

**A LINGUISTIC STUDY OF KENYAN POLITICAL PARTY NAMES,
SYMBOLS, COLOURS AND SLOGANS**

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree at any University or for any other award

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DEDICATION

This thesis is written with uttermost respect to and in loving memory of all living and fallen patriots who fought gallantly with some paying the ultimate price to realize the Kenyan multipartyism. Some of these fallen patriots now silently colour marked or unmarked eternal homes countrywide. Such sacrifices make a KPP research possible. Secondly, this thesis is written in memory of all teachers at Ikumba primary school and Chavavo secondary school whose collective drive, trust and investment started me off in the world of academia.

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a linguistic study of KPP names, KPP symbols, KPP colours and KPP slogans. It establishes that linguistic resources are used by political operators in design of the KPP tools. This is achieved by deliberately manipulating language at the phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, semantic, sociolinguistic and textual levels. These linguistic manipulations realise KPP mixed code names, sense relations, associative meanings, political discourses, abbreviations manipulations etc.

Given its broad nature, this study is anchored on several theories including critical discourse analysis as it applies to political discourse, the semantic field theory, the symbolic interaction theory, the semiotics theory, the X-bar theory, the revised B and K universal theory and Whorfian linguistics relatively theory. Finally, the study employed a mixed methods approach which entails both qualitative and quantitative data obtained from the non-probability samples. Interviews, observation and archival (documentary reviews) methods are applied as tools for data collection. Data analysis is done using the MS-Excel 2010, matrix language frame (MLF), SPSS, and content analysis. This research finds a clear phonological, lexical, syntactic, sociolinguistic-code mix- and semantic manipulation of language in the crafting, designing, choosing and deployment of KPP names, symbols, slogans and colours thus necessitating an arrival at valid and appropriate findings and conclusions upon which research recommendations and generalisations are made.

ABBREVIATION

ADJ	Adjective
AP	Agano Party
APK	Alliance Party of Kenya
ARK	Alliance for Real Change
CCM	Chama Cha Mwananchi
CCU	Chama Cha Uzalendo
CONJ	Conjunction
CP	Conservative Party
CS	Code Switching
DET	Determiner
DP	Democratic Party of Kenya
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
FORD-ASILI	Ford-Asili
FORD-KENYA	Forum for Restoration of Democracy-Kenya
FORD-P	Ford-People
FP	Farmers Party
FPK	Federal Party of Kenya
GNU	Grand National Union

KANU	Kenya African National Union
KADU-ASIL	Kenya African Democratic Union-Asili
KPP	Kenya Political Party-Parties or a Coalition of Parties
KNC	Kenya National Congress
KII	Key Informants Interview
KSC	Kenya Social Congress
KENDA	Kenya National Democratic Alliance
LPK	The Labour Party of Kenya
MGPK	Mazingira Greens Party of Kenya
MDP	Maendeleo Democratic Party
MLF	Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model
MP	Mwangaza Party
MP	Muungano Party
MSM	Mkenya Solidarity Movement
MSS	Mzalendo Saba Saba Party
NAPK	National Agenda Party of Kenya
ND	New Democrats
N	Noun
NLP	National Labour Party

NDM	National Democratic Movement
NPK	National Party of Kenya
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NFK	New Ford Kenya
NVP	The National Vision Party
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
PICK	Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya
PNU	Party of National Unity
POA	Party of Action
PPK	Peoples Party of Kenya
PDP	Peoples Democratic Party
PDU	Party of Democratic Unity
PPK	Progressive Party of Kenya
PPPK	Peoples Patriotic Party of Kenya
PREP	Preposition
RBK	Restore and Build Kenya
RLP	Republican Liberty Party
RC	Republican Congress Party of Kenya
SAFINA	Safina

SDP	Social Democratic Party of Kenya
SPK	Shirikisho Party of Kenya
SSP	Sisi Kwa Sisi Party
SA	Standard Arabic
TIP	The Independent Party
TNA	The National Alliance
UDFP	United Democratic Forum Party
UDM	United Democratic Movement
UPK	Unity Party of Kenya
URP	United Republican Party
WDM-K	Wiper Democratic Movement- Kenya
77	Saba Saba Asili

DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

Code mixing	The use of free and bound morphemes from different codes in the same sentence while code switching was used as a cover term for both code changing and code mixing.
Connotative	The hidden or associative meanings of KPP names, slogans, and symbols
Denotative	The literal meaning of KPP names, slogans, colours and symbols
Eclecticism	A conceptual approach that draws upon multiple theories, styles, or ideas to gain complementary insights into a subject, or applies different theories in particular cases.
Key informants interview	Individuals who possess crucial, substantial as well as substantive information on a given issue
Onomatopoeia	KPP vocal icons designed to replicate the sounds that certain things, action, or movements are perceived to make.
Onomastics	The linguistic study of names and naming trends
Political Party	KPP groups, coalitions, alliances or organizations that seek to place candidates in office under a specific label
Sense Relations	Lexical semantics relationships that exist between KPP names
Slogan	KPP political-linguistic statements designed to produce an emotional connection between the voter and politician.

Symbol KPP linguistic or semiotic sign/image that stands for something in an arbitrary convention-based way. It implies all KPP names, slogans, colours and symbols even though each is studied separately in the present study

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter gives a background-context and history-on the study of KPP names, symbols, colours and slogans, then states the research problem, highlights the objectives of the study, research questions and research assumptions. The chapter too highlights the significance, the scope and the limitations of the study.

1.1 Background of the Study

The Kenyan 2010 constitution demands that every registered KPP, command an active membership base, have elected officials and hold annual national delegates' conferences, present yearly audited financial accounts, have *a name, a slogan and a symbol*. According to ECK (1997:54), "The ballot papers must bear the names and symbols of all political parties participating in an election." Political parties have responded to this context in terms of their organization (in choice of name, symbol, colour and slogan), finances, leadership, strategies (some linguistic in nature), ideologies and policies. Change in this factors force parties to continually adapt, nurture, and reaffirm their ties to particular electorates-voters. "At a minimum, then, ethnocultural, socio-economic, urban-rural, and regional factors have provided the context for a voter-party interaction (Bickerton and Alain (2004:240))."

The question is how political parties coalesce. Gallagher et al (1992) has developed a comprehensive study of political parties in western and transitional democracies. They came up with three main characteristics by means of which we might define political party families namely: shared 'genetic origins' (leftists), formal links to

similar parties across national boundaries often on ideological backgrounds (right or centre) and shared approaches to policy (other party families).

“Kenya is a primary arena for competition, power and influence (2015:142)”and the dialectics of African political process versus the much touted liberal democracy and its institutions is problematic (Luwanda, 2009). Any political action is couched in an environment of reciprocity which dictactes its symbolic and instrumental value. Notably Omollo and Barasa (2008:10) opine “Kenyans do not just vote for members of their local communities (and political parties), they do so with expectations of rewards and favours.” Political party electioneering often lead violence ‘causing panic and anxiety among people and makes vulnerable to (political and linguistic) manipulation and exploitation (ibid Omollo and Barasa).’

KPP tools such as names, slogans, colours and symbols are appropriated using language. Within the social semiotics theory, the KPP name, the KPP slogan, the KPP symbol (image), the KPP colour constitutes ‘a set of linguistic signs’ (Martin and Ringham, 2000:1-13). Studying these signs from a linguistic perspective forms the basis of this research.

Language is an important variable in power relations between dominant (politicians) and subordinate (voters) groups. Language is considered a powerful tool deliberately employed by politicians to influence the electorate. Politicians utilize phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and textual devices to achieve their goal (David, 2014). A politician who can manipulate language to their advantage easily wins over voters. Malande and Masiolo (2013) observe that an East African politician has the ability to invent, re-invent, shift, twist and manipulate multilingual terms thus highlighting the inter-connectedness between language and politics in East

Africa. This is possible granted that politics is very largely the use of language (see Chilton, 2004) and “questions of language are basically questions of power” Chomsky (1979:119). Butt (2004) makes a similar albeit somewhat stronger claim that the very use of language is ideological. He argues that the use of language necessitates choices between different modes of meaning. It is precisely these multilingual, political, syntactic, semantic and ideological choices that inform the creation and selection of Kenyan political party tools and are made at all levels of language [such as semantic (names, colour, slogans and symbols), syntactic (as in name and sloganeering), lexical (KPP abbreviations) and so on of language] that are used by Kenyan political actors to attain maximum political effect.

Competition amongst the Kenyan political parties is often spiced by effective mobilization tools central to which is language. Rozina and Karapetjana (2009) observe that linguistic manipulation and political discourse is primarily focused on persuading people to take specified political actions or to make crucial political decisions-such as shifting allegiance from one KPP to another by changing slogans, phrase expansion and deletions, abbreviations distortions, use of cultural symbols and meaningful colours. English and Kiswahili languages grant Kenyan politicians linguistic resources necessary for crafting and then selling KPP tools to unsuspecting voters granted “a Kenyan politician is a master of deception (language manipulating) and will cover their tracks with genius” (Malande, 2013b).

In an ideal situation, a 5-year cycle Kenyan general election presents voters with an opportunity to choose between competing candidates sponsored by participating KPP. Such parties use names, symbols, colours, slogans, policies and manifestos as tools for identification to potential voters. This calls for a conscious and deliberate

manipulation of language by many a political party in order to gain an unassailable advantage over their competitors. To this end, voters are mobilized on the basis of a common culture (by use of native languages and idioms, colour, abbreviation distortions, diglossic tendencies, metaphors and symbols), language (use of names, vernacular/Creole languages and slogans) as well as habitation of a common territory. This manipulation of language /names/colour/slogans/ symbols/ local metaphor has been embodied in the choice of names, slogans, colours and symbols by Kenyan political parties. This research examined how KPP names, symbols, colours and slogans are deliberately crafted (linguistically manipulated) to convey certain meanings and on how they convey these politically desirable meaning e.g. religious KPP names (such as ‘SAFINA’, ‘AGAPE’, etc.-that are designed to evoke/trigger a spiritual sentiment). The effect of these linguistic manipulations is captured in respondents’ attitudes in chapter ahead.

KPP slogans crafters use a particular language to create impressions, alter perceptions, elicit emotional responses, and make demands and pressure oppositions. The ambiguity of slogans enables them to serve as verbal (conversation) bridges for one meaning to another and induce individuals and groups to interpret them according to their own perceptions and needs. Generally slogans use a language that simplifies complex problems and situations while demanding instant corrective actions. Many slogans are unique and are readily identifiable with specific social movements or social movement organizations (political parties inclusive). Examples of KPP slogans that have been crafted using alliteration as a linguistic style include: ‘**k**usema na **k**utenda’ (Kiswahili for ‘To Say and To Act’), ‘chungwa **m**oja **m**aisha Bora’ (Kiswahili for ‘One Orange Better Life’). This study identified, investigated and then

established the linguistic strategies- alliteration, assonance, antithesis, and framing- employed in the KPP slogans formation.

Multiplicity of symbols that inform KPP are not only diverse but numerous for symbols signify for something in an arbitrary convention-based way. Whereas KPP names, KPP colours, KPP slogans qualify to be symbols, this study considers the images presented alongside KPP names as the KPP symbols. 118 KPP symbols are thereby identified, grouped and studied using four sign types (see Dobrovolsky, 2005) alongside the semiotics and semantics field framework. Efforts have been made to unearth not only the semantics but the political discourses inherent in the KPP symbols.

Colour features prominently as a KPP tool during Kenyan political campaigns. This research examines KPP colour deployment and visibility (using respondent listing), their meaning and whether or not they determine voters' party choice. As presented later, this research discovered an existing relationship between the KPP colours and the Kenyan national flag colours of black, white, red and green thus positing the national colour hypothesis.

This thesis involved both extensive and intensive linguistic study of Four KPP tools namely names, symbols, slogans and colours. Though interdependent, each largely requires her own set of theories for a detailed study. These theories are qualified and discussed under chapters or sections on significance, scope, limitations, literature review and theoretical framework.

Lastly, an elaborate research methodology obtained both the qualitative and the quantitative data on the KPP names, KPP symbols, KPP colours and KPP slogans. The data is presented, analysed and discussed coming up valid and appropriate

findings upon which research conclusions, generalisations and recommendations are made.

1.2 Kenyan geography and political history

Kenya is located in Eastern Africa with its geographical borders to the south east touching the Indian ocean, to the south lies the mount Kilimanjaro; to the west is the lake Victoria-the largest fresh water lake in the world and the mount Elgon, Kenya's arid and semi-arid north east and entire north lies the approaching Sahara desert and the lake Turkana to the north west. Notably other geographical marvels such as the Great Rift Valley and the equator almost evenly split Kenya in to two. Kenya shares boarders with South Sudan and Ethiopia to the north, Somalia to the east whereas Tanzania and Uganda to the south and west respectively. Kenya was occupied then colonized by the British from 1890-1963. After a bloody war-led by the *maumau* insurgents-she gained her internal self-government (Madaraka) on June 1, 1963 before becoming a republic on December 12, 1964. There are two levels of independent yet interdependent governments-the Governor led county and the president's led national governments. These two governments' leaders are elected using universal suffrage. Kenya has 47 political and administrative counties.

Kenya's experiment with multiparty politics has been a flip flop exercise often dictated by the political interest of the president or the political party in power. Since 1963-2015, 118 KPP have been in operation at different times; currently (2015), only 44 KPP have been registered by the Kenya Political Party Registrar.

At independence in 1963, Kenya had two main parties namely KANU-made up of pro-republican big tribes and or unitary state and KADU made up of pro-federalism smaller tribes. The two parties went head to head in the first 1963 independence

elections. KANU won this election thus making Jomo Kenyatta the first indigenous Prime Minister in 1963 and later the president in 1964. Mr. Kenyatta cajoled KADU into dissolution and later in 1967 blunted opposition by imprisoning key opposition leaders and outlawing their party-KAU. His government-allegedly stifled, killed and imprisoned many political opponents. Under the law-on paper Kenya was then a multi-party state but a de-jure one party state in practice all through Jomo Kenyatta's presidency (1964-1979) and the early years of Moi's presidency. After the attempted coup-de-tat in 1982, President Daniel arap Moi sensationally signed into law bills that made Kenya a one party state. Political oppression continued until 1992. Thanks to international and local pressure, Mr. Moi hurriedly convened a KANU National Delegate's Conference (NDC) in which they reintroduced multiparty politics and inserted presidential term limits.

A consequence of the expanded political space that was generated by the advent of multi-partysm has been the rise of many ethnic/ region based parties. During electioneering periods, voting along tribal lines has become an unpleasant reality. It is the norm for leaders seeking national political office to rally and galvanize their ethnic group's support before reaching out to other communities. KPP during the multiparty era have thus been formed, registered, deployed and later disintegrated-along ethnic lines. Frequent disagreements over poll results and or a desire to protect voting blocs have culminated into ethnic conflicts and mass displacements during or after elections (like the case of 1991-1992 and then a horrendous repeat in 2007-2008). This has given credence to ethnicity as the most dominant determiner of National level political alliances or coalitions-a common parlance in Kenyan political discourse is that power and leadership is negotiated and determined by *what(numbers)*

you bring to the table. This implies that the larger the size of your ethnic voting bloc, the bigger the allocation, position and share in coalition building.

As shown in respondents' responses, KPP are personal properties that are constructed in the image of its chieftain. Such personality-based as opposed to issue based KPPs have thus resulted into creation of many small parties that often have very short life spans. The quest for power by individuals and or groups has seen voters mobilised on the basis of a common culture, a common language and as well as habitation of a common territory. Inter and intra-ethnic alliances such GEMA (Gikuyu, Embu and Meru Alliance), KAMATUSA (Kalenjin, Masaai, Turkana and Samburu), KK (Kikuyu and Kalenjin) or loose alliances such as Western Alliance, Mt Kenya, rift valley and coastal groupings have coalesced into numerous coalition parties. These groupings and alliances (often guided by the politics of the day) largely determine the inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic voting behavior.

In general, while ethnic groups might be in solidarity at national level, KPP are usually torn apart by internal struggles owing to power plays. Occasionally, these parties and alliances die or mutate into new units at every other election cycle. Such mutation and death are studied as a semantic sense relation in this study.

While KPP politics revolves around personalities, they still provide a significant democratic space in that when some politicians miss nomination on any party's electoral ticket, they may jump into another KPP thus granting voters a variety of choices. Many a KPP have therefore given birth (or mutated) into smaller entities thus providing a chance for a sense relation study on their existence. A good example is a hyponymy study on KPP's FORD which disintegrated into FORD-KENYA, FORD-ASILI and FORD-PEOPLE. Whereas FORD KENYA split into FORD KENYA,

New FORD Kenya, NDP, SDP, SAFINA, etc. This research examined the prevalence of such sense relation patterns amongst the KPPs for these parties share (a) similar genetic history or ‘mothers’. For example, the ‘FORD’ derivatives given above exhibit a hyponymous relationship.

Mostly, KPP name formation is semantically motivated. KPP meanings are derived and or relate to some sort of existing phenomenon; like the case of ‘SAFINA’ (Kiswahili word for ‘ARK’), ‘AGAPE’ (is Hebrew word for ‘LOVE’), and so on. Other KPP names originate from manmade (such as vehicles) as well as natural phenomena (such as crops), social- political activities and so on. FORD (Forum for Restoration of Democracy) in as much as its acronym *might* have been manipulated to connote the legendary American FORD car; a vehicle whose reliability and class is second to none. Such examples others are depict political discourse and a language manipulation at play and are examined under KPP abbreviations manipulations.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The strategy that a Kenyan politician applies in the creation of KPPs that easily attracts voter attention was an area of concern to this study. KPP names, KPP symbols, KPP colours and KPP slogans construction is often realised using many different elements central to which is language. Language-linguistics provides resources upon which KPP tools creators assign political ideology-meaning. The choice of an appropriate language (like English or Kiswahili) and the correct linguistic resource therefore becomes a necessity in the construction of KPP tools that are easily marketable to voters. The study, therefore, investigates, identifies and examines how KPP tools creators meticulously influence language use at the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, discourse and

sociolinguistic levels resulting into linguistic manipulation at the structural design, phrase expansions, phrase deletions, semantics, mixed code data, sense relations, associative meanings, political discourses, abbreviations manipulations etc. Another area of concern is whether voters have an adequate knowledge of KPP tools. Towards this end, the voters' level of exposure to KPP tools is examined with the researcher calling for a convention to govern the creation, design, choice and deployment of KPP tools.

1.4 Research Objectives

The objectives of this study are to:

- i. Determine the semantics obtainable in Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans.
- ii. Highlight and describe the linguistic structure of Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans.
- iii. Establish the linguistic motivations or situational factors behind the choice of Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans.
- iv. Investigate the level of voters' exposure to Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans.

1.5 Research Questions

To achieve this, the study was guided by the following research questions:

- i. Which semantics obtain in the Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans?
- ii. Which linguistic structures obtain in the Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans?

- iii. What are the linguistic motivations or situational factors behind the choice of the Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans?
- iv. What is the level of voter's exposure to Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans?

1.6 Research Assumptions

- i. Semantics obtain in the Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans.
- ii. Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans have a definite linguistic structure.
- iii. Linguistic motivations or situational factors inform the choice of the Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans.
- iv. Voters demonstrate a significant level of exposure to Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans.

1.7 Significance of the Study

A study on names is generally called onomastics with its subsets such as: *toponyms* for place names, *anthroponyms* for personal names, *ethnonyms* for nationalities or ethnic groups and *glottonyms* for languages. No name is given for political party name studies the area of concern for the current study. Significantly, this study coins *polinym* to describe political party onomastics, thus important in the study of political onomastics.

This study provides the first single volume archival or library on 118 KPP names, KPP symbols, KPP colours and KPP slogans. This is an important library for students on KPPs in diverse fields. This study suggests a need for a convention (law) to govern choice, creation and selection of KPP tools.

The study provides additional knowledge on anthropological linguistics. In Africa, anthropological linguists have generated a lot of data on naming patterns and name meanings as espoused in local or native-African languages. Such studies by Malande (2012, 2011 and 2006), Batoma (2009), Légere (2008 and 2004), Agyekum (2006), Guma (2001), etc. have largely looked at people, plant and place names. Those studies have established a socio-cultural and morpho-semantic basis as the sole motivation behind names and naming in African languages. Secondly, the studies examined naming as a phenomenon in individual local-native-African languages (monolingual context) but not inter linguistic (languages-native and non-native or bilingual context spoken in Africa). This study, however, examines a new research area i.e. Kenya political party names.

A number of KPP names have a mixed code i.e. are generated using both Kiswahili and English vocabularies. The question of code mixing in KPP names is relevant granted the diglossic attitude and ‘multilingual culture in Kenya’ (Malande, 2013a). In such situations, language as both a constructor and a reflection of social identity becomes more complex in bilingual communities where more than one language is involved, and those languages and cultural-ethnic values and identities bear unequal social prestige. A case in point is the diglossic tendencies amongst speakers of two Kenyan official languages-English and Kiswahili. The study, alive to this fact, significantly examines cases of deliberate language manipulation in the design and or crafting of such mixed data names and determines that this strategy is meant to appeal to the political sense of unsuspecting voters.

In addition to this, studies on Kenyan politics and international politics have centered largely on political discourse, political rhetoric and political speech. Such studies have

majorly looked at warfare, judicial, genre, vocation, public activism, gender, campaigning and referendum discourse as used by political operators' thus ignoring semantics and political discourses inherent political institutions such as party names, party symbols, party colours and party slogans-a gap this study fills.

We have recent political discourse studies on Kenyan political scene including Malande & Masiolo (2013a, 2013b, and 2013c), Habwe (2010), Ngonyani (2006), Oduori (2002), King'ei (2002), Wairagu (2001), etc. These studies have complemented numerous global researches by linguists such as Rozina & Karapetjana (2009); Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard (1996); Fairclough (1992a, 1995a); Fairclough and Wodak (1997); Fowler et al. (1979); van Dijk (1993b, 1997); Chilton (2004 and 1985[ed,]); Chomsky (1979); Butt (2004) etc. As aforementioned, none of these studies tackled political party names, the party symbols, the party colours and the party slogans. Colour has long been considered a semantic universal yet KPP colours have not received much attention in the form of study. To address this shortcoming and within the context of this research, we have gone beyond the traditional cultural meanings of colours by looking at the national colours- state-colours-linking and associating them with KPP colours. This research observes that KPPs draw their own colours from the national pool of colours hence the national colour hypothesis/observation whose premise is to link and or associate KPP colours with state-colours.

In addition to meanings and political discourses in KPP names, party symbols, colours and party slogans and the KPP mixed code data, this study addresses the lexical (sense) relations amongst political party names, KPP abbreviation distortions and manipulation, KPP colour semantics, voters' attitudes towards KPP, etc. In addressing

this, this study hopefully addresses a major theoretical puzzle (problem) on whether linguistic theories are useful in analysing political phenomena such as a political party name, slogan, colour and symbol.

Linguistic manipulation is a distinctive feature of Kenyan political rhetoric, and it is based on the idea of persuading people, i.e. it either persuades people to take political actions or support a Kenyan political party and or an individual contestant. In every other regular 5-year Kenyan election cycle, new forms of linguistic manipulation appear. Thus, the language applied in KPP political discourses uses a broad range of rhetorical devices at the phonological, lexical, semantic, pragmatic, syntactic, and textual levels. This is widely captured in KPP name, KPP symbol, KPP slogan and KPP abbreviations coinage. The need to identify, highlight, profile and analyse such linguistic occurrences informed the duty and spirit of this thesis.

A majority of KPPs are seasonal and with a life span of one election. KPPs are normally organised around one popular leader who in turn may coalesce his /her party with like-minded fellows thus forming a grand coalition of parties whose goal is to win an election. Many a times when the next 5 years election cycle appears, new KPP entities come up. This makes it imperative to study them. This study profiles/records and studies these KPP names, symbols, colours and slogans examining their crafting, build-ups and break-ups as linguistic phenomena. This thesis provides a semantic and political discourse study of KPP thereby unearthing the linguistic manipulations at play in naming of these entities. The study thus provides a linguistic account of the formation of the names, choice of symbols, colours and slogans for KPPs. The research examines KPP formation, break ups and KPP coalition building as a semantic phenomenon within lexical semantics' sense relations framework thus

providing additional knowledge to the field of syntax, political discourse and semantics.

This study categorises the KPP names in to semantic fields. A significant number of KPP names and slogans are formed using vocabularies from one or two languages. This in itself enriches an area in sociolinguistics called code mixing. Such linguistic motivations at play in such KPP code mixes are highlighted in this study.

KPP symbols are studied as a semiotic sign. Its conventional and connotative meaning analysed. This in itself provides additional knowledge on the study of semiotics theory.

The place of symbols and slogans in man's daily life cannot be over-emphasised. Yet, despite the fact that man is basically a symbol using organism; its role in KPP campaigns hasn't been thoroughly investigated from a linguistic point of view. This research endeavored to address this omission.

Finally this study examines the extent to which voters are exposed to KPP names, symbols, colours and slogans clearly emphasising the need for voter education.

1.8 Scope and limitation of the study

A study on KPPs can involve diverse areas such as political organisation, political financing, parliamentary strength, political membership, political science, etc. The current study, however, delimits itself to a Linguistic study in Kenyan political party names, symbols, colours and slogans and on how language is manipulated in their naming, crafting and design (code mixes) to determine this tools. Efforts have been made to objectively, empirically and theoretically operate within these confines. This

has been possible through a mixed approach that qualifies both a versatile theoretical framework and a workable research methodology.

Owing to financial and time constraints, the researcher did not travel around Kenya looking for respondents but delimited this study to a non-probability representative sample of respondents based in Nairobi but originally residents of other Kenyan regions. Their views are generalized as views of Kenyans voters.

On the issue of research data, the research delimited itself to political party names, slogans, colours and symbols obtained from respondents' data, IEBC' data, The Kenya Gazette data and RPP data.

The researcher was cautious since several KPP have multiple symbols and slogans. The case was intriguing and complex given that individual (elections) contestants-candidates have their own personal symbols and slogans which they use side by side with their sponsoring KPPs slogans and symbols. Examples of such individual contestants include: 'hummer' (for ODM's Raila Odinga) and 'hustler' (URP's William Ruto) respectively. Some of the KPP Symbols include flags, plants and vegetation, farming tools, transportation tools which are used alongside KPP slogans such as 'saba saba' (Kiswahili for seven-seven); 'Maisha bora zaidi' (Kiswahili for better life); etc. The researcher took deliberate efforts to isolate and then analyse KPP and individual candidates-contestants' symbols and slogans separately.

1.9 Conclusion

This section places the study of Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans into its appropriate linguistic and historical contexts. It further explains the place of language in the creation of KPP tools. To create these KPP tools, linguistic resources are manipulated at the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic,

pragmatic, sociolinguistics and discourse levels giving rise to mixed code names, sense relations, associative meanings, political discourses, abbreviations manipulations etc.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter is made up of Literature Review and Theoretical Framework. Literature Review is on methodology, code mixing, code switching, theoretical framework, MLF, semantics (sense relations and semantic fields), political parties, symbols, slogans, colour, Onomastics (names), noun phrases, theories and political discourse. Theoretical Framework involves the four major theories that have informed the study namely: Critical Discourse Analysis, The Symbolic interaction Theory, Semiotics Theory, The Matrix Language Frame (MLF), The revised B and K universal theory and Whorfian Linguistics relatively theory.

2.1.0 Literature Review

This section deals with sources that informed this study. Literature is reviewed on methodology, code mixing, code switching, theoretical framework, MLF, semantics (sense relations and semantic fields), political parties, symbols, slogans, colour, Onomastics (names), and political discourse

2.1.1 Matrix Language Frame, Code switching and Code mixing

Abuhakema (2013) in his study on Code switching and code mixing in Arabic written advertisements provides concrete evidence that advertisements in the Jordanian and Palestinian contexts exhibit linguistic elements that might be unique to such contexts (and maybe beyond) and have sociolinguistic, anthropological, cultural and pedagogical implications. The identifiable patterns of code switching and/or code mixing that the study reveal/ show that both Standard Arabic (SA) and the

vernaculars are acceptable and are used in the language of advertisements. SA is still the most used variety. Arabic dialects are increasingly penetrating ads as a literary genre. English is also used as a sign of prestige, modernity and sophistication. Thus the line between what is standard and what is prestigious becomes more blurry, and equating prestige with standardization becomes a questionable assumption. The study examined social class, age, religion, and the nature of products advertised influenced the variety used and to establish whether code switching, code mixing or both are acceptable. In the area of vernacular use, there are aspects and expressions that are used more than others. Context and appealing to audiences can be decisive considerations in using such aspects and expressions. It is important to investigate how those audiences perceive what and how the language is used in these ads, and whether copywriters take such perceptions into account. Abuhakema's codes/languages mirror the KPP mixed data situation on diglossia that is both the choice of language and the place of English on one side and Kiswahili and Kenyan vernaculars on the other side defining the KPP naming trends.

The Ogechi (2002) study attempted to determine the matrix language (ML) and the speech processes in a trilingual code switching (CS) involving Ekegusii, Kiswahili, English and Sheng in Kenya. Ogechi's study hypothesised that:

- 1) Trilingual participants who share a first language and speak the same second and third languages can produce both trilingual and bilingual CS CPs who's ML can be L1, L2 or L3.
- 2) There is a tendency for composite bilingual and trilingual CS due to the impact of the L1 in structuring L2 and L3.

3) The complexities of speech processing and congruence matching between the switched morphemes and their equivalents in the participating codes make overt trilingual CS CPs negligible. The hypotheses were tested on 520 CS CPs recorded during 330 minutes of naturally occurring CS speech. Of these CS CPs, 18 were trilingual CS CPs compared to 502 bilingual CS CPs. These data were analysed using *Myers-Scotton's Matrix Language Frame model*.

The investigation revealed unique ML patterns in CS from Africa in general and Kenya in particular. For instance, it came out that it was not always that Ekegusii as the interactants' L1 was the ML; rather, Kiswahili and English were in some instances the ML. This was attributed to the effect of language policy in Kenya's system of education where English is the language of instruction while Kiswahili is a taught and examined subject since 1984. Thus instances of Kiswahili ML were only seen in the trilingual CS of those participants who were taught and examined in the Kiswahili subject at primary and secondary school levels. The study also realised five unique patterns of composite CS. First, there were trilingual CS CPs with surface morphemes from Ekegusii-Kiswahili-English and a corresponding trilingual ML. Then, there were four patterns of bilingual composite CS CPs. The study concluded that the minuscule number of trilingual CS could be attributed to the complexities involved in processing a CP with three codes. A code switched morpheme in one code only surfaces after competing with equivalents from other codes. The higher the number of morpheme counterparts the less the number of CS CPs. Thus in trilingual CS a switched morpheme competes for selection with equivalents from two other participating codes.

On **Code switching** Nathan Ogechi makes salient points while quoting several books. Ogechi's views as well as his sources were found relevant to the current study. Ogechi (2002) opines that

“*code* is synonymous with “language” or “speech variety” owing to the problem of clearly delimiting “language” and “dialect “Codeswitching” is commonly defined as the alternating use of two or more codes in the same conversational event or speakers who use “two languages alternatively in different contexts.” CS scholars such as Grosjean (1982) and Myers-Scotton (1993a/1997) have clarified Haugen's definition of CS to include the use of more than one code or language in a conversation or speech act that could involve a word, a phrase, a sentence, or several sentences. Therefore, CS can take place between sentences (inter-sentential switching) and within sentence boundaries (intra-sentential switching). *Code mixing* was defined as the use of free and bound morphemes from different codes in the same sentence while code switching was used as a cover term for both code changing and code mixing. Some scholars, notably Appel & Muysken (1987) and Muysken (2000) still use the term code mixing but as a cover term for all types of CS. However, most studies use the term code switching to refer to the phenomenon of code switching in language contact.” Ogechi (2002) draws a thin line between code switching and code mixing.

The study on code mixing within KPP names takes the use of morphemes from more than one source language in the same NP as code mixing. This is necessary granted that KPP names are more of Noun phrases than they are sentences.

Rene & Muysker (1987:117-126) observe that code mixing has been studied in considerable detail since about 1970, from a *sociolinguistic* point of view (why do people switch between languages?), from a *psycholinguistic* point of view (what

aspects of their language capacity enable them to switch) and from a *linguistic* point of view (how do we really know that they are really switching and have not simply introduced an element from another language into their linguistic system?) Many outsiders see code mixing as a sign of linguistic decay, unsystematic result of not knowing at least one of the languages involved very well.

Rene & Muysker (1987:117-126) identify three types of switches:

- a) Tag-switches involve an exclamation, a tag, or a parenthetical in another language than the rest of the sentence. The tags etc. serve as emblem of the Bilingual character of an otherwise monolingual sentence hence called *emblematic* switching
- b) *Intra-sentential* switches occur in the middle of a sentence. This type of intimate switching is often called *code mixing*
- c) *Inter-sentential* switches occur between sentences, as their name indicates.

Rene & Muysker, using the functional model suggested, switching can be said to have the following functions:

- 1) Referential function often involves lack of knowledge of one language or lack of facility in that language on a certain subject. Certain subjects maybe more appropriately discussed in one language, and the introduction of such a subject can lead to a switch. In addition, a specific word from one of the languages involved may be semantically appropriate for a given concept. Hence all topic-related switching may be thought of as serving the referential function of language. Most bilingual speakers are conscious of referential function: they switch for lack of a word for it in another language making the language chosen

more appropriate for a given subject. In Kenya switching across English, Kiswahili and vernacular languages is common. (examine switching on KPP names and KPP slogans)

- 2) Switching also serves a *directive* function in that it involves the hearer directly. This being directed at the hearer can take many forms. One is to exclude certain persons present from a point of conversation. The opposite is to include a person more by using her or his language. A person may have joined the participants in an interaction. All participant-related switching can be thought of as serving the directive function of language use. Eg many parents try to speak a foreign language when they do not want their children to understand what is being said.
- 3) Poplack (1980) in particular has stressed the expressive function of code switching. Speakers emphasise a mixed identity through the use of two languages in the same discourse. Speakers emphasize a mixed identity through the use of two languages in the same discourse
- 4) Often switching serves to indicate a change in tone of the conversation, and hence a *phatic* function. Also called metaphorical switching.
- 5) The *metalinguistic* function of code switching comes into play when it is used to comment directly or indirectly on the languages involved. One example of this function is when speakers switch between different codes to impress the other participants with a show of linguistic skills. Many examples of this can be found in the public domain: performers, circus directors and market sells-people.
- 6) Bilingual language usage involving switched puns, jokes, etc. can be said to serve the *poet* function of language.

Rene & Muysker views and ideas on inter-sentential switches, intra-sentential switches and functional component have been heavily borrowed and adopted in the analysis of KPP name code mixes.

According to Myers-Scotton (1993a/1997), the Matrix Language Frame (MLF), is used to analyse instances of code mixing and code switching. The matrix language (ML) is the language that sets the grammar of the sentence containing switches. The syntax of the ML is active in CS (CM) and it sets the frame of the switched projection of the complementiser (CP) while the syntax of the embedded language (EL) is dormant. The EL only contributes the inserted single words or phrasal elements onto the ML-framed CP.

In 'Comparing Code switching and Borrowing, Myers-Scotton argues that borrowing and code switching need to be seen universally as related processes. According to the MLF Model, code switching occurs everywhere within a frame which is set by the matrix language. The term matrix refers to the language in which the majority of morphemes in a given conversation occur. The languages from which material enters a matrix language are referred to as embedded. Central to MLF theory is the idea that content (often nouns, verbs, etc.) and system (articles, inflections etc.) morphemes in the embedded language are accessed differently by the matrix language. The concern of MFL is with the basis for distinguishing which singly occurring embedded language lexemes are borrowings from those that are code switches, in light of the fact that both borrowed and code switched forms behave the same way morpho-syntactically in the matrix language. Myers-Scotton's MLF model posits structural constraints which account for both borrowings and code switches. Particularly important here is the point that code switching and borrowing should not be seen as

distinct processes. Myers-Scotton explores four hypotheses. Among them is the hypothesis that matrix language + embedded language [EL] constituents conform to the morpheme order of the matrix language and, in ML + EL constituents, articles and inflections (system morphemes with non-lexical information) come from the matrix language. Another hypothesis proposed, the Blocking Hypothesis, holds that EL content morphemes that are not congruent with stored lemmas (lexical information in a mental lexicon) is blocked from appearing in ML + EL constituents. Embedded language forms which cannot be accounted for by the blocking hypothesis are subject to an embedded language trigger hypothesis. And, finally, an E1 Hierarchy Hypothesis predicts that peripheral and formulaic embedded language constituents may occur with relative freedom in a matrix language. Myers-Scotton's model based on these hypotheses provides a principled basis for considering both borrowing and code switching Processes to be part of a single continuum to core borrowings to actual instances of code switching.

The gap

In the context of this KPP study, the Myers-Scotton's model provides an appropriate analysis tool that was applied to great effect. All the code mixes are appropriately identified, analysed and discussed using the MLF. Using examples KPP name code mixes, this study however deviates from Myers-Scotton's model by establishing that code switching, code mixing and borrowing are different.

2.1.2 Speech Act

Schiffirin (1995:89-90) Speech Act Theory as an approach to discourse ideas were borrowed in the examination of slogans. 'Schiffirin discusses the central ideas of speech act theory as formulated by the philosophers Austin and Searle and then

applies these ideas to a particular set of speech acts. The essential insight of speech act theory is that language performs communicative acts. In Searle (1969:21) words: "The hypothesis that the speech act is the basic unit of communication, taken together with the principle of expressibility [whatever can be meant can be said], suggests that there are a series of analytic connections between the notion of speech acts, what the speaker means, what the sentence (or other linguistic element) uttered means, what the speaker intends, what the hearer understands, and what the rules governing the linguistic elements are." Speech act theory is therefore concerned with what people 'do' with language-with the functions of language. Language can be used for speech acts because people share rules that create acts: utterances 'count as' successful and non-defective performances of speech acts when they fulfill certain conditions

By focusing upon meanings of utterances as acts, speech act theory offers an approach to discourse analysis in which what is said is chunked (or segmented) into units that have communicative functions that can be identified and labeled. Although we can describe such acts in different ways (e.g. realisations of constitutive rules, as the product of form function relations, as the outcome of different textual and contextual conditions) the import of such acts for discourse is that they both initiate and respond to other acts. Acts specify (to a certain degree) what kind of response is expected: they create options for a next utterance. Mapping between one form and multiple functions thus gives our exchanges a certain degree of flexibility: if we do not respond to one possible speech act interpretation of what someone has said to us, we may respond to another. This flexibility has an important analytical consequence: it means that a single sequence of utterances may actually be the outcome of a fairly wide

range of different underlying functional relationships. This study exposes such flexibilities in KPP slogans.

2.1.3 Methodology

Dornyei (2011:19-20) focuses on applied linguistic research by identifying three main types of primary data namely: Quantitative data which is most commonly expressed in numbers (for example, the score of a language aptitude test or the number of times a student volunteers in class). Secondly, we have Qualitative data which usually involves recorded spoken data (for example, interview data) that is transcribed to textual form as well as written (field) notes and documents of various sorts. Lastly, we have Language data which involves language samples of various lengths, elicited from the respondent primarily for the purpose of language analysis (for example, a recorded language task or a solicited student essay that is to be submitted to discourse analysis). Language data is often subsumed under qualitative data in the literature, but it is useful to separate the two data types. Due to the different nature of qualitative and quantitative data, different methods have been developed in the past to collect and analyse them, leading to the differentiation between two research paradigms, 'qualitative research' and 'quantitative research'. We should note here that the terms qualitative and quantitative are overstated binaries: 'a more constructive approach is to view qualitative and quantitative research as a matter of degrees or a continuum rather than a clear-cut dichotomy' whose methodologies aren't necessarily mutually exclusive, and therefore introducing a third research approach: 'mixed methods research'. This is a new and vigorously growing branch of 'research methodology, involving the combined use of qualitative and quantitative methods with the hope of offering the best of both worlds: Thus, in this thesis we break down the barriers

between qualitative and quantitative methodologies as much as is practical and highlight the manifold ways of combining them to best effect as mixed methods research on KPP names, KPP symbols, KPP slogans and KPP colours.

Milroy (1987) suggests the use of an in-depth investigation using a small number of reliable speakers (respondents or informants). To this end, the researcher avoided people who could be marginal to the community, and could thus convey inaccurate or incomplete information thus interfere with the acceptance of the researcher by other members of the group” (Saville –Troike, 1997). In view of this, the researcher purposefully selected and interviewed adult informants with varied ages, sexes, marital status, occupation, educational backgrounds and social status which ‘are significant variables among the informants’ (Kebeya, 1997). Before each and every session began, the researcher thoroughly explained the purpose of the research i.e. to unearth linguistic manipulations in KPP names, symbols, colours and slogans. The idea of a study on a political issue, which they have participated in (as voters), boosted the morale and interest of the informants in this research. The researcher was open to new ideas, information, and patterns which could emerge in the course of interviewing, and “to differences between ‘ideal’ and ‘real’ culture, as reflected in statements of belief or values and in actions, respectively” (Saville - Troike, 1997).

2.1.4 Political Discourse

According to Tepavacevic (2014), political language has a distinct and definable structure and style evident in the vocabulary, grammar, textual and intertextual features of discourse. These characteristics are useful in identifying and describing political discourse. Additionally, the function of political discourse can be

extrapolated from the text. This study sought to characterize aspects of political discourse in Kenya political party names, symbols, slogans and colours.

Martínez (2013) opines that the *world* is a linguistic construction and that every language is a metalanguage. Martínez's article aims at deconstructing social reality by questioning the concept of the individual upon which it is mainly built and delves into deeper levels of language that goes beyond the realm of consciousness, culture and will trying to discover close links between Grammar and Politics. Furthermore, the article accepts Language creates reality by means of its semantic vocabulary (on one hand, Language is constructing reality and on the other it deconstructs it). What we understand as Society is an abstract construction which consists of the imposition of concepts and numbers upon something that was "there" but remained undefined. Martínez's quotes Whorf or García Calvo, things of this world (such as KPP)-including individuals of this human society-come into existence as long as they are baptized with a word (name/symbol) and analysed into theoretical components. There is always this requirement of abstract knowledge which is, nevertheless, accompanied by the need to find something concrete, a direct contact with the physical or natural world, what we could refer to as "matter", a common substance shared by all things that is constantly changing in everlasting flux. Furthermore, Language, the blessed Language can open for us a new dwelling of real communion, where "I" am continually becoming "you" in the act of speaking, and "you" are constantly becoming "I". Finally, Martínez (2013) doubts the power of the Word (name) as a source of authentic revolutionary action against the Science of Reality, and as an instrument of the soul's dissolution by intimating that it is time to stop living on false illusions for we do not know who we are or where we are. Indeed,

honest research into elemental grammar can carry out a psychoanalytic task which has direct political and social consequences. Martínez therefore argues for the place of the mind in socio-political decision making an area that has been taken care of by Symbolic interaction theory in this research.

Moreover, Habwe (2010) observes that Kenyan political speech animation can be a tricky affair since partisan, biased and other varied interests have to be served. Dialogue is a very central strategy for engaging the Kenyan audience. Besides being used as a monitoring device of populist ideas by popular speakers, it is used as a tool of coercing the audience into agreement. The audience on their part uses it to influence the topics of the speech animator. Yet the pragmatic strategies and particularly the use of dialogue is common to all the areas. The speakers exhibit a lot of skill in using language in a more implicit way and with high characteristic of context dependency. For the purposes of this study, Habwe's conclusion that language used across Kenya is largely similar, clearly tallies with this' research stated view that language variety amongst KPP is an insignificant variable. Habwe notes that political rallies are not a focus of completely new information but rather a focus of ideas which even the audience is aware of. The speech making therefore demands a lot of tact, strategy and even genius to engage the audience in a way that is meaningful and one that would not lead to reprisal from the high handed government of the day and from the audience which the politician has to appease by talking about what they want and in a way they want ie for political expediency. The implied information can also enable the Kenyan speaker to vary his intentions of his speech when challenged to do so. This research, like Habwe's, scrutinizes politicians' use of slogans and symbols for political Expediency.

Rozina and Indra (2009) opine that political regimes, whether totalitarian or democratic, communicate in order to inform, influence, issue commands, legislate, persuade, and so forth. Therefore, linguistic manipulation is considered as an influential instrument of political rhetoric because political discourse is primarily focused on persuading people to take specified political actions. Secondly, Language plays a significant ideological role because it is an instrument by means of which the manipulative intents of politicians become apparent. Thirdly, Language applied in political discourse uses a broad range of rhetorical devices at the phonological, syntactic, lexical, semantic, pragmatic and textual levels. Finally, in present time societies, politics basically dominates in the mass media, which leads to creating new types of linguistic manipulation, e.g. modified forms of press conferences and press statements, updated texts in slogans, a wide application of catch phrases, common usage of both rhetorical devices: for example, phrasal allusions, metonymy and metaphor, and connotative meanings of the words, a powerful combination of language and visual imagery to convince the potential electorate.

Indede (2009) attempts a pragmatics analysis of Kiswahili literary political discourse using specific examples from poetic texts. A pragmatics account of literature assumes that in literary communication we not only have a text, but that the production and interpretation of such a text are social actions. Without this kind of cognitive analysis of literary communication, no serious insight can be gained into the emotive effects of literary interpretation involving the needs, wishes, desires, likings and feelings of the author. A text (like a KPP name or slogan) induces its interpreter to construct an image, or may be a set of

alternative images. While the image construction and image revision is going on, the interpreter also tries to figure out what the creator of the text is doing- what the nature of the communication situation is all about even though misinterpretations of his propositions might obtain. For any successful interpretation then, the reader has no option than drawing up a set of inferences whereby the contextual implication can be derived. In other words, the critic has an advantage of inferring the meanings of the message surpassing the worldview of the author in complete understanding and appreciation of historical and social conditions (emotional, intellectual and imaginative appeal) and, ideological factors under which the writers (authors or crafters) find them in. Hence the pragmatic impact of the poem embraces the totality of the poem; combined with its. Just like all writers, authors or crafters, who write on issues that speak to passion and desires, political aspirations, freedom, justice and social change, this KPP study takes it upon itself to understand and interpret KPP names, slogans and symbols and deduce whether they are contextually meaningful.

To Rista-Dema (2008), Political memoirs are characterized by rich figurative language (similes and metaphors) which is distinguished for its stylistic power and informal register. The language used in the genre of memoir in the Albanian political discourse displays some interesting features. It is especially rich in similes and metaphors, which are generally rendered in very informal language and reflect the background culture of the rural majority of the Albanian speech community. It becomes clear that the rhetorical and lexical devices used in Hoxha's political memoir have a significant power of persuasion which is mainly due to the use of in-

group language contributing considerably to the establishment of solidarity between the user and the recipients.

Moreno (2008) studies political discourse analysis in Venezuela and attempts to show that Chávez's political discourse not only polarizes the country and represents opponents as detractors of national symbols such as Bolívar or his wars of independence but also represents political opponents as enemies of the nation. He provides the first comprehensive analysis of metaphors used by Hugo Chávez which covers a period of nine years, from 1999 until 2007. Moreno's identifying the Cognitive and Affective bases of metaphors in political discourses is important because they exploit the subliminal resources of language by arousing hidden associations that govern our systems of evaluations.

Ngonyani (2006) examines the lexical innovations (of names and slogans) in post-colonial political discourse in Tanzania which exhibits significant lexical changes that are based on different sets of metaphor. Ngonyani demonstrates that the role of metaphors in political discourse is not limited to facilitating the understanding of concepts. Metaphors perform strategic functions such as group solidarity, persuasion, justification or legitimizing of some choices, and deligitimizing of competing choices. In his study Ngonyani not only demonstrates how metaphors may yield an understanding of the knowledge base embedded in terminology but also raises awareness of imagery in political discourse and an understanding on how this vital rhetorical tool can be harnessed.

As for Maupen (2005.159) Elections are about choice in that "In an ideal situation, elections present voters with an opportunity to choose between competing candidates

presented by different political parties (such as KPP), which have different policies and platforms (like names, symbols, slogans, colours, manifestos, etc).

Oduori (2002) states that Language and more specifically lexical choices (like KPP names) is a powerful weapon that can be manipulated by a certain group (such as Kenyan politicians) to show its satisfaction with or advance certain political party goals with the intent of amassing popular support. The word choices (names and slogans) made can be effectively used to change a people way of thinking and acting (voting) and hence their attitude towards/against a certain KPP. Political leaders have a lot of influence on the society and many of their followers and supporters believe in what they say. This belief is a result of certain actions arising from certain terminologies/slogans/symbols associated with them and which form the basis of their political belief that hardly changes.

Wairagu (2001) looks at language and politics in Kenya. Language is closely related to politics in many ways: in the formation of states and political boundaries as a source of divisions in plurilingual or multilingual societies, or as a series of domains for policy choices. He observes that Language may either help or be an obstacle to state formation and progressive development. The foregrounding notwithstanding, when political emotions are high, most Kenyans will result to the ethnic languages because they seem to get in to peoples 'hearts.' This of course has a lot to do with the mastery of the language because some ideas or opinions (like the formation of KPP names, slogans and symbols) especially those appealing to emotions would be better if communicated in proverbs (idioms, sayings) and metaphors. Language is the paramount element of cultural (political) infrastructure but no one can advance in a language that he or she cannot fully master. People are generally able to express what

is culturally significant in a language they are competent in, and in most cases, this is their local languages. Languages play an important role in the way people create reality, as a tool for communication-inevitably a tool for development and in the articulation of values and attitudes. Simple Kiswahili words (slogans) such as ‘Nyayo’ (footsteps), ‘Amani’ (peace), ‘upendo’ (love) and ‘ umoja’ (unity) have been used as political rallying points. In their simplicity such Kiswahili words have played a practical populist role. King’ei (2002) examines Swahili influence on the political culture He notes that, a number of mainstreams political parties bears Kiswahili names. This is a pointer to the fact that Kiswahili is the language that best ensures inter- and intra- societal communication. For instance, even parties with English names still select Kiswahili party symbols such as Taa, Simba, Jogoo, Tinga Tinga etc. Naturally party mottos are also in Kiswahili.

2.1.5 Symbols, slogans and colours

Langer, S K (1997) in her essay *Language and Thought* provides the bedrock upon which KPP symbols study is grounded. Langer opines that a symbol is a sign that stands for something in an arbitrary convention-based way. Words in general are symbolic signs, as are man’s hand gestures. But any signifier-object, sound, etc.—can have symbolic meaning. A V-sign made with the index and middle finger can stand symbolically for the concept ‘at peace’, the colour white-purity and innocence; etc. Symbolic meanings are all established by social meanings which are all established by social convention, and thus cannot be figured out directly e.g. of color connotation. Once we try to grapple with the notion ‘the meaning of a word’, we come up against a serious problem, namely, that the interpretation we give to a particular word form can vary so greatly from context to context. This type of

variation, which is endemic in the vocabulary of any natural language, means that answers must be sought to questions like: Do words/names/symbols/slogans typically have multiple meanings? How do we decide what constitutes 'a meaning'? Are there an infinite number of such meanings? How are the meanings related to one another? Language is the highest and most amazing achievement of human kind. Language shapes and reflects society. To this end, Words (names and slogans), pictures (of party symbols) and memory images are symbols that may be combined and varied in a thousand ways. The result is a symbolic structure whose meaning is a combination of all respective meanings and this kaleidoscope of ideas is the typical product of the human brain that we call "the stream of thought" of the symbolic human mind. The objective being to manipulate language-the highest and most amazing achievement of human kind-to shape and reflect society (voting public). The reaction in future communication is to use symbols, as a process of transforming all direct experience into imagery or into an extreme mode of symbolic expression in which language has so completely taken possession of the human mind that it is not only a special talent but a dominant organic need. All our sense impression live their traces in our memory not only as signs disposing our practical way of life but also as symbols that we use to interact with the world around us. A concrete referent, such as 'rabbit', is something that is physically demonstrable and thus perceptible by the senses. An abstract referent, such as 'the bright ideas,' is a concept designated by the light bulb, is something that is formed in the mind and is thus not demonstrable as such. This study investigated the meanings of symbols that obtain in Kenyan political parties, examining whether their denotative and connotative meanings are established by a generally accepted social convention.

Geach (in Snook 1972) emphasizes this well enough when he asserts that the central and typical application of the term “having a concept” is those in which a man is a master of a bit of linguistic usage. This reflects on the intentions of the speaker although certain choices could be deliberate. The linguistic usage is categorically prescriptive as reflected in the restricted code which gives little room to make a choice—a case prevalent in KPP slogan, KPP symbol and KPP colour as an important feature of KPP.

The views of Stewart (1997:297-308) have been heavily adopted in the analysis of KPP slogans. Stewart states that “Sloganeering” has a rich history. It originated from the Gaelic word ‘slaughgharim’, which signified “ a host shout”, “war cry” or “gathering word or phrase of one of the old highland clans; hence the shout or battle cry of soldiers in the field. Slogans have been with us for centuries and act as social symbols and symbolic justifications. Political parties employ them to create impressions, to alter perceptions, to elicit emotional responses, to make demands and to pressure oppositions. The slogan types include sanctioned slogans, the advertising slogans and spontaneous slogans. The ambiguity of slogans enable them to serve as verbal bridges from one meaning to another to allow individuals and groups to interpret them according to their own perceptions and needs. They simplify complex problems, and situations while demanding instant corrective actions. Many slogans are unique to and readily identifiable with specific social movements or social movement organizations. Slogans are linguistic statements designed to produce an emotional connection between the audience and politician, were examined and effectively brought about their linguistic strategies like the use of: alliteration,

incorrect language, metaphors, and framing. The two general kinds of represents that signs encode are concrete and abstract.

Dondis 1973:50 notes colour is laden with information and a necessary tool for optical conservationists. Colour obtains in three dimensions namely, brightness, saturation, and hue. Hue comprises blue, yellow and red. Saturation refers to a color's 'comparative purity when gray, white and black is added to it. Thus the saturation is compromised hence losing her unadulterated, modest, original and straightforward sense. The lesser the saturated a colour is the more refined and neutral they are. Brightness applies when colours are arranged in series with black and white at extreme ends. When hue, brightness and saturation are manipulated, the result could be millions of colours. This study has considered colour not only as a shade but rather a semantic component. Efforts have been made in analyzing colour semantic, colour recognition and in unraveling the political discourses inherent in KPP colours.

2.1.6 Language and Ethnicity

A majority KPPs are known to be ethnic in membership-mobilization (see findings in chapter six on attitude of voters towards KPP). Political operators use KPP names, as well as slogans and symbols to refer and speak to the ethnic voting blocks. "Language has many uses to nationalists as well as regional-ethnic leaders. It's often used as an emblem of nationhood the Gaelic, Hebrew, Sanskrit and of a status symbol such as English in 3rd world and French in the west." According to (Barth, 1981:200), The term ethnic group is generally understood in anthropological literature from which its current usage is derived to designate." a population which (a) is largely biologically self – perpetuating (b) shares fundamental cultural values (symbols), realized in overt

unity in cultural forms; (c) makes up a field of communication and interaction (using language); (d) has a membership which identifies itself, and is identified by others as consisting a category distinguishable from other categories of the same order. For ethnic nationalism (parties) is small-scale nationalism of a nationality, not a nation. Thus, ethnicity, define ethnic identity as an aggregation of ethnic variables that constitute an ethnic group and by which the group in question may differentiate itself from others. It is “the result of membership to a specific group based on culture, history, *language*, religion, and geographical location (Hall, 1979-3). Tribe, caste, age groups, religion or state all have features that make them potentially adequate primary ethnic identity for group reference (Barth, 1981:223). Yet the centrality of culture in the formation of ethnic identity cannot be ignored. Barth (1981:214) observes that “ethnic identity is associated with culturally specific set of value standards Raymond Halla writes that “ethnicity and ethnic identity signify group cohesion centred on tradition, *symbol*, and others with whom the group is in contact (1979:xx) Antony Smith concludes, “Ethnic movement make their claims in virtue of an alleged ‘community of culture’, in which the members are both united with each other by a shared culture and differentiated from others by possession of that culture (1981:13) with such definitions of ethnic groups and their respective identities, it is only natural that such social groups maintain their ethnic boundaries that demarcate them off from their popular perceptions of generalized others. Ethnic boundaries `are erected upon racial difference, cultural difference, social separation and language barriers, spontaneous and organized enmity (Barth, 1981:200). In tribal societies the maintenance of tribal or ethnic boundaries “is accompanied by *signs, icons, totems and other markings* (semiotics) of limited scale, their only function being to distinguish the group in question from other ethnic groups bound spatially and

temporarily” (Hall, 1979:13) under normal, namely non-conflictual, situation, the dichotomization of others “as strangers, as members of another ethnic group implies as recognition of limitations on shared understanding, difference in criteria for judgment of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assured common understanding and mutual interest (Barth, 1981:206). The function of ethnic boundary in maintenance is primarily to present ethnic identity, but under conditions of on ethnic identity becomes not only more aggressively asserted and more acutely differentiated. National identity, it also marks the critical turning point in the transformation of ethnicity into ethnic nationalism. The transformation is brought about by the politics of mass mobilization and social communication. For ethnic conflict by definition involves a dimension of politics resting at least in part on such traditional bases for political association as culture, language, and ethnicity rather than on class or functional interests’ (Thompson and Rohen, 1986:26). In short, “the transformation of passive, often isolated and politically excluded communities into potential or actual “nations”, active participant and self –conscious in their historical identities’ (Smith, 1981:24). Difference with big (National) largely is on the scale of mobilization and quality of leadership – for there is practically no intellectual mobilization that preceded and accompanied most large scale nationalism. (b) nor mass mobilization during ethnic conflict as protracted as in the case of large –scale nationalism for they find themselves in the contemporary polytechnic social systems, namely, powerful state apparatus captured by the dominant ethnic group. The structure of nationalism consists of two equally powerful components: traditional date (such as race, language, literature, tradition and fraternity) and egalitarian ideology (such as freedom, equality and fraternity) (Dawa, 1992:1). Ethnic boundaries `are erected upon racial difference, cultural difference, social separation and language

barriers, spontaneous and organized enmity (Barth, 1981:200). In tribal societies the maintenance of tribal or ethnic boundaries “is accompanied by *signs, icons, totems* and other markings of limited scale, their only function being to distinguish the group in question from other ethnic groups bound spatially and temporarily” (Hall, 1979:13). under normal, namely non-conflict situation, the dichotomization of others “as strangers, as members of another ethnic group implies as recognition of limitations on shared understanding, difference in criteria for judgment of value and performance, and a restriction of interaction to sectors of assured common understanding and mutual interest (Barth, 1981:206).

Individuals have been mobilized on the basis of a common culture (by use of local idioms metaphors and symbols), language (use of names, vernacular/Creole and slogans) as well as habitation of a common territory. This manipulation of language /slogans/ symbols/ local metaphor has been embodied in the choice of name and symbol for Kenyan political parties.

2.1.7 Political Parties

Bailey and Gayle (2003:197-198) opines that *political parties* in their orientation is toward the acquisition of ‘social power’, that is to say toward influencing a communal action no matter what the content maybe. In principle, parties may exist in a social ‘club’ as well as in a ‘state.’ Communal action of parties always means socialization. Parties are, therefore, only possible within communities that are socialized, that is, which have some rational order and a staff of persons available who are ready to enforce it-for parties aim precisely at influencing this staff, and if possible, to recruit it from party followers. In any individual case, parties may represent interests determined through ‘class situation’ or ‘status situation,’ and may recruit their

following respectively from one or the other. But they need be neither purely ‘class’ nor purely ‘status’ parties. In most cases they are partly class parties and partly status parties, but sometimes they are neither. They may represent ephemeral or enduring structures. Their means of attaining power may be quite varied, ranging from naked violence of any sort to canvassing for votes with coarse or subtle means: money, social influence, and the force of speech, suggestion, clumsy hoax, and so on to the rougher and more artful tactics of obstructions in parliamentary bodies. The sociological structure of parties differs in a basic way according to:

- a) The kind of communal action which they struggle to influence
- b) Whether or not the community is stratified by status or classes
- c) They vary according to the structure of domination within the community.

Parties are always struggling for domination, are very frequently organized in a very strict ‘authoritarian’ fashion. Alive to these views this study makes a generalised comment on the character of political parties, especially in matters class, religion and ethnic divides when it goes for names and symbol choice i.e. what’s the reason behind the use status names Agape (religious), Farmers (Agricultural sector), Mkenya or Wazalendo (citizens) or ‘class symbols’ such as ‘airplanes, cars, runners, music, house appliances, wildlife etc.

2.1.8 Theories

Semiotics

Dobrovolsky (2005:557-559) states communication relies on using something to stand for something else. Words are obvious examples of this. Each of this things that stand for other things is technically known as a sign. The sign consists of two parts: a

signifier-be it a word, a scent, a gesture, or an electrical frequency-and and the signified-something that exists in the real world and that is mentally represented by a sign's conceptual content. Because they are conceptual all signs are associated with a meaning, such as 'danger' or 'item of furniture with legs and a flat top.' Individual instances of signs are called *tokens*. For example, in the sentence *the politician bribed the voter*, there are five word tokens but only four signs; *the* occurs twice as a token, but it is the same sign in both instances. The study of signs is called *semiotics*. Semiotics is a field of study that links many diverse disciplines among them linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, zoology, genetics, literary study, and computer science. An understanding of signs is essential for understanding how messages are transmitted. Dobrovolsky (2005:557-559) divides signs into three basic types depending on:

- a) Whether the signifier naturally resembles its referent
- b) Whether the signifier is directly linked with referent in a physical or mechanical sense
- c) Whether signifier and the referent are arbitrarily associated

Types of signs	Characteristics	Example of sign	Example of referent
Iconic sign	Resembles its referent	Photograph	Things in the photo
		Onomatopoeic words	Actual sounds
Indexical sign	Points out referent by partial representation	Animal tracks	Animal

Symptomatic sign	Involuntarily shows inner state of sender	Spontaneous cry of pain	Pain
Symbolic sign	Bears arbitrary relationship to referent	Most words	Things words refer to

We humans use signs (names, slogans and symbols) just like animals do, though with considerably more elaboration. We stop at RED lights and go on green; we answer calls and bells, watch the sky for coming storms, and read trouble or promise in each other's eyes. A sign is therefore, anything that announces the existence or the imminence of some event, the presence of a thing or a person or a change in the state of affairs. In every case a sign is closely bound up with something to be noted or expected in experience.

Malande (2011) defines *semiotics* as the study of signs and sign-systems. This includes the investigations of apprehension, prediction and meanings; how is it that humans develop meaning, make predictions, and apprehend the world. General semiotics is the theory of the production and interpretation of meaning. It's basic Principle; is that meaning is made by the deployment of acts and objects which functions as 'signs' in relation to other signs. Semioticians generally understand signs to have meaning within larger system. The words and phrases of a language, for example, have meanings within the language; and have meaning only because of their place in that languages structure' (the Wikipedia @ tend f.co.uk). These systems of signs are constituted by the complex meaning-relations that can exist between one sign and other primary relations of contrast and super

ordination/subordination (e.g. synonymy, homonymy, antonymy, metonymy, hyponymy, and so on).

Signs are part deployed in space and time to produce 'texts' whose meanings are construed by mutually conceptualizing relations among sign. Text is both a product and a process. It is a product in sense that it is an output within a certain construction represented in systematic ways, and a process in the sense of a continuous process of semantic choice made in a network of further potential choices, an interactive event, and a social exchange of meaning. Similarly, it is both an object and an instance.

A text is (Halliday and Hassan, 1989: 11-12), "a product of its environment, a product of a continuous process of choices in meaning.... if we treat both text and context as semiotic phenomena, as 'modes of meaning', so to speak, we can get from one to the other in a revealing way." The lexical loading of names is studied as a text and in context. This is because names and their connotative meaning is a product of the environment. Therefore it becomes important to study how different sign systems are physically and semiotically integrated in 'Luloogoli 'texts'.

One approach is to analyze various sign-systems separately then study about their integration. Particularly emphasized are linguistics, gestural, graphical-pictorial, musical and motional semiotic systems. This method was successfully used in visual semiotics by T. Van Leewan.

A second approach is to attempt to directly analyze the inter connections among signs belonging to different systems as they are deployed in particular texts, e.g. Lemke used it in 'multiplying meaning.' Much recent work in semiotics theory has been strongly influenced by the writings of C.R- Pierce. In his studies, Pierce calls semiotics a theory of 'signs' or 'signification.' This developed into analysis of

signaling systems. In his theory, Peirce recognized up to seven different classes of signs, with further subdivisions. But these were based on intersecting criteria. We shall be concerned with only one dimension of his classification, which yields a distinction of three kinds of signs: symbols, icons and indices.

The semiotician Charles Morris (1938, 1946) suggested that a sign as a powerful mental tool precisely because its 'x' part can evoke any type of referent, concrete or abstract, whether or not the referent is at hand for demonstration or for explication. This is known technically as displacement, and is defined as the ability of human mind to conjure up the things to which signs refer even though these might not be physically present for the senses to perceive. The displacement property of signs has endowed the human species with the ability to think about the world beyond the stimulus- response realm to which most other species are constrained and thus to reflect upon it at any time and in any situations. Within a 'mind-space,' signs allow us, to carry out the world around without using our minds. But this is not in actual world; it is a mental world that has been brought into being by selected domains of reference that signs delineate.

Charles Peirce identified 66 species of signs. Of these, three – icons, indexes, and symbols–reveal themselves to be highly useful for the investigation of cultural phenomena such as party name/symbol products. An icon is a sign that resembles on its referent in some way. Portraits of people (like on campaign posters) are visual icons showing the actual faces of people from perspective of the artist.

Onomatopoeic words such as 'drip', 'hummer' 'wiper' 'plop', 'bang', 'screech' are vocal Icons designed to replicate the sounds that certain things, action, or movements are perceived to make. An index is a sign that stands for, or points out, something in

relation to something else. Indexes do not resemble their referents as icons do; they identify them or indicate where they are. The most typical manifestation of human indexicality is the pointing index finger, which people the world over use instinctively to point out and locate things, people, and events. Many words, too, manifest an implicit form of indexicality, for example, words such as 'here', 'there', 'up', 'mtu wetu' (ours), 'coastal', and 'down' refer to the relative location of things when speaking about them. Indexicality is also a feature identity construction. A name, for example, identifies a separate individual and usually, his or her national/tribal origin.

Symbolic Interactionism Theory

Symbolic Interactionism was developed by George H.M (1863-1931) a philosopher at the University of Chicago, and Charles H. Cooley (1864-1929) at the University of Michigan. Mead studied the emergence of a sense of self in individuals and the place of signs and symbols in social life. According to Mead, the sense of self emerges fully through social interaction. Example: at first children have social relationships with specific individuals. Later on they develop a sense of the generalized other. Mead maintained that thought should be part of action, and intimately linked to avert social behaviour. According to Mead, the outcome of internal subjective reflection was external objective cooperative behaviour.

Symbolic interactionists, (C.H. Mead 1863-1931, and C.H. Cooley 1864-1929) hold that, people interact mainly through symbols, which include signs, gestures and most importantly through written and spoken words. According to White (1949), in Ferrante (1995) a symbol is any kind of physical phenomenon- a word, an object, a

colour, a sound, a feeling, an odour, a movement, a taste to which people assign meaning or value.

A word or something has no inherent meaning. It simply a noise, but it becomes a word when people reach agreement/shared value that this noise carries a special meaning. Mead refers to this as significant and non-significant gestures. Non-significant gestures are more natural/biological adaptation to stimulus that is, when a child cries, she/he is given food. Significant gestures involve communication where the individuals take the role of the other and are able to reflect back on the significant outcome of their own action. According to Mead, it is the ability of being the other at the same time himself that the symbol becomes significant. Gestures which people have common values or understanding about and those that people have no agreement of their meanings respectively. Individuals shape their own behaviour in light of what they know and other forms of play. Mead stressed that we learn meanings through interaction with others and then organize our lives around those socially created meanings.

A second major theme of symbolic Interactionism is that society is most usefully viewed as consisting of people interacting with each other. A symbolic Interactionism stresses the active role individuals play in guiding their own behaviour for they have some capacity to select and interpret what aspects of their situation they will respond to, that shapes their course of action. However, it is argued that the society also shapes the way people (Hunt and Horton, 1984).

Mead presented the total self as an emergence from and internal interaction between a knowing, unsocialized self (the 'I') and the known, socialized self (the 'me'). These two selves exist only in relationship to each other. It is on this basis that an

individual can act in society and take part in the dialectical process of the production of society (Ritzer 1996, Pp.414 – 415).

Mead believed that individuals must be fully social if they are to be fully human. Human development, is fulfilled only in so far as the human form is recognized as an organic part of the social whole.

Society

Mead referred to society as an adaptive mechanism. It produces unity out of diversity of combined different actions of specialized individuals, cooperating in a social whole. For Mead, society was a process of adaptation to environment. It involves a division of labour and the cooperative organisation of acting individuals into groups and institutions. It can be well viewed in real life as a playing ground. It offers the environment and play field for individuals to interrelate in order to develop (reflective glass). Society allows for the ongoing development of the individual self. It must exist prior to that particular individual. Society's own existence and development is mutual i.e. between the individual and the society.

Mind

The mind is the self which interprets and acts on external stimulus. It is the fact that reasons and judges. According to Mead, the mind and self-develop only in context of the society. Individuals are born and grow up in social circumstances. In their childhood, individuals develop an adult mind and self-capable of maintaining the society. Mead viewed the family as the most fundamental social group. It is within this structure that an individual develops the self.

Mead argued that the development of the individual (I and me) is an interrelation between the mind, the self and the society. The dialectical emergence depends on the ability of humans mutually to understand one another and to indicate their understanding to one another. Communication thus allows the society to exist and develop a foundation of symbolic interaction as a mutual relation of human beings and society. From birth to maturity both evolve with a reflection to each other. What someone sees about the environment to a large extent influences personality and what that person engages in determines what kind of society they prefer.

Blumer (1969) views symbolic interaction as the process of interaction in the formation of meanings of individuals. The inspiration of this theory came from Dewey (1981), who believed that human beings are best understood in a practical, interactive relation to their environment. The theory consists of three core principles: meaning, language and thought. These core principles lead to conclusions about the creation of a person's self and socialisation into larger community.

Modern interactions such as Erving Goffman (1959) and Blumer 1962, whose approaches are adopted for discussion, emphasize that people don't respond to others directly. Instead they respond to whatever they imagine other people to be. If the person is perceived as good the other person acts in return. However if a person dislikes the other s/he may end up doing badly in return. In human behaviour reality is not something that is just 'out there' but reality is constructed in people's minds as they size one another and guess at the feelings and impulses of one another.

Whether the person is a friend, an enemy or a stranger is not the characteristic of that person, but whatever I perceive his as being at least until I change my perception. Thus I create reality about a person in my mind and then I react to this reality that I

have constructed. The people with whom we interact are, to some extent creatures of own imagination. People act on perception and assumed characteristics. Symbolic interactionist perspective concentrates upon what meaning people find in other people's actions. How these meanings are derived and how others respond to them. In real life, failure to define behaviour situations correctly and make appropriate responses can have unhappy consequences. Interactionist perspectives bring insight to personality development and human behaviour.

Goffman developed a new perspective on symbolic Interactionism with his concept of social life as a theatre. He employs a dramaturgical approach' in his study, concerning himself with the mode of presentation employed by the actor and its meaning in the broader social context (1959:240). Interaction is viewed as a "performance", shaped by the environment and the audience, constructed to provide others with "impressions" that is consonant with the desired goals of the actor. He views humans as busy acting out complex displays designed to communicate images of self, define situation and demonstrate social membership. He sees people as actor playing different roles and managing impressions we give others. So they adopt the special handshakes, language, clothing or behaviour of group members.

The process of establishing a social identity then becomes closely allied to the concept of the front which is desired as that part of the individuals performance which regularly functions in a general and fixed fashion to define the situation for those who observe the performance" on the basis of projected character traits that have normative meanings. The actor in order to present a compelling act is forced to both fill the duties of the social role and communicate the activities and characteristics of the role of other people in a consistent manner". Simply said, we

assume roles, shapes, figures, lifestyle and identity based on what we assume others think about us. In most cases what we act in real life may not be necessarily what we want but what is influenced by those around us. How one behaves in the rural areas is not the same in urban areas. Urban people will also behave differently when they reach in their rural homes.

In constructing a front, information about the actor is given off through a variety of communicative sources, all of which must be controlled to effectively convince the audience of the appropriateness of behaviour and in consonance with the role assumed. Believability, as a result, is constructed in terms of verbal signification, which is used by the actor to establish intent, and non-verbal signification, which is used by the audience to verify the honesty of statements made by the individual. Items are made to present an “idealized” version of the front more consistent with the norms, mores, and laws of the society than the behaviour of the actor when not before an audience. People are most stressed when they learn that they did not present themselves in a convincing manner in their masked selves. However, daily acting’s leads to character, personality and identity. Communication is an important tool for creating; understanding and adapting within society.

Goffman explores the nature of group dynamics through a discussion of “teams” and the relationship between the performance and audience. He uses the concept of the team to illustrate the work of a group of individuals who “co-operate” in performance, attempting to achieve goals sanctioned by the group. Cooperation may manifest itself as unanimity in demeanor and behaviour or in the assumption of differing roles for each individual, determined by the desired intent in performances. However disagreement is carried out in the absence of an audience, where

ideological and performance changes may be made without the threat of damage to the goals of the team, as well as the character of the individual. In this way a clear division is made between team and audience.

Symbolic interactionists ask how people define reality. In particular they focus on how people make sense of the world, on how they experience and define what others are doing, and on how they influence and are influenced by one another. Symbolic interactionists maintain that, people must share a symbol if they are to communicate with one another. Consequently we learn meanings from others, we organize our lives around those meanings, and the meanings are the objects to change depending on situations hence variations in human behaviour.

Towards this end, the study employed the Symbolic interaction Theory on the analysis of KPP names, their symbols and slogans. More significantly, it unearthed how politicians and their gullible voters communicate and ascribe meaning to objects, symbols, KPP names, slogans, animals, people and places in order to achieve social identity. For it is through this adaptation that the individuals exist in the society and are shaped by it.

Symbolic Interactionism-Semiotics Model

Semiotics is the study of signs and sign-systems. This includes the investigations of apprehension, prediction and meanings; how is it that we develop meaning, make predictions, and apprehend the world. These systems of signs are constituted by the complex meaning-relations that can exist between one sign and other primary relations of contrast and super ordination/subordination (e.g. synonymy, homonymy, antonymy, metonymy, hyponymy, and so on). Signs are part deployed in space and time to produce 'texts' whose meanings are construed by mutually conceptualizing

relations among sign. Using this theory, Pierce recognized up to seven different classes of signs, with further subdivisions. But these were based on intersecting criteria. The research concerned itself with only one dimension of this classification, which yields a distinction of three kinds of signs: symbols, icons and indices. Using the mind concept the researcher analysed the data gathered from chapter 7 on views of voters towards KPP.

Critical Discourse Analysis

According to Fairclough and Wodak [1997 271-80], Critical Discourse analysis (CDA) research primarily studies the way social power abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. With such dissident research, critical discourse analysts take explicit position, and thus want to understand, expose and ultimately resist social inequality. Crucial for critical discourse analysts is the explicit awareness of their role in society. Continuing a tradition that rejects the possibility of a value-free science, they argue that science and especially scholarly discourse are inherently part of and influenced by social structure and produced in social interaction. Instead of denying or ignoring such a relation between scholarship and society, they plead that such relations be studied and accounted for in their own right and that scholarly practices be based on such insight.

Theory formation, description and explanation, also in discourse analysis, are socio-politically situated, whether we like it or not. Reflection on the role of scholars in society and the polity thing, that discourse analysts conduct research in solidarity and cooperation with dominated groups. Critical research on discourse needs to satisfy a number of requirements in order to effectively realize its items. As is often the case

for more marginal research traditions, CDA research has to be better than other research in order to be accepted. It focuses primarily on social problems and political issues, rather than on current paradigms and fashions. Empirically adequate critical analysis of social problems is usually multidisciplinary. Rather than merely describe discourse structures, it tries to explain them in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure. More specifically, CDA focuses on the ways discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce or challenge relations of power and dominance in society. Fairclough and Wodak [1997 271-80] summarize the main tenets of CDA as follows:

1. CDA addresses social problems.
2. Power relations are discursive.
3. Discourse constitutes society and culture.
4. Discourse does ideological work.
5. Discourse is historical.
6. The link between text and society is mediated.
7. Discourse analysis is interpretative and explanatory.
8. Discourse is a form of social action.

Whereas some of these tenets have also been discussed above, others need a more systematic theoretical analysis, of which we shall present some fragments here as a more or less general basis for the main principles of CDA

The revised B and K universal theory and Whorfian Linguistics relatively theory

This section looks at recent studies on color naming based on then revised B and K universal theory and Whorfian Linguistics relatively theory. The revised version of the universal theory's main argument is that for a color to be basic it

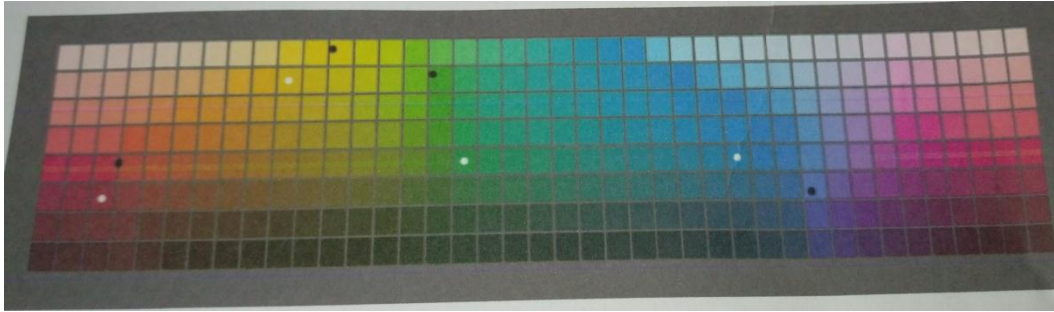
has to be general and salient and that categorization of basic colors should be based on how they are used and not their origin. On the other hand the Linguistic relatively theory's main argument is that language is unique, thus color terms are language specific. The two theories are relevant for this study synthesizes both. It is notable that the argument about color terminology based on the universality and linguistic relatively theory has been in existence since 19th century. Paramei, (2005) observes that the debate has never "settled the question of 'basicness' in color science.

Earlier studies challenged B and K's Universalist theory as some language failed to fulfill the requirements for a color to be termed basic and there seemed to be variation in number of the proposed Basic Colour Terms (BCT) and language's stages in acquisition of these terms. As a result several modifications have been done on theory, for example by Berlin and Merrifield, (2001). The development on the theory has loosened the constraints of color acquisition hierarchy to accommodate languages that did not strictly adhere to the original Berlin and Kay theory.

Davies and Cobertt, (2000) did a test on B and K's universality of colour theory on Central and Southern African languages which included: Ndebele, Chichewa, Setswana and Xhosa. In their study, the B and K's theory is described incorporating elements from stages of its development. To test for salience, subjects from the four African languages were told to list basic color terms in their language. Each language was represented by ten mother tongue speakers who also understood the task of color naming of 65 color tiles. This was meant to establish the reference of the color terms and to measure the frequency with which the

terms were used. This also helped estimate agreement across speakers as to what terms denote basic color terms in their language.

World Color Survey Table



This study used modified version of the Universalist theory focusing on KPP colours as captured in English language as opposed to the reviewed literature; only 12 KIIs are interviewed on KPP colour listing, meaning and impact on voting decisions (see the KIIs interview schedule appendixes).

This research avoids using tiles taking cognisance of past criticism-just like Musell colours-the method has been criticized as not considering aspects like luminosity as tiles are only reflective. Colour listing or naming helps establish salience on basic colour terms. In the reviewed study, the researcher gave instructions in mother tongue to the subjects to tell him or her all the color terms they knew in their mother tongue and as the colors were mentioned, the researcher wrote down their responses. A similar method was used on KPP colours where the KIIs filled checklists on KPP colours the only difference being the use of English as opposed to mother tongue.

Another study on Damara, a South African language was done by Davies and Cobert (2004) where nine subjects from Damara language did a color listing and naming task. Since a pilot study had shown that the language had a lot of borrowed terms from English, Afrikaans and other Bantu languages, students were

also used as samples to establish how educational system impacts color-term system. This was done to prove that a language colour system was in transition as proposed by Harden and Maffi, (2001).

Among the Setswana, Davies and Corbet discovered that the language had particular color terms for cattle and what is interesting is the fact that the terms were sex determined. Feminine color terms were diminutive. An interesting fact about Setswana that also obtains for this study is that it does not follow the B and K's hierarchy.

Testing materials for Setswana were selected from 65 color samples from Color Aid Corporation (CAC) which were based on the Ostwald Color Solid (OSC). However this study avoids the WCS by proposing the national colour observation as key to KPP colouring.

Payne's (2006) study of East African Maasai color and a design term reveals that the language is rich in color and design terms are descriptive. There are about thirty complex design terms used to describe cattle and what is similar to Setswana is the lack for a term denoting 'blue', for the same reason-there are no blue cattle. The study of Tugen design terms will delve on these intricate terms, give translations in English and the terms from which color and designs colors are derived.

A study of Pama-Nyungan Languages of Australia by Wallace, C and Bower, C. (2012) shows results that agree in general to the recent proposed hierarchy of color term acquisition but with notable differences. Terms used to denote color in some cases may refer to lightness or darkness or state of things. For example, in Darkinyung, one of the languages, 'black' refers to 'darkness' or 'night.'

Lindsey, D., Brown, A. and Caldwell, E. (2015) did a study of Hadza a language in Tanzania. They developed a new approach to understand the evolution of color terms. The colors used were from WCS and it was discovered that saturation had been ignored in previous research on color typology. They did a similar study on Somali against English subject and the result showed that variation of saturation predicted the cross cultural regularities in color naming rather than universal constraint.

Figure 1: Original B & K Evolutionary Sequence of Color Term Development

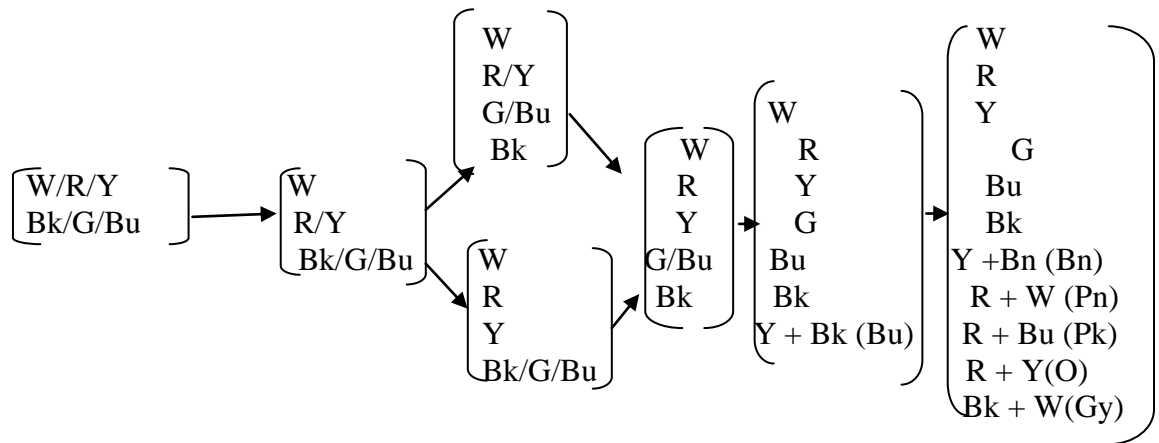
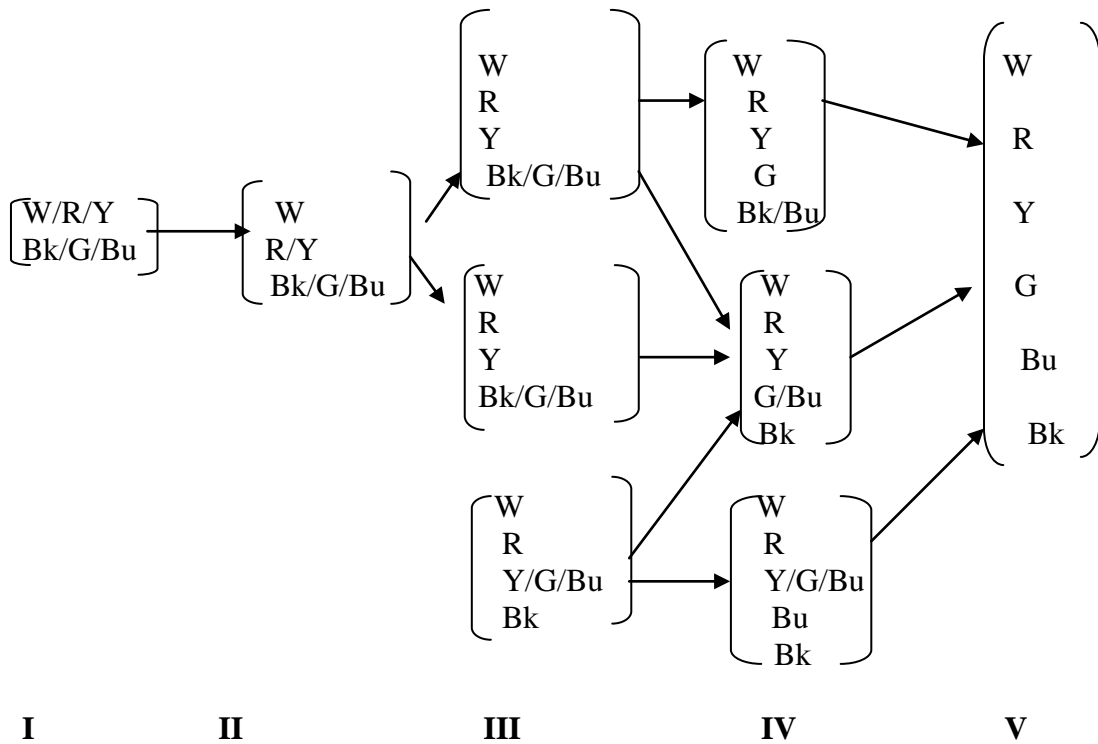


Figure 1: Original B & K Evolutionary Sequence of Color Term Development



Furthermore a recent study of 110 non industrial societies by Jameson and D' Andrade (2015) shows that the best examples given for color terms in these languages fall in a range of the English prototypes: black, red, green and blue. This study was done in reaction to that of Berinno, of Papua New Guinea where Roberson, Davies and Davidoff, (2000) insisted that color categories were a function of cultural experience and loosely constrained by the default of neutral organization. The national-state colour observation proposes that political parties will borrow their colours from a pool of state colour and whether or not it falls in a range of the English prototypes is an item for further research.

2.1.9 Semantics

Jurafsky & Martin (2009:527) introduces the notion that meaning of linguistic utterances can be captured in formal structures called meaning representations. Meaning representations play a role analogous to that of the phonological, morphological, and syntactic representations.

Furthermore Jurafsky & Martin (2009:648) consider the notion of a *semantic field* is an attempt to capture a more integrated, or holistic relationship among entire set of words from a single domain. Example: the following set of words is extracted from the ATIS corpus: price, meal, buy, *reservation*, *cost*, *flight*, *travel*, *plane*, *rates*, *fare*. They are clearly all defined with respect to a coherent chunk of common sense background information concerning air travel. Though individual lexical relations do exist between many lexemes in this list, however they do not add up to a complete account of how these lexemes are related. Akmajian, (2001) observes that a general and intuitive description is that words in a semantic field are not synonymous, but are all used to talk about the same general phenomenon. According to the semantic field theory, 'a meaning of a word is dependent partly on its relation to other words in the same conceptual area' (Hintikka, 1994). The kinds of semantic fields vary from culture to culture and anthropologists use them to study belief systems and reasoning across cultural groups (Akmajian, 2001:239). The semantic field of a given word shifts over time. Further, semantics shifts of loaned words may lead to complications. This study investigated the semantic fields' and semantic shifts phenomena in Kenyan political party names and symbols and ascertained the semantic field shifts over time.

O'Grady (2005:234-235) states the study of semantics is concerned with a broad range of phenomena, including the nature of meaning (connotation-associations, denotation-referents, extensions, intensions, and componential analysis), the role of the syntactic structure in the interpretation of sentences, and the effects of pragmatics in the understanding of utterances. Although much remains to be done in each of these areas, work in recent years has at least begun to identify the types of *relations* (such as semantic relations among words-synonymy, antonyms, polysemy and homophony-which creates lexical ambiguity and semantic relations involving sentences-paraphrase, entailment, and contradiction), *mechanisms* and *principles* involved in understanding of language. These include the notions of *extension* and *intension* in the case of word meaning, thematic roles in the case of NPs, the *c-command* in the case of pronouns. Other factors known to be involved in utterance interpretation include *constructional meaning*, the speakers and hearers' background beliefs (as manifested, for example, in *presuppositions*), the context provided by setting of *discourse*, and the *maxims* associated with *cognitive principle*.

The choice of the lexis (words) and a study in semiotics (signs) is noteworthy. Halliday (1978:43) views the lexicon as "the most delicate grammar". Poyton (1989:50) singles out vocabulary (lexis) of language as the most obvious repository of meaning. She emphasizes that lexis is the most accessible part of the language to those not trained as linguists and that lexis conveys meaning. She further asserts that other parts are less obvious ways in which lexical meaning is reinforced in the grammar of a language. She explains thus:

"What lexis does is to name activities or attributes or processes, people, and things associated with those activities or processes, and characteristics or attributes of those

activities or processes, people and things in ways that are culturally salient” (Poyton, 1989:50).

Lock (1996:267) talks of a language as a resource for communication, or in Halliday’s terminology, language as “meaning potential” (Halliday, 1973). Within this perspective, grammar is seen as a network of interrelated systems. Each system contains a set of options from which the speaker selects according to the meaning he or she wishes to make. The selection the speaker makes from a number of systems are realized simultaneously by grammatical items organized into structures, words, (names, sentences, phrases etc.)

Leech (1976:5, 9) concerned himself with the study of meaning. The study of meaning should be free from subservience of other disciplines e.g. syntax, phonology, morphology etc. The search for an explanation of linguistic (semantic) phenomena in terms of what is not language (semantics) is as vain as “the search of an exit from a room, which has no doors or windows, for the word “explanation” itself implies a statement of language...” (Leech, 1976:9)

Bloomfield (1973:27) notes that when something unimportant turns out to be closely connected with more important things, we say it has a “meaning”. Namely it “means” these important things. Accordingly, we say that speech utterance, trivial and unimportant in itself, is important because it has ‘a meaning’. The meaning consists of the important things to which the speech – utterance is connected.

Leech (1973:39-40) looks at meaning in the restricted sense of ‘cognitive’, ‘logical’ or ‘denotative’ meaning. The cognitive meaning of an utterance or a text is part of its total significance, but how important that part is, depends very much on the

communicative situations, which may include everything, that is communicated or only a small part of the entire communication.

Hoffman (1995) is skeptical whether meaning really exists. He argues that what we need for the study of meaning is some methods of observing it, for we cannot discover or know how it works; nor hope to control it, unless we can tell what it is in most circumstances. More specifically, he states, “the content of a single word is the concept that it associates with form and expression.”

Yule (1998:114) suggests that in a semantic analysis, there is an attempt to focus on what words (names) conventionally mean, rather than what the speaker might want the words to mean on a particular occasion. This technical approach to meaning emphasizes the objective and the general. It avoids the subjective and the local. Linguistic semantics deals with the conventional meaning conveyed by the use of words and sentences of a language. When linguists investigate the meaning of words, in a language, they are normally interested in the conceptual meaning and less concerned with the associative or stylistic meaning of words.

Although Wittgenstein (1953) began from a very mechanistic theory of language, he went to the opposite extreme in arguing that a word has no meaning other than how it is used. This view tries to confine the meaning of a word (name) to its context. Ziff (1960) restricted the ‘usage’ of a word to what other words it can be used with; but this was roundly criticized in linguistic circles for being too simple, with scholars such as Yule (1998) terming it as subjective and local.

Accordingly, Ronnie (1994) states that semantics should study aspects of meaning encoded in linguistic expressions that are independent of their use on particular occasions by particular individuals within the speech community. Therefore, the

‘word’ carries meaning even though the term is ambiguous in everyday English. For Lyons (1984), the connection between the words, then, arbitrariness of this kind has both advantages and disadvantages. Although it makes the system more flexible and adaptable, it also makes it difficult and laborious to learn. It is Chomsky’s (1965) view that human beings are genetically endowed with knowledge of the alleged arbitrary general principles, which determine the grammatical (word) structure of all languages.

As Stevick (1976) put it, that by speech we design great bridges and fight wars, we express our deep feelings and our spiritual aspirations and even set forth our most subtle linguistic themes. Indeed, we normally expect to influence ones thinking and the greatest light upon it is thrown by the study of language and more specifically the lexical choices (KPP names) made. Proper definition and interpretation of what is said is important in socializing a person linguistically and individually to be able to participate effectively in development activities and other changes around him for his own benefit and the community as a whole. A question then arises, “Can one, at least initially go about a job without reference to the ways in which words are used?” Strawson (in Snook 1972:163) answers when he says “the reliance upon a close examination of actual use of words is the best, and indeed the only sure way in philosophy” and language (own addition). To this end, examining the KPP names, slogans and symbols, called for a detailed semantic analysis and a proper interpretation of the research data.

2.1.10 Onomastics

Anthropological linguists have generated a lot of data on Naming patterns and Name meanings as espoused in local or native-African Languages. Such studies by

Malande (2012, 2011 & 2006), Batoma (2009), Légere (2008 & 2004), Agyekum (2006), Guma (2001), etc. have largely looked at people, plant and place names. Bright (2003), defines Onomastics, as the study of proper names, that has been of concern to many branches of scholarship, including philosophy and history. Bright applied the viewpoints of anthropological linguistics, to study personal names and place names among North American Indians. He raised questions as to whether terms which embody a description can be considered proper names. Grammatical peculiarities of place names were also considered, and examples were given from Karuk (California), Creek (Oklahoma), and Nahuatl (Mexico). However, when one reads his discussion of place name origins, one finds the persistent bit of folklore that the meaning of words is, on some essential level, to be found in their histories, rather than in their use. This missing socio-functional component of naming is aptly examined and covered in this KPP Thesis.

Bussmann (1996) defines onomastics as the scientific investigation of the origin, the meaning, and geographical distribution of names. He looks at the Onomastics sub-disciplines such as Anthroponymy (study of personal names), Hydronymy (study of names of bodies of water), and Typonymy (study of geographical place-names), among the oldest and most transparent linguistic forms, that are an important source of hypothesis about the history of language, dialect, geography and language families. He looks at names as a semantically defined class of nouns that unequivocally identifies objects and states of affairs within a given context. However, he leaves it open to debate on whether proper names have meaning and how they differ from generic names and (definite) descriptions. While this research agrees in principle with his views on categorizing nouns dependent on use-context, it

goes further to explain how such nouns-KPP names may be structurally manipulated to achieve desirable political goals.

Malande (2011 and 2006) observes that names have got meanings that can be studied both denotatively and connotatively and that some names have positive and or negative attributes. He further presents a sense relation framework amongst some Lulogooli personal names. Malande credits several factors for name formation namely: history, human or made activities, natural occurrences-seasons, and lastly morpho-semantics-the interplay between semantics and morphology. He posits that morphology builds the personal name on which semantics confers a socially negotiated meaning. Such name formation processes aren't deliberate since most names are passed-on from one generation to another. His study exercised The Generative Morphology and semiotics theories in name formation. Malande (2006) proposed further research on non-agglutinative names and in cases where name formation is done without considering genealogies/inheritance. Whereas Malande looked at Lulogooli personal names, this research studied Vernacular, English and Kiswahili KPP names, their symbols, their colours and their slogans. How these tools are linguistically manipulated by politicians in order to rally masses is also under study hence filling the Malande (2006) gap.

Pine (1965) suggests that surnames fall into four classes namely patronymics, place names, occupation and nicknames. He advocates for a systematic and scientific study of the subject. Camden (1870) divided names into Christian names, allusions, rebus or name - devices and anagrams. The study of Christian names does not have a considerable bearing on the meaning of patronymic surnames. Much of his work on

surnames has lasted to this day, but in some instances he relied on a critical acceptance of the legendary meaning of a name.

The study of Christian names is very important in dealing with KPP. The book on the subject is ‘The Oxford Dictionary English of Christian Names’, compiled by E.G Withycombe (1945). The book documents a thousand Christian names. Bussmann (1996) defines Onomastics as the scientific investigation of the origin (development, age, and etymology), the meaning, and geographical distribution of names. He looks at the Onomastics sub-disciplines such as Anthroponymy (study of personal names), Hydronymy (study of names of bodies of water), and Typonymy (study of geographical place-names), among the oldest and most transparent linguistic forms, that are an important source of hypothesis about the history of language, dialect, geography and language families. He looks at names as a semantically defined class of nouns that unequivocally identifies objects and states of affairs within a given context. However, he leaves it open to debate on whether proper names have meaning and how they differ from generic names and (definite) descriptions.

According to Cruse (1985:145) in his article on semantics, since we can use language to talk about things in the world around us, there is obviously a connection of some sort between words (names) or expressions and things they can be used to refer to (name).

Equally obvious is the fact that there is some kind of mental conception of things in our world and that they are linked both to the words in a language and to the things themselves. The meaning of a word is the concept of the image associated with it. Hence, many words (names) have power to evoke images and feelings in a hearer beyond what is directly sanctioned by the descriptive and/or expressive meaning.

This study investigates, apart from denotative meaning of selected connotative meaning if any.

In agreement with Cruse, Crystal (1994:114) presents a study on place names and personal names (onomastics). By use of toponomastics/ anthroponymy (study of personal names) and typonymy (study of place names); he looks at a name as a word or a phrase that identifies a specific person, place or something. We see the entity as an individual and not a member of a class: Kilimanjaro, for example, is a unique name (proper noun) whereas mountain refers to a whole class of objects (a common noun). Thus, the names people give to their surroundings, provides unique information about a society's beliefs, history, and values. There are so many aspects of a country's development that achieve linguistic recognition in its place names. Although, a Crystal's study on Tektonymy and patronymics in Britain, China, German, Russia and Arab world is an excellent read, his view that the origin of a name is of little value in the study of naming trends is contestable because from the study origin of a name depends on naming.

The meaning of names is "as old as humanity itself". Adam, the first biblical man, is recorded by New International Version Bible (1984) as having given or assigned names to animals, beasts and vegetation. He went ahead to assign name "woman" to Eve his companion. 'Woman' simply means 'created out of man.' The NIV (1984:239) classifies prominent Bible characters, complete with the meaning of their names. Examples:-

- a) 'Enoch' means 'dedicated' – the man who walked with God.
- b) 'Abraham' means 'father of the multitude'.
- c) 'Isaac' means, 'laughter' – the long looked for son.

d) 'Deborah' means a 'bee', the patriotic woman.

Karl Auerbach (Cavebear.com), while writing on thoughts on Internet naming systems states that there is proof of successful parallel global name spaces even though communities often establish their own naming spaces. Therefore global correlation in names is possible. He gives an example of 'Rose', which can be realized in Spanish, French, Japanese, and German etc. and so on as rose, roes, Rosa, Rosas' respectively. Auerbach believes that every name must attain either universal validity or universal invalidity i.e. if it should be accepted by its day -to -day users before it is fully admitted as a personal name.

Fromkin (1988:187) thought that words other than proper names have meaning which can be used to refer to objects. The German philosopher and Mathematician Gottlob Frege made a distinction between reference of a word, which is the object designated, and the sense of the word, which is the additional meaning. "Giving names to things is an act that often reveals linguistic creativity although naming children is more conventional and language provides a stock of personal names" (Fromkin, 1988:187).

Naming is part of a people's culture and cultural texts do not have literal (denotative) meanings only. To this end Billington (1991) states that language is a system of a code of signs, a sign for something, which stands for—a symbol of something else. For signs to be recognized, a group must share their meaning because the connections between the signs and objects and ideas, which they signify, are arbitrary.

In expressing a case for a study of Bantu (African) languages, Finnegan (1983) suggests that a detailed study and knowledge of a particular language may serve to

illustrate better than mere assertion the kinds of factors that can be involved in the constant interplay in many African languages in its linguistic and literary features. For an account meaning of words having dissimilar parts, Putnam (1975) proposed that it has three parts, but with the notion that, it is part structural and part experimental.

Mbiti (1999) observes that nearly all African names have a meaning which corresponds to family names (ties), seasons, days of the week, time of the day, natural phenomena etc. and so on. Shillington (1995) states that even names of languages have meanings and are symbolic, the name ‘Swahili’ means literary ‘people of the coast’, ‘Bantu’ simply means ‘person’ etc. and so on. The Dictionary of First Names (2004) gives a comprehensive list in easy to use A–Z order of over 3,000 names of boys and girls. The book provides a comprehensive list of names from around the world, with their derivations and meanings to help one make a right choice. “The choice of a right name for a new baby is an important one a child’s life can be made miserable by an inappropriate or misapplied name” Geddes (2004). By applying the literature reviewed above, this study established that KPP names, symbols, slogans and colours have both denotative and connotative-associative meanings.

2.1.11 Noun phrase and The X-bar syntax

This theory was used to analyse the syntactic structure of the KPP names. The views of Chomsky (1995), Crystal (1997), Culicover and Jackendoff (2005), Hudson (1990) and Matthews (2007) have been used to discuss the Concept of Noun phrase and the X-Bar Theory. A nominal phrase or noun phrase (NP) is a phrase that has its head an indefinite pronoun or noun. An NP mostly functions as: objects, subjects, predicative

expressions and the complements of prepositions. NPs can be embedded inside each other; for instance, the NP *some of his constituents* contains the shorter NP *his constituents*. In some more modern theories of grammar, noun phrases with determiners are analyzed as having the determiner as the head of the phrase. Some examples of NPs are underlined in the sentences below. The head noun appears in bold.

- An eleventh-hour **meeting** is annoying to many **executives**.
- Nearly every **neighbourhood** has at least one palm wine **tree**.
- Kenyan high energy **prices** may be a **result** of the new fuel tax.

Noun phrases can be identified by the possibility of pronoun substitution, as is illustrated in the examples below.

- a) An eleventh-hour **meeting** is annoying to many **executives**.

It is annoying to **them**

- b) Nearly every **neighbourhood** has at least one palm wine **tree**.

It has **it**

- c) Kenyan high energy **prices** may be a **result** of the new fuel tax.

It may be **it**

A string of words that can be replaced by a single pronoun without rendering the sentence grammatically unacceptable is a noun phrase. As to whether the string must contain at least two words, see the following section. Traditionally, a phrase is understood to contain two or more words. Traditionally, progression follows word>phrase>clause pattern.

Under X-bar theory many single words are judged to be phrases based on a desire for theory-internal consistency. A phrase is deemed to be a word or a combination of words that appears in a set syntactic position, for instance in subject position or object position. In the sentences given below, nouns and pronouns-which are NPs-are written in bold:

- ❖ **She** saw **it**.
- ❖ **Sin** is **evil**.
- ❖ **He** was glued on **his new television set**.

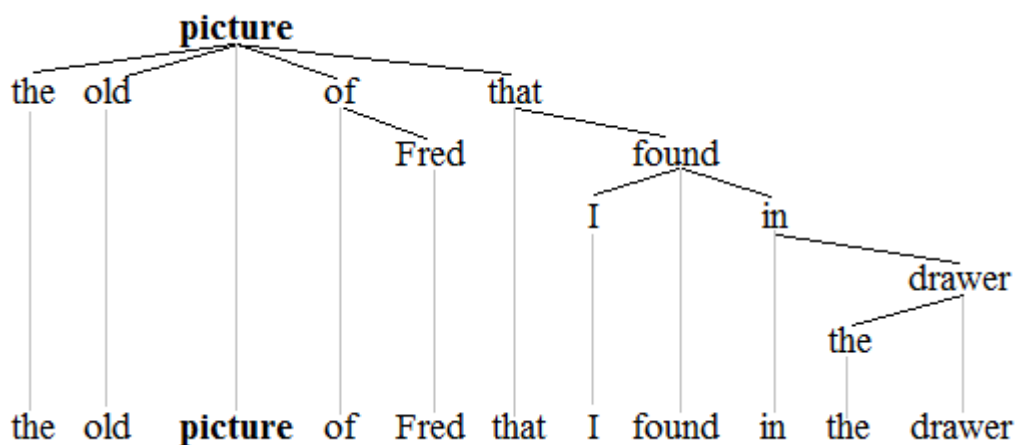
The words in bold are called phrases since they appear in the syntactic positions where multiple-word phrases (i.e. traditional phrases) can appear. This practice takes the constellation to be primitive rather than the words themselves. *He* functions as a pronoun, but within the sentence it also functions as a NP. A typical noun phrase consists of a noun (the head of the phrase) together with zero or more dependents of various types. (These dependents, since they modify a noun, are called *adnominal*.)

The chief types of these dependents are:

- determiners, such as *an, that, a few, any, Ann's*
- attributive adjectives, such as *small, cute, clever*
- adjective phrases and participial phrases, such as *extremely large, hard as nails, made of black, sitting on the step*
- noun adjuncts, such as *university* in the noun phrase *the university professor*
- nouns in certain oblique cases, in languages which have them, such as German *des Mannes* ("of the man"; genitive form)
- prepositional phrases, such as *in the dining room, of her cousin*

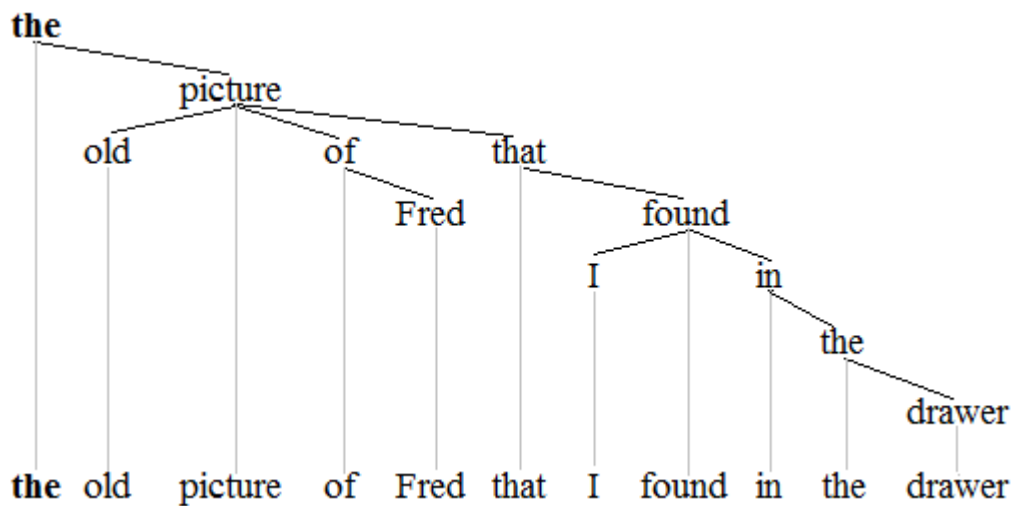
- adnominal adverbs and adverbials, such as *(over) there* in the noun phrase *all (over) the place*
- relative clauses, such as *who ran mad*,
- other clauses serving as complements to the noun, such as *that Paris is great*, in the noun phrase *the myth that Paris is great*
- Infinitive phrases, such as *to run smart* and *to win* in the noun phrases *a desire to run smart* and *the game to win*.

In the original X-bar theory, the two respective types of entity are called noun phrase (NP) and N-bar (N, N'). Thus in the sentence *there is the new car*, both *car* and *new car* are N-bars, while *the new car* is a noun phrase. In the sentence *I admire new cars*, both *cars* and *new cars* are N-bars, but *new cars* also functions as a noun phrase (in this case without an explicit determiner). For some modern syntactic theorists, determiner *the* (which may be null) is head of the phrase called *determiner phrases* (DP). Thus, what we called "noun phrases" is no longer considered to be headed by a noun. (In some accounts that take this approach, the constituent lacking the determiner – that called N-bar above – may be referred to as a noun phrase.)



The head noun *picture* has the four dependents *the*, *old*, *of Fred*, and *that I found in the drawer*. The tree shows how the lighter dependents appear as pre-dependents (preceding their head) and the heavier ones as post-dependents (following their head).

The second tree assumes the DP hypothesis, namely that determiners rather than nouns serve as phrase heads.



The determiner *the* is now depicted as the head of the entire phrase, thus making the phrase a determiner phrase. Note that there is still a noun phrase present (*old picture of Fred that I found in the drawer*) but this phrase is below the determiner.

This study employs analysis of the tenets of the X-bar theory and the literatures reviewed above in the analysis of syntactic structure of KPP names.

The Gap

All the reviewed literatures were discussed pointing out their relevance and importance to this study. We need point out their limits which in themselves constitute the gaps this research fills. Significantly, no linguistic study has been done

on KPP names, symbols, colours and slogans with a view of unearthing their morphonology (KPP abbreviations), structure-syntax, semantics, sociolinguistics (code mixing), political discourse, etc.

2.2.0 Theoretical Framework

The study required both a social-political theory and an array of linguistic theories. The study, granted its broad orientation, anchored on elaborate theoretical frameworks. Generally, the Critical Discourse Analysis theory (CDA) as it applies on Political Discourse Analysis (PDA), The Symbolic Interaction Theory (SIT), Semantic Field Theory (SFT) and The Semiotic Theory (ST). Other significant frameworks include: the Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model, The speech act theory, The revised B and K universal theory, The Whorfian linguistics relativity theory and The X- bar theory. All these theories are discussed in the section (below) pointing out their application in the analysis of KPP names, KPP symbols, KPP colours and KPP slogans.

2.2.1 Symbolic Interaction Theory

The three core principles of symbolic Interactionism are; meaning, language and thought. Humans do not react to anything without interacting with it and interpreting it thus the meaning principle. Meaning is a tool with which we can better negotiate and maximize the interrelationship between individuals and the society. Since communication includes gestures, more often than not, intentions may also be misinterpreted and yield to conflict. Accordingly, problems arise when parties involved place different interpretations on the same event. Instead, humans make interpretation first and action, words and gestures then respond on the basis of those interpretation. Usually we are not conscious that the meanings we assign objects,

people and settings make our encounters understandable and shape our reactions. The second core principle is language as a source of meaning. Meanings arise out of social interaction people have with each other and in our ability to name things, including names and arbitrary signs. It is through communication that meanings are shared to enable people adapt to their societies. Thought as last principle is the process of taking the role of the other. An individual's interpretation of symbols is modified by his or her own thought process; described as inner conversion/minding. By imagining the reaction of others and not acting in the ways likely to produce adverse reactions that would interrupt cooperation group endeavours, individuals keep their own behaviour in line. The formation of self and society is a cyclical process where the mind, self and society keep interacting. We communicate and ascribe meaning to objects, KPP, animals, people and places in order to achieve social identity. It is through this adaptation that the individuals exist in the society and are shaped by it. Symbolic interactionism asks how people define reality. In particular, they focus on how people make sense of the world, on how they experience and define what others are doing, and on how they influence and are influenced by one another. Symbolic interactionism maintains that, people must share a symbol (KPP name, slogan, colour and symbol) if they are to communicate with one another. Consequently we learn meanings from others, we organize our lives around those meanings, and the meanings are the objects to change depending on situations hence variations in human behaviour. Towards this end, the study applied the Symbolic interaction Theory in the analysis of KPP names, their symbols and slogans deciphering how politicians and their gullible voters communicated and ascribed meaning to KPP symbols, KPP names, KPP slogans and KPP colours in order to achieve social identity.

2.2.2 Critical Discourse Analysis

Research in Critical Discourse Analysis with aspect of power, domination and social inequality have involved Gender inequality, media discourse, political discourse, ethnocentrism, nationalism, and racism. This research confined itself within Political discourse Analysis. Political discourse analysis studies political text and talk, i.e. communicative acts which have “a direct functional role as a form of political action in the political process” (van Dijk 1997) and which are performed by political actors, mostly but not only “professional politicians such as presidents and prime ministers and other members of government, parliament or political parties” (van Dijk 1997). One of the principal goals of political discourse analysis, according to Wilson (2001), is to identify the many ways in which language can be used or manipulated by political actors to produce specific effects in the political realm. This, in Kenyan case, may be achieved by manipulating lexical items (such as KPP names, symbols and slogans) to galvanise voters along ethnic voting blocs complete with names, slogans and symbols associated with certain regional vocabulary. Van Dijk (1997) laid an ‘integrated approach’ which this study adopts) went beyond a purely language-based analysis of the speeches (slogans-mine) in so far as it also examined the functionality of the observed discursive practices in their wider political context. Linguistic choices on the syntactic level of language can be covert operations, i.e. operations that might go unnoticed by the listener or reader because they “lie beneath the threshold of consciousness” (Butt 2004). Choices on the lexical level of language, on the other hand, tend to be more or less overt operations, in the sense that they rarely go fully unnoticed by the listener or reader since they lie above the threshold of consciousness. Both overt and covert operations, however, can be used to political effect, and exert the desired influence on public opinion. Words with

positive connotations are used to describe the in-group and its qualities whereas words with negative connotations evoke the out-group and its supposed shortcomings and faults. These antonymous lexical sets are often made up of “moral value vocabulary” (see Chilton 2004). These words help to establish a dichotomy between a moral we versus an immoral them. Antonyms are therefore used where one group expresses itself the extreme end opposite of the other. Indeed, language and the quasi infinite number of linguistic choices it offers political actors among the rules and components of its levels allows for the expression of differing and even opposing worldviews and values. In this study, I considered these ideas while analyzing the linguistic strategies at the syntactic, lexical and semantic levels and the attendant political discourses employed by Kenyan politicians’ while crafting, designing, creating and choosing KPP names and KPP slogans. These involve code mixing (like in Shirikisho Party), manipulation of phrase structures, word order distortions to share a name (like in ODM and ODM-K, FORD-Asili and FORD Kenya), onomatopoeia, alliteration, assonance, manipulation of content and functional words, manipulation of abbreviations (The National Alliance party is abbreviated as TNA) , etc.

2.2.3 Semiotics Theory

Semiotics Theory as espoused by Martin & Ringham (2000:1-13) guides us through this study. The term semiotics is derived from the Greek word *semeton* denoting 'sign'. Already in the seventeenth century, the philosopher John Locke referred to *semtottfea*, which he defined as 'the Doctrine of Signs; the business whereof, is to consider the Nature of Signs, the Mind makes use of for the understanding of Things, or conveying its Knowledge to others. In modern usage the concept semiotics refers to

a theory of signification. Semiotics, in fact, has a much wider aim: the theory purports to explore the generation of signification, any signification, not only that of the written word, meaning in all its guises and to its full extent. Semiotics thus covers all disciplines and signifying systems as well as social practices and signifying procedures. Dobrovolsky (2005:557-559) states communication relies on using something to stand for something else. Words are obvious examples of this. Each of these things that stand for other things is technically known as a sign. The sign consists of two parts: a signifier-be it a word, a scent, a gesture, or an electrical frequency-and the signified-something that exists in the real world and that is mentally represented by a sign's conceptual content. Because they are conceptual all signs are associated with a meaning, such as 'danger' or 'item of furniture with legs and a flat top.' Individual instances of signs are called *tokens*. For example, in the sentence *the politician bribed the voter*, there are five word tokens but only four signs; *the* occurs twice as a token, but it is the same sign in both instances. Dobrovolsky (2005) calls the study of signs *semiotics* with links diverse links to disciplines such as: linguistics, anthropology, philosophy, zoology, genetics, literary study, and computer science. An understanding of signs is essential for understanding how messages are transmitted. Dobrovolsky (2005) divides signs into three basic types depending on:

- a) Whether the signifier naturally resembles its referent
- b) Whether the signifier is directly linked with referent in a physical or mechanical sense
- c) Whether signifier and the referent are arbitrary associated

Types of signs	Characteristics	Example of sign	Example of referent
Iconic sign	Resembles its referent	Photograph	Things in the photo
		Onomatopoeic words	Actual sounds
Indexical sign	Points out referent by partial representation	Animal tracks	Animal
Symptomatic sign	Involuntarily shows inner state of sender	Spontaneous cry of pain	Pain
Symbolic sign	Bears arbitrary relationship to referent	Most words	Things words refer to

We humans use signs (names, slogans and symbols) just like animals do, though with considerably more elaboration. We stop at RED lights and go on green; we answer calls and bells, watch the sky for coming storms, and read trouble or promise in each other's eyes. A sign is therefore, anything that announces the existence or the imminence of some event, the presence of a thing or a person or a change in the state of affairs. In every case, a sign is closely bound up with something to be noted or expected in experience.

KPP names, KPP slogans, KPP colours and KPP symbols are studied as meaningful semiotics signs. Semiotics Theory therefore enables us to ascribe and decipher both denotative and associative meanings inherent in KPP names, KPP slogans, KPP colours and KPP symbols.

2.2.4 Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model

The MLF model for mixed code data analysis was developed by Myers-Scotton (1993a/1997). The term matrix refers to the language in which the majority of morphemes in a given conversation occur. The languages from which material enters a matrix language are referred to as embedded. Central to MLF theory is the idea that content (often nouns, verbs, etc.) and system (articles, inflections etc.) morphemes in the embedded language are accessed differently by the matrix language. The concern of MLF is with the basis for distinguishing which singly occurring embedded language lexemes are borrowings from those that are code switches, in light of the fact that both borrowed and code switched forms behave the same way morpho-syntactically in the matrix language. Myers-Scotton's MLF model posits structural constraints which account for both borrowings and code switches. Particularly important here is the point that code switching and borrowing should not be seen as distinct processes. Myers-Scotton explores four hypotheses. Among them is the hypothesis that matrix language + embedded language [EL] constituents conform to the morpheme order of the matrix language and, in ML + EL constituents, articles and inflections (system morphemes with non-lexical information) come from the matrix language. Another hypothesis proposed, the Blocking Hypothesis, holds that EL content morphemes that are not congruent with stored lemmas (lexical information in a mental lexicon) is blocked from appearing in ML + EL constituents. Embedded

language forms which cannot be accounted for by the blocking hypothesis are subject to an embedded language trigger hypothesis. And, finally, an E1 Hierarchy Hypothesis predicts that peripheral and formulaic embedded language constituents may occur with relative freedom in a matrix language. Myers-Scotton's model based on these hypotheses provides a principled basis for considering both borrowing and code switching Processes to be part of a single continuum to core borrowings to actual instances of code switching. These four MLF hypotheses have been extensively applied in the analysis of KPP mixed code data. Linguistic and political (discourse) motivations behind the use of code mixing have been discussed in chapter 4.

2.2.5 Berlin and Kay's universality and The Sapir-Whorf's linguistic relativity

This KPP colour study is based on Berlin and Kay's universality and Sapir-Whorf's linguistic relativity theories with their recent modifications. The original B and K's universality theory was proposed in 1969. It was instituted to counter the claim that language influenced thought (Relativity theory). The theory states that all languages have BCTs and the maximum number are eleven (11) as in English examples which include white, black, red, green, yellow, blue, brown, pink, orange, purple, and grey. It also laid down conditions for a colour to be termed as basic:

- a) The terms had to be monolexic, for example green but not light or dark green.
- b) It should not be included in that range of color e.g. crimson is a type of red.
- c) Their use should be used in a wide range of objects e.g. blonde is not basic because it is restricted to hair.
- d) The terms had to be agreed on by most speakers of the language.

B and K also observed that languages developed colour terms in seven stages and followed a certain hierarchy. The theory further revealed that all languages started encoding colour terms from black and white, then red as it went on to the seventh stage. This hierarchy is better known as the evolutionary sequence and is in order. The revised version of the universal theory's main argument is that for a colour to be basic it has to be general and salient and that categorization of basic colours should be based on how they are used and not their origin. On the other hand, the linguistic relatively theory's main argument is that language is unique, thus colour terms are language specific. It is notable that the argument about colour terminology based on the universality and linguistic relatively theory has been in existence since 19th century. The debate has never settled the question of 'basicness' in color science. Earlier studies challenged B and K's Universalist theory as some language failed to fulfill the requirements for a colour to be termed basic and there seemed to be variation in number of the proposed BCTs and language's stages in acquisition of these terms. We present the Berlin and Kay theory (1969) and developments to this theory by Kay and McDaniel (1978) alongside the opposing view (Saunders 2000). In 1969 Brent Berlin and Paul Kay devised their seminal theory of colour universals that proved the existence of semantic universals in colour vocabulary. Even more importantly, this theory also mapped out the evolutionary development of colour terms for all languages (1969:7). Berlin and Kay collected experimental data from 20 languages using native speakers of these languages. They extracted the basic colour terms of a language and then mapped these terms to a chart of fully saturated color chips (1969: 5). Berlin and Kay performed two conceptual maneuvers that allowed them to overcome the problems caused by large variation in the number of colour terms used in different languages and the seeming irregularity of colour space which

a colour term represented (1969). Berlin and Kay used very strict criteria to define a basic colour term (1969:9). They also focused their research on the foci of colors where consensus on a colour term was the highest (1969: 10).

By limiting the field of study with these maneuvers, Berlin and Kay were able to discover a very limited and universal set of colour terms in all languages that they studied. They found out that all languages drew their colour terms from a set of only eleven colour categories, and that the foci of these colour terms were same for all languages (1969:2). They also found that all languages acquired their basic colour terms in a fixed sequence of seven evolutionary stages (1969:14). If a language encoded a colour, all colours from the previous stages had to be encoded (1969:14). Kay and McDaniel (1978) further developed the original 1969 theory by incorporating the study of perceptual physiology to explain the universality of basic color categories. Fuzzy set theory and the formalism of fuzzy logic were used to explain the way in which languages acquired their basic color terms. As a result of these developments, Kay and McDaniel (1978: 639) mapped out an improved model of colour term acquisition where the different stages resulted from fuzzy unions and fuzzy intersections of primary basic colour categories. These primary basic colour categories are derived from a three-cone system in the retina (1978: 618-626). Barbara Saunders contests the theory of universal colour categories and basic colour terms common to all languages in her paper "Revisiting basic colour terms" (2000). She (2000) proposes that Berlin and Kay only worked against the Whorfian hypothesis of linguistic relativity in their experimental practice. She claims that the Berlin and Kay study was constructed in a way which made results seem self-evident when they were deduced from prior commitments and that research techniques were

effaced and data "cleaned" (Saunders 2000). Finally, she declares that the Berlin and Kay thesis is built on layers of mistakes which produce misinterpretations of both colour science and intercultural relations. Saunders (2000) bases her attack on the Berlin and Kay theory on the fact that they concentrated only on the foci of colors leaving the boundaries untouched. Berlin and Kay stated (1969:2) that this was necessary in order to gain insight on the common characteristics of colour terms. Saunders (2000) believes that this decision was done because Berlin and Kay needed to contest the Whorfian hypotheses and the only possible way to do this was to oversimplify the field of study. She proposes that this maneuver is the underlying cause for errors made in the experiments and the wrong deduction of Berlin and Kay and others who refined their original thesis. Saunders (2000) does not believe in the Kay and McDaniel addition of fuzzy set theory, but cites other researchers from the 1970's who used different approaches to colour term study and who managed to create "natural" boundaries in colour space. She also attacks (2000) the tests Berlin and Kay performed using fully saturated Munsell color chips. She states (2000) that the chips are culturally biased and that responses to these chips are crude and cannot be used as a basis for thesis or to support theories. Saunders is clearly leading an attack against basic color terms. She is a strong supporter of the relativist view and considers the color universals as threatening the cultural diversity of our planet. She bases her strong arguments in the methodological decisions that Berlin and Kay made when formulating their theory. She tries to find fault in these decisions. Although Saunders (2000) boasts an impressive list of references, she fails to provide justification for the key claims she is making. When Saunders (2000) contests the decision to concentrate on the foci of colour terms, the only researchers she finds to back her claims are from the same era as the original Berlin and Kay theory. She

dismisses the additions made by Kay and McDaniel (1978), which provide a more recent and logically sound solution in the form of fuzzy boundaries. Although her other claim of colour chip experiments being crude has merit, we do not believe that this crudeness is prohibitive for making observations. Furthermore, Saunders does not back her other claim of the Munsell colour chips as being culturally biased in any way.

Lindsey, D., Brown, A. and Caldwell, E. (2015) did a study of Hadza a language in Tanzania. He and his colleagues developed a new approach to understand the evolution of colour terms. The colours used were from WCS and it was discovered that saturation had been ignored in previous research on colour typology.

They did a similar study on Somali against English subject and the result showed that variation of saturation predicted the cross cultural regularities in colour naming rather than universal constraint. Their study proposed that the question about evolution of colour terms was still open until regularities across languages were revealed with unbiased stimuli. The Berlin and Kay theory has endured for more than 30 years in the scientific community. It has been adopted in linguistics and in colour category research; even Saunders (2000) acknowledges this. The theory of colour universals has not only endured because of the fraternal spirit of mutual embrace in the scientific community as Saunders bitterly claims (2000). The theory of basic colour terms is on solid ground and latest research has not refuted its stance, rather refined the original idea and gained new insight on the mechanisms underlying our colour perception. Saunders seems a cultural relativist who wishes to keep universality at an arm's length. She does not, however, make a compelling case in refuting the universality of colour categories. The basic colour terms have stood their

test. Due to several criticisms, a lot of modifications have been done on the theory. Later revisions by Kay, Berlin and Maffi, (2000), have loosened the constraints on basicness and typology. Consideration is made for languages with fewer colour terms and identified as having Compositae Categories (CC). CC which refers to categories subsumed in other colour terms. Another significant development of the theory is by Maffi (1991) who proposes that basic colour terms should be general and salient. General means the ability for the term to be used for a wide range of objects and salient means that the colour term should be common among speakers of that language.

The notion that colour terminology is culturally influenced as borrowed from the Whorfian hypothesis that language influenced thought brought the belief that speakers of a language created colour categories for themselves and used terms particular to their language. The study uses the two theories in a bid to merge aspects of both. Modifications of both theories seem to suggest that there can be a position that recognizes that KPP have similarity in colour typology but there are a few exceptions to universalism. That KPP colours are culturally determined and largely drawn from a small set of national colours of red, green, white and black. This accounts for language relativism.

2.2.6 Semantic Field Theory

The study applies Semantic Field Theory (SFT) in analysis of KPP names and KPP symbols. The origin of SFT is the lexical field theory by Jost Trier in 1930s. The theory was greatly influenced by Saussure's structuralism and German idealism. It has developed both historically and conceptually. Its original idea according to Lyons

(1977) is from Humboldt and Herder in the mid-1920s. The theory was first proposed by German and Swiss linguists such as Trier, Porzig, Ipsen, Weisgerber.

Trier's theory of semantic field opened a new chapter in the history of semantics. It demonstrates vocabulary organization on the paradigmatic level and paradigmatic relations between words such as hyponymy, synonymy and antonymy. The basic assumption of this theory is that the system is unsteady and changes constantly i.e. lexemes are not fixed, they can disappear and new ones appear. Fields are realities which are midway between individual words and the whole vocabulary. Since the vocabulary of a language is semantically related, we are not supposed to study the semantic change of individual words in isolation, but study vocabulary as an integrated system. Lexemes are interrelated in sense, so we can only determine the connotation of a word by analyzing and comparing its semantic relation with other words. A word is meaningful only in its own semantic field.

Trier distinguishes conceptual and lexical fields. The conceptual field exists independently of the lexical field. The lexical field is formed by a word and its conceptual corresponds to the entirety of the conceptual field. A word alone has no meaning but acquires one through neighboring words in the pattern.

Trier's general tenets include;

- a) Meaning of a lexeme is dependent on its neighbors or lexeme in the same domain. If something happens to the meaning of one lexeme it automatically influences the meaning of neighboring lexeme.
- b) Vocabulary of a language is an integrated system of lexemes which are interrelated in meaning.

- c) Lexical items are very orderly without gaps or overlaps in the system, like a mosaic, lexemes disappear and new ones appear.
- d) Behind every semantic field there is a conceptual field. There is a concept behind every lexeme, when concepts change in our heads so the meaning of a lexeme.

However Triers field is rigid and limited in structure. In reality boundaries between lexemes and field are not so rigid. Porzig further criticized Trier for defining the field by extra linguistic means where he excludes syntagmatic relations.

Porzig develops a theory of semantic field based on the relations between pairs of syntagmatically related lexemes. He finds certain essential semantic relationships between verbs and nouns or between adjectives and nouns. For example, 'to nod' presupposes the head and 'to see' presupposes the eyes, that is, one can nod with the head only, but can do many other things with the head. These relationships form articulation of meaning system and therefore Porzig calls them elementary semantic fields. However Porzig's field is conceived as primitive concrete situations linguistically designed.

Weigerber regards the linguistic field as reality. According to him, the language influences the members of a speech community by means of the field. The significance of a word exists only in the field, and our concept of the word is exclusively determine by these fields. He explains the relationship between the linguistic and extra linguistic. However Ullmann (1957) asserts that Wersgerber overemphasizes the intellectual side of language when he describes it as a social form of knowledge and the intellectual shaping of the word.

Lyons (1977) defines semantic field as word related in any sense also called lexical category. He emphasized the distinction between semantic fields and semantic network. Meaning is therefore field dependent. Lyons (1977) suggests that words in a semantic field though not synonymous are to explain about some general phenomenon. He brings out the presence of paradigmatic relations within SFT. He observes that the sense of every lexeme can be analyzed in terms of a set of more general sense components or semantic feature, some or all of which will be common to several different lexemes in the vocabulary.

Mei (1987) says that the core of SFT is to analyze the relationship between genus and species of lexical semantics. It suggests that the words of a language system are related with each other and form a complete lexical field system. In this system certain words could form a semantic field under a common concept, for instance, under the concept of furniture represents the genus i.e. general concept while desk, chair, bed, cupboard and table represent species or specific concept. In short semantic field is a combination of a group of words that interact, dominate, distinguish and depend on each other. The semantic range of combination is called the field range of the semantic field.

Kittay (1990) came up with the Semantic Field Theory of Metaphor. This is based on the idea that the items in a semantic field have specific relations of a field by mapping them on to the existing relations of another field.

Trask (1997) refers to semantic field as a lexical field theory which is the study of word meanings that shows the way such meanings are related within a particular area of the vocabulary, for instance, cooking terms include boil, roast, steam and fry. This is called a semantic field. Semantic fields are hierarchical and can be observed from

top to bottom. The higher level of a semantic field is more general and the lower more specific. For instance;

Season→ Year→ Month→ Week→ Day→ Hour→ Minute→ Second→ Micro-
Second

Anderson (1990) identifies the traditional usage of Semantic Field Theory as having been used for comparing the lexical structure of different language and different states of the same language.

Brinton (2000) defines semantic field as words which share a common property also called semantic domain. He relates it to the concept of hyponymy, whereby the semantic field of a word is included within another word. Brinton (2000) further claims that semantic field varies from one culture group to another.

Zhou (2001) calls a semantic field lexical field or domain. This refers to the combination of a bunch of words with interrelating meanings and under the same concept. It has two fold of meaning; words dominated under a certain concept, combined to form a semantic field. This may be represented by a super ordinate, while the semantic field is form either hyponyms or semantic features. For example, under a common concept of colour; green, red, purple, interact with each other orange, black and white could be a semantic field. Furthermore, words belonging to the same semantic field, aside from being semantically related they also interact with each other, that is, when checking the meaning of a word, first compare the semantic meaning of the other words under the same semantic field.

For Murphy and Koskela (2010), semantic fields organise words into a system which shows their relationship. In addition, words that are semantically related, whether syntagmatically or paradigmatically, are said to belong to the same semantic field.

The SFT was found relevant and appropriate to this study. Using the views presented above, this study grouped KPP names and KPP symbols into semantic fields showing their relationships to each other by grouping them from common concepts or general items to specific items.

2.2.7 X-Bar Theory

X-bar theory was first proposed by Noam Chomsky (1970), building on Zellig Harris's 1951 approach to categories, and further developed by Ray Jackendoff (1977). X-bar theory was incorporated into both transformational and non-transformational theories of syntax, including GB, GPSG, LFG, and HPSG.

X-bar theory is a theory of syntactic category formation. It embodies two independent claims: one, that phrases may contain intermediate constituents projected from a head X; and two, that this system of projected constituency may be common to more than one category (e.g., N, V, A, P, etc.). The letter X is used to signify an arbitrary lexical category (part of speech); when analyzing a specific utterance, specific categories are assigned. Thus, the X may become an N for noun, a V for verb, an A for adjective, or a P for preposition.

The term X-bar is derived from the notation representing this structure. Certain structures are represented by X (an X with a bar over it) often written as X' or X1. In English, however, this is still read as "X bar". The notation XP stands for X phrase,

and is at the equivalent level of X-bar-bar (X with a double over bar), written X'' or X_2 , usually read aloud as X double bar.

There are three "syntax assembly" rules which form the basis of X-bar theory. These rules can be expressed in English, as immediate dominance rules for natural language (useful for example for programmers in the field of natural language processing), or visually as parse trees. All three representations as:

An X Phrase consists of an optional specifier and an X-bar, in any order.

One kind of X-bar consists of an X-bar and an adjunct, in either order.

Another kind of X-bar consists of an X (the head of the phrase) and any number of complements (possibly zero), in any order.

The rules might be combined to form a generic XP structure. Because the rules are recursive, there are infinite number of possible structures that could be generated, including smaller trees that omit optional parts, structures with multiple complements, and additional layers of XPs and X's of various types. Because all of the rules allow combination in any order, the left-right position of the branches at any point may be reversed from what is shown in the example. However, in any given language, usually only one handedness for each rule is observed. The above example maps naturally onto the left-to-right phrase order used in English. Note that a complement-containing X' may be distinguished from an adjunct-containing X' by the fact that the complement has an X (head) as a sibling, whereas an adjunct has X-bar as a sibling.

The word *the* is a determiner (specifically an article), which at first was believed to be a type of specifier for nouns. The head is the determiner (D) which projects into a

determiner phrase (DP or DetP). The word *cat* is the noun phrase (NP) which acts as the complement of the determiner phrase. More recently, it has been suggested that *D* is the head of the noun phrase. [4]

Note that branches with empty specifiers, adjuncts, complements, and heads are often omitted, to reduce visual clutter. The DetP and NP above have no adjuncts or complements, so they end up being very linear. In English, specifiers precede the X-bar that contains the head. Thus, determiners always precede their nouns if they are in the same noun phrase. Other languages use different word order.

The linguistic study of KPP names applies the X-bar theories tenets in the analysis of KPP names. KPP names are proper nouns hence NPs. X-bar theory enabled the researcher to identify the headword and the other elements of KPP NP (name). X-Bar tenets were also called upon in unearthing the linguistic manipulations in the creation of KPP abbreviations.

2.2.8 Speech Act Theory

Speech Act Theory (SAT) was formulated by the philosophers Austin and Searle. The essential insight of speech act theory is that language performs communicative acts. The hypothesis that the speech act is the basic unit of communication, taken together with the principle of expressibility [whatever can be meant can be said], suggests that there are a series of analytic connections between the notion of speech acts, what the speaker means, what the sentence (or other linguistic element) uttered means, what the speaker intends, what the hearer understands, and what the rules governing the linguistic elements are. Speech act theory is therefore concerned with what people 'do' with language i.e. with the functions of language. Language can be used for speech acts because people share rules that create acts: utterances 'count as'

successful and non-defective performances of speech acts when they fulfill certain conditions. This flexibility has an important analytical consequence: it means that a single sequence of utterances may actually be the outcome of a fairly wide range of different underlying functional relationships. This study exposes such flexibilities in KPP slogans. Furthermore, Speech Act Theory's (SAT) approaches to discourse ideas are borrowed in the examination of KPP slogans bringing out their semantic and political functions.

2.3 Conclusion

We have literature review on methodology, code mixing, code switching, theoretical framework, MLF, semantics, sense relations, semantic fields, political parties, symbols, slogans, colour, Onomastics (names), noun phrases, theories and political discourse. All the reviewed literatures were discussed with the researcher pointing out their relevance and importance to the study. After every literature review, the study pointed out their shortcoming which in themselves constituted the gaps this research fills.

An elaborate theoretical framework was applied. CDA-PDA dealt with political discourse in KPP tools. Secondly, the Symbolic interaction Theory (SIT) and The Semiotic Theory (ST) analysed the semantics obtainable in KPP tools. Thirdly, code mixing (mixed code data) is analysed using Myers-Scotton (1992), Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model. Fourthly, the revised B and K universal theory and Whorfian Linguistics relatively theory took care of KPP colour spread, use and deployment. Fifthly, the X-bar theory examined the KPP name structure as a noun phrase. Sixth, the Semantic field theory grouped and analysed KPP names and KPP symbols into semantic fields. Seventh, Speech Act Theory's (SAT) approaches to discourse ideas

are borrowed in the examination of KPP slogans bringing out their types, linguistic design, semantic and political functions. Finally, SIT and ST helped decipher on how politicians and their gullible voters think, communicate, negotiate, share and ascribe meaning to KPP tools with SIT particularly helpful in analysing the attitude of voters towards KPP tools. In terms of application, CDA-PD, SIT, ST and SFT are the major theories closely.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter presents the methodology employed in the linguistic study of Kenyan political party names, symbols, colours and slogans. It touches on aspects of methodology that guided and directed the study design, data collection, sampling, data presentation and data analysis.

3.1 Research Design

The research used a mixed approach employing both the qualitative and quantitative methods in data collection and analysis. A mixed method, according to Dornyei (2011:19-20) is 'a more constructive approach and a new and vigorously growing branch of 'research methodology, involving the combined use of qualitative and quantitative methods with the hope of offering the best of both worlds.' The mixed method does not hold rigidly to a single paradigm or set of assumptions, but instead draws upon multiple theories, styles, or ideas to gain complementary insights into a subject. It also applies different theories in particular cases.

An important aspect of qualitative method is the role of subjectivity. It was therefore important to look at overall purpose of data collection and analysis in choice of a design. Here the purpose was not to formulate a theory. The research intended to identify, highlight and analyse the linguistic resources at play in the creation and selection of KPP tools within the identified theories. Had it been done using introspection or intuition of the researcher (whose contribution in the scientific enterprise is wrot with bias) there would have been possibility for error. This is because what may count as KPP semantics, structure, code mix or manipulation to the

researcher may not for the next analyst. Quantitative method was used in recording the frequencies in the interpretation of selected KPP tools and in calculation of what linguistic resource or conceptual structure had what representation. In the context of this research, mixed method availed qualitative and quantitative data whose analysis was anchored on several theories.

3.2 The Study Area

The study area is Kenya with respondents being sampled in Nairobi County. Several reasons can be advanced for this choice. To begin with, Nairobi County has a populace that is diverse in ages, sexes, ethnic, racial, socio-economic and educational backgrounds all of whom represent the true face of Kenya. A majority of these respondents originate from different parts of the Kenya thus offering the best available Kenyan voters granted Sobania (2003) observation that Kenya is a land rich in cultural and ethnic diversity. There is not one Kenya, but many Kenya. Secondly, Nairobi is familiar to the researcher, having lived and studied there for his higher education. This enabled the researcher to select the sample and ease any tension that could arise in the informants by building confidence among them as one of them. Thirdly, there is no significant linguistic difference among the inhabitants/speakers as competence in national-official languages was found adequate. “Thus the variety of English and Kiswahili (languages) spoken by the informants’ location are insignificant variables in the study” (Kebeya, 1997).

3.3.0 Sample and sampling techniques

Convenience and Judgmental Non probability sampling procedures were detailed to select both the 12 KIIs (Key Informants Interviews) and 10 FDGs (Focus Discussion Group) for the research that constituted the research sample. Milroy (1987) suggests

the use of an in-depth linguistic investigation using a small number of reliable speakers (respondents). Adequate data was given more preference to large numbers of informants granted that a KPP tool would maintain its name, symbol, colour and slogan regardless the sample size. To this end, the researcher avoided people who could be marginal to the voting community, and could thus convey inaccurate or incomplete information “thus interfere with the acceptance of the researcher by other members of the group” (Saville –Troike, 1997). The data collected from these informants were analysed and generalized to reflect the view of the Kenyan voter. Our population sample is presented below in form of FDG and KII.

3.3.1 Focus Discussion Group (FDG)

The researcher, using Convenience Non probability sampling procedure, selected 10 sophomores from Kenyatta University’s linguistics class to form a focus discussion group. The characteristics underlying the sample were: They must be students, be eligible to vote in Kenya, and must have already been exposed to introductory courses in linguistics. The ten respondents gathered for a few hours with the researcher to talk about linguistic manipulation, political discourses, code mixes, structure and semantics within the KPPs. The meeting was held in a pleasant place to create a relaxed environment. The researcher strove to display objectivity, knowledge of the subject, and some understanding of group dynamics and behaviour. The researcher started with a broad question before moving to more specific issues, encouraging open and easy discussion to bring out true feelings and thoughts. At the same time, the researcher focused the discussion to the themes being studied. Data on KPP name, symbols, slogans and colours was subjected to them inform of tables and checklists. The respondents filled tables and checklists indicating linguistic manipulation,

denotative and connotative meanings, sense relations and code mixes during the unstructured interviewing sessions. Focus Group Interviewing was preferred because it is rapidly becoming one of the major research tools towards understanding people's thoughts and feelings.

3.3.2 Key Informants Interviews (KII)

Using judgmental Non probability sampling procedures the researcher selected 12 respondents coming from different parts of Kenya (see appendix on Respondents profile and responses). Milroy and Gordon (2003:33) asserts "in most cases, judgment sampling is appropriate in linguistic work; and specifically advocates for quota sampling whereby the researcher deliberately focuses on including some predetermined relevant characteristics of the population in the sample." The KIIs were subjected to personal interviews; with their responses captured in tables and checklists. Seventeen (17) questions developed from carefully selected or identified issues of utmost relevance to the subject under investigation were posed to each respondent. The researcher and his assistants provided the respondents with adequate time in a relaxed environment constantly offering clarification or even repeating, rephrasing and explaining questions whenever such was required. The data generated from these 12 interviews has been discussed and analysed in the chapters ahead.

3.4.0 Methods of Data collection

Personal interviews, archival method and observation collected quantitative and qualitative data for this research. Below we describe how each method was applied:

3.4.1 Personal Interviewing

Due to its flexibility, personal interviewing collected large amounts data from the respondents. The KIIs were subjected to personal interviews with each facing seventeen (17) questions. In the process of interviewing, both quantitative and qualitative data on KPP names, KPP slogans, KPP colours, and KPP symbols were obtained from the respondents' (informants) using lists (listing). The researcher and his assistants held the respondent's attention and were available to clarify any difficult questions. Interviews enabled the researcher and his assistants guide the interviewees, explore emerging issues, and to probe as each situation required. Personal interviews were applied in varying degree to the three kinds of respondents identified in 3.3 above.

3.4.2 Archival Method

The archival method alternatively called content analysis or document review involved describing data that existed before the time of the study. Data on KPP names, slogans, colours, and symbols were sourced from the Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC), the Registrar of Political Parties (RPP) and from copies of the Kenya Gazette. Those lists, containing names of all KPP formed or in existence between 1963 and 2015 and the respondents data constituted our data. The RPP regulates affairs of KPP while the IEBC keeps a record of all KPP for the means of conducting General and or by-elections. A part from independent candidates, every other election candidate must be sponsored by a registered political party. The Kenya Gazette, on the other hand, keeps archives of official Government records (such as KPPs) that have been in existence on or before the creation of IEBC and (RPP). Additional data was sourced from newspaper cuttings, bulletins, party emblems,

internet sources, books, and news-video clips, etc. Due to the KPP volatile and mutative nature (break-ups and death, build-ups-coalitions), this research decided to sample all 118 available KPPs. Whereas data on KPP names and KPP symbols was and still is easily available, data on KPP colour and KPP slogans were hard to come by thus necessitating a relatively smaller but adequate sample size when compared to that of KPP names and KPP symbols. In other words, this data was not generated as part of the study. It was advantageous in that it not only cut on costs and time but it also somewhat minimized the problem of reactivity for the data had already been collected and the researcher didn't have to interact with the participants (political party officials) in any way. Archival information, which constituted secondary data, was sourced from books, internet sources, IEBC General Election's reports, civil Society, elections monitors' reports, both print-newspaper cuttings-and electronic media, etc. This method enabled us to get some KPP tools without necessarily visiting any political offices. Archival method filled the supplemented and even filled the gaps when it came to respondents listings. Finally it provided the most undisputed and concrete lists on the number of KPP.

3.4.3 Observation

It involved gathering data by the researcher's own direct observation of relevant people, actions and situations without asking the respondent directly. This observation yielded information which respondents were normally unwilling or unable to provide. The types of Observation that were applied included: Structured, Unstructured, Participant Observation, disguised observation and Non- participant observation. Field notebooks were used to record any relevant observations in the field, as part of qualitative primary data. The researcher effectively briefed research assistants on

what to look out for. It was applied in all the personal interviews conducted and was found most effective on the 12 KIIs while collecting data on attitudes of voters towards KPPs.

3.5 Data Analysis

Data analysis was conducted using both the qualitative and quantitative data analysis procedures. For quantitative data, the statistical package for social scientists (SPSS) and Microsoft Excel 2010 programs processed and analysed the field data. Independent and dependent variable relationships were established and presented in descriptive statistics (graphs, pie charts, tables, and percentages). Qualitative data was subjected to content analysis. The researcher identified the main themes (KPP structure, KPP semantics, KPP manipulations, etc.), then assigned codes to those main themes, went ahead to clarify responses under such main themes and integrated those themes and responses in to the text of the report. Notably, data on code mixing, a significant feature in KPP names, was analysed using Myers-Scotton (1993a/1997), Matrix Language Frame (MLF) Model. Each of the mixed code data languages- Kiswahili and English-were given codes dependent on the intrasentential code mix under investigation i.e. Kiswahili and English alternated as embedded language (EL) and Matrix Language (ML) within the ML and EL dichotomy. After analysis, the KPP data collected were subjected to content analysis and on that basis, authoritative conclusions or scientifically valid statements and generalisations were made.

3.6 Data Management and Ethical Considerations

The researcher sought a research permit from the National Council for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). The researcher then visited and reported to officers at the IEBC, The Registrar of political parties, The Nairobi County

Commissioner, The Nairobi County Education Director, The national archives, various University Libraries, and other relevant bodies for permission to collect data (from their libraries). The researcher then sampled respondents (KIIs and FDGs) who interrogated these data using checklists and tables under well supervised interviews. Efforts were made to grow the confidence in the respondents thus making them contribute freely and voluntarily. All respondents were informed of their rights and the confidentiality of the information related to their participation. The completed checklists and tables were collected immediately after each session. In this research, the data and the informants' identity is held in confidence with information being used solely for purposes intended. A copy of findings will also be made available to any willing institution on request. Finally, the researcher has acknowledged all literature cited in the study to avoid cases of plagiarism.

3.7 Conclusion

The study employed a mixed methods approach which entailed both qualitative and quantitative data obtained from respondents obtained using the Non probability samples. Personal interviewing, KII, FGD, observation and Archival methods are applied as tools for collecting both primary and secondary data. Data analysis is done using the MS-Excel 2010, Matrix language frame (MLF), SPSS, and content analysis. The whole research process adhered to informants' confidentiality, to responsible data management and to the highest degree of ethical (considerations) standards.

CHAPTER FOUR

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS IN KPP NAMES

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on KPP names linguistic structure, semantic fields and sense relations. It also examines political (discourse) and linguistic manipulations as captured in KPP name choice, KPP abbreviation deployment, mixed code KPP name design and meanings (semantics).

4.1.0 Presentation of data on KPP names

The KPP data below has 118 KPP names as generated from a document review of the Kenya Gazette dated November 9, 2007, The 2015 IEBC and the 2015 Registrar of Political Parties lists of registered parties. This list of 118 KPP names constitutes the core resource for our engagement in this chapter.

Agano Party

Alliance for Real Change

Allied Democratic Party of Kenya

Amani National Congress

Chama Cha Majimbo na Mwanganza

Chama Cha Mwananchi

Chama Cha Uma party

Chama Cha Uzalendo

Citizen Democratic Party of Kenya

Commonwealth Development Party of Kenya

Communal Democracy Party of Kenya

Community Development Party of Kenya
Congress of Democrats
Daraja Ya Wakenya party
Democratic Assistant Party
Democratic Community Party
Democratic Labour Party of Kenya
Democratic Party of Kenya
Democratic Reformation Party of Kenya
Democratic Representative Party
Farmers Party
Federal party of Kenya
Forum for Orange Democratic Change
Forum for Republican Party
Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD ASILI)
Forum for Restoration of Democracy for the People
Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD-KENYA)
Freedom Party of Kenya
Generation Alliance Party of Kenya
Grand National Union
Green African party
Growth and Development Party
Jubilee Peoples Party of Kenya
Kenya African Democratic Development Party
Kenya African Development Democratic union Asili
Kenya African National Union

Kenya Alliance for National Unity Party

Kenya Cultural Alliance

Kenya National Congress

Kenya National Democratic Alliance

Kenya National Liberation Party

Kenya Nationalist Peoples Democratic Party

Kenya Patriotic Trust Party

Kenya People's Convention Party of Kenya

Kenya Republican Reformation Party

Kenya Social Congress

Kenya Union of National Alliance of Peace

Labour Party of Kenya

Liberal Democratic Movement

Liberal Democratic Party

Mass Party of Kenya

Mazingira Greens Party of Kenya

Mkenya Solidarity Movement

Moral Integrity Party

Movement for Democratic Advancement Party of Kenya

Muungano Party

Mzalendo Saba Saba Party

NARC Kenya

National Agenda Party of Kenya

National Alliance Party of Kenya

National Conservative Party of Kenya

National Democratic Alliance

National Dynamic Development Party

National Integrity Party

National Labour Party

National Liberation Party

National Party of Kenya

National Progressive Party

National Rainbow Coalition

National Revival party

National Star Party of Kenya

New Aspiration Party of Kenya

New Democrats

New FORD Kenya

New KANU Alliance Party of Kenya

New Peoples Democratic Party

New Revival Generation Party

Orange Democratic Movement Party of Kenya (Wiper Democratic Movement-Kenya)

Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya

Pambazuka Party of Kenya

Pan African Assemblies

Party of Action

Party of Democratic Unity

Party of Independent candidate of Kenya

Party of National Unity

People's Patriotic Party of Kenya
Peoples Democratic Party
Peoples Party of Kenya
Progressive Party of Kenya
Reform Party of Kenya
Republican Alliance Party of Kenya
Republican Congress Party of Kenya
Republican Liberty Party
Republican Party of Kenya
Restoration Democrats of Kenya
Restore and Build Kenya
Saba Saba Asili Party
Safina Party
Shirikisho Party of Kenya
Sisi Kwa Sisi Party
Sisi Kwa Sisi Party of Kenya
Social Democratic Party of Kenya
Social Party for Advancement and Reforms-Kenya
Social Peoples Party and Congress
The Independent Party
The Jubilee Party
The National alliance
The National Vision Party
The Nuru Party of Kenya
The Peoples Solidarity Union of Kenya

United Democratic Front party

United Democratic Movement

United Democrats of Peace and Integrity In Kenya

United Peoples Party

United Republican party

Unity Party of Kenya

Universal Democratic Party of Kenya

VIPA Progressive Alliance

Wakulima Party of Kenya (formerly United Agriparty)

4.2.0 The semantics of KPP names

This section looks at the semantic relationship between or within KPP names. We look at KPP names as semantic fields and sense relations.

4.2.1 The semantic field of KPP names

This section categorises KPP names into semantic fields by borrowing a formula from Malande (2011&2006), O'Grady (2005), Akmajian, (2001) and Jurafsky and Martin (2009) as ably presented in section 2.1.9. Significantly, these semantic fields are constructed within the tenets of Semantic Field Theory (SFT) with an attempt to capture a more integrated, or holistic relationship among entire set of words from a single domain noting that a given word (name) shifts fields over time. Meaning relations in KPP names coalesce in the following semantic fields:

❖ Farming activities

- ✓ Farmers Party
- ✓ Wakulima Party of Kenya (formerly United Agriparty)

❖ Environmental activities

- ✓ Mazingira Greens Party of Kenya
- ✓ Green African party

❖ People/ Citizenry connotations

- ✓ Citizen Democratic Party of Kenya
- ✓ New Peoples Democratic Party
- ✓ Peoples Democratic Party
- ✓ Daraja Ya Wakenya party
- ✓ Chama Cha Uma party

- ✓ Peoples Patriotic Party of Kenya
- ✓ Chama Cha Mwananchi
- ✓ Kenya People's Convention Party of Kenya
- ✓ People's Patriotic Party of Kenya

❖ **Social-political movements or Forums for Social Change connotations**

- ✓ Kenya Social Congress
- ✓ Sisi Kwa Sisi Party
- ✓ Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD ASILI)
- ✓ Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD-KENYA)
- ✓ Social Party for Advancement and Reforms-Kenya
- ✓ Progressive Party of Kenya
- ✓ Restore and Build Kenya
- ✓ The Nuru Party of Kenya
- ✓ Alliance for Real Change
- ✓ National Rainbow Coalition
- ✓ Growth and Development Party
- ✓ National Revival party
- ✓ New FORD Kenya
- ✓ National Progressive Party
- ✓ Forum for Restoration of Democracy for the People
- ✓ The Independent Party
- ✓ Movement for Democratic Advancement Party of Kenya
- ✓ Pambazuka Party of Kenya
- ✓ Social Peoples Party and Congress

- ✓ VIPA Progressive Alliance
- ✓ Kifagio Party of Kenya
- ✓ Labour Party of Kenya
- ✓ Reform Party of Kenya
- ✓ Democratic Reformation Party of Kenya
- ✓ Freedom Party of Kenya
- ✓ New Aspiration Party of Kenya
- ✓ Democratic Labour Party of Kenya
- ✓ National Star Party of Kenya
- ✓ Party of Independent candidate of Kenya
- ✓ National Labour Party
- ✓ Kenya National Liberation Party
- ✓ NARC Kenya
- ✓ Moral Integrity Party
- ✓ Forum for Orange Democratic Change
- ✓ Saba Saba Asili Party
- ✓ Party Of Action
- ✓ The Independent Party
- ✓ Kenya Social Congress
- ✓ Orange Democratic Movement Party of Kenya
- ✓ Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya
- ✓ National Integrity Party
- ✓ New Revival Generation Party
- ✓ Liberal Democratic Movement
- ✓ National Dynamic Development Party

❖ National Unity or Patriotism connotations

- ✓ Kenya African National Union
- ✓ Kenya Alliance for National Unity Party
- ✓ Community Development Party of Kenya
- ✓ National Democratic Alliance
- ✓ Mass Party of Kenya
- ✓ Kenya National Democratic Alliance
- ✓ National Party of Kenya
- ✓ Communal Democracy Party of Kenya
- ✓ Universal Democratic Party of Kenya
- ✓ National Agenda Party of Kenya
- ✓ Kenya National Democratic Alliance
- ✓ National Party of Kenya
- ✓ Party of Democratic Unity
- ✓ United Democratic Movement
- ✓ Grand National Union
- ✓ The National Vision Party
- ✓ Muungano Party
- ✓ Chama Cha Uzalendo
- ✓ Mkenya Solidarity Movement
- ✓ Kenya Cultural Alliance
- ✓ Jubilee Peoples Party of Kenya
- ✓ Kenya Nationalist Peoples Democratic Party

- ✓ United Peoples Party
- ✓ Sisi Kwa Sisi Party of Kenya
- ✓ Unity Party of Kenya
- ✓ Party of National Unity
- ✓ National Liberation Party
- ✓ The Peoples Solidarity Union of Kenya
- ✓ Peoples Party of Kenya
- ✓ Mzalendo Saba Saba Party
- ✓ Pan African Assemblies
- ✓ Chama Cha Uzalendo (CCM)
- ✓ Kenya National Congress
- ✓ United Democrats of Peace and Integrity In Kenya
- ✓ National Conservative Party of Kenya
- ✓ Generation Alliance Party of Kenya
- ✓ Party of National Unity
- ✓ New Kanu Alliance Party of Kenya
- ✓ National Alliance Party of Kenya
- ✓ Allied Democratic Party of Kenya
- ✓ Kenya Patriotic Trust Party
- ✓ Kenya Union of National Alliance Of Peace

❖ **Democracy/Democratic denotations**

- ✓ Democratic Assistant Party
- ✓ New Democrats
- ✓ Kenya African Democratic Development Party

- ✓ Social Democratic Party of Kenya
- ✓ Democratic Representative Party
- ✓ Congress of Democrats
- ✓ Maendeleo Democratic Party
- ✓ Restoration Democrats of Kenya
- ✓ Democratic Party of Kenya
- ✓ Democratic Community Party
- ✓ Peoples Democratic Party
- ✓ Liberal Democratic Party
- ✓ Wiper Democratic Movement-Kenya

❖ **Religious connotations**

- ✓ Agano Party
- ✓ Safina Party

❖ **Regionalism-Majimbiosm connotations**

- ✓ Chama Cha Majimbo na Mwanganza
- ✓ Kenya African democratic union Asili
- ✓ Shirikisho Party of Kenya

❖ **Republicanism Connotations**

- ✓ Republic Party of Kenya
- ✓ Republican Liberty Party
- ✓ Kenya Republican Reformation Party
- ✓ Forum for Republican Party
- ✓ Republican Alliance Party of Kenya

- ✓ Commonwealth Development Party of Kenya
- ✓ Republican Congress Party of Kenya
- ✓ Federal party of Kenya

4.2.2 KPP Name as a sense relation

O'Grady (2005) observes the study of semantics is concerned with a broad range of phenomena, including the nature and types of meaning-semantic *relations* such as semantic (sense) relations among words-synonymy, antonyms, polysemy and homophony-which creates lexical ambiguity and semantic relations involving sentences-paraphrase, entailment and contradiction, mechanisms and principles involved in understanding of language. They include notions of *extension* and *intension* in the case of word meaning, thematic roles in NPs.

The sense relations that obtain in KPP names include: antonym, synonym, hyponymy and meronymy. They are discussed below with examples of prevalence cited.

The terms **hyponymy** and **hyperonymy** both refer to the KPP that have semantic-meaning inclusion comprising the general-mother KPP alternatively called hyperonym/ hypernym/ superordinate and the specific-daughter KPP called hyponym or subordinate. KPP daughters (hyponyms) that share a mother (hyperonym) are called co-hyponyms because they share the same hierarchy or same sense relation level. In simple terms this is a loose political alliance in which the individual KPP maintain their identity and party structures-this is an alliance or coalition arrangement.

Examples:

- ✓ The original 1992 FORD (superordinate) movement broke into two daughters (subordinates) FORD-Asili and FORD-Kenya. These two parties existed as co-hyponyms that operated at the same level. FORD-Kenya later splintered

into SAFINA, NDP, SDP and New FORD-Kenya (NFK) whereas FORD Asili gave birth to Saba Saba Asili Party and even later Mzalendo Saba Saba Party, etc. Whereas FORD-Asili and FORD-Kenya are co-hyponyms and exist within the same hierarchical taxonomy, their daughters and granddaughters do not share the same.

- ✓ In 2013 general elections we had two major alliances comprising CORD and JUBILEE. The two were superordinate. Jubilee subordinates included TNA, URP, RP and NARC. But for all intents and purposes TNA and URP appeared to operate at a higher hierarchy. For CORD, the subordinate were represented by 3 principals representing three parties ODM, WDM and FORD-Kenya. In theory they operate at same level but in practice the taxonomical rank has ODM, WDM and FORD-Kenya occurring in that order.
- ✓ NAK (a superordinate) was formed in 2001 as a coalition alliance comprising DP, SDP and FORD-Kenya as subordinates operating as co-hyponyms. Later NAK joined LDP and they formed NARC in a meronym relationship. When NARC became ineffective and moribund, her daughters LDP and NAK alongside her but interestingly, DP, SDP and FORD-Kenya maintained their individual party status.

Names that appear in an antonymous relationship (Antonyms), or oppositeness of meaning is a common feature in Kenyan politics which (as they say time and again) is always a two-horse race between those who call themselves change advocates (opposition) against those representing status quo (government) ie the KPP appear to be on opposite sides because one would be the ruling party and the other for the opposition. Notwithstanding, it's important to note that such differences can be

studied as a linguistic feature of antonyms. Caution is necessary granted this relationship might obtain both semantically or ideologically. In every other Kenyan General Elections, the two wings occur in a polar relationship of *us vs. them*.

Examples:

- ✓ In 1963 we had KANU vs. KADU
- ✓ In 2002 we had NARC vs. KANU
- ✓ In 2007 we had ODM vs. PNU
- ✓ In 2013 we had CORD alliance vs. JUBILEE alliance

NOTE: ODM and ODM-K appeared more of complimentary antonyms in 2007 after having ideologically split from the superordinate ODM movement

Meronymy is *has* and *is a part of* sense relation. The whole is called meronym whereas holonyms are one of the part of the whole. But this relation is integral and not a loose *can do without* kind of relationship. The parts are inseparable from the whole and cant exists on their own. In the case of KPP, this is a fixed political alliance in which (the individual) KPP lose their individual party identity and party structures and work for the whole-it's a unitary system. Such occurrences have been a regular occurrence on Kenyan political scene where parties by decree of law, manifestoes or pronouncements at National Delegates Conferences dissolve to form mega unions. KADU dissolved and joined KANU immediately after independence in 1964. The word out there was a merger between KANU and KADU (both holonym) in which the super KANU (meronym) was formed with KADU technically dissolving. In 2001, the same case obtained when NDP and KANU merged to form the Grand union again with the name KANU. In 2002, in the lead up to a general election two giant opposition wings NAK and LDP-themselves alliances- signed a memorandum of understanding to merge and create the meronym National Rainbow Coalition

(NARC). In the cases cited above any attempts by a member to pull out these relationships has only resulted in a weakened meronym; never once has the holonym been strengthened nor re-established as an independent party using the same names. That is the sad story of KADU, NDP, LDP and NAK who had to move out and construct new KPP when they felt the meronymous relationships couldn't stand any longer.

Synonymy is a relationship of semantic identities, which has the same range of meanings and is substitutable for each other in all relevant contexts without changing the meaning of the sentence as a whole. We have such cases of synonymy in KPP granted the constant name changes. Example

- United Agriparty changed its name to Wakulima Party of Kenya
- NPK transformed to NARC
- ODM-K rebranded to WDM

4.3.0 The linguistic (syntactic) structure of KPP names.

This theory analysed the syntactic structure of the KPP names. The views of Chomsky (1995), Crystal (1997), Culicover and Jackendoff (2005), Hudson (1990) and Matthews (2007) have been used to discuss the concept of Noun phrase (NP) within the X-Bar Theory. The linguistic study of KPP names applies the X-bar theories tenets in the analysis of KPP names. KPP names are proper nouns hence NPs. Malande (2012:91) observes that “the NP is a group of words with the noun as its headword.”

By applying the X-bar framework, the researcher identified the headword from the other elements of KPP NP (name). According to Ochoki (2013:42) “the headword or

simply head is the main word in to it to qualify its meaning a phrase). It is an obligatory element upon which modifiers (other words, phrases, or clauses) are optionally added.” The five English phrases take their names from the word that is the chief word or head (always written with initial capital H).

The X-Bar framework too helped in unearthing the linguistic manipulations in the creation of KPP abbreviations. When we apply the X-bar theory, on a sample of KPP names the following NP structures are likely to emerge:

KPP Abbreviations	KPP name	KPP NP structure
NARC-KENYA	NARC-KENYA	HN
NVP	THE NATIONAL VISION PARTY	DAN’H
LPK	THE LABOUR PARTY OF KENYA	DN’HPP
GNU	GRAND NATIONAL UNION	A’AH
MP	MWANGAZA PARTY	N’H
UDFP	UNITED DEMOCRATIC FORUM PARTY	N’ANH
PICK	PARTY OF INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES OF KENYA	HPP’PP
RBK	RESTORE AND BUILD KENYA	N’NH
KNC	KENYA NATIONAL CONGRESS	N’AH

KPP Abbreviations	KPP name	KPP NP structure
MGPK	MAZINGIRA GREENS PARTY OF KENYA	N'N'HPP
NDM	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	A'AH
WDM-K	WIPER DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT- KENYA	N'AHN
DP	DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA	AHPP
PNU	PARTY OF NATIONAL UNITY	HPP
POA	PARTY OF ACTION	HPP
APK	ALLIANCE PARTY OF KENYA	N'HPP
AP	AGANO PARTY	NH
TIP	THE INDEPENDENT PARTY	DN'H
KSC	KENYA SOCIAL CONGRESS	N'AH
NFK	NEW FORD KENYA	AHN
ODM	ORANGE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	HAN
PPK	PEOPLES PARTY OF KENYA	N'HPP
FORD-KENYA	FORUM FOR RESTORATION OF	HPPN

KPP Abbreviations	KPP name	KPP NP structure
	DEMOCRACY-KENYA	
FORD-P	FORD-PEOPLE	HN
PPK	PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF KENYA	N'HPP
URP	UNITED REPUBLICAN PARTY	N'NH
CP	CONSERVATIVE PARTY	N'H
MDP	MAENDELEO DEMOCRATIC PARTY	N'AH
NARC	NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION	A'NH
KADU-ASIL	KENYA AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC UNION-ASILI	N'N'HN
CCM	CHAMA CHA MWANANCHI	HPP
SDP	SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA	A'AHPP
KANU	KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION	N'NAH
SAFINA	SAFINA	H
TNA	THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE	DAH

KPP Abbreviations	KPP name	KPP NP structure
CCU	CHAMA CHA UZALENDO	HPP
NAPK	NATIONAL AGENDA PARTY OF KENYA	A'N'HPP
MSM	MKENYA SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT	N'N'H
PDP	PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY	N'AH
ND	NEW DEMOCRATS	AH
UDM	UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT	N'AH
SPK	SHIRIKISHO PARTY OF KENYA	N'HPP
UPK	UNITY PARTY OF KENYA	N'HPP
PDU	PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC UNITY	H'PP
SSP	SISI KWA SISI PARTY	N'CN'H
77	SABA SABA ASILI	N'NH
FP	FARMERS PARTY	NH
NLP	NATIONAL LABOUR PARTY	AN'H
FPK	FEDERAL PARTY OF KENYA	AHPP

KPP Abbreviations	KPP name	KPP NP structure
MP	MUUNGANO PARTY	N'H
NPK	NATIONAL PARTY OF KENYA	AHPP
MSS	MZALENDO SABA SABA PARTY	N'N'N'H
KENDA	KENYA NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE	N'A'AH
PPPK	PEOPLES PATRIOTIC PARTY OF KENYA	N'AHPP
ARK	ALLIANCE FOR REAL CHANGE	HPP
FORD-ASILI	FORD-ASILI	HN
RLP	REPUBLICAN LIBERTY PARTY	N'N'H
RC	REPUBLICAN CONGRESS PARTY OF KENYA	N'N'HPP

Table 4.0 the X-bar analysis of KPP names

KEY

H HEADWORD

N NOUN

A ADJECTIVE

PP PREPOSITION PHRASE

C CONJUNCTION

D DETERMINER

From the data presented above, the KPP name's headword occurs in three positions which we now present in details below.

4.3.1 KPP headwords that are Post-Modified (Post modification)

The Headword (name) occurs at phrase initial position then followed by modifiers.

This obtains in KPP such as:

S/N	KPP Abbreviation	KPP NAME	NP STRUCTURE
1.	PNU	<i>Party of National Unity</i>	HPP
2.	POA	<i>Party of Action</i>	HPP
3.	CCM	<i>Chama Cha Mwananchi</i>	HPP
4.	CCU	<i>Chama Cha Uzalendo</i>	HPP
5.	PICK	<i>Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya</i>	HPP
6.	PDU	<i>Party of Democratic Unity</i>	HPP
7.	NARC-KENYA	<i>NARC-Kenya</i>	HN
8.	ARK	<i>Alliance for Real Change</i>	HPP
9.	FORD-P	<i>FORD-People</i>	HN

S/N	KPP Abbreviation	KPP NAME	NP STRUCTURE
10.	FORD-Asili	<i>FORD-Asili</i>	HN

Table 4.1 KPP name with headword post modified

4.3.2 KPP headwords that are Pre modified (Pre-modification)

The headword occurs at the word final position of the NP preceded by modifiers. Pre-modification obtains in these KPP:

S/N	KPP Abbreviation	KPP NAME	NP STRUCTURE
1.	URP	United Republican <i>Party</i>	NNH
2.	NARC	National Rainbow <i>Coalition</i>	ANH
3.	GNU	Grand National <i>Union</i>	NAH
4.	KNC	Kenya National <i>Congress</i>	NAH
5.	NDM	National Democratic <i>Movement</i>	AAH
6.	MSM	Mkenya Solidarity <i>Movement</i>	NNH
7.	NLP	National Labour <i>Party</i>	ANH
8.	ODM	Orange Democratic <i>Movement</i>	NAH
9.	RBK	Restore and Build <i>Kenya</i>	PPH
10.	CP	Conservative <i>Party</i>	NH
11.	MDP	Maendeleo Democratic	NAH

S/N	KPP Abbreviation	KPP NAME	NP STRUCTURE
		<i>Party</i>	
12.	KANU	Kenya African National <i>Union</i>	NNAH
13.	KSC	Kenya Social <i>Congress</i>	NAH
14.	KENDA	Kenya National <i>Democratic Alliance</i>	NAAH
15.	ND	<i>New Democrats</i>	AH
16.	TIP	<i>The Independent Party</i>	DNH
17.	NVP	<i>The National Vision Party</i>	DANH
18.	UDFP	United Democratic Forum <i>Party</i>	NANH
19.	PDP	<i>Peoples Democratic Party</i>	NAH
20.	UDM	United Democratic <i>Movement</i>	NAH
21.	MP	<i>Muungano Party</i>	NH
22.	77	<i>Saba Saba Asili</i>	NH
23.	FP	<i>Farmers Party</i>	NH
24.	MP	<i>Mwangaza Party</i>	NH

S/N	KPP Abbreviation	KPP NAME	NP STRUCTURE
25.	AP	<i>Agano Party</i>	NH
26.	MSS	<i>Mzalendo Saba Saba Party</i>	NNH
27.	RLP	<i>Republican Liberty Party</i>	NNH

Table 4.2 KPP name with Headword premodified

4.3.3 KPP Intra-phrase headword modification

The KPP headword is in word middle position of the NP i.e. it is sandwiched before and after modifiers.

S/N	KPP Abbreviation	KPP NAME	NP STRUCTURE
1.	DP	Democratic <i>Party</i> of Kenya	AHPP
2.	MGPK	Mazingira Greens <i>Party</i> of Kenya	NNHPP
3.	PPPK	Peoples Patriotic <i>Party</i> of Kenya	NAHPP
4.	PPK	Peoples <i>Party</i> of Kenya	NHPP
5.	APK	Alliance <i>Party</i> of Kenya	NHPP
6.	PPK	Progressive <i>Party</i> of Kenya	NHPP
7.	FPK	Federal <i>Party</i> of Kenya	AHPP
8.	NPK	National <i>Party</i> of Kenya	AHPP
9.	RC	Republican Congress <i>Party</i> of Kenya	NNHPP
10.	WDM-K	Wiper Democratic <i>Movement-</i>	NAHN

S/N	KPP Abbreviation	KPP NAME	NP STRUCTURE
		Kenya	
11.	LPK	The Labour <i>Party</i> of Kenya	DNHPP
12.	NFK	New <i>FORD</i> Kenya	AHN
13.	KADU-ASIL	Kenya African Democratic <i>Union-Asili</i>	NNAHN
14.	NAPK	National Agenda <i>Party</i> of Kenya	ANHPP
15.	SDP	Social Democratic <i>Party</i> of Kenya	AAHPP
16.	SPK	Shirikisho <i>Party</i> Kenya	NHN
17.	UPK	Unity <i>Party</i> of Kenya	NNPP

Table 4.3 KPP name with a sandwiched Headword

4.3.4 A KPP NOUN ONLY headword (no modifiers)

It occurs within KPP that have a single noun ie there are no modifiers. Example:

Safina

4.3.5 KPP that share a vocabulary

Several KPP may share a similar or prominent vocabulary which may or may not be a headword. Such vocabulary chosen for syntactic or political discourse purposes may

play role of ideological anchors or KPP name contextualisers. These KPP share vocabularies such as:

a) **CONGRESS**

RC Republican *Congress* Party of Kenya

KSC Kenya Social *Congress*

KNC Kenya National *Congress*

b) **PEOPLE**

PDP *Peoples* Democratic Party

PPPK *Peoples* Patriotic Party of Kenya

c) **UNION/ UNITY**

UPK *Unity* Party of Kenya

KANU Kenya African National *Union*

KADU-ASIL Kenya African Democratic *Union-Asili*

PNU Party of National *Unity*

GNU Grand National *Union*

d) **MOVEMENT**

UDM United Democratic *Movement*

NDM National Democratic *Movement*

e) **FORD or FORUM**

FORD-Asili *FORD-Asili*

FORD-P	<i>FORD</i> -People
FORD-KENYA	<i>Forum</i> for Restoration of Democracy-Kenya
UDFP	United Democratic <i>Forum</i> Party

f) **INDEPENDENT**

TIP	The <i>Independent</i> Party
PICK	Party of <i>Independent</i> Candidates of Kenya

g) **LABOUR**

LPK	The <i>Labour</i> Party of Kenya
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h) **SABA SABA**

MSS	Mzalendo <i>Saba Saba</i> Party
77	<i>Saba Saba</i> Asili

i) **ALLIANCE**

ARK	<i>Alliance</i> for Real Change
KENDA	Kenya National Democratic <i>Alliance</i>
TNA	The National <i>Alliance</i>
APK	<i>Alliance</i> Party of Kenya

j) **REPUBLICAN**

URP	United <i>Republican</i> Party
-----	--------------------------------

PARTY

FPK	Federal <i>Party</i> of Kenya
SDP	Social Democratic <i>Party</i> of Kenya
DP	Democratic <i>Party</i> of Kenya

Observation from the analysis above

An analysis of the KPP name reveals that:

- a) Most of the KPP names listed consist of more than one word.
- b) All the KPP names are NPs that obtain in the following patterns: pre-modifiers + headword, pre-modifiers + headword+ post-modifier and headword+ headword
- c) Many KPP share a similar name and that Name variations (changes) only obtain at modifiers level and not on the Head word.
- d) KPP Abbreviations have metamorphosed into Nouns hence head words

4.4.0 Linguistic Manipulation of KPP Abbreviations

A significant number of KPP names can be abbreviated for both linguistic and political reasons. Generally abbreviations can be grouped according to two orthographic and phonological properties. They can be spelled with either capital or lower-case letters, and they can be pronounced either by naming each individual letter (so-called initialisms or Alphabetisms). Since KPP abbreviations are political tools, they are linguistically manipulated with this in mind hence the importance of applying CDA theory. Tepavacevic (2014) observes that political language has a distinct and definable structure and style evident in the vocabulary, grammar, textual and inter-

textual features of discourse. The most prominent class of abbreviations is the Acronyms. Prasad (2008) identifies three types of acronyms in English:

- a. Those whose sequences of initial letters are pronounced as words. Examples include UNESCO, UNICEF, ECOWAS, etc. Compared to KPP we have KANU, KADDU, etc.
- b. Those whose sequence of initial letters is pronounced as letters. Examples include: WHO, EU, AU, EAC, etc. Under KPP we would have CCU, UDM, PDP, etc.

KPP abbreviations, just like KPP Names, lack a clear convention in crafting/formation, thus opening the door for a linguistic manipulation study of the same. Abbreviations are a general term which refers to linguistic features such as:

- a) Contractions-refers to reductions, shrinkages, retrenchments, tightening, narrowing, shriveling, withering, slimming down, etc.
- b) Ellipses-such as DP for Democratic Party of Kenya
- c) Acronyms-Such as POA, KENDA, etc.

Curtailments generally refer to curbs, limitations, restrictions, shortenings, reductions, decreases, cuttings, etc. Curbs are verges, edges, waysides, pavements, hard shoulder, controls, limits and restrictions.

KPP abbreviations occur in the above boundaries in addition to disabusing clearly spelt grammatical rules. In this section I will borrow from a few comments on abbreviations by

Tepavacevic (2014), Plag (2003), and Onysko and Michel (2010) as well as using data collected from the field which brought out new ways of crafting abbreviations.

They include:

- a) Manipulation of language for phonetic purposes (Homophony) in order to achieve semblance (likeness) with existing KPP abbreviations. Examples:

In 2002, NAK was formed as a coalition by DP, SDP and FORD-Kenya as a response to the merger between KANU and NDP. Later, a Rainbow rebellion group (coalescing under LDP broke away from KANU) merging with NAK to form NARC. This was a ploy to form a grand coalition to defeat KANU at the 2002 General Elections which had the same pronunciation in order to market it easily in both NAK and LDP (Rainbow alliance) strongholds. Notably, the similarities in pronunciation (homophony) of National Rainbow coalition (NARC) and National Alliance party of Kenya (NAK).

- b) Manipulating word categories by giving some function words equal status/ weight to content words while crafting abbreviations. Some KPPs have paced the definite article-*the*, to the level of content words. Example:

➤ **The** National Alliance is abbreviated as **TNA**

➤ **The** Independent Party is abbreviated as **TIP**

* In some modern syntactic theories, The NPs-The Independent Party and The National Alliance- are **determiner phrases** (DP) headed by a determiner *the* (which may be null), and they are thus no longer have the noun as headword.

- c) Language resources such as ellipsis and shortenings are a common feature in the construction of KPP abbreviations. Here again KPPs abbreviation crafters

demonstrate lack of a clear convention on which word or phrase one should delete or drop/ shorten. Examples:

- We have cases where the definite article ‘the’ is dropped or itemized (see examples of TNA and TIP in *b* above). But in many cases it is dropped.

Examples:

- ✓ NVP- **The** National Vision Party
- ✓ LPK- **The** Labour Party of Kenya
- The word ‘PARTY’
- ✓ MSS- MZALENDO SABA SABA *Party*
- The word ‘KENYA’
- **DP-** Democratic Party *of Kenya*
- The word ‘party of Kenya’
- ✓ **RC-**Republican Congress *Party of Kenya.*
- ✓ **SDP-** Social Democratic Party *of Kenya*

*Now contrast the above examples by comparing them with following abbreviations against their names whose names haven’t been shortened/ deleted/ trimmed:

- **NPK-** National Party of Kenya
- **PPPK-** Peoples Patriotic Party of Kenya
- **TNA-**The National Alliance

- d) KPPs which have a mix of names and abbreviations
- **NEW FORD KENYA-FORD** refers to **F**orum for the **R**estoration of **D**emocracy
 - **NARC-KENYA-NARC** refers to **N**ational **R**ainbow **C**oalition.
 - **FORD-ASILI-FORD** refers to **F**orum for the **R**estoration of **D**emocracy.
 - **NEW FORD KENYA-FORD** refers to **F**orum for the **R**estoration of **D**emocracy.
 - **NEW KANU-Kenya African Democratic Union**.
 - **VIPA** progressive alliance-VIPA reference unknown
- e) KPP Acronyms are formed from the initial letters of a set of other words.
- **KANU** - **K**enya **A**frican **N**ational **U**nion
 - **KENDA**- **K**enya **N**ational **D**emocratic **A**lliance
 - **KADDU**- **K**enya **A**frican **D**emocratic **D**evelopment **U**nion
 - **ARK**-Alliance for **R**eal **C**hange
 - **PICK**- **P**arty of **I**ndependent **C**andidates of **K**enya
 - **POA**- **P**arty of **A**ction
- f) KPP acronyms can remain essentially 'Alphabetisms' or 'Initialisms' where the pronunciation consists of the set of letters. Examples:
- **NVP** **T**he **N**ational **V**ision **P**arty
 - **LPK** **T**he **L**abour **P**arty of **K**enya
 - **GNU** **G**rand **N**ational **U**nion
 - **MP** **M**wangaza **P**arty
 - **UDFP** **U**nited **D**emocratic **F**orum **P**arty

➤ ODM **O**range **D**emocratic **M**ovement

g) KPP Names are often designed to have their acronym represent an appropriate term. Example:

Coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD) is a coalition bringing together ODM, WDM-K, and FORD-Kenya. In 2013, these parties pledged to work out as one united team or rather work in one accord. At the unveiling of the coalition, CORD's three principals Raila Odinga (ODM), Kalonzo Musyoka (WDM) and Moses Wetangula (FORD-Kenya) introduced themselves holding their arms together as a string or chain. This was to communicate a united front. CORD as a word means a string, a thread, lead, twine, rope, cable and flex. With the principals' political base emanating from Nyanza/ Nairobi, Eastern and Western regions, CORD, would politically unite/ string/ flex/ cable the Kenyan communities together. This new acronym-CORD came into general use so quickly that many speakers do not think of its component meanings-Coalition of Reform and Democracy. The statement 'we are CORD-ed' has gained footing in Kenyan political discourse.

h) Some abbreviations are simply numerals for party name. Such numbers signify important dates in Kenyans initially peaceful then turned violent demonstrations while clamoring for the re-introduction of multi-party democracy. Those demos were held on 7/7/1991 alternatively named saba saba (Swahili for 'seven seven') day. Example:

➤ 77 SABA SABA ASILI i.e. SABA SABA is Swahili for Seven Seven.

i) Some KPP names resemble their abbreviations; the name and its abbreviations are one and the same.

- SAFINA
 - NARC-KENYA
 - FORD-ASILI
- j) Finally, some abbreviations may come to resemble blends by combining larger sets of initial syllables. However, such forms still differ crucially from proper blends in that they neither obey the three pertinent prosodic constraints, nor do they necessarily show the semantic property of blends described above.
- FOREPA-Forum for Republican Party.
- k) The spelling and pronunciation of abbreviations offer interesting perspectives on the formal properties of these words. Acronyms, being pronounced like regular words, must conform to the phonological patterns of English or Kiswahili. For Example:
- KANU follows the Kiswahili syllable structure of CVCV. KANU is basically a Swahili acronym even though the initials denote an English language syllabic structure. The crafters of such acronym thus had the Kenyan voter in mind. However, it is fair to say that NATO (Northern Atlantic Treaty Organisation) is an English acronym that could largely pass as a Kiswahili name. NATO as an organization made up of both English and non-English speaking nations.
 - FORD, CORD, PICK, and ARK acronyms largely agree with English syllabic structures.
- l) Sometimes abbreviations are formed in such a way as to yield not only pronounceable words (i.e. acronyms), but also words that are homophonous to existing words. This is often done for marketing or publicity reasons,

especially in those cases where the homonymous word carries a meaning that is intended to be associated with the referent of the acronym. Consider the following examples:

- ARK-Alliance for Real Change
 - PICK- Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya
 - POA- Party of Action
 - FORD-Forum for Restoration of Democracy
- ARK refers to the mythic-biblical vessel that Noah was commanded by God to build and help his family escape the floods that swept over sinful earth. In obedience to Gods command he made an Ark which help save his family and either sexes of animal kingdom. ARK as an abbreviation speaks of the real change the party would bring to Kenyans thus saving them from false/ hypocritical changes they have had.

**It is important to note that SAFINA is Kiswahili term for ARK. On face value, here again language is manipulated by simply changing language. SAFINA crafted in Kiswahili whereas ARK English. However, it's necessary to point out that the genesis of the two names is different – ARK is an acronym which evokes an inspiring political message, while SAFINA is the name whose meaning carries the connotation of rescuing.*

- FORD i.e. Forum for Restoration of Democracy, which latter splintered in to several daughter parties was formed in 2001 to ostensibly challenge KANUs hegemony as the only vehicle to political power and emancipation. They may have incidentally or deliberately formed a body with a name similar to the legendary American car, FORD, which is

known for speed, reliability, efficiency, durability, class, etc. These attributes were to be transferred to the new entity.

- PICK i.e. knowing a Kenyan politician it wouldn't be surprising if the Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya (PICK) was simply designed to ask voters to *pick* her candidates-The wordplay, a feature in KPP structure noticeable.
- POA i.e. Party of Action makes use of a popular *sheng*-a Kenyan urban youth slang-word *poa* which means OK, no problem, fine, good, etc. Such attributes were expected to be transferred to the new party.

m) Truncation features in KPP names and abbreviations which may be completely overshadowed by a popular word or symbol. For example:

The name *wiper* in Wiper Democratic Movement-Kenya is widely known than abbreviation WDM whereas symbol *bus* overshadows Alliance Party of Kenya's APK abbreviation. The two are commonly called wiper and the bus party.

n) Similar arguments could be invoked in those cases where the use of the abbreviation indicates a social meaning, similar to that of clippings. Thus, within certain groups of speakers, the use of an abbreviation can be taken as a marker of social identity: speaker and listener(s), but not outsiders, know what the speaker is talking about. For example:

- AP- AGANO PARTY; *AP* stand for administration police, an elite unit that serves Kenyans from grassroots to the international borders.
- MP- Muungano Party: *MP* stands for Member of Parliament one of the highest sought after elective position in Kenyan politics. Such abbreviations are meant to ride on a known political position. E.g.

‘Vote in all MP candidates.’ As vague as it may sound could attract attention.

➤ CCM-CHAMA CHA MWANANCHI; CCM is a widely known abbreviation for the Tanzanian ruling mass party CHAMA CHA MAPINDUZI (CCM).

o) KPP data shown above implies political discourse, in that participants consider it important to name a phenomenon in a particular way in order to win a political argument. The assumption underlying such a strategy is that the name used for a given phenomenon will influence the language user’s concept of and attitude towards that phenomenon. The examples of ARK, FORD and CORD also raise the question of whether abbreviations are new lexemes or simply new surface forms, i.e. allomorphs, of the same lexeme. In the case of ARK, FORD and CORD we could argue that the abbreviation is not completely identical in meaning to the base word because the abbreviation carries a different connotation, hence a new lexeme has been created by abbreviating the base word.

*Certainly, many abbreviations do not show a meaning difference with regard to their base words and would therefore best be analyzed as variant realizations, i.e. allomorphs, of their base lexemes.

Note:

It is important to note here that there is neither laid down rule nor convention in the creation of KPP abbreviations.

Deletion, omission and addition of words or phrases together with elevation of functional words to content words status display a case of **determiner phrases**

(DP) that are headed by a determiner *the* (which may be null), thus no longer have the noun as headword.

Word play in some instances becomes the order of the day. This in pure linguistic terms is a deviation from the norm on KPP abbreviations structure thus inviting an interest on the manipulating language for political purposes.

4.5 KPP aabbreviations distortions

During the personal interviews, KIIs listed the KPP abbreviations that suffered distortions. KPP abbreviation distortion mostly occurs as a feature of political teasing across all political divides. Below we provide examples of KPP party abbreviations that suffer from distortions specifically designed by their competitors.

Respondent serial no	Respondent feedback
1	TNA-Tuko Na Agwambo ODM-Odinga Democratic Movement JP-Jackpot Party
2	TNA-Tuko Na Agwambo ODM-Odinga democratic movement NDP Tinga
3	No idea
4	ODM-Odinga Danganya Mjinga
6	ODM-Odinga Danganya Mudavadi PNU-Pitia Nyeri Uone
7	ODM-Odinga Democratic Movement Tinga

Respondent serial no	Respondent feedback
	Water melon Land grabber
8	URP-Uhuru Ruto Party
10	ODM (Chungwa nono) Baba Tosha Odinga Dandia Mat ODM-Ondoa Demokrasia Mbovu Jubilee (pamoja, uhuruto, Amani)

Table 4.4 List of KPP abbreviation distortions

Observations

Virtually all major KPP (ODM, PNU, JP, URP, and TNA) suffers from abbreviations distortions. Such distortions are either from within the party-used as praise or from competitors-usually a negative tease in this case.

a) ODM suffers from many abbreviations distortions which all revolve around the party leader. Three of them are personal or character-related attacks on ODM party leader Raila Odinga while one.

- ✓ ODM-Ondoa Demokrasia Mbovu (remove bad democracy)
- ✓ ODM-Odinga Dandia Mat (Odinga board a matatu-PSV vehicle-ostensibly to get votes)
- ✓ ODM-ODM-Odinga Democratic Movement
- ✓ ODM-Odinga Danganya Mudavadi (Odinga decieve or cheatMudavadi)
- ✓ ODM-Odinga Danganya Mjinga (Odinga lie to or deceive a fool)

b) PNU, JP, URP, and TNA also suffer from abbreviations distortions which are mostly character-related attacks on key political leaders. Examples:

- ✓ TNA-Tuko Na Agwambo
- ✓ Jubilee (pamoja, uhuruto, Amani)
- ✓ JP-Jackpot Party
- ✓ URP-Uhuru Ruto Party
- ✓ PNU-Pitia Nyeri Uone (passby Nyeri and see)

4.6.0 Code Mixing in KPP Names (Mixed Code Data)

Ogechi (2002) draws a thin line between code switching and code mixing clearly imputing that in morphosyntactic morphemes the two refer to one and same concept. However for the purposes of this research the two are considered separate entities. As we will show in some examples below, the study on code mixing within KPP names takes the use of morphemes from more than one source language in the same NP as code mixing. This is necessary granted that KPP names are mostly Noun phrases and not sentences.

4.6.1 Analysing KPP names into Codes

Kenya has two official languages, namely English and Kiswahili in addition to numerous regional vernaculars. So basically, a majority of Kenyan adults are multilingual for they speak at least three languages namely: regional or ethnic vernacular (native), Kiswahili and English. The unwritten KPP political practice presupposes name creation be either of the two national languages although it's silent on the mixed code data. The KPP name crafters have manipulated language in designing or crafting names using at least three CODES (Languages) namely:

English, Kiswahili and Mixed Code. The data below has 118 KPP names has been analysed in the three codes.

ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP	KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA	MIXED CODE KPP DATA
Alliance for Real Change	Chama Cha Majimbo na Mwanga	Agano Party
Allied Democratic Party of Kenya	Chama Cha Mwananchi	Amani National Congress
Citizen Democratic Party of Kenya	Chama Cha Uzalendo	Chama Cha Uma party
Commonwealth Development Party of Kenya		Daraja Ya Wakenya party
Communal Democracy Party of Kenya		Mazingira Greens Party of Kenya
Community Development Party of Kenya		Mkenya Solidarity Movement
Congress of Democrats		Muungano Party
Democratic Assistant Party		Mzalendo Saba Saba Party
Democratic Community		Pambazuka Party of

ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP	KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA	MIXED CODE KPP DATA
Party		Kenya
Democratic Labour Party of Kenya		Saba Saba Asili Party
Democratic Party of Kenya		Safina Party
Democratic Reformation Party of Kenya		Shirikisho Party of Kenya
Democratic Representative Party		Sisi Kwa Sisi Party
Farmers Party		Sisi Kwa Sisi Party of Kenya
Federal party of Kenya		The Nuru Party of Kenya
Forum for Orange Democratic Change		Wakulima Party of Kenya (formerly United Agriparty)
Forum for Republican Party		
Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD ASILI)		
Forum for Restoration of		

ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP	KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA	MIXED CODE KPP DATA
Democracy for the People		
Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD- KENYA)		
Freedom Party of Kenya		
Generation Alliance Party of Kenya		
Grand National Union		
Green African party		
Growth and Development Party		
Jubilee Peoples Party of Kenya		
Kenya African Democratic Development Party		
Kenya African National Union		
Kenya Alliance for National Unity Party		

ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP	KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA	MIXED CODE KPP DATA
Kenya Cultural Alliance		
Kenya National Congress		
Kenya National Democratic Alliance		
Kenya National Liberation Party		
Kenya Nationalist Peoples Democratic Party		
Kenya Patriotic Trust Party		
Kenya People's Convention Party of Kenya		
Kenya Republican Reformation Party		
Kenya Social Congress		
Kenya Union of National Alliance Of Peace		
Labour Party of Kenya		
Liberal Democratic		

ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP	KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA	MIXED CODE KPP DATA
Movement		
Liberal Democratic Party		
Mass Party of Kenya		
Moral Integrity Party		
Movement for Democratic Advancement Party of Kenya		
NARC Kenya		
National Agenda Party of Kenya		
National Alliance Party of Kenya		
National Conservative Party of Kenya		
National Democratic Alliance		
National Dynamic Development Party		

ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP	KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA	MIXED CODE KPP DATA
National Integrity Party		
National Labour Party		
National Liberation Party		
National Party of Kenya		
National Progressive Party		
National Rainbow Coalition		
National Revival party		
National Star Party of Kenya		
New Aspiration Party of Kenya		
New Democrats		
New FORD Kenya		
New KANU Alliance Party of Kenya		
New Peoples Democratic Party		

ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP	KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA	MIXED CODE KPP DATA
New Revival Generation Party		
Orange Democratic Movement Party of Kenya (Wiper Democratic Movement-Kenya)		
Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya		
Pan African Assemblies		
Party of Action		
Party of Democratic Unity		
Party of Democratic Unity		
Party of Independent candidate of Kenya		
Party of National Unity		
People's Patriotic Party of Kenya		
Peoples Democratic Party		

ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP	KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA	MIXED CODE KPP DATA
Peoples Party of Kenya		
Progressive Party of Kenya		
Reform Party of Kenya		
Republican Alliance Party of Kenya		
Republican Congress Party of Kenya		
Republican Liberty Party		
Republican Party of Kenya		
Restoration Democrats of Kenya		
Restore and Build Kenya		
Social Democratic Party of Kenya		
Social Party for Advancement and Reforms-Kenya		
Social Peoples Party and		

ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP	KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA	MIXED CODE KPP DATA
Congress		
The Independent Party		
The Jubilee Party		
The National alliance		
The National Vision Party		
The Peoples Solidarity Union of Kenya		
United Democratic Front party		
United Democratic Movement		
United Democrats of Peace and Integrity In Kenya		
United Peoples Party		
United Republican party		
Unity Party of Kenya		
Universal Democratic Party of Kenya		

ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP	KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA	MIXED CODE KPP DATA
VIPA Progressive Alliance		

Table 4.5 Analysing KPP names into Codes (Languages)

4.6.2 The Mixed code data

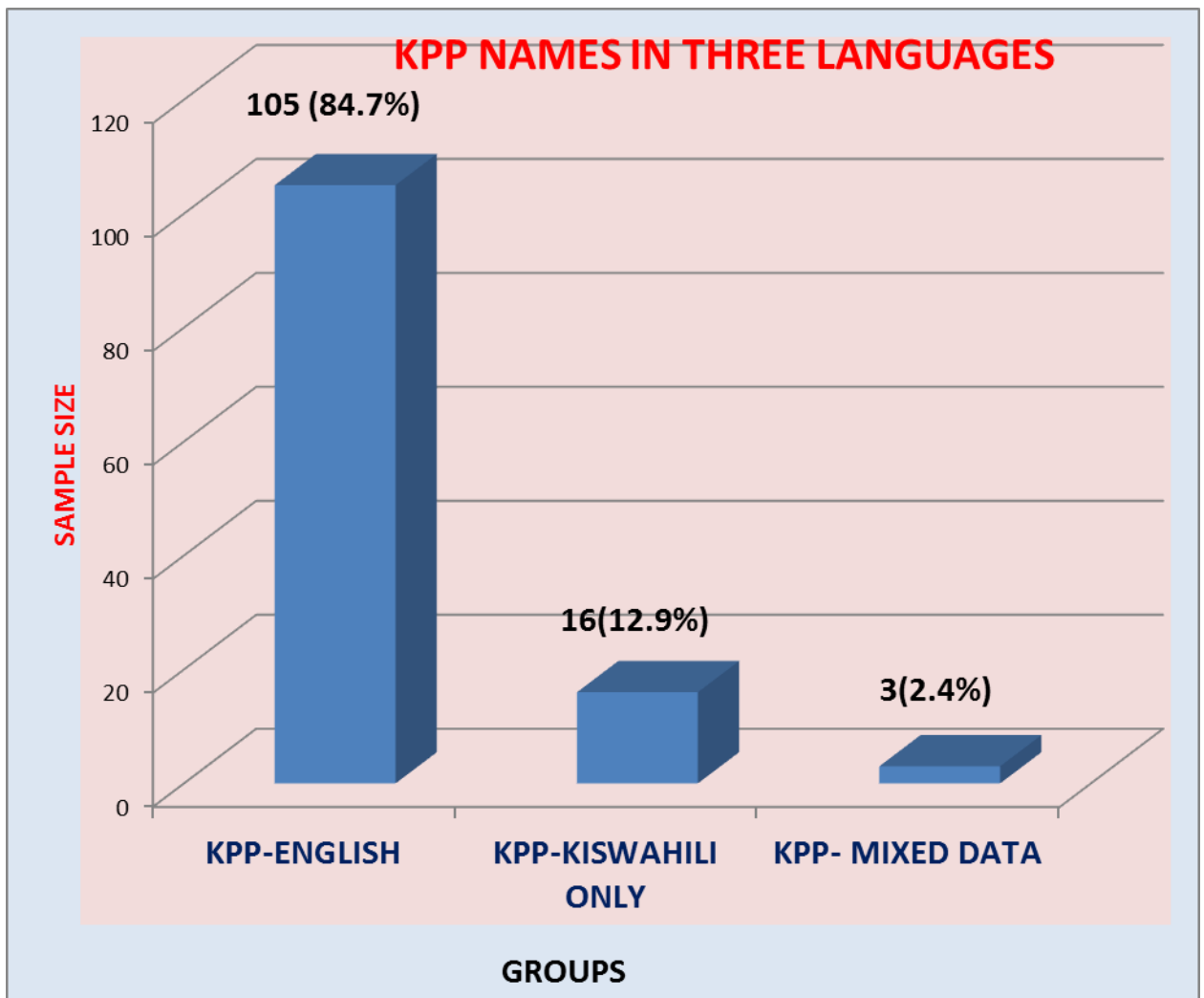
From the data provided on 118 KPP names above we make the following observations:

- a) English-only names are 99 constituting 84% of the sample
- b) Kiswahili-only names are 3 constituting 3% of the sample
- c) Mixed data names are 16 constituting 13% of the sample

KPP name formation is complex venture crafted using either English, Kiswahili or a mix of both; this maybe from a desire to appeal to voters at both top (elites& educated) and bottom (poor & illiterates) end of the society.

In a country where English and Kiswahili have a constitutionally equal language status-as official languages, diglossia sets in to play thus elevating former to higher political status than the latter as far as KPP name formation is concerned. Such diglossic tendencies aren't entirely surprising. Abuhakema (2013) notes 'English is used as a sign of prestige, modernity and sophistication' or simply put, the language of the schooled.

13% of KPP names have mixed code data hence the need for a study to decipher the reasons behind the KPP Code Mix.



Graph 5.1 showing KPP data in three languages

Rene & Muysker (1987: 117-126) opine that code mixing has been studied in considerable detail since about 1970, from a sociolinguistic point of view (why do people switch between languages) from both a psycholinguistic and a linguistic point of views. They discovered three types of switches namely Tag-switches, Intra-sentential switches and Inter-sentential. Of concern to this research are the intra-sentential switches alternatively called code-mixing. Without doubt 16 KPP names have a mixed code data. These data can be divided in to the following groups with respect to the nature of code mixing involved:

Kiswahili KPP Code mixed with English NP ‘Party’

In this case a KPP has a predominantly Kiswahili language name with name *party* inserted at the tail-end of the NP. We would have expected these parties to use the word Chama instead of borrowing word *party* from English. Chama is Kiswahili word for Party. However, Chama has gained many associative meanings over the years. Today *Chama* usage and meaning includes small like-minded informal financial groupings, merry-go-rounds, ethnic (tribal) associations in cities, youth and women groups, workers unions, etc. aside from it referring to KPP. With a desire to sound politically correct or authentic, *party* is commonly used as an identity marker thus differentiating it from those other Chama. Maybe it is inserted for lack of a rather specific or appropriate vocabulary in Kiswahili. In this case the code mix is for stylistic purposes. The KPP below are vivid examples:

- Daraja Ya Wakenya **party**
- Chama Cha Uma **party**
- Sisi Kwa Sisi **Party**
- Saba Saba Asili **Party**
- Muungano **Party**
- Agano **Party**

Kiswahili KPP Code mixed with English NP ‘Party of Kenya’

The description and analysis of the section on Kiswahili KPP Code mixed with English NP ‘Party’ above is also true with this section. The phrase ‘party of Kenya’ is a restrictive code-identity marker (linguistic tool) meant to hoodwink supporters that such and such a party has a national outlook. However this could be a matter of style due to a general lack of convention on political party naming.

These six KPP given below offer vivid examples

- Wakulima Party of Kenya (formerly United Agriparty)
- Shirikisho Party of Kenya
- Pambazuka Party of Kenya
- Sisi Kwa Sisi Party of Kenya
- Mzalendo Saba Saba Party
- Safina Party of Kenya

NOTE: This research discovered that KPP as voting instruments belong to individuals and not masses. Very few parties have active membership. That's why (as discussed under voters attitude towards parties), many KPP die and new ones spring up in their place with the very same leadership. KPP in Kenya never endure but political chiefs do. Voters rank the party chiefs and their teams ahead of their party name, party symbol and party slogan. This research delimited itself to a linguistic study and not the impact of KPP names on voting behavior.

Repetitive Code Mixing for Emphasis

Mazingira Greens Party of Kenya is a case in point where the coded name in Kiswahili resembles English translation. Mazingira is Kiswahili for both environment (formal) and greens (informal). Using Greens and Mazingira in the same phrase is therefore a matter of style meant to emphasis on environmental issues.

INTRA PHRASE CODE MIXING at the Morpheme level

This code mixing obtains when a word changing or a word maintaining bound morpheme is added on to a base. Kenya-as a word-has been largely accepted as part of the English vocabulary-lexis. Kenya accepts English prefixes (like anti-, pro-, etc.) and suffixes (like -n, -nis, -sation) to form words such as *antikenyanisation*.

In view of the above, the KPP *Mkenya Solidarity Movement* is a code mix.

Mkenya (Kiswahili for (a) Kenyan) is a word made up of a bound morpheme *M* and a free Morpheme *Kenya*. The meaning of the resultant process is shifting it from a place name to a common noun denoting ‘of nationality to Kenya.’

INTRA PHRASE CODE MIXING at the word level

a) The Nuru Party of Kenya

The Nuru Party of Kenya presents a situation where the Kiswahili code is sandwiched between the definite English article (The) and an English code post-modifying Noun Phrase Party of Kenya.

The definite article *the* modifies Kiswahili word Nuru (loosely translated light). The code mix meant for lack of appropriate articles in Kiswahili language. It also accounts for a deliberate stylistic aim of code mixing. The definite article plays the directive function of code mixing by pointing the hearer to the NURU party in question.

b) Kenya African Democratic union Asil

The Kenya African Democratic Union-Asil presents a situation whereby the English KPP Code mixes with Kiswahili word *Asil* (Kiswahili for original) at Phrase final position. More important is the way *Asil* is in itself a clip from Kiswahili word *Asili*. The crafters of this name may have been alive to two things:

- a) The independence period iconic party carried almost a similar name Kenya African Democratic Union. KADU a pro-Majimbo (regional government’s party) dissolved to join KANU (a republican party). Their abbreviations (KADU and KADU) would sound similar upon articulation hence the need to add a Swahili code Asil to Abbreviate KADU-Asil and not KADUA. Kindly note the abbreviation deviates from convention.

- b) One of the very first registered multi-party era parties in Kenya was called FORD-ASILI. For avoidance of accusation of name tapping they clipped Asili to Asil.
- c) From a study, the party has its roots in the coast region of Kenya hence the desire to tap into Kiswahili.

4.6.3 The linguistic motivations behind KPP name code mixes

Motivational factors behind KPP code switching include:

- a) The role of word formation processes (such as borrowing) necessitates the crafting of KPP names as a code mix realising Linguistic manipulation.
- b) To tap linguistic resources provided by the two Kenyan national languages of English and Kiswahili.
- c) The need to accommodate both illiterate and the literate voters. The former group are more inclined towards Kiswahili usage whereas the latter English. A KPP name that is easily identifiable and sellable to the voters is any crafters dream.
- d) Diglossia could explain the craze to mix codes. KPP that have largely Kiswahili frame mostly add the word 'party' or phrase 'party of Kenya' instead of using 'Chama.' Diglossic tendencies cut across Kenya. Coastal Kenya, Kiswahili bedrock, has its regional parties majorly crafted in Kiswahili but with *party tag* added. Example: Shirikisho party of Kenya. Shirikisho is Kiswahili for community.
- e) Such mixed code phrases (in the use of both Kiswahili and English) highlights the mixed linguistic identity of targeted audience-voters thus realising the

expressive function of code mixing. The voting publics generally mix vernacular, English and Kiswahili codes in their day to day speech.

- f) Mixed codes are always popular with Kenyan youths who constitute 75% of the populace. Sheng is a mixed code (argot or language) mostly designed and used by Kenyan youth across the social status. KPP crafters might have found it irresistible to code mix given that sheng users have a majority of voters. It is now a given practice by Kenyan political operators to use Sheng.
- g) Notably are the associative meanings of the word Chama. Chama initially meant Party. Today its usage and meaning has been extended to small like-minded informal financial groupings, merry-go-rounds, ethnic groups in cities, youth and women groups, workers unions, etc. With a desire to sound politically correct or authentic, *party* is commonly used as an identity marker.
- h) The phrase ‘party of Kenya’ is a restrictive code meant to hoodwink supporters that a party has a national outlook or network for it covers the whole republic. Again, this usage is purely aesthetic in nature.

4.6.4 Matrix Language Frame analysis of the KPP mixed code data

The Matrix language (ML) frames and Embedded language (EL) analyses the KPP intra-phrase code mixing situation. ML and EL participate un-equally in structuring the grammar of the Noun phrase that is the KPP thus realizing the ML-EL hierarchy. As discussed below Kiswahili and English alternate as ML and EL dependent on the character of the phrase. ML ordinarily rests on the clause that contains most system free or bound morphemes and the larger structural role.

Examples:

1) KPP Code mix with Kiswahili ML and an English EL(EL)

In the examples below Kiswahili words in normal print constitute the ML while the English units in italics are islands or EL

- Daraja Ya Wakenya *party*
- Chama Cha Uma *party*
- Sisi Kwa Sisi *Party*
- Saba Saba Asili *Party*
- Muungano *Party*
- Agano *Party*
- Wakulima *Party of Kenya* (formerly United Agri-party)
- Shirikisho *Party of Kenya*
- Pambazuka *Party of Kenya*
- Mzalendo Saba Saba *Party*
- Safina *Party of Kenya*

2) Intra Phrase Code Mixing at the word level

In the examples below, English words in normal print constitute the ML while the Kiswahili units in italics islands (EL)

- a) The *Nuru* Party of Kenya
- b) Kenya African Democratic union *Asil*
- c) *Mazingira* Greens Party of Kenya

4.7 Conclusion

KPP names have a definite linguistic and meaningful structure. This structure is best demonstrated in the crafting and design of KPP names and KPP abbreviations. Linguistic resources are manipulated to create several KPP names: that are

meaningful (semantics), have mixed code data (sociolinguistics) and whose abbreviations are distorted (syntax) for political (discourse) reasons.

CHAPTER FIVE

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS IN KPP SYMBOLS









5.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with KPP symbols. We present sections on introduction, presents data on KPP symbols, KPP symbol types and structure, KPP symbol semantic fields, KPP symbol sense relations, KPP symbol linguistic manipulations and a conclusion on KPP symbols. The associative meaning and political discourses inherent in those KPP symbols are also unearthed. Under this chapter we consider a KPP symbol is the image presented alongside a KPP name as shown under section 5.1 below. Generally, a symbol is a linguistic or a semiotic sign that stands for something in an arbitrary convention based way. This implies that all KPP names, KPP slogans, KPP symbols and KPP colours are symbols- though each is studied separately in the present study. Secondly, multiplicity of symbols that inform our KPP are not only diverse but numerous-such cases of multiplicity are handled later in this chapter.

5.1 Data Presentation on KPP symbols

The entire study analysed 118 KPP symbols from two sources. These sources were: The Kenya Gazette, 9th November, 2007: pages 3759-3775 and the IEBC website on July 1, 2015 at 11:31AM. The 102 KPP symbols presented below are from scanned copies of KPP symbols as obtained from The Kenya Gazette. The IEBC does not contain images but names of distinctive symbols which have been integrated in symbol analysis in sections 4.2-4.5. This section confines itself to images only.

SCHEDULE 3—(Contd.)







<i>Name of Political Party</i>	<i>Symbol Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
Forum for the Restoration of Democracy for the People		
Kenya African National Union	Cockerel	
Kenya Social Congress	Dove	
Kenya National Democratic Alliance	Bell	
Kenya National Congress	Key	
Democratic Assistance Party	Hoe	
Federal Party of Kenya	Giraffe	
Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (Ford Asili)	Two Fingers Raised	

Gazette Notice No. 11014




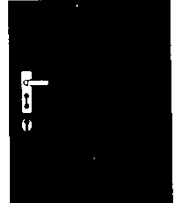
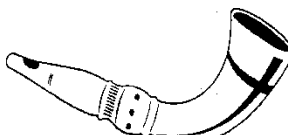
THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY AND PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS ACT
 (Cap.7)
 THE PRESIDENTIAL AND PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS REGULATIONS
 (Sub. Leg)
 PARTIES' SYMBOLS





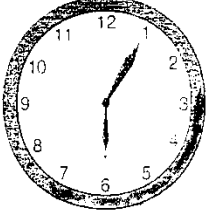

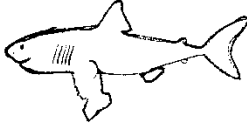

IN EXERCISE of the powers conferred by regulation (5) of the Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Regulations, the Electoral Commission gives notice that it has allocated to each political party whose name appears in the first column of the Schedule the symbol name specified in the second column and the distinctive symbol appearing in the third column of the Schedule.








SCHEDULE

Name of Political Party	Symbol Name	Distinctive Symbol
Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya	Child	
National Patriotic Party of Kenya (formerly Umma Patriotic Party of Kenya)	Flag	
Green African Party	Maize cob	
Mazingira Greens Party of Kenya	Tree	
United Patriotic Party of Kenya	Shield	
Safina Party	Safina	

SCHEDULE—(Contd.)

<i>Name of Political Party</i>	<i>Symbol Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
Reform Party of Kenya	Football	
Labour Party of Kenya	Star	
The Peoples Solidarity Union of Kenya	Flywhisk	
National Alliance Party	Leopard	
National Conservative Party of Kenya	Closed Door	
United Democrats of Peace and Integrity in Kenya	African Horn	

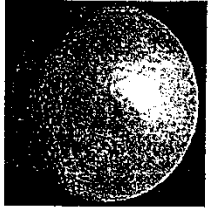





<i>Name of Political Party</i>	SCHEDULE—(Contd.)	<i>Symbol Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
Democratic Party of Kenya		Lantern	
New Peoples Democratic Party		Two People	
Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (Ford Kenya)		Lion	
Kenya Nationalist Peoples Democratic Party		Torch	
Social Democratic Party of Kenya		Face of Clock	
Peoples Party of Kenya		Trumpet	
Shirikisho Party of Kenya		Fish (but picture of Shark)	
Kenya Republican Reformation Party		Rising Sun	

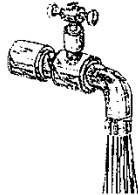
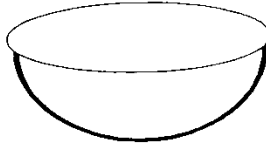
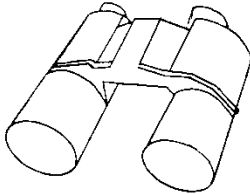
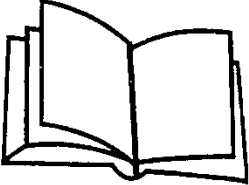


<i>Name of Political Party</i>	SCHEDULE—(Contd.) <i>Symbol Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
Wakulima Party of Kenya (formerly United Agri Party)	Dollar	
Republican Party of Kenya	Buffalo	
Kenya African Democratic Development Union	Fruit Basket	 KADDU
National Rainbow Coalition	Traditional African Torch	 NARC
United Peoples Party	Aeroplane	
National Progressive Party	Bicycle	 NPP
Kenya Citizens Congress	Ostrich	

SCHEDULE - (Contd.)

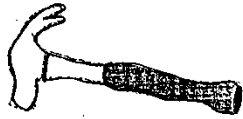
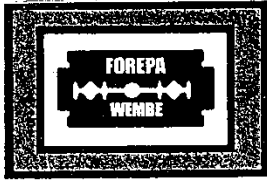


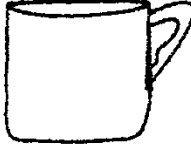

<i>Name of Political Party</i>	<i>Symbol Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
National Labour Party	Bull	
Chama Cha Uma Party	Pot	
Liberal Democratic Party	Open Umbrella	
Social Party for Advancement and Reforms-Kenya	Elephant	
Chama Cha Majimbo na Mwangaza	Ladder	
Sisi Kwa Sisi Party of Kenya	Train	
Mass Party of Kenya	Handshake	

SCHEDULE—(Contd.)

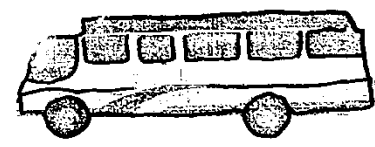
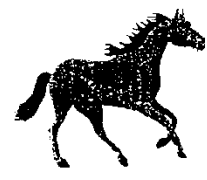
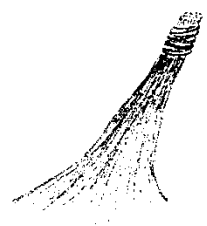


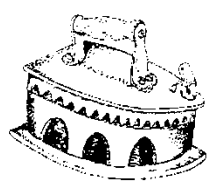

<i>Name of Political Party</i>	<i>Symbol Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
Orange Democratic Movement Party of Kenya	Orange	
United People's Congress	Crocodile	
Chama cha Mwananchi	Thumb-up	
New Aspiration Party	Rhino	
Agano Party	Lamb	
Kenya Alliance for National Unity Party	Eagle	

<i>Name of Political Party</i>	SCHEDULE—(Contd.)	<i>Symbol Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
Kenya People's Party		Running Water	
Kenya Patriotic Trust Party		Plate	
Social Peoples Party and Congress		Binoculars	
National Party of Kenya		Book	
NARC Kenya		Flower	
New KANU Alliance Party of Kenya		Five Fingers Raised	

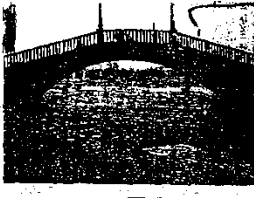
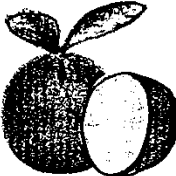

SCHEDULE—(Cont.)





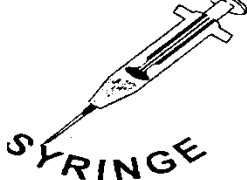
<i>Name of Political Party</i>	<i>Synonym Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
Congress of Democrats	Hammer	
Forum for Republican Party	Wembe	
Kenya Union of National Alliance of Peace	Chair	
VIPA Progressive Alliance	Lit Candle	
New Ford Kenya	Cup	
Growth and Development Party	Mobile Phone	

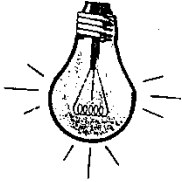

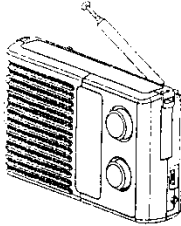



SCHEDULE—(Contd.)







<i>Name of Political Party</i>	<i>Symbol Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
Movement for Democratic Advancement Party of Kenya	Omnibus	
Republican Liberty Party	Horse	
Democratic Representative Party	African Broom	
Restoration Democrats of Kenya	Traditional Hut	
Generation Alliance Party of Kenya	Spade	
Liberal Democratic Movement	Iron Box	
Progressive Party of Kenya	Spectacles	







SCHEDULE: (Contd.)





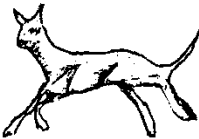

Name of Political Party	Symbol Name	Distinctive Symbol
New Democrats	Bridge	
Pan Africa Assemblies	African Drum	
Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya	Oranges	
Community Development Party of Kenya	Two Doves	
National Dynamic Development Party	Padlock	
Chama Cha Uzalendo	Whistle	

<i>Name of Political Party</i>	SCHEDULE—(Contd.)	<i>Symbol Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
Kenya African Democratic Union Asili	Coconut Tree		
Moral Integrity Party	Anchor		
Universal Democratic Party of Kenya	Boot		
Kenya Peoples Convention Party	Gourd		
Forum for Orange Democratic Change	Syringe		

<i>Name of Political Party</i>	SCHEDULE (Contd.)	<i>Symbol Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
Pambazuka Party (PAMBAZUKA)		Lit Bulb	 LIT BULB
Republican Alliance Party of Kenya		Bee	
National Revival Party		Radio	
Saba Saba Asili Party		Saba Saba	
New Revival Generation Party		Banana	
National Integrity Party		Waist Belt	

<i>Name of Political Party</i>	SCHEDULE—(Contd)	<i>Symbol Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
The Independent Party		Three Legged Traditional Stool	
Citizen Democratic Party of Kenya		Flamingo	
National Democratic Alliance		Table	
Democratic Reformation Party of Kenya		Trophy	
Daraja Ya Wakenya Party		Camel	
Democratic Community Party		Cap	

<i>Name of Political Party</i>	SCHEDULE—(Contd.)	<i>Symbol Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
Allied Democratic Party of Kenya	Kettle		
Common Wealth Development Party of Kenya	Car		
Kenya National Liberation Party	Taru		
Farmers Party	Maize Plant		
Jubilee Peoples Party of Kenya	Handcuffs		
Democratic Labour Party of Kenya	Zebra		

<i>Name of Political Party</i>	SCHEDULE (continued)	<i>Symbol Name</i>	<i>Distinctive Symbol</i>
Peoples Democratic Party		Traditional African Banjo	
Kifagio Party of Kenya		Shirt	
Freedom Party of Kenya		Running Athlete	
Peoples Patriotic Party of Kenya		Calabash	
National Renewal People's Party		Deer	
Kenya Cultural Alliance		Steering Wheel	

5.2.0 The Linguistic structure and types of KPP symbols

This analysis uses the semiotics theory and Dobrovolsky (2005:557-9) views. Dobrovolsky divides signs into three basic types depending on: ‘whether the signifier naturally resembles its referent, whether the signifier is directly linked with referent in a physical or mechanical sense and whether signifier and the referent are arbitrary associated.’ He comes up with four types of namely iconic, indexical, symptomatic and symbolic signs (see 2.1.8 semiotics). Of the 118 KPP symbols (see 4.1 above), 109 are symbolic signs (symbols that bear an arbitrary relationship to KPP name), 6 are iconic, 5 are indexical whereas one is symptomatic.

KPP name	Types of signs	Characteristics	Example of sign	Example of referent
Safina Party	Iconic	Safina symbol resembles referent	Photograph of Safina (ARK) and SAFINA onomatopoeic words	Safina, photograph and Safina words on the symbols
Agano Party	Symptomatic sign	Involuntarily shows inner state of sender	Photo of a sheep stands for a sacrificial lamp in many religious beliefs	faith or belief (Agano is Kiswahili word for covenant)

KPP name	Types of signs	Characteristics	Example of sign	Example of referent
National Rainbow Coalition	iconic	NARC symbols resembles referent	Photograph and onomatopoeic words	Torch, rainbow and NARC words in the symbol
Chama Cha Uzalendo	Iconic sign	Resembles referent	Onomatopoeic words written on	Actual sounds-CCU
Farmers Party	indexical	Symbol points out to referent by partial representation	Picture of maize plant	Maize plant symbol points to farming
Freedom party of Kenya	Indexical	Symbol points out to referent by partial representation	Photo athlete with party name round it	Running athlete with KPP name written on it
ODM-K	Iconic	Orange party name resembles the one and a half orange	Photograph of the one and a half orange	One and a half orange

KPP name	Types of signs	Characteristics	Example of sign	Example of referent
		symbol		
Jubilee peoples party of Kenya	indexical	Symbol points out to referent by partial representation	Photograph of Unlocked handcuffs imply a prisoner has been freed	Unlocked handcuffs point to KPP name jubilee (freedom to captives)
National Integrity party	Indexical sign	Belt is a partial representation of integrity	'belt of truth' is a code for integrity	Belt
ODM	Iconic	KPP name resembles the orange symbol	Photograph of the orange	Orange
Pambazuka party of Kenya	Indexical sign	Points out representation by partial representation	Lit bulb ushers in light just dawn does after a night	Lit bulb points to pambazuka (dawn) light
Saba Saba Asili party	Iconic sign	Resembles its referent	Photograph and onomatopoeic	Photo and words 77

KPP name	Types of signs	Characteristics	Example of sign	Example of referent
			words	

Table 5.1 The basic types of KPP symbols

5.3 KPP symbols as semantic fields

This section presents an analysis on the denotative or literal meanings of KPP symbols. To achieve these meanings, the symbols are grouped in to several semantic fields to show relatedness. Jurafsky & Martin (2009:648) consider the notion of a *semantic field* as an attempt to capture a more integrated, or holistic relationship among entire set of words from a single domain. Akmajian, (2001) observes that a general and intuitive description is that words in a semantic field are not synonymous, but are all used to talk about the same general phenomenon. According to the semantic field theory, ‘a meaning of a word is dependent partly on its relation to other words in the same conceptual area’ (Hintikka, 1994). The kinds of semantic fields vary from culture to culture and anthropologists use them to study belief systems and reasoning across cultural groups (Akmajian, 2001:239). The semantic field of a given word shifts over time. Further, semantics shifts of loaned words may lead to complications.

This study investigates the semantic fields’ and semantic shifts phenomena in Kenyan political party names grouping them against their symbols. The KPP obtain in several denotations that are grouped in these semantic fields:

a) Symbols of farm Equipment	symbol name
✓ Democratic Assistant Party	Hoe
✓ Kenya African Democratic Development Party	Fruit basket
✓ Chama Cha Majimbo na Mwanganza	Ladder
b) Symbols of birds and poultry	symbol name
✓ Kenya African National Union	cockerel
✓ Kenya Social Congress	Dove
✓ Kenya Citizens Congress	ostrich
✓ Kenya Alliance for National Unity Party	Eagle
✓ Community Development Party of Kenya	Two Doves
✓ Citizen Democratic Party of Kenya	Flamingo
c) Symbols of human body parts and humans	symbol name
✓ Forum for restoration of Democracy (FORD ASILI)	Two fingers salute
✓ Party of Independent candidate of Kenya	Child
✓ New Peoples Democratic Party	Two People
✓ Mass Party of Kenya	Handshake
✓ Chama Cha Mwananchi	Thumb-up
✓ New KANU Alliance Party of Kenya	Five fingers raised
d) Symbols of wildlife	symbol name
✓ Federal Party of Kenya	Giraffe
✓ National Alliance Party of Kenya	Leopard
✓ Republic Party of Kenya	Elephant
✓ Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD-KENYA)	Lion

- | | |
|--|----------|
| ✓ Social Party for Advancement and Reforms-Kenya | Elephant |
| ✓ New Aspiration Party of Kenya | Rhino |
| ✓ Democratic Labour Party of Kenya | Zebra |
| ✓ National Renewal People's party | Deer |

e) Symbols of water bodies and Aquatic (water) animals symbol name

- | | |
|-----------------------------|-----------|
| ✓ Shirikisho Party of Kenya | Rabbit |
| ✓ United People's Congress | crocodile |
| ✓ Kenya People's Party | Running |
| water | |

f) Symbols of domestic animal symbol name

- | | |
|--------------------------------|-----------------|
| ✓ National Star Party of Kenya | Rabbit |
| ✓ National Labour Party | bullock (ndume) |
| ✓ Agano Party | lamp |
| ✓ Republican Liberty Party | horse |
| ✓ Daraja Ya Wakenya Party | camel |

g) Symbols of cutlery/ utensils symbol name

- | | |
|--|----------|
| ✓ Chama Cha Uma Party | pot |
| ✓ Kenya Patriotic Trust Party | plate |
| ✓ New FORD Kenya | cup |
| ✓ Kenya People's Convention Party of Kenya | gourd |
| ✓ Peoples patriotic party of Kenya | calabash |
| ✓ Allied Democratic Party of Kenya | kettle |

h) Symbols of furniture	symbol name
✓ Kenya Union of National Alliance of Peace	chair
✓ The Independent Party	3-legged traditional stool
✓ National Democratic Alliance	Table
i) Symbols of geographical features	symbol name
✓ The Nuru Party of Kenya	Green compass
j) Symbols of transport and communication	symbol name
✓ Safina Party	Safina (Ark)
✓ United Peoples Party	Aeroplane
✓ National Progressive Party	bicycle
✓ Sisi Kwa Sisi Party of Kenya	train
✓ Growth and Development Party	mobile phone
✓ Movement for Democratic Advancement Party of Kenya	omnibus
✓ New Democrats	bridge
✓ National Revival Party	radio
✓ Commonwealth Development Party of Kenya	car
✓ Kenya National Liberation Party	tairi
✓ Kenya Cultural Alliance	steering wheel
k) Symbols of education and schooling	symbol name
✓ Forum for Restoration of Democracy for the People	pen
✓ Kenya National Democratic Alliance	bell
✓ National Party of Kenya	book

l) Symbols of plants and farm products **symbol name**

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|--------------|
| ✓ Green African Party | maize cob |
| ✓ NARC Kenya | flower |
| ✓ Farmers Party | maize plant |
| ✓ Mazingira Greens Party of Kenya | Tree |
| ✓ Kenya African Democratic Union Asil | coconut tree |

m) Symbols of masonry tools, house types and home appliance **symbol name**

- | | |
|--|-----------------|
| ✓ Kenya National Congress | key |
| ✓ National Conservative Party of Kenya | closed door |
| ✓ Social Democratic Party of Kenya | face of clock |
| ✓ Democratic Representative Party | African broom |
| ✓ Congress of Democrats | hammer |
| ✓ Restoration Democrats of Kenya | traditional hut |
| ✓ Generation Alliance Party of Kenya | spade |
| ✓ Liberal Democratic Movement | iron box |
| ✓ National Dynamic Development Party | padlock |

n) Symbols associated with light **symbol name**

- | | |
|---|---------------------------|
| ✓ Party of National Unity | two torches with flames |
| ✓ Democratic Party of Kenya | lantern |
| ✓ Kenya Nationalist People's Democratic Party | torch |
| ✓ National Rainbow Coalition | traditional African torch |
| ✓ Social Peoples Party and Congress | binoculars |

- | | |
|------------------------------|-------------------------|
| ✓ VIPA Progressive Alliance | lit candle |
| ✓ Progressive Party of Kenya | spectacles |
| ✓ Pambazuka Party of Kenya | lit bulb |
| ✓ Party of National Unity | two torches with flames |

o) Symbols associated with insects**symbol name**

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| ✓ National Liberation Party | kipepeo (butterfly) |
| ✓ Republican Alliance Party of Kenya | bee |

p) Symbols of fruits**symbol name**

- | | |
|---|---------------------|
| ✓ Orange Democratic Movement Party of Kenya | orange |
| ✓ Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya | orange (1.5 orange) |
| ✓ New Revival Generation Party | banana |

q) Symbols of beauty products and denoting clothing**symbol name**

- | | |
|---------------------------------------|------------|
| ✓ Communal Democracy Party of Kenya | comb |
| ✓ Universal Democratic Party of Kenya | boot |
| ✓ National Integrity Party | waist belt |
| ✓ Democratic Community Party | cap |
| ✓ Kifagio Party of Kenya | shirt |

r) Symbols associated with sports and games**symbol name**

- | | |
|-------------------------|----------|
| ✓ Reform Party of Kenya | football |
|-------------------------|----------|

- ✓ Democratic Reformation Party of Kenya trophy
- ✓ Freedom Party of Kenya jogging athlete

s) Symbols associated with Stars symbol name

- ✓ Labour Party of Kenya star
- ✓ Kenya Republican Reformation Party rising sun

t) Symbols associated with Music symbol name

- ✓ The Peoples Solidarity Union of Kenya flywhisk
- ✓ United Democrats of Peace and Integrity in Kenya African horn
- ✓ Peoples Party of Kenya trumpet
- ✓ Pan African Assemblies African drum
- ✓ Chama Cha Uzalendo (CCM) whistle

u) Symbols associated with currency symbol name

- ✓ Wakulima Party of Kenya (formerly United Agriparty) dollar
- ✓ Peoples Democratic Party Traditional African Banjo

v) Other symbols symbol name

- ✓ Liberal Democratic Party open umbrella
- ✓ Forum for Republican Party wembe (razor blade)
- ✓ Moral Integrity Party anchor

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|----------------|
| ✓ Forum for Orange Democratic Change | syringe |
| ✓ Saba Saba Asili Party | saba saba (77) |
| ✓ Jubilee Peoples Party of Kenya | handcuffs |
| ✓ Wiper Democratic Movement-Kenya | open Umbrella |

5.4 KPP symbols connotative meanings

This section examines associative meaning in KPP symbols. We brought out these meanings using ST, SIT and Whorfian relativity theories. Langer (1997) opines that a symbol is a sign that stands for something in an arbitrary convention-based way and that symbolic meanings are all established by social meanings which are all established by social convention, and thus cannot be figured out directly e.g. of connotation. Furthermore, Indede (2009) opines that the production and interpretation of such texts (KPP symbols) are social actions. We present KPP names alongside their symbols and symbol meaning.

- | | |
|--|--|
| a) Symbols of farm Equipment | symbol meaning |
| ✓ Democratic Assistant Party | Hoe stands for common man tools for change |
| ✓ Kenya African Democratic Development Party | Fruit basket success and goodness |
| ✓ Chama Cha Majimbo na Mwanganza | Ladder prop for change |
| b) Symbols of birds and poultry | symbol meaning |
| ✓ Kenya African national union | cockerel-timeliness |
| ✓ Kenya social congress | Dove-peace |
| ✓ Kenya citizens congress | ostrich-big and fast |

- ✓ Kenya Alliance for National Unity Party Eagle -visionary
- ✓ Community Development Party of Kenya Two Doves-peace and
togetherness
- ✓ Citizen Democratic Party of Kenya Flamingo-flamboyance

c) Symbols of human body parts and humans symbol meaning

- ✓ Forum for restoration of Democracy (FORD ASILI) Two fingers salute
change
- ✓ Party of Independent candidate of Kenya Child infancy and
honesty
- ✓ New Peoples Democratic Party Two People togetherness
- ✓ Mass Party of Kenya Handshake friendship and unity
- ✓ Chama cha mwananchi Thumb-up bravo and victorious
- ✓ New KANU Alliance party of Kenya Five fingers raised united and
open
- ✓ United Democratic Forum Party Raised handshake united

d) Symbols of wildlife symbol meaning

- ✓ Federal party of Kenya Giraffe tallest and visionary
- ✓ National Alliance Party of Kenya Leopard shrewdness
- ✓ Republic party of Kenya Elephant the largest
- ✓ Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD-KENYA) Lion The
king
- ✓ Social party for advancement and Reforms-Kenya Elephant the
largest
- ✓ New Aspiration Party of Kenya Rhino the strongest

- ✓ Democratic Labour party of Kenya Zebra big, polite and accomodating
- ✓ National Renewal People's party Deer fast, strong and dangerous

e) Symbols of water bodies and Aquatic (water) animals symbol meaning

- ✓ Shirikisho Party of Kenya Shark/ Fish idiom for big and commanding
- ✓ United People's congress crocodile idiom strong and tenuous
- ✓ Kenya people's party Running water assured of unhindered change

f) Symbols of domestic animal symbol meaning

- ✓ National star Party of Kenya Rabbit intelligence or witty change methods
- ✓ National labour party bullock (Ndume) power and strength in character
- ✓ Agano party lamp religious symbol for meekness and sacrifice
- ✓ Republican liberty party horse fastest way to victory/ change
- ✓ Daraja ya wakenya party camel reliability, courageous, strength and tough

g) Symbols of cutlery/ utensils symbol meaning

- ✓ Chama cha uma party pot common man's tools for change/livelihood
- ✓ Kenya patriotic trust party plate common man's tools for change/livelihood

- ✓ Growth and development party mobile phone modern change
communicator
- ✓ Movement for democratic advancement party of Kenya omnibus means
'all of us'
- ✓ New democrats bridge the way/road/route for change
- ✓ National revival party radio the only change
articulator/communicator
- ✓ Common wealth development party of Kenya car vehicle for change
- ✓ Kenya national liberation party tairi wheels for change
- ✓ Kenya cultural alliance steering wheel captain for
change
- ✓ Alliance Party of Kenya bus means 'all of us'

k) Symbols of education and schooling

symbol meaning

- ✓ Forum for restoration of democracy for the people pen stands for
knowledge
- ✓ Kenya national democratic alliance bell stands for
time
- ✓ National party of Kenya book stand for knowledge

l) Symbols of plants and farm products

symbol meaning

- ✓ Green African party maize cob for environment and agricultural
prosperity
- ✓ NARC Kenya flower for love and change
- ✓ New revival generation party banana fruits for everyone

n) Symbols associated with light	symbol meaning
✓ Party of national unity light/change	two torches with flames stands for
✓ Democratic party of Kenya	lantern stands for light/change
✓ Kenya nationalist people's democratic party light/change	torch stands for
✓ National rainbow coalition light/change	traditional African torch stands for
✓ Social peoples party and congress	binoculars stands for light/change
✓ VIPA progressive alliance	lit candle stands for light/change
✓ Progressive party of Kenya	spectacles stands for light/change
✓ Pambazuka party of Kenya	lit bulb stands for light/change
✓ Party of national unity light/change	two torches with flames stands for
o) Symbols associated with insects	symbol meaning
✓ National liberation party change	kepepeo (butterfly) for freedom or
✓ Republican alliance party of Kenya honey (fruits)	bee stands for hard work and

p) Symbols of fruits**symbol meaning**

- ✓ Orange democratic movement party of Kenya orange symbolizes revolution
- ✓ Orange democratic movement-kenya orange (1·5 orange) symbolizes revolution

q) Symbols of beauty products and clothing**symbol meaning**

- ✓ Communal democracy party of Kenya comb symbolizes common man attire/party
- ✓ Universal democratic party of Kenya boot symbolizes soldiers for change
- ✓ National Integrity party waist belt symbolizes common man attire/party
- ✓ Democratic community party cap symbolizes common man attire/party
- ✓ Kifagio party of Kenya shirt symbolizes common man attire/party

r) Symbols associated with sports and games**symbol meaning**

- ✓ Reform party of Kenya football stands for Team effort or togetherness
- ✓ Democratic reformation party of Kenya trophy for the winners
- ✓ Freedom party of Kenya jogging athlete means working towards change

s) Symbols associated with planets and stars symbol meaning

- ✓ Labour party of Kenya star shows bright future
- ✓ Kenya republican reformation party rising sun stands for TIME for change

q) Symbols associated with Music symbol meaning

- ✓ The peoples solidarity union of Kenya flywhisk stands for Authority
- ✓ United democrats of peace and integrity in Kenya African horn represents a harbinger or a voice of change
- ✓ Peoples party of Kenya trumpet represents a voice/sound or change
- ✓ Pan African assemblies African drum stands for sounds of change
- ✓ Chama cha uzalendo (CCM) whistle represents team work/referee
- ✓ United Republican Party horn represents a harbinger or a voice of change

r) Symbols associated with currency symbol meaning

- ✓ Wakulima party of Kenya (formerly United Agriparty) dollar
wealth/economy
- ✓ Peoples democratic party Traditional African Banjo

s) Other symbols	symbol meaning	
✓ Liberal democratic party	open umbrella	shelter
✓ Wiper Democratic Movement-Kenya	open umbrella	shelter
✓ Forum for republican party	wembe (razor blade)	sharp
✓ Moral integrity party	anchor	new beginning
✓ Forum for orange democratic change	syringe	medicine to treat/heal
✓ Saba saba asili party	saba saba (77)	Real change
✓ Jubilee peoples party of Kenya	handcuffs	freedom

Observation from the data above:

- ❖ Only in a few KPP names relate to their symbols
- ❖ Several KPP share a symbol of a form of a certain symbol
- ❖ A majority of symbols relate to common man's day-to-day activities
- ❖ Some symbols appear crafted to simply manipulate voters
- ❖ Some symbols have more than two meanings
- ❖ Some parties disputed over names hence symbol sharing. Such symbols only differ in color or shape
- ❖ Since a significant number of KPP are regional in nature and operational their symbols are steeped in local idioms

- ❖ Mother parties often transfer symbols to daughter parties
- ❖ Advocacy parties have symbols related to their specific issues examples:
Farmers party, The religious Agano party, Mazingira, etc

5.5 Linguistic manipulation in KPP symbol design

Several linguistic strategies are employed in KPP symbol choice and deployment. These linguistic choices are made easy by borrowing a lot from the CDA theory. Fairclough and Wodak [1997 271-80] summarize in section 2.1.8 the eight main tenets of CDA all of which are necessary for this analysis. They include crafting:

- ❖ Ideologically inclined symbols; Farmers party, the environmentalists and religious parties. Examples:

• Green African Party	Maize Cob
• Narc Kenya	Flower
• Farmers Party	Maize Plant
• Mazingira greens party of Kenya	Tree
- ❖ National vs. County (regional) symbols-often some KPP symbols target certain regions where the party owner has a huge ethnic following. Shirikisho party formed by coastarian Hon Chirau Makwere used the *shark* symbol to help resonant with the big sea animal. KADU-Asil which is associated with coastal areas has coconut, a coastal fruit tree as its symbol.
- ❖ There is always a conflict between candidates vs. their sponsoring KPP symbols. These individuals have their own symbols in addition to know party symbols. In fact at many national and county assembly races individual

contestants float their own symbols besides party ones. Example in Kiambu senatorial race Hon Wamatangani used his individual symbol ‘water tanks’ besides TNA symbol.

- ❖ KPP use symbols to engage (or fight) class wars (i.e. the rich vs. the poor).

Examples below portray class symbols:

- ✓ Kenya union of national alliance of peace chair-*upper class/elites*
- ✓ The independent party 3-legged traditional stool-*lower class*
- ✓ National democratic alliance Table-*lower class*
- ✓ United peoples party Aeroplane *upper class*
- ✓ National progressive party bicycle-*lower class*
- ✓ Sisi Kwa Sisi Party of Kenya train-*upper class*
- ✓ Democratic Assistant Party Hoe-*lower class*

- ❖ Some KPP symbols directly relate to KPP names in one way or another (onomatopoetic). A symbol in this case enables KPP to signify some meanings that crafters want to convey. Example:

- ✓ Saba Saba Asili party saba saba (77)
- ✓ Green African party maize cob
- ✓ NARC Kenya flower
- ✓ New revival generation party banana
- ✓ Farmers party maize plant
- ✓ Mazingira greens party of Kenya Tree

- ❖ KPP symbols are educative for they enable illiterate voters to make electoral choices. Where they cannot read and write, they visually identify their KPP via a

symbol. It is a common practice in Kenyan electoral law and practice to have a KPP name or candidates name with their party symbol on the ballot. Examples:

- ✓ National revival party radio
- ✓ Common wealth development party f Kenya car
- ✓ Kenya national liberation party tairi
- ✓ Kenya cultural alliance steering wheel
- ✓ Party of national unity two torches with flames
- ✓ Democratic party of Kenya lantern
- ✓ Kenya nationalist people’s democratic party torch
- ✓ National rainbow coalition traditional African torch

❖ KPP symbol crafters often design it around an existing societal problem/phenomenon so as to attract voters’ attention.

- ✓ FORD ASILI two finger salute (depicted multipartyism)

❖ KPP symbols are instruments for party identity and this becomes more pronounced when KPP fight over names and symbols as were the case of ODM-K and ODM in 2007. Example:

- ✓ Orange Democratic Movement Party of Kenya Orange
- ✓ Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya Orange
(1·5 Orange)

- ❖ KPP symbols are mostly crafted from implements or instruments used by a common man (voter) daily life. Crafters design or choose them with manipulation behind their minds i.e. ‘we are just like common people. Such localized symbols are attractive to local people’s common occupation

✓ Chama cha Uma party	pot
✓ Kenya patriotic trust party	plate
✓ New ford Kenya	cup
✓ Kenya people’s convention party of Kenya	gourd
✓ Peoples patriotic party of Kenya	calabash

- ❖ Religious beliefs-they specifically relate to some religious symbols.

Examples:

✓ Kenya social congress	Dove
✓ Agape Coalition party	sheep-ram
✓ Community Development Party of Kenya	Two Doves

- ❖ There is evidence that KPP names and KPP symbols are similar in character.

At times they are onomatopoeic in nature. Examples:

✓ Safina party	Safina
✓ Orange Democratic Movement Party of Kenya	Orange
✓ Saba Saba Asili party	saba saba

5.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented data analysis and findings on KPP symbols. KPP symbols have an associative meaning and a definite structure that can be linguistically and politically manipulated in choice and design. KPP symbols are grouped into semantic types and fields.

CHAPTER SIX

LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF KPP SLOGANS AND COLOURS

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents research discussions and findings on KPP slogans and KPP colours. Section 6.1 looks at the linguistic structure, the types and linguistic manipulation in the creation, use and deployment of KPP slogans. Section 6.2 looks at the KPP colour tally, spread, semantics (meaning) and the national colour hypothesis.

6.1.0 Linguistic structure and type of KPP slogans

This section looks at the linguistic structure, the types and linguistic manipulation in the creation, use and deployment of KPP slogans.

6.1.1 Linguistic of KPP slogans

This section presents data on a sample of 28 KPP slogans, discussing types, identity, structure and steps involved in The KPP slogan design. In this section we heavily relay on the views of Stewart (1997:297-308) who opines that ‘slogans create impressions, alter perceptions, elicit emotional responses, make demands and pressure oppositions. The slogans ambiguity enables them to serve as verbal bridges for one meaning to another and induce individuals and groups to interpret them according to their own perceptions and needs.’ Generally slogans simplify complex problems, and situations while demanding instant corrective actions. Many slogans are unique and are readily identifiable with specific social movements or social movement organizations, political parties inclusive. Examples of KPP slogans are: ‘I believe’, ‘Kusema na Kutenda’ (Swahili for ‘To Say and To Act’), ‘Chungwa Moja Maisha Bora’ (Swahili for ‘One Orange Better Life’). This study identifies and then

investigates the denotative meanings of 28 KPP slogans (the researcher had challenges obtaining KPP slogans for many parties did not have them in their official records). 28 KPP slogans are extracted for analysis which is considered an adequate sample for the purposes of this research. Each slogan is presented adjacent to every KPP sampled in the table below.

KPP NAME	KPP SLOGAN
KENDA	Democracy, Justice and vision
PNU	Kazi iendelee
DAWA	Dawa-usawa: Ngamia-Maisha Tena
KANU	KANU Yajenga nchi
TIP	Ukweli Usawa na Haki Tip Tip: Amani
CCM	CCU Hoyie! Pamoja Tutafaulu
PPPK	Unity Vision Progress
ODM	Chungwa Moja Maisha Bora
ODM Kenya	Chungwa plus Maisha Bora Kabisa
UDP	UDP: Ngao ya Taifa
FORD-Asili	Haki na Ukweli
FORD-People	Ford-People: Watu Watu: Watu Wengi Sana (we are social democrats)

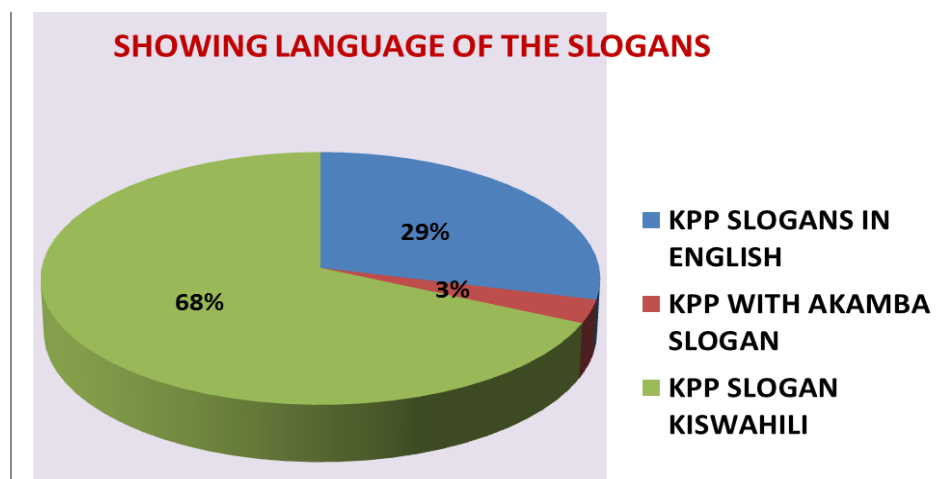
KPP NAME	KPP SLOGAN
UDP	Tegemeo la Wakenya
GAP-Kenya	Nyota yetu mwanaza wa vizazi na vizazi
NARC KENYA	One Kenya, one nation, one people
DP	Umoja na Haki
GDP	Mwelekeo Mpya
ADP	Umoja ni Nguvu
PAA	The Future is Now
PPK	Our Decision our Future
TNA	I believe
FORD Kenya	Freedom Justice and Truth-a new dawn
WDM	Wiper
URP	Kusema na Kutenda
Shirikisho	Zipapa
NDP	Tinga
UDF	Amani na Ugatuzi
PICK	Osa vinya Mkamba

Table 6.1 KPP slogans data

Observation from the KPP slogan analysis:

From the analysis of the data above we observe:

- a) Of the 28 KPP slogans sampled, 8 KPP (or 29%) had their slogans in English, one (1) KPP (or 3%) had an Akamba language slogan whereas 19 KPP (or 68%) had slogans in Kiswahili. These percentages are captured in the pie chart below.
- b) The sampled 28 KPP have 3 KPP with Kiswahili names while 25 KPP have English names. All Kiswahili named KPP have an all Kiswahili slogan. Of the English named KPP; one has a vernacular (Akamba) slogan, 8 have English slogans whereas 16 KPP have Kiswahili slogans.
- c) A majority of KPP slogans are crafted in Kiswahili. This is deliberate either to appeal to diglossic Kenyan society or for stylistic purposes.
- d) Regional KPP will likely borrow KPP slogans from the language of the catchment area as case of PICK with *osa vinya mkamba*.



Pie Chart 6.1 KPP slogans language share

6.1.2.0 Types of KPP slogans

Kenyan political parties' slogans fall in six (6) categories:

6.1.2.1 Spur of the moment or offshoot slogans

Slogans that are original-not an afterthought-that depend on a person's creativity in the course of an important demonstration, protest, activism and or crusade. Examples:

- ✓ Haki na ukweli (Kiswahili for 'Justice and Truth')—This was a 1991 FORD movement slogan
- ✓ Kibaki Tosha (Kiswahili for Kibaki OK) -----Raila Odinga coined the declaration at a NARC rally at UhuruPark grounds in 2002
- ✓ Reloaded is a slogan used by ODM for the 2013 General Elections after the Pentagon five (Mudavadi, Ruto, Ngilu, Nyaga, Balala, etc) abandoned Raila Odinga and his ODM party
- ✓ Tried and Tested was a 2002 NARC slogan used to tease KANU party rival

6.1.2.2 Authorised, ceremonial, official or formal slogans

Usually found on authorised Kenya political party logos, constitutions, insignias, press bulletins, manifestos, declarations and pronouncements in party gatherings and (un)official activities. All KPP are required by practice to have them.

6.1.2.3 Regional or ethnic slogans

Slogans specifically crafted to target voters from a certain region or community. They are used alongside official party slogans. Examples:

'*Osa vinya mukamba*' a Kamba equivalent for 'Take courage Akamba.' this slogan was used by the PICK party to galvanise voters from the Akamba ethnic group. At a

communal level we have communal slogan, ‘*Eshienyu ni Eshienyu*’ a Luhyia equivalent for ‘Yours Own is your own.’ Voters from the large yet fragmented Luhyia community were rallied around to vote for one of their own.

6.1.2.4 Individual slogans

These slogans are used by prominent party members vying for elective positions at Ward, constituency, County (Governorship and Senatorial) levels, and presidential levels to canvas for votes. Examples include: Ruto’s *hustler and mwizi* (*Kiswahili for thief*), Raila’s *Tinga* (*Kiswahili for tractor*), *baba* (*Kiswahili for father*) and *vitendawili* (*Kiswahili for riddles*), etc., Kalonzo’s *wiper and water melon* and Uhuru’s *uhunye, UK, Eurobond, boy wetu* (*Kiswahili for our boy*), *mlevi* (*Kiswahili for a drunk*) etc.

6.1.2.5 Individual cum party slogans-Dual slogans

Such slogans go beyond the pet names or individual contestants’ tags by over-the-time developing a dual role. They serve as KPP and individual-candidate’s slogan. This is significant in that in Kenya KPPs are *properties* of their leaders. Examples:

In 2007 elections, *wiper*, a Kalonzo individual slogan later became not only a party name but its slogan too come the 2013 Elections. *Wiper* is still a Kalonzo personal slogan too. It must be noted that *Wiper* was a wave-greeting coined by the late Kenyan Minister, Hon Mutula Kilonzo (snr). ‘*Tinga*’ was shared by both NDP and its 1997 presidential candidate Raila Odinga

6.1.2.6 Public or communal slogans

They galvanise communities to social action.

Examples: the Kenyan national slogan *Harambee* and CCU party’s *hoyie*.

6.1.3 Political discourse and semiotics input in KPP slogans design

Deliberate semiotic and political (discourse) steps are involved in creating, use and deployment of KPP slogan. They include:

- a) Using language to create a simple message or phrase. This involves the use of a simple, modest, familiar and a noticeable key catch-phrase, notion, or subject that makes people to think about a KPP name, symbol or slogan. Examples: When ODM saw Musalia Mudavadi-the last of the key 2007 Pentagon (group of six regional political kingpins-Raila, Ruto, Mudavadi, Balala, Nyaga and Ngilu) abandon Raila Odinga they-ODM coined a slogan “reloaded” implying ODM was full and not emptied. To their supporters it meant nothing lost but in practice its voter’s basket had been decimated.
- b) Making that slogan composed or prominent by flooding media outlets and posters. They encourage people to imagine things about a situation by tempting them to add their own fantasies, interpretations and concerns.

Example when William Ruto took over URP in 2012, he went media frenzy and campaign crazy by exhibiting how far political connotations can be stretched by naive, candid, guileless, familiar, and principled slogan *‘kusema na Kutenda’* (Kiswahili for say and do). This slogan was a whim at ODM whose 2007 slogan was *Chungwa Moja, Maisha Bora*. ODM was thereby portrayed as ‘too much talk but with little to show-off in action.’ URP implied that once in government ODM abandoned her slogan ideals and was all about cheap talk but little action.

- c) Ensuring the slogan is believable, acceptable and authentic when it reaches the target-voters. Examples:

‘KANU Ya Jenga Inchi’ (Kiswahili for KANU builds the nation) is the slogan for independent era party KANU. KANU is the oldest surviving Kenyan party. All the leading political figures in Kenya today served or were key figures in KANU. For all the years KANU was in power 1963-2002, Kenyans largely benefitted from the national cake-development, depending on their electorates allegiance. The then President Moi of KANU often at times reminded Kenyans ‘siasa mbaya maisha mabaya’ (bad political choices leads to a bad life). Opposition zones were starved of development with her sons and daughters denied plumb government jobs. Politically speaking, that was the sense in which KANU “built” the nation.

Finally, questions on the effectiveness of slogans at KPP electoral campaigns are always numerous. Slogans, as linguistic statements, that are designed to produce an emotional connection between the politician and their audiences. Slogans that appeal to a perceived groups aspiration or that characterises a party with admirable qualities or slogans that contain promises often rally support in the course of time.

6.1.4 KPP Slogan listing and identification

Data for this section was gathered during the face to face interviewing process where Respondents were asked to list KPP slogans they knew. The aim of this question was supposed to test and solicit data on slogan listing and identification. All the responses given by the informants are presented in the table with all the irrelevant data cancelled out.

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
1	Kusema na kutenda Yajenga inchi Mwanzo mpyia Amani na Ugatuzi
2	Tuko pamoja Tuko tayari
3	ODM-Tuko Tayari
4	Harambee Chungwa Ndizi water melon Tuko pamoja
5	-
6	KANU yaJenga inchi
7	ODM-Maisha bora Jubilee Tuko Pamoja
8	Tuko pamoja Pamoja twaweza
9	Tuko pamoja Kusema na Kutenda
10	Tuko pamoja
11	No
12	Tuko pamoja

Table 6.2 KII Slogan listings

The respondents' data on slogan identification highlights the following:

- a) Generally, as discussed elsewhere, many voters have little interest in KPP names, symbols and slogans. Seven (7) or 58% of respondents mentioned *Tuko Pamoja* a slogan for Jubilee Party-the latest national party to be formed by President Uhuru Kenyatta in 2016. That party is not covered in this study which delimits itself to parties formed in 1963 to 2015. One respondent couldn't identify any slogan whereas the other mentioned symbols- Chungwa (Orange), Ndizi (Banana) and water melon. Banana is not a KPP symbol but was a **YES** campaign symbol for the 2005 referendum group. Water melon was a term used to describe the undecided political leaders during the 2010 new constitution referendum. Lastly, Orange is ODMs symbol.
- b) The politically neutral cum national political slogan 'Harrabee' found its way in the data. Significantly, Harrabee-a word of Hindu origin-means *lets pull together* is one of the unofficial non-partisan national emblems of our proud Kenyan political heritage. Any KPP and Kenyan can use it as a clarion. Notably, the national soccer teams go by the name 'Harrabee' stars (men) 'Harrabee'starlets (women).
- c) Data on slogan multiplicity is evident. KPP have multiple slogans besides the official registered one; candidates too have their own slogans. Every other five year general political cycle delivers new slogans with both KPP and Candidates eager to re-invent. ODM has multiple slogans such as *Chungwa Moja Maisha Bora* (used for 2007 General elections and the official slogan), *Tuko Tayari* and *ODM reloaded* (both used during the 2013 General elections to stem defections).
- d) The following slogans were identified by respondents:

- ✓ *Tuko tayari* a slogan associated with ODM party or CORD Coalition
- ✓ *Maisha bora* a slogan associated with ODM party
- ✓ *Kusema na kutenda* a slogan associated with URP party
- ✓ *Yajenga inchi* a slogan associated with KANU party
- ✓ *Mwanzo mpyia* a slogan associated with ODM party
- ✓ *Amani na ugatuzi* a slogan associated with UDF party or Amani coalition

Note

Kenyan Political parties (KPP) employ Slogans to create impressions, to alter perceptions, to elicit emotional responses, to make demands and to pressure oppositions. The ambiguity of slogans enables them to serve as verbal bridges for one meaning to another and induce individuals and groups to interpret them according to their own perceptions and needs. Generally slogans simplify complex problems, and situations while demanding instant corrective actions. Many slogans are unique and are readily identifiable with specific social movements or social movement organizations, political parties inclusive. KPP slogans such as: 'I believe', 'Kusema na Kutenda' (Swahili for 'To Say and To Act'), 'Chungwa Moja Maisha Bora' (Swahili for 'One Orange Better Life'). This study identified, investigated and then established the linguistic strategies employed in the KPP slogans formulation. Questions on the effectiveness of slogans at KPP electoral campaigns are always numerous. Slogans, as linguistic statements, designed to produce an emotional connection between the audience and politician have been studied to bring out their linguistic strategies such as the use of: alliteration, assonance, antithesis, and framing.

6.1.5 Linguistic manipulation in KPP slogans

When you talk about Kenya political party slogans, then you land in to a diverse, complicated and somewhat ambiguous arena. For starters, KPP slogans are multiple in existence, practice and use. Their arena of significance and application is radically unconventional. Generally, the 2010 Kenyan constitution and electoral laws requires KPP to have slogans (mottos) but it specifically, doesn't designate a convention or a rule on choice, use and application of symbols. Any party can choose names and slogan of their liking hence opening the door for language manipulation in design and use of slogans. Speech act theory and CDA-PDA provides the enabling theoretical framework. Speech act theory concerns itself with the functions of language. Language can be used for speech acts because people share rules that create acts: utterances 'count as' successful and non-defective performances of speech acts when they fulfill certain conditions. Slogans by the nature of their performance are speech acts. Slogans performance involves the speaker (in this case a politician and the responders (voters). Schiffrin (1995) opines that a speech act is basic unit of language that performs a communicative act. Speech acts, taken together with the principle of expressibility [whatever can be meant can be said], suggests that there are a series of analytic connections between the notion of speech acts, what the speaker means, what the sentence (or other linguistic element) uttered means, what the speaker intends, what the hearer understands, and what the rules governing the linguistic elements are.

This section investigates and presents the linguistic strategies, motivation and manipulation in the design/crafting of KPP slogans. This analysis agrees with Onysko (2010:191-233) that crafting a slogan often involves a deliberate strategy. Below are

enumerated some linguistic strategies that are often employed in the design of KPP slogans. Slogans are designed for easier:

- a) Memorability or impressiveness. Example: Shirikisho party's *Zipapa* slogan is a catch phrase that can be memorized easily.
- b) Correlation or equivalence. Example: LDPs *Rainbow* slogan was equated to a rain that would stop KANUs destructive rains and bad leadership;
- c) Setting-*haki na ukweli* of FORD ASILI and *Osa vinya Mukamba* of PICK
- d) Solidity, trimness and vividness- Examples are from KPP and individual candidates *slogans Wiper* (Kalonzo), *Hummer* (Raila) and *Hustler*(Ruto)
- e) Bipolar and demoralizing the opponent- 2002 NARC Presidential candidate Kibaki used *Tried, Tested and Experienced* to ridicule KANUs Uhuru Kenyatta as *unTried untested, untested and inexperienced*.
- f) Dissuasion is used to turn voters against the party they previously supported by presenting another counter narrative. Example: When Ruto decamped ODM to form URP he crafted a slogan *kusema na kutenda* to oppose ODMs *Maisha bora* by presenting the latter as cheap talk with no visible developmental plans on the ground.
- g) Manifold inspiration-slogans invite voters to be inspired by the KPP ideals. Example: *Kanu yajenga inchi* or KENDAs slogan of *democracy, justice and vision* are inspirational in nature.
- h) Parallelism- this is a recurrent usage of related grammatical items. Example:

PPK has *our decision our future* and NARC-Kenya's *one Kenya, one nation, one people*.

We have repetition of **our** and **one** in these KPP.

- i) Alliteration- use of similar consonant sounds in same positions. Example: GDP has *mwelekeo mpyia*, Ford-people's *watu wengi sana* and FORD-Asili's *Haki na ukweli*.
- j) Antithesis-many KPP have conflicting or dissimilar concepts in their slogans. Example: A look at PAA slogan *the future is now*; whatever PAA's ideals its slogan is an antithesis granted the realities on the ground and the amount of energy likely to be expended in repairing the damage visited on Kenyan politics or nationhood since independence.
- k) Repetition-resurrecting a significant word to strengthen the point being made. A classic example of repetition is GAP Kenya's slogan *mwangaza wa vizazi na vizazi* (Kiswahili for a light for generations upon generations). Where *vizazi* (Kiswahili for generations) is repeated.
- l) Some slogans exhibit an onomatopoeic relationship with KPP symbols. Both refer to similar attributes. Example: One KPP called DAWA uses a symbol is *camel* (*Ngamia* in Kiswahili) whereas its slogan is *Ngamia Maisha Tena* (Kiswahili for *Camel; life again*).
- m) Assonance is a feature where vowel sounds are repeated in similar word positions. Example is TIP party's *Ukweli Usawa na Haki* (Truth, Fairness and Justice).

- n) KPP slogans are peculiar and brief. Short and catchy phrases are constructed for easy excitability and recall. Example: Truth and Justice (FORD), Amani na Ugatuzi (Kiswahili for Peace and Devolution) (UDF) etc.
- o) KPP slogans function as synopsis, outlines and sum-ups as opposed to stating a case for civic-voter interaction and deliberations. Example: TNA slogan ‘I believe.’
- p) Slogans are stylistically designed to appeal to voters’ sense of emotion yet deliberately modest on intricacy and philosophy. Example is PNU slogan ‘Kazi iendele’ (Kiswahili for ‘let’s continue the work’). This PNU slogan opened up herself for competitor manipulation who derided as a continuation of status quo and corruption scandals that had bedeviled Mwai Kibaki’s regime. This slogan is largely vague.
- q) KPP slogans are steeped in local idiom understanding their meanings at times require knowledge of Kenyan politics. At times they are a direct answer to competitors. When the 2005 Orange revolution disintegrated forming two parties- ODM and ODM-K-both not only contested the right to name ODM but also to the Orange symbol and the orange slogan Chungwa moja maisha bora. Whereas Raila’s ODM took symbol Orange and slogan Chungwa moja maisha bora Kalonzo’s ODM-K crafted Orange plus (for one and a half orange symbol) and Chungwa plus maisha bora zaidi.
- r) Popular KPP candidates’ slogans at times outshine those of their KPP. As discussed elsewhere in this research, KPP are individual properties as opposed to mass ownership. KPP are vehicles crafted and owned by political kingpins and in their personal image and ideals-interests are party run. Examples:

- ✓ ODM owner and leader Raila Odinga has individual popular slogans-symbols such as baba, Tinga, Hummer, etc. which at times outshine the various KPP vehicles –such as FORD Kenya, NDP, LDP, ODM, CORD and NASA-on which he has been running for elective positions since 1992.
 - ✓ Kalonzo has wiper (later used by WDM), water melon, etc.
 - ✓ Ruto has hustler
- s) Whereas a majority of KPP slogans exhibit an arbitrary relationship with KPP names, symbols and slogans few cases exhibit onomatopoeic relationships. Such slogans directly speak or relate to the symbol or name used. A case in point is DAWA whose camel symbol and camel slogan has been discussed.

In conclusion, the researcher observes that KPP slogans is both a linguistic and political process crafted to link slogans to existing beliefs, ideals, goals, and desires of the voters. Language offers the resources crucial in the linguistic manipulation upon which political ideology is dressed.

6.2.0 KPP Colours Findings

KPP colour is a common political tool often deployed on party posters, manifesto, bulletins, emblems and dresses-shirts. Dondis (1973:50) notes ‘colour is laden with information and a necessary tool’ for deployment by KPP tools creators. To bring out meanings in KPP colours, the researcher uses the revised B and K universal theory and Whorfian Linguistics relatively theory to study and analyse KPP colour spread, use and deployment.

6.2.1 Data presentation on KPP colours

This research extracted and then adequately sampled 23 KPP for colours for the study. We could only obtain colours of 23 KPPs largely due to a lack of KPP colour convention, an inherent colour sharing across party lines and the lack of recognisable colours on KPP official documents (emblems or records). Data on KPP colours is presented below.

Colours were extracted from 23 KPPs and studied for their meanings. An analytical observation on KPP colour analysis is presented provided.

KPP NAME	KPP COLOUR(S)
1. KENDA	Black Red Blue White
2. PNU	Red White
3. DAWA	White Bluish Purple Green Orange
4. KANU	Mainly Red shades of black and green
5. AP	White

KPP NAME	KPP COLOUR(S)
	Black
6. ODM	Deep orange
7. ODM KENYA	Orange
8. UDP	Green White Red Black Brown
9. FORD-ASILI	Black Brown Green
10. FORD-PEOPLE	Blue White
11. SISI KWA SISI PARTY OF KENYA	White Black Green Blue
12. UDP	Black Green White stripes and dots
13. GAP-KENYA	White Black

KPP NAME	KPP COLOUR(S)
14. NARC KENYA	Red Green
15. DP	White Green Orange
16. PAA	White
17. APK	Yellow
18. TNA	Red
19. FORD Kenya	Black Green White
20. WDM	Blue White
21. URP	Yellow Black
22. SHIRIKISHO	Ocean blue
23. UDF-P	Yellow/ Green

Table 6.3 A list KPP Colours

Observation from the data on KPP colours

From the data presented above we deduce several issues.

a) 23 KPP were sampled for colour. A spread of 9 colours that cut across the

KPP include:

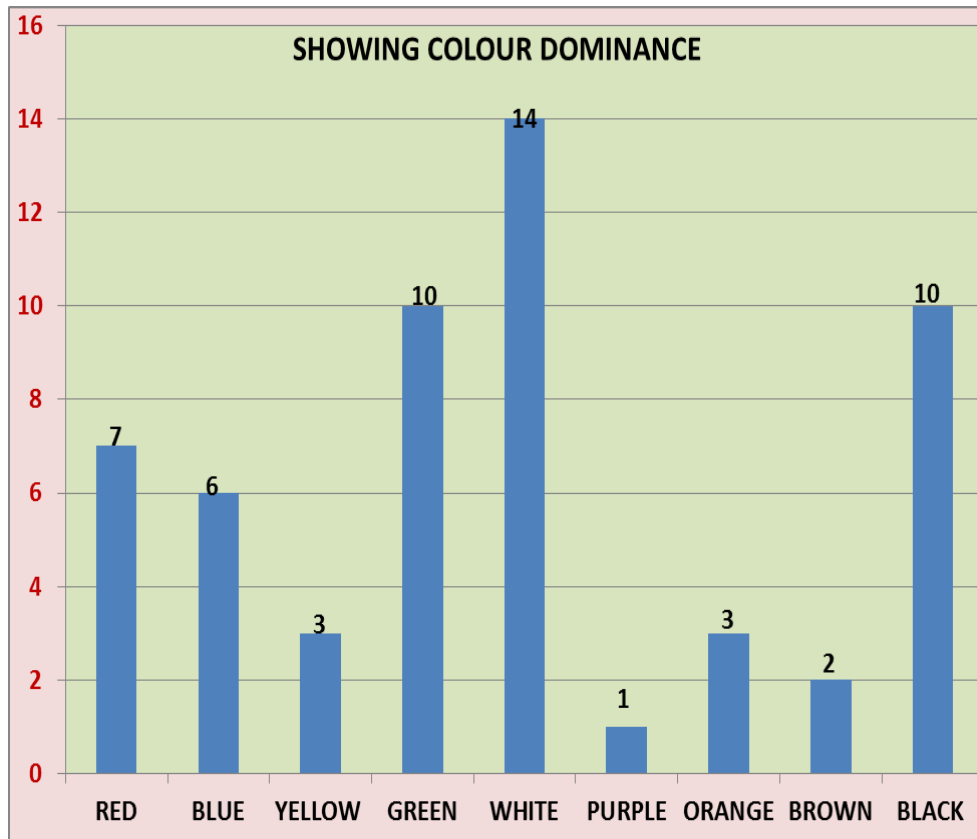
- ✓ Red
- ✓ Blue
- ✓ Yellow
- ✓ Green
- ✓ White
- ✓ Purple
- ✓ Orange
- ✓ Brown
- ✓ Black

b) Some of these colours recur across parties. Below we tally the number of times each colour occurs with a view of choosing the KPP colour with the most tallies/spread. White followed by green and black are the most dominant KPP colours. Purple followed by brown, yellow and Orange are the least colours of choice even though Orange remains the colour of the most dominant parliamentary party-ODM.

- ✓ Red-7
- ✓ Blue-6
- ✓ Yellow-3
- ✓ Green-10
- ✓ White-14
- ✓ Purple-1
- ✓ Orange-3
- ✓ Brown-2

✓ Black-10

Note These results on colour prominence are presented graphically below showing each colour tally.



Graph 6.1 KPP Colour spread

6.2.2 Connotative meanings in KPP colours

During the face to face interviewing process, the KII's (respondents) were asked to give the possible meanings of KPP colours. Several connotative meanings of KPP colours they listed are presented and discussed. (The data is obtained from questions paused to KIIs).

a) KPP use colours like red, blue, orange, white, green, black, yellow, etc.

Kindly, if possible, list/state/provide the meanings of these colours?

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
1	Red-dominance Orange-warmth Blue-integrity White-peace Green-growth
2	Orange for orange party
3	Know idea
4	Red-energy, strength, power, determination, danger, among others Blue-trust, loyalty, wisdom, confidence, faith, faith, intelligence, stability, etc Orange-joy, enthusiasm, creativity, success, strength, endurance, etc White-a sign of goodness, light, purity, perfection, etc Green-growth and hope, harmony, freshness, fertility, stability, and endurance Black-power, evil, elegance, formality, fear, mystery, etc Yellow-joy, happiness, intellect, energy, honour, loyalty, and also issues of warning Purple-nobility, power, loyalty, nobility, ambitions, dignity, independence, creativity, mystery, etc
5	No

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
6	No
7	Not meaningful
8	Not so particular....on all of them Jubilee uses RED to signify the struggle for independence
9	-
10	White means peace
11	Yes
12	Not meaningful

Table 6.4 Meaning in KPP colours

The data presented above on whether KPP colours have meanings highlights the following:

- a) The question on whether or not colours have meanings produced diverse results. 16% didn't know whether KPP colours were meaningful or not, 42% believe KPP colours are meaningful whereas the remaining 42% believe they are not. KIIs who believe colours are not meaningful and those who do not know constitute 58%, quite a significant number. This might point to an inadequate exposure (voter education) to KPP toos.
- b) At independence in 1963, Kenya designed a flag with four meaningful colours. The political elites-independent day heroes and heroines thought these colours could foster national unity, solidarity, pride and harmony. Green, white, red and black were deliberately and politically assigned the following meanings:

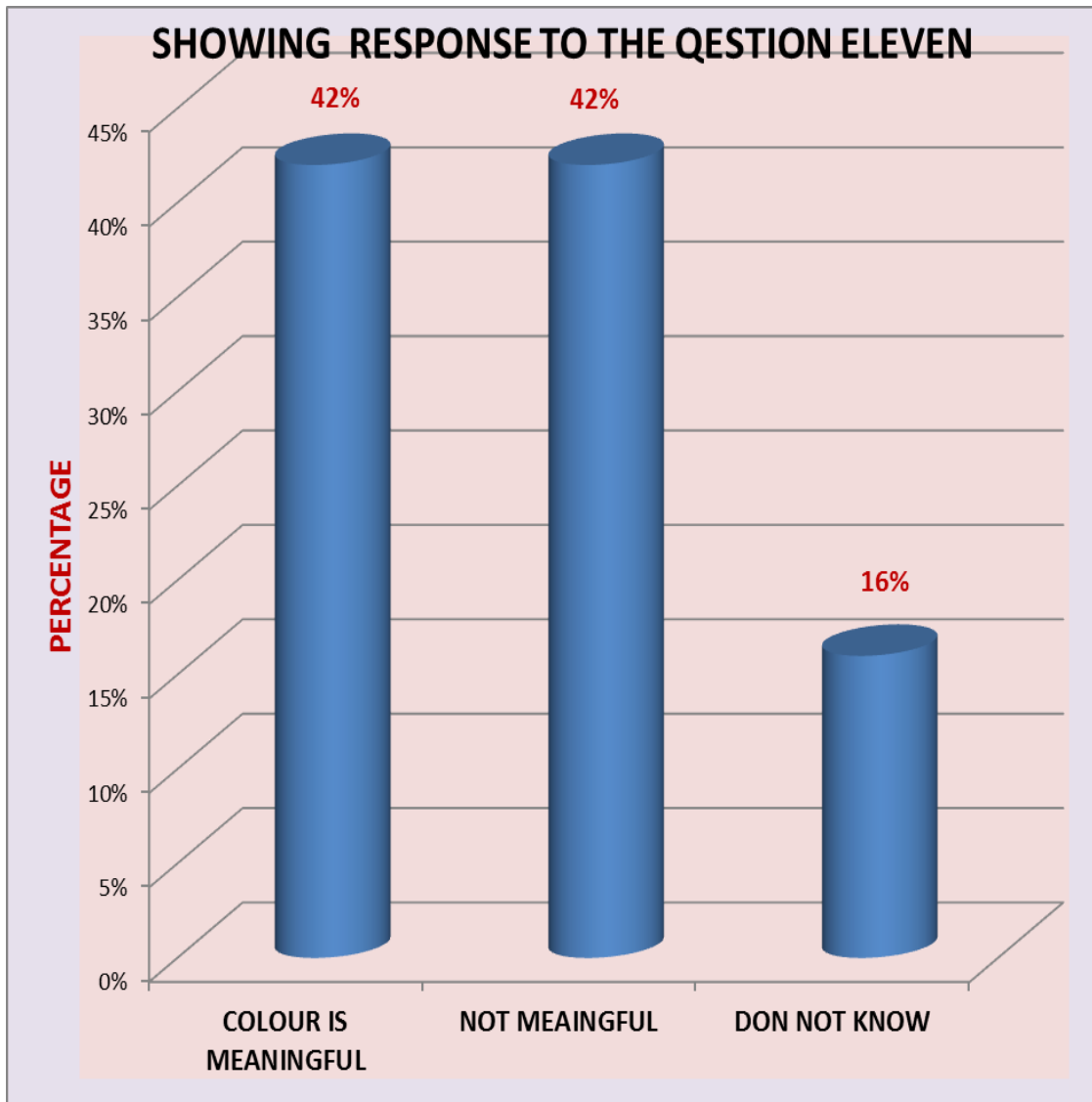
- ✓ Black represents the black Africans identity. This colour was to remind Kenyans of the native black clamor for liberation thereby creating pride in our African-black heritage. Simply put, it connotes both a racial freedom and heritage
- ✓ Green represents our country, our land, vegetation and our agricultural potential, fertility, productivity and ability. Land was the main issue for the *maumau* war on independence. The so-called white highlands had to be turned black and rescinded to native ownership.
- ✓ White connotes peace and harmony after a long drawn struggle for independence
- ✓ Red connotes the Kenyan blood that was shed for our freedom. Kenyan independence or freedom is inked in blood.

Today these colours mean different things to a majority of voters and their political leaders who were largely born long after independence thus carrying no historical baggage. Below we present the KPP colour meanings as obtained from respondents:

- ✓ **RED** signifies the struggle for independence, dominance, energy, strength, power, determination, and danger, among others. Note that there is no mention of blood.
 - ✓ **Black** signifies power, evil, elegance, formality, fear and mystery. Note that there is no mention of the black African skin colour.
 - ✓ **Green** signifies growth and hope, harmony, freshness, fertility, stability, and endurance. Note that there is no mention of land.
 - ✓ **White** signifies peace, goodness, light, purity and perfection. This colour is the only set that can converge in meaning with national colour meaning at independence.
- c) Whereas there is no laid down convention on colour choice, a number of KPP quite significantly borrow from the four national colour pool (of green, red, white and black). Yellow remains another attractive colour followed by orange, blue and

purple in that order. Notably, the choice of colour appears to be an individual KPP choice.

d) Lastly we note that KPP colours have meanings to 42% who closely identify with or follow them. This makes colour an important KPP tool hence the need to study



Graph 6.2 semantics-meanings of KPP colours

Observation:

This study identified, investigated and then established the linguistic strategies-political discourse and semantics-employed in the KPP colour choice. KPP colour is a

common political tool. Whether KPP colours are meaningful or not was a concern for this research. This research adequately sampled 23 KPP for colour study. This research noted a relationship between the KPP colours and the Kenyan national flag colours of black, white, red and green. This research posits that the national colours are a colour pool from which KPP draws theirs. This presupposition holds in relation to political party colours nationally and internationally. The semantics of colours are connotative with their beings determined by colour. Some colours have a shared global meaning as is case of white. There are therefore implications associated with colour use which can be manipulated to great political effects. As is discussed later, this research applies a divergent-convergent index-score ranging between +1 to +4 as a basis for respondents colour data listing/identification vis a vis her relatedness to the Kenyan national colours. The issue of Kenya national flag colors is shrouded in linguistic, historical and philosophical representation of ideology- whether individual voters would independently have similar interpretations of the meanings of these colours or whether they simply draw from historical information passed down to them is a question to ponder.

Context plays a significant role in color cognition and is a contributory factor to manipulation of meaning. The conceptualisation of colour varies and depends on cognitive entrenchment of color relations borne out of specific associations. These associations could be based on historic, experiential and even geographical contexts. Example: red may have a certain meaning or connotation due to a historic event such as a fire or war /bloodshed or white having a global meaning of peace yet some languages do not have a term for white and call it colourless.

6.2.3 The National colour observation and her impact on KPP colouring

A major mystery this research asked itself was the relationship between the Kenyan national official colours and those of KPP. To address this puzzle and within the context of this research, the study went beyond the traditional cultural colours semantics by bringing up the national colour observation whose premise is to link and associate KPP colours with state-colours. The national-country-state colours are official state symbols and connote patriotism, nationhood, unity, freedom. Such colours often don state insignias, flags, symbols, documents, and the national cultural activities such: national teams' attires, official state functions decorations, etc. It's needless to say these are the first learned or acquired colours with a big social significance. A country's citizens have a strong emotional attachment to such state colours and politicians are alive to this fact. This research posits that any nation's political parties will often draw their own colours from the colour shades or mixtures of their national colour pool. This is either done unconsciously or deliberately. This research hypothesizes that the Kenyan state colours-red, green white and black-are the most central or most important colour pool from which KPP draws their own. Granted three of the four national colours are primary (with exception of green which itself a mixture of red and blue). KPP that have any of the four colours shall be graded on a range or scale of +1 to +4 to establish the prevalence of either convergence or divergence in relation to the nation's official colours. +1 indicates presence of one colour whereas +4 mean presence of all four colours. KII field data is used to generate this discussion. The data below -generated from both primary and secondary sources- indicates that all the 23 sampled KPP draw at least some of their colours from the official state colours.

KPP name	KPP colour(s)	Presence of National Colours on a range or scale of +1 to +4
1. KENDA	Black Red Blue White	+4
2. PNU	Red White	+2
3. DAWA	White Bluish Purple Green Orange	+3
4. KANU	Mainly Red shades of black and green	+3
5. AP	White Black	+2
6. ODM	Deep orange	+1
7. ODM Kenya	Orange	+1
8. UDP	Green White Red	+4

KPP name	KPP colour(s)	Presence of National Colours on a range or scale of +1 to +4
	Black Brown	
9. FORD-Asili	Black Brown Green	+2
10. FORD- People	Blue White	+1
11. Sxisi Kwa Sisi Party of Kenya	White Black Green Blue	+3
12. UDP	Black Green White stripes and dots	+3
13. GAP-Kenya	White Black	+2
14. NARC KENYA	Red Green	+2
15. DP	White Green	+2

KPP name	KPP colour(s)	Presence of National Colours on a range or scale of +1 to +4
	Orange	
16. PAA	White	+1
17. APK	Yellow	-1
18. TNA	Red	+1
19. FORD Kenya	Black Green White	+3
20. WDM	Blue White	+1
21. URP	Yellow Black	+1
22. Shirikisho	Ocean blue	+1
23. UDF	Yellow Green	+2

Table 6.5 Relationships of KPP colours with national colours

Results

- a. All KPP draw colours from the national-state colour pool. So this national colour pool is the first point of call when it comes to choice of KPP colours. This agrees with Whorfian ideas that culture/ language is shared.

- b. KPP colours are meaningful with their meanings socially agreed. The colours that Kenyans come to socially learn or identify with from childhood hence hold an emotional attachment. Again, this agrees with both Berlin and Kay's theory and the Whorfian hypothesis.
- c. The choice of KPP colour is deliberate with its creation linguistically and politically manipulated.
- d. Secondary KPP colours such as orange (a mixture of yellow and red) would be considered as a convergence and not a divergence.
- e. The tally for national colour prevalence is an even 10 for red, black and green but pops up to 13 for white. Incidentally white strips appear twice on the national flag. However no conclusive answer was adduced for this difference.
- f. In the context of this study and on account of political party colouring examples discussed in this section, this research is of the opinion that the national colour hypothesis is a reality.

6.3 Conclusion

The creation and choice of KPP slogans and KPP colours relies heavily on language. These KPP tools have a linguistic structure and linguistic are susceptible to linguistic manipulation for political reasons. Linguistic manipulation is manifested in semantics, creation, use and deployment of KPP slogans. As for KPP colours tally, spread, semantics (meaning) and the national colour hypothesis takes centre stage.

CHAPTER SEVEN

VOTERS' EXPOSURE TO KPP TOOLS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter examines the voters' general knowledge (exposure) of Kenya political party names, symbols, colours and slogans. During the personal interviews, respondents data was recorded the form of checklist checklists. The respondents' profiles and their checklists form an appendix of this research. The data obtained from each questions is presented, discussed and analysed using the mixed methods method (approach), the SIT and CDA theories.

7.1 Presentation and discussion of respondents data

This analysis is based on the mind tenet as expounded in the Symbolic interactionism theory (SIT) in sections 2.1.8 and 2.2.1. SIT proponents opine that people create reality about a person in their mind and then react to this reality that they have constructed. The people with whom they interact are, to some extent creatures of their own imagination. People act on perception and assumed characteristics. Symbolic interactionist perspective concentrates upon the meanings people find in other people's actions. How these meanings are derived and how others respond to them. They observe that failure to define behaviour situations correctly and make appropriate responses can have unhappy consequences. Interactionist perspectives bring insight to personality development and human behaviour. Furthermore, the eight (8) tenets of CDA-PDA as discussed in section 2.1.8 and section 2.2.2 are relevant to this chapter that attempts to address a societal problem on whether voters' have adequate knowledge/ exposure to KPP tools. Fairclough and Wodak (1997) wrote that the main goal of CDA is to address social problems, discuss power relations and

constitute society and culture in an ideological and historical way by establishing a mediated link between text and society in an interpretative and explanatory in a form of social action.

During the personal interviews, questions were posed to 12 respondents and they recorded their responses in checklists. Each respondent's responses are itemized against their number. To observe respondent's confidentiality, respondents being identified as respondents number 1-12. The respondents' profiles and their individual responses form appendix 3. Data obtained from each question is presented and analysed using both qualitative and quantitative methods.

Question 1

List in order of importance what you consider most while casting your ballot. Is it the KPP, the candidate, the friendship or money, etc.?

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
1.	The candidate
2.	Candidate Party Friendship Tribe or Clan (ethnicity or ethnic affiliations)
3.	The manifesto
4.	Candidate
5.	Policy
6.	Candidate

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
	Party (the candidates record, commitment and vision and party manifesto matter)
7.	Candidate- I consider candidates integrity-character and past development record then. Party
8.	Candidate
9.	Candidate Party Friendship
10.	Candidate-what he will put to consideration on people's problems and views
11	Candidate
12	Candidate

Table 7.1 Factors influencing voters' behavior

From the Table shown above we can observe

- a) All the 12 KII respondents gave answers to the question on factors they consider most-as the first call-while casting their ballot. 84% said they consider the individual candidate, 8% considered either manifesto or policy. Both KPP policy and KPP manifesto are properties of the party so are candidates as party members (candidates). None of the respondents placed the KPP as the first reason for

voting. It is appropriate to conclude, basing on field data, that KPP play a second fiddle to individual candidates i.e. voters have more faith in individual candidates than they have in institutions called Kenya political party. The respondent noted their preference for an individual candidate for integrity, character, past development record and considerate to people's problems and views. Placing elected officials ahead of KPP in matters development shows the voters general lack of trust in KPP.

- b) Friendship, KPP policy, KPP party's track record and ethnicity are other reasons as to why voters cast their ballots. Tribalism-clanism-ethnicity is a common denominator when casting presidential votes, the parliamentary and County Government-devolved units' levels in Kenya for its seen as the only way safeguarding communal interests. Voters believe they can only access political states power and national resources through their tribal leaders or cheifteins

Since independence, Kenya has 118 KPP (with 44 KPPs on by IEBC register in 2015). How many KPPs do you know (by number)?

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
1	30
2	5
3	5
4	7
5	5
6	3
7	10

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
8	15
9	15
10	10
11	4
12	11

Table 7.2 Respondents list on number of KPP

These data indicates that a majority of Kenyan voters hardly know half the number of registered KPP. This could be purely due to; ignorance, lack of interest, disillusionment or a dislike of these entities as shown elsewhere. Example a respondent referred to KPP as entities ‘owned by some people.’

Questions 3

What’s your general attitude towards Kenyan political parties? Do you have a general liking, dislike or attachment towards them?

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
1	Like
2	No regard for them. They change so quickly. I dislike them
3	No attachment
4	Very minimal
5	Attachment
6	Parties are business enterprises to enrich founders
7	No attachment

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
8	My attitude is not unique in any way...I like political alliance or coalitions because they bring out issues of national concern and able to bring out issues that the government has failed to achieve
9	Likes
10	A good party is the one that unites the nation-creates disunity
11	Some are tribal based
12	No attachment

Table 7.3 Voters attitude towards KPP

An overwhelming majority of voters have either dislike or no attachment to political parties. This negative attitude is worrisome granted political parties are vehicles through which masses may govern and or express their democratic will. Several of the reasons advanced include:

- a) KPP creates disunity-A good party is the one that unites the nation. Kenyans are hugely divided along ethnic grounds during and after General elections
- b) Preference for coalitions or alliances that brings any Kenyans on board-political alliance or coalitions bring out issues of national concern and able to bring out issues that the sitting government has failed to achieve
- c) They belong to individuals as opposed to masses-parties are business enterprises to enrich founders. Briefcase KPP that only appear at every other election cycle only to sell party nomination certificates are a common feature in Kenyan politics. Lack of transparency, corruption, violence and rigged

nomination processes bedevil bigger KPP too (see respondents answers to Question 17)

- d) Lack of longevity- They change so quickly. It's now a common feature to face successive 5-year circle elections with totally new parties or coalition. This total lack of interest in party development could be the reason for dislike or no attachment. In Kenyan politics KPP names, slogans and symbols may change but only one thing remains constant i.e. Candidates-politicians who have perfected the art of forming, destroying, collapsing and killing KPP to safeguard personal interests.

Questions 4

Kenyan Political parties have tools such as names, symbols, slogans and party colours. List the KPP tools identifiable with your preferred KPP?

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback	Analysis of recognition (+1-+4)
1	All	+4
2	Some ODM JUBILEE FORD-KENYA	0
3	ODM-Orange Jubilee-Red Wiper-Blue	0
4	Some	

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback	Analysis of recognition (+1-+4)
	Names Symbols Colours	+3
5	Yes	0
6	I don't belong to any party	0
7	All	+4
8	Colour is orange slogan Tuko tayari	+1
9	Yes	0
10	Some Slogans Symbols Name Colours	+4
11	Some	0
12	Not really	0

Table 7.4 List of KPP tools identifiable by voters' most preferable KPP

Observations from the data above

- 59% of the respondents do not identify KPP with their names, slogans, symbols nor colours. This tally well with a question where they claimed to vote for candidates and not KPP.

- 25% of voters can identify KPP with all their names, slogans, symbols and colours. This represents a quarter of all sampled middle class voters who are expected to be the most vibrant, educated and knowledgeable.
- 8% identify KPP by at least three (3) whereas the remaining 8% recognize only one.

Questions 5

List-rank the KPP tools (given in question 8 above) in order of influence and effect on voting behavior

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
1	Name Colour Symbol Slogan
2	Slogans
3	N/A
4	Name Colour Symbol
5	-
6	I vote for change but I am always disappointed in long run
7	Name, party, colours, symbols
8	Slogan and oneness and also color because we are identified

	based on it
9	Name Slogan Colour Symbols
10	Slogan Symbol Name Colours
11	No
12	-

**Table 7.5 Respondents rank on KPP tools according to their influence on voting
Observations**

- a) A ranking of KPP tools from the order of the most influential to the least influential yielded: the KPP slogan, KPP name, KPP colour and KPP symbol in order of preference.
- b) Significantly 33% of the respondents were non-committal on ranking the he KPP slogan, KPP name, KPP colour and KPP symbol.
- c) A majority of respondents-66% easily recognized the KPP slogan, KPP name, KPP colour and KPP symbol.

Questions 6

Do KPP tools evoke some special meaning or significance in you? If yes/no, explain?

Respondents serial	Respondents feedback
no	
1	Yes a sense of ownership and belonging
2	Yes One orange reminds me of the national referendum and the struggle for constitutional change
3	-
4	Yes
5	No
6	No
7	No It's just a marketing strategy for political parties...to me it means nothing
8	Yes
9	Yes the strength of some individuals in power
10	Slogan-it portrays what they can deliver to people
11	No
12	No

Table 7.6 Responses on meaning of KPP tools

Observations from this table indicate:

- a) KPP slogans, KPP names, KPP colours and KPP symbols evoke some special meaning, significance or feeling to the voters. 50% said **YES**, 42% said **NO** whereas 8% were non-committal.
- b) Some of the reasons given for the YES were:
 - ✓ KPP creates a sense of ownership and belonging
 - ✓ KPP reminds voters of the struggle for constitutional change
 - ✓ KPP speaks to the strength of some individuals in power
 - ✓ KPP portrays what they can deliver to people
- c) Some reason advanced by the NO group include:
 - ✓ KPP tools are just a marketing strategy for political parties and isn't to meaningful to voters

Questions 7

Do KPP colours influence your voting pattern or candidate choice?

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
1	Not really
2	No
3	No
4	Yes
5	No
6	No
7	Yes
8	Yes
9	Both-Yes
10	No
11	No
12	No

Table 7.7 Responses KPP colour influence on voting

Observations from this table indicate:

An overwhelming majority of voters-respondents i.e. 67% stated that KPP colours do not influence their voting patterns. However, a significant 33% thought KPP colours influenced their judgment.

Questions 8**Name 10 KPP you consider to have been strong organizations in the past 10years**

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
1	ODM TNA URP WIPER NARC PNU FORD-K UDF ANC KANU
2	KANU DP FORD-K
3	Unable
4	Narc Kenya Democratic party of Kenya-DP ODM TNA Wiper Democratic Movement Ford people Ford Kenya KANU

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
	URP
5	KANU
6	KANU
7	PNU FORD-KENYA NEW FORD KENYA WIPER AMANI ALLIANCE PARTY OF KENYA KANU NARC LABOUR PARTY OF KENYA SAFINA TNA
8	KANU DP FORD-KENYA PPK PNU ODM ODM-KENYA TNA

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
	AMANI National Congress Party UDM URP
9	PNU NARC ODM JUBILEE WIPER UDF
10	Jubilee ODM PNU KANU UDF URP Ford-Kenya
11	NO
12	14 No names given

Table 7.8 Names of KPP as provided by Respondents

Observations from this table indicate:

- a) Respondents-voters could identify 21 KPP which is quite significant granted they were to name only 10 KPP they considered strong organizations in the last 10 years i.e. (in the last two general elections)
- b) An analysis of the KPP given provides a tally that ranks the KPP in to the level of recognition. KANU emerges at the top as shown below.

Respondents Number	KPP NAME	TALLY
1.	KANU	8
2.	FORD-KENYA	6
3.	ODM	5
4.	URP	5
5.	PNU	5
6.	TNA	4
7.	WIPER	4
8.	ANC	3
9.	UDF	3
10.	DP	3
11.	NARC	3
12.	JP	2
13.	UDM	1
14.	NFK	1
15.	PPK	1
16.	NC	1

Respondents Number	KPP NAME	TALLY
17.	NARC KENYA	1
18.	FORD-P	1
19.	LPK	1
20.	SAFINA	1
21.	APK	1

Table 7:9 Respondents tally on KPP identification

Questions 9

List the KPP symbols you know

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
1	Orange Horn Umbrella Dove Cockerel Lion Bus
2	ORANGE LION COCK RAINBOW RED ROSES

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
3	Orange-ODM
4	ODM-Orange KANU-Cock DP-Lamp NARC-Rainbow colours Ford people-a key TNA-a dove with a leaf
5	-
6	Jogoo
7	Amani-dove Jubilee-crossed hands ODM-Orange Ford-kenya -lion
8	-
9	Dove for jubilee Orange for ODM Umbrella for Wiper
10	Orange Cock Banana

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
11	Orange
12	ODM-hummer

Table 7.10 Respondents list of KPP Symbols

Observations on symbol recognition

- a) 12 KPP symbols were identified and are rated below depending on their tally or popularity

KPP symbols serial no	KPP Symbol	KPP Symbol Tally
1.	Orange	7
2.	Cockerel	5
3.	Dove	4
4.	Lion	3
5.	Umbrella	2
6.	Rainbow	2
7.	Crossed hands	1
8.	Key	1
9.	Lamp	1
10.	Red roses	1
11.	Bus	1

KPP symbols serial no	KPP Symbol	KPP Symbol Tally
12.	Horn	1

Table 7:11 Respondents Tally on KPP symbols

- a) Multiple symbols associated with ODM party were listed. This speaks to the prevalence of KPP symbol multiplicity aluded to elsewhere in this research in which there exists a thin line between the KPP and party leaders. In this case *hummer* and *orange* are presented as ODM symbols.
- b) Respondents presented the KANU symbol using both Kiswahili word Jogoo and the English translation cock. It has to be mentioned that though the symbol is cockerel, during campaign meetings they present it as jogoo sometimes bringing alive bird-cock.
- c) Credit should be given to respondents for identifying matters of symbol duplicity. Some KPP share symbols as is case of Amani and Jubilee coalitions-TNA.

Questions 10**Which advise can you give to the Kenyan political parties?**

Respondents serial no	Respondents feedback
1	Stick to your manifestos
2	Base your politics on strong ideologies
3	Stop chaos during political meetings
4	Let politics avoid vices like incitement, tribalism, nepotism, abusive languages, and mis-use of funds which could be helpful to the needy
5	-
6	They wind up and go home
7	Need to have realistic manifestoes Stop copying-imitating-from each other Ensure to implement manifestoes upon elections for they are living documents
8	All political parties should aim at uniting the nation and ensure equitable distribution of resources
9	Conduct free and fair elections
10	Political parties need to unite and create one national party like how Jubilee did
11	They should not be tribal and look on what the citizens want and not feed their selfish desire
12	-

Table 7.12 Respondents advice to KPP

Observations from the data

This question was meant to elicit data from KIIs on how to cure a societal problem that involves the attitude of voters towards KPP. The respondents' qualitative data appears like a rebuke, an admonition and corrective in nature implying KPP the conduct of KPP is not ok.

A reading of the data provided above, indicate low voter confidence in KPP tools (KPP names, KPP colour, KPP slogans and KPP symbols). KIIs advice-attitude borders on the negative. Unfortunately, voters consider KPP to be:

- a) Tribal-ethnic
- b) Personal entities
- c) Undemocratic
- d) Corrupt
- e) Too seasonal or short lived

7.2 Conclusion

This chapter examined the voters' general knowledge of or exposure to KPP tools. This research points out that a majority of voters have adequate interaction with KPP tools. The KIIs consider these tools meaningful and of adequate influence when it comes to making voting decisions. By way of suggestions, the KIIs offer advice on how to make KPPs better in retrospect qualifying political discourse as a theory of solving social problems.

CHAPTER EIGHT

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

8.0 Introduction

This chapter provides the research summary, Conclusion and recommendations.

8.1 Summary of the Findings

The entire research findings are summarized in this section. They include semantics-meaning, mixed code data, KPP names, KPP abbreviations, KPP symbols, KPP slogans, KPP colours and a summary on voters' exposure to KPPs.

KPP names have a meaning which is studied under the semantic fields which obtain as environmental or agricultural activities, people/ citizenry, movements or forums for social change, national unity or patriotism, democracy/democratic, religious, regionalism-Majimbiism and republicanism.

When it comes to linguistic structure, KPP names are Noun Phrases (NP). These NPs have headwords whose position is defined by pre-modification, post modification and intra-modified headwords. A majority of KPP share a vocabulary or key word within the NP. For such cases, the difference in naming occurs only at modifiers level and not on the headword.

Of the 118 KPP 99 (84%) English-only names, 3 (3%) are Kiswahili-only names whereas 16 (13%) are mixed data names are of the sample.

MLF analyses mixed data names into: Kiswahili KPP Code mixed with English NP 'Party', Kiswahili KPP Code mixed with English NP 'Party of Kenya', repetitive code mixing for emphasis, intra-phrase code mixing at the morpheme level and intra-phrase code mixing at the word level.

Sense relations that obtain in KPP names include: antonyms, synonyms, hyponyms and meronyms.

KPP abbreviations can be grouped according to two orthographic and phonological properties.

Linguistic features used in crafting KPP abbreviations include: contractions, curtailments, homophony, assigning function words the status of content words, ellipsis (shortenings), mix of names and abbreviations, are simply numerals for KPP name, resemble KPP names, resemble blends by combining larger sets of initial syllables (FOREPA), truncation, clipping and in spelling and pronunciation.

Virtually any major KPP (ODM, PNU, JP, URP, and TNA) suffers from abbreviations distortions. Such distortions categorise both inter-party and intra-party teasing purposes.

KPP slogans have a linguistic structure and can be categorized in to six types depending on formation.

Linguistic strategies, motivations and manipulation often employed in the design of KPP slogans include memorability or impressiveness, correlation or equivalence, setting, solidity, trimness and vividness, demoralizing to the opponent, dissuasion, manifold inspiration, parallelism, alliteration, antithesis, repetition, onomatopoeia, assonance, peculiar and brief, synopsis, outlines and sum-ups , stylistically designed to appeal to voters' sense of emotion, steeped in local idiom, and linked to existing beliefs, ideas, goals, and desires of the voters rather than a desire to better lives.

KPP colours have meanings which can be linguistically and politically manipulated for political reasons. Unlike the KPP names, symbols and slogans there is no law or convention that oversees the deployment of KPP colours.

A major mystery this research asked itself was the relationship between the Kenyan national official colours and those of KPP. To address this puzzle and within the context of this research, the study went beyond the traditional cultural colours semantics by bringing up the national colour hypothesis whose premise is to link and associate KPP colours with state-colours. This research hypothesizes that any nation's political parties will often draw their own colours from the some of the colour shades or mixtures of their national colour pool.

KPP symbols have a linguistic structure which is studied as a noun phrase and a semiotic sign.

The KPP symbols contain numerous semantic connotations that can be politically manipulated.

The KPP symbols are studied in semantic field such as: farm equipment, birds and poultry, human body parts and humans, wildlife, water bodies and Aquatic (water) animals, domestic animal, cutlery/ utensils, furniture, geographical features, transport and communication, education and schooling, plants and farm products, masonry tools, house types and home appliance, light, insects, fruits, beauty products and clothing, sports and games, planets and stars, music and currency.

KPPs have symbol multiplicity, symbol duplicity and encompass symbol sharing across KPPs.

Several linguistic strategies are employed in symbol creation. They include crafting KPP symbols that are: ideologically inclined, regional-county-ethnic, oscillate between individual and KPPs, engages in class wars, onomatopoeic and those that amplify existing societal problem/phenomenon.

Kenyan voters' command an adequate knowledge of or exposure to KPP names, KPP symbols, KPP slogans and KPP colours. They consider KPP tools meaningful and influential when it comes to making voting decisions. KIIs have developed a negative attitude towards KPP affairs.

8.2 Research Conclusion

This research establishes that KPP have names, symbols, slogans, and colours which can be studied linguistically. A mixed methods approach with an assortment of theories is the best suited for this study.

The study establishes that linguistic resources are used by political operators in design of the KPP tools. This is achieved by deliberately manipulating language at the phonological, morphological, lexical, syntactic, semantic, sociolinguistic and textual levels. These linguistic manipulations realise KPP mixed code names, sense relations, associative meanings, political discourses, abbreviations coinage and distortions (manipulations).

KPP names, symbols, slogans, and colours have meanings. Their design, crafting or formation is semantically motivated. Several connotative-associative meanings do exist.

KPP names, symbols, slogans, and colours have a vivid linguistic structure and fall in different types. KPP names mostly exist as Noun Phrases (NPs) whose headword is

pre-modified, intra-modified or post-modified. KPP symbols are semiotic signs that obtain in several types.

KPP abbreviations are linguistically manipulated and distorted to achieve political goals.

Within the MLF model, KPP names obtain in three codes namely: Kiswahili, English and mixed code. Code mixing within KPP names realises both linguistic and political (discourse) manipulation.

Slogans are linguistic statements designed to produce an emotional connection between the audience and politician. Several linguistic strategies are used in the design of slogans including: alliteration, assonance, antithesis, parallelism, etc. Slogans can be linguistically manipulated for political purposes-reasons.

KPP colours are an important KPP tool that often informs electoral choice. The national colour observation (hypothesis) explains how KPP obtain their colours. KPP draw most of their colours from the national colour pool.

Voters have low confidence on KPP tools-names, colour, slogans and symbols. The attitude borders on the negative. Voters consider KPP to be tribal-ethnic, personal entities, undemocratic, corrupt, and too seasonal or short lived.

8.3 Research Recommendations

- 1) A study on KPP names, KPP symbols, KPP slogans and KPP colours is a wide mandate. Even though the researcher gave justice to the topic, an independent look at each of these political items-tools could yield a deeper insight granted the KPP seasonal mutations.

- 2) Further research should be done on socio-cultural meanings of KPP on a wide variety-diversity of voters including the KPP owners. Our research generally sampled respondents that were exposed to post-secondary education.
- 3) Further research should be conducted on the role of diglossia-a common feature in KPP names and slogan-in determining electoral outcomes. This research only examined diglossia in KPP names.
- 4) The Kenyan elections act or laws should clearly spell out a convention to govern KPP naming, sloganeering, colouring and symbols. This process should make KPP tools (names, colours, symbols and slogans) unique, predictable and KPP specific hence abolishing the culture of sharing such KPP tools. Enforcing these rules would abolish the negative perception voters have towards KPPs.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter provides a comprehensive research summary of the linguistic study of KPP names, symbols, colours and slogans. Conclusions drawn from this study presented with the researcher making appropriate recommendations for further research and or action.

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APPENDIX 1 INTERVIEW CHECKLISTS

Slogans analysis checklist

s/n	KPP Name	KPP Slogan	Linguistic Strategy Employed
1	PICK	Osa vinya mukamba [be courageous, (wa)kamba]	Framing

KPP colour analysis checklist

s/n	KPP	Colour	Meaning of KPP Colour
	TNA	RED	Bravery

KPP symbol analysis Checklist

KPP SYMBOL	Semantic field
Maize plant	Cereals

APPENDIX 2 FDG INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

- 1) Are you a registered voter in Kenya?
- 2) Which linguistic structure and semantics is inherent in KPP names, symbols, colours and slogans?
- 3) From the data provided, how many KPP names contain mixed code data?
- 4) Identify the types of KPP code mixes from the data in 3 above?
- 5) From data provided above enumerate the linguistic manipulations and situational motivations behind these code mixes?
- 6) Which linguistic strategies and political manipulations obtain in crafting KPP abbreviations, slogans, names, colours and symbols?
- 7) Do you have any other comment or observation on KPP names, symbols and slogans?

APPENDIX 3 KII PROFILE AND CHECKLIST

This appendix presents two aspects: the KIIs profile and each KIIs response. It tells KIIs level of exposure (knowledge) to KPP tools.

The respondent is a businessman who holds a degree in Humanities and is currently undertaking his master's degree. Born, raised and educated in Nairobi. He is settled in Nairobi but originally from western Kenya.

Questions	Responses
Your gender	M
Age range	36-44
Are you a registered voter?	YES
Have you ever voted before? If yes, how many times?	Yes 4 times
List in order of importance what you consider most while casting your ballot (party, candidate, friendship, money,...give any other reason if not stated above)	The candidate
Kenya has had over 118 parties (with 44 of those registered by IEBC in 2015). How many do you know of by number	30
What's your general attitude towards political parties? (like, dislike, no attachment, any other reason)	Like
Political parties have names, symbols, slogans	All

Questions	Responses
and party colors. Which of these elements do you identify with your party with?	
List the items 8 (above) in order of influence when it comes to your choice of party or voting behavior	Name, colour, symbol, slogan
Do KPP names, symbols, slogans and colours evoke some special meaning or significance to you? If yes, which one?	Yes Sense of ownership and belonging
KPP use colours like red, blue, orange, white, green, black, yellow, etc. kindly if possible state the meanings of these colours?	Red-dominance Orange-warmth Blue-integrity White-peace Green-growth
Do such KPP colours influence your voting pattern or candidate choice?	Not really
List 10 past or present KPPs that you consider to have been strong organizations in the past 10years	ODM TNA URP WIPER NARC PNU FORD-K UDF

Questions	Responses
	ANC KANU
Name any KPP symbols(like Orange, bus) that you know of	Orange Horn Umbrella Dove Cockrel Lion Bus
Name any KPP slogans (like kusema na kutenda) that you know of	Kusema na kutenda Yajenga inchi Mwanzo mpyia Amani na Ugatuzi
Name any KPP abbreviations that suffer from distortions specifically designed by their competitors	TNA-Tuko Na Agwambo ODM-Odinga Democratic Movement JP-Jackpot Party
Which advise can you give to KPP	Stick to your manifestos

A trained teacher turned a lecturer in Humanities. The respondent is currently a PHD Student in Kenya. Born, raised and educated by middle class family in Vihiga. Has worked abroad and Nyanza for some time. Settled in Nairobi

Questions	Responses
Your gender	M
Age range	36-44
Are you a registered voter?	YES
Have you ever voted before? If yes, how many times?	YES TWICE
List in order of importance what you consider most while casting your ballot (party, candidate, friendship, money,...give any other reason if not stated above)	Canditate Party Friendship Tribe or clan
Kenya has had over 118 parties (with 44 of those registered by IEBC in 2015). How many do you know of by number	5
What's your general attitude towards political parties? (like, dislike, no attachment, any other reason)	No regard for them. They change so quickly. I dislike them
Political parties have names, symbols, slogans and party colors. Which of these elements do you identify with your party with?	Some ODM JUBILEE FORD KENYA
List the items 8 (above) in order of influence	Slogans

Questions	Responses
competitors	movement NDP Tinga
Which advise can you give to KPP	Base your politics on strong ideologies

The KII is a statistician currently doing her Masters in The republic of Rwanda. Born, raised and educated in Rift Valley. Worked in Nairobi

Questions	Responses
Your gender	F
Age range	18-25
Are you a registered voter?	NO
Have you ever voted before? If yes, how many times?	NO. All leaders are the same
List in order of importance what you consider most while casting your ballot (party, candidate, friendship, money,...give any other reason if not stated above)	The manifesto
Kenya has had over 118 parties (with 44 of those registered by IEBC in 2015). How many do you know of by number	5
What's your general attitude towards political parties? (like, dislike, no attachment, any other reason)	No attachment
Political parties have names, symbols, slogans and party colors. Which of these elements do you identify with your party with?	ODM-Orange Jubilee- Red Wiper-Blue
List the items 8 (above) in order of influence when it comes to your choice of party or voting behavior	n/a

Questions	Responses
Do KPP names, symbols, slogans and colours evoke some special meaning or significance to you? If yes, which one?	No idea
KPP use colours like red, blue, orange, white, green, black, yellow, etc. kindly if possible state the meanings of these colours?	No idea
Do such KPP colours influence your voting pattern or candidate choice?	No
List 10 past or present KPPs that you consider to have been strong organizations in the past 10years	Unable
Name any KPP symbols(like Orange, bus) that you know of	Orange-ODM
Name any KPP slogans (like kusema na kutenda) that you know of	ODM-Tuko Tayari
Name any KPP abbreviations that suffer from distortions specifically designed by their competitors	No idea
Which advise can you give to KPP	

The KII is a trained teacher who holds a university degree. She was born, raised and educated in Lower Eastern Region. Worked in Nyanza before coming to Nairobi

Questions	Responses
Your gender	F
Age range	36-44
Are you a registered voter?	YES
Have you ever voted before? If yes, how many times?	Yes 3
List in order of importance what you consider most while casting your ballot (party, candidate, friendship, money,...give any other reason if not stated above)	Candidate
Kenya has had over 118 parties (with 44 of those registered by IEBC in 2015). How many do you know of by number	7
What's your general attitude towards political parties? (like, dislike, no attachment, any other reason)	Very minimal
Political parties have names, symbols, slogans and party colors. Which of these elements do you identify with your party with?	Some. Names, symbols and colours
List the items 8 (above) in order of influence when it comes to your choice of party or voting behavior	Name Colour Symbol
Do KPP names, symbols, slogans and colours	Yes

Questions	Responses
<p>evoke some special meaning or significance to you? If yes, which one?</p>	
<p>KPP use colours like red, blue, orange, white, green, black, yellow, etc. kindly if possible state the meanings of these colours?</p>	<p>Red-energy, strength, power, determination, danger, among others</p> <p>Blue-trust, loyalty, wisdom, confidence, faith, faith, intelligence, stability, etc</p> <p>Orange-joy, enthusiasm, creativity, success, strength, endurance, etc</p> <p>White-a sign of goodness, light, purity, perfection, etc</p> <p>Green-growth and hope, harmony, freshness, fertility, stability, and endurance</p> <p>Black-power, evil, elegance, formality, fear, mystery, etc</p> <p>Yellow-joy, happiness, intellect, energy, honour, loyalty, and also issues of warning</p> <p>Purple-power, loyalty, nobility, ambitions, dignity, independence,</p>

Questions	Responses
	creativity, mystery, etc
Do such KPP colours influence your voting pattern or candidate choice?	Yes
List 10 past or present KPPs that you consider to have been strong organizations in the past 10years	<p>Narc Kenya</p> <p>Democratic party of Kenya-DP</p> <p>ODM</p> <p>TNA</p> <p>Wiper Democratic Movement</p> <p>Ford people</p> <p>Ford Kenya</p> <p>KANU</p> <p>URP</p>
Name any KPP symbols(like Orange, bus) that you know of	<p>ODM-Orange</p> <p>KANU-Cock</p> <p>DP-Lamp</p> <p>NARC-Rainbow colours</p> <p>Ford people-a key</p> <p>TNA-a dove with a leaf</p>
Name any KPP slogans (like kusema na kutenda) that you know of	<p>Harambee, Chungwa, Ndizi,</p> <p>water melon, Tuko pamoja</p>
Name any KPP abbreviations that suffer from distortions specifically designed by their competitors	ODM-Odinga Danganya Mjinga

Questions	Responses
Which advise can you give to KPP	Let politics avoid vices like incitement, tribalism, nepotism, abusive languages, and mis-use of funds which could be helpful to the needy

KII is a trained teacher turned a lecturer in Physics. He is currently a PHD Student in Germany. Born, raised and educated in western-Kakamega. Lives in Mombasa-Coast)

Questions	Responses
Your gender	Pass
Age range	36-44
Are you a registered voter?	Yes
Have you ever voted before? If yes, how many times?	Yes
List in order of importance what you consider most while casting your ballot (party, candidate, friendship, money,...give any other reason if not stated above)	Policy
Kenya has had over 118 parties (with 44 of those registered by IEBC in 2015). How many do you know of by number	5
What's your general attitude towards political parties? (like, dislike, no attachment, any other reason)	Attachment
Political parties have names, symbols, slogans and party colors. Which of these elements do you identify with your party with?	Yes
List the items 8 (above) in order of influence when it comes to your choice of party or voting behavior	Pass for privacy reasons

Questions	Responses
Do KPP names, symbols, slogans and colours evoke some special meaning or significance to you? If yes, which one?	No
KPP use colours like red, blue, orange, white, green, black, yellow, etc. kindly if possible state the meanings of these colours?	No
Do such KPP colours influence your voting pattern or candidate choice?	No
List 10 past or present KPPs that you consider to have been strong organizations in the past 10years	KANU
Name any KPP symbols(like Orange, bus) that you know of	-
Name any KPP slogans (like kusema na kutenda) that you know of	-
Name any KPP abbreviations that suffer from distortions specifically designed by their competitors	-
Which advise can you give to KPP	-

The KII is a middle level officer with a government ministry in Nairobi. He is currently a PHD Student in a Nairobi university. He was born and raised in Vihiga and Siaya counties respectively.

Questions	Responses
Your gender	M
Age range	36-44
Are you a registered voter?	YES
Have you ever voted before? If yes, how many times?	YES 3
List in order of importance what you consider most while casting your ballot (party, candidate, friendship, money,...give any other reason if not stated above)	Candidate, party
Kenya has had over 118 parties (with 44 of those registered by IEBC in 2015). How many do you know of by number	3-JUBILEE, CORD, AMANI
What's your general attitude towards political parties? (like, dislike, no attachment, any other reason)	Parties are business enterprises to enrich founders
Political parties have names, symbols, slogans and party colors. Which of these elements do you identify with your party with?	I don't belong to any party
List the items 8 (above) in order of influence	I vote for change but I am always

Questions	Responses
when it comes to your choice of party or voting behavior	disappointed in long run
Do KPP names, symbols, slogans and colours evoke some special meaning or significance to you? If yes, which one?	No
KPP use colours like red, blue, orange, white, green, black, yellow, etc. kindly if possible state the meanings of these colours?	Don't know meanings
Do such KPP colours influence your voting pattern or candidate choice?	Don't vote for color
List 10 past or present KPPs that you consider to have been strong organizations in the past 10years	Only KANU all others are pale shadows of themselves
Name any KPP symbols(like Orange, bus) that you know of	Jogoo
Name any KPP slogans (like kusema na kutenda) that you know of	KANU yaJenga inchi
Name any KPP abbreviations that suffer from distortions specifically designed by their competitors	ODM-Odinga Danganya Mudavadi PNU-Pitia Nyeri Uone
Which advise can you give to KPP	They wind up and go home

The KII is a consultant. He holds a Master's degree. Born, raised and educated by middle class family in Rift Valley-Trans Nzoia. He is now a Nairobi resident.

Questions	Responses
Your gender	M
Age range	36-44
Are you a registered voter?	YES
Have you ever voted before? If yes, how many times?	YES 1
List in order of importance what you consider most while casting your ballot (party, candidate, friendship, money,...give any other reason if not stated above)	Candidate Party (the candidates record, commitment and vision and party manifesto matter)
Kenya has had over 118 parties (with 44 of those registered by IEBC in 2015). How many do you know of by number	10
What's your general attitude towards political parties? (like, dislike, no attachment, any other reason)	No attachment
Political parties have names, symbols, slogans and party colors. Which of these elements do you identify with your party with?	All
List the items 8 (above) in order of influence when it comes to your choice of party or voting behavior	Name, party, colours, symbols

Questions	Responses
Do KPP names, symbols, slogans and colours evoke some special meaning or significance to you? If yes, which one?	No It's just a marketing strategy for political parties...to me it means nothing
KPP use colours like red, blue, orange, white, green, black, yellow, etc. kindly if possible state the meanings of these colours?	Not meaningful
Do such KPP colours influence your voting pattern or candidate choice?	Of course they do if one is affiliated to the party
List 10 past or present KPPs that you consider to have been strong organizations in the past 10years	PNU FORD-KENYA NEW FORD KENYA WIPER AMANI ALLIANCE PARTY OF KENYA KANU NARC LABOUR PARTY OF KENYA SAFINA TNA
Name any KPP symbols(like Orange, bus) that	Amani-dove

Questions	Responses
you know of	Jubilee-crossed hands ODM-Orange Ford-kenya -lion
Name any KPP slogans (like kusema na kutenda) that you know of	ODM-Maisha bora Jubilee-Tuko Pamoja
Name any KPP abbreviations that suffer from distortions specifically designed by their competitors	ODM-Odinga Democratic Movement Tinga Water melon Land grabber
Which advise can you give to KPP	Need to have realistic manifestoes Stop copying-imitating-from each other Ensure to implement manifestoes upon elections for they are living documents

The KII is an advocate of The High Court of Kenya. He is an ODM party member. He holds a university degree. Born, raised and educated in Nyanza. He is a voter from one of Kenyan minority groups. He engages in private practice in Nairobi.

Questions	Responses
Your gender	M
Age range	25-35
Are you a registered voter?	YES
Have you ever voted before? If yes, how many times?	YES 1
List in order of importance what you consider most while casting your ballot (party, candidate, friendship, money,...give any other reason if not stated above)	I consider candidates integrity-character and past development record then secondly their party
Kenya has had over 118 parties (with 44 of those registered by IEBC in 2015). How many do you know of by number	15 Active parties
What's your general attitude towards political parties? (like, dislike, no attachment, any other reason)	My attitude is not unique in any way...I like political alliance or coalitions because they bring out issues of national concern and able to bring out issues that the government has failed to achieve
Political parties have names, symbols, slogans and party colors. Which of these elements do you identify with your party with?	Colour is orange slogan Tuko tayari
List the items 8 (above) in order of influence when it comes to your choice of party or	Slogan and oneness and also color because we are identified based

Questions	Responses
voting behavior	on it
Do KPP names, symbols, slogans and colours evoke some special meaning or significance to you? If yes, which one?	Yes they do Orange as the colour of my party symbolizes unity and a healthy nation
KPP use colours like red, blue, orange, white, green, black, yellow, etc. kindly if possible state the meanings of these colours?	Not so particular....on all of them Jubilee uses RED to signify the struggle for independence
Do such KPP colours influence your voting pattern or candidate choice?	Yes colours do influence
List 10 past or present KPPs that you consider to have been strong organizations in the past 10years	KANU DP FORD-KENYA PPK PNU ODM ODM-KENYA TNA AMANI National Congress Party UDM URP
Name any KPP symbols(like Orange, bus) that	

Questions	Responses
you know of	
Name any KPP slogans (like kusema na kutenda) that you know of	Tuko pamoja Pamoja twaweza
Name any KPP abbreviations that suffer from distortions specifically designed by their competitors	URP-Uhuru Ruto Party
Which advise can you give to KPP	All political parties should aim at uniting the nation and ensure equitable distribution of resources

An accountant who holds a university degree Born, raised and educated by middle class family in Nyanza. Comes from a minority group

Questions	Responses
Your gender	M
Age range	18-25
Are you a registered voter?	Yes
Have you ever voted before? If yes, how many times?	Yes 1
List in order of importance what you consider most while casting your ballot (party, candidate, friendship, money,...give any other reason if not stated above)	Candidate Party Friendship
Kenya has had over 118 parties (with 44 of those registered by IEBC in 2015). How many do you know of by number	15
What's your general attitude towards political parties? (like, dislike, no attachment, any other reason)	Likes
Political parties have names, symbols, slogans and party colors. Which of these elements do you identify with your party with?	Yes
List the items 8 (above) in order of influence when it comes to your choice of party or voting behavior	Names Slogans Colour

Questions	Responses
	Symbols
Do KPP names, symbols, slogans and colours evoke some special meaning or significance to you? If yes, which one?	Yes-the strength of some individuals in power
KPP use colours like red, blue, orange, white, green, black, yellow, etc. kindly if possible state the meanings of these colours?	-
Do such KPP colours influence your voting pattern or candidate choice?	Both
List 10 past or present KPPs that you consider to have been strong organizations in the past 10years	PNU NARC ODM JUBILEE WIPER UDF
Name any KPP symbols(like Orange, bus) that you know of	Dove for jubilee Orange for Odm Umbrella for Wiper
Name any KPP slogans (like kusema na kutenda) that you know of	Tuko pamoja Kusema na Kutenda
Name any KPP abbreviations that suffer from distortions specifically designed by their competitors	-

Questions	Responses
Which advise can you give to KPP	Conduct free and fair elections

A final year at Kenyatta University student. Born, raised and educated by middle class family in partly in Nairobi and western Kenya.

Questions	Responses
Your gender	F
Age range	18-25
Are you a registered voter?	Yes
Have you ever voted before? If yes, how many times?	No Was under age
List in order of importance what you consider most while casting your ballot (party, candidate, friendship, money,...give any other reason if not stated above)	Candidate-someone who has leadership qualities and can deliver to citizens and can promote peace among citizens
Kenya has had over 118 parties (with 44 of those registered by IEBC in 2015). How many do you know of by number	10
What's your general attitude towards political parties? (like, dislike, no attachment, any other reason)	A good party is the one that unites the nation
Political parties have names, symbols, slogans and party colors. Which of these elements do you identify with your party with?	Some- Names, symbols and party colours
List the items 8 (above) in order of influence when it comes to your choice of party or voting behavior	Slogans, symbols, names and party colours

Questions	Responses
Do KPP names, symbols, slogans and colours evoke some special meaning or significance to you? If yes, which one?	Slogan-it portrays what they can deliver to people
KPP use colours like red, blue, orange, white, green, black, yellow, etc. kindly if possible state the meanings of these colours?	White means peace
Do such KPP colours influence your voting pattern or candidate choice?	No
List 10 past or present KPPs that you consider to have been strong organizations in the past 10years	Jubilee, ODM, PNU, KANU, UDF, URP, Ford-Kenya,
Name any KPP symbols(like Orange, bus) that you know of	Orange, cock, banana
Name any KPP slogans (like kusema na kutenda) that you know of	Tuko pamoja
Name any KPP abbreviations that suffer from distortions specifically designed by their competitors	ODM (Chungwa nono, baba Tosha, Agwambo Dandia Mat, Ondoa Demokrasia Mbovu; Jubilee (pamoja, uhuruto, Amani)
Which advise can you give to KPP	Political parties need to unite and create one national party like how Jubilee did

A freshman at University of Nairobi who was born, raised and educated in Nairobi city

Questions	Responses
Your gender	F
Age range	18-25
Are you a registered voter?	
Have you ever voted before? If yes, how many times?	NO Because our leaders are corrupt most of them
List in order of importance what you consider most while casting your ballot (party, candidate, friendship, money,...give any other reason if not stated above)	Candidate-what he will put to consideration on people's problems and views
Kenya has had over 118 parties (with 44 of those registered by IEBC in 2015). How many do you know of by number	4
What's your general attitude towards political parties? (like, dislike, no attachment, any other reason)	Some are tribal based
Political parties have names, symbols, slogans and party colors. Which of these elements do you identify with your party with?	Some
List the items 8 (above) in order of influence when it comes to your choice of party or	No

Questions	Responses
voting behavior	
Do KPP names, symbols, slogans and colours evoke some special meaning or significance to you? If yes, which one?	No
KPP use colours like red, blue, orange, white, green, black, yellow, etc. kindly if possible state the meanings of these colours?	Yes They are meaningful
Do such KPP colours influence your voting pattern or candidate choice?	No
List 10 past or present KPPs that you consider to have been strong organizations in the past 10years	No
Name any KPP symbols(like Orange, bus) that you know of	Orange
Name any KPP slogans (like kusema na kutenda) that you know of	No idea
Name any KPP abbreviations that suffer from distortions specifically designed by their competitors	No idea
Which advise can you give to KPP	They should not be tribalistic and look on what the citizens want and not feed their selfish desire

She is a high school teacher who holds a university degree. Born, raised and educated by middle class family in Bungoma county-western Kenya

Questions	Responses
Your gender	F
Age range	25-35
Are you a registered voter?	YES
Have you ever voted before? If yes, how many times?	YES 1
List in order of importance what you consider most while casting your ballot (party, candidate, friendship, money,...give any other reason if not stated above)	The candidate
Kenya has had over 118 parties (with 44 of those registered by IEBC in 2015). How many do you know of by number	11
What's your general attitude towards political parties? (like, dislike, no attachment, any other reason)	No attachment
Political parties have names, symbols, slogans and party colors. Which of these elements do you identify with your party with?	Not really
List the items 8 (above) in order of influence when it comes to your choice of party or voting behavior	-

Questions	Responses
Do KPP names, symbols, slogans and colours evoke some special meaning or significance to you? If yes, which one?	No
KPP use colours like red, blue, orange, white, green, black, yellow, etc. kindly if possible state the meanings of these colours?	They are not meaningful
Do such KPP colours influence your voting pattern or candidate choice?	No
List 10 past or present KPPs that you consider to have been strong organizations in the past 10years	14
Name any KPP symbols(like Orange, bus) that you know of	ODM-hammer
Name any KPP slogans (like kusema na kutenda) that you know of	Tuko Pamoja
Name any KPP abbreviations that suffer from distortions specifically designed by their competitors	-
Which advise can you give to KPP	-

APPENDIX 4 IEBC LIST OF REGISTERED KPP

INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL AND BOUNDARIES COMMISSION (IEBC)

REGISTERED POLITICAL PARTIES 2015

ABBREVIATIONS	PARTY NAME
NARC-KENYA	NARC-KENYA
NVP	THE NATIONAL VISION PARTY
LPK	THE LABOUR PARTY OF KENYA
GNU	GRAND NATIONAL UNION
MP	MWANGAZA PARTY
UDFP	UNITED DEMOCRATIC FORUM PARTY
PICK	PARTY OF INDEPENDENT CANDIDATES OF KENYA
RBK	RESTORE AND BUILD KENYA
KNC	KENYA NATIONAL CONGRESS
MGPK	MAZINGIRA GREENS PARTY OF KENYA
NDM	NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT
WDM-K	WIPER DEMOCRATICOVEMENT- KENYA
DP	DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA
PNU	PARTY OF NATIONAL UNITY
POA	PARTY OF ACTION

APK	ALLIANCE PARTY OF KENYA
AP	AGANO PARTY
TIP	THE INDEPENDENT PARTY
KSC	KENYA SOCIAL CONGRESS
NFK	NEW FORD KENYA
ODM	ORANGE DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT
PPK	PEOPLES PARTY OF KENYA
FORD-KENYA	FORUM FOR RESTORATION OF DEMOCRACY-KENYA
FORD-P	FORD-PEOPLE
PPK	PROGRESSIVE PARTY OF KENYA
URP	UNITED REPUBLICAN PARTY
CP	CONSERVATIVE PARTY
MDP	MAENDELEO DEMOCRATIC PARTY
NARC	NATIONAL RAINBOW COALITION
KADU-ASIL	KENYA AFRICAN DEMOCRATIC UNION-ASILI
CCM	CHAMA CHA MWANANCHI
SDP	SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF KENYA
KANU	KENYA AFRICAN NATIONAL UNION
SAFINA	SAFINA

TNA	THE NATIONAL ALLIANCE
CCU	CHAMA CHA UZALENDO
NAPK	NATIONAL AGENDA PARTY OF KENYA
MSM	MKENYA SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT
PDP	PEOPLES DEMOCRATIC PARTY
ND	NEW DEMOCRATS
UDM	UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT
SPK	SHIRIKISHO PARTY OF KENYA
UPK	UNITY PARTY OF KENYA
PDU	PARTY OF DEMOCRATIC UNITY
SSP	SISI KWA SISI PARTY
77	SABA SABA ASILI
FP	FARMERS PARTY
NLP	NATIONAL LABOUR PARTY
FPK	FEDERAL PARTY OF KENYA
MP	MUUNGANO PARTY
NPK	NATIONAL PARTY OF KENYA
MSS	MZALENDO SABA SABA PARTY
KENDA	KENYA NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE

PPPK	PEOPLES PATRIOTIC PARTY OF KENYA
ARK	ALLIANCE FOR REAL CHANGE
FORD-ASILI	FORD-ASILI
RLP	REPUBLICAN LIBERTY PARTY
RC	REPUBLICAN CONGRESS PARTY OF KENYA

APPENDIX 5: RESEARCH AUTHORISATION



**Republic of Kenya
MINISTRY OF EDUCATION
STATE DEPARTMENT OF BASIC EDUCATION**

Telegrams: "SCHOOLING", Nairobi
Telephone: Nairobi 020 2453699
Email: rcenairobi@gmail.com
cdenairobi@gmail.com

**REGIONAL COORDINATOR OF EDUCATION
NAIROBI REGION
NYAYO HOUSE
P.O. Box 74629 - 00200
NAIROBI**

When replying please quote

Ref: **RCE/NRB/GEN/1/VOL. 1**

DATE: **28th March, 2017**

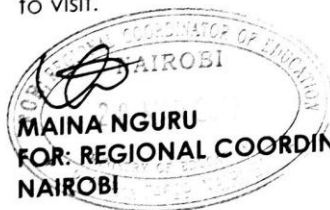
Moses James Olenyo Malande
Kenyatta University
P Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

We are in receipt of a letter from the National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation regarding research authorization in Nairobi County on "**Linguistic manipulation in Kenya political party names, symbols and slogans.**"

This office has no objection and authority is hereby granted for a period ending **6th December, 2017** as indicated in the request letter.

Kindly inform the Sub County Director of Education of the Sub County you intend to visit.



**MAINA NGURU
FOR: REGIONAL COORDINATOR OF EDUCATION
NAIROBI**

C.C.

Director General/CEO
Nation Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation
NAIROBI

APPENDIX 6: NACOSTI PERMIT



NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY AND INNOVATION

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Email: dg@nacosti.go.ke
Website: www.nacosti.go.ke
when replying please quote

9th Floor, Utali House
Uhuru Highway
P.O. Box 30623-00100
NAIROBI-KENYA

Ref. No. **NACOSTI/P/16/74126/14755**

Date:

17th March, 2017


Moses James Olenyo Malande
Kenyatta University
P.O.Box 43844-00100
NAIROBI.

RE: RESEARCH AUTHORIZATION

Following your application for authority to carry out research on "*Linguistic manipulation in Kenyan political party names, symbols and slogans,*" I am pleased to inform you that you have been authorized to undertake research in **Nairobi County** for the period ending **6th December, 2017.**

You are advised to report to **the Chief Executive Officers of selected government agencies, the County Commissioner and the County Director of Education, Nairobi 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.


BONIFACE WANYAMA
FOR: DIRECTOR-GENERAL/CEO

Copy to:

The Chief Executive Officers
Selected government agencies.

The County Commissioner
Nairobi County.

COUNTY COMMISSIONER
NAIROBI COUNTY
P. O. Box 30124-00100, NBI
TEL: 341000