by the cartoonists mostly through the use of hedging devices.

Al-Faki (2014) explored linguistic elements in political discourses in general and in political speeches in particular to study the textual manipulation by politicians' text to win the audience to their side. The speeches that were analyzed included President Mugabe's speech of September, 2010; President Kabila's speech of 16 November 2006 and Biya's speech of 17 May 2010. In this study different linguistic tools were employed in analyzing the speeches, including Halliday's transitivity theory, Grice's speech act theory and the semantic representations appearing in the political speeches that were selected for analysis. Quantitative methods were adapted in analyzing data and results found held that politicians use many rhetorical and metaphorical devices which have great effect in manipulating the mind of the mob, covering and softening truths and befogging the thoughts.

Though these studies are confined within political grounds disparities still exist that push for the current study to further undertakes research on the same political field. The current study is guided by Grice's quality and quantity maxims only and the forms of non-observance by Grice which are contrary to Halliday's transitivity theory, Grice's speech act theory, systemic functional linguistics and Critical discourse analysis as employed by the above researchers. However, although the current study employed similar framework to that of Kondowe *et al.* (op.cit.), still the contexts are not the same, subjects are different (cartoons vs real politicians) and lastly the current study is typically based on interviews contrary to above studies.

### 2.1. Studies from Tanzania

Bwenge (2009), in his study of linguistic identity (re) construction in 2005 electoral politics, attempted to demonstrate how linguistic and political cultures intersect in facilitating the projection of identities that matter in socio-political spaces both at micro and macro levels. The researcher used the data from ethnographic studies conducted in 2005 during the Tanzanian parliamentary election campaign period in the months of September – October. Content analysis was employed and results suggested that speakers were observed combining narratives and switching in a very effective manner to display all that were necessary ethnic roots, membership and educational attainment were interplayed well in the discourse through a configuration between narratives and code-switching.

This study is similar to the above study in that although it involved a member of parliament and it is in a political discourse still the researcher did not employ CP as his theoretical framework and also, it is a political campaign while the current study is in a TV host political interview and involves two politicians from two different political parties.

Generally, the above observations from this section implies that the nature of political language is likely to be characterized with the non-observance of maxims as far as the manipulation of language and indirectness in interaction is concerned, with the goal of winning the audiences, building individual or party's reputation and saving party's or individual politician's interests.

Contrary to the above findings, the leading question here is: what is the nature of political discourses? This could be answered that it includes political campaigns, political speeches, political discussions, political debates, political interviews, political meetings or any parliamentary assembly. How could all these behave the same as far as political discourse and political language is concerned? Thus, this gives the need for the current study to analyze the observance of quality and quantity maxims in Tanzanian Political interviews. Further, the above studies did not explicitly and specifically tell about the nature of cooperative principle in Tanzanian Political interviews.

However, the current study did not underestimate the above findings as it will empirically analyze Political interviews in relation to the above factors that is the influence of one's party interests, individual interest and indirectness in presetting facts about breaking the cooperative principles. To strongly seek justification for the

current study, a critical review was made of other studies that were carried out to explore the nature of interactional behaviors in parliamentary discourse as done below.

## 2. 2. Theoretical Framework

Plenty of pragmatic studies basing on conversation have employed CP as their theoretical framework. However, Grice's Conversational maxims have been adopted as the theoretical backbone for this study. The theory is largely and mostly favored in recent linguistic studies on political interviews (Al-Rassam, 2010; Emmertsen, 2006; Muhammed and Al-Hamadi, 2009; Putri, 2011; Sikandar *et al.*, 2012; Songqing, 2008) and on political speeches and cartoons include, Bwenge (2009); Kondowe *et al.*, (2014) and Al-Faki (2014). A CP is comprised of conversational maxims as developed by Grice (1975) with the anticipating assumptions on interactants responses. The maxims are held together with conversational implicature which is generated as a result of non-observance of the conversational maxims in Cooperative Principle (Thomas, in Kondowe *et al.* (2014)).

This study adapted Grice (1975) Cooperative Principle which stands as a guidance for this research on data analysis and interpretation. It served and guided the researcher towards achieving research objectives. The researcher, through CP, confined himself to the maxims of quality and quantity as the main and only focus to reflect the research objectives. The aim was to analyze the observance of quality and quantity conversational maxims in Tanzanian Political interviews.

### 2.2. 1. Cooperative Principle

In describing the usual underlying rules that operate in conversation, Grice (1975) investigated how one can communicate different meanings of an utterance by flouting one or more of these rules. The CP is adopted as it naturally tries to crosscut interactions and subject it to maxims to reveal all sorts of violation and flouting in conversation. So, by using maxims of the CP as a framework for analysis, answers for this research problem was achieved. CP involved matters like the conversational maxims which defined participants' interaction in a particular discourse as expected and the conversational implicatures communicated basing on a particular discourse as a result of maxims non-observance (e.g. Grice (1975); Levinson (1983); Brown and Yule (1983); Verschueren (1999)).

The Grice's underpinning assumption is that interlocutors are rational. A hearer keeps a view that the interlocutor is rational and that a logical interpretation of his/her utterance is to be sought, even if it should flout maxims (Grice, 1975; Levinson, 1983). The flouting of maxims takes place when a person ceases to apply the maxims intentionally to persuade his/her listeners to infer the hidden meaning behind the utterances that is the employed implicature (Levinson, 1983; Verschueren, 1999). According to Brown and Yule (1983), implicatures are pragmatic aspects of meaning and have certain identifiable characteristics. They are partially derived from the conventional or literal meaning of an utterance, produced in a specific context which is shared by the speaker and the hearer, and depend on the recognition by the speaker and the hearer of the Cooperative Principle and its maxim.

Grice (1975) cooperative principle (CP) states 'Make your contribution such as it is required, at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged'. Grice then categorized the assumptions into specific maxims and sub-maxims which will, in general, yield results in accordance with the CP. His model for interaction and conversation analysis consists of the maxim categories, the fulcrum upon which variability is drawn as they invariably hold. The assumptions which he categorized into specific maxims and sub-maxims that helps to work out on data analysis includes Quantity, Quality, Relation (Relevance) and Manner (Dynel, 2009; Grice, 1975; Sandova, 2014).

To begin with the Quantity category it relates to the quantity of information to be provided and its sub-maxims state that

- (i) Make your contribution as informative as is required (for the current purpose of the exchange).
- (ii) Do not make your contribution more informative than is required

Here Grice suggests that the analysis of quantity maxim in talk exchange should be done and/or reflected under the two maxims stated above. Given the clue of talk exchange analysis and basing on the nature of the current study, the researcher explored the way conversation and talk exchange is held reflecting the topical and explanations given by interviewee. Then, in analyzing conversation the researcher explored the fulfillment of maxim as far as the objectives of the study is concerned. Since any particular talk exchange may fail to fulfill a maxim in various ways, the researcher analyzed these instances of non-observance among members of the parliament during political interview.

The second category is that of maxim of quality that fall a super maxim which states, 'try to make your contribution one that is true'. Grice further gave two more specific sub-maxims from this quality category.

- (i) Do not say what you believe to be false, and
- (ii) Do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence.

Grice also gave the Supermaxim in this category. Thus, as the specific sub-maxims hold, an analysis of any particular interaction (talk exchange as per current study) need to be packaged with the amount of information needed to suffice the amount of truth required as far as conversation is concerned. Although Grice argues that the second maxim is disputable, the focal point that the researcher adopted in the analysis firm on the truthfulness; that is, how truthful one is of the assertions relying on the clues of the conversation turn-takings as far as quality maxim is concerned. The researcher then examined politicians in political interview and made an analysis of the talk exchange to explore if they fell in or out of the conversational maxims, how and why. However, the study was

confined to quality maxim to sort out what instances that would emerge and what they implied if they diverged from being cooperative.

Any failing to observe a certain maxim is referred to as breaking a maxim. When one (speaker) breaks particular maxim, one (hearer) looks for the implicature since she/he assumes the cooperative principle to be underway. [Dornerus \(2005\)](#) non-observance of maxims is often used intentionally in order to evoke humour or to avoid discomfort. However, [Alvaro \(2011\)](#) held that people fail to observe or fulfill maxims on many occasions because may be they are incapable of speaking clearly or because they deliberately choose to lie. Grundy in [Dornerus \(2005\)](#) argued that to break a maxim is the prototypical way of conveying implicit meaning.

## 2. 3. Operationalization and Contextualization of the Study

An interaction (talk exchange) is hard to measure whether the responses were equal as required, less than required or more than required. To ask the speaker or the hearer how to judge the amount of response/ responses given would give no fair results as everyone would have personal value on judging such text which might give different results of the same text. Thus, basing on pragmatics perspectives, the CP is adapted as a framework of this study to give a valid and reliable judgment on political use of language by Tanzanian Politicians in interviews. As already sated, the researcher employed only the maxims of quality and quantity in analyzing interviews of two honorable from Tanzanian parliament representing two rival and reputable political parties in Tanzania; which are CCM and CHADEMA. The purpose was to analyze the observance of the fore mentioned maxims understudy.

## 3. Materials and Methods

This study was a case study of Tanzanian politicians in interviews. The focus of this study was on Tanzanian Politicians' observance of quality and quantity conversational maxims in interviews. As the focus is on analyzing the observance of Gricean conversational maxims in Political interviews in Tanzania, the researcher adopted a case study as a research method or strategy as it will guide a researcher on achieving answers to the researched problem. The analysis of the data involved statistical packages for social studies (SPSS) which helped in giving interpretations in graphs and percentile forms which provided an exact figure of the findings.

This study was carried out by accessing documented video data from EATV Mkasi session. The data were accessed through logging in to the EATV website ([www.eatv.tv/mkasi](http://www.eatv.tv/mkasi)) downloading two Political interviews involving members of the Parliament from CCM and CHADEMA. The video downloaded involves interview of honorables Mwigulu Nchemba and Zitto Kabwe. The two interview sessions were political per se. It also involved two young and reputable politicians from two strong political parties in the country. However, the timing of their interviews resulted from political scandals; the one of ESCROW involved the ministry of finance and horn. Mwigulu Nchemba was the minister of finance while on the other hand horn. Zitto Kabwe was overwhelmed by underground movement of sabotaging his party.

Due to the fact that this study relied solely on the recorded videos as the source of data, the researcher employed a single tool; namely, content analysis for data collection. The researcher transcribed the data from spoken to written, and then translated them from Swahili to English as accurately as possible to maintain its originality. However, the phonological aspects like tone, stress and intonation were not considered during transcription and translation. Nor was the study concerned with the impacts made by tone, stress and intonation or any other paralinguistic features; rather, it concentrated on responses to analyze the observance of Gricean Maxims. Thus, the task of the researcher was limited to analyzing the observance of Gricean maxims of quality and quantity by Tanzanian Politicians in interviews that will serve the understanding of political discourse.

## 4. The Findings

The findings are organized in two sections; the first is presentation of how and the extent to which politicians observed and did not observe the maxims, and the second is on analysis and discussion on the findings.

### 4.1. Politicians Observance of the Gricean Conversational Maxims of Quality and Quantity

It is worth noting at the outset that observance of the maxims is the default assumption ("Conversational Implicatures," 2008). Thus, we can argue that when one breaks the maxim has an interest he/she wish to fulfill. From this section as the researcher went about through the interviews' interactions seeking to answer on the politicians observance of the conversational maxims, responses were subjected to quality and quantity maxims to see out politicians' observance of the maxims.

When Mr A was asked on excerpt 1 if he thought he was born a leader, a question which its response was of a yes/no nature.

**Interviewer:** *Kuna watu ambao wamezaliwa kuwa viongozi, unafikiri wewe ni mmojawapo?* ("There are people born to be leaders, do you think you are among of them").

**Mr A's response:** *Nadhani nimefunzwa na jamii kuwa kiongozi. Siwezi kusema kwamba nimezaliwa kuwa kiongozi lakini kutokana na mfumo wa maisha nilivyoishi, shule, mtaani nakadhalika; ni kama jamii imenitengeneza kuwa kiongozi.* (I think I am taught by society to be a leader, I cannot say that I was born to be a leader/ a born leader but due to life system I lived, school, street and the likes, it's like the society has molded/ made me to be a leader).

In his reply he circumlocuted with repetitive ideas while at the same time providing hedges such as *kama* (I think) and *nadhani* (I think) which in one way or another do not observe the second sub-maxim of quality as it signal lack of adequate evidences to what he admitted.

Secondly, consider excerpt 2 below;

**Interviewer X:**

*unafikiri kazi ambazo unafanya, zote unazifanya kwa ufanisi unaotakiwa* ('Do you think you efficiently do all your duties as required')?

**Mr A's response:**

*sababu mimi ni muumini wa uwajibikaji. Uwajibikaji nikutimiza wajibu wako kwa namna ambavyo unatakiwa.* ".....(I am a believer in accountability. Accountability is to fulfill your responsibility in a way you are obliged to").

From excerpt (2) above an interviewer focused on the politician's magnitude of commitment and efficiency on responsibilities delegated to him. Despite sufficient response, we noticed he did not observe the maxim of quantity as parts of his replies were extra to what was required. What was required was to tell how he is responsible and accountable and not what he is though the earlier came to fruition once he said

*.....Kama unatakiwa uwepo bungeni saa tatu kamili asubuhi, you have to be there. kama unatakiwa kuuliza maswali, you have to ask. kama unatakiwa ufanye uchunguzi wa jambo fulani regardless implication zake, you have to do it and I do that* ('if you are supposed to be in the parliament at nine o'clock, you have to be there, if you are supposed to ask questions, you have to ask, if you are supposed to investigate certain issue regardless its implications, you have to do it and I do that')

Similarly, consider Mr B on excerpt 10 as found in appendix part asked; "what is the problem as it is believed that the country's economy has grown up but it seems the life of Tanzanians is not much good as compared to the past years?" The question required him to unveil on the "what is the problem" but he talked of his life experiences before arriving at the kernel of the question as shown hereunder;

*Mimi nina bahati moja kwamba maisha halisi ya mtanzania sijayasomea ila nimekulia. Yani ukiongelea mtu anaekula mlo mmoja, mimi hicho sijasoma vitabuni, kipindi chote nikiwa mtoto mpaka nilipoenda sekondari kula mlo mmoja yani ugali unakutana nao jioni tu.....* ("I am lucky that I grew up in that low life standard. When you talk of a person getting a single meal, I have not read it in books I experienced it throughout my childhood till I joined secondary education')

So from this ground the politician was observed hitting around the question before he directly hit the point. Thus, he violated the quantity maxim specifically the second sub-maxim. This was evident as he recalled and told past scenarios of his life reflecting those poor Tanzanians before giving the expected answers which he simply reckoned that the unequal distribution of the national cake is the holding factor.

Thirdly, consider excerpt (3) below:

**Interviewer:** *unafikiri kuna siku unaweza kuachana na siasa* ('do you think you will quit politics one day')?

**Mr A's Response:** *Agh, Kabisa. Natamani saana kuingia darasani kufundisha sababu naona ndio kama wito nilionao na mara nyingi nikiona wenzangu wakiwa wanafundisha, wakiandika vitabu nafurahi kama ningepata fursa yakufanya hivyo lakini siasa haijanipa muda wakufanya hivyo* ('ooh yes. I desire to get to class and teach because I feel it's like a calling I have. Often when I see my colleagues teaching, writing books I admire and feel if I would have a chance to do that but politics has never given me the chance to do that')

In this conversation an interviewer wanted to know if Mr A will quit politics or not as the interviewer did not request what the politician desired or what he wished to do. Though Mr A clearly declared his intention correctly as expected, however, he immediately pointed out where his goals lie before pinpointing the complex side of politics. Instead of a YES/NO response, which was all that was needed, he gave such extra information like *Natamani saana kuingia darasani kufundisha* ('I earnestly desire to get in class and teach'), *siasa haijanipa muda wakufanya hivyo* ('politics has never offered me an opportunity to do that'). These signify his non adherence to the maxim of quantity.

Fourthly, an interviewer phrased the question to Mr A as shown in excerpt 4 below claiming there was a hearsay to which the interviewee was to validate.

**Interviewer X:**

*Mtaani kuna fununu kwamba unataka kuanzisha chama chako we mwenyewe, sawa? Uondokane na chama ambacho uko nacho sasa hivi na hutaki kwenda CCM. Unataka kuanzisha chama chako mwenyewe ili Mambo yako mengine yaende na mitikasi kama hiyo. Kuna ukweli gani kuhusu hili swala?* ('There are gossips around that you want to establish your own party so that you part with the party you belong to right now and you don't want to join CCM. You want to establish your own party so that your plans go through. How truthful is this issue')?

**Mr A's Response:**

*Kwanza lazima ifahamike kwamba sasa hivi nina kesi ambayo ipo mahakamani na haijaamuliwa. Ni kesi ambayo inahusiana na uanachama wangu kwenye chama cha*

CHADEMA ('First of all, let it be known that I have a case in court about my party membership the rulling of which has yet to be effected. It concerns with my party membership in CHADEMA')

Mr A circumlocuted the question by revealing the existing situation between him and his party, telling about his future aspirations and he deliberately evaded the question by admitting he cannot say anything about those hearsays saying *siwezi kusema lolote hivi sasa kuhusiana na chama kipya au hapana kwa sababu nasubiri maamuzi hayo ya kesi* ('I cannot say anything right now about establishing a new party or not because I am waiting for that case's verdict'). However, same style of response is observed in excerpt 6 from the appendix as the same interviewee responded to a question;

*Kuna wazee ambao wako serekalini ambao wameanza kufanya kazi kuanzia enzi za mwalimu Nyerere mpaka leo wapo. Unafikiri ni muda wa wale wazee kupisha nyinyi sasa vijana mchape kazi au wale wazee wanatakiwa wawepo ili kuwaongoza nyinyi?* ('There are elders who are in government offices since Mwalimu Nyerere's era to date. Do you think it is right time for those elders to hand over their posts to youths to work or they are supposed to be there to lead you')?

He gave plenty of arguments with evidences which were indirect responses to the question. For example he said; *Tanzania ina watu milioni 45 kwa mujibu wa takwimu ya sensa ya mwaka 2012. Katika hao watu milioni 45, asilimia 72 wako chini ya umri wa miaka 30* ('Tanzania has the population of 45 millions according to 2012 censer. Within that population, 72% of the population is below 30 years'). So as evidenced in excerpt 4 that instead of Mr A admitting or denying the allegations, he suspended them and provided more information dwelling on testimonials from other countries. Also we noted tautologies in his responses which made him more informative than required thus showed how the observance of maxim of quantity was violated.

Fifthly, on excerpt 5 Mr A was asked

Interviewer: *Inakusumbua vipi issue ya chadema kwamba mpaka mmepelekana mahakamani. Ishu ya wao kutaka kukupeleka mahakamani na ni chama ambacho pengine ulianza nacho zamani, mapenzi yako ya dhati yako kule, inakusumbua kiasi gani?* ('How does the issue of CHADEMA annoys you to the extent you have reached the court? The issue of them taking you to the court while it's the only party you probably joined from the start and your heart is all there. To what extent this annoys you')?

**Mr A's response:** *Inanisumbua sana, inanisumbua sana. Mimi nimejiunga CHADEMA nikiwa na umri wa miaka kumi na sita, nikiwa nabeba meza, miti ya bendera, kuwawekea viongozi, kuwaandalia viongozi wakati ndio kwanza mfumo wa vyama vingi unaanza* ('It annoys me much, it annoys me much. I was sixteen (16) years old when I joined CHADEMA; I was carrying tables and flag poles preparing for leaders and by then only multiparty system was firstly introduced').

Though the question on excerpt 5 focused to what extent those accusations bothered him, however the interviewee gave a combination of assertions from different grounds that are how he joined the party, why he joined the party and what he has done to the party. Consider his assertions below

*Naamini kabisa kwamba tunahitaji mfumo wa vyama vingi wenye nguvu katika nchi hii Kwa sababu bila kua na mfumo wa vyama vingi, ukiwa na chama kimoja tu ambacho ndio kinadominate siasa za nchi ni hatari sana katika uhai wa nchi.... nimetoa jasho langu kubwa saana katika ujenzi wa chama hiki na nimepostpone mambo mengi ya maisha yangu binafsi kwa ajili ya ujenzi wa chama* ('I surely believe Tanzania need a strong multiparty system because when you have a monoparty system that dominates country's politics it is very dangerous to county's lively.... I have toiled much on building this party and I have postponed much of my personal life for the sake of building the party').

Instead of stating his stance on the party's accusations against him, he spoke about his historical background with the party, why he joined, what he had been doing for the party, successes he brought to the party, his devotion to the party and many personal gains he sacrificed for the sake of his party. In his response, tautologies were also observed which collectively signified his minimal observance of the quantity maxim. Moreover, despite his overinformativeness he managed to assert what exactly hurt him as presented below (refer also to excerpt 5 on appendix)

*..... Sasa katika hali kama hii unapokua unafash back unaona sasa namna unavokuja kuwa treated baadae kwa sababu ambazo hazieleweki, kwa sababu ambazo labda zinatokana na ugomvi tu wa madaraka.....* ('So in circumstances like these when you flash back and reflect on how you are treated later for unknown reasons, for reasons that might be caused by dispute for obligations')

So from this interviewer-interviewee interaction we observed that Mr A was overinformative than was required throughout his response which violated the second sub-maxim of quantity.

Sixthly, below on excerpt 7 and 14 respectively from Mr A and Mr B when asked if they will vie for presidency, their responses were that;

Mr A replied: *Moja, katiba sasa hivi na rasimu ya katiba inasema kwamba ni lazima uwe na umri wa miaka arobaini (40) ili uwe rais wa jamhuri ya muungano wa Tanzania. Sijui ni kwa*

*sababu gani, sijui kama kuna any scientific reasons for that. I don't know kwa sababu Kenya ni miaka 35, Uganda 35, Rwanda 35, Burundi 35, South Africa miaka 35, Zambia miaka 35, Malawi miaka 35, Msumbiji miaka 35, na Marekani miaka 35.* ('The current constitution and constitutional design state that you must have forty years (40) to become the president of United Republic of Tanzania. I don't know why, I don't know if there are any scientific reasons for that. I don't know because in Kenya its 35years, Uganda 35years, Rwanda 35years, Burundi 35years, South Africa 35 years, Zambia 35 years, Malawi 35 years, Mozambique 35 years, na USA 35 years').

The reply comprised of lots of information addressing issues like the constitutional regulations and challenging the constitution by drawing examples from neighboring countries which are contrary to Tanzania's, giving out the qualities of the ideal president he would wish to lead the country, citing the hardships of rural people before he finally responded to the saying he would wish to. The question only required a yes/no type of response but he deliberately expressed his criticism towards Tanzania's constitution and only at the end did he admit that he would wish to. In that way positioned did not observe the Gricean quantity maxim as far as the question was concerned.

Similarly, in excerpt 14 Mr B said;

*Mr B's Response: Aah, tunatofautiana, tunatofautiana namna ya majukumu tuliyoayo. Ukiangalia kwa upande wangu utaona kwamba kipindi hiki apa nimepewa majukumu makubwa sana. Mwenyewe natakiwa nimsaidie waziri, nimsaidie rais, niisaidie nchi kuhakikisha kodi zinalipwa, kuhakikisha fedha zakununua dawa hospitalini zinapatikana, kuhakikisha kila wizara inatekeleza miradi yake; fedha inatakiwa itoke wizara ya fedha ...* ('Aah, we differ, we differ in responsibilities. From my side at present I am given very big responsibilities. I am supposed to help the minister, president and the country to make sure tax are paid, to get money for buying pharmacies in hospitals and to make sure every ministry's project is accomplished; that money is from ministry of finance')

From excerpt 7 and 14 for Mr A and Mr B, respectively, were phrased in such a way that the two politicians would provide a Yes/No type of question-response. Interestingly, both politicians expressed challenges and responsibilities they encountered. As we observed, while Mr A was challenging the Tanzania's constitution and providing the ideals of the kind of president he would wish for, Mr B spoke of the responsibilities his government had delegated to him. While Mr A declared presidential intention, Mr B completely suspended the question; nonetheless, the duo did not observe the second sub-maxim of quantity.

Seventhly, on excerpt 8 when Mr B was asked if he was aware that his name was painted on the stones in his home region pleading him to vie for presidential position, he was straight forward in saying that he was aware. However, he quickly added that there were other regions painted his name as he asserted *Nimeona hivyo karibu nchi nzima wala sio nyumbani kwetu peke yake* ('Not only in my home region, I have seen it almost the whole country'). This kind of conjunction reveals extra information Mr B supplied which in turn implies he did not observed the second sub-maxim of quantity. Reference is made on excerpt 8 in the appendix.

Eighthly, Mr B on excerpt 11 was asked about the issue of Escrow if Tanzanians should expect something from the president on top of what was decided towards Anna Tibaijuka as there were other leaders involved.

Mr B's response: *Sasa nikienda kwenye jibu lako na nikikumbuka hotuba yake, mimi naamini anachotafuta ni hicho tu; kutenda haki na mimi naamini atatenda haki* ('So if I am to answer your question and by referring to his speech, I believe what he is seeking is only justice and I believe he will act fairly').

This response was preceded by other information like what the president has been doing previous which the politician deliberately did it because he knew he was giving more information than was required as when he was connecting to the question he highlighted that he was out of the core demand of the question. This signified he non-observed the second sub-maxim of quantity.

## 5. Analysis and Discussion

Throughout this section utterances employed by the two Tanzanian politicians would be thoroughly analyzed and discussed under the reasons for the non-observance of both quantity and quality maxims. Various writers argue that politicians have purposes carried beneath their language or responses achieved by strategies they employ. Thus from this perspective we identified that politicians non-observed both quality and quantity maxims only for the sake of their interests. Focusing on the first objective the findings in general showed that the observance of quantity maxim was minimal throughout the interviews as interviewees severally non-observed the maxims to save different purposes. On the other hand, maxim of quality was observed comparably more prevalently throughout the interviews as compared to the maxim of quantity. We observed politicians violating maxim of quantity by 78.94 % and only 21% for quality maxim.

These instances of non-observances of the maxims served different functions; we will start with maxim of quality;

First, Mr B did not observe the maxim of quality as he tried to unfold his desire to vie for presidential candidature. He showed his pride by stressing and building on his positive image. Knowing the influence of his statement, the question like this acted as a springboard to Mr B so he had to use any means to express it in an exaggerated manner as he had an initial ground to stand from interviewer's question. For example, from excerpt 8 as

he wanted to deceive audiences Mr B failed to follow both sub-maxims of quality and this was evident when he differently contradicted his assertions saying ...*Nimeona hivyo karibu nchi nzima*.....('I have seen that almost the whole country') and later on he said .....*kwa hiyo ni nchi nzima*.....('it's therefore the whole country'). His response lacked evidence; that is why he hedged saying "almost" and then employing a vague language "whole" generalizing the situation to gain credibility by deceiving audiences and build on his positive image.

Secondly, the response given by Mr A renders itself to multiple interpretations though we have observed that there was minimal non-observance of maxim of quality. However, as Mr A violated the maxim he deliberately and cautiously did it to avoid a fully responsibility of his assertions. For instance, Mr A's response in excerpt 1 showed his uncertainty to his leadership characteristics as either a born or a made leader. His assertions suggested he was not sure he understood what was said and a good example can be drawn from this excerpt, *Nadhani nimefunzwa na jamii kuwa kiongozi* ('I think the society made me to be a leader'). The term *nadhani* ("I think") is a hedge which indicates no clear evidences and with the support of other cues from the rest of his response, then the maxim of quality was not observed. Sentences like *Siwezi kusema kwamba nimezaliwa kuwa kiongozi* ("I cannot say that I am to be a born leader") of Mr A clearly signifies his lack of evidences.

Lastly, when politician faced with political scandals, they use language to weaken the scandal and make it look trivial to his audiences, and safeguard his position and trying to salvage his public image as well as avoiding providing admittance of the accusation. While responding to the question there were instances showed that Mr A did not observe the maxim of quality as we evidenced in excerpt 5 (refer also on the appendix). An interesting part in this response is that Mr A is personally the accused one hence he rubbishes the accusation saying *kwa sababu ambazo hazieleweki* "for unknown reasons. Reckoning that he even did not know what he was accused for though by that time the case was on court. Through this we can argue that Mr A clearly said what he believed to be false. His response ('for unknown reasons') damaged his personal face but he purposely did it to nullify or cancel the background belief (presupposition) that people might have for granted on his accusation. This was openly supported as he ambiguously and with uncertainty unveiled the possible reasons which he was even not sure with. Saying.....*kwa sababu ambazo labda zinatokana na ugomvi tu wa madaraka*.... ('Because of may be dispute for obligations'). His response was not direct to the point as he avoided definite confirmation of the accusation.

## 5. Summary of Findings

From this chapter we note that Tanzanian politicians deliberately fail to adhere to conversational maxims with their interests being beneath such conduct. Basing on their responses it is found that politicians purposefully chose not to observe the maxims. On their course of responding, politicians are observed deliberately flouting, opting out and clashing Gricean maxims. Results revealed that the maxim of quantity was dominantly violated by politicians than quality maxim. However we have observed the quality maxim being less violated. This shows how loyal and decent they are to what they are saying but from the few instances we observed their non-observances were caused by their efforts of building their positive image and winning social power. So we can generally argue that their responses had glimpse of uniqueness as were characterized by non-explicitness caused by indirectness responses they largely employed, sayings, implicatures and politeness.

## 6. Conclusions

From the findings we can draw the following inferences: First, the two politicians like other members of public service do not often observe the maxims, meaning that they intentionally chose to be non-literal and opt for indirect communication.

Secondly, even in their non-observances of the maxims they remain communicative in a richer and profound way than if they were literal and direct. In other words, As Paul Grice set and developed these conversational maxims as a framework of speakers' mutual and effective communication, this (maxim observance) is not necessarily the case and non-observance does not mean ineffective communication.

Thirdly, even when TV host interviewers sometimes ask a question targeting a yes/no response, they still do not expect such kind of response to be sufficient which we observed in the data in the current study. This means that the politicians' non-observance of the maxims is a shared enterprise of both the speaker and the hearer.

Fourth, politicians employ indirectness and generate implicatures just to become polite purposely to abate and/or mitigate their opinions to serve their political goals.

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