



**AN EXAMINATION OF SAULOS KLAUS CHILIMA'S USE OF PROVERBS
AS A CAMPAIGN TOOL**

MASTER OF ARTS (APPLIED LINGUSITICS) THESIS

DEBORAH NDALAMA

UNIVERSITY OF MALAWI

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Chancellor College

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BY

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my own original work and it has not been submitted to any other institution for similar purposes. Acknowledgements have been duly made where other people's work has been used. I bear the responsibility for the contents of this thesis.

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CERTIFICATE OF APPROVAL

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DEDICATION

To my parents Clifton and Evelyn Ndalama

You are my world. I made it here because of you. This success is proof of the amazing effort you have put into my education. May God continue to bless you for everything that you have done for me. I love you.

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ABSTRACT

The campaign period is one of the busiest periods for candidates contesting for various positions because everyone is trying to sell themselves by positioning themselves as the right candidates for the position being contested for. This period is marked by excessive use of persuasive language. Proverbs, being persuasive and reuseable in various new contexts, are favoured by politicians during political campaigns. The study therefore sought to find out how proverbs were used by Saulos Klaus Chilima henceforth SKC, one of the 2019 presidential candidates, as one of his campaign tools and whether people were able to interpret the proverbs that he used. The researcher made use of concept mapping, recontextualisation and resemiotisation to analyse how proverbs were repurposed to create new meaning and how they were reused to campaign for himself and decampaign others. Additionally, an interview guide helped the researcher assess if people were able to interpret the proverbs that SKC used. Findings indicate that SKC used an extensive number of proverbs in his political campaign speeches ranging from old known proverbs to newly coined proverbs.... Most of the proverbs were used to campaign for himself and decampaign his opponents through advising, warning, critising and ridiculing them. The study findings also indicate that most people were able to interpret the proverbs that SKC used. However, lack of knowledge on political and current affairs, lack of background cultural knowledge and unclear political context made proverb interpretation hard for some people. The thesis concludes that both context of production and the political context in which the proverbs are (re)produced are important to finding the meaning of the proverbs as a political campaign tool. A proverb cannot be interpreted politically if the political context is either insufficient or missing despite having a rich cultural context. The thesis also concludes that the choice of proverbs has a bearing on understanding by the audience. If a proverb is out of fashion, it becomes difficult to interpret as the users lack cultural context to refer to despite the political context being rich.

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ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADMARC	Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation
AFORD	Alliance For Democracy
APM	Arthur Peter Mutharika
DPP	Democratic Progressive Party
MCP	Malawi Congress Party
NAC	Nyasaland African Congress
PP	People's Party
SKC	Saulos Klaus Chilima
SUCC	Students Union of Chancellor College
UDF	United Democratic Front
UTM	United Transformation Movement
VP	Vice President

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

In Malawi, like in many other countries, elections are an important activity that demonstrates the presence of democracy and freedom of choice that is given to citizens. During the election period, contesting candidates are given time to campaign for their party and themselves. During this period, language is very paramount since it can be manipulated to convince people to vote. Thus, people seeking office use language in various ways to persuade the people to vote for them. It is at this point that people use various features of language including figurative language of which proverbs are an example. Proverbs can be manipulated in a way that persuades the audience to put support behind an electoral candidate or even remove support from other candidates. With this knowledge in mind, the study therefore purposed to examine how SKC, as a presidential candidate for the Malawi's 2019 tripartite elections, used proverbs as a campaign tool.

This chapter is organised as follows: Section 1.2 describes the political context of Malawi; Section 1.3 provides the problem statement; Section 1.4 provides the objectives of the study. Section 1.5 explains the significance of the study; Section 1.6 provides the scope and limitations of the current study and finally Section 1.7 outlines the organisation of the entire thesis.

1.2 Political context of Malawi

Before the colonialists came to Malawi, leadership was dominantly through chiefdoms (Patel & Svasand, 2013) that followed a particular lineage through succession. But when Malawi fell under the British Colonial rule in 1891 (Patel & Svasand, 2013), European settlers took over leadership and they dominated politics. Consequently, in 1893, Nyasaland, now Malawi, was named as the British Central Africa Protectorate until 1907. However, Malawians were not satisfied with the white

rule; they still wanted to rule themselves at some point in time. For example, in 1915, John Chilembwe organized a movement that sought Africa led politics but the revolt failed and he was killed (Tenthani & Chinsinga, 2016). In 1944, a nationalist movement created by a group of Blantyre-based intellectuals and businessmen called the Nyasaland African Congress (NAC) (Mc Cracken, 2012) came into existence. Patel and Svasand (2013) state that NAC had three duties; keep the government informed of African opinions, keep Africans informed of the law introduced by the government, and acted as a platform where matters of general or special interest could be tabled. The first two duties imply that NAC was a bridge between the people and the government. The cause for self-rule was strengthened by the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland in 1953 (Tenthani & Chinsinga, 2016; Kalinga, 1996). This led NAC to focus on pushing for independence and not just coordinating groups within Nyasaland (Ross, 2009). This was done with the help of Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda who had been persuaded by the likes of Henry Blasius Masauko Chipembere, Murray William Kanyama Chiume, the Chisiza brothers (Dunduzi and Yatuta) and Rose Chibambo to give up his medical practice in Ghana (Pike, 1968; Phiri, 2010; Chirwa, 2014).

As soon as Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda assumed the leadership of NAC, he began to mobilise the people and to stir them up towards the end of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. This stirred so much unrest among the people in 1959 such that the authorities banned NAC and its leaders including Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda were arrested. The period in which notable members of the NAC were arrested paved way for the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) to emerge and replace NAC and continued to press for independence (Tenthani & Chinsinga, 2016, p. 36). In 1961, the first parliamentary elections were held and MCP won all contested seats apart from those that were reserved for the white minority (Chirwa, 2014). This means that there were other parties apart from MCP which contested during the 1961 elections. Mc Cracken (2012) actually records that the United Federal Party and the Christian Liberation Party also contested in the 1961 elections. But after losing, these two parties disintegrated (Mariyamkono & Kanyongolo, 2003). Malawi gained independence in 1964 and it slipped into a one-party rule for 30 years right after that (Tenthani & Chinsinga, 2016).

Before independence, Malawi was guided by the 1964 constitution which was drafted by the British Colonial Office. This constitution included the Bill of Rights that gave people civil and political rights and freedoms, which included freedom of speech, assembly and association as well as formation of political parties (Tenthani & Chinsinga, 2016). In 1966, two years after independence, Malawi acquired Republican state in which the then leader Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda was declared as both head of State and Government (Patel & Svasand, 2013). One amendment which took place was that of the constitution. This was referred to as the 1966 Republican Constitution. This Constitution, however, was an obvious deviation from the original constitution of 1964. In this constitution, the Bill of Rights was removed and the constitution recognized MCP as the only political party (Hussein, 2009). This implied an end to multiparty and the start of a one party era. Further, in 1971, Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda through constitutional amendment was declared the Life President and those who opposed this faced many repercussions (Patel & Svasand, 2013).

Around the 1990s, a political wave hit Malawi and this saw people complain about the iron rule of Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda and started seeking change (Patel & Svasand, 2013). The motivation to break free was heightened by publication of a Pastoral Letter by the Catholic Bishops in 1992 which condemned social, economic and political injustices. The letter caused much unrest such that Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda agreed to a referendum in 1993 because he was confident people would choose the one party rule. But he was mistaken as results indicated that people wanted multiparty because 63% of the 67% that voted wanted the one party system abolished (Wiseman, 1999).

The results of the referendum meant that a provisional constitution was drawn in which section 4 of the existing constitution (1966) which stated that Malawi Congress Party (MCP) would be the sole party was repealed by government (Wiseman, 1999) and hence amended in 1993 after the results of the referendum (Hussein, 2009). This constitution took force in 1995. The 1993 Political Parties Registration and Regulation Act, the 1995 Parliamentary and Presidential Election Act and the Local Government Act all cover matters of membership, free participation and political parties funding (Hussein, 2009). Section 40(1) (b), (c) and (d) of the constitution allows people to campaign for a political party or cause and participate in peaceful

political activity intended to make political choices, (Hussein, 2009). Section 41 (1) further states that every person shall have the right to vote, to do so in secret, and to stand for public office (Hussein, 2009). Therefore, this constitution was simply a return to the old constitution that the British Colonial government had set for Malawi in 1964. It was a return to the multi-party democracy which people had not seen for the previous 30 years in which Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda was Life President and MCP was the sole party (Khaila & Chibwana, 2005).

Therefore, there were two very important legal reforms that came with the Constitution drafted after the referendum. The first one is the formation of political parties (Meinhardt & Patel, 2003) as quoted by the sections of the constitution in the previous paragraph. Underground movements of people who were scared of Dr Hastings Kamuzu Banda could finally come in the open and engage in political activities at liberty since the new constitution permitted it. The most immediate parties were Alliance For Democracy (AFORD) and the United Democratic Front (henceforth UDF) and these existed alongside MCP till 2003 (Patel & Svasand, 2013). Since 2004, there has been a birth of so many political parties such that as of 2016, Malawi had a total of 50 registered political parties (Tenthani & Chinsinga, 2016). Apart from the legal reform that allowed movements to have political parties, another legal reform was the exercise of voting. Leaders had to be elected by the masses in order to serve their country. At the moment, the voting exercise happens every five years. When the time draws near to these elections, parliamentary aspirants, ward-councillors and even presidential aspirants become busy engaging the public and convincing them to vote in their favour (Kondowe & Ngwira, 2019). This has been famously coded as The Tripartite elections. This makes the election period a ‘war zone’, which is characterised by politicians campaigning for themselves while looking down on others and trashing them. This study is, therefore, situated in such a period; campaign period before the elections. The study examines how Dr Saulos Klaus Chilima in short SKC communicated his political ideas using proverbs.

1.3 Brief background of study subject: Saulos Klaus Chilima (SKC)

Before going into details over the description of the rhetoric of this period, here is a brief background of our study subject, SKC. In February 2014, SKC was announced as the running mate of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) Presidential candidate

Prof. Arthur Peter Mutharika (APM) for the May 2014 presidential elections. Before joining politics in 2014, SKC had held several high positions in various well-known companies in Malawi. Some of these companies include Unilever (1995-1998); Leasing and Finance Company (1998-2001); Coca-cola (2002-2006) and Airtel Malawi (2008-2014), and it was at Airtel where he served as the first Malawian Chief Executive Officer (Ngwira, 2014; Malawi Voice, 2014). Education wise, SKC holds a PhD in Knowledge Management from the University of Bolton in the United Kingdom obtained in 2015 (Kondowe & Ngwira, 2019). In 2003, he obtained a Master of Arts (Economics) degree from the University of Malawi, Chancellor College. SKC also obtained a Bachelor of Social Science Degree majoring in Economics from this same institution in the year 1994 (Malawi Voice, 2014). While at Chancellor College, he was actively involved in several leadership roles including being the President of the Students Union of Chancellor College (SUCC).

The DPP won the presidency in 2014 and hence, SKC became the Vice President. He was also the Minister of Disaster, Relief and Public Events (Nhlane, 2018). This position was supposed to last from 2014-2019; the normal presidential tenure in Malawi and then fresh elections would be conducted. But before the 2014-2019 term ended, in June 2018, SKC announced that he was leaving the ruling party, the DPP which had given him the ticket into the government in 2014 (Khamula, 2018). Though he was leaving the ruling party, he promised to serve Malawians as Vice President until when his term would end (Kalungwe, 2018).

There are many rumours concerning the reason he left the party but it certainly is not the first time to have someone leave a party that ushered them into government. In 2004, when Bakili Muluzi's plan to run again for the third term failed, he handpicked Dr Bingu wa Mutharika as the presidential candidate of the UDF (Chirambo, 2009). The UDF won the 2004 elections, but a few months later in 2005, disagreements saw Bingu leaving the UDF, which had sponsored him into office and later formed his own party called the Democratic Progressive Party, abbreviated as DPP (Hussein, 2009). Similarly, Joyce Banda left the DPP for which she had been chosen as the Vice President in the 2009 national elections and formed her own party, The People's Party (PP), in 2011 after being expelled from the DPP (Tenthani & Chinsinga, 2016). Therefore, we can see that it is not unusual in Malawi to see the President and even

the Vice President leave the party which sponsored them into government to form their own political parties.

1.4 Campaign period

Due to the two important legal reforms of voting and standing for public office, before the elections, there is a period in which people seeking to stand as presidential candidates express their interest to stand for office and then choose the right running mate who will help them win. In our case, SKC after exiting the ruling party in 2018 also declared his intentions of running for president (Regalia, 2019). He, therefore, nominated Dr Micheal Usi as his running mate for United Transformation Movement (UTM) for the May 2019 elections. This is because according to the constitution, a person running for office of the President needs to nominate a running mate who would become the Vice President (VP) if this person is elected (Patel & Svasand, 2013). The period before the elections, in which politicians sell themselves to the public in a bid to convince them to vote for them and their parties come election time is known as the campaign period. In Malawi, this period is limited to 8 weeks prior to the polling day even though in reality it has been noticed that the period may run longer (Gloppen et al., 2006).

This campaign period is marked by tactic use of language. Political aspirants manipulate language and use other semiotic means in a bid to present their perspectives and what they stand for effectively ((Kondowe & Ngwira, 2019). In the spirit of wanting to draw the people to their side, campaigning for themselves and making sure people do not vote for their opponents, politicians tend to use persuasive language. Political actors employ various strategies to manipulate language in a bid to persuade and win the hearts and minds of the audience. This manipulation can either be in form of rhetoric where the emphasis is on exploiting the beauty of language with the aim of persuading the hearer, or propaganda which is persuasion through negative use of language and sometimes both are actually used during campaign period (Szanto, 1978; Ezejideaku & Ugwu, 2007). There is no one size fits all when it comes to the right strategy that a politician will employ during the campaign period and as such, each candidate may choose the right tools that they see fit in their quest to gain power (Lynn, 2009). For SKC, proverbs were one of his campaign tools for the May

2019 elections. However, it should be noted that other politicians such as Ben Phiri¹ also used proverbs during the campaign period but what makes SKC's usage of interest is the idea of consistency. He used proverbs not as a once-off case, but he had a regular usage of proverbs, which implies that he specifically chose them as a campaign tool. Following his political speeches, almost each speech contains one or more proverbs. His usage of proverbs is so consistent such that he became known as the proverb person to the extent that people would request for proverbs at his political rallies in what he famously coded as '*mwambi wa lero*' (today's proverb). Therefore, there was need to investigate how SKC used the proverbs to present his political agenda hence, the current study.

1.3 Problem statement

The importance of proverbs cannot be stressed enough in Africa. They have existed since time immemorial and they are useful in many ways. For example, proverbs add richness and poetics to the language. They are used as spices as they add taste and pungency to speech (Delcourt, 1946). Proverbs also warn, criticize and educate. The criticism can even be offered without offending the receiver and without implicating the sender (Jeylan, 2009). So important and valuable are they in speech that the Zulu of South Africa have argued that without proverbs, language would be a skeleton without flesh, a body without soul (Finnegan, 1970). Despite being this common, even in the domain of politics as argued by Orwenjo (2009), they have received little to no scholarly attention in Africa. Even their linguistic analysis has not been major. It is interesting to note that literature documents the role proverbs play in politics but not much has been done in Malawi to examine how proverbs are used by Malawian politicians despite many politicians using them. Little effort has also been done to document and examine the speeches of SKC despite the fact that these are available in electronic formats on YouTube, websites of leading media houses and other online journalist articles (Kondowe & Ngwira, 2019). The foregoing discussions show that it is not known how proverbs are used by politicians in Malawi to communicate their political agenda despite many politicians using them. Understanding the factors that

¹ Ben Phiri is a Malawian national who is the former Minister of Government and Rural Development. He is a member of the Democratic Ruling Party (DPP) and was the Director of Field Operations for the DPP. He is the Member of Parliament for Thyolo Central. He took center stage during the campaign period for the May 2019 Tripartite elections. He, like Chilima used proverbs.

influence the use of proverbs by politicians and determining the extent to which political followers understand the used proverbs can be significant to the study of political discourse as it could help understand how politicians manipulate proverbs and whether the manipulated proverbs have a bearing on people's understanding of the same. The current study, therefore, examines how SKC uses proverbs to express his political agenda in order to fill this gap.

1.4 Objectives

1.4.1 General Objective

The main purpose of the study was to analyse how SKC exploited proverbs to advance his political agenda.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

In order to achieve the main purpose, the study was guided by the following specific objectives:

- a) To identify proverbs in selected political campaign speeches of SKC
- b) To examine how new meanings are created in the new context in which the proverbs are (re)produced to advance SKC's political agenda.
- c) To assess if people were able to interpret the proverbs that SKC used

1.5 Significance of the study

The results of the study add to the literature on political discourse analysis. Specifically, it adds literature on how proverbs are manipulated by political figures to achieve a political agenda by demonstrating how proverbs are (re)used in political contexts to achieve the same. In addition, the study provides a background on which further prospective studies on proverbs, metaphors and even political discourse analysis in Malawi can get insight from and build on.

1.6 Scope and limits

A number of factors of proverbs can be studied in terms of linguistic analysis, but the current study has only limited itself to their use and functionality. It examines in particular, how proverbs can be manipulated to advance political agenda. The study

was also limited in scope in that it studied the proverbs that SKC used without getting hold of SKC himself to hear from him why he used the proverbs that he used, what his motivation was and what he meant by each of the proverbs that he used in his political campaign speeches. Attempts were made by the researcher to get hold of SKC but due to his busy schedule and the Court cases², a meeting did not materialise.

1.7 Organisation of the thesis

The thesis has five chapters. The rest of the thesis is structured as follows: chapter Two provides a synthesis of literature on political speeches and proverb use. The chapter ends with a description of the theoretical framework guiding the study. Chapter Three presents the methodology that the study adopted. It highlights the sampling methods, participants, data collection procedures and how the collected data were analysed. Chapter Four presents the results of the study and provides a discussion of the findings. The last chapter, which is Chapter Five, presents the conclusions drawn from the study findings. The chapter also highlights areas for further research.

² There was a court case involving those that were seeking the nullification of the 2019 elections citing massive irregularities and Chilima was a leading activist of this movement.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Chapter preview

This chapter provides a synthesis of literature on the use of proverbs in politics as well as the theoretical frameworks that guide the study. Section 2.2.1 provides the definitions and origin of proverbs. It also provides a working definition for the study. Section 2.2.2 discusses the nature and characteristics of proverbs while Section 2.2.3 outlines the various types of proverbs. Section 2.2.4 provides the link between proverbs and metaphors since most proverbs generate metaphors which are used in communication. Section 2.2.5 discusses some of the functions of proverbs and the metaphors that they generate and this is followed by Section 2.2.6 that focuses on how proverbs are understood and interpreted. Furthermore, Section 2.3 provides the theoretical frameworks for the study. The section starts with concept mapping in 2.3.1 and then discusses recontextualisation and resemiotisation in Section 2.3.2. Finally, Section 2.4 provides a summary of the whole chapter.

2.2. Review of literature

2.2.1 Proverbs, their origin and the working definition of a proverb for the study

In every culture, there are several aspects which become important and among these is language. According to Sapir (1963), language does not exist independent of culture. It is both a part of culture and a vehicle for the expression of culture. Language is used by people in a society to express values and beliefs. Therefore, language and culture are in a dual relationship and both have an influence on the other. Language defines culture. Every text is enclosed in a specific culture since languages are embedded in certain culture, and contain elements derived from it, including proverbs

(Bradeanu, 2008). Language can be exploited in several ways and the exploitation just shows the cultural dimension of language. Language is more appealing and more persuasive when it acquires figurative meaning. People use language in one way while denoting another thing with the intention to communicate things that otherwise would not be easy or appropriate to communicate with the plain use of language or for mere aesthetics. In politics, politicians use figurative language more than ordinary use of language. Abbood and Mustafa (2014) argue that the best politicians are those who are persuasive enough to convince people that their policies can be trusted. In wanting to achieve this, politicians may choose to use vague utterances, figurative expressions, abusive utterances, catchy phrases, slang and many more (Szanto, 1978). Under figurative expressions, one may decide to use similes, metaphors, idioms, proverbs and many more.

To express the connotative aspect of language which is metaphorical, several elements are exploited. These include imagery, idioms, and most importantly proverbs (Ademowo & Balogun, 2014). Mieder (2004) argues that of all the verbal folklore genres, proverbs are the most concise and powerful rhetoric in various modes of communication including political speeches. Proverbs have been rated highly by different people around the globe. For example, for a Turk, proverbs are wisdom eyes; while for a Persian proverbs are an ornament of speech (Akbarian, 2012). While the Akan group of Ivory Coast views proverbs as being central to the art of public speaking' (Domowitz, 1992, p. 82). All these various views of what a proverb means to people of a particular society are evidence that proverbs are essential to language. Proverbs are based on symbolism and metaphorical language. They suggest that ideas should be related to prior knowledge and experience (Entwistle, 2000). The general truth that is expressed in proverbs can be conveyed through several means, such as use of similes, or the most common one being through metaphors. Finnegan (2012) adds that in metaphorical comparison, proverbs about animals or birds are very common. For example, the proverb, *birds of a feather flock together*. Though it is common for birds that have the same feather to flock together, the proverb is used mostly to explain the behaviour of humans. That is, people of the same character associate with one another as do birds of the same species (Simpson & Speake, 2003).

In interpreting this metaphorical nature of language, cultural knowledge becomes an important element. This will also be seen in this study that proverbs have to be understood in a cultural context as well as other contexts within which they have been used. People use proverbs as one way of showcasing their culture. This is possible because within proverbs, the values and beliefs of a particular society are encoded. By examining how people use proverbs in a society, one is able to know what these people cherish the most or hate. This is all possible because proverbs, being words of wisdom, reflect a mode of thinking and embody the traditional values of a people of a speech community (Ramirez, 2015).

Since proverbs are common to languages and culture of people, this makes them a common entity in most societies. However, their magnitude value differs across societies proverbs are most common in Africa and Arabic societies as compared to the other societies. Proverbs are so widely common in Africa such that Finnegan (1970) observed that Africans express their language, imagery and even abstract ideas through proverbs. Adedimeji (2009) states that African proverbs are a distillation of the wisdom of the people. Salwa (2005) adds that proverbs reveal life-world and values of a people in a given society, and express peoples' attitudes towards their own environment. Specifically, they are also common in the domain of politics even though proverbs have not received as much linguistic attention in African discourse. The reason why proverbs are common in politics is because they have the capacity to provide politicians with what they need in any political talk and that is adding power, authority, clarity and expressiveness to the discourse (Orwenjo, 2009).

Despite proverbs being common in Africa, their origin is not easy to trace. They are rather considered communal and collective elements whose origin is left unanswered. Archer Taylor (1931) and Barlett Jere Whiting (1931) authored separate papers each on the origin of proverbs and both agreed that proverbs are not created by the folk in the society but individuals (Mieder, 2015). In their arguments, they state that a person makes an observation, behaviour and experiences into a short complete sentence and once picked by others, it develops a standard formulation that is then accepted and carried forth as a proverb. Therefore, the famous proverb, *a proverb is the wit of one, and the wisdom of many* is true (Mieder, 2004). However, since this one individual who is important in the creation of this proverb is most of the times not known,

people circulate them as anonymous. They are, therefore, regarded as belonging to the traditional verbal folklore genre; passed from one generation to another by word of mouth (Hanzen, 2007). They are a form of oral tradition passed along with other oral traditions, such as songs and myths among others (Ramirez, 2015). In Malawi, for example, proverbs are credited to the ancestors'- wise men and women of old (Chakanza, 2000). In their usage, they bear phrases such as *akuluakulu amati* (-so said the elders). This accords authority to a collection of wise folk but not to any single being. It is, therefore, hard to determine who even started using them as they are passed on by word of mouth. We can argue that this is a way of adding value to their richness since merely giving the proverb minus an accord of authority renders them less important.

Proverbs are endless in time and new proverbs are still being created by people who can be said to be observant, experienced, thoughtful and creative (Chakanza, 2000). The way proverbs are introduced is really important as it highlights them in speech, making them more vivid. Even in the present study, this can actually be seen with the way SKC introduces his proverbs. Other scholars such as Whiting (1931) have disagreed with the notion of creation of new proverbs (Whiting, 1931). However, J. R. R. Tolkien is one among the few individuals known to have invented proverbs for his *Hobbit* of 1937 and the *Lord of The Rings* (1956-57). Mieder (2015) argues that Whiting is wrong with his negative perception that one cannot invent a proverb since at some point a new proverb is bound to be created. He states that the issue is that some well-turned phrase might become proverbs if they are accepted and respected beyond the individual who came up with it (Mieder, 2015). This means that "given the right conditions, new items created in proverbial models (structures) do indeed come to be widely quoted as new proverbs" (Mieder, 2015, p. 41). What we get from this is that acceptance of a proverb or a proverb-like phrase is a condition for what actually turns out to be labelled as a proverb.

Mieder (2009) argues that well-known individuals have formulated concise and memorable statements that have become proverbial. Examples of these people include the likes of John F Kennedy, Winston S. Churchill, Mikhail Gorbachev and Martin Luther King. New proverbs are always being created and added to the repertoire and older traditional proverbs can disappear if they no longer fit the modern world

(Mieder, 2015). For example, Mieder cites the traditional proverb *a woman's tongue is like a fish without a bicycle* which was attacked by the Women's Liberation Movement and led to the creation of the proverb, *a woman without a man is like a fish without a bicycle*. This proverb was created by an Australian educator Irina Dunn in the early 1970s (Mieder, 2015) and it basically means women have no need for men just like a fish has no need for a bicycle. We have also seen the disappearance of the proverb; *women are the weaker vessels* because modern views do not succumb to the line of thinking that the proverb displayed.

Mieder (2015) adds that new proverbs get created on the basis of traditional proverbs. It is, therefore, not surprising to see new proverbs that sound or look like traditional proverbs. For example, *flattery will get you nowhere* is similar to the new proverb *flattery will get you everywhere*; and *size does matter* has generated the new proverb *size doesn't matter*. While proverbs may be reinterpreted, coining of new proverbs may also render the new proverb to be a mere variation of existing proverbs (Mieder, 2015). We can, therefore, agree that new proverbs are being created and will be created with time. To borrow a leaf from the words of Mieder (2015), the proverb, "*proverbs are never out of season*" is true today as never before. With the influence of mass media, a proverb-like statement may become a bona fide proverb relatively quickly.

Tracing the origin of proverbs is not the only problem with proverbs; they are also not easy to define. There is a lot of controversy over what a proverb is. This has led to several scholars attempting to define what proverbs are. Some definitions have taken into account the cultural perspective (e.g Norrick, 1985); other scholars have followed a structural definition (e.g Dundes, 1975) and, better yet, others have followed an empirical approach (e.g Mieder 2004). Due to the many definitions that are there of proverbs, the current study has adopted the definition by Mieder (2004) who, due to the numerous attempts by scholars to define what a proverb is, ended up formulating his own definition from the over 50 definition attempts. Mieder (2004, p. 3) defined a proverb as "a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals, and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed, and memorial form and which is handed down from generation to generation". This definition has been chosen as the guide for the current study because it has been able to encompass many

concepts such as metaphorical nature of proverbs which the study explores. This definition is inclusive as compared to other definitions (see Hatipoglu & Daskin, 2020). There are characteristics that serve as benchmarks for the identification of what a proverb is and what it is not. The next section, therefore, discusses the nature and characteristics of proverbs.

2.2.2 Nature and characteristics of proverbs

There are several characteristics that are peculiar to the identification of proverbs (Dabaghi et al., 2010). One scholar who came up with a classification for proverbs is (Norrick, 1985). He came up with the following characteristics: firstly, proverbs are self-contained. This means that the grammatical units of proverbs may not be replaced. This does not mean that proverbs cannot be changed or modified; rather it means the skeleton remains the same even though the phraseology may change. This agrees with what Finnegan (2012) stated that proverbs have no fixed wording but at least the main structural patterns are accepted in a society. Secondly, proverbs are also said to be statements. This entails that proverbs express full propositions; they are complete and full in themselves. Thirdly, proverbs are complete grammatical sentences, which means that they express and carry a complete thought and lastly, proverbs are folkloric. These means proverbs are considered the unwritten tradition of the culture of a people.

Finnegan (2012) adds to these characteristics the notion that proverbs are marked by concise brevity and reflect the social values based on the experiences of the people. While concise brevity can also be called shortness, several scholars including Finnegan (2012) argue that instead of using shortness, it is better to use concise brevity as the term shortness is very relative. The term concise refers to the ability to be cut down and expressed in a few words but still being able to express with full force what it intended to communicate, and this is a better term to describe proverbs. To this, Trench (1861) adds sense and salt. Sense and salt refer to the ability of the proverb to have a point and it has to be said in such a way that it would leave a memorable mark which would make it easier to retrieve from memory. Mieder (2015) summarizes all these characteristics by stating that a proverb has 3 predominant characteristics; few words, good sense and a fine image. All these characteristics are proof that people have not agreed to the characteristics that define proverbs just like

how they have not agreed on the definition, and origin of proverbs. These characteristics are important as they help us identify and describe the proverbs that we will be working with. The characteristics mentioned above help us to identify, and describe proverbs as they appear in various contexts in which they have been reused by SKC.

Furthermore, proverbs and the metaphors that proverbs generate are better understood in context. Context is always important in the interpretation of a proverb. This aspect of context makes metaphors to be taken as more pragmatic because the context in which the metaphor is uttered seems to have a much bearing than the formal linguistic information (Abbood & Mustafa, 2014). Here context is being taken as the set of premises involved in interpreting an utterance and also the hearer's assumptions (Ramirez, 2015). This is not limited to the physical environment during the time that the utterance is made, but it also refers to the entries attached to the concepts. That is why having previous cultural knowledge is key in comprehension of many proverbs since proverbs show cultural values (Ramirez, 2015). As long as the appropriate context is provided, the intended meaning of the metaphor can be understood easily. Fetzer (2004) discussed the issue of context and in the discussion, he categorises context into three types. The first context is the linguistic context, which concerns the immediate features of a speech situation in which an expression is uttered. Examples include, time, location, speaker, hearer and preceding discourse. In our study, the preceding discourse which is also called the co-text is very important unlike issues to do with the time, the place or the speaker. Then there is the social context which includes the co-participants, immediate physical surrounding which also includes time and location. Finally, the socio-cultural context which is concerned with extra-linguistic context such as co-participants and their physical and psychological dispositions, specific knowledge and assumptions of the person involved, knowledge of language, routines and activity types, communicative intentions, goals and general background knowledge and cultures (Fetzer, 2004).

The notion of context is paramount to this study as will be seen in Chapter 4. Context will help determine the actual meaning that SKC was putting across. It will also be seen how context in our case is not only the linguistic context in which the proverb is,

but also the socio-cultural knowledge as well as the political context. All these work together in the interpretation of the proverb.

Context is important in the interpretation of a proverb because proverbs have the ability to have multiple meanings in several different contexts and hence the need to analyse them in their context (Hanzen, 2007). This can be accorded to the fact that proverbs are condensed in nature and hence can always be interpreted again and again across time and in different situations. Mieder (2015) records an example of Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1973) who asked a group of 80 students the meaning of the English proverb, *a friend in need is a friend indeed*. From the findings, 4 meanings came into view; (i) someone who feels close enough to you to be able to ask for help when he is in need is really your friend; (ii) someone who helps you when you are in need is really your friend; (iii) someone who helps you by means of his actions (deeds) is a real friend as opposed to those who just make promises (key meaning) and (iv) someone who is your friend when he needs you is not a true friend. All these meanings indeed describe what the proverb means. However, only the context would help in deciding which meaning is most appropriate in the context in which it has been used.

This contextual information helps the speaker to make sense of the proverbs and more so in cases of unfamiliar proverbs. Katz and Feretti (2001) expound on the notion of familiar and unfamiliar proverbs and distinguished the two. Familiar proverbs are described as those whose figurative meaning is accessed prior to the literal meaning while unfamiliar proverbs are those in which the speaker gets the literal meaning first and when they find out that it does not work for the context provided, the speaker then starts searching for the non-literal meaning (Ramirez, 2015). Gibbs (1999) found that in unfamiliar proverbs, the context becomes paramount. But in cases where the context is not provided, a familiar proverb is still easier to identify and interpret. Also, it will be seen in Chapter 4 how various contexts are important to the creation of meaning as well as interpretation of the proverb. Chapter 4, Section 4.4 offers a more detailed analysis of how the contexts work together and how using one context and ignoring others leads to incorrect interpretations.

Apart from the characteristics mentioned above, proverbs also have stylistic features. Stylistic features are grammatical and rhetorical features which help make proverbs

memorable. Some of these are; alliteration for example in the proverbs *'forgive and forget* and, *practice makes perfect*'. The consonants f in the former and p in the latter proverbs have been repeated achieving alliteration. Proverbs have parallelism in the sense that they show parallels. For example the proverbs *'nothing ventured, nothing gained'*, *easy come, easy go* and *ill got, ill spent*. In these three proverbs, we see that *nothing ventured* is paralleled with *nothing gained*; *easy come* with *easy goes* and *something ill got* with *ill spent*. Proverbs are also said to exhibit rhyme, for example, the proverb *'when the cat is away, the mice will play'*, *a little pot is soon hot*. In these two, *away* rhymes with *play* while *pot* rhymes with *hot*. Lastly, proverbs have the ability to show ellipsis or omit some part of their clause but without losing the meaning. For example, the proverb, *'more haste, less speed'* (Arora, 1984 cited in Mieder 2004). In this case, the original proverb read *the more haste, the more speed* in which the most common version now removes the article *the*. But we see that removal of these articles does not interfere with the meaning. Other features could be repetition of key words or phrases, imagery and similes in which the comparison is metaphorically evoked (Finnegan, 2012).

In addition, proverbs can also be identified by their internal features. These are constituents of the proverb. For example, in the proverb *'all is fair in love and war'* has an aspect of exaggeration in it. This exaggeration is known as hyperbole. It is deliberate exaggeration for effect and not just for fun. Proverbs can also be paradoxical; this means that they express a proposition which seems to contradict itself, for example, the proverb *'for there to be peace, there must first be war'*. In this proverb, the idea of peace has been placed side by side with war, a relationship which does not occur usually. Lastly, proverbs can also use personification. This is where things which are not animate are given animate features or they may be able to do things that are only associated with animate things. For example, in the proverb *'imagery is the best cook'* in which imagery has been taken as an animate thing (Arora, 1984 cited in Mieder 2004). We also have the Chichewa proverb, *bwato silidya* (a boat does not eat) in which a boat which is inanimate object is taken as animate. It has been given the attribute of eating, which can only be given to humans or creatures.

There are some structures that have been termed traditional formulae and these become available to the speaker subconsciously but they have an influence on the new proverbs that the speaker may decide to create. Such formulae include: where there's X, there's Y as in *where there's smoke, there's fire*; no X without Y as in the proverb *no gain without pain*; like X, like Y as in *like father like son*; one X does not make a Y, for example the proverb, *one robin doesn't make a spring*; better X than Y, *better late than never*; if X then Y, *if at first you don't succeed, then try, try again* (Mieder, 2004; Gibbs, 2001). Other additional structures include; X is Y as in *time is money*; *m'mimba ndi nchipala* (the womb is like a blacksmith's forge); it's not X, it's (but) Y as in *it's not what you know but who you know*; and X is X as in *a deal is a deal* (Mac Coinnigh, 2015) and the Chichewa proverb, *galu ndi galu basi* (a dog will always be a dog, no matter what) which is equivalent to X is X (Chakanza, 2000). Krikmann (1998, p. 52) adds that the most common salient traditional formulae which are wide spread are; he who...as in the proverb *he who is absent is always wrong*; if/when....then as in the proverb *when the oak is before the ash, then you will only get a splash*; *when the ash is before the oak, then you may expect a soak*; better...than as the proverb *better late than never*. These structures are important to describe the characteristics of our data.

The common relationships of proverbs are; equality/identification; cause and effect and antonym or contrast (Mac Coinnigh, 2015). In the equality relationship, it indicates an equality or similarity between the two proverb phrases; first is equal to or similar to the second. They have the formulae $X=Y$. An example of a proverb in this relationship is *first come, first served* in which coming first is equal to being served first. In the cause and effect relationship, which is also known as the cause-consequence, the formulae include; if there's X, then there's Y; if one has X, then one gets/has B and no X, no Y. An example of a proverb in this relationship is *no pain, no gain* where the belief is that pain is a sign of good gain, and so without exercising it, one does not gain a thing. In the last relationship which is that of contrast or antonym, the two phrases of the proverb are placed in a parallel state and the overall meaning is generated from that. An example is *what pay, such work* which basically means the work done and the pay received do not match; the work was much, the pay was little. The characteristics discussed above are important to the current study. They will help

in classifying the different proverbs used by SKC. The structural aspects of proverbs will help determine similarity between and among proverbs.

There are also some semantic properties of proverbs and these semantic aspects make proverbs more realistic as they are able to reflect the complexity of life (Cain, 2011). Two semantic relations are common and these are antonym and synonym. The antonymous relation, on the one hand expresses contradictory ideas through some parallel images. For example, *out of sight, out of mind- absence makes the heart grow fonder* (Norrick, 2007). In this relationship, we see that the proverb *out of sight, out of mind* communicates a message that is different from the message communicated by the proverb *absence makes the heart grow fonder*. While the former proverb communicates the idea that once something is out of distance, it also ceases to be part of the mind; the latter communicates the idea that it is this absence that makes the heart to long. Which in essence means, when one is absent; the heart keeps that one in mind and waits to see them. We see that there is also a parallel between *out of sight* and *out of mind*. The antonymous relation shows that proverbs are not absolute but are valid only in the context in which they are used. The synonymous relation, on the other hand, expresses the same idea through parallel images. For example, *strike while the iron is hot-make hay while the sun shines*. In this example, we see that both proverbs communicate the same idea; make use of an opportunity as it presents itself. The parallels have been made between *striking while the iron is hot* and *making hay while the sun shines*. In both, we also see that the structures are the same. The proverbs *adagula m'bereko mwana asanabadwe* (she bought the carrying cloth even before the child was born) and *osathamangitsa nkhuku mchere uli m'manja* (do not chase a chicken with salt in your hands) are structured differently but they communicate one idea. They have other aspects that are different such as wording and function but both address hastiness/impatience. The parallel is drawn from buying a carrying cloth before the baby is born and already carrying salt before catching the chicken. These semantic relations are important because they have a bearing on the ways in which people understand and interpret proverbs.

One disadvantage of proverbs, despite all these mentioned characteristics, is the fact that there is no limit set in advance for the interpretation of proverbs. This means proverbs gain their meanings depending on the context in which they have been

placed and that different people may understand a proverb differently. This could cause a discrepancy between what the speaker intended to communicate and the meaning that the hearers actually get. Proverbs are said without giving the meaning and leaving it to the mind of the hearer to interpret on their own. In politics, due to this disadvantage of proverbs, people may not be able to understand the intended message. They may interpret it according to their cognitive needs and hence miscommunication. But above all, the advantage of this is that the speaker is able to save face because they cannot be held liable for what someone thought they meant. So it, therefore, gives the speaker a subtle platform in which they can engage the audience without taking any responsibility over how people interpret and accord referents. This is a good scapegoat for most politicians as most figurative expressions have no limit set for their interpretation. However, this does not mean that proverbs are hard to interpret; placed in the right context, meaning is easy to decipher.

2.2.3 Types of proverbs

Having defined what proverbs are, their nature and characteristics, this section will describe the types of proverbs. But before that, it is worth mentioning that proverbs touch on so many areas such as health, sickness, wealth and poverty, tradition, fishing, healing, marriage, travelling, occupation, education, women, experience, wisdom, social injustice, marriage, relationships, friendship, God and religion and family (Chakanza, 2000). Proverbs can literally be used in every situation. There are several themes that are seen in proverbs. Here reference is made to themes as the subjects that proverbs speak against and some of these are laziness, lying, pride, procrastination, selfishness, stealing and backbiting (Chakanza, 2000). Globally, proverbial themes range from those that are about vengeance, those that deal with forgiveness and reconciliation, power of negotiation, leadership and power (Sibanda, 2015). In the Malawian setting, however, there are several types of proverbs that are notable. Chakanza (2000) discusses three major types based on his analysis of the sampled proverbs. The first type involves those that contain metaphors and there is no attempt to hide the meaning of such proverbs. For example, the Chichewa proverb, '*kupatsa nkuyika*' (giving is investing). In this type of proverbs, the words say as much about the meaning of the proverb. Like in this example, we associate giving with investing because the idea is, when you give, you receive back some time and

sometimes more than what you gave. In all this discussion, we are working on the meaning of a metaphor as provided by Merriam-Webster, (2014) and Penninck (2014) who define a metaphor as a figure of speech in which a word or phrase literally denoting one kind of object or idea is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them. Metaphors have a combination of topic (subject of the metaphorical sentence) and the vehicle which is the term which has been used metaphorically (Ramirez, 2015).

The second type of proverbs includes those that contain metaphors but whose meaning is not obvious as the first group and this is the form that many Malawian proverbs take. For example, *fodya wako ndi yemwe ali pamphuno* (your tobacco is the one on the nose). In this case, the meaning is not obvious as the first case but still there is a metaphor involved. In this example, we know that the proverb is not addressing tobacco in its literal sense but tobacco has merely been used as a metaphor. The proverb addresses the idea of appreciating the things which are near. The last type is that whose meaning is solely dependent on some underlying story, for example, *chisoni chinaphetsa nkhwali* (compassion killed the francolin). This third type of proverbs requires knowledge of the underlying story in order to interpret the proverb. There is a story that is associated with a proverb and from the story, a lesson is presented and this is what the proverb means. Like the example we have given is based on a folkstory. The story has it that a snake was freezing and asked to find warmth under the wings of a francolin, to which the bird agreed, but when the snake was warm enough, the francolin asked the snake to leave but it refused and bit the francolin (Chakanza, 2000, p. 230). The meaning of the story is that sometimes those asking for help may cause harm to those helping them in unexpected ways. What the francolin thought as a good deed ended up wounding him. This proverb addresses the themes of compassion and ingratitude. These characteristics are important in our own categorisation of proverbs. For example, the category of proverbs with underlying stories already pose a threat to those who are not conversant with the story and it might be difficult to interpret such type of proverbs if used in a new setting. So their usage in a new context still does not render the underlying story useless because the concepts are merely reused in the new context.

2.2.4 Link between proverbs and metaphors

Before moving on to explain why proverbs are important, it is imperative to show the link that is there between proverbs and metaphors. In their usage, proverbs are often metaphorical; not all proverbs contain a metaphor but most of them do (Mieder, 2004). For example, the proverb *birds of a feather flock together* which has already been described refers to people of the same character associating with one another. So bird is metaphors for people, feathers refer to character and flock together is association. There are, however, other proverbs which do not contain metaphors. An example is the common proverb, *knowledge is power*. However, proverbs develop into metaphors (Chakanza, 2000) - meaning that differs from the literal meaning of the words used. Kayange (2014) describes most Chichewa proverbs as linguistically coded information such that the non-literal meaning is an important component of the utterance's meaning. The only way to understand a proverb is to understand the conceptual metaphors (Gibbs, Strom, Lise, Spivey-Knwlton, & Micheal, 1997). According to Lakoff (1992), metaphors are not mere words or expressions, but they reflect mapping across conceptual domains, from the source domains to the target domains. Metaphors are a result of a complete interaction of cognitive processes, they tell us about the values of people, expectations and even beliefs (Arcimaviciene, 2008).

The key to understanding a metaphor lies in the listener drawing a similarity between the topic and the vehicle. Proverbs can, therefore, be said to be metaphors in which the vehicle-metaphorical term is explicitly stated but the topic-subject of metaphor is left implicit (Ramirez, 2015). It is because of this relationship between a proverb and metaphor that the functions will be combined and we will refer to them as functions of proverbs and metaphors. In some cases, animals, birds with peculiar attributes are used to symbolize some actions and compared to some happenings (Omoera & Inegbeboh, 2013). In other cases, common objects and events such as clouds, green grass and spilt milk are used to characterise problem situation in terms of more immediate physical images (Jeylan, 2009). In short, several elements are exploited by proverbs which help to give meaning to the metaphor created. The message that is conveyed by these metaphors is sharp like a two edged sword since on one side, it stimulates the visual channel and on the other side, the auditory channel. Therefore,

one kills two birds with one stone; verbal image and a mental image at the same time. However, proverbs are said to have inherent greater possibilities of usage unlike metaphors which are context-driven in that their meaning is drawn in the context in which they have been used; metaphors can be used once and thrown away while proverbs have an eternal lifespan (Honeck et al., 1980). The study will, therefore, explore proverbs and among these are those that develop metaphors. The thesis will unveil how these metaphors help explain the political agenda of SKC in the context in which they have been reproduced.

2.2.5 Functions of proverbs and metaphors

Having discussed the link between proverbs and metaphors, we now consider the functions of proverbs and metaphors. Like any piece of language that is manipulated, proverbs are manipulated for various functions as will be seen. This section discusses some of the functions performed by proverbs and metaphors. Some of these functions include, saving face, rationalising one's shortcomings, strengthening social relationships and covering the opinions of the speaker, among others. Although these are some of the functions, the study examines how these functions can be applied in cases where one wants to communicate their political agenda or manifesto.

The first function is the ability to strengthen interaction among human beings, also known as social relationships (Salwa, 2005). This is one of the chief functions of proverbs and metaphors where human interaction is concerned. A study by Salwa (2005) examining educational and social values in Sudan and England highlighted that social roles of proverbs include expressing family relations and strengthening social relationships. Proverbs have roles in social relationships such as marriage, children, friends and neighbours. This means to say that use of certain proverbs strengthens relationships, whether in marriage, among neighbours, family and community. Both the proverbs in Sudan and England stress on the importance of keeping good company and respect for neighbours. The proverbs in Sudan further stress more on fidelity to parents, respect of children to parents and care for the elders. This leads us to conclude that proverbs are valued differently by different societies. Dagnew and Wodajo (2014), based on a study involving the Kafa people of Southern Ethiopia, add that this function is cultural in that proverbs express the wisdom and experience of a group of people. As has already been presented, proverbs are cultural

just like how language is not culturally neutral. Therefore, it can be said that proverbs are useful for their social cultural function to a society.

Secondly, proverbs cover or veil the opinions of the speaker (Odebunmi, 2008, p. 7). Even with the freedom to say whatever one wants, humanity demands decency and this is how proverbs help. Proverbs add a light tone to speech. In such cases, proverbs are very important as they can be used to give individual opinions without offending the other member. They are loaded with hidden feelings and intentions of the speaker hence they serve as tools to cover individual opinions (Lauhakangas, 2007). This is unlike in cases where one would use direct words, where one is likely to take offence and this would lead to some tension and even conflicts among people. This is also important in politics. It is not all the time that one has to be explicit in attacking the opponent. There is need to be subtle about it and proverbs offer this ability. A politician can, therefore, campaign for him/herself and decampaign his/her opponents without doing it explicitly. One would only understand that they are being attacked by examining the speech, but they would have no leverage since the proverbs can be interpreted differently by different people. Therefore, proverbs are effective for veiling intentions and opinion of the speaker.

Thirdly, proverbs and metaphors may help in face-threatening situations in which it is more appropriate to speak about a topic in an indirect way (Charteris-Black, 2004). Sometimes one can have the right material to communicate but it is important to make the right choice of diction in order to clearly present the message, without letting people to be too critical over it. With this in mind, some topics do not come in easy to the audience and the sensitivity that one accord to such topics can be dealt with by the use of metaphors. For example, in Malawian settings, it is not easy to talk about marriage habits and even sex in public so, use of metaphors would make the topic less tense. In this case, it makes the one talking not to be uncomfortable. In addition, Mieder (2004) adds that proverbial metaphors help save the day by helping one rationalise their shortcomings. In this case, using proverbs, one may give a reason for failing to achieve a certain task. Additionally, the various assertions that are made in proverbs are universal as they criticise, warn, advise and teach. As a result, metaphors work to safeguard and maintain positive or negative face for interactants, and facilitate the maintenance of interactional continuity as well as topical cohesion

(Chilton & Ilyin, 1993; Obeng, 1997). For example, in order to criticise someone who does not behave according to the cultural customs of a social cultural setting, the proverb *when in Rome do as the Romans do* would best be exploited (Salwa, 2005). This proverb, however, can mean several things depending on how it has been used. It can even be used to justify bad behaviour since the proverb also means it is paramount to act as how the rest of the people in a group are acting.

Fourthly, proverbs and metaphors are important in how they make the speech look; they add vividness to a speech (Gibbs, 1994, p. 125). Most proverbs and metaphors appeal to the sensory images. When they are included in speech, they help make the speech much more alive. The role ascribed to proverbs can, therefore, not be belittled. Jeylan (2009) states that proverbs act as spices which help add taste and pungency to speech while at the same time adding richness and poetics to the language. Orwenjo (2009) further presents the imagery of proverbs found in Chinua Achebe's *Things Fall Apart* which is that proverbs are palm oil with which words are eaten. Through proverbs, one is able to create more vivid images of the intended message. Therefore, this thesis examines how vividness of proverbs is helpful in communicating political agendas. SKC in his speeches paints vivid images that the thesis examines to see how they communicate his political agenda.

Fifthly, metaphors help simplify complicated political arguments (Wilson, 1990). Mio (1997) adds that political matters are complex and as such metaphors are important because they help to make those difficult abstract issues more concrete. This is achieved as those abstract political arguments are simply reduced to a metaphorical form which people can understand. This metaphorical mapping is done by making these abstract new domains better understood in familiar domains (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 159). In this way, people are able to understand by relating what they know with the new entities. A study by Xu (2010) that examined the use of conceptual metaphors in presidential inaugural speeches of President Richard Nixon (1969), Ronald Reagan (1985), George Bush (1989), Bill Clinton (1997), George W. Bush (2005) and Barack Obama (2009) found that the source domains of the metaphors used were closely related to people's daily life and experience, which made the abstract political speeches understandable by common people. This is in agreement with the study by Lenard and Cosic (2017) that examined metaphors in the speech of

the Croatian Prime Minister Ivo Sanader where it was found that the Minister used domains with which people were familiar to explain political matters. Thus, it can be concluded that metaphors play an important role as far as simplification of arguments is concerned.

Additionally, metaphors structure our understanding of political, social and even economic issues (Otleno, Owino, & Attyang, 2016). The way one understands and views issues to do with politics, and even the social and economic situations in a country can better be expressed and identified by how the person exploits and uses metaphors. For example, a study was conducted by Lenard and Cosic (2017) that focused on use of metaphors and metonymy by the former Croatian Prime Minister Ivo Sanader. The metaphors that were subjected to the analysis were; object, war, finance, time and building metaphors. The results of the study showed that war metaphors were used more since Croatia had been and was involved in war. Furthermore, the opposition was seen to be hated as it was seen as wanting to cause fighting unlike his party which was loved as it was seen as wanting to solve the problems and overcoming the fears that the citizens were facing. In a similar vein, a study conducted by Kamalu and Iniworikabo (2016) examining the speeches of Democratic Nigerian presidential speeches of Olusegun Obasanjo, Musa Ya'Adua and Goodluck Jonathan discovered that metaphor is a great resource in political communication and that the speakers drew from source domains that represent social, economic and political situations and conditions in Nigeria essentially as conflict and war, building, disease, journey, illness, games and sports, and as a family.

Furthermore, proverbial metaphors help political figures to ridicule other opponents (Lin, 2011). This is done by using metaphors that help evoke emotions in the masses by emphasising particular goals and unfolding of absurd images in their minds which can be then utilised to ridicule other political opponents (Lin, 2011). In other words, metaphor allows politicians to present themselves in a positive light, to disgrace their opponents, to justify their own behaviour and to assert particular political issues. Thus, politicians use metaphors for positive self-representation and negative representation of their political opponents attacking their ideas (Lenard & Cosic, 2017). For example, in the case of the Croatian Prime Minister, he used metaphors which led to the opposition being hated while his party was loved. All this is a matter

of how politicians brand themselves. In normal use of language, it is not easy to ridicule someone without causing a scene, hate and propaganda. But all this becomes a possibility with proverbs and metaphors. This leads us to conclude that metaphors offer options that ordinary usage of language does not.

2.2.6 Comprehending and interpreting proverbs

When it comes to the issue of comprehending and interpreting proverbs, there seems to be a lot more to consider. For example, concreteness and familiarity with the proverb are important to whether one understands a proverb and successfully interprets it. We are looking at concreteness as the type of nouns found in the proverb and then overall familiarity with the proverb. Nippold and Haq (1996) examined the role that concreteness and familiarity plays in interpreting proverbs. The study determined that proverbs with easy to visualise nouns make metaphorical mapping that involves analogical reasoning easier. Sometimes familiar proverbs may take less time to comprehend than literal paraphrases (Cieslicka, 2002). However, Cieslicka also notes that processing of novel proverbial sayings; provided they are presented in context, need not require additional references beyond those needed to comprehend literal language (p.176). This means that new proverbs are easier to comprehend as long as they are placed in a supported context. For example, Berman and Ravid (2010) found that children had more success interpreting novel sayings than recalling traditional proverbs. Apart from context, Gibbs (1994) further states that intuitions about the relationship between the literal and figurative meaning of a proverb make it easier for people to interpret proverbs. This is mostly when dealing with proverbs that are new or from other cultures. The other factor that makes interpretation easier is the nature of the proverb. It has been determined that simple sentences are easier to comprehend than proverbs that are expressed as complex sentences.

Additionally, background information, context and mutually shared information generate strong expectations in the hearer that help them to process the proverb directly (Temple & Honeck, 1999, p. 46). Context is important because it eliminates at least some of the possible meaning that creates semantic ambiguity, when a proverb is seen in isolation (Tabarcea, 1982, p. 118). Therefore, we can conclude that the meaning of proverbs is thus dependent on the contexts in which they appear (Mieder, 2004). Meaning of proverbs can vary in different contexts and this is why they should

be studied in the context in which they occur (Hanzen, 2007). Here context includes not only the linguistic context (the verbal expressions that make up the discourse), but also the situational context (created by spatial, temporal, ethnic, sociological circumstances) in which a proverb appears (Bradeanu, 2008). More on context has already been discussed (see pages 14-15).

When we consider the actual interpretation, it can be determined that interpretation depends on making an analogy between the nouns in the proverb onto the items or events in the linguistic context in which the proverb occurs (Nippold & Haq, 1996). Temple and Honeck (1999) also observe that interpretation of a proverb involves a mapping process leading the hearer to search for a correspondence between the literal statement and the meaning of the proverb in the context in which it has been (re)produced. We, therefore, see that this agrees with information presented in Section 2.2 that interpretation depends on mapping. Gibbs (1994) had also highlighted that proverb understanding involves conceptual mapping of one specific level schema from a source domain onto a generic-level schema from a target domain (p.314). There is, therefore consensus that proverbs are interpreted by mapping concepts in the proverbs with those in the linguistic context or other contexts relevant to the same.

Sometimes, when people are translating proverbs, they may look to other structures that are similar. So, a person may use a more or less similar proverb in vocabulary and meaning or proverbs with a similar meaning but with a different form and vocabulary (Dabaghi, Pishbin & Nicknasab, 2010). Baker (1992) notes that in terms of translation, people may paraphrase, omit, use an idiom of similar form and meaning or use an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form. Since proverbs also have linguistic features that form part of their characteristics, these are helpful in interpretation of proverbs. For example, if a proverb contains an exaggeration or irony or a metaphor, identification of this feature makes it easier for the interpretation of the proverb. For example, the proverb *the child is a goat* has a metaphor that likens a child to a goat. Therefore, one makes the mapping of features/behaviour of the goat to the child and comes up with the correct interpretation.

When it comes to the question of whether people are able to interpret proverbs, Berman and Ravid (2010) conducted a study of three school age populations in Israel. The results of the study indicated that children were able to interpret proverbs with

percentages of over 70 in responses given. It was also found that they did better in interpreting novel sayings than recalling traditional proverbs. Kunkeyani (2013) conducted a study on resemiotisation of HIV and AIDS messages in Eastern Malawi. She also found that people were able to interpret proverbs. However, not everyone was able to understand and interpret the proverbs that were used to communicate HIV and AIDS messages.

Therefore, all the things mentioned are factors that make interpretation of proverbs easier. They do not guarantee successful interpretation as Kunkeyani (2013) notes that proverbs are not understood and interpreted by everyone. What these factors do is to make enough room for correct interpretation as well as highlight why other people may fail to interpret. Kunkeyani (2013) went further to state that people need special skills to interpret proverbs. This could influence how people interpreted proverbs used by SKC.

2.3 Theoretical framework

This section presents the theoretical frameworks that guided the study. Our study was guided by concept mapping, recontextualisation, and resemiotisation frameworks. Below are summaries of what each theoretical concept is about.

2.3.1 Concept mapping in conceptual metaphor theory

The study makes use of Concept mapping which is a concept in the broader Conceptual Metaphor Theory. In order to understand concept mapping which is the framework that we will use for the study, we give a brief background of theory and introduce the framework. Conceptual metaphor begins in the book *Metaphors We Live By* by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Further developments are reviewed by Gibbs (2011). The theory of conceptual metaphor sees metaphors as a means of understanding something in terms of something else and this is done by “mapping” one conceptual domain to another (Muller, 2005). In other words, metaphor is a cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is partially mapped or is projected onto a different experiential domain so that the second domain is understood in terms of the first one (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). What Lakoff and Johnson did was to introduce and show the relationship that is there between metaphorical language and daily life. Arguing in particular that daily life is interwoven with metaphorical

expressions and that metaphorical language is hence fundamental to the understanding of language.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) further state that metaphors serve as a means that structures how we perceive, think and do. They also propose that metaphor is conceptual in nature; a matter of thought and not merely a linguistic expression found in figurative language or rhetoric. Thus, Conceptual Metaphor Theory assumes that metaphors allow comprehending one domain in terms of other domains. Metaphor also conceptualises the target domain and this enables us to organise the domain in our minds. Metaphors also highlight attributes of the target domain but hide others, and therefore, a filter for viewing the target domain (Langer, 2015). Metaphors are rooted in our bodily experience with the physical world which forms foundations of our conceptual system.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) explain that there is a conceptual correspondence between two domains which they refer to as mappings. Mapping is, therefore, a process where experience from the source domain is mapped onto the target domain, making the relatively abstract target domain more concrete (Kovecses, 2002). In this cross-domain mapping from one source domain to target domain, the former refers to abstract and intangible concepts and the latter refers to concrete and tangible ones (Guo, 2013). Thus, the target domain which is also known as the tenor or topic is understood in terms of the source domain which is called the vehicle. In this case, according to the conceptual mapping, target domain elements are understood through the source domain. That is, conceptual (target) domain A is understood in terms of conceptual (source) domain B (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Thus, highly abstract entities are conceptualised through concrete ones. For example, when we say *time is money*, we are trying to understand the notion of time through our familiarity with money. This is therefore a metaphor in which time is compared to money. Money is a concrete thing; it can be touched and felt while time is intangible and abstract. Therefore, time is the target domain while money is the source domain. Our understanding of money and its use and limitations makes it possible to understand the abstract notion of time.

Kovecses (2010) stated that our experiences with the physical world serve as a natural and logical foundation for the comprehension of more abstract domains. This cross-

domain mapping is systematic however; the mapping is not always complete. Sometimes, mapping can be partial. Guo (2013) gives an example of the mapping of life as a journey where the concept of life is understood through the journey. In this example, a person corresponds to traveller; life state corresponds to location, and purpose to journey/destination. However, other aspects such as travel agency and luggage are ignored or deliberately left out.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) distinguished three main types of metaphors; structural, orientational and ontological. Structural metaphors use highly abstract concepts to structure concrete ones (Lakoff, 1992, p. 61). For example, *love is a journey*. Everyone can relate to a journey because it is a concept that is concrete while love is abstract. So, love is mapped onto a journey. Orientational metaphors are more extensive and involve organising not just a concept but the whole system of concepts with respect to another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 14). Lastly, ontological metaphors involve understanding our experiences in terms of substances and entities (1980, p. 26). Ontological metaphors are created either by reification or personification in which events, emotions and actions become shaped entities of physical objects (Charteris-Black, 2005). In our study, we are not interested in types of metaphor, but we are more interested in how mapping has been done and how this helps bring meaning in the contexts in which proverbs have been used.

2.3.2 *Recontextualisation and resemiotisation*

The process of re-using language in a new context with the aim of meaning making involves two related processes of decontextualisation and recontextualisation. While decontextualisation focuses on taking material out of their original context, recontextualisation is concerned with integrating and modifying this material so that it fits in a new context (Leppanen et al., 2013). These processes are, therefore, crucial in as far as meaning making is concerned. Moving material is not the essence of the matter; it is not enough. But when this material is moved, there is need to make it suitable for the context into which it is moved, and this is where the act of modification comes into view. Recognisable elements of the source text are decontextualised, modified and then embedded with a new textual context. In this way, Leppanen et.al (2013) state that the new text still appears to the readers as a recognisable version of the original text. Recontextualisation is the ability of subjects

to constantly re-use available materials based on prior experience in a context-dependent manner. Linell (1998b) defines recontextualisation as involving the extrication of some part or aspect from text or discourse or from a genre of text or discourses, and then filling of this part or aspect into another context and its use and environment. Chilton and Schaffner (2002, p. 17) describe recontextualisation as involving extraction of an element or argument from one, often dominant context for some strategic purpose and re-proposed in a new one. These scholars all agree that with recontextualisation, there is context changes involved. The later set, however, adds the issue of purpose. All this is done with a purpose in mind, which Schaffner and Bassnett (2010, p. 8) calls specific goals, values and interests.

The basic assumption of recontextualisation is that no linguistic message exists without a context and as such everything is subject to being put into new contexts. In this process, one makes use of old material using prior experience in new contexts and this leads to a point where new form functions are made (Boesch, 2013; Call, 2013). Through this process, even politicians or social actors do not create new processes but rather make use of old ones but through addition and substitutions (van Leeuwen & Wodak, 1999). Apart from additions and substitutions, other transformations that come with recontextualisation are deletions (Wodak, 2000). In most cases, meanings are also modified to the extent that one thing stands for another thing (van Leeuwen, 2008). However, it should be noted that the new created patterns or reproduced patterns are created in such a way that they do not completely deviate from the patterns that already exist in the experience of the people.

The process of recontextualisation is often accompanied by resemiotisation. The term Resemiotisation was first coined by Iedema (1997, 1999, 2001). It is described as the process through which meaning shifts from context to context, from practice to practice or from one stage of a practice to the next (Iedema, 2001, p. 24). He builds this theory on Jakobson's (Year) *intersemioticity* examines translation from one language to another. When translating, the meaning can be altered in one way or another and it is this idea that Iedema puts across by stating that resemiotised texts get divorced from the social interaction that created them (Iedema, 2003, p. 40). We, therefore, do not expect that there should be a match between the meanings of the old

text in the new context in which it has been reproduced. So, this agrees with recontextualisation in that meaning is shifting in context.

As Leppanen et. al (2013) put it; resemiotisation is geared towards the creation of new imaginative interpretations of the source texts which are simultaneously appreciative of some of their aspects and critical or subversive about their other features. Therefore, it is never really a complete transfer that renders the original version null, but the transfer is done in such a way that certain aspects are maintained and others are changed. Resemiotisation can also be described as the process of semiotic change in the flow of discourse across social and cultural boundaries. It therefore, focuses on examination of unfolding and re-articulation of meanings across modes and modalities, and from some groups of people to others (Leppanen et al., 2013). It emphasises the need for socio-historical exploration and understanding of the complex processes which constitute and surround meaning-making (Iedema, 2003, p. 48).

Resemiotisation has been said to be related to semiotic remediation (Prior & Hengst 2010), which is interested in how text is re-voiced, re-used, re-produced and re-purposed in different contexts. Resemiotisation and semiotic remediation are related because they both seek to investigate or analyse issues of recontextualisation. Hence according to Prior and Hengst (2010), every text is merely a re-port of prior text that has been re-created to make new meaning in a new discourse. However, our study is not tailored towards use of semiotic remediation; we will use resemiotisation and explain how and why recontextualisation has taken place.

Resemiotisation is similar to recontextualisation in that they both deal with removing text from its usual context and putting it into another (Thabela, 2011). Resemiotisation places value on the surrounding text in terms of meaning making since the same concept can mean something different in two different contexts. For example, history would strike different meanings when used in different context and discourses. For instance, in marketing, it may remind the audience of previous good reviews of the product that would make it sell hence acting as a marketing stunt while in political context, it may be used to persuade people to vote again for the current regime by highlighting the good things associated with the party. History may also be used to show where the country is coming from as a basis for establishing where it is

going. It may also point out ills of a current regime. These are not the only function but they stand out as examples that show how history could mean differently depending on where it has been used. This is why resemiotisation takes into account how expressions aid realisation of the social, cultural and historical structure and circumstances of our time (Iedema, 2003).

The argument that both resemiotisation and recontextualisation happen across modes and discourses is best understood in the words of Bezemer and Kress (2008, p. 169). Bezemer and Kress (2008) introduced *transduction* which refers to the movement of semiotic across modes; from one mode to another. The aspects of discourse which can be recontextualised and resemiotised include: linguistic expressions, lexical items, narratives, concepts, propositions, facts, arguments and lines of arguments, stories, assessments, values and ideologies but their meanings are still reflected in the new contexts (Linell, 1998a; Linell, 1998b). Our study is interested in these aspects of discourse which can be resemiotised in order to explain how meanings are changing. When texts or discourse are relocated through the process of recontextualisation, they are often subjected to textual changes such as simplification, condensation, elaboration and refocusing (Linell, 1998b). This means that relocated text or discourse can either be simplified as it gets to the new location, it can be condensed, elaborated or even refocused and these are crucial aspects of what the process is about. When recontextualisation happens, the major areas that are involved may be the actual wordings, or meanings that may be both explicit and implicit in the original text or genre.

In summary, recontextualisation deals with the aspect of context: whether it is discursal, situational, socio-cultural and physical context or the broader and narrower context which is inter-text and genre while resemiotisation is concerned with the lexical, grammatical and discourse analysis which is basically rhetoric and non-linguistic modes of communication (Connolly, 2014). These two theoretical frameworks were, therefore, chosen because they are complementary; as we deal with context, we also examine how other aspects of the discourse have been modified or redefined to create meaning. Concept mapping was also chosen to help explain how concepts have been mapped across contexts and how this creates new meaning.

In this thesis, recontextualisation and resemiotisation will be used to explain how text has been re-created, re-produced, re-purposed, re-used and re-framed and concept mapping will help explain how concepts have been mapped across contexts to create meaning. All these will be used to explain how a proverb in our case has been shifted from one context to another and how meaning is recreated in this new context; what aspect of the original have been maintained and which ones have been changed and how important this is. These theoretical concepts will help to explain how the meaning of a proverb has been transferred from one context to the new context and what SKC politically achieves through this.

2.4 Chapter summary

This chapter has provided literature on what proverbs are. It has examined their definition, origin, nature, characteristics and types. Apart from this, the section has looked at metaphors in discourse. Since proverbs develop metaphors, the study has looked at literature on proverbs, metaphors and their functions. The chapter has also reviewed literature on how proverbs are used by politicians to persuade their audience. The chapter has ended with a description of the theoretical frameworks that the study has adopted.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Chapter preview

This chapter discusses the methodology which the study adopted. It begins by describing the research approach that the study followed. Section 3.2 discusses the research design and approach of the study. Section 3.3 presents how sampling of the proverbs as well as the participants for the study was done. Section 3.4 presents the materials and data sources of the study and Section 3.5 explains in detail the data collection procedure that the study followed. This is followed by Section 3.6 which discusses how data was coded and analysed. Section 3.7 presents the ethical considerations that the current study undertook in gathering data for the study and Section 3.8 presents the summary for this chapter.

3.2 Research design and approach

The study adopted an analytical research design. This design uses available facts and information in a critical evaluation with the aim of explaining a phenomenon (Kothari, 2004). In particular, the study employed content analysis in explaining how meaning is generated in the context in which particular proverbs were used by SKC. This design was suitable as it allowed the researcher to come up with conclusions regarding how meaning is (re)created in SKC's political discourse through the use of proverbs. Furthermore, the study was largely qualitative in nature as it explored an understanding of the meanings that the audience ascribed to the proverbs used in SKC's political speeches (Creswell, 2014). Thus, the study focused on gathering as many proverbs as possible to understand and explain how SKC used these proverbs in his political speeches and how his audience interpreted these proverbs. This approach is flexible enough and enabled the researcher to probe for more information necessary to understand how the proverbs were used by SKC to persuade the people to vote for

him without the need to generalise the findings. In this case, the study was interested in proverbs and their context of use since context is a great determinant of meaning.

3.3 Sampling

Sampling was done in three phases. The first phase involved sampling of the political speeches from which the proverbs were extracted. All the political speeches between July 2018 and February 2019 were sampled. This period was convenient in terms of availability of data, accessibility as well as reach (Hasan, 2018; Ackoff, 1953). The goal was to collect as many proverbs as possible for analysis. A total of 17 political speeches were accessed during the period of July 2018 and February 2019. Out of the 17 speeches, 14 were at political rallies in the following places; Zomba, Phalombe, Chiradzulu, Salima, Mchinji, Blantyre City West, Masintha Ground, Nkhotakota, Chikwawa, Njamba Freedom Park, Chitipa, Lunzu, Mulanje and Ntcheu, while 3 were mere political gatherings which were not rallies. These are; Bwalo la ndege (Chileka airport), when SKC was coming back from UK and a group of UTM supporters had gathered to welcome him; Victory Day, when esteemed ladies and gentlemen were gathered in celebration for the Victory over registration of the party and the like, and finally, at Comesa Hall during the presentation of nomination papers for the presidential elections. These three, though not being performed at rallies were included not only because they were accessible during this period but because they also contained proverbs biased towards the upcoming elections. From the 17 speeches, the researcher managed to extract 52 proverbs for analysis.

In the second phase of sampling, the researcher sampled proverbs that were used to interview people to find out if they understood their meanings in the new context. The researcher used simple random sampling which meant that each proverb had an equal chance of being included in the sample (Taherdoost, 2016). This sampling technique was preferred because the researcher aimed to reduce the number of proverbs that would be used to interview people as 52 proverbs were too many. The researcher firstly categorised the collected proverbs into old proverbs and new proverbs. This categorisation was guided by the literature of proverbs in Malawi. Old proverbs included all proverbs that are used in everyday language whether used in their pure forms or modified forms, and as the name suggests, new proverbs are newly created proverbs that have just come into usage and are not common in every day usage. Then

the researcher randomly sampled 10 proverbs from each category. The old proverbs were listed with numbers. Then each number was written on a piece of paper and thrown into a box. The box was shaken and the researcher picked a single piece of paper and put it aside, the box was shaken again and the researcher repeated this process until 10 pieces were picked. The number on the pieces meant that the proverb listed under that number had been sampled. From the sampled 10 proverbs from the old proverbs, 2 were modified proverbs while 8 were non-modified proverbs. The distinction on whether a proverb was pure or modified was based on their usage by SKC. If a proverb was used in its original state with no modification, it was termed non-modified. If a proverb was modified, it was termed modified. In a similar process, the researcher conducted a simple random sampling on the new proverbs to select 10 proverbs. In total, 20 proverbs were sampled (see Appendix A for details).

The third phase of sampling involved the selection of research site, population and research participants for the interview phase of the research. Using convenience sampling, the researcher chose Machinjiri Township in Blantyre and Chinamwali Township in Zomba as sites from which to draw participants for interviews. The researcher used convenience sampling to identify the research sites because of accessibility and reach (Hasan, 2018). To identify the sample population, the researcher used stratified sampling with sex being the main variable. The researcher settled for a total of 30 adults of a voting age; 15 males and 15 females. Stratified sampling was preferred because the goal was a representation of the sexes and this technique offered just that. The number 30 was settled for since the study is qualitative in nature, as such 30 seemed a good number for data management purposes. More respondents would have made the work taxing since the researcher would have been swamped with data that would demand more space and time to analyse. This would not be possible because the study was bound both by time and size limitations. In choosing individual respondents, the researcher used convenience sampling. This sampling technique allowed the researcher to use respondents that were readily available and accessible within the means of the researcher (Ackoff, 1953). Therefore, whoever crossed the path of the researcher in these two research sites was interviewed. 20 people were sampled from Zomba while 10 were sampled from Machinjiri.

3.4 Materials and data sources

The sources of data for the study were SKC's speeches and the Interviews with people on their understanding of the proverbs. The political speeches were in audio and video formats. Most of these audios and videos were available in several platforms including Facebook, WhatsApp groups and YouTube. To gather these, the researcher's phone and laptop were the major data collection tools. The phone collected audios and videos mainly from WhatsApp and at times YouTube while the laptop was used to collect videos from YouTube and Facebook. After collecting the political speeches, a paper and a pen were used to transcribe the speeches to extract the proverbs from the political speeches.

An interview guide (Appendix B) was used when conducting the interviews to ensure that the discussions were standardised and focused. The guide had two sections. The first section contained the bio-data where the researcher recorded the age, sex and a number for each respondent. The chief reason for using the serial number was to conceal the identity of the respondents. The serial number also helped the researcher to determine how many respondents had been interviewed and how many were left. The numbering system used Arabic numerals followed by the sex initial of the respondent. For example, 1M, 2F and so on and so forth until the Arabic numeral 30 was reached. The second section contained the guiding questions which the researcher used to solicit data from the respondents. This section had two specific questions and these were asked on each proverb; *kodi mukuganiza kuti mwambiwu ukutanthawuza chani?* (what do you think is the meaning of this proverb?) and *nanga mukuwona kuti mwambiwu ukukamba za chani kapena yani?* (what/who do you think the proverb is referring to). In addition to the interview guide, the researcher had a list of 20 extracts containing each sampled proverb. Each extract contained the linguistic context and the proverb itself and this was done because context is very important to the interpretation of proverbs (Hanzen, 2007).

The researcher also used a phone recorder to record the interview sessions. This helped the researcher to gather everything related to the interviews and therefore, the researcher could listen to the recordings later and make appropriate notes. Additionally, during analysis, the researcher could always go back to the recordings to verify some information from the interview. The researcher also used the recording

sheet (Appendix C) to record the responses that respondents gave to the proverbs. This sheet worked hand in hand with the phone recorder. The recording sheet had two sections. The first section contained the respondent number, and the demographic data; age and sex. Age was divided into 18-35, 35-50 and over 50. The second section of the recording sheet had two columns; the first column contained the proverb in question, the second column recorded the responses that the respondents gave to the proverbs. This section recorded the response and any other information that the respondents provided which the researcher considered relevant to the analysis.

3.5 Data collection procedure

Data collection took place in two phases. The first phase involved extraction of the actual proverbs from the political speeches which were contained in the audios and videos. In this phase, each audio was listened to and the proverb was extracted alongside the context in which it occurred. This happened with the videos as well after watching them. The guiding words or phrases that made it easier for the researcher to know that the subject was about to mention a proverb were the following: *ndiye amanena kuti* (so they say), *amanena kuti* (they say), *ena amati* (others say), *mwambi wa dzulo* (yesterday's proverb), *mwambi wa lero* (today's proverb), *amati* (they say), *pa Chichewa pali mwambi* (in Chichewa, there is a proverb), *amatero kuti* (they say that), *akuti* (they say), *mwambi wake nawu* (here is the proverb), *kale ankati* (they used to say) and *pali mwambi, umanena kuti* (there is a proverb, it says). However, there were cases where the proverb was just mentioned in its form without a guiding opening formulaic expression. In these cases, familiarity of the researcher with proverbs made it possible to classify them as proverbs. The researcher also used books on proverbs to check if they existed in the collection of proverbs. The books that were consulted were *Nzeru za kale: The Wisdom of the Old* (Kumakanga, 1975), *Cinyanja Cina* (Gwengwe, 1964); *Wisdom of the People: 2000 Chinyanja Proverbs* (Chakanza, 2000); and *Miyambi ya Patsokwe* (Rodgers, 2016).

The second phase of data collection involved interviews with the respondents to determine whether they could interpret the proverbs and if they found them relevant. After seeking permission from the respondents, the researcher switched on the phone recorder to record the interview. First, the researcher collected respondent's bio-data before the researcher started asking for the meanings of the proverbs. After collecting

bio-data, each speech extract containing a proverb was read to each respondent at a time. The researcher then asked the respondent questions from the interview guide. The researcher asked one question at a time, and when the respondent gave a response, the next question was asked. All two questions were asked before moving to the next extract. The researcher made short notes as the respondent explained. However, questions were not limited to these two, in cases where the researcher felt the need to probe or get clarification, probing questions were used. This was done until all the 20 proverbs were tackled. The recording sheet was used during the interviews to fill in details of the respondents and also indicate other responses that the respondents gave. The language of the interviews was Chichewa as it is widely spoken in the research areas.

3.6 Data coding and analysis

For data coding and analysis, proverb categorisation was the first step. Much as the literature has defined several categories that authors have come up with to classify proverbs, the researcher decided to first categorise these proverbs into three categories depending on their creation and usage. The principle aspect which determined which category a proverb belonged to was whether the proverb is already in use in everyday language or not. In order to be certain as to which category a proverb belonged, several proverb books were used. Books mentioned in Section 3.5 were used. These books were chosen because they are books which contain collection of proverbs and other wise sayings and their meanings. So the researcher would check if the proverb is contained in the book or not.

Two broad categories were established; old and new. The old category included all proverbs that are already in use in everyday language whether used in their pure forms or modified forms. In the old category, the proverbs were compared to the original proverbs to see if they have been modified. If it was established that the proverb in question either had a word or two omitted or replaced by other words, it was classified as modified. Those which had no modification were put into their own sub-category; pure and those modified were also put into one sub-category; modified. The researcher also generated frequencies in each category to determine how many times a proverb was used by SKC.

To analyse how recontextualisation has taken place, the Extended Model of Context (EMC) by Connolly (2007) was used. The model proposes the following method: contextual analysis of each text, comparison of the contextual description to identify the contextual difference between the source and destination context and treating these analyses as essence of recontextualisation. To analyse resemiotisation, linguistic differences in lexical, grammatical and discourse aspects of the text were examined to highlight what was changed, what was maintained and the overall effect of the change on the meaning of the proverb. In addition, instances where one thing has been used to stand for another thing were examined, as well as looking at how certain aspect of a context change in another context. Since several aspects can be resemiotised and recontextualised such as linguistic expressions, lexical items, narratives, concepts, propositions and facts, arguments and lines of arguments, stories, ideologies, values and many more (Linell, 1998a,b). This study, however, focuses more on lexical items, linguistic expressions and concepts and how these are reused in new contexts.

Another aspect of data analysis involved identification of the themes that the proverbs were advancing. In theme identification, each proverb was examined alongside its linguistic context to determine what the proverb was trying to communicate. The researcher conducted the analysis using the tenets of recontextualisation, resemiotisation and concept mapping described in Chapter 2.

The data from interviews were analysed in two steps. Firstly, to determine how many respondents understood and were able to interpret the proverbs, frequencies of each response given by the respondents were generated for each proverb. Secondly, the responses that people gave were critically analysed by examining the logic behind the responses. The researcher determined what the respondents had considered or missed in their meaning in order for it to be determined as appropriate or inappropriate in the context in which the proverb had been used.

3.7 Ethical considerations

This study falls under low risk in terms of ethical challenges. This is because the data for the study is already in the public domain for public usage and as such can be used for secondary analysis without seeking permission to use it (Bishop, 2012; Jol & Stommel, 2016). However, because the other section of data collection involved

human subjects, there was need for voluntary participation in the research. After identifying the target respondents, the researcher introduced herself, clearly explaining who she was and what the purpose of the visit was. The study was explained; what it sought to achieve, the benefits of the study as well as how the respondents would be involved in the study. This was done in both oral and written formats. This verbal presentation had enough information about the study to make sure that the respondent made a voluntary, intelligent and informed consent to participate in the study (Arminger, 1997; Dooly, Moore, & Vallejo, 2017). It was only after the respondent had given a verbal acceptance, after the oral presentation of what the study was about, that the researcher gave out the consent form for them to sign (Appendix D (i, ii)). The consent forms were in Chichewa to make sure the respondents understood the nature of the study. The consent forms had a description of the study, who the researcher was, who the supervisor for the researcher was in case they had to verify the information, what the study was about, its aims, and the benefit of the study to the respondent. It also highlighted that participation in the study was voluntary and that one may decide to opt out of the study anytime with assurance that no punishment would be given should one decide to do so. After the participant understood this and showed interest to participate by signing the consent form, the interviewer then progressed to ask questions about the meanings of the proverbs. Through out the course of the interview, the researcher kept assuring the respondents that their participation was voluntary and should they change their mind, they were free to do so.

As a way of showing them that there would be confidentiality, the researcher did not ask them their names but used respondent numbers as a means of identification. In the consent form that they signed, they were advised to use initials if providing their names made them feel uncomfortable. As a means of ensuring confidentiality, only the researcher had access to the data that were collected and this bit of information was made known to the respondents in case they had doubts about how the information would be handled. Additionally, since the study is political in nature, the researcher assured them through the consent form and verbal means that they were safe and that the data collected was going to be used for academic purposes only and had no political agenda. This was important as it prevented any form of contamination from external parties. Lastly, the research was conducted in the spaces where the

human subjects live and work as a way of ensuring that the subjects were comfortable and safe.

3.8 Chapter summary

The chapter has described the methodology that the study adopted. It has described the research design. It has also described the sampling procedure followed to select the participants in the study. Furthermore, the chapter has described how data were collected and analysed. The chapter has also explained how the researcher handled the issue of ethics since the study was dealing with human subjects. The next chapter presents and discusses the findings collected through the methodology described in this chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Chapter preview

This chapter provides the results and a discussion of the same. The main objective of the study was assessing how SKC exploited proverbs to communicate his political agenda during the campaign period. The study had three specific objectives; i) to identify proverbs in selected political campaign speeches of SKC; ii) to examine how new meanings are created in the new context in which the proverbs are reproduced to advance SKC's political agenda and iii) to assess if people were able to interpret the proverbs that Chilima used. Each of these objectives will be discussed as sub-sections of the chapter. The discussion of the findings presented in this chapter is guided by recontextualisation, resemiotisation and concept mapping frameworks. Section 4.2 describes proverbs in the political campaign speeches of SKC. Focus is on describing and categorising them. Section 4.3 analyses how meaning is created from these proverbs in the contexts in which they were reproduced and how the proverbs advance SKC's political agenda. Section 4.4 assesses whether people were able to understand and interpret the proverbs that SKC used. Finally, section 4.5 provides the chapter summary.

4.2 Proverbs in the political campaign speeches of Saulos Klaus Chilima

The first objective sought to identify the proverbs that SKC used in his political campaign speeches. The identified proverbs have been grouped into three categories: pure, modified and new/created proverbs.

4.2.1 Pure proverbs

Pure proverbs are those proverbs that were used in their original structural form without any modification whatsoever. These can also be said to be proverbs that are already in use in everyday language and in day to day running of activities. Table 4.1

below gives a summary of the pure proverbs that SKC used along with their translation and meaning. The table also indicates how many times the proverb was used in the speeches.

Table 4.1: Pure proverbs

	Proverb	Literal translation	Meaning	Frequency
1	Kagwa mkhutu satong'ola atong'ola nkam'maso	What falls into the ear cannot be resonated unless repeated but what one sees with the eye can be revisualised (Chakanza, 2000)	Be prudent in speech	1
2	Kwanu nkwanu mthengo mudalaka njoka	East west, home is best Your home is your home, the snake failed to live in the bush	i) A sojourner should not forget his home for one day he will need to go back ii) Home is best	2
3	Mphini yobwereza imawala	Repeated incisions are more visible	Repetition makes things stick better	1
4	Kuwotha moto wazinyalala nkutolera	To enjoy a group fire, you must also bring things to keep the fire	To be part of a cause, there is need to take action	1

		going		
5	Kulumpha dzenje nkuliwonera patali	Leaping over a pit is seeing it from afar	When aware of a problem, one would find a solution to avoid it (Chakanza, 2000)	3
6	Kandimverere anakanena zam'maluwa	Mister go and listen for me ended up explaining what is in the flowers (information of little importance)] (Chakanza, 2000)	i) Better to go listen and confirm things for oneself for it is better than 10 hearsays ii) Only speak things for which you have proof iii) Avoid listening to rumours	3
7	Zokumva kupweteketsa mutu	Hearsays give unnecessary headaches	It is better to have first-hand information over things being said than hearing mere hearsays	1

8	Wamva ng'oma njake	Whoever hears the sound of the drum, it is his calling Whoever hears the fart, s/he is the one who has farted	Whosoever hears about a story and thinks its about them, it most likely is about them ii) Those who have done something are often jittery	1
9	Kumatana phula pakamwa	Smearing glue on someone's mouth	Exploiting and cheating someone	3
10	M'mimba ndi nchipala	The womb is like the blacksmith's forge	i) There is no foretelling what character one will give birth to ii) Even things of the same origin can be different	1
11	Mawu amalenga	Words create	We should be careful with speech as what we say can come to life	1

12	Mphwayi ndi tsoka	Laziness is misfortune	i) A sluggish spirit is the enemy of progress ii) Laziness doesn't pay	1
13	Dziko liri pamoto	The country is on fire	The country has a lot of problems	1
14	Zafika posawuzana	It is extremely too much or common that you do not need to be told	Things have become worse	1
15	Sikadza kokha kawopa kulawula	It doesn't come of itself for fear of being ominous	Work hard to achieve your needs	1
16	Dzuwa salozerana	Nobody shows the other the sun	Good works speak for themselves	1
17	Mbewa zozama amapha ngamuuni	Only those with light can kill the deepest hiding mice	Only with hard work, determination and the right tools can one succeed	1

18	Kupha galu wachiwewe nkuleremeza mpini	To kill a rabid dog you must hide your stick	i) To get information out of a crook, one needs to be serious and cunning; do not take out all your heavy guns ii) In order to deal with a difficult thing, there is need to execute a plan	1
19	Khotekhote ngwanjira, palinga mtima mpomwepo	Oh the winding of the road, the heart is still set there	i) The heart is glued to the heart of one's activities. ii) Only with determination can things work out	1
20	Kalowa m'khutu kayaza	What has entered the ear has found its place	Words spoken cannot be retrieved, it is heard and reacted upon and so it is good to exercise care when speaking	1

21	Mankhwala a utsi nkuthawa	The remedy for \smoke is running away	When you do not like something, just move on, get away from the situation	1
22	Kunena kwa ndithendithe, Nanthambwe anadzitengera	By saying 'I can, I can' the tailor bird got into trouble	Only say things one has reflected upon because words can come back to you and the consequences could prove you wrong (Rogers, 2016)	`1
23	Mbuzi ikalawa mchere sisiya	When a goat tastes the goodness of salt, it never stops	Certain behaviours are not easy to give up once you have started	1
24	Mzimbe sayidyera kotalika koma kuzuna	The sugarcane is not sucked because it is tall but because it is sweet	i) Looks are deceptive hence we should chose a solid foundation and not looks ii) Sweet talk is not the essence of the case	1

25	Wamisala anawona nkhondo	The mad man saw war/the fool/imbecile saw war	Every person has a role to play in a society and so it is not right to despise or look down on other people	1
26	Udzadya thukuta lako	You shall eat your own sweat	You will work hard to get whatever you need	1
27	Fumbi ndiwe mwini	Dust is yourself	i)Be the initiator of whatever good you want to see ii)People work hard when it is their own things	3
28	Likawomba otheratu	When the sun shines, bask in it right away/ Make hay while the sun shines	Use opportunity right when it presents itself; do not wait for another chance for it may never come.	1
29	Kafula njira katama mano	That which digs a hole in the path shows that it trusts its teeth	Be sure to count the cost before starting any project	1

Table 4.1 above presents proverbs that have structures that are common with many proverbs found in different countries. For instance, some of these structures are X=Y as in the proverbs *m'mimba ndi nchipala* (the womb is like a blacksmith's forge) and *mphwayi ndi tsoka* (Laziness is misfortune). In this case, the womb is equal to the blacksmith's forge and the development of a careless spirit is equal to misfortune. We also have the cause-effect relation which is usually realised by If X then Y or if one has X then one has Y. Examples of proverbs in this category include; *Kuwotha moto wazinyala, ndikutolera* (to enjoy a group fire, you must also bring things to keep the fire going) where bringing things to keep the fire going causes one to enjoy the fire; *Kulumpha dzenje nkuliwonera patali* (leaping over a pit is seeing it from afar) in which seeing a pit from afar makes one to successfully leap it and *Kupha galu wachiwewe nkuleremeza mpini* (to kill a rabid dog you must hide your stick) where hiding a stick causes one to successfully kill a rabid dog. Here, we see that one action leads to the happening of another. These structures are in line with what Krikmann (1998) put forth as salient traditional formulae (cf. Mieder, 2004; Gibbs, 2001).

The other finding is that some of the proverbs in Table 4.1 above are simple proverbs made up of two parts. For example, *Likawomba otheratu* (when it shines, bask in it) is made up of two separate parts *likawomba* (when it shines) and *otheratu* (bask in it right away), while *Mzimbe sayidyera kutalika koma kuzuna* (the sugarcane is not sucked because it is tall, but because it is sweet) where *mzimbe sayidyera kutalika* (the sugarcane is not sucked because it is tall) is one component and *koma kuzuna* (but because it is sweet) is another component. Likewise, in *wamisala anawona nkhondo* (the mad man saw war) where *wamisala* (the mad man) is one phrase and *anawona nkhondo* (saw war) is another phrase and finally in *Kunena kwa ndithendithe nanthambwe anadzitengera* (by saying I can, I can, the tailorbird got into trouble) where *kunena kwa ndithendithe* (by saying I can, I can) is one phrase and *nanthambwe anadzitengera* (the tailorbird got into trouble) is another. One thing that can be seen from all these examples is that the two phrases work as complements of one another. When one says *likawomba*, it seems incomplete and begs the question, *what*, therefore the upcoming phrase completes it. This is true for short proverbs as well as longer proverbs; they have two parts combined to form a proverb. These two

parts or structures make the proverbs more memorable and easy to use (Trench, 1861; Cain, 2011).

Another interesting property of the proverbs in the table is that they are complete grammatical sentences as they express and carry complete thoughts (Norrick, 1985). The proverbs as complete sentences serve different functions (Mac Coinnigh, 2015). For example, there is the declarative/indicative function, and the following proverbs are examples: *M'mimba ndi nchipala* (the womb is like a blacksmith's forge), *mphwayi ndi tsoka* (laziness is misfortune), *kalowa mkhutu kayaza* (what has entered the ear has found its place), *Wamisala anawona nkondo* (the fool saw war), *Mzimbe sadyera kutalika koma kuzuna* (the sugarcane is not eaten because it is tall but because it is sweet) and *dzuwa salozerana* (we do not show each other the sun). All these proverbs are simply conveying some information or idea but in form of a statement and this is what declarative sentences do (Mac Coinnigh, 2015). So for example, the proverb *Mzimbe sadyera kutalika koma kuzuna* (the sugarcane is not sucked because it is tall, but because it is sweet) is expressing the idea that literally, sweetness of sugarcane is more important than size. But it will be shown in this thesis that in the new contexts in which the proverbs were reused, they generated new metaphorical meanings.

We also have the imperative function which basically gives an order or instruction. The proverb *udzadya thukuta lako* (you shall eat your own sweat) is based on a Biblical story and that some aspects of the story have been maintained in the proverb for example, anger. This proverb is an imperative. Even though the following proverbs are not in the imperative form, they can be used as imperatives. Examples include *mankhwala a utsi nkuthawa* (the remedy of smoke is running away), *kuwotha moto wazinyalala nkutolera* (to enjoy a group fire, you must also bring things to keep the fire going). These proverbs are telling the listeners to do something or to go into action. The former proverb is giving an instruction that the only remedy to deal with smoke is to run away while the latter is giving an order. Lastly, there is the exclamatory function, which basically expresses strong emotions such as joy, love, anger, sorrow, surprise, frustration and confusion (Mac Coinnigh, 2015).

Most of the proverbs in Table 4.1 above have a frequency of 1, meaning that they were used once in the political speeches that were collected. This is mainly in line

with SKC's idea of *mwambi wa lero* (today's proverb) in which a proverb was used to discuss or deal with a particular issue that he wanted to tackle on that day. However, there are still some proverbs with a frequency of greater than 1. For instance, each of these proverbs *kumatana phula pakamwa* (smearing glue on someone's mouth), *kandimverere anakanena zam'maluwa* (mister go and listen for me ended up explaining what is in the flowers (information of little importance) and *kulumpha dzenje nkuliwonera patali* (leaping over a pit is seeing it from afar) had a frequency of 3. As an example, SKC used the proverb *kandimverere adakanena za m'maluwa* to thank the people for the pro-active spirit that they showed by choosing to come in person to listen to him speak. Through this proverb, SKC was able to encourage his supporters to always look for first-hand information so that they make informed political decisions. SKC also highlighted the theme of planning through the proverb *kulumpha dzenje nkuliwonera patali* (leaping over a pit is seeing it from afar). He was able to communicate the need for organisation and planning in order to achieve good things.

In this category of pure proverbs, we also have the three proverbs *fumbi ndiwe mwini* (dust is yourself), *likawomba otheratu* (when it shines, bask in it)) and *kafula njira katama mano* (that which digs a hole in the path shows that it trusts its teeth). We are adding these three proverbs to this category of non-modified proverbs because their form and usage by SKC is the way they appear and are used in society. They have full versions: *Pagule fumbi ndiwe mwini* (during a dance, dust is yourself), *dzuwa likawomba otheratu* (when the sun shines, bask in it right away) and *kachirobo kafula njira katama mano* (the insect which digs a hole in the path shows that it trusts its teeth). The common forms are the one that SKC used. As Mieder (2004) states that proverbs are basically the wit of one and the wisdom of many, the same is true in how these three proverbs were created. Overtime, short complete sentences pass around and until the society creates a standard formulation does the proverb then attain its structure (Mieder, 2004). This means that society finally settled on this version and overtime it became a standard formulation in the society such that it is almost rare to hear people use the full versions. We notice that it is the subject that was actually dropped from these proverbs. For instance, in *pagule fumbi ndiwe mwini* (during a dance, dust is yourself), *pagule* (during a dance) was dropped; in *dzuwa likawomba otheratu* (when the sun shines, bask in it right away), *dzuwa* (the sun) was dropped

and in *kachirombo kafula njira katama mano* (the insect which digs a hole in the path shows that it trusts its teeth), *kachirombo* (the insect) was dropped. This is possible because Chichewa allows null subject when the Subject Marker (SM) and the Object Marker (OM) are present as these satisfy the argument structure of the predicator (Mchombo, 2004). The verbal inflection indicates the person and number of the subject therefore; the null subject can be inferred from the grammatical inflection on the verb. It has to be noted that *pagule* behaves differently from *dzuwa* and *kachirombo* in that we do not have an explicit subject marker probably because the location is the topic unlike *dzuwa* and *kachirombo* that denote some entity. This shows that what the society did by omitting some words from these proverbs did not change the structures.

4.2.2 Modified proverbs

The second category of proverbs that SKC used was the modified proverbs. These proverbs are modified in that there is a replacement of an original word with another word in the new context. The proverbs that are in this classification have been summarised in Table 4.2 below along with their original forms, translations, meanings and frequencies.

Table 4.2: Modified proverbs

	Proverb	Original form	Literal translation	Meaning of the modified proverb	Frequency
1	Malangizo alibe mpanda	Maso alibe mpanda	Advice has no restrictions	Advice can be given to anybody without any restrictions	1
2	Mwalemba m'madzi achule awerenga	Mwalemba m'madzi chule wawona	You have written in water, the frogs have seen	The plan has been found out	1

3	Mthanga kunena anathawitsa likongwe wa apongozi	i) Mthanga kunena adapititsa likongwe wa apongozi ii) thanga kunena adapititsa kuka wa apongozi	The one who hurried to speak let go his mother in- law's ferret	Do not be too quick to make promises that you cannot fulfil Do not be too quick to comment over things you have no knowledge of	1
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In Table 4.2, there are proverbs where a word has been replaced by another word. For example, in the proverb *maso alibe mpanda* (eyes have no fence), *maso* (eyes) has been replaced with *malangizo* (advice) in *malangizo alibe mpanda* (advice has no fence). The original proverb *maso alibe mpanda* (*eyes have no fence*) means one is free to look at anything because the eyes can do it. It stresses on the idea that one is free to see at will without any restrictions. The restrictions are deduced from the use of the word *mpanda* (fence). A fence denotes some form of hindrance and, therefore, by saying the eyes have no fence, the proverb communicates the idea that the eyes are free as they please. The proverb has been resemiotised to fit this new context by replacing *maso* (eyes) with *malangizo* (advice).

In the proverb *mwalemba m'madzi achule awerenga* (you have written in water, the frogs have read), the original wording is *mwalemba m'madzi a chule awona* (you have written in water, the frogs have seen), which means whatever plan that was set up has been exposed as denoted by the word *awona* (they have seen). However, SKC reuses this proverb by resemiotising the proverb through replacement of the word *awona* (they have seen) with the word *awerenga* (they have read). It is not possible to write in/on water. Therefore, the writing itself cannot take place in/on water. Since one cannot write in water or on water, the water has therefore been used as a metaphor to refer to how meaningless the act that was done by the SKC's opponents was. The frogs have been mentioned because water is their natural habitat. Should it be possible to write in water, then the frogs would indeed have seen. We may also suggest that the writing being done in water is a deliberate move so that no ordinary eye or creature could see. Therefore, it could be suggested that this denotes the idea of

water being a hiding place for whatever piece of information or idea that was written in it. By replacing the word *awona* (they have seen) with the word *awerenga* (they have read) the proverb communicates that whatever has been planned, has been exposed but through the act of reading about it and not merely seeing it. This idea would not have been communicated with the use of the original word *awona* (they have seen). This modification that the proverbs undergo relates to what Finnegan (2012) stated that proverbs have no fixed wording but the main structural patterning is maintained. Changing a word or two still makes the new text a recognisable version of the original text (Leppanen et al., 2013). Thus, these proverbs were still recognised by his audience as it will be shown in this thesis.

Turning to the structures of the proverbs in Table 4.2, all the proverbs are simple with two parts. For example, *malangizo alibe mpanda* (advice has no fence) where *malangizo* (advice) is one structure (subject) and *alibe mpanda* (has no fence) is another (predicate); *mwalemba m'madzi* (you have written in water) is one part and *achule awerenga* (the frogs have read) is another part; *mthanga kunena* (the one who hurried to speak) is one structure and *adathawitsa likongwe wa apongozi* (let go of his mother in-laws ferret) is another structure. All these proverbs seem to have advice and warning as their main function. As already presented in the previous paragraph, these two functions are among the top functions of proverbs. Even among political candidates, it is not unusual to see politicians advising their opponents or the public and even in other cases, warning them.

4.2.3 Newly coined proverbs

The last category of proverbs used by SKC is that of created proverbs. Chakanza (2000) states that new proverbs are still being created by people who can be said to be observant, experienced, thoughtful and creative. Trench (1861) argues that it is possible to create new proverbs and these become accepted as long as they appear keen, wise and wittily spoken (cf. Mieder, 2004, 2015). The newly coined proverbs are hard to determine authorship or ownership as we cannot with certainty argue that SKC created them. Most of these are found circulating in social media forums. Our interest however is that SKC uses them. We, therefore, assume that they are novel proverbs but not necessarily SKC's. The proverbs which fall under this category are summarised in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3: Newly coined Proverbs

	Proverb	Literal translation	Meaning	Frequency
1	Umayamba kaye wakonza pakhomu pako usanakonze pa neba/ umafunika ukonze kaye pakhomu pakopo usanakonze kwa neba	You first clean your home before cleaning the neighbour's house	It should begin with you before being shared charity begins at home	2
2	Mtengo wawukulu ukamagwa pamakhala phokoso	When a huge tree is falling there is noise	When someone of influence loses power, there is noise associated with the incident	1
3	Kutakata ngati m'mene amachitira pumbwa akakhala pa chipwete/mabulosi	Destroying as the pumbwa does when it is eating African horned cucumbers	Stealing and looting without mercy	3
4	Zopempha/zolandira kunozetsa (koma zimene tazipeza tokha)	Things got from begging and hand outs make one lose respect	Self-reliance is sweet	10
5	Zolandira kuchotsa ulemu	Hand outs make one lose respect/face	Self-reliance	1
6	Kamene dzanja lalitali lapachika, lalifupi silingatsitse	What a long hand has placed on top, a short one cannot bring down	What those with vision have set, those without vision	1

			cannot execute	
7	Kanthu kabwino saguza, kamachita mchenga	Good things are not dragged, lest they gather dust	It is not good to speak and praise oneself over things, you end up ruining them	1
8	Bodza liri m'maso	Lies are in the eyes	i) The eyes have the ability to detect lies ii) One's eyes can show when they are lying	2
9	Tianyenga nyakwawa	Bribe money for chiefs	Money given to bribe chiefs	1
10	Ukafuna kupatuka patukilatu chifukwa pobwera umadzapeza tchire atenthapo	If you want to go aside and deficate, do so because when coming back you may find the bush has been burnt	Seize opportunity as it presents itself, do not procrastinate	1
11	Matumbi satakasa	Fresh fish is never stirred	There is a right way and an order of doing everything	1
12	Mukawona mkango utanyowa sindiye kuti wasanduka mbuzi	When you see a lion wet, it does not mean its transformed into a	Being quiet does not mean foolishness	1

		goat		
13	Osathamangitsa nkhuku mchere uli m'manja	Do not chase a chicken with salt in your hands	Do not be quick to rejoice over things which have not materialised yet	1
14	Chochikankha ndi phazi mnzako akatola ndi kuchipukuta usalire kuti chinali changa	What you were dragging with your feet, when someone picks it up and cleans it, do not cry that it was mine	If one is careless with what they have, they should not regret when others do a better job of taking care of it Warns against regret and encourages taking care of things	1
15	Nyama ikayamba kuwola agalu sayisiya	When meat begins to rot, dogs do not leave it	When things are going on wrongly, people keep attacking	1
16	Wokudya zake alibe mlandu	Whosoever is eating what is his has no crime	Self-reliance is sweet	2
17	Mukawona mbuzi ikuthawa pansipu obiriwira mudziwe kuti	When you see a goat running away from green pastures, it	When people seem to leave what seems to	1

	pali linthumbu	means there are harmful/soldier ants.	be good things , just know there is trouble	
18	Mbewa yapampani siyiwopa moto	A dead mouse does not fear fire	When one is already in trouble, more trouble does not scare them	1
19	Mukadzawona makoswe akutuluka mnyumba imodzi kupita ina mudziwe kuti ufa bwatha	When you see mice leaving one house for another, know that there is no more flour	People leave one place for another when the good in the place has run out In politics, when people leave one party for another, there are problems in the other party	1
20	Madzi othimitsira moto sasankha	To put out a fire, you do not choose the water/ you do not choose the types of water to put out a fire with	i) Unity for a cause is important ii) As long as something gets the job done, use it	1

Table 4.3 has several structures that are similar to those of pure/old proverbs. Examples of such structures include if/when X then Y. In this structure, the occurrence of a phenomenon causes occurrence of another event. There is a cause-effect relationship. For example, in the proverb *mtengo wawukulu ukamagwa pamakhala phokoso* (when a huge tree is falling, there is noise. The falling tree leads to noise. In its interpretation, a hearer needs to understand what happens when a huge tree falls. After that, there is mapping of the concept with the linguistic context provided. In this case, a huge tree has been mapped to a high government official/ /high status entity and the noises refer to words or statements made during political speeches that point fingers at other parties or speak ill of others. The same happens in the proverbs *nyama ikayamba kuwola agalu sayisiya* (when meat begins to rot, dogs do not leave it) where meat rotting precedes dogs not leaving it. Dogs naturally love meat, so even if this meat is stale or rotting, they still eat it. In this proverb, *nyama ikayamba kuwola* (when meat has begun to rot) has been mapped to the ruling party whose time in government was termed short-lived since this was campaign time and the opposition believed they would unsit it. The dogs are mapped to the opposition who are attacking the ruling party.

In *mukadzawona makoswe akutuluka nyumba imodzi kupita ina, mudziwe kuti ufa bwatha* (when you see mice leaving one house for another, know that there is no more flour). In this proverb, there are two segments which make the cause-effect relationship complete. There is the *mukadzawona makoswe akutuluka nyumba imodzi kupita ina* (when you see mice leaving one house for another) and *mudziwe kuti ufa bwatha* (know that there is no more flour in that house). This proverb has not been presented as a regular cause-effect where the cause is presented first and then the effect follows because the proverb starts by giving the effect and then tells the cause that initiated that particular effect. The cause is, *ufa bwatha* (there is no more flour) while the effect is *mukadzawona makoswe akutuluka nyumba imodzi kupita ina* (when you see mice leaving one house for another). It is still a cause, effect proverb in that the proverb has two parts; cause, effect. This variation which presents the effect first is significant in that it brings to the fore the main argument that SKC is making; he is not focused on the idea that there is no more good things or benefits in the ruling party but he is focused on the idea that many people are joining his political party, UTM. In essence, while he upholds that his party is getting more members, it is also

an indirect way of decampaigning the ruling party from which people are alleged to be leaving.

The second structure is X=Y. In this structure, the first segment is equal to the second segment. For example, in the proverb *zopempha/zolandira kunyozetsa* (things got from begging and hand outs make one lose respect). Begging and hand outs are equated to losing respect. This is because when one begs or receives hand outs, they lose respect of making their own decisions as they are controlled by the one helping them. Another example is the proverb, *wokudya zake alibe mlandu* (there is no crime for those who eat what is theirs). In this case, eating what is yours is equated to not having a crime. The idea is that when you eat what is yours, you are not stealing from anybody and you can not answer any allegations of committing a crime hence, you are blameless and innocent. Both these proverbs were used to advise and encourage people to be independent and not dependent on begging and handouts.

The structures of new proverbs in Table 4.3 above are similar to that of old proverbs. Taylor (1962) states that new proverbs are often made in old models. This is because according to Taylor, certain frames lend themselves readily available for the insertion of new ideas. The importance of this is that it makes creation easier, the skeletons are already available and so one just thinks over what to insert into those skeletons. These structures allow proverbs to express so many things in a few words (Mieder, 2004).

Going through the list of created proverbs, one notices that most of the proverbs in this section have the function of advising. Apart from the other functions that can be observed, this function has a good number of proverbs falling under it. For example, the proverbs, *osathamangitsa nkhuku mchere uli m'manja* (do not chase a chicken with salt in your hands), *umayamba kaye wakonza nyumba yako usanakonze ya neba* (you first clean your house before cleaning the neighbour's house), *ukafuna kupatuka patukilatu chifukwa pobwera umadzapeza tchire atenthapo* (if you want to go aside and defecate, do so because when coming you may find they have burnt the bush) and *kanthu kabwino saguza, kamachita mchenga* (good things are not dragged, they gather dust/sand) among other proverbs. With these proverbs, SKC either speaks to his opponents or to the public but in the form of offering words of advice. Certain proverbs such as *nyama ikayamba kuwola agalu sayisiya* (when meat has begun to rot, the dogs do not leave it) and *mtengo wawukulu ukamagwa pamakhala phokoso*

(when a huge tree is falling, there is usually noise) have been used to ridicule his opponents. In terms of this form, it is indeed the case that people use proverbs to ridicule their opponents by presenting their opponents in negative light while they present themselves in positive light (Lin, 2011).

The last function that we find under this section is the one in which SKC provides reasons for certain events or changes. For example, he uses the two proverbs *mukawona mbuzi ikuthawa pansipu wobiriwira mudziwe kuti pali lithumbu* (When you see a goat running away from green pastures, it means there are harmful/soldier ants) and *mukawona makoswe akuchoka nyumba imodzi kupita ina, mudziwe kuti ufa bwatha* (When you see mice leaving one house for another, know that there is no more flour) to explain why he migrated from DPP and why people are flocking to his party. Charteris-Black (2004) encodes this function as proverbs help in face-threatening situations in which it is better to speak about something in an indirect way. However, these two proverbs also have a ridiculing element especially when he presents his party as better than the other parties and explains why people are flocking to his party from the other parties. Here, he presents the other parties as not good enough.

4.3 Recontextualisation of proverbs in SKC's political speeches and Meaning creation

Having discussed the nature of the proverbs that SKC used in his political speeches, this section discusses how meanings were created in the new contexts in which SKC reproduced the proverbs to talk about his political agenda. Through the proverbs, SKC discussed a number of political themes. The proverbs address the problems that the Malawi nation is facing such as corruption, looting, and exploitation, as well as SKC's dream and aspirations for the country once voted into power. Due to space and size limitations, a few selected proverbs will be discussed. The rest will be attached as appendices. The different themes that the proverbs tackled are discussed below.

4.3.1 *Malawi in acute problems*

SKC's proverbs address several issues. From matters that he is not happy with that need ending to his future plans for the country once he is elected into power. One of the themes presented through the proverbs is that Malawi is in acute problems. The

theme of Malawi in acute proverbs was also observed by Kondowe and Ngwira (2019). The extract below portrays corruption and looting as some of the challenges that the country is battling with, which SKC calls ‘*zofuna kuthetsa*’ (things to put an end to). In Extract 1 below, we discuss three idiomatic expressions; *dziko liri pa moto* (the country is on fire), *zafika posauzana* (It is extremely too much or common that you do not need to be told) and *yophula dziko pamoto* (rescue our country from the fire). While these may not be said to be proverbs, sometimes the line separating a proverb and an idiomatic expression is so blur. Cram (1995) argues that some proverbs are phrasal idioms and this leads to the notion of idiomatic proverbs. Therefore, these will be treated as idiomatic proverbs because they are metaphorical in nature.

Extract 1

*Mosakutayirani nthawi, tiyeni tikambirane zomwe tabwerera pano. Nkhani yake ndi yachidule. Ndikamba m’Chichewa, ndidzakambanso m’Chingerezi mwachidule. **Dziko lino liri pa moto.** Tonse tikudziwa ndipo tonse tikuwona zomwe zikuchitika. Anthu timabwera, timadzapempha kuti mutipatse voti yanu. Kumanama kuti tikutumikirani. Koma tikangowina timasintha mawanga, m’malo moti tiyendetse dzikoli mwadongosolo kulingana ndi malonjezo omwe tinapanga, timasiya udindo omwe tinapatsidwa, m’malo mwake atsogoleri timayamba kuba ndi kusakaza chuma. Izi zakhala zikuchitika zaka zonsezi zam’mbuyomo. Koma pano tikuyankhula pano, ulamuliro uwuwu, **zafika posawuzana iyayi.** Anthu akukhadzulirana ndi kugawana chuma cha dziko lino ngati chumacho nchamasiye. Funso kumati kodi tili pati? Pamene ana athu akusowa ndalama zomalizira maphunziro awo; pamene makoma omanga ndi dothi akumawagwera anawa ndikumawapha, pamene akusowa maphunziro, pamene anthu akusowa mankhwala mzipatalamu. Atsogoleri ataganidwa, kumapatsana ma contract a m’boma mwachinyengo.....tigwirizane tigwire ntchito **yophula dziko lathu pamoto.*** (Without wasting your time, let us discuss what we are here for. The story is brief. I will speak in Chichewa, I will also briefly speak in English; **this country is on fire.** We all know and we see what is happening. We come to beg for your votes lying that we will serve you. But once we win, we change our colours, instead of serving the country in the right

way according to the promises we made, we leave our duties and end up stealing and looting government money. This has been happening in the past years but now with this government, it has reached unprecedented levels. People are busy sharing the wealth of the country like their own. The question being, where are we? Children are lacking funds to finish their studies; mud-built walls are falling on our children and killing them, our children can't access education and there is lack of medicine in hospitals. Leaders are busy awarding each other government contracts in a corrupt manner. Let us hold hands and work together to **rescue our country from the fire**).

SKC begins his statement by saying *dziko lino liri pa moto* (this country is on fire) to communicate that there are many problems that the country is facing. He then claims that everyone knows and sees what is happening in Malawi by saying “*Tonse tikudziwa ndipo tonse tikuwona zomwe zikuchitika*” (We all know and we see what is happening). By saying this, he presupposes that it is a fact that evil acts are happening in Malawi and that it cannot be refuted and, therefore, substantiates the claim that the country is on fire. SKC then introduces the political context which gives a political history of Malawi to highlight his claim that the country is on fire and argues that politicians are not faithful to the promises that they make during the campaign period. They ask for peoples votes only to do contrary to their promises once voted into power. It is interesting to note that SKC includes himself in the group of people who come and ask for people's vote, through the inclusive pronoun ‘*ti*’ (we), but once in power neglect their responsibility. By doing this, SKC uses a positive politeness strategy (Beard, 2000) that mitigates the situation while saving his face as no one would argue that he has been unfair since he has included himself in the group. But SKC uses this as a way of getting back at people who are not faithful in honouring their campaign promises. This political history offers clarity to the assertion that people abuse their powers once voted into position of authority. By making reference to the political history of Malawi by saying, ‘*izi zakhala zikuchitika zaka zam'mbuyomu*’ (this has been happening in the past), SKC alleges that this is not a new thing, it has been happening even in the past. This political history is important as it creates the context in which the upcoming phrase *zafika posawuzana* (it has reached unprecedented levels) is understood.

Chilima laments that with the present government then (DPP), it is worse as people are busy sharing government money like what people do with deceased estate through the phrase '*Koma pano tikuyankhula pano, ulamuliro uwuwu, zafika posawuzana iyayi. Anthu akukhadzulirana ndi kugawana chuma cha dziko lino ngati chumacho nchamasiye* (But now as I speak, with this government, it has reached the brim. People are busy sharing the wealth of the country like it is a deceased estate). Through this expression, SKC has introduced the cultural context in which people are sharing money left by the dead³ to help interpret the political context in which he portrays politicians sharing money that belongs to Malawians as if Malawians are dead. SKC, therefore, brings in the cultural context to clarify what he is trying to say by means of analogy. The act of sharing money being done by politicians is understood and mapped to the cultural idea of people sharing deceased estate. Through this comparison, we are able to understand that SKC was not speaking of literal fire, but that he was talking about political acts such as corruption. Therefore we are able to map the fire that SKC described through the idiomatic proverb *dziko liri pa moto* (the country is on fire) to the political ills that were happening in the country because he has introduced the cultural idea of people sharing money which has acted as a setup through which political acts are seen and understood. Destructive attributes of fire have been likened to the destructive behaviour of politicians. SKC, therefore, recontextualised the idiomatic proverb *zafika posawuzana* (it has reached the brim) by maintaining the cultural context in which the phrase is understood as referring to an excessive capacity such that everyone sees on their own what is happening. In addition, he has added the political context through the political history to narrow the meaning such that *zafika posawuzana* (it has reached the brim) is understood as referring to the political ills happening in the country and not any other problems. Therefore the expressions *dziko liri pa moto* (the country is on fire) and *zafika posawuzana* (it has reached the brim) are connected through the political history that SKC has provided. Through this, SKC manages to present the ruling government as evil.

SKC, having reminded his audience of the political context of Malawi and asking them of what they are doing about it, he urges his audience to join hands with him to

³ Sometimes in Malawi, when a woman loses her husband, the deceased husband's relative often come to the widow's place and start grabbing the property that the deceased has left. This is done not being mindful of the widow and the children who the deceased may have left.

redeem the country by saying ‘*tigwirizane tigwire ntchito yophula dziko lathu pamoto*’ (Let us hold hands and work together to **rescue our country from the fire**). Through the proverb ‘*yophula dziko lathu pamoto*’ (putting the country out of the fire) SKC makes the assumption that it is possible to save the country from the fire. SKC has resemiotised the proverb and uses the cultural context and world knowledge of fire to explain the political idea that it is possible to save the country from the fire. As already discussed above, *moto* (fire) refers to political ills taking place in Malawi, so it becomes easier to interpret *yophula dziko lathu pamoto* (put our country out of the fire) as putting an end to the political ills in the country since, SKC has already outlined the political ills and the effects they bring on the country and its citizens in the political context that he has provided within which the proverb should be understood. Culturally, if you remove things from fire, you save them from burning. SKC capitalises on this knowledge and repurposes the expression ‘*yophula dziko lathu pamoto*’ (putting the country out of the fire) to mean putting to an end the political ills taking place in the country thereby saving the country from further damage that the political acts could cause. Therefore, through resemiotisation of this proverb, SKC manages to bring hope for change and renewal of the country. But what is needed is for the people to hold hands and work together to achieve this. Thus, SKC indirectly asks people to support him to get into the power so that they redeem the country from the fire.

In Extract 1 above, we note that SKC adopts the same text pattern as that of President Bush in his address to the nation on U.S policy in Iraq (El-Hussari, 2010) by presenting first the situation that the country is on fire, then the problem (what is happening currently as opposed to the past) and finally the solution which involves Malawians working together to end these problems. Actually, the solution comes in a form of a proverb to emphasise the need to act quickly to prevent the fire from damaging further. This is a common practice in discourse. According to Fairclough (2000), discourse includes representation of how things are, have been as well as how they should, might or could be. In this case, SKC has presented how things have been, are and how they could be. By doing this, he identifies the problem in the country and places measures of how he intends to deal with the problems.

For another example of a proverb dealing with issues of looting and stealing see Appendix I, which has the proverb, *mukawona mkango utanyowa sikuti wasanduka mbuzi* (when you see a lion wet, it does not mean it has transformed into a goat). Apart from looting and stealing as some of the problems that Malawi is facing, SKC also tackles the issue of bribery as another major problem in Malawi. He presents this through the proverb '*tianyenga nyakwawa*' (money given to chiefs to bribe them). For details see Appendix E. The next section presents proverbs through which SKC tackles the theme of transformation to put to an end the ills happening in Malawi.

4.3.2 Transformation

Apart from highlighting that the country is on fire, SKC also presents proverbs that tackle the need for transformation. Several themes are seen from the proverbs, for instance, themes such as planning, determination, hard work, empowerment, unity and solidarity. Extract 2 below shows the need for empowerment.

Extract 2

*Misika idzakhalepo, alimi azidziwiratu kuti nalero zimene takololazi kapena zimene tikulimazi akatigula pamtengo wabwino. Anthu asakhale ndi nkhwawa ndi zokolola zawo, kuwagula anthu zokolola zawo pamtengo wotsika ndikumakagulitsana pamtengo wokwera kuti muthandize anthu ochepa ndi tchimo lalikulu. Mukayankha kumwamba. Amanena kuti **udzadya thukuta lako inu simunakhetse thukuta. Thukuta anakhetsa ndi alimi aku Phalombe ndiye inuyo mukuwadyera masuku pamutu*** (markets should be there, farmers should know in advance that what we have harvested or what we are cultivating will be bought at a fair price. People should not be worried about their harvest; buying from them at a low price and then reselling the same to each other at a higher price so that you help few people is a huge sin. You will answer in heaven. They say; you shall eat your own sweat. You have not sweated. The farmers from Phalombe are the ones who have sweated and you are exploiting them).

In the extract, SKC uses the proverb *udzadya thukuta lako* (you shall eat your own sweat) to argue that there is need to work for things in order to enjoy them and he uses *kuwadyera masuku pamutu* (exploiting them) to speak against exploitation. In the extract, SKC begins by making promises concerning what his government will do

related to the agriculture sector. From history, Malawi relies on agriculture and when farmers grow crops, they sell them to the government through Agricultural Development and Marketing Corporation (ADMARC) and later ADMARC resells what it has bought from the farmers for (minimal) profit. With this background, SKC presents a picture of what happens when vendors buy the produce from farmers instead of ADMARC. The vendors buy the produce at very low prices and later resell these produces at much higher prices than what ADMARC would sell. SKC presents this background so that the proverbs that he later uses should be understood within this context.

Having provided the context, SKC then explains why he has categorised the act as sin by making reference to the proverb, *udzadya thukuta lako* (you shall eat your own sweat). The proverb has biblical reference that people should work in order to earn things. It is not surprising that Chilima is using a biblical reference here because they are a common feature of political campaigns (see Omuzuwa & Ezejideaku, 2008). SKC has resemiotised the proverb by maintaining the religious and cultural context that one will eat what they have sweated for. He has also added political context that shows that farmers and locals are the ones who have laboured and therefore, deserve the good from their hard work unlike government politicians who are exploiting them. The cultural and religious context is critical here as it forms the basis for interpreting the proverb. We can only see the aspects of exploitation through this cultural and religious context. However, the political context that SKC attaches to the proverbs narrows down the meaning so that it is only understood in terms of the ill political acts that are being questioned. He says, *inu simunakhetse thukuta, thukuta anakhetse ndi alimi aku Phalombe* (you did not sweat; the farmers from Phalombe are the ones who sweated). The proverb is intended to address those engaged in such acts of reaping what they did not sow. Through this, SKC condemns the political acts and argues that politicians are exploiting the farmers through the expression, *mukuwadyera masuku pamutu* (you are exploiting them). SKC repurposes the proverb *kudyera masuku pamutu* by maintaining the cultural context of the proverb where exploitation is housed and by adding the political context to refer to the political acts being done. Therefore, the cultural and religious context plus the addition of the political context give the meaning that government officials are wrong in exploiting farmers and locals who have laboured to produce farm products. Through recontextualisation of the

proverbs in the extract above, SKC manages to criticise the opposition and show pity to the farmers and locals who are being exploited. He, therefore, paints himself in positive light but his opponents in negative light by associating them with exploitation. Here, we see that proverbs have the ability to criticise (cf. Salwa, 2005).

Related to transformation is the theme ‘solidarity and unity’. The proverb under this theme expresses the role that the people need to take to bring the desired change. Consider extract 3 below

Extract 3

*Ndimafuna ndiyamikire, kuyamikira mtima osadzikonda omwe anzathu a zipani za AFORD ndi Tikonze awonetsa mdziko mwathu muno. Awa awonetsa chikondi chachikulu padziko lawo povomera kuti tigwire ntchito limodzi. Pa Chichewa pali mau, amatero kuti **madzi othimitsira moto sasankha** (I wanted to uphold and praise the spirit of being selfless as shown by AFORD and Tikonze which they have shown in our country. These have shown love for their country by accepting that we work together. In Chichewa they say, **you do not choose the water for dousing fire**).*

At the onset of the extract, SKC begins by praising the patriotic spirit that the two parties AFORD and TIKONZE have exemplified by agreeing to work with his party. He goes further to highlight that these two have shown love for their country as he says, *Awa awonetsa chikondi chachikulu padziko lawo povomera kuti tigwire ntchito limodzi*. (These have shown love for their country by accepting that we work together). By referring to their agreement to work with UTM as patriotism, SKC suggests that those who have not done so are not patriotic. He also demonstrates through this text that these have shown selfless love and highlights that there is work to be done through the phrase, *tigwire ntchito limodzi* (that we should do this work together). And the word ‘*limodzi*’ (together) at the end suggests a joining of forces which is what AFORD and TIKONZE have done by siding with UTM. He then introduces the proverb *madzi othimitsira moto sasankha* which literally means one does not choose which water to use to put out a fire. As highlighted in the discussion of *dziko liri pamoto* (the country is on fire) in Extract 1 above, SKC maps fire to problems that Malawi as a country is facing. However, in the proverb *madzi*

othimitsira moto sasankha, SKC introduces another symbol, *madzi* (water) and our world knowledge tells us that water puts out fire. Therefore, through the proverb, SKC points out that with water, the fire will be doused since water has power to quench fire and it does not matter what kind of water it is. Here we also see that SKC maps water to patriotic politicians who are committed to bringing to an end the problems that Malawi is facing.

Drawing on the symbols of water and by mapping fire to problems that Malawi is facing and mapping water to patriotic politicians, SKC repurposes the proverb *madzi othimitsira moto sasankha* (you do not choose which water to put out a fire with) to communicate to his listeners the need to work together to bring change in the country. For thousands of years, water has been a symbol for transformation, even in the world's major religions such as Christianity, Hinduism and Buddhism; water is a symbol of purification, cleansing, rebirth and regeneration or renewal (Eom, 2014, p. 31; Narimani & Sarbangholi, 2016, p. 222). Drawing on these symbols and by relating water to fire, SKC communicates that the problems that Malawi is facing can be put to an end and that transformation is possible. He, therefore, calls upon patriotic Malawians to join hands to purify, cleanse and renew Malawi so that the lost glory is brought back.

In addition to the proverbs discussed in this section, SKC also tackles the theme of transformation through the following proverb: *kulumpha dzenje nkuliwonera patali* (leaping over a pit is seeing it from afar) in Appendix F which tackles the sub-theme of planning; *zopempha ndi zolandira zimachotsetsa ulemu* (begging and hand outs make one lose their self-respect) in appendix G which tackles the sub-theme of empowerment and finally the proverb, *ukafuna kupatuka patukilatu chifukwa pobwera umadzapeza tchire atenthapo* (if you want to go aside and defecate, do so then because when coming you may find the bush has been cleared) in appendix H addresses the sub-theme of seizing opportunity at hand.

4.3.3 Advice and Warning

This section covers proverbs that give advice or warning. These are proverbs that carry an aspect of advice or warning addressed to several people and even political parties. It is not surprising that SKC used metaphors that advise or warn, counsel and

give instructions as this is a widely observed practice (see Mieder, 2004; Salwa, 2005). Here we will only discuss the proverb *malangizo alibe mpanda* which has been used to give advice as used in the extract below:

Extract 4

*Ife tikunena kuti tizikamba zathu, enawo ndi zawo, koma **malangizo alibe mpanda**. Timafuna tikambe za misonkhanoyi. Zaka 54, anthu tanyozana, kunyozana, kutukwanizana, wakuti, uje, kutchulana mayina. Nzosathandiza komanso zikhoza kubweretsa chipwiritkiti mu dziko. Ndiye mumisonkhanomu, tiyeni anthuwa tizikawawuza mfundo kuti akakhutira ndi mfundozo ndiye chaka cha mawa akativotere. Sakativotera chifukwa tikutukwana* (we are saying, we should speak about ourselves, those others it's up to them, but **advice has no fence/barriers**. We want to speak about these rallies. For 54 years, we have said ill of each other, saying unpleasant things, exchanging foul words, calling each other unkind names. This is not helpful and could bring violence in the country. So in these rallies, let us tell people concrete ideas so that when they are satisfied with the ideas, next year they should vote for us. They won't vote for us because we are good at speaking ill of each other).

In the extract, SKC shows that advice can be freely given to anyone. He starts by using the inclusive pronoun *ife* (we) which refers to the UTM and that he and UTM will be speaking about themselves only and not backbiting other parties and that what the other parties do is their business. SKC states this by saying '*ife tikunena kuti, tizikamba zathu, enawo ndi zawo* (we are saying, we will be speaking about ourselves, those others, it's up to them). This political context is a clear in-group versus out-group representation in which SKC places concern and responsibility only for those of his, and denies responsibility over what others who are not part of UTM do or say. This is referred to as the 'us versus them' dichotomy (Sajjid, 2015). SKC then introduces the proverb which acts as a contrast to what he says. The proverb *malangizo alibe mpanda* (advice has no fence) literally means you cannot build a fence against advice as adapted from the proverb, *maso alibe mpanda* (eyes have no fence). In the original set up, the proverb means the eyes can see what they want to see without any hindrances. In this new context however, SKC has resemiotised the proverb. While he maintains the idea of fence, he has however replaced *maso* (eyes)

with *malangizo* (advice) to justify why he is giving advice in the first place. Maintaining the word fence provides background that whatever he is doing (advising other parties) is justifiable since advice cannot be hindered. The replacement of the lexical item *maso* (eyes) with *malangizo* (advice) refocuses the meaning of the proverb such that it no longer talks about seeing but giving advice. Despite this modification, the proverb is still a recognisable version of the original form as noted by Leppanen et.al (2013). This modification which does not alter the whole proverb is important because it brings familiarity of the proverb to the mind even when it has been recontextualised. The cultural context is easier to access, which is critical for interpreting the proverb in its new political context. We also see a lexical item undergoing resemiotisation and this agrees with Linell (1998b) that lexical items, narratives and facts among others can be recontextualised and resemiotised.

Having provided justification for giving advice, SKC then draws on the political history of Malawi, claiming that, for the past 54 years (1964-2018), politics has been about people speaking ill of each other, use of unkind words and use of foul language. SKC argues that this behaviour leads to violence, and since he has already justified his act of giving advice through the proverb, he then advises people to avoid speaking ill of one another, but instead they should present arguments that would convince people to vote for them come voting time. Through the proverb, SKC tries to draw the attention of the people to the advice rendered.

Another example of a proverb that SKC uses to advice his opponents is, *kunena kwa ndithendithe, nanthambwe anadzitengera* (by saying I can, I can, the tailorbird got into trouble) in appendix L. Apart from using proverbs to advise his fellow politicians, SKC also uses proverbs to warn them against certain bad behaviour. For example, see an extract in Appendix I that contains the proverb, *mukawona mkango utanyowa, sikuti wasanduka mbuzi* (when you see a lion wet, it does not mean it has transformed into a goat) which deals with the theme of warning. SKC also uses proverbs to address other issues that interest him as shown in the section that follows.

4.3.4 Other themes

This section looks at other themes that SKC's proverbs highlight. For instance, using the proverbs, SKC presents his party, UTM as a better party compared to the other

parties, especially the ruling party, DPP which he considers evil. Consider extract 5 below:

Extract 5

Ndiye mukawona akutijoyina, mudziwa kuti kuli bwino ndi kuno, uko kwayipa. Mwambi wake nawu, mukawona mbuzi ikuthawa pa nsipu obiliwira, mudziwe kuti pali lithumbu (so when you see them joining us know that it is better here and it is not good over there. Here is the proverb, when you see a goat running away from green pastures, know that there are harmful/soldier ants).

In the extract above, SKC starts by comparing his party to other parties in Malawi and making reference to the idea that people are joining his party because it is better compared to the other parties where the people are coming from. This has been explained by the section that says, '*ndiye mukawona akutijoyina, mudziwa kuti kuli bwino ndi kuno, uko kwayipa*' (when you see them joining us, know that it is better here and not over there). Through this, SKC has presented the political context that people are joining his party because it is good compared to the other parties. SKC, then uses this political context to introduce the proverb *mukawona mbuzi ikuthawa pa nsipu obiliwira, mudziwe kuti pali lithumbu* (when you see a goat running away from green pastures, know that there are harmful ants), which should be understood within this context. Through this political context, we are able to interpret that SKC is not speaking about actual goats, ants and green pasture. He has resemiotised the concept of green pasture and mapped it to the ruling party then, the DPP. Being in power, the DPP had access to public funds which could easily be used for personal gains. *Mbuzi* (goat) is mapped to the followers of the ruling party and through our world knowledge, we know that goats love green pasture and they cannot leave where there is green pasture. *Linthumbu* (red ants) are mapped to the problems or troubles that become reasons why people leave the ruling party. Through our world knowledge, we also know that red ants are very dangerous; they can kill even a big animal. Therefore, using the political context and the metaphors *linthumbu* (red ants), *mbuzi* (goat) and *nsipu wobiriwira* (green pastures), SKC communicates that politicians are leaving seemingly good parties including the DPP and joining UTM because there are problems in those other parties.

SKC, through the proverb, could also be explaining why he left the DPP in 2018 without giving the actual reasons why he did so (Khamula, 2018). After winning on the DPP ticket, SKC still left the party and ended up forming his own. Through the proverb, Chilima has, therefore, avoided mitigation since he has not come out right and mentioned why he left the ruling government then, DPP or why people are leaving other parties and joining his. What SKC is doing with this proverb is to campaign for himself and his party by presenting other parties as full of evil. Thus, he uses the proverb to tell Malawians that his party is good and that the other parties are not. This is not uncommon in politics to have politicians positively campaign for themselves and decampaign their opponents (Lenard & Cosic, 2017). SKC also uses proverbs to ridicule other parties. For instance, see Appendix J, which provides an extract that has the proverb *mzimbe sadyera kutalika koma kuzuna* (the sugarcane is not sucked because it is tall, but because it is sweet) that ridicules the other political parties.

SKC further continues with his compare and contrast technique by presenting late Bingu wa Mutharika, the former president of Malawi, as a better leader than the President of Malawi, Professor Arthur Peter Mutharika. Consider extract 6 below:

Extract 6

*Ndigwirizane ndi a national chair kuti malemu Professor Bingu wa Mutharika , mzimu wawo uwuse mumtendere, nawonso adachitapo mbali yawo yayikulu kwabasi. Zikakhala zimene zikukanikazi, ayi **m'mimba ndi nchipala**. (Let me agree with the national chair that the late Prof Bingu wa Mutharika, may his soul rest in peace, did the best he could. But for these which are failing, oooh **the womb is like a blacksmith's forge**).*

In this extract, SKC uses the proverb *m'mimba ndi nchipala* (the womb is like a blacksmith's forge) to contrast the leadership of APM with that of his late brother Bingu wa Mutharika. In the extract, SKC begins by agreeing with what the National Chair said, stating that Bingu did his best in as far as development of Malawi as a country is concerned. This is contained in the expression, *ndigwirizane ndi a national chair kuti malemu Professor Bingu wa Mutharika, mzimu wawo uwuse mumtendere, nawonso adachitapo mbali yawo yayikulu kwabasi* (Let me agree with the national

chair that the late Prof Bingu wa Mutharika, may his soul rest in peace, did the best he could). By agreeing with the sentiments shared by the National Chairperson, SKC implies Bingu did his best to develop Malawi. He then takes advantage of this and compares the government of the late Bingu wa Mutharika with the government then of APM by saying, '*Zikakhala zimene zikukanikazi*' (as for these which are failing). The expression '*Zikakhala zimene zikukanikazi*' (as for these which are failing) presupposes APM is trying but he is not achieving. SKC here portrays that there are significant differences between Bingu's leadership and his brother's leadership in question, which was full of failures. To show that it is normal for people who are related through blood to behave differently, SKC introduces the proverb '*m'mimba ndi nchipala*' (the womb is like a blacksmith's forge).

In Chichewa, the proverb *m'mimba ndi nchipala* (the womb is like a blacksmith's forge) means children from the same family can have different personalities though they come from the same womb. This is taken from the understanding that like a blacksmith's forge, several elements go through the same forge but turn out differently, in a similar vein, children can be born from the same family but be different. We, therefore, see that SKC has repurposed the proverb. The idea of people born from the same family has been maintained while character has been replaced with leadership skills. Maintaining the cultural context is, therefore, effective in providing the information that is needed in the political context: Bingu and Peter are from the same family. The political context is helpful in refocusing the meaning from character to leadership hence, through the proverb SKC manages to argue that children from the same family can be different in leadership styles. By highlighting that Bingu did his best and comparing his leadership to that of his brother APM, SKC points out APM's negative attribute as a leader who lacks leadership skills. SKC, therefore, manages to present APM as not a better leader and hence decampaign him. He, thus, informs his audience not to vote for APM despite him being a brother to a better leader, late Bingu wa Mutharika.

4.4 Interim summary

To summarise, this section and the preceding sections have discussed how SKC repurposed the proverbs to create new meanings to communicate his political ideas. One outstanding observation is that SKC maintained the cultural context in which the

proverbs were consumed and this was crucial as it provided the background lens through which SKC's proverbs were understood. Also, the political context was added and this helped narrow and refocus the meaning of the proverbs such that political ideas were understood through cultural lens. The next section presents and discusses data on whether SKC's listeners were able to understand what SKC was trying to put across through the proverbs that he used.

4.5 Respondents' understanding and interpretation of Chilima's proverbs

This section assesses whether SKC's audience was able to interpret the proverbs that SKC used in his political campaign speeches. A sample of 20 proverbs was presented to 30 respondents to assess whether they were able to understand what the proverbs meant. The results have been presented in Table 5 below. In the first column, we have the proverbs that were presented to the respondents. In the second column, we have frequencies for the correct interpretations of the proverbs in the political contexts in which the proverbs were (re)used. In the third column, we have frequencies for interpretations that reflect the cultural context only. In the fourth column, we have frequencies for interpretations that are irrelevant in both cultural and political contexts and in the last column; we have 'I don't know'. For the actual interpretations that respondents gave on each proverb, refer to Appendix M.

Table 4.4: People's interpretation of the proverbs used by SKC

PROVERB	Interpretations that provide correct meaning in the political context in which the proverbs were (re)used	Interpretations that reflect cultural context only	Interpretations that are irrelevant	I don't know
Wamva ng'oma njake	20	5	5	0

Kunena kwa ndithendithe nanthambwe anadzitengera	17	12	1	0
Wamisala anawona nkhondo	14	16	0	0
Khotekhote ngwanjira palinga mtima mpomwepo	17	10	3	0
Mzimbe sadyera kusalika koma kuzuna	25	2	3	0
Mbewa zozama amapha ngamuwuni	10	6	5	9
M'mimba ndi nchipala	25	4	1	0
Fumbi ndiwe mwini	26	4	0	0
Malangizo alibe mpanda	30	0	0	0
Mthanga kunena anathawitsa likongwe wa apongozi	9	3	3	15
Mtengo waukulu ukamagwa pamakhala phokoso	15	13	2	0
Umafuna kaye	21	8	1	0

kukonza pakhomo pakopo, usanakonze kwa neba				
Kanthu kabwino saguza, kamachita mchenga	16	6	8	0
Mukadzawona makoswe akutuluka nyumba imodzi kupita ina, mudziwe kuti ufa bwatha	24	6	0	0
Mukawona mkango utanyowa sikuti wasanduka mbuzi	19	9	2	0
Njovu ikamadutsa m'mudzi agalu amawuwa	13	7	6	4
Ukachisaka koma uchiyimbire	16	14	0	0
Mbewa yapampani siwopa moto	12	13	5	0
Mukawona mbuzi ikuthawa pansipu wobiriwira dziwani kuti pali linthumbu	26	4	0	0
Matumbi satakasa	6	9	15	0
TOTAL SCORES	361	151	60	28

PERCENTAGES	60.2	25.2	10	4.7
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Table 4.4 above shows that out of the 600 interpretations, 361 (60.2%) were correct interpretations of the proverbs in the political contexts in which they were reproduced. This shows that many people were able to interpret the proverbs and understood what SKC was trying to communicate. The reasons people could interpret the proverbs that SKC used could be that the cultural context was maintained as SKC repurposed the proverbs. For instance, the proverb *m'mimba ndi nchipala* (the womb is like a blacksmith's forge) had 25 (83.3%) correct interpretations. In this proverb, as discussed above, the aspect of children from the same family being different was maintained, but a political context was added (refer to Extract 6 above). This made it easier for respondents to associate with the proverb by simply examining what was added. Additionally, as SKC resemiotised the proverbs he modified the proverbs in a manner that the new text was still a recognisable element of the original text (see e.g. Leppanen et.al, 2013). For example, the proverb *malangizo alibe mpanda* (advice has no fence) had 30(100%) correct interpretations since the change was minor. It made it easier for respondents to still recognise the proverb as they know it. As such, it was not hard to only examine the aspect that changed in order to determine its meaning.

In other cases, SKC added the political context which narrowed the interpretation of the proverb. This was important since it made it possible for people to make inferences from the information that was already available in the political context. For example, the proverb *mbuzi ikathawa pansipu wobiriwira, mudziwe kuti pali lithumbu* (when you see a goat running away from green pasture, know that there are harmful ants there) had 26 (87%) correct interpretations. The extract that contained the proverb provided the needed political context relevant for the interpretation of the proverb in question. Consider the extract; '*Ndiye mukawona akutijoina, mudziwa kuti kuli bwino ndi kuno, uko kwayipa. Mwambi wake nau, mukawona mbuzi ikuthawa pa nsipu obiliwira, mudziwe kuti pali linthumbu.*' (So when you see them joining us, know that it is good here, it is bad there. Here is the proverb, when you see a goat running away from green pasture, know that there are harmful ants there). In this extract, we notice that before the proverb is mentioned, there is a context that is

provided, *ndiye mukawona akutijoina, mudziwe kuti kuli bwino ndi kuno, uko kwayipa* (if you see them joining us, know that it is good here, it is bad there). This context describes that people are migrating from somewhere and joining UTM because it is good at UTM and bad elsewhere. It was enough for respondents to interpret the proverb as referring to people leaving other parties and joining the UTM because there is good at UTM compared to the other parties. Respondents were able to map the demonstratives *kuno* (here) and *uko* (there) to parties and not to places. This also demonstrates that respondents had knowledge of the political history (people moving from one party to another), and therefore, it was easier to relate that knowledge to this proverb.

Although we have a high percentage of correct interpretations, Table 4.4 also shows that some people had problems in interpreting the proverbs. The table indicates that 239 (39.8%) interpretations were not correct suggesting that not everyone was able to interpret the proverbs and understand what SKC was trying to communicate. This relates to the findings of Kunkeyani (2013) who argued that not everyone can understand and interpret proverbs. Our findings indicate that out of the 239 (39.8%) incorrect interpretations, 151 (25.2%) were interpretations that reflected the cultural context only. The interpretations suggest that respondents were able to understand what the proverbs mean in the cultural context in which they were produced but they could not relate this cultural context to the political context in which the proverbs were repurposed. This was because the political context needed one to know the political history of Malawi as well as to be up to date with current events in the country. For instance, the proverb *wamisala anawona nkhondo* (the mad man saw war) had 14 (46.7%) correct interpretations. In order to interpret this proverb correctly, one needed to know the information concerning the subject: Ben Kalindo also known as Winiko, a well-known comedian usually assumes a funny character, and acts like a mad man. One needed to have this information in order to make the connection with the cultural context. A lack of this led to people giving responses such as *anthu amangowoneka onyozeka* (some people just look worthless/useless), *wamisala amatha kukhala ndi ubwino* (a mad man can have goodness) and *wamisala anawona mavuto akubwera* (a mad man saw problems coming). All these are just cultural renderings of the proverb without taking into account the political context. None of these demonstrate a link with the political context in which SKC was telling

the audience that UTM will work with Winiko even though people consider him a mad man due to him being a comedian.

Additionally, others failed to interpret the proverbs correctly because the political context provided was unclear and hence insufficient. For example, the proverb *mbewa yapampani siwopa moto* (a dead mouse does not fear fire) which had 12 (40%) correct responses but had 13 (43.3%) responses that took into account the cultural context only. The extract in which the proverb was contained read, '*ndiye ndisanapitilire ndikupatsani mwambi wake oti musamawope. Mwambi oti musamawope, akuluakulu amanena kuti, **mbewa yapampani, siopa moto*** (before I continue, let me give you a proverb so that you do not fear. A proverb that you should not fear, the elders say, a dead mouse does not fear fire). We see that the extract does not have a clear context which respondents could use to interpret the proverb. Much as we get that the proverb was used to advise people not to fear as the expression, *mwambi oti musamawope*, we see that nothing more in the context helps respondents interpret what the proverb actually means in the political context in which the proverb was reproduced. Therefore, responses such as *munthu ukakhala pamavuto suwopa imfa* (when you are in trouble you are not afraid of death) and *chakufa sichiwopa chinthu chilli chonse* (a dead thing does not fear anything) were given as interpretations taking into account the cultural context only. Both responses show an understanding that the proverb is addressing the issue of not fearing anything. But the proverb was not just telling people not to be afraid, but it was recontextualised to give advice to people to not be afraid of intimidation from people from other parties. This link is what respondents lacked due to unclear political context provided.

Out of the 239 (39.8%) wrong interpretations, 60 (10%) were interpretations that were irrelevant in the context in which the proverbs were (re)produced. Proverbs that generated most irrelevant interpretations include; *matumbi satakasa* (we do not stir fresh fish) which had 15 (50%) irrelevant interpretations and the proverb *kanthu kabwino saguza kamachita mchenga* (good things are not dragged, they accumulate dust) which had 8 (26.6%) irrelevant responses. These responses were irrelevant since they failed to relate to neither political context nor cultural context. In the given interpretations, we notice that respondents focused on lexical items that they manipulated to give a response which was irrelevant. For example, to the proverb,

matumbi satakasa (we do not stir fish) respondents gave the response *tisatekeseke kuwopa kuwononga zinthu* (we should not be shaken to avoid damaging things). When we examine this response, we see that it focused on the word *satakasa* (do not stir) and then formed *tisatekese* (we should not be moved) to give an interpretation. Even though the two words are different and mean different things but they have similarities in pronunciation and this could have been the reason respondents focused on that. However, the meaning of the proverb is that there is always a right way of doing things, and therefore, the interpretation given fails to get close to this. Respondents also gave responses that did not seem to make sense. For instance, the proverb *kanthu kabwino saguza kamachita mchenga* (good things are not dragged, they accumulate dust). The meaning of the proverb is that care should be exercised where good things are concerned to avoid ruining them. In the political context provided, UTM is a good party, therefore, people should exercise care to avoid tarnishing the image of UTM. With the response *pali zabwino sizipitilira* (where there are good things, they do not continue), it is very hard to relate how respondents came to this response. However, it could be explained that these proverbs gave problems because their context of usage is unfamiliar since they are newly created proverbs.

Furthermore, the table shows that out of the 239 (39.8%) incorrect interpretations 28 (4.7%) were cases where no interpretation was given. The respondents just responded *sindikudziwa* (I don't know). A good example of a proverb that generated this response is *mthanga kunena anathawitsa likongwe wa apongozi* (he who hurried to speak let go of his mother-in-law's ferret) with 15 (50%) of the responses registering 'I don't know'. This proverb falls in the category of proverbs with an underlying story according to Chakanza (2000). This means that its interpretation is dependent on an understanding of the background and then relating that to the new context. The meaning of this particular proverb is that one needs to be careful when making promises; only make promises that you can fulfil. Or that one should only comment on things they have knowledge on. In the context in which it was reproduced, the meaning was that people of the other parties should only speak that which they can do and not be hypocrites. The meaning is drawn from an understanding of the backstory; an in-law who hurried to say the one who will let the ferret run away should be chased away from the village, only for him to be the one who did just that. Therefore, the reason half of the responses (50%) gave 'I don't know' could be that respondents

failed to relate the proverb to the backstory. The other reason why respondents gave the response ‘I don’t know’ could simply be that the proverb is obsolete. The same reason could be proposed for the proverb *mbewa zozama amapha ngamuwuni* (only those with light can kill the deepest hiding mice) which had 9 (30%) responses that said ‘I don’t know’. It could be said that this proverb caused problems because it is obsolete hence, respondents could not access its cultural context. These proverbs are rarely used in the modern Malawi as such many youthful people are not aware of the proverbs hence, they could not even access the cultural context in which they are supposed to be consumed. Mieder (2015) argues that older traditional proverbs can disappear if they no longer fit the modern world.

In a nutshell, the findings of this section lead us to conclude that SKC was able to communicate to his audience. People were able to interpret the proverbs that he used. However, not everyone was able to interpret and understand all proverbs that SKC (re)used due to unclear political context, lack of knowledge of the political history associated with the proverb, lack of knowledge of current affairs and lack of knowledge of the cultural context. Thus, the implication of the findings is that for mass communication, (i) care should be exercised when choosing which proverbs to use, simple proverbs should be preferred over complex proverbs that involve a complex cultural context (underlying story) and (ii) when creating proverbs, the same principle applies, create easy proverbs and these should be supported with a clear context for easy interpretation.

4.6 Chapter summary

The chapter has shown that SKC used a lot of proverbs in his political campaign speeches. He used proverbs that are already in use and those which he created to communicate his political agenda. Most of the proverbs that he used were simple proverbs with two phrases and simple metaphors. However, he also used proverbs that had underlying stories. The major functions of the proverbs used by SKC were to advise, criticise, ridicule and warn his political opponents. The chapter has also discussed how meaning was created through these proverbs in the contexts in which they were (re)used. Meaning was created through maintenance of the cultural context of the proverb, resemiotising the proverb through addition of the political context to the proverb, replacing a lexical item with another as well as mapping of concepts in

the proverb to the political context. The last objective involved examining whether SKC's audience was able to interpret the proverbs that he used. Results show that the audience was able to understand and interpret the proverbs. However, not everyone understood and interpreted all the proverbs correctly. The next chapter presents a summary of the study, highlighting the major findings and conclusions. It also highlights areas for further research.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

5.1 Chapter Preview

This chapter provides a summary of the findings of the study and the conclusions drawn from the findings. Section 5.2 restates the research aim and objectives which guided the study. The research findings are summarised in Section 5.2.1 according to the objectives that the study set out. Section 5.3 highlights the contribution of this research to the study of proverbs and political discourse in general and this is followed by Section 5.4 which further highlights some areas for further research. Finally, Section 5.5 provides a summary of this chapter.

5.2 Research aims and objectives

The study sought to examine the use of proverbs as a campaign tool by SKC. The main purpose of the study was to analyse how Saulos Klaus Chilima exploited proverbs to advance his political agenda. But before we go into the summary of the findings, the research was guided by the following specific objectives;

- a) To identify proverbs in selected political campaign speeches of SKC
- b) To examine how new meanings are created in the new contexts in which the proverbs are (re)produced to advance SKC's political agenda.
- c) To assess if people were able to interpret the proverbs that SKC used.

The next section, therefore, presents the findings of the research as guided by these specific research objectives.

5.3 Summary of findings according to research objectives

5.3.1 To identify proverbs in selected political campaign speeches of SKC

The findings of the study show that SKC used a lot of proverbs in his political campaign speeches categorised as pure proverbs (those that were used in their original forms without any modification), modified proverbs (those that were modified) and newly coined proverbs. The proverbs were simple and made up of two parts. They had structures such as X=Y and if X then Y. Most proverbs had the declarative function and a few had the imperative function.

5.3.2 *To examine how new meanings are created in the new context in which the proverbs are (re)produced to advance SKC's political agenda*

In relation to meaning creation and the political agenda advanced by the proverbs, the study has revealed that SKC used most of his proverbs to criticise his political opponents, to associate his political opponents with the problems and evils experienced in Malawi such that people would see them in negative light and him in positive light. He also used the proverbs to offer advice and warning to his political opponents. He managed to do this through recontextualising and resemiotising the proverbs by maintaining the cultural context in which the proverbs are consumed, which provided the lens through which his audience saw the acts that SKC was questioning, adding the political context, which narrowed down or refocused the meaning of the proverbs and replaced some lexical items with other items. SKC also mapped several concepts in the proverbs to events, processes or even elements in the actual world or political context in which the proverbs were contained to bring meaning.

5.3.3 *To assess if the people were able to interpret the proverbs that Chilima used*

Regarding whether SKC's audience was able to interpret and understand the proverbs he used, the results have shown that most people (361 of the total 600 responses that were correct) were able to interpret the proverbs. However, the results also reveal that some proverbs were not easy for some people to interpret and understand due to unclear political contexts and lack of knowledge of the political and cultural affairs in the country.

5.4 Conclusion

The thesis concludes that proverbs are a tool that can be exploited for various purposes including their use as political campaign tool due to their flexibility in terms of meaning creation and structures that allow modification. The thesis further concludes that both context of production and the political context in which the proverb is (re)produced are important to finding the meaning of a proverb if they are used as a political tool. A proverb cannot be interpreted politically if the political context is either insufficient or missing despite the cultural context being maintained. In addition, the thesis concludes that the choice of proverbs has a bearing on

understanding by the audience. If a proverb is out of fashion, it becomes difficult to interpret as the users lack cultural context to refer to despite the political context being rich. This, therefore, may lead to communication failure.

5.5 Contribution of the study

The study has contributed literature to the use of proverbs especially in the Malawian political circle and the study of proverbs in general. Additionally, the study gives insights on how meaning is created through resemiotisation and concept mapping. Mostly, how aspects in the background knowledge, political history and current affairs are resemiotised and mapped to concepts in the proverbs to create meaning in the context in which the proverb has been (re)produced. The findings of the study could help understand how politicians manipulate proverbs and whether the manipulated proverbs have a bearing on people's understanding of the same.

5.6 Areas for further research

This study has focused on how SKC (re)used proverbs to create new meanings to advance his political propaganda and whether people were able to understand and interpret his proverbs. However, there is need to examine the motivation behind SKC's use of the proverbs and what he wanted to achieve through them. Further, a larger scale study to assess if people were able to understand and interpret his proverbs can be done. Our study was confined by time and space and therefore a small sample was used. A larger nation-wide sample would be ideal as more variables can be added to make this assessment.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Sampled speech extracts containing proverbs used to collect data

1. Mtengo waukulu ukamagwa, pamakhala phokoso

Ndiye pomalizira, timalize ndi mwambi otsekera walero makamaka chifukwa cha anthu amene akusokosasokosawa tikanena izi, atsutse, apite apa atinene izi, iwowo ndi zawo pachingerezi amati, kick of a dying horse. Koma pa Chichewa, mau ake amamveka bwino. Amanena kuti, **mtengo waukulu ukamangwa, pamakhala phokoso.**

2. Umafuna kaye kukonza pakomo pakopo, usanakonze kwa neba

Kunoko kuno, kuno kuli zinthu izi; eyapoti, tiyambira pamenepo, ayepoti ili kuno, Nkula A, B, Tedzani 1, 2 ndi 3; zonse zili konkuno. Koma magetsi madera ena akonkuno kufupi ndi Nkulako, kufupi ndi Tedzaniko, magetsi kulibeko iyayi. Kufupi ndi Water ferry imene imakamwetsa anthu madzi ku Limboko, kunoko kuno, madera akuno, madzi kulibe iyayi. **Ndiye amanena kuti, umafuna kaye kukonza pakomo pakopo usanakonze kwa neba.** Ifeyo tufuna anthu akuno ku Blantyre City West Constituency kuno, magetsi amene amasamuka nkumakawalitse ku Lilongwe, adziyamba awalitsa kaye kunoko asanafike ku Lilongweko. Madzi amene amakamwetsa anthu a ku Limbe asanafike kumeneko, adziyamba awamwa kuno, nchikuliko

3. Kanthu kabwino saguza, kamachita mchenga

Mwambi walero nawu, **kanthu kabwino saguza, kamachita mchenga.** Izi zabwino izi sitiguza ayi, tiyamba kuononga eee ziziyenda zokha ndiye UTM imeneyo. Ina itatu ikubwera, ikhala mkatimo

4. Wamva ng'oma njake

Poyambilira, monga mwamwambo wake, pamafunika mau otisogolera. Mwambi tiyika kumapeto. Koma awa amangokhala mau otisogolera. Zimene amafotokoza anthu ena pano, umati munthu ukamakamba nkhani, ena amazinyumwa kuti kodi akunena ine, awa akunena ife, bwanji mukutere, eh bwanji mukutere. Kuzinyumwa, kale ankati, **wamva ng'oma njake.** Koma mau ake m'Chichewa chothyakuka bwino amatero kuti, **yayimba tcha, zikaterere timati yamenyetse bombono.**

5. Mukadzaona makoswe akutuluka mnyumba imodzi, kupita ina, mudziwe kuti ufa bwatha.

Tonsefe ndi udindo wathu kutengapo mbali osaonerera iyayi. Ena atsogola kale; a Foloma, a CK Banda akubwera, a Saonda ndi awa milungu iwiri yapita atijoina. Bwerani nonse bwerani tikhale pamodzi tigwire ntchito. Titukule dzikoli chifukwa amanena kuti, **mukadzaona makoswe akutuluka mnyumba imodzi, kupita ina, mudziwe kuti ufa bwatha.**

6. Kunena kwa ndithendithe, nanthambwe anadzitengera.

Tialangize amene amakonda kulankhula moyerekedwa, mwachibwana kuti; oyamba si iwowo. Kunali anzawo; omveka, otchuka, oopedwa, adapita. Iwowa azidziwa kuti naonso lidzakwana tsiku adzapita. Amanena kuti, **kunena kwa ndithendithe, nanthambwe anadzitengera.** Asadzitengere.

7. Mukaona mkango utanyowa sikuti wasanduka mbuzi

Kuti mumve bwino amene mukuchita zimenezi, amene mukuona ngati mtundu wa a Malawi ndiopusa, mwambi wake nawu, **mukaona mkango utanyowa, sikuti wasanduka mbuzi.** Ndiye a Malawi akafatsa chonchi, musayese ngati sakuona. Pa 21 May 2019 mikango ili apayi idzaluma kuchotsa mbava zimene zikutibera mafuta athu.

8. Mthanga kunena anathawitsa likongwe la apongozi

Mwambi wake omalizira nawu. Uthenga uwu ukupita kwa iwo amene ali ma hypocrites, amanena zina, namachita zosiyana ndi zimene akunenazo. Tisatukwane, koma iwo pamsonkhano ndiye kutukwana. Ndiye mau ake kuti muwamve musamayiwale muziwakumbukira pa Chichewa amatero kuti **mthanga kunena anathawitsa likongwe la apongozi.** Ambuye akudalitseni, musathawitse likongwe la apongozi. Tizinena zokha zimene ife tingakwanitse kuchita

9. Njovu ikamadutsa m'mudzi agalu amauwa

Ndiye mutimvetsere, awo owuwawuwawo alekeni, amanena kuti **njobvu ikamadutsa m'mudzi, agalu amauwa.** Chifukwa agalu amaopa chimene chilli chachikulu kuposa iyeyo. Tikumvana eti? Ndiye akaona njobvu pang'onopang'ono wayamba

wayambapo kuopa chinthu chachikulu. Talowamo m'mudzimo tufuna tigwire ntchito, abauwa, ndi ntchito yao imeneyi.

10. Malangizo alibe mpanda

Kenako nditapempha ndisanalankhule, anzathu tonse amene tikupanga misonkhano yosiyanasiyana kuphatikizapo ife amene tili ku UTM ndi ena. Ife tikunena kuti, tizikamba zathu, enawo ndi zawo, koma, **malangizo alibe mpanda**. Timafuna tikambe za misonkhanoyi. Zaka 54, anthu tanyozana, kunyoza, kutukwanizana, wakuti, uje, kutchulana mayina mnzosathandiza komanso zikhoza kubweretsa chipwiritkiti mu dziko, ndiye mumisonkhanomu, tiyeni anthuwa tizikawauza mfundo kuti akakhutira ndi mfundozo ndiye chaka cha mawa akativotere. Sakativotera chifukwa tikutukwana. Kale makolo amatitsina tikakhala kuti sitikuyankhula bwino.

11. Ukachisaka koma uchiyimbire

Ndiye zimenezo tiziunika ndipo chaka cha mawa chino mumva kukoma. Mutikhulupilire ine chifukwa amanena kuti munthu sumadziyimbira wekha eti, **ukachisaka koma uchiyimbire**. Ndiye awo amene anakandisaka samandiyimbira iyayi ndiye mwina ndidziyimbire ndekha kwa leroli

12. Mbewa ya pampani siopa moto

Ndiye ndisanapitilire ndikupatsani mwambi wake oti musamaope. Mwambi oti musamaope, akuluakulu amanena kuti, **mbewa yapampani, siopa moto**.

13. Mukaona mbuzi ikuthawa pansipu wobiliwira, mudziwe kuti pali linthumbu

Ndiye mukaona akutijoina, mudziwa kuti kuli bwino ndi kuno, uko kwayipa. Mwambi wake nau, **mukaona mbuzi ikuthawa pa nsipu obiliwira, mudziwe kuti pali linthumbu**.

14. Wamisala anaona nkhondo

Kunonso ku Mulanje kuno kuli anthu ena olimba mtima; Honorable Bon Kalindo, a Winiko awa amawatenga ngati ndi a misala anthu ena, chabwino palibe kanthu

wamisala anaona nkondo. Nkhondo yake ndi imeneyi.. inu mudziona ngati ndi a misala, ife koma tikuona kuti amenewa tigwira nawo ntchito limodzi.

15. Khotekhote ngwanjira palinga mtima mpomwepo

Zimene taziyamba ifezi, rivesi tinathyola tinasiya uko, manthanso tinathyola tinasiya uko, tikuyenda kupita patsogolo ndipo mau ake paChichewa amamveka bwino akamanena kuti **khotekhote ngwanjira, palinga mtima mpomwepo.** Ndiye palinga mtima wa ife tikupadziwa, ndiye simutisokoneza, simutiopseza chifukwa palibe chifukwa choti tikuopereni iyayi.

16. Matumbi satakasa

Izizi ndikunena panozi, machitidwe ake tikuwadziwa ndife; chilichonse chimakhala ndi machitidwe ake, ndipo mwambi wake otsekera ogwirizana ndi zimenezi zonena kuti chilichonse chilli ndi machitidwe ake. Amanena kuti, **matumbi satakasa.**

17. Mzimbe sadyera kutalika koma kuzuna

Kuno ku Nchalo tili kuno, ulimi umene unakula msikhu kuno nkhani yayikulu ndi ulimi wa mzimbe. Enanu mzimbeyo mumangoyiona, nkumaona shuga akupangidwa, molasisi tikuthira m'misewu wina tikudyetsa ng'ombe koma mumzimbemo muli mwambi eeh amatero kuti **mzimbe sadyera kutalika koma kuzuna.** Anthu mukamakavota mudzisankha chipani osatero kuti chakhalitsa ndi chiti iyayi koma chimene chili ndi mfundo zotchakuka, chimene chiti chibweretsa kuzuna moyo wozuna kwa mtundu wa a Malawi; chimenecho ndiye chimene ife tidabwerera.

18. Mbewa zozama amapha ngamuuni

Amatero pa Chichewa kuti, **mbewa zozama amapha ngamuuni** chifukwa zimatuluka usiku okhaokha. Muuni ndiye chizindikiro cha UTM kapena kuti kuwala, mbewa zozamazo zikaona kuwala zimatuluka ndiye amagwira nkumadya mbewa zozama amapha ngamuuni

19. Fumbi ndiwe mwini

Madzi ochokera ku Mpira ayambe kumwa anthu aku Ntcheu konkuno, **Fumbi ndiwe mwini.** Aalawe kaye kuti madziwa ngabwino, ndiye adzipita ku Balaka.

20. M'mimba ndi nchipala

Ndigwirizane ndi a national chair kuti malemu Professor Bingu wa Mutharika , mzimu wao uuse mumtendere, nawonso adachitapo mbali yawo yayikulu kwabasi. Zikakhala zimene zikukanikazi, ayi **m'mimba ndi nchipala.**

Appendix A: Interview guides

APPENDIX B (i): INTERVIEW GUIDE IN CHICHEWA

Mtengambali_____

1. BIODATA

- a. **Mamuna/Mkazi** Mamuna [_____] Mkazi
[_____]
- b. **Zaka** 18-35 [_____] 35-50 [_____] 50 ndi
kupyola[_____]

2. MAFUNSO OTSOGOLERA PA MWAMBI ULIWONSE

1. Kodi mukuganiza kuti mwambiwu ukutanthauza chani?
2. Nanga mukuona kuti mwambiwu ukukamba za chani kapena yani?

APPENDIX B (ii): INTERVIEW GUIDE IN ENGLISH

RESPONDENT NO_____

1. BIODATA

- c. **Sex** Male ☐ Female ☐
- d. **Age** 18-35 ☐ 35-50 ☐ 50 above
 ☐

2. GUIDING QUESTIONS ON EACH PROVERB

1. What do you think this proverb means?
2. What do you think this proverb is referring to?

Appendix C: Recording sheet in English

RESPONDENT NO _____

1. BIODATA

a) **Sex** Male ☐ Female ☐

b) **Age** 18-35 ☐ 35-50 ☐ 50 above
 ☐

2. PROVERB RESPONSES

PROVERBS	RESPONSES
1. Mtengo waukulu ukamagwa, pamakhala phokoso	
2. Umafuna kaye kukonza pakhomo pakopo, usanakonze kwa neba	
3. Kanthu kabwino saguza, kamachita mchenga	
4. Wamva ngoma njake	
5. Mukadzaona makoswe akutuluka mnyumba imodzi kupita ina, mudziwe kuti ufa bwatha	
6. Kunena kwa ndithendithe Nanthambwe anadzitengera	
7. Mukaona mkango utanyowa, sikuti wasanduka mbuzi	
8. Mthanga kunena anathawitsa likongwe la apongozi	

9. Njovu ikamadutsa m'mudzi, agalu amauwa	
10. Malangizo alibe mpanda	
11. Ukachisaka koma uchiyimbire	
12. Mbewa yapampani siopa moto	
13. Mukaona mbuzi ikuthawa pansipu wobiliwira, mudziwe kuti pali linthumbu	
14. Wamisala anaona nkondo	
15. Khotekhote ngwanjira, palinga mtima mpomwepo	
16. Matumbi satakasa	
17. Mzimbe sadyera kutalika koma kuzuna	
18. Mbewa zozama amapha ngamuuni	
19. Fumbi ndiwe mwini	
20. M'mimba ndi nchipala	

Appendix D: Consent Form

APPENDIX A(i): CONSENT FORM IN ENGLISH

Study Title: An examination of Saulos Klaus Chilima's use of proverbs as a campaign tool

Researcher: Deborah Ndalama, MA candidate, African Languages and Linguistics Department, University Malawi, Chancellor College.

Purpose of the Research

Examining how SKC uses proverbs as a campaign tool

I am Deborah Ndalama, an MA student in the Department of African Languages and Linguistics, University of Malawi, Chancellor College. As partial fulfilment of my degree, I am investigating how SKC used proverbs as campaign tools for the 2019 general elections.

The main aim of my research will be to analyse how SKC exploited proverbs to advance his political agenda.

The study is geared towards achieving the following:

- a) To identify proverbs in selected political campaign speeches of SKC
- b) To examine how new meanings are created in the new context in which the proverbs are reproduced to advance his political agenda.
- c) To assess if the people were able to interpret the proverbs that SKC used

My main supervisor is Doctor Mervis Kamanga in the Department of African Languages and Linguistics, University of Malawi, Chancellor College. She can be contacted at +265 888 396 471 or mkamanga@cc.ac.mw. The co-supervisor is Doctor Jean Chavula in the same department. She can be contacted on +265 881 368 596

My contact details are as follows: Deborah Ndalama, African Languages and Linguistics Dept., University of Malawi, Chancellor College, Phone: +265 881 224 519 or dndalama@gmail.com.

I would therefore like to request that you form part of my research study. If this permission is granted, the following will be required of you:

- As a participant, you will be required to listen to either an audio clip that contains a proverb that SKC used or a speech extract which I will read in your hearing.
- You will have to listen attentively and at the end you will be expected to answer questions that centre on providing meanings of the proverbs you would have heard.

I _____ have agreed to take part in this research by Deborah Ndalama who is examining the use of proverb by SKC as campaign tools.

I understand and agree to the following

- That my participation is voluntary, as such, I can refuse to listen or answer any questions
- That I can choose to stop participating in this research at any time and that doing so does not attract any consequences on me
- Should I withdraw in the middle of the research, all data collected on me will be destroyed and not used for this study
- That participation in this research could take 20-30 minutes of my time
- That all data being gathered in this research is held in confidence and that my name will not be mentioned in the research report or any other publication of the same and that only the researcher will have access to this data.

By signing below, I indicate my consent to participate in the study where I will be required to give meanings to proverbs. I know that the researcher will also write a report on the findings, I therefore give my permission to the researcher to use my answers for that cause.

Signature_____

Date_____

Participant

Signature_____

Date_____

Researcher

APPENDIX D (ii): CONSENT FORM IN CHICHEWA

Kafukufuku woyang'ana momwe Saulos Klaus Chilima amagwiritsira ntchito miyambi ngati chida cha kampeni

Wochita kafukufuku: Deborah Ndalama, wophunzira wa ku Dipatimenti ya ziyankhulo ya African Languages and Linguistics, ku Chancellor College, Yunivesite ya Malawi ku Zomba, Malawi.

Cholinga cha Kafukufuku:

Kufufuza momwe a SKC amagwiritsira ntchito miyambi monga chida cha kampeni

Ine, Deborah Ndalama, ndine wophunzira wa ku Dipatimenti ya ziyankhulo ya African Languages and Linguistics, ku Chancellor College, Yunivesite ya Malawi. Monga mbali yokwaniritsa digiri yanga, ndikupanga kafukufuku wofufuza momwe miyambi imagwiritsidwira ntchito monga chida cha kampeni kwenikweni poyang'ana mu zoyankhula za a SKC.

Cholinga chenicheni cha kafukufuku wanga ndi kufufuza momwe a SKC anagwiritsira ntchito miyambi mu nthawi ya kampeni ya zisankho za muchaka cha 2019, kuti afotokozere anthu momveka bwino zolinga zawo za ndale.

Kafukufukuyu achita zinthu izi:

- (a) Kupeza miyambi yosiyanasiyana mu zoyankhula zosankhika za a SKC
- (b) Kuzukuta momwe matanthauzo atsopano akupangidwira ndi miyambiyo mu malo momwe miyambiyo yagwiritsidwa ntchito
- (c) Kufufuza ngati anthu amakwanitsa kumasulira miyambiyo.

Wondiunikila wamkulu pa kafukufuku ameneyu ndi a Dr Mervis Kamanga a ku Dipatimenti ya African Languages and Linguistics, ku Chancellor College, Yunivesite ya Malawi. Iwo mukhoza kuwapeza pa nambala iyi +265 888 396 471 kapena kuwalembela kalata yoyenda pa magesi ku adilesi iyi mkamanga@cc.ac.mw. Iwowa akugwira ntchito yoyang'anira ntchitoyi limodzi ndi Dr Jean Chavula aku Dipatimenti yomweyi. Iwowanso mukhoza kuwapeza pa nambala iyi +265 881 368 596

Kotelo ndikufuna ndikupempheni kuti mutenge nawo gawo pa kafukufuku wanga. Ngati wavomeleza kutelo, mukuyembekezereka kuchita zinthu izi:

- Monga wotenga nawo gawo pa kafukufukuyu, mukuyembekezereka kumvetsera pamene ndikuwerenga ziganizo zimene SKC anayankhula zimene zili ndi miyambi mkati mwake .
- Mukuyembekezereka kumvetsera mwachidwi chifukwa pamapeto pake muzayankha mafunso ofotokoza matanthauzo a miyambi yomwe mutafunsidwe

Ine _____ ndavomereza kutenga nawo gawo mukafukufuku woyang'ana momwe a SKC anagwiritsira ntchito miyambi kuti akwaniritse zolinga zawo zandale yemwe wofufuza wake ndi Deborah Ndalama.

Ndavomereza ndipo ndamvetsetsa zotsatirazi:

- Ndikutenga nawo mbali mukafukufukuyu mwakufuna kwanga osati mokakamizidwa, kotero ndili ndi ufulu okana kutenga nawo gawo mukafukufukuyu
- Ndili ndi ufulu okana kuyankha mafunso ena amene ndingafunsidwe munthawi yamafunso
- Ndikhoza kusiya kutenga nawo gawo mukafukufukuyi nthawi ina ili yonse yomwe ndingafune kutero ndipo sindizalandira chilango chamtundu wina uli wonse
- Ngati ndasankha kusiya kutenga nawo gawo mukafukufukuyi, mayankho onse omwe ndikhale nditapereka sadzagwiritsidwa ntchito mu kafukufukuyi.
- Kutenga nawo mbali kunditengera nthawi pafupifupi mphindi 20 kapena 30
- Dzina langa silidzatchulidwa muzolembedwa za kafukufukuyi komanso mayankho anga adzasungidwa mwachinsinsi ndi mosamalitsa kuti yekhayo amene akupanga kafukufukuyi ndi amene adzakhale ndi mwayi wowona mayankhowa.

Pakusayina m'musimu, ndikuvomera kutenga nawo gawo mukafukufukuyi amene nditafunsidwe kupereka matanthauza a miyambi yosiyanasiyana. Ndikudziwa kuti

mayankhowa adzagwiritsidwa ntchito ndi wofufuza polemba zotsatira zonse ndipo ndikupereka chilolezo kuti akhoza kutero.

Siginecha _____

Tsiku

Mtengambali

Siginecha _____

Tsiku

Wofufuza

Appendix B: Proverb tackling the sub-theme of corruption under the broader theme of Malawi in acute problems

*Ndikubwerera m'mbuyo, kuganiza mopanda nzeru, kumawopseza mafumu chifukwa choti mafumu akutsogolera anthu njira yolondola. Alondolereni anthu aku Nkhotakota abwere ku UTM. Akakuchotsani, kaya akumanani tochepa timene akukupatsani **tinyenga a nyakwawato**, tochepato, miyezi imene yatsalayi ndi 7 yokha, tidzakubwenzerani ma arrears komanso tidzabwenza papakulu musawope iyayi* (it is backward thinking to frighten chiefs because chiefs are leading people in the right path. Lead people from Nkhotakota to UTM. If they sack you, or deny you the little money which they give you, **the little money for bribing chiefs**, the remaining 7 months, we will give you back your arrears and we will repay you in huge amounts. Do not fear).

Appendix C: Proverb tackling the sub-theme of planning under the broad theme of transformation

*Ngati sitipangapo mwansanga ndondomeko zabwino zowona za ulimi, za umoyo, za maphunziro ndi zitukuko zosiyanasiyana, tidzayika mibado ya mtsogoloko pachiwopsezo mwina mpakana anthu kumatibulana kumene chifukwa chonena kuti 1, malo palibe, kotumiza ana ku sukulu kulibe; mzipatala mankhwala mulibe. Nchifukwa chake masomphenya akufunika kuti tiziika patali, amanena kuti, **kulumpha dzenje, nkuliwonera patali apo**, mukalilumphabwino (if we do not make good plans for farming, health and education and various developments, we will put the upcoming generations in jeopardy of civil strike because 1, there will be no place to send children to school, hospitals have no medicine. This is why there is need for vision so we can see far, they say leaping over a pit is seeing it from afar and then you will successfully leap it).*

Appendix D: Proverb tackling the sub-theme of empowerment under the broad theme of transformation

*Tikufuna tibwenzeretse zimene zinaliko kale chifukwa chonena kuti nthawi imeneyo amene anali alimi amasangalala. Mulanje Canning Factory, kaya ndi Small Holder Tea Factories zimene zinatha nzinkalembe ntchito anthu. Ngati sizingatsegulidwe zomwezo, tikufuna ma kampani abwere adzilemba ntchito achinyamata muli apa, azimayi muli apa kuti mudzitha kupititsa moyo wanu patsogolo, kusamalira mabanja anthu moyenerera osati mudzidalira kuti ena ake abwere kuti atipatse zongolandiritsa **zopempha ndi zolandira zimachotsetsa ulemu**. Koma aliyense akhale ndikuthekera, akhale oyima payekha (we want to bring back what was there in the past because those who were farmers then used to enjoy. Mulanje Canning Factory, Smallholder Tea Factories which closed used to employ people. If we cannot reopen those, we want companies to come and employ the youth present here, the women present here so that you should be able to improve your lives, caring for your families and not rely on others to come and give us handouts, and handouts make one lose their self-respect. But everyone should have the ability to stand on their own).*

Appendix E: Proverb tackling the sub-theme of seizing opportunity under the broad theme of empowerment

*Lero ndinabwera ndi mwambi wanga woyambira koma nditafika pa Njerepo, a Mfumu a pamenepo anaponya miyambi yawo itatu ndiye umodziwo ndinaona ngati ndiwuwonjezere payanga iwiri chifukwa unandigwira mtima kwabasi. Akuti, **ukafuna kupatuka, patukiratu chifukwa pobwera umadzapeza tchire atatenthapo.** Ndiye mawu amenewa akunena inuyo kuti, loweranitu, nthawi yache ndi ino chifukwa ichi chipani cha UTM chilibe mwini wake, nchatonse, tiyeni tonse tilowe, tigwire ntchito limodzi, tikonze dziko lathu, tikonze tsogolo la ana athu ali apawa (today I had come with a proverb but when I reached Njerepo, the chief of that place used three proverbs and one of those I thought I should add to my two because it impressed me. He says, if you want to go aside and deficate, do so then because when coming you may find the bush has been cleared. These words are for you, come to UTM, this is the time because this party has no owner, it is for us all. Let us work together to make our country better, we should make a better future for our children who are here).*

Appendix F: Proverb tackling the theme of warning

*Mafuta athu 4 million atibwenzere chifukwa timagulira ndalama za misonkho ndiye mapepala ake ndili nawo. Monday popeza kuti kufufuza amene akumatiotchela magalimoto athu ku Mangochi kwayima, ife zofufuza kuti waba mafuta ndani. Tifufuza tokha. Tifufuza tokha. Tiwuzana zotsatira zake sitimangoti mafuta abedwa 3 miliyoni litazi, mawa lake abedwa 4 miliyoni, kuwayesa a Malawi ngati anthu osazindikira. Ndiye tikudziwitseni kuti anthu a ku Malawi kuno ndi anthu ozindikira ndipo mudzawadziwa kuti ndiwozindikira pa 21 May 2019. Kuti mumve bwino amene mukuchita zimenezi, amene mukuwona ngati mtundu wa a Malawi ndiwopusa, mwambi wake nawu, **mukawona mkango utanyowa, sikuti wasanduka mbuzi.** Ndiye a Malawi akafatsa chonchi, musayese ngati sakuwona. Pa 21 May 2019 mikango ili apayi idzaluma kudutsa mbava zimene zikutibera mafuta athu (they should return 4 million litres of our oil because we buy it with our taxes, I have papers for this. Monday, because investigations into who is setting our cars on fire in Mangochi have been postponed, we will find out who stole our oil. We will tell each other the findings, we shouldn't just say 3 million litres of oil has been stolen and then the next day, 4 million litres, treating Malawians as stupid. So we are telling you that Malawians are not stupid and that they are wise people and you will realise this on 21st May 2019. For those of you who are doing this to clearly understand, those of you who think Malawians are foolish, here is a proverb for you to better understand; **when you see a lion wet, it does not mean it has transformed into a goat.** So even if Malawians are this quiet, do not think they are not seeing. On 21st May 2019, these lions that are here will bite more than the thieves who are stealing our oil).*

Appendix G: Proverb tackling other themes: Other parties

*Enanu mzimbeyo mumangoyiwona, nkumawona shuga akupangidwa, molasi tikuthira m'misewu wina tikudyetsa ng'ombe koma mumzimbemo muli mwambi amatero kuti **mzimbe sadyera kotalika koma kuzuna**. Anthu mukamakavota mudzisankha chipani osatengera kuti chakhalitsa ndi chiti iyayi koma chimene chili ndi mfundo zotchakuka, chimene chiti chibweretsa kuzuna, moyo wozuna kwa mtundu wa a Malawi. Chimenecho ndiye chimene ife tidabwerera (some of you just see the sugarcane, seeing sugar being made from it, molasses being put into roads and some feeding cattle. But there is a proverb associated with sugarcane, the proverb says **we do not eat sugarcane because it is tall but because it is sweet**. When you go to vote choose a party without considering which party has been in existence for a long time but the one that has constructive points, the one that will bring improved welfare of Malawians. That is what we have come here for).*

Appendix H: Proverb tackling the sub-theme of empowerment

*Kunoko kuno, kuno kuli zinthu izi; eyapoti, tiyambira pamenepo, ayepoti ili kuno, Nkula A, B, Tedzani 1, 2 ndi 3; zonse zili konkuno. Koma magetsi madera ena akonkuno kufupi ndi Nkulako, kufupi ndi Tedzaniko, magetsi kulibeko iyayi. Kufupi ndi Water ferry imene imakamwetsa anthu madzi ku Limboko, kunoko kuno, madera akuno, madzi kulibe iyayi. **Ndiye amanena kuti, uma funa kaye kukonza pakhomu pakopo usanakakonze kwa neba.** Ifeyo tufuna anthu akuno ku Blantyre City West Constituency kuno, magetsi amene amasamuka nkumakawalitse ku Lilongwe, adziyamba awalitsa kaye kunoko asanafike ku Lilongweko. Madzi amene amakamwetsa anthu a ku Limbe asanafike kumeneko, adziyamba awamwa kuno, nchikuliko.....* (Right here, there are things, airport, let's start from there, there is an airport here. Nkula A, Tedzani 1,2 and 3 are all here. But there is no electricity in some areas, near Nkula, near Tedzani. Near water ferry which gives water to people in Limbe, but some areas close here have no water. So they say, you first begin to clean your house before you clean the neighbour's house. We want you, the people of Blantyre City West Constituency to first access the electricity which is used to beam Lilongwe. The water that people of Limbe drink should first be drunk right here).

Appendix I: Proverb tackling the theme of advice

*Tialangize amene amakonda kulankhula moyerekedwa, mwachibwana kuti; oyamba si iwowo. Kunali anzawo; omveka, otchuka, oopedwa, adapita. Iwowa aziziwa kuti naonso lidzakwana tiku adzapita. Amanena kuti, **kunena kwa ndithendithe, nanthambwe anadzitengera. Asadzitengere. Pano tayima pano, tikambe mfundo zopititsa patsogolo dziko. Mudzamve, mudzakhutire, ndiye mukativotere. Munthu wamkulu m'mene ndilili pano kungoti ine sindingayankhule zopusa ngati zimenezo. Akamalankhula zopusa asifunsa kuti ana anga kunyumbako kapena dzizukulu zanga kunyumbako m'mene akundimvera ndikuyankhulamu, akuganiza bwanji mumtima mwaomo?** (We would like to advise those who speak pompously, foolishly, but they are not the first. There were others before them, well known, feared, they left. These should also know that time will come, they will go. They say, by saying I can, I can, the tailorbird got into trouble. They should not be lax. Here were we standing, we should discuss plans that develop the country. When you hear and are satisfied, you should vote for us. A big person like I, it's just that I would never say foolish things like those. When they speak, they should consider, what would my children and my grand children think in their hearts if they heard this?)*

Appendix J: Proverbs and their interpretation

Proverb	Interpretations	Frequency
Wamva ng'oma njake	Wamva nkhani ndiyake	20
	Umamuyendera ukamufuna munthu	1
	Wamva m'mimba ndi amene atsegula chitseko	4
	Wamva ng'oma ndi yake	5
Kunena kwa ndithendithe nanthambwe anadzitengera	Onse achipani cholamula amene akuyankhula, nthawi yawo idzakwana, adzachoka	17
	Tizichenjera ndi zomwe tikuyankhula	10
	Kuyankhula kopanda malire	1
	Ukamayankhula moyerekedwa umaona mavuto	1
	Chakudza sichiyimba ng'oma	1
Wamisala anaona nkondo	Anthu amamutenga Winiko ngati wamisala koma UTM igwira naye ntchito	14
	Anthu ena amangooneka onyozeka	8
	Wamisala amatha kukhala ndi ubwino	4
	Wamisala anaona mavuto akubwera	4

Khotekhote ngwanjira, palinga mtima mpomwepo	UTM ikudziwa chomwe ikuchita ndipo palibe angayisokoneze	17
	Mtima ukasankha wasankha	5
	Chomwe munthu wachimanga, amapanga chomwecho	3
	Kulunjika pazimene tikufuna	2
	Zinthu zambiri koma munthu amalingalira chimodzi	3
Mzimbe sadyera kotalika koma kuzuna	Tisavotere chipani chifukwa chakhalitsa koma mfundo	25
	Musavotere chizolowezi koma mfundo	1
	Tisayang'ane maonekedwe koma mfundo	1
	Chinthu chabwino sitionera kukhalitsa koma zintchito zake	1
	Ubwino wa chinthu umakhala mkati	1
	Maonekedwe apusisa	1

Mbewa zozama amapha ngamuwuni	UTM ndiye kuwala chotero igonjetsa pa zisankho	10
	Popanda kuwala, sungapindule	6
	Tiwunikire bwinobwino kuwopa kupeza mavuto	5
	Sindikudziwa	9
M'mimba ndi nchipala	Peter ndi Bingu amasiyana utsogoleri ngakhale ali ana abanja limodzi	25
	Mtima wanzako ndi tsidya lina	1
	Sumasankha ana	1
	Utha kubereka ana osiyana	1
	Ana onse sangakhale abwino	1
	Ana abanja limodzi amatha kusiyana khalidwe	1
Fumbi ndiwe mwini	Madzi ayambe afikira anthu aku Ntcheu asanapite madera ena	26
	Ntchito tiyambe ife asanayigwire ena	1
	Munthu ngati suchita chinthu, palibe akuchitire	1

	Zinthu zabwino ziyambe zafikira apafupi zisanapite kutali	2
Malangizo alibe mpanda	Malangizo akhoza kuperekedwa kwa aliyense	30
Mthanga kunena anathawitsa likongwe wa apongozi	A zipani zina asamale ndi zomwe akunena, azinena zokha zimene angakwanitse kuchita	9
	Sibwino kuyankhula msanga	3
	Munthu wakhalidwe loyipa sakhala ndi abwenzi ochuluka	3
	sindikudziwa	15
Mtengo wawukulu ukamagwa pamakhala phokoso	A DPP akuyankhula kwambiri chifukwa atsala pang'ono kusiya boma	15
	Pakakhala kuti papezeka vuto, anthu amayankhula	8
	Mvula ikagwa pamachuluka zoliralira	1
	Akuluakulu akachoka pamudzi, mudzi suyenda	2
	Kuli anthu ambiri, kumakhala phokoso	3
	Munthu odziwika zikamuvuta, amadziwa anthu ambiri	1

Umafuna kaye kukonza pakhomo pakopo, usanakonze kwa neba	Madzi ndi magetsi ayambe afikila athu a ku BT city west asanapite mwina ndi mwina	21
	Munthu umayamba kaye wakonza kwanu, usanathandize a neba	8
	Umayamba kaye wazikonda usanakonde ena	1
Kanthu kabwino saguza, kamachita mchenga	Sitikakamiza anthu kulowa chipani cha UTM	16
	Mtengo wawukulu sulilira chikwangwani	1
	Chinthu chabwino sasatsa	5
	Pali zabwino, mavuto amakhala pompo	1
	Chinthu chabwino saguza, chimaonongeka	5
	Pali zabwino, sizipitilira	2
Mukadzawona makoswe akutuluka mnyumba imodzi kupita ina, mudziwe kuti ufa bwatha	Anthu akuchoka ku DPP kulowa UTM chifukwa zabwino zatha ku DPP	24
	Munthu umachoka kupita kumene kuli zokoma	4
	Pali ulemelero pamakhala anthu ambiri koma ukatha, anthu amachoka	2
Mukawona mkango utanyowa sikuti wasanduka mbuzi	A Malawi siwopusa	19
	Munthu amene sakuyankhula sikuti sizikumukhudza	5

	Njoka yofatsa imalumira kunchila	1
	Kukhala phoo sikupusa	3
	Chinthu sichisintha khalidwe chifukwa chakunyowa	1
	Fisi sasintha mawanga	1
Njovu ikamadutsa m'mudzi agalu amawuwa	APM akuwopa Chilima chifukwa akupangitsa misonkano m'midzi	13
	Agalu amawopa chinthu chachikulu kuposa iwo	7
	President akamadutsa, anthu amasangalala	1
	Munthu ochepa udindo amapanga phokoso kusiyana ndi munthu wamkulu	2
	Munthu wamkulu akamalakwitsa, anthu amaseka	3
	Sindikudziwa	4
Ukachisaka koma uchiyimbire	Peter anatenga Chilima ngati womuthandizira choncho ayenera kunena zabwino za Chilima	16
	Peter anasaka Chilima	3
	Munthu sumadziyimbira wekha	10
	Okuwona ndi amene amakutenga kuti ndiwabwino	1
Mbewa yapampani siyiwopa moto	Anthu asamawope	12
	Munthu ukakhala pamavuto suwopa imfa	7
	Chakufa sichiwopa chinthu chili chonse	6

	Ukazolowera mavuto sutekeseka	5
Mukawona mbuzi ikuthawa pansipu obiriwira, dziwani kuti pali linthumbu	Anthu akuchoka ku DPP kulowa UTM chifukwa kuli mavuto ku DPP	26
	Munthu akamathawa pazinthu zabwino ndiye kuti pali mavuto	2
	Munthu akamachoka pamene akupeza thandizo, ndiye kuti pali choyipa	2
Matumbi satakasa	UTM ikudziwa kakwaniritsidwe ka zinthu zimene ikunena kuti idzachita	6
	Tisatekeseke kuwopa kuwononga zinthu	15
	Zabwino sitiwononga	9