FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN SPEECHES: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH

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JUNE 2016
DECLARATION

This dissertation is my original work and has not been presented for any award of degree in any other university.

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We confirm that the work presented in this dissertation was carried out by the candidate and has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

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DEDICATION

This dissertation is dedicated to my beloved mother, Catherine Ntundu, whose love for education has been my inspiration. Her prayer, support and encouragement has steered this work. Her great sacrifice for my education is highly appreciated. God bless her.
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First I thank God for the success of this work and for granting me the peace and health to go through my education.

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God bless you all.
This study investigated the use of figurative language (FL) in selected politicians' electoral campaign speeches in Meru County during 2013 Kenya general elections. Figurative language is mainly social-culturally constructed and therefore it presents a major area for misinterpretation or manipulation when it collides within the sphere of national politics. The research was guided by the following objectives: to find out the categories of FL used by the politicians, to examine the functions of FL, to establish the relation between gender and FL and lastly to determine the influence of politicians' educational level on the use of FL. The study falls under the Critical Discourse Analysis. The approach was helpful in moving beyond the surface examination of texts to the deep structure relation of power and inequality as they relate to politicians' speeches in this study. Fairclough’s, (1998) approach to CDA was used in this study. This approach was used to help understand the linguistic items that are FL and their meanings. In addition it was used to understand the social contexts of FL use and the different layers of messages communicated by politicians in their speeches. Also the Graded Salience model was used to determine literal and metaphorical meanings of FL. In data collection, the researcher purposely picked twenty four speeches from the selected politicians using stratified random sampling. This ensured that all individuals in a stratum had an equal chance of being selected for the sample size. Data was collected from media houses. Thematic analysis and CDA was used for data analysis and was presented using tables, pie charts and percentages. The results showed that metaphors and symbolism were the most used figures of speech by politicians. The results indicated that FL was used to criticize opponents, persuade electorates, to make shorter versions of their ideas and to boast how best fitted they were for the position. The study established that Politicians also employed figures of speech to mislead or deceive the electorate, to create unity between the politician and the electorate, to illustrate the policies they had in mind for the people. The study also established that most of the FL was mainly employed by male politicians. The study also found out that most of the politicians who used figures of speech were holders of bachelor’s degree as the highest educational levels. The results also indicated that politicians with highest and lowest educational levels were unlikely to employ FL in their electoral campaign speeches. The researcher concluded that metaphors and symbolism were the most used figures of speech by politicians. It was concluded that Kenyan politics are tribal since FL was used to encourage voters to vote along tribal lines. The study concluded that FL was also used to divide and rule and also insult the opponents. It was concluded that the youth are marginalized in politics. The study concluded that Meru community is still a patriarchal society. Finally, the researcher concluded that the most learned were confident, careful and selective in their use of figurative language.
ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AMANI - Coalition of parties
APK - Alliance Party of Kenya
CDA - Critical Discourse Analysis
CORD - Coalition for Reform and Democracy
D.O - A person in-charge of administration of a district
FL - Figurative language
GSM - Graded Salience Model
IEBC - Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission
KNC - Kenya National Congress Party
MP - Member of Parliament
NACOSTI - National Commission for Science and Technology
ODM - Orange Democratic Movement
TA - Thematic Analysis
TNA - The National Alliance Party
UDF - United Democratic Forum
URP - United Republican Party
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OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms and abbreviation were used in the study:

Culture - It refers to the way of life of a society.

Education- This is a process of acquiring knowledge, skills and attitudes.

Figurative Language - It refers to the use of language in a non-literal form.

Gender- This refers to male or female.

Governor- This is a politician charged with the management of the county.

Ideology- It refers to are ideas, beliefs or philosophy.

Politician - This refers to a person vying for a political post.

Politics - Refers to the activities of the government members of law making organization or people who try to influence the way a country is governed.

Power- Refers to supremacy to control and rule.

Pragmatics - This is a branch of linguistics dealing with the analysis of language in context.

Senator - This is a politician representing the county in the senate and serves to protect the interests of the county and its government.
CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter covers the background information, statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, and research assumptions, significance of the study, scope and limitations. First, the researcher discusses the background to the study.

1.1 Background to the Study

Figurative language (FL) comprises a large part of all languages and its understanding is important to express messages during interactions. It is a powerful linguistic tool used by politicians in their pursuit for political power. What is “unsaid” by the politicians through the use of FL requires to be unraveled to understand their political speeches. Figurative language refers to an expression that departs from normal literal language so as to make comparison or give freshness to the interaction or make the message clear (Elena, 2005). It can also be seen as a literary device used by an author or a speaker in such a way that what is being said is different from the actual literal meanings of words. The following are the different types of figurative language commonly used: metaphors, similes, symbolism, synecdoche, hyperbole, puns, personification, irony, litotes, metonymy and paradox (Alembi, 1999).

According to Black (1962) a metaphor is a comparison of two things without using ‘like’ or ‘as’ for example love is blind. Similes function like metaphors but they use comparative words ‘like’ or ‘as’ for example ‘he is like a watermelon.’ Personification refers to a figure of speech in which something that does not have human features is represented as possessing human form. Symbolism refers to certain images or objects used in place or to represent ideas. A symbol is normally something
concrete or visible although the idea it symbolizes could be abstract. Hyperbole refers to exaggeration of ideas or issues while litotes is a figure of speech consisting of an understatement in which an affirmative is expressed by negating its opposite. Litotes is the opposite of hyperboles. For instance, hyperbole like "I am very hungry I could eat the world" exaggerates the hunger the person has. It is not possible to eat the world even if you are very hungry. An example of litotes is in statement like "He is a bit upset"-said of someone who is very angry. According to Guan (2009) metonymy is a figure of speech in which one word or phrase is substituted for another with which it is closely associated. For instance, "bench", the location in a courtroom where a judge sits when presiding over court, could be used as a metonym to refer to all the judges of a court or jurisdiction; members of a judiciary; or the presiding officer (judge) in a court. Puns refer to humor while synecdoche is a figure of speech in which a part is used to refer to the whole for example the house is on recess, the house refer to members of parliament (Alembi, 1999). As politicians make their speeches they employ different categories or types of figurative language. As illustrated in the examples above some figures of speech may conceal the true meaning when used in political speeches. An analysis of the figures of speech as used by politicians helped to reveal the hidden meaning of such utterances. Thus, this study elucidated the categories of figurative language used by politicians in their electoral campaign speeches and the different messages they communicated.

Figurative language is used in different contexts in the society (Colston and Lee, 2004). This makes discourse analysis important for this study. Discourse analysis deals with the relationship between language and the contexts in which it is used. A discourse analyst studies the written text or the spoken discourse. The written text
includes all types of written media like letters, newspapers articles, magazines, reports, journals, memos, written instructions and posters (Fairclough, 2003). On the other hand, the spoken discourse refers to all forms that are verbal. Politicians’ electoral campaign speeches were classified under the spoken discourse.

The spoken discourse can be analyzed through a Critical Discourse Analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) is concerned with demystifying ideologies and power through systematic examination of spoken, written and visual data (Wodak, 1997). It looks at language as a social practice and considers the context of language to be very important. Among other things, CDA as an ideology is interested in the more concealed type of each day belief which often appear masked as conceptual metaphors and analogies that draws attention of linguists. It was on this basis that this study aimed to carry out a critical discourse analysis on figurative language used by politicians. Wodak (2001) argues that politics is a power struggle that aims at executing and practicing economic, social and political ideologies. Language then becomes very vital since each political action is prepared, accompanied and influenced by language. To the politicians, language serves as conduit through which they express their ideas and so a need for a unique style or strategy like the use of figurative language.

According to Polsky (2001), a feature of how language functions in social interaction is its influential and instrumental association with power. So the saying ‘language is power’ could be seen as true. According to Polsky influential power makes people to either behave in a particular way or accept opinions or attitudes without obvious force being applied on them. This kind of power works in social spheres like advertising,
media, culture, and politics. People do not suffer any penalty if they resist it (Polsky, 2001). On the other hand, instrumental power is explicit power which is obligatory by the state, by the laws and convention of the state and by the institutions and organizations people work for. When people oppose this kind of power they are subjected to some kind of penalty. CDA study also helps to understand social power and how it adds to transformation in the society. By yielding to politicians’ persuasion change automatically takes effect by having new leaders into power. Thus a CDA study on the figurative language of the politicians’ electoral campaign speeches was vital.

Critical Discourse Analysis mostly deals with injustices, power abuse, and inequality in the society as far as language use is concerned. Language is seen as means of enabling inequality and injustices chiefly by those in authority (Van Dijk, 1993). The strategy that a group of people acquires to make the other to do what it wants to be done is known as linguistic strategy. Politicians use both strategy and linguistic manipulation. Linguistic manipulation is the use of a language consciously in a devious means to control others (Chilton, 1998). According to him linguistic manipulation can be seen as an influential instrument of political rhetoric because the language of politicians is essentially focused on persuading people to take a political stand. According to Michira (2014) the personal pronouns ‘we/us versus them’ were used metaphorically by politicians. “We/us” was used to imply inclusion of the politician and the voters while “them” was used to refer to the opponents during the political campaigns. During the 2013 general elections politicians campaigned for political seats in order to popularize themselves and woo voters to vote for them. This
study carried out a CDA on politicians’ campaign speeches to examine the functions of FL as a strategy used by politicians to campaign for votes.

As elections approach politicians move from one region to another, making political speeches in order to woo voters to vote for them. Both male and female politicians are involved in the campaign process. They therefore employ different strategies like the use of figurative language in their campaign process. They use language for instance to attack political opponents, to legitimize political power or to present policies (Chilton, 1998). During the 2013 general elections politicians made political speeches to serve different purposes. This study carried out a CDA on politicians’ use of FL to determine how they attacked their opponents and presented their policies in order to win the electorates to their advantage.

According to Michira (2014) political rhetoric in Kenya is competitive with language being used indirectly and symbolically. Following the ban on hate speech after the post-election violence in December 2007 to 2008 politicians resulted to FL which is ambiguous. Politicians resulted to using the pronouns such as ‘us versus them’ that is metaphorical in nature. As politicians make campaign speeches, much of what they say is left not understood. What was “unspoken” by politicians as they persuaded for votes lead to a need to carry out this study. Thus, there was a need to undertake a CDA study to help in understanding power, dominance and control in figurative language use between male and female politicians during the 2013 general elections in Kenya.
Moreover, politicians use FL for different reasons. Generally language serves different functions in the society. It is a social experience in which there are social groupings that have definite meanings and values expressed using language in a unique way. Discourse can be used for affirming knowledge, resistance, power and critique (Fairclough, 1989, p24). The listeners and the readers should be active receivers in their relationship to texts. In addition to using language to woo electorates, politicians criticize fellow opponents. This is mostly done using figurative language. A CDA of such figures of speech was therefore important in showing how politicians used them (FL) to propagate smear campaigns. According to Colston and Lee (2004) ironic utterances are thought to be rude, express impoliteness, de-emphasis and their implication is negative. They are most often used to insult. As politicians make political speeches they result to use of FL with hidden intentions. What is “unsaid” by the politicians during the political campaigns motivated a need for this study. This study thus, examined whether politicians used FL to express rudeness, impoliteness, de-emphasis or to insult the opponents.

During the campaign period, both male and female politicians use FL to attract voters to vote for them. Coupland and Jaworsky (1997) define gender as the social construction of sex. In most societies particular roles, expectations and norms are differentiated on the basis of sex. These scholars give emphasis to a greater direction to community prestige norms as the powerful force in women’s linguistic behavior contrasting to men’s linguistic behavior. Gender differences have also been found in FL use. According to Colston and Lee (2004) verbal irony is more used by female speakers than the male ones. In addition to this, irony was employed to add negativity and humour are used the same by both male and female speakers. During the 2013
general elections in Kenya both male and female politicians were involved in the campaign process and used FL. It was from this premise that this study sought to establish the relation between gender and the figurative language use by the politicians during the 2013 general elections in Kenya. Gender differences between women and men were marked differently in many societies (Spolsky, 1998). Women’s speech was associated with home whereas men’s speech was associated with economic activities and the outside world. These studies showed that men and women use language differently. Thus, there was a need to carry a CDA on politicians’ FL to establish gender differences in their FL use to determine inequality and discrimination on gender basis.

Education plays an important role in the society more so in usage of language (Poole, 1979). Education has a worldwide positive effect on every form of engagement with politics as one of them. Therefore politicians with different levels of education were involved in the campaign process and the politicians’ levels of education influenced their use of language. Champagne et al. (2006) found that the level of education had effects on non-literal language in which forty young adults and forty old adults with different educational levels participated in reading short stories ending with literal or non-literal target and their accuracy was recorded. The older adults with high level of education gave high accuracy to non-literal compared to young adults with a lower level of education. During the 2013 general election in Kenya politicians with different levels of education participated in the campaign process. Their educational level determined their FL use as they delivered their speeches. This study therefore sought to determine whether the level of education of the politician accounted for figurative language use during the 2013 general elections in Kenya.
1.2 Statement of the Problem

An understanding of the way figurative language works is crucial for a correct appreciation of art and literature. Apart from art and literature figurative language also pervades in our lives, culture and the language spoken in the society.

Figurative language is employed in all spheres of communication, including political discourse. Since figurative language is mainly socio-culturally constructed it presents a major area for misinterpretation or even manipulation when it collides with the field of national politics. Some politicians in Kenya have made statements that have been misinterpreted and resulted into dire consequences including dividing Kenyans along ethnic divide and to the extreme causing violence resulting in deaths of Kenyans. It is this that motivated the need to carry out a CDA of the politicians’ figurative language used in campaign speeches. CDA helps interpret what other people are trying to say and what they are really saying. This study thus sought to interpret the layers of messages communicated by politicians through the use of FL in their electoral campaign speeches by analysing words, phrases and sentence utterances that were considered FL.

1.3 Objectives of the Study

The research was guided by the following objectives,

1. To find out the categories of figurative language used by politicians.
2. To examine the functions of figurative language used by politicians.
3. To establish the relation between gender and figurative language use by the politicians.
4. To determine influence of politicians’ level of education on the use of figurative language.
1.4 Research Questions

The study sought to answer the following questions:

1. What are the categories of figurative language used by politicians?
2. What are the functions of figurative language used by politicians?
3. How is the gender of a politician related to the use figurative language?
4. What is the influence of the educational level of a politician on his/her use of figurative language?

1.5 Research Assumptions

The study was guided by the following assumptions:

1. Politicians may use different categories of figurative language in their campaign speeches.
2. The use of figurative language by politicians serves different functions.
3. There is a relation between gender and figurative language use by politicians.
4. The level of education of a politician may influence his/her use of figurative language.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The use of language by politicians to control the voters has both negative and positive effect. The use of figurative language has the effect of polarizing communities along ethnic, sub-ethnic or clan based problems. The findings of this study will enable the law enforcement officers to deal with crimes committed through political campaign language which can lead to incitement and discrimination of communities. All these crimes are made difficult to prosecute through use of figurative language. By involving linguists in linguistic interpretation of FL can help in enhancing justice in the society.
Kenya was made a multi-party state in 1992 after the repeal of section 2A of the constitution with elections being held every five years. Since then, politicians from different political parties have been engaging in political campaign discourse. So, this study was of importance in documenting the FL used by politicians.

The information gathered in this study is useful to linguists since it provides them with ways to understand the language of politicians. Most often politicians may use language with hidden meaning that requires being unraveled. Therefore, this study offers some of the ways of understanding and disambiguating what the politicians really say in their campaign speeches.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The study falls within the broad area of CDA specifically on politicians’ electoral speeches and FL use. The study was conducted in Meru County which is located in the eastern part of Kenya. It was selected since political speeches in Kenya are unique from one area to another depending on political issues affecting the country and even the region. Meru County is also the home of majority Kimeru speakers and Kimeru language was the target language for capturing FL used by politicians in their electoral campaign speeches. Politicians were also campaigning in this area during the 2013 general elections in order to capture political seats as outlined in the 2010 Kenya’s constitution. Moreover the investigator was familiar with the local language. This study was concerned with any FL the politicians campaigning in Meru County used including metaphors, similes, euphemism, hyperboles among others. In addition only twenty four speeches from politicians were considered out of the many speeches that were made.
This study was also limited to politicians' electoral campaign speeches during the 2013 general elections in Kenya. Any political speeches made during by-elections were not considered. This was done to reduce the scope of the study. Also only speeches from politicians vying for political posts were being considered. Other speeches made by persons not contesting any of the political post was not considered.

1.8 Limitations of the Study

The study encountered the following limitations; since the researcher collected data from the local media houses some of them were not willing to give the speeches. The researcher overcame this by seeking the data from alternative media houses.

Also, some media houses were inclined to recording speeches from popular politicians and ignored the upcoming ones. This meant that the researcher would not be able to obtain speeches of politicians who were not popular during the campaigns. The researcher was able to overcome this by obtaining speeches from more than one media house.

Some media houses were inclined to particular political parties or coalition and therefore did not record speeches from opposing political parties. The researcher overcame this by getting the data from other media houses.

The data would also be corrupted by virus once it was put in the flash disc making the researcher difficult to access it. This was overcame by going back to the media houses and requesting for the data once again and also using more than one storage material.

It was difficult for the researcher to interpret some FL, since they needed the Meru socio-cultural context for interpretation. The researcher used the services of an
interpreter who had a masterly of Meru culture to acquire an accurate interpretation and analysis of the data.

1.9 Chapter summary

In chapter one, the researcher has discussed background to the study, statement of the study, objectives of the study, research questions, research assumptions, significance of the study, scope and limitations of the study. The background information highlighted what was known about critical discourse analysis and provided lines of thought that prompted the undertaking of the study. The problem statement provided information on the reality of existence of the problem studied and hence was worthy to be studied. The objectives provided a concise and clear outline of what the study intended to find out. The research question clearly stated questions that inspired the study. Research assumptions provided clarity of the study hence how data collection process was designed. The significance of the study provided the rationale for carrying out the study. It also demonstrated the validity of the study. Lastly the scope of the study provided a brief description and the participants. In the following chapter the researcher will discuss literature review and the theoretical framework.
According to Kittay (1989) metaphor is a figurative language whereby one thing is spoken as if it were some other and it is a common characteristic of language. In Ortony (1975) on a typical article on the communicative functions of metaphor, metaphors are employed to fill gaps in the lexicon, to give succinct ways to state ideas that would be long or awkward to create in literal terms, and to add clarity or intensity to a message. Metaphor and other figurative expressions may provide brief ways to capture affective responses, cognitions, physiological reactions, and behavioural responses of emotions. Ortony’s hypotheses were supported in a study by Fainsilber and Ortony (1987), who examined use of metaphor in oral descriptions of autobiographical emotional experiences and in behaviors resulting from these experiences. In support of Ortony’s view that metaphor is used for communicating ideas impossible or difficult to express in literal terms, Fainsilber and Ortony found that metaphor was used mostly to describe personal feelings than to describe obvious actions coming from these states. They also found that figurative language was used often to convey intense emotional states than to express milder ones. During the political campaigns politicians made speeches to express their emotions. This study sought to determine metaphors as a type of figurative language used by politicians in their electoral campaign speeches.

In addition to metaphors, euphemism is another category of FL. Euphemisms and metaphors have popularity and weight in political discourse. According to Hysi, (2011), euphemisms appear out of fear and shame that include fear of hurting other people’s feelings or breaking the rules of the society. They are used to conceal unpleasant or embarrassing ideas even in those cases where the direct words are not necessarily offensive. Hysi, (2011) argues that use of euphemisms is a common
CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORITICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction
This chapter covers literature review and theoretical framework. In the literature review the following areas of study have been reviewed: studies on figurative language, functions of figurative language, studies on gender and language, and studies on education and language. The literature review helped in identification of research gaps that inspired the investigator to undertake this study. In addition it enabled the investigator to familiarize with pertinent elements of the topic under study. In theoretical framework, the CDA and the Graded Salience Model provided a theory and a model that guided this study.

2.2 Studies on Figurative Language
Figurative language refers to language that is loaded with figures of speech (Pierrine, 2009). According to Chantril (2000) cognitive linguist are interested with analogies people usually make in thinking and speaking. Many kinds of persuasive discourse contain huge numbers of figures of speech because they are usually used to make arguments by comparison or analogy which is mostly a way of making 'pseudo rational' arguments. This study was concerned with figurative language and the analogies politicians make. Figures of speech are mostly used to conceal how people think. By identifying figurative tropes in texts and practices helped to highlight underlying thematic frameworks. This study was concerned with identifying the types or categories of figurative language and their meanings as used by politicians. This in turn aided in elucidating why politicians used those figures of speech and hence helped in highlighting their functions.
linguistic feature used by women. In her investigation of categories of female speakers that frequently use euphemisms and the main areas in women's language that flourish in euphemistic expressions, Hysi (2011) found that the use of euphemisms is related to gender and other factors like culture, education and social class especially in environments where women have a minor role in communication and where women's freedom of expression is suppressed. As politicians campaign for political speeches employed different figures of speech. This study sought to determine euphemisms as a category of FL used by politicians in the campaign speeches.

Another interesting study on sex-related euphemisms in Setswana with the prevalence of the HIV/AIDS pandemic was carried out by Batibo and Kopi (2008). Among the important findings were: more euphemisms have been created for private parts and sexual activities, sexual secretions, sexual diseases and related experience; the euphemisms have slang origin and use; they are mostly are used by the younger generation; the occurrence of HIV/AIDS has created more lexical items for sex-related euphemisms especially those that are related to safe sex, abstinence, and condoms; attitudes toward sexual indulgence has shifted from positive to somewhat negative; and lastly euphemisms that started as casual expressions of slang nature have spread and have become officially part of the Setswana language. When a euphemism is used to deceive it becomes doublespeak. This study sought to determine euphemisms as a type of figurative language used by politicians in their electoral campaign speeches.
According to Elena (2005) a simile is a comparison statement relating two entities which are intentionally very unlike. They contain an overt comparing expression for example: like, is like, as, as...as, resembles, is the same as, is similar to, the same way, seems like, is more like, gives the impression of/that... In a study on Simile in English: From description to translation, Pierini (2009) argues that a simile is much less investigated than metaphor, although it occurs as frequently in discourse. Pierini further argues that the functioning of similes is rather complex even though they are easily recognizable. She points out that the interpretation of similes is not always easy since it involves both semantic and pragmatic considerations. Thus, this study sought to determine whether politicians used similes as a figurative language in their speeches.

Another figure of speech used in communication is metonymy. Nascione (2001) considers metonymy to be a rhetorical device that is based on some kind of association linking two concepts which these meanings represent. Metonymy build up imagery focusing on concrete objects which are used in generalized meaning. It creates an associative image which helps the listener or the reader to see beyond the words. Places or some institution are used not only for the institution itself or for its staff but also to refer to its policy for example the parliament can refer to the building, to the members of parliament and the law making. In a study on the Cognitive nature of Metonymy and its Implications in English Vocabulary Teaching, Guan (2009) studied the meaning extension and lexical conversion of vocabulary from the perspective of metonymy, and concluded that understanding the cognitive nature of metonymy can greatly help the competence of vocabulary teaching and help to
expand students’ vocabulary amount. This study sought to determine whether politicians used metonymy as a category of figurative language.

In conclusion these studies showed that there are different categories of FL. They were used as guide in arriving at the types of FL as used by politicians in their electoral campaign speeches.

2.3 Functions of Figurative Language

Jones and Pecci (2004) point out that language can be employed to steer people’s thoughts and believes and also to control their thoughts and beliefs. Elena (2005) argues that during the 2004 US president Bush and Senator Kerry offered an opportunity to express two different systems of beliefs through a masterly use of figurative language. Each side made recovery and restorative national claims. In so doing they were able to persuade the voters to vote for them. Polsky (2001) argues that by manipulating values to achieve strategic purposes, politicians turn the cultural repertoire into a vibrant force. Since politicians used FL in their speeches, there was a need to go beyond what they stated so as to comprehend their intent and also the meanings of their utterances. Therefore, this study examined politicians’ use of FL as a way of persuading voters to vote for them and also to pass their beliefs and national claims.

Figures of speech are imperative in advertising (Barbara, 1988). According to the scholar, in advertising figurative language is used to distinguish one brand from another and make the complex product more clearly to the customers. The use of figurative expressions appears to carry a big burden in conveying the core of a service
than a good. Through use of figures of speech advertisers are able to make the abstract service have a sense of appeal to the consumers. The connotative authority of words is employed by the advertisers to build positive consumer experiences within what the law permits. During the campaign period the politicians tried to distinguish themselves from their opponents by making speeches in order to appeal to the voters. Therefore, this study sought to examine the non-literal language use by politicians which is connotative in nature.

The rationale of non-literal is to make things more creatively attractive. A simple listing of qualities gives a flat description although it may be accurate, it does not rouse the imagination (Brooks and Warren 1960, p92). According to Barnet (1979, p187) figurative language is imaginatively thrilling in three ways, "it is condensed, concise and interesting" and the use of figurative language can produce messages which are emotionally alive, intellectually appealing and memorable (Barbara, 1990). Figurative language can lead to an abrupt burst of understanding making the reader to experience a shock of recognition he or she gets the message and the concrete images are embedded in memory (Barbara, 1988). On the other side advertising can also use the influence of the symbolic concentration to obscure by over-simplification, creating figures of speech which deliberately deceive or mislead the consumers (Barbara, 1988). As politicians campaigned for votes they made political speeches with deliberate choice of words meant to serve different functions. This study therefore determined whether politicians used FL to mislead or deceive people as one of the function of FL.
Figurative language is also used in psychology whereby metaphors are used to fill gaps in the lexicon to provide succinct ways of stating ideas that would be lengthy or awkward to formulae in literal terms and to add vividness or intensity of a message (Ortony, 1975). This study examined whether politicians use of FL as shorter version of ideas that were lengthy and to make them clear to the listeners. Emotions are subjective experiences and they are difficult to capture in literal terms. Emotions are also complex made up of affective and cognitive reactions, psychological and behavioral responses. These are best captured through figurative language with metaphors being used to express intense emotional states. Thus, this study elucidated that politician used FL to portray their emotions.

According to Atkinson (1984) language plays a critical part in politics because its function in diverse political situations is to enable politicians to form structurally stable relations. Politicians manipulate language on the idea of persuading people. They persuade people to take political actions or to support a political party or an individual and to turn up to vote. Language is also used to make people adopt general political or social attitudes so as to attract support for a present policy. This is possible through a masterly of figurative language use. This study therefore established that politicians used FL to make stable relations, persuade people to support a political party or an individual, attract support for a present policy as among the functions of FL.

In a study on Figurative Language Used in the Composition of National Anthems, Tocharoen (n.d) established that figurative language was used to express the admiration of the institution, the strength of the people and the pride of a nation. In
addition, figurative language was used as the useful tool to make a link of culture and norms between the lyricist and the audience of a particular nation. As a result, the mood of unity in the anthem was created among people in a nation including mutual attitude, social value, and tradition that make all different types of audiences become one. The politicians used figures of speech to position themselves as the best candidate, reliable and one that the electorate should be proud of. Moreover, the politicians used figures of speech to create a sense of unity between them and the electorate. Thus, this study examined the functions of figurative language used by politicians.

The above reviewed studies showed that there are different functions of FL. They were used to guide the study in examining the functions of FL used by politicians.

2.4 Studies on Gender and Figurative Language

Shitemi (2009) argues that gender is fixed in all institutions, actions, desires and beliefs that map language use through communication, interaction and establishment of the social order. There are differences in the way men and women use language. Men have been found to use longer words, use more articles, swear more and use more references to location (Mehl and Pennebaker, 2003). Mehl and Pennebaker, (2003) also reported that men are more likely to use the first person singular. The word ‘I’ intuitively connotes individualism or selfishness which fits the male stereotype than the female stereotype with conceptual or cognitive verbs. For example “I wonder if” were found more in women’s writing (Mulac and Landell, 1995) and speech (Hartman, 1976).
Gender differences have been reported in the use and interpretation of irony and sarcasm. According to Raymond Gibbs (2000) gender stereotypes have been found in the use of irony. In his study, men were found to likely make sarcastic remarks almost twice as women and were more likely to use sarcastic irony in dialogue with friends. In a study by Jorgensen (1996) he found out that women are more likely to be offended by sarcastic utterances than men while men perceive humour in sarcastic irony. Both and female politicians were involved in the political campaigns and they used FL in their speeches. This study sought to investigate gender differences on the use of FL as used by politicians during the 2013 Kenya’s general election.

Gender is significant on figurative language understanding. Colston and Lee (2004) in their evaluation on whether gender differences would be found in people’s use of irony found that irony was used more by males than females in conversation by both men and women. It was concluded that males were at a greater risk of misinterpretation compared to literal type of speech. Male speakers were also more likely to take risk than female speakers since they were usually more risk takers than women in different social activities (Byrnes, Miller and Schfer, 1999). It is on this basis that this study sought to investigate gender differences in politicians’ use of FL in their campaign speeches. It also sought to examine the gender of politicians that are risk takers as far as use of FL is concerned.

According to Colston and Lee (2004) ironic remarks are thought to be rude, de-emphasis and insult to a larger extent than literal comments. For social functions verbal irony is more used by female speakers than the male ones. Contrary to this, the functions of irony employed to add to negativity and humour are used the same by both male and female speakers. It is from this premise that this study sought to
examine whether FL was used to increase negativity of the opponents in the pursuit to persuade for votes. It also examined whether politicians used FL to insult their opponents.

Gender differences have also been seen in how people attribute blame for a failure (Colston and Lee, 2004). For instance, men are more likely to blame the situation or the addressee for failures. Women instead are more likely to make personal attributions for failures. This was seen as the reason why women are less likely to use verbal irony. They also found that women tended to avoid ways of speaking which present bigger risk of misunderstanding and are less likely to use verbal irony to avoid blaming themselves for a misunderstanding during a conversational exchange. Women also want to avoid a social negative feedback since verbal irony is seen to be more aggressive, critical and condemning form of talking compared to direct commentary. This study examined whether gender differences in politicians’ use of FL contributed in blaming the addressee, condemning or for critique.

According to Lampert (1996) females and males have different reasons for employing figurative language. Men use sarcasm to reduce susceptibility while women use it to increase social vulnerability and encouragement of intimacy. Women look at ironic compliment to be impolite than men since they always have a negative implication (Dews and Wnner, 1995; Pexman and Olineck, 2002a). When gender is seen from a cultural or social point it has an effect on figurative language. What is “unsaid” relies largely on background social convections that is understandably shared and everyday practices that make people understand the implied part of their communication (Pexman and Olienck, 2000a). This study examined whether the politicians gender
influenced the use of FL as impolite, to pass insults to the opponents and encourage intimacy with the audience with an intention of persuading voters to vote for them.

These studies showed that there were gender differences in the use of figurative language. Borrowing from them, this study sought to establish whether there were gender differences in the use of figurative language between men and women politicians.

2.5 Studies on Education and Figurative Language Use

Education is a process of acquiring knowledge, skills and attitudes. Education increases levels of information (Hyman et al., 1978). The level of education has been used mostly to set limits to career and social prestige so as to experience social mobility (McGroaty, 2002). Education allows labeling of categories or classes in the society. Educational level is a marker of social status (Labov, 1966). Those that are learned are known to use language carefully and selectively. Wodtke (2012) argues that education is a body that endows dominant groups with a keen awareness of their group interests, more advanced cognitive skills, and a set of ideological commitments that allows them to articulate an incisive defence of their privileged position in the social hierarchy. It is therefore, possible that learned politicians might have advanced cognitive skills and ideological commitment that might give them oratory advantage than those with lower educational level. Therefore, this study investigated whether the level of education of politicians had any relation to figurative language use.

In a study by Glucksberg (2001) to examine the relationship between performance on the metaphor assignment and educational level, age and working memory showed that those that have high level of education understood metaphorical words than those
with less education. The percentage of metaphorical words accepted as related to the previous metaphor were significantly positively correlated with educational level. (Glucksberg, 2001). The study reviewed that the higher the educational level of the participants the more likely they accepted the metaphorical target words. The findings of the study showed that older adults with a low level of education were slower than the older adults with high level of education to perform the task on any stimulus. This study investigated the level of education of politicians and its relation to figurative language use during political campaigns leading to the 2013 general elections in Kenya.

In another study by Champagne et al. (2006) on the effects of education on non-literal language in which forty young adults and forty old adults with different educational levels participated in reading short stories ending with literal or non-literal target and their accuracy was recorded. They found that the educational level accounted for the difference between the young and the older adults. The older adults with high level of education gave high accuracy to non-literal compared to young adults with a lower level of education. This study investigated whether the level of education of the politician accounted for figurative language use during the political campaigns during the 2013 general elections in Kenya.

Wodtke (2012) established that education has a liberalizing effect on racial attitudes in the United States. The higher level of education among younger cohorts was the major source of progressive change in whites’ attitudes. Kenya is inhabited by many ethnic groups and therefore it is likely that more educated politicians will deploy progressive language that promotes tolerance rather than retrogressive language that
divides people along ethnic lines. It is on the basis of this argument that this study sought to establish whether the level of education of a politician has any relation to figurative language use.

Moreover, education builds up generally useful habits and attitudes such as dependability, judgment, effort, motivation, confidence and trust (Ross, 2012). In particular the process of learning creates confidence in the ability to solve problems. In campaigns, politicians often want to position themselves as the most trustworthy and dependable individuals. This is often conveyed through their speeches. Through these speeches, the politicians also try to convince the electorate that they are the best suited candidates to resolve the problems bedevilling the society. It was therefore elucidated that politician who have higher levels of education use a language that differs from that of a politician who holds a lower level of education. It is on this premise that this study sought to elucidate whether the level of education of a politician had any relation to the use of figures of speech.
2.6 Theoretical Framework

In this sub section the researcher discusses the Critical Discourse Analysis theory and the Graded Salience model.

2.6.1 Critical Discourse Analysis Theory

CDA is an interdisciplinary approach to the study of discourse. This is a theory that emerged in the early 1990s. The supporters of the theory include Van Dijk, Norman Fairclough and Ruth Wodak. CDA sees language as a social practice (Fairclough, 1995) and considers the context of language use to be very important (Wodak, 1997). CDA is interested in analyzing unclear as well as transparent structural relations of discrimination, power, dominance and control as evidenced by talk and text in the political and social context (Wodak, 2003).

CDA takes a range of approaches towards the social analysis of discourse (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997). Van Dijk, (1998) for instance is interested with what role conversations play in creation of ideologies. He takes a socio-cognitive approach which he looks at as mental representations and processes of individual or group members. An analysis of the topics that people talk about is a representation of the things that exist in their minds. On the other side, Wodak, (1995) takes a sociological and historical approach for the study of CDA. She uses all the background information in the analysis of the spoken or written texts which are forms of social behavior.

CDA is concerned with how language is used in the asserting power or for resistance by different groups in their discourses. This is determined by class, race, tribe, gender,
religion among others. This study choose CDA in order to show how the political class used FL to assert power, resist alternative power, to dominate and abuse of power through language. Discrimination and gender inequality were also addressed from a CDA perspective. For example when a politician says, 'he is just a boy' referring to the opponent has the implication of immaturity in some African context. This is because in most African cultures a person was considered a man only after circumcision, was allowed to marry and even hold leadership positions in the society. This can be seen as means of asserting power and resisting influences from the opposing power. It is also abuse of power in the fact that not all Kenyan communities placed a lot of premium on circumcision and it was also an indication of intolerance for those communities. This helps the speaker to discriminate his opponent who should not be taken serious in order to gain political power to his advantage.

This study adopted Norman Fairclough’s approach to CDA since it includes the analysis of many linguistic categories such as genres, text and style. According to Fairclough our language shapes our social identities and interactions, knowledge system, and beliefs which are also shaped by them in turn. He considers three elements of discourse namely text, interaction and social context.

Among the three elements of discourse, Fairclough uses text in extensive way for the semiotic element of social events that is both the spoken and written documents. This includes websites of government, meetings, interviews or business organization (Fairclough, 2003). An analysis of text involves linguistic analysis in terms of grammar, vocabulary, semantics and cohesion (Fairclough, 1995).
He also provides an inter-discursive analysis as a version of CDA. This permits one to integrate elements of context into the analysis of texts to demonstrate the relationship between occasional events and more durable social practices. In this study the researcher will consider the political speeches as spoken texts. The researcher was guided by the vocabulary, grammar and semantics of FL as used by the politicians to interpret it.

The politicians also, do not exist in vacuum. They live with other people who have various societal values, beliefs and norms, and whom they would wish to influence in their favor through their political speeches. The social and cultural beliefs of the Meru people in a way shaped the politicians' speeches. Fairclough (1995) argues that texts do not have meanings on their own without the interpretation of the reader. Therefore the researcher interpreted the meanings and functions of the figurative language used by the politicians in the speeches they made in the context of political campaigns. The analysis of texts (speeches) showed the relationship between society and figures of speech as used by the politicians as well as the ideas they put across to the electorates.

Fairclough (1989) also considers language as a social practice. This means that language is part of society and it is not external. Secondly, it is a social process and thirdly it is a socially conditioned process. It is conditioned by other non-linguistic parts of the society. Social practices might be seen as including the following elements: social activities, social relations, objects and instruments, time and place, social subjects with beliefs, knowledge, values and semiosis. In this study gender and education level were seen as social practices that condition the way FL was be used by politicians in their campaign speeches.
The process of social interaction involves the process of text production and text interpretation. From these arguments, therefore, the researcher considered the speeches produced by politicians during political campaigns as text production and were interpreted depending on the study objectives. The figure below demonstrates the interactions between text and social practices;

Fairclough (1989) also identifies three dimensions of CDA:

i. Description which is the stage which is concerned with formal properties of text.

ii. Interpretation is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction by seeing the text as the product of the process of production and as a resource in the process of interpretation.

iii. Explanation which is concerned with the relationship between interaction and social context with the determination of the production and interpretation and their social effects.

Figure 2.1: Discourse as text, interaction and context. (Fairclough 1989, p.25)
Borrowing from these dimensions, the researcher considered description in identifying the FL in politicians’ speeches. In interpretation, the speeches collected were used as resource material in which the study objectives were interpreted. Lastly, explanation guided the researcher in determining categories of FL used by politicians, the functions of FL, the social issues of gender and education level in the use of FL by the politicians. It was also used when drawing conclusions of the study. In conclusion this study analyzed the figurative language use in politicians’ campaign speeches using the text, context and Meru social cultural practice. A CDA theory was appropriate for this study because it offered conclusive ways of producing a text, interpreting and explaining it within the linguistic and social practices in a society.

2.6.2 Graded Salience Model

According to graded salience model (GSM), highly outstanding meanings of both words and phrases are automatically processed during the primary stages of figurative language processing, Giora, (1997). For example processing common metaphors like ‘step on someone’s shoes’ should trigger both literal and metaphorical (like offend) meanings even when the metaphor is used in proper discourse contexts. Therefore the researcher sought to get the literal and the metaphorical meanings of the FL used by a politician. This model presupposes that literal language is processed more quickly than figurative language and that literal language is processed automatically while figurative language is not. The graded salience model offers more flexibility in accounting for people quickly or slowly interpreting figurative language. It can be used to explain linguistic processing at both the lexical and phrasal levels.
According to Giora and Fein (1999) most important meaning immediately arise when individual words are read or said, the prominent meanings of convectional or familiar phrases get immediately activated regardless of the context. Different types of contextual information form interpretation at various temporal points throughout online language understanding. This model guided the researcher to find out the words or phrases that are FL and also examined the functions of FL as used by the politicians. The literal meanings are entrenched in a figurative context for their interpretation. FL language greatly relies on context on which it used. This study analysed the FL used by politicians by first presenting the literal meaning and then the metaphorical meaning.

2.7 Chapter summary

In chapter two, the researcher has discussed the literature review and the theoretical framework. In literature review studies on figurative language were reviewed. The functions of FL, studies on gender, education and language use were also reviewed. These helped to identify the research gaps for the study. In theoretical framework, Norman Fairclough’s approach to CDA theory and the Graded Salience Model were discussed. The Graded Salience Model was used to arrive at the literal and the metaphorical meaning of the FL. In the next chapter the researcher will discuss the research methodology.
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the research design that was used to achieve the study objectives. It also explains how data was collected, analyzed and presented. The area of the study, target population, sample size and sampling techniques are also discussed in this chapter starting with the research design.

3.2 Research Design

Research design is the structure of an inquiry (Orodho, 2002). It ensures that the evidence collected answers the questions unambiguously. This study used both qualitative and quantitative research designs to carry out a CDA on the use of figurative language on politicians' campaign speeches. Qualitative research is a study which involves observation of people in their natural setting or analysis of their cultural symbols (Mugenda, 1999). This study collected audio recorded speeches from local media houses related to the politicians as they campaigned during the 2013 general election. Thus, this was considered a natural setting for the politicians as they made their speeches. Figures of speech were considered cultural symbols since they varied from culture to culture. Thus, the analysis of figures of speech can best be attained through qualitative and quantitative approaches.

A qualitative research design involves answering research questions related to experiences of human beings (Mugenda, 1999). The fact that politicians were campaigning in natural settings, prompted them to use figures of speeches that are related to their experiences, relations and interactions with other people. Thus,
qualitative and quantitative research designs were more appropriate in this study. The data obtained in qualitative design is mainly in terms of text or words (Propp et al., 2010). These texts and words usually elucidated what was experienced by the people. The figures of speech that were analysed in this study were mainly in form of words through the politicians’ speeches. Qualitative researchers usually attempt to interpret or make sense out of phenomena in form of people’s conception. This study carried out a CDA in order to try to interpret the figures of speeches used by politicians. Thus, qualitative and quantitative designs were most appropriate for this study as they helped address the research problems comprehensively.

3.3 Area of Study and Target Population

This study was carried out in Meru County. The area was chosen because political campaigns are unique from one region to another in Kenya. Meru County is also inhabited mostly by the Kimeru speakers which was the language mostly used by politicians to deliver their speeches. The research also aimed at focusing on FL made in Kimeru. The politicians also campaigned for the different political posts as stipulated in the 2010 Kenya’s constitution within Meru County. Thus, it was an appropriate location for capturing the speeches of politicians campaigning for various positions in the 2013 general election.

According to Mugenda and Mugenda, (1999) a target population is that population from which the researcher wants to generalize results. A politician in this study was defined as a person vying for the different political positions during the 2013 general election in Kenya. Politicians were campaigning for one of the six elective positions in the election. These were presidential, gubernatorial, senatorial, member of national
assembly, woman representative and member of county assembly representative. Therefore the study population for this study was the politicians campaigning in these elective posts.

3.4 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999) a sample enables a researcher to gain information about the population. Gay (1992) suggests that at least 10% of population is good representation where the population is large and at least 20% where the population is small. To have a good representation the researcher sampled twenty four speeches out of sixty five speeches from politicians campaigning in Meru County which is above 20% suggested by Gay (1992). Half of the sample (12) was male politicians' speeches and the other half (12) female politicians' speeches, this was done to avoid bias on gender.

3.5 Data Collection

Data was collected from local media houses that reported in kimeru language. The researcher only collected archived data related to electoral campaigns gathered during the 2013 general election. The researcher sought audio recorded speeches which was unedited data from the media houses made by politicians in Meru County. Unedited data was selected to ensure relevant data to the study was collected. Two media houses out of five were selected because they were still operating during 2013 general elections. These were Mwariama and Muuga. They were purposively selected because they used Kimeru language in reporting and therefore provided appropriate data for the study. Data related to education level and gender of the politicians was gathered from Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission offices in Meru County.
3.6 Data Analysis and Presentation

Data analysis was based on Fairclough's (1989) model for CDA that consists of three inter-related processes of analysis tied to three inter-related dimensions of discourse. These included: the object of analysis (verbal texts); the processes by which the object is produced and received (speaking, reading and listening) by human subjects and the socio-historical conditions which govern these processes. Each of these dimensions required a different kind of analysis that included text analysis (description), processing analysis (interpretation), and social analysis (explanation). This approach enabled the researcher to focus on the signifiers that made up the text, the specific linguistic selections, their juxtapositions, and their sequencing. The researcher considered Fairclough's approach to CDA to be useful for this study because this approach provided multiple points of analytic entry. It does not matter which kind of analysis one begun with, as long as in the end they are all included and are shown to be mutually explanatory.

Alongside Fairclough's model for CDA, a thematic data analysis was undertaken in this study. A thematic analysis is the most useful in capturing the complexities of meaning within a textual data set (Tesch, 1990). It is also the most commonly used method of analysis in qualitative research. Thematic analyses focus on identification and description of both implicit and explicit ideas within the data, that is, themes (Dey, 1993). Codes are then typically developed to represent the identified themes and applied or linked to raw data as summary markers for later analysis. Such analyses may or may not include the following: comparing code frequencies, identifying code co-occurrence, and graphically displaying relationships between codes within the data set (Dey, 1993).
Thematic analysis process involved data transcription, familiarization, coding, categorization, identification of patterns, and interpretation of the patterns. Existing knowledge on the categories of figurative language, functions of FL, gender related use of FL and educational level of politicians in relation to use of FL were used to understand issues and to develop themes. The data was grouped in accordance to the categories of FL and their function. This allowed the researcher to identify various categories of FL and their respective functions as used by politicians during campaigns. The investigator also grouped the data in accordance to the respondents’ characteristics, that is, educational level and the gender. This allowed the researcher to compare use of FL in relation to gender and also the educational level. This ensured that the findings reported by the investigator reflected what truly exists on the ground.

3.7 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

According to McNabb (2004) research ethics refer to application of moral standards to decisions made in planning, conducting and reporting the results of research studies. He says that research ethics should apply at four stages of research; the planning stage, data gathering stage, the processing stage and interpretation of data stage and the dissemination of the research data stage study.

In gathering data, McNabb (2004) says that honesty should be maintained. In maintaining honesty, the researcher clearly stipulated how the study was carried out. Honesty was also observed in interpretation made from the data. The researcher also ensured that the research results were complete to avoid misleading and biased reports. All conclusions on the study emanated from the data collected.
The researcher also protected the privacy of participants by keeping their identity a secret. Anonymity of participants was also ensured and the researcher respected the confidentiality of individuals involved in the research. In enhancing anonymity and confidentiality, the researcher avoided use of names of the politicians speeches involved and rather used codes.

A letter of introduction from Kenyatta University was obtained. The researcher also obtained a research permit from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). The managers of the media houses involved were shown the research permit and the letter of introduction. The researcher also sought permission to conduct research from the managers of the media houses. The researcher explained the nature and purpose of the study to the managers and obtained their consent.

3.8 Chapter Summary

In this chapter the qualitative research design to carry out a CDA on the politicians' electoral campaign speeches was discussed. It also stipulated how data was collected, analysed and presented. Data management and ethical considerations were also discussed in the chapter. In the subsequent chapter the researcher will discuss data analysis, presentation and discussion.
CHAPTER FOUR
DATA ANALYSIS, PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction
This chapter presents findings from the study. The findings are presented, interpreted and discussed in connection to figurative language in politicians' electoral campaign speeches. CDA analyses which include text description, text interpretation and text explanation is carried out to show power relations, dominance, resistance, inequality and discrimination in politicians' use of FL. The researcher first presents the demographic characteristics followed by findings organised on the study objectives.

4.2 Demographic Characteristics of the Data
The sample selected for the study constituted speeches from (12) 50% males politicians and (12) 50% females politicians. This was done in order to get equal representation of the genders as this was a variable for analysis in relation to the politicians' use of FL.

4.3 The categories of Figurative Language used by Politicians
The first objective of the study was to find out categories of figurative language used by politicians. The results are shown in Table 4.1.
Table 4.1: Categories of Figurative Language used by Politicians

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category of figurative language</th>
<th>Frequency</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Metaphors</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>40.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>25.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smiles</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Paradox</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Proverbs</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>15.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hyperboles</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Euphemisms</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metonym</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personification</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>N = 70</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results in table 4.1 show that metaphors and symbolism with 40 % and 25.8 % respectively were the most used figures of speech by politicians during their campaign speeches. Black (1962) indicated that a metaphor is a comparison of two things without using ‘like’ or ‘as’. Thus, the results in this study support Kittay’s observation that metaphors are a common feature of language. For instance one politician said *(turi nchamba) we are cocks* to compare themselves (voters and the politician) to a cock. A cock in meru community refers to a champion. This was said by a male politician vying for a Member of Parliament seat. He was standing in an open lorry addressing the audience who were below him. The fact that he was on a raised ground gives him power over the audience. He even appropriates some power to the audience by using the personal pronoun ‘we’ which is inclusive of himself and the audience. By doing this the politician consciously controls the voters’ minds to vote for him and also their perceptions to resist ‘them’ implied in the metaphor to refer to the opponents.

According to Kittay (1989) metaphor is a common feature of language. Another example of a metaphor that was used by a female politician in speech E when she
said, 'nkatha yenu niyo iji' (this is your voice.) In the Meru culture context Nkatha refers to a Meru woman that has a strong voice, hardworking and very generous. It also referred to a respectable woman that was charged with the responsibility of motherhood. This politician implied that she had the power to speak for the society and that she is ready to share the resources she acquires with them. She also asserts herself and at the same time controls the voters’ minds to vote for her since she is one of them by the use of the personal pronoun ‘yours’ in the metaphor. By using the pronouns the politician used FL as a strategy and as conscious linguistic manipulation to influence the voters to vote her in order to get to political power. This pronoun ‘yours’ is not uttered by mistake but it is deliberately chosen to control the minds of the voters in the favour of the politician.

A metaphor was also used when a politician said, ‘muthaka umuthongi ni uria wiji uria ngutu igambagua,’ (a deserving man is the one that knows how to woo a girl.) ‘Ngutu’ in Meru community refers to girl that was mature for marriage. All deserving men in the society wooed her. In meru social context ‘muthaka’ is a circumcised man and the meru community places a strong premium on the act as a stage and sign of maturity and thus social responsibility. In the context of the political campaigns ‘muthaka’ is the politician and ‘ngutu’ the voter. By the use of this metaphor the politician meant that he was well prepared to be handed power and authority and to dominate in the leadership of county. The opponents should be resisted by being denied the votes.

Another category of FL used by politician was symbolism. According to Akombo et al (2007) symbolism refers to certain objects or images used in place or to represent
ideas. From table 4.1 symbolisms (25.8%) were used by the politician. In this study, it was observed that many politicians used objects to represent ideas. For example one politician said ‘if there is nothing boiling in the pot, there is need for investigations’ (*kinya kethira nyungu gutibio bikutheruka, iinto bii bicunkunwe*) to imply that if the resources are misused there is need for investigation to be done. Thus, ‘if there is nothing boiling in the pot’ represent/symbolizes misuse of resources. The politician implies that when given power he will investigate those politicians who abuse power through corruption. He is also presenting his ideology as far as fighting corruption is concerned.

Symbolism was also used in speech A when a politician asked, ‘*niatia tuumba gwitikiria antu beena ng’ombe inkai baturithiria ng’ombe?’* (How can we allow them with few cows to herd for us?) It was said that the Imenti sub-tribe had 240,000 registered voters and the Igembe sub-tribe had 145,000 registered voters. Cows in this case represent the voters and their wealth. Therefore, allowing a politician from Tigania sub-tribe with 94,000 voters to win the governor seat would be unfair since their contribution is less. Pronoun referencing is used in this symbolism where the use of ‘us’ to refer to those with majority votes versus ‘them’ with few votes. The pronoun ‘us’ is inclusive of the politician and the voters. He wants to show that the voters are powerful and that the minority cannot be trusted to lead them. The politician sets the audience (Imenti people) on one side and ‘them’ (Tigania people) on the other to achieve the effect of divide and rule. He abuses his power by creating hatred between the Tigania and the Imenti sub-tribes in order to win political power for himself.
Party symbols also contributed to symbolism. For instance in speech F a politician said, ‘kiama kikwa in UDF kana njaara igwatene.’ (My party is UDF or two hands in greetings.) Two hands in greetings symbolise peace in most African communities. The politician in this case was calling the voters to vote her party since it advocated for peace. Since the voters are many she dominates them by showing her party (UDF) could be trusted with power. The politician in this case was controlling the minds of the voters in pursuit for political power.

More symbolism was evident in speech H when a female politician said, ‘kiama gikwa ni rubunguro. Bangi barungi na bus. Bus nikurukaga obici?’ (My party is key. Others are in the bus. Can a bus enter the office?) A key was a symbol for KNC party while a bus was a party symbol for APK party. The politician was saying that she had the power and all it takes to run the women representative seat in the county. This politician was resisting the alternative power and controlled the minds of the voters by challenging them from voting the APK party since it was equalled to a bus without a driver. It was also used to discourage voting the TNA affiliate alliance. The APK was a party without a presidential candidate and was criticized as taking the voters nowhere since they will not be in authority and so powerless to benefit the voters. This symbolism was used to criticize the opponents and persuade voters to vote in favour of the speaker.

The third most used category in table 4.1 by the politicians was the proverbs at 15.7%. According to Lauhakangas (2007) proverbs are propositions loaded with hidden feelings, wishes and intentions of the speaker. For instance, one politician said ‘I want to shake the Meru oak tree for you’ (gakwenda kuburingira muuru). Among the
Ameru community the warthog was an animal known to hunt for its young ones. It is believed that it would knock the Meru Oak tree and faint to shake the tree branches to let the fruits fall for its young ones to eat. The significant of the Meru Oak tree was that it provided food and it is a source of hard wood for the community. So it could be relied on. In this proverb the politician intended to tell the electorates that he was selfless and ready to die in order to benefit the voters. The politician in this case used language consciously to control the voters in his pursuit to have them vote for him in order to gain political power. He influences the voters that political power is closely related to sacrifice.

Another proverb was used by a female politician in speech F when she said, ‘inoragia aria iigwite.’ (it is fertile where it has fallen.) This proverb could be interpreted to mean that the location where there is fertilizer will be productive. Since the politician came from the region she was campaigning in, she would benefit them if they voted for her. By using this proverb, she was asking the tribes mates/villagers to vote for her since she was more close to them and would therefore be beneficial to the tribe mates/villagers compared to the opponents that came from far villages. This implies discrimination of communities in resources in favour of those who vote for her once in political power.

A proverb was used by a politician in speech C when he said, ‘ni kaana ka nkia gacunaga mugongo kongwa.’ (This is an orphaned child who licks its own back.) This is borrowed from the original Meru proverb that says, ‘an orphaned calf licks its own back.’ This politician had ridden a bicycle to enter into the compound where the audience were sited. By doing this he was affirming the knowledge that he had come
from a disadvantaged position and by the use of this proverb was calling for sympathy votes.

The fourth most used category of speech was the euphemism and similes both at 5.7%. Form table 4.1 the results also show that euphemism at 5.7% were significantly used by politicians in their electoral campaign speeches. According to Hysi, (2011), euphemisms emerge out of fear and shame, fear of hurting other people’s feelings or breaking the rules of society. For instance, one politician said ‘time has come for our people to open their eyes’ (igita rigukinya ria antu beetu gutumuka meetho) to imply that it was time for the people to be wise. Thus, the politician fell short of saying that the people (voters) had been foolish in the past and it was time for them to choose wisely. Thus, to avoid hurting the people, the politician employed euphemism to convey the message in a polite way. The politician was disappointed by the voters who never learnt from their past mistakes. He wanted to control the minds of the voters to resist the opponents who had abused their power once they were in office.

The results in table 4.1 also indicated that similes at 5.7% and hyperboles at 2.9% were also used by some politicians in their speeches. According to Elena, (2005) a simile is a comparison statement involving two entities which are not related. For instance, one politician said ‘my education is like that of Kibaki’ (kithomo kiakwa ni ta kiria kia Kibaki). In this instance the politician was comparing his education to that of president Kibaki. This politician was a university professor and has studied economics just like the retired president kibaki of Kenya. He meant to say that he had knowledge power in his pursuit for political power to manage the county’s economy and its resources.
In speech B a male politician said, ‘ni mbiji bukiri ta iria.’ (I know you are quiet like a sea.) In this simile the politician compared the keeping quiet of the voters to that of the sea. He intended to mean that even if the voters were quite they would still vote for him. A sea is known to be calm and silent but it can run very deep. One cannot judge winning by the amount of noise made. The politician was assuring himself of winning even if the voters were silent. He was also controlling the voters’ minds to vote in his favour to political power.

According to Pierini (2007), a simile is much less investigated than metaphor, although it occurs as frequently in discourse. However, the results in this study indicate that similes were less employed by politicians in comparison to metaphors. Thus, the finding of this study contradicts Pierini (2007) assertion that similes occur frequently in discourse.

From table 4.1 it was found that hyperboles at 2.9% were less used by politicians in their campaign speeches. According to Akombo et al (2007) a hyperbole refers to exaggeration of issues or ideas. For example, one politician said ‘even a cat will notice life has changed’ (kinya gusii ni igatambua maisha jao ni jagarukire) to exaggerate the profound change he will bring about if elected. This implies if this politician was voted for, even animals would feel the change he would bring to the society. The politician dominates the audience that he had the political power to bring economic power in the constituency for the advantage of the voters.

Lastly, the results in table 4.1 also indicate that metonym, paradox and personification all at 1.4% were the least used figures of speech among the selected electoral
campaign speeches. According to Guan (2009) metonymy is a figure of speech in which one word or phrase is substituted for another with which it is closely associated. For instance, in speech E a politician said ‘remember me on 4th’ (tariki inya bundikane). In this case, 4th was used to substitute the election day which was 4th March, 2013. This day was significant since it was the day set aside by the IEBC for voting exercise in the country during the 2013 general elections. Voting for this politician on this particular day would give him political power in the constituency.

Black (1962) defined personification as a figure of speech in which something that is not endowed with human qualities is represented as possessing human form. For instance, one politician said ‘Mount Kenya has given birth to twin’ (Mount Kenya muciarite aana bairi). In this case the mountain was being personified to have given birth. Mount Kenya refers to a block of voters, namely Kikuyu, Embu and Meru communities. The significant of this personification is that a mother that has given birth to twins cannot ignore one of her children. Both children are given equal chances in breastfeeding since denial of one to feed it can lead to its death. Since the Mount Kenya region had produced two contestants for the presidential seat none should be discriminated upon during voting exercise. Here the politician was asserting himself by saying that he has an equal chance with the opponents although the competition is tight. He recognises that the voters have the social power through their votes to elect any contester and call for his fair share.

According to Shariati and Tayebi (2012) a is paradox an assertion seemingly opposed to common sense, but that may yet have some truth in it. For instance, one politician said, ‘this is where we have great riches and yet the poorest’ (aja nio twina utonga bubunene mono na twina ukia bubunene). In this case the politician implied that the
region is endowed with massive wealth yet people living there are impoverished. The politician was calling for economic power for voters by denying political power to those politicians that had impoverished the voters through misuse of power. The social power of the voters should lead to their economic power through wise political leadership.

4.4 The Functions of Figurative Language used by Politicians

The second objective of the study was to examine the functions of figurative used by the politicians. The following were the key functions that figures of speech were found to perform: Figures of speech were used to criticize opponents, persuade the voters, to position themselves as the best candidates, to mislead or deceive voters, to create unity between the politicians and the voters and lastly to seek support for a political party or individual. These functions will be discussed as a sub-section.

4.4.1. Figures of speech used by politicians to criticize opponents

This study sought to establish the functions of the figurative language used by politicians. The researcher established that one of the functions figures of speech was to criticize their opponents as shown in table 4.2
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure of speech</th>
<th>Type of FL</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
<th>Metaphorical meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ukagura ngaari yaku injeru utinenkera muntu kurutu</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>If you buy your new car you cannot give to an inexperienced driver.</td>
<td>The youth cannot be entrusted with leadership. It also belittles the youth as inexperienced for leadership positions.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kijana utina maigo atiomba gatutagunira</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>A youth without teeth cannot chew for us.</td>
<td>The youth cannot be able to bring resources to the people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baria bagucua giti ni mono bonthe</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Others looking for the seat are monos.</td>
<td>Do not vote for people without experience in politics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndaburia aciari mwana na mukuru bakaririra irio nuu bunenkera?</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Let me ask you parents, if a child and a man ask for food who can you give?</td>
<td>A youth is the best person to vote for. Give the youth a chance in politics.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ka akuirutana ugambi</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>He is learning to speak.</td>
<td>Youths do not have skills for leadership.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwina x akuremwa ni murigo ni bwa munogokerie</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>When x could not carry the load you rested him.</td>
<td>Do not vote for people that are not able to deliver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anlu ba x ni atuma uthuu rigita rionthe</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>People from x likes creating enmity.</td>
<td>It is discriminating one community and therefore they should be side-lined.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muntu utinjite gacungura na uthinjite degwa cia njogu nuuumba kugaa nyama bwega?</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>A person that has slaughtered a rabbit and the one that has slaughtered bulls of elephants who should share the meat?</td>
<td>We should not vote for poor people. We should unite with those that have large number of voters to win. We should not let those with less voters from their region get our votes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukaneenkera baria bareni ngugi</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>We should not vote those that have been unable to work.</td>
<td>Do not vote those that failed us before. Do not vote those that will not help us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tugatigwa tukaritie nyomba teka twi watchmen</td>
<td>Simile</td>
<td>We will be left looking after houses like watchmen.</td>
<td>If vote people from other regions we will not have our own in the offices which are near us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niigiri kinya ukamika rangi itiguruka</td>
<td>metaphor</td>
<td>Even if you paint a donkey it can not change.</td>
<td>Bad leaders should not be voted for because they cannot change to be good. Incompetent leaders should not be voted for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukanoga kaugia rwiro rwa ntongu</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>We are tired of running a race in which you keep dropping the apple and you have to keep collecting it.</td>
<td>People are tired of voting leaders who do not bring development. We want to make progress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ukeja kwithirwa ukithugania ta mbiti</td>
<td>Simile</td>
<td>Do not think like a beast.</td>
<td>We should vote people that think about us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni bagana boona kathia, kathia kee munithi.</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>How many have seen an antelope? It has marks.</td>
<td>People with immoral behaviours should not be voted for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buukaringira antu beena munithi kunya</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Do not vote people with marks.</td>
<td>People that are known to be bad leaders should not be voted for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukeaja kuringira ekuru mbawa</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Do not vote for women that are folks.</td>
<td>Do not vote for women that are already known to be immoral.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangi bari na bus, bus nikurukaga obici?</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>Others have the bus, can the bus enter the office?</td>
<td>Do not vote politicians in the APK party(alliance party of Kenya).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tulienda mutongeria uti na rubwi kinya ramwe kiono</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>We want a leader without a single white hair on the head.</td>
<td>Do not vote for old leaders. Those that have been in the leadership should rest give the youth a chance.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni kiguaa nikiramatukire kiarega gukinya ntaka</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>He is a coward who ran away to avoid mud.</td>
<td>Insulting another candidate by saying he a coward.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinya kethira nyongu glibio bikatheruka into bi bicunkunwe</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>If there is nothing in the pot there is need for investigations.</td>
<td>If our resources are misused we need to investigate. If resources are stolen we can not keep quiet. Do not vote corrupt leaders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangi barungu bo ni kondoo,tega itike thirwe ni ng’au.</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Some say they are sheep check they might be hyena.</td>
<td>Do not vote for pretenders. Vote carefully for the right people.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Fairclough (1989) discourse can be used for critique and resistance in pursuit for power. The results in table 4.2 indicate that figures of speech were mainly used to criticize the youths who were deemed inexperienced. The main figure of speech used for this purpose was metaphor. It seems the aged people used metaphors more than young politicians for this purpose. Thus, the aged people wanted to present themselves to the electorate as best fitted candidates with the required leadership experience than the youths. For instance, one politician said ‘a youth without teeth cannot chew for us’ (kijana utina maigo atiomba gututagunira). In this case, a toothless youth is used to indicate a person without experience in politics cannot benefit the society if voted for. In the context of the Meru culture young men have no authority to negotiate for power, marriage or conflict settlement. The aged politician controlled the voters by showing the inadequacy of the opponents who they should resist in order influence them to vote for him to get to political power.

The use of figures of speech to criticize opponents was not only limited to the aged politicians, but also the youths employed them to hit back at fellow opponents. For instance in table 4.2, one youthful politician said ‘We want a leader without a single grey hair on the head.’ (Tulienda mutongeria uti na rubwi kinya rumwe kiongo). Grey hair among the Meru community is associated with old age so the aged politicians were being asked to retire from politics and give the youth a chance in politics. In this case, the politician was criticizing the aged and experienced leaders who had previously failed the electorates. The youth are tired of being called the leaders of tomorrow and there is urgency for their inclusion in leadership positions associated with power. This was therefore the time for generational transition in the politics of the county.
Figurative language was also employed by politicians to criticize the poor opponents. In speech D a male politician said, ‘A person that has slaughtered a rabbit and the one that has slaughtered bulls of elephants who should share the meat?’ (*Muntu uthinjite gacungura na uthinjite degwa cia njogu nuu umba kugaa nyama bwega?*). A person that has slaughtered an elephant has more meat to share with the community members. This figure was made in context of Imenti sub-tribe that had majority votes (sharing an elephant) against Tigania sub-tribe that had the fewer votes. This figure of speech was made by a politician vying for gubernatorial seat. Through critique of the opponent (sharing a rabbit) the politician dominates the minds of the voters by sending a message that he is economically and politically powerful to manage the county. At the same time he calls for the discrimination of the minority opponent from political power. The speaker is conscious of the social power of the voters and by calling for the unity of his tribes mates sets the two sub-tribes in opposite sides in order to divide and rule and win voters to his side. In essence the politician was trying to encourage electorates to vote along tribal lines and also spars hatred between the two sub-tribes as he wooed the voters to his advantage.

Figures of speech were also used by politicians to criticize politicians with a bad track record. From table 4.2, a politician said, ‘Even if you paint a donkey it cannot change.’ (*Ntigiri kinya ukamiaka rangi itigaruka*). This implies that leaders with bad track record even if given a different electoral position will not be able to deliver. Bad leaders cannot be trusted with power. Thus, the politician used the figure to call for discrimination and resistance of irresponsible politicians who had failed in political power.
Another figure of speech used to criticize poor track record was when a politician in speech C said, ‘tukunoga kuugia rwiro rwa ntongu’ (we are of tired of running Sodom apple race.) This was a race common among children in the Meru community. Children would compete by putting a Sodom apple on the spoon and ran without dropping the Sodom apple. In case it dropped the child was supposed to collect it again, place it on the spoon and continue with the race. It was a difficult race to complete since balancing the Sodom apple on the spoon was not easy. The politician sends a message that politics is a serious exercise and not a child game. The politician controls the voters by asking them to refuse bad governance by resisting and discriminating his opponents who have bad history like corruption and mismanagement of resources by denying them political power through their votes.

Figures of speech was used to criticize politicians that were pretenders, for example from table 4.2 another politician said, ‘bangi bariuga bo ni kondoo, tega itikethirwe in mbiti ng’au.’ (some say they are sheep, check they might be hyenas.) In Meru community a sheep is known to be a very obedient while a hyena is known to be greedy and feeds on the sweat of other animals. This figure was made by politician vying for a member of county assembly seat and he was cautioning the voters to be wise with their social power. He is disrespecting and insulting his opponents by equating them to hyenas which refer to a person that cannot be respected and so he is abusing the power that he has as political candidate.

Figures of speech were used to criticize even political parties. For instance a politician speech H asked, ‘bangi bari na bus. Bus nikurukaga obici?’ (others are in the bus, can a bus enter the office?) Bus was a symbol of the APK party. It was a party without a
presidential candidate and so it was said not have a driver. "Others" metaphorically refer to the opponents. Therefore, the politician influences the voters by calling for resistance and discrimination of a party and its members that would not be able to form the ruling government since it was powerless and of not beneficial to the voters.

4.4.2. Figures of speech used by politicians to persuade voters

Although the politicians used figures of speech to criticize the opponents, the main objective was to persuade the electorate to vote for them. However, the politicians used certain specific figures of speech to persuade voters to elect them as summarized in Table 4.3.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure of speech</th>
<th>Type of FL</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
<th>Metaphorical meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mama niwe amangahara mehorini na niwe umbegagwa inya</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Mother is the one who wipes my tears and gives me heart</td>
<td>Mothers are very important. Mothers are always there even in difficult times they offer support.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nabwi inya yakwa ni babwai</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>You are my strength</td>
<td>Through your votes I will be powerful. I need your votes to win.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanyiri kainagu ni mwene</td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>A finch is danced by other finches</td>
<td>My own relatives, friends, and my village members should vote for me to win. Support me all so that we can celebrate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndaburia aciari mwana na mukuruku bakaririra trio na bunenkerera?</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Let me ask you parents, if a child and a man cried for food who can you give?</td>
<td>Vote for me since I am a youthful leader. Do not vote for old leaders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Turi nchamba</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>We are cocks</td>
<td>We are domineering and outstanding. The rest can not match with us. No one can compete with others. We are powerful.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bukambikia ngagu?</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Will you take me to do work?</td>
<td>Vote for me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkububumba mono na ndalihi ukububumba</td>
<td>Exaggeration</td>
<td>I have asked so much and I am worn out from asking.</td>
<td>Please vote for me. Begging for votes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninkereni bwoone butiikerera ni nthao</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Give me and you will not be ashamed</td>
<td>I am the only person capable to serve you better. Dot not vote those others that have not been able to deliver.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Igita riri tukaanyangia kuura</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>This time round we should not waste our votes</td>
<td>Do not vote for those that have not been able to help you. Vote for leaders that will think of you. Vote for leaders that cares for you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tubwiri gucigirima kiao twi cokerie kiuru</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>We should petty ourselves and give back to our blisters</td>
<td>Let us vote for our own. Let us vote for people in our area so that they can bring resources to us. Voting in our own people will help us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yaacira maastha yonkgiwa twonthe</td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>If you give birth to twins you breastfeed both.</td>
<td>Even if we are two presidential aspirants in the same region vote us both. Leaders that have failed us in the past should not be voted for. If you vote for me I will work for me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukeja kankenkeri baria daremi ni ngagi</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>We should not give to those that have been unable to work</td>
<td>Let us support our person. Voting for others is wasting your votes. Vote for leaders that cares for you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tariki inya buandikane</td>
<td>Metonym</td>
<td>Remember me on 4th</td>
<td>Vote for me on 4th, march 2015.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Imenti tutigiritu tatumbo, nyama igai itashira</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>North Imenti is only left with intestines</td>
<td>All the prestigious positions have been taken by other regions and North Imenti people should not let the women representative seat also be taken.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugeni eja ka agwatawga ugeni ngwateni ugeni tariki inya</td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>A visitor is normally welcomed. Welcome me on 4th</td>
<td>I need your votes on 4th, march 2015.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Menyereni butikeje guta kuura ciemu</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Take care you do not waste your votes</td>
<td>If you vote for me you will have voted the right person. Voting for others is wasting your votes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni bwiji dawu ya ransi ni mbi? Rokeni rukiri hundingire kuura.</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>Do you know what is the medicine for water? vote for me very early.</td>
<td>I am capable of solving water problems for you. If you vote for me I will ensure you have water. Even if the contestants are many, each will have votes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kiny n'ombe ikikirwa cii nyakine guu ikazagia nyaki eyo</td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>When cows are in the field none lacks its grass.</td>
<td>Even if we are two presidential aspirants in the same region vote us both. Leaders that have failed us in the past should not be voted for. If you vote for me I will work for me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kagita ga tene muntu kenda oragwa ageragwa igiga ni muntu oo</td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>In the olden days so that person was killed, the uncle the first person to throw a stone</td>
<td>If I get support from my own people, I will win. My own people should be the first to vote for me so that others can follow.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tukaari keezwa wetu</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>We look after our child</td>
<td>If you vote for me I will ensure you have water. Let us support our person.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ni kaama ka nka, niwau nka icunagua mugongo</td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>This is an orphan. An orphaned calf licks its back</td>
<td>Since I am alone, vote for me.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkatha yemu niyo ili</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>This is your voice</td>
<td>I am the only person who can air your grievances.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inorogia aria igitu</td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>It is fertile where it has fallen</td>
<td>Voting for a candidate from the locality will benefit you more. If you vote for people from far they will not attend to your issues.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uni ndina rubunguro rwa kuruwugira obici, guti na unjii wina rubunguro.</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>I have the key to open the office. No one else has the key to open the office</td>
<td>Vote for me since I am capable of running the office competently. Candidates in other parties can not make good leaders. Even if there are two presidential aspirants from mount Kenya region do not discriminate on any.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Kenya muciirite aana bairi.</td>
<td>Personificati on</td>
<td>Mount Kenya you have given birth to twins.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The figures of speech were used to persuade voters through reaching out to their tribe mates. From table 4.3 one politician said, ‘Mother is the one who wipes my tears and gives me heart.’ (Mama niwe umpanguraga methori na niwe umbejaga inya). ‘Mother’ in this case is used to refer to the politician’s tribe. Thus, the politician is trying to persuade his tribe to vote for him just like a mother cannot disown her own child even if the child is in difficulty. The mother figure used in this FL appeals to a mother’s feeling of love, care and sympathy. The politician brings the perception of a mother (tribes mate) in order to manipulate the voters with an intention of gaining an advantage over his opponents. He is calling for sympathy votes.

To illustrate further, how politicians used tribalism when persuading for votes, in speech F a female politician vying for women representative seat said, ‘Kanyiri kainagua ni mwene.’ (A finch is danced by other finches.) This politician even goes ahead to dance with the audience. A finch is a bird that when it started dancing all the others joined and the dance became beautiful. This implies that only a person that knows your dancing style that can join you in the dance. By joining in the dance, this politician was giving an equal platform for power sharing between herself and the voters. She was also asserting that she was one of them (voters) and since she is aware of the voters’ power while discriminating those that do not belong to their sub-tribe. She influences the whole sub-tribe where she belongs to support her to gain political power. The politician also manipulates the voters to vote for her in order to give the voters economic power when she gets into political office.

While persuading the electorates to vote for them, politicians used figures of speech to boast how best fitted they were. For instances, in speech E a politician said, ‘Turi
contest. This was an element of power sharing that lead to inequality. The woman politician in this figure of speech influences the voters to feel that they were short-changed by the male politicians in sharing the powerful county seats among the three sub-tribes in Meru County. She persuades the voters not to let power slip over their hands because they have the voting power to elect a women representative from Imenti sub-tribe by voting for her and ensure equality in power sharing and representation.

Figures of speech were also used to persuade voters to be fair. For example, in table 4.3 one politician said, ‘Kinya ng’ombe ikethirwa cii nyakine guti ikaagia nyaki eyo.’ (When cows are in the field none lacks its grass.) This FL was used in the context that there were four contestants for the gubernatorial seat in Meru County. This politician was controlling the minds of the voters that even if the competition was tight he deserved their votes to gain political power in county governance. The politicians also had balkanised the voters through us versus them in their political campaigns and so he aims at unblocking the area for his political power.

4.4.3. Figures of Speech used by Politicians to Position themselves as the Best Candidates

In addition to the politicians using figures of speech to persuade electorates to vote for them, they also used figures of speech to position themselves as the best candidates as shown in Table 4.4.
Table 4.4: Figures of Speech used by Politicians to Position themselves as the Best Candidates

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure of speech</th>
<th>Type of FL</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
<th>Metaphorical meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tulienda mutongeria uti na rubwi kinya rumwe</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>We want a leader without a single white hair on the head</td>
<td>Old politicians cannot make good leaders. Only the youth can make good leaders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uju ni mwana uciari bwega ati na muniti</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>This is a child born properly without any marks</td>
<td>Those leaders that have been mentioned adversely should not be voted for. Do not vote for corrupt and immoral people.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkatha yenu niyo ji</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>Your voice is here</td>
<td>I’m the only person able to speak for you. Others are not good enough.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muthaka umuthongi ni uria wiji uria ngutu igambagua</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>A handsome man is the one that knows how to woo a girl</td>
<td>I am the right person for the job.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kethira urienda mwari umuthongi no mwanka withirwe na ng'ombe cia guika kwa ba mwari</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>If you love a girl you must have cows to take to her home</td>
<td>I am qualified for the job. I will be ready to go an extra mile to please you. I will pay the price for the seat.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tugatigwa takaritie nyomba teka twi watchmen</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>We will be left looking after houses like watchmen</td>
<td>Vote for me so that we can have our very people in the offices. Voting for far persons will not help us.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nitigiri kinya ukamiaka rangi itigaruka.</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Even if you paint a donkey it cannot change</td>
<td>You cannot change bad leaders. Dot vote those leaders that have failed us in the past.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muntu wetu wa x nagaire nyama iu</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>Our person from x shared that meat</td>
<td>This politician is fair to all. Voting for X will ensure we get the resources.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Uju ni nyakwe kana mama dot com.</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>This is your mother, the dot com</td>
<td>I am able to adapt to changes. I can cope with the new generation.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niatigane na tuogia nhadi</td>
<td>metaphor</td>
<td>Let him leave those that peal unready bananas</td>
<td>The poor can have solutions for their problems without interference for the rich.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Aritura ucoore na antu bau bari na into tuntu ni into beeta gukaria</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>He makes friendship with those that have because they are going to take care of things.</td>
<td>We will unite with those that have large number of voters so that we can win. Those from constituencies with less number of voters should not be given opportunity to lead.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kithomo giakwa nitaakiria gia kibaki</td>
<td>Simile</td>
<td>My education is like that of president kibaki</td>
<td>I am qualified for the job.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kijana uti na maiko atiomba gututagunira</td>
<td>symbolism</td>
<td>A youth without teeth cannot chew for us</td>
<td>I have all it takes for this position. Do not inexperienced youth</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ugakura ngari yaku injeru uitinenkera muuntu kurutu bau bangi ni kurutu</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>When you buy your new car you not give to an inexperienced driver</td>
<td>Do not trust the youth in leadership. I have enough experience for the seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baria bagucwa giti ni mono bonthi</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Those looking for seats are all monos</td>
<td>Do not vote for first timers in politics. Others do not qualify</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gakwenda kaburingira muuru</td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>I want to shake the meru oak tree for you</td>
<td>I will share the resources with you. I will sacrifice so that you benefit.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tutunoga kuthikira iriro bia biura</td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>We are not tired of listening to the cries of frogs</td>
<td>We have good policies the rest are only making noise.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
According to Wodak (2001) politics is a power struggle. As politician struggled in a competition to win the county seats in Meru County they had to show they were the best candidate for the seat.

The politicians therefore, positioned themselves as the best candidates by indicating that they had not betrayed the community in anyway. For instance, in speech E a female politician asked, ‘urona kathia kee munithi. Uju ni mwana uciari bwega ati na munithi?’ (Have you ever seen a gazelle? This is a child born properly without any marks). A gazelle is an animal that some marks in its forehead. These marks imply tints of corruption or immorality. In this case the politician positioned herself as one who had not been implicated in any scandal and as such should be voted for. She was therefore a clean woman in matters of corruption and morally upright. The politician was asserting that she was morally powerful with the intention of controlling the voters to vote for her by discriminating her opponents who had been irresponsible and had abused their power in office.

The politicians also used figurative language to position themselves as the defenders of the society. For instance, a female politician in speech E said, ‘Nkatha yenu niyo jii.’ (Your voice is here.) In Meru community Nkatha refers to a woman who had a strong voice and was normally chosen to lead in singing during ceremonies. This woman was also hardworking and very generous. In this instance the politician positioned herself as the advocate of the voiceless in the society. She is delivering a message that she has the political will and power to address the pertinent issues bedevilling the community compared to her opponents. She controls the voters’ minds
by affirming that being respectable in the society she has the knowledge and will to resist power that discriminates upon the less privileged in the society.

Figures of speech were also used by politicians to appeal to the electorate to avoid being alienated from leadership position. In this instance the politician felt that without them, their tribe will not be adequately represented. For instance in speech A, a male politician in speech A said, 'We will be left looking after houses like watchmen.' (*Tugatigwa tukaritie nyomba teka twi watchmen*). Meru town was chosen to be as headquarter of Meru county and therefore he felt that if voters from North Imenti constituency where the headquarter was located did not vote for a politician from the constituency they would be left looking after the offices which are already in their locality just like watchmen. In this case, the politician felt that their tribe/clan has only one alternative, her, to be represented in the leadership of the region. It was an indication that the politician was luring for the powerful positions that command authority compared to watchmen that is subordinate. Therefore the politician was influencing the electorates to discriminate his opponents to avoid them taking political power since they would not bring any economic power to the voters.

Politicians also used figures of speech to position themselves as being the best to ensure fairness in the distribution of leadership in the region. In table 4.4 for example, one politician said, 'Muntu wetu wa x nagaire nyama iu.' (Our person from x shared that meat.) In the Meru community a person was chosen to share the meat after a successful hunting was normally fair to all participants in hunting. Meat symbolise the county's resources. In this instance, the politician positions himself as the best candidate to ensure fairness in the distribution of leadership in the leadership of the
region. This politician influences the voters by indicating that he has economic power and political power to serve as the county governor.

Politicians also positioned themselves as the best candidates by using figures of speech to illustrate their academic prowess. For instance from table 4.4 one candidate said, ‘Kithomo giakwa nita kiria gia Kibaki.’ (My education is like that of president Kibaki.) The speaker here is a professional in economics just like the retired president Kibaki. This politician illustrated that he has academic/ knowledge power than his opponents and should therefore be trusted with political power to run the economy of the county efficiently and effectively.

Other politicians used figures of speech to position themselves as candidates with experience to run the leadership of the region. For instance, one candidate asked, ‘Ukagura ngari yaku injeru utinenkera muuntu kurutu bau bangi ni kurutu.’ (When you buy your new car you cannot give to a learner driver?) In this case the politician is trying to position himself as an experienced leader and appeals to the electorate not to vote for inexperienced candidates. So, new entrants in politics have no space since they lack experience to be trusted with political power.

From table 4.4 a politician said, ‘tutikunoga kuthikira iriro bia biura’ (we are not tired of listening to the cries of frogs). In this FL the politician equals the speeches of the other the politicians to the noise made by frogs. The politician was abusing his power as a political candidate by insulting his opponents (frogs) and sees them as competitors of no consequence to his political ambition. He controls the voters not to pay any attention to his opponents by discriminating them from political power.
In another instance a woman politician in speech E said, ‘uju ni nyakwe Dot.com’ (this is your Dot.com mother). This politician implied that she was the best candidate since she was not too old and also that she was equipped with the new technological advancements. She creates intimacy with the youth and also tells that she is politically and technologically ready for power as a women representative of the county.

4.4.4. Figures of speech used to make shorter version of ideas

Politicians also used figures of speech to make shorter versions of their ideas. For instance, a politician in speech D said ‘Niatigane na tuogia nchadi’ (Leave alone those that peal immature bananas). In Meru community the poor were the ones that got green bananas that were not yet mature for cooking. These bananas normally stained their hands and even after cooking they did not have a good taste. In this case the politician could have said, ‘you should not vote for people who have migrated from the villages to the towns because they do not want to be associated with the poor villagers’. He was influencing the voters by discouraging them from voting for the rich politicians that were staying in towns and cities and would only appear during election period. He was also setting the poor against the rich in the society through divide and rule to his advantage. Thus, by using this euphemism the politician shortened his idea. Although, one can argue that the politician wanted to use the euphemism to appear also polite to the electorate rather than appearing to be insulting the voters by calling them poor. The ideas presented in the figure of speech seem to be a shorter version of what he intended to convey.
4.4.5. Figures of speech to mislead or deceive the electorate

Another function of FL used by the politician was to mislead or deceive the electorate as shown in Table 4.5.

Table 4.5: Figures of Speech used by Politicians to Mislead or Deceive Voters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure of speech</th>
<th>Type of FL</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
<th>Metaphorical meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Giti kia mwekuru ni tutumbo</em></td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>The women representative seat is intestines</td>
<td>The women representative seat is not prestigious.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tulinda mutongeria uti na rubwi kinya rumwe kiongo</em></td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>We want leader without a single white hair on the head</td>
<td>We do not want aged leaders. Aged leaders cannot make good leaders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Igita riri tukaenyangia kuura</em></td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>This time round we should not waste our votes</td>
<td>If you do not vote for me you will be wasting your votes. I am the only candidate that you should vote for.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Menyereni butikeje guta kuura cienu</em></td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Take care not to throw away your votes</td>
<td>Voting other candidates is misusing your votes.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tutikunoga kuthikira iriro bia biura</em></td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>We are not tired of listening to the cries of frogs.</td>
<td>Other candidates have nothing important for the voters. They are only making noise.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Bangi bari na bus, bus nikurukaga obici?</em></td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>Others have the bus. Can the bus enter the office?</td>
<td>Candidates in other parties are not capable of leadership. Do not vote for a candidate in APK party (Alliance Party of Kenya).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results in Table 4.5 show that figures of speech were used to deceive the electorate. For instance, in speech G, a political candidate for women representative seat said, ‘*Giti kia mwekuru ni tutumbo,*’ (the women representative is intestines). The politician was belittling women representative seat by comparing it to intestines even though the truth is that the seat was as prestigious as that for Member of Parliament. She intended to show that women had been discriminated in political power and that
the voters with their voting power should enjoy the women representative seat constitutionally given to women by voting for her.

In table 4.5 a politician said, ‘Take care not to throw away your votes,’ *(Menyereni butikeje guta kuura cienu).* Here the politician was trying to mislead the electorate by implying that voting for other candidates was the same as misusing their vote. He meant that he was the only politician capable of benefiting the society. Voting for the politician that would forget their issues would be like wasting their votes. It should however be noted that one could argue that in this instance the politician was trying to woo the voters to vote for him.

From table 4.5, another politician said, ‘tutikunoga kuthikira iriro bia biura,’ *(we are not tired of listening to the cries of the frogs.)* It is misleading for the politician to refer to his opponents’ speeches as the frogs’ noise and should not be taken seriously because the voters have the democratic right to vote whoever they wanted. Similarly his opponents had a democratic right to carry out their campaign speeches and sell their political agenda to the voters in order to gain political power. This could also be seen as an insult to the opponent.

In order to mislead from table 4.5 a politician said, ‘igita riri tulienda mutongeria uti na rubwi kiya rumwe.’ *(this time we want a leader without a single white hair on his head.)* It was misleading the voters that aged politicians cannot make good leaders. Although the politician was discouraging the voters to vote for his opponents who were aged, he also wanted the youth to be given an opportunity in politics and power.
since the aged had their fair chance so this was the time for the youth. He was also abusing the opponent by referring to them as old and incompetent of political power.

4.4.6. Figures of speech used to foster unity between politicians and the voters
The study found that another function of Figures of speech was to foster unity between politicians and the voters as indicated in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: Figures of Speech used by Politicians to Create Unity between Politicians and the Voters

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure of speech</th>
<th>Type of FL</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
<th>Metaphorical meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Kagita ka tene muntu kenda oragwa ageragwa iiga ni muntu oo</em></td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>In the olden times so that person could be killed the uncle threw the first stone.</td>
<td>Since I am one of you, vote for me. I am not a foreigner. I belong to you.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tukarie mwana wetu</em></td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Let us take care of our child</td>
<td>I am your child and not a stranger. Overlook the shortcomings of your own candidate.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Kironda kia mwene gitununkaa</em></td>
<td>Proverb</td>
<td>Your wound cannot smell</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nkatha yenu niyo iji</em></td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>You voice is here</td>
<td>I will speak for you. Since I am your own.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Nabwi inya yakwa ni babwi</em></td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>You are my strength</td>
<td>With you I am powerful. Unity is strength.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Tukethirwa turi na mujumbe kinya mpaka na mbia a iria iri nturene ikamenya mujumbe ari au</em></td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>If we have an MP here even cats and rats will notice</td>
<td>An MP from your area will bring changes noticeable by everybody. If you vote me as your MP you will realize many changes in your lives.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>Mama niwe um panguraga methori na niwe umbejaga inya</em></td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
<td>Mother is the one who wipes my tears and gives me heart</td>
<td>Because mothers are caring I am backing on their on them to vote for me. I am your child women, give me your votes.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results from Table 4.6 show that politicians employed figures of speech to create unity between the politician and the electorate as illustrated by one politician who said, "*Kagita ka tene muntu kenda oragwa ageragwa iiga ni muntu oo*. (In the olden times so that person could be killed the uncle threw the first stone). In the Meru community a person that had done evil was punished by stoning. To show the gravity
of the evil done an uncle was normally called to throw the first stone and others would join in the stoning exercise. In this case the politician was appealing to his sub-tribe to support him and discriminate his opponents by denying them their votes to his advantage. It also indicates that the politician was trying to appeal to the electorate to unite in voting for him. He was calling for solidarity starting from his family, close friends and even his tribe when voting for him in order to get political power. He is controlling the voters’ minds that he is the best candidate to represent the in politics.

To further illustrate the use of figure of speech to create unity, another politician in table 4.6 said, ‘Kironda kia mwene gitinunkaa,’ (your wound cannot smell.) It is generally true that a person with wound cannot smell it. He/she cannot also run away from it since it was part of him/her. In this case the politician was trying to persuade the electorate to overlook his shortcoming and to give him political since he was their own candidate (from the same tribe/clan/village).

Politicians also used figures of speech to illustrate the policies they had in mind for the people. For instance in table 4.6 a politician said, ‘Nkaburetera iinto mashinani.’ (I will bring things to the grassroot.) In this instance, the politician implied that he would advocate for devolution of resources to the grass root level so that all the electorate can benefit from the new system of county government. This means he has the political power and economic power to run the county.

Another politician in speech G said, ‘County injeru nita ng’ombe ithinji.’ (A new county is like a cow slaughtered.) In the Meru society when a bull was slaughtered in the village, everyone would go to take a piece home and none was denied share. In
this instance, the politician was advocating for a county government in which the electorate would not be discriminated in county resources.

Another politician said, "nabwi inya yakwa ni babwi" (you are my strength.) Here politician was alluding that the voters were his support if they voted him. One needs the electorates' votes to be powerful in politics. By using this FL the politician was influencing the voters to unite to give him political power. Figures of Speech to Persuade Voters to Support Political Parties

Another function of FL found from the study was that politicians also used figures of speech to persuade voters to support their parties as shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4. 7: Figures of Speech used by Politicians to seek Support for a Political Party or an Individual

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Figure of speech</th>
<th>Type of FL</th>
<th>Literal meaning</th>
<th>Metaphorical meaning</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Guti ungi wina rubunguro. Uni ndina rubunguro rwa kurugura obici</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>No one else has the key. I have the key for opening the office.</td>
<td>Only a candidate in KNC party can represent you well</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bangi bari na bus, bus ninkurukaga obici?</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>Others are in the bus, can the bus enter in the office?</td>
<td>Candidates in APK party cannot make good leaders.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rwano rwakwa ni thiiri kana ngaara iirii ikethanie</td>
<td>Symbolism</td>
<td>My sign is peace or two hands greeting.</td>
<td>Vote for me in the UDF (United Democratic Forum)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results in table 4.7 show that politicians used the party symbols to persuade the electorate to support their parties. For instance, one candidate said, 'No one else has
the key. I have the key for opening the office,’ *(guti ungi wina rubunguro. Uni ndina rubunguro rwa kurugura obici)*. A key was the symbol of the Kenya Congress Party. A key is significant since the person with it has the ability to access the house. Those without it cannot enter the house since they are locked outside. Those with the key are politically powerful and can enjoy the benefits that come with politics especially winning the party elections.

From table 4.7 another politician said, ‘my sign is peace or two hands in greetings’. *(rwano rwakwa ni thiiri kaana kana njara ijiri ikethenie)*. Traditionally greetings were a symbol of peace. Two hands in greetings was symbol of United Democratic Forum. The party symbol in this case was also used to send a message that unity is strength. The politician controls the voters that they should unite and create peace to give political power.

4.4.7. Figures of Speech to express Emotions

Lastly, the study established that politicians used figures of speech to express their emotions as one of the function of FL. According to Fainsilber and Ortony (1987) figurative language was used to express intense emotional feelings. Politicians also used figures of speech to express their emotions. For instance in one politician said ‘*ga nkire tontu ndomba gutema ntaame.*’ *(Let me keep quiet because I might cause war.)* In this proverb the politician had intense feeling of hatred towards the people that had denied him votes previously and therefore opted to keep quiet because if he continued to speak his speech would create conflict among the people. He sensed that his emotion of hate could deny him power.
Another politician used figure of speech to show desperation by saying, ‘this is the time to get or get’ (igita ria mbone kana mbone). In Meru community the hyena is believed to encourage itself as it scavenged. It meant that this was the time for not losing at all cost. In this figure of speech the politician was emphasising that it was a must to win the election at all cost. It showed that the politician was desperate to win the election. This FL was used to express that politics is about winning power and be able to control others once in powerful political positions.

In another instance, a politician used figure of speech in speech C to express anger when he said, ‘thina cienu ni thina cienu.’ (your problems are your problems.) This politician was angry that the voters opted to vote for his competitor who had not solved the constituent’s problems. He was sending a message that politics was about putting the right candidates in political power and failure to do that means the social and economic problems will never end.

In speech A, a politician used figure of speech to express hatred towards the opponents when he said, ‘niatia tuumba gwitikiria antu beena ng’ombe inkai baturithiria.’ (we cannot allow people with few cows to herd for us.) The speaker in this case was unhappy that the opponents who had fewer votes wanted the governor’s seat. The context of this FL was that his opponents also had chosen a deputy from Igembe region and that meant the leadership of the county would go to Nyambene. It was the duty of the voter not to allow the leadership and power of the county from being taken away from them by voting for the speaker.
Figure 4.1 provides a summary of how figures of speech were used by politicians.

Figure 4.1 shows that figures of speech were mainly used by politicians to persuade (29%) voters to vote for them. The results also show that 23% of the politicians used figures of speech to criticise their opponents. This implies that the main goal in politics is persuasion of voters to vote for a politician and also to make their opponents look bad in eyes of the voters in order to discourage voting them.
Figure 4.1 provides a summary of how figures of speech were used by politicians.

Figure 4.1: A summary of functions of figures of speech

Figure 4.1 show that figures of speech were mainly used by politicians to persuade (29%) voters to vote for them. The results also show that 23% of the politicians used figures of speech to criticise their opponents. This implies that the main goal in politics is persuasion of voters to vote for a politician and also to make their opponents look bad in eyes of the voters in order to discourage voting them.
4.5 The Relation between Gender and Figurative Language use by the Politicians

The third objective of the study was to establish the relation between gender and figurative use by politicians in their campaign speeches. The research therefore, sought to establish the use of figures of speech among either sex of politicians. The results are summarized in Figure 4.3.

Figure 4.2: Use of Figures of Speech among either Sex

The results in figure 4.2 indicate that figures of speech were mainly employed by male politicians at 72% compared to female politicians at 28%. This implies that female politicians often use direct language rather than figures of speech which often has hidden meanings. On the other hand, male politicians use figures of speech that often have hidden meaning that requires the listener to interpret for himself/herself. This study confirms (Mulac et al, 1998) that males and females employ language strategies to convey their meanings. It also confirms (Spolsky, 1998) that there are gender differences between men and women language use. Women used more direct language to send their message straight to their listeners than the male politicians. In
Meru culture women were meant to listen while men talked. Women were also not involved in political power as they were not allowed to join Njurincheke which is bestowed with political power. Men were also involved in negotiations for peace, dowry negotiations, lead in religious ceremonies where they showed their masterly of FL use. This could account for male politicians using more FL in their political speeches than female politicians during the campaigns. Men also held power to dominate and control women in the society. Therefore women had to play a submissive role in leadership which was an element of inequality and discrimination in the Meru community. Even with introduction of a constitution that guarantee their democratic right, female politicians preferred to use direct language compared to male politicians who used figurative language. This was an indication that they female politicians are less assertive than men even in politics because they already come from a disadvantaged background where politics and power was a preserve for men. This shows that Meru community is still a patriarchal society as men dominated in the use of FL.

The study also sought to establish the use of different figures of speech among politicians of either sex. The results are summarized in Table 4.8.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Category of figures of speech</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Metaphor</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Female</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The results in table 4.8 show that male politicians used metaphors, symbolism, proverbs, similes, paradox and hyperboles more than female participants. However, the female politicians employed euphemism and metonym more than male politicians. The findings in table 4.8 also show that women politicians used euphemisms more than men, at 3 and 1 respectively. This is in agreement with Hysi (2011) who argues that use of euphemisms is a distinct linguistic feature employed by women. This implies that women used euphemism to hide unpleasant and embarrassing ideas and to avoid being offensive. Since politics in Meru community had been delegated to men and freedom of expression had been suppressed among women, even with the creation of women representative seat in the constitution where women had to compete with other women, the society’s culture expects women to restrain their language use and so women tended to use euphemism more than men. Women politicians felt undermined in political competition. This was also inequality as women politicians have to maintain a less forceful language in even politics where one is required to be assertive and aggressive to win votes. Male politicians used more FL than female politicians so as to yield power, dominance and resistance of alternative power during the 2013 general elections.

4.6 The Influence of Educational Level on Figurative Language use by the Politicians

The last objective of the study was to determine the influence of FL use by the politicians in their electoral campaign speeches. Figure 4.4 provides a summary of the use of figures of speech among politicians of different educational levels.
Figure 4.3: Educational Level of Politicians who used Figures of Speech

The results in figure 4.3 show that most (43%) of the politicians who used figures of speech were holders of bachelor's degree as the highest educational levels. Politicians with master's degree (18%) and secondary school (18%) education as the highest academic qualification were the second most users of figures of speech. However, politicians with PhD (3%) and primary school (3%) as the highest educational levels were the least users of figures of speech. This implies that politicians with highest and lowest educational levels are unlikely to employ figures of speech in their electoral campaign speeches. This study confirms Campaign et al (2006) that adults with lower levels of education accepts metaphors use which is figurative but even though those with higher levels of education used more FL but there is disparity in that those with highest level of education PhD (3%) used less FL. Politicians with PhD (3%) did not use a lot of figurative language because they wanted to brief and that with their educational level they were confident they would be voted for. They also did not want
to be misquoted and intended not to give many interpretations of their messages. They felt that with highest academic level they had knowledge power to win political power and the voters would vote for them. Those with low level of education felt that there was inequality in levels of education and had to compete from unfair level and so sought to influence the voters with more direct language that the voters would understand faster to give them political power.

The study also sought to establish the relation between politicians’ educational level and category of figures of speech used. Table 4.9 provides a summary of the findings.

### Table 4.9: Cross-tabulation of Educational Level and category of Figures of Speech

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Educational Category of figures of speech</th>
<th>Metaphor</th>
<th>Symbolism</th>
<th>Proverb</th>
<th>Simile</th>
<th>Euphemism</th>
<th>Paradox</th>
<th>Hyperbole</th>
<th>Metonym</th>
<th>Personification</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Primary</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diploma</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Degree</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Masters</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PhD</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The results in table 4.9 show that metaphors were the most used figure of speech among degree (12) masters(7), diploma (5) and secondary certificate holders at (4). PhD holder politicians only employed symbolism and proverbs both at (1). It should be noted that symbolism was the only figure of speech used by all politicians irrespective of their educational levels even though its use varied on the basis of educational level. For instance, politicians with a bachelor’s degree used symbolism...
more frequently than those of any other educational level. Those with degree certificates used metaphors more because they wanted to assert themselves and that their level of education was not a guarantee for their winning so they needed to persuade more to be voted for. This study concurs with Labov (1966) that those that are learned are known to use language carefully and selectively. The PhD holders used FL least because they were confident and careful in their language use. Contrary to this, those with the least level of education also had the least use of FL because they had not mastered the art of figurative language use. Since politics is a power struggle, those politicians with lowest level of education had to identify with the voters by using a language they could understand faster in order to influence and dominate them since they were many to his favour. Those with PhD certificates used FL less since they felt they had knowledge power and so the voters would trust them with political power.

4.7 Chapter summary

In this chapter the findings of the study were presented, interpreted and discussed in connection to figurative language in politicians’ electoral campaign speeches. First, the demographic Characteristics of the data were discussed. The categories of FL used by the politicians were also established and the function for their use examined. The study also established the relation between gender and FL use whereby the male politicians used FL more than the female politicians who preferred direct language. Lastly, the educational level of a politician had an influence on FL used by a politician. The male politicians used FL more than their female counterparts. In the next and last chapter the researcher will give a summary of the findings, conclusions and recommendations of the study.
CHAPTER FIVE
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

5.1 Introduction

This chapter covers the summary of the study, conclusions and recommendations arrived at, as well as suggestions for further research.

Summary of findings

The summary of the findings were based on the objectives of the study which were: to find out the categories of FL used by politicians, to examine the functions of FL used by the politicians, to establish the relation between gender and FL use by the politicians and lastly to determine the influence of level of on the use of FL.

In categories of FL used by politicians' politicians, the results show that metaphors (40 %) and symbolism (25.8) were the most used figures of speech by politicians. However, other figures of speech such as proverbs, euphemism, similes, hyperboles, metonym, paradox and personification were also used by politicians in their electoral campaign speeches.

The findings also indicate that figures of speech were mainly used to criticize the youths who were deemed inexperienced. The youths also employed figures of speech to hit back at fellow opponents. Figures of speech were also used by politicians to criticize politicians with a bad track. The politicians also used figures of speech to persuade electorates to vote for them. Politicians also employed figures of speech to make shorter versions of their ideas and to boast how best fitted for the position. Politicians also employed figures of speech to mislead or deceive the electorate, to
create unity between the politician and the electorate, to illustrate the policies they had in mind for the people and to persuade voters to support their parties.

To establish the relation between gender and FL, the results indicate that figures of speech were mainly employed by male politicians at 72% compared to female politician at 28%. The researcher established that male politicians used metaphors, symbolism, proverbs, similes, paradox and hyperboles more than female participants. However, the female politicians employed euphemism and metonym more than male politicians.

Lastly, the research findings also indicated that the educational level of a politician had an influence on the use of FL the politicians. Most of the politicians who used figures of speech were holders of bachelor’s degree (43%) as the highest educational levels. The results also indicated that politicians with highest (13%) and lowest educational levels (43%) were unlikely to employ figures of speech in their electoral campaign speeches. The results show that metaphor was the most used figure of speech among degree (12), masters (7) diploma (5) and secondary certificate holders (4). It was also established that symbolism was the only figure of speech used by all politicians irrespective of their educational levels even though its use varied on the basis of educational level.
5.2 Conclusion

Based on the study findings it can be concluded that metaphors and symbolism are the most used figures of speech by politicians in their goal of persuasion. FL was used by politicians to assert power and dominate, resist their opponents, control the minds of the voters to vote in their favour, discriminate and create inequality in the society.

Secondly, figurative language was used to intimidate other opponents in the pursuit of persuading the voters. FL was also used to show tribal inclination in party politics and to encourage the voters to vote along tribal lines. Kenyan politics are ethnically dominated. The study also concluded that FL was used by politicians to insult the opponents by referring to them as old, hyenas, toothless, beasts, frogs and donkeys.

Thirdly, figures of speech were used to encourage voters to vote for politicians that will work with integrity and transparency for the common good of the society. They were also used to call for loyalty and solidarity in voting. As evident in figures of speech, the youth had been marginalised in leadership positions so they demanded for a space in the national politics.

In addition to that, use of figures of speech display Meru society still as a patriarchal society as men dominated in the use of FL compared to women who used more direct language.

Lastly it can be concluded that the educational level of a politician influences use of FL with the learned being more confident, careful and selective in the use of FL. On the other hand politicians with the least education lacked a masterly of FL as evident in low use of FL in their speeches.
5.3 Recommendations

The following recommendations were made:

i. Politicians should avoid employing figures of speech that perpetrate tribalism.

ii. The youth should be given an opportunity in national politics.

5.4 Suggestions for further research

It is suggested that:

i. A study should be carried out on how FL is used to entrench hate speech in political campaigns.

ii. A study should be carried out on party politics and ethnicity in political rhetoric.
REFERENCES


APPENDICIES

APPENDIX I: SPEECH A, MALE POLITICIAN

How are you people of south Imenti? My name is X. I am the running mate of the professor. From the wealth of Meru county, Igembe contributes 45%, Imenti 43% and Tigania 12%. As Imenti people how we cannot allow a person with few cows to graze many from us? We should give our votes to professor because he has done economics like Kibaki. He will take care of our wealth. If we allow Tigania people who have choosen their deputies from Igembe, it means we will be left looking at buildings like watchmen and our wealth and leadership will go to Igembe. Let us give the professor our votes to manage our wealth. In Meru county voter registration, Igembe has
145,000 voters, Tigania 94,000 and Imenti 240,000. On the ballot paper you won’t find my name and picture but that of the professor. When you give the professor your vote you will have voted for me. Thank you our people.
APPENDIX II: SPEECH B, MALE POLITICIAN

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

How are you people of Nkubu? Today we say PK up. PK is coming with his running mate Dr. X. KNC up, the key up. When a visitor comes to your home you normally welcome him/her. Let us welcome our visitors on fourth. I know that even if you are as quite as a lake on fourth you will vote for PK and the professor. Let me see from the crowd. You also can see he will be able to propel Kenya forward. Thank you.
APPENDIX III: SPEECH C, MALE POLITICIAN


ENGLISH TRANSLATION

People from Ruiri woyeee! We are cocks even cocks are coming from Mukungu to Ruiri. Let us welcome Mr. X. We should elect a person and not a party. This is a young person that went to Nairobi on a bicycle to get a degree. He will also go to South Africa to bring us water. This is a cock. For five years we have been moving up and down. That vote is yours. Your problems are your problems, and the problems of Ruiri are known. We only have one boarding school in Ruiri others are day schools. If well can be dug in Moyale one also can be dug here. Let us vote wisely. we should not run the Sodom apple race. The one you keep on repeating.we use Ksh. 1000 to get a rubberstamp form the DC, do you still want to get the MP'S stamp from Timau?
This is a young, dynamic and energetic person. All the aged people should retire. Even the government has seen you are not fit for work. Let no one bribe you with Ksh. 500. Think again properly and do not think like a beast. Let us give him our votes. This is an orphan. An orphaned calf licks its back. Five years is not short period. Let us love one another, Meru is one and even after voting we will be left in Meru. Thank you our people.
APPENDIX IV: SPEECH D, MALE POLITICIAN

How are you Katheri people! I’m called X. I’m requesting for county representatives votes. I have asked and now I have blisters. Give me and you will not be ashamed. Here is my son also asking for votes. Give me first and I will leave to him. There is X when he could not perform you rested him. Mr. P also has run away. He is a coward. He feared mud and said it better the tarmac road. So, let him leave alone those that peal immature bananas. People from Tigania like making enemity all the time. This time our man from Igembe has given us a running mate. A person that slaughtered a rabbit and one that slaughtered bull of elephants who should share the meat? The women seat is like intestines we should not let it leave our hands. We pity ourselves and give back to our blisters. Do not forget me on fourth.
APPENDIX V: SPEECH E, FEMALE POLITICIAN


ENGLISH TRANSLATION

How are you my sons and daughters? This is your mother dot com. I want the women representative seat. I am saying we are blessed. We investigate the women. How many have seen a gazelle? It has marks. This is a child born properly with no marks. My home is just here at Agostino. My birth place is Thuura in North Imenti. This is your voice. Every one is saying it is me. Do not forget to vote for me on fourth. We will all benefit.
APPENDIX VI: SPEECH F, FEMALE POLITICIAN


ENGLISH TRANSLATION

Thank you your honour. How are you people of maritati? My name is X. I am vying for the women representative seat. I have a very large area to go round. I come from Kiguru in Ngusishi. Then I was married in Naari. I want to tell you my people that it is fertile where it has fallen. I am your girl. A finch is danced by other finches. Let us leave the women representative seat here in Buuri. The governor seat has been taken by the Tigania while the senator seat has been taken by the North Imenti. My party is UDF and the sign is peace or two hands in greetings. I know your problems and if you vote for me I will solve them. Thank you.
APPENDIX VII: SPEECH G, FEMALE POLITICIAN


ENGLISH TRANSLATION

How are you our people? My name is X. I want to tell that a new county is like a cow that has been slaughtered. One part to the Tigania and the other to the Igembe. The women seat is like intestines. North Imenti we should not miss this one. As you know I have been a D.O and a professional counsellor. Investigate these women so that you can elect the best. Elect also a governor that will take care of our wealth. Don’t forget to vote for me on fourth.
APPENDIX IV: SPEECH H, FEMALE POLITICIAN

Mugeeni bwinthe. Mbitagwa X. Kiama kia kwa ni rubunguro. bangi bari na bus. Bus
nikurukaga obici? Antu beetu kagita gaka tukaairua. Turinge kuura na uume mono.
Nkwenda kuromba kuura cia TNA, ODM, AMANI, URP, na UDF. Ringira mwekuru
umwega kuura uria ugaita ekuru ukombone.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

How are you? I’m called X. my party is the key, other are in the bus. Can a bus enter
the office? Our people this time round do not be fooled. We vote very wisely. I’m
asking for votes from other parties like TNA, ODM, AMANI, URP and UDF. Vote
for a women that will get the women from slavery.
RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

Telephone: +254-20-2213471
2241349,3310571,2219420
Fax: +254-20-318243,318249
Email: dg@naccoi.go.ke
Website: www.naccoi.go.ke
when replying please quote
Ref No: NACOSTI/P/16/55447/10989

Mary Kendi Miriti
Kenyatta University
P.O. Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on “Figurative language in politicians’ electoral campaign speeches: A critical discourse analysis approach,” I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in Meru County for the period ending 29th April, 2017.

You are advised to report to the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Meru County before embarking on the research project.

On completion of the research, you are expected to submit two hard copies and one soft copy in pdf of the research report/thesis to our office.

DR. STEPHEN K. KIBIRU, PhD.
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The County Commissioner
Meru County.

The County Director of Education
Meru County.
RESEARCH PERMIT

THIS IS TO CERTIFY THAT:
MISS: MARY KENTI MIRITI
of KENYATTA UNIVERSITY, 0-68200
MERU, has been permitted to conduct research in Meru County

on the topic: FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE IN POLITICIANS' ELECTORAL CAMPAIGN SPEECHES: A CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS APPROACH

for the period ending:
29th April, 2017

Applicant's Signature

CONDITIONS

1. You must report to the County Commissioner and the County Education Officer of the area before embarking on your research. Failure to do that may lead to the cancellation of your permit.
2. Government Officers will not be interviewed without prior appointment.
3. No questionnaire will be used unless it has been approved.
4. Excavation, filming and collection of biological specimens are subject to further permission from the relevant Government Ministries.
5. You are required to submit at least two (2) hard copies and one (1) soft copy of your final report.
6. The Government of Kenya reserves the right to modify the conditions of this permit including its cancellation without notice.

Permit No: NACOSTI/P/16/55467/10898
Date Of Issue: 9th May, 2016
Fee Received: Ksh 1000

Director General
National Commission for Science, Technology & Innovation

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