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DESCRIPTION OF ACTIONS THROUGH DIRECTIVES

In this paper, I explore how directives work in describing a set of actions which are then conceptualized as a code of conduct (*adabu*) by Swahili speakers from Zanzibar, Tanzania. I show how given resources such as place, the prior talk and embodiment are used by a Swahili native speaker for the construction of new settings and participating characters in his story-telling, for the purpose of creating an appropriate environment to produce directives.

Data

My data is from a television program from Zanzibar[1]. It is a talk show between three people, two men and a woman. The woman, Sharifa Maulid (henceforth *Ma Sharifa*), is the moderator and the men, Bakar Abeid (henceforth *Bakari*) and Abdullah Mwinyi (henceforth *Maalim*), are the invited experts in Swahili culture, who provide the audience with their knowledge about different culture-relevant aspects of life. The topic of the analyzed program covers the question about what the code of conduct of a true Swahili man from Zanzibar is.

Directives in Context

As Searle states, directives are "attempts by the speaker … to get the hearer to do something" [Searle 1976]. This indicates that the assignment of participants' roles in conversation and the context of the interaction have a crucial meaning for the performance of directives. The analysis of directives in the given extracts of Swahili media discourse shows that speakers are aware of these two felicity conditions. The following analysis shows that the availability of a recipient plays a decisive role in producing directives.

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[1] I am grateful to Drs. Ridder Samsom from Hamburg University, Germany, for providing me with the recording of the TV-show "*Ndivyo Tulivyo*".

The grammatical structure of Swahili provides direct means for producing directives[2]. There are imperative forms for expressing directives towards both singular and plural co-participants, e.g., *Acha!* stop.IMP[3] '(you) Stop!' and *Ach-eni!* stop-IMP.PL '(you, many of you) Stop!' both from the verb *-acha* 'to stop'.

Directives are also regularly expressed through verbs in the subjunctive mood, for example *U-ni-ach-e!* 2SG-1SG-stop-SBJV '(you) leave me alone!', *M-ni-ach-e!* 2PL-1SG-stop-SBJV '(you, many of you) leave me alone!'.

Directives can be performed through questions as well. According to Searle [1976: 11], interrogative utterances can act as directives indirectly. In addition, in the situation of a face-to-face interaction, a speaker can use not only verbal means for performing a directive, but nonverbal as well, such as altering spatial position, changing facial expression, and gestures, to regularly co-construct directives with his or her interlocutors [Goodwin 1980, Goodwin & Goodwin 2000, Goodwin 2000].

Through the following analysis of two excerpts (A and B) I will demonstrate how a Swahili speaker, Bakari, organizes his talk to design an appropriate context for performing directives to actively deliver his understanding of Swahili code of conduct as a set of actions.

Request for a Description

The following excerpt (A) is the beginning of the question-answer sequence in which the moderator of the TV-show poses the topic of the program.

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[2] More on this in [Podobinska 2002].

[3] Following abbreviations are used in glosses: 1P — first person, 2P — second person, 3P — third person, CL — noun class prefix, COND — conditional (tense), COP — copula, FUT — future (tense), IMP — imperative, INTRJ — interjection, LOC — locative, NEG — negation, SG — singular, PASS — passive, PERF — perfect (tense), PL — plural, POSS — possessive, PRS — present (tense), PST — past (tense), SBJV — subjunctive.

(A)[4]

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1   MSR:   Sasa leo     mimi  ni-li-ona     kwamba
            now   today I     1SG-PST-see that
            'Now today I thought that'

2           tu-angali-e       katika hi-i    Ø-heshima
            1PL-look.at-SBJV  in     DEM-CL9 CL9-respect
            'we should look at the respect.'

3           Lakini kwa ku-anzia
            but    for CL15-beginning
            'But to begin with'

4           Ø-bwana    Baka:ri. bin Abeidi,
            1a-mister  PROP
            'bwana Baka:ri. bin Abeidi,'

5           ni  kwamba: tu-angali-e
            COP that    1PL-look.at-SBJV
            'is tha:t let's look'

6           kwa   u-pande   w-a      mw-anamme kwanza.(0.2)
            from  CL11-side CL11-POSS CL1-man   first
            'from the point of view of a man first. (0.2)'

7   BKR:   @(Hx)
            ((chuckles))

8   MSR:   Kwa Ø-mila        z-etu (0.1)
            for CL10-tradition CL10-our
            'According to our traditions (0.1)'

9           kwa mw-anamme w-a       ki-zanzibari,
            for CL1-man    CL1-POSS CL7-Zanzibar
            'for a man from Zanzibar,'

10          a-we       vi:pi a-ta-ambi-wa       kwamba
            3SG-be.SBJV how   3SG-FUT-tell-PASS that
            'ho:w should he be (for) it is said that'
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[4] I use the transcription conventions given by Du Bois [2006]; transcription and Swahili-English translations in the paper are done by me. MSR refers to Ma Sharifa; BKR refers to Bwana Bakari.

In sequence (A) Ma Sharifa starts her turn with two actions. She involves the participants into the talk and links the topic of the current program with the previous ones. In doing so, she prepares the context for her directive to come in line 5 (A). Grammatically the directive is expressed through the subjunctive mood of the verb tuangalie 'let us look at'. In this way the moderator attains at least two aims simultaneously: she denotes a group of participants of the talk and requests the information from one of them. Through her use of the address form tu- 'we/us' and her gaze towards the camera she includes both Bwana Bakari and Maalim Abdullah along with the audience to the group of active participants of the talk.

It is interesting how Ma Sharifa chooses the target of her request. She first looks at the camera and opens the TV-show to the audience. When she introduces the topic of the current episode, she redirects her gaze to her co-participants and addresses them by their names. Both of the men, however, avoid direct eye contact with her and even do not move their heads towards her while looking down to the floor. After the word heshima 'respect' in line 2 (A), Bakari changes his body position and turns his head towards Ma Sharifa displaying his readiness to respond. At this moment she chooses him as a recipient of her question and selects him as the next speaker by calling his name in line 4 (A).

It should be noticed that though Ma Sharifa addresses Bwana Bakari by his name, she does not look at him, nor does she look at the camera. In doing this, she avoids eye contact to any of real or projected participants of the talk and preserves Bwana Bakari's right for the next turn.

Bwana Bakari does not look at the speaker either, but at the same time he changes the position of his body in her direction. Bakari shows his understanding of the emerging interaction through his facial expression. When in line 6 (A) Ma Sharifa states that the problem of code of conduct should be examined from the men's point of view, he slightly chuckles and smiles. In doing this he may be assessing both the posed topic and the speaker. Moreover, his assessment can be perceived as negative, because when he chuckles and smiles he turns his body and gaze towards the other male participant, Maalim Abdullah, who however does not respond to this nonverbal request for support by not changing his facial expression and not moving. Such reaction of Bwana Bakari could be evoked by ma Sharifa's use of the syntactic form tuangalie 'let's look at', which potentially gives her right to express her opinion

about men's behaviour and goes across the gender norms in the Muslim Swahili society.

As a prompt response for Bwana Bakari's smile, Ma Sharifa reformulates her question by referring it to a third person *kwa mwanamme wa kizanzibari* 'for a man from Zanzibar' in line 9 (A). In doing this, she excludes both herself and other co-participants from being the target of the discussion.

Description of Actions

Grammatically the question *awe vipi* 'how should he be?' posed by Ma Sharifa in line 10 does not require an answer be done through directives. But in a particular type of response, illustrated by the following excerpt (B), Bwana Bakari performs a number of directives in explaining an abstract notion of "how to be". Thus the speaker displays his understanding of the Swahili code of conduct as a set of actions.

(B)

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01  BKR:  U-na-jua      Ma Sharifa ni-me-sema,
          2SG-PRS-know PROP         1SG-PERF-say
          'You know Ma Sharifa, I've said,'

02        Ø-Adabu      Ø-pana      eh,
          CL10-manner CL10-broad INTRJ
          'manners are broad, right,'

03  MSR:  Mhm.
          INTRJ
          'Mhm.'

04  BKR:  Zi-na      Ø-ngazi   ny-ingi. (0.5)
          CL10-have CL10-step CL10-many
          'They have many stages. (0.5)'

05        Na  ndo  ni   hu-ko
          and FOC  COP  DEM-CL17
          'And #it #is there'

06        ni-ku-to-e       m-fano. (0.5)
          1SG-2SG-give-SBJV CL3-example
          '(where) let me give you an example. (0.5)'
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07        U-me-kaa       u-kumbi-ni.
          2SG-PERF-sit CL11-entrance-LOC
          'You have been sitting at the entrance.'


08        Ndi-po   u-li-po-karibish-wa. (0.4)
          FOC-LOC 2SG-PST-REL-welcome-PASS
          'That is where you were welcomed.' (0.4)


09        Sasa tena  u-si-jidai
          now  again 2SG-NEG.SBJV-claim
          'Now again don't dare'


10        ku-ondoka  ha-pa     u-kumbi-ni
          CL15-leave DEM-CL16 CL11-entrance-LOC
          'to leave this (place) here at the entrance'


11        <VOX> Ho::di, ho:di, hodi </VOX>
                INTRJ    INTRJ   INTRJ
          '<VOX> Kno::ck, kno:ck, knock </VOX>'


12        u-na-elekea       yu-le      Ø-jirani. (0.5)
          2SG-PRES-approach 1CL-DEM   CL1a-neighbor
          'you are approaching that #neighbor. (0.5)'


13        <VOX> Jamani! (0.2)
                INTRJ.friends
          '<VOX>Hey friends!(0.2)'


14        ni-ta-kuja     Ø-haja   hu-ko,</VOX>
          1SG-FUT-come CL9-need DEM-CL17
          'I'm coming into there to the toilet</VOX>,'


15        Ala?, Wewe u-na      wa-zimu? (Hx)kh@e@@@@
          INTRJ you  2SG-have CL2-spirit
          'What?, Are you crazy? (Hx)kh@e@@@@'


16        Sasa hu-u ..    ni   u-huni
          now  DEM-CL3  COP CL11-misbehavior
          'Now this .. is rudeness'


17        w-a         Ø-hali   y-a        Ø-juu,
          CL11-POSS CL9-state CL9-POSS CL9-top
          'of the greatest kind,'
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18        u-tovu      w-a        Ø-adabu     m-kubwa.
          CL11-lack CL11-POSS CL10-manner CL11-great
          'a great lack of manners.'

19        <F>Ø-Kaa?,</F> a-li-po-ku-karibisha
              sit-IMP     3SG-PST-LOC-2SG-welcome
          '<F>Sit?,</F> there where he welcomed you'

20        Ø-rafiki    y-ako
          CL1a-friend CL1a-your
          'your friend,

21        m-ke      w-a        Ø-rafiki    y-ako,
          CL1-wife CL1-POSS CL1a-friend CL1a-you
          '(where) his wife (did),'

22        Ø-kaa    ha-po. (0.5)
          sit-IMP DEM-CL17
          'sit here.' (0.5)

23        U-ki-ona      Ø-haja    y-o       y-ote
          2SG-COND-see CL9-need CL9-POSS CL9-all
          'If you feel any need'

24         Ø-ingia   si      ndani, nje.
           enter-IMP NEG.COP inside outside
          'don't go inside, (go) outside.'
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To construct the appropriate response for such a question Bwana Bakari uses the resources given by the present context, or, in other words, he takes "the local materials" to provide for "the intelligibility and comprehensibility of the description" [Goodwin 2002: 327]. As a departing point for his description Bwana Bakari uses his direct addressee, Ma Sharifa, and through shifting between personal and impersonal meanings [Kitagawa & Lehrer 1990] of the pronoun u-/ku- 'you' in lines 6 (B) and 7 (B) creates a new indexical context.

Bwana Bakari demarcates two semiotic fields, or places, through both verbal and non-verbal means. He constructs a place "here" by using the deictic form huko 'here' and nods towards his left side (towards Ma Sharifa), line 5 (B). Another place, the abstract one, is ukumbini 'at the

entrance', line 7 (B). Bwana Bakari points with his finger to the left of him.

Pic. 1

For the co-participants, this spot takes on a new meaning of a specific cultural place, ukumbini, where some actions are appropriate and others are not. Later the speaker will return to this place for making it a scene for the upcoming directives. In this new setting, Bwana Bakari assigns the recipient, Ma Sharifa, the role of a Swahili man making a visit. The choice of this role is embedded into the broader context of Ma Sharifa's request for the particular information in excerpt (A) and also takes on cultural meaning of what is expected of a guest. As far as Ma Sharifa is the recipient of Bakari's response to her question, she now becomes the recipient of his directives.

After creating the fictional environment and characters participating in the drama, Bakari can now produce a description of action, awe vipi 'how should he (a man from Zanzibar) be', through the directive usijidai kuondoka hapa ukumbini 'don't dare to leave this place at the entrance' (lines 9–10).

Bwana Bakari elaborates on the setting by performing an inappropriate behavior (lines 11, 13–14 (B) and constantly assessing it in the real participant framework (lines 12, 15 (B). The switching of the characters within real and imagined contexts is being done through the change of

the pitch and the direction of the speaker's head. Bwana marks turns in this fictional dialog by turning his head to and from Ma Sharifa. The negative verbal assessment of the performed behavior is strongly supported by laughter in line 15 (B). This laughter could also be characterized as a nonverbal directive in and of itself, with which Bwana Bakari elicits action affiliation and display of the alignment with his stance from the co-participants of the TV-show [Stivers et. al. 2011]. As he starts to laugh, Bwana Bakari redirects his gaze from Ma Sharifa towards the other participant, Maalim Mwinyi, searching for response and support. Although Maalim could be characterized as a disengaged participant [Goodwin 2002: 38], for example, when Bakari began his laughter, Maalim did not show any participation, Maalim responds with a chuckle, as soon as Bakari turns his body and head towards him.

The directives in lines 19, 22, 24 (B) indicate a switch from the TV studio to the fictional setting of a guest-host situation. Bwana Bakari shows the change of place through his pointing to the floor to the right of him, line 19 (B):

Pic. 2

Earlier in line 7 (B), he has described this place as ukumbini 'at the entrance'. Through the next directive in line 22 (B), Bakari expands the border of this semiotic space by introducing ndani 'inside' and nje 'out-

side'. These directives are embodied through the speaker's pointing in front of him ('inside') and behind him ('outside'):

Pic. 3

Pic. 4

Through creation of a fictional context, Bwana Bakari succeeds to use directives as a way to describe actions and to place them into the abstract system of values, which is the code of conduct for a Swahili man.

Conclusion

In the analyzed question-response sequence the speaker uses directives as a tool for producing knowledge about the organization of codified, or normative, action (a code of conduct for a Swahili man) using directives. As far as the participants of the face-to-face interaction cannot be appropriate recipients of these directives, the speaker constructs different situational settings and creates characters within these settings. Using characters' voices the speaker is able to deliver directives. The success in the construction and management of different semiotic spaces is reached through the use of "the material from the current scene" [Goodwin 2003: 326], such as present participants of the TV-show, the space around the speaker and the resources given him through the language (pronouns) and his body (gestures, facial expression, voice modulations).

Transcription Conventions

(1.2) — pause duration in seconds and tenths of seconds
: — lag/prosodic lengthening
. — terminative boundary tone
, — continuive boundary tone
? — appeal
@ — laugh, one per pulse or particle of laughter
<VOX> </VOX> — voice of another
(Hx) — audible exhalation
((comment)) — analyst comment on any topic
word — accented word

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