

2010 Communal Electoral Campaign News Reports in Burundi: A Discourse Analysis

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Abstract

In 2010, Burundi held elections with 40 different political parties (the ruling party and opposition parties) competing. The elections were held in three steps, the local, the legislative, and the presidential elections. This was a hot topic because communal elections were considered very determining as winning them was likely to lead to winning the other elections. The campaigns were widely reported in both local and international press, but the study was carried out only on the Burundian press. The present study examines written news reports by applying speech act theory (Austin, 1962), implicature (Grice, 1957), and pragmatic presupposition (Huang, 2017). More specifically, the aim of this study is therefore to analyze pragmatically how newspaper reporters use these language facilities to send messages to their audience and the implications these messages had on Burundians. This study was conducted in light of the following research questions: (1) How did the journalists use language to report the news events during the electoral campaign? (2) What implications did the language used in the news reports have on Burundians? The news reports were collected from two main local newspapers in Burundi; one public newspaper (Le Renouveau) and a private one (Iwacu). To supplement the news reports the context in which the election took place was used to be able to analyze the information reported in the newspapers. Results indicate that journalists reported the news through the use of different strategies following the choice the contestants made to achieve their goals. Implicature was used by very few contestants because of its vague and ambiguous language. Others preferred pragmatic presuppositions that allowed them to establish closer relationship with their audience and a large number of contestants used speech acts that allowed them to send explicit and clear messages. Although the campaign was made in a climate of political tension among the contestants, newspaper reporters used explicit language that openly criticized the authorities in power. It is the kind of language that is expected of the electoral campaign even though it had implications on the going on of the campaign.

1. Introduction

Political campaigns have been at the heart of discourse analysis, and they have been approached from different perspectives. Political campaigns can also take different forms, and with the rise of technology, these campaigns can be shaped in many ways. Politicians aim at reaching out to the potential voters. Because of this, the linguistic features chosen to convince the voters are extremely important, and these features have been subject to analysis. For example, the analysis of a discourse of the newspaper could be classified as a pragmatic approach, which focuses on the speaker meaning at the level of utterances situated in a context (Buja, 2010). It is in this vein that the language use has always been instrumental in convincing the audience to vote for their parties. Candidates in the electoral campaigns show one another that they are the most appropriate to get the position they want. More importantly, they show they are the ones who can deliver on promises they make to their audience. As Beard (2002) observed, the deployment of linguistic facilities in campaigns is the first determiner of the acceptability of a candidate because for any given speech event there are certain basic assumptions, which the speaker needs to make concerning the hearer / audience in relation to the subject matter on ground and this is made possible through the skillful use of language. Utterances or statements that are produced by speakers or authors do not only function to explain their mind toward the receivers but also to change receivers' perspectives. Candidates in the electoral campaign aim to make their audience give them votes.

Therefore, good language use has to take into consideration the users and the context in which the language is being used. Mey (2001) put that in contrast to sentences, utterances are not repeatable: they always depend on their use and meaning on who says them and in what circumstances; and this is where discourse comes into play. The linguistic devices that interest us in the analysis of the language use in the electoral campaign news reports are speech acts, implicature and pragmatic presuppositions. In this line of thinking, Austin (1969) states that saying something is performing an action. Speech act is therefore a tool to interpret the meaning and function of words in different speech situations. It implies that speech is an action that can cause changes in the world of speakers and hearers. A speech act is an act performed through speech, which is also what an utterance does beyond just saying something (Platt, 1985).

In further analysis, Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) make a distinction between locutionary, illocutionary, and locutionary acts. The locutionary act is defined as the act of producing linguistically well-formed utterance and thus meaningful expressions. As far as the illocutionary acts are concerned, they are the real actions performed by the utterance where saying something equals doing it. The perlocutionary act is the effect or influence on the feelings, thoughts, or actions of the listener/ hearer. As for the theory of implicature, Grice (1975) says that it is an attempt at explaining how a hearer gets from what is said to what is meant, from the level of expressed meaning to the level of implied meaning. Grice (1975) identified two types of implicatures: conversational and conventional implicatures. In this study, the conversational implicature will be used in the analysis because, according to Grice (1975), the conversational implicature is pragmatic unlike the conventional implicature that is concerned with grammar. This study falls under linguistic pragmatics that can be generally defined as the study of how language is used to generate meanings and fulfill specific functions in concrete contexts. Previous studies that carried out studies on similar topics include: Rosyida and Fauzi (2020) whose study focused on the pragmatic functions of locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts of speeches. Results indicated that the speaker relied more on sentences that performed assertive acts than other acts while Jakaza (2013) carried out a study that focused on how the media shaped the public opinion by using the Gricean implicature. Results indicated that of the four maxims of the cooperative principle, two were mostly violated or flouted. The quality maxim is either violated or flouted as political party candidates and news reporters are more interested in the goal of winning the electorate vote rather than telling the truth. The maxim of quantity is infringed or violated when politicians and news reporters provide insufficient information to support their claims. These studies used only one language device whereas this study attempted to show how more than two language devices could be used to analyse campaign news reports.

As mentioned earlier, electoral campaigns have been subject to analysis, and an overview of the available literature indicates that in an effort to rhetorically convince or align the electorate, politicians and newspaper reporters violate or flout the maxims of quality and quantity as they are more interested in winning the electorate rather than telling the truth or giving the necessary information as in the utterance (20) *Le Président de la République ne va pas tolérer celui qui s'adonnera a des actes de violence*. My translation: The President of the Republic is not going to tolerate he who will engage in acts of violence. As it is observed in the analysis section, people who are intimidating, and beating members of the opposition parties are those from the presidential security. The Presidential candidate is saying something he believes to be false just to win votes from the population.

A further observation is that a pragmatic analysis of different types of discourse focuses on particular speech acts depending on the context and the electorate in question. In addition to the previous results, this study attempts to show the implications that the language use had on Burundians.

The present study examines written news reports by applying the speech act theory, implicature and pragmatic presupposition. The use of this language weaponry is very important in campaigns. It is said that the deployment of linguistic facilities in campaigns is the first determiner of the acceptability of a candidate (Beard, 2000). In the campaign, the candidates show one another that they are the most appropriate to get the position they want and that they are the ones who can do something good for their audience. So, they use a language strategy to persuade and influence voters. The aim of this study is therefore to analyze how candidates use these language facilities to send messages to their audience and how the news reporters reported these messages in their respective media. More specifically, the present study examines written news reports from two local newspapers (Le Renouveau) a public newspaper and (Iwacu) a private newspaper by applying speech act theory (Austin, 1962), implicature (Grice, 1957) and pragmatic presupposition (Huang, 2017). In other words, the aim of this study is to analyze pragmatically how candidates use these language facilities to send messages to their audience and the implications that these messages had on Burundians.

2. Related literature

2.1 Speech act theory

The term speech act denotes the sense in which utterances are not mere meaning-bearers, but rather in a very real sense do things, that is, perform actions (Levinson, 2017). Austin (1962) made a distinction between locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. In this study, however, the focus will be put on illocutionary acts and perlocutionary acts. Illocutionary act is what you intend to do by means of saying it, whereas perlocutionary act is what is actually achieved by means of the speech act (Birner, 2013).

2.2 Implicature

An implicature is any meaning a speaker can convey beyond the meaning of what is explicitly said (Blackwell,2020). Grice (1957) observed that to understand an utterance one needs not only shared general knowledge of the world but also knowledge of communicative principles which guide interlocutors. These principles can be described as common expectations in a given communicative situation between rational human beings. This is the cooperative principle which consists of four basic maxims:

Maxim of quality: do not say what you believe to be false and do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence. Maxim of quantity: make your contribution as informative as is required for the current purpose of the exchange and do not make your contribution more informative than is required. Maxim of relation: be relevant. Maxim of manner: avoid obscurity and ambiguity, be brief and orderly.

However, human communication functions to a great degree by violation, flouting or suspension of maxims although not all maxims at the same time (Birner,2013). To observe a maxim is to straightforwardly obey it, that is, to in fact say the right amount, to say what you have evidence for, to be relevant, or to be brief, clear, and unambiguous depending of course on the maxim in question (Birner,2013). This author has also outlined what is entailed in violating, flouting, or opting out of a maxim. To violate the maxim is to fail to observe it, but to do so inconspicuously, with the assumption that your hearer will not realize that the maxim is being violated. To flout a maxim is also to violate it, but in this case the violation is so intentionally blatant that the hearer is expected to be aware of the violation. Finally, to opt out of maxim is, in a sense, to refuse to play the game at all.

2.3 Pragmatic presupposition

To presuppose something is to take it for granted, or at least to act as if one takes it for granted, as background information, as common ground among participants in the conversation Stalnaker (1974). Presuppositions are pieces of information associated with certain lexical items and syntactic constructions (Geurts, 2017). These lexical items and syntactic structures are called presupposition triggers. According to Coesemans (2012, p.226-7), some of such triggers are:

“The definite descriptions, e.g. proper names or a determiner and a noun phrase that presuppose the existence of the referent.

Factive predicates introduced by a factive verb or a factive nominal that presuppose the factuality of their complements.

Implicative predicates, initiated by implicative verbs, presuppose an implication underlying the action described in the verb phrase.

Iteratives, either verbs or time adverbials, carry presuppositions concerning a frequent or habitual state of affairs prior to the one that is invoked in the main clause or an action which happened at least once before.

Change of state verbs presuppose their complements expressing previous state of affairs which is either different from the one in the superordinate clause or a continuation after a possible turning point (Roel,2012 p.226-7 Dissertation).”

3. Method

The questions explored in this study were answered by analyzing news events reported in the two local newspapers, namely *Le Renouveau*, a public newspaper, and *Iwacu*, a private newspaper. The campaign speeches collected to this end are varied and consist of speeches from different individuals and different party candidates or representatives. They are from the 28 different political parties (the ruling party and opposition parties) and independent candidates that participated in the electoral campaigns. As the elections were held in three steps, the communal, the legislative, and the presidential elections, this study was narrowed down to the communal campaigns preparing for the communal elections. The communal campaigns proved to be a hot topic because the communal elections were considered very determining as winning them could lead to winning the other elections. Among the political parties competing, three of them had been in power before while the others have been contesting unsuccessfully. The rest of the contesting parties are new in the political arena. CNDD FDD and FNL are the former fighting movements. Today, these parties have been divided into different factions and this has increased the number of parties and has changed the look of the campaign.

This study is exclusively qualitative in nature because the text analysis adopted employs the theories of pragmatics namely the speech act theory (Austin,1962), implicature (Grice, 1975) and pragmatic presupposition (Huang, 2017).

4. Results and discussion

4.1 Characterizing the speeches

In previous campaigns, most of the speeches and debates were focused on the ethnization of the political debates and elections campaigns.

However, the 2010 campaign seemed to be rather centered on other political issues of national interest like good governance, security, economic development etc...though ethnic belonging is a very sensitive issue that many politicians use to attract their audience to vote for them. This shows therefore that Burundi is progressing towards a democratic process of the elections. But, it is important to note that there is a certain kind of radicalization among the members of certain parties like the youth from the ruling party, the CNDD FDD (Imbonerakure) and (Ivyuma vy'indege) from one of the major opposition party, the FNL. These imbonerakure of the CNDD FDD party are also aggressive towards the other parties' members mainly those of the FRODEBU, MSD and UPD Zigamibanga parties all over the country. This aggressive behavior is caused by the nervousness that characterized this campaign. In the previous election campaigns many of the 2010 contestants had the same electorate that grew apart to become different parties. The 2010 campaigns were thus characterized by using all means, aggressive language included, to gain the support of the audience. As language use is one of the tactics that are used, the contestants make use of all the strategies possible to get their messages across.

4.2 Use of implicature

In this section, the researcher is going to analyse the news reports following the conceptualization of implicature of Grice that was mentioned above.

(1) *ce n'est ni la force des armes ni la force du nombre qui gouverne. C'est le consensus.* My translation: *It is neither because you have the army nor a big number of your ethnic group members that you will be able to govern. It is a consensus.*

In this utterance, the Uprona candidate implies that in a democratic system, people should neither vote candidates because of the terror of the weapons nor because of the big number of the members of the ethnic group from which the candidate is. That they should instead consider the programme of the party or candidate and the resources necessary to implement it. As Wodack (2007) observed in the field of politics, implicature and allusions may bear the intention and achieve the result of devaluing political opponents, without accepting responsibility for what is implicitly said. This is observed in the previous utterance where the speaker does not say explicitly that the party in power is using the security forces to prevent other members from campaigning. The presidential security police at times threaten and beat the representatives of the opposition parties.

The speaker violates the maxim of quantity because he is not informative enough to let the hearer know the intended meaning. He does so because he wants to communicate that the party in power is using security forces to prevent the opposition candidates from campaigning freely. It is also because he does not want to talk about the sensitive issue of ethnic belonging explicitly, he said it without committing himself to that intent.

Implicature is also observed from the following excerpt from another party:

(2) *Tora FNL, inkinzu y'impfuyi n'abapfakazi.* My translation: *Vote for FNL, the protector of orphans and widows.*

In this utterance, the implicature is that they should not vote for a candidate whose party members have killed their parents and relatives. He is mainly alluding to Uprona party that is said to be the party of Tutsi as we know that its former name was "Party for the Liberation of Hutu People" created to liberate the Hutu from a Tutsi domination. Here the maxim of quantity is violated because he is not being informative enough, but members can easily understand the intended meaning by implication. Another example of implicature comes from the *FRODEBU presidential candidate in Iwacu of May 14, 2010.*

(3) *Il conseille les futurs élus de faire preuve de maturité et d'expérience: Vous devrez connaître les produits agricoles adaptés au relief, au sol et au climat pour accroître la production.*

My translation: *The Frodebu candidate advises future candidates elect to prove that he is mature and experienced. They should know which agricultural products are adapted to which type of soil and climate to increase production.*

Through this utterance, the speaker implies that there are candidates who are not mature and experienced enough to know about socioeconomic matters. He implies that they will not help in the socio economic development of the country. They should not then vote for such people who will not contribute to their development. Another implicature about experience and maturity comes from this candidate who stated that,

(4) *Pour y arriver il faut des gens compétents et patriotes, capables de diagnostiquer et cerner les problèmes.* My translation: *To achieve this, they need competent and patriotic leaders who are capable of analyzing and finding solutions to problems.*

Here, the Frodebu candidate implies that he is the competent and patriotic leader and that they should vote for him. The intended meaning is to tell the audience that almost all the other parties were formed as the result of the splitting of his party, so they are not mature enough to govern the country.

(5). *Les régimes qui se sont succédés ont été caractérisés par des massacres et querelles intestines qui ont poussé les Burundi à fuir surtout vers la Tanzanie. Renouveau of May 6, 2010.*

My translation: *The Governments that followed each other have been characterized by internal massacres and wars that led Burundians to flee particularly to Tanzania.*

When he talks about the governments that followed each other that have been characterized by internal massacres and wars that led Burundians to flee particularly to Tanzania, he is alluding to Tutsi governments because Hutu fled to Tanzania. Here the speaker has some shared knowledge with the audience, so the intended message would be clearly understood though his message is not explicitly conveyed.

Overall, the language that was used in the news report was only directly understood by people who shared the same knowledge with the candidates or the news reporters. Consequently, the maxim of quantity was violated or flouted as the message was not clear enough for all the audience.

4.3 Pragmatic presupposition

Presuppositions are very important in the triggering of audience consent to the message expressed in the electoral campaign. As Stalnaker (1974) observes, pragmatic presuppositions are assumptions shared by the interlocutors, which form the background of their ongoing discourse. The following excerpts are examples of presuppositions:

(6) *Sur les radios et les télévisions, les émissions des partis politiques naguère bloquées passent sans causer le moindre ramous.*

My translation: *Political parties that were broadcasting before stopped from broadcasting their programmes on the radio and television, could do it without causing any stir.*

Here, the information that the Government has stopped the radios from broadcasting is not explicitly stated but it is encoded in the change of state verb stop from. The information that they did not cause any problem presupposes that they had stopped the radios for the alleged reason that they would cause disturbances once allowed to broadcast.

(7) *Aujourd'hui, entre le CNC et les professionnels des médias l'heure est à l'apaisement. Si cette sérénité que l'on remarque en ce début de campagne perdure, le Burundi pourrait montrer à la face du monde qui nous observe avec un peu d'angoisse, un autre visage: celui d'un pays capable de vivre la compétition démocratique en paix (éditorial). Iwacu of may9.*

My translation: *Today, there is a peaceful climate between the CNC and the professionals of the media. If this peaceful situation that we observe at this beginning of the campaign lasts longer, Burundi could show to the world that observes us with worry another reality, that of a country capable of holding a democratic competition peacefully. In Iwacu of may9.*

In this example, there are two presupposition triggers that indicate the information that is communicated through this utterance. First, in the adverbial today (aujourd'hui, today) by opposition to the past days informs the reader that yesterday or in the past, there was no alleviation for the media. Second, the lexical trigger lasts longer (perdure) that is the iterative trigger indicates that this presupposition belongs to the set of assumptions shared by the author and the reader. It presupposes that although today they are allowed to broadcast, this may not last longer according to what was normally happening.

(8) *Le candidat du CNDD rappelle que le retour de la paix a été un long processus: « Souvenez-vous toujours d'où nous sommes venus pour que la consolidation de la paix soit une réalité » Iwacu May9.*

By saying “remember how much time and sacrifices it took us for peace consolidation to be a reality”, the candidate is addressing the members of the CNDD FDD party who share with him the belief that before they came into power, there was no peace. It has been restored by taking arms and this has been a long process. If they do not vote for him, the other candidates would take them back to the situation they were in before his party came into power. The reporter uses the implicative predicate (to remind) that presupposes that the audience should not forget his party has done something very important for them. This is therefore an invitation to vote for his party so that peace can prevail.

(9) *UPRONA Président: la relance des secteurs sociaux notamment l'éducation et la santé, distribution de l'eau et de l'électricité*

My translation: *The relaunch of social sectors namely education and health, distribution of water and electricity.....*

Here, there is the use of iterative verb (to relaunch) that presupposes that these sectors were working before when Uprona Party was still in power, which was lost when this party was voted out.

(10) *Il arappelé qu'il est habitué à gouverner (UPRONA)*

My translation: *He reminded the audience that he is used to governing.*

This implicative predicate carries the presupposition that the audience should not forget the stage of development they had reached before this party lost the power. The implicature is that if they need to be developed they should vote for them because of that experience and know how in the development matters.

(11) *Bamvuginyumvira rappelle aux corps de défense et de sécurité que leur rôle est de protéger la population. May 21.*

My translation: *The presidential candidate of Frodebu reminded the defense and security forces that their role is to protect the population.*

The use of the implicative predicate (to remind) in this example carries the presupposition that those forces had forgotten their role as protectors of the population.

(12) *Renouveau du 6 mai Pierre Nkurunziza C'est l'occasion de rappeler aux Burundi d'où ils viennent. Les régimes qui se sont succédé ont été caractérisés par des massacres et querelles intestines qui ont poussé les Burundi à fuir surtout vers la Tanzanie*

My translation: *It is an opportunity to remind Burundians the situation they were in. The Governments that followed each other have been characterized by internal massacres and fights that led Burundians to flee particularly to Tanzania.*

The implicative predicate (to remind) carries the presupposition that they should not forget the situation they were in before they came on power. The intended meaning is that they should give them votes in order to continue living peacefully. The definite description Tanzania presupposes that there is a country called Tanzania. That it is this country that hosted the refugees.

(13) *Il souligne qu'ils devraient être très vigilants et éviter d'être partiaux*

My translation: *He underscores that they should be very careful and should avoid being partial.*

The use of the verb (souligner: to underscore) in this excerpt carries the presupposition that this has been said more than once. What is implied here is that security forces have been partial in what they have been doing in the electoral campaign. This is even better illustrated in utterance (16) where the chief of the presidential security police in Gitega slapped and spat on a representative of the UPD Zigamibanga. He had also an argument with the President of the MSD party in the same province.

As appears from the examples presented above, presuppositions are very important language devices that are very helpful in guiding the audience in interpreting the intended message. They are used to hide a message to people who do not share the same background knowledge with the speaker or reporter. Presuppositions are also tactful strategies used to convey an intended message without threatening the face of the members of the audience.

1.1 Speech act theory

Speech act theory is another tool for interpreting the meaning and function of words in different situations of speech. Politicians use this tool to directly communicate with the general public for the purpose of convincing them of their ideas or future agendas and therefore win votes from them.

(14) *Nous ne voulons plus d'un pouvoir qui crée des orphelins. Nous ne voulons pas d'un pouvoir qui fait fuir ses concitoyens. Si Mr Pierre Nkurunziza doute de la faisabilité de notre programme, dites-lui de m'appeler. Je lui enseignerai comment protéger les Burundais de l'injustice et en finir avec la pauvreté.* Iwacu Mai 9.

My translation: *We do not want any more a government that create orphans. We do not want a government that make its citizens flee their country. If Mr Nkurunziza has doubts about the feasibility of our programme, tell him to call me. I will teach him how to protect Burundians from injustice and how to make an end to poverty.*

Through this statement, the candidate of the MSD party indicates directly that the President of the Republic does not know how to protect the Burundians against injustice and how to make an end to poverty. The intended message conveyed through these utterances is to devalue the opponent. He gives a negative evaluation of the other candidate. He blames him for the lack of justice and poverty of the people. The perlocutionary act is to bring the audience not to give him votes. This use of explicit language would certainly make security forces and other decision making authorities feel offended and devaluated.

(15) *Le candidat de FDD a commencé à démentir un politicien qui a indiqué que la population de Bururi est sale: » je trouve que vous êtes propres et élégants ».*

My translation: *The FDD candidate, Nyangoma, started by contradicting a politician that said that the population of Bururi is dirty: I find you clean and smart.*

Although the candidate of the FDD has not named directly the author of this statement, he implies that the audience he is addressing shares this knowledge with him. The message he is delivering has the force of contradicting the President of the Republic who said that the population of Bururi and Mwaro are the dirtiest at the national level. He disagrees with him openly and says just the opposite that they are clean and smart.

(16) *Nous avons des institutions de sécurité qui ne nous protègent pas. Le Président de la République est redevable devant la population: » Qu'il sache qu'il est responsable de cette situation ». Iwacu Du 21 Mai*

My translation: *We have institutions that do not protect us. The President of the Republic is accountable to the population. He should know that he is responsible for that situation.*

Although these statements indicate directly that the speaker disapproves, criticizes and disagrees with the addressee, they are acceptable in political campaigns because political candidates are equal on the stage of debate- the mystery of office is unavailable to incumbents when they stand beside the challenger. A debate presumes each person is equal in power so that the deciding difference is measured in terms of one's arguments, not wealth, title, or prestige (Hinck & Hinck, 2002). However, this is not always the case in countries in the process of democratization. This can be illustrated by the statement of a very important authority of the Government in charge of intelligence at the provincial level referred to in the following speech (17) *Au quartier Magarama, le responsable du service des renseignements à Gitega Jovain Cishahayo, membre influent du Parti présidentiel, a craché sur Médard Muhizi, chargé de la mobilisation et propagande au niveau national au parti UPD-Zigamibanga. De plus, il lui a arraché son képi et son foulard. Puis, il l'a giflé. C'est le parti présidentiel qui a le droit de manifester dans cette province, selon Mr Cishahayo. Les autres, précise -t-il, n'ont qu'à aller ailleurs. Il avait aussi menacé le président du parti MSDD au cours des primaires. Iwacu of may9.*

My translation: *At Magarama, the chief intelligence service at Gitega, an influential member of the presidential party, has spit on UPD Zigamibanga party member who is in charge of the mobilisation and propaganda at national level. He has also taken off his cap. Then he has slapped his face. He said that it is the presidential party that has the right of demonstrating here.*

As all the politicians are not equally skillful at using language in any given speech event, they may react in a way that is not expected of them. An example to illustrate this, is the utterance (17) of the intelligence officer in Gitega who expressed contempt and dislike by spitting on the member of UPD Zigamibanga party and taking his cap off his head. In expressing this contempt and saying that UPD Zigamibanga is not allowed to hold campaign in Gitega Province, only reserved for CNDD FDD. The perlocutionary effect of such a speech act is the frustration of the other party members which creates some undesired reactions. It may also create fears among the party members because if an influential authority of intelligence reacts in that way people may fear for their lives. By spitting on him and taking off his cap, the doer of the action expresses a blatant expression of contempt to indicate dislike of the opponent, creating in this way a dangerous face-to-face atmosphere. This also indicates that the party in power considers itself as having more rights than the other competing parties.

(18) *« Au lendemain de la victoire de notre victoire, on va punir toute personne accusée de détournement et enlever les tapes des greniers de l'Etat ». Iwacu 21 Mai*

My translation: *Referring to the good governance, the candidate of the FDD party said that at the morrow of their victory, they will punish any person who is guilty of embezzlement of public funds and chase corrupt people from Government positions they are holding.*

Referring back to utterance (18) of the candidate of the FDD party, the illocutionary force is to devalue the civil servants who are corrupt and through them devalue their party which is mismanaging the public funds. In comparing them to moles, which are rodents that steal anything they find on their way whether they need it or not, the candidate of FDD intends to make them lose the population's confidence.

(19) *Il ne faut pas donner des voix à ceux qui ont du sang sur les mains, à ceux qui ont instrumentalisé l'ethnie et aux pilleurs des deniers publics. 21 Mai*

My translation: *You should not give votes to people who committed crimes, to those who have used ethnic belonging as an instrument to get power and to the plunderers of public treasury.*

From this utterance, the contestant has not named anyone, but the hearers can infer from what he said and recognize his intended meaning and in this way, he would have achieved his aim. It is this kind of language that creates nervousness because you cannot argue back unless you want to assume that you are the one who has committed the crime or stolen the public funds. This is why the perlocutionary effect to such illocutionary force is expressed through severe actions.

(20) *Que le gagnant gouverne pour tout le monde*

My translation: *That the winner governs for everyone.*

In this utterance, the presidential candidate of the presidential party invites the candidate that will win to govern in the interest of everyone. This has as a perlocutionary act of subsiding the fear that was escalated by the language used in the campaign.

(21) *Le Président de la République ne va pas tolérer celui qui s'adonnera à des actes de violence.*

My translation: *The President of the Republic is not going to tolerate he who will engage in acts of violence.*

This utterance has the illocutionary act of issuing a caution to people who will engage in acts of violence. The perlocutionary effect from this is that people are assured of the security for their life. It is also meant to defuse the tension caused by the threatening acts of some utterances.

(22) *Le Président du parti MSD déclare que si le Président Pierre Nkurunziza décide de défier le peuple, le MSD va l'affronter avec tous les moyens dont il dispose. Iwacu May9.*

My translation: *The MSD party presidential candidate declares that if the President Pierre Nkurunziza decides to question people's decision, the MSD party will challenge him with all the means that we have.*

In this utterance, the candidate expresses a strong determination to fight against the rigging of the election. The perlocutionary effect that is expected from the uttering of these words is to bring the opposition to overcome the fear of the government members and challenge them.

(23) *Souvenez-vous d'ou nous sommes venus pour que la consolidation de la paix soit une réalité.*

In saying "remember how much time and sacrifices it took us for peace consolidation to be a reality", the candidate is promoting himself by indicating that he is the only one who cares about their interests. He is reminding them that peace has been restored by taking arms and this has been a long process. The perlocutionary act behind this utterance is to bring the audience to vote for the candidate of CNDD FDD party so that they could keep this peace.

(25) *Il a fait appel aux partis politiques à majorité Hutu de s'unir autour du parti au pouvoir afin de faire barrage aux Tutsi vers le pouvoir. Iwacu of May 16.*

My translation: *He invited the political parties whose members are in majority Hutu to rally around the presidential party in order to stop the Tutsi from accessing to power.*

In this utterance, the FNL representative arouses explicitly ethnic hatred against Tutsi. As for the perlocutionary act, he wants that the Tutsi be frightened and stop from looking for votes because they would be aware that they would not win the elections. As the effect produced by an utterance may not always be intended, reckless Hutu members may engage in acts of violence against Tutsi as a result of this instigative speech.

(26) *Le Président de la République n'a pas vraiment fait un discours de campagne pour son parti. Il a fait plus: un discours à l'adresse de toute la nation pour que les élections se passent en paix. C'est un discours qu'il faut saluer, car la période pré-électorale a été assez tendue. Beaucoup de citoyens avaient peur de ces élections. Iwacu May9.*

My translation: *The President of the Republic has not in reality make a campaign speech for his party. He did more than that: It is a speech that should be welcome because the pre-electoral period has been very tense. Many citizens were afraid of these elections.*

In his editorial, the news reporter praises the President for his speech. He indicates that the President of the Republic made a speech that is beyond his belonging to the party in competition, that he acted as the father of the nation. He indicates that he likes /approves of his attitudes and actions even though as the president he was expected to do so. By this speech, the President defused the tension that was between different party members.

5. Conclusion

The present study analyzes pragmatically how candidates use language facilities to send messages to their audience and the implications that these messages had on Burundians. The different contestants opted to use different strategies in their campaign discourse depending on the context of use. This is due to the fact that some topics require some degree of explicitness than others though it is said that a political debate presumes each person is equal in power so that the deciding difference is measured in terms of one's arguments, not wealth, title, or prestige (Hinck & Hinck, 2002). These strategies are observed through the use of implicature, pragmatic presuppositions, and speech acts.

As far as implicature is concerned, it requires the use of implicit language and that the contestants need their message to be clearly understood so as to produce the expected effect of persuading the voters to give them votes. This strategy was not expected to be used by the candidates. It is for this reason that results indicate that few cases of implicature were found in the election campaign news reports. It was only used in 5 discourses out of the 24 selected for analysis. Only CNDD FDD, Frodebu and Uprona used implicature in their speeches. These instances of implicature were used for sensitive issues like while talking about ethnic belonging or when criticizing the presidential candidate who was still the president of the Republic.

For these sensitive topics, some contestants made use of language that requires vagueness and ambiguity and leave the hearers/ audience interpret themselves by using the background knowledge they have on the topic. They do not want to use language that threatens the face of their interlocutors because it may create unwanted effects. This is the reason why people who were delivering speeches had some constraints in communicating these acts because they were concerned with feelings, emotions, and attitudes. For this purpose, people have to express themselves indirectly or by way of implicature, which in one way or another smoothens what is communicated to the interlocutors.

Concerning pragmatic presuppositions, the results indicate that this strategy was often used in the electoral campaign news reports as can be noted in the number of discourses that were identified for analysis. Out of a total of 24 discourses that were used for analysis, 8 were about the use of pragmatic presuppositions. It is assumed that an electoral campaign period is an opportunity to remind the audience of the topics they had been discussing in the party meetings. They have shared knowledge on these topics, which is the reason why the presupposition triggers are linguistic elements that facilitate the understanding of the presupposed message. Pragmatic presuppositions were used to stress the important information and better communicate the political message to the audience. As the pragmatic presuppositions imply that the contestant and the audience have some shared knowledge, they help to draw a closer relationship between the person campaigning and the audience in order to persuade them to give him votes. The verbs of change of state show that the candidate is eager to change the bad condition of the society.

As far as speech acts are concerned, they were largely used in the news reports that were identified in the collection of discourses for analysis. Eleven out of the 24 analyzed, almost 50%, were about speech acts. The direct speech acts were predominant because in electoral campaigns, contestants have to promote themselves and devaluate the opponents. For this, a clear and explicit language has to be used for a good understanding by the audience. However, as the electoral campaign is being conducted in the context where the country is still in the process of democratization, this language use has had some implications that could not be experienced in truly democratic countries.

Based on the above observations, the main question becomes then what all this means for Burundians; in other words, what implications such strategies have on Burundians is worth reflecting on. As the language the contestants use has to deal with feelings, emotions and attitudes, it had implications on the interactants and on Burundians in general. These implications were of various forms, some were intended but others were unexpected, and both were considerable and serious. The use of implicature had the merit of avoiding threatening the face of the opponents and therefore creating a pleasant atmosphere among the audience. This strategy was not, however, useful for any audience given that interpreting the message conveyed through implicature required a high level of language knowledge. The pragmatic presuppositions made possible closer relationship between the person campaigning and the audience facilitated by the shared knowledge on the topics of national interest. The use of language through this strategy made easy the understanding of the message conveyed to the audience targeted by the speaker. Through the use of speech acts, the message conveyed to the audience was explicit, clear and therefore easy to understand. However, it was in some situations face-threatening and could create unwanted effect. The expression of hatred and contempt towards Tutsi that was found in discourse (23) created a tension between the two ethnic groups. The minority group will see no need of going to vote since their votes would be useless. Furthermore, the use of language in discourses (14, 18, 19 and 22) where the contestants blamed the government for serious violations had serious implications on the ongoing of the electoral outcome. For example, threatening to instigate sanctions on corrupt government members could bring the latter to use whatever strategy to stop those candidates from advancing including disqualifying the candidates, rigging the elections etc.... Language use is not only expressed orally or in written form, but also through acts. In discourse (17), the chief of the presidential police at Gitega expressed contempt and hatred towards the representative of the Zigambanga. The implication of these acts is observed through the reports that showed people who were killed, aggressed, and reduced to silence on pain of being killed.

Taken together, these results answer the questions examined in this study. The first one about how candidates use these language facilities to send messages to their audience was answered through the use of different language devices and results indicate that politicians used indirect language to send messages to only intended people or to avoid face threatening acts. Results also indicate that they used direct language to promote themselves or to devaluate their opponents in order to win votes from the audience. The second question about the implications that these messages had on Burundians was answered by analyzing the effect that the language used had on the audience. Results indicate that some people who were killed, others were aggressed, and some others were reduced to silence on pain of being killed. This study is not exhaustive as only local newspapers were used in the analysis of the language used, it would be interesting to work also on international newspapers that may report the news in a more neutral way than the local ones.

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