COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES USED BY WITNESSES OF THE LEON AND PHUMAPHI COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY IN LESOTHO

By

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DECLARATION

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‘I, Mampoi Irene Mabena, declare that ‘Communicative strategies used by witnesses of the Leon and Phumaphi Commissions of Enquiry in Lesotho’ is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

I further declare that I submitted the thesis/dissertation to originality checking software called Turnitin and that it falls within the accepted requirements for originality.

I further declare that I have not previously submitted this work, or part of it, for examination at the University of South Africa for another qualification or at any other higher education.

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ABSTRACT

This study explored the communicative strategies which were used by participants who were called in as witnesses before the Leon Commission and the Phumaphi Commission of Enquiry in Lesotho in 1998 and 2015 respectively. The study specifically looked into the types of communicative strategies employed, their linguistic realisations and their conversational effectiveness in providing required information to the commissions. It further compared the use of strategies by participants in both commissions. Data for this study was obtained from twenty-six audio recordings of twenty-six witnesses. The study established that participants used twelve types of communicative strategies which are classified under the following groups based on their functional characteristics: conversational category which includes strategies such as code-switching, fillers, vague language and circumlocution; a grammatical category that comprises personal pronouns, direct speech, passive voice and questioning; a sociocultural category that covers strategies such as figurative language, indirect communication, direct refusal and indirect criticism. The study established that communicative strategies such as code-switching, fillers, personal pronouns, and direct quoting were conversationally effective as participants strategically employed them to succinctly express themselves. However, strategies with concealing attributes such as those found under a sociocultural category and those under the grammatical category (passive voice and questioning) were considered conversationally ineffective as they withheld required information from the commissioners. The study further established that participants of the latter commission were even more unwilling to reveal information than those of the former, which suggests a growing unwillingness to share information to commissions of enquiry.

Keywords: Commissions of inquiry, Leon Commission, Phumaphi Commission, communicative strategies, participants, conversational effectiveness, linguistic realization.

KGUTSUFATSO

Phuputso ena e hlahlobile maano a puisano a neng a sebediswa ke dipaki ka pela Komishene ya Leon le Komishene ya Phumaphi ya dipatlisiso naheng ya Lesotho ka 1998 le 2015. Phuputso e nyebekollotse ka kotloloho mefuta ya maano a puisano a sebedisitsweng, tshebediso ya ona kahara puo le katleho kapa tshetiso ya ona ho fana ka tlhaiso-leseding e neng e hlokwa ke di Komishene. E boetse e bapisitse hore na dipaki dikomisheneng ka bobeli di sebedisitse maano ana jwang. Ditaba tsa boithuto bona di fumanwe ho tswa direkotong tse mashome a mabedi a metso e tsheletseng (26) tsa dipaki. Phuputso e netefaditse hore dipaki di sebedisitse mefuta e leshome le metso e mmedi (12) ya maano a puisano a arotsweng tlasa dihlopha tse latelang ho ipapisitswe le ditshobotsi tsa ona: sehlopha sa puisano se kenyelletsang maano a joalo ka tshebediso ya dipuo tse fetang bonngwe, ho kgitlela, puo e sa hlakang, le ho potoloha. Sehlopha se seng ke sa tlhophiso ya puo mme sona se na le maano a kang seemedi, puo e qotsitsweng, sehlwai-potoloho. Sehlopha sa setso sona se kenyeletsa maano a joalo ka mekgabo-puo, puo e potetseng, ho hana ka kotloloho, le nyefolo e kubutileng hlooho. Phuputso e netefaditse hore maano a puisano a joalo ka tshebediso ya dipuo tse fetang bonngwe, ho kgitlela, seemedi, le puo e qotsitsweng, di sebedisitswe hantle ka ha di atlehile ho thusa dipaki ho itlhalosa ka nepo le ho fana ka lesedi le hlakileng ditabeng tsa bona. Leha ho le joalo, maano a sa bueng puo-phara a kang a fumanwang tlasa sehlopha sa setso le a mang a sehlopha sa tlhophiso ya puo (a kang sehlwai-potoloho le dipotso), boithuto bona bo sibollotse hore a sebedisitswe ho sitisa tlhahiso-leseding e hlokwang ke bakomishenara. Phuputso e boetse e netefaditse hore dipaki tsa komishene ya morao-rao di ne di sa ikemisetsa ho fana ka tlhahiso-leseding papisong le dipaki tsa komishene ya pele. Boithuto bona bo utullotse hore maikemisetso a ho fana ka tlhaiso-leseding ho dikomishene tsa dipatlisiso a qepha.

Mantswe a bohlokwa: dikomishene tsa dipatlisiso, Komishene ya Leon, Komishene ya Phumaphi, maano a puisano, dipaki, katleho ya puisano, tshebediso ya puo.

ISICATSHULWA

Esi sifundo sijonge ubuchule beendlela zonxebelelwano ezohlukileyo phakathi kwabantu ababemenyiwe ukuba bathathe inxaxheba njengamangqina kwiKhomishoni yoPhando KaLeon eyenzeka ngo1998 kunye neKhomishoni kaPhumaphi eyenzeka ngonyaka ka2015. Olu phando luye lwaqalasela ezindlela zokuqhakamishelana ezisetyenziswe apha, ukusetyenziswa kolwimi kunye nobuchule bokuthetha kula mangqina ngethuba enikeza ubungqina kwezi khomishoni. Olu phando luphinde lwathelekisa indlela amangqina asebenzise ngazo ezindlela zoqhakamishelwano kwezi khomishoni zombini. Ingqokelela-lwazi yolu phando ithathwe kumangqina angamashumi amabini anesithandathu apho kushicilelwe izimvo zawo kwezi khomishoni. Olu phando lufumanise ukuba la mangqina asebenzise ubuchule beendlela zonxebelelwano ezingamashumi amabini. Obu buchule beendlela zonxebebelwano ziqukwa ngokokusebenza kwazo ekuthetheni ngolu hlobo lulandelayo: ukuncokola okuquka ukuthetha iilwimi ezohlukeneyo ngexesha elinye, amazwi amafutshane angenantsingiselo asetyenziswa kwizimo ezinje ngokukhuza, ulwimi olungacacanga kunye nokusetyenziswa kolwimi ngendlela yokuba umntu athethe into inde apho ngeyethethe ngamagama ambalwa ukucacisa into afuna ukuyicacisa ngendlela engcono. Eyesibini yimo yokusetyensizwa kolwimi ngokuthetha nqo, ngokungathethi nqo kunye nokubanemibuzo. Eyesithathu kukujonga ulwimi nenkcubeko ngokuba kubukwe indlela abantu abasebenzisa ulwimi ngokweenkcubeko zabo apho bathetha besebenzisa iinkcazelo ezisuka kwiinckubeko zabo, ukungathethi nqo ngenxa yemo yabo yentlalo nokuthetha, ukungafuni ukuthetha ngenxa yezizimo zentlalo nenkcubeko kunye nokugxeka ngendlea ekwekwayo ngenxa yezizimo zentlalo nenkcubeko. Olu phando lubonise ukuba obu buchule beendlela zokuthetha lusetyenziswe ngamangqina ezi khomishoni luquke imo apho amangqina ebethetha iilwimi ezohlukeneyo ngexesha elinye, amangqina ayakwasebenzise amagama amafutshane angenantsingiselo asetyenziswa kwimo ezifana nokukhuza, aphinda acaphula. Ngowekenza ngolu hlobo, amanqina abanokalisile ukuba ezi ndlela zobuchule bokuthetha zincedisene nomsebenzi wezi khomishoni ngoba amangqina akwazile ukubangamaciko ekuchazeni izimvo zawo. Nangona kunjalo, ezinye iindlela zobuchule zoqhakamishelwano ezifana nezo zichaphazela inkcubeko nentlalo yabantu kunye nezokungathethi nqo, ziwachapahezele kakubi amangqina kuba zenze ukuba amangqina angakhululeki ekunikezeleni ubungqina apho kubonakale ukuba abakwazanga ukunikeza iinkcukaca ezibalulekileyo kwezi khomishoni ngenxa yoku. Olu phando luphinde lwabonakalisa ukuba amangqina weKhomishoni loPhando kaPhumaphi aye awodlula amangiqna weKhomishoni kaLeon ngokungafuni ukunikeza ngobungqina obuthile. Le nto

ibirhanelisa ukuba bekukho umoya apha kwamangqina wokungafuni ncam ukunikeza ngobungqina kwezi khomishoni.

Amagama aphambili: IKhomishoni yoPhando, IKhomishoni kaLeon, IKhomishoni kaPhumaphi, ubuchule beendlela zonxebelelwano, amangqina, ubuchule bokuncokola, ulwazi oluthe vetshe malunga nokuqonda ulwimi.

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my husband, Samuel Mabena, and my children, Siphiwe and Thomas.

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CIR: Circumlocution

CRI: Criticism

CS: Code-switching

DQ: Direct quoting

FILL: Fillers

FL: Figurative language

IC: Indirect communication

LC: Leon commissioner

LI: Leon interpreter

LP: Leon participant

PC: Phumaphi commissioner

PI: Phumaphi interpreter

PP: Phumaphi participant

PPR: Personal pronouns

PV: Passive voice

QUE: Questioning

REF: Refusal

VL: Vague language

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE

Commissions of enquiry have become a common platform for establishing facts where there have been disputes. They are often established to unpack the facts that would have led to particular controversies and to make recommendations for solutions to such disputes. Because the quest of these commissions is to establish facts, effective communication becomes an essential tool that facilitates extracting quality information that helps the commission to get to the truth. Witnesses use specific communicative strategies to provide the information essential for making recommendations. This study explores communicative strategies which were used by participants of the Leon and Phumaphi commissions of inquiry which were established in Lesotho in 1998 and 2015 respectively.

The Phumaphi and Leon commissions in Lesotho were constituted because of political unrests which occurred in 1998 and 2015 respectively. According to the Lesotho *Government Gazette* (2000) and SADC Commission of Enquiry Report (2015), these commissions were established to investigate circumstances that led to political disturbances in the country and to make recommendations on possible action to be taken to prevent a repetition of those events. The success of these commissions in making informed recommendations was dependent largely on the effectiveness of the participants' communicative strategies and thus on the quality of information gathered during the proceedings. Given the positive and negative evaluations that were done in public and the way the recommendations are perceived to have shaped the political situation in Lesotho, it is imperative to have an extensive understanding of communicative strategies that participants used in these commissions and to have insight into factors that account for the effectiveness of those strategies in yielding the required information. Such knowledge is valuable in that it has the potential for informing future communicative practices in commissions of enquiry. This study explores the communicative strategies used by participants when responding to questions in the Leon and Phumaphi commissions in Lesotho. It is specifically looking into the types of communicative strategies employed, their linguistic realizations and their conversational effectiveness in providing required information to the commissions.

Most of the research on commissions of enquiry has been done on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), with a focus on the results or after-effects of the commission, and on how the language was used to articulate causes and effects of cross human rights violations. Research conducted by Vorster and Botha, (1999), Van Heerden, (1999), Wilson, (2000) and Shore (2008), has mainly focused on the religious perspective looking into the role and impact of religious discourse infused in the work of the commission as well as the constraints brought by the terms 'truth' and 'reconciliation' which are religiously motivated. On the other hand, researchers such as Bock (2011) and Anthonissen (2008) focused on how the language was used by witnesses at the hearings.

Other studies investigated the effectiveness of the commissions in meeting the expectations and demands of the nation. They scrutinised commissions' terms of reference to find out if objectives were accomplished (Hirst, 2008 Francis, 2016; Baruch, 2017). A few studies available on the linguistic aspects have focused on the role of interpreters in linguistically diverse contexts and the linguistic choices that witnesses strategically make in their narratives. Ratele, Mpolweni-Zantsi and Krog (2007) studied how testimonies rendered in participants' mother tongue were interpreted, while Mohlomi (2011) studied the coping strategies employed by Leon commission interpreters in Lesotho. Researchers such as Bock (2011) analysed the role of code-switching in selected testimonies given at South Africa's TRC. These studies provide valuable evidence on multilingual practices which are adopted in a linguistically diverse commission, and how witnesses use language to express evaluative meaning. They, however, do not provide insight into communicative strategies used by the participants of enquiry commissions and the linguistic realizations of such strategies. There is, therefore a dearth of the empirical literature on the interactional aspects of commissions of enquiry, specifically on communicative strategies used by participants, their linguistic realizations and the extent to which those strategies are conversationally effective in yielding the required information. This gap is more illuminated in the Lesotho context where commissions have become mediators for the restoration of peace and stability and where commissions' recommendations have led to significant legal action and have played a major role in shaping the political landscape in both 1998 and 2015 respectively. The study draws from a theoretical framework that integrates Grice's conversational implicature theory (1975) and Brown and Levinson's politeness principle (1987) to unpack the typologies of communicative strategies; the types employed by the participants, their linguistic realisation and their conversational effectiveness in providing information as required by the commissions.

1.1 COMPARISON OF COMMUNICATIVE PRACTICES IN AN ENQUIRY COMMISSION AND A COURTROOM

It is important to understand the difference between an enquiry commission and a court of law so that one can have a better understanding of the proceedings of commissions. Powell (2018) argues that people usually have unrealistic expectations about what commissions can achieve because they usually confuse them with courts of law. It would, therefore, be particularly interesting to understand how each engages with the participants' communication, how each is established, the powers that each has about prosecutions, participants' testimonies, recommendations and how each body treats evidence. This understanding assists in shaping one's expectation of both the commissions and the participants. The similarities and differences between inquiries and courts of law as stipulated by Powell (2018), Eburn (2015) and Manson (2010) are as follows

1.1.1 Similarities

Firstly, the discursive structure of a commission of enquiry has a close resemblance to that of a courtroom interaction for in both interactional events the proceedings are often chaired by judges. Secondly, the affected parties in both events are often represented by lawyers, and thirdly, participants for both inquiries and courts of law testify under oath, an act which comes with a moral obligation to be truthful.

1.1.2 Differences

One of the main differences is that commissions of enquiry are fact-finding inquiries and, therefore' effective communication is of vital importance. Because the participants are expected to provide as much information as possible, the commissions are not bound to follow strictly the rules of evidence as applied in a court of law. Because courts can affect the rights of the parties, they are bound by the rules of evidence and, thus, a court cannot obligate a person to answer a question that would suggest their guilt, nor can it require a person to disclose confidential communication between a lawyer and a client. However, the proceedings of the enquiry are such that information given in them is not admissible in any court case that may follow thereafter. The other major difference is that commissions cannot find anyone guilty of an offence or order anyone to pay compensation or adjust the legal rights of anyone involved in proceedings. They can, however, make recommendations that must be in line with the terms of reference of the commission) based on the information they found as they communicated with participants. Nonetheless, these recommendations are not legally binding. Governments may commit themselves to implement the recommendations of high profile inquiries but they

are not legally required to do so. Courts, conversely, can adjust rights and can order a person to pay a fine or to go to prison.

Furthermore, the hearings of commissions are usually held in public and participants may be examined and cross-examined by the counsel chosen to assist the commission or by the counsel chosen to represent the interest of parties who may be affected by the outcome of the enquiry. On the contrary, court proceedings are not made public, people who have specific interest in the case may have to attend the court proceedings as they are usually not announced over radio or television stations as it is the case with commissions of enquiry. Moreover, while commissions of enquiry are usually established on a case-by-case basis, courts of law are always present to listen to cases assigned to them. The other difference regarding commissions and law courts is that commissions are described as inquisitorial while courts are defined as adversarial. This means the approach in courts is such that two sides oppose and attack each other, while commissions of enquiries conduct their investigations by questioning as many people as possible to get answers to their questions. Powell (2018) further clarifies this point by stating that in court the judge sits as an outside observer while the two teams attempt to establish their version of events. The commission of enquiry, on the other hand, makes the commission the driver of the investigation itself. It seeks out the facts rather than wait for two opposing parties to choose and present their evidence. Further, in courtroom interactions, a high degree of explicitness, clarity, and precision from all participants is expected. Clinton and Sandvick (2017) assert that participants in a court are to respond to questions only and not to volunteer information that is not asked for. The participants are also expected to refrain from explaining why they know something unless they are asked. However, since commissions are on a fact-finding mission, they allow participants to provide as much information as possible. This explains why effective communication on the part of participants plays such an important role in commissions of enquiry.

1.2. UNDERSTANDING THE ROLES OF COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY

Commissions of enquiry are independent bodies established to address matters of public concern or to discover facts that led to a dispute or controversy. Their purpose is purely to establish facts as they are not bound by the same restrictions as the courts (Rainer, 2019). According to Simpson (2012), a commission of enquiry is one of many bodies available to a government to inquire into various issues of importance to a nation. A commission is entitled

to summon participants, listen to their evidence and require the production of documents, then draw conclusions from the evidence given, report findings and make recommendations that would inform solutions to a controversy. While their findings are not legally binding and are left open for consideration, they can be highly influential (Powell, 2018). For example, in Lesotho, the recommendations made by the Southern African Development Community (SADC) Commission of Enquiry Report (2015) resulted in court cases which led to several arrests of the army officials, while in South Africa a probe into South African Revenue Service (SARS) led to the expulsion of its commissioner (Mohale, 2019).

According to Gomery (2006), commissions of enquiry work independently and autonomously, they are not reliant on the government. Their only limitation is that they are supposed to act with strict adherence to the terms of reference given to them and ensure that their processes are within the law. In other words, commissions cannot exceed their jurisdiction. Moreover, commissioners are given a time limit within which they should complete their work and provide a report. It seems, however, that the circumstances they face often make it difficult for them to comply with their deadlines, as they often have to ask for an extension to complete their work. For instance, according to the SADC Commission of Enquiry Report (2015), the Phumaphi Commission in Lesotho was deployed on an initial sixty days' mandate but was later extended by another thirty days.

Commissioners often deal with controversies centred on politics, tragic incidents such as aeroplane crashes or unexpected deaths, as well as allegations of administrative mismanagement. For instance, the Commission of Enquiry into State Capture which, according to Powell (2018), looks into allegations that the South African state has been captured by private business interests allied to former President Jacob Zuma, is one example of an enquiry that relates to administrative mismanagement. Another example is that of the Marikana Commission of Enquiry which dealt with the tragic incident that led to the unexpected deaths of Lonmin miners in Marikana (Crawford-Brown, 2013).

Simpson (2012) sums up the functions of commissions of enquiry as follows:

a) To investigate accidents where there has been a major loss of life
b) Consider social policy initiatives within a big public impact
c) Adjust the institutional structure of government
d) Take a sensitive or moral issue out of the political arena to get non-partisan professional advice on it and build a consensus on how to proceed.

Literature discloses that people who are entrusted to preside over commissions of enquiry are judges. This is because judges are believed to know best how to preside over hearings and

are familiar with rules of evidence and procedure. As he justifies the appointment of a judge as a commissioner, Gomery (2006) says judges are ideally suited to preside over commissions of enquiry because they are autonomous, independent and impartial. Moreover, they neither have to worry about the consequences of their decision nor fear dismissal from their position no matter how unpopular their decisions are or how much such decisions offend the government in power.

Some sentiments in the literature reveal that people have different attitudes towards commissions of enquiry. Some people take a pessimistic view of them. They see the establishment of an enquiry as an excuse for the government to do nothing. They think that governments do not pay much attention to commissions anyway and that commissions are appointed to delay action or to recommend a course of action that the government plans to follow ultimately (Simpson, 2012). Crawford-Browne (2013) further stipulates that commissions of enquiry are aimed at distracting the public and delivering outcomes favourable to a few people. According to Crawford-Browne (ibid), commissions make effective use of public resources. In his words, Crawford-Browne (2013:2) states that 'commissions of enquiry have traditionally become places to park a hot potato until it gets cold…instead of delivering results they leave a bitter taste in tax-payer's mouths'. This implies that commissions of enquiry do nothing except waste taxpayer's money and pretend they are working to assuage the concerns. Furthermore, Greenspan (2005) reports that critics suggest enquiry commissions are fundamentally unfair to people who are the subject of an unfavourable comment made during the public hearings or in the commission's report. In fact, the reputation of a participant who has been summoned to testify before the commission can be irreparably damaged because some members of the public take it for granted that such a participant has something to hide. The fact that these inquiries are made public can further tarnish a participant's reputation. Despite the above criticism of commissions of enquiry, other views show confidence in them. Gomery (2006), for example, insists that, if conducted fairly, they are an acceptable and useful means of investigating factual situations and obtaining policy recommendations from an independent and impartial source. He argues that commissions of enquiry do not only assist the government in taking remedial action but also tend to restore public confidence in the industry or process being reviewed. Powell (2018) emphasises that commissions of enquiry do not remove the issue from the public eye, instead, they draw the public into the issue, educating and inviting engagement.

The commissions which have been established in Lesotho conform to the characteristics of enquiry commissions as has been described by Greenspan (2005), Gomery (2006), Simpson

(2012), Eburn (2015) and Powell (2018). It has already been clarified that commissions are tasked with addressing matters of public concern or with discovering facts that led to a dispute or controversy (Simpson, 2012), the Leon Commission and Phumaphi Commission in Lesotho were respectively mandated to investigate the politically motivated turmoil that had occurred in the country in the years 1998 and 2015. For each of these commissions, the government sought assistance from the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to quell the political crisis in Lesotho and SADC constituted the commissions to investigate circumstances surrounding the political disturbances and to make recommendations that would help prevent a repetition of such occurrence in future. Each of these commissions was presided over by a judge who worked independently and autonomously but within the confinement of the terms of reference specific for a commission in question. This confirms Gomery's 2006 comment that judges usually preside over the hearings of the commissions.

It is also common practice for commissions to be named after the presiding judge, for instance, the Leon Commission was named after Justice R. N. Leon., who was appointed by the SADC as the chairperson of this commission. The most recent commission of enquiry also followed the same principle of appointing a judge to preside over the enquiry. Justice Mpaphi Phumaphi, a Botswana high court judge who retired after 42 years in the legal profession, was appointed by the SADC to lead a 10-member commission of enquiry (Ntsukunyane, 2016) and the commission was named after him.

As Eburn (2015) has explained, commission recommendations are not legally binding, thus some of the recommendations put forth by Leon and Phumaphi commissions were implemented by the government while others were ignored. For example, according to Lesotho's *Government Gazette* of 12 September 2000, the Leon Commission had recommended that the Catholic father, who was allegedly involved in the conspiracy to topple the government, be put on trial as the investigations of the enquiry pointed to him as the prime suspect. This recommendation was implemented in 2004, and the accused was sentenced to 15 years (later reduced to 10 years) in prison on two counts of high treason and conspiracy to topple the government (Mohlomi, 2011). Concerning the recommendations made by the Phumaphi Commission, the government then in power implemented some of the recommendations and ignored others. One recommendation that it implemented was that the commander of the LDF was to be relieved of his duties. However, the current government decided to implement all other recommendations proposed by the Phumaphi Commission. One of these was, according to the SADC Commission of Enquiry Report (2015), that the government should ensure that criminal investigations on the death of Brigadier Mahao are

pursued vigorously and that all physical evidence be surrendered. The recommendation further advised that the finality of the investigation should lead to a transparent course of justice. The current government adhered to this recommendation in that the prime suspects in the murder of Brigadier Mahao are currently awaiting their trial in prison and many other suspects have already been prosecuted**.**

Nevertheless, in the context of Lesotho, members of the public have a negative attitude towards commissions of enquiry. They feel that the government may not implement the recommendations suggested by the commissioners as they are not legally binding. Some seem to hold opinions similar to those of Crawford-Browne (2013), who states that commissions are a waste of time and public funds. Those who have to participate directly by giving testimony to the commissioners view the commissions negatively, as reflected in the Leon Commission Report (2001). According to that, participants had a misconception as to the true nature of a commission of enquiry. There was a general fallacious belief that the enquiry was a court of law with powers to convict and sentence offenders and this influenced their approach and their way of responding to questions posed by the commissioners. The report further states that participants also incorrectly thought that the members of the commission were sitting members of the Court of Appeal.

In the two commissions just discussed, communication played a significant role: it enabled commissioners to ask questions as well as receive information required for them to fulfil their mandate. The commissions relied on communication to make recommendations that would help quell the unsettling political situation in the country. It is for this reason that the present study on communicative strategies employed by participants of the two commissions is essential. It will inform future commissions of enquiry on how participants conduct themselves concerning communicating information to commissioners.

1.3 COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY IN LESOTHO

This study explores communication practices in two commissions of enquiry in Lesotho. These commissions came about as a result of two main political upheavals that happened in 1998 and 2015 and impacted negatively on peace and stability in the country. One of the contributing factors to the unrests was inadequate communication and false information shared among political party members and between leaders and the general public. Makoae (2019) asserts that such failure to communicate adequately further distorted peace that was already on edge in Lesotho. The Langa Commission, established to find facts about the 1998 general elections,

did not provide sufficient information about whether elections were rigged or not and this further fueled Basotho's anger, who were left unsure as to what the Langa report could mean. According to Ngwawi (2014:1), some of these political upheavals have long been in the country and they have earlier on resulted in people being sent into exile, including king Moshoeshoe II, the head of state, who was sent into exile by the then prime minister Dr Leabua Jonathan, because he wanted to attain more powers than were granted by the constitution. They also led to elections being nullified, the suspension of the constitution, and killings (Ngwawi, 2014). The political unrests that took place in 1998 arose from dissatisfaction with the results of the general election that were interpreted as being fraudulent and corrupt by the then opposition parties. The situation was fueled by the Langa Commission report which gave very ambiguous communication on whether elections were rigged or not. This led to the looting of shops and arson by some members of the opposition parties. Further political unrest in 2015 was a result of the power struggle within the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF) and among the political leaders. It led to the killing of the LDF commander Maaparankoe Mahao and the detention of some members of LDF who were allegedly accused of mutiny. In both instances, the Lesotho government made efforts to restore peace and stability by establishing the Leon Commission in 1998 and the Phumaphi Commission in 2015 intending to find the facts that led to the upheavals and of making recommendations that would help restore peace and stability. The two commissions are hereafter discussed at length.

1.4 THE LEON COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

The Leon Commission in Lesotho was constituted after the political unrest that followed Lesotho's May 1998 general elections. The Lesotho Congress for Democracy (LCD) won 79 out of 80 constituencies, thereby making it a majority party that would form the government. However, this victory was not welcomed by members of the minority parties because they felt that they had evidence of corruption in the electoral system and vote-rigging by the LCD. What made the country slide further into crisis was how the Langa Commission Report (mandated to investigate if there was any election fraud or irregularities) had been communicated to the public. The report was vague and ambiguous; it admitted that there could have been irregularities in the elections, but 'failed to find that the will of the people was not reflected'(Boot, 1998:1). There was also a rumour shared in the public discourse that the report was doctored before it was released as its release was later than the anticipated date. The Langa Commission report and the allegations made against the elections led to a series of

demonstrations by opposition party supporters across the country. According to the Lesotho *Government Gazette* (2000) the then incumbent Prime Minister Mosisili, his cabinet ministers and officials were barred from entering the gates of parliament and the parliamentary buildings. Other nearby buildings were also barricaded to restrict entrance. What worsened the situation was the army mutiny which broke out in September 1998. The mutiny was characterised by the junior officers rebelling and holding senior officers' hostage. This chaotic military situation caused the army to abandon its mandate of restoring order during civilian demonstrations. According to the Lesotho *Government Gazette* of 12 September 2000, the Southern African Development Community (SADC) funded peace talks between the three political parties, namely, the Basotho National Party (BNP), the Basotho Congress Party (BCP) and the ruling party (LCD). However, the talks failed as the government representation felt too insecure to engage in any discussion with the opposition parties, given the general violence at the time. Fears of continued unrest and possible civil war increased. After a failed lawsuit by the opposition, widespread rioting broke out. The South African and Botswana governments intervened by deploying troops to Lesotho to quell the rioting and maintain order. Despite the presence of South African and Botswana soldiers, the situation became uncontrollable; widespread violence, arson and looting broke out. The political unrest just described led to the establishment of the Leon Commission (named after Justice R. N. Leon, who was the chairperson of the commission) in 2000. The commission was mandated to inquire into, among other things, the events leading to political disturbances which took place in Lesotho from 1 July to 30 November 1998.

1.5 THE PHUMAPHI COMMISSION OF ENQUIRY

The death of Brigadier Maaparankoe Mahao was preceded by a power struggle within the Lesotho Defence Force (LDF) that began on 29 August 2014. According to the SADC Commission of Enquiry Report (2015), on 29 August 2014 the then prime minister Thomas Thabane promoted Brigadier Maaparankoe Mahao to the rank of lieutenant general and appointed him commander of the LDF. The same legal notice that promoted Brigadier Mahao annulled the appointment of Lieutenant General Tlali Kennedy Kamoli as the commander of the LDF. The information communicated during the alleged secret meetings between the commander and his allies resulted in the attempted coup the following day (SADC *Commission of Enquiry Report*, 2015) In the early morning of 30 August 2014 (after the publication of a legal notice) Maseru (the capital city) experienced security disturbances by the LDF that was allegedly labelled an attempted coup. Gunshots were heard. That same night, the home of

Maaparankoe Mahao, the main police station and State House were attacked. There was a heavy military presence on the streets of Maseru and around the radio stations. Radio Lesotho was taken off the air and phone lines were cut. The army knew the vital role played by communication and decided to cut off communication lines to execute their plans in secret. It was said to have acted after Thabane tried to remove its chief, Lieutenant General Tlali Kamoli. On the same night of 30 August 2014, the then prime minister, Thomas Thabane, received information about the planned coup and fled to South Africa. Other senior officials including General Maaparankoe Mahao and the commissioner of police also fled to South Africa shortly thereafter. Thabane returned to Maseru on 3 September 2014 under the protection of the South African and Namibian police, who guarded him around the clock. The SADC intervened in the political crisis in Lesotho and this resulted in the holding of snap elections on 28 February 2015. The scheduled election was brought forward by two years. The result of the election gave birth to a new coalition government (of seven congress parties), led by the Honourable Pakalitha Mosisili. On 19 March 2015 Mosisili was inaugurated as the new Lesotho prime minister. Immediately after the new government stepped into power, it repealed the appointment of Lieutenant General Maaparankoe Mahao and reappointed General Tlali Kamoli, as commander of the LDF retrospectively from 29 August 2014. After Kamoli's return to the post, Maaparankoe Mahao was murdered by soldiers on 25 June 2015. The Ministry of Defence claimed that Mahao had been killed in a special operation to lock up suspected military mutineers 'following confrontation with the soldiers. It was alleged that Mahao was killed when he resisted arrest by his colleagues. Meanwhile, 23 members of the LDF were detained between May and June 2015 for a suspected mutiny. However, the soldiers avowed that they were arrested for their perceived support for slain LDF commander, Lieutenant General Maaparankoe Mahao. Some of these soldiers alleged that they were tortured while some were held in inhuman conditions and denied adequate medical treatment whenever they were ill. The global uproar against the killing of Mahao activated the Lesotho government to request assistance from the SADC. SADC fielded a fact-finding mission that led to the establishment of the Phumaphi Commission of Enquiry (named after the Botswana judge Mpaphi Phumaphi). The commission was established to find facts and make recommendations that would help restore peace, right the wrongs, and establish social cohesion and reconciliation in the Kingdom of Lesotho.

1.6 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Effective communication is a vital communicative tool that plays a significant role in commissions of enquiry and it is achieved through the employment of communicative strategies which are conversationally effective and well understood by the commissioners. Failure to adhere to this form of communication may result in vague, ambiguous, and meaningless communication which can potentially withhold some valuable information. In the context of the said commissions of enquiry in Lesotho, however, the responses of participants during the proceedings of Leon Commission were, among other things, characterised by the use of communicative strategies that were vague, that hid the names of perpetrators, and that carried implied messages that required a thorough knowledge of Basotho cultural practices to unravel them. These communicative strategies which participants opted for made it very difficult for commissioners, who were foreign to the land, to comprehend the information communicated to them. A similar observation of vague responses was shared by the public on local radio stations such as People's Choice FM and Harvest FM that at the time broadcast phone-in political programmes that discussed the effectiveness of participants' responses during the proceedings of the Phumaphi Commission. The public expressed general dissatisfaction with the vagueness of participants' responses and the seeming withholding of information. Despite the acknowledged value of communication in these commissions in bringing back peace and stability to the crisis-ridden nation, there was general disappointment with how the communication of events leading to the crisis was handled by the participants of both commissions. Against this background, the researcher found a need to understand deeper the communicative features of the two commissions and explore the communicative strategies that were employed, looking specifically into the types of strategies the participants used, their linguistic realisations and their conversational effectiveness in providing information to the commissions.

1.7 AIM OF THE STUDY

The study explores the communicative strategies that participants in the Leon and Phumaphi commissions used to respond to questions posed by the commissioners. Its ultimate goal is for the researcher to gain insights that will inform the communicative behaviour of future participants in similar commissions and all stakeholders so that necessary precautionary actions would be taken.

1.7.1 Objectives

In order to achieve this broad aim, the study sets out the following specific objectives:

1. To identify the types of communicative strategies used by participants in both the Leon and Phumaphi commissions of enquiry.
2. To identify the linguistic realisations of the communicative strategies employed by the participants.
3. To determine how conversationally effective these communicative strategies were in providing information to the commissioners, by looking at the surrounding text.
4. To compare the strategies between the two commissions and among the categories of participants to determine the similarities and differences in patterns.
5. To propose an alternative strategy that the government and future participants of the commissions could adopt in order to provide quality information that will, in return, enhance the credibility of the commission reports.

1.7.2 Research questions

In order to achieve the aim and the objectives of the study, the research sought to answer the following overriding research question, namely, what communicative strategies were employed by participants of the Leon and Phumaphi commissions of enquiry as they responded to questions? To fully respond to this broad question, the research had the following sub-questions which addressed different components of the overriding question:

1. What types of communicative strategies were employed by participants in both Leon and Phumaphi commissions of enquiry?
2. How were these types of communicative strategies linguistically realised?
3. How conversationally effective were the employed communicative strategies in providing information to the commissioners?
4. What similarities and differences were found in the strategies employed in both commissions and among the categories of participants?
5. What does the present study propose for the government and future participants of the commissions about the use of communicative strategies?

1.8 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The study on communicative strategies is of vital importance, particularly in the context of commissions of enquiry where the provision of quality information cannot be compromised as it determines and influences the commissions' conclusions and recommendations that are meant to stabilise a country. The study facilitates an exhaustive understanding of the diversity of communicative strategies participants can draw from in the context of commissions of

enquiry, a field of enquiry that has been neglected scientifically. This study, therefore, adds to the theoretical knowledge on communicative strategies in the specific fields of pragmatics and discourse analysis. It serves as reference material to researchers in the specified fields and to scholars who are interested in the application of the pragmatic approach as an analytical tool in language studies.

Furthermore, this study informs leadership and governments (that sometimes resort to commissions to help resolve any form of instability) about the important role played by communication in commissions of enquiry, and how participants in a commission conversationally conduct themselves. They will find this study informative as it highlights the communicative strategies which are conversationally effective and those which are ineffective in providing commissions with information. This knowledge will help them take corrective measures about the participants' use of ineffective communicative strategies, to ensure that commissions of enquiry receive quality information which will assist in reaching unbiased and properly informed conclusions and recommendations.

Moreover, since commissions of enquiry are very sensitive as they bear some legal implications, later on, the study raises awareness to future participants to avoid using communicative strategies that could compromise their credibility and in worse cases their freedom. In a nutshell, the study will make all stakeholders aware of the need to take the necessary precautions to ensure that future commissions are successful in acquiring the information they need to make recommendations that the nation in question can relate to.

1.9 SCOPE OF THE STUDY

The current study has limited itself to exploring the communicative strategies used by witnesses in two recent commissions of enquiry (Leon and Phumaphi) held in Lesotho in 1998 and 2015 respectively. This limitation was based on the following reasons: although many commissions had been established in Lesotho, they were not all publicly accessible hence the study limited itself to analysing the Leon and Phumaphi commissions due to their availability in the public domain and the common purpose for their establishment for they were both established to quell the political crisis reigning in Lesotho. Furthermore, the limitation facilitated an intensive analysis of the concept of communicative strategies in the specific context of commissions to better understand their form and the dynamics of how they are used. Moreover, these limitations enabled the collection of comprehensive data which further deepened the comprehension of the concept being studied. The study further limited itself to deriving the recorded data for the participants who were summoned to give their submissions to the commissioners. The rationale

behind the choice of recorded data was that the research questions guiding this study required the responses of participants verbatim to determine the communicative strategies used. This kind of data was, therefore the most relevant for this study. Moreover, word-for-word data gathered during the actual proceedings reflect some genuineness on the part of the research subjects, as their focus was not on the study being conducted but was on ensuring that their evidence was heard.

1.10 SUMMARY

The present research is a qualitative study that was prompted by the researcher's observation that the discourse around the proceedings of the two commissions was vague and hid some of the required information. This study is, thus, keen to explore the communicative strategies employed by participants in their responses to commissioners' questions in two landmark commissions that were watched by the world due to the expected significance of their results in restoring peace in the Kingdom of Lesotho. The study specifically examines the types of communicative strategies employed, their linguistic realisations as well as their conversational success in providing information to the commissions of enquiry. It further compares the two commissions to find out if there are any significant similarities and /or differences in their use of communicative strategies. This would help determine any communicative trends so that necessary corrective measures can be taken by the stakeholders. Moreover, since the commissions occurred in different eras, any comparison will help detect an increase or decline in the use of conversationally effective communicative strategies. It is important to notice any changes or similarities in the manner in which participants of the commission respond to questions as the years go by (between 1998 and 2015) and as commissions of enquiry keep being invited to help resolve political conflict in the country. The comparison will also help determine if there is any improvement or deterioration in the participants' use of conversationally effective communicative strategies so that necessary action could be taken to improve communicative features in future commissions. The ultimate goal of the study is to use the results to develop a framework that would inform stakeholders on how participants respond to questions in commissions. The study draws on the theory of conversational implicature by Grice (1975) and the politeness principle theory by Brown and Levinson (1987) to describe the typologies of communicative strategies identified and their usage patterns. According to the literature obtained thus far, there are only a few studies conducted on communication rendered in commissions of enquiry. In particular, there is a dearth of literature on the interactional aspects of commissions of enquiry, specifically on communicative

strategies used by participants, their linguistic realisations and the extent to which those strategies are conversationally effective in yielding the required information, yet they are important aspects of how a commission works This dearth is amplified in Lesotho which has so far had five such commissions, with very little research on their communicative aspects.

The study established that participants used 12 types of communicative strategies that the study classified under the following three categories based on their functional characteristics: The first is the conversational category, which includes discourse strategies that are used for communication between and among people. Communicative strategies classified under this category are code-switching, fillers, vague language and circumlocution. Some of these strategies enhanced communication while others hampered it. The second category is the grammatical category that includes grammar concepts such as personal pronouns, direct speech, passive voice and questioning. Participants used this category to conceal some information, avoid responding to some questions, validate their evidence, and convey potentially face-threatening information. The third category is a sociocultural one that includes strategies such as figurative language, indirect communication, direct refusal and indirect criticism. Participants used these strategies to communicate implied messages and to withhold some information from the commissioners. The study established that strategies which were used to enhance communication and to validate evidence were conversationally effective because they provided the commission with the evidence they required. However, strategies with concealment and avoidance attribute and those with implied meaning were conversationally ineffective as they withheld required and necessary information. The study further established that participants of the latter commission (the Phumaphi Commission) were even more unwilling to reveal information than those of the former Leon Commission. This suggests a growing unwillingness to share information with commissions of inquiry.

1.11 THESIS OUTLINE

The research study is composed of seven chapters. The introductory chapter provides an introduction as well as the rationale for the present study. The chapter further presents the background to commissions of enquiry in Lesotho and the reasons for their establishment. The statement of the research problem, the aim of the study, the objectives set out to achieve that aim and the research questions that guide this study are discussed in this chapter. The chapter further outlines the importance of the current study. Finally, it provides a summary of the findings as well as the main conclusions drawn in this study.

Chapter two presents a review of the literature on two major aspects that are the central focus of the current study, and these are communicative strategies and commissions of enquiry. The first section of the chapter defines communication concepts such as effective communication, strategic communication and communicative strategies, all of which are vital for the comprehension of this study. The second section presents the available body of empirical work as conducted by earlier scholars. It specifically looks into different types of communicative strategies, their functions and the value of using them, as well as the research work covered under these strategies. The relationship between earlier research and the current study is established. The third section of the chapter reviews available literature on commissions of enquiry and discusses different research themes already covered by the literature and what their relationship is to the current study. The chapter also looks into research studies conducted in Lesotho, South Africa and other parts of the world.

Chapter three presents an overview of the theoretical framework chosen for this study. The chapter gives a brief account of the two theories chosen to respond to the typologies of communicative strategies. These theories are the Gricean theory of implicature (1975) and Brown and Levinson's politeness theory (1987). Justification for the choice of these theories is provided. The chapter discusses the key concepts which formulate the Gricean theory of conversational implicature. These are conversational implicature and its properties, and maxims of conversation. Similarly, significant aspects found in the politeness theory are discussed. These aspects include face, face-threatening acts, the positive and negative face, politeness strategies as well as factors contributing to politeness. Scholars' criticism of both theories is discussed and the rationale for the study's choice of these theories, despite their criticism, is provided. Importantly, the chapter describes how the theories are going to be applied in the analysis and discussion of the findings.

Chapter four provides insight into how the present study was conducted. It presents and discusses the qualitative research design and its relevance to the current study. The chapter further discusses data; why the study chose the secondary data; and the benefits and limitations of such data. Additionally, the chapter gives a detailed description of how data was collected, transcribed and analysed. The hybridised analytic approach which integrates thematic and content analysis, is discussed at length, and the rationale behind such a combination is presented The limitations of the study are acknowledged and the research tools which aided in the successful completion of this research are also presented. Finally, the chapter comments on the ethical considerations to which this study adhered.

Chapter five presents and analyses the data gathered for the present study. The chapter is divided into two sections. The first section comprises a general overview of the findings. It presents the statistical data for the communicative strategies found and commences by presenting information on the participants' demographics. This is done at the beginning of the chapter to enhance the comprehension of the data to be presented. The second section is based mainly on qualitative data. It discusses extensively the communicative strategies revealed by the findings. It classifies these strategies according to the characteristics they displayed which relate to the provision of information to the commissions. Data are discussed based on the actual use of communicative strategies, how commonly used they are, which participants have used them, how they are linguistically realised, and how the findings of the current research correlate with the findings by previous scholars. The section finally compares participants' use of communicative strategies in the two commissions of enquiry to find out how conversationally cooperative the commissions were.

Chapter six discusses data that has been presented and analysed in chapter 5. The findings are interpreted based on the context, literature and theoretical framework adopted in the current research. Discussion is guided by the objectives of the study which are used as headings in this chapter. The first section of the chapter discusses the types of communicative strategies found in the data. It also looks into the conversational effectiveness of the strategies used as well as their linguistic realisation. The second section discusses the similarities and differences which are found in the strategies employed in both commissions and among the categories of participants. This chapter, therefore, addresses the four research questions which guide this study as specified earlier in chapter one.

Chapter seven is concluding. It serves as a summary of the presentation and discussion of the previous chapters of this study as it gives a general overview of the significant contributions of the present study. The chapter commences by summarising the main points of all chapters, (summary of the study). This involves the reiteration of the aim and objectives of the current research, the review of the related literature, the theoretical framework chosen, how the research was conducted and the outcome of the research. The conclusions and recommendations become the main themes of this chapter. The last research question that relates to what the present study proposes for future commissions concerning the use of communicative strategies is addressed in this last chapter.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF RELATED LITERATURE

2.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a review of the literature on the subjects that are the central focus of the current study, namely, communicative strategies and commissions of enquiry. The first section defines communication concepts such as effective communication, strategic communication and communicative strategies, all of which are vital to the comprehension of this study. The second section presents the available body of empirical work as conducted by earlier scholars. It will look specifically into different types of communicative strategies, their functions and the value of t their use, as well as the research work covered under these strategies. Furthermore, their relationship to the current study is established. The third section reviews the available literature on commissions of enquiry and discusses different research themes already covered by this literature and what their relationship is to the current study. The chapter looks into research studies conducted in Lesotho, South Africa, and other parts of the world.

2.1 DEFINITION OF CONCEPTS

2.1.1 Strategic communication and communicative Strategies

Strategic communication is a term drawn from the word strategy which correlates with words such as 'purpose', 'intention' and 'aim' Hallahan, Holtzhausen, Van Ruler, Verčič, & Sriramesh (2007) define strategic communication as the purposeful use of communicative strategies in business communication to fulfil a mission in an organisation. In particular, politicians employ strategic communication when addressing the audience or when being interviewed. Mokapela (2008) asserts that concessions, excuse, denial and justification are forms of strategic communication that are typical of politicians. According to Hallahan *et al*. (2007), strategic communication is used mainly in business organisations. Communicative strategy, on the other hand, is defined by Le (2005) as the application of linguistic knowledge and skills in a variety of social contexts and situational interactions to communicate the intended meaning, thereby foregrounding the issue of intention. This definition is consistent

with an earlier definition by El-Samir (2000) who describes communicative strategy as the use of different language tactics (such as ambiguity, vague language, figures of speech, clearly written statements, etcetera) in conversation to deliver the intended meaning or message of the addresser (sender) to the addressee. El-Samir (2000) further clarifies that the form or type of communicative strategy will differ depending on the intended goal that the speaker wants to achieve. Some literature alternatively labels communicative strategy as discourse strategy (Shartiely, 2013). The present study has adopted El-Samir's (2000) definition of communicative strategies as the working definition for the present study. The definition correlates with the aim of this study that is to explore the use of language tactics (referred to in this study as communicative strategies) by participants who appeared before the Leon and Phumaphi commissions of enquiry.

The above definitions of strategic communication and communicative strategy show that these two concepts are correlated in that strategic communication is realised by the communicative strategy or the linguistic skills employed. That is, to achieve strategic communication, a speaker needs to draw from the communicative strategies/ linguistic skills that would suit their intention. For instance, if the speaker intends to emphasise a point to the hearer, a speaker may have to use figurative language such as repetition as a communicative strategy to help achieve the intended meaning that in this case is to emphasise a point. Similarly, if the speaker intends to communicate using a culturally embedded Sesotho expression, they may have to switch from English to Sesotho to effectively convey its meaning. Code-switching in this instance is a communicative strategy.

2.1.2 Defining effective communication

Effective communication is a fundamental communicative tool that commissions of enquiry rely on to make informed conclusions that will lead to their recommendations. Effective communication is defined by Akilandeswari, Kumar, Freeda & Kumar (2015) as communication that is characterised by a clarity of thought and expression, the relevance of the information provided, the correctness of content and conciseness, all of which involves giving information that is necessary and important. This means that for communication to be considered effective it must be clear, relevant, accurate and to the point. This concept of effective communication is applied in business communication, at home, and in life as a whole. It is both a business skill and a life skill, the source of power at work, and in family and social situations (Akilandeswari *et al*., 2015). A similar definition is provided by Marangoni (2016) who defines effective communication from the point of view of cooperative principles as

proposed by Grice (1975). Marangoni (2016) asserts that effective communication conforms to the following communication rules: quality, quantity, relation and manner. These rules mean that effective communication is true (quality), relevant (relation), precise (quantity) and clear (manner). In the words of Marangoni (2016:11), these rules 'urge speakers to refer only to that which, to the best of their knowledge, is true, to provide relevant contributions and to do so in a clear, concise and timely manner. More clarity on the concept of effective communication is provided by El-Samir (2000) who emphasises that for effective communication to occur, interlocutors need to choose appropriate communicative strategies to communicate the intended meaning. Drawn from the above definitions, this study formulates a suitable definition for effective communication as the use of communicative strategies to convey clear, precise, relevant, and quality information. The above scholars, Akilandeswari *et al*. (2015) and Marangoni (2016) refer to quality information being that which is true. In this study, quality refers to information as required by the commission and not quality based on truth. It is beyond the scope of this study to measure the authenticity of the information provided by the participants, who were called in as witnesses during the commissions' proceedings.

2.2 CATEGORIES OF COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES

Literature has categorised communicative strategies into three main types: The first type is grammatical strategies. This type focuses on language concepts whose main purpose is to assist in effective and error-free communication. It includes grammatical concepts such as personal pronouns or passive voice, reported speech, etcetera According to the Centre for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition (CARLA) (2019), the grammatical category deals with the use of language properties such as grammar or vocabulary to perform a communicative act. The second type is described by Shartiely (2013) as discourse strategies, while Akhimien and Farotimi (2018) define it as conversational strategies. These scholars define discourse strategies/conversational strategies as strategies used for communication between or among people. Examples of such strategies are code-switching, fillers, circumlocution, etcetera. Depending on which strategy is used and the context in which it is used, conversational strategies can enhance or hinder the smooth flow of information. The third type is the sociocultural strategies that require a thorough understanding of the sociocultural norms and practices of a particular cultural setting. This type also requires adequate knowledge of the context in which events occur (Centre for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition, 2019). For instance, language is culture-based and can be understood by language speakers who grew up in that culture. As asserted by Fairclough (1995), language is not a neutral instrument but it

has an active interpretive function that is culturally informed. The communicative strategies discussed below are categorised into the three main types of strategies just described.

2.2.1 Grammatical strategies

The grammatical category in this study consists of communicative strategies such as personal pronouns, direct speech (reported speech), passive voice, and questioning. Each of these grammatical categories is discussed below. It is important to note that this current research reviewed studies on communicative strategies as used in contexts similar and different from the one under discussion. The rationale behind such inclusion is that the communicative strategies seem to serve dynamic purposes in different contexts, a feature that will greatly inform the present study.

2.2.1.1 Personal pronouns

Another communicative strategy that is classified under the grammatical category is personal pronouns. Grammatically, pronouns are defined as groups of words that stand in the place of nouns, other pronouns and noun phrases (Håkansson, 2012). The grammatical function of pronouns is to avoid repetition. It is redundant to keep repeating the name of a person or thing, therefore, the use of pronouns has assisted interlocutors to be efficient in both speech and writing. Pronouns are of different types: personal, reflexive, possessive, indefinite, demonstrative, relative, reciprocal, relative and interrogative (Håkansson, 2012), but this study focuses particularly on personal pronouns because they are seen serving pragmatic functions in specific contexts as in political speeches. The *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (2016) describes a personal pronoun as the type of pronoun that is used to refer to a specific person or thing. These are pronouns such as *I, we, you, they, it, she, he,* and their variants such as *me, us, them, you, her, it, and him.* Despite their grammatical function, personal pronouns display others that are pragmatic and that are particularly favoured by the politicians. These are, therefore, often used as one of their rhetoric devices. Alavidze (2017) asserts that politicians employ personal pronouns as linguistic bullets that they use to achieve their goals.

The pronouns differ in their functions in the following manner: the first person pronoun 'I' implies a personal level and makes it possible for the speaker to show authority and personal responsibility as well as commitment and involvement (Karapetjana, 2011). 'I' also has a distancing effect, for it distances the speaker from the entire audience (Håkansson, 2012). On the contrary, the inclusive first-person pronoun, 'we' evokes a sense of togetherness and shared responsibility. It diminishes the responsibilities of the speaker because the speaker is portrayed as collaborating with the hearer. However, the exclusive first-person pronoun, 'we', is used to

deliberately exclude the person who is being addressed. Politicians sometimes use the exclusive 'we 'to refer to the government and not the entire nation (Nordquist, 2018). Regarding the function of the second person pronoun, 'you', the literature says it is used by the speaker to address parts of, or the entire, audience (Alavidze, 2017), while the third person pronouns 'they', 'he', 'she' are used to create an image of 'otherness' and to divide people into groups (Karapetjana, 2011).

a) Personal pronouns in political speeches

The use of personal pronouns seems to be common with politicians. Scholars have analysed political speeches and debates and found rampant use of personal pronouns that have served a variety of functions (Kulo, 2009; Håkansson, 2012; Makutis, 2016 and Sharndama, 2016). The scholars' analysis of pronouns in politics is relevant to the present study because many of the research subjects whose testimonies the study analyses are politicians. It is important, therefore, to have literature that reveals their use of personal pronouns for the purposes of the informed interpretation in the current study. One scholar, Kulo (2009), identified implicit statements in the language of politicians in the United States of America (US). Two speeches made during the American presidential campaign in 2008 were analysed, one being a speech by the Democratic Party's presidential candidate, Barack Obama, and the other by Republican Party candidate, John McCain. Kulo examined how two American candidates tried to persuade an audience to support their political opinions and obtain credit through the use of language. Kulo (ibid) depicted words, sentences and paragraphs where it appeared as if linguistic strategies had been chosen to formulate ideas and concepts in certain ways. One of the communicative strategies which the study depicted was the use of personal pronouns 'I' and 'we'. The singular form was used to show the audience that the speaker was taking personal responsibility and making a personal commitment, while the plural form was used inclusively to convey a sense of togetherness and a shared responsibility between the speaker and the audience. The pronoun 'we' was also used to exclude the audience addressed and to refer to the government. The candidates used these pronouns to express their opposing views about the war in Iraq. McCain used them to assert that war should continue until America won it, while Obama used them to suggest that American forces should be withdrawn from Iraq.

In a similar context, Håkansson (2012) also investigated the politicians' use of personal pronouns as a rhetoric device in their speeches. Håkansson (ibid) analysed the State of the

Union speeches presented by the former US presidents Gorge Bush and Barack Obama. The study's findings showed that the pronoun 'I' was not merely used as a substitute for the speaker's name, but was the way for the speaker to exclude himself from others. The pronoun 'I' was also found to have been used to convey the speaker's opinion, thus making the speech more subjective. The use of 'I' also reflected the authority of the speaker, his commitment to the audience and his involvement in the issues he spoke about. Håkansson further found that the use of 'I' was motivated by the speakers' intention to describe themselves positively and to highlight their personal qualities. Concerning the use of the pronoun 'we' and its variants, Håkansson found that politicians used it to express institutional identity, as when one speaks as a representative or on behalf of an institution. 'We' was also employed to separate 'us' from 'them' (between two political parties). It was further used to include and exclude hearers from group membership; to convey a shared responsibility, and to avoid speaking about themselves as individuals and instead suggest that others are involved.

In a different context, Makutis (2016) also conducted a study on the use of pronouns by politicians. Makutis's data comprised speeches taken from a United Nations meeting about the situation in Ukraine. The results were similar to the findings of Kulo (2009) and Håkansson (2012). The study showed extensive use of the pronoun 'we' by all the countries (Ukraine, United Kingdom, USA, Russia Federation and France) under study. The main functions of the pronoun 'we' in these speeches was to share a load of responsibility as a nation and to avoid being subjective.

Another scholar who worked on political speeches is Sharndama (2016). Sharndama closely observed the communicative strategies used in the political inaugural speeches of six Nigerian governors. He explored the communicative strategies which were used by these governors. The speeches were selected from their 2015 inaugural speeches. Sharndama specifically examined the macro structures of these speeches, namely, opening remarks, content and closing remarks. The findings showed that these structures contained communicative strategies that were meant to persuade the audience to accept the new government and encourage their hope in it. The strategies which were found to be effective in these speeches were the first person pronoun 'we' and 'I' and their variants. These were used as strategies for expressing political ideologies, especially the doctrine of inclusion and exclusion or self and group reference. Sharndama claims that as like other political speeches, inaugural speech is persuasive. This persuasion is aimed at enticing the audience to build hope in the new administration and to achieve this goal the speech makers employ different linguistic tactics to sway the minds of the audience to have confidence in their administration.

The above scholars, Kulo (2009), Håkansson (2012), Makutis (2016) and Sharndama (2016) have the same view concerning the use of personal pronouns. This has informed this study which supports their contention that 'we' has both an inclusionary and exclusionary inference and thus carries with it a sense of togetherness, unity and shared responsibility, while 'I' conveys an element of personal responsibility and commitment and is subjective. These findings will be of value to the findings of the present study. However, the current study is not looking at communicative strategies used in political speeches as the foregoing scholars have done but is exploring communicative strategies as employed by participants in two specific commissions of enquiry.

2.2.1.2 Direct speech (direct quoting)

Another communicative strategy in the category of language is direct speech. Fairclough (2003) regards direct speech as one of the examples of intertextuality as the concept has an element of bringing other voices into a text with the purpose to support one's own position by an authority. An examination of the literature relating to the use of direct speech will assist the present study to interpret testimonies that may use direct quoting. Quoting, according to Lambani (2017), means a repetition of the words that someone else has said or written. This can be done directly (direct speech) or indirectly (indirect speech). Quoting is mostly observed in academic writing and formal speeches. It is unacceptable for a scholar to write an academic text without quoting (directly or indirectly) from other scholars who have made an earlier input to the topic at hand. Labaree (2009) correctly states that what is valued in academic writing is evidence-based reasoning, and that is why scholars must support their opinion with evidence from other scholarly sources. Similarly, people who give formal speech often resort to famous quotes at the beginning, middle or at the end of their speeches. Politicians are found to be fond of using direct quoting in their political debates to make their speech convincing (Kuo, 2001). Sams (2010) clarifies that in conversational speech, quotations are often used by speakers to portray events and stories that happened in the past to their recipients.

According to Dlugan (2012), direct quoting is associated with certain functions that benefit the speakers. Direct quoting, thus, does not only emphasise what the speaker is saying, but it also reinforces her/his ideas because it represents a second voice that echoes opinions s/he holds. It further boosts a speaker's credibility because it implies that the person being quoted agrees with the rest of the speaker's argument.

a) Direct quoting in political discourse, a courtroom and the media

Much research has been conducted in the use of direct speech in political discourse, in courtrooms and in the media (Kuo, 2001; Ng, 2011; Harry, 2013). Kuo (2001) has examined the use of reported speech, particularly direct quotation, in Chinese political discourse. Kuo has used data from televised debates between three candidates in the 1998 Taipei mayoral election. This study found that direct quotations play an important role in political debate. Kuo reported that three politicians quoted sources generally believed to be impartial and authoritative, and used them to glorify themselves or to criticise others. Moreover, direct quotation was found to be more effective than indirect quotes in portraying action and dialogue as if they were occurring at the time of telling and thus conveying a sense of immediacy and vividness. Kuo further revealed that direct quotation forced the audience to participate in sense-making and become actively involved in the topic of the talk. Direct quotation, therefore, played an important role in providing evidence in support of the debaters' claim, making what they say more credible. Moreover, debaters used direct quotation as an evasion strategy; to disclaim responsibility and distance themselves from the source of knowledge. The study also showed that the use of direct quotation was common among debaters who spoke more casually, while those who spoke formally tended to cite figures from newspapers or magazines.

In a different context, Ng (2011) observed how court interpreters utilised both direct and indirect speech. Ng observed that interpreters in Hong Kong courts had deviated from the generally held principle that requires professional interpreters to interpret in the direct speech and make use of first-person, 'I' and its variant 'me'. The interpreters used indirect speech when interpreting the speech of the legal professionals but used direct quoting and, therefore, the first person 'I' and 'me' when interpreting for witnesses and defendants. Ng sought to find out why this was the case. Ng established that the interpreting styles adopted had nothing to do with the content being interpreted as it was initially hypothesised, but were dependent on who was speaking. The interpreters in the Hong Kong courtroom used an indirect speech to interpret for legal professionals because of their consciousness of the power unevenness between lay participants and legal professionals in the courtroom.

While Kuo (2001) examined the functions of direct speech in political discourse and Ng (2011) surveyed how courtroom interpreters used reported speech, Harry (2013) analysed the function of reported speech in newspaper articles that covered Israeli commandos' killing of passengers aboard a pro-Palestinian cargo ship. These articles were examined to discern the function of direct and indirect quotation modes as used by journalists. Harry found that journalists utilised three quotation modes, namely, direct quotation, free indirect and standard indirect quotation. The study found that the three quotation modes were used to assist the

journalists to remain neutral, non-subjective and non-evaluative. Thus, the quotations allowed journalists to maintain their traditional norm of being objective.

The reviewed literature has provided valuable information on how speakers benefit from using indirect speech. The functions of reported speech have been further portrayed by the reviewed studies while others were provided by Dlugan (2012), as discussed earlier. However, the reviewed studies are dissimilar to the current study in that they covered the use of quoting in the political domain, courtroom and media (newspapers), while the present study is exploring the use of communicative strategies as used by the participants in Lesotho commissions of enquiry.

2.2.1.3 Passive voice

Passive voice is another concept that falls under grammatical strategies. Its relevance to this study relates to the fact that it is a grammatical concept commonly used by Sesotho speakers. It is likely, therefore, to be one of the communicative strategies employed by participants of this study. English has two types of voice, namely, the active and the passive voice (Tuan, 2010). Each time we speak we express our thoughts actively or passively by employing the active voice or the passive voice. Tuan (ibid) further denotes that the active voice, on the one hand, involves the speaker or writer with the content of their speech or writing. It denotes who did the action. For instance; *Tom prepared supper*. This sentence is in the active voice because it mentions the person involved in the action of cooking supper who in this case is Tom. The passive voice, on the other hand, is a way of phrasing the sentences such that the subject or the doer or the actor does not refer to the person or thing responsible for the action but to the receiver of the action. The doer and the receiver of the action exchange positions; the receiver occupies the doer's position while the doer is found in the position of the receiver in a sentence. As they describe the structure of the passive voice, Frazer and Miller (2009) explain that the direct or indirect object of the active sentence becomes the subject of the corresponding passive sentence and the subject (if retained, because sometimes it is not retained) appears after the verb in a by-clause. Thompson (2012) has commented that in this way the speaker or writer is distanced from the utterance or the action in question. For instance, in the utterance '*Supper was prepared by Tom'* or *'Supper was prepared',* the doer of the action is mentioned at the end or sometimes not mentioned at all. Generally, the by-clause as in '*by Tom'* is usually used for emphasis (Xiao, McEnery and Qian, 2006).

The functions of passive voice elaborated by Corson and Smollett (2019) are that a passive voice is used when the actor is unknown or when it is not important to mention the actor. It is

also used when the speaker/writer wants to deliberately become vague or tactful about who is responsible. Sometimes when speakers want to create an authoritative tone they use a passive voice.

a) Passive voice in law, politics and health

There is a large body of literature on the use of passive voice in fields such as law, politics and health by scholars such as Tanner (2003), Kulo (2009) and Saarinen (2015). Tanner (2003) closely studied the language used in the drafting of statutes in Australia. He found that the statutes were drafted in conventional legal English, the style which he described as verbose, over technical and full of archaic language. He noted that sentences in legal English were written in the passive voice, were excessively long and exhibited complicated syntax and illogical word order all of which resulted in comprehension problems for ordinary citizens. In his opinion, citizens need to be helped to understand any legal document that discusses a benefit or imposes an obligation. He thus came up with communication strategies that could be used to lessen the complexity of statutes and to promote comprehension. According to him, legislative drafters should avoid excessively long sentences and the use of passive voice as these awkward grammatical structures are a major hindrance to comprehensibility. Instead, he encouraged the use of active voice as he claims that it is shorter and more direct and consequently easier to process than the passive voice. In the political context, Kulo (2009) found a passive voice as one of the communicative strategies excessively used by politicians during the American presidential campaign in 2008. The passive voice was found to have been used to conceal some elements in different situations.

Saarinen (2015) examined the communication strategies in the health sector that support the comprehension of verbal health messages and healthcare consumer's health literacy skills. Saarinen studied health literacy speeches that healthcare providers delivered to patients at Laurea University. Saarinen's investigations confirmed that in health communication there are strategies that have proved to have a positive effect on the outcome of consumer (patients/clients) education. One of these strategies was the use of active voice instead of passive voice. The active voice was found to be highly effective while passive voice slowed patients' comprehension processing.

As has been indicated above, the use of passive voice was explored in a variety of contexts, including law, health and politics. The findings in each of the studies reviewed found a passive voice as an undesirable communicative strategy. It is correctly viewed as a strategy that slows down comprehension of information being communicated and as a strategy that

conceals information. These findings are going to inform the present study as it analyses its data that will be derived from participants of the commissions of enquiry.

2.2.1.4 Questioning

Questioning is yet another important concept which this study classifies under grammatical strategies. Literature on questioning will assist this study as it analyses responses to questions asked by commissioners. How questioning is handled is important as it determines how speakers respond. Questioning is an important communicative tool that assists individuals, businesses and classrooms to acquire the answers they need. As explained by McCormick and Donato (2000), questioning inspires one's thinking and enhances comprehension. It enables speakers to gain knowledge on matters to which they requested answers. In education, questioning boosts classroom interaction by enabling teachers to correct unwanted behaviour. It helps check the comprehension of complex concepts by students and helps students to remember something they already know.

There are three broad categories/types of questioning based on the purpose, form and function of questioning. According to Long and Sato (1983), questions based on purpose are of two types, namely, display questions and referential questions. Display questions are asked when the questioner knows the answer but wants to challenge another person's memory. Conversely, referential questions are asked when the speaker does not know the answer. The second division that comprises questions based on form relates to open-ended and closed-ended questions. Closed-ended questions are alternatively called *yes* or *no* questions. Dalton-Puffer (2007) affirms that closed-ended questions are quick and easy to answer as they are limited to a simple one-word answer. Open-ended questions are extensive and demanding on the part of the respondent. The question words such as 'when', 'what', 'why', 'where' 'how', and 'who' are used to begin these open-ended questions. The third division deals with function-related questions. These are of three types, namely, comprehension check questions, confirmation check questions and clarification check questions (Long and Sato, 1983). Athanasiadou (1990) adds four more types of questions to the category made by Long and Sato (ibid), and these are examination questions, rhetorical questions, information questions and indirect request questions.

a) Questioning in teaching and learning

Literature that is based on the use of questioning is mainly observed in the context of teaching and learning. This could be because questioning is an effective communicative strategy that

enhances teaching and learning in the classroom environment. This is reflected in the works of scholars such as Dobao and Martínez (2007), Shartiely (2013) and Yang (2017). Dobao and Martínez (2007) have described how learners and their interlocutors manage to communicate meaning through questioning. They aimed at identifying communicative strategies that foreign language learners with a reduced interlanguage system used when they realised that the target language items and structures meant to convey their messages were not available or were inadequate. Dobao and Martínez made use of the sample of foreign language interaction from the Santiago University's Corpus of English to get data. They found that one of the strategies that learners used as they tried to cope with communication challenges was the use of questions. Questions helped them to seek and obtain answers from their teachers and peers and in this way their vocabulary and their competence in the foreign language improved.

In a similar context of teaching and learning in East Africa, Shartiely (2013) established that the three most notable discourse strategies were repetition, the use of questions, and the use of code-switching between English and Kiswahili. Lecturers used tag, rhetorical, open and closed types of questions to check for comprehension, to stimulate a higher level of thinking, to manage classroom behaviour and to encourage students' participation and independent study.

Yang (2017) further analysed the problems associated with questioning in the English learning class at Yancheng Normal University. Tang also came up with strategies that could be used to solve these problems. As he observed teachers asking learners questions, he found that there was a challenge as regards the distribution of questions, for teachers asked few top or active students to answer questions rather than give equal chances to every student. The second problem he found was the lack of waiting time. Teachers could not control time interval among questions, they asked a question after another without giving enough time for students to think about the answers. The third problem observed was the lack of corresponding feedback, as some teachers failed to give positive feedback to increase their students' interest in learning. Yang proposed strategies that could be used to encourage effective classroom questioning, including that teachers should ask more diverse and reference questions, control waiting time according to specific circumstances; encourage all students to answer questions actively and give positive feedback to follow up students' responses.

The studies on questioning have shown the importance of questioning as a learning strategy in class and how teachers can utilise this strategy to benefit every learner. Yang (2017) asserts that questioning plays an important role in this context because it is a means of organising teaching, inspiring students' thinking and enhancing students' comprehension. As has already been shown, the scholars who worked on questioning conducted their research in

the classroom environment. The present study, however, is exploring the use of communicative strategies as used by participants in commissions of enquiry and not in the classroom as is the case with scholars quoted above. Nonetheless, the findings are going to inform the present study.

2.2.2 Conversational strategies

As said earlier, conversational strategies are those that are used for communication between and among people. Determined by the strategy chosen, a conversational strategy can improve or hamper communication. Communicative strategies belonging to this category are code-switching, fillers, vague language, circumlocution, etcetera Below is a detailed discussion of these conversational strategies.

2.2.2.1 Code-switching

One of the conversational strategies speakers use in communication is code-switching. A clear understanding of code-switching is important for the purposes of this study since the study analyses data drawn from a bilingual speech community (Sesotho and English) where code-switching is prevalently used and could, therefore. be a significant communicative strategy used by the participants of this study. Code-switching is a compound word made of a noun 'code' and a verb 'switch(ing)'. A code means a system of spoken or written communications such as language while a switch means to exchange or replace one thing with another (*Online Cambridge English Dictionary*: 2019). Based on this description, code-switching can be defined as a phenomenon that occurs when a bilingual or a multilingual speaker simultaneously replaces one language with another to communicate in a single communicative event. Albarillo (2018:624) defines it as a 'linguistic phenomenon where speakers change between two or more languages or between varieties of a language within a speech act or discourse'. This definition by Albarillo (ibid) resonates with other definitions for code-switching provided by Heredia and Altarriba (2001), Akindele and Letsoela (2001), Lin (2008), Khati (2011) and Gxilishe (2012). Mokgwathi (2011) gives a detailed definition which entails all characteristics of code-switching and further (2011:27) defines code-switching as a communicative strategy in which a speaker alternates the use of forms from at least two languages, or varieties of the same language, one matrix, the other embedded, in the same sentence or within the same conversational turn. This definition entails the following in its description:

a) Code-switching is a communicative strategy.
b) There are two or more languages involved in code-switching.

c) Varieties of the same language are also classified as code-switching.
d) In a code switched utterance, there is a matrix language (main language of the interaction, usually the speaker's first language) and there is an embedded language (the guest language).

The morpho-syntactic structure of the code-switch conforms to the syntactic structure of the matrix language while it violates that of the guest language (Mokgwathi, 2011). For instance, the structural pattern of the examples that follow is that of the matrix language:

Example 1

Sesotho: *Discussion tsa rona re ile ra lumellana ho ngolla mookameli lengolo*

English: In our discussion, we agreed to write a letter to the manager.

In the code switched utterance, the structural pattern of the sentence has conformed to the Sesotho syntactic structure which allows a determiner or an adjective to follow the head noun. However, the English rule which requires the determiner or adjective to precede a head noun is violated. This is why the sentence reads as 'discussion tsa rona' literally meaning '"discussion ours' and not 'our discussion'. Code-switching is classified into three different types: inter-sentential code-switching, intra-sentential code-switching and tag switching (also known as emblematic code-switching) (Eldin (2014). Each of these is described below,

a) Inter-sentential code-switching:

Inter-sentential code-switching involves a language switch done at sentence boundaries in the same conversational occurrence. In this case, a speaker utters a statement where one clause or sentence is in one language and the next clause or sentence is in another language (Chen and Rubinstein-Avila, 2015)). According to MacSwan (1999) and Eldin (2014), this type of code-switching necessitates fluency in both languages because it requires that a speaker is competent with the rule of the two languages. This kind of code-switching is classified as a clear form of code-switching and, therefore. the main form; there is a clear line of demarcation indicating where one switch ends and where another begins. (Myers-Scotton, 1993). An example of inter-sentential code-switching is:

Example 1

Sesotho: *Ke utloile ka hare ho nna hore ho na le ntho e phoso (I could feel it in my spirit that something was wrong***).** *This then explains why she failed to attend our meeting.*

In the above example, the speaker utters the first sentence entirely in a matrix language which is Sesotho. The next sentence, however, is in English – in this case, the embedded language — and this occurs in the same conversational turn. Code-switching has, therefore. occurred at the sentence boundary, and thus can be classified as inter-sentential code-switching, following the classification of Chen and Rubinstein-Avila (2015.

b) Intra-sentential code-switching

This type of code-switching involves a shift (from one language to another) done in the middle of a sentence, with no interruptions, hesitations or pauses to indicate a shift (Esen, 2010). That is, it is a mixture of morphemes, phrases or clauses from both the matrix language and the embedded language within a sentence. Eldin (2014) states that this type is the most complex as it can occur at clausal, sentential or even word level. An example could be:

Example 1

Sesotho: *Re qala polelo ka Sesotho and end it in English*.

English: We begin a sentence in Sesotho and end it in English.

In the above example, two languages are used within one sentence and not at sentence boundary as is the case with inter-sentential code-switching. The sentence is started in Sesotho but before it ends an insertion of an English clause is made such that one sentence is a mixture of both Sesotho and English.

c) Tag-switching

Tag switching as described by Eldin (2014) entails the insertion of a tag or a phrase in one language into an utterance that is otherwise entirely in another language. This insertion according to Mokgwathi (2011) is attached at the end of a sentence to convey a specific meaning or for emphasis purposes. Mokgwathi (2011) alternatively calls this type tag-like or emblematic code-switching. This is considered the easiest type because tags naturally contain minimal syntactic restrictions, hence they do not break syntactic rules when inserted in a sentence (Hamers and Blanc, 2000). Tags can be in the form of interjections, fillers or idiomatic expressions. For example, Basotho are used to inserting words such as ‘akere?’ that means ‘isn’t it so?’ or ‘oa bona’ (‘you see’). A sentence such as the following is common:

Example 1:

Sesotho: *You are coming home this evening, **akere?***

English: You are coming home this evening, aren't you?

In this example, the entire sentence is in English. It is only the question tag 'akere' ('aren't you'), meant to confirm the speaker's Sesotho utterances.

Functions of code-switching

Code-switching (CS) plays a fundamental role in both bilingual and multilingual speech communities. It solves several communication challenges of speech communities where there is a language barrier among speakers. It also enables practices such as translanguaging (use of multiple languages in a classroom to foster teaching and learning) and code-mixing (the use of morphemes- the smallest unit of a language, from two languages to form a new word), resulting in effective communication. As described by Khati (2011) and Gxilishe (2012), there is an understanding by some people that code-switching is a result of incompetence in either of the languages. Proponents of this view such as Mokgwathi (2011) point out that code-switching in the classroom environment is particularly a result of learners' inadequate proficiency in their second language. However, other researchers view code-switching as a multipurpose strategy that is meant to meet complex interlocutors' communicative demands such as finding the correct and relevant referential term which is not found in one language, and ensuring that fast and easy communication is attained (Ariffin and Rafik-Galea, and Gxilishe, 2012). The standpoint that this study takes is that code-switching is a communicative strategy that resolves communication challenges for both competent and incompetent language speakers. Other functions of code-switching, as acknowledged by scholars such as Ariffin and Rafik-Galea (2009) and Gxilishe (2012), are to report someone else's utterance as a direct quotation, that is, reporting verbatim an utterance in the language which was used by the speaker being quoted. It is also used to overcome any difficulties related to lexical gaps, that is, closing the gap when a correct referential term cannot be found in one language. It is further used to convey the message easier and faster without having to look for a far-fetched word in one language. Additionally, code-switching helps to emphasise information, repeat information to clarify and convey culturally embedded messages.

Code-switching in foreign language learning

One of the areas in which CS is prevalent is classrooms in multilingual settings. Research on the use of code-switching as a communicative strategy in the classroom environment has noted that the strategy is often employed by both teachers and learners in the learning of a second or a foreign language (Dobao and Martínez, 2007; Mokgwathi 2011; Gxilishe, 2012; Shartiely,

2013, Modupeola; 2013; Shahnaz, 2015). In such contexts, code-switching is used to enhance effective communication among speakers where there is limited proficiency in the target language. The use of code-switching in multilingual classrooms as stated above is consistent with the current proposals about the use of home language in a classroom environment and particularly the use of translanguaging (use of multiple languages in a classroom to foster teaching and learning) as one of the effective ways of communicating in class. Makalela (2015), Childs (2016) and Deyi (2018) advocate the use of more than one language in a multilingual classroom. They argue that switching from home language to the language of the classroom and vice versa allows learners to get the best of each language they are exposed to and enhances academic performance. Makalela (2015) asserts that translanguaging provides both cognitive and social advantage for learners.

In a study conducted in Spain, Dobao and Martínez (2007) observed that code-switching is one of the strategies that foreign language learners, who are inadequately proficient in the second language, use when they realise their lack of sufficient vocabulary to convey their message. The strategy is, therefore used as a mechanism to cope with communication challenges such as an inability to adequately express oneself. Similarly, Shartiely (2013) studied code-switching as a communicative strategy utilised by lecturers at the University of Dar Es Salaam when they conveyed new information and facilitated interaction between them and their students in the lecture rooms. As Shartiely (2013) explained, the language situation in the University of Dar Es Salaam is such that students and lecturers speak various home languages other than English, the language prescribed by the country's language policy as the language of teaching and learning. Lecturers were found to be switching between English and Kiswahili and using both inter-and intra-sentential types of code-switching to engage with students, to translate some concepts, explain, and manage students' behaviour and to advise or encourage students. Lecturers' use of code-switching became a useful strategy to facilitate teaching and learning. This communicative strategy was especially useful for learners who shared similar home languages with their lecturers, however, it was unfavourable to those who did not. In another context, Mokgwathi (2011) investigated the role of code-switching in classroom interactions among teachers and learners in senior secondary schools in Botswana and found conflicting findings. In some cases, code-switching was found to be promoting lesson comprehension among learners and allowing them to participate effectively in the learning process, and without reservations, permitting learners to respond to their teachers' questions. In other cases, Mokgwathi's (ibid) investigations disclosed that code-switching created a habit of using home language in a lesson that should be taught in English, thus creating

complacency among learners about the use of English in class. Another negative effect was related to competence in English as a second language. Code-switching was found to be one of the major contributing factors to a lack of fluency and competence in the target language among learners. However, the current study argues that learners' comprehension of concepts in class and effective participation which are a result of code-switching should be prioritised above any other hindrance brought by the use of code-switching. Scholars such as Lehti-Eklund (2012) also view code-switching as a resource in a foreign language classroom and not a problem. Other studies that found code-switching to be valuable in the classroom are those of Modupeola (2013) and Shahnaz (2015). These studies have explored the effectiveness of code-switching in a teaching and learning environment. Modupeola (2013) conducted his study in Nigerian schools where learners speak a variety of home languages. The study established that code-switching played an important role in ensuring that English language lessons and other subjects are easy to comprehend. Code-switching was also found to be a good facilitator of classroom instructions as it allowed teachers to spend little time explaining complex concepts. Correspondingly, Shahnaz (2015) also approved code-switching as an effective communicative strategy by teachers and learners in Pakistan. Shahnaz's investigations revealed that teachers and learners viewed code-switching as an effective component of the teaching methodology as it enhanced comprehension. However, participants were also of the opinion that code-switching should be used purposefully and in a limited manner so that learners could still achieve fluency in the second language.

In another context, Gxilishe (2012) investigated the circumstances and contexts in which code-switching is employed among competent Bangla-English speakers in Bangladesh. Gxilishe found that code-switching is used as a valuable linguistic strategy to minimise social differences among the interlocutors, to overcome difficulty related to lexical gaps, to continue with a free flow of conversation, to show the contrast between their personal feelings and description of facts, and to convey culturally embedded messages. As the above studies have specified, code-switching in teaching and learning is used as an effective communicative strategy that addresses students' lack of proficiency in the language of learning and teaching (Dobao and Martínez, 2007; Mokgwathi, 2011; Shartiely, 2013; Modupeola, 2013; Shahnaz, 2015). However, as Mokgwathi (2011) has shown, the use of code-switching in class has both positive and negative effects. From a different perspective, Gxilishe (2012) revealed how competent language speakers use code-switching for purposes other than being used to compensate for language incompetence. It can, therefore, be deduced from this body of literature that a code-switching is a communicative tool that is used by speakers with limited

language proficiency as well as those with sufficient communicative competence for the similar purpose of enhancing effective communication.

The literature has largely focused on the use of code-switching as a communicative strategy for less proficient learners in the classroom and little on those with sufficient communicative competence. Nevertheless, the present study is deriving its data from adult bilingual speakers of Sesotho and English who supposedly have attained proficiency in the second language. It is looking into as many communicative strategies as the study can reveal and these are looked at in the context of commissions of enquiry. However, the findings of these studies are going to inform the current study.

2.2.2.2 Fillers

Another communicative strategy classified under conversational strategies is fillers. A filler is an old communicative phenomenon whose research originates in psycholinguistics. (Tottie, 2011). Fillers are defined as a discourse marker such as *well, erm, you see,* etcetera, used by speakers when they think and/or hesitate during their speech (Richards and Schmidt, 2012). They commonly occur as hesitation markers or lexical items which hold control of a conversation while the speaker thinks of what to say next (Kharismawan, 2017). They are alternatively called *stalling devices* (Chihsia, 2015) or *hesitation disfluencies* (Erten, 2014). These definitions imply that fillers occur to aid interlocutors to plan their next utterance or think of the appropriate word to use. According to Richards and Schmidt (2012), fillers are more common with people who speak slowly than those who speak fast. Available literature categorises fillers into three types based on their structural formation (Rose, 1998; Biber; Geoffrey; Conrad, and Finegan, 2002; Tottie 2011; Richards and Schmidt, 2012). The first category is a silent pause that comprises instances where a speaker makes a pause during a turn without any sound or utterance (Rose, 1998). These pauses are often used by speakers to gain time to plan the next words in an utterance. The second category is called unlexicalised filler pauses or what Biber *et al*. (2002:32) and Tottie (2011:174) call 'filled pauses'. These are non-lexeme or non-words pauses that speakers use to indicate hesitation while they think of what to say next. Examples of such pauses are: *ehm, uh, err, ah, um,* etcetera The third type is called lexicalised filler pauses which according to Rose (1998) consists of words or short phrases such as *like, well, sort of, you know, if you see what I mean,* etcetera According to Wu (2001), fillers serve different functions which mainly depend on the context in which a speaker uses them. Based on their functions, the following types have emerged:

- Hesitation: this filler is used when the speaker has difficulty articulating.

- Empathising: this is used as an attention-getting device to check whether a listener is paying attention or not.
- Mitigating: this used as a politeness strategy, to mitigate utterances that could avoid hurting the addressee's feelings.
- Editing term: fillers are also used to correct errors in the speaker's utterance, that is, the speaker realises the error and wants to correct it.
- Time-creating device: fillers give some time for the speaker to think about what to say next. The common filler marker used as a time-creating device is lexical repetition. This could be a single word repetition or clause partial repetition.

a) Fillers in foreign language learning

Much research has been conducted on the use of fillers in foreign language learning (Jamshidnejad (2011); Khojastehrad (2012); Chihsia (2015); Santos, Alarcŏn, and Parlo (2016); Kharismawan (2017)). Jamshidnejad (2011) investigated oral communication among a group of Persian foreign language learners in Iran to find how these learners conducted interpersonal communication, particularly when they encounter vocabulary challenges. The study established that one of the strategies learners employed to mitigate communication breakdown was the use of fillers. Filled pauses (the most common type used) helped them to create the time to think of the next utterance to make and the correct word to use in the situation. In a similar study conducted among Iranian students who speak Persian, Khojastehrad (2012) investigated the distribution of fillers or stalling devices in an oral L2 test based on storytelling by Iranian university students. The study examined the frequency of hesitation fillers as well as their location across utterances produced by the participants. The study found that the most commonly used hesitation markers were repeated words and hesitation filler words such as *um, ee, ehm* and pauses. These fillers were considerably more frequent in the middle position than at the beginning of an utterance. Khojastehrad (ibid) concludes that respondents do not struggle much with the planning process at the beginning of a sentence, they think and speak simultaneously, and thus use fewer fillers. However, as they continue speaking they begin to think of the next utterance and this leads to a considerable increase of hesitations in the middle of their sentences. This finding confirms the link between fillers and planning. One employs fillers to gain time to plan what to say next.

In another context, Chihsia (2015) conducted a study in Taiwan where he reported the differences in the use of stalling strategies between the native language and second language discourse among the Mandarin Chinese speakers. Chihsia aimed to find out if L1 and L2 proficiency had any impact on the use of stalling devices. Chihsia found that all types of stalling strategies (pauses and repetitions) were observed in the participants' L1 and L2 utterances. However, the occurrence rate of stalling strategies in participants' L2 speech was significantly higher than in the L1 speech, implying that one hesitates, pauses and repeats utterances more when speaking an L2. The study concluded that people's application of stalling devices is in a way influenced by their language proficiency. The more proficient one is, the fewer the use of stalling strategies.

Santos *et al*. (2016) investigated the use and the teaching of fillers as one of the language topics covered by foreign language teachers in Mexico. They also observed that foreign language teachers possessed full knowledge of fillers and practically used them in everyday conversation to do the following: to buy time, to fill in space in conversation when expecting feedback from the hearer when they are nervous when they want to organise their speech, when they feel insecure about what they are talking about, and when they want to signal that they want to continue with their turn in a conversation.

These teachers, however, have admitted that they do not incorporate activities to draw students' attention to the use of fillers as an oral activity in their foreign language class. The study enlightened foreign language teachers on the pedagogical approaches regarding the use of fillers, a phenomenon that has been neglected by teachers. Teachers were encouraged to make learners aware of fillers and their essential functions in their day-to-day oral skills. The study encouraged teachers to use videos and online chats where learners will be exposed to natural conversation. This approach could awaken their use of fillers in a foreign language.

As shown above, although much research has focused more on the use of fillers in foreign language learning, one study by Kharismawan (2017), however, changed focus and investigated the use of fillers outside the language-learning context. The study looked at the use of fillers in the speeches of Barrack Obama, the former president of the United States of America. The study found two types of fillers, namely, lexical and unlexicalised filler pauses. These fillers served functions such as hesitating, empathising, mitigating, editing and time-creating. Kharismawan concludes that fillers are communicative strategies that are used to improve spoken interaction by allowing speakers some time to think carefully and edit their utterances so that the intended message is satisfactorily conveyed.

Most of the scholars who researched the use of fillers paid particular attention to their use in second language learning. Their findings were correlated in that they echoed the use of fillers as a time–creating a device that interlocutors utilise to think through what they have to say next. Kharismawan (2017), however, in an analysis of the presidential speech, revealed many other functions of fillers such as emphasising, mitigation and editing, The studies have also revealed that fillers are used by second language learners and other members of society to fulfil a variety of functions. These studies have informed the current research on yet another strategy that could manifest in the analysis of data. However, the present study is examining the communicative strategies in commissions of enquiry and not in language learning or presidential speeches.

2.2.2.3 *Circumlocution*

Another strategy classified as conversational is circumlocution. This is a strategy that interlocutors use to discuss matters which are culturally taboo or which can potentially destroy one's face. It is a common communicative strategy among the Basotho and could, therefore, be one of the communicative strategies employed by the participants. The word circumlocution is defined by *Roget's 21st Century Thesaurus* (2012: 25) as 'beating around the bush, diffuseness, discursiveness, euphemism, gassiness, indirectness, paraphrase, periphrasis, pleonasm, prolixity, roundabout, tautology, verbal evasion, verbiage, wordiness'. Al-Shemmary and Ubied (2016) describe circumlocution as a lengthened roundabout mode of speech and the use of unnecessary words and indirect language to avoid getting to the point. The definition by Al-Shemmary and Ubied is adopted as a working definition in the current study.

Based on Obeng's 2012 observations, circumlocution is used to avoid offensive or taboo words or embarrassing expressions. It is also used to deceive or misinform others or to reflect politeness. People with the deliberate intention of misinterpreting a question, over elaborating a point or distracting the listener choose to use circumlocution. Obeng (ibid) further indicates that politicians, educators and other people who want to manipulate people's perceptions of reality find circumlocution an effective means of obscuring meaning. Al-Shemmary and Ubied (2016) list the types of circumlocution as general over specific, paraphrase, complex over simple, ambiguity, equivocation, euphemism, and grammar.

a) Circumlocution in foreign language learning and religious context

The main body of literature on the use of circumlocution is centred on the classroom environment and in a religious context. Foreign language learners employ this strategy to solve their communication challenges. The strategy is found in the works of Dobao and Martinez

(2007), Worden (2016) and Purbosari (2018). As mentioned earlier, Dobao and Martinez (2007) describe the communication strategies by foreign language learners. Circumlocution is among many communicative strategies found in the speech production of foreign language learners. Circumlocution in language learning was further given attention by Worden (2016) and Purbosari (2018), who respectively outlined the benefits of circumlocution and how the concept can be developed through training. Worden established that in a language learning class circumlocution helped students from the University of Tamagawa to keep the flow of the conversation. It also triggered a negotiation of meaning that aided the acquisition of the target language. It further enabled learners to obtain access to new linguistic resources through positive feedback following requests for assistance. The findings triggered Worden to propose that circumlocution training should be added to a language learning syllabus so that learners do not only learn a language but also learn 'to language'. Purbosari (2018) added that teachers should know types of circumlocution when teaching a second language as this would enhance effective communication. He observed this as he investigated the use of circumlocution by students of Nusantara Pgrikediri University. From the perspective of religion, the use of circumlocution is detected in Al-Shemmary and Ubied's 2016 work that analysed the Quran to determine the types of circumlocution found in the text. They found that the text had employed all types of circumlocution; general over specific, paraphrase over name, complex over simple, ambiguity, equivocation and euphemism. According to Al-Shemmary and Ubied the Quran carried a variety of contexts that required mitigation, hence the use of circumlocution.

As shown above, the use of circumlocution has been investigated in areas such as language learning and religion and not in commissions of enquiry. It would be important to find out how this communicative strategy surfaces in the context of commissions of enquiry and its functions thereof. The present study, therefore, explores the use of communicative strategies by participants of the commissions in Lesotho.

2.2.2.4 Vague language

Literature portrays vague language as one of the common conversational devices speakers opt for in a situation where they intend to be non-specific. Vague language is defined as a word or phrase 'which deliberately refers to people and things in a non-specific, imprecise way' (Carter and McCarthy, 2006). Khalil (2017) further elaborate that an expression or a phrase is pragmatically vague when it leaves some of the semantic features unspecified. Khalil (ibid) additionally comments that vague language is neither all bad nor all good, but is most important thing is that such language should be used appropriately. He argues that the appropriateness of

vague language differs from one text to the other. For example, a medical report, legal contract, academic paper, a political radio interview, a casual chat, will all differ in their degree of vagueness. According to Drave (2001) and Qiao (2010), vague language is used in circumstances such as when the speaker forgets the right word on account of memory loss. It is also used in situations where the speaker wants to deliberately withhold specific information for reasons of self-protection and when the speaker wants to cover a large amount of evidence in court. Markers of vagueness are words and phrases such as *some, sort of, kind of, whatever, this, that, other, everything, sort of thing, something like that, I'm not sure, I can't remember, I don't know,* etcetera

a) Vague language in legal discourse, advertising and funeral speeches

Most literature on vague language is realised in the legal context (Cotteril, 2007; Arinas, 2012; Li, 2017), in advertising (Wenzhong and Jingji, 2013) and in the context of funerals (Parvaresh, 2017). In the legal context, Cotteril (2007) sought to find out what constituted vagueness in the environment of a trial and what kind of vagueness participants and defendants produced in court when giving their evidence and the judicial reactions to these vague responses. Cotteril drew on the courtroom corpus of a United Kingdom (UK) trial talk. The extracts chosen for the study illustrated a widespread of vague language in courtroom discourse. They revealed that participants and defendants used markers of vagueness in the form of approximators such as '*some sort of', 'kind of', 'a bit', 'whatever', 'this', 'that', 'other',* etcetera and tags such as '*everything', 'sort of thing', 'something like that'*. Participants and defendants also alluded to the vagueness of their knowledge and memory by using expressions such as: *'I'm not sure', 'I can't remember', 'I don't know exactly'*. Cotteril found that the rationale for the use of vague language in the courtroom was usually deliberate deception. Participants strategically used vague language to cover a great deal of evidence. The use of vague language in the legal context is also realised in the study conducted by Arinas (2012) on patent claims. Arinas described such vagueness as a strategy used by patent applicants to balance their commercial interests with the requirements to obtain a patent. Arinas made a compilation of 350 US electromechanical patents which were granted between 1999 and 2009. In this corpus, Arinas found the use of vague quantifiers such as a/an, between, least, at least, about, from…to, preferably/preferred, a few, any, certain, every, many, most, several, can, may etcetera Many of these abovementioned vague quantifiers and verbs might be seen to be semantically empty but were pragmatically carrying important meanings. The motivations behind the use of vague language as reflected from the corpus were to deliberately withhold

information, use language persuasively, and give the right amount of information and for reasons of self-protection. Cotteril and Arinas' findings are similar although their source of data and context differed. They found that vague language was employed for the sole purpose of withholding information for reasons of self-protection.

Scholars such as Li (2017) also investigated the use of vague language in legal discourse. Li focused on the role that vague language plays to fulfil the communicative purposes of legislative texts. The study aimed to find out if vague language contributes to the communicative purposes of legislative texts. Li acquired data from a corpus consisting of a selection of texts from the *Acquis Communautaire* (AC) – a total body of European Union (EU) law, applicable in the EU member states. The results of the study showed that the vague language in legislative texts was primarily associated with four semantic categories, namely, quantity, time, degree and category. These four categories are intentionally left vague to benefit the drafting of the legislative texts. Draftsmen seem to use vagueness strategically to extend the applicability of legal terms to provide flexibility, to maintain a balance between precision and over-elaboration, and to mitigate potential problems and a lack of consistency. Draftsmen make use of linguistic expressions such as *such cases, such data, such products, necessary data, appropriate measures, relevant information* and so on, to provide flexibility and to combat future conflict and contradictions in the legislation.

Vague language also features in advertising. Wenzhong and Jingji (2013) demonstrated the functions of vague language in English commercial advertising in China. They established that vague language in commercial advertising plays both positive and negative roles. They found that the positive functions include improving the flexibility of communication by displaying politeness. This is realised by the copywriter's tendency to employ vague language when the product or services involve unpleasant or offensive topics. Findings also reveal that vague language enhances the persuasiveness of communication. Vague language is said to mitigate communication that is pale, limited and paralysed because it has a persuasive effect essential for commercial advertising. Another positive function that vague language displays is ensuring the accuracy of information. Vague language is seen to have the effect of enabling cooperation by establishing an honest and reliable public image. This is particularly realised in situations where copywriters have to guarantee the accuracy of the information under circumstances where specific information is inadequate. In such cases, vague language supplies the right amount of information, thus protect the advertiser from taking too heavy responsibility. The negative function that Wenzhong and Jingji (ibid) identified is that

vagueness has the potential to mislead customers and cause readers to have false interpretations of the advertisements.

The use of vague language is again noticed in funeral ceremonies. Parvaresh (2017) provided an analysis of how panegyrists used vague expressions as a communicative strategy to console the bereaved members of the family and friends of Shiite Muslims in the city of Isfahan in Iran. Panegyrists are described by Parvaresh (ibid) as professional people who are usually employed by the funeral organisers to moderate the ceremony about timing and to help pacify the grieved family members and friends of the deceased. The content of their talk is based on religious topics that relate to death. Moreover, they focus on recounting to the people attending the funeral the good qualities of the deceased. These talks are meant to give solace to the close relatives of the deceased and to ensure that able to accept and accommodate the new state of affairs. It is in the analysis of panegyrists' speech that Parvaresh found vague expressions which were used strategically to handle a sensitive issue such as death. The vague language enhanced politeness. The vague expressions that the study unveiled were panegyrists' use of '*really*', '*quite*', '*strongly'*, '*very*', '*I think*', '*these things*. These are demonstrated in this quotation:

> Well, I would like to express my condolences for the death of (mentions the name of the deceased). He was a *very* caring father, a *very* devoted father and a *really* faithful husband. I *strongly* believe that the passing of parents is emotionally difficult for all of us…If your parents have passed away, do pray for them! *These things* are rewarding for the soul of the deceased. *I think* the deceased are waiting for *these things* (Parvaresh, 2017: 72).

According to Parvaresh, the panegyrist modified the praise of the deceased with the help of vague intensifiers such as *very* and *really*. These intensifiers were vague in that although they help highlight the caring nature of the deceased person, they do not disclose any specific information about the degree of caregiving, devotedness and faithfulness. The expression 'these things' was said to be vague in that it referred to things such as praying for the deceased people but it did not clearly state what other items this expression included. 'These things' was used as a strategy not to limit things that the audience can do to reward the soul of the deceased to 'praying'. Similarly, 'I think' was regarded as vague in that it was not possible to say how committed the speakers were to the truth of the utterance, so 'I think' moved the degree of certainty expressed via the utterance downward as an attempt to express the speaker's subjective opinion.

As shown above, the functions of vague language vary depending on the context. In the field of law vague language is seen as a deliberate deceiver which covers a great deal of

evidence. However, it is seen as an effective communicative tool for patent applicants and in the drafting of legal discourse as it helps to maintain the balance between precision and over-elaboration. In the field of advertising, it is seen as a politeness strategy that enhances persuasive communication and enables cooperation by establishing an acceptable public image. However, it is also seen as a communicative strategy that misleads customers and causes a false interpretation of advertisements. In funeral speeches, it is perceived as a politeness strategy used when consoling the bereaved. It can, therefore, be concluded that vague language has both positive and negative effects depending on the context in which it is used. The findings of these studies are going to inform the present study, particularly Cotteril's study that shows the participants' manipulative use of vague language and the function that vague language serves in the legal context. The current study also has witnesses as participants in commissions of enquiry, a setting that shares some similar characteristics with courtroom proceedings. Cotteril's findings will, therefore, help the present researcher to easily interpret the behaviour of participants during the enquiry. It has to be emphasised though, that none of the studies that the researcher had access to, dealt with communicative strategies in commissions of enquiry, which confirms a gap that the present study will fill.

2.2.3 Sociocultural strategies

As explained earlier, communicative strategies placed under this category are those which require some understanding of cultural norms of behaviour underlying a communicative act. These are communicative strategies such as figurative language, refusals, criticism, indirect communication, etcetera Each of these strategies is discussed below.

2.2.3.1 Figurative language

Figurative language is one of the sociocultural strategies found in the literature. It is common communicative strategies used by Basotho in their day-to-day spoken discourse. A figurative language is a form of language which expresses a meaning beyond words that are used. It carries both surface and deep meaning or literal and implied meaning. Yagiz and Izadpanah (2013) affirm that figurative language is characterised by two senses; what one says and what one means. However, interpreting this phenomenon literally only leads to meaningless utterances and causes hearers to lose a sense of what is being communicated. For instance, giving a literal interpretation to the English idiom, 'It's raining cats and dogs' only portrays a meaningless mental picture of cats and dogs falling from the sky. It is, therefore, crucial that figurative language is always interpreted figuratively to retain its meaning. Ogunsiji (2000) argues that the value of figurative language is in its richness and precision and that writing or

speaking without using figures of speech only makes one's speech or writing dry. Even though the figurative language is commonly used in literary genres such as poetry, it is also found in everyday speech and it is usually employed to indicate the speaker's deep perception of a concept being described or an emotive identification with the idea being expressed (Teilanyo, 2007).

Figurative language is a complex phenomenon since it is a culture represented in language. Yagiz and Izadpanah (2013) correctly emphasise that figurative language appears to be the natural decoder of customs, cultural beliefs, social conventions and norms. Many figurative expressions emanate from the norms of doing things in a particular culture. This explains why such language becomes complex to the non-native speaker of a language. Khotso (2018) adds that due to its complex attribute of hiding meaning, figurative language is used and comprehended by speakers who are competent in a language. Nonetheless, when figurative language is well understood, it carries rich, precise, concrete and complete meaning. It provides a mental picture of what is being stated. According to Grice (1975), figures of speech are clear examples of conversational implicature.

There are different kinds of figurative language which include idioms, metaphor, simile, personification, hyperbole, alliteration, repetition, euphemism, proverbs, irony, to mention a few. However, this present study focuses its description mainly on the specific figurative language significant to it.

a) Idioms: *The Oxford Dictionary of English Idioms* (2016) defines an idiom as a form of expressions peculiar to a given language. Idioms are part of the metaphorical language; they have both literal and figurative meanings. However, if they are interpreted literally, they lose their intended meaning. For instance, if an English idiom 'to have one's heart in one's mouth' were to be givens literal meaning it would appear meaningless and quite amusing. The surface structure of idioms, therefore, has an insignificant role or no role at all in understanding the idiomatic meaning (Nasser and Raut, 2019). One major characteristic of idioms is that they are difficult to recognise and interpret if one does not belong to the culture they represent. According to Bouarroudj (2010) idioms represent features of culture, predetermined customs, beliefs and social attitudes and their purpose are to give a better clarification of the message portrayed.

b) **Metaphor:** this figure of speech compares two things that are essentially different but with common characteristics, however, it neither uses 'like' nor 'as' in its comparison. This explanation is supported by Gray (2008:120) who defines a metaphor as an implied

comparison between two dissimilar objects. An example of a metaphor is 'She is an angel' which means she is morally a good person.

c) **Simile:** This is a direct comparison that uses the words 'like' or 'as'. According to the *Oxford South African School Dictionary* (2010), a simile is used to make a description more emphatic and vivid. For example, the weather can be said to be 'as cold as ice' meaning that it is extremely cold.

d) **Euphemism:** As defined by the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2012), euphemism refers to the substitution of an offensive and unpleasant expression for one that is agreeable or inoffensive. There are many offensive and unmentionable things that people prefer to euphemise. These are concepts such as death, war, sex, bodily functions and disability (Brind & Wilkinson, 2008). Due to the use of euphemism, employees are not *fired* but they are *let go*, animals are not *euthanised*, they are *put to sleep*, humans do not *die*, they *pass away* (Crespo-Fernández, 2006). Euphemism carries the following functions: to protect speakers from undesired emotional arousal (Pavlenko, 2006), to sanitise and camouflage actions, things or events that could appear unacceptable in the light of professional values (Mayfield, 2009), to minimise any face-threatening acts and consequently enhance politeness (Crespo-Fernández, 2006), and often used intentionally to deceive or manipulate others. This is typical of euphemism which deals with political, military and commercial concepts (La Rocque, 2006).

e) **Proverb/Adage:** An adage or a proverb is a wise saying which is widely believed to denote aspects of general truth. It is meant to give advice or tell something about life (*Collins English Dictionary*, 2019). Languages have adages that are culturally specific but according to Nasser and (2019), many of these proverbs have equivalents in different languages.

f) **Repetition:** Kemertelidze and Manjavidze (2013) define repetition as a figure of speech that shows the logical emphasis that is necessary to attract the reader's attention on the keyword or key-phrase of the text. It involves the repetition of sounds, words, expressions and clauses in a certain succession. This device is often used in poetry to create rhythm, to add emphasis and conviction to what is being said. Repetition also highlights the theme and makes one look for the implied meaning attached to it.

g) **Irony:** As defined by the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (2012), the irony is a humorous literary style whose intended meaning is the opposite of what is literally expressed. In other words, appearance versus reality, what is said is not what is meant. To realise the

irony in utterance, the speaker and the hearer must share the context and the hearer must be able to detect the implied meaning of the speaker's utterance. Similar to wit, sarcasm, satire, and repartee, irony rouses amusement. Dews, Kaplan and Winner (2009) show that speakers choose irony over literal language to be humourous. They also use it to soften the edge of an insult, to show themselves to be in control of their emotions, and sometimes to avoid damaging their relationship with the addressee.

Figurative language in political speech, media, advertising and TED Talks

As the literature shows, the use of figurative language is realised in several contexts: in political speech (Kulo, 2009), in the media (Hojati, 2012), in advertising (Romaneko 2014 and Skorupa & Dubovičienė, 2015), in TED talks Di Carlo, 2014) and in day-to-day interaction (Gernsbacher, Raimond, and Boston, 2016). Kulo (2009) has reflected on the use of metaphors as one of the communicative strategies found in the speeches of US politicians, and these were used to express ideas vividly. The field of advertising also makes extensive use of figures of speech to attract sales. Romaneko (2014) has described the most commonly used communicative strategies in online advertising slogans in the Czech Republic. Romaneko analysed particularly slogans are used for both commercial and non-commercial products. He found that generally communicative strategies used across different domains were: repetition in the form of alliteration, metaphor, and personification, and some adjectives with favourable connotations. This strategic way of advertising has had a strong positive effect on people's behaviour towards the advertised product. Similarly, Skorupa and Dubovičienė (2015) have analysed the strategic use of language in advertising slogans but focused more on the phonological and semantic characteristics of slogans for commercial and social advertising campaigns in Lithuania. They believed that it is of vital importance to look deeply into the language used in advertising as they have realised that language, whether spoken or written, has a powerful effect on people and their behaviour. Skopura and Dubovičienė's findings affirmed that rhyme and repetition were most often used in commercial advertising sound strategies. They found that these sound strategies helped to transmit information and make a piece of writing memorable. The findings also revealed that figurative language such as puns, simile, metaphor, personification, hyperbole and euphemism was used frequently to make advertising memorable and emotionally coloured.

In the context of TED Talks, Di Carlo (2014) investigated the use of figurative language, particularly the use of simile as a communicative strategy for knowledge dissemination in TED (Technology, Entertainment, Design) Talks. According to Di Carlo, TED is a new science popularising genre, a non-profit organisation that promotes the dissemination

of knowledge in several fields such as arts and design, business, education and culture; politics and global issues; and science and technology. Di Carlo states that TED Talks try to breach the gap between expert speakers and a lay audience by using communicative strategies that replace complex terminology, jargon, acronyms and difficult structures. Di Carlo's study analysed how TEDsters in Malaysia used a simile to simplify their concepts so a that less scientifically informed audience can relate to the scientific findings communicated to them and can become part of the discussion. Di Carlo's findings confirmed that concrete exemplification through similes let the audience understand scientific concepts that could otherwise be difficult to communicate. The use of simile as a communicative strategy helped close the gap between the abstract world of science and the tangible world of everyday life.

In media, Hojati (2012) identified and examined frequently used euphemisms featured in BBC News, an English-speaking media news bulletin. Hojati found that euphemisms related to poverty and military activities featured prominently while euphemisms dealing with the economy, disability, death and sex had lower frequencies of use. The study also found that euphemisms often functioned as a double-edged sword in that although they were used for legitimate and justifiable purposes such as hedging potentially embarrassing concepts and, therefore, encouraging politeness, the same figure of speech was also used for deception. Euphemisms that were deceptive and used for rather dishonest reasons were those that make inadmissible acts appear moral and acceptable. Such a kind of euphemism was used by both political and military individuals.

Other scholars who critically analysed the use of euphemism are Gernsbacher, Raimond, and Boston (2016). They demonstrated that although a euphemism is intended to give a more positive effect to the words they replace, some euphemisms are not effective. Gernsbacher *et al.* examined the effectiveness of a well-known euphemism for persons with disability, 'special needs'. They examined whether the term 'special needs' is more or less positive than the term 'disability' that it replaces. Their findings indicated that people were viewed more negatively when described as having special needs than when described as having a disability. The phrase 'special needs' was associated with a developmental disability such as intellectual disability whereas 'disability' was considered an inclusive term that relates to a set of disabilities. The euphemistic phrase 'special needs' was, therefore, considered ineffective and defeating the purpose for which it was created.

Based on the above findings on figurative language, it can be concluded that figures of speech are vital communicative strategies with diverse functions hence their application in various contexts such as media, politics, advertising and TED Talks. They help with the

comprehension of concepts and enhance the vivid sharing of information. They also assist in making concepts memorable, persuading and emotionally coloured. However, as has been shown above, a euphemism carries both positive and negative influence on people; it is a strategy that enhances both politeness and deception, depending on the purpose for its use. It has also been indicated that some euphemisms are not as effective as they are meant to be.

The above studies on figurative language continue to confirm a gap that the present study is going to fill. The purpose for their use as well as their context differs from that of the present study. This study aims to explore the use of communicative strategies in the context of commissions of enquiry in Lesotho. However, the reviewed studies will serve as resourceful tools from which the current study will benefit.

2.2.3.2 Refusal

Refusal is also one of the communicative strategies which are sociocultural, its proper understanding and usage are culture-dependent. It is an important communicative tool that needs to be handled with care due to its face-threatening nature. If it is handled inappropriately, it can disrupt harmony and cause tension in relationships. Sattar, Che Lah, and Suleiman (2011) have defined refusal as a negative response to another speech act issued in the form of a request, invitation, or suggestion. It can also be defined as a face-threatening act that can damage the positive face of the speaker and threaten the negative face of the listener (Umali, 2011). (2011) also maintain that in many cultures how one says 'no' is probably more important than the answer itself. This means, therefore, that to use refusal appropriately and acceptably, the speaker must understand the ethnicity and cultural values of a particular speech community. This understanding, according to Qusuay, Che, and Raja (2011) will enable the speaker to know the appropriate form to use, its functions and when to use it. Refusals are divided into two main groups: direct refusal and indirect refusal. The direct refusal on the one hand is delivered directly, like 'No', 'I refuse', 'I won't do it'. This is the face-threatening refusal that is inconsiderate of the hearers' feelings. It directly confronts the hearer without mitigating the refusal. Indirect refusal, on the other hand, comprises phrases that possess all sorts of mitigation formulas (hence they are told indirectly) such as excuses, apologies or explanations (Montero, 2015). Beebe, Takahashi, and Ulizz-Weltz (1990) list types of indirect refusal as follows:

a) Statement of regret such as 'I'm sorry'.
b) Excuse/ reason/explanation, such as 'I have an exam'.

c) Set conditions for past or future acceptance, like if I had enough money'.
d) Promises of future acceptance like, 'I will do it next time.
e) Statements of principle like 'I never drink after dinner'.

While direct refusal is brief and to the point, the indirect refusal significantly hedges the utterance and, as a result, takes more moves to accomplish the refusal. According to Abarghoui (2012) the usual sequence in refusal strategy application is in three phases:

1. The pre-refusal strategies; this is done to prepare for an upcoming refusal;
2. Main refusal (bears the main refusal); and
3. Post-refusal strategy; functioning as an emphasiser, mitigator or concluder of the main refusal.

Many social factors play a role in the speaker's choice of direct or indirect refusal. These are gender, age, setting, topic, education level, status, and interlocutors. However, social status and social distance between the interlocutors appear to be the major factors that affect the use of direct and indirect refusals hence they frequently feature in studies focusing on refusal (Al-Mahrooqi & Al-Aghbari, 2016).

a) Refusal in relation to gender and social status

Many research studies have been conducted on the concept of refusal as a communicative strategy. This body of literature has looked at refusal in relation to gender and social status. Some of the authors who made contributions to this knowledge include Rosa (2010); Satter *et al*. (2011); Montero (2015); Al-Mahrooqi and Al-Aghbari (2016); Tuncer (2016) and Shishavan and Sharifian (2016). Rosa (2010) analysed the refusal strategies employed by male and female sellers in Pasar Raya Padang and looked particularly at how they refused buyers' requests as they negotiated lower prices. The study showed that males used more direct refusals than females did. They said 'no' directly when the offer made by the buyer could not be accepted. However, female sellers were more sensitive and considerate of others' feelings. Instead of directly saying 'no', they gave an excuse, reason, or explanation, or even set conditions for future acceptance. Regarding the use of refusal in relation to social status, Sattar *et al*. (2011) have described the preferred semantic strategies used by Malay university students to refuse a person of lower, equal, or high social status in an academic context. The study found that when Malay students were faced with situations in which they had to refuse a request, they avoided doing this directly to avoid overt confrontation and arousing feelings of discomfort in the other party. Therefore, mitigating methods such as alternative, future acceptance,

explanation, or excuse were used to indirectly refuse a request. Participants tended to use certain semantic formulas when refusing a higher status professor, equal status classmate, and lower status student. Direct refusals such as 'no' were used by only a few participants and mostly in equal and lower status situations.

On a similar note, Montero (2015) reported on the most common refusal strategies used by a group of English learning students from the Pacific Regional Centre of the University of Costa Rica. The participants completed a Discourse Competition Test composed of a variety of communicative situations of request and offers. The findings showed that indirect refusal strategies were preferred in all situations. That is, irrespective of whether the refusal came from a high, low, or equal status individual, indirect refusal was administered. Participants used postponement and excuses/reasons to express their refusals. The direct refusal was avoided in all situations. Another finding indicated that participants found using only one indirect strategy insufficient, thus they used two or three indirect refusal strategies in one speech event to ensure they mitigated the face-threatening utterance. This represented a general feature of Costa Rican culture. Sattar *et al*. (2011) and Montero's (2015) findings tally with those of Tuncer's (2016) that were based on the use of refusal strategies by Turkish university instructors of English. Tuncer also found that the participants preferred indirect refusal strategies the most. Tuncer's findings are also consistent with those of Sattar *et al*. (2011), in that the status of the interlocutor determined the use of direct or indirect refusal strategies. The higher the interlocutors' status, the more direct refusals they employed.

The notion of refusal was also carried out by Al-Mahrooqi and Al-Aghbari (2016) who investigated the refusal speech act among Omani EFL college students. The study recorded how these students used English when refusing requests, invitations, offers, and suggestions presented to them in various scenarios. The scenarios were organised in such a way that the interlocutors were of different social status, namely, high, equal, and low social status. The results showed the use of both direct and indirect refusals. As is the case with the studies conducted by Sattar *et al*. (2011), participants used more direct refusals with people of low status and fewer with people of equal and higher status. The study showed the important role played by culture in determining the kind of indirect refusals produced by Omani EFL learners. The study observed that a large number of respondents transferred their Arabic speech habits into English. They mostly used indirect refusals that were elaborate and detailed, as is the case with Arabic speech. They used many introductory statements before stating their refusals. Al-Mahrooqi and Al-Aghbari (2016) state that people make use of detailed indirect refusal in Arabic because they want to avoid hurting an interlocutor's feelings. This finding, according

to Mahrooqi and Al-Aghbari (2016), is contrary to what is found in English- speaking cultures in which directness and clear responses are often demanded. This means that the culturally embedded indirect refusal strategies employed by Omani EFL learners might result in pragma-linguistic failure and may hinder smooth communication with native speakers of English. The notion of cultural transfer in the use of refusals is further confirmed by Shishavan and Sharifian (2016). These scholars compared Iranian English-language learners to Anglo-Australian students in their use of refusal strategies. Their study shed light on areas where the cross-cultural miscommunication occurred. They found that Iranian English learners employed indirect refusals when addressing participants of both high and low social status while Australians only employed indirect refusal when addressing participants of high social status but remained direct with participants of low status.

The studies on refusal have presented the relationship between refusal and social status. They have indicated that direct refusal is mainly admissible to people of low or equal social status, however, when an individual of higher status is addressed, the refusal is indirect. It is mitigated to show politeness and respect. One other observation obtained from the studies on refusal is that generally, people prefer to use the indirect refusal as opposed to direct. This is done to enhance politeness and to save face. The studies have also highlighted the role of culture in refusing a request. There are traces of transfer of culture in the manner in which participants refuse requests even when they are using a foreign language. In other words, culture and refusal are intertwined, with culture dictating how one should say 'no' to requests.

One other important aspect the studies have shown concerns the use of refusals based on gender. Rosa (2010) has shown how males and females differ when refusing requests. The above studies demonstrated how various cultures employ refusal as a communicative strategy. It would be interesting to see how this concept is handled by the Basotho in the context of commissions of enquiry. Though the context and research participants of reviewed studies differed from the ones for the present study, their findings are going to inform the current study.

2.2.3.3 Criticism

One of the sociocultural devices worth discussing due to its popularity in discourse is criticism. Its relevance to this study emanates from the sensitivity of discussions the participants had with the commissions which could result in one party blaming the other for what they did or did not do. Criticism is a negative comment that is expressed by a dissatisfied speaker. Nguyen (2005) gives the concept a pragmatic meaning, saying 'it is an illocutionary act whose illocutionary point is to give a negative evaluation of the hearer's actions, choice, words and products for

which he or she may be held responsible'. The concept of criticism is found in two forms, namely, direct and indirect criticism. As explained by Kaufman (2012) direct criticism provides negative evaluation without reservations, the interlocutor directly points out the hearer's mistakes and demands correction directly instead of beating about the bush. The criticism of this kind may include behaviour that is insulting, threatening, and so on. In indirect criticism, however, the intended criticism is not stated directly but is implied. Kaufman (ibid) affirm that indirect criticism means that the illocutionary force of criticism is uttered through the performance of other speech acts so the interlocutor's real intention can be partially concealed. In many cultures, indirect criticism is usually an acceptable means of correcting inappropriate behaviour and it yields better results than direct criticism.

a) Criticism in diverse cultures

The literature covered on criticism has mainly analysed this communicative tool based on its usage in different cultures. The works of Nguyen (2005), Kaufman (2012), and Tang (2016) illustrate this. Nguyen (2005), showed how Vietnamese English Foreign Language learners (EFL) differed from Australian native speakers (NS) in the way they modified criticisms in English. Nguyen (ibid) defines modifiers as linguistic devices that are employed to help reduce the offence of a face-threatening act. The study demonstrated how English foreign language learners generally made fewer attempts to reduce the potentially disruptive effects of their criticism than the native speakers did. The learners also did not seem to use the same modifiers as their NS counterparts, and even when they did use the same modifiers the linguistic features were so noticeably different that they produced a different effect. The learners also tended to rely more on lexical modifiers than syntactic structures such as modal verbs. Nguyen asserts that this pragmatic behaviour was influenced by incomplete L2 linguistic competence, L1 transfer, and cognitive difficulty in spontaneous language production. Correspondingly, Kaufman (2012) examined the perception and production of the speech act of criticism among Iranian native speakers of Persian who were learning English as a second language. Through Discourse Evaluation Tests (DET) and interviews, the researcher found that direct criticism in the form of negative evaluation was the most frequently used strategy. There was a relatively low preference for indirect strategies. The findings further showed that the choice of criticism strategy and the directness level were highly influenced by the relative power of the speaker, social distance between interlocutors, and rank (degree of imposition). Kaufman asserted that the Persian respondents favoured direct criticism strategies more than indirect ones in the

situation of low social status and low social distance relative to the interlocutor. Similarly, in situations that involved interaction with friends of equal statuses, direct criticisms were accepted since friends can criticise friends more easily when they are asked to do so. The interlocutors felt more comfortable expressing a direct negative evaluation to an interlocutor of equal status and low social distance. When criticism was directed towards juniors there were many direct criticisms employed by participants who hold a higher power status than the addressee. The other finding that their study revealed was that in their direct criticisms the respondents were bound by their culture to save the face of their interlocutors by using words that increased the degree of politeness. The participants used mitigation devices such as sweeteners, thanking, grounders, alerters, opt-out, steers, apology, and disclaimers.

In another context, Tang (2016) further explored how criticism as a paralinguistic strategy is managed in the US and Taiwan-based reality talent contexts. Tang compared the pragmatics of English and Chinese criticism to find out if American and Taiwanese speakers' cultural backgrounds have any impact on their pragmatics of criticism. The results indicated that both the American and Taiwanese judges often went on record (direct) to encode their criticisms. It was found that the judges had the responsibility to decide whether the participants could continue to participate in the subsequent competitions or not, therefore, while giving commentaries they had to state clearly what they did not like about the contestant so that they are not misinterpreted by the addressees. It was also found that due to the destructive nature of on-record criticism, a variety of redressive devices or face-saving strategies were employed by the judges to lessen the impact of their direct communication. These face-saving strategies include point-of-view distancing such as the use of inclusive '*we*' imposition minimisers such as *little, a little, a few, only,* and hedges such as *I have to say, quite frankly, actually, to be honest with you*, and so on.

The reviewed studies on criticism have highlighted important information about this strategy. The less competent one is, the more direct their criticism is. The studies have shown that the application of indirect criticism correlates with linguistic competence. They have also indicated that the application of direct and indirect criticism depends on social status and social distance: the more power the speaker holds over the addressee, the more direct s/he becomes. The studies have also reflected on how criticism is dictated by culture; that is, how direct or indirect one is depends on one's cultural norms. The studies have further revealed how important it is to use face-saving devices to mitigate direct criticism in a situation where it cannot be avoided. The present study, however, focuses on commissions of enquiry and not on

language learning. Nonetheless, the findings on criticism by Nguyen (2005, Kaufman (2012), and Tang (2016) are going to help inform it.

2.2.3.4 Indirect communication

Another important communicative tool that is influenced by a proper understanding of socio-cultural norms is indirect communication. This could be one of the devices used by participants of this study as Basotho have a tendency not to communicate information directly and are fond of using analogies to express themselves (Moorosi, 2019). Indirect communication has to do with meaning beyond the words used. According to Joyce (2012), this kind of communication is conveyed not just by the words used but by the non-verbal behaviours (pauses, tone of voice, silence), implication, understatement, and a widely shared understanding of the context of the communication. Joyce further indicates that the goal of using indirect communication is to maintain harmony and to save face, to avoid conflict, tension, or uncomfortable situations. However, an indirect speaker runs the risk of the listener not understanding the deep (as opposed to superficial) meaning of an utterance. As elaborated by Laroche (2007), indirect communication is characterised by its focus on maintaining good relationships, hidden meanings, and communication that tends to be personal. It is also known for its subtle language that has to be read between the lines. The main characteristic of indirect communication is that it is culture orientated: a listener has to understand the culture to understand the meaning of the communication.

a) Indirect communication: Complex speech act for language learners

The research works which have been covered on indirect communication reflect how challenging this speech act is for incompetent language learners. The works of scholars such as Taguchi (2005), Evans, Stolzenberg, Lee and Lyon (2014), and Wilson and Bishop (2019) will now be discussed. Taguchi (2005) carried out a comparative study in which he investigated the comprehension of different types of implied meaning in terms of accuracy and speed of comprehension. Japanese English L2 learners were compared to English native speakers. A listening task and a reading exercise were administered to find comprehension of implied meaning. The results showed that native speakers' comprehension was accurate and generally fast. Little variation was observed in score and time data. The native speakers' performance was also found to be relatively uniform in accuracy and processing speed. On the contrary, Japanese English L2 speakers' comprehension mean response time was longer and the comprehension scores were generally lower.

In another context, Evans *et al*. (2014) dealt with comprehension of implied meaning by child witnesses in Canada. The scholars analysed testimonies provided by child participants to find out if they could interpret implied questions such as 'do you know…' questions. An example of such a question is 'Do you know what happened?' Questions such as this may seem as if they were asking whether the respondent knows, when, in reality, they are indirectly asking what it is that the respondent knows. The child participants whose responses were analysed responded 'yes' to the 'do you know…' questions without elaborating what it was that they knew. They failed to recognise the indirect question. The findings suggest that even though children may have acquired vocabulary and grammatical concepts in a language, their pragmatic competence is acquired at a later stage. This is inconsistent with the study conducted by Wilson and Bishop (2019) that analysed the relationship between pragmatic understanding of the implied meaning (a domain involving social understanding) and core language skills such as grammar and vocabulary. The researchers tested learners with autism in the United Kingdom (UK). The results showed that participants had a challenge in understanding implied utterances, despite being competent in aspects of language such as grammar and vocabulary. Wilson and Bishop understood the results to mean that pragmatic skills such as understanding implied meanings in conversation are separable from core language skills and are acquired at a later stage. One may be competent in language grammar but this competence does not necessarily mean that one is also skilful in inferring intended meaning.

The reviewed studies on indirect communication have shown the complexity associated with interpreting implied/inferred meaning and how second language learners are challenged by this phenomenon. They have indicated that the pragmatic competence which is required for one to interpret indirect talk is acquired at a stage later than the acquisition of grammatical competence. This means that indirect communication is a pragmatic skill that does not automatically correlate with vocabulary and grammatical competence. Although the aim and context of the studies conducted on indirect communication differ from those of the present study, their findings on implied meaning are going to inform it.

2.3 STUDIES ON COMMISSIONS OF ENQUIRY

The discussion that follows focuses on the research work covered thus far on commissions of enquiry. The cited studies below serve as an affirmation that earlier scholars whose studies were based on commissions of enquiry have not yet explored the communicative strategies of the participants who were called in as witnesses, to testify before enquiry commissions, which

makes the present study worth conducting. The discussion covers studies conducted in Lesotho, South Africa, and other parts of the world.

2.3.1 Commissions of enquiry from a linguistic perspective

Some studies analysed the communicative aspects of commissions of enquiry (Ratele, Mpolweni-Zantsi and Krog, 2007; Mohlomi, 2011 and Anthonissen, 2008). Ratele *et al.*, (2007) had a comprehensive look at the interpretation rendered during the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) proceedings in South Africa. In particular, they analysed the evidence of one of the mothers who testified before the TRC. The women narrated how their sons got killed by the security forces during an incident which became known as the Gugulethu Seven. This one woman's testimony (out of the four mothers) was chosen because her testimony was characterised as incoherent with little detail about her son's death. Ratele *et al*. looked at one paragraph of her testimony that seemed the most incoherent. The researchers requested the original version of the mother's testimony in isiXhosa and the English translation, both of which were provided. The findings nullified the possible explanation that this woman's testimony was unintelligible because she was unintelligent and/ or traumatised or because she did not understand what was happening to and around her. What was revealed was that there were interpretation mistakes, transcription mistakes, and cultural transferal mistakes. There were cultural codes such as poetic rhythm, repetition, direct speech, exclamations, crying, signs, and pauses that did not survive the interpretation process. After given the correct interpretation, it became clear that the woman's testimony was coherent and dignified. However, slippages in the simultaneous interpretation and translation as well as the lack of a socio-cultural background destroyed the woman's testimony and rendered it incoherent and unintelligible. This finding is further confirmed by the study that followed which referred to the experiences of simultaneous translating interpreters at the hearings of the South African TRC (Anthonissen, 2008). The study highlights a number of characterising features of the interpreting, these are the interpreters' confession that they were challenged by the requirement of accuracy which entailed interpreting using the exact tone and manner used by the speakers. They were challenged by the feature of taboo words and slang terms which they could not interpret with accuracy. Anthonissen (2008) further found that interpreting was often flawed because the discourse was often emotionally charged, tense and disputatious which compelled the interpreters to sympathise, and this affected their product. The interpreters also recounted how witnesses would forget that narratives were being interpreted and would continue talking without pausing for the interpreter to keep up, and this put pressure on the interpreters and

consequently affected their product. Similarly, but in the context of Lesotho, Mohlomi (2011) studied the coping strategies employed by the Leon Commission interpreters. Mohlomi identified three main strategies used by the interpreters. These were literal interpreting, borrowing, and explication. Of these three coping strategies, literal interpreting was found to have been the most disruptive strategy because it was used to handle the semantic loads of linguistic elements such as lexical items, figures of speech such as metaphor, euphemism as well as idiomatic expressions whose meanings are always hidden. According to Mohlomi, the use of literal interpreting meant that some of the decisions taken by the commission were influenced by the interpreters' incomprehensible literal renditions.

Still, in the context of South Africa's TRC, a number of studies investigated and analysed the language used in articulating causes and effects of gross human rights violations (Bock, 2008; Bock, 2009, and Bock, 2011). Bock (2008) explored how two testifiers at the human rights violation hearings of TRC used selected markers of evaluation, namely: shifts in tense, the inclusion of direct speech and the code-switching, to express evaluative meanings and position themselves and others in relation to the events they described. The shift to direct speech reflected an increase in emotional intensity as the narrator became caught up in the reliving of the experience, whereas a shift back into the indirect speech signalled a shift into a more reflective mode during which the narrator evaluates her actions. Similarly, the shift from past to present tense marked an emotional high point in their testimony. The testifiers further used code-switched to Afrikaans when recollecting painful moments. Their use of Afrikaans was evaluative in that, it was a distancing strategy, a way of constructing the police as 'the other'. The TRC hearings also revealed how some testifiers used language to style themselves as heroes and not as the victims they were considered to be. Bock (2009) analysed the testimony of Colin de Souza and observed how the testifier construed himself as agentive by using language markers such as continuatives, repetitions (which increased the narrative tension) direct speech, a tense shift from past to the historical present and his choice of genre which was analysed as narrative as opposed to the recount. These markers contributed to making his narrative heroic. Another linguistic marker whose function (at the hearings) was repeatedly analysed is the use of code-switching. Bock (2011) asserts that in a number of testimonies, victims of human rights abuse code-switched into Afrikaans when recalling a particular offensive use of language by the police, they quoted them verbatim. Code-switching was used by testifiers as a strategy to invoke negative judgement, it had the effect of associating the police with a racist ideology. It allowed the speakers to signal their rejection of the historical voice and the ideologies it represented. Bock argues that in a multilingual context, code-

switching is used as an evaluative resource and should therefore be included in the appraisal framework as an evaluative resource.

Although the studies quoted above were based on commissions of enquiry, and their focus (use of language in commissions of enquiry) similar to that of the present study, they focused mainly on South Africa's TRC. The present study, however, looks into a different context of commissions in Lesotho. The studies discussed above have given insight into how witnesses use language to achieve their linguistic objectives, and how interpreting is handled by language practitioners; all are important elements that inform the present study. The current research will be analysing the strategic use of language by witnesses in a context where testimonies were rendered in Sesotho and interpreted into English. It would be important to understand the impact that interpreting will have on the communicative strategies used by the participants.

2.3.2 Commissions of enquiry from a religious perspective

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) of South Africa appears to have drawn the interest of many scholars and this has led to the publication of several papers that analysed the commission's testimony. Laakso (2003) points out that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was not the first nor the most recent commission in South Africa, but its constitution came at an important time in the history of South Africa and its mandate to redress some of the social ills of the apartheid era made it a very significant commission in the history of South Africa, with interest from the world at large. Scholars analysed the role played by religion in the TRC (Vorster and Botha, 1999: Van Heerden, 1999; Wilson, 2000 and Shore (2008). Vorster and Botha (1999) established that religious discourse infused the work of the commission. For example, certain activities associated with religious ritual occupied the agenda of the TRC. These included the commencement of its activities with prayer, religious songs, seating arrangement, the selection of symbols such as white candles with a cross, the reading of the names of those deceased, and the greeting of the victims, and the allocation of certain assistants. Furthermore, the use of the words 'truth' and 'reconciliation' suggested a ritual nature that was informed by a particular religious belief system. Vorster and Botha argued that Christian religious rhetoric was a limiting factor concerning the contributions of the TRC. According to them, this religious discourse imposed several constraints that could clearly be seen when it came to the commission's perceptions of coping and rehabilitation, particularly in dealing with concepts such as truth, responsibility, and causation. Vorster and Botha concluded that religious discourse made it very difficult to bring diverse communities together but instead

facilitated thinking in absolute and ultimate terms. These scholars asserted that there was a danger that the commission might not enhance reconciliation but instead inhibit it. Van Heerden (1999) shared similar sentiments to those of Vorster and Botha about the religiously motivated words 'truth' and 'reconciliation' that became the heart of the proceedings of the TRC. Van Heerden also maintained that 'truth' in its true meaning and application, jeopardised the whole process of reconciliation. He argued that 'truth' was a 'double-edged' sword in that it exposed wrongs and established a fertile ground for reconciliation. However, the same truth could provide grounds for revenge and enmity and could destroy relationships instead of building them. Van Heerden declared that truth had opposite effects on different people and, consequently, opposite effects on relationships.

The role played by religion in the TRC was further critically observed by Wilson (2000) who carefully studied the transcripts of the commission and analysed how Christianity was used as a religious tool to resolve conflicts that had prevailed during the apartheid era. In his analysis, Wilson concluded that Christianity in the TRC impeded justice. According to Wilson, the concept of forgiveness and reconciliation as one of the principles of Christianity was contrary to the legal and political process, and in embracing these Christian concepts the TRC denied local African systems of justice from exercising their power, thereby alienating many communities who had already been marginalised under apartheid. Wilson maintained that forgiveness and reconciliation were imposed on many South Africans as an attempt to build a nation mislead by the cruel apartheid regime. Shore (2008) also looked at the role of Christianity as the strategy which the TRC embraced with the hope of reconciling South Africans. Like Wilson, Shore scrutinised the role played by Christianity in the TRC. Contrary to the rest of the scholars mentioned, Shore established that religion, Christianity in particular, played an effective role in facilitating the transition from the old to new South Africa. According to Shore, for many black South Africans, political resistance against unjust apartheid laws was rooted in religious symbols and narratives, especially the promises of God liberating the enslaved and the prophetic demands of justice. Shore (2008) strongly argued, therefore, that excluding religious discourse in the TRC might have threatened the authenticity of the process. Shore (2008:67) concluded that despite the contradictions and the controversies surrounding the commission's work, the TRC stands as an example, however flawed, of a conflict resolution mechanism that found a religious dimension of a people vital to a successful transition.' Vorster and Botha, (1999), Wilson, (2000), and Shore (2008) have provided additional insights on aspects that have been covered in the context of commissions of enquiry. They critically looked into the Christian principles that the TRC based itself on to reconcile the South African nation.

These studies have confirmed the worth of the present study as they have reflected that the concept of communication in the context of commissions of enquiry has not yet been covered and have, therefore, assisted the present study to identify a gap that it could fill.

2.3.3 Effectiveness of commissions of enquiry

Some scholars analysed the effectiveness of commissions of enquiry which are constituted in their respective countries (Hirst, 2008; Francis, 2016; Baruch, 2017). Hirst (2008) critically analysed the Commission for Truth and Friendship (CTF) which Indonesia and Timor-Leste created in 2005. Hirst scrutinised the commission's terms of reference as well as the hearing process to find out if the commission's proceedings were flawed as per the claim of the community members. Hirst's task was to confirm or nullify this public claim. The study found that the commission was indeed flawed. The study established that the commission made very little effort to involve important stakeholders such as members of the community, victims, human rights groups, or the United Nations in the design of the commission. Furthermore, the terms of reference were also flawed in that they focused on settling demands for justice by removing the threat to the perpetrators instead of demanding them to account for their actions. The terms of reference, therefore, focused on assisting the perpetrators rather than the victims as there was no mention of the victims. About the hearing process, Hirst established that the accused perpetrators of crimes against humanity were given a platform to defend their actions. Conversely, the victims received far fewer opportunities to speak out, and they at times felt that they were unprotected. The hearings were also characterised by the exclusion of independent experts and witnesses, thereby downgrading its impartiality. Finally, another aspect that weakened the commission was the fact that the majority of witnesses provided evidence in the hearings that were held in Indonesia whereas many of the violations were committed in East Timor. Francis (2016) too evaluated the effectiveness of the TRC of South Africa. He examined whether the TRC accomplished its objectives which were to reconcile a divided nation and prevent the repetition of human rights violations through truth-telling. His findings exposed weaknesses in the design process. TRC was found to have failed to include a healing component that would cater for the most vulnerable and disempowered stakeholders, the ones who would be affected by the outcome of the negotiations. Another finding that Francis brought forth is that there was no clear acknowledgement that there should be psychological and emotional assistance for the individual victims of apartheid, the majority of whom were black or coloured. Francis concluded that if all stakeholders had been invited to the initial negotiation table, the suffering of the victims would have revealed the need for emotional and psychological support

during and after their testimony, and provision would have been made in the legislature which set up the TRC. A similar study was conducted by Baruch (2017) who employed an investigatory analysis of the United Nations Independent Commission of Enquiry (COI) that was mandated to examine all violations of international human rights law in the Gaza strip, West Bank and Jerusalem. Baruch studied the effectiveness and transparency of the report of the enquiry. Her findings showed that the enquiry was highly critical of Israel while lenient towards the Gaza Strip. This was demonstrated by the commission's willingness to criticise Israel, based on uncorroborated and unidentified single witness testimony. On the contrary, when assessing the Gaza Strip the report refrained from making critical assessments even when faced with compelling accounts. Baruch concluded that the commission together with its subsequent report was biased and, therefore, ineffective in resolving the challenges which led to its establishment.

The studies conducted on commissions of enquiry are relevant to the present study in that they share a similar context, namely, commissions of enquiry. However, these studies revolve around themes such as religion, the effectiveness of the commissions in carrying out their mandates, and the interpretation of testimonies during their proceedings. The researcher has not come across literature that has dealt with the use of communicative strategies in commissions of enquiry, yet communicative strategies are the main tools through which information is shared. They influence decision making and recommendations, hence the use of conversationally effective communicative strategies is of vital importance. This thesis, therefore, sets out to fill the academic gap left by the previous scholars who studied commissions of enquiry by exploring the communicative strategies the participants of the Leon and Phumaphi commissions (in Lesotho) have used to respond to commissioners' questions.

2.4 SUMMARY

The reviewed literature has informed the present study on the areas of research that earlier scholars have covered. It has enlightened the present study on how communicative strategies such as code-switching, fillers, personal pronouns, figurative language, refusal, criticism, direct quoting, questioning, indirect communication, vague language, passive voice, and circumlocution are used in different domains and their functions. The researchers explored these strategies in the contexts such as law, foreign language learning, health, politics, funeral speeches, religion, advertising, media, and in diverse cultures. Concerning commissions of enquiry, scholars have critically analysed the effectiveness of commissions of enquiry, the role of religion, and the interpreting of testimonies in multi-lingual contexts.

Based on the literature provided in this chapter, the present study affirms that none of the foregoing scholars has attempted to collect and analyse the use of communicative strategies by the participants as they attempted to respond to commissioners' questions. The scholars who conducted research specifically on commissions of enquiry did not cover the theme of communicative strategies used either by the commissioners or the participants. Those who worked on communicative strategies did not look at it from the perspective of commissions of enquiry but positioned their focus on other areas. This study, therefore, endeavours to remedy this important oversight. The study merges the two concepts: the commission of enquiry and communicative strategies. Nonetheless, the works of the previous scholars on communicative strategies and commissions of enquiry are going to be utilised to develop this study. The study embarks on exploring the communicative strategies employed by the participants of the Leon and Phumaphi commissions of enquiry as they responded to commissioners' questions.

CHAPTER THREE

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

3.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents an overview of the theoretical framework chosen for this study. The chapter commences by explaining the tenets of Grice's theory of conversational implicature and Brown and Levinson's theory of politeness, as well as their applicability in the current study. Under the topic of conversational implicature, it discusses major aspects of the theory, these being implicature, co-operative principle, maxims, and context, while for the politeness theory the study focuses on face, politeness strategies, and factors contributing to politeness. The chapter further explains why the two theories are triangulated and how the present study benefits from this integration.

3.1 THE GRICE THEORY OF CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURE

The Grice theory of conversational implicature is a pragmatic theory propounded by Grice in 1975. This was recently extended by Borg (2010) in her theory of minimalism. Borg (ibid) fully embraces the distinction that Grice makes between literal sentence meaning and speaker's intended meaning. According to Kroll (2011), Grice's theory serves as a pragmatic complement to Borg's semantic theory of minimalism. However, Borg's point of departure from Grice's theory relates to the clear distinction she draws between semantic content and pragmatic content. She argues that semantic content is tractable and fully realised by syntactic content and is recoverable without having to appeal to pragmatic processes, while pragmatic content relies heavily on context or on what the language speaker may consider relevant in a particular exchange. Borg's revisit to Grice's theory of conversational implicature and her positive contribution is a gesture that the theory of conversational implicature can still make a remarkable contribution in the current era. This study focuses mainly on the following tenets of the theory which are relevant to this study, namely, implicatures, co-operative principle, and shared context. Each of these beliefs as well as their applicability to the current study is discussed below.

3.1.1 Implicature

The theory is founded on the notion that people do not always say what they mean: they tend to say one thing by saying another. Nodoushan (2015:78) clarifies that in Gricean perspective, speaker meaning often deviates from purely linguistic meaning, and Grice's conversational implicature is a conceptual framework that can be used to unpack such deviation. Neale (1992) outlines the following as the building blocks of Grice's theory of conversational implicature:

- determining what utterances mean, what speakers say on different occasions by saying them, and what they mean by uttering them on those occasions;
- explaining the essence of non-literal meaning through the analysis of sentence meaning, speaker meaning, and what is said;
- providing an account of how languages permit speaker utterance and speaker meaning to diverge and;
- distinguishing between semantic content and pragmatic implications thereby clarifying the relationship between classical logic, linguistic semantics, and everyday language use.

Davis (2014) also interprets Grice's conversational implicature as denoting the act of meaning or implying one thing by saying something else, that is, there is a difference between what is expressed literally (surface meaning) in a sentence and what is suggested (deeper meaning) by an utterance of the same string of words. In other words, the speaker must be understood to be conveying something other than the literal meaning of their utterance and this is the implicated meaning (Kasmirli, 2016). Figures of speech such as metaphor, irony, simile, personification, and many others are examples of implicature. Grice (1989) illustrates the above description as follows:

(1) A: Are you going to Paul's party?

B: I have to work

Although B's utterance does not literally say that she is not going to attend Paul's party, her utterance implies that she is not going to Paul's party since she has work to do. Thus B implicated that she is not going to the party; and 'she is not going to the party' is her implicature. From the example provided, it can be concluded that what someone has implicated is not given directly but is inferred (Davis, 2014). The concept of implicature is categorised into two main classes, the conversational implicature and the conventional implicature. Conversational implicature, on the one hand, relies heavily on conversational context, that is, one needs to understand the context of the conversation to correctly interpret what is being implied. One of the properties of conversational implicature is that it is cancellable; it can be annulled in certain contexts without giving rise to a contradiction. This can be done either explicitly by adding a further statement that indicates that one is opting out, or implicitly by the context. Another feature of conversational implicature is that it is indeterminate: This feature stipulates that it is impossible to give a precise calculation (Bottyàn, 2006). What is implicated by an utterance is what must be supposed, to preserve the assumption that the speaker is being cooperative, but there may be many suppositions that any conversational implicature could be open to. For instance, an utterance such as the one spoken by Bea below might be taken to implicate that the outfit Ada has chosen is dull, or that it is extravagant, or that it is too young for Ada, or that it is too old, etcetera Generally, the utterance implicates that Ada's taste in clothes is poor (Grice, 1975/ 1989):

(4) Ada: Do you like my new dress?

Bea: You shouldn't be allowed to buy clothes

An example of this is ‘I heard somebody robbed you yesterday. In fact, it was your brother ‘The word ‘somebody’ implicates that the speaker does not know the robber, however, the second part of the speaker’s statement ‘in fact it was your brother’ cancels the implicature. The conventional implicature, on the other hand, has its implicature derived from the linguistic meaning of a sentence, that is the conventional meaning of the words used that determine both what is said and what is implicated. This kind of implicature is recognised by any competent hearer irrespective of what the context is and it cannot be stripped away or cancelled. Thus, knowledge of the conventional meaning of the sentence uttered is adequate to assist the hearer to interpret both what is said and what is implicated. In the words of Levinson (2000) ‘what is *coded* by the linguistic system is the sum of what is *said* and what is *conventionally implicated’*. For instance, the utterance ‘Jill is English and, therefore, brave’ implicates that Jill’s bravery comes as a result of her being English, implying again that the English are brave. What determines this interpretation is the use of the word, ‘therefore,’ which means ‘as a result of something that has just been mentioned’. In the narrow sense, the conventional implicature is described as semantic: The semantic implicature is what Borg (2010) describes as semantic content as opposed to pragmatic content or conversational content. The knowledge of what sentences implicate is a critical component of one’s knowledge of a language (Levinson, 2000). Thus, language competence plays a critical role in the understanding of conventional implicatures.

Grice (1975) summarises the concept of implicature as well as its two broad classes in the following manner:

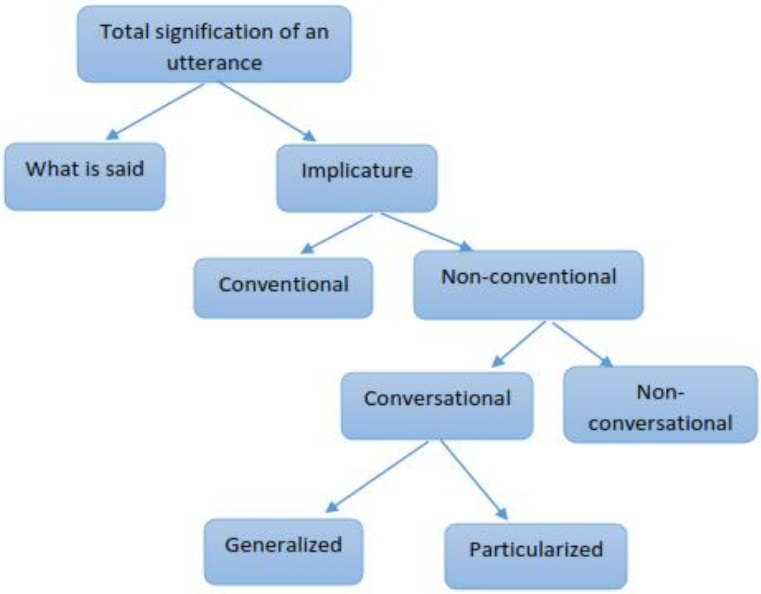

Figure 1: Concept of implicature

This particular aspect of the theory (surface meaning versus deeper meaning) is applicable in this study in that it assists in interpreting participants' responses which have implied meanings. The correct interpretation of participants' utterances is maintained even though such utterances may have deviated from their literal meaning. The study uses both conversational and conventional implicatures to understand participants' intentions regarding the information communicated to the commissioners. This means every piece of information shared with commissioners, implied or literal is brought to the surface and interpreted by drawing on the aspect of implicature.

3.1.2 Co-operative principle

Grice (1989) asserts that when people communicate it is assumed, without realizing it that, people are conversationally co-operative. He calls this phenomenon cooperative principle. Grice himself phrases the principle this way:

> Make your contribution such as is required at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which you are engaged (Grice, 1975:22).

This conversational co-operation manifests itself in a number of conversational maxims that people feel the need to abide by. Grice (1975) proposes four such maxims that show how

successful communication is conducted. When one of the participants of the exchange seems not to follow the cooperative principle as well as its maxims, the assumption is that contrary to appearances the principle is observed at a deeper level. Each of these maxims is discussed below:

a) Maxim of quality

This maxim informs the conversationalists to be truthful. They are expected not to say what they believe to be false and that for which they lack adequate evidence. In other words, if A needs sugar to make a cake, B is not expected to hand in salt.

b) Maxim of quantity

Bousfield (2008) compares Grice's maxim of quantity to the temperature of a baby's porridge, not too high, not too low, but just right. The conversationalists are expected to make their contribution as informative as is required for the current purpose of the exchange. Their contribution should not be more informative than is required. That is if A needs four screws, B is expected to hand over four screws, rather than two or six.

c) Maxim of relation

The maxim of relation simply states that interlocutors should provide relevant information. If a person joins a conversation, they cannot begin to talk about what they want but need to connect what they want to say to what is already being discussed. Simply put, the maxim states that if A is mixing ingredients for a cake, B is not expected to hand over a newspaper as this would be irrelevant to what is being prepared.

d) Maxim of manner

This maxim advocates for information that is clear, brief, and orderly. It encourages interlocutors to avoid obscurity and ambiguity. As opposed to other maxims, the maxim of manner is not really concerned about what is being said but rather how it is being said. How an utterance is delivered can have a great impact on how it is interpreted (Bousfield, 2008).

The current study particularly employs the maxims to determine the meaning behind participants 'responses. The maxim of relation helps determine the relevance of participants' responses to the questions and look for the implied messages in a situation where the maxim is flouted. The maxim of manner is also important in this study as it focuses on how information

is communicated and advocates communicative strategies that are clear and unambiguous. This maxim is applied in this study to identify participants' communicative strategies that are effective and unobscured in conveying information, as well as those strategies which flout this maxim and the generated implicature thereof. The maxim of quality determines how genuine and truthful participants are in their utterances while the maxim of quantity determines the extent to which participants are willing to provide information to the commissioners, whether they provide more or less information than is required, or just enough to serve the purpose. What this study observes is that the flouting of one maxim usually impacts other maxims. For instance, if the utterance is obscure or vague it means important information is missing (since it is not clearly communicated) and, therefore, not entirely true or relevant to what is required, so the obscure expression consequently impacts on quality, quality, and relevance.

3.1.3 Context

Context plays an important in Grice's conversational implicature. It is one of the factors which are important in understanding utterances. The speaker, context, and hearer are important in the understanding of the pragmatic meaning of a sentence. As defined by Dupuy, Van der Henst, Cheylus, and Reboul (2016), context is a set of non-linguistic pieces of information that plays a role in the interpretation of an utterance. This includes any relevant extra-linguistic information, from notions relevant to the individuals to notions relative to the physical environment in which the utterance is taking place. Grice's conversational implicatures are divided into two, generalized implicature and particularised implicature. While generalised implicatures are lexically determined, particularised implicature is heavily context-based. It does not derive its meaning from meanings of words but a hearer needs to be familiar with the context of the utterance to deduce the inferred meaning. The example that Grice (1989) gives for a particularized conversational implicature is thus:

A. Smith doesn't seem to have a girlfriend these days.
B. He has been paying a lot of visits to New York lately.

Even though B's response may seem to be irrelevant, there is a deeper meaning (implied or suggested meaning) attached to B's utterance. The implicature that connects what A has literally said with the response he gets from B is that A has or may have a girlfriend in New York.

Context is of vital importance in the interpretation of communicative strategies used by participants of the commissions. The study draws from context to interpret utterances that need background knowledge of, for example, the political situation in Lesotho; the circumstances

which led to the establishment of the commissions; Basotho's general style of conversing; as well as knowledge of cultural practices and beliefs. That is, the historical, political, as well as cultural contexts, are utilised in this study to interpret communicative strategies used by participants when responding to questions.

3.1.4 Criticism of the theory

Even though Grice's theory of implicature is regarded as one of the classic treatises of the linguistic sub-discipline referred to as pragmatics, the theory has received some criticism. One of these criticisms according to Hadi (2013), is a controversy associated with Grice's theory of implicature is the term 'cooperation', as it is open to different interpretations. The term is often confused with the general meaning of the word cooperation. Hadi (ibid) further argues that Grice's cooperation principle is not normal because it does not include societal factors such as the social position of the communicators. Despite the criticisms that may have been raised against the theory, this study still finds the theory ideal when explaining how utterances have meaning in situations and it makes interlocutors aware of what to say and what to leave to be inferred. The theory provides skills in understanding how language can mean more than its formal meaning. It equips hearers to unravel not only literal meanings but also inferred meanings in speakers' utterances. It is important that the present study interprets participants' responses fully and comprehensively, hence the applicability of this theory. The study's core purpose is to explore the use of communicative strategies in the responses of the participants of the two commissions and their (communicative strategies) effectiveness in providing the required information to the commissioners. The data has revealed a great deal of both conventional and conversational implicatures in the responses provided by the participants. The researcher, therefore, finds it necessary to use this theory. The theory also proves to be relevant in the situational context of this study, where the participants were well aware of the importance of what they say to the commissioners and how they say it. The criticisms put forth do not impact this study negatively because they are not relevant to the study's requirements. That is, the researcher was able to resolve the confusion that Hadi (2013) claims that the theory is capable of causing in its use of the word 'cooperation'.

3.2 POLITENESS THEORY

This study followed the theory of politeness as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987). This theory was a buildup on Goffman's (1967) concept of face and Grice's (1989) cooperative principle (CP) or theory of implicature that dealt with the basic understanding between

participants in a conversation. The CP is divided into four major maxims, these being the maxims of quality (be truthful), quantity (be informative, and not say more than it is necessary), relation (be relevant) and manner (be clear). Politeness is said to be one major reason for the violation of these maxims (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The theory of politeness involves concepts such as face and face-threatening acts. An understanding of these two concepts will assist in the comprehension of this theory, hence this study commences by defining them.

3.2.1 Face

Face is principally an image or identity that an individual has and wants to build on. Goffman (1967) perceives it as a positive social value or a self-image that people effectively claim for themselves by the line others assume they have taken during a particular contact. Brown and Levinson (1987) attest that face can be considered something that is emotionally expended, can be lost, maintained or enhanced, and must be always cared for in interaction. Goffman (1967) states that the reason why people want to save face is that they are attached to the value around which this face has been built. Secondly, they may be enjoying the results and the power that their face has created and, lastly, they may be taking care of higher social goals for which they will need this face. Any behaviour that attempts to protect the face of the addressee is polite and any behaviour that attacks the face of the addressee is impolite (Aydinoĝlu, 2013). Face is said to be a universal desire that participants in a conversation work towards preserving it (Goffman, (1967).

3.2.1.1 A face-threatening act (FTA)

A face-threatening act (FTA) is an act that, by its nature, challenges the face wants of an interlocutor: they threaten one's social image. Participants are expected to take measures to mitigate face threats in a situation where they must occur. Face-threatening acts may threaten either the speaker's face or the hearer's face. Politeness is, therefore, the strategic behaviour of an individual that is practised to satisfy the needs of the face of both self and others usually during instances of threat. In accordance with this theory, individuals have both a positive and a negative face that needs to be protected.

3.2.1.2 The positive face

The positive face is an individual's desire to be liked, respected and approved of by others. This involves being recognised as part of a group, being complimented and being given gifts. Positive politeness employs a number of strategies to strengthen the positive face. These include: complimenting, sympathising, acknowledging similar values and agreeing with the

hearer's opinion. For example, a statement that requests a hearer to open the window through the use of positive politeness will read: *You are a good friend, so could you open the window* (Matsumoto-Gray, 2009:113). However, Positive FTAs inflict damage to one's positive face by expressing the speaker's negative evaluation of the hearer's positive face, for example, disapproval, criticism, insults, accusations, complaints, reprimands, contradiction and disagreement. They also damage one's face by expressing a lack of care of the hearer's positive face, such as excessive emotionality, belittling, the mention of taboo topics, boasting, irreverence, the misuse of honorifics, interruptions. The speaker's positive face is threatened by acts that indicate that one has made a transgression or lost control over the situation, for example, apologies, confessions, admissions of guilt, self-humiliation, etcetera

3.2.1.3 The negative face

The negative face is the individual's desire not to have his/her freedom imposed upon. It involves one's desire for autonomy, to be free to act as he/she chooses. It is associated with one's individuality and freedom. Negative politeness strategies include giving options to the hearer, apologising for imposing, and not assuming the hearer's position. A request for one to open the window would read as follows when uttered using negative politeness, '*I'm awfully sorry to bother, but could you open the window?'* (Matsumuto-Gray, 2009:113*).* Negative FTAs can be threatening when they place pressure on the hearer to perform or not to perform a particular action, such as the giving or making of advice, suggestions, requests, orders, warnings, threats, etcetera They can also be threatening when they express the speaker's strong negative feelings or opinions of the hearer or the hearer's belongings. These include expressions of hatred, anger, lust, compliments, expressions, envy, etcetera The FTAs can further be threatening when they indicate some positive future actions of the speaker towards the hearer which compel the hearer to either reject or accept it, such as. promises or offers.

3.2.2 Politeness strategies

To minimise the risk of threats during social interaction where a threat is bound to occur, Brown and Levinson (1987) came up with a model called politeness strategies. These strategies were meant to preserve both the positive and negative face of the hearer. The model lists five super strategies that demonstrate how an individual chooses a politeness strategy to be used in a situation. These are:

a) **Bald on record:** This strategy does not involve any redressive actions, however, it is acceptable in situations where the speaker and the hearer agree that the relevance of

face demands may be suspended in the interest of urgency or efficiency or when the danger to the hearer's face is very small.

b) **Positive politeness strategies** are employed to minimise the threat to the hearer's positive face and entail utterances that express something of interest to the hearer's needs and wants or contain in-group identity markers, optimism, humour and the avoidance of disagreement. Though the FTA is performed, the interlocutor's needs are compensated. The strategy is used in situations that involve intimate communication and behaviour among the interlocutors.

c) **Negative politeness:** This strategy is deployed to avoid or decrease potential damage to the hearer's negative face. It includes utterances that contain hedges, questions, pessimism, indirectness, obviating structures and apologies.

d) **Off-record:** This is indirect politeness. Utterances are made indirectly to avert the potential threat from the speaker. This strategy affords the speaker total deniability in committing the FTA. It is used by a speaker who tries to perform the FTA but does intend to take responsibility for it. It allows the hearer to choose how to interpret the utterance.

e) **Maximum politeness:** This is a strategy in which no threatening act is performed. This is used in a situation where the threat is high.

The following examples, as adopted from Matsumoto-Gray (2009), illustrate the use of politeness strategies as described above:

Open the window – Bald on record

You are a good friend; so could you open the window – positive politeness

I'm awfully sorry to bother you, but could you open the window – negative politeness

It's hot in here (spoken to a person nearest the window) – off record

The following figure 2 summarises politeness strategies for doing an FTA:

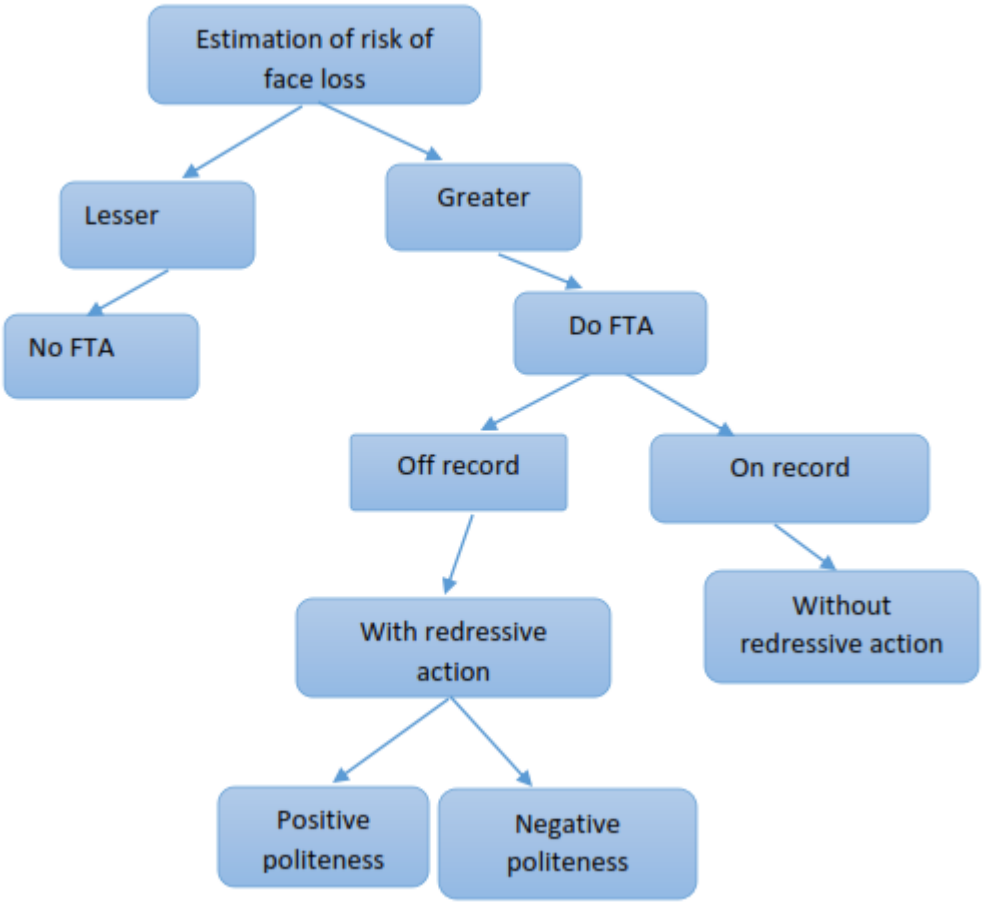

Figure 2: Politeness strategies for an FTA

3.2.3 Factors contributing to politeness

Brown and Levinson (1987) as quoted by Ng, Ng and Ng (2016), claim that since politeness is a phenomenon that is socially controlled, there are social factors that contribute to politeness. These calculate the weight of a face-threatening act. These factors include:

a) **The social distance between the speaker and the hearer:** This is a measure of similarity and familiarity between participants. It is a reciprocal social measure, where two participants are mutually aware of their social distance. Brown and Levinson claim that there is a direct link between social distance and politeness: the more distance between the two speakers, the politer one is expected to be. In other words, politeness increases when addressing strangers and decreases when addressing familiar people. Leech (2007) agrees with Brown and Levinson by stating that when the horizontal distance is reduced, the need for politeness is also reduced.

b) **The relative power of the hearer over the speaker:** Brown and Levinson claim that power is culture-specific and, therefore, difficult to map to certain social factors. The relative power determines the extent to which one participant can impose their will over the other. Politeness increased when addressing individuals with high status than individuals with equal or low status. Van Dijk (1989) claims that power is determined by factors such as the following:

   - Speaker and hearer must be aware of the power differential between them.
   - Power needs a basis, such as wealth, position, privileges or membership in a majority group.
   - Power may be a domain, for example, teacher-student in a school setting.

c) **Rank of imposition:** This is the degree of threat associated with a particular FTA in the relevant culture. This is said to be culturally determined by the particular norms and sensitivities of a culture, for example, mention of taboo topics in some cultures may require a high degree of politeness strategy due to their sensitivity and the embarrassing effect they have on participants.

   The three factors are summarised using the following formula:

   Wx =D (S, H) +P (H.S) +Rx.

   Wx is the weight of an FTA, while D refers to the distance (D) between somebody and the interlocutor, P refers to the power (P) the interlocutor has over him or her, and R refers to the value that measures the degree to which the FTA is rated as

an imposition in that culture, that is, the ranking (R) of imposition. These factors are summed up in the following figure as proposed by Brown and Levinson (1987).

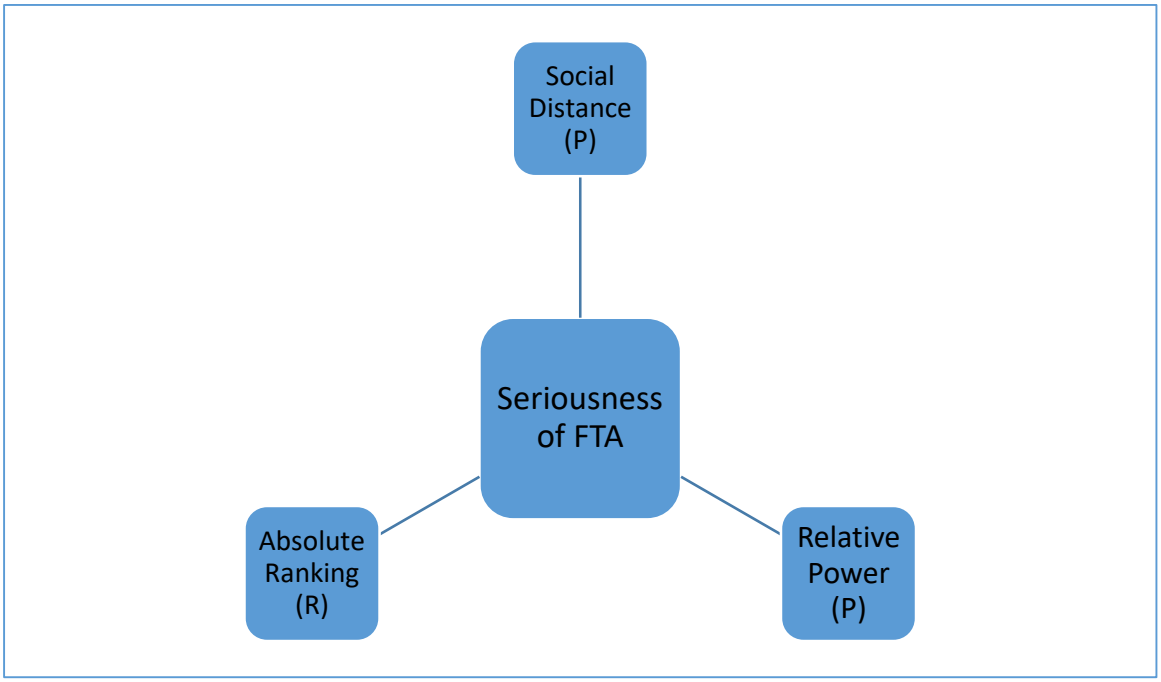

Figure 3:Factors in estimated risk of face loss

This aspect of face is used in this study to interpret communicative strategies which pose a threat to either positive or negative face and those that participants use to mitigate a threat to face. Conversational strategies such as refusal and criticism are a natural threat to face and the study draws from the concept of face to interpret speakers' intentions in using such strategies. Other strategies such as figurative language (euphemism) and indirect communication are culturally intended to mitigate face-threatening acts and the aspect of face is used to interpret such strategies. The factors mentioned above that contribute to politeness give this study ammunition to justify why participants use strategies that enhance politeness as well as those without any redressive action.

3.2.4 Criticism of the Brown and Levinson model

Brown and Levinson model of politeness was subjected to scrutiny which was followed by several criticisms from other scholars. One of the main criticisms that the model faced was that the theory lacks universal formal and functional equivalence across cultures. This is despite the claim made by Brown and Levinson that they are providing a universal account of politeness

in their analysis. The model is further criticised for failing to account for non-western, particularly Asian, cultures (Wierzbicka, 1991). In his words, Leech (2007) view is that the 'model has a Western prejudice and consequently cannot assert to represent universality cross-culturally'. Matsumoto (1988), furthermore, claims that the distinction between positive and negative face with equal weight does not hold in Japanese culture. Mao (1994) also argues that the Chinese conception of face differs significantly from Brown and Levinson's notion. Another criticism is based on terminology and definition. Spencer-Oatey (2005:105) argues that the terms 'positive face' and 'negative face' could be substituted with more appropriate terms such as 'association principles' (positive face) and 'equity principle' (negative face). Others scholars suggest 'ideal social identity' (positive face) and 'ideal individual autonomy" (negative face) or 'involvement face' and 'individual face' (Mao, 1994:95; Scollon and Scollon, 1995:117). Meier (1995) further argues that positive and negative face overlap and work together. They are both at play and there is no clear demarcation line between the two. Brown and Levinson acknowledge this possibility. Brown and Levinson have also been criticised for their emphasis on face as the primary motivator for politeness (Fraser, 1990; Watts, 2003; Leech 2007). These scholars argue that face threat mitigation is not the entire purpose of politeness. Watts (2003) holds the opinion that politeness strategies proposed by Brown and Levinson are rather a face work and not politeness strategies. He claims that these strategies are not consistent with politeness. He maintains that the model of politeness does not show any consideration of what is considered polite behaviour. He concludes that the notion of politeness and face need further investigation.

Despite the weaknesses mentioned above, one cannot ignore the contribution made by this theory in unravelling the choices that are made in a language that gives people space and present a friendly attitude to them. It has revealed how the face of self and others is respected or maintained. The present study has chosen the theory of politeness as one of the theories which form a base for analysis in the present study. The creation of new terminology, as has been argued, has no bearing on the present study. Even though Brown and Levinson acknowledge some of the criticism raised against their model, the implications thereof do not impact the current study. In particular, the notion of the theory not being equivalent across cultures may prove to be a valid criticism of the model as exemplified by Matsumoto (1988) and Mao (1994). However, this criticism is not relevant for the present study because its focus is on one cultural group, the Basotho, that subscribes to the western notions of face as described by Brown and Levinson. This theory was initially not chosen as one of the theories to assist in the analysis of data for this study. However, as the categories surfaced from the data, then it

was found that this theory was one of the relevant theories to be incorporated. The aspect of face, face-threatening acts and factors contributing to politeness fitted well with the themes that the study revealed.

3.3 CONVERSATIONAL IMPLICATURE AND POLITENESS THEORY

The study draws from the theory of conversational implicature propounded by Grice (1975) and the politeness theory by Brown and Levinson (1987) to unpack and interpret the communicative strategies that the participants of the Leon and Phumaphi commissions of enquiry used as they responded to the commissioners' questions. The participants' strategic way of responding to questions requires a deeper understanding and interpretation of implied messages, as well as a comprehension of aspects relating to face, face-threatening acts and face mitigation. The two theories are consequently chosen due to their appropriateness in unravelling participants' intended messages. The two theories complement each other, as politeness is said to be one major reason for violation of Grice's maxims (Brown and Levinson, 1987). The theory of conversational implicature assists the study to interpret implied messages while the politeness theory addresses strategies relating to face-threatening acts and has helped to justify the use of implied messages. Khotso and Mashinge (2011) agree with the integration of theories. They assert that a researcher is allowed to draw on more than one theory to meet the demands of the phenomenon being studied.

The Gricean theory of conversational implicature is used in this study to interpret the responses of participants and determine the implicature behind their utterances. The theory assists the study to dig deep into the participants' responses, survey the surrounding circumstances such as the conversational context as well as the conventional meanings of words to determine the hidden and intended message the participants want to convey to the commission. The politeness theory complements the theory of conversational implicature in that it helps determine the rationale behind the participants' use of utterances with deeper and hidden meanings. The theory also helps the current researcher to understand why participants speak the way they do to those with a wider social and with more power than distance than they have, namely the commissioners. Both theories assist in the interpretation of culturally based communicative strategies such as figurative language and indirect communication.

3.4 SUMMARY

This chapter presented important aspects of Grice's theory of conversational implicature and the politeness theory, both of which are the two theories chosen to inform the current study. It

has discussed features of conversational implicature such as implicature, cooperative principles and its maxims, and context. It has discussed the correlation between context and conversational implicature maxims, as well as the distinction between the conventional and conversational implicature. The politeness theory dwelt on aspects regarding face, face-threatening acts and politeness strategies, all of which are significant in the analysis and interpretation of findings for this research. The chapter has described the suitability and relevance of these theories in the current research, despite the criticism laid against them by scholars. The following chapter presents the methodological approaches the study resorted to in order to collect and analyse data.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the methods that were used in conducting this study. It presents and discusses the principles of a qualitative research design and its relevance to the current study. It further discusses data and provides clarity on why the study chose the use of secondary data, outlining the benefits and limitations of such data. Additionally, the chapter gives a detailed description of data collection techniques that were used to obtain data and data management activities such as transcription in preparation for analysis. The hybridised analytic approach that integrated thematic and content analysis, is discussed at length, and the rationale behind such triangulation is presented. The limitations of the study are acknowledged and the research tools that aided the successful completion of this research are also presented. Finally, the chapter comments on ethical considerations to which this study adhered to.

4.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

The present study is located within a qualitative research design. As defined by Holloway and Wheeler (2002), qualitative design is a social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make meaning of their experiences and the world in which they live. Burns and Grove (2003) and Berg (2009) concur with Holloway and Wheeler (2002) as they view qualitative design as a systematic approach used to describe life experiences and situations to give them meaning. Hammarberg, Kirkman and De Lacey (2016) also affirm that qualitative methods are used to answer questions about experience, meaning and perspective, most often from the standpoint of the participant. In these definitions, two important words keep recurring and these are 'experiences' and 'meaning'. Based on these definitions, it can be concluded that qualitative research design is an enquiry that aims at attaching meaning to life experiences and enabling people to gain new insight into a phenomenon under discussion. Leedy and Ormond (2005) further add that through qualitative design a researcher can discover the problem that exists within the phenomenon and develop new concepts or theoretical perspectives about it. The qualitative design has the following six characteristics: First, the design is characterised by its explorative nature (used when what is expected is not known) and its ability to answer questions by examining various social settings and individuals who inhabit these settings (Creswell, 2003; Mora, 2010). Secondly, meaning is culturally determined and subject to evolutionary change (Hammarberg *et al*. 2016). The third characteristic relates to context. According to

Creswell (2003), the design is concerned with context and as such it regards behaviour and situation as inseparably linked in forming experiences. The fourth aspect that characterises qualitative research is relatively small data sets derived from texts, written words, phrases or symbols describing or representing people (Leedy and Ormond, 2005). The fifth characteristic of qualitative research is its research techniques. The data sets for qualitative research are obtained through specialised qualitative research techniques such as small group discussion, semi-structured interviews, in-depth interviews and analysis of texts and documents such as government reports or media articles (Young, Fisher and Kirkman, 2014). The sixth aspect that stands out is that the collection and analysis of data for qualitative research have their textual, verbal, or visual data systematically collected, logically organised into themes and sub-themes, described and interpreted (Hammarberg *et al*., 2016).

A qualitative design is appropriate for this study because the study's guiding research question is explorative. It seeks to understand, describe and interpret meanings attached to participants' responses to the commissioners' questions in Lesotho's two commissions of enquiry. It explores the use of communicative strategies by participants who were called in as witnesses. This is done without pre-existing assumptions or hypotheses of what the outcome of the study would be. The explorative nature of the research question determined the choice of data, research techniques, and analytic framework, all of which are embedded in a qualitative design. The data for the present study is a conversational one which is sourced from audio recordings of the proceedings of the commissions. As described earlier, qualitative studies are characterised by the analysis of texts and documents such as government reports, media articles, websites, and diaries which could be in audio, audiovisual or written form (Hammarberg *et al*., 2016). Moreover, the study adopted integration of thematic and content analysis as the analytic framework that is used to collect, organise, describe and interpret its data. The frameworks employed are consistent with a qualitative approach. The qualitative method enabled the researcher to propose new theoretical perspectives on communicative strategies in commissions of enquiry. The formulation of a theoretical perspective is one of the aspects which characterise qualitative research. Furthermore, the qualitative method enables the researcher to understand the Basotho people, their society, and the culture in which they are working. This formed a rich ground for the interpretation of Basotho's use of communicative strategies in their responses to commissioners' questions. As already indicated, in qualitative research, meaning is culturally determined and subject to evolutionary change (Hammarberg *et al*., 2016).

4.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

This study adopted a discourse analytic approach, a method that is used to gain insights into the discursive features of written and spoken language in relation to its social context (Bondarouk and Ruel, 2004) Discourse analysis aims to understand how language is used in real-life situations (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005). The method was opted for because it is suitable for the secondary type of data used. The data comprised language use in a real-life situation where participants of the commissions were narrating occurrences during the political upheavals in Lesotho and responding to questions asked by the commissioners. As one of its functions, this qualitative method enabled the researcher to examine how language functioned, how meaning was created, and how values and beliefs were communicated by the participants of this study (Angermuller, 2014). It allowed the researcher to examine participants' linguistic repertoires, their use of different types of communicative strategies, their purpose, effects, and the cultural rules that govern some of the strategies used. Specifically, discourse analysis facilitated analysis of words/phrases for their association, euphemistic and metaphorical function. It also enabled analysis of sentences construction (active/passive voice), fillers, figurative language and their intended meaning.

4.3 THE DATA

This section focuses on concepts related to data. It discusses the population and how sampling was conducted. It describes the kind of data acquired for the study and the rationale behind such a choice. It further discusses how the study benefitted from the use of secondary data. The strengths and weaknesses of secondary data are tabulated. The section further discusses procedures taken in the collection of data.

4.3.1 Population and sampling

This is a non-intrusive study that did not have direct contact with participants through interviews but relied on information that was audio recorded during the proceedings of the commissions. The study analysed transcripts of the audiotapes and CDs (compact disc) of the Leon and Phumaphi commissions in Lesotho. The two commissions had transcripts for a total of twenty-six participants. According to Lesotho's *Government Gazette* (2000), 170 participants appeared before the Leon Commission. Some of these participants applied to testify while others were invited. There was also another group of participants that were subpoenaed to testify. This was done when the commission felt the information they might reveal would be of great value. Some of these participants were recalled for cross-examination. The Phumaphi Commission of Enquiry, had more than 70 participants, including experts from

different departments (SADC Commission of Enquiry Report, 2015). All these participants were video and audio recorded as they testified. All together the commissions had witnesses in the following categories: members of the army, opposition leaders, government officials, police officers, relatives of families affected by the 1998 and 2015 political upheavals, and members of the general public. The proceedings of the commissions were an important speech event where commissioners took the conversational role of asking questions while participants' role was to respond to their questions. The participants were cross examined by the members of the commissions as well as the lawyers representing the government, the detained soldiers, the family of the deceased (in the Phumaphi commission), and members who fled the country during the political crisis.

There were two types of audio recordings that People's Choice FM possessed, namely, the recordings of testimonies that were broadcast publicly and those whose participants requested to testify in camera. For ethical reasons, this study purposively selected audio recordings of the two commissions based on their availability in the public domain and disregarded those that the general public did not have access to. It, therefore, used a non-probability sampling. The study had access to a total of twenty-six recordings. There were recordings of ten participants in the Leon commission (eight army officers and two members of the opposition), sixteen in the Phumaphi commission (four army officers, four members of the opposition, four government officials, three police officers, and one member of the general public). The sample was male-dominated as there were twenty-three males and three female participants. This sample could not be balanced because generally, the female participants in both commissions were few, there was one in the Leon Commission and three in the Phumaphi Commission. The enquiry as a whole was male-dominated because it comprised political party leaders, government officials, police officers, and army officers who were mainly men. The researcher, therefore, had no control over such data. The recordings were in both Sesotho and English because the proceedings of the two commissions were conducted in both languages. Participants had the liberty to testify using the language they felt most comfortable with. Recordings for each participant took differing times, depending on how long the participant was interrogated. Some ran for 180 minutes, others for up to 4 hours, while the longest took 24 hours. These recordings were transcribed. The time taken to transcribe each recording differed as it depended on how long the recording ran. The minimum time that the researcher took to transcribe the shortest recording was 5 hours while those which ran for 1 hour and 30 minutes took 10 hours to transcribe. The task of listening and transcribing lasted for 4 months. This is because the researcher had to take frequent breaks to avoid errors in the data that could result

from long hours of transcribing. The other reason was that before a final draft was picked for study, the transcripts had to be revisited and revised on several occasions. Thus the communicative strategies found were a result of repeated listening and transcribing. Zambrano (2005) asserts that audio recordings are advantageous in that the interaction can be played as many times as is needed for analysis and transcription. The other reason Zambrano (ibid) cites is that previously overlooked features of the interaction can be examined. It is for reasons such as these that the researcher had to keep reviewing the quality of the transcripts. Transcripts that were in English were directly transcribed. while the ones in Sesotho were first translated into English and then taken to language specialists for verification.

Data from these two commissions were used in this study because, first, the audio recordings are a form of data that is naturally occurring and fully reflective of conversational behaviour that happens in real life. Such data was therefore valuable to the study that seeks to explore communicative strategies used in commissions of enquiry as it reveals a conversational approach in its natural state. Second, the participants displayed diverse and peculiar communicative means of responding to commissioners' questions. The manner in which they responded to questions formed interesting data sets that deserved a closer and deeper interpretation of what they really meant. The third reason for the choice of data from the two commissions was based on their availability in the public domain and therefore did not pose any ethical or confidentiality issues. Unlike commissions such as Langa Commission which, due to security reasons, were not available for public access and for ethical reasons could not be tampered with, the Leon and Phumaphi commissions were made accessible to the public and, therefore, did not have any ethical implications or issues relating to state security and on the people who were part of the commission. Finally, an examination of transcripts emanating from the audiotapes and CDs revealed that the audio recordings were the most relevant form of data for the current study because the questions that guide this study could mainly be answered through this kind of data. The study could determine the types of communicative strategies used by listening to the actual responses that participants gave during the commissions' proceedings. Therefore, the communicative value that the transcripts held was that they provided data in its raw state and in its natural environment where subjects' objectives were purely to address the commissions' enquiry and not for research purposes.

4.3.2 The data

This study analysed secondary data in the form of audio recordings that were obtained during the proceedings of both the Leon and Phumaphi commissions. As noted by Smith, Ayanian,

Covinsky, Landon, McCarthy, Wee, and Steinman (2011), secondary data includes different forms of recordings such as the recording of events important to a nation. These recordings were originally compiled to enable the commissions to refer to them for further analysis of the evidence gathered from the participants. The other purpose of the recordings was to enable the country to keep records of these important enquiries. These recordings were archived by both private and national media houses. Individual members of the community were also at liberty to make their recordings as the proceedings were aired on radio stations and Lesotho Television (LTV). Smith, (2008) and Andrews, Higgins, Andrews, and Lalor (2012) correctly observe that utilisation of existing data for research is becoming prevalent due to the vast amounts of data that is being collected and archived by researchers all over the world. What determined the choice of this particular data is the type of research questions that guided this study. The answers to these questions could be derived mainly from listening to the participant's actual responses. It was in listening to participants' verbatim responses that communicative strategies were determined. Johnston (2014) emphasises that the existing data can only be utilised if it addresses the research questions. The researcher, therefore found the recorded secondary data on the Leon and Phumaphi commissions of enquiry to be the most relevant data to answer the research questions for this study.

4.3.2.1 Strengths and limitations of secondary data

The major strength of secondary data is its effectiveness. Since data has already been collected, the researcher does not have to incur financial resources for data collection (Smith, 2008). According to Smith (ibid), this type of data presents opportunities for all researchers, even novice or unfunded researchers. In the present research, no costs were incurred to access the data on the Leon and Phumaphi commissions. Data was collected from the private radio station and from a scholar who had kept personal records for teaching and learning purposes.

Furthermore, secondary data is useful in that at times it is the most relevant data on particular topics (Smith *et al*., 2011). This was the case with the current topic. In order to accurately capture the types of communicative strategies used by participants, the researcher needed to listen to what they said verbatim and secondary data that recorded the actual responses, catered for this need. One other important aspect of secondary data according to Fielding (2004) is that there is no interaction with the research population. This yields a convincing outcome of the study because direct interaction with the research population may sometimes have a Hawthorn effect (Sedgwick and Greenwood, 2015), that is, direct contact may influence participants into altering their behaviour due to their awareness of being

observed. The responses of participants in this research were found in their natural state as they were not given for research purposes. Fielding (ibid) further comments that secondary data allows a researcher to access a vulnerable and sensitive population that would otherwise be very difficult to reach. This aspect proved to be very relevant to the present study in that the recordings comprised high ranking officials and politicians who would otherwise be very difficult and sensitive to reach in person if they were to be interviewed.

Moreover, the use of an existing dataset can accelerate the pace of research because some of the most time-consuming steps of a typical research process such as data collection are eliminated (Doolan and Froelicher, 2009). Using existing data allows projects to be completed and findings to be produced much faster, and, therefore, the development and contribution of new knowledge occur timely before being regarded as outdated by the field (Smith *et al*., 2011). Smith (2008) further states that utilising existing data allows the researcher to answer time-sensitive policy-related questions quickly. In the context of the current research, the researcher was able to save time for data collection. Though it took four weeks of failed attempts to obtain data from the national radio station, when the data (on the Phumaphi Commission) was finally released from People's Choice FM, it took only five days for such data to be made available to the researcher. The data on the Leon Commission was obtained on the same day it was requested. This quick process of obtaining data enabled the researcher to maximise time for the transcription, analysis, and discussion of data.

When good secondary data is available, researchers can utilise large and high-quality dataset, such as those collected by funded studies or agencies that involve large samples and contain substantial breadth (Smith *et al*., 2011). The researcher in this study was provided with high-quality data which yielded convincing outcome. However, the researcher would have preferred to have balanced the gender and to have more participants from various categories, (army officers, government officials, police officers, political leaders, and members of the public) but, a lot of valuable data was no longer accessible, it was deleted and replaced with recordings of current affairs. As it was the case, the study had most participants in the category of army officers in the Leon Commission, while in the Phumaphi Commission it had only one member representing the general public. Some of the limitations of secondary data include insufficient data. Since data was collected to answer the specific questions of the primary researcher, secondary researchers may not acquire all the information required for their study (Johnston, 2014). This limitation did not impact the current research. The available secondary data met all the requirements of the study.

The other limitation of the secondary data is that because the researchers did not participate in the data collection process and do not know exactly how it was conducted, they do not know how well it was conducted (Smith, 2008). This challenge was also not applicable to the present research since the data provided was the actual recordings of the participants' responses to the commissioners' questions.

4.3.3 Data collection procedure

The recordings for the Phumaphi proceedings were provided by a private radio station called People's Choice FM. These were in the form of CDs. In order to secure access, the researcher submitted a summary of the study, proof of ethics clearance, and proof of registration as a student at UNISA. These served as prerequisites to the release of data.

The Leon recordings were obtained from a scholar at the National University of Lesotho who had kept personal recordings for teaching and learning aids for a course in linguistics. The researcher had to produce the same documents that were required by PC FM for the release of data. No costs were incurred to access both Leon and Phumaphi datasets, however, the Leon recordings were stored on old tapes which the researcher had no compatible device to play them on. The challenge was finally resolved and the cassette player was purchased from an antique shop. The Leon audiotapes were to be returned after the completion of the study.

4.3.4 Data analysis

Data for this study were analysed through the integration of content and thematic analysis. This hybrid analytic approach was appropriate in that it enabled a complete exploration of the communicative strategies that participants of the commissions employed to respond to questions. Other scholars such as Mayring (2014) and Rodrigues (2016) further define content analysis as a systematic coding and categorising approach used for exploring large amounts of textual information unobtrusively to determine themes, trends and patterns of words used, their frequency, their relationships, and the structures and discourses of communication. This definition embeds in it the aim of this analytic approach which is to interpret and make sense of the data by classifying the main themes that arise from it. Its objective, therefore, is to summarise data rather than report all the details, by looking at themes and patterns (Sobane, 2013). The categorisation of data into themes allows the researcher to condense a large amount of data into a few categories that can easily be discussed. The other aspect worth mentioning about content analysis is that the deductive approach of content analysis allows for themes to be derived from past literature and research question (Elo and Kyngäs, 2008). Another

characteristic of content analysis is that it is an analytic framework that is useful to study sensitive research topics. Polit and Beck (2004) state that content analysis is context-sensitive and can, therefore, process symbolic meanings of data. Content analysis is further characterised by its focus on the tabulation of the frequency of each characteristic (Leedy & Ormrod, 2005). In other words, it provides frequency counts and allows for quantitative analysis of initially qualitative data (Wilkinson, 2000). One other significant aspect of qualitative content analysis is that it is an approach that is neither standardised nor formulaic, there are no guidelines for data analysis. Each enquiry is distinctive and the results depend on the skills and analytic abilities of the researcher (Polit and Beck, 2004). One may interpret this lack of formula as a loophole in this approach, but these authors look at it as denoting flexibility as there is not a simple or correct way of doing it.

Similar to content analysis, thematic analysis is a basic method for qualitative analysis that is widely used in interpretive phenomenological analysis and other qualitative-based designs such as grounded theory (Braun and Clarke, 2006). It enables a researcher to detect, analyse and report themes in data. Clarke and Braun (2013) strengthen this definition by further defining thematic analysis as an approach that extracts meanings, and concepts from data and involves pinpointing, examining, and recording patterns and themes. This method of analysis is built around the word 'theme'. 'Theme' means that data is grouped around the main issue. Speziale (2011) says a theme is a kind of agreement that is more concise, accurate, simpler, and shorter compared to the main text from which the theme is extracted. Clark and Braun (2013) describe a theme by differentiating it from coding. They assert that a theme is an outcome of coding. They illustrate that if codes are the bricks and tiles in a brick and tile house, the themes are the walls and roof panels.

Thematic analysis is characterised by its flexibility. Brown and Clarke (2012) show that thematic analysis is a theoretically flexible analytic approach because the search for, and examining of, patterns across language does not demand adherence to any particular theory of language or explanatory framework for human beings, experiences, or practices. Thematic analysis is also characterised by its ability to work with a wide range of research interests and theoretical perspectives. Rubin and Rubin (2011) posit that it works with a wide range of research questions; from questions about people's experiences to those about the representation and construction of a particular phenomenon in a particular context. Moreover, thematic analysis is known for its ability to analyse different types of data, from secondary sources such as media, transcripts of focus groups, or interviews. It also works with large or small datasets and it can be applied to produce data-driven or theory-driven analysis (Foreday, 2006). It gives

a researcher an option to decide if they will focus on semantic or latent themes or both. As described by Braun and Clarke (2006), semantic themes are identified at the surface or semantic appearance. Here the researcher is not looking for any hidden meanings but restricts themselves on what is literally said or written in the text. Semantic themes are sometimes referred to as explicit themes. Conversely, latent (interpretive) themes go beyond a semantic approach and identify underlying meanings that shape or inform such semantic content. The implied and presupposed meanings in the analysis are incorporated. According to Joffe and Yardley (2006), another characteristic of thematic analysis is that it allows the researcher to pay attention to aspects such as the context in which data was collected and the inferences produced thereof. Braun and Clarke (2012a) mention one other important aspect of thematic analysis which is that it is based mostly on the theory or the analysis favoured by the researcher. Thus it is explicitly extracted by the researcher in the form of that specific theory.

As evidenced by the above discussion, content and thematic analysis share similar principles. In some studies, they have been used separately while in other studies they have been combined (Joffe & Yardley 2004). The current study integrated both approaches because, though they are similar in many ways, each analytic approach has a distinct characteristic from which this study benefitted. Content analysis on the one hand was chosen in the study for its deductive approach that allows for themes to be derived from past literature and research questions. The synthesis of past literature, research question, and data were useful in interpreting the data. This value is confirmed by Elo and Kyngäs (2008) who assert that interpretation done in this manner reproduces inferences that apply to other situations. These inferences can ultimately be used to guide the research to generate or build on existing knowledge about the phenomenon studied. Content analysis was also chosen for its value in allowing for quantitative analysis of qualitative data. The tabulation of the frequency of each characteristic enabled the researcher to determine the prevalence of some communicative strategies and determine their impact on the commissions. The other characteristic of content analysis that became important for this study is that it functions well with sensitive research topics. The current study centred on a sensitive issue of very prominent figures in the country who had to testify before the commissions of enquiry. The study needed to secure their identities. The use of content analysis was, therefore, crucial because it processed symbolic meanings of qualitative data. Thematic analysis on the other hand was chosen due to its value in allowing the researcher to take into account the context of data in the analysis. The context that surrounds the data for this study was valuable as it assisted in attaching meaning to what the data revealed. Thematic analysis was also chosen for its ability to make latent themes part

of the analysis. This aspect enabled the present study to derive both explicit and implied themes and thereby exhausting every aspect of data related to the phenomenon in question. Moreover, its flexibility to work with a wide range of research questions and its ability to analyse a variety of data including the secondary one attracted the present study. Furthermore, the ability of thematic analysis to allow the inclusion of any theory chosen by the researcher as part of this analysis became essential to this study. The analysis in the current study was done based on Grice's theory of conversational implicature and the 1987 politeness theory of Brown and Levinson.

The following are the phases of content and thematic analysis combined that the present study followed in its analysis. These steps are outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006) and Vaismoradi, Turunen, and Bondas (2013). They describe phases they emphasise should not be viewed as a linear model, where one cannot proceed to the next phase without correctly completing the prior phase, but argue that analysis is a recursive process, there is a back and forth movement between some steps. The first phase focuses on data preparation. Verbal data is transcribed into written text that is analysable and codable. In the second phase, data is coded and categories of interesting features across the entire data set are created. Coding and construction of categories are guided by the research questions. The third phase involves collating codes into potential themes and gathering all data relevant to each potential theme. This phase is followed by the definition and naming of themes: This involves ongoing analysis for refining the specifics of each theme and the overall story that the analysis tells and generating clear definitions and names for each theme. The fifth phase then focuses on tabulating the frequencies of each character found in the material being studied. The sixth phase involves producing the report. It involves the final analysis and write-up of the report. The analytic narrative and data extracts are woven together to tell the reader a coherent and persuasive story about the data.

The study adhered to the above-proposed phases as follows. The first step taken was to listen to the recordings of testimonies provided by all the twenty-six participants (ten Leon Commission and sixteen Phumaphi Commission participants). This enabled the researcher to become familiar with data. These recordings were then transcribed; a verbatim account of all verbal and at times non-verbal utterances (for example, laughter) was made. The Sesotho recordings were transcribed and translated, while the English ones were only transcribed because they were already in English. Even though the transcription exercise took long (4 months), it provided an even better understanding of data. Braun and Clerk (2006) are correct to say that the time spent in transcription is not a wasted one as it facilitates close reading and

interpretive skills needed to analyse the data. The transcribed data was read repeatedly for a thorough comprehension of the content, context, and all other important features of data. The next step was to code data and this was done based on the overarching research question. It was manually done in this manner: data extracts that appeared interesting and which formed the basis of repeated patterns were highlighted by using different coloured pencils and by writing notes next to each highlighted segment. Data extracts that seemed to share similar characteristics were identified by the same coloured pencil. The researcher coded for as many potential themes as possible, for this is what Bryman (2001) suggests should be done, for the researcher may never know what might be interesting later. The next step was to sort the different codes into potential themes and collate all the coded data extracts within the themes that are identified. A mind map was drawn where the identified themes and their coded data extracts were presented. Thereafter, the identified themes were reviewed to decide on whether to combine, refine, separate, or discard the initial themes. Some themes that did not have enough data to support them were discarded while others with common characteristics were combined as one theme. Braun and Clarke (2006) confirm that at this stage some initial themes are discarded, collapsed into each other, or broken down into separate themes. Twelve themes were developed during this process, these being code-switching, fillers, vague language, criticism, direct quoting, passive voice, indirect communication, figurative language, questioning, refusal, personal pronouns, and circumlocution. The next stage involved defining and refining themes to be presented for the analysis. This was done by going back to the identified twelve themes and their data extracts and organising them coherently so that those themes that could still be further collapsed into major themes and sub-themes could be rearranged. Braun and Clark (2006) maintain that at this stage it is important to determine whether or not a theme contains any sub-themes. Based on literature and research questions, the twelve themes were further regrouped, which created the final three major categories of communicative strategies under which the twelve developed themes were fitted into sub-themes. These were a conversational category, a grammatical category, and a sociocultural category of communicative strategies. Under conversational category sub-themes such as code-switching, fillers, vague language, and circumlocution emerged, while the grammatical category contained sub-themes such as personal pronouns, direct speech (direct quoting), passive voice and questioning. The sociocultural category included sub-themes such as figurative language, indirect communication, refusal, and criticism. After identifying and settling on what the study regarded as the major themes and sub-themes, the researcher revisited the coded data extracts that formed the themes so that each character could be counted to

determine the number of times it appeared across the entire data extracts. This brought to the surface the prevalence of each identified theme and its impact. The data was then analysed and interpreted through the literature and the use of theoretical elements presented by the theory of implicature and the politeness theory. -An extensive discussion of these two theoretical approaches together with their elements is provided in chapter three of this study. The use of theoretical approaches for analysing the meanings attached to participants' responses became valuable in producing a reliable construction of the events under investigation.

4.4 INTERPRETING

This aspect is worth discussing as it impacted the use of some communicative strategies. The commissioners who chaired the Leon Commission and the Phumaphi Commission spoke languages other than Sesotho, the Lesotho national language. However, the participants were at liberty to give evidence using any of the two official languages, Sesotho and English. To bridge the communication gap between the commissioners and the participants, the government arranged for interpreters in both commissions. According to an informal communication the researcher had with the Lesotho Government Secretary (2019), the interpreters for both commissions were members of the civil service whose primary duties had nothing to do with interpreting but just happened to be conversant in both Sesotho and English. Listening to the recordings, the researcher identified one interpreter in the Leon Commission and three in the Phumaphi Commission. The other interpreter (in the Phumaphi Commission) was relieved of this task after the commissioner realised that she was battling to interpret many Sesotho expressions and complex terminology. The researcher also observed the absence of a specific pattern in which interpreting was, particularly in the Phumaphi Commission. In the Leon Commission, the interpreter transferred information spoken in both Sesotho and English, however, in the Phumaphi Commission, the interpreters mainly interpreted information delivered in Sesotho and not in English. On rare occasions, they would interpret every testimony irrespective of whether it was given in Sesotho or English. The commission asked questions only in English but these were not translated into Sesotho. The rationale for this is that the participants, who were the target audience, were competent in English and, therefore' needed no assistance with interpreting. It seemed that interpreting was mainly geared towards the commissioners and not the participants or ordinary citizens with a limited command of English.

4.5 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The limitation of this study relates to imbalanced representation. It would have been meaningful to have an equal representation of participants in both commissions, however, the study had ten recordings for different participants for the Leon Commission and 16 for the Phumaphi Commission. The sixteen recordings could not be reduced to ten to balance those of the Leon Commission because the sample itself was anyway not big enough to be reduced. Gender was also unequally represented as the study only had access to two female participants while the rest (twenty-four) were male. A balanced representation might have revealed findings linked to gender differences. Moreover, this study did not have access to a wide range of participants representing all the categories, such as army officers, members of the opposition, government officials, police officers, and members of the general public. This may have had an impact on the findings. The other limitation of this study relates to access to visual data. The study only accessed data in the form of audio recordings but failed to acquire audio-visual data which could have unravelled non-verbal communicative strategies.

4.6 ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS

The data for this research comprised publicly available audio records that radio stations and interested individuals were free to record and document. Recordings done in-camera were avoided because they were not open to the public but only to the commissioners. The public nature of the texts to be analysed exempted the study from the usual ethical considerations such as informed consent and confidentiality that normally ought to be followed. A detailed description of how the study would be conducted and how data would be collected was submitted to the Research Ethics Review Committee at Unisa for approval. The approval was granted because the research involved the analysis of documents that are already in the public domain. The study was, therefore, classified within the minimal risk category. Documents such as a letter requesting access to the data (audio recordings and transcripts for both the Leon Commission and Phumaphi Commission), proof of registration, ethics clearance approval letter from Unisa and summary of the study were submitted to the relevant office bearer at People's Choice FM. This submission enabled the researcher to access the required data. Even though it was in the public domain, the researcher is aware of the real people behind the testimonies which were recorded. Therefore, for reasons of participant confidentiality, research subjects' names that appeared on the transcripts were deleted and replaced with codes such as Leon participant 1, Phumaphi participant 2, etcetera.

4.7 SUMMARY

This chapter provided an account of how this study was conducted. It introduced the concept research design and showed how the study fits into qualitative research design. It has also highlighted key issues relating to data, discussing concepts such as population and sampling, secondary data, data collection procedures, and data analysis. The analytic framework adopted as well as its appropriateness in the study is discussed in detail. The chapter also acknowledges the limitations encountered during the implementation of the study and narrated how the study was ethically approved. A detailed account of data presentation and analysis is presented in chapter five.

CHAPTER FIVE

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and analyses data for the current research. The first section comprises a general overview of the findings. It commences by presenting information on coding as well as participants' demographics. This is done to enhance an understanding of the data being presented. The quantified data for the types of communicative strategies used by the participants is presented in this section. The second section analyses in detail each of the communicative strategies used together with their linguistic realisations and this is done through the insertion of some selected excerpts from data. A comparison between the two commissions of enquiry concerning their use of communicative strategies is also presented in the second section of this chapter.

SECTION ONE

PRESENTATION OF FINDINGS

5.1 CODING

Data from the two commissions are coded as LC which stands for the Leon Commissioner and PC which represents the Phumaphi Commissioner. Participants are coded according to whether they testified in the Leon or the Phumaphi Commission. Those who testified before the Leon Commission are coded LP and are designated LP1 to LP10 since there were 10 participants in the Leon Commission whose transcripts were accessed. The remaining 16 participants are those who gave their evidence in the Phumaphi Commission and were, therefore' coded PP11 up to the last participant who was coded PP26. The interpreter for the Leon Commission is coded LI while the one for the Phumaphi Commission is coded PI. The researcher's translation of figures of speech appears in parentheses.

5.2 PARTICIPANT DEMOGRAPHICS

The study analysed twenty-six transcripts of witnesses who appeared before the two commissions; ten were witnesses belonging to the Leon Commission (also referred to as the Leon) while the remaining sixteen were those who testified in the Phumaphi Commission (also referred to as the Phumaphi). The sample was male-dominated; there were twenty-four male

and two female participants. This sample could not be balanced because generally, the female participants in both commissions were few, there was one female participant in the Leon and three in the Phumaphi. The enquiry as a whole was male-dominated because it was comprised of opposition leaders, government officials, police officers, and army officers who were mainly men. The following figure shows the distribution of the participants in the categories mentioned.

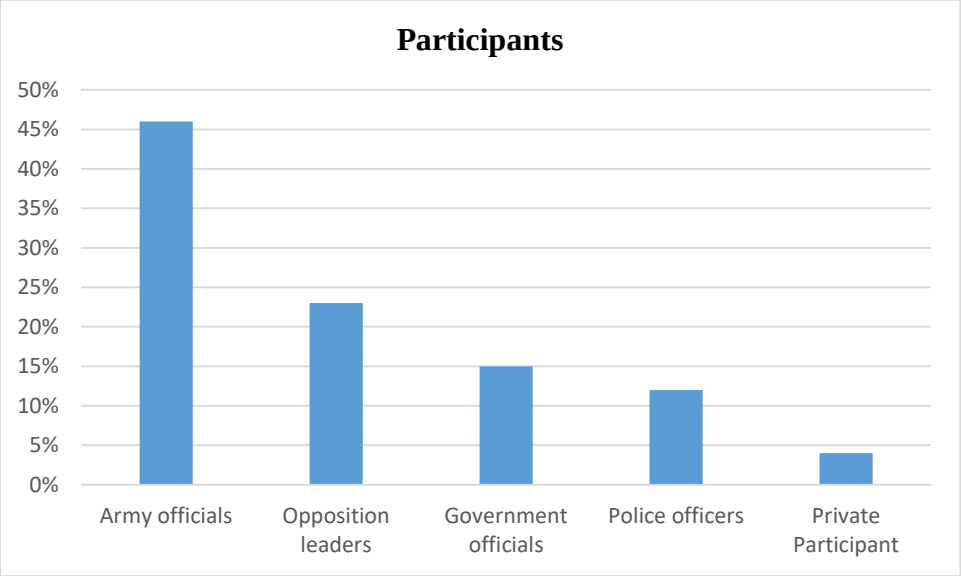

Figure 4: Categories of participants

As figure 4 shows, there were more participants in the category of army officers than in other categories. Many of them were called to give evidence before the commissions as they had played a significant role in the political disturbances that resulted in the establishment of both commissions. In 1998 they played a leading role in the arson and looting of business premises in the country while in 2015 they were involved in the murder of their former commander, claiming he resisted arrest in an operation to detain mutineers. As the figure shows, the sample comprised security members (the army and the police) and civilians who were all politicians (those in government and the opposition leaders) except for one private participant.

All the participants have obtained the Cambridge Overseas School Certificate (COSC), a school-leaving certificate, and 62% of them had even studied beyond the school certificate and had obtained tertiary educational qualifications. This information is reflected in some of their testimonies or was found in *Biographies: Lesotho Government Officials booklet* (2015). This background information will assist in better comprehension of the communicative strategies the participants used and why they used them.

5.3 COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES USED BY PARTICIPANTS IN THE COMMISSIONS

The study established three major categories of communicative strategies used by participants when giving evidence or responding to questions in the two commissions. The first category comprises conversational strategies. These are those strategies that are used for communication between and among people. Depending on the strategy chosen, a conversational strategy can improve or hamper communication. Communicative strategies found in this category are code-switching (CS), fillers (FILL), vague language (VL), and circumlocution (CIR). The second group is the grammatical category in which language properties are used strategically and given different interpretations according to the context in which they are used. These include grammar concepts or a vocabulary that performs a communicative act to archive a certain communicative goal (Centre for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition, 2019). This category includes grammatical concepts such as personal pronouns (PP), direct quoting (DQ), passive voice (PV), and questioning (QUE). The third category is the sociocultural strategies that require a thorough understanding of the sociocultural norms and practices of a particular cultural setting. This type also requires adequate knowledge of the context in which events occur (Centre for Advanced Research on Language Acquisition: 2019). For instance, figurative language is culture-based and can be understood by language speakers who grew up in that culture. The communicative strategies found in this study that fit into this category are figurative language (FL), refusal (REF), criticism (CRI), and indirect communication (IC). The table and figure below show participants' overall use of communicative strategies, that is, the prevalence of each strategy looking at the number of times each was used.

Table 1: Overall use of communicative strategies

Communicative Strategy	**Occurrence**
CS	737 (30%)
FILL	676 (28%)
PP	318 (13%)
FL	167 (7%)
VL	161 (7%)
REF	120 (5%)

DQ	115 (5%)
PV	78 (3%)
QUE	40 (2%)
CIR	24 (0%)
CRI	14 (0%)
IC	6 (0%)
TOTAL	2456 (100%)

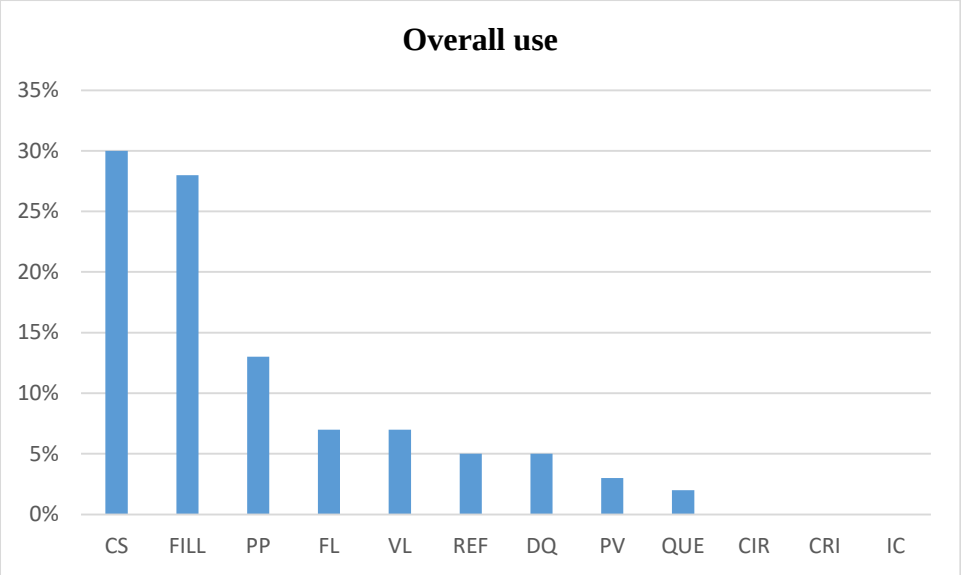

Figure 5: Overall use of communicative strategies

As figure 5 demonstrates, the three most commonly used communicative strategies are code-switching (30%), fillers (28%) and personal pronouns (13%) while the least used strategies are circumlocution (0.9%), criticism (0.5%) and indirect communication (0.2%). Based on data, some of these communicative strategies in figure 5 can be further divided into types. Table 4 and figure 6 below show the types found and their prevalence among the participants.

Table 2: Communicative strategies according to their types

Strategy	**Type**	**Frequency**	**TOTAL**
CS	Intra-sentential	576 (81%)	
			708
	inter-sentential	132 (19%)	(100%)
FILL	Silent	38 (6%)	
	Unlexicalised	330 (55%)	
	Lexicalised	234 (39%)	602(100%)
FL	Idiom	88 (53%)	
	metaphor	30 (18%)	
	euphemism	18 (11%)	
	simile	14 (8%)	
	proverb	8 (5%)	
	irony	4 (2%)	
			167
	Repetition	5 (3%)	(100%)
PP	We	227 (53%)	
	I	113 (26%)	
	they	77 (18%	
	he	9 (2%)	
			430
	you	4 (1%))	(100%)
PV	Without by-clause	58 (97%)	
	with by-clause	2 (3%)	60 (100%)

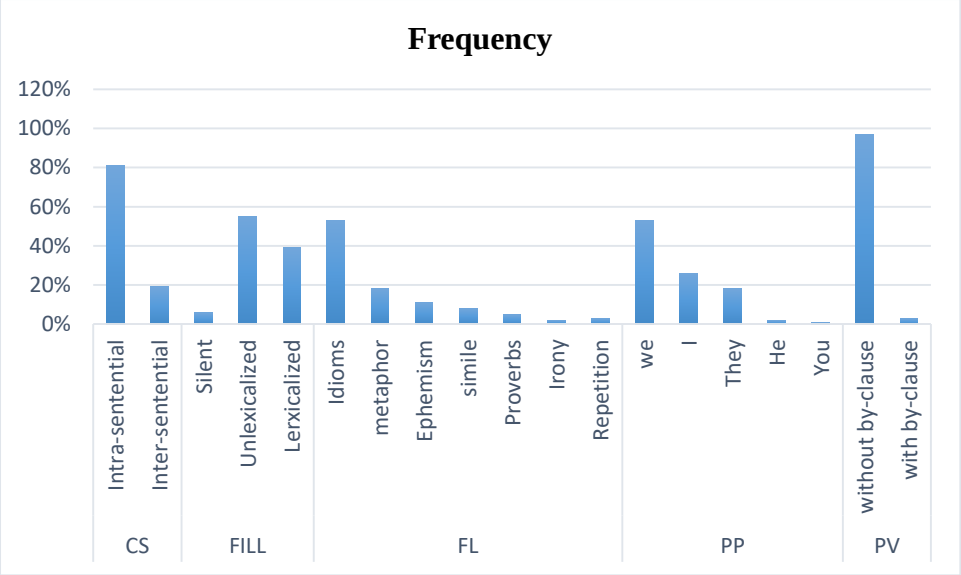

Figure 6:Commom strategies according to their types

As illustrated above, intra-sentential code-switching (81%), unlexicalised fillers (55%), idioms (53%), the personal pronoun 'we' (53%), and the passive voice without a by-clause (97%) are the most common types appearing under the communicative strategies shown in figure 6, while silent fillers, repetition, the pronoun 'you; and passive voice with a by-clause are the least used types as they range between 2% and 6%.

Data also reveals that participants used a variety of communicative strategies in their testimonies. Some participants used all the communicative strategies while others used some and left others. The following figure shows the use of communicative strategies by categories of participants.

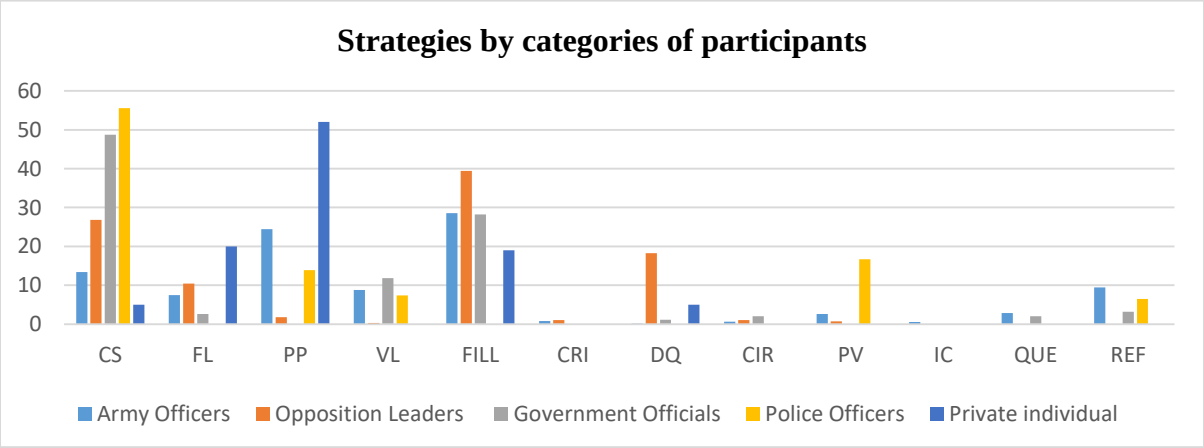

Figure 7: Communicative strategies by categories of participants

As figure 4 shows, there is variation in the use of communicative strategies by participants. For instance, the army officers have used all the communicative strategies identified by data while the police officers and the private participant have only utilised five of these strategies. The opposition leaders used 9 and government official used eight of these strategies. This variation could be attributed to the fact that the participants themselves were unequal in number; the army outnumbered the other categories by 46% (as shown in figure 1) while the private participant and the police were the least by 4% and 12% respectively. The participants' imbalanced number tallies with the number of strategies used; the more participants there were, the more strategies used.

SECTION 2:

5.4 ANALYSIS OF EACH COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGY

This section looks in detail into each communicative strategy revealed by the data sets. It gives a brief description of important aspects of each strategy, how prevalent a strategy is among participants, which participants have used it, and how it is linguistically realised. It then looks at how the findings of the current research correlate with the findings of previous scholars. Finally, the section compares participants' use of communicative strategies in the two commissions of enquiry.

5.4.1 Communicative strategies within the conversational category

As explained earlier in this chapter, the conversational category includes discourse strategies such as code-switching, fillers, vague language and circumlocution. Each of these conversational strategies is discussed below.

5.4.1.1 Code-switching

Code-switching is one of the strategies that participants were found to use. It is a common strategy among bilingual and multilingual speakers. For the purposes of this study, code-switching is defined as 'the alternate use of forms from at least two languages, or varieties of the same language, one matrix, the other embedded, in the same sentence or within the same conversational turn' (Mokgwathi, 2011:27). This definition is characterised by the following:

a) There are two or more languages involved in the same sentence or within the same conversational turn.

b) In a code-switched utterance, there is a matrix language (main language of the interaction, usually the speaker's first language) and there is an embedded language (the guest language)
c) The morpho-syntactic structure of the code-switch conforms to the syntactic structure of the matrix language while it violates that of the guest language (Mokgwathi, 2011)

Participants used two types of code-switching, these being, inter-sentential code-switching and intra-sentential code-switching. The third type, called tag-switching, is not realised in the findings. This could be because it is often used in informal situations in a day-to-day conversation between friends and colleagues (Chen and Rubinstein-Avila, 2015), hence it is not found in the formal proceedings of the commissions. Inter-sentential code-switching on the one hand involves a language switch that is done at sentence boundaries in the same conversational occurrence. In this case, a speaker utters a statement where one clause or sentence is in one language and the next clause or sentence is in another language (Chen and Rubinstein-Avila, 2015). This type of code-switching entails fluency in both languages because it requires that a speaker can follow the rules of the two languages (Eldin, 2014). Intra-sentential code-switching on the other hand involves a shift (from one language to another) that is done in the middle of a sentence with no interruptions, hesitations or pauses to indicate such shift. This type is the most complex because it can occur at clausal, sentential or even word level (Esen, 2019).

According to Ariffin and Rafik-Galea (2009) and Gxilishe (2012), interlocutors use any of the types of code-switching under the following circumstances:

a) when reporting someone else's utterance as a direct quotation;
b) to overcome difficulty related to lexical gaps; when a correct referential term cannot be found in one language;
c) to convey the message easier and faster;
d) to convey culturally embedded messages;
e) to provide emphasis about something;
f) to repeat in order to clarify; and
g) to compensate the speaker when they lack the appropriate term due to psychological factors such as anger, tiredness or any form of distraction (Shartiely, 2013),

Code-switching is the most prevalent communicative strategy which occurs at 30% in the current research. It is used in both commissions of enquiry and by all categories of participants; the army, the government officials, opposition leaders, the police officers and the private participant. The type of code-switching that is seen to be dominant is intra-sentential code-

switching (81%) at clause and word level. This means a shift from one language to another occurred in the middle of a sentence. Intra-sentential code-switching is especially realised in participants who testified in Sesotho. Data shows that among the twenty-six participants, seventeen testified in Sesotho while eight of them gave their evidence in English. The participants would provide their evidence mainly in Sesotho but would often include English words and phrases in their utterances. This is linguistically realised in excerpt 1 below:

Excerpt 1

Code-switching

PC: How is the attitude of other soldiers towards their commander

PP (19): Relationship is not good hobane boholo ba masole are not happy ka bolaoli ba sesole. Lebaka ke hobane ho no so etsoa li operation tse seng lawful hobane li ne li se authorised ke sesole, ebile e ne e se e le ha bona batho bao ba qala ho etsa li operation tse lebang hosele, re se re sa etse lintho commonly.

[Translation: Relationship is not good. Majority of the soldiers are not happy with the commander. The reason behind this is that there were illegal and unauthorised operations that were conducted by the army. They were operations leading others astray and which were not commonly done by all soldiers.]

In excerpt 1, PP (19) is describing the relationship that soldiers had with their commander. The participant achieves this by employing code-switching realised by the use of both matrix languages, Sesotho, the main language of the speaker, and the embedded/guest language (English), the language that the speaker switches to. The type that is recognised is intra-sentential code-switching at clause and word level. He starts with an English clause, 'Relationship is not good', and within the same sentence he switches to the Sesotho phrase, *'Boholo ba masole'*, (most of the soldiers) then the English clause 'are not happy', all of which exemplifies the back-and forth-exchange from matrix to embedded language that in the end forms an intra-sentential switch. What follows thereafter is a Sesotho sentence mixed with English words such as 'operation', 'lawful', 'authorized, commonly'. The structural pattern that is realised in the code-switch resonates with Mokgwathi's 2011 description that the morpho-syntactic structure of the code-switch conforms to the syntactic structure of the matrix language (first language) while it violates that of the guest language (second language). For instance, in the excerpt, the plural for the word 'operation' is formed by adding the Sesotho

prefix '*li*' instead of the suffixed English plural form 's'. This syntactic pattern also conforms to that of the matrix language which allows an adjective to follow the noun it modifies hence the structure '*li* operation *tse seng* lawful' (operations which are not lawful). In English this structure can be turned around to read as 'unlawful operations', allowing the adjective to precede the noun it modifies but in Sesotho such structure is not found. Moreover, statements such as 'relationship is not', 'are not happy' have synonyms in Sesotho but due to regular contact with English, the participant may have found English words more easily accessible than Sesotho words. However, words such as 'operations' and 'authorised' do not have a direct synonym and may have been used to close the lexical gap found in the matrix language. The function of intra-sentential code-switching is seen as mainly to convey the message easier and faster; to overcome difficulty related to lexical gaps when a correct referential term cannot be found in one language, and to communicate culturally embedded messages as shown in the excerpt that follows. It is also worth noting that the participant has kept the code-switched sentence grammatically correct despite the complexity attached to this type of switch. In the sentence, '*Boholo ba masole are not happy'* ('many of the soldiers are not happy'), the participant manages to keep his subject '*masole*' (soldiers) and the verb 'are' in agreement, even though the subject is in Sesotho while the verb is in English. This confirms the participant's competence in both languages.

Excerpt 2

Code-switching
PC: What is your comment on Deputy Prime Minister's announcement which he made after the Prime Minister's speech?
PP (20): …It was improper, my Lord. In the first place, he was not supposed to speak after his senior had spoken. In Sesotho, we say, 'ha morena a buile le lumme'. (When the chief, one in high authority has spoken, that is it, nothing should be said by anyone thereafter, the chief has said it all.)

PP (20) had been speaking English throughout his testimony. In this excerpt, he starts with English and switches to Sesotho at a point where he has to mention a Sesotho idiomatic expression in the middle of the sentence thus using intra-sentential code-switching to describe utterances such as idioms that resemble Basotho cultural practices. The idiom '*ha morena a buile le lumme*' can be translated as (the chief's word is final). It is an expression of respect for

rulers such as kings, prime ministers and ministers; it means that their speech says it all and no one is expected to speak after they have spoken. By switching to Sesotho, the participant wants to retain the meaning of the idiom by keeping it in its original language. He is aware that culturally embedded messages keep their original sense if they are kept in their source language. Meaning is, therefore, retained and not weakened. This is consistent with Gxilishe (2012) who asserts that a code-switching is a conversational tool used when conveying culturally embedded messages.

Another type of code-switching found in the data is inter-sentential code-switching. It is realised at 19% in occurrences, and it is found mainly in excerpts from participants who gave their evidence in English. This kind of switch has varied functions as will be shown in the excerpts that follow. The participants narrated their evidence in their second language and here and there conveniently switched to their mother tongue. The use of inter-sentential switch as well as its different functions is observed in the excerpts below.

Excerpt 3

Code-switching
LC: As far as you know, was there any offer put on the table for the deceased?
LP (1): I don't think the lawyer is that privileged you know. Ke hore ntho e'ngoe le e 'ngoe e ke e buang ha o batle ho e tseba, o ipatlela e ratoang ke oena. Ke eona nthoe nkhalefisang. [**Translation:** It seems as if everything I say you don't want to know, instead, you are looking for that which you want. That's what makes me angry].

In excerpt 3, LP (1) is being interrogated by a lawyer who is part of the Leon Commission. He responds to the question by employing inter-sentential code-switching and the switch is done at sentence boundaries. The first sentence he utters is in English and this is immediately followed by a Sesotho sentence. The function of the switch in this instance is to express anger. It seems the questions he is asked make him angry. He confronts the lawyer and tells him how he feels about the questions he is being asked and this he does by using his mother tongue. He confesses that he is angry. He has been speaking English throughout his testimony, but the moment his anger boils out he switches to Sesotho. The finding confirms that one's first language plays a significant role in expressing emotions. It affirms Shartiely's (2013) observation that code-switching is sometimes used to compensate speakers when they lack the appropriate term due to psychological factors such as anger.

In other instances, inter-sentential code-switching is used for emphasis. Excerpt 4 below shows the use of inter-sentential code-switching whose function is to repeat in order to emphasise a point.

Excerpt 4

Code-switching
PC: As a family friend, if you hear the DPM say Mahao's family needs to take care of itself, would you have shared this information with the family?
PP (17): I did not hear him, then the question falls away. Ha kea mo utloa, potso eno e oetse
[Translation: I did not hear him, then the question falls.]

PP (17) in excerpt 4 emphasises his point by repeating what he is saying in both English and Sesotho. What he says in English in the first sentence is exactly reiterated in Sesotho in his second sentence. This is to emphasise his message. This finding correlates with Gxilishe's (2012) assertion that code-switching is sometimes used to emphasise an important point and this is realised by the repetition of one utterance in both the matrix language and the embedded language.

Another function of code-switching as it appears in the findings is direct quoting. Excerpt 5 shows the use of inter-sentential code-switching which has been used to report someone else's utterance as a direct quotation.

Excerpt 5:

Code-switching
LC: You may continue with your testimony
LP (10): I will make particular reference to that wall where it was said and I quote: [participant raises the tone of voice and speaks slowly] 'Ho bonahala eka masole a huleloa ka hara lepatlelo la lipolotiki'.
[**Translation:** It appears as though soldiers are being tracked into politics.]

The type of code-switching employed in excerpt 5 is inter-sentential code-switching because the switch has occurred in sentences boundaries. The participant has been testifying in English, however, when he wants to quote what was said he changes the tone of his voice (implying that it is no longer him talking but someone else is), speaks slowly, switches to the language of the

quote and states that he is quoting. All these characterise direct quoting. It appears that to be precise and to authenticate his evidence, the participant changes to Sesotho, the language in which the quotation was written. As earlier discussed, Ariffin and Rafik-Galea (2009) affirm that code-switching in other instances is used to report someone else's utterance as a direct quotation. In another context, data shows that participants of this study used inter-sentential code-switching to clarify a point to the commissioner (who was not familiar with the speaker's mother tongue) what he was trying to say particularly when the participant felt that message transfer was not done correctly by the interpreter. Excerpt 6 exemplifies this.

Excerpt 6

Code-switching
PC: Am I correct that in your evidence there is nowhere you have linked the wife of the deceased with politics?
PP (23): My lord, mohlomong ha kea tolokoa hantle. Ke itse: there is no direct link with the wife of the deceased except for her association with the family.
[Translation: My lord, maybe I was not interpreted correctly, I said…(repeats what he initially said in Sesotho but this time uses English).]

In the above excerpt, PP (23) uses inter-sentential code-switching to reiterate what he said earlier but this time he switches to English, the language that the commission understands well. He feels that the commissioner would not have asked his question if he understood the interpreter. As a result, he resorts to English. The inter-sentential code-switching that has been utilized in this excerpt is, therefore, meant to assist the non-native speaker with clarity and correct information. As indicated in the excerpts discussed, the circumstances under which intra-sentential and inter-sentential code-switching were linguistically realised were

a) when the participants were quoting others directly;
b) when they expressed anger or strong emotion;
c) when they were repeating in order to clarify a point;
d) when the participants were conveying culturally embedded messages;
e) when attempting to convey the message easier and faster; and
f) when trying to overcome difficulty related to lexical gaps.

The study classifies code-switching under strategies playing a descriptive role due to the functions just mentioned. The participants described and clarified different situations through

the use of code-switching and this assisted the commissions to understand better how the events unfolded.

The above functions are found to tally with the general functions of code-switching provided by Ariffin and Rafik-Galea (2009), Gxilishe (2012) and Shartiely (2013) as elaborated earlier. Code-switching as a communicative strategy has been researched by earlier scholars. As indicated in the reviewed literature, studies similar to the current one show that code-switching is used by L2 learners as a coping strategy for communication challenges in the classroom (Dobao and Martínez,2007; Mokgwathi,2011; Shartiely 2013, Modupeola, 2013; Shahnaz 2015). The reviewed literature has also revealed how competent language speakers use code-switching for different purposes such as minimising social difference among interlocutors, overcoming difficulties related to lexical gaps, continuing with a free flow of conversation and conveying culturally embedded messages (Gxilishe, 2012). Gxilishe's findings share similarities with the findings of this study. However, this study found one function of code-switching that does not seem visible in the literature that the researcher had previously come across. This function elaborates a point to a listener who does not share a first language (L1) with the speaker. This study has, therefore, shared new knowledge concerning functions that code-switching serves.

5.4.1.2 Fillers

Fillers are found to be common among the participants of this study. These alternatively called *stalling devices* (Chihsia, 2015) or *hesitation disfluencies* (Erten, 2014), are hesitation markers or lexical items that keep control of a conversation while the speaker thinks of what to say next (Kharismawan, 2017). They occur in a natural speech in which gaps or hesitations appear during the production of an utterance.

All three types of fillers are realised in this study. These are silent pauses and, unlexicalised and lexicalised fillers. Silent fillers comprise pauses that are not filled with any sound or utterance. These pauses are used by speakers as they plan to put the words into the utterance and provide sufficient information to hearers. The second type, called unlexicalised filler pauses – or what Biber *et al*. (2002) and Tottie (2011:174) call 'filled pauses', are non-lexeme or non-words pauses which speakers use to indicate hesitation while they think of what to say next. Examples of such pauses are: *ehm, uh, err, ah, um* etcetera Lexicalised filler pauses on the other hand comprise words or short phrases such as *like, well, sort of, you know, if you see what I mean,* etcetera (Rose, 1998; Biber *et al*., 2002; Tottie, 2011; Richards and Schmidt, 2012).

Fillers are used in different situations to serve the following functions:

a) as a politeness strategy, mitigate utterances to avoid hurting the addressee's feelings;
b) as time-creating device: fillers give some time for the speaker to think about what to say next;
c) when the speaker is nervous; and
d) when the speaker feels insecure about what they are talking about (Wu, 2001; Santos, Alarcŏn and Parlo, 2016).

Fillers are the second most prevalent strategy (28%) that appears in both commissions of enquiry and have been used by all categories of participants except police officers. Data indicates that the strategy is particularly common among opposition leaders (39%) and members of the army (29%). The participants used all three types of fillers, namely, silent fillers and unlexicalised and lexicalised fillers. However, the most common type as shown earlier in figure 6 is unlexicalised fillers (55%). Lexicalised fillers occur at 39% while the silent fillers are at 6%. This is how participants went about using the fillers; when they were narrating their story (without being interrupted by questions) there was hardly a filler used but when they were cross-examined fillers emerged. This suggests that there were probably questions that were unexpected and thus triggered a need for participants to think and plan how to go about answering them. The function of fillers in this study is, therefore seen as a strategy meant to create time for one to think of what to say next. Wu (2001) does confirm that fillers give some time for the speaker to think about what to say next. The following excerpts show how lexicalised and unlexicalised fillers appear in the samples.

Excerpt 7

Fillers
PC: I just want to find out what you understand by active participation in politics.
PP (18): *Em,* basically, *uh…uh, what… what that means… what that means* is *ehm,* it means to be *ee,* active *in, in…in* politics, *it…it… it* would mean that *I was…I was…* in a way attending meetings with *ee…ee* politicians or attending rallies of the politicians, *ee…ee* or meeting them to talk about two or three issues that are of concern to the *ee…ee,* politicians.

In Excerpt 7, PP (18) testifies in English. He uses both unlexicalised and lexicalised fillers. Unlexicalised fillers are realised by markers such as, *em, uh, ee*, while the lexicalised ones are represented by words and phrases such as *what that means, it, in,* and *I was.* All these fillers

seem to have been used to allow the speaker some moment to think of the correct word to use for his definition to be precise. The participant is asked to define the phrase 'active participation in politics' and in an attempt to do so he employs fillers several times until he has finally given a definition. Fillers allow him to buy time to think about the correct words to use particularly because he is testifying in English, the language in which he may not be as fluent as he would be if he were using his mother tongue, Sesotho. The function of fillers in this excerpt is, therefore, to create time to think hence their classification in this study as time-creating strategies. Tottie (2011) affirms that speakers sometimes use fillers to create time to think of the correct word to use, particularly when using a second or foreign language.

Fillers appear to have been used to express anger, as data shows that participants use fillers more frequently when they are angry, but when their anger subsides they also stabilise and speak without much use of fillers. Excerpt 8 illustrates this:

Excerpt 8

Fillers

PC: Is it true that you said the issuing of the dismissal letter to the commander can happen only when you are dead?

PP (11): [Speaks in an angry tone.] That issue cannot happen as long as I'm still alive. I will not allow the soldiers *to…to…to… to…* become subversive *to the… the…the…* command of the LDF…There is only one *who… who… who…* meets the politicians and that is the… the… the… commander. *I…I…I…*want to confirm this, *the… the… the…* issuing of the letter, *will… will… will…, o*nly happen over my dead body.

PC: There is no need to be angry Mr.…we just needed you to clarify this point, that's all.

In excerpt 8, PP (11) sounds angry. The shaky, high-pitched tone of his voice and expressions such as 'cannot happen as long as I'm still alive…over my dead body' indicates that he is an angry person. The testimony he provides prior to the quoted excerpt above is calm and free from fillers, however, the moment he is asked the question quoted above, he suddenly changes from his calm demeanour to an angry man. This particular participant was summoned to appear before the commission to answer to the allegations put forward by other participants. These stated that the participant (11) said the commander of LDF will only be dismissed over his (PP 11) dead body. As he gets angry, he struggles to think properly and consequently uses fillers to help him buy some time to think. He eventually manages to communicate his point after the

use of several lexicalised fillers such as *to…to…to… to* and *the… the… the*. Based on the data it can be concluded that anger is one of the contributing factors to the use of fillers.

The utilisation of silent fillers is also observed in the responses of the participants. They would respond to a question partially then pause, and continue again. They would keep silent for a while until the commissioner would on several occasions say, 'yes continue', or 'we are listening', or 'yes go on' when he felt the pause had taken longer than expected. The silent pause was remarkable as it would last between twelve and fifteen seconds. The excerpt below demonstrates this. The silent pauses are shown by the use of a broken line and prompting by the commissioner is bracketed.

Excerpt 9

Fillers
PC: Yes, go on.
PP (22): The issue of soldiers indulging themselves in secret meetings with the politicians – …was now at the critical stage----- (yes go on) because there was then… (yes) all those rumours going on, on Facebook-… (yes please continue) about the commander being issued with the letter of dismissal in the near future.

As indicated in excerpt 9, PP (22) uses silent fillers to narrate what was going on during the time the then LDF commander was dismissed. He is talking about a sensitive issue regarding the consequences of soldiers' participation in secret meetings with politicians. The commissioner keeps prompting him to continue with his testimony. He seemingly wants to ensure that he has thought thoroughly before he could speak as he is aware of how sensitive the issue being discussed is and maybe feeling insecure about what he is saying. The silent markers may have provided a chance for the participant to think while speaking. Santos *et al*. (2016) assert that a discussion of sensitive issues triggers the use of fillers as people usually feel insecure about discussing such.

This study, therefore, observes that participants used fillers as a time-creating strategy that they employ when they were angry, when trying to figure out appropriate words in their second language (English) and when they felt insecure about what they were saying. The fillers were realised in their three types; lexicalised, unlexicalised and silent fillers

As observed in chapter two of this study, the scholars who conducted research on the use of fillers paid particular attention to their use in second language learning (Jamshidnejad, 2011; Khojastehrad, 2012; Chihsia, 2015; Santos *et al*., 2016). Their findings echoed the use

of fillers as a time-creating device that interlocutors utilise to think through what they have to say, and as a strategy that is significantly higher in L2 discourse than in L1 discourse, implying a correlation between the use of stalling devices/fillers and language proficiency. One other scholar, Kharismawan (2017), who analysed Obama's speeches, revealed many other functions of fillers. The findings of the aforementioned studies are similar to the current findings except for the observation made in this study that sometimes fillers are enhanced by anger. As participants become irritated they struggle to think properly and consequently use fillers to help them buy some time to think.

5.4.1.3 Vague language

Vague language is also among the communicative strategies used by participants. A vague language refers to people or things in an imprecise way. Khalil (2017) elaborates that an expression or phrase is pragmatically vague when it leaves some of the semantic features unspecified. Markers of vagueness are words and phrases such as; *some, sort of, kind of, whatever, this, that, other, everything, sort of thing, something like that, I'm not sure, I can't remember, I don't know, etcetera*

According to Drave (2001) and Qiao, (2010), the following are circumstances under which vague language is used

a) when the subject being discussed does not necessarily require precision;
b) when the speaker wants to deliberately withhold specific information for reasons of self-protection;
c) when the speaker wants to cover a large amount of evidence in court; and
d) when the speaker intends to be ambiguous.

Vague language is a common strategy particularly among army government officials (12%) and army officers (9%). It is at 7% among the police. The strategy is especially common in participants who testified before the Phumaphi Commission. It is linguistically realised by the markers of vagueness as shown in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 10

Vague language

PC: Can you tell us how the two commanders were operating.

PP (14): I don't know exactly.

PC: Following the issuance of the gazette for your removal, you were advised to ignore it, and actually you laughed it off and ignored it as a piece of paper. What can you say about that?

PP (14): Nothing.

PC: Sometimes in June 2014, the commissioner of police and deputy commissioner of police were denied access to the statehouse by the soldiers. They were told that they could not enter the premises with their bodyguards. What can you say to that?

PP(A): I don't know.

PP (14) in excerpt 10 does not seem to have answers for the questions asked. This is reflected by the use of vague language shown by markers of vagueness such as, *I don't know exactly, nothing* and *I don't know* The first question requires him to explain how the two commanders (the one who was promoted to the position of the commander and the one who refused to leave the office) were operating and he claims that he does not know. The next question asks him to comment on the allegations that he was advised to ignore the gazette that was supposed to remove him from office. The participant does not have anything to say, for his answer is 'nothing' The last question asks for his comment on the allegations that the commissioner of police and his deputy were denied access to the statehouse and were informed that they could not enter the premises with their bodyguards. Still, the participant has no answer to this question. His only response is 'I don't know'. The function of the vague language used here is to withhold specific information. The position that he holds (as stated in his evidence) requires him to know or at least have something to say in response to all the questions asked. He is the most relevant participant to answer such questions as they directly touch on his area of responsibility and his duties.

The Leon participants have also used the strategy but there in instances of memory loss. It is seen in participants who are willing to elaborate further on their evidence but who, for one reason or another, may have only a vague memory of some events. The excerpt shown below exemplifies the use of vague language by some of the Leon participants:

Excerpt 11

Vague language

LC: What is the name of this Indian man you are talking about?

LP (5): If I remember well, his name was…em… Ali, or something like that.

LC: What was the chief driving?

LP (5): He was driving an Isuzu van.

LC: What colour?

LP (5): I don't remember very well, maybe it was white, I don't remember.

The participant from one of the opposition parties is being cross-examined after the evidence he provided. The questions come after the participant confessed that their movements from Mafeteng to Maseru were supported by an Indian man and the chief who was residing at the place they had stopped at. He is asked to give the name of the Indian man he is talking about but seems to have forgotten his name. He calls a name that he suspects is correct though he emphasises that he is not sure of it. He is further asked to provide the colour of the vehicle driven by the chief but seems uncertain about it. He states his suspicion that the vehicle was white. The participant does not just state that he cannot remember, but he tries to give what his frail memory can offer, that is why he says 'If I remember well, his name is *Ali*', 'maybe it was *white'.* The participant uses vagueness markers such as *if I remember well*, *something like that*, *I don't remember very well*, *maybe*, *I don't remember.* From the response that the participant provides and the huge amount of information he shares with the commission, it can be concluded that the vague language that he uses is a result of loss of memory. Cotteril (2007) argues that speakers who are intentionally vague provide as little information as possible as the intention is to conceal and not to reveal it.

As shown in chapter two of this study, the use of vague language has been explored extensively by earlier researchers. Remarkably, this communicative strategy dominates in law-related matters. It is used by participants and defendants in court cases to conceal information (Cotteril, 2007). It is also used by patent applicants to withhold information and to protect themselves (Arinas, 2012). It appears again in legal discourse; draftsmen utilise the strategy to extend the applicability of legal terms and to mitigate potential problems (Li, 2017). Moreover, vague language has several roles it plays in commercial advertising (Wenzhong and Jingji, 2013) and funeral speeches (Parvaresh, 2017). This is a common function shared in the present study and the reviewed studies on vague language, and that is its role in concealing information. However, the use of vague language on account of not being able to remember is found to be unique to this study. The researcher has not come across studies where vagueness is used for reasons of forgetfulness.

5.4.1.4 Circumlocution

Circumlocution is among the communicative strategies that participants were found to use. The words circumlocution is synonymous with words and phrases such as 'beating about the bush', 'going round in circles', paraphrasing, or indirect talk. Al-Shemmary and Ubied (2016) describe circumlocution as a lengthened roundabout mode of speech, the use of unnecessary words and indirect language to avoid getting to the point. Reasons pertaining to the use of circumlocution are elaborated by Obeng (2012) as follows

a) to avoid offensive or taboo words;
b) to speak ambiguously and equivocally;
c) to deceive or misinform (politicians are often accused of this form);
d) used by politicians to avoid the obvious or to communicate in an indirect way to clarify a point;
e) to reflect politeness; and
f) used by people with a deliberate intention to misinterpret a question, for they are inclined to overelaborate a point or to distract the listener and thus opt for circumlocution.

Al-Shemmary and Ubied (2016) list the types of circumlocution as general over simple, paraphrase, complex over simple, ambiguity, equivocation, euphemism, and grammar.

Circumlocution is not as common as the other communicative strategies discussed earlier. It is specifically used by four participants and it occurs twenty-four times. It is used by the government officials at 2% and army officers at 1%. Although it occurs infrequently compared to other strategies, it has an impact on the inquiries regarding access to information. The use of circumlocution is realised in the excerpts that follow. Some of these excerpts will be long since they demonstrate all the roundabouts responses given before arriving at the required answer.

Excerpt 12

Circumlocution

LC: So after having been supplied with blankets and eeh…being lucky enough to have the kombi to take you, where to?

LP (7): Lepolesa le neng re ntse re tsamaea le rona le ile la sala lapeng.

[**Translation**: One of the police officers who was with us remained at his place.]

LC: Yes, where to? Where did you go?

LP (7): Eaba re tsamaea le emong feela re ntse re ea sebakeng sona seno.

Translation: And then we moved on with another policeman still going to that place.

LC: Which place? Where did you go?

LP (7): Re ile ra tsamaea ka kombi re phunyeletsa le motse ona oa ha Seoli.

[**Translation**: We moved with that kombi going through Seoli village.]

LC: And then where to?

Re ile ra tsoa ka hara motse oa Ha Seoli eaba re tlo hlaella ha Matala mona sekontiring

[**Translation**: we went through Ha Seoli village until we appeared at Ha Matala by the tarred road.]

LC: I quite appreciate that you were driving through various paths and roads, but where were you going to?

LP (7): Moo re qeteletseng re fihlile teng ka koloi… re ile ra fihla moru o teng haifinyane le Masianokeng.

[**Translation**: We ended up at…there is a forest very close to Masianokeng.]

LC: Is that where you were going?

LP (7): No, my Lord.

LC: Then where were you going?

LP (7): *Ae Mohlomphehi, Morero e ne le ho ea ha Ntate Thabane.*

[*Translation*: No my Lord, the plan was to go to Mr Thabane's place.]

LC: For what purpose were you going to Mr Thabane?

LP (7): *Ho ea chesa ntlo ea hae mohlomphehi* [changes tone of voice from high pitched to a low gentle tone].

[**Translation**: To torch his house, my lord.]

Circumlocution is realised in the excerpt above (and the ones that follow) by the participant's roundabout response and use of irrelevant answers and indirect language to avoid getting to the point. The type of circumlocution observed is 'complex over simple' that according to Worden (2016) is intended to deliberately misinterpret a question, or distract the listener. There is no just a simple response to the questions asked but several roundabouts that complicate the question and answer process going on between the commissioner and the participants. In excerpt 35 the participant is asked a seemingly clear and straightforward question, 'where did you go?' The participant was expected to say that they went to Mr Thabane's house to set fire to it (or suchlike), but he does not immediately say that, instead he goes round and round in

circles by giving a number of irrelevant answers before he can finally answer the question. The participant might have thought that the commissioner would lose focus and not concentrate on the information he is giving. However, the commissioner persistently probes the participant until he eventually has his question answered. In his first response to the question 'where to?', the participant recounts how they left behind a police officer with whom they were. The commissioner asks the question again 'where did you go?' and this time the participant states, 'then we moved on with another policeman still going to that place'. He only mentions 'that place', without specifying what exactly the place is. The commissioner is determined to get a response to his question. He asks the question. again, 'which place? and 'where did you go?' Instead of answering the question, the participant mentions the places they passed through as they travelled towards their destination, one that he is not yet willing to reveal. The commissioner is adamant to get the answer to his question. He indicates that he appreciates the fact that they passed through several places but he is not prepared to give up his initial question, 'where were you going?' This interrogation continues until the participant finally states that they were going to Mr Thabane's place (one of the then ministers) to burn down his house. The participant seems embarrassed by the response he is supposed to give. He probably feels humiliated to have confessed that they were going to torch someone else's home hence the change of tone of voice, from a high pitched to a low gentle tone. In an informal conversation with Moorosi (2019), a Sesotho specialist, in Basotho culture when people are embarrassed by the information they have to convey they usually speak in a low gentle voice without looking into the hearer's eyes. This is when the response brings about a bad reflection on their self-image. Politeness theory asserts that everyone wants his/her public self-image respected (Brown and Levinson, 1987). As a result, the participant purposefully goes in circles in an attempt to protect his positive face. However, he finally succumbs to the pressure exerted on him by the commissioner and answers the question.

Excerpt 13 below shows the use of circumlocution as used by a Phumaphi participant.

Excerpt 13

Circumlocution

PC: After the announcement on General Kamoli's dismissal by the prime minister's office, you agreed that you appeared on TV Lesotho to say that Kamoli has not been dismissed and he remains LDF commander-in-chief, what were your reasons for making such a statement?

PP (13): My point is that I did indicate that the PM never consulted me to tell me that Mr Kamoli was no longer at the office and I pointed out that as you know that I have always maintained that the prime minister must consult with me and that is what will make us go along with him and I did indicate that I was not consulted on this issue and I did not have the knowledge that Mr Kamoli was dismissed. According to me, he was still in office and again I indicated that I did not end there, because SADC was already meditating on this issue, I informed SADC that another problem had arisen. We had already reached a certain agreement at the SADC meeting. I would like to read what was agreed upon when we were in Pretoria on 1st September. It was said, "We further agree to hold a joint conference, to call upon the people of the kingdom to exercise restraint as we restore law and order in the kingdom and build trust and confidence among the people" and there we had been asked to hold a press conference. He decided to hold it alone without consulting me. That is where the issue of Kamoli arose. I went on the other side to say Kamoli was still in the office and I continued to tell Mr Zuma that now that we are no longer agreeing, we need SADC intervention and SADC did mediate in the manner in which it did.

PC: The only challenge I have with this participant is that his explanations, right from his evidence are very lengthy and he just explains everything, his explanation is never two or three words just to put things into context. It goes on and on and on. I understand that he is a politician but we are trying to save time.

PP 13: I am sorry my Lord, but I wanted to clarify this matter to you.

In this excerpt, PP (13) is asked to provide reasons why he appeared on TV to say that the commander of LDF has not been dismissed. He, instead of stating that they had not met with the prime minister to agree on the matter, goes on about what he earlier explained to the commissioner about the need for the prime minister to consult him before making any decision, how he informed the SADC about the problem that had arisen, all of which are irrelevant to the question asked. He further reads their agreement with the SADC and shows how the prime

minister violated this agreement by holding the conference alone when it was supposed to be a joint conference. He finally states that he informed President Zuma that there was a need for SADC intervention and how the SADC mediated in the manner in which it did. In this kind of response, one has to dig out what the relevant answer to the question could be as it is surrounded by several responses which are irrelevant to the question. The participant said so many things which clouded the expected answer. The commissioner complains about this kind of response; he states that it takes a lot of time, something that they do not have. The type of circumlocution observed in this extract is complex over simple. The answer is being given in a complex and complicated manner instead of opting for the simpler and straightforward answer. The reason for employing circumlocution is to clarify a point. The participant himself makes this acknowledgement. He feels that giving a straightforward answer will not satisfactorily convey his message and he needs to back up his evidence by giving extra information.

Some of the studies reviewed in chapter two have shown that circumlocution is a strategy that is commonly used in the learning of a second language. New language learners resort to this strategy when they do not know the correct word to describe their needs (Dobao and Martinez 2007; Worden, 2016; Purbosari 2018). They go round and round to eventually drive their message home as their limited vocabulary prevents them from stating precisely what they need**.** The kind of circumlocution that is observed in these studies is the type that El-Shemmary and Ubied (2016) call 'grammar' that emanates from an inability to recall the correct word for something. However, the circumlocution found in this study is a result of the participant' reluctance to disclose the required information because of its humiliating effect. It is also a result of an attempt to clarify a point to convince the hearer. in this case the commissioner.

5.4.2 Communicative strategies within the grammatical category

This section presents findings on communicative strategies derived from grammatical concepts that are used for the construction of grammatically correct sentences. It presents the findings on participants' use of personal pronouns, direct quoting (direct speech), passive voice and questioning. This is how each one is realised in this study.

5.4.2.1 Personal pronouns

The findings further reveal the common use of personal pronouns. As defined earlier in chapter two of this study, personal pronouns refer to a specific person or thing. These are pronouns such as *I, we, you, they, it, she, he* and their variants *me, us, them, you, her, it, him* (*Webster's Dictionary*, 2016). Despite their surface (grammatical) function of taking the place of nouns,

personal pronouns display underlying (pragmatic) functions that this study particularly focuses on. Nodoushan (2015:78) confirms that from a Gricean perspective, grammatical concepts such as personal pronouns do deviate from purely linguistic functions. The pragmatic functions that personal pronouns display are as follows:

a) 'I' 'implies a personal level, and makes it possible for the speaker to show authority and personal responsibility as well as commitment and involvement (Karapetjana, 2011).
b) The pronoun 'I' has a distancing effect; it distances the speaker from the entire audience (Håkansson, 2012)
c) The inclusive 'we' evokes a sense of togetherness and shared responsibility. It diminishes the responsibilities of the speaker because the speaker is portrayed as collaborating with the hearer. However, the exclusive 'we' is used to deliberately exclude the person who is being addressed. Politicians sometimes use the exclusive 'we' to refer to the government and not the entire nation (Nordquist, 2018).
d) 'You' is used by the speaker to address parts of – or the entire – audience (Alavidze, 2017).
e) 'They', 'he', and 'she' are used to create an image of others and to divide people into groups (Karapetjana, 2011).

Personal pronouns are seen playing a significant role as they are the third most used communicative strategy (13%) after code-switching and fillers. It is a common strategy among the army officers, particularly those who testified at the Leon commission. Pronouns 'we', 'I', 'they', 'he' and 'you' have been used, but the most commonly used pronoun is 'we'. The following excerpts exemplify the use of personal pronouns among the participants.

Excerpt 14

Personal pronouns

LC: How did you eventually arrive at Mafeteng?

LP (6): We instructed the driver to release the car as we had to use it because we were going somewhere. The driver argued, asking **us** to go into the office as his supervisors were present. Then I instructed him to release the car and stop wasting our time. He refused, he insisted that we go into the office. I ended up going to the office and leaving others there with the driver.

LC: Were you armed?

LP (6): Yes, we were armed.

LC: With what kind of weapons?
LP (6): We had Galil rifles. I had two because the other gun belonged to the sergeant.

In excerpt 14 above, LP (6) explains how they reached a place called Mafeteng. He states that they attempted to access a car from its driver in vain because the driver refused to release the car and insisted that they should ask for it from his supervisors who were present. They eventually went to ask for the car from its owner in the office. The participant, by using the personal pronouns, 'we', 'he', 'I', 'you', 'their' and 'him' manages to explain how they obtained transport to go to Mafeteng. He uses the pronoun 'we' to show that he and his colleagues were responsible for instructing the driver to release the car. Therefore, 'we' has been used for inclusion purposes. Nordquist (2018) avows that the inclusive 'we' evokes a sense of togetherness and shared responsibility. It diminishes the responsibilities of the speaker because the speaker is portrayed as collaborating with the hearer. The participant further uses the pronouns 'I' to show clearly the role that he specifically played which his colleagues were not part of. He states that he instructed the driver to release the car and stop wasting time. He also explains that he, and not his colleagues, ended up going to the office to request the release of the car. The use of the exclusive pronoun 'I' helped the participant to show clearly the role he played as opposed to the one played by the people he was with. The commissioner continues to ask him if they were armed. The participant confirms that they were armed and this is shown through the use of 'we. However, he further uses 'I' to isolate himself from the rest of the group by stating that 'I had two… [Galil rifles]', thus making it clear that though they were all armed, he specifically was more armed than the rest of his colleagues. The use of the pronoun 'I' in this context confirms the function of 'I' as described by Karapetjana (2011) that 'I' makes it possible for the speaker to show authority and admit responsibility for the action done. It excludes the rest of the group and focuses on one person. The function of the 'I' in this study is further established by Håkansson (2012) who states that 'I' has a distancing effect: it distances the speaker from the entire audience. Furthermore, the pronoun 'he' and its variant, 'him' as used in the excerpt serve the purpose described by Karapetjana (2011) when he indicates that 'they', 'he', 'she' are used to create an image of other and to divide people into groups. 'He' and 'him' in the excerpt refer to the driver and these pronouns are used to separate the driver from the group that was going to Mafeteng, therefore, the driver became 'he' while the rest of the group was referred to as 'we'. The following excerpt further clarifies the use of personal pronouns in this study.

Excerpt 15

Personal pronouns

PC: Please give your evidence on the term of reference (j) which reads as thus: Investigate the legality and the manner of the removal of Lieutenant General … as head of LDF in 2014, and his reappointment in 2015.

PP (14): We the army are not answerable to His Majesty. There is no single day that we sit like we are doing now and discuss military issues. The only occasion that I meet His Majesty is when he calls for a council of the state where I do not meet him on one on one, we meet as a committee. Secondly, it is when we celebrate the king's birthday where I receive him and take him to the parade and accompany him to inspect the parade...

As is the case with the Leon Commission the participants of the Phumaphi commission have applied personal pronouns for inclusion and exclusion purposes. PP (14), an army officer, is in excerpt 15 trying to justify his refusal to leave office after being removed from office by the king, Letsie 111 He attempts to convince the commissioner that he is not answerable to the king but to the prime minister. He relates a few occasions in which he finds himself meeting with his sovereign. By using the pronouns 'we' and 'I', the participant is able to include aspects that concern the army as a whole, some committee members, and those that concern him only. He uses the exclusive 'we' to explain the authority line between the army (which he is part of) and the king and the occasion on which they (the army) meet him. The 'we' in this case is exclusive to soldiers and not any other member of the community but is also inclusive in that it includes both the speaker and the rest of the army. He further uses 'I' to single out occasions that require him (and not the rest of the army) to meet his majesty. 'We' is, therefore, used to include other members of the army while 'I' is used to exclude other army officers. The use of 'his'/'him' refers to the other person (in this case the king) who is not part of the army. The use of these pronouns has helped distinguish between the general duties in the army that concern other people and those that require a specific person (in this case a commander) and have, therefore, made the text clearer than it would have been without them. As has been shown, personal pronouns played an important role in describing the contribution of participants (both as individuals and as a group) in the events that took place in 1998 and 2015 respectively. To achieve this descriptive role different types of pronouns and their variants are realised.

` The present study is similar to earlier studies conducted by Kulo (2009), Håkansson, (2012), Makutis (2016) as well as Sharndama (2016), as reviewed in chapter two of this study.

As with the earlier studies, the present study confirms that personal pronouns, 'we' and 'I', are used for purposes of shared responsibility (inclusive) and personal responsibility (exclusive), while 'he' and 'they 'are used to refer to other people being talked about. Their use further serves as a descriptive and clarity tool for the recipients. However, earlier scholars looked for the use of these personal pronouns in the speeches delivered by politicians while the present study focused on the use of personal pronouns by the participants in the Leon and Phumaphi commissions.

5.4.2.2 Direct quoting

Participants of this study are also found to have used direct quoting in their response to commissioners' questions. According to Lambani (2017), quoting means repeating the words that someone else has said or written. This can be done directly (direct speech) or indirectly (indirect speech). Direct quoting is marked by the mention of the person being quoted (in academic writing this is being followed by the date of publication and page number when the author-date method of citation is used), an introductory verb such as 'says/said' and the quoted words are enclosed in inverted commas (or quotation marks that come in single or double pairs at the beginning and end of the quotation. In a speech, phrases such as 'I quote' and (sometimes) a change of voice tone is employed to show that another person is being quoted. Both the language of the quotation as well as the verb tense follow that of the original as the quotation verbatim.

Dlugan (2012) lists functions of quotations in one's speech/writing as follows:

a) Quoting reinforces the speaker's ideas because it represents a second voice that echoes opinions held by the speaker.
b) Boosts the speaker's credibility because it implies that the person being quoted agrees with the rest of the speaker's argument.
c) Emphasises what the speaker is saying.
d) Gives original author credit for their ideas and work.
e) To disclaim responsibility and distance oneself from the source of knowledge (Kuo, 2001).
f) To authenticate one's argument (Kuo, ibid).

As shown earlier in figure 5, the overall occurrence of direct quoting is at 5%. This communicative strategy is especially common among the opposition leaders wherein their responses it is at 18% (figure 7). The following excerpt illustrates the use of direct quoting as it appears in the samples.

Excerpt 16

Direct quoting

PC: How did Brigadier Mahao end up being court-martialled?

PP (22): Brigadier Mahao had said to me, and I will say this in Sesotho because I want to quote him. O ile a re. [*Participant changes voice tone and language to quote what was said*.] 'Ke o eletsa hore litaba tsa change of command o li tlohele li sebetsoe at the political level. Re utloa o kubuloha ha o utloa ho thoe commander o tlo fuoa lengolo…ke o eletsa hore loyalty ea hao o le lesole e tlamehile e be ho the state and not a particular individual…'

[**Translation:** Brigadier Mahao had said to me, and I will say this in Sesotho because I want to quote him. He said, 'I advise you that you leave matters relating to change of command to politicians to handle them. We have heard of your dissatisfaction when you learnt that the commander is going to be issued with a dismissal letter… I advise that your loyalty as an army officer should lie with the state and not a particular individual'.]

PP (22) in excerpt 16 is asked to relate the events which led to the court-martial regarding Brigadier Mahao. Instead of narrating what had happened, he uses direct quoting. He has been giving his evidence in English but when he is about to quote he switches to Sesotho. Since he has adopted direct quoting he maintains the language that was used in the quotation, Sesotho. He uses markers of direct quoting such as the reporting verb 'said' that usually precedes the quoted text, and since he is speaking, he even changes his tone of voice to indicate that it is no longer him speaking but the person he is quoting. The verb tense is also kept the same way as it appears in the quotation. It appears the participant intends to give the commission the exact words that the person he is referring to used, so they (the quoted words) can prove that what he is saying is authentic and can be relied upon for any further analysis of his evidence. The participant could further be using quoting strategy to show that Brigadier Mahao himself (and not the participant) is responsible for being court-martialled due to the words that he used. It can therefore be observed that the function of direct quoting was to authenticate one's evidence and to distance one from taking responsibility (Kuo, 2001). The theory of conversational implicature enables the researcher to dig deep into the underlying intended meanings of the direct quotations employed by the participants of this study.

In the Leon Commission, this communicative strategy is realised in the testimony of one specific participant belonging to the opposition party. This participant appeared exceptional

in that out of the ten questions he was asked, seven of them were responded through the use of a direct quote. As shown below, the participant adopted famous quotes from well-known authors to support his evidence.

Excerpt 17

Direct quoting

LC: What is your comment on the political situation in this country?

LP (2): Ambrose Bierce in his Books: *The Devil's Dictionary,* says 'politics is the clash of personal interests masquerading as the strife of principles of the conduct of public affairs for private advantage'.

[Correctly quoted, it reads thus: '[p]olitics is a strife of interests masquerading as a contest of principles. The conduct of public affairs for private advantage' (Bierce, 1911)]

In excerpt 17, LP (2) is asked to comment on the political situation in Lesotho. One of the terms of reference of the Leon Commission was 'to investigate, probe, examine and analyse the background to political instability and disturbances which occurred in Lesotho during the period between 1 July 1998 to 30 November 1998' (Lesotho, 2001). The question asked is therefore centred around this term of reference. The participant responds to this question employing intertextuality (Fairclough, 2003), another voice in the form of direct quotation. this is realised by the participant's mention of the name of the author (Ambrose Bierce), the title of the book (*The Devil's Dictionary*) and the introductory verb 'says'. The author's name, the introductory verb 'say', and the exact words spoken are some of the aspects which are referred to when quoting sources of information (Rafiq, 2019). In this quotation the participant is trying to voice his opinion on the political situation in Lesotho by quoting from Ambrose Bierce, however, the quote is incorrectly stated. The correct version of the quote reads [p]olitics is a 'strife of interests masquerading as a contest of principles. The conduct of public affairs for private advantage' (Bierce, 1911)]. The participant has used this quote to represent his opinion that politicians are pretending to be fighting over various principles that are supposed to benefit a country when, in fact, the whole idea behind their struggle is personal gain. The quotation is not used to support the participant's opinion but it is the only voice that the participant has as there is no prior comment given before this quotation. According to the participant, this quotation encapsulates everything he wants to say.

Another illustration of direct quoting by a participant in the Leon Commission is as follows:

Excerpt 18

Direct quoting
LC: Politics in this country seem to have done more harm than good. What is your comment on this?
LP (2): It is so my lord. You know I ever cherish a verse by a famous British philosopher Thomas Hobbes (founder of modern political philosophy) when he said, 'If two men desire the same thing which nevertheless they cannot both enjoy, they become enemies and on the way to their end which is principally their own conversation they endeavour to destroy or subdue one another.

In excerpt 18, LP (2) seems to agree with the commissioner that politics have done more harm than good in Lesotho. He reinforces his agreement by quoting from famous Thomas Hobbes whom he describes as the founder of modern political philosophy. What marks this as a quote is a mention of the name of the author and the verb "said' which introduces the quotation. The quotation seems to imply that politicians cause havoc in their countries because what they want (which is to rule over a country and have access to treasures thereof) cannot be accessed by everyone in the political arena but only one of them. This is what causes animosity between them and eventually contention which impacts negatively on a country. In this excerpt too, the participant does not say much except to agree with the commissioner and then support his stand by using a quote. It can, therefore, be observed that the participant used direct quoting to strengthen and emphasise his evidence so that it is more convincing. The quotes served as proof that his evidence is valid as it is even supported by renowned scholars.

As has been shown above, direct quoting is realised by the application of its rules in the quotes. Similar studies on direct quoting also show that politicians quote sources generally believed to be impartial and authoritative and use them to glorify themselves or to criticise others (Kuo, 2001). Former scholars have also found direct quoting to be playing an important role in providing evidence in support of the claims that people make, making what they say more credible (Ng, 2011; Harry, 2013). The findings of this study thus correspond with what has earlier been found.

5.4.2.3 Passive voice

Passive voice is also among the communicative strategies used by participants. This is a grammatical structure that relates to the way of phrasing the sentences such that the subject or the doer or the actor does not refer to the person or thing responsible for the action but to the receiver of the action. The doer and the receiver of the action exchange positions; the receiver occupies the doer's position while the doer is found in the position of the receiver (Tuan, 2010). Thompson (2012) comments that this is a way of distancing the speaker or writer from the utterance or action in question. Passive voice can be constructed in two ways; by-clause, where the sentence ends by stating the doer of the action as in '*Supper was prepared by Tom'. 'By Tom'* is the by-clause which indicates that Tom is the one who prepared supper. Another way of constructing a passive voice sentence is without a by-clause; the sentence does not indicate who the doer is as in '*Supper was prepared'*. In this sentence, the person who prepared supper is not mentioned. The following are the functions of passive voice. As listed by Corson and Smollett (2019:1), passive voice is used:

a) When the actor is unknown.
b) When the actor is not important'
c) When the speaker/writer wants to be vague or tactful about who is responsible.
d) When one wants to emphasise the person or thing acted on.

An examination of the use of the passive voice as a communicative strategy means that the study is not focusing on its normal grammatical structure but uses its structure to look deeper into the pragmatic implications of this grammatical concept. Passive voice in this study is used at 3% and the majority (97%) of passive structures were without a by-clause. As can be observed, this was not a popular communicative strategy, but its usage might have impacted the commission concerning the provision of information. The strategy is common (17%) mainly among the police officers who were investigating the case of the death of the former LDF commander, and among the army officers (3%), especially those who hold junior positions. Participants used the strategy to be tactful about who was responsible. This way they were able to protect themselves from any harm that could befall them after they had testified. The use of the passive voice is linguistically realised as follows.

Excerpt 19

Passive voice
LC: Then from there you went to Roma.

LP (5): Ho joalo mohlomphehi.

[**Translation**: It is so, my lord.]

LC: Why were you going to Roma?

LP (5): Re ile ra hlalosetsoa hore re lokela ho ea ha tonakholo.

[**Translation**: It was explained that we were supposed to go to the prime minister's place.]

LC: Why were you going to his place?

LP (5): Ho ile hoa hlakisoa hore se entsoeng ha letona ke sona se lo etsoa mono eleng ho chesa ntlo ea hae.

[**Translati**on: It was made clear that that which was done at the minister's place was going to be done there, and that was the torching of his house.]

LC: Where else did you go?

W (5): Re ile ra laeloa ho ea Mafeteng.

[**Translation**: We were instructed to go to Mafeteng.]

LC: Who is this person who was giving you instructions.

LP (5): Ka hlompho e kholo mohlomphehi, ha ke nahane ho bolokehile hore ke bolelele mabitso.

[**Translation**: With due respect, my lord, I do not think it is safe for me to disclose names.]

In excerpt 19, LP (5) uses passive voice without a by-clause. The sentences begin with the receiver of the action 'it', 'we', then the action itself, but there is no actor/doer. That is, the sentence portrays the reverse order of a normal sentence (in the active voice) that usually begins with the subject/doer followed by the verb/action and then the receiver/object of the action. Through the use of this strategy, the participant is able to explain where the group he was with went, what they were going to do there, and where they went next. He mentions how they were instructed to go to Roma without mentioning who instructed them. He explains what they were told to do and where they went next without mentioning who gave them instructions. The participant emphasises the action rather than the actor or doer of the action. He seems to have used this communicative strategy purposely to avoid revealing the names of those who led the operation. This is justified by his unwillingness to reveal the names of people who were giving them instructions during the operations. He claims it is not safe to reveal such names.

Passive voice was used by the police officers who were investigating the death of Brigadier Mahao. Excerpt 20 shows how this strategy was employed.

Excerpt 20

Passive voice

PC: What was the last activity in this case?

PP (15): Ke ile ka kopa hore ke fuoe li-item tse neng li sebelisoa ka nako ea operation le mabitso a batho ba neng ba le operation-neng. Ke ile ka bolelloa hore ntho eo ke e kopileng ha ho bobebe hore ke e fumane. Ke ntse ke emetse hore ke fumane thuso linthong tseo ke li kopileng

[**Translation**: I requested to be given items that were used during the operation as well as the names of people who were in the operation. However, I was told that what I requested was highly unlikely. I am still waiting to be given a response to what I requested.]

PC: Please give us the name of the person you were having this conversation with.

PP (15): Ke tla sitoa ho etsa joalo mohlomphehi, for safety reasons. Empa e ne e le office ea Sesole.

[**Translation**: I'm unable to mention names, my lord, for safety reasons, but it was the office of the army.]

As excerpt 20 shows, PP (15) is asked to tell the commission the last activity his office engaged in during the investigation of the death of brigadier Mahao. In his evidence, the participant keeps saying, 'to be given items', 'were used during the operation', 'I was told ', all of which are in the passive voice. The actor is not mentioned, instead, the receiver of the action or the object (in this case 'I') has occupied the position of the doer. Here too the participant seems to want to emphasise what happened and not on who was responsible for what happened. The participant mentions that for his safety he will not disclose names. He wants to preserve his negative face. Brown and Levinson (1987) affirm that every individual has a desire to preserve his/her negative face (individual's desire not to have his/her freedom imposed upon) and any form of threat can threaten one's negative face. There were also instances where the passive voice was employed because the actor was not known or was implied. Excerpts 21 and 22 illustrate this.

Excerpt 21

Passive voice

PC: Tell us what you did as an investigating officer after you were informed of the death of Brigadier Mahao**.**

PP (24): … Re ile ra laeloa ho ea mono hore re kopane le basebetsi mmoho ba bang. Re ile ra bolelloa hore re lokela ho attend-a a certain scene sepetleleng sa Makoanyane mme ra ea moo. Ho fihleng hoa rona re ile ra isoa ka ward-eng ea bana. Ke hona moo re fumaneng setopo sa Brigadier Mahao. Re ile ra nka setopo ra se isa Lesotho funeral services moo se il*eng sa etsoa postmortem.*

[**Translation:** We were instructed to go there and meet other colleagues. We were told that we had to attend a certain scene at Makoanyane hospital and we thereby proceeded there. Upon arrival, we were taken to the children's ward and that is where we found the corpse of Brigadier Mahao. We took the corpse to Lesotho funeral services and the postmortem was conducted on the 3rd July 2015.]

In excerpt 21, PP (24) seems to use the passive voice purely because the actor was implied and therefore understood. The participant's answer suggests that the actor is known and, therefore not important to mention. The participant says they 'were instructed', 'were told ', etcetera which suggests that it was his supervisor or someone senior to him who was giving instructions. The authority is the one that instructs or gives orders to a lower rank officer. Similarly, the person who took them to the children's ward upon arrival is supposedly one of the workers of the hospital. The implication is that one of the nurses working at the hospital did that. The commission does not insist on knowing the responsible persons, hence no further enquiry is made. Another implied actor is seen where the participant says 'postmortem was conducted'. The statement implies that it is the people working in the mortuary who were mandated to carry out this duty who conducted the postmortem. The actor was implied, and maybe not so important to the commission. It is important to note that in this case there was no danger posed in mentioning the names even if the speaker decided to change the sentence to active voice.

On the contrary, in excerpt 22 below, the actor is not implied but is unknown. The participant seems not to know who washed the deceased clothes that is why he resorts to passive voice. The phrase "it was as if" used before passive voice "they were washed" indicates that the participant would not have any idea who made the clothes wet since he is only speculating that they were washed.

Excerpt 22

Passive voice

PC: In what condition were the deceased clothes?

PP (24): Li ne li le metsi, e ne e ka li hlatsuoe.

[**Translation**: They were wet; it was as if they were washed.]

Based on the excerpts above, it can be concluded that the passive voice was used when participants felt unsafe to reveal names of certain individuals, when the actor was implied and when the actor was unknown.

The use of the passive voice as a communicative strategy is a phenomenon that has been explored by scholars in the field of law, in political speeches and in healthcare. In his study on the language used in the drafting of statutes in Australia, Tanner (2003) found that statutes written in the active voice were shorter, more direct and easier to process than those written in the passive voice. Similarly, Saarinen (2015) examined the communication strategies that support the comprehension of verbal health messages and healthcare consumer's health literacy skills. Saarinen (ibid) found the use of the active voice instead of the passive voice highly effective. Similar to this study is the study conducted by Kulo (2009), who found that political speeches effectively use the passive voice (as one among many communicative strategies) to conceal some elements in a situation. The participants in the present study withheld some information. There are two functions of the passive voice that are found in this study, seemingly not covered before in the = literature. These are the use of the passive voice as a protective measure and its application when the actor is implied. This current thesis, therefore, adds other pragmatic functions of the passive voice to those already mentioned by Corson and Smollett (2019).

5.4.2.4 Questioning

Questioning in this study is used by participants of the Phumaphi Commission. It is an important concept which enhances teaching and learning in the classroom environment. It boosts classroom interaction, helps check the comprehension of complex concepts by students, corrects unwanted behaviour and helps students to remember something they already know. Questioning is divided into three broad divisions which are based on the purpose, form and function of questioning. According to Long and Sato (1983), questions based on purpose are of two types, namely, display questions and referential questions. Display questions are asked when the speaker knows the answer but wants to challenge another person's memory. On the contrary, referential questions are asked when the speaker does not know the answer. The

second division comprises questions based on form and relates to open-ended and closed-ended questions. Closed-ended questions are alternatively called *yes* or *no* questions. Dalton-Puffer (2007) affirms that closed-ended questions on the one hand are quick and easy to answer as they are limited to a simple one-word answer. Open-ended questions on the other hand are extensive and demanding on the part of the respondent. The question words such as when, what, where, how, who and why are used to begin these open-ended questions. The third division deals with function-related questions. These are of three types, namely; comprehension check questions, confirmation check questions and clarification check questions (Long and Sato, 1983).

Questioning as a communicative strategy is used only by the army officers and government officials in Phumaphi Commission. The Leon participants did not employ the strategy. It is used by 3% of the army officers and by 2% of the government officials. The strategy is uniquely used in this study in that it is used by both the speaker and the hearer. Participants employed it to respond to questions asked by the commissioner as shown in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 23

Questioning

PC: And the soldiers who were guarding the State House say that you ordered them not to allow the commissioner and his deputy to enter the premises with their guards. What do you say to that?

PP (16): And what is the problem with that?

PC: Do you agree with that?

PP (16): Should I agree with what you are telling me, while I was not there? [Laughter in the background.]

In excerpt 23 the participant is asked to comment on the claim that, through his instruction, the commissioner and his deputy were denied access to the State House. Instead of responding to the question, the participant asks what the problem is 'with that'. It is not clear what 'that' refers to. The 'that' could refer to the order given to the soldiers guarding the State House. He may want to know if there is a problem giving such an order, or it could alternatively refer to the access to which the commissioner and the deputy were denied. The participant may be enquiring if there is a problem with refusing to give access to the State House. The follow-up

question from the commission wants to know if the participant agrees with what has been said. This question is responded to by another question in which the participant asks if he must agree with what he is being told while he was not there.

Another example of questioning is provided in excerpt 24 below.

Excerpt 24

Questioning
PC: And the then minister of sports was directed by PM to intervene. Do you know of that?
PP (18): Is it really necessary to say I know or I don't know, when you are telling a story?

Similar to the example in excerpt 23, PP (18) in excerpt 24 seems unwilling to confirm or deny his knowledge of the events he is being questioned on. This he does by asking if it is necessary to say whether he knows or does not know when in fact he is being told the story. The truth of the matter is that there is no story that he is being told, instead, he is being questioned. As illustrated, there are no answers in the excerpts, only questions. The kind of questioning employed here is different from the norm where questions are responded to by answers. This pattern does not fall under any of the types elaborated by Long and Sato (1983). Scholars such as Dobao and Martínez (2007), Shartiely (2013) and Yang (2017), who have conducted studies on questioning have not come across the kind of questioning found in this study. The type found could be classified under display questions if the purpose of the participant's questions was to challenge the memory of the addressee, but in this case, the commission had come on a fact-finding mission, to seek answers to fulfil its mission and not to be questioned. This study' therefore' brings up a new type of questioning that falls under function-related questions.

5.4.3 Communicative strategies within the sociocultural category

As indicated earlier, communicative strategies found in this category are those whose proper interpretation requires a good cultural background of a speech community and a rich knowledge of context surrounding conversational turns. The strategies found in this category to have implied meaning are figurative language and indirect communication. The findings regarding each of these strategies are presented as follows:

5.4.3.1 Figurative language

Participants of this study are found to have used different kinds of figurative language. As described in the literature review, figurative language is a form of language which expresses a meaning beyond the words used. It is a culture represented in language, a natural decoder of

customs, cultural beliefs, social conventions and norms (Yagiz and Izadpanah, 2013). It carries both surface and deep meaning or literal and implied meaning. Yagiz and Izadpanah (ibid) affirm that figurative language is characterised by a contradiction between what one says and what one means. This means that interpreting this phenomenon literally only leads to meaningless utterances and causes hearers to lose a sense of what is being communicated. According to Grice (1975) figures of speech are clear examples of conversational implicature.

Figurative language played a significant role in transmitting information from the participants to the commissioners. It is the fourth common strategy with per cent usage. The data shows extensive use of idioms (53%), proverbs (8%) and figures of speech (metaphor, euphemism, simile, irony and repetition) at 42%. The participants have, to a large extent, used Sesotho figurative language and a few English figures of speech. The use of figurative language is particularly common among army participants, especially those who testified at the Leon Commission. The army officers responded to questions using deep Sesotho figurative language that left the commissioner (who was not conversant in Sesotho) wondering what they meant. They could not alter this communicative strategy even after realising that the interpreter could not handle loads of semantic meaning which came with the use of figurative language.

Idioms

As mentioned earlier, idioms are the most commonly used at 53%. What are idioms? Idioms are part of the metaphorical language; the meaning of an utterance is not determined by the words used. Their surface structure, therefore, plays a small role or no role at all in understanding the idiomatic meaning (Nasser and Raut, 2019). Elshamy (2016) further presents the following as characteristics of idioms:

a) Compositeness: relates to the fact that idioms are multiword expressions; it is made up of more than one word.
b) Institutionalised: the idiom must have obtained conventional status in a community for it to be considered as an idiom.
c) Semantic opacity: the meaning of an idiom is not the sum of its constituents: the words used to form an idiom are not related to its meaning as idioms are non-literal. This characteristic makes idioms very difficult to recognise and interpret if one does not belong to the culture they represent.

The functions of idioms according to Fernando (1996), Bouarroudj (2010), and Milušauskaite (2019) are as follows:

a) to give a better clarification of the message portrayed.
b) to ensure that communication is coherent and cohesive
c) to make discourse socially acceptable and lived by having both grammatical forms and pragmatic functions
d) they are significant properties of expression
e) to express the speaker's attitude, their emotional state such as irritation or anger.

The use of idioms is linguistically realised in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 25

Idiomatic expressions
PC: Then what happened?
PP (19): Ke ile ka tsoa ka khoroana tsa matsa
[***Literal meaning:*** I was going to go out through the pass of antelope in the mountain. ***Figurative meaning:*** I escaped through illegal gates.]
PI: I escaped
PC: Then where did you go?
PP (19): Ke ile ka lula Maseru mona matsatsi a mahlano, la botšelela ka otla metsi ka lipeta (laughter in the background)
[***Literal meaning:*** I stayed in Maseru for five days, the sixth one, I hit the water with chest. ***Figurative meaning:*** I stayed in Maseru for five days, on the sixth one I fled the country by illegally crossing the Mohokare River.]
PI: I went to South Africa.

In excerpt 25 the participant is narrating his story on how he got a tip-off from an anonymous caller who told him to immediately leave his house because in an hour his murderers would arrive at his house. He is explaining how he secretly left home in an attempt to escape death. The recordings reveal that the participant is giving his testimony while still in South Africa, the country he sought asylum from after being informed of the plan to kill him. The commissioner wants to know what then happened after he received a tip-off. The participant's response is figurative. He uses a Sesotho idiomatic expression '*ho tsoa ka khoroana tsa matsa',* literally meaning (to go through the pass of the antelope). This idiom has all the features of an idiom in that it is a multiword expression whose meaning cannot be derived from the words used hence it cannot be interpreted literally. It is one of the institutionalised idioms whose deeper meaning

is conventionally known by the concerned language community. The idiomatic expression he has used sends a better clarification than if he were to merely state that he disappeared, escaped or left his home. This function is confirmed by Milušauskaite (2019), who asserts that idioms are significant properties of a better expression. The message that the participant is communicating is that, as the danger was looming, there was no way he would follow the right route or use the lawful border post to escape. The researcher had an informal discussion with Sesotho specialists, Mosaase and Lisene (2019), who disclosed that Basotho coined the idiom after observing the behaviour of an antelope when it disappears from its hunter. They assert that when the antelope disappears from a hunter, it takes a narrow and unexpected path that the hunter would neither anticipate nor access, one that no one can easily identify as a route that anything or anyone could opt for. So when the person takes the antelope route it means he takes an unusual and unexpected route, the route that one would take particularly when he does not want to be seen or get caught. The same route that would enable the antelope to escape, could well be a trap for the hunter or one who chases the antelope as he would not be used to its wily nature. In this way, it would be used in a double standard manner: as an escape for the victim and a trap to the assailant.

This idiom emphasises the participant's disappearance in secret from the people who were supposedly his killers. When he is asked where he went to after his escape he states that he stayed in Maseru for five days after which he left for South Africa. His escape to South Africa is explained through the use of another idiomatic expression '*ka otla metsi ka lipeta',* literally meaning (I hit the water with my chest). This idiom also carries features to the idiom just described above: It is a well-known multiword expression whose meaning cannot be literally derived from the words used. As Grice's conversational theory of implicature states, what people say is often different from what they mean. Lesotho (Maseru area) and South Africa are separated by the Caledon (Mohokare) River. Therefore, if the participant says he hit the water with his chest, it means instead of taking the legal route where he would have to go through the border gate and be requested to produce a passport to be granted permission to cross, he swam across the river into South Africa. The audience's laughter at the participant's response could be triggered by imaging the participant struggling to swim across the river, trying to run away from his enemies. The researcher observes that the interpreter tried to interpret as expected, however, the transfer of meaning from the source language (Sesotho) to the target language (English) did not carry equal semantic weight. The interpreted message carried a lighter semantic weight. The interpreter uttered 'I escaped' 'I went to South Africa' without indicating how the participant achieved this as it is explained in the source language.

This study concludes that the interpretation had some limitations; it could not capture the entire message which was communicated in the form of idiomatic expressions.

Another excerpt that shows participants' use of idioms is as follows:

Excerpt 26

Idiomatic expressions

PC: What are the background circumstances of your relocation to South Africa? Why did you come here?

PP25: Ke ne ke balehisa bophelo ba ka, ho ne ho na le batho ba batlang ho nnoa hlooho

[***Literal meaning***: I was running for my life, some people wanted to drink my head off.

Figurative meaning: I ran away to save my life as there were people who wanted to kill me.]

PI: I ran away because there were people who wanted to kill me.

PC: Why were they interested in killing you?

PP 25: Ke hobane ke ne ke le ka moo thakali e fatelang ka teng. Ke lumela ke hobane ke ile ka hana ho kena morerong oa bona oa ho hlabisa mmuso hlohlolingoane joale ba rera hore ke ore letsatsi ka mpa (laughter in the background).

[***Literal meaning***: Because I was at the place where a kangaroo was digging out a hole. I believe it is because I refused to be part of their plan to throw the government down with its legs facing up, so they decided that I should face the sun with my belly.

Figurative meaning: It is because I was on the wrong side of things. I believe it is because I refused to partake in their plan to overthrow the government, so they planned to kill me.]

PI: hmm…I don't know what "thakali" is, but people were planning to kill me.

In excerpt 26, the participant is responding to a question that requires him to explain why he ran away from his home country. He responds to this question by using the idiom '*ba ne ba batla ho nnoa hlooho'* that means literally (they wanted to drink my head off). What makes this idiom realised as such is that it is a multiword expression that is officially recognised as an idiom by the Basotho community and whose meaning is not equal to the meanings of words used. By using this idiom, the participant manages to emphasise that there were people who wanted to murder him. The next question requires him to explain why there was such a plan to kill him. In response to this, he uses a number of idioms that carry the same characteristics as the first idiom explained. Simply put, he states that the reason they wanted to kill him was that he was not in good books with his colleagues as he refused to be part of the plan to overthrow

the then government, as a result, they wanted to murder him hence his escape to South Africa. The participant communicates this information by employing complex Sesotho idioms, and one of them is '*Ke ne ke le ka moo thakali e fatelang ka teng* literally' meaning (I was at the place where a kangaroo was digging up a hole). This idiom has been coined from observing the behaviour of a kangaroo. This animal is often seen digging holes, and if a person comes anywhere near it, two things are likely to occur, first, a person is likely to be covered with the soil coming from the holes being dug, and secondly, they can be attacked by this kangaroo as it is known to be a violent animal (Moorosi, 2019. Therefore, by using this idiom the participant is conveying that there was tension brewing between him and his colleagues. He goes further and uses another idiom '*Ho hlabisa mmuso hlohlolingoane'* which literally means (to throw the government down with its legs facing up). When something falls so severely like this it means it is going to be very difficult to recover from the fall. This means that the perpetrators planned to topple the government and ensure that there is no recovery or going back to its position. Another idiom used is '*ho sheba letsatsi ka mpa',* literally meaning (to face the sun with one's belly). This idiom originates from people's experiences with death; when people die they usually lie supine in their coffin and their grave, and this gives a mental picture of the front part of their body warming itself in the sun. The participant used this idiom to mean that there were people who wanted to murder him.

When looking at how the interpreter performed, it is observed that the first idiom was successfully interpreted, however, the idioms that followed were incorrectly interpreted. The audience even laughed at the chain of idioms used as they were already anticipating the challenge the interpreter was likely to face in trying to interpret such complex idioms. The interpreter did not know the word, '*thakali',*(kangaroo) in English and, therefore, missed some important information relating to this word. The interpreter ended up conveying just a portion of the participant's message while the rest of the information was left out. As a result, the commission could not receive all the information that the participant communicated

Metaphor

Metaphor is one of the figures of speech found in the evidence provided by the participants. This figure of speech compares two things that are essentially different but have common characteristics. Unlike a simile, however, it uses neither 'like' nor 'as' to show its comparison. This explanation is supported by Gray (2008:120) who defines a metaphor as an 'implied comparison between two dissimilar objects'. An example of a metaphor is: 'She is an angel' meaning she is morally a good person. Knowles and Moon (2006) categorise metaphor into

two types: creative or novel and conventional metaphor. They describe creative metaphors as the type constructed by the writer or speaker to express an idea or feeling in a particular context. They are typically new metaphors that are based on pre-existing ideas or images. This type requires a reader or hearer to rely on the context to unpack its meaning to understand what is meant. Conventional metaphors on the other hand are well-known metaphors that are institutionalised as part of the language. They are recorded in dictionaries and their meanings are fixed.

The following are cited as functions of metaphors (Stefanowitsch, 2005; Knowles and Moon, 2006):

a) Metaphors mediate understanding of some concept; understanding certain concepts may not be possible without the help of metaphorical models or analogies.

b) Help interlocutors to convey meaning more interestingly and creatively; through the use of metaphors, much more is conveyed through implication and connotation than through straightforward literal language.

c) The imprecision and the fuzziness attribute that metaphor is a powerful tool that enables communication of emotion, evaluation and explanations.

The use of metaphor according to data is at 18%. The excerpt that follows illustrates the use of metaphor. Both literal and figurative translations are provided and these are written in italics. The interpreter's version of interpretation is also included to show what information was transferred to the commissioner.

Excerpt 27

Metaphor:

LC: What may have contributed to political instability and disturbances that we observe in Lesotho today?

LP (1): Balateli ba LCD ba ne ba bina lipina tse bontšang hore morena e moholo ke nakeli e sefehlefehle.

[***Literal meaning****: LCD followers were singing songs that showed that the king is a polecat, a skunk;* ***Figurative meaning:*** *LCD members were singing songs that communicated how much they were disgusted by the king*).]

LI: *Was---er---hm,*

[LP (1): E leng se-noa-mali se phelang ka ho noa mali a Basotho.

Literal meaning: *a bloodsucker, surviving by sucking the blood of the Basotho.*

Figurative meaning*: a parasite who lives by ripping the wealth of Basotho.*]

LI: He was a blood-drunker.

LP (1): Rene re bina lipina tse reng marena ke Marashea ba phela ka tsa batho.

Literal meaning: *we were singing songs which were saying that chiefs are 'Russians', they survive from other people's property.*

Figurative meaning*: we were singing songs that communicated that chiefs were violent and cruel, cold-blooded people as they ruthlessly survive on the wealth of Basotho*)!]

LI: We were singing songs that said kings were Russians.

As indicated in excerpt 27, participant (1) uses metaphor to respond to the question that requires him to explain what may have contributed to Lesotho political instability. There are several metaphorical comparisons made about the king of Lesotho in the form of a song. All the metaphors cited above are creative, the type which is constructed by the writer or speaker to express an idea or feeling in a particular context (Knowles and Moon, 2006). In this metaphoric expression, '*Morena ke nakeli e sefehlefehle'* (the king is a polecat with a sickening smell), there is an indirect comparison as it is done without employing 'as' or 'like'. The king is compared to a polecat with a sickening smell which suggests that the king shares similar characteristics with a polecat. What kind of animal is this? According to the *Oxford South African School Dictionary* (2010), a polecat is a small dark brown wild animal that can defend itself by producing a bad smell. The cultural meaning of this animal in Sesotho carries negative connotations. Basotho associate this animal with danger and destruction. If it passed a certain village, all the chickens in that village would die due to its sickening smell. As a result, Basotho would often cite this animal in instances where they are disgusted by something. For instance, when Basotho say '*motho o phinyelitsoe ke nakeli*', meaning (a polecat has farted on someone), it implies that the person is surrounded by misfortune and s/he is generally despised by people. When s/he is quiet, people are annoyed, when s/he speaks people are already annoyed by what s/he says even when his/her utterances are sensible and clear. Irrespective of what s/he does or does not do, s/he is an annoyance (Khotso, 2019). Comparing a king to a polecat is a terrible insult considering the amount of respect Basotho bestow on their king.

Furthermore, the king is also compared to a parasite '*e leng se-noa-mali'* (a parasite) The phrase '*se-noa-mali*' means a parasite and the figurative sense of the phrase relates to an insult that describes a person who is morally unacceptable, destructive and disgraceful, a

criminal; one who snatches other people's property and leaves them destitute and hopeless for the rest of their lives and never cares about their calamitous situation. Gullestad (2012) adds that the word parasite brings to mind nasty little creatures such as lice or tapeworms living off and in others, all the while giving nothing in return. Therefore, if the king is referred to as a parasite, it implies that he is accused of selfishly stealing from his people.

Another figurative expression that appears in the song is '*marena ke Marashea'* (kings are Russians). This metaphor is embedded with a cultural interpretation of the word 'Russians'. The researcher had personal communication with Moorosi (2019), a Sesotho specialist who explained that the word '*Marashea' (Russians)* is a name given to a group of Basotho migrant men in the mines of South Africa. This group was formed around the 1940s, to protect these miners against gangsters in South Africa. The name, *'Marashea'*, was coined by analogy from the word 'Russians', meaning people from Russia. Moorosi goes further to explain that the unity, courage and determination that the Russians had when they overcame the Germans during the Second World War are some of the qualities these Basotho men wished they could have, to stand bravely before their enemies hence they called themselves Russians. However, the name '*Marashea'* acquired a negative connotation over time. According to Khotso (2018), the *'Marashea'* are the Basotho who are famously known for their brutal actions. The *Yalla* programme as quoted by Khotso (ibid) on television station 163 (January 2017) states that first, the '*Marashea'* are Basotho informal security group that was later corrupted by power and started to employ violence and brutality a. These include looting, killing people and murdering their group mates. Mohale (2019) affirms that the Marashea are known to kidnap people and instil fear in them wherever they go. Therefore, if kings are compared to '*Marashea'*, the implication is that they are violent and are hard-hearted killers who forcefully seize other people's property. Unless the target audience knows the historical background and the associations and connotations attached to the word '*Marashea'*, it cannot sufficiently understand what chiefs have to do with Russians that to them would only mean the citizens of Russia.

According to the participant, these songs that insulted the king were the cause of political instability in the country. The songs were a reflection of the deep hatred that the members of the LCD (Lesotho Congress for Democracy) political party had towards kingship. The participant testifying was a member of the LCD party who disliked kingship, because he indicates in his evidence that '*re ne re bina*…(we were singing*)* thus showing that he was also actively involved in the singing that took place. The implied meaning attached to the utterance 'we were singing' is classified under conventional implicature (Grice, 1975); the conventional

meaning of words determines both what is said and what is implicated. In this case, the implied meaning was derived from the meaning of the pronoun 'we', an inclusive pronoun referring to the speaker and others. The participant creates the metaphor by using words such as '*nakeli*' (polecat) and '*sefehlefehle*' (terrible smell), *'se-noa-mali*' (parasite), '*Marashea*' (Russians) and these enabled the speaker to effectively convey his message. It can therefore be concluded that the function of the metaphors used was to convey meaning more interestingly and creatively; through the use of metaphors, a lot of information was communicated by implications and connotations (Knowles & Moon, 2006).

It is worth noting, nonetheless, that the interpretation for the figures of speech rendered above proves to be challenging to the interpreter because he only utters '*was---er---hm'* for the first metaphoric expression which referred to the king as a polecat. In the second metaphor (the king is a parasite) the interpreter provides a literal interpretation and the words used are non-existent. The English word is blood-sucker and not blood-drunker. In the third instance, the interpretation given is 'chiefs are Russians' which is also literal. The interpreter's use of unlexicalised fillers such as 'eh', 'hm' implies that the commission, which comprised of non-Basotho, misunderstood the information communicated to them. The commissioners and their participants went in different directions in terms of understanding each other and the interpreter could not remedy the situation. The excerpt below further shows this confusion.

Excerpt 28

Metaphor

LC: How many people were there?

LP7: E ne e le lefifi le tšabehang.

[***Literal meaning****:* It was great darkness.

Figurative meaning: They were as many as the grains of sand on the seashore/so many that I could not count them.]

LI: It was great darkness.

LC: But you said it was 12 mid-day?

LP7: Batho e ne le lefifi le tšabehang.

[***Literal meaning***: People were great darkness.

Figurative meaning: People were as many as the grains of sand on the seashore/so many that I could not count them.]

LI: People were great darkness.

In excerpts 28, the participant used a metaphor to describe the number of people who had gathered at the king's palace. He compares a multitude of people to great darkness. This a common metaphorical expression in Sesotho, used to refer to a crowd of people especially when such a crowd comprises people who are dark in complexion. According to Mohlomi (2011), this expression is the opposite of the Sesotho metaphor *'letlapa le lesoeu*' (a white flat stone), used to refer to those with a light complexion. By this metaphor, participant 7 meant that so many people had gathered at the palace that they could not be counted, they were like grains of sand on the seashore. However, the commissioners, being non-Sesotho speakers could not pick up the intended meaning and were very confused hence their question, 'But you said it was 12 mid-day?' They interpreted the expression to mean that it was very dark and this startled them because the witness had earlier on said it was 12 mid-day when the crowd gathered, the interpreter still could not convey the intended message from the source language (Sesotho) to English, the target language.

Simile

A simile is another figure of speech that was common among the participants. A simile is a figure of speech whose function is similar to that of a metaphor. It similarly compares two dissimilar items which share similar characteristics, however, as opposed to metaphor in which the comparisons are indirect, simile uses the words 'like' and 'as' to directly and explicitly compare one item to another. According to the *Oxford South African School Dictionary* (2010), similes are used to make descriptions more emphatic and vivid. The functions stated above for a metaphor are also applicable to a simile. Its regular use in the current research is at 8%. The excerpt below is one out of a number of examples found.

Excerpt 29

PC: One would expect to see a gun held by an army officer or police, however, I have realised in this country that a lot of ordinary people hold guns everywhere they go. I feel like this is not a safe place to be. What is your comment on this? **PP (15):** Having a gun in this country is like putting on a blanket.

In excerpt 29, participant (15) is asked to comment on the possession of firearms which seems to be common among the civilians in Lesotho. In response to this, the participant states how

easy and common it is to have a gun in Lesotho. He archives this by using a simile. Through the use of a comparison word, 'like' he directly compares the use of guns to wearing a blanket, implying that having a gun and wearing a blanket share similar characteristics. In the context of Lesotho, a blanket is the vehicle of Basotho culture, identity and history. It is what distinguishes Basotho from other nations and cultures. Unsworth (2018) says blankets are pivotal in the lives of Basotho and every phase of life is marked by a blanket, namely, birth, cultural celebrations, initiation and marriage. Both Basotho men and women have their unique way of wearing their symbolic blankets. The significance of blankets has made them so common that Basotho wear them even in hot weather. The participant's comparison of firearms to wearing a blanket is, therefore, a way of emphasising their prevalence and the fact that people who possess them are not necessarily dangerous, just as when one wears a blanket on a hot day when they are not necessarily cold. The use of this simile in this instance made the participant's message clear and precise and, therefore, enhanced its comprehension.

Euphemism

Euphemism also played a significant role in the testimonies of participants. Euphemism relates to politeness theory. It is a figure of speech that is meant to mitigate offensive expressions with the potential to threaten one's face. As defined by the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (2012), euphemism refers to the substitution of an offensive and unpleasant expression for one that is agreeable or inoffensive. Concepts such as death, war, sex, bodily functions and disability are usually euphemised as they are often considered taboo.

Euphemism carries the following functions:

a) to protect speakers from undesired emotional arousal (Pavlenko, 2006);
b) to sanitise and camouflage actions, things or events that could appear unacceptable in the light of professional values (Mayfield, 2009);
c) to minimize any face-threatening acts and consequently enhance politeness (Crespo-Fernández, 2006); and
d) to deceive or manipulate others, often being used to achieve this intentionally. This is typical of a euphemism that deals with political, military and commercial concepts (La Rocque, 2006).

Euphemisms have been widely used, particularly by army officers in the Leon Commission at 11%. The excerpt that follows illustrates the use of euphemisms.

Excerpt 30

Euphemism:

LC: What was the soldiers' reaction when they learnt of the presence of SADC forces?

PP (10): Ba ile ba hela likoro tsa batho ka maoto masimong.

[***Literal meaning****: They cut off people's wheat in the fields with their feet.*

Figurative meaning*: They ran away.*]

LI. They ran away.

PP (10): Aee mohlomphehi, ke itse ba ile ba hela likoro tsa batho ka maoto masimong (*'No my lord, I said they cut off people's wheat in the fields with their feet.*"' [The participant here wants to be interpreted literally and not figuratively as the interpreter has done.]

LI: They cut people's wheat in the fields with their feet.

In the above excerpt, the commissioner wants the participants to describe the reaction of the soldiers when they received information that SADC forces had arrived in the country. The participant responds by using a Sesotho euphemism for the expression 'run away'. The participant makes the expression less offensive and less of a threat to one's face by euphemising it thus, '*Ba ile ba hela likoro tsa batho ka maoto masimong* (they cut off people's wheat in the fields with their feet)., This expression is an implicature whose function is to mitigate a threat to the face and consequently enhance politeness. The action of running away, especially from war, is culturally embarrassing, particularly when it is soldiers or men who do it. The interpreter gives the actual meaning of this figure of speech and says 'They ran away'. However, the participant seems dissatisfied by the interpreter's direct rendition and says, 'Aee *mohlomphehi, ke itse ba ile ba hela likoro tsa batho ka maoto masimong'* (No, my Lord, I said they harvested people's wheat in the fields with their feet). The participant probably feels that it would seem disrespectful and shameful to directly and bluntly state that the soldiers ran away. The interpreter resorts to the literal interpretation and says, 'They cut people's wheat in the fields with their feet'. The interpreter's literal rendition (that the participant demands) gives the commissioner and his team (who do not know this euphemistic expression) the impression that the soldiers were intentionally and ruthlessly engaged in destroying other people's wheat with their feet, yet the speaker's intended meaning is that of people who had no other option but to run for their lives. Although the euphemism used is brief, it is culturally meaningful and carries a heavy load of semantic o meaning.

Irony

Irony is yet another figure of speech that participants used to convey information to the commissioners. As defined by the *Merriam-Webster Dictionary* (2012), irony is a humorous literary style whose intended meaning is the opposite of what is expressed. In other words, it is a case of appearance versus reality, what is said is not what is meant. Grice calls this form of implied meaning a conversational implicature, the type that relies mainly on features of conversational context. To realise the irony in an utterance, the speaker and the hearer must share the context and the speaker must be able to detect the implied meaning of the speaker's utterance. In a nutshell, irony requires one who is grounded with background information to be able to detect it. Similar to wit, sarcasm, satire, and repartee, irony rouses amusement. Dews, Kaplan and Winner (2009) show that speakers choose irony over literal language to:

a) be funny/ create a sense of humour
b) soften the edge of an insult
c) show themselves to be in control of their emotions
d) avoid damaging their relationship with the addressee

Irony is the least used figure of speech as it occurs at 2%. Its linguistic realisation is illustrated below.

Excerpt 31

Irony
PC: How would you describe your relationship with the then prime minister, since January 2014?
PP (20): Even today, even today, I may not have a proper word, but I can assure you, even if he can enter here he would just come straight to me and hug me. [Laughter from the audience].

The participant is asked to describe the kind of relationship he and the former prime minister had. The participant's response makes the audience laugh as he confesses that the prime minister would hug him if he were to enter the room they were in, implying that he was and still is a good friend to him. This is considered an ironic response because it corresponds with the following characteristics: the intended message is the opposite of what is literally meant,

and it is a humorous response. It was a well-known fact that the then prime minister and the participant being cross-examined did not see eye to eye, this is why the audience's reaction to the participant's response is laughter. The laughter in this case means that the audience is aware that the participant is being ironic. According to the report of the commission (2015) the participant was suspected to have headed the mission to dethrone the prime minister being spoken about after he was demoted by the same prime minister. The prime minister fled the country claiming to be evading from the aggression of a team of soldiers led by the same participant. When he (the prime minister) returned to Maseru he was under the protection of the South African and Namibian Police, who guarded him around the clock. After the snap election in 2014, the same prime minister fled to South Africa again still declaring that participant (20) planned to assassinate him. During the period of the commission's investigations, he was still in South Africa, claiming he was not prepared to be killed by the participant being interrogated. It, therefore, appears ironic for the participant to claim that he has good relations with the then prime minister, considering how tense the situation has been and how it must have impacted negatively on their relationship. The participant's use of irony, therefore, corresponds with the functions stated earlier by Dews, Kaplan and Winner (2009): the participant was humorous as he made the audience laugh at what should have been a highly emotional matter had it been presented thoughtfully and somberly. Secondly, irony helped him to control his emotions and hence lessen the tense atmosphere that could have engulfed the room if he were to show his true feelings of hatred towards the then prime minister.

Repetition

Repetition has been used by some of the participants of this study. As the word suggests, repetition means that a word, phrase or sentence is constantly repeated for a particular effect. Kemertelidze and Manjavidze (2013) define repetition as a figure of speech that shows the logical emphasis that is necessary to attract a reader's attention on the keyword or key-phrase of the text. Literary devices such as alliteration (using the same letter or sound at the beginning of words), assonance (using the same vowel sound) and onomatopoeia (words sounding like the items they name) all form part of the umbrella term repetition.

The pragmatic functions of conversational repetition as used by native speakers of a language are described by Rabab'ah and Abuseileek (2012) as follows:

a) to add emphasis and conviction to what is being said;
b) to highlight the theme and make one look for the implied meaning attached to it.
c) to clarify a request (when a particular point said earlier by a speaker is not clear);

d) to express difficulty in responding to some concerns;
e) to express annoyance;
f) to persuade (for example, an audience);
g) to express surprise or shock;
h) to give instructions with an emphatic function; and
i) to use as a filler; as an attempt to plan, fill in the floor while searching for proper words to say next

Repetition is one of the least used figures of speech as its occurrence is at 3%. The following excerpt shows how data reveals the use of repetition in this study.

Excerpt 32

Repetition
LC: What is your comment on the looting and torching of people's houses and business premises
LP (5): My Lord, **too much** blood has been shed, **too many** lives lost, **too many** of our people crippled and **too much** time lost for sweet nothing

In excerpt 32 participant (5) responds in English and uses repetition to respond to the commission. He repeats the phrase 'too much', 'too many' when he is asked to comment on the looting and torching of people's properties. The participant makes a repetition to emphasise the inexplicable suffering Basotho have experienced and his wish that all kinds of anguish could come to an end. This finding tallies with the assertion of Kemertelidze and Manjavidze (2013) that repetition brings about the logical emphasis that is necessary to attract a hearer's attention. This use of repetition enabled the participant to highlight the theme of his message which can be summed up as 'enough is enough. Rabab'ah and Abuseileek (2012) affirm that repetition highlights the theme and makes one look for the implied meaning attached to it.

Proverbs

Findings reveal the use of proverbs in participants' testimony. A proverb or an adage is a wise saying which is widely believed to denote aspects of general truth. It is meant to give advice or tell something about life (*Collins English Dictionary*, 2019). Languages have adages that are culture-specific, but according to Nasser and Raut (2019), many of these proverbs have

equivalents in different languages. According to Dagnew and Wodajo (2014) proverbs carry the following functions in societies that utilise them:

a) They disseminate traditional wisdom, truths and knowledge from one generation to the other particularly in the absence of written literature. They carry the philosophy of a particular nation.
b) It is in proverbs that a society's perception of life is observed; proverbs speak volumes about how a particular society views life as a whole.
c) They are used to express approval for those who obey the accepted socio-cultural conventions and to criticize and warn those who deviate from them.
d) They strengthen human interactions and make speeches interesting.
e) They are promoters and protectors of society's values.

The Sesotho proverbs are found in the responses that the participants gave. These appear at 5%. The participant quoted below used a proverb to conclude his evidence.

Excerpt 33

Proverb

LC: You may conclude your evidence.

LP (8): Ha ke qetella litaba tsa ka mohlomphehi.

LI: As I conclude my evidence, my Lord.

LP (8): Nka re, ngoana mohale mo sehele sebete, oa lokela eona mo shale lefura a le je le mo khame le mo bolae ka ha makoala a tsebahala ka ho ichoela lirope…followed by audience laughter.

[***Literal meaning****: The child of a warrior should be given a liver, while the child of a coward should be given the fatty part of the meat to eat so that it can get stuck in his throat and kill him for cowards are famous for splashing their thighs with liquid excrement.*

Figurative meaning*: Those who are cowards are already dead considering the situation at hand, the bravery people will be the ones who will survive*]

LI: em…eh,

In excerpt 33 the commissioner requests the participant to bring his evidence to conclusion. The participant does this by employing a Sesotho proverb that provides his general view over the political disturbances in the country. The proverb talks about two kinds of people; a coward

and a warrior. It states that a child of a warrior, due to his bravery, should be given a liver (sebete) to give him more courage if he has to face more battles, while the child of a coward should be given a fatty part of the meat so that after eating, it can get stuck on his throat and kill him because cowards are known to splash their thighs with liquid excrement. The proverb is a clear representation of the views that Basotho hold regarding cowardice and courage. Looking back at his earlier evidence, the participant seems to suggest that the ruling party is comprised of cowards whom one should not struggle too much getting rid of or toppling down. Due to their cowardice, they are almost dead, and they just need to be finished off. This Sesotho adage is similar in meaning to Shakespeare's famous quote from *Julius Caesar* that reads, 'Cowards die many times before their deaths; The valiant never taste of death but once'. The proverb fulfilled two functions cited by Dagnew and Wodajo (2014:1), these are it carried the philosophy of the Basotho nation regarding warriors and cowards and it coloured the participant's speech and made it interesting. As the Zulu proverb confirms about the use of proverbs in speech, namely, 'food tastes good when it is cooked with butter' (Dagnew and Wodajo, ibid). However, this adage is uttered in very deep Sesotho words that could be the reason why the interpreter is not able to interpret it into English, the target language. The audience also laughs at the difficult Sesotho as they are probably already anticipating the struggle the interpreter is going to face to interpret the adage. The interpreter is able to say only; 'em…eh' and stops there. Consequently, the commissioner does not receive the message conveyed by the participant.

The use of figurative language in this study is similar to what other scholars found in the studies reviewed in chapter two. What differs is the context in which figures of speech were explored. In the reviewed studies, figurative language is found in political speech (Kulo, 2009), in advertising (Romaneko, 2014 and Skorupa & Dubovičienė, 2015) and TED Talks (Di Carlo 2014). In all these studies, figurative language is used for functions such as adding emphasis and conviction, comparing to convey implications and connotations, better clarifying a message, create humour, reveal society's perception of life and minimise a face threat, all of which are found in the current study.

5.4.3.2 Indirect communication

Indirect communication is one of the communicative strategies found among the participants in this study. This strategy has to do with meaning beyond the words used. According to Joyce (2012), this kind of communication is conveyed not just by the words used but by the non-verbal behaviours (pauses, tone of voice, silence), implication, understatement and a widely

shared understanding of the context of the communication. As elaborated by Laroche, (2007) indirect communication has the following characteristics:

a) a focus on maintaining good relationships;
b) a hidden meaning;
c) communication that tends to be personal;
d) a subtle language that one has to read between the lines;
e) is culture orientated and the listener has to understand the culture to understand the meaning of the communication.

Joyce (2012) further indicates that indirect communication serves functions such as:

a) to maintain harmony and to save face; and
b) to avoid conflict, tension or uncomfortable situation. However, an indirect speaker runs the risk of the listener not understanding the deep (as opposed to the surface) meaning of an utterance.

Indirect communication is the least used strategy which has occurred six times. It is observed in the response of two army officers in the Phumaphi Commission and it appears in the form of analogy. The use of indirect communication is realised as thus:

Excerpt 34

Indirect communication
PC: How did he come from lower ranks and become a commander?
PP (19): Lesotho koana teropong e nyenyane joaloka ea Maseru hona le hore ha o ntso re o tsamaea ka Kingsway ebe motho e mong o pota ka Mpilo ka holimo ka mane, ha o mo fumane a sea le ka pele ho oena ha o makale.
PI: There, in Lesotho, in a small town like Maseru, it so happens that while you are driving through Kingsway, somebody else may decide to use Mpilo road and when you find such a person (who drove through Mpilo) ahead of you, you are not surprised.
PC: Please give us a straight answer, for a better understanding

In excerpt 34 the participant gives an indirect answer when asked to explain how a certain army officer managed to become a commander yet he was a lower-ranked army officer. According to the theory of implicature, this response has a deeper, not a superficial, meaning. It is a conversational implicature that demands a reference to some background knowledge. The participant states that in Lesotho if you drive through Kingsway Road and another uses Mpilo,

you are not surprised when the person who drove through Mpilo arrives at his/her destination first. For the commissioner to understand and deduce the meaning of this utterance, he needs to be familiar with a Lesotho context regarding different roads as well as their names. The commissioner needs to first be aware that Mpilo is a highway and, therefore, enables drivers to move fast while Kingsway Road has a lot of obstructions such as traffic lights and general traffic congestion which could hinder one from driving as fast as the one at Mpilo. An understanding of this may help the commissioner to accurately interpret that the participant is implying that having strong connections with the right people in one's area of interest may assist one into getting a higher position faster (by skipping other ranks) than a person who merely has to follow stipulated procedures. In other words, this analogy means that the person the participant is referring to was connected to people who had the power to give him the position of the commander without having to follow the procedural routes to obtain such position. As has been observed, the context plays a vital role to finally reach the intended meaning and since this is indirect communication, it could likely be misunderstood and misinterpreted. The interpreter too did not assist the commission to understand the implied meaning of this utterance as he conveyed the literal meaning instead of the intended one. The commissioner and his team were left to think on their own what the participant could mean. The participant has used this strategic way of communication to mitigate the potential severity with which the utterance could have been viewed had it been said directly. This then means that politeness gave rise to the implicature. Joyce (2012) confirms that one of the functions of indirect communication is to maintain harmony and to save face.

Excerpt 35 below gives another illustration of the use of indirect communication.

Excerpt 35

Indirect communication

PC: I would like to know this, there, at your workplace, you seem to have one particular person (mention the name) who plays so many roles. Is he the advisor, prosecutor, commander of operations? He seems all in one.

PP (1): Is that surprising to you? Here in Lesotho, we go against the law of nature, we are recycling people because of a lack of human resource. Let me give you an example; one would appear as the government chairman of the government which has overthrown the constitutional government and again appear as the lawyer, and appear as a candidate, appear as the minister and again appear as the lawyer. So I don't think that surprises you (laughter in the background).

PC: Why don't you say it directly so that we are all in the light of what you mean?
PP (1): No response.

In excerpt 35, the participant is asked to describe the role of one particular army officer who seems to play many roles, all in one. The question is addressed by one of the local advocates assisting the commission, but the question posted after the participant's response comes from the commissioner himself. As he responds, the participant gives an indirect analogy of what can be understood by one who is familiar with the history of politics in Lesotho and the role played by certain political activists in the country. In this example, the participant is indirectly referring to the advocate who is cross-examining him, who has also occupied many political roles in the country. The audience laughs at what the participant says because they have enough background information to realise that the participant is indirectly attacking the person interrogating him. Ngwawi (2014), in his analysis of Lesotho's political background, mentions the role played by the advocate who is questioning the participant. He occupied all the roles (chairman of the government, candidate for election, lawyer, minister) mentioned by the participant. By this analogy, the participant is implying that the advocate is not supposed to be surprised at seeing one person playing many roles in the army because he himself (the advocate) has occupied several roles in the civil service and the past governments and this did not seem to be a problem. The participant may have decided to use indirect communication to avoid threatening the face of the advocate who would probably feel more embarrassed had this been communicated directly. However, the commissioner (being a foreigner in the country) did not understand the participant's response for he was not familiar with the context of the communication, that is, he was not well versed with all Lesotho political occurrences from 1994 to date, hence his request for the participant to present his response directly.

As shown in chapter two of this study, the concept of indirect communication has been dealt with but the focus was on the relationship between the pragmatic understanding of the implied meaning (a domain involving social understanding) and core language skills such as grammar and vocabulary (Wilson and Bishop, 2019). Scholars also focused on the comprehension of indirect communication by non-native speakers (Taguchi, 2005) and by child witnesses (Evans *et al*., 2014). They did not pay attention to its application as a communicative device which is the focus of this study.

5.4.3.3 Direct refusal

Another communicative strategy revealed by data is direct refusal. Refusal is a negative response to another speech act issued in the form of a request, invitation or suggestion (Satter *et al*., 2011). It is a natural face-threatening speech act that needs to be appropriately handled to mitigate the threat to face. Umali (2011) asserts that it can damage the positive face of the speaker and threaten the negative face of the listener. Refusals are divided into two main groups, namely, direct refusal and indirect refusal. The direct refusal is delivered in a direct manner like 'No', 'I refuse', 'I won't do it', etcetera This is the face-threatening type that is inconsiderate of hearers' feelings. It directly confronts the hearer without mitigating the refusal. Indirect refusal on the other hand comprises phrases that possess all sorts of mitigation formulas (hence they are told indirectly) such as excuses, apologies or explanations (Montero, 2015). Many social factors play a role in the speaker's choice of direct or indirect refusal. These are gender, age, setting, topic, education level, status and interlocutors. However, social status and social distance between the interlocutors appear to be the major factors that affect the use of direct and indirect refusals. This means that direct refusal is mainly admissible to people of low or equal social status, however, when an individual of higher status is addressed, the refusal is indirect. It is mitigated to show politeness and respect (Al-Mahrooqi and Al-Aghbari, 2016). According to Shishavan and Sharifian (2016), refusals serve two main functions. They are

a) used when the hearer has reservations regarding the speaker's offer, invitation or request; and
b) used when the hearer is not willing to disclose information.

Direct refusal is the sixth common strategy used by participants. It is a peculiar strategy in this study in that it is exclusive to Phumaphi participants. No participants used this strategy in the Leon Commission. Another aspect worth mentioning is that this strategy is mainly realised in participants belonging to the army (9%). The government officials also have a significant number (6%) of refusals considering the fact that there were only four officials whose transcripts this study had access to. The refusal strategy observed is a direct refusal. The participants would just briefly (without any explanation) state that they would not answer a certain question. Politeness asserts that face-threatening acts such as refusal need to be mitigated to minimise the threat to face especially if participants do not share equal social status. However, in the case of the Phumaphi Commission, the threat was not minimized despite the high level of social distance between the participants and the commission. Excerpts 36 and 37 demonstrate some of the refusals found in the responses of Phumaphi participants:

Excerpt 36

Direct refusal

PC: There were two commanders in the army. There was a de facto commander and a legal commander. How were the two commanders of the same army operating?

PP (19): I'm not going to answer you.

PC: Why?

PP (19): Because I'm not answering you.

The participant in excerpt 36 is requested to elaborate how the two commanders of the same army were operating, how they shared duties and responsibilities. The participant directly refuses to answer this question by stating, 'I'm not going to answer you', and when he is asked why, he says he is simply not answering and no justification is given. His refusal is direct because it is not mitigated; there is no apology, excuse, statement of regret or any promise for future acceptance as it is the case with indirect refusals (Beebe, Takahashi and Ulizz-Weltz, 1990; Montero, 2015). There is a chance that the participant had an answer to this question but was not willing to disclose it. This is because he does not say he does not know; neither does he want to say why he does not want to answer. The excerpt below shows another form of direct refusal.

Excerpt 37

Direct refusal

PC: We are here and the crux of the matter of our enquiry is the death of Brigadier Mahao. I have a reason to believe that you were part of the team that went to arrest him. Confirm or deny.

PP (23): No comment, my lord.

PC: I put it to you that you were present when Mahao was arrested and shot.

PP (23): No comment, my lord.

PC: Please name the individual soldiers who were deployed to suppress the alleged mutiny.

PP (23): I cannot do that.

PC: I acknowledge that you are loyal to your commander. Tell me, will your loyalty extend to your successors?

PP (23): I will not respond to the hypothesis.

In excerpt 37 there are several direct refusals which the participant employs, rather than answering the commissioner's questions. The first question requires him to confirm or deny his presence in the team that went to arrest Brigadier Mahao. The participant refuses to answer this question and leaves it to the commissioner to draw his conclusion. A similar case is observed with the second statement the commissioner makes. The participant still refuses to confirm or deny his presence on the team. His refusal is phrased in the form of 'no comment'. According to the *Collins English Dictionary* (2018), 'no comment' is a way of refusing to answer a question. The third question wants him to name individual soldiers who were deployed to the alleged mutiny. The participant refuses to name these soldiers by uttering 'I cannot do that'. When he is asked if he would remain as loyal as he currently is to the commanders who are yet to be, the participant still refuses to answer this question, stating that he will not 'respond to hypothesis'. Similar to excerpt 20, the function of refusal in this instance is to withhold information. The witness does not say he does not know but simply states his refusal to provide information to the commission.

The studies reviewed (Satter *et al*.,2011; Montero,2015; Al-Mahrooqi and Al-Aghbari, 2016; Tuncer, 2016; Shishavan and Sharifian, 2016) indicate that speakers usually opt for indirect refusal when they interact with the interlocutor who is more senior than they are and with wider social distance, but employ direct refusal when speaking to peers and lower rank individuals. However, in this study, direct refusal was employed despite unequal social status and social distance between the participants and the commission.

5.4.3.4 Indirect criticism

Indirect criticism is also one of the communicative strategies that this study has identified. Criticism is a face-threatening negative comment that is expressed by a dissatisfied speaker. As explained by Kaufman (2012), direct criticism on the one hand provides negative evaluation without reservations, the interlocutor directly points out the hearer's mistakes and demands correction directly instead of beating about the bush. The criticism of this kind may include insulting, threatening and so on. On the other hand in indirect criticism, the intended criticism

is not stated directly but is implied. Kaufman (ibid) affirm that indirect criticism means that the illocutionary force of criticism is uttered utilizing the performance of other speech acts so the interlocutor's real intention can be partially concealed. Indirect criticism is usually an acceptable means of correcting inappropriate behaviour and it yields better positive results than direct criticism.

Indirect criticism is observed in two participants, the opposition leader in the Leon and the army officer in the Phumaphi commissions. It occurs six times in Leon and eight times in Phumaphi. These findings indicate that this strategy was not popular. The participants utilised this communicative strategy in situations where they wanted to show areas of weakness within the commission itself. This is illustrated in the excerpts that follow:

Excerpt 38

Indirect criticism
LC: You say that the South African government is supporting a government that they know is not lawfully elected, how do they know that?
LP (4): My lord, I am praying for the day when the Basotho as a nation will sit down together to sort out their problems with as little interference and compounding of our family problems by foreigners.

In excerpt 38 the participant is asked to explain his earlier comment which says the South African government is supporting a government that is unlawfully elected. Instead of responding to the question, the participant states how much he prays that one day Basotho would solve their problems without interference from foreigners. In his response, the participant is indirectly criticising the presence of the SADC (South African Development Community, 2019) commission in Lesotho. He calls them foreigners who interfere with the affairs of Basotho. The participant uses two derogatory terms, namely, 'foreigner', associated with xenophobia (Maunganidze, 2015), and 'interference' that means intrusion or trespassing. He feels that the commission is interfering and not assisting Lesotho to resolve its political disputes. The commission is referred to as a foreigner because it comes from outside Lesotho to solve Lesotho's political problems. The SADC comprises Southern African countries such as South Africa, Lesotho, Zimbabwe, Botswana, Tanzania, Mozambique, Angola, Zambia, Malawi, Eswatini, Democratic Republic of Congo, Namibia, Madagascar, Mauritius and Seychelles. Any member country that encounters political upheavals is assisted by SADC to solve such. However, according to the participant in question, the SADC is not supposed to

meddle with the affairs of Basotho, instead, it should let Basotho resolve their problems. This criticism of the SADC is uttered indirectly. Instead of confronting the SADC commission and telling the commission that they are foreigners and their presence is not welcome in the country and that Basotho can solve their challenges, the participant utters what his prayer request is and by so doing portrays indirect attack. Criticism is one of the highly face-threatening acts that according to politeness must be mitigated. The participant might have used indirect criticism to minimize the threat to the commission's positive face. Even though the attack is minimised by indirect criticism, it still appears sensitive and insulting. It is important, however, to note that the criticism used helped the participant to avoid answering the question asked. He ends up not responding to the question even after being reminded that he still has not responded to the question. Excerpt 39 portrays another example of indirect criticism.

Excerpt 39

Indirect criticism

PC: Yes, please explain, are you still occupying your office even after you received a dismissal letter?

PP (14): You see my Lord, us as the military… when we are taken out for a mission in a foreign land, we are very much instructed and ordered to know the laws of that country, culture and the tendencies of those people whom we are going to assist or work with and that always has been the easiest way that the military accomplishes its mission… So the position that I hold as the commander of Lesotho Defense Force I am directly answerable to the minister of defence, and this issue that comes out that I refuse to obey the orders of the commander in chief is wrong. Like my neighbour here, their constitution is clear to say the commander in chief of the defence force in SA is the president and that presupposes that the commander of the defence forces has got the direct reporting line at times to the president. But in this country, there is nowhere in our statutes that you can find that. I don't report to his majesty in this country, I report to the prime minister. I could hear my lord going so hard on some of the participants that this commander refused the orders of the commander in chief, it is because, in Botswana, the commander does have time to talk to the president such that it could be strange for him to refuse the orders of the president.

In excerpt 39 the participant is asked to explain why he still has occupied his office even after he was served with a dismissal letter. Instead of responding to the question, the participant

indirectly challenges the expertise of the commission regarding the assignment given to them. He illustrates what the military usually does to accomplish their mission when they are taken out on a mission to a foreign land. He states that they first and foremost educate themselves about the culture, habits, laws and tendencies of that particular land. He further shows that in South Africa and Botswana the commander of the defence force directly reports to the commander in chief, however, in the case of Lesotho, it is not written anywhere in Lesotho statutes that the army commander reports directly to the king. The participant's use of illustration of what the military does before embarking on a mission and what the practices of other countries are about the reporting line of the army commander is an indirect criticism against the commissioner that is used to mitigate a threat to face. In this particular instance, the participant has used an implicature for politeness purposes. The deeper meaning that can be attached to what he is saying is that the commissioner and his team did not properly do their assignment. They did not do their research on the laws that govern Lesotho, culture and tendencies of the Basotho before they embarked on their mission hence they are mixing up Lesotho laws with those of other countries such as South Africa and the commissioner's own country, Botswana. Had the participant confronted the commission directly the message could have clearly stated that the commission has failed to do its duties effectively as it does not know Lesotho's statutes, culture and tendencies that they should have taken the trouble to know prior to embarking on their mission. The participant used criticism as a strategy to avoid responding to the question that required him to explain why he is still occupying his office after dismissal. It can, therefore, be concluded that the two participants used criticism to avoid responding to commissioners' questions.

Instances of criticism as a communicative strategy are observed in studies such as the one carried by Nguyen (2005), Kaufman (2012 and Tang (2016) as reviewed in chapter two of this study. However, as opposed to the present study, these scholars' studies revealed the popular use of direct criticism. Based on the findings of Kaufman (2015) that showed that direct criticism is employed by participants who had higher power status than the addressee, the study concludes that the participants opted for indirect criticism because they were addressing the commissioners who happened to hold higher power statuses (by the virtue of their job) than them. Politeness states that the relative power determines the extent to which one participant can impose their will over the other. According to the theory, politeness increased when addressing individuals with a higher status than individuals with equal or low status. In many cultures, direct criticism becomes unacceptable when it is directed by a junior to a senior. Joyce (2012) asserts that criticism of others, especially people with more authority, should be

unspoken or carefully veiled. Kaufman (2012) further indicates that a junior has no right to openly criticise a senior person because he has no status to do so. The participants might have adhered to the cultural norms regarding politeness and opted for mitigated criticism.

5.5 COMPARISON OF STRATEGIES USED IN LEON AND PHUMAPHI COMMISSIONS

One of the objectives of this study was to compare the two commissions of enquiry to find out if there is any marked difference and/or similarities in the use of communicative strategies by the participants. Reiterating on a little background to the inquiries, the Leon and Phumaphi commissions were established in different eras although the purpose of their establishment was similar. The Leon Commission met in 1998 while the Phumaphi commission met 17 years later, in 2015. As indicated in chapter one of this study, the political crisis that often overwhelms a country has ever been the rationale behind the establishment of enquiry commissions in Lesotho. Leon Commission's establishment was driven by demonstrations by supporters of the opposition party who claimed to have evidence that there was corruption in the electoral system and that the votes were rigged (*Government Gazette*, 2000). Similarly, the Phumaphi Commission came about as a result of a political crisis that led to the assassination of the commander of the LDF, Maaparankoe Mahao, and several arrests as well as the alleged torture of some LDF members (Southern African Development Community, 2015). The two commissions, therefore, had a common purpose, that being to inquire into the events leading to political instability in Lesotho, find perpetrators, and make that would eventually restore peace and stability when implemented.

The following table and figure show the use of communicative strategies in both commissions of enquiry.

Table 3: Use of strategies by participants in the Leon and Phumaphi commissions

Strategies	**Leon**	**Phumaphi**	**Total**	**Average**
PP	214 (67%)	104 (33%)	318 (100%)	159
FL	77 (46%)	90 (54%)	167 (100%)	84
FILL	60 (9%)	622 (91%)	682 (100%)	341

CS	29(4%)	708 (96%)	737 (100%)	369
VL	28 (17%)	133 (83%)	161 (100%)	81
PV	27 (35%)	51 (65%)	78 (100%)	39
CIR	9 (38%)	15 (62%)	24 (100%)	12
DQ	7 (6%)	108 (94%)	115 (100%)	58
CRI	6 (43%)	8 (57%)	14 (100%)	7
IC	0%	6 (100%)	6 (100%)	3
QUE	0%	40 (100%)	40 (100%)	20
REF	0%	120 (100%)	120 (100%)	60

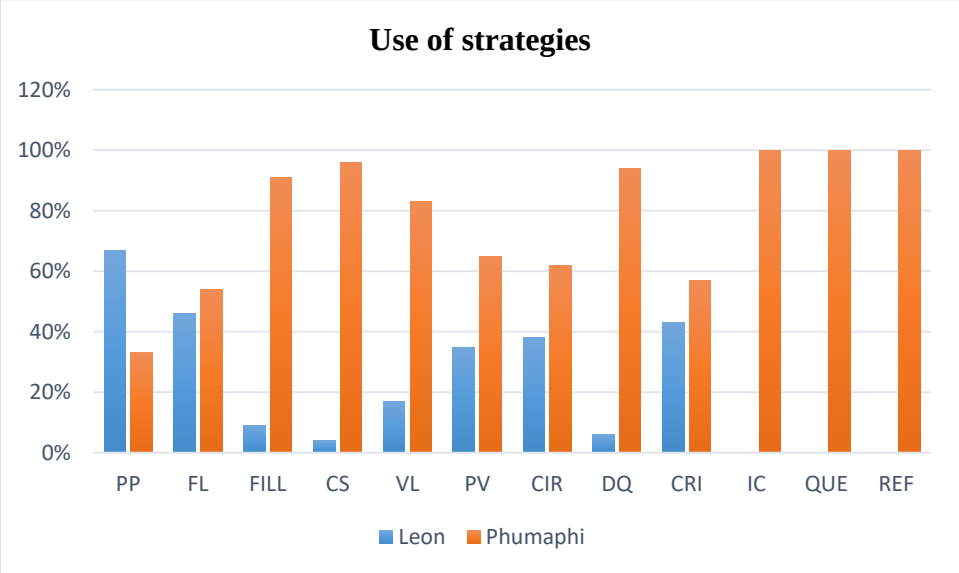

Figure 8: Use of strategies by participants in the Leon and Phumaphi commissions

Looking at the two commissions, the study finds that there is generally an overlap regarding the use of strategies by participants in both commissions. Many of the strategies (9 out of 12 strategies) found in the Leon Commission are also found in the Phumaphi Commission. However, the application of strategies is generally more enhanced in the Phumaphi Commission than in the Leon Commission. The rationale behind this could be that there were more Phumaphi participants than Leon participants. Sixteen participants were represented in Phumaphi and ten in Leon. The number of participants could not be balanced as the study used only the samples that were available in the public domain and, therefore, had no control over the samples. Another reason is that Phumaphi participants testified for a longer time than did those of Leon.

The study also observes that the three most common strategies used in the Leon Commission were personal pronouns, figurative language and fillers, while the Phumaphi commission had code-switching, fillers and vague language as its common strategies. The study further finds that irrespective of the commission, fillers and code-switching seem to be the most commonly preferred strategies in both commissions. One other observation is that figurative language appears almost equally applied by participants in both commissions, however, this means that the strategy is very prominent in Leon since the participants were fewer and they testified for a shorter time than did those of Phumaphi. The study also finds that refusals, questioning and indirect communication were found in the Phumaphi Commission only, while personal pronouns are used in the Leon Commission.

5.6 SUMMARY

This study all together analysed twenty-six participants of the Leon and Phumaphi commissions of enquiry. There were twelve army officers, opposition leaders, four government officials, three police officers and one private individual. As has been observed, the majority of the participants were army officers. The communicative strategies found among these participants are twelve and these are code-switching, fillers, figurative language, personal pronouns, passive voice, criticism, indirect communication, refusal, vague language, questioning, circumlocution and direct quoting. Each of these strategies was realised in different forms, types and variants The three most prevalent communicative strategies among the twenty-six participants were code-switching, fillers and personal pronouns. The type of code-switching that was mostly employed was intra-sentential code-switching. The participants who testified in Sesotho are found to have used more intra-sentential code-switching than those who testified in English. Furthermore, they found it difficult to testify entirely in Sesotho, as they seemed to lack an

adequate Sesotho vocabulary to explain certain concepts. The participants who testified in English mainly used inter-sentential code-switching to quote others and to convey culturally embedded messages.

Regarding the use of fillers, this study finds that all three types are used, but unlexicalised fillers are the most common among the participants and they become frequent when the participants switch to English. The study finds this to be the case because the participants probably had to think of the correct English word to use as English is not their first language and this required some time to think. Personal pronouns occupy the third position in terms of their occurrence. The pronoun that is most prevalent is 'we' which suggests that the participants were doing things more as a group than as individuals. Generally, the least-used strategies are circumlocution, criticism and indirect communication.

Another finding relates to the separate analysis of the two commissions. The study finds that both Leon and Phumaphi participants mostly shared similar communicative strategies. However, in the Leon Commission, participants mostly employed personal pronouns, figurative language and fillers in their testimonies while Phumaphi participants mainly used code-switching, fillers and vague language. This study further observes that questioning and refusal strategies were observed only among the Phumaphi army officers and government officials. Furthermore, vague language seems predominant among the army officers and government officials. The use of the passive voice is found to be common among junior army officers and the police investigating officers. This suggests that they were too frightened and wary to reveal the names of perpetrators. Moreover, direct quoting appears the most common strategy among opposition leaders. The members of the opposition seemed eager to have their testimony taken seriously by the commission hence they made excessive use of direct quoting. Code-switching was realised in all the categories of participants whereas fillers were observed in all the categories except police officers. The study further finds that the army participants had used all the twelve communicative strategies while other categories had used some and left others. The police officers in particular had used only five out of twelve communicative strategies.

CHAPTER SIX

DISCUSSION

6.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the results in relation to the research objectives. The first section discusses the types of communicative strategies found in the data. It also looks into the conversational effectiveness of the strategies used. The objective relating to the linguistic realization of communicative strategies is also discussed. The second section discusses the similarities and differences which are found in the strategies employed in both commissions and among the categories of participants. The last objective that relates to what the present study proposes for future commissions about the use of communicative strategies is addressed in the last chapter of this study.

6.1 TYPES OF COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES

The study establishes that participants were strategic in their response to questions and this is shown by their overall use of twelve types of communicative strategies, namely; code-switching, fillers, personal pronouns, figurative language, vague language, direct quoting, direct refusals, passive voice, indirect communication, indirect criticism, questioning, and circumlocution. This study further re-grouped and classified the twelve communicative strategies found into three main categories based on their functional characteristics. These categories are conversational, grammatical and socio-cultural. The strategies found under each

category are discussed and interpreted based on the context which surrounds the study, the theoretical framework and the related literature. The categorisation is as follows:

6.1.1 Communicative strategies under the conversational category

The first category is of strategies categorised as conversational. They are classified so due to the role they play in the day to day conversation. They help to describe, clarify and enhance a conversation. Depending on the type of conversational strategy used, communication is enriched or impaired. The strategies under this category are code-switching, fillers, vague language, and circumlocution.

Code-switching was the most common strategy used among all the participants of the commission. Participants who testified in Sesotho used intra-sentential code-switching to borrow English words and phrases while those who testified in English used mainly inter-sentential switch to describe culture-related idiomatic expressions. The widespread use of code-switching is a common style of communication among Basotho who have had exposure to English through formal education and have developed some proficiency in the language. Among Basotho speakers generally, code-switching is predominant in both formal and informal interactions due to a lifelong coexistence of Sesotho and English as the two official languages in the country. As explained by Khati (2011), Sesotho is the first language of a majority of the population while English is the second language and the language of education. Semethe (2019) indicates that Sesotho-English code-switching is so common that there is a development of an asymmetrical convergence between Sesotho and English. This implies that several irregular patterns emerge in the construction of these switches. Semethe (ibid) identifies simple to complex Sesotho-English code-switching occurrences of different types and patterns.

The study asserts that Code-switching played an enriching conversational role in that participants used it to describe and clarify information communicated to the commissioners. Participants used the strategy to describe their feelings, repeat some information for clarification, describe culturally embedded messages, describe events that occurred in an easier and faster way and describe some words that had no direct equivalence in their native language. In other words, code-switching afforded them all kinds of descriptions they needed to do to communicate information effectively and successfully. By employing code-switching, they adequately served the maxim of manner.

In the studied commissions, the predominance of code-switching can be attributed to exposure to the Lesotho education system where English and Sesotho co-exist as languages of interaction since some of them have a school-leaving certificate while others have tertiary

qualifications. They are therefore fluent in Sesotho as it is their mother tongue, and due to their substantial contact with English both inside and outside the classroom, they have attained a high level of English proficiency. This means they can listen, read, write and speak English spontaneously and competently in a real-life context. Harsch (2017) affirms that language proficiency is the appropriate and purposeful application of one's communicative competence. The participants' acquired English proficiency explains why they frequently applied intra-sentential code-switching, a complex form of code-switching in which a speaker needs to adhere to grammar rules such as subject-verb agreement and tense, despite the switch (within a sentence) from one language to another. For some participants, this regular contact with English has resulted in their having English lexical items more easily accessible to them than those found in their mother tongue (Sesotho). This finding is consistent with that of Chen and Rubinstein-Avila (2015) who found that when speakers are unable to remember the words in their mother tongue/first language quickly, they will take words and expressions from their second language as these would be widely spread and used in their society even more so than the equivalent words in their first.

The second strategy under the conversational category is the use of fillers, which are conversational marker used by speakers to create some time to think during their speech. Fillers are the second most common strategy used by all categories of participants except one, that is the police officers. This study refers to fillers as time-creating or precautionary strategies because the participants used them in conversation to buy some time to think carefully before they uttered anything to the commissions. This confirms the assertion made by Jonsson (2016) that fillers give the speaker time to plan the next utterance. Participants seemed watchful and cautious of what they said and did not say to the commission. According to the findings, the army officers and opposition leaders were the most careful about what they said to the commissions and thought hard about what they said before it was uttered, hence the prevalent use of fillers. They played a leading role during the looting and burning of business premises and ministers' houses in 1998 (Southern African Development Community, 2001), and in 2015 they became the reason for the establishment of the Phumaphi Commission, for they shot and killed their commander claiming he resisted an order to be arrested. Their active involvement in the unrests of 1998 and 2015 is enough reason to feel insecure, knowing well that the findings of the commissions could lead to court appearances for those suspected of misconduct. These occurrences explain the rampant use of fillers, their use enabled participants to think and plan their next utterance so they do not convey information in a manner that could incriminate them. According to Wu (2001) and Jamshidnejad (2011), a filler is a time-creating device, for it gives

the speaker some time to think about what to say next. Santos *et al*. (2016) further assert that fillers are used when speakers feel insecure about what they are talking about. The 'stop and think' attribute that fillers have enabled participants to provide only the required information and therefore adhering to the maxims of quality and quantity.

In the case of opposition leaders, fillers in the form of stumbling and hesitations were prevalent as a result of anger over the past political events that led to these commissions. The testimonies they gave caused them to re-live the harsh treatment they claimed to have received from the army before fleeing the country. Many of them gave their testimony while still in exile. They fled the country after alleged threats from the army to assassinate them. The use of fillers as a result of anger is seen to be exclusive to this study as the researcher could not find literature that attests to this. Fillers were more prevalent among participants who gave their testimony in English and, and they became more pronounced in instances where they speak English, while they declined when they switched for a short while to their first language. The study infers that though participants had been to school, have had adequate exposure and proficiency in English, and are regarded as having attained communicative competence, the fact remains that their level of language proficiency differed and that English is not their first language, and as a result, not every English word will be on the tip of their tongue. They, therefore, needed to create time to think of the appropriate word to use in their second language, which enhanced clarity. This interpretation corresponds with Chihsia's (2015) assertion that the use of fillers is in a way influenced by one's level of language proficiency. The more proficient one is, the lesser the application of fillers.

The third strategy under the conversational category, which was found in both commissions, is vague language. In the Phumaphi Commission, in which it was particularly common, it was used among the army officers and government officials. Seemingly, the Phumaphi participants employed vague language to hide a huge amount of information. The government and the army officials used 'I don't know', 'nothing' 'I don't know exactly' very often when responding to questions about occurrences that took place under their jurisdiction. By so doing, they flouted the maxims of quality, quantity and manner, and therefore gave rise to the implicature that there was some information they were not willing to share with the commission. The army and the government then in power were the main target groups that had to describe the circumstances that led to the death of the former commander of LDF. The army received a directive from the government to arrest the former commander and this led to his death (South African Development and Economic Commission, 2015). However, when asked questions relating to the death of the commander, they claimed they did not know much. During

the proceedings, the commission raised a concern that the government seemed not to know a lot of information that should be provided by them. The commission commented that there was important information that the government seemed not willing to share. This then suggests that the government and the army officers (who are part of the government) wanted to ensure that they do not say anything which could incriminate them hence the use of vague language. According to Drave (2001) and Qiao (2010), vague language is used when a speaker wants to withhold specific information deliberately for reasons of self-protection. It can therefore be concluded that vague language was a communicative strategy intended to conceal information that the participants considered sensitive and likely to incriminate them.

Vague language was also used by Leon participants, however, the circumstances in which it was used differ from its use in the Phumaphi Commission. In the Leon Commission, the strategy appears mostly in the data of participants who could not remember some of the events they were asked to clarify. It is seen in participants who are willing to elaborate further on their evidence but who, for one reason or another, may have a vague memory about some events. Being unable to remember some specific information hindered commission's access to information.

The last communicative strategy found under the conversational category is circumlocution. The findings reveal the use of circumlocution as one of the communicative strategies used by government officials in the Phumaphi Commission and army officers in the Leon Commission. The use of this communicative strategy resulted in the flouting of the maxims of quantity and manner which expect speakers to clearly communicate only the required information. Users of circumlocution displayed some reluctance to provide the commissioners with correct answers, and they surrounded the required information with a lot of irrelevant information so that it was either difficult to locate the correct response, or the appropriate response was delayed, although information was not completely concealed. It requires time and patience on the part of the recipient to interpret. Participants in the Leon Commission went round and round in circles as they responded to some of the questions. If it were not for the commissioner's persistence, they would not have received the information they were looking for. This could be attributed to the fact that some of the answers they had to give reflected badly on them, hence the use of circumlocution. For example, they might have felt embarrassed to state that they were going to torch someone else's home. The politeness theory asserts that everyone wants his/her public self-image respected (Brown and Levinson, 1987), as a result, the participant purposefully went in circles in an attempt to protect his positive face. In the case of the Phumaphi Commission, circumlocution is seen playing a clarifying role in

which participants felt that giving a straight forward answer would not satisfactorily convey adequate information and needed to back up their evidence by giving extra information. Obeng (2012) clarifies that circumlocution is used at times to communicate in an indirect way to clarify a point. The irrelevant responses that participants provided before reaching the required response clouded their answers and made it seem like they were not willing to give the correct response; The Commission could have failed to get answers had they not tirelessly insisted that the participants should get to the point and answer their questions

6.1.1.1 Conversational effectiveness of strategies under the conversational category

The effectiveness of a communicative strategy was based on its ability to provide the commissions with the information they asked for. The context played an important role in determining whether the strategies used were conversationally effective or not. There are those strategies whose effectiveness was determined by the context surrounding the events, while others relied on the surface meaning of the responses made, the relevance of response to the question asked, as well as literature.

After examining the use of code-switching, the study asserts that it was a conversationally effective communicative strategy. Therefore, communities need to ensure that this communicative strategy is used to benefit them. As discussed earlier, code-switching was effectively used to enhance clarity and therefore convey the much-needed information to the commissions. By incorporating this communicative strategy in their testimonies, the participants fulfilled what earlier scholars such as Hoffamn (1981) and Skiba (1997) say is the ultimate reason for code-switching, which is to attain effective communication. Skiba (ibid) calls it an extension to language for bilingual speakers. Code witching is therefore classified in this study as an extension to language which enriched communication between participants and the commissioners. The switches were also of benefit to the commissioners since they were competent in one of the languages (English) of the switch, so they did not depend entirely on the interpreter.

Regarding the use of fillers, the study found them to be conversationally effective in that, even though they distracted a free flow of communication, a lot of patience was required from the listeners and took a little longer to convey the message, the information requested by the commissions was eventually provided, though it can still be argued that the planning of their utterance might have afforded them a chance to leave out some important information. The participants just needed a little more time to think of the right words to use, especially in their second language, when they were feeling insecure and angry, all of which required a well-

thought-through message. Kharismawan (2017) opined that stalling (another word for fillers) devices should not always be considered as a distraction to speaking but as a way to improve interaction. The information that the commission required was provided and that was what mattered the most. This study notes that the use of stalling devices allows the interlocutor to think before speaking. The use of fillers in this study was participants' strategic way of communicating information to the commissioners, also ensuring that through planned utterances enabled by fillers, they said only what was needed to be said.

The use of circumlocution is also categorised under conversationally effective communicative strategies. The study asserts that, although this strategy was a time-waster and demanded a lot of patience from the commissioners before they could receive answers, it was an effective communicative strategy because the commission eventually received the information they were looking for. It is difficult to establish how people should answer questions, particularly in proceedings such as a commission of enquiry where participants still want to ensure that the answers they give do not have negative legal consequences for them. Vague language on the other hand is one conversational strategy found to have impacted negatively on the proceedings of the commission and is therefore considered conversationally ineffective. The strategy denied the commissions information that they needed to successfully complete their work. The context was not a suitable one for vague language because it was crucial that the commission receive all the correct facts so that their recommendations could be based on well-researched facts and not speculation or assumptions. It was therefore important that witnesses remembered all the facts and were willing to share their information with the commissions. The vague language may have protected them from incriminating themselves but the commissions did not benefit from it. It can therefore be argued that three strategies falling under the conversational category enabled effective communication while one strategy was a hindrance.

6.1.2 Communicative strategies under the grammatical category

The second category is of strategies that are classified as grammatical. These grammatical strategies aid in the construction of grammatically correct sentences but in this case, they were strategically used to serve the intentions of the speaker. The context in which they were used demanded more (contextual) meaning than the usual grammatical meaning they carry. Such strategies are personal pronouns, direct quoting (direct speech), passive voice and questioning. Looking into the use of personal pronouns, the study finds that this grammatical concept played a vital role in describing participants' involvement in activities that caused chaos in the country

by assigning responsibilities to people as individuals and as part of the group. This communicative strategy helped the commissions to separate activities carried out in a group from those carried out by individual people. This brought clarity to the narration of events and therefore resulted in the adherence to the maxim of manner. Personal pronouns are the third most commonly used strategy especially by army participants in the Leon Commission. The frequent use of personal pronouns by participants who were army officers was motivated by the fact that the participants had to describe a lot of troop movements that took place during the riots in 1998. The activities they engaged in were executed by both groups and individuals. They had to specify the roles played by the participants themselves – their colleagues – as well as the activities they engaged in collectively. They, therefore, employed pronouns like 'I', 'we' and 'they' in their testimony. These pronouns have an exclusionary and inclusionary effect, depending on which is employed (Nordquist, 2018) in interactions. It is worth noting that the most commonly applied pronoun in this study is the inclusive 'we' that evokes a sense of togetherness and shared responsibility (Nordquist, ibid). This study thus infers that activities such as the looting and torching of ministers' house and business buildings that the participants engaged in were planned together and carried out as a team, hence the use of the pronoun 'we'.

The study observes that the inclusive pronoun 'we', the exclusive pronoun 'I' and the pronoun ''hey', that create the image of the 'other' and enables the participants to describe diverse responsibilities taken by members of the army officers who were actively involved in activities that disconcerted the nation. This linguistic device was used to paint a vivid description of the evidence provided by participants. It also created an identity through which participants strategically positioned themselves in relation to events.

Direct quoting is another grammatical concept that participants used to attain their conversational goal. This communicative strategy is especially common among the opposition leaders in the Phumaphi Commission, while in the Leon Commission there was one particular participant whose evidence was made up mainly of quotes by famous writers and political leaders. The strategy was used by the opposition leaders as proof that their testimony is valid and can be relied upon. By employing this communicative strategy, the participants afforded to authenticate their argument which is best described by the maxim of quality. As it was to be expected, it would be mainly opposition leaders who would employ this strategy as they were the ones who were the victims of circumstances. Many of them gave their testimony while in exile in South Africa, fleeing for their lives after receiving a tip-off that some of the army officers were planning to assassinate them. The study infers that through the use of direct quoting they could validate their evidence and influence the commission to work out

recommendations in their favour and possibly play a role in ensuring their safe return to their home country.

Similarly, the Leon participants used it as a second voice to strengthen and validate the point he was making. The purpose was to influence the commission into believing his evidence by bringing in different voices from different scholars portraying the same message in support of his testimony. It can also be inferred that the participant used the quotes to communicate to the commission that he was educated hence his knowledge of famous quotes which he knew by heart. Earlier in his testimony, he had been boasting about his knowledge of politics which he learned from school and how he had been taught in his political science course on how to analyse politics and politicians as a whole. The participant might have assumed that proving that he is educated (by citing famous quotes) would convince the commission that his testimony is authentic. Conversational implicature allows for the differing interpretations as has been given here. One of its properties is that it is indeterminate, meaning that it is impossible to give a precise calculation. There may be many suppositions that any conversational implicature could be open to (Bottyàn, 2006). Direct quoting was therefore strategically used in this study to validate participants' testimonies.

The passive voice is another language concept that has been used strategically to attain a particular conversational goal. Passive voice in this study had the characteristic of concealing some information particularly the names of the perpetrators. The participants who used this strategy failed to give as much information as was required by the commissions, thereby flouting the maxim of quantity. Participants used the passive voice without the by-clause that enabled them to provide information without necessarily mentioning the names of the people responsible. The junior army officers and the police investigating officers responded to questions using this communicative strategy. It is to be expected that participants in junior positions would behave the way they did since they would not want to be in trouble with their superiors who might have instructed them to carry out illegal activities or denied them the opportunity to do the right thing. The Phumaphi Commission commented on some of these participants' evidence, saying that they seemed very uncomfortable about disclosing information. One of them was even subpoenaed to give evidence but the participant still could not reveal any names. He claimed it was not safe to do so. The passive voice became a convenient communicative device that enabled them to shield some information, particularly the names of individuals who could be of interest to the commissions. Therefore, in this study, a passive voice seems to be uniquely used as a security measure. Participants seemed aware that the use of this strategy would protect them from being ill-treated by their supervisors.

Corson and Smollett (2019) allude to the fact that some speakers and writers intentionally use the passive voice to be vague or tactful about who is responsible. This study, therefore, considers passive voice as a strategy intentionally used to conceal information.

The last strategy under the grammatical category is questioning. This is another unique communicative strategy that participants used strategically to avoid revealing information to the commission. The participants' lack of cooperation is shown in the use of this communicative strategy which clearly violates the maxims of quality and quantity. As with strategies like vague language and direct refusals, questioning was found among the army officers and government officials in the Phumaphi Commission. Its uniqueness stems from the fact that participants responded to questions by asking questions, a departure from the norm where questions are followed by answers unless one seeks clarity prior to responding to the question. Moreover, this pattern does not fall under any of the types elaborated by Long and Sato (1983). Scholars such as Dobao and Martínez (2007), Shartiely (2013) and Yang (2017), who have conducted studies on questioning, have not come across the kind of questioning found in this study. The strategy is seen mostly in situations where participants have to give factual information on important events that occurred during the time Brigadier Mahao was killed. The underlying meaning to the use of questions in the context of commissions could be that they were used as a strategy that assisted the participants to escape from giving the information they are asked to provide, particularly because the questions asked corresponded with their responsibilities and they, therefore, had correct answers to them. As can be observed, the army and the government officials have used the same strategy reflecting largely a lack of cooperation. This suggests that there was a lot of information held by these two groups which would undoubtedly assist the commission, but they were unwilling to reveal it. The study concludes that questions asked by the participants mentioned were strategically used as a shield to avoid giving the required information. This thesis, therefore, brings up a new type of questioning that falls under function-related questions and names this kind 'veiled questions' that the study describes as the questions asked by the respondent in an attempt to conceal information.

6.1.2.1 Conversational effectiveness of strategies under grammatical category

An examination of the use of personal pronouns shows that the strategy improved communication. The use of personal pronouns, 'we', 'I 'and 'they" enabled the commissions to draw a clear line of demarcation about who was involved or responsible for the 1998 and 2015 occurrences. The commission could differentiate between activities that were done as a

group and those which were done by particular individuals and this consequently led to a clear understanding of the events which transpired. De Cock and Kluge (2016) confirm that the role played by personal pronouns, aimed at group forming that of distancing oneself from others, is important in communication as it provides a clear and logical description of events and enhances comprehension. This study, therefore, asserts that the use of code-switching and personal pronouns was conversationally effective in providing the commission with the required information. Participants strategically employed them to vividly describe events as well as the people involved in those events.

Similarly, the use of direct quoting in this study was conversationally effective, enhancing the provision of information. The Leon participant used this strategy to strengthen his standpoint and to show that his opinion is supported by other famous scholars who came before him. Dlugan (2012) affirms that direct quoting reinforces a speaker's ideas because it represents a second voice that echoes the opinions s/he holds. In this way, the participant might have managed to convince the commission that he has valid information that should be considered. Similarly, the Phumaphi witnesses were able to validate their evidence by quoting the exact words of the people who played an important role in the evidence they were giving. The commissions were granted an opportunity to look critically into the quoted evidence and based some of their decisions on it. In the words of Kuo (2001), direct quoting is believed to be exact, factual and reliable in providing a more authentic piece of information, which grants this communicative strategy to be conversationally effective.

On the contrary, the use of passive voice in commissions of enquiry is seen to be conversationally ineffective especially when the concept is used with the intention to conceal information. The use of the passive voice deprived the commissioners of the valuable information they required. The commissioners needed to receive as much information as possible about whom were responsible for certain acts because one of the terms of reference they were to address was to assist in the identification of any perpetrators to ensure accountability to those responsible for the death of Brigadier Mahao (Southern African Development Community 2015) and arson and looting of property in 1998 (*Government Gazette*, 2000). The use of the passive voice was a setback for the two commissions. Although this communicative strategy may protect the witness, it also has the effect of concealing important information. Future participants of the commission may have to avoid using this communicative strategy if they intend to reveal as much information as possible. This study, however, affirms that the use of the passive voice in instances where the actor was implied or

not known did not in any way hinder the commissioners' access to information, and was therefore conversationally effective.

Similar to the use of the passive voice, questioning is another language strategy that the study regards as conversationally ineffective and a sign of the witnesses' unwillingness to cooperate with the commission. The questions seem to be used strategically to avoid responding to commissioners' questions. In this particular context, the act of responding to a question by asking another question is a face-threatening act that impacts the negative face of the hearer. The questioning strategy itself is seen as an effective means to enhance comprehension and boost memory (McCormick and Donato (2000). In the context of the Phumaphi enquiry, however, the strategy was used inappropriately. Witnesses appeared to be exploiting the questioning strategy to accomplish their intention to reserve information to themselves. For reasons known to them, some Phumaphi witnesses seemed unprepared to share with the commission their knowledge of events. The questioning strategy consequently led to the commission's failure to obtain answers to their questions. The study, therefore, asserts that the questioning strategy was ineffective to the commission. This strategy should, therefore, be avoided in future commissions since it does not yield a desirable outcome. The witnesses should view a commission as an independent body established to assist the country in its predicament and witnesses are expected to cooperate and respond accordingly.

6.1.3 Communicative strategies under sociocultural category

Communicative strategies found in this category are those whose proper interpretation requires a good cultural background of a speech community, and rich knowledge of context surrounding events being discussed. This means they cannot be interpreted literally but require a deeper knowledge of events and culture for a correct interpretation to occur. As the theory of conversational implicature says, such strategies would be uncooperative if their implicatures are ignored and are interpreted literally. The strategies found in this category are figurative language, indirect communication, direct refusal and indirect criticism. Each of these strategies contributed to the proceedings of the commissions, as seen below.

Figurative language is seen as playing a significant role in the testimonies of army officers who testified before the Leon Commission. Makoae (2019) verifies that in the 1990s the army was comprised of deeply cultural people who embraced their language, Sesotho, and who were not as well educated as they are currently. This explains why they employed Sesotho figurative language frequently in their testimonies. To a large extent, the participants used Sesotho idioms, proverbs and figures of speech as well as just a few English figures of speech.

According to Bouarroudj (2010), the purpose of figurative language is to better clarify the message portrayed even though this kind of language is hidden and requires deep structural interpretation. However, in the context of the hearings of the commission, this clarity that figurative language is supposed to reflect could not be realised because the interpreter was uncooperative as he could not handle the implicatures contained in the utterances and, as a result, provided the literal interpretation that distorted the intended meanings. The interpreter must have faced a challenge in dealing with Sesotho figurative language as its deeper meanings can be complex and multiple. Ntśekhe (2008) confirms the complexity of Sesotho language by showing that it is a language founded on insinuations that are presented in a very subtle and delicate manner. As a result of literal interpreting, the commissioners were left wondering what the utterances meant and what information they were missing because they were not Sesotho speakers.

The rationale behind the use by participants' use of deep Sesotho figurative language could be interpreted in two ways. From a positive view, it could be a clear reflection of their style of speaking in their day-to-day conversation. As indicated by Makoae (2019), the soldiers embraced their language. They used this form of language to bring in its richness, precision and concreteness of meaning to the fore. Knowles and Moon (2006) point out that figurative language helps interlocutors to convey meaning more interestingly and creatively as much more is conveyed through implication and connotation than through straightforward surface language. They also might have used figurative language when they needed to paraphrase concepts such as war, body parts and other face-threatening acts that are considered culturally taboo and have the potential to threaten one's positive face. Many of the 1998 violent activities were led by soldiers and the opposition parties and included the destruction in the Maseru business area, the torching of ministers' houses and an attempt to overthrow the government (Lesotho, 1998). Its participation in public events like this might have felt uncomfortable for the army and could explain the use of figurative language that enabled them to conceal the intended meaning. It was then up to the interpreter to unravel the hidden messages. This study maintains that the use of figurative language could have been their strategic way of communicating sensitive information.

Contrary to the above view is the possible interpretation that soldiers might have intentionally adopted figurative language to deny the commission access to information because, first, they could not alter this communicative strategy even after realising that the interpreter could not accurately transfer the intended meaning, neither did they attempt to repeat their evidence in simple language. They seemed not bothered by the fact that the commissioners

could not comprehend some information. Secondly, the participants became uncomfortable in the few instances where the interpreter managed to convey the correct message and they insisted on being interpreted literally. Makoae (2019) attests that soldiers are trained to be secretive, protective of one another and cautious of what they say, especially in public. This characteristic, combined with the fact that the soldiers wanted to be cautious of what they said in case they faced prosecution following the enquiry, may have contributed to the use of deep Sesotho figurative language despite the challenges this strategy posed.

Another communicative strategy that carried deviations from literal interpretation is the use of indirect communication in the form of analogy. The Phumaphi witnesses adopted this strategy to communicate sensitive information about people who obtained promotions through illegal means and about controversial political activists. The indirect approach to providing such information helped participants to mitigate the potential harshness the information could have been viewed had it been said directly. In this way, they maintained good relations with their colleagues. This then means that politeness gave rise to the implicature. Indirect communication is, therefore, considered a strategic way of communicating sensitive information without ruining relationships. Joyce (2012) affirms that the goal of using indirect communication is to maintain harmony and to save face, and avoid conflict, tension or uncomfortable situations. It also provided an opportunity for them to deny (should such a need arises) any interpretation given to the utterance as one of the properties of conversational implicature (such as the one being discussed) is that it is cancellable (Grice, 1975, Borg, 2010). It is important to mention that the conversational implicature behind the indirect communication was not brought to the commission's attention. The interpreter transferred the surface meaning and left the commissioners, who were not well versed with Lesotho political occurrences from 1994 to date, to figure out what the utterances could mean.

Direct refusal is another sociocultural strategy that is classified as such due to its relations with culture. Satter *et al.* (2011) maintain that in many cultures, how one says 'no' is probably more important than the answer itself. This, therefore, means that to use refusal appropriately and acceptably, the speaker must understand ethnicity and the cultural values of a particular speech community. Direct refusal is a communicative strategy that is exclusive to Phumaphi participants belonging to the army and government officials. These participants did not only apply vague language in their testimonies, as discussed earlier, but they also literally refused to answer some of the questions by the commission. Some of their responses included direct refusals such as 'I am not going to answer that', 'no comment', 'I cannot do that'. They used the politeness strategy called bald on record, where no redressive action is taken to save

the hearer's positive face. Usually, refusals are mitigated to lessen a threat to face particularly when there is an imbalance of power between interlocutors. The directness or the indirectness of expressions is usually determined by the relations between subjects and the social position they occupy in discourse (Fairclough, 1989), however, through the use of direct refusal, the junior person is seen occupying the position of the senior one, becoming more direct than the person whom power entitles them to be. Sattar *et al*. (2011) maintain that in many cultures, how one says 'no' is probably more important than the answer itself and that such cultures advocate for indirect refusals. Politeness asserts that face-threatening acts such as refusal need to be mitigated to minimise the threat. However, in the case of the Phumaphi Commission, the threat to face was not mitigated despite the high level of social distance and power relations between the participants and the commission. The participants' use of direct refusals might have been triggered by the male trait in them, as Rosa's (2010) study on refusals confirmed that males prefer direct refusal to indirect ones, that is, they are more comfortable with direct 'no' than mitigated refusals. It is also not surprising that this communicative strategy is found among the army officers and government officials. As discussed earlier, these two groups were classified as perpetrators as it was claimed that they played a significant role which led to the death of the former commander of Lesotho Defense Force (LDF), Brigadier Mahao. It is to be expected that they would refuse to give some information for fear that revealing a lot of information might have legal implications for them. As explained in chapter 1 of this thesis, it was the death of the former LDF former commander which led to the establishment of the Phumaphi Commission of Enquiry. When looking at the kind of questions that the participants refused to respond to, the study finds that the questions revolved around the debate on dismissal and appointment of army commanders, involvement in activities related to the attempted coup, attacks which were made on the families of some prominent members of the former government and circumstances which led to the death of Brigadier Mahao, all of which were relevant for them considering the responsibilities they were entrusted with. Their refusal to answer the questions implies that the participants had answers but were not willing to disclose them. The use of direct refusals is therefore regarded in this study as a strategic way of communication enabling participants to conceal information.

Criticism is yet another communicative strategy that participants used to conceal information. It is one of the most significant face-threatening acts that, according to politeness, must be mitigated to safe face. The participants in this study used indirect criticism to probably minimise the threat to the commission's positive face. They might have opted for indirect criticism because they were addressing the commissioners who happened to hold higher power

statuses (by the virtue of their job) than the participants. Politeness states that the relative power determines the extent to which one participant can impose her/his will over the other (Brown and Levinson, 1987). According to the theory, politeness increases when addressing individuals with high status than individuals with equal or low status. In many cultures, direct criticism becomes unacceptable when it is said by a junior to a senior. Joyce (2012) asserts that criticism of others especially people with more authority should be unspoken or carefully veiled. Kaufman (2012) further indicates that a junior has no right to openly criticise a senior person because he has no status to do so. Therefore, the participants might have adhered to the cultural norms concerning politeness and opted for mitigated criticism.

The strategy is observed in two participants, the opposition leader in Leon and the army officer in the Phumaphi Commission. Although it was not a common strategy, it had a significant impact with regard to providing information to the commissioners. The participants indirectly criticised the commissions instead of responding to the questions they were asked and they achieved this by indirectly pointing out how they wished the commissions would stop meddling with the political affairs of Lesotho and how much they failed to do adequate research on the laws governing the country, all of which were irrelevant to the questions they were to respond to. Indirect criticism is, therefore, categorised amongst strategies through which participants intended to conceal information.

6.1.3.1 Conversational effectiveness of strategies under the sociocultural category

This study asserts that the use of communicative strategies under the sociocultural category was not conversationally effective. As has been stated earlier, the use of figurative language, as one example of conversational implicatures, is an effective means of communication. It has the effect of clarifying communicated information as it creates a mental picture of what is being said. It also serves as a device that not only emphasises key messages but also minimises face-threatening acts. However, in the context of the commissions of enquiry this device proved to be ineffective. As has been shown earlier in this chapter, figurative language is culture-based. Yağiz and Izadpanah (2013) indicate that it is a natural decoder of customs, cultural beliefs, social conventions and norms. This then suggests that people who are foreign to a particular culture and its language may struggle to understand figurative messages communicated to them. This was the case with the commissioners. Both commissions were chaired by commissioners who were not conversant with the Sesotho language and its cultural practices. Leon was an English speaker from South Africa and Phumaphi spoke Setswana as his first language. These commissioners could not understand the Sesotho metaphors and euphemisms which the witnesses used in providing information. The interpreters too were not of much help

as they provided literal interpretations of the figurative language, which ruined the intended messages. It must, however, be noted that the English figures of speech (such as idioms and repetition) that were employed by the witnesses who testified in English were effective as they served the purpose for which they were used. The commissioners did not have difficulty understanding English figurative messages as they were conversant with the language. The interpreter in this regard was no longer crucial to the commissions but to another audience, which is not important for this study.

Similarly, the use of indirect communication was ineffective in providing the commission with the information they required. The responses the commission received needed background knowledge which the commission did not have. The interpreter too could not be relied upon because he gave a literal interpretation instead of revealing the indirect message the participant was trying to convey. If for reasons of face that the interpreter was reluctant to state what the participant meant, he could have probably highlighted this for the commission by giving them the context so that they would be in a position to deduce meaning by themselves. However, as was the case, the commissioners had to figure out the participants' implied messages. Cynthia (2012) indicates that indirect communication is not only conveyed by the words used but by a widely shared understanding of the context of the communication. The widely shared context is what the commission did not have since they were foreigners in the country, as a result, interpreting indirect messages might have been a challenge to them. Mustafa (2010) confirms that indirect communication can cause confusion and misunderstanding particularly to people who do not share the same cultural background. The study concludes that the communicative strategies with implied meaning were not conversationally effective because the interpreter could not interpret the intended message from the source language to the target language. Since this study cannot prescribe how participants should speak when they give their evidence, the study encourages the utilisation of conversant and well-trained interpreters. The field of interpreting is a specialised one that the state could benefit from by using professional interpreters. Likewise, direct refusals and indirect criticism deprived the commissioners of the valuable information they required and this might have potentially influenced the outcomes of the enquiries as well as the recommendations. It was important that the commissioners received as much information as possible about the events which led to the riots, arson and general destruction of property in 1998 as well as the events which resulted in the murder of the former LDF commander in 2015. However, the sociocultural strategies did not make the work of the commissions any easier.

Looking at the conversational effectiveness of all the twelve communicative strategies found, it is observed that these were found ineffective while the remaining five were found effective with regard to providing information to the commissions. This suggests that many strategies employed by the participants were not so helpful to the commissions. However, the strategies that were found to be most prevalent, although five, were conversationally effective, suggesting that many participants were willing to cooperate with the commissions and provided the necessary information. The implication is that the commissions were able to obtain more information than they were unable to, however, the use of uncooperative strategies might have caused them to forfeit crucial information that could have impacted their conclusions and recommendation.

6.1.4 Linguistic realisation of communicative strategies

The communicative strategies used in this study were realised in their different forms, variants and types. Participants explored the forms and variants that the strategies had to express themselves and provide the information requested. For instance, code-switching is realised in its two types; Intra sentential and inter sentential switch. The personal pronoun has also been used in all its forms and variants (I, me, she, he. they, we, etcetera) while fillers also occur in their three types; lexicalised, unlexicalised, and silent fillers. Looking closely into the data, and insider knowledge of the context of these commissions, this study observes that participants who were willing to provide information to the best of their knowledge used many of the types and variants that each communicative strategy has. They made use of different kinds of fillers, code-switching, personal pronouns and figurative language, etcetera; to narrate their stories and effectively respond to questions. Through the utilization of various forms and variants found in the strategies, participants became cooperative to the commissions as they adhered to the maxims of manner, quantity and relation; they provided not only clear and relevant information but also gave as much information as was required.

On the contrary, the participants who showed reluctance and unwillingness to answer some of the commissioners' questions strategically chose certain variants of the strategies and left out the others. For instance, the form of passive voice employed in this study is the one without a by-clause. This study asserts that this form was purposely employed because it helped participants who were not willing to disclose the names of the perpetrators to effectively narrate their stories without mentioning such names. The passive voice that is without the by-clause only mentions the action and the recipient but the doer is not included. The participants' intentions would be ruined had they opted for the active voice because this kind clearly states

the doer, the action, and the receiver of the action. Similarly, the direct refusal was chosen instead of the commonly used indirect refusals. This face threatening form of refusal helped participants to achieve their goal of withholding some information from the commissions. Moreover, the use of indirect criticism as well as the forms that were used for vague language played a similar purpose of withholding information from the commissions, thus flouting the maxims of quantity, quality and relation. The study accordingly asserts that participants of the commission were of two categories; some were willing to give information to the commissions, and these used several linguistic resources to achieve this. Others, however, were not willing to reveal information and therefore used particular selected forms of strategies to attain their intended communicative goal. Thus, the communicative strategies chosen in this study do affirm that language is not a neutral instrument, it has an active interpretative and constructive function, in that the linguistic means speakers choose actually contribute to shaping the entities they are referring to (Kress and Hodge 1979; Fairclough, 1995).

6.2 COMPARISON OF STRATEGIES USED IN BOTH LEON AND PHUMAPHI COMMISSIONS

As indicated in the previous chapter on data presentation, there was generally overlap in the use of strategies by participants in both commissions. Out of the twelve communicative strategies that this study found, nine of them are found in both commissions of enquiry while the remaining three are found only in the Phumaphi Commission. The prevalent use of the same communicative strategies despite the different time frames in which each commission was established and different participants in each the commissions, suggests that these strategies generally represent the way participants in Lesotho generally convey their testimonies. This implies that even in future commissions in Lesotho these communicative strategies may resurface because it appears they (the strategies) represent the Basotho style of communicating information particularly when they respond to questions in settings such as commissions of enquiry where there is a need to tap into several linguistic resources. They utilise the richness of their language through the use of Sesotho figurative language irrespective of who they are talking to or whether that individual understands Sesotho and its cultural norms or not. They also use figurative expressions found in their second language; English. Other than the use of utterances with figurative meanings, they are capable of beating about the bush (circumlocution) especially when they do not intend to threaten their face or the face of the hearer. They can also refuse to respond to questions, become vague in their responses or use passive voice in their responses when they want to hide some information to protect themselves

or when they are genuinely uncertain about a particular issue. Moreover, based on data disclosure, Basotho participants are capable of critiquing but indirectly for reasons of face. However, for clarity purposes, they would code-switch from Sesotho to English or vice versa, make use of personal pronouns to include and exclude others or make an individual commitment. They would even directly quote other speakers they earlier interacted with or read about to validate their arguments. They further use fillers to help them gain some time to think before they speak.

Although many strategies were effective in the provision of information, there were also those that were employed by participants of both commissions (figurative language, vague language, passive voice, indirect criticism) that, according to this study, denied the commissions access to information. The use of these strategies made it difficult for the commissions to comprehend some information that was shared, and to also access some important information as well as the names of individuals responsible for illegal activities. This study infers that the use of these ineffective communicative strategies in both commissions irrespective of the time frame, in which each commission was established, is an indication that some participants in Lesotho are not willing to wholly and freely give the information they have and, as a result, have a way of going about the veiling of such information. This means that the misconception that the Leon participants had about the commission being a court of law with powers to convict and sentence offenders, (Lesotho, 2001) was inherited by and passed over to Phumaphi participants. This then suggests that, unless this misconception is eradicated, future commissions in Lesotho should be established bearing in mind that participants are not entirely willing to provide all information to the commissions and this is archived through some of the communicative strategies they employ. Their style of speaking (use of figures of speech) and their insecurity in sharing some information prevented them from being cooperative.

Conversely, there are some marked differences in the use of communicative strategies. First and foremost, the Leon participants used more cooperative strategies than was the case with the Phumaphi participants. This suggests that, comparatively, the Leon participants were more willing to provide information than did the Phumaphi participants. Moreover, the findings point to three more communicative strategies that are exclusive to the Phumaphi participants. These are questioning, indirect communication and refusal strategies, all of which proved to be ineffective in providing information to the commission. These three ineffective strategies add to the other four ineffective strategies shared by both commissions. The implicature that can be attached to this finding is that the more commissions are established in the country, the more

unwilling participants are in opening up to them. This means that, as years go by, participants' efforts to provide commissions with information deteriorates instead of improving. There were a number of people who faced legal charges and were imprisoned after the Leon Commission ended its work in 1998 (i, 2014). This might have impacted negatively on Phumaphi participants and might have influenced them to withhold some information in case they also faced imprisonment. Based on the strategies employed, it appears that participants did not view a commission as a mediator meant to assist the country to regain peace and stability but as an enemy who can potentially deprive them of their freedom.

6.3 SUMMARY

Based on the discussion above, it can be established that different categories of participants used different types of communicative strategies that portrayed a variety of characteristics such as the following; strategies which helped with the proper description of events, those that validated the information provided, some portrayed implied messages, assisted with proper thinking, while others enabled participants to withhold some information. As described above, some of these strategies are classified as effective while others are considered ineffective and uncooperative in providing the commissions with the required information. The above discussion also compared participants' use of strategies in both commissions and established similarities in many that the participants shared, and a few that were unique to participants of the Phumaphi Commission.

CHAPTER SEVEN

CONCLUSION

7.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter gives a general overview of the significant contributions of the present study. It commences by summarising the main points of the chapters; the aim and objectives of the research; the review of the related literature; the theoretical framework; how the research was conducted and the outcome of the research. Conclusions and recommendations will then be addressed. The last research question of this study is answered in this chapter.

7.1 SUMMARY OF THE STUDY

This study aimed to explore the communicative strategies which participants in the Leon and Phumaphi commissions used to respond to questions posed by the commissioners. The study specifically looked into the types of communicative strategies employed, their linguistic realisations and their conversational effectiveness in providing the needed information to the commissions. The ultimate goal of the study was to gain insights that would inform future participants, governments in power as well as future commissions of enquiry. The research responded to the following research questions:

1. What types of communicative strategies were employed by participants in both Leon and Phumaphi commissions of enquiry?
2. How were these types of communicative strategies realised linguistically?
3. How conversationally effective were the employed communicative strategies in providing required information to the commissioners?
4. What similarities and differences were found in the strategies employed in both commissions and among the categories of participants?
5. What does the present study propose for future commissions about the use of communicative strategies?

The importance of this study is attached to the fact that the findings will inform leadership and governments that sometimes resort to enquiry commissions to help resolve any form of misfortune or instability. They will find this study informative as it highlights the communicative strategies that are conversationally effective as well as those that are ineffective in providing commissions with information. In this way, governments will be able to act cautiously and pro-actively to ensure that the work of the commissions of enquiry becomes a success. Moreover, since commissions of enquiry are very sensitive as they bear some legal implications, later on, the study raises awareness to future participants to avoid using communicative strategies that could compromise their credibility and – in worse cases – their freedom. In a nutshell, the study will awaken all stakeholders to take the necessary precautions to ensure that future commissions are successful in acquiring the information they need to enable them to publish findings and recommendations that the nation in question can relate to.

The literature reviewed in this study confirmed the importance of carrying out this research. Based on the literature that the study had access to, none of the foregoing scholars

has attempted to collect and prove the use of communicative strategies by the participants as they attempt to respond to the commissioners' questions. The scholars who specifically studied commissions of enquiry did not cover the theme of communicative strategies used either by the commissioners or the participants. Those who worked on the concept of communicative strategies did not look at it from the perspective of commissions of enquiry but placed their focus on other areas such as foreign and second language teaching and learning, political and funeral speeches, courtroom, media, health, advertising, law, etcetera. In the context of Lesotho, Mohlomi (2011) focused on the role of interpreters in linguistically diverse commissions. There is a dearth of the empirical literature on the interactional aspects of commissions, specifically on communicative strategies participants use to respond to questions. In particular, the Phumaphi Commission was constituted fairly recently (2015) and no research work has been done on it. This study has, therefore, made a novel and significant contribution to knowledge in that it merged the two concepts, commissions of enquiry and communicative strategies that previous scholars had left unexploited. Conducting research on communicative strategies used by participants in commissions of enquiry is particularly vital in the context of Lesotho where governments often resort to the establishment of commissions to solve their political instability, and where commissions' recommendations have led to significant legal action and have played a fundamental role in shaping the political landscape in the country in both 1998 and 2015. The findings of this study may help to reshape how future commissions are administered. The study adopted two theories to inform its findings, these being, the theory of conversational implicature by Grice (1975) as supported by Borg (2010), and the politeness theory by Brown and Levinson (1987). The theory of implicature, on the one hand, is founded on the notion that people do not always say what they mean, and there is a hidden and deeper meaning attached to people's utterances which interlocutors need to look out for to make full sense of what is being communicated. The rationale behind this choice was based purely on the theory's applicability to the demands of the study. The findings of this study revealed strategies that could well be understood by applying conversational and conventional implicatures which are some of the aspects of this theory. The theory of politeness on the other hand was meant to build on the theory of conversational implicature. It involves concepts such as face (an image or identity that an individual has and wants to build on) and face-threatening acts (an act that challenges/threaten the face wants of an interlocutor). Brown and Levinson model of politeness was subjected to scrutiny and criticism. However, the present study chose this theory because it blended very well with some of the communicative strategies revealed in the research process. The weaknesses raised had no bearing on the present study, in particular,

the main criticism about the theory not being equivalent across cultures was not relevant for the present study because its focus was on one cultural group (the Basotho), that subscribes to Western notions of face as described by Brown and Levinson. The two theories were, therefore, used concurrently because some findings required the use of the theory of implicature while others necessitated the use of politeness theory. The study is located within the qualitative research design. The design assisted the current study to explore types of communicative strategies used, their linguistic realisations as well as their linguistic effectiveness, all of which required a comprehensive description and interpretation of the transcripts together with the context surrounding the use of such strategies. In this way, the study was able to achieve its objectives.

The data for the present study was sourced from audio recordings of the proceedings of the commissions. This qualified it as a qualitative study as this design is characterised by analysis of texts and documents (Hammarberg *et al*., 2016). The integration of thematic and content analysis enabled the researcher to categorise and sort data sets into themes and to derive statistical data on the communicative strategies used by participants. While the thematic analytic approach permitted the incorporation of both semantic and latent themes, content analysis enabled the study to count the number of times each communicative strategy appeared in each participant's testimony and among all the participants of the study. This helped to determine the prevalence of some communicative strategies that, in turn, enabled the study to make informed predictions on the use of some communicative strategies in future commissions of enquiry

The data this study accessed was secondary data, primarily collected to assist the commissioners who were mandated to investigate the factors that contributed to political instability in the country. It was collected to enable the commissioners to respond to the terms of reference that they were assigned to fulfil. This was the most relevant type of data that addressed the research questions guiding this study; the identification of types of communicative strategies, as well as their linguistic realisations, could mainly be detected by listening to the actual responses participants provided during the proceedings. The data was in the form of audio recordings which contained extracts for twenty-six participants of the Leon and Phumaphi commissions. There were twelve army officers (eight Leon army officers and four Phumaphi army officers), six opposition leaders (two from Leon and four from Phumaphi) and four government officials, three police officers and one member of the general public. The

police officers and one member of the general public appeared before the Phumaphi Commission.

The researcher listened to the recordings repeatedly for a thorough comprehension of the content, context and all other aspects of the data. Thereafter, the researcher transcribed all data available. Sesotho data was both transcribed and translated while the English data was only transcribed because it was already in English. The transcription was followed by the coding and creation of categories or themes. Data excerpts were then sorted according to overarching themes. Thereafter, the identified themes were reviewed to decide on whether to combine, refine, separate or discard them. The construction of themes was based on the overriding research question that guided the study. Thereafter, the coded data extracts that formed the themes were revisited so that each character could be counted to determine the number of times it appeared across the entire data sets. This brought to surface statistical patterns and trends pertaining to the use of each communicative strategy employed by the participants.

The study revealed twelve types of communicative strategies that were further classified and grouped into conversational, grammatical, and socio-cultural categories, according to the functional characteristics they portrayed. These strategies are listed chronologically here according to their prevalence among the participants. These are code-switching, fillers, personal pronouns, figurative language, vague language, direct refusals, direct quoting, passive voice, questioning, circumlocution, indirect criticism, and indirect communication. These were realised in their different forms, kinds, and variants. Participants tapped on many of these forms and variants found within the strategies to describe occurrences during the political turmoil, validate the information they shared, and in some instances withhold information. The study found some of the strategies effective while others were ineffective and uncooperative in providing the commissions with the information they requested. The study also found some commonality about the use of communicative strategies in both commissions of enquiry, irrespective of the age gap between the two commissions, many similar strategies were found. What differentiated them was the use of uncooperative communicative strategies that appeared more prevalent in the Phumaphi Commission.

7.2 CONCLUSIONS

This study established a variety of communication strategies that participants have access to, and which they use in formal settings like the one studied here. This study concludes that consciously and/or subconsciously, Sesotho speakers who have been through the Lesotho

education system as in the case of participants in the studied commissions utilize a variety of linguistic resources and communicative strategies when the context of the conversational event is one in which there is a need to give detailed information. The twelve communicative strategies that occur in the data were used to describe the sequence of events in relation to the enquiries of the commissioners. This use of several communicative strategies implies that participants had different communicative goals that they aimed to accomplish and they employed different linguistic and communication resources to meet their goals. A close look into the data and insider knowledge of the context of these commissions reflects that some of the participants, especially those who had been victims, wanted to provide as much information to the commissions as possible and assist the commissions to establish those who were responsible for the violent acts. For instance, the participants who used reference items such as personal pronouns did so to describe actors in the many troop movements that took place during the riots of 1998. By using personal pronouns, they specified and identified and positioned the different actors, including themselves and their roles. They were also able to make a distinction between activities that were collective action and those that were individual during the riots. In the words of Grice (1975), such participants were cooperative as they adhered to the maxim of quantity that requires the speaker to be as informative as is required. This identification of actors and their roles was important for the commissions because part of the mandate of these commissions was to establish those that were responsible for the politically motivated disturbances. While others had an objective of providing detailed information, there were others whose objective was to withhold information from the commissions and thus flout the maxim of quantity in the process. They employed strategies such as passive voice which enabled them to narrate events without mentioning the names of the perpetrators. They also used criticism, vague language and questioning to avoid responding to questions directed to them and thus flouted the maxim of relation. Thus, the use of several communicative strategies was a result of dissimilar communicative goals which participants aimed to attain.

Another resource that participants were able to tap into was the different grammatical structures and linguistic realizations that they employed to give their descriptions of events. It can therefore be concluded that language proficiency and communicative competence allows speakers to effectively select linguistic structures that fit their communicative goals in a given context. For instance, the communicative strategies in the data were realized in several linguistic forms such as inter-sentential and intra-sentential switch, lexicalized and unlexicalised fillers, silent fillers, as well as personal pronouns in all their forms and variants (he/him, they/them, I/me etcetera) The study established that these different forms appearing

within the strategies were explored mainly by the participants who were willing to cooperate with the commission. They exhausted these forms to describe and clarify different situations to assist the commission to understand how the events unfolded. However, participants who were hesitant to reveal some information employed mainly certain forms that enabled them to achieve this communicative goal. For instance, the form of passive voice realized in this study is the one without the by-clause, while refusal is realised by one type called direct refusal. These chosen forms were utilised because they were suitable for participants' conversational purpose- to conceal information. This ability to select a form that facilitates the achievement of a particular communicative goal in a given context is a marker of the resourcefulness of the speakers in giving evidence.

The study further concludes that some communicative strategies that participants used are conversationally effective while others are ineffective. By looking at the surrounding text where each of the strategies was used, the study finds that some of the strategies under the grammatical category (personal pronouns, direct quoting) and conversational category (code-switching, fillers, circumlocution) were conversationally effective and they were a communicative vehicle that enabled the provision of adequate information to the commissions. However, all the strategies under the socio-cultural category and some under the conversational and grammatical category were ineffective and signalled participants' unwillingness to cooperate with the commissions. Strategies such as figurative language and indirect communication were among other things intended to mitigate a threat to face as some information shared had the potential to tarnish the image of those concerned, but these were interpreted literally and, thus, misled the commissioners by providing information that the participants did not intend to express. Other strategies such as passive voice, questioning, vague language, refusal, and criticism were strategically used by participants to withhold some of the information they were not willing to share with the commissions. The prevalence of the use of both effective and ineffective communicative strategies is a further indication that there were participants who were unreservedly willing to provide the commissions with information. However, there were also those who, for reasons of safety and self-protection, were unwilling to provide information as requested by the commissions. They avoided revealing information that would inflict damage to their positive face. Those who were willing to share information used conversationally effective strategies such as code-switching, personal pronouns, direct quoting and fillers while those who intended to withhold information used strategies such as passive voice, refusals, questioning, vague language and criticism.

Another conclusion that the study draws is that participants in these commissions had access to similar communicative and linguistic resources across the two commissions regardless of their demographics and the range of time between the two commissions. As a result, many of the strategies found in the Leon Commission were also found in the recent Phumaphi Commission, despite the fact the two commissions were established decades apart. This reflects Basotho's common ways of communicating, and generally suggests that the communicative approach by future participants may reflect similar characteristics as those of the previous commissions. The study further concludes that there is a growing unwillingness to reveal information to the commissions. This is evidenced by the use of some communicative strategies that were only found in the Phumaphi Commission. More information concealing strategies were realised only in the recent Phumaphi commission than it was the case with the Leon Commission which suggests that as commissions of enquiry are being established in the country, the desire to cooperate with the commissions and share information is diminishing. This suggests that if the educational initiatives meant to change participants' attitude towards commissions are not taken, future commissions may come across even more complex communicative strategies that are intended to cover the evidence.

7.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

7.3.1 Recommendations for future practice

1. This study proposes that to maintain the conversational effectiveness of communicative strategies such as figurative language and indirect communication, which the participants are fond of using, the government should in future assign the important task of interpreting to professional and experienced (Sesotho first language speakers) interpreters who can tackle complex concepts such as figurative language and analogies. The present study has highlighted that some communicative strategies such as figurative language and indirect communication were regarded conversationally ineffective because their interpretation was flawed. The study demonstrated the challenges that the interpreters faced, particularly when they had to interpret information embedded in Sesotho figurative language and indirect communication. While some messages were conveyed literally, others were not interpreted at all. Ashley (2017) avers that making figurative language such as metaphors, analogies and idioms resonate with the target audience is a major challenge that novice interpreters often face. In the case of Lesotho, it is not surprising that interpreting became very hard because Sesotho figurative language carries such deep meanings that inexperienced interpreters could not handle

it. In the words of Ntśekhe (2008:5), 'Sesotho is a language of depth and one has to always establish whether they are on land or sea. If at sea, above or under?' Assigning this challenging task to experienced interpreters will potentially enhance the effectiveness of the strategies mentioned and assist future commissions to access information communicated through Sesotho figurative expressions.

2. The study further recommends that, to curb participants' reluctance to share information and to encourage them to use conversationally effective communicative strategies, a protected disclosures act should be introduced, where participants who feel insecure to reveal some information will be allowed to communicate such information without disclosing their identity. The study has made an important observation that some participants used communicative strategies that assisted in concealing some information because they felt insecure in revealing the misconduct of their colleagues or did not want to incriminate themselves as did others who confessed, hence the application of such strategies. The introduction of the disclosures act may improve participants' readiness (especially those with security issues) to reveal even sensitive information, which will result in the use of conversationally effective communicative strategies that will enhance the provision of information. This legislation already exists in South Africa and it is considered to be working effectively to provide a safe platform in which whistleblowers can report any criminal conduct without fear of facing any detriment (GoLegal, 2019).
3. This study further recommends that participants should be provided with an orientation before participating in the commission. The orientation may help eradicate the misconceptions they have regarding the power of commissions of enquiry. The orientation should cover the following important aspects:

a) Enlighten the participants about the importance of the commission and how significant it is to cooperate with it to make its mission a success. They need to be informed that the commission's sole purpose is to assist in the restoration of peace and stability and not to harm the people of that nation.
b) Eradicate the misconception that the commission of enquiry is a court of law with powers to convict and sentence offenders and that members of the commission are sitting members of the Court of Appeal (Lesotho, 1998).
c) Teach the participants that commissions of enquiry cannot find anyone guilty of an offence and that answers given during the proceedings are not admissible in any court proceedings that may follow thereafter. New evidence against a participant suspected

of criminal offences must be found because what the participant said during the proceedings of the commissions may be used as information not as evidence (Powell, 2018).

d) Participants must be made aware that giving evidence in camera is open to everyone who feels that for one reason or another, they cannot testify in public. This study proposes that participants should be strongly encouraged to use this option to secure participants who have important information but who feel insecure if their testimony is heard in public. The in-camera option could work effectively if the commission requires every participant to have both public and in-camera session. This will assist particularly those who have confidential information to reveal to the commission, however, if the in-camera option is left open for participants to decide, it would still be sensitive for some participants to justify themselves to their colleagues as to what it is they were trying to hide from the public.

4. This study moreover proposes that the communicative strategies that were classified as effective in communicating information to the commissioner could be used in future commissions. However, security measures as explained above should be taken to ensure that participants' lives are not at risk after testifying. The security assurance will possibly encourage participants to open up and avoid using strategies that conceal information. The study believes that the implementation of these recommendations may improve the behaviour of future participants and encourage them to use conversationally effective communicative strategies. By using professional and experienced interpreters, future commissions will also be able to access information communicated in complex Sesotho figurative expressions. The commissions will then have access to a lot of information that will enable them to make fully informed decisions and recommendations.

7.3.2 Recommendations for future research

1. The current research explored communicative strategies used by participants of the commissions as they responded to questions and this was achieved by listening to their actual responses as they appeared on audio recordings. The study proposes that future researchers further unravel the use of communicative strategies by looking at the non-verbal communicative strategies as portrayed in the video recordings of the commissions. This will provide a full comprehension of such communicative strategies and will further inform the future commissions and all stakeholders.

2. The study further proposes that future researchers could look further into the commissioners themselves and explore the strategies they use to derive information from participants and how conversationally effective they are in influencing appropriate response from participants.

7.4 PROPOSAL FOR THE USE OF COMMUNICATIVE STRATEGIES IN FUTURE COMMISSIONS

The present study has established in its findings that some communicative strategies obstruct the smooth flow of information from the witnesses to the commissioners, or altogether withhold information, while others enhance effective information sharing. It has also established that due to insecurity and fear of putting their lives in danger, some witnesses find themselves obliged to employ certain communicative strategies such as passive voice to protect themselves from being harmed by their colleagues. The study's establishment is also that communicative strategies such as figurative language and indirect communication could have effectively expressed the narratives rendered by the witnesses if interpreting was efficiently rendered. In the light that for future commissions the government would have capacitated the language practitioners for effective interpreting, and would have enacted protected disclosures act to protect participants, this study proposes that participants of the commission should shun conversationally ineffective communicative strategies such as refusals, passive voice, questioning, circumlocution, criticism and vague language. The alternative communicative strategies proposed in this study are code-switching, Fillers, personal pronouns, figurative language and indirect communication. Code-switching allowed participants to better elaborate and clarify information easier and faster. Culturally embedded information, as well as lexical gaps between the two languages (Sesotho and English), were handled with ease through code-switching. Figurative language helped participants of the commission to better clarify information and minimise a threat to face, while personal pronouns served as a descriptive and clarity tool that helped participants to describe their contribution (in the events that occurred) both as individuals and as a group. The use of fillers was also useful as it enabled participants some time to think of the correct way to respond to questions and to find appropriate words in their second language. These communicative have therefore proved to be conversationally effective in providing the commissions with information. They have also proved to be the best way witnesses express themselves in the context of commissions of enquiry.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Ethics approval

UNISA university of south africa

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND MODERN LANGUAGES:
RESEARCH ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

20 February 2018

Ref #: L_MIC39_2018
Ms MI Chele
Student #: 6096 9318

Dear Ms Chele

Decision: Ethics Approval

Name: Ms MI Chele
P.O. Box 16118
Maseru 100
Lesotho

Cel: + 266 56403806

Supervisor: Dr KME Sobane

Proposal: Communicative strategies used by witnesses in the Leon and Phumaphi Commissions of Inquiry in Lesotho

Qualification: PhD (in Languages, Linguistics and Literature)

Thank you for the application for research ethics clearance, received on 05 February 2018 by the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages Research Ethics Review Committee (RERC), for the above-mentioned research. Since the research involves the analysis of documents already in the public domain it falls within the minimal risk category. Final approval is granted for the research undertaken for the duration of your doctoral studies.

For full approval: *The application was reviewed in compliance with the Unisa Policy on Research Ethics by the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages Research Ethics Review Committee on 19 February 2018.*

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The proposed research may now commence with the proviso that:

1) *The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to the values and principles expressed in the UNISA Policy on Research Ethics.*
2) *Any adverse circumstance arising in the undertaking of the research project that is relevant to the ethicality of the study, as well as changes in the methodology, should be communicated in writing to the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages Research Ethics Review Committee Committee. An amended application could be requested if there are substantial changes from the existing proposal, especially if those changes affect any of the study-related risks for the research participants.*
3) *The researcher will ensure that the research project adheres to any applicable national legislation, professional codes of conduct, institutional guidelines and scientific standards relevant to the specific field of study.*

Note:

The reference number (top right corner of this communiqué) should be clearly indicated on all forms of communication (e.g. Webmail, e-mail messages, letters) with the intended research participants, as well as with the Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages RERC.

On behalf of the departmental RERC, we wish you everything of the best with your research study. May it be a stimulating journey!

Kind regards

Prof EJ Pretorius

Chair: Department of Linguistics and Modern Languages RERC
Tel: (012) 429 6028
pretoej@unisa.ac.za

Appendix B: Tape and CD recordings from which data was extracted

(i)	The *Leon Commission* Tape One	08/08/2000
(ii)	The *Leon Commission* Tape One	10/08/2000
(iii)	The *Leon Commission* Tape Two	(Cont. of 10/08/2000)
(iv)	The *Leon Commission* Tape One	04/09/2000
(v)	The *Leon Commission* Tape One	13/09/2000
(vi)	The *Leon Commission* Tape Three	26/09/2000
(vii)	The *Leon Commission* Tape One	25/09/2001
(viii)	The *Leon Commission* Tape One	(Undated)
(ix)	The *Leon Commission* Tape One	(Undated)
(x)	The *Leon Commission* Tape One	(Undated)

(xi)	The Phumaphi Commission compact disc (CD) One	Undated
(xii)	The Phumaphi Commission CD Two	Undated
(xiii)	The Phumaphi Commission CD Three	Undated
(xiv)	The Phumaphi Commission CD Four	Undated
(xv)	The Phumaphi Commission CD Five	22/08/2015

Appendix C: Thesis editing certificate

T.A. Barben t/a Language Matters Editing and Indexing Services (Pty) Ltd

Hoerikwaggo 60 Vredehoek Avenue Vredehoek 8001 Cape Town

21 January 2021.

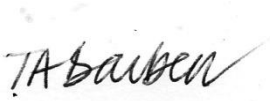
To: Whom it may concern

I hereby acknowledge that I have edited the PhD thesis of Mampoi Mabena, viz. 'Communicative strategies used by witnesses of the Leon and Phumaphi commissions of enquiry in Lesotho'.

My role as editor of a thesis is, among others, to ensure that the writing flows, that grammar, punctuation, and spelling is correct and applied consistently. I use South African editing rules: -isa and -ise and not -ize and -ize, single quotation marks rather than double (except when quoting within a quotation) and otherwise Standard British rules (*Oxford Style Manual*, *New Hart's Rules*, Judith Butcher's *Copy-editing* (2nd ed.) and standard English dictionaries. I edit using Tracked Changes and expect the student to accept or reject the changes, and, preferably, to send the work back to me for a final 'cleaning up'. This last was done in the case of Ms Mabena's thesis. The list of references was edited and the citation style required by the student's faculty or department was applied.

It was with the above considerations that I edited the thesis.

With best wishes



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