

TITLE PAGE

**LEXICO-PRAGMATIC INTERPRETATION OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT IN
THE 2013 KENYAN PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SPEECHES IN TARAKWA,
UASIN GISHU, KENYA**

BY

NORAH NYARANGI MOSE

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DECLARATION

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NORAH NYARANGI MOSE
PHD/FA/00093/2014

SIGN..... DATE

This thesis has been presented for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

1. DR. BENSON OJWANG'
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS
MASENO UNIVERSITY

SIGN..... DATE.....

2. DR. LILIAN MAGONYA
DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS
MASENO UNIVERSITY

SIGN..... DATE.....

DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late father, Zephaniah Mose Sibwoga and my late siblings, Kennedy Ositu and Elizabeth Kemuma. Your common virtues of love, discipline, hardwork and humility inspired me.

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ABSTRACT

Kenya's elections have been marred with conflict since 1992, with Tarakwa being hit the most. However, in 2013, conflict was contained. While conflict management in 2013 was attributed to many factors, the role of language is tacit. The present study illuminated the relationship between language, conflict management and Kenya's 2013 presidential elections. The aim of the study was to analyze the lexico-pragmatic interpretation of conflict management in 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches in Tarakwa, Uasin Gishu. The objectives of the study were to interpret lexical choices on conflict management in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches; to establish the relevance of speech acts in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches in conflict management; to examine the attitudes expressed towards the utterances of the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches in conflict management and to investigate the interpretation of specific stylistic effects of the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches in conflict management. The study employed relevance theory by Dan Sperber and Deirdre Wilson (1995) and speech act theory by John Austin (1969). Cognitive and communicative principles and speech act categories respectively were employed. Analytical research design was employed. The study area was Tarakwa. The study population were 8 presidential candidates of 2013, 150 campaign speeches and 37,683 residents of Tarakwa. 4 presidential candidates namely Uhuru Kenyatta, Raila Odinga, Musalia Mudavadi and Martha Karua; 12 campaign speeches and Tarakwa were purposively sampled. Data was collected through online extraction of presidential campaign speeches and focus group discussion. A pilot study was conducted in Kapkures, Nakuru. For validity, the researcher ensured the research tools contained all information that would answer the research questions. Data was analyzed qualitatively and presented according to the themes of lexical choices, speech acts, attitudes and stylistic effects. The findings revealed that narrowing of the concepts *peace* and *unity* denoted desisting from incitement, accepting election results and encompassing inclusive politics. Broadening denoted love, development, family hood and forgiveness. Through speech acts, presidential candidates warned people to desist from conflict, sought forgiveness, declared to accept election results and promised to seek court redress. Utterances that condemned tribalism and incitement were endorsed with approving attitudes. Dissociative attitudes of criticism and skepticism indicated ulterior motives for conflict management. Stylistic effects portrayed conflict management through accepting election results, defeat and rejecting insolence among candidates. In conclusion, the lexical choices *peace* and *unity* were basic in conflict management and presidential candidates needed to exhibit them. Speech acts influenced people to promote conflict management. Attitudes were discernible through candidates' varying commitments to conflict management. Stylistic effects portraying dissociation with conflict, emphasized accepting defeat as a conflict management initiative. The study recommended use of lexical choices that promote conflict management in elections, employment of speech acts that prioritize the country's peaceful existence during and after elections, shaping the attitudes of the electorates through downplaying incitement to violence and tribalism, and use of stylistic effects that discourage political altercations among presidential candidates. The study addresses the root causes of election-related conflict through language to achieve national integration.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CORD	Coalition for Restoration of Democracy
FGD	Focus Group Discussion
KICC	Kenyatta International Convention Centre
NARC	National Rainbow Coalition
NTV	Nation Television
ODM	Orange Democratic Movement
<i>P</i>	Propositional form of an utterance
PEV	Post-election Violence
PNU	People's National Unity
SAT	Speech Act Theory
RT	Relevance Theory
USA	United States of America
<i>Wh-P</i>	A Wh-question and <i>P</i> is the less-than-propositional form of the utterance, as communicating that there is some completion of the thought interpreted by <i>P</i> into a fully propositional form which would be relevant if true.

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Attitude: Attitude results from conveying an opinion to an utterance or thought that represent, report or interpret the thoughts or utterances of other people or the speaker at another time. Thus, attitude is echoic, derived from various uses of irony and can be endorsing or dissociative.

Conflict Management: Use of campaign discourse by presidential candidates in ways that seek to address the proximate causes of conflict during the campaigns such that there is little or no violence during the campaign and immediately after the announcement of presidential results.

Conflict: Disagreement over the outcomes of the presidential results in which a candidate feels the whole process of voting was warped resulting in his or her supporters engaging in violent acts targeting the communities they purport supported their opponents. Though there could be other underlying causes, like the community of a given place feeling that outsiders are putting pressure on land, business and jobs, elections trigger violence.

Election-related conflict: Act of violence perpetrated in the course of political events including pre, during and post-election period and may include causing bodily harm, evicting, killing or looting the property of outsiders who are perceived to scuttle votes for the local people's favourite political candidate. There could be other underlying causes of conflict such as the feeling that outsiders are exerting pressure on land and business opportunities.

Lexico-pragmatic interpretation: The meaning of an utterance based on how a hearer infers a speaker's meaning according to the evidence provided.

Outsiders: People residing in places not perceived to be their ancestral homes, are of different ethnicity from the local people, and are believed to put pressure on resources.

Post-election violence: Ethno-political violence triggered by disputed election results between followers of two leading presidential candidates. This leads to physical bodily harm, evictions and/or deaths of outsiders.

Relevance: Relevance is a potential property of input to cognitive process including utterances, thoughts, memories and conclusions of inferences, and it is defined in relation to the context. It is assessed in terms of the cognitive effects of an individual who processes an utterance and the processing efforts required to derive these effects. The smaller the processing effort required to derive these effects, the greater the relevance of the input to an individual.

Stylistic effects: Style is what arises in the pursuit of relevance and this is reflected in what a speaker makes explicit or leaves implicit. In the latter, a wide array of weak implicatures is constructed in attempting to achieve relevance. Weak implicatures result from numerous ways of interpreting an utterance which lead to broad cognitive effects. The broader the cognitive effects the more the stylistic effects which are also known as poetic effects.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a background to the study. Concepts such as campaign and conflict management are clarified in the global, African and Kenyan perspectives while establishing the gaps left in the objectives of the study. The statement of the problem, the research questions, the objectives of the study, the significance of the study, the scope of the study and the theoretical framework are also included in this section.

1.2 Background to the Study

Most election-related conflict in Africa is linked to presidential elections. Consequently, there has been a surge of studies focusing on conflict management in elections (Sisk & Reynold, 1998; Ayelazuno, 2007; Latto, 2009; Höglund & Jarstad, 2010; Halakhe, 2013). These studies have focused on measures to prevent election-related conflict through concerted efforts of international communities, the government, politicians, civil societies and individuals. However, the role of language in conflict management in election is tacit. The present study brought out the relationship between language, presidential campaigns and conflict management in Kenya's elections. This was against the backdrop of election-related conflict in Kenya since the reintroduction of multiparty elections in 1992 with the exception of 2013. Specifically, the study focused on the relevance of the 2013 presidential campaign speeches in conflict management to the people of Tarakwa. Tarakwa County Assembly Ward (CAW), Uasin Gishu County, Kenya had experienced widespread conflict in previous elections, as a result, much investment was made to prevent the outbreak of violence in 2013 presidential elections (Idris, Odoyo, Maruga, Kariuki, Maxwell, Marshak and Richards, 2013).

This section analyzed global, continental, regional, national and local perspectives on political campaign speeches and conflict management discourse while identifying the gaps left in the objectives of the study. In the United States of America (USA), Al-Hindawi and Kadhim

(2015) investigate 22 ironic situations from Barack Obama and George Bush electoral speeches. Al-Hindawi and Kadhim (2015) establish that irony is politically used for defense as face-saving acts, attack within face saving acts and a strategic means in political speeches of presidential elections reflecting permanent strategies for dominance. Al-Hindawi and Kadhim (2015) examination of irony does not, however, reveal if the face-saving act is instigated by need to mitigate conflict among the presidential candidates during the contests for dominance. Hence, attributive attitudes encased in the ironies are not revealed. This leaves a gap which the present study sought to investigate.

With regard to conflict resolution, Cohen (2001) observes that English portrays vocabulary and metaphors from industrial relations, engineering, Christianity and sports. In industrial relations Cohen (2001) argues that the lexical item “settlement” refers to an arrangement for putting formerly contentious affairs on a secure, stable footing and reflects the institutionalization of this form of conflict resolution. The lexical item “process”, Cohen (2001) adds, elicits mathematics, engineering or patterned series of events that can be understood and controlled. On “good will”, Cohen (2001) adds that it is derived from Christian and refers to a virtuous predisposition to benevolence. Using the illustration “fair play”, Cohen (2001) observes that sports vocabulary reflects an Anglo-Saxon tendency to configure all contests as structured activities governed by fairness and conducted within a framework of enforceable rules of the game. While the foregoing is an analysis of lexical items used in conflict resolution on day to day life, Cohen (2001) leaves a gap on how such items can be used to manage conflict in an election situation. It is this gap that the present study sought to address in relation to the interpretation of lexical items employed in presidential campaign speeches.

Focusing on conflict management in election, Höglund and Jarstad (2010) emphasize on the encapsulation of violence-free election in the lexical choices “free and fair” elections as benchmarks for determining the legitimacy of elections in addition to “naming” and “shaming”

parties responsible for tension build up. While basing their analysis on the Kwa Zulu-Natal elections in South Africa, Höglund and Jarstad (2010) add that efforts to enforce “free and fair” elections rest on local and international actors including peace keeping and monitoring mission, civic and voter education. Höglund and Jarstad (2010) compares to the present study by drawing contexts from previous violent election and combining them with calls to avert violence. However, Höglund and Jarstad (2010) leave a gap that seeks to explain how presidential campaign speeches employed similar lexical choices to urge people to avert violence.

While examining the acceptance speeches of Jonathan Goodluck and Muhammad Buhari of Nigeria, Sharndama and Mgbemena (2015) observe that both candidates employed yes/no rhetorical questions to declare administrative achievements and the government’s weaknesses respectively. Examples of rhetorical questions used are “Has change not come to our railway system?” and “Shall we at home continue to live in a condition where the Power Holding Company and its successors seem only to have the power to hold us in darkness?” respectively. As in the present study, Sharndama and Mgbemena (2015) analyze the use of interrogatives in the presidential speeches. However, a gap on the relevance of the interrogatives to the electorate in addressing the aforementioned issues is left. In addition, Sharndama and Mgbemena (2015) focus was on victory speeches. It is the gap between the interrogatives and their relevance in conflict management in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches that was addressed in the present study.

Other than electoral politics, Ndaluka (2012) examines the notion of *Ujamaa* (coexistence) ideology which perpetuated coexistence of different faiths, races and ethnic groups within the precincts of Critical Discourse Analysis. Fairclough (2013) argues that Critical Discourse Analysis:

...systematically aims to explore the often opaque relationship of causality and determination between (a) discursive practices, events and texts (b) wider social and cultural structure, relations and processes to investigate how such practices, events and texts arise out of and are ideologically shaped by relations of power and struggle over power, and explore how the opacity of these relationships between discourse and society ... itself a factor securing power... (p. 93).

According to Ndaluka (2012), Lexical items like *ndugu* (comrade) and *wenzetu* (fellows) confirm strong social bonds. In practice, however, deeply entrenched hatred exists. The Christians, for instance, express their dislike towards Muslims in an elliptical sentence like “Christians don’t like...” where the object is “Muslims” while the Muslims refer to the Christians as *Kaffir* (pagan) (Ndaluka, 2012, p. 60). The diminishing of social bonds at the national level imminent in the lexical item *Kaffir* in religious discourse leaves a gap on the relevance of lexical items such as *coexistence* and *fellows* in fostering conflict management between the religions and nationally. Apparently, the enmity between the religions can be compared to political rivalry brought out in the notion of “othering”

“Othering” refers to the way politicians employ lexical items to portray a positive self-image, while portraying a negative image of their opponents or the “other” (Van Dijk, 1998). The notion of “othering” is captured in the nexus between “us” and “them”; “in-group” and “out-group” and “insiders” and “outsiders” ingrained in ethnic divide culminating to election-related violence in Kenya (Yieke, 2008; Hirsch, 2009; Siele, 2015). In this dichotomy, Hirsch (2009) and Jenkins (2012) observe that the notion of “outsiders” is prominent and connotes ethnic groups living in places which are not their ancestral homes. In Kenya, Hirsch (2009) opines that the lexical item “outsiders” with its synonyms “foreigners” and “visitors” resembled statements made about people from surrounding nations who had entered Kenya as refugees and were not welcome. However, Hirsch (2009) leaves a gap on the attributive attitudes resulting from such an echoic interpretation of the statement and how conflict was contained.

The metaphors of outsiders, as Jenkins (2012) puts it, reverberated in political rallies, vernacular radio stations and short messaging services in the run-up to previous elections in Kenya. “Grass” referred to as *sangari* in Kalenjin depicted outsiders and was captured in an utterance such as “we will uproot the *sangari*, shake off the soil, gather it together and burn it” (Yieke, 2009). In the context of 2007/2008, the metaphor of grass referred to the Kikuyu people who had bought land, settled and were working or doing business in Uasin Gishu, Tarakwa included, and they had to be evicted (Njogu, 2009). While vernacular was used to perpetrate violence in 2007/2008 PEV, Chima (2012) hails it as a formidable tool for conflict management through effective use of the power of words including metaphors, proverbs and idiomatic expressions.

In the case of Yieke (2009), however, a gap is left on how vernacular metaphors like *sangari* should have been employed to foster conflict management among the communities on one hand. Chime (2012) also leaves a gap that seeks to explain the stylistic import of the words embedded in metaphors, proverbs and idiomatic expressions and how they can be used to manage election-related violence when rendered in vernacular on the other hand. Nevertheless, what emerges in Yieke (2009) is that competition for resources had been a driving factor for election-related conflict. In the declarative speech act “*All investors in Kericho ...would be either Kalenjins or Indians*”, Yieke (2009) exemplifies how ethnicity had fueled 2007/2008 PEV. This situation is also reflected in Ghana which had been applauded for conflict management in elections but turned out to be dogged by the ghost of ethnicity that could jeopardize the fragile peace (Ayelazuno, 2009). This also leaves a gap that seeks to explain how conflict was managed in Ghana’s 2008 presidential elections in the face of ethnically oriented politics.

Although ethnically oriented politics are entrenched in Kenya, Idris, *et. al.* (2013) attribute the 2013 election which ended relatively peaceful to a number of things. These are the

promulgation of the 2010 constitution which brought devolved governments and new series of opportunities for voice and representation, and replacement of the politics embedded in the phrase “winner-take-it-all” that had historically been taking place at the national level. Sisk and Reynold (1998) assert that this is the key to managing election-related conflict by giving a share of power to each of the major ethnic groups. This was also the key to subverting the common vocabulary including “ethnicity”, winner-take-it-all”, and “non-adherence to rule of law” that were linked to the national politics. Consequently, Rutten and Owuor (2010) observe that the struggle for presidency has been associated with gains to the ethnic group the president hails from.

Given the history of election-related conflict in Kenya, it was not surprising that messages urging people to uphold peace and tolerance were employed to strengthen conflict management initiatives in the run up to 2013 elections by the government and international communities. (Cho, Connors, Fatima, & Yalim, 2015). Such strategic political messaging included lexical items *peace* and *court*, and a directive speech acts like *if you whip up violence there will be consequences* which not only endorsed peaceful and legitimate means of settling election-related conflict but also signaled dissociation with violence (Cho *et. al.*, 2015). They also replaced inflammatory words used in previous elections as exemplified by Yieke (2008). Nevertheless, Cho *et al.* (2015) leave a gap on how these lexical and speech act choices were interpreted by the voters of Tarakwa in regard to conflict management in the 2013 elections.

In Tarakwa, election-related conflict had been experienced since the reintroduction of multiparty elections in 1992 with 2007/2008 being the worst. Consequently, much investment was made to prevent the eruption of violence in the 2013 presidential elections (Idris, *et. al.*, 2013). In Tarakwa, this included youth involvement in peace building through sports, peace think-tanks, reconstruction in market places and through inter-religious ties where trans-ethnic interaction takes place (Achieng, 2012; Imbiakha, 2012). However, these studies do not

examine the role of language in conflict management. Nationally, new institutional frameworks including the overhauls of the judiciary and the Independent Electoral and Boundary Commission (IEBC) contributed to conflict management in the 2013 elections (Idris, *et. al.* (2013). However, in the end, it was the words of the presidential candidates to restrain their supporters from violence that mattered. For instance, the reaction of the defeated Coalition for Restoration of Democracy (CORD) leader in the 2013 elections was that it had been rigged. Instead of using the words “mass action” he said “I do not want you to protest”, “I do not want violence” and “I want to go to court”. At this point Idris *et.al.* (2013) posits that if it is true that leaders can incite individuals to violence, then their words can help explain the peace that prevailed in 2013 elections. However, Idris, *et. al.* (2013) leave a gap that seeks to explain how the lexical items and declarative speech acts were employed in the pre-election campaign speeches to avert conflict. Given that violence in Tarakwa had been attributed to presidential elections, it became important to analyze the lexico-pragmatic interpretation of conflict management in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches to the residents of Tarakwa.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Presidential elections in Africa have been marred with conflict. Consequently, studies on conflict management in relation to presidential elections have gained currency. While most studies focus on the roles of international donors, government and media on conflict management in elections, these studies do not emphasize the role of language in conflict management. Tarakwa County Assembly Ward, Uasin Gishu, Kenya which had been hard-hit by conflict since the reintroduction of multi-party elections in 1992 and where a lot of investment was made to contain conflict in 2013 election, has attracted researchers' attention. Among the factors attributed to conflict management in Kenya generally and Tarakwa in particular are messages of peace embedded in lexical items such as “free and fair” elections and speech act choices such as “avoid intimidation and violence” which have been accorded

tacit linguistic analysis. In addition, some linguistic studies on election-related conflict have focused on interpretations of inflammatory utterances in campaign rallies, radio stations and churches. Further, pragmatic analyses on presidential campaigns have focused on the interpretation of utterances geared towards victory and not conflict management. There is therefore, a paucity of knowledge on how presidential campaign speeches have been interpreted in the light of conflict management in elections. This phenomenon lent credence to an analysis of the interpretation of lexical items, speech acts, echoic utterances and stylistic effects employed in the Kenyan 2013 presidential campaign speeches regarding conflict management. Against this backdrop, the present study sought to establish how presidential campaign speeches were interpreted by the people of Tarakwa and if they were relevant in regard to conflict management.

1.4 Research Questions

This study sought to answer the following research questions:

- i) How were the lexical choices in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches interpreted in regard to conflict management?
- ii) What was the relevance of speech acts in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches in conflict management?
- iii) What were the attitudes expressed by the people of Tarakwa towards the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches in conflict management?
- iv) How relevant were specific stylistic effects used by the presidential candidates in conflict management?

1.5 Aim and Objectives of the Study

1.5.1 Aim of the study

The purpose of the present study was to analyze the lexico-pragmatic interpretation of conflict management in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches.

1.5.2 Specific Objectives

- i) To interpret lexical choices on conflict management in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches.
- ii) To establish the relevance of speech acts in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches in conflict management.
- iii) To examine the attitudes expressed by the people of Tarakwa towards the utterances of the 2013 Kenyan presidential candidates in conflict management.
- iv) To investigate the interpretations of specific stylistic effects used by the 2013 Kenyan presidential candidates in conflict management.

1.6 Significance of the Study

The role of language in fomenting or mitigating conflict has been underscored in peace, media and language studies (Cohen, 2001; Chilton, 2004; Mendelziz, 2007; Indede, 2008). These studies have approached conflict management based on what was said by leaders, civil societies and international organization, but not through the lens of the audience to whom the message was delivered. The present study argued that the addressees' interpretation of the messages should be central and be scrutinized through pragmatics by incorporating a cognitive theory. The study therefore, shed insights into the interpretation of 2013 presidential campaign speeches regarding conflict management to the people of Tarakwa through the analysis of lexical choices, speech act choices, attitudes expressed and stylistic effects.

This analysis will give linguists and scholars from fields such as conflict management insights in understanding and explaining the role of language in conflict management. In the same vein,

the findings of the study will illuminate to policy makers and linguists a number of things. First, an analysis of the success of conflict management in 2013 elections requires an evaluation of the cognitive environments that shaped the elections together with the interpretive paths followed in understanding peace messages. This may help to reveal if indeed the citizen opted for positive or negative peace. Second, the study may make important contributions in the understanding of how language used by politicians can be both productive and counterproductive in governance and national development, thereby either mitigating or exacerbating conflict that has dogged Kenyan elections.

The study may be more relevant in many African countries where different ethnic groups jostle for political power and control of state resources. In the view of the present study, election-related violence is a risk for peace and security and has a negative impact on development and societal transformation. Therefore, promoting a two-way understanding of conflict management through language and addressing the root causes of violence may go a long way in promoting national integration. The study also contributes to the growing literature on conflict management, discourse analysis and stylistics, thereby contributing to scholarship on peace, pragmatics, political, media and conflict studies.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The study was on lexico-pragmatic choices for conflict management in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches. The study employed Relevance Theory (RT) and Speech Act Theory (SAT). On RT, the study focused on the main tenet which states that the expectations raised by an utterance are precise and predictable enough to guide the hearer towards the speaker's meaning, and its cognitive and communicative principles. The study also applied RT concepts including relevance, context, explicature, implicature, processing effort, cognitive effect and least effort in the analysis of all objectives. With regard to SAT, the study focused on Searle (1969) categories of speech acts including directives, commissives, expressives,

commissives and representatives in analyzing the second objective of the study. Only four presidential candidates namely Uhuru Kenyatta, Raila Odinga, Musalia Mudavadi and Martha Karua were studied. Their running mates, parliamentary or civic aspirants were not studied. The study sampled campaign speeches from 1st September, 2012 to 2nd March, 2013. In addition, the scope of stylistic effects was limited to metaphors, repetition and parallelism, and only verbal speech was analyzed. Conflict was perceived as having a negative connotation which necessitated a study of how it was averted in the 2013 elections in Kenya. The study also focused on the management of violent conflict and not psychological conflict perpetrated in the social media such as Facebook and Twitter. The role of newspapers and civil society in conflict management during the election was out of the scope of the study.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The present study employed Relevance Theory (RT) and Speech Act Theory (SAT). RT was developed in 1986 by Deirdre Wilson and Dan Sperber as a pragmatic theory and has been developing over the years (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, 2012; Wilson & Sperber, 2002, 2004; Carston, 2004). SAT was developed by the Oxford philosopher J. L. Austin in the set of lectures that were posthumously published as “How to do things with words” in 1962 (Levison, 1983; Saeed, 2003). Later, John Searle (1969) developed a systematic account of what people do when they speak (Saeed, 2003). The present study integrated some concepts from RT and others from SAT. In RT, concepts including relevance, cognitive principle, communicative principle, least effort, context, cognitive effects, processing effort, explicature and implicature were employed in all objective of the study.

In SAT, Searle’s (1969) categories of speech acts including directives, commissives, expressives, declaratives and representatives were applied in the analysis of objective 2. These categories were preceded by the analysis of the illocution acts which Sperber and Wilson (1995) argue are defined in terms of conditions on the set of assumptions. Sperber and Wilson

(1995) add that the illocution which is recognized depends on the way an utterance is interpreted to be relevant. It is this notion of relevance that was integrated into the aforementioned speech act categories which depended on how the focus group participants identified them. In this section, the principles, sub-principles of RT and examples were numbered sequentially. The pronoun “she” referred to the speaker while “he” referred to the addressee. In line with RT tradition, *ad hoc* concepts constructed in the lexical pragmatic processes in objective 1 were capitalized and an asterisk annotated.

1.8.1 Relevance Theory

The central tenet of RT is that the expectations of relevance raised by an utterance are precise and predictable enough to guide the hearer towards the speaker’s meaning (Sperber & Wilson, 2012). RT has two descriptive principles that govern the expectation of communication and interpretation (Sperber & Wilson, 2012).

(1) Principles of relevance

- a) The cognitive principle of relevance: Human cognition tends to be geared towards the maximization of relevance.
- b) Communicative principle of relevance: Every act of overt communication conveys a presumption of its own optimal relevance.

Regarding the first principle, Sperber and Wilson (1995) posit that human cognition tends to allocate attention and processing resources in such a way as to maximize the relevance of the input it processes. The addressee will attempt to process an utterance if he thinks that it is relevant and worth his effort and will achieve cognitive effects. Due to competing stimulus, the communicator should be able to predict, at least to some extent, what stimuli an addressee is likely to attend to, what contextual assumptions he is likely to use in processing them, and what conclusions he is likely to draw (Wilson, 2007), and this is what (1b) entails. Thus, the speaker makes it manifest to the audience and himself that he wants to communicate through

informative and communicative intentions which correspond to cognitive and communicative principles respectively (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). When these intentions are made more manifest to the audience they result in ostensive-inferential communication which in turn results in the presumption of optimal relevance summarized in (2):

(2) Presumption of optimal relevance.

- a) The set of assumptions which the communicator intends to make manifest to the addressee is relevant enough to make it worth the addressee's while to process the ostensive stimulus.
- b) The ostensive stimulus is the most relevant one the communicator could have used to communicate (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, p. 158).

In RT, ostension and inference refer respectively to the production and interpretation of certain stimuli and have non-conventional nature. Concerning ostensive-inferential communication, Sperber and Wilson (1995) state:

The communicator produces a stimulus which makes it mutually manifest to the communicator and audience that the communicator intends, by means of this stimulus, to make... more manifest to the audience a set of assumptions (p. 63).

The success of ostensive communication depends on the realization of the addressee of the intentional stimulus produced by the addresser and that it is directed to the addressee. This stimulus is a conscious modification of the environment and draws the addressee's attention towards a group of facts. The applicability of the cognitive and communicative principles of relevance to the present study was that the presidential campaign speeches were taken as the ostensive stimulus made manifest to the audience. The speeches were regarded as an input to the cognitive processes of the people of Tarakwa which they were to interpret and draw inferences based on the contextual assumptions that could be picked up. Through the application of these principles in all objectives of the study, the study set out to analyze the

lexico-pragmatic interpretation of conflict management in the 2013 presidential campaign speeches in Tarakwa.

1.8.2 Context in Relevance Theory

Sperber and Wilson (1995) describe context as the set of premises (assumptions) used in interpreting an utterance, and newly presented information is relevant in a context when it interacts with the context to yield cognitive effects. Context is more than the physical environment and the preceding utterance or text, situational circumstances or cultural factors (Saeed, 2003). It refers to part of the hearer's cognitive environment (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). For a piece of new information to be relevant, it must produce some effects, called contextual effects, on the addressee's cognitive environment. Contextual effects can be classified into contextual implications, strengthening of existing assumptions and contradicting of existing assumptions (Wilson, 2007). The processing of an input in a context is illustrated in (3) using a person running for a bus in the morning by Wilson (2007):

(3) (a) I'll (probably) catch the bus.

(b) If I catch the bus, I'll get to the lecture.

(c) If I don't catch the bus, I'll miss the lecture. (p.4)

As one arrives at the bus stop and sees the bus approaching, he/she will think as in (4):

(4) I will catch the bus.

Example (4) has two cognitive effects when processed in the context in (3). Sperber and Wilson (1995) argue that (4) strengthens the assumptions in (3a), and it combines with the assumptions in (3b) to yield contextual implication in (5):

(5) I'll get to the lecture.

Wilson (2007) observes that the information in (5) would be relevant in the context because it has greater cognitive effects. This means that there are more contextual implications and strengthening of existing assumptions. Contradicting and eliminating a contextual assumption;

that is, when one turns the corner and sees the bus pulling away from the bus stop would make one think as in utterance (6):

(6) I won't catch the bus.

According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), the new information in (6) contradicts one's contextual assumptions in (3a) and when new and old assumptions contradict each other, the weaker of the two assumptions is abandoned. In this example, (6) would provide strong evidence against the old assumption (3a), which would be abandoned. Example (6) would also combine with assumption (3c) to yield contextual implication in (7) which Sperber and Wilson (1995) claim would be more relevant partly because it contradicts and eliminates an existing assumption:

(7) I'll miss the lecture.

In the present study, the presidential candidates' utterances aimed at conflict management in the elections were analyzed against contextual assumptions that either strengthened, eliminated or contradicted existing assumptions held by the hearers concerning conflict management in the election. This means the utterances made manifest by the candidates were new assumptions which combined with the hearer's encyclopedic entries and assumptions to either strengthen, eliminate or contradict them (assumptions) to yield the implications that these utterances were responsible for conflict management.

1.8.3 Cognitive Effects and Processing Effort

Optimal relevance has high cognitive effects with low processing efforts. Cognitive effects refer to the modification of the cognitive environment based on the contextual assumptions the hearer can access. If these assumptions (shared knowledge of the communicators) are high, more contextual effects, also referred to as cognitive effects are produced and the comprehension is high (Sperber & Wilson, 2012). Jacobson (2010) opines that since the effort associated with accessing contextual assumption in order to trigger a cognitive effect plays a

central role in RT, cognitive economy is the driving mechanism of the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure heuristic stated in (8).

(8) The relevance-guided comprehension heuristic:

- a) Follow a path of least effort in constructing an interpretation of the utterance (in resolving ambiguities, referential indeterminacy, in going beyond linguistic meaning, in supplying contextual assumptions and computing implicatures) in order of accessibility.
- b) Stop when your expectations of relevance are satisfied (Wilson, 2007).

In (8a), it is logical for the hearer to follow a path of least effort because the speaker is expected (within the limits of her abilities and preferences) to make her utterances as easy as possible to understand. The fact that an interpretation is easily accessible gives it an initial degree of plausibility (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). It is also reasonable for the hearer to stop at the first interpretation that satisfies his expectations of relevance. The concepts of cognitive effects and processing effort were significant in the present study since the interpretation of utterances were based on the contextual assumptions availed in the propositional forms of presidential candidates' utterances and implicatures derived from them.

1.8.4 Explicatures and Implicatures

Explicatures and implicatures are two types of communicated assumptions or thoughts that are distinguished primarily by the way they are derived. An explicature is the propositional form of an utterance and it also refers to the developments of logical forms (Carston, 2004). The task of a hearer is to identify the right propositional form which is intended by the speaker in line with the principle of least effort (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). These tasks are disambiguation, reference assignment, enrichment, saturation and *ad hoc* concept construction (Carston, 1988; 2000) as illustrated in (9) by Sperber and Wilson (1995):

(9) 'It will get cold' (p.187).

In disambiguating this sentence, a single sense of ‘cold’ is selected. Next, a referent must be assigned to the referring expression ‘it’. Vague terms like ‘will’ must also be made more specific; for instance, by the addition of ‘very soon’. This done, the utterance in (9) will express the proposition form in (10) which is the hearer’s first task (Sperber & Wilson, 1995):

(10) The dinner will get cold very soon.

According to Carston (2004), an explicature, therefore, is:

(11) A combination of linguistically encoded and contextually inferred conceptual features.

The smaller the relative contribution of the contextual features, the more explicit the explicature will be, and inversely (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). An utterance does not only express an explicit proposition form. It also expresses it in a certain linguistically determined mood. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), mood is linguistically encoded and the mood of an utterance underdetermines the propositional attitude expressed. Thus, a hearer has to identify the mood in which a particular propositional form has been expressed such as declarative or interrogative. For instance, if (12) is uttered with a falling intonation contour, it will be in a declarative mood.

(12) The dinner will get cold very soon (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, p. 181).

An implicature is a contextual assumption or implication which a speaker, intending her utterance to be manifestly relevant, manifestly intended to make manifest to the hearer (Sperber & Wilson, 2012). In other words, the implicature of an utterance are “those contextual assumptions and implications which the hearer has to recover in order to satisfy himself that the speaker has observed the principle of relevance” (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, p. 250). Two types of implicatures are distinguished: implicated premises and implicated conclusions as demonstrated in (13) to (15) (Sperber & Wilson, 2012, p. 12).

(13) (a) Alan: Would you like to have supper with us tonight?

(b) Lisa: No thanks. I've eaten.

Lisa's utterance 'No thanks' should raise a doubt in Alan's mind about why she is refusing his invitation and will expect the next part of the utterance to settle this doubt by explaining his refusal. In his encyclopedic entry for EATING*, he should find an easily accessible assumption such as (14):

(14) A good reason for refusing an invitation to supper is that one has already eaten supper that evening.

Then, by enriching the explicit content of Lisa's utterance along the lines in (15a) and combining it with contextual assumptions in (14), he can derive the implication in (15b) (which may in turn lead to further implications, such as she might accept an invitation from him another time):

(15) (a) Lisa has already eaten supper on the evening of utterance.

(b) Lisa doesn't want to eat supper with Alan as she has already had supper that evening.

The assumptions in (15a) are referred to as implicated premises and the implications derived in (15b) are called implicated conclusions. Examples (10) to (15) show that explicatures and implicatures are mutually adjusted with accessible contextual assumptions until a positive cognitive effect for the least necessary effort (optimum relevance) is reached that satisfies the hearer. Sperber and Wilson (1995) refer to this process as relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure which has three sub-tasks:

(16) Sub-tasks of mutual adjustment of explicatures and implicatures.

- a) Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about explicature by developing linguistically encoded logical form.

- b) Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual assumption (implicated premises).
- c) Constructing an appropriate hypothesis about the intended contextual implication (implicated conclusion) (Sperber & Wilson, 2012, p.14-15).

According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), implicated premises must be supplied by the hearer, who must either retrieve them from memory or construct them by developing assumption schemas retrieved from memory. The implicated conclusions or cognitive effects are deduced from the explicatures of the utterance and context at minimal cost and the speaker expects the hearer to derive them or some of them. Thus, the explicature, implicated premise and implicated conclusion make up a speaker's meaning (Jacobsen, 2010). In the present study, the task of finding the explicature and implicatures of utterances was central based on the context made manifest in the presidential campaign speeches and that the FGD participants could access.

1.8.5 Speech Acts in Relevance Theory

Speech acts are defined in the ways they can be used to perform actions, for example, to create and discharge obligations, to influence the thoughts and actions of others and more generally to create new states of affairs (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). A speaker performs an act when she says a word which brings a change to the state of affairs in the world (Searle, 1969). In RT, speech act recognition is a pragmatic inferential process which contains a preliminary decoding phase of the semantic import of the sentence mood (Lenci, 1994). Mood is linguistically encoded and it underdetermines the propositional attitude expressed (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). It is a sub-category of modality. Modality is a semantic notion relating to such concepts as possibility, necessity, permission and obligation and is implemented through three types of mood (Ayoun, 2013). These are indicative, imperative and subjunctive. Nuyts and Auwera

(2016) add that mood is also used to refer to a number of divergent linguistic phenomenon including basic sentence types and the illocutionary acts expressed by them.

In RT, different illocutionary acts are defined in terms of conditions on the set of assumptions, and the illocution which is recognized depends on the way an utterance is interpreted to be relevant (Lenci, 1994; Sperber & Wilson, 1995). A hearer resorts to his encyclopedic entries and assumptions consistent with the principle of relevance which also represent the informative intention of the speaker through her act of ostension. By incorporating speech acts in RT, Sperber and Wilson 1995 identify three generic acts they claim are of genuine interests to pragmatics namely *saying*, *telling* and *asking*. These acts correspond to indicative mood indicator, interrogative word-order indicator and imperative mood indicator respectively. A speaker decodes the semantic content and the mood of the sentence which gives her a set of starting assumptions that are contextualized as exemplified in (17) (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, p. 246).

(17) (a) You will finish the work before 6 p.m.

(b) Will you finish the work before 6 p.m.?

(c) Finish the work before 6 p.m.

The declarative (17a), interrogative (17b) and imperative (17c) have similar logical forms, however, their differences are accounted for by the systematic correlation between syntactic sentence types and speech act types (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). In addition, the speech acts can be relevant to either the speaker or the hearer and their propositional forms follow either interpretive or descriptive paths outlined in figure (1).

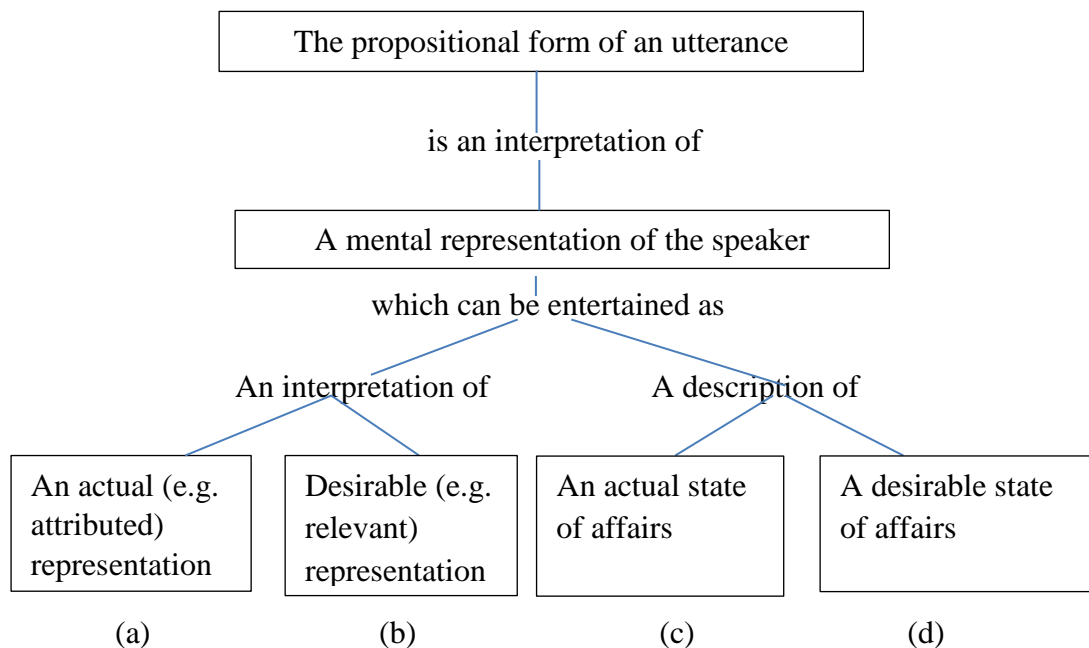


Figure 1: Model of descriptive and interpretive use of language (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, p.232).

These paths on figure 1 are simplified as (a), (b), (c) and (d) in (18).

(18) The propositional form of an utterance is an interpretation of a mental representation of the speaker which can be entertained as:

- a) An interpretation of an actual (for example attributed) representation;
- b) An interpretation of a desired (for example relevant) representation;
- c) A description of an actual state of affairs (declarative);
- d) A description of a desirable state of affairs.

1.8.5.1 Functions of Declarative Utterances

The declarative mood corresponds to the speech act of *saying that* and is integrated into the assumption schema of the form “the speaker said that *P*”. In *saying that P*, *P* is the propositional form of the utterance and it communicates that the thought interpreted by *P* is entertained as a description of an actual state of affairs (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, 2002). It may be entertained as a true description by the speaker, or by the person whose thought is being interpreted in the second degree. When you say *P*, you communicate that you are *saying that*

P. You may communicate this by means of linguistic indicators such as indicative mood and declarative word order. While interpreting an utterance, a hearer should adopt the first assumption that is consistent with the principle of relevance. Wilson (2007) argues that this is by applying the strategy of interpreting the utterance in order of accessibility and stopping when the expected level of relevance is reached. For instance, on hearing (19) the hearer should identify the propositional form of the utterance and integrate it into the description in (20) which provides the speaker with evidence for (21) and if he trusts the speaker enough for (22) (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, p. 248).

(19) The bus is leaving.

(20) The speaker has said that the bus is leaving.

(21) The speaker believes that the bus is leaving.

(22) The bus is leaving.

Sperber and Wilson (1995) add that an utterance that achieves relevance in the above ways is an ordinary assertion which is the result of choosing path (d) in (18)—the proposition form of an utterance is an interpretation of a mental representation of the speaker which can be entertained as a description of a desirable state of affairs. When an utterance is interpreted as an ordinary assertion, there is an interaction between the form of an utterance, the hearer's accessible assumptions and the principle of relevance.

1.8.5.2 Functions of Imperatives

The imperative mood and the speech act of *telling to* have been taken as expressing ordering, requesting, entreating, insisting and advising which amounts to the speaker wanting something (Wilson, 2007). In this case, the speaker expresses a desirable state of affairs desirable to her as in the example (23) which Sperber and Wilson (1995) integrate into a descriptive utterance such as (24) which could be relevant in a variety of ways. For example, by providing the hearer with the evidence for assumption (25) on the basis of which he might form the desire to leave the room.

(23) Leave the room.

(24) The speaker is telling the hearer to leave the room.

(25) The speaker wants the hearer to leave the room.

Wilson and Sperber (2002) further note that each imperative utterance merits a unique interpretation as not all would express a speaker's desire or report someone else's expression of desire as in (26) and (27) respectively adopted from Sperber and Wilson (1995, p. 250).

(26) *Driver to traffic warden*: Pretend you didn't see me.

(27) Keep my dog off this garden, he tells me. As if I could.

(28) a) *He*: Could you tell me the way to the station?

b) *She*: Turn right at the traffic lights and keep straight on.

(29) *Recipe for mint source*: Mix two tablespoons of mint leaves, two table spoons of sugar and half a table spoon of hot water, add two table spoons of vinegar and leave to stand.

According to Sperber and Wilson (2004), in (28), there is no need for the hearer to assume that the speaker actually cares whether he turns right or not. There is also no reason for the reader of (29) to assume that the writer actually wants anyone who sees the recipe to start making mint source. In this case, the correlation between the imperative form and the propositional attitude breaks down. Sperber and Wilson (1995) at this point argue that the link between the linguistic form and the propositional attitude can be ignored. What remains is the classification of speech acts performed by the imperative as requestive and advisory as in (26) - (27) and (28) - (29) respectively. Speech acts do not have to be recognized as such in order to be performed. For this reason, Sperber and Wilson (1995) maintain that the distinction between the requestive and advisory speech acts is itself reducible to something deeper, and intuitively, a requestive speech act is one that represents a certain state of affairs as desirable from the speaker's point of view, whereas an advisory speech act is one that represents a certain state of affairs as desirable from the hearer's point of view. In this regard, (26) is intuitively requestive as the

speaker is representing as desirable from her point of view a state of affairs in which the traffic warden pretends he did not see her. Similarly, (28) is intuitively advisory as the speaker is representing as desirable from the hearer's point of view a state of affairs in which the hearer turns right and keeps straight on.

What is essential to the comprehension of these utterances is not their assignment to the class of advisory or requestive speech acts, but a recognition that the state of affairs described is being represented as desirable from the speaker's point of view in the first case and the hearer's in the second case. In other words, what makes imperative utterances relevant is for the listener to know whose point of view the state of affairs being described is desirable. This is in bearing that the first interpretation consistent with the principle of relevance will be selected which is in consonance with communicative principle of relevance in which a speaker uses her abilities and preferences to make the message comprehensible to the hearers. On this account, Sperber and Wilson (1995) conclude that the interpretation of an imperative utterance chooses the path (d) in figure 1—the propositional form of an utterance is an interpretation of a mental representation of the speaker which can be entertained as a description of a desirable state of affairs.

1.8.5.3 Functions of Interrogatives

The interrogative utterances, on their part, are analyzed as a special sub-type of directive speech act- specifically as requests for information. Sperber and Wilson (1995) analyze them as interpretations of answers that the speaker would regard as relevant if true. They hypothesize that the hearer of an interpretive utterance recovers its logical form and integrates it into a description of the form *the speaker is asking Wh-p*, where *Wh-P* is an indirect question. This scheme distinguishes between yes/no questions which have a logical form and a fully propositional form and the Wh- questions which have a logical form but no fully propositional form. For both questions the schema *asking Wh-P* applies. For yes-no questions, *P* is the

propositional form of the utterance and it communicates that the thought interpreted by *P* would be relevant if true. For Wh-question, *P* is less than-propositional-logical form of the utterance and it communicates that there is some completion of the thought interpreted by *P* into a fully propositional thought which would be relevant if true. Examples of yes/no interrogatives and Wh-interrogative are in (30) and (31) respectively with their corresponding propositional forms in (30a) and (30b) (Clark, 1991, p.147). The logical form 30 (a) is incomplete because of the gap marked by the Wh-word:

(30) a) Did John drink the whisky?

b) John Smith drank the whisky.

(31) a) Who drank the whisky?

b) __drank the whisky.

Interrogatives are indeterminate in regards to who the speaker thinks would regard the thought in the question as desirable, either to the hearer or speaker. By combining the notion of desirability and the mutual cognitive environment, Sperber and Wilson (1995) analyze a broad range of questions including on one hand, request for information, exam questions, guess questions, self-address questions and speculative questions which are resolved in favour of the speaker. On the other hand, rhetorical questions and expository questions are resolved in favour of the hearer. Most important to note concerning interrogatives is that they possess second degree interpretation because a question is interpreted as a representation of a desirable thought.

This sub-section was relevant in answering the second research question of the study which was to establish the relevance of speech act in the 2013 presidential campaign speeches in conflict management. This was applied in the semantic decoding of the sentence mood in order to reveal the propositional attitudes embedded in the utterances of the presidential campaign speeches on conflict management. This decoding paved way to the interpretation of these

utterances through activation of accessible assumptions, thereby making it possible for the identification of illocutionary forces. These illocutionary forces, classified broadly as directives, commissives, expressives, declaratives and representatives according to Searle (1969) are detailed in section 1.8.9.

1.8.6 Attitude as Echoic Interpretation

Attitude is derived from verbal irony through attribution of thoughts or utterances. According to Wilson (2007), verbal irony can be understood as an echoic interpretive use and as echoic use. From these two underpinnings, Sperber and Wilson (1995) advance three claims concerning verbal irony. The first claim is that verbal irony is a variety of tacit interpretive use for representing a thought or an utterance tacitly attributed to someone other than the speaker or the speaker at another time. This is illustrated in (32) where Wilson (2007) also distinguishes further descriptive and interpretive language uses.

(32) (a) Peter: Did you see the interview with the Prime Minister?

(b) Mary: Yes, the economy has never been better.

Wilson (2007) states that descriptive use is the regular use of an utterance or a thought to represent a state of affairs in the world as when Mary in (b) expresses her own belief about the economy. Interpretive use is the use of an utterance or thought to represent another thought or utterance which it resembles in content as when Mary in (b) represents an opinion she attributes to the Prime Minister. Wilson (2007) asserts that in order to understand Mary's utterance correctly, the hearer must decide which of these uses she had in mind. Wilson (2007) adds that sometimes, the speaker gives some linguistic indication that part of her utterance is interpretively rather than descriptively used. In the above example, Mary uttered the following which are cases of linguistically marked interpretive use, in which the embedded clauses represent a thought the speaker attributes to someone else:

(33) (a) He says the economy has never been better.

(b) He assures us the economy has never been better.

(c) He's convinced his policies have been a great success.

At other times as in (32b), Wilson (2007) adds, she gives no overt linguistic indication, and trusts the hearer to infer that she is not expressing her own opinion but representing a thought or utterance attributed to someone else (or the speaker at another time). These are tacit interpretive uses. The second claim is that verbal irony is a type of tacit echoic use whose main point is to indicate the speaker's attitude to an attributed utterance or thought. Wilson (2007) reverts to example (32) "Yes the economy has never been better" in which Mary may know that Peter saw the interview himself and is less interested in its content than in her reactions to it, which she may indicate via intonation or facial expression, or simply infer. Sperber and Wilson (1995) call such utterances, whose relevance depends mainly on the speaker's expressed attitude to an attributed utterance or thought, echoic.

Wilson (2007) also states that verbal irony, unlike other cases of rhetoric, includes cases where a speaker can tacitly echo an opinion and either express a whole range of attitudes and emotions ranging from outright acceptance and endorsements to outright rejection and dissociation. Examples of verbal irony incorporating endorsing and dissociative attitudes include (34) and (35) (Sperber and Wilson, 1995, p.239):

(34) (a) Peter: It's a lovely day for a picnic. (They go for a picnic and the sun shines)

b) Mary: It is a lovely day for a picnic, indeed.

(35) (a) Peter: It's a lovely day for a picnic. (They go for a picnic and it rains).

(b) Mary: It's a lovely day for a picnic, indeed

In (34b), Mary echoes Peter's earlier utterance with approval, clearly endorsing what he has said, and communicating something like "It is as you said, a lovely day for a picnic" (Wilson, 2007). In (35b), by contrast, Mary echoes Peter's earlier utterance with scorn, making it clear that she does not believe what he said, that it was ridiculous to think it was a lovely day for a

picnic (Wilson, 2007). For cases such as (34) and (35), the recovery of the intended implicatures depends on three features: understanding the utterance as an echoic one, understanding the echoed thought itself, and recognizing and understanding the attitude of the speaker to the echoed thought (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). The third claim Sperber and Wilson (1995) advance is that verbal irony involves expression of a tacitly dissociative attitude (wry, mocking, bitter, savage and sarcastic) to a tacitly attributed utterance or thought. On this account, verbal irony, along with other echoic uses of language should arise spontaneously, without being taught or learned (Wilson, 2007). This section was applied in answering the third research question which was to examine the attitudes expressed towards the utterances of presidential campaign speeches in regards to conflict management. This entailed analyzing presidential utterances and identifying the various attitudes attributed to utterances.

1.8.7 Stylistic Effects in Relevance Theory

Style refers to the peculiar effects of an utterance which achieves most of its relevance through a wide array of weak implicatures. According to Wilson (2007) weak implicatures convey a wide array of roughly similar assumptions and conclusions that would satisfy the hearer's expectations of relevance. Consequently, style can be understood from two points of views. First, in terms of the mutual cognitive environment between the speaker and the hearer. In aiming at relevance, the speaker must make some assumptions about the hearer's cognitive abilities and contextual resources, which will be reflected in the way she communicates and in particular in what she chooses to make explicit and what she chooses to leave implicit (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Second, style is understood in terms of the degree to which they constrain or guide the hearer's search for relevance. For instance, a direct answer leaves the hearer free to process the information offered in whatever way he likes, while an indirect answer suggests a particular line of processing in the computation of contextual effects. In this section, metaphors, epizeuxis and parallelism were analyzed.

1.8.7.1 Metaphors as Weak Implicatures

Metaphors are metarepresentations involving interpretive relations between the propositional form of an utterance and the thought they represent or resemble. However, they are less-than-literal representations of the speaker's thought (Wilson & Sperber, 1994). Metaphors can have strong or weak implicatures depending on whether the cognitive effects recovered are narrow or broad respectively. A strong implicature is exemplified with (36) where one is shocked to see John's room very filthy and untidy to the extent that one cannot stand it (Sperber and Wilson, 1995, p.236).

(36) This room is a pigsty.

This conventional metaphor gives John access to an encyclopedic schema with one or two dominant and highly accessible assumptions like (37):

(37) Pigsties are stereotypically filthy and untidy (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, p. 236).

When (37) is processed in this stereotypical context, it will yield the implication which strongly implicates that the room is filthy and untidy.

The expectation of optimal relevance makes John search for more implications without which the use of the metaphor could not be justified; for example, by saying that this filthiness and untidiness are beyond the norm, that he is being blamed for the filthiness and untidiness of his room. In the first case, the hearer's responsibilities in trying to construct the implicatures are greater but will have more poetic effects. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), John's extra effort to process the utterance is offset by contextual effects.

Sperber and Wilson (1995) exemplify weak implicature with (38) which they argue has a wide array of contextual implications, many of which are contradictory and can be discarded:

(38) Robert is a bulldozer.

In this example, Sperber and Wilson (1995) argue that there is no single strong implicature that automatically comes in mind, but rather a slightly weaker, less determinate range having to do

with Robert's persistence, obstinacy, insensitivity and refusal to be deflected. The hearer has to take a slightly greater responsibility for the resulting interpretation than he does in (37). Consequently, Sperber and Wilson (1995) argue such is a good creative metaphor because a variety of contextual effects can be retained and understood as weakly implicated by the speaker. In addition, note that the wider the range of potential implicature and the greater the hearer's responsibility for constructing them, the more creative the metaphor (Sperber & Wilson, 1995).

1.8.7.2 Epizeuxis and Relevance

Epizeuxis refers to immediate repetition of a word, phrase, or clause. Epizeuxis makes a speaker compute the different emphatic effects embedded in them such as the propositional content of the utterance and hence the explicatures of the utterance. According to Pilkington (2000), epizeuxis may be more or less creative, may or may not be the source of poetic effects, may communicate a relatively wide range of weak implicatures or a relatively narrow range of implicatures. Examples of epizeuxis include respectively (39) (a) and (b) (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, p. 221; Pilkington, 2000, p.155).

(39) a) My childhood days are gone, gone.

b) Oh, Absalom, my son, my son.

In (39a) a proposition is followed by a single word "gone" which takes an obligatory argument in subject position and has to be inferred (Pilkington, 2000). In (39a), the inferred candidate is "childhood days" which Pilkington (2000) argues repeats the previous propositional form using the same concepts. Sperber and Wilson (1995) observe that the efforts involved in reconstructing the same propositional form leads to greater activation of assumptions stored in the encyclopaedic entries attached to the constituent concept "childhood". In the case of example (39b), the concept is father/son. Different instances of repetition offer different contextual effects in example (40) (Sperber & Wilson, 1995, p 219).

- (40) a) We went for a long, long walk.
- b) There were houses, houses everywhere.
- c) I shall never, never smoke again.
- d) There is a fox, a fox in the garden.

In (40a) and (b), the extra contextual effects realized take the form of modified explicatures with the effect being reflected in the propositional content (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Example (a) therefore communicates that a particular group of people went for a very long walk, example (b) communicates that there are more houses than the hearer would have thought (Pilkington, 2000). In (40c), the speaker's degree of commitment to the propositional content of the utterance is strengthened. Pilkington (2000) opines that in (40d), it is not easy to provide a propositional paraphrase that will capture what they communicate as this example seems to exhibit rather than merely describe the speaker's mental or emotional state. Sperber and Wilson (1995) state that it gives rise to non-propositional effects which will be lost under paraphrase. According to Pilkington (2000), it is possible to imagine contexts in which one or two implicatures are strongly communicated, for example, the chicken is in danger. In such an assumption, Pilkington (2000) adds that the encyclopedic entry for the concept "fox" is explored at the same time linking it to whatever other contextual assumptions are available. These include the fact that foxes are dangerous to animal and that they are not often seen in this neighbourhood.

In the present study, the analysis of epizeuxis formed a basis for analyzing the emphatic, emotional and poetic effects of the repeated expression. In addition, the creative aspect of epizeuxis complemented similar aspects arising from metaphors. Since the emotional aspect of repetition carries with it attitude, this section was also helpful in gleaning in more details different attitudes that emerged in section 4.3.

1.8.7.3 Parallelism and Relevance

Parallelism, like repetition has a repetitive syntactic pattern and does not invariably give rise to noticeable stylistic effects (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). To illustrate this, Sperber and Wilson (1995) give examples (41) and (42) each of which exhibits syntactic, semantic and phonological parallelisms which reinforce the hearer's natural tendency to reduce processing effort by looking for matching parallelisms in propositional forms and implicatures.

(41) Mary went on holiday to the mountains, Joan to the sea, and Lily to the country.

(42) Mary lives in Oxford, Joan in York, and Lily in a skyscraper.

(Sperber & Wilson, 1995, p. 222).

In (41) Sperber and Wilson (1995) argue that the missing verb phrase in the second and third clause can safely be assumed to be "went on holiday". In this example, the context of typical holidays is easily accessible and enables the three clauses to yield parallel contextual effects with some conclusions true of Mary, Joan and Lily and others contrasting their holidays on fairly standard dimensions of comparison. Sperber and Wilson (1995) add that a speaker aiming for optimal relevance would deliberately introduce such linguistic parallelisms only if she expected them to lead to a reduction in the hearer's processing effort and in particular if she thought the search for parallel contexts and contextual effects would be rewarded. Otherwise, Sperber and Wilson (1995) observe, the parallelism might misdirect the hearer's effort, thus increasing instead of reducing it. The syntactic parallelism displayed in (41) is matched by semantic parallelism, and parallel contextual effects are easily achieved in a largely common ground. Sperber and Wilson (1995) however, observe that this is not the case with (42) where "a skyscraper", for example, does not belong with "Oxford" and "York". Sperber and Wilson (1995) point out that although the syntactic parallelism in these sentences is very noticeable and strong enough to trigger parallel contextual effects, there is semantic divergence. This creates a problem of finding a context in which all three clauses have parallel

contextual effects. At this point Sperber and Wilson (1995) opine that this requires an effort of imagination: the hearer has to bring relatively unrelated encyclopedic entries and construct non-stereotypical assumptions.

In this case, the hearer's task is to find a set of assumptions in the context of which the fact that Mary lives in Oxford, Joan lives in York and Lily lives in a skyscraper have either identical or directly contrasting implications. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), some basic facts about Oxford, York and skyscrapers suggest the conclusion that Mary and Joan do not live in skyscrapers and that Lily does not live in an old town. However, it would have cost least effort to draw these conclusions if the speaker had named the town where Lily lives and the kind of building where Mary and Joan Lived. If the overall interpretation was to be consistent with the principal of relevance, the speaker might be credited with implicating more than that: for example, she might have been trying to convey a variety of weak implicatures showing that the way Mary and Joan live is more affected by the kind of town they live in than by the kind of building they live in, while the reverse is true of Lily's way of life. What emerges, therefore, for (41) and (42) is that the processing strategy is determined by the form of an utterance. In the case of (41), this strategy yields an unremarkable interpretation; the contribution to relevance made by the utterance is merely to reduce the processing effort. In the case of (42), this strategy takes the hearer beyond standard contexts and premises and yields typical poetic effects.

The foregoing sub-sections were applied in answering the second, third and fourth research questions with the themes of speech acts, attitudes and stylistic effects respectively. In objective two, the sentence mood of the presidential candidates' utterance was decoded and interpreted through accessible assumptions, thereby making it possible for identification of illocutionary forces such as directives or commissives. In objective three, recovery of attitudes expressed was through the echoic interpretation of thoughts and utterances. In objective four, style was

examined from the range of implicatures communicated which could either be broad or narrow. Section 1.7.8 focused on Lexico-pragmatic process.

1.8.8 Lexico-Pragmatic Processes and Relevance

In lexico-pragmatics, word meanings are frequently pragmatically adjusted and fine-tuned in context so that their contribution to the proposition expressed is different from their lexically encoded sense (Wilson & Carston, 2007). This means that a word which seems to have a single stable meaning in the linguistic system can nevertheless be used to express a wide range of distinct concepts on different occasions of an utterance (Carston, 2010). The outcomes of lexico-pragmatic processes are narrowing and broadening which are genuinely inferential processes. In narrowing, a word is used to convey a more specific sense than the encoded one, resulting in a restriction of the linguistically-specified denotation (Sperber & Wilson, 2002). This means that the first sense of each word is the full meaning and each successful interpretation is somewhat narrower (Wilson, 2003).

The adjustment of the meaning encoded by a linguistic constituent involves an interaction among the lexically encoded concept, the other concepts encoded by the utterance and the contextual information, constrained by the hearer's expectations of relevance (Carston, 2010). In RT, the meaning of a word is a concept. A concept is a psychological object consisting of a label or an address which appears as a constituent of a logical form or an address in memory where different types of information can be stored and retrieved (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Concepts have different entries for different types of information. In Sperber's and Wilson's (1995) view the logical entry represents the logical properties of the concept, the core meaning, while the encyclopedic entry represents our knowledge of events, objects and properties which instantiate the concept. The information in logical entries is computational in that it consists of a set of deductive rules, while the information in the encyclopedic entries is representational, in that it consists of a set of assumptions which may undergo deductive rules.

Wilson (2003) exemplifies narrowing with “drink” in the sentence “the doctor drinks” which might convey not the encoded sense “drink liquid” but more specifically, “drink alcohol” or “drink significant amounts of alcohol”. In broadening, the sense becomes broader than the encoded one and approximation, hyperbole, metaphor extension and category extension are sub-varieties of broadening (Carston, 2010). Wilson and Sperber (2002), Wilson (2003), and Carston (2010) exemplify approximation with “This coat cost 1,000 dollars” which means about 1,000 dollars. In approximation, a word with a relatively strict sense is extended to a penumbra of cases, and loose uses of round numbers, geometric terms and negatively-defined terms are examples (Wilson, 2007). “Boiling” in “The water is boiling” is hyperbolic if it is used to indicate that the water was merely hotter than expected or uncomfortably hot and is a radical extension of the linguistically specified denotation (Wilson, 2007). In “Mary is a violet”, “violet” is an example of a metaphor which is also a radical extension of the linguistically specified denotation and it represents the category of delicate, flamboyant, easily overlooked things of which violets are a salient subcategory. In this section, the metaphor was interpreted using lexical pragmatic mechanism of *ad hoc* concept construction which Carston (2010) differentiates from the extended one involving analysing a metaphor as a resemblance. Category extension is exemplified by “Federer is the new *Sampras*” in which case Federer belongs to a broader category of which Sampras is a salient member.

The words “drink”, “1000”, “boiling”, “violet” and “Sampras” are the outcome of the lexico-pragmatic processes and are known as *ad hoc* concepts. This is because according to Carston (2010), they are inferentially derived for the particular occasion of use. In RT tradition, the *ad hoc* concepts are capitalized and an asterisk annotated: DRINK*, 1000*, BOILING*, VIOLET* and SAMPRAS*. The *ad hoc* concepts result from parallel mutual adjustment of explicature, implicatures and cognitive effects and are affected by context, accessibility of encyclopaedic memory and consideration of relevance (Wilson & Carston, 2007; Carston,

2010). Lexical narrowing and broadening are treated in RT like utterance interpretation in general, as guided by expectations of relevance and are descriptions of the outcomes of pragmatic adjustment processes rather than of the processes themselves (Carston, 2010). This means the denotation of the pragmatically inferred concept is narrower or broader (or both) than the denotation of the lexical concept which provided the evidential input to its derivation. RT approach to comprehension has two important consequences to lexico-pragmatics. To start with, Wilson (2003) points out that there is no presumption of literalness since the linguistically encoded meaning of a word, a phrase or a sentence is no more than a clue to the speaker's meaning, which is not decoded but non-demonstratively inferred. Second, Wilson (2003) adds that understanding any utterance (literal, loose or metaphorical) is a matter of seeing its intended relevance as specified in the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure. This means that lexico-pragmatic processes are triggered by the search for relevance; they follow a path of least effort, they operate via mutual adjustment of explicit content, context and cognitive effects, and they stop when the expectations of relevance raised by the utterance are satisfied (or abandoned). Wilson exemplifies this account using *temperature*, which is narrowed in an utterance in which Peter suggests that he and Mary pay a visit to his aunt in hospital, and Mary replies:

(46) I have a TEMPERATURE*.

Wilson explains that Peter will be expecting Mary's utterance to achieve relevance at that point in the discourse. Mary's utterance literally interpreted is trivially true and achieves no cognitive effects. Wilson adds that *temperature* being a scalar term yields different implications when combined with easily accessible contextual assumptions. Peter's encyclopedic assumptions about temperature, hospital visits and the possible connections between them should be highly activated by following a path of least effort in mutual adjustment of content, context and cognitive effects to arrive at an interpretation in which temperature expresses an *ad hoc* concept

TEMPERATURE*, denoting a temperature high enough to make it inadvisable for Mary not to visit Peter's aunt in hospital. In regard to this interpretation, Wilson (2003) adds that narrowing is undertaken in the search for relevance as hearers satisfy their expectations of relevance by looking for true implications. Furthermore, a hearer following the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure narrows the encoded sense to a point where it yields enough true implications to satisfy general expectations of relevance raised by the utterance, together with any more specific expectations raised by the fact that the utterance has been produced by that speaker, for that audience, at that particular point.

This kind of relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure also applies to approximation, category extension, metaphor and hyperbole in which case broadening is also undertaken in search for relevance and also results from mutual adjustment of content, context and cognitive effects, constrained by expectations of relevance raised by the utterance itself. Wilson (2003) adds that in many cases the mutual adjustment process will converge on a broader or narrower category than the linguistically specified denotation. This means that a single word may express an *ad hoc* concept that is narrowed in some respects and broadened in others.

This sub-section was useful in answering the question raised by objective one on the lexical choices in the speeches of the 2013 presidential candidates. Since this study adapted RT, an inferential account to lexical pragmatics was preferable. Through lexico-pragmatic choices, it was possible to analyze how the 2013 presidential candidates' lexical choices regarding conflict management were mutually adjusted with context, content and cognitive effects to form *ad hoc* concepts that were interpreted within the 2013 election campaigns.

1.8.9 Speech Act Theory

SAT was formulated by J. L. Austin in his book "How to Do Things with Words" in 1962 by arguing that while a speaker is saying a word, she is also doing an act. According to Austin (1962), there are many utterances which constitute, partly or wholly, the performance of an

action (Austin, 1962). Austin (1962) distinguishes between performative and constative utterances. On exemplifying performative acts, Austin (1962) noted that when a speaker is saying “I promise that I will come on time” or “I name this ship Elizabeth” she means that she does not only utter the utterance but also does the act of promising and giving a name respectively. These utterances are categorized into performatives because the verbs used by the speaker to promise and name produce an act to be done. Performatives carry *locutionary*, *illocutionary* and *perlocutionary* forces. *Locutionary* force is used by the speaker to produce an utterance. *Illocutionary* force is made in order to express the speaker’s intention such as rebuking and warning and is what Austin and his successors have been mainly concerned with (Saeed, 2003). *Perlocutionary* acts are utterances produced by the speaker in order to make the hearer do the acts in accordance with the speaker’s intentions, for example, be convicted or persuaded. The other category, constituting of “constatives” include utterances that indicate an expression like “where are you going” or “let’s go”, but a speaker does not have to do an act related to the words or expressions she said.

The present study focused on illocutionary force which is central to SAT. In fact, the terms “speech acts”, “illocutionary act”, or just “force” are used with the meaning of illocutionary force (Saeed, 2003). This is because the communicative purpose of utterance is the focal point in the performance of speech acts (Thomas, 1995). Searle (1969) categorized speech acts into representative, directive commissive, expressive and declarative as explained in (47) to (51) by Levison (1983).

(47) Representatives or assertives commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition. Examples include asserting, stating, suggesting, describing and informing.

(48) Directives are attempts by the speaker to get the addressee to do something and examples include commanding, requesting, condemning, warning, urging, questioning and disagreeing.

(49) Commissive acts supply information regarding a speaker's intention to carry out a future action. They include promising, pledging, offering, vowing and swearing.

(50) Expressive acts reveal the psychological state of speakers about the state of affairs which the illocution presupposes. Expressive acts often communicate a speaker's intention in relation to the situation.

(51) Declaratives offer immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs which tend to rely on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions and examples include excommunicating, declaring war, christening, firing from employment, endorsing, nominating, resigning, accepting and appointing.

Searle's (1969) classification of speech acts was adapted and applied in the second objective of the present study in conjunction with RT. While Wilson and Sperber (1998) view early speech act theorists' notion of illocutionary force as a properly semantic category, they propose a radical change that makes illocutionary force a purely pragmatic category as well as a property of utterances only. Sperber and Wilson (1995) clarify that the interpretation of mood does not directly correspond to a specific and complete illocutionary force; rather mood decoding gives a semantic link between linguistic form and representation of propositional attitude. Specifically, sentence types offer the initial clues and direction to drive the inferential process in order to understand the illocutionary intentions of the speaker (Lenci, 1994). In the present study, Searle's (1969) categories of speech acts were preceded by the analysis of the illocutionary acts which Sperber and Wilson (1995) argue are defined in terms of conditions on the set of assumptions. Sperber and Wilson (1995) add that the illocution which is recognized depends on the way an utterance is interpreted to be relevant. It is this notion of relevance that was integrated into the aforementioned speech act categories which depended on how the focus group discussion participants identified them.

1.9 Conclusion

This introductory chapter provided a brief background to the study from which the knowledge gaps were identified. Consequently, the problem statement was formulated. This paved way to the research questions, aim and objectives of the study. In this section, the significance of the study and the scope of the study were also outlined. In addition, the theoretical framework was outlined according to the tenets, principles, concepts and the thematic areas of the study objectives it was applied to. This chapter gave way to chapter two which provided a detailed literature review thereby identifying the gaps that necessitated the study in line with the various objectives of the study.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

The main purpose of this chapter was to present literature review. This chapter was divided into four sections which provided an analysis of the scholarly works that offered insights on the themes of the study objectives. These themes were lexical choice interpretation, speech acts, attitudes and stylistic choices and were reviewed in the context of the concepts conflict management and political discourse.

2.2 Theoretical Perspectives on Lexical Choice Interpretation

This sub-section addressed objective one of the study which was to interpret lexical choices on conflict management in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches. Lexical choices consist of a whole range of the lexicon (Haegeman, 1994). The lexicon or “dictionary” deals with the lexical items of the language; that is, the lexemes, or words that make up its vocabulary (Huddleston, 1984). According to Crystal (1995), lexical item or lexeme refers to a unit of lexical meaning which exists regardless of any inflectional endings it may have or the number of words it may contain; thus “fibrillate”, “rain cats and dogs”, and “come in” are all lexemes” (p.118).

Lexemes play an important role as the ultimate building blocks of the sentence; in turn, the sentence structure is to a large extent determined by the lexical information (Haegeman, 1994). In RT, an utterance raises expectations of relevance, therefore, lexical choice interpretation is guided by the contextual assumptions a speaker makes manifest in order to guide the hearer towards meaning (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). This entails a construction of appropriate hypotheses which will develop the logical forms into explicatures, develop appropriate contextual assumptions and implicated conclusions. Cumming (2010) illustrates this using pragmatic framework where a flight attendant tells a physically challenged person on board that she will disembark after all the “people” have disembarked. The encoded concept “people”

expresses an *ad hoc* concept PEOPLE* denoting all passengers on the plane who are not physically challenged. Likewise, in the present study, linguistically encoded concepts were interpreted according to the occasion specific senses they conveyed. Cummings (2010), however, does not analyze the lexical pragmatic process involved in arriving at the interpretation that excludes the physically challenged people from being included in the same class denoted by PEOPLE* in which narrowing has been applied. The present study investigated how concepts were narrowed, broadened or approximated in the utterances of the presidential candidates such that the resultant meanings were interpreted in relation to their relevance in conflict management in presidential campaigns speeches.

In lexico-pragmatics, word meanings are frequently pragmatically adjusted and fine-tuned in context so that their contribution to the proposition expressed is different from their lexically encoded sense (Wilson & Carston, 2007). A word which seems to have a single meaning in the linguistic system can nevertheless be used to express a wide range of distinct concepts on different occasions of an utterance (Carston, 2010). The outcomes of lexico-pragmatic processes are narrowing and broadening which are inferential processes (Wilson & Carston, 2007). In narrowing, a word is used to convey a more specific sense than the encoded one, resulting in a restriction of the linguistically-specified denotation (Sperber & Wilson, 2002). This means that the first sense of each word is the full meaning and each successful interpretation is somewhat narrower (Wilson, 2003). Thus, in the example “people” the *ad hoc* concept PEOPLE* is an example of narrowing. In broadening, the sense becomes broader than the encoded one. For example, “boiling” in “the water is boiling” is hyperbolic if it is used to indicate that the water was merely hotter than expected or uncomfortably hot and is a radical extension of the linguistically specified denotation (Wilson, 2007).

2.2.1 Lexical Choice Interpretation in Conflict Management

Various uses of words in certain contexts can exacerbate, mitigate or resolve conflict. Persaud and Turner (2007) define conflict as “disagreement between two or more parties in which one perceive(s) a denial of a right, resources, or absence of capacity to obtain justice which leads to anger, hurt, hate and possibly verbal and violent actions and reactions resulting in damage to person(s), emotionally and physically and/or property” (p. 417). Conflict resolution entails a short-term phenomenon that can be resolved permanently, while in conflict management the goal is to reduce or control conflict volatility (Shinar, 2003). To describe conflict management or conflict resolution, reference is always made to conflict (Burnes, 2011). In addition, what amounts to creating and exacerbating conflict or managing conflict can be understood within a certain context and cultural background.

Against the foregoing premise, Cohen (2001) reveals that each language, culture and religion have a repertoire of words used in conflict resolution which cannot be applied in another language, culture and religion. For instance, English and Christianity cannot be used as a reference language in conflict resolution involving Arabic and Islam (Cohen, 2001). While Christianity, which is associated with English uses the words “goodwill” and “good faith” to show minimal trust in solving conflict, in Islam, the word “tahkim” (formal arbitration) and “musalaha” (act of reconciliation) drawn from Arabic are the major concepts in conflict resolution (Cohen, 2001). Focusing on English, Cohen (2001) observes that English portrays vocabulary and metaphors from industrial relations, engineering, Christianity and sports in conflict resolution.

In industrial relations, Cohen (2001) argues that the lexical item “settlement” refers to an arrangement for putting formerly contentious affairs on a secure, stable footing and reflects the institutionalization of this form of conflict resolution. The lexical item “process”, Cohen (2001) adds, elicits mathematics, engineering or patterned series of events that can be

understood and controlled. On “good will”, Cohen (2001) adds that “good will” is derived from Christian and refers to a virtuous predisposition to benevolence. Using the illustration “fair play”, Cohen (2001) observes that sports vocabulary reflects an Anglo-Saxon tendency to configure all contests as structured activities governed by fairness and conducted within a framework of enforceable rules of the game. While Cohen (2001) analyzes the words used in conflict resolution across languages and religion, the focus is on their meanings and their differences which confines them to linguistic meanings. This leaves a gap on the pragmatic interface involving disambiguation and reference assignment in constructing appropriate hypotheses on the explicatures and contextual assumptions so as to arrive at intended implicated conclusions. In addition, it is not explicit if the words outlined by Cohen (2001) are the outcomes of narrowing or broadening. Moreover, while Cohen (2001) focuses on conflict resolution on language, culture and religion, the present study focused on conflict management in Kenyan presidential campaign speeches. This also leaves a gap on the repertoire of words drawn for conflict management in a political situation in a multicultural setting such as Kenya.

In media studies, using three types of print news, Mendelziz (2007) analyzes a news discourse where the dominant political and ideological discourse of conflict and violence gave way to optimism and hope for peace in Israel. In the study, the term “peace” made up a large share of all news in the post-Oslo era. In addition, the study reveals that disarmament and peace were always linked even though they were separate fields in which different discourses competed. Like the present study, Mendelziz (2007) study is conducted in two phases involving document analysis of newspapers and in-depth personal interviews with three political policy makers involved in the Oslo process. However, while Mendelziz (2007) obtains data from print news media to analyze peace talks in Israel mediated by Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and Palestinian chairman, Yasser Arafat, the present study obtained data from presidential campaign speeches in which the presidential candidates addressed the potential voters in rallies. Despite these methodological differences, Mendelziz (2007) leaves a gap on how the term

“peace” was adjusted to acquire various *ad hoc* concepts transitioning violence into hope and optimism.

Basing their analysis of conflict management on the Kwa Zulu-Natal elections in South Africa, Höglund and Jarstad (2010) emphasize on the encapsulation of violence-free election in the lexical choice “free and fair” elections as benchmarks for determining the legitimacy of elections. Höglund and Jarstad (2010) outline strategies for conflict management which include first, “naming” and “shaming” mechanisms and creating awareness of tension build-up. Second, emphasizing importance of long-term prevention through the cultivation of democratic norms and tolerance in society at large. Third, legal framework and institutional design for combating impunity and creating conditions discouraging violence. Höglund and Jarstad (2010) add that efforts to enforce “free and fair” elections rest on local and international actors including peace keeping and monitoring mission, civic and voter education. Höglund and Jarstad (2010) compares with the present study by drawing contexts from previous violent election and combining them with calls to avert violence. However, Höglund and Jarstad (2010) leave a gap that seeks to explain how presidential campaign speeches employed similar lexical choices in their campaign speeches to urge people to avert violence.

In Kenya, although the media was blamed for conflict escalation during the 2007/2008 PEV, in 2013 run-up to elections, it played positive roles such as preaching peace and fair coverage of contentious issues during the peace negotiation (Chebii, 2014). According to Ojwang’ (2009), initially, during the 2007/2008 PEV, a standard language of conflict was used to report with words like violence, chaos, skirmishes and bloodletting featuring. However, the later phases of reporting showed concern to loss of lives with questions suggesting an end to violence taking the headlines. By interrogating conflict containment through the lens of media reporting in the 2007/2008 PEV, Ojwang’ (2009) represents the contextual assumptions that shaped the 2013 elections. For instance, Idris, *et. al.* (2013) quip that the self-regulation

mechanisms employed by the media was one of the factors that prevented conflict in 2013 elections. Despite this, a gap is left on the role of the lexical items employed in the presidential campaign speeches in conflict management in the 2013 elections.

With reference to 2013 elections, Idris, *et. al.* (2013) opine that there were consistent and overwhelming expressions of peace from the government, media, political leaders, religious leaders, youth leaders, civil societies, Non-governmental Organizations (NGO) and business sector. These messages were captured in expressions such as “peace at all costs” and “bombing people with peace”. Idris, *et. al.* (2013) add that the success of such messages in conflict management in 2013 elections was reinforced by the consensus between the political elites and the citizens not to allow Kenya to erupt into civil war again or “burn”. The negation “Kenya will not burn again” also formed the atmosphere characterizing the run-up to 2013 elections (Chebii, 2014). Although, the peace messages, as they came to be referred, were constructed *ad hoc*, and anchored in conflict management, Idris, *et. al.* (2013) left a gap on how the presidential campaign speeches used such words to appeal to people to avert conflict.

2.2.2 Lexical Choice Interpretation and Political Discourse

Politicians use language to persuade people to believe, like or do things (Chilton, 2004). While drawing a connection between political discourse and lexical choices, Chilton (2004) observes that a politician may be distinguished from the other politicians in the way he or she makes lexical choices, for example, a speaker may choose lexical items associated with particular ideologies. Making such choices in political discourse involves a speaker putting himself at a favourable position which is associated with moral deeds, while putting his opponents at an unfavorable position associated with immoral deeds. The assignment of the pronominal references that mark the differences between the moral “we” against the immoral “them” is comparable to the initial stage of finding the explicature of an utterance in RT. However,

Chilton (2004) leaves a gap on how a politician's lexical choices are assigned *ad hoc* concepts that result in narrowing or broadening of their senses.

The nexus between the good “we” and the bad “them” is also emphasized by Wodak, Cillia, Reisigl and Liebhart (1999) who assert that the use of the pronoun “we” repeatedly in political discourse as a persuasive linguistic device helps in identification and solidarity with the “we-group” which also implies distancing from and marginalization of “others”. Obeng (2002) tags these pronouns which may be used to polarize politicians along in-group and out-group as “political pronouns”. Wilson (1990) and Van Dijk (2000) observe that these pronouns signal roles, for example, agency and are for self-reference and identity. Van Dijk (2000) asserts that pronouns provide evidence that the speaker has knowledge about the referent. This background knowledge is referred to as assumption in relevance-theoretic terms. The use of pronouns to refer to in-group or out-group also suggests that there are shared assumptions between the speaker and the audience, thereby making the search for relevance easier. However, Wilson (1990), Van Dijk (2000) and Obeng (2002) leave a gap that seeks to explain how solidarity through use of such pronouns could be interpreted in the light of conflict management in presidential elections.

Focusing on 2013 Kenyan election campaigns, Michira (2014) observes that the antonymous use of “us” and “them” gained popularity after hate speech had been outlawed and politicians used such choices to make indefinite their victim of attack. The use of “othering” embedded in “us” and “them” portrays a moral “we” and an immoral “them” (Van Dijk, 1998). As Indede (2008) notes politicians engaged in verbal abuse against their opponents which provoked the latter to violence. Thus, while the antonymous use of “us” and “them” toned down violence, Michira (2014) analyzes it as a political campaign strategy for winning an election. This leaves a gap on how conflict management was addressed in Michira (2014).

2.3 Theoretical Perspectives on Speech Acts

This section addressed the second objective of the study which establish the relevance of speech acts in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches in conflict management. According to Searle (1979), a speaker performs an act when she says a word that brings a change to the state of affairs in the world. While echoing this view, Sperber and Wilson (1995) emphasize that speech act recognition is a pragmatic inferential process which contains a preliminary decoding phase of semantic import of the sentence mood. What follows this is the identification of different illocutions which are recognized depending on the way an utterance is interpreted to be relevant (Lenci, 1994). According to Saeed (2003), illocutionary force is made in order to express the speaker's intention such as rebuking and warning. While Sperber and Wilson (1995) argue *saying*, *telling* and *asking* are speech acts which are of genuine interest to pragmatic, Searle (1969) classify speech acts into five broad categories. These include assertives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives. Since the speech acts identified by Sperber and Wilson (1995) are generic, the present study identified a gap on how to account for specified speech acts. This was complemented by Searle (1969) speech acts and the various examples given under each.

Through the generic speech acts of *saying*, *telling* and *asking* which correspond to declaratives, imperative and interrogative sentences, Sperber and Wilson (1995) advance the notion of relevance. While rejecting the view that sentence types have to be directly associated to specific types of illocutions, Wilson and Sperber (1998) recognize early speech act theorists' view that illocutionary force is a properly semantic category. In view of this, they propose a radical change that makes illocutionary force a purely pragmatic category as well as a property of utterances only. On this account, Wilson and Sperber (2002) argue that what distinguishes declarative, imperative and interrogative sentences on purely semantic level is mood but not force. Sperber and Wilson (1995) also clarify that the interpretation of mood does not directly

correspond to a specific and complete illocutionary force, rather mood decoding gives a semantic link between linguistic form and representation of propositional attitude. Specifically, sentence types offer the initial clues and direction to drive the inferential process in order to understand the illocutionary intentions of the speaker (Lenci, 1994).

2.3.1 Speech Act Interpretation in Conflict Management

This sub-section focused on the variable conflict management. The relationship between elections and conflict management has become a deliberate debate in Africa and among international observers (Sisk & Reynolds, 1998). In Ghana's 2008 elections, conflict was managed. Agyekum (2013) draws an example of Nana Akufo-Addo acceptance of Supreme Court verdict against his presidential victory appeal as one way peace was fostered. Through the commissive acts, Nana Akufo-Addo asked for forgiveness of anybody he might have wronged during the heat of campaign. Despite the election that ended peacefully, Ayelazuno (2009) contend that the electoral system had two flaws that jeopardized the fragile peace. That is, it gave extra and strong incentives to the two dominant parties and politically excluded the minority regions when it came to electing the president (Ayelazumo, 2009). Ghana's elections can be compared to the present study in the way conflict was managed in the 2013 elections. However, while the correlation between promising illocutionary forces in 2008 Ghana's presidential elections is limited to conflict management, the focus on their relevance is also not analyzed. In addition, Agyekum (2013) identification of various promissory acts overstep the pragmatic interface. This, therefore leaves a gap that seeks to incorporate the decoding phase of the semantic import of sentence mood as well as establishing how through the illocutionary acts identified an utterance is interpreted as relevant.

Mendelziz (2007) highlights the role of the media in conflict management in three types of news discourse used by two Israeli newspapers in context of peace and war. In this review, Mendelziz (2007) establishes that the media promoted unrealistic hopes and expectations.

Rhetorical questions hypothesizing war, peace and reconciliation discourse such as “Who is the aggressor and how can he be stopped?”, “What is the problem and how can it be solved?” and “Who is the other and how can we come together?” presented unrealistic hopes and expectations which according to Chebii (2014) portrays the media as engaging in both negative and positive roles in conflict management. Mendelziz (2007), however, regrets that the aforementioned questions were ignored because the media assumed that peace and reconciliation were already present and employed peace discourse to answer only one rhetorical question: “How can peace be secured?” This solicited answers such as “Being ready to withdraw in return for peace”, “Land for peace” and “There is need to learn to live together”. Apparently, Mendelziz (2007) singles out Wh- questions which in the present study were regarded as having a less than-propositional-logical form communicating that there is some completion of the thought to be done. Nevertheless, Mendelziz (2007) leaves a gap that seeks to explain what logical form the Wh- questions have and if they communicate that there is some completion of the thought to be done. In addition, though the news discourse was used in post-conflict peace negotiations, there is a gap left on the discourse used in pre-conflict context of elections to contain conflict.

A number of factors have been attributed to conflict management in the 2013 Kenyan elections including institutional frameworks reforms on the judiciary and the IEBC (Idris, *et. al*, 2013). As a result, when the 2013 presidential election results were disputed, violence was mitigated. Idris, *et. al*, (2013) assert that when the CORD leader felt that elections had been rigged, he did not use the expression “mass action” that triggered 2007/2008 mass protests. Instead, he said “I do not want you to protest”, “I do not want violence” and “I want to go to court.” Idris, *et. al*, (2013) posit that if it is true that leaders can incite individuals to violence, then the CORD leader’s words might help explain the peace. As a result, the CORD leadership accepted the verdict despite their frustration. This can be regarded as evidence for the utterances “I do not

want you to protest”, “I do not want violence” and “I want to go to court” in RT. These utterances can also be regarded as directive and commissive speech acts in the present study. However, Idris, *et. al*, (2013), leave a gap that seeks to explain the relevance of speech acts aimed at conflict management as uttered by presidential candidates before the election campaigns.

2.3.2 Speech Act Interpretation and Political Speeches

Focusing on the illocutionary acts that convey the intentions of speakers, Akinwotu (2013) examines the acceptance speeches of nominations of presidential candidates in Nigeria (Chief Obafemi Awolowo and Chief Abiola) and discovers that assertives were used more than the other speech acts which include expressives, commissives and directives. Assertives state, describe, claim and inform. An example of an assertive used by Chief Abiola is “Fellow compatriots, I stand before you as a full-blooded Nigerian who belongs to every home” (Akinwotu, 2013). Expressives thank, praise and inspire, and an example of an expressive used by Chief Obafemi is “I do sincerely hope we will succeed not only at the presidential election but also at other preceding elections”. When the speaker wants a certain action to be carried out in future, commissives are used as in the example “I hereby dedicate the rest of my life to the service of the people of Nigeria...”

To try to get the hearer to do something through commanding, requesting or warning, directives are used. This is exemplified in Chief Abiola’s speech as “any rehash of the style of governance of the first republican, however, seemingly or disguised, might introduce to the people a desire to return to military rule”. Akinwotu (2013) can be compared to the present study in that the speeches were delivered by the presidential candidates in preparation for the elections. However, the speeches analyzed by Akinwotu (2013) were acceptance speeches of the parties’ presidential candidates at the primaries. Despite focusing on the illocutionary acts conveying

the speakers' intentions, Akinwotu (2013) leaves a gap on how these illocutions are recognized depending on the way the utterances were interpreted as relevant.

Sharndama and Mgbemena (2015) investigate the functions of the interrogatives and declaratives in the presidential acceptance speeches of Jonathan Goodluck and Muhammad Buhari of Nigeria. Sharndama and Mgbemena (2015) observe that Goodluck employed yes/no rhetorical questions to draw the attention of the hearers to the weaknesses of the government, while Buhari used the same to declare that his administration had achieved feats. An example of an interrogative used by Goodluck is "has change not come to our railway system? An example of an interrogative used by Buhari include "shall we at home continue to live in a condition where the Power Holding Company and its successors seem only to have the power to hold us in darkness?" In demonstrating the intentions of the presidential candidates, Sharndama and Mgbemena (2015) leave a gap that seeks to explain if the yes/no rhetorical questions had a logical and a full propositional form that communicated that the thought interpreted by the propositional form was true and therefore relevant. There is also a gap left on whether the rhetorical questions were relevant to the presidential candidates or the audience.

Regarding the declarative mood, Sharndama and Mgbemena (2015) assert that they make persuasive statements in political discourse and are used to evoke the emotion of the audience with the aim of making the audience to drop their ideologies and shift to the speaker's side. This was exemplified by "agriculture remains the backbone of the economy" and "our government, when elected will establish an agricultural policy that provides farmers a dignified living..." in the case of Buhari, the declarative "we are a party that accepts challenges" and "we are a party that confronts those challenges" in the case of Goodluck. The declaratives were used as a strategy for winning the election. However, while Sharndama and Mgbemena (2015) do not correlate the declarative with the speech act of saying which is of interest to pragmatics, there is also a gap on the various ways the assertions can be relevant.

In advancing the analysis of interrogatives, Jakobson (2010) examines the implications indirect speech acts might have using data extracted from 2004 USA presidential debates between George Bush and John Kerry. Jakobson (2010) points out that the audience follows strict rules of asking the presidential candidates questions during the debate. These include the audience submitting two questions to the moderator in advance of the debate, approval of the moderators by representatives of the presidential candidates and the selected member of the audience reading the questions from the piece of paper on which it was initially written in a neutral manner. If these rules are not adhered to, a question does not qualify as a question and is potentially subject to lawsuit. By focusing on questions in the context of presidential elections, Jakobson (2010) compares with the present study. However, while Jakobson (2010) focuses on institutional speech acts with the audience asking the presidential candidates questions following prescribed rules, in the present study, the order of asking questions was reversed with the focus of analysis being the speech act of *asking* which Sperber and Wilson (1995) claim are of genuine interest to pragmatics. Nevertheless Jakobson (2010) leaves a gap on the relevance of such speech acts in conflict management in elections

In regard to election-related conflict in Kenya, Indede (2008) employs Gricean conversational implicatures and SAT and reveals how politicians' utterances were interpreted as insults and abuse, and eventually stirred conflict as exemplified in the speech act *I promise Mr. Y will not leave my constituency alive*. In SAT, promises are institutional acts which can be performed only in a society with requisite institutions and which must be recognized as such in order to be successfully performed (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Such a speech act, therefore was influential in executing the act named by the politicians who by virtue of contesting for an office or probably defending his seat, was deemed to have the requisite power. Although the pragmatic aspects of utterances comprehension in conversational implicatures are highlighted,

Indede (2008) leaves a gap on how the exemplified threat on the speech acts can be regarded as relevant if true as well the state of affairs it represents.

2.4 Theoretical Perspectives on Attitudes

This sub-section presents literature review on attitude and it addresses the third objective of the study which is to examine attitudes expressed towards the utterances of the 2013 presidential candidates regarding conflict management. From mentalist perspective, attitude is an internal state that influences the organism's response (Fasold, 1984). In social psychology, attitude has been defined as a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably towards an object (Bohner & Wänke, 2002; Mey, 2009). These definitions peg attitude on three dimensions: feelings (the affective element), thoughts (cognitive element) and the resultant tendency to action (the behavioural element) which are comparable to the endorsing and dissociative attitude identified in RT. However, these studies left a gap on how an attitude echoes a thought or an utterance of another person, or an assumption.

Strauss (1945) examines attitude as five-step process: attitude formation, attitude change, attitude disappearance, attitude and personal organization, and how attitudes influence behaviour after their formation. Comparatively, the present study investigated the attitudes expressed towards the presidential campaign speeches using a process that attributed the speakers' utterances to public, mental and abstract representations of utterances. This also entailed a process of establishing how utterance interpretation achieved relevance through identifying the speakers' attitude towards them. In RT, when interpretations achieve relevance through interpreting thoughts of another speaker or the same speaker at another time, the utterances are said to be echoic (Wilson & Sperber, 2002). Thus, Straus (1945) leaves a gap seeking to identify the speaker's attitude through echoic utterances. The present study involved classifying the contextual assumptions behind the understanding of the presidential candidates'

utterances as echoic, establishing their interpretive use and recognizing the attitudes of the candidates to the echoed utterances or thoughts.

Bach and Harnish (1998) argue that the success of communication depends on the hearer identifying the attitude expressed by the speaker which is reflexively intending the addressee to take one's utterance as reason to think one has that attitude. The speaker's attitude includes its content such as a belief in the case of a statement which Sperber and Wilson (1995) exemplify as "I believe that tomorrow will rain". Moraes (2011) adds that a given proposition (or dictum) can be uttered in different ways (*modus*) in a cognitive, volitional or emotional light all of which represent attitudes. In RT, the mood of an utterance underdetermines the propositional attitude expressed and one of the hearer's sub-tasks is to identify the propositional attitude (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). This involves recovering the assumptions that the speaker has expressed this attitude in the particular mood. Bach and Harnish (1998) and Moraes (2011) leave a gap on how the contextual assumptions and conclusions are recovered.

Leech and Svartvik (2002) consider attitude in the wider perspective of language in that language expresses mood, emotions and a speaker's attitudes. It can also control and influence the actions and attitudes of the hearer, a view that resonates with Chilton (2004) concerning political language. Like in the present study, Leech and Svartvik (2002) notion of mood and attitude are interrelated in that the former underdetermines the latter. This is expounded by Sperber and Wilson (1995) who view mood as being linguistically encoded, with the mood of an utterance underdetermining the propositional attitude expressed. Furthermore, by giving examples, Sperber and Wilson (2012) state that when a sentence has a falling intonation contour, it will be in a declarative mood and is a case of "saying that". If it has a rising intonation contour, it will be in interrogative mood and a case of "asking whether".

Decapua (2008) argues that attitude can be conveyed using categorical choices such as adverbs that convey the attitude or opinion of the speaker. These adverbs generally modify a sentence

and include words like frankly and obviously as in the examples “Frankly, I cannot lend you money” and “Obviously, the boy will sing his favourite song” respectively. The fact that the propositional forms of these utterances interpret mental representation of the speaker (the speaker’s inability to lend money and the speaker having in mind the knowledge of the song the boy likes singing respectively) as signaled by the adverbs “frankly” and “obviously” make Decapua (2008) study comparable to the present. However, Decapua (2008) leaves a gap on where attitudes stem from which the present study sought to address through examining attributive or echoic utterances.

Locale cited in Mello and Raso (2011) refers to adjectives like mocking, incredible and contemptuous as lay categories. Moraes (2011) reiterates that these attitudes either affect an utterance or are connected to social relationship established between interactants in a communication event. While Mello and Raso (2011) leave a gap that seeks to establish the sources of the attitude, Moraes (2011) leaves a gap that seeks to establish the connection between the utterances and attitudes, the source of the original utterance and the degree of resemblance between metarepresentation and the original. It is these connections that the present study seeks to investigate in order to establish the attitudes expressed by the people of Tarakwa towards 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches regarding conflict management.

The notion of metarepresentation is explored by Noh (1998) in how it can be applied not only to paradigmatic cases of direct and indirect quotations, but also to a range of other cases involving the exploitation of linguistic or conceptual resemblances. This analysis is also extended to include metalinguistic negation, standard and non-standard types of echoic questions and metarepresentational conditionals. Examples of these include “I didn’t paint two mouses: I painted two mice; I’m leaving on Tuesday: You are leaving on Tuesday? and if he dies, his son will inherit the castle” respectively (Noh, 1998, p. 103). In the first example, the

speaker does not seem to be asserting “I didn’t paint two animals of a certain type, rather she is singling out the plural form ‘mouses’ and rejecting it (Noh (1998). The second example depicts an echo question with the prior utterance being declarative, while the third example has an additional meaning which is pragmatically determined which is ‘his son causes his son’s inheritance of the castle’. Noh (1998) discovers that in interpreting any utterance, the hearer entertains multiple layers of metarepresentations of the speaker’s thought in order to arrive at the intended interpretation. As Sperber and Wilson (1995) put it, these interpretations achieve relevance by informing the hearer the fact that the speaker has in mind what someone else said and has a certain attitude towards it. It is this gap between the content of conflict management in the presidential campaign speeches and the attitudes attributed to them by the people of Tarakwa that the present study sought to examine.

As stated in section 1.7.6, the analysis of attitudes entailed an understanding of verbal irony. According to classical rhetoric, verbal irony is defined as the trope in which the figurative meaning is the opposite of the literal meaning (Wilson, 2007). Grice (1975) asserts that the speaker of an ironical utterance blatantly violates the maxim of truthfulness “do not say what you believe to be false” in order to implicate what was literally said. This account leaves a gap that seeks to explain the echoic connection between the two meanings to which dissociative attitudes are expressed as well as accounting for cognitive effects achieved through the violation of the maxim. While faulting Grice’s Maxim of truthfulness, Gibbs, Buchalter, Moise and Farrar (1993) asserts that interpreting a comment as ironic is done immediately, automatically, without additional cognitive effect because it does not require a conscious control nor a complex algorithm. In this view, speakers are interested in the real meaning of an ironic remark and immediately receive it, which depends not on the utterance itself, but on the situational context which allows a correct decoding of the utterance. This view is in concord with Sperber and Wilson (1995) who observes that irony is spontaneous and it is not taught.

However, Gibbs, Buchalter, Moise and Farrar (1993) leave a gap that relates verbal irony to echoic interpretation of utterances. Consequently, the interpretation of a comment is not attributed to either endorsing or dissociative attitudes.

2.4.1 Use of Persuasion in Attitude Change

The use of language to get people to do things, including getting them to believe, like or want things has been underscored in conflict studies (Guerin, 2010). This notion has also been extended to advertisements in the way advertisers employ irony as covert means of communication to attract the audience's attention in a manner that entice them to process the message encoded in them. Zu (2013) investigates the use of covert communication in general and irony and puns in advertisement in particular using a picture depicting what will result if one does not use a product. In the advertisement, irony stems from the manipulated contradiction of an emaciated, thin old toothless man and the advertised product (Colgate tooth paste) in the background. This contradiction maximizes the effect impinging on the viewer when comparing the use of the product with not using it (Zu, 2013). The advertisement echoes a common belief most people share that using toothpaste can protect one's teeth.

The power of the advertisement to appeal to the people to use a particular product can be likened to the way people perceive the presidency's influence to take a particular course of action (Halakhe, 2013). Conversely, it can also be mapped onto presidential campaigns where people present their parties as products, while selling their manifestos. The presidential candidates also present to the electorate the merits and demerits of electing or not electing them. Such manipulations of language to persuade people are confirmed by Guerin (2010) who argues that language in itself is powerless and cannot change the world, however, it works when resources, status or power are in the social relationships between the speakers. Regarding the picture, Zu (2013), like the present study, employs qualitative analysis to reveal the echoes embedded in the contradiction between the picture and the product. However, the irony

investigated emanates from the interpretation of covert communication depicted by pictures which portray a contradiction of some aspects the advertisers want to draw the reader's attention to. While doing this, however, Zu (2013) leaves a gap on the attitudes attributed to the tacitly dissociative ironies depicted in the advertisement. The present study, therefore, took cognizance of the broad categories of attitudes including endorsing, questioning and dissociative derived from the presidential campaign speeches concerning conflict management.

Another advertisement that demonstrates the potential to make people change their attitude is that involving comic dupe. Using four print advertisements, Conradie (2012) analyzes the lexical and graphic features in which comic dupe irony is manifested before considering its bearing on the advertised product by employing Discourse Analysis and RT frameworks. Comic dupe irony involves producing irony by constructing a discrepancy between the assumptions drawn by different parties in a social situation. In their efforts to engage readers, copywriters may confront consumers with the task of deciphering a discrepancy between two assumptions that are made relevant by processing an advertisement in terms of its content and context. In such advertisements, consumers are encouraged to establish relevance by processing the irony that arises from this discrepancy, thus exerting some processing effort for the promise of greater cognitive effect.

The significance of the comic dupe irony is in the consumers' ability to recall the joke attributed to the advertisement so that the advertisement can be relevant. However, Conradie (2012) notes that the advertisements are open to misinterpretation due to the relevance of each assumption raised by the advertisement, but in working out the relevant interpretation the advertisers have confidence in consumers' processing skill. Conradie (2012) compares with the present study in that through processing the irony resulting from the discrepancy, the consumers are promised greater cognitive effects. Conradie (2012), however, leaves a gap on how consumers derive attitudes such as mocking and ridiculing from the echoic interpretation of irony. There is also

methodological difference in that Conradie (2012) constructs discrepancies from the comic dupe while the present study focused on the interpretation of presidential candidates' speeches on conflict management.

2.4.2 Echoic Utterances in Elections

This sub-section presents studies that focus on elections and attitudes thereby addressing the objective concerning the attitudes expressed towards 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches regarding conflict management. In RT, attitude is derived from echoic interpretation of irony. Through analyzing irony in the studies reviewed in this section, it was possible to reveal gaps that the present study filled. Al-Hindawi and Kadhim (2015) investigate 22 ironic situations from Barack Obama and George Bush electoral speeches and establish that irony is politically used for two purposes: defense as face saving acts and attack within face saving acts. It is also exploited as a strategic means in political speeches of presidential elections reflecting permanent strategies for dominance. Al-Hindawi and Kadhim (2015) compare with the present study in the way the speakers employ face saving acts to dissociate from impending conflict with opponents. Al-Hindawi and Kadhim (2015), however, leave a gap that seeks to establish if the face-saving act is instigated by need to mitigate conflict among the presidential candidates during the contests for dominance. Al-Hindawi and Kadhim (2015) also leave a gap that seeks to unravel attributive attitudes encased in the ironies.

While still on political speeches, Rut-Kluz (2001) uses recorded political speeches for local elections in Poland in 1998 and establishes that the differences between two political speech rhetoric evident in register and forms of address used reflected the speaker's attitude to the hearer. For example, if a member of parliament is called *pan* "mister", then he is not treated formally; if one addresses a minister as *panie ministrez* "mister minister" then he uses formal style (Rut-Kluz, 2001). According to Rut-Kluz (2001) differences in political speeches and general conversations arise due to different language style used, for example, the frequency of

linguistic means or the complexity of implicatures. The attitude a speaker has towards the hearer can be compared to the thought the speaker attributes to the hearer concerning the standing of a member of parliament in the society. In this regard, the form of address a speaker uses tacitly echoes this standing. Despite this comparison, Rut-Kluz (2001) leaves a gap that seeks to state if the attitudes are endorsing or dissociative which is the focus of the present study.

In Kenya, while working on prevention of future atrocities, Hirsch (2009) observes that hate speech had a tremendous role in the 2007/2008 PEV and provides as an example a reference of an animal such as mongoose used by the in-group for the out-group. According to Hirsch (2009) the rationale implicit in the dehumanizing, value-laden language was “We are the good and they are the evil”. While pointing out that certain references were not newly invented for election violence, Hirsch (2009) adds that the references resembled statements about people from surrounding nations who entered Kenya as refugees or economic immigrants and were no longer welcome. Hirsch (2009) further argues that these individuals, castigated as foreigners or visitors, were positioned as having no entitlement to Kenyan residence. Hirsch (2009) analogy of the utterances comparing “outsiders” to refugees were attributed to local leaders who incited people to evict the outsiders. In the present study such utterances are echoic and their relevance depends on the speaker’s expressed attitude. Hirsch (2009), however, leaves a gap that seeks to identify the tacitly dissociative attitudes as mocking, savage or sarcastic.

Related to the present study is Wanjala (2013) who brings to the fore the notion of metarepresentation in selected political utterances in the 2013 campaigns. In analyzing echoic utterances from politicians across the electoral positions, Wanjala (2013) employs RT framework to identify the types of the echo such as stereotypes, norms and societal expectations. In addition, Wanjala (2013) traces the attitude as being echoed from assumptions, other public utterances and private thoughts. Though there was an element of conflict among

the electoral candidates pointed out, Wanjala (2013) leaves a gap on how conflict among the politicians was contained. There was also a gap on how the presidential candidates' utterances were relevant in conflict management through conveyance of attitudes to attributed utterances or thoughts.

2.5 Stylistic Effects in Campaign Discourse

This section is consistent with the fourth objective which was to investigate the interpretation of stylistic effects in 2013 Kenyan presidential campaigns speeches in conflict management. In political discourse, rhetoric is the skill of elegant and persuasive speaking, or a means through which politicians communicatively sell their ideologies (Thomas & Wareing, 1999; Obeng, 2002). Rhetoric, therefore, seems to be an indispensable resource to politicians who primarily persuade people on particular courses. Through skillful manipulation of rhetoric, politicians exploit people's hopes, expectations, fears and anxieties of an electorate (Obeng, 2002). Most discussed rhetoric features by political discourse analysts such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Thomas and Wareing (1999) include metaphors and personification like "He shot down all my arguments" in ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphors and "the heart of America is heavy" respectively. In the latter, America is personalized. Other features are discussed by Chilton and Illyn (1993) and Van Dijk, (1995) and include phrasal and sound repetition, and hyperbole. Examples of these are "I have a dream" at the beginning of several lines of Martin Luther's speech; round and round the rascal ran; and I have a ton of homework respectively. In RT, the terms stylistic effects, poetic effects or tropes refer to these rhetoric features which are also understood as weak implicatures and include metaphors, epizeuxis, and parallelism.

2.5.1 Theoretical Underpinnings of Metaphors

Metaphors have been regarded by political analysts generally and rhetoricians as an important way of persuading. The study of metaphors can be traced to Aristotle who regarded metaphors

as a matter of language in a traditional way (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Grice views metaphors as a deliberate violation of the maxim of quality or truthfulness, and therefore a deviation of the norm (Saeed, 2003). The notion of maxim violation has been sidestepped by Bradford (1997) and Thomas and Wareing (1999) who regard a metaphor as a linguistic cross-fertilization description, whereby the word that is used for one thing is applied to something else. Bloor and Bloor (2007) add that a metaphor has sometimes been presented as a poetic device that can add interest, wit or complexity to a text.

The cross-fertilization phenomenon is advanced by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) through transference of meaning in cross domain mapping of source and the target in conceptual metaphor theory. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) maintains that a metaphor is a conceptual phenomenon rather than a language phenomenon and that people's ordinary conceptual system, in which they both think and act, is metaphorical in nature. Stemming from conceptual metaphor theory, ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphor has become influential in the analyses of war metaphors in politics, sports, love and business. The concept "argument" in ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphor, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue is reflected in the everyday language by a wide variety of expressions such as "your claims are indefensible" and "he shot down all my arguments". In this example, "argument" is the target domain, while "war" is the source domain. The mapping of the source and the target can be compared to the interpretive relation between the propositional form of an utterance and the thought a metaphor represents. However, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) leave a gap on the expectations of relevance raised by use of metaphors.

In 1986, Sperber and Wilson developed RT where a metaphor was defined as a metarepresentation involving interpretive relation between the propositional form of an utterance and the thought it represents or resembles. In RT, a metaphor can have strong or weak implicatures. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), a proposition is strongly implicated if

its recovery is essential in order to arrive at an implication that satisfies the expectations of relevance raised by an utterance itself. It is, however, weakly implicated if its recovery helps with the construction of an interpretation that is relevant in the expected way but is not itself essential because the utterance suggests a range of similar possible implicatures any of which would do. Creativity in RT stems from whether metaphors have weak or strong implicatures resulting in recovery of broad and narrow cognitive effects respectively (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Sperber and Wilson (1995) on this note, point out that “a good creative metaphor is precisely one in which a variety of contextual effects can be retained and understood as weakly implicated by the speaker” (p.236). Sperber and Wilson (1995) add that the search for relevance may result in literalness of metaphor.

2.5.2 Metaphors and Conflict Management

Metaphors have been integrated in political discourse by studies including Ling (2010), Burnes (2011), Otieno (2016), Bergh (2011), Cibulskiene (2014) and Michira (2014). In these studies politics has either been compared to war or sports. Sport metaphors have also been employed in the analysis of HIV/AIDS campaign posters (Magonya & Oloo, 2015). In some studies, war, sports and politics overlap. Using Lakoff and Johnson (1980) ARGUMENT IS WAR conceptual metaphor, Ling (2010) demonstrates the correlation between the target and sources in a political election as a battle on a battlefield, politicians as soldiers, political strategies as war strategies, and the outcome of politics as the outcome of war. Ling (2010) exemplifies these as first, “The main election *battleground* now would seem to be the political interviews on television. Second, “president Delors also came *under fire* from Tory MPs. Third, “...ambitious labour politicians will have to apply the same strategies that lend national elections to internal party contests”. Fourth, “National politics, by contrasts, has become all too predictable: the republicans win the White House; the Democrats hold Congress”.

In sports, Ling (2010) observes that people often conceptualize important sporting events as battles and gives the following reasons. First, sports strategies are war strategies, for example, “Taiwo’s *shot* from the top left of the box skips wide off the far post”. Ling (2010) opines that shot is an act of firing a bullet. When the concept is mapped into the example it means that Taiwo adopts the strategy of shooting the goal. Second, the outcome of the sport activity is the outcome of war. For example, “Argentina *won* the tennis world cup for the fourth time by beating the United States. While comparing the source and the target domains in war metaphors used in politics and sports, Ling (2010) leaves a gap that seeks to explain the resemblances between the propositional forms of the utterances with the metaphors and the thoughts they represent. There is also a gap on the fact that Ling (2010) does not analyze conflict management in election, but strategies used to outwit each other in politics.

The concept of war and election has also been explored by Burnes (2011) in the analysis of 2008 press reports on Pakistan parliamentary elections and Obama’s election in 2008. Pakistan elections were marred with conflict while the USA ones were not. In the elections, the concept ELECTION IS A BATTLE was expressed in English using “victory” and “defeat”. From the outset, these concepts situate the discourse within a unifying frame of conflict. To expound on the correlation between election and war, Burnes (2011) concurs with Ling (2010) on the matching of the source domains and targets. For instance, military groupings with political groupings (parties), and to eliminate physically (wipe out) with gaining more votes. According to Burnes (2011), metaphors of conflict are used to describe peace times. This can be justified in RT where contextual assumptions are drawn from memory or encyclopedic assumptions. There is therefore, a gap left on how the metaphors Burnes (2011) analyzes were used to address conflict in Pakistan elections by politicians and the press. It is the disparity between the nature of conflict in Pakistan elections and Kenya and how it was addressed through metaphors by politicians that the present study sought to address.

On sports, Bergh (2011) quotes examples of war metaphors such as attack, shot, defense, midfield, enemy and battle found in football. Given that the description of sports is replete with war metaphors, Bergh (2011) adds that sports are not fair play as their description lend to militarism. Examples justifying this contention include FOOTBALL IS WAR (Bergh, 2011; Cibulskiene, 2014). Competition between the contestants in a sport involves, attacking, defending and shooting as Bergh (2011) reiterates. Thus, while refining the classic example ARGUMENT IS WAR with COMPETITION IS WAR, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) observes that there are structural similarities between war and different sports. The triangulation among politics, sports and war informs the present analysis of the sports metaphors that were employed in the presidential campaign speeches regarding conflict management. However, while Bergh (2011) focuses on football, a gap is left on how the aforementioned metaphors are used in political campaigns to manage conflict.

Commenting on why sports metaphors are popular in political discourse, Cibulskiene (2014) maintains that politicians use them not only because sports is the domain which is easily comprehended by ordinary people but also because it has familiar and clear-cut scenario. In addition, Cibulskiene (2014) asserts that the differences of countries and cultures in sport preferences necessitate employment of different sporting metaphors to conceptualize political discourse. Cibulskiene (2014) further argues that sport metaphors present politics as a rule-bound contest between two opponents, and by using metaphors of specific types of sport, they attempt to achieve different rhetorical aims. While conceptualizing sports in terms of politics, Cibulskiene (2014) focuses more on strategies politicians employ to outwit each other with the aim of winning in the elections. Since a win is important in sports, Cibulskiene (2014) does not comment on the inevitability of conflict when a team does not concede defeat. The inevitability of conflict in sports is underscored in the metaphor COMPETITION IS WAR (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). This leaves a gap that seeks to address the connection between defeat in sports

and conflict in elections and how to contain this conflict. It is the discrepancy between use of metaphors in basketball contest, and conflict management that the present study addressed through establishing the relevance of the sports metaphors to the people of Tarakwa in conflict management.

Focusing on sports metaphor in Kenya, Michira (2014) observes that PC2 used football commentary metaphors to illustrate the political contest between him and his team, Coalition for Restoration of Democracy (CORD), and the opposing team led by PC1. The struggle between the two contenders portrayed as teams and brought forth using football metaphors by Michira (2014) compares with the interpretive relationship of the propositional form in the utterance contained by the term football and the thought represented by election in the present study. Though Michira (2014) brings forth the team spirit in football between individual teams, the image of war is inevitable in the competition between PC1's and PC2's teams in their pursuit to win the elections. However, Michira (2014) leaves a gap on how to contain the war.

Advancing the notion of football metaphor, Magonya and Oloo (2015) reveal the mapping of *SEX IS A FOOTBAL GAME* conceptual metaphor in Kenyan HIV/AIDS campaign posters between 1988 and 2010. Using Lakoff and Johnson (1980) conceptual metaphor theory, Magonya and Oloo (2015) establish that behaviour change communicators capitalized on *FIGHTING HIV/AIDS IS A STRUGGLE FOR SURVIVAL* and *FIGHTING AIDS IS WAR* as the foundation pillars of their messages which share aspects of war that characterize any competition. Magonya and Oloo (2015) further establish that the messages on behaviour change such as *USING PROTECTION IS PLAYING SAFE* and *ERADICATING HIV/AIDS IS KICKING AIDS OUT OF KENYA* employed sport metaphors. Incorporating war in the competitive aspect of football was comparable to the present study in the way elective politics were visualized as a game of football in which the referee officiates, announces the winner, warns the offenders using yellow or red cards and the players play by the rules. However, while

analyzing the import of football game metaphor in communicating behaviour change, Magonya and Oloo (2015) leave a gap on similar ways of containing conflict in elections through metaphors that convey behaviour change.

2.5.3 Repetition in Political Speeches

Reviews on this sub-section addressed one of the stylistic effects encapsulated in the fourth objective of the present study which was to investigate the interpretation of stylistic effects used in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches. Repetition represents, in most cases, intentional and manipulative reiteration of words, phrases, sayings or text passages. As such, repetitions are irrevocable means of expression of a given public speech and discursive interchange. Aitchison (1994) exemplifies the integral role of repetition both in linguistics and in life in the way human beings “do things the same way day after day, week after week, month after month and year after year” (p. 9). Aitchison (1994) adds that repetition is known by different names depending on who and how it is done. Thus, in RT, repetition is known as epizeuxis and it refers to the immediate repetition of words, phrases and clauses.

Repetition is a kind of scheme viewed as a weak implicature in RT. This is because a hearer uses more processing effort which is offset by the cognitive effects achieved. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995) the emphatic effects of repetition may be reflected in the propositional content of the utterance, the speaker’s degree of commitment to that propositional content or in some other expressions of the speaker’s attitude. The notion of epizeuxis is expounded by Pilkington (2000) while analyzing the effects achieved by the poetic use of rhetorical tropes and schemes. According to Pilkington (2000), extra processing effort expended in comprehending an utterance is offset through contextual effects achieved. While Pilkington’s (2000) data is drawn from literary sources and limited to poetic effects, a gap is left on how conflict management through epizeuxis can be analyzed in political discourse.

Tannen (2007) defines repetition as a way that meaning is created by the recurrence and contextualization of words and phrases in discourse. In the present study, meaning and context are important components of discourse as part of interpreting an utterance is determined by context. Tannen (2007) further identifies synchronous repetition, that is, recurrence of words and collocation of words within a conversation. Tannen (2007), however, leaves a gap that seeks to address the role of context in the interpretation of the repeated words as well as the cognitive effects achieved through synchronous repetition. The present study, therefore, viewed context in terms of old and new assumptions which were either strengthened or weakened in utterance interpretation. The fact that words, phrases or clauses were repeated was useful in establishing the contextual effects originally intended as well as the attitudes expressed in repeated utterances.

In political discourse, Forraiora (2011) analyzes the functions of repetition in Barack Obama's speeches and establishes that repetition makes the text cohesive and more suitable for the audience's perception of the speech, key point emphasis and memorability. Forraiora (2011) also reveals that most cases of repetition are intentional and useful to the audience. However, hesitational repetition is not perceived as useful as it is caused by the speaker's fault. While still on political speeches, Bokayora (2013) analyzes the rhetorical devices of Barack Obama and, like Forraiora (2011), reveals that Obama frequently used repetitions to reinforce the effect of the speech and make it memorable. For example, he repeated "This time we want to talk about how the lines in the emergency are filled with whites, blacks.... This time we want to talk about the shuttered mills that once...." Forraiora (2011) and Bokayora (2013) compare with the present study in the sense that Obama's speech was political. However, Forraiora (2011) and Bokayora (2013) focus on Obama's victory speech and different types of repetition including alliteration, anaphora and polysyndeton.

Alliteration entails the repetition of initial consonant sounds of successive words; anaphora is the repetition of the same words or phrases at the beginning of successive clauses or phrases and Polysyndton refers to the repeated use of conjunctions to link a succession of words, clauses or sentences. Examples of these include “middle-aged folks were willing to walk instead of ride the bus”, “we *have been* told we cannot do ...*we have been* asked to pause for reality check” and “A generation that uses their own creativity, *and* talent *and* technology” respectively drawn from Obama’s speeches (Forraiora, 2011). Whereas repetition is emphatic and makes speeches memorable, Forraiora (2011) and Bokayora (2013) leave a gap on how emphasis and memorability achieve cognitive effects as well as how the emphatic effect could be used to address conflict management in elections.

In conflict management contexts, Fundell (2008) studied lexical repetition in 1863 Gettysburg Address, 1941 Pearl Harbour Attack and 2003 Operation Iraqi Freedom as a rhetorical device. Fundell (2008) establishes that the words “nation” and “war” were repeated in all three speeches at least two times and remarks that such repetitions are expected in war-related speeches. Example of the repetition of “nation” include “It is a fight of our nation and the peace of the world...” and “Fourscore and seven years ago our fathers brought on this continent a new nation...” According to Fundell (2008), “nation” is a strong word and Lincoln used it to occasionally remind people what America once was. The words “nation” and “war” used in the three speeches to remind the Americans commitments to their history and need to remain firm at the times of adversity compare the way “peace” and “unity” were repeated in the presidential campaign speeches to urge people to avert conflict in the present study. Fundell (2008) study, however, leaves a gap that seeks to analyze conflict management in elections and how repetition achieved stylistic effects through wide arrays of implicatures conveyed.

While still on conflict, Lahlali (2012) investigates Nasrahlall 22nd September, 2006 “The divine Victory Speech” to the nation and establishes that repetition is used to emphasize his praise to

the Lebanese people in general and the Hezbollah fighters in particular. For instance, Nasrahlall stated “You are a great people and you are a proud people, and you are a loyal people and you are a courageous people”. Lahlali (2012) argues that the speaker’s strategy of glorifying the Lebanese people is reinforced by the repetition of the phrase “You are a ...people” followed by positive attributes intended to motivate and rally the Lebanese people behind the speaker. Consequently, while Lahlali (2012) focuses on conflict resolution, repetition in the speeches portrayed the stylistic command of the speaker and demonstrated the speaker’s lasting impact on the audience of his speech. While Lahlali (2012) focuses on the speaker’s creativity and command, a gap is left on how through repetition emphatic effects such as attitude and the propositional content of the utterances are achieved.

2.5.4 Parallelism in Political Speeches

This sub-section addressed the fourth objective of the study. Parallelism is a grammatical device used in speech or writing to create effect through repetition of a sentence or part of it (Thomas & Wareing, 1999). The repetition can be in terms of lexical, phrasal or clausal similarity and it can be employed across or inside sentences or even inside clauses and phrases (Short, 1996). Kazemian and Hashemu (2014) opine that repetition is associated with the same parts of the speech such as verbs or nouns. Parallelism is used by politicians when they want to draw attention to a particular part of their message and make it stand out from the rest of the speech (Thomas & Wareing, 1999; Van Dijk, 2000). In exemplifying parallelism, Thomas and Wareing (1999) use Winston Churchill’s speech to the House of Commons on June 4, 1940 “...We shall fight on the beaches, we shall fight on the landing grounds, ...we shall fight on the hills...” (p. 51). The repetition of the phrase “we shall fight” emphasizes the agents’ readiness to embark on a task which is beneficial to the subjects. While the image of war “fight” in the parallel structure signal conflict discourse, the war alluded to in the parallelism was the invasion of the USA to Iraq during the gulf war. This sets Thomas and Wareing (1999) study apart from the present one which examined conflict management in Kenyan 2013 elections.

While repeating the phrase “we shall fight”, Thomas and Wareing (1999) leave a gap on how more cognitive effects through the converging syntactic and semantic parallel structures communicate a relatively narrow range of implicatures.

While focusing on presidential campaign speeches, Kazemian and Hashemu (2014) and Sharndama and Mgbemena (2015) observe that not only do parallel structures call for audience attention but they also add rhythm, balance and beauty to the sentences. Items categorized together in parallel structures result in unification as they express the impression and efficiency that are in some ways related or to intentionally invite comparative investigation (Kazemian and Hashemu, 2014). Using Barack Obama’s 2012 campaign speeches, Kazemian and Hashemu (2014) exemplify the aforementioned observations with “we have built the best-trained, best-led, best-equipped military in history”. Sharndama and Mgbemena (2015) exemplify parallelism with Buhari acceptance speech which also underscores peaceful campaigns “We will campaign in peace, we will campaign with hope in our hearts, we will campaign with issues and ideas”. Although both speeches were derived from presidential campaigns, focus was on how the candidates captured the audience’s attention through creating rhythmic flows and emotive connection among sentences. There is, however, a gap left that seeks to establish the range of implicatures relayed by the parallel structures and how cognitive effects are achieved. In addition, the emphatic appeal of the propositional contents of the repeated syntactic structures do not address conflict management in the elections.

Use of parallelism has been extended to the domain of proverbs as observed by Jaradat (2007) and Adegaju (2009). In an analysis of Jordanian proverbs, Jaradat (2007) identifies three functions of parallelism which include serving as an organization principle through which the text is woven, giving it poetic function and reflecting parallelism in cultural thinking. Jaradat (2007), however, leaves a gap that seeks to explain how parallelism achieves relevance as well as how the wisdom of proverbs can be used to contain conflict. Using socio-semiotic approach,

Adegoju (2009) emphasizes the tripartite import of conflict management in society embedded in Yoruba proverbs. Exemplifying this with the proverb *akii ri arema ja a ki i si n ri aja mare* “There are no permanent friends and neither are there permanent enemies”, Adegoju (2009) argues that conflict is inevitable; it is a social process which has not only dysfunctional aspect, but also functional ones which could be antidotes to social problems and parties in conflict should be ready to embrace reconciliation. This fluid state is emphasized by the parallel structures “permanent friends” and “permanent enemies” through the repetition of “there are” at the subject position. Adegoju (2009) evaluation of conflict in society is subsumed in Azem (2005) definition in which conflict management covers the initiation of a conflict, its escalation, the ensuing complications, containment, resolution and transformation. The present study and Adegoju (2009) take cognizance of the times conflict might be at the peak whereas at other times it may be minimal. In Kenya, election-related conflict peaks in the run-up to elections. While examining the mechanisms of handling conflict in the wisdom of Yoruba proverbs, however, Adegoju (2009) leaves a gap which seeks to analyze conflict management in elections.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter reviewed literature on the four thematic areas of the objectives of the study which include lexical choices, speech acts, attitudes and stylistic effects in the contexts of the concepts including conflict management and campaign discourse. Various knowledge gaps seeking to address the thematic areas in relation to conflict management in elections emerged. The following chapter, therefore, outlined the research methodologies that were employed in achieving the objectives of the study, while addressing the gaps left in the reviewed literature.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section consisted of the research design, study area, study population, sample size and sampling procedures, methods of data collection, reliability and validity, and data analysis methods. Ethical considerations of the research were also included in this section.

3.2 Research Design

The present study was qualitative and employed analytical research design. In this design, the researcher uses facts already available and analyzes them to make critical evaluation of the material to reveal trends (Kothari, 2004). Analytical research design reorganizes information into categories or groups unlike descriptive design which involves observing and describing the behaviour of a subject without influencing it in any way (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). Analytical design was adopted because the study involved a critical analysis of the presidential campaign speeches sifted for conflict management utterances as well as Focus Group Discussion data confirming the relevance of presidential campaign speeches in conflict management in 2013 elections. Both sets of data were organized according to the study objectives and subjected to the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure to reveal their relevance in conflict management in 2013 elections.

3.3 Study Area

The study area was Tarakwa County Assembly Ward in Uasin Gishu County of Kenya. It was purposively sampled because it had persistently been hard-hit by election-related conflict from 1992 to 2007, but during the 2013 elections, conflict was contained (Uasin Gishu County Integrated Development plan for 2013 to 2018). In 2007/2008 PEV, Tarakwa experienced widespread conflict which had been planned before the 2007 elections (Njogu, 2009). In other areas including Nairobi, Nakuru, Kisumu and Mombasa, it was occasioned by the alleged

rigging of the presidential election results, anger and vengeance due to the attacks of the Kikuyu in other parts of the country (Naivasha) (Njogu, 2009). According to Idris *et. al.* (2013) much investment was made in Tarakwa to prevent an outbreak of violence in the 2013 presidential elections. Consequently, conflict was averted.

It is also in Tarakwa where peace initiatives were first launched to reconcile members of the rival Kalenjin and Kikuyu communities and others affiliated to these communities in terms of their political persuasions (Rutten & Owuor, 2010). Part of the initiative to exorcise the ghosts of violence was to rename the place, previously known as Burnt Forest, Tarakwa. Tarakwa which symbolizes the name of a tree under which peace negotiations between the Kikuyu and Kalenjin took place, was preferred to its former name “Burnt Forest” which is associated with fire (Uasin Gishu County Integrated Development plan for 2013 to 2018). This plan further states that the area was once forested with cedar trees, locally known as *Mutarakwa*. However, the forest burnt in the 1940s making the colonialist call it “Burnt Forest”. “Burnt Forest” connotes historical injustices and calamities such that in the plan the place was renamed Tarakwa, which the residents are yet to adapt to.

Situated along the Nakuru-Eldoret highway in Kesses constituency, Tarakwa is 35 kilometers from Eldoret, the main town of Uasin Gishu County, and about 330 kilometers from Nairobi, the capital city of Kenya and covers 79 square kilometres with an estimated population of 37, 683 (Uasin Gishu County Integrated Development Plan 2013-2018). Tarakwa County Assembly Ward is divided into four sub-locations namely Chagaiya, Kipkurere, Lainguse and Tarakwa (Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission, 2012) (Appendix III).

3.4 Study Population

The population of the study were the eight presidential candidates for 2013 general elections in Kenya namely Mr. Uhuru Kenyatta of Jubilee Alliance, Mr. Raila Odinga of Coalition for

Restoration of Democracy (CORD), Mr. Musalia Mudavadi of Amani National Congress Coalition, Mr. Peter Kenneth of Eagle Alliance, Ms. Martha Karua of National Rainbow Coalition (NARC) Kenya, Mr. Paul Muite of Safina, Professor James Ole Kiyiapi of Restore and Build Kenya and Mr. Abduba Dida of Alliance for Real Change (ARK). The study focused on presidential candidates because control of state power in Kenya has meant jobs, patronage, development and relative prosperity for those close to power and their supporters (Halakhe, 2013). There is also a perception that ascendancy to presidency from a particular ethnic group was viewed as that ethnic group's "turn to eat" at the expense of the rest (Halakhe, 2013). This explains why election-related violence in Kenya takes ethno-political dimension (Rutten & Owuor, 2010). It also emerges that violence stems from the long-standing historical grievances and failure of governance linked to the presidents of Kenya, which run deeper than electoral politics (Halakhe, 2013; Siele, 2015). The problem of land in Kenya, for instance, has been reduced into simplistic and ethnic dichotomy that erupts into violence during elections (Halakhe, 2013; Siele 2015). This violence has characterized multi-party general elections of 1992, 1997, 2002 and 2007 in Kenya (Human Rights Watch, 2008). However, the peaceful elections of 2013 contrasted sharply with the eruption of this violence, especially the 2007 one, when within hours of the announcement of the result protests turned violent (Halakhe, 2013).

Second, the 37, 683 residents of the four sub-locations of Tarakwa (Uasin Gishu County Integrated Development plan for 2013 to 2018) formed another population. Third, the population of campaign speeches between 1st September, 2012 and 2nd March, 2013 when presidential candidates started intensifying their campaigns to the final official campaign day respectively was 150. This is according to CITIZEN TV, Nation Television (NTV), and UHURUTV that were accessed on the You Tube. Fourth, the available speeches for Kenyatta, Raila, Mudavadi and Karua covering the same period were 54, 48, 34 and 14 respectively. Fifth, the population of television stations in Kenya was 16; 9 of which broadcast nationally

with Kenya Broadcasting Cooperation (KBC), CITIZEN, Kenya Television Network (KTN), NTV, K24 and QTV leading (Byerly, 2013). UHURUTV is privately owned and was established to cover Uhuru Kenyatta's campaigns in the run-up to 2013 elections.

3.5 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

Four presidential candidates of 2013 were purposively sampled. These were Uhuru Kenyatta, Raila Odinga, Musalia Mudavadi and Martha Karua. This was 50% of the target population which according to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) represents the salient characteristics of the target population. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2009) add that purposive sampling leads to in-depth information from a smaller number of carefully selected cases. These candidates were sampled because most of their campaign speeches contained messages that urged Kenyans to avert conflict in the elections.

Second, 12 presidential campaign speeches with utterances on conflict management were purposively sampled on the basis of theoretical saturation from CITIZEN TV, NTV and UHURUTV through You Tube videos. Therefore, 4, 4, 2 and 2 speeches were sampled from Uhuru, Raila, Mudavadi and Karua. Saturation is the point in data collection when new data no longer brings additional insights to the research question (Mason, 2010). Qualitative research aims to provide an in-depth understanding of the world and it uses non-probability sampling as it does not aim to produce a statistically representative sample or draw statistical inferences. This fact was reflected in the respective sample sizes of both the presidential candidates' campaign speeches and the numbers of FGDs in which additional samples did not yield new data on conflict management.

CITIZEN and NTV television stations were purposively sampled because of their wider viewership placed at 78% and 70% respectively (Geniets, 2013), and the accessibility of campaign speeches on You Tube. These television stations also covered most of the 2013

presidential election campaigns. UHURUTV was sampled because it was established to cover Uhuru Kenyatta's campaigns and was also accessible on the You Tube. UHURUTV was also sampled in order to counter check speeches obtained from this TV station with those obtained from CITIZEN and NTV. Fourth, Tarakwa County Assembly Ward in Kesses constituency of Uasin Gishu County in Kenya was purposively sampled. For each FGD, 7 participants as recommended by Hennink (2014) were purposively sampled. Homogeneity criteria that required participants to be residents of Tarakwa and from common socio-economic background guided the sampling. Gender balance was also a criterion. However, the criteria required participants to be sampled from the different ethnic groups of Tarakwa. To facilitate the discussions, Kiswahili was used.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

A combination of methods was employed in the actual process of data collection, including online extraction of 2013 presidential speeches through You tube and FGDs in Tarakwa County Assembly Ward.

3.6.1 Online Data Extraction

Online data extraction was used to obtain 2013 presidential campaign speeches uploaded by CITIZEN TV, NTV and UHURUTV on You tube. In data extraction, a researcher searches through online sources to collect required information. According to Rainardi (2007), data is retrieved and transformed from the source system and put into a data warehouse. In the present study, the sampled presidential campaign speeches were extracted online, saved on the researcher's computer's hard disk and played back for transcription. Speeches were sorted according to the candidates who delivered them, and texts spoken in Kiswahili were translated into English. The collection of speeches, transcription and translation took place from 9th August, 2015 to 22nd February, 2016. For ethical consideration, the researcher assigned the sampled presidential candidates the codes PC1, PC2, PC3 and PC4 to Uhuru Kenyatta, Raila

Odinga, Musalia Mudavadi and Martha Karua respectively. A data extraction tool (see appendix I) was used to extract items encoding conflict management from the thematic areas of the objectives of the study including lexical, speech acts, attitudes and stylistic choices. These items, extracted from the presidential campaign speeches, were incorporated into the FGD schedule.

3.6.2 Focus Group Discussion

Before proceeding to Tarakwa, the researcher was cleared by Maseno University Ethical Review Committee (Appendix V). Eight FGDs were conducted in two phases, with two being conducted in each of the four sub-locations of Tarakwa (Chagaiya, Kipkurere, Laing'use and Tarakwa) on topics related to conflict management in 2013 presidential campaign speeches. Eight FGDs are within the range for detecting patterns and trends that emerge across groups and for information saturation to be reached (John, Liesmann & Kiser, 2005; Hennink, 2007). In each sub-location, the same FGD participants were retained for both phases for review of 12 presidential campaign speeches. During the first session, four speeches from each of the candidates were reviewed, and in the second phase 8 were reviewed. The splitting of the sessions was guided by Hennink (2007) guideline that an FGD should not exceed one hour. In addition, 8 FGDs ensured coverage of the whole County Assembly Ward and also ensured credibility (Baker & Charvat, 2008).

All FGDs were conducted in Kiswahili and took approximately ninety-minutes per FGD. The option to conduct discussions in a house of a participant or church was presented to the participants for convenience. The FGDs were conducted after collecting the presidential campaign speeches and the discussion guide followed a funnel design (Hennink, 2007) while capturing the objectives of the study. However, the order of questions was altered to follow the natural flow of conversation while adhering to the order of the questions in the FGD schedule. After a short introduction to the FGD procedures involving voluntary participation and

confidentiality, the participants were asked for consent to participate in the discussion as well as permission to audio-record the discussions to avoid loss of important information. A Sony digital voice recorder which was cushioned with a cloth was placed on a table where the discussions were taking place. The cushioning was meant to muffle interference from noises caused by banging of the table with cups, hands or books.

The researcher was assisted by a fourth-year linguistics student who had been trained one week earlier. His work was to start the digital voice recorder and stop it when the discussion was over, distribute consent forms to the participants to fill in, ensure that they filled them properly and collect them. During phase, which was conducted between 21st to 23rd April, 2016, FGD participants watched and reviewed four presidential campaign speeches, one from each of the sampled presidential candidates, according to the FGD schedule. Phase two was conducted from 18th to 24th September, 2016 on alternate days and participants reviewed eight speeches, with two speeches being from each of the sampled candidates. The speeches lasted between 4 to 7 minutes. Using data extraction tool and guided by questions derived from the research objectives, the participants were required to interpret the utterances aimed at conflict management and state if the presidential utterances were relevant in conflict management in 2013 elections. The recorded discussions were played back and transcribed. For anonymity, both the sub-locations and FGD participants were assigned codes. T1, T2, T3 and T4 codes were assigned to Chagaiya, Kipkurere Laing'use, and Tarakwa respectively. Codes derived from the sub-locations and alphabetical letters were assigned to the FGD participants. For example, those from Chagaiya, were coded T1A, T1B, T1C, T1D, T1E, T1F and T1G.

3.7 Reliability and Validity

Reliability refers to the extent to which a research instrument yields consistent results after repeated trials (Watts, 2006). Validity is the degree to which results obtained from the analysis of the data actually represent the phenomenon under study (Mugenda & Mugenda, 2003). It

refers to the extent to which an instrument asks the right question for accuracy, thus obtaining accurate data which represents the variables of the study. Reliability and validity are linked to trustworthiness in qualitative research and refer to credibility, transferability, dependability and confirmability (Watts, 2006).

3.7.1 Reliability

To ensure that the research findings were reliable, a pilot study was conducted. A pilot study is a research project that is conducted on a limited scale that allows a researcher to get a clearer idea of what they want to know and they can best find it out without the expenses and effort of a full-fledged study (Creswell, 2002). The pilot study was useful in testing methodological and analytical tools and it gave the researcher a general picture of thesis writing. Before the study, two FGDs were conducted at Kapkures Location in Nakuru County using a revised FGD schedule. One FGD was held in a participant's house and the other in a church office. Both places provided ideal conditions for playing the presidential campaign speeches as well as recording the discussion without background noise. Moreover, the researcher capitalized on the pilot study to induct the research assistant on how to record the discussion, take notes and coordinate the signing of consent forms. Overall, the discussions were important because they pointed out additional dynamics of conflict management during the 2013 elections that had to be considered in reframing the discussion schedule. They also gave the researcher insights on recruiting participants using either the church elder or village elder or both.

3.7.2 Validity

To ensure external validity, first, the researcher drew a representative sample of campaign speeches purposively from the target population of campaign speeches. Second, to validate the tools, the researcher went through the speeches and FGD schedules and compared them with the set objectives to ensure that the tools contained all the information that would answer the objectives of the study. This was enhanced with the guidance of the supervisors who reviewed

the data extraction tool and the FGD schedules to establish the relevance of each item to the objective. Consequently, the necessary corrections were done. Third, there were rich and verbatim descriptions of participants' accounts to support research findings. Finally, peer debriefing involving discussions of every step of the research with colleagues in order to disclose blind spots was done.

3.8 Methods of Data Analysis and Presentation

The purpose of analysis in qualitative studies is to sift, sort and organize the masses of data acquired during data collection in such a way that themes and interpretations that emerge from the process address the original research problem (Richard, Grinnell and Unrau, 2008). The presidential campaign speeches were organized according to the candidates who delivered them, while the FGD data were sorted according to the four sub-locations of Tarakwa. Utterances with conflict management content were extracted from the 2013 presidential campaign speeches using a data extraction tool (see appendix 1). Using this tool, lexical items with the themes of peace and unity were extracted from the utterances and used as a basis for the analysis of objective one of the study. In objective two, utterances depicting directives, expressives, declaratives, commissives and representatives speech acts were extracted from the speeches. In objective three, utterances aimed at expressing endorsing or dissociative attitudes were extracted, while in objective four, metaphors, repeated and parallel structures signifying conflict management were extracted.

The extracted data was triangulated with FGD review of the presidential speeches guided by a discussion guide and analyzed according to the objectives of the study. For instance, in the first objective, *ad hoc* concepts expressed by encoded lexical items were analyzed, capitalized and asterisks annotated to show that they denoted a different sense other than the encoded one. In the second objective, an utterance was assigned a propositional form and analyzed according to its relevance to the hearer. In the third objective, the attitudes were identified and analyzed

as endorsing or dissociating while closely referring to the relevance-theoretic heuristic. In the fourth objective, styles such as metaphors and repetition were analyzed as weak implicatures which yield broader cognitive effects. Data was presented in narrative form using themes and categories derived from the objectives of the study and codes assigned to the data respectively.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

A number of ethical considerations were undertaken before embarking on the study. First, the researcher obtained authorization from Maseno University Ethical Review Committee to conduct the study (see appendix IV). Second, the researcher obtained the presidential campaign speeches uploaded by NTV, CITIZEN and UHURUTV on You tube under fair use right. Fair use right functions as an exemption to the copyright law for educational and socially important purposes such as teaching and research (Crew & Buttler, 2006). The copyright owners for uploaded campaign speeches that were used in the present study were the aforementioned television stations and they were acknowledged under American Psychological Association citation rules. Third, the researcher assigned the sampled presidential candidates, the sub-locations where the FGDs took place and the FGD participants codes. For the presidential candidates PC1, PC2, PC3 and PC4 were assigned to Uhuru Kenyatta, Raila Odinga, Musalia Mudavadi and Martha Karua respectively while T1, T2, T3 and T4 symbols were assigned to Chagaiya, Kipkurere, Tarakwa and Languise respectively. FGD participants were assigned codes derived from the alphabet and appended to the respective group's code.

Fourth, informed consent of the FGD participants was sought before conducting FGDs (see appendix III). The participants were informed about the purpose of the study and counselled before the discussions. This is because some of the participants might have been election-related violence victims and still traumatized by the aftermaths of the violence. The theoretical framework employed in the present study required participants to derive contextual assumptions from not only the 2013 elections, but also from previous elections. Therefore,

there were two sessions of counselling organized on different days prior to the actual FGD. One session was conducted by the researcher's point man on the ground during the recruitment of participants, while another one was conducted by the researcher in the company of the point man, and it was also useful in establishing rapport with participants. The participants were assured that the information they provided would only be used for the purpose of the study, would be confidential and their names would not be used anywhere in the report. This was intended to allay any suspicion the participants might have had concerning the research subject as well as the researcher. They were also informed about their right to voluntary participation, option to answer or not answer a question at any one time they decided and option to pull out of the discussion at any time they decided.

Finally, the summary of key findings of the research was disseminated to each of the participants in the form of a booklet. Complicated concepts were distilled into simple core messages, content and media to suit the literacy levels, language and understanding of the participants. Other modes of dissemination were through articles published in refereed journals and a final report that was made available to Maseno University School of Graduate Studies Library.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter outlined the research methodologies that were employed in achieving the objectives of the study. These included the research design, the study area and population, sampling procedure and size, methods of data collection, reliability, validity, methods of data analysis and presentation, and ethical considerations. Chapter four presents the data, analyzes and discusses the findings in accordance with the objectives of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR: DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents, analyses and discusses data on lexico-pragmatic interpretation of conflict management in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches in Tarakwa. Data was organized according to the objectives of the study which were first, to interpret lexical choices on conflict management in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches. Second establish the relevance of speech acts in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches in conflict management. Third, to examine the attitudes expressed towards the utterances of the 2013 Kenyan presidential candidates in conflict management. Fourth, to investigate the interpretations of specific stylistic effects used by the 2013 Kenyan presidential candidates in conflict management. Data analysis entailed application of RT which is based on a definition of relevance, and its cognitive and communicative principles (Carston, 2010). RT's central claim is that the expectations of relevance raised by an utterance are precise and predictable enough to guide the hearer towards the speaker's meaning.

4.2 Lexical Choice Interpretation in Conflict Management

This section addressed objective one of the study which sought to interpret lexical choices on conflict management in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches. Lexical choices signifying conflict management in the 2013 presidential campaign speeches were grouped into two themes based on the ostensive stimulus the speakers made mutually manifest: peace and unity. The extracted lexical items were analyzed according to lexical pragmatic processes identified by Wilson (2003) and Carston (2010). According to Wilson (2003) the lexical pragmatic processes are triggered by the search for relevance, they follow a path of least effort, they operate via mutual adjustment of explicit content, context and cognitive effects, and they stop when the expectations of relevance raised by the utterance are satisfied or abandoned.

4.2.1 Interpretation of Peace in 2013 Elections in Tarakwa

This sub-section focused on the interpretation of the encoded concept *peace* employed in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches in regard to conflict management. Discussions on this section began with the question “What is the importance of *peace* in Tarakwa in relation to general elections in Kenya? The responses were (1), (2) and (3).

(1) *Watu wakiwa na amani, kutakuwa na upendo, umoja na maendeleo...*

If people are peaceful, there will be love, unity and development... (T1G)

(2) *Watu wakae na amani. Vita visipokuwepo watu wote wataendelea.*

All people to stay peacefully. Without war, everybody can develop. (T4E)

(3) *...2007 ambapo damu ilimwagika. Afadhali mtu akose kila kitu lakini amani iwepo....*

...In 2007 bloodshed. It is better for one to lack everything but peace to prevail.

(T3B)

In responses (1) and (2), Tarakwa people’s interpretation of peace denoted love, unity and development. In (3), the interpretation of peace derived contextual assumptions from the deaths which resulted from 2007/2008 PEV captured in the metaphor of bloodshed. This context, in RT can be regarded as an old assumption. In RT terms, T4E combined the new assumption “It is better...peace to prevail” with the old assumption, weakened it and eliminated it to convey the sense that peace surpasses everything else and presence of peace prevents deaths which is signified by “bloodshed”. The adjustment of the content in (1), (2) and (3), context (both new and old contextual assumptions) and cognitive effect, yielded the interpretation of the encoded concept *peace* in terms *love, unity, development, absence of war* and *absence of death occasioned by election-related conflict* that T1G, T4G and T3B selected as subsets. This means the encoded concept *peace* was broadened to denote the aforementioned interpretations which represented the *ad hoc* concepts LOVE*, UNITY*, DEVELOPMENT* ABSENCE OF WAR* and ABSENCE OF DEATH OCCASIONED BY ELECTION-RELATED CONFLICT*.

In the presidential campaign speeches, peace was encoded in Kiswahili lexical items such as (*amani*) peace, (*kuwa na amani*) be peaceful, (*tulia*) be calm, *pumzika* (rest). The encoded concept *peace* was further fine-tuned to suit each utterance. Carston (2010) observes that lexical narrowing is a quite flexible process because the encoded sense may be narrowed to different degrees and in different directions depending on the particular occasion of use. The presidential candidates' utterances regarding conflict management were the ostensive stimulus or the input of a cognitive process. In view of this (4) was illustrated.

(4) *Sisi wachana na sisi tunataka **amani** katika taifa letu...*

Leave us alone. We want **peace** in our nation.... (PC1)

In RT, utterance interpretation requires a hearer to first determine the propositions explicitly communicated by the speaker. This task involves disambiguation, assignment of reference to indexicals and filling in missing constituents and various other enrichments or adjusting of encoded content (Carston, 2010). In utterance (4), "us" was recovered from the contextual discourse "You, youth, when a leader tells you to fight..." as the youth. This also implied that politicians loved violence and were inciting "us" who loved peace. "Nation" referred to the country Kenya, and "peace" was given the semantic sense of a state of no war. However, given that (4) was articulated at a particular time by the speaker, to complete the proposition expressed, the hearer needed to adjust the unarticulated content in regard to time such as "during the 2013 elections". In (4), PC1 invoked his belief in the inherently peaceful nature of Kenyans. By making mutually manifest the contextual assumptions in the contextual discourse *wale ambao wanataka taabu, hiyo ni yao* "those who want trouble, it is up to them", PC1's contextual assumptions made about violence being caused by politicians and as something that was anticipated in every election, were activated. In the utterance, PC1 also made it explicit that he was telling the youth to desist from leaders who incited them. Responses (5) and (6) were given in relation to the question "what did the presidential candidate mean by leave us alone; we want peace?"

(5) ...*Wasitumie vijana kwa vurugu...vurugu ikitokea wao wanaingia ndege....*

...not use the youth to cause violence...when it breaks out, they board planes...

(T2A)

(6) *Alikuwa anwaambia wanasisiasa wengine wasitumie utajiri wao kuzua vurugu.*

He was telling other politicians not to use their wealth to cause violence.

(T2G)

PC1 in (4) underscored the influence of rich politicians who abuse power to destabilize the poor. T2A and T2G responses attributed election-related conflict to politicians who incited the youth to violence by bribing them. In the present analysis, this attribution was regarded as a contextual assumption which confirmed Idris *et. al*, (2013) assertion that election-related conflict was politically instigated. Responses (5) and (6) negated the acts of incitements and were therefore regarded as new assumptions which contradicted and eliminated the old assumptions where the youth had been bribed to perpetrate violence. Imbiakha (2012) and Idris *et. al* (2013) assert that one conflict management initiative was to provide the youth with income generating activities to deter them from election-related conflict.

Responses (5) and (6) reflected this assertion through the ostensive stimulus that contradicted the activities of the politicians aimed at inciting the youth to violence during the 2013 elections. The implicated conclusion was that conflict management in the 2013 elections was achieved through utterances that deterred the youth from being incited to violence by politicians who bribed them. In the present analysis, this satisfied the expectations raised by (4) that peace would also prevail during the elections. Therefore, through the adjustment of content, context and the cognitive effects, the encoded concept *peace* was narrowed to convey the *ad hoc* concept PEACE* denoting need for the youth to desist from election-related conflict in 2013 instigated by politicians who bribed them.

The present study also analyzed how conflict management, conveyed through peace, was interpreted through the encoded concepts *rest* and *calm*. The FGD participants were required to interpret example (7).

(7) *Wakati tunaenda kwa uchaguzi, mimi nataka kuhimiza mKenya pahali popote alipo, piga kura yako uende nyumbani upumzike na utulie.*

As we approach elections, I want to appeal to any Kenyan wherever he is, cast your vote, go home, **rest** and **be calm**. (PC1)

In (7), the pragmatic task involved assigning the pronoun “we” the reference of PC1 and the voters of Kenya; “I” PC1; “he” and “your” the voters of Kenya in 2013. “Approach elections” was disambiguated to mean the 2013 elections; “home” was given the semantic sense of where one lives. The responses to what “rest” and “calm” meant in relation to conflict management in (7) were (8) to (11).

(8) *Hakusema mpumzike kama group. Ukitulia na mwingine atulie, hakutakuwa shida.*

He did not say go and rest as a group. If you stay calm... no problems. (T1G)

(9) *Kila mtu aongojee matokeo na asipayuke maneno yatatingiza msingi wa amani.*

Everyone should wait for the results and not utter words that will shake the peace foundation. (T3D)

(10) *Ni muhimu (kutulia) ... baada ya kupiga kura niende kwangu.... Tukikusanyika, tutabishana na kufanya fujo tukisema nilipigia huyu na wewe ulipigia...*

It is important (to calm) ... after I vote I go to my place... If we conglomerate, we will argue and cause chaos by saying I voted in so and so.... (T2G)

(11) *Hawa wanashindana na wengine na wansema kutakuwa shida. Hii inaonyesha kuwa wasiposhinda kutakuwa na shida. Ndio maana anasema kuwa baada ya kupiga kura, enda nyumbani utulie.*

These are competing with the others and are saying there will be problems. This shows if they do not win there will be problems. That is why he is saying that after casting your votes, go home and be calm. (T1E)

In (8), avoiding conflict is an individual responsibility and entails being calm after casting the vote. In (9) and (10), going home after casting a vote discourages careless utterances and illegal assemblies and this prevents agitation if one's favourite candidate loses in an election. As a result, peaceful coexistence is promoted. By issuing the statement in (8), (9) and (10), PC1's utterance contributed to conflict management in the 2013 elections through the encoded concepts *rest* and *calm*. Therefore, by following a path of least effort in the mutual adjustment of content, context and cognitive effect, the concepts *rest* and *calm* were narrowed to express the *ad hoc* concepts REST* and CALM* respectively. These denoted disengaging with speculations about potential winner after casting the ballot and not taking any violent actions respectively in 2013 elections.

However, in (11), there were undertones of violence observed in (7) regarding the possibility of disputing election results. Further probing led to the contextual assumptions in (12) and (13):

(12) *Matokeo yakicheleweshwa si inamaanisha inatengenezwa? Hauoni kulikuwa na shida wakati wa Kivuitu na hiyo ilileta vurugu?*

When results are delayed, doesn't it mean that they are being manipulated? Don't you see there was a problem during Kivuitu's time and that sparked violence?

(T2C)

(13) *Matokeo yalitangazwa mbiombio na walitangaza matokeo ambayo Raila hakutarajia na ikamkasirisha.*

The result was announced very fast and they announced the results that Raila did not expect and it made them furious. (T3G)

The contextual assumptions accessed in (12) and (13) had a connection with 2007/2008 PEV where delayed presidential results triggered violence. This derived the implicated conclusion

that telling people to go home and rest was a technique for manipulating election results. Thus, (12) and (13) contradicted and eliminated the assumption that resting and staying calm after casting votes will foster peace. Consequently, (12) and (13) abandoned the expectations of relevance raised by PC1 in (7) for conflict management in elections. This revealed that there were still mistrusts among people concerning the role of the electoral body in manipulating election results. Idris *et. al.* (2013) concurs with this finding by arguing that an overhaul of IEBC was important for credible elections which in turn ensured election-related conflict was managed. Therefore, by following a path of least effort in the mutual adjustment of content, context and cognitive effect, the concepts *rest* and *calm* were broadened to express the *ad hoc* concepts REST* and CALM* respectively. These denoted the possibility of election results being manipulated when people waited for them.

Other than interpreting the encoded concepts *rest* and *calm* in the aforementioned ways, another lexical pragmatic process in (14) was triggered.

(14) *Aliona kuwa alishashinda. hivyo aliwaambia watu waende nyumbani kwa utulivu.*

He had seen that he already won; so, he just urged the people to go home calmly.

(T2B)

In response (14), T2B abandoned the expectations of relevance raised by utterance (7) in conflict management. Rather, it was an advance celebration of presidential victory. The encoded concepts *rest* and *calm* were broadened to acquire an *ad hoc* concept REST and CALM which denoted advance celebration of presidential victory, and this portended conflict. This finding is in tandem with Ayelazuno (2009) who quips that in Ghana's 2008 presidential elections, conflict was managed, however, there were flaws that could jeopardize the fragile electoral peace that had endured since 1992. Thus, in the present study, the self-declaration of victory could have been detrimental to the anticipated peace.

Capitalizing on "us' and "them" lexical choice dichotomy, PC2 uttered (16):

(15) As you can see the Kenyan people are very **peaceful**. Even last time they were very **peaceful**. (PC2)

The pragmatic process involved in the interpretation of (16) included reference resolution, disambiguation and saturation. “You” referred to the throng of people in the rally. In the next utterance “they” had its antecedent in “the Kenyan people” who PC2 talked about to a third person. “Last time” needed to be made clearer by stating that it referred to the period preceding the announcement of the presidential election results. By stressing “even” PC2 compared the peaceful audiences in 2007 with the one he was addressing in 2013. The first utterance needed to be enriched with an expression like “when they have not been provoked”. A further enrichment was “but they can be violent when they are provoked”. As a conflict management strategy, PC2 made explicit the fact that Kenyans were peaceful but left implicit the information portraying other leaders as violent. As in (1) to (3), the encyclopedic entry for the encoded concept *peaceful* was a state in which people were not warring. In example (15), the ostensive stimulus portrayed Kenyans as peaceful people. In the contextual discourse, PC2 capitalized on this inherently peaceful nature of people to urge them to be peaceful “I am urging Kenyans to be peaceful because we are winning. On the question of how (15) promoted conflict management, the responses were (16) and (17).

(16) *Watu walizua vurugu baada tu ya kutangaza matokeo ya uchaguzi.*

Violence erupted only after releasing the election results. (T1A)

(17) *Uchaguzi ni sensitive Kenya. Chochote kinachogusia uchaguzi kama kuchelewelesha matokeo inaweza kutingiza msingi wa amani.*

Elections are sensitive in Kenya. Anything touching on election like delaying results, may shake the foundations of peace. (T2C)

Responses (16) and (17) reveal how peaceful co-existence can be threatened by election malpractices which he blames on other people as reflected in the unarticulated constituents.

The reason for not making these constituents explicit in relation to conflict management is in (18):

(18) ... *hakutaja yeyote na aliweza kutuliza wananchi maana... angechochea Wananchi.*

...He did not mention anybody and he was able to calm citizens...if he had mentioned anybody's name, I think he would have incited citizens. (T4E)

From (18), not mentioning anyone in the rally in relation to a previous election-related conflict was an important conflict management strategy. Making attacks indefinite in the 2013 elections through indefinite references such as “us”, “them” and “they” which came into force after hate speech had been outlawed has been mentioned as one strategy for conflict management (Michira, 2014). In (18), T4E pointed out that by not blaming anybody in relation to a previous election-related conflict, PC2 calmed citizens and averted a possible violence eruption. However, what emerged is in concord with Höglund and Jarstad (2010) emphasis that violence-free election is encapsulated in the lexical choice “free and fair” as benchmarks for determining the legitimacy of elections. In this regard, reforms in the electoral body was one of the factors that promoted conflict management (Idris, *et. el.*, 2013). Thus, in the present study, the encoded concept *peaceful* as a new assumption weakened, contradicted and eliminated the events that led to violence in a previous election. Through the mutual adjustment of content, context and cognitive effects, the encoded concept *peaceful* was narrowed to express the *ad hoc* concept PEACEFUL* denoting that the electorate were peaceful during the period preceding the announcement of presidential results and averting conflict required the presidential candidate to avoid apportioning other leaders blame for conflict.

In (21), the lexical item “peaceful” was also employed.

(19) We will go to the courts and we are urging all our supporters to be **peaceful** because we are winning the elections. (PC2)

In utterance (21), the referent “we” referred to PC2 and his co-principals, Kalonzo Musyoka and Moses Wetangula. “Our supporters” meant the people who were going to vote for PC2. The expression “go to the court” was enriched with the constituent “if there will be any election-related anomaly”. The context “We will go to the courts” was the immediately preceding utterance of “If there will be any anomalies, we will pass even through the legal channel”. When asked to interpret the concept *peaceful*, T2G and T2C observed:

(20) *Hana hakika atashinda, na kama atashinda, anafikiria rigging itafanywa kama ilivyofanywa wakati ule ili chochote kikifanyika awe na namna ya kuclaim.*

He is not sure of winning and if he will win, he feels that rigging will be done the way it was done that day so that if anything happens he will have a way of claiming.

(T2G)

(21) *PC2 alikuwa na matumaini ya kushinda. Alikuwa akireflect 2007 vile rigging ilifanywa ...So hayuko confident lakini anakumbuka kilichotendeka.*

PC2 had hopes that he would win. He was reflecting 2007 on how rigging took place So, he is not so confident but still remembers what happened. (T2C)

Responses (20) and (21) indicate that the 2007/2008 PEV resulted from disputed elections which put peace at stake. In the present study, this was a contextual assumption used in interpreting (19). As a proximate cause of election-related conflict in 2007, PC2 in (19) promised to avert conflict through seeking court redress in case of any anomaly. As an ostensive stimulus, the combination of (19) with the contextual assumptions in (20) and (21) yielded the contextual implication that election anomalies are addressed through court and not through violence. Thus, the encoded concept *peaceful* was broadened to express the *ad hoc* concept PEACEFUL* denoting a broader category of not only being peaceful during the period preceding the announcement of the results, but also having confidence that disputes will be settled through court as well as maintaining peace if PC2 wins. By urging his followers to be peaceful before the elections day, (19) took measures aimed at containing conflict. The view

that there would be peace if disputes are addressed through court foreshadows Idris *et. al.* (2013) observations of how PC2 conducted himself when he felt that elections had been rigged. Instead of using the words “mass action” as he did in 2007 when he felt aggrieved, PC2 said “I do not want you to protest”, “I do not want you to protest” and “I want to go to court” (Idris *et. al.*, 2013, p. 34). However, the view that PC2 urged his followers to be peaceful because he was winning portended violence, and that is why T2G and T2C abandoned their expectations of conflict management in the lexically encoded concept *peaceful*.

In (25), PC3, made mutually manifest the contextual assumption that in the past, deaths had occurred during elections.

(22) *Tunataka jina letu ambalo ni Amani Coalition lifanye kazi katika mambo ya uchaguzi ili damu isimwagike kamwe kama ilivyomwagika wakati ule.*

We want our name which is **Amani** Coalition to work in election issues so that blood will not be shed at all as last time. (PC3)

In (22), “we” referred to PC3, his running mate and other party supporters. The expression “our name” was made clearer to specifically mean the name of the party that sponsored the speaker which was Amani National Coalition. Next, the vague expression “to work in election issues” needed a clarification such as the word “Amani” means peace, so it should reflect the party members as champions of peace during 2013 Kenyan election campaigns. More enrichment regarding the need for peace was also done by bringing to the fore the aftermath of the 2007 elections which were marred with violence. This was meant to justify the subordinate clause “so that...” in which blood refers to death. Regarding the interpretation of the concept *peace*, T3G and T1G observed:

(23) *Anawaambia wengine watumie jina la chama chake katika uchaguzi kuzuia marudio ya yale yaliyotendeka katika uchaguzi uliopita.*

He is telling the rest to use his party's name in the elections to prevent a replication of what happened in the previous elections. (T3G)

(24) *Jina Amani linafanya watu watulie na wapige kura kwa amani.*

The name Amani makes people calm and vote peacefully. (T1G)

In (23), T3G argued that PC3 used his party's name *Amani* "Peace" to prevent violence in elections. In (24), T1G argued that the name *Amani*, a party name, had the potential to calm people and make them vote peacefully. This went beyond the broadened denotation of love, unity, development and avoiding war and deaths in (1), (2) and (3). In responses (23) and (24), the sense encoded by the concept *peace* was broadened to express the *ad hoc* concept PEACE* which did not only denote PC3's party's name, but also its ability to prevent violence in the 2013 elections as well as compel people to be calm and vote peacefully. In this case, the concept *peace* was hyperbolic, and therefore, it was a radical extension of the linguistically specified denotation *peace*. T3G's response that *peace* had the potential to calm people and make them vote peacefully was in tandem with Idris *et. al.* (2013) views that in the run-up to 2013 elections, there was a saturation of the peace messages from political leaders, government and media and a consensus between the political elites and the citizens not to allow Kenya to erupt into civil war again. Thus, PC3's ostensive stimulus on how the party name *Amani* fostered peace, strengthened the peace messages from the aforementioned quarters regarded as an existing assumption.

PC3's creativity in the use of the concept *amani* "peace" was also reflected in example (28).

(25) *Wale, wanasiasa wa mrengo mwingine wakija kwa mkutano wanasema muishi kwa **amani**. Wakimaliza mkutano wanasema mwende nyumbani kwa **amani**. Wakisema mpige kura, wanasema mpige kura kwa **amani**. Sasa ikiwa wananifanyia kampeni kwa sababu wanasema mpige kura kwa **amani**.... Si wanasema piga kura kwa **amani**. **Amani** ni nani?*

Those other politicians from other coalitions, when they come to the meeting they say live in **peace**. When they finish the meeting, they say go home in **peace**. When they say vote, they say vote in **peace**. Now, if they are campaigning for me because they are saying vote in peace.... Aren't they saying vote in peace. Who is **Peace**? (PC3)

Concerning (25), T3G interpretation of the utterance involved resolving the reference “those others” and “they”. They also disambiguated the phrase “other coalitions” as well as assigning the concept *peace* an *ad hoc* concept. The hearers’ encyclopedic assumptions about peace, coalitions, meeting, go home in peace and the connections between them were activated. Based on the manifestation of “those others, from other coalitions” being the competitors of PC3, T3G indicated that “those others” referred to Jubilee and (CORD). From these, it was a straight forward matter to link the coalitions with their candidates: PC1 and PC2 respectively. This reference was made clearer when, in another discourse, PC3 indicated that he would take cold water and calm the two “I will take cold water and pour on Jubilee... CORD...”. This in turn confirmed the possibility of conflict being associated with the leading contestants and PC3 being the mediator of the two. Hence, in (25), the encoded concept peace was broadened to express the *ad hoc* concept PEACE* which entailed that conflict management was through PC1 and PC2 having peace between themselves first. This finding conforms to Cohen (2001) notion of “good will” in Christianity denoting virtuous disposition to benevolence in conflict resolution. Hence, PC3’s party name offered the good will required in conflict resolution.

Given that PC3 bestowed himself the role of a mediator, he did not attribute their campaigns to peace. Thus, the encoded concept *peace* in (25) was interpreted as in (26) and (27):

(26) *Si Mungano wa Amani..... Ni amani ya yesu...Anapuuzwa Wananchi.*

It is not Amani coalition...PC1 and PC2 were saying...peace of Jesus.... He was fooling the citizens. (T4E)

(27) *Alikuwa anajikampeinia*

He was campaigning for himself. (T4I)

T4E and T4I observed that PC3 was exploiting his creativity by playing with words and was therefore ironical. These observations auger well with Wilson (2003) claim that the mind is flexible and creative and can construct and use new concepts at a moment's notice. Responses (26) and (27) as the new stimulus combined with (25), weakened it, contradicted it and eliminated it to yield the implication that PC3 was using the party's name to campaign for himself, while discrediting his opponents. However, while doing so, it also emerged that conflict management in the 2013 elections largely depended on PC1 and PC2, whose campaigns PC3 acknowledged were dominated with the lexical item *peace*. The encoded concept *peace* was thus broadened to express the *ad hoc* concept PEACE* denoting not only PC3's quest for peace during the campaigns and after the elections but also the way PC1 and PC2 appealed to avert conflict and how these two also unknowingly persuaded voters to vote for PC3.

Incitement of voters by politicians was revisited by PC4 in (28):

(28) *Kila kiongozi, kila mKenya tuko na jukumu la kuwaambia waKenya tukae na amani sababu mkifanya incitement ni wanyonge wanawachiliwa wagongane.*

Every leader, every Kenyan, we have the responsibility of telling Kenyans to be **peaceful** because if you do incitement it is the poor that clash. (PC4)

In (28), "every leader" referred to the politicians vying for elective positions in Kenya. The referent "we" referred to the speaker, PC4, the politicians and all Kenyans. The reference "you" meant the politicians. The unarticulated content was enriched as "to be peaceful during the 2013 elections by not telling the poor to cause violence". On the importance of the encoded concept *peaceful* in (29), T1E stated:

(29) *Alisema kuwa msipokuwa na amani mtagongana wenyewe. Wanyonge wasiokuwa na lolote wanapigana kwa sababu ya pesa za kampeni.*

She said that if you will not be peaceful you will only be hurting yourselves. The poor people without anything fight because of the little campaign money. (T1E)

In (29), T1E argued that without peace people hurt themselves and the poor suffer most. In addition, T1E referred to handouts politicians dish so that they can manipulate people. This view is in concord with Idris *et. al.* (2013) assertion that politicians with the aim of maximizing their votes engage in parochial policies of incitement and ethnicity. In the analysis of the present study, this assertion was regarded as the contextual assumption that combined with the ostensive stimulus in (28). Njogu (2009) confirms that violence began between two ethnic groups and escalated to the others. The escalation was mainly retaliatory and it was engineered by politicians from respective ethnic groups. As a conflict management measure, Latto (2009) asserts that those who use violence in elections should not be rewarded by the electoral process. PC4's ostensive stimulus therefore, contradicted and eliminated these contextual assumptions in fulfilling the expectations that conflict will be managed. This yielded an interpretation in which the encoded concept *peaceful* was narrowed to express the *ad hoc* concept PEACEFUL* denoting that people should be peaceful during the 2013 elections to avoid violence.

The encoded concept *peace* was also employed in (30).

(30) *Nauliza kila county waKenya waamue tunataka amani ndivyo tuweze...
kujitafutia.*

I'm asking Kenyans ...every county to decide we want peace so...fend for ourselves.

(PC4)

In (34), "I" referred to PC4, while "every county" referred to the people from all counties of Kenya. The expression "to decide we want peace" was further enriched to specify that peace was required during the 2013 Kenyan elections. The reason for "fending for ourselves" in the subordinate clause needed a justification such as when people are fighting, we cannot work. Concerning what "peace" meant in (30), the response was (31):

(31) *Amani ni muhimu...inamaanisha kila mtu awe huru kufanya atakavyo.....*

Peace is important... It means a person should be free to do what they want....

(T4A)

According to PC4, peace was a precursor for people to work. When this ostensive stimulus was processed in the context of Kenyan elections, T4A argued that peace gave people freedom to do as they wanted. This freedom is encased in democratic societies on which elections serve as capstones (Sisk & Reynolds, 1998). When people are denied freedom through violence, they are also denied the freedom to choose their leaders and by extension freedom to do as they wish (Latto, 2009). By linking peace to freedom, PC4 promoted conflict management. According to Mendelziz (2007), the lexical item *peace* made a large share of news and that gave way to optimism and hope for peace. Sisk and Reynolds (1998) and Latto (2009) bring to the fore contextual assumptions used in the interpretation of (31). Therefore, by following a path of least effort in the mutual adjustment of content context and cognitive effect, the lexically encoded concept *peace* was broadened to express the *ad hoc* concept PEACE* denoting that peace gave people freedom to do as they wished as well as enabling them to engage in productive work.

4.2.2 Interpretation of Unity in the 2013 Elections in Tarakwa

The second lexical choice signifying conflict management in the present study was unity. The encoded concept *unity* was represented by words like *umoja* “unity”, *lete pamoja* “bring together” *timu moja* “one team”, *jamii moja* “one family” and *ungana* “unite” in the 2013 presidential campaign speeches. Discussions involving “unity” made reference to conflict exacerbation. Discussions on this section began with an interpretation of the concept *unity* in Tarakwa as in (32), (33) and (34).

(32) *Vyama vinaundwa kwa misingi ya kikabila...vyama vinagawanya watu*

Parties are formed on tribal basis So, parties divide people.... (T3E)

(33) *Tukiungana na tukae pamoja; si tulipigana?...haya makabila yanapiga na yanaishi pamoja, na mahali wanapigania sipakubwa*

If we unite and stay together; didn't we fight? These tribes fight yet live together and the place they are fighting for is not big. (T3D)

(34) *Nimefanya research na inaonekana kuwa watu kutoka kabila zote...wataungana.*

I have researched and it seems that people from different tribeswill unite.

(T4D)

The premises in (32) and (33) reveal that the concept *unity* is encased in political parties and tribalism. In (34), the premise is that people from different tribes will unite. The implicated conclusion is that unity is when people are not divided by tribalism along political party lines. This sub-section analyzed what the encoded concept *unity* meant in the presidential campaign speeches. Utterance (35) was analyzed.

(35) *...Tukasema, hata kama hakuna lolote tunaweza kufanya, waKenya ... na amani ...na umoja.*

And we said, even if we can do nothing, Kenyans...have peace and... **unity**. (PC1)

The pragmatic tasks involved in the interpretations of (35) included disambiguation, reference assignment and enrichment. The reference “we” referred to the speaker, who was PC1, and his running mate, Ruto. The clause “Even if there is nothing we can do” was enriched by adding “to prevent you from perpetrating atrocities”. The word “nothing” needed to be disambiguated to convey the sense that it was up to the people to decide. The concepts peace and unity were enriched to convey that they were required during elections. “Every corner” was also broadened to express the *ad hoc* concept EVERY CORNER* to loosely denote all parts of Kenya. Regarding the question of how the lexical item *unity* in (35) was interpreted, responses (36) and (37) were given:

(36) *...Siasa za ukabila zishe maana vurugu za 2007 zilikuwa ni za ukabila.*

Tribal politics to stop, because the 2007 violence you know was tribal war.

(T1A)

(37) *Tulipigana kati yetu kwa sababu ya ukabila. Hebu tuongee juu ya ukabila.*

We fought among ourselves because of tribalism. Let's talk about tribalism.

(T2A)

According to (36) and (37), the interpretation of the encoded concept *unity* entailed a contradiction of (32) and (33), which was what disunity contributed during the 2007/2008 PEV. Disunity was due to fighting among the different tribes of Kenya during the 2007 elections. This implicated that people themselves were responsible for their unity. As a conflict management strategy in elections, Latto (2009) advocates for inclusion, tolerance and co-existence of all tribes. This amounts to “free and fair” elections Höglund and Jarstad (2010) also advocate for. Therefore, by following a path of least effort in the mutual adjustment of content, context and cognitive effects the encoded concept *unity* was broadened to express the *ad hoc* concept UNITY* denoting the need for all Kenyans from all tribes to unite in order to avert violence during the 2013 elections.

Tribe as the primary determinant of unity in Kenya was highlighted in (38):

(38) *Tumeamua wenzangu ya kwamba sisi tutafanya siasa ya **kuweka waKenya pamoja?***

Have we decided that we will engage in politics of **uniting Kenyans?** (PC1)

In (38), “we” referred to PC1 and his running mate. The lexical item “politics” was disambiguated to take the sense “campaign”. The phrase “putting Kenyans together” was to be clarified by adding another phrase such as “and not dividing them along tribal lines. As evident in the ostensive stimulus (38), conflict management in elections was encased in uniting Kenyans. The responses to “what *unity* meant in (38)” entailed processing (38) in the context of (39) and (40).

(39) *Ukabila haukuwepo 2013... watu walielewa kuwa... tulinyanyaswa na viongozi.*

Tribalism was not there (in 2013) people understood...we had been oppressed by leaders. (T4D)

(40) *Vurugu ilisababishwa na wanasiasa. Wananchi ni wazuri lakini mambo yanasababishwa na viongozi. Mtu anajificha ndani ya kabila yake ili azue vurugu. Usipompigia kura, mtu mwingine anafurushwa.*

The earlier wars stemmed from politicians. The citizens are good, but issues are caused by leaders. Someone hides in his tribe to cause violence. That if you do not vote for this person, the other tribes will be evicted. (T3A)

Response (39) is a contextual assumption stating that division along tribal lines was minimal. In (40), people had discovered that leaders were behind the division that spurred conflict in previous elections. This means that (39) weakened (40), contradicted it and eliminated it to arrive at the implicated conclusion that tribalism was minimized on realization by people that conflict was caused by politician who divided them along tribal lines. This finding is supported by Idris *et. al.* (2013) who add that such politicians engaged in parochial politics of incitement and ethnicity. Similar findings in Ndaluka (2012) indicate that unity in Tanzania is encased in *ujamaa* “coexistence” and *ndugu* “comrade”. However, as in the present study, disunity is eminent between the Christians and Muslims, for example, Christians express their dislike towards Muslims in an elliptical sentence like “Christians don’t like...” where the object is “Muslims” while the Muslims refer to the Christians as *Kaffir* (pagan) (Ndaluka, 2012, p. 60). Nevertheless, Ndaluka (2012) leaves a gap on the relevance of lexical items *ujamaa* and *ndugu* in conflict management between the religions. Therefore, by following a path of least effort in the mutual adjustment of content, context and cognitive effects the lexically encoded concept *uniting* was broadened to express the *ad hoc* concept UNITING* denoting inclusive politics.

Another way of promoting conflict management through uniting people was analyzed in (41):

(41) *Sisi kama Amani tuendeshe Kenya tuwalete pamoja.*

We as Amani we will lead Kenya and **bring you together.** (PC3)

In utterance (46), the reference “we” referred to PC3, his running mate and party members, while “you” referred to Kenyans whom PC3 anticipated to lead once he won”. The enrichment of “we will lead Kenya” involved adding the phrase “once we are elected”. The interpretation of (41) depended on the context of the preceding discourse “If Jubilee is burning on this side, if CORD is burning on this side, I have cold water...” In regard to the question what “bring you together” meant, the responses were (42) and (43).

(42) *Wafuasi wa CORD na jubilee wakikutana...lazima kuwe na vurugu na matusi.*

When CORD and Jubilee supporters meet ...there must be ...violence and insults.

(T3G)

(43) *Alikuwa anaonyesha watu kuwa kama hawa wanavurugu, watu wawapuuzze na ... wampigie kura aongoze watu.*

He was showing people that if these were in conflict, people should ignore them together with their leadership and vote for him to lead the people. (T2G)

In (42), T3G activated contextual assumptions concerning the rivalry between the leading presidential candidates. In (43), T2G combined the old contextual assumptions with (42) to yield the contextual effects that PC3 declared himself the best candidate for presidency whose utmost task was to unite people. PC3 brought to the fore the inherent competition between two leading presidential candidates. Burnes (2011) argues that the presidential contest is usually a competition between two leading candidates. Like Omuzuwa and Ezejideaku (2008), PC3 regarded most of PC1’s and PC2’s discourse as abusive utterances that can fuel conflict. According to Idris *et. al.* (2013), conflict management was enhanced through political alliances that did not reflect the same set of historical ethnic rivalries. However, this finding does not hold across parties as portrayed by PC3. According to PC3, the rivalry between PC1 and PC2,

which portrayed disunity between the ethnic sets across the parties, undermined conflict management in elections. Therefore, the lexically encoded concept in the collocation *tuwalete pamoja* “we bring them together” was likely to achieve optimal relevance at that particular point in discourse and it was broadened to express the *ad hoc* concept WE BRING THEM TOGETHER* denoting that Amani National Coalition party had bestowed themselves the role of uniting Kenyans.

Another lexical choice reflecting unity in the presidential campaign speeches was “one community” in (44):

(44) *Jambo la umoja ndio tuwe jamii moja ni la muhimu sana.*

The question of unity so that we can be **one family** is very important. (PC4)

In (44), “we” referred to PC4 and the addressee whom she enjoined in the united community she desired to have. Unity was a building block for one family. In response to the question “what one community meant”, (45) and (46) were given:

(45) *Alitaka tucooperate...tusiangalie watu kwa misingi ya kikabila.*

She wanted us to cooperate... you do not see people on tribal basis. (T1F)

(46) *Umoja unafanya watu wawe jamii moja.*

Unity makes people to become members of the same family. (T4E)

The interpretation of “one community” invoked the contextual assumptions in (46) and (47). These were if all tribes united, there would be cooperation, and unity of tribes was comparable to a family. The implicated conclusion was that cooperation and unity of tribes fostered conflict management. Ayelazuno (2009) observes that discrimination of the minority in the 2008 Ghanaian elections is a dynamic that can lead to political exclusion, and this is a potential cause of conflict. The present study weakened this view in the ostensive stimulus (45), contradicted it and abandoned it to arrive at an implicated conclusion that unity of tribes was the same as that of a family. Therefore, the concept encoded by *one family* was broadened to express the

ad hoc concept ONE FAMILY* denoting going beyond tribal unity to encompass the element of brotherhood and sisterhood. In other words, unity was a precursor for being one family. However, according to PC4, there were impediments to unity as illustrated in (47).

(47) ...*Umoja gani kama ng'ombe yule mtu anaona ako kwa jirani hajarudishwa?*

...What unity if the cattle a person sees at his neighbours' has not been returned?

(PC4)

The term “cattle” and “neighbour” were disambiguated to acquire the broader senses of items that were stolen and perpetrators of atrocities in the 2007/2008 PEV respectively as (48) and (49) denote. The phrase “has not been returned” was enriched by adding the phrase “to the owners who were evicted and have now returned to their homes”. The responses to the question what the significance of “cattle” was in regards to “unity” were (48) and (49).

(48) *Ni mali iliyoibwa.....na haijarudishwa.*

It is property which was stolen... but has not been returned. (T2G)

(49) *Ukiwa jirani mwema unawezanipa ng'ombe maana uliona nilivyoadhirika.*

If you are a good neighbour, you can give me cattle ... I was afflicted. (T3B)

Responses (48) and (49) portrayed that unity entailed good neighbourliness and indemnity. In the rhetorical question PC4 posed, T2G elicited the premises foregrounding indemnity as return of stolen property, while T3B implied that those whose property were looted had not been indemnified and there was need for people of good will to give those afflicted alms. Otherwise, unity was elusive as people from other places remained “visitors”, “outsiders” or “thieves” as Yieke (2008) and Hirsch (2009) observe. The implicated conclusion was that unity amounted to indemnity which paved way to good neighbourliness. This also implicated that unity would come conditionally. Thus, PC4 tasked herself the responsibility of educating Kenyans to coexist by embracing unity which is a very important denominator for conflict management. She made this assumption stronger in the contextual discourse where she promised to make a

government that united all Kenyans. It was, therefore, a relatively straight forward case, by following a path of least effort in the mutual adjustment of content, context and cognitive effects, to arrive at an interpretation on which *unity* was broadened to express the *ad hoc* concepts UNITY*. This denoted indemnifying the PEV victims their stolen property.

In PC4's terms, unity without returning the stolen property was impossible. Putting an end to tribalism during elections seemed to define unity. However, when asked if tribalism will end the responses were (50) and (51):

(50) *Sidhani ukabila utaisha. Nikienda Nyamira... kuwania sitapata hata kura moja.*

I don't think tribalism will end. If I go to Nyamira and vie I won't get even ten votes.

(T3G)

(51) *Kila mmojaanahisi kuwa ukabila hautaisha.....hapa kwetu na sio kwingine.*

Each person... feels that tribalism will not end...in our place and not outside.

(T3B)

With an example, (50) argues that tribalism cannot be dispensed with. As an individual undertaking, (51) quipped that tribalism cannot end in Tarakwa. In the analysis of the lexically encoded concept *unity* in this sub-section, unity of tribes was the main determinant. However, the implicated conclusion from (50) and (51) was that tribalism was deeply entrenched in Kenya's politics. What emerged, therefore, was that the residents of Tarakwa forged what Lynch (2014) terms "cosmetic" unity for the sake of peace. According to Idris *et. al.* (2013), one factor that contributed to conflict management was that no one wanted to be seen as the person who did not want peace. This fits into a description of negative peace characterized by absence of violence, pessimism and the said peace not being by peaceful means (Galtung, 1967).

4.3 Relevance of Speech Acts in Conflict Management in Tarakwa

This section addressed the second objective of the study which was to investigate the relevance of speech act choices of the 2013 presidential campaign speeches in conflict management. The presidential candidates' utterances regarding conflict management were taken as acts of ostensive stimulus aimed at attracting the hearers' attention. The type of illocutionary forces identified in some discussions depended on how the utterances were interpreted as relevant. The analysis began with a preliminary decoding phase of the sentence mood including declarative, imperative and interrogative which correspond to Sperber and Wilson (1995) speech acts of *saying*, *telling* and *asking* respectively. This was followed by finding a set of assumptions which were consistent with the principle of relevance. The acts recognized were integrated into Searle's five categories of Speech which are representatives, directives, commissives, expressives and declaratives (Levinson, 1983).

4.3.1 Relevance of Directive Acts in Conflict Management in Tarakwa

Directives are attempts by the speaker to get the addressee to do something and examples include commanding, requesting, condemning, warning, urging, questioning and disagreeing (Levinson, 1983). These illocutionary acts are traditionally associated with the imperative (Lenci, 1994). However, as Lenci (1994) reveals, there are cases where the sentences can be used to communicate illocutions which are radically different from the ones that sentence type semantically encodes. This discrepancy applied in (52):

(52) *Inasemwa ya kwamba Kenya hii yetu kutakuwa taabu uchaguzi ukija. Mnaamini hivyo nyinyi? Mimi nataka niseme hivi, wale ambao wanataka taabu, hiyo ni yao.*

It is said that there will be trouble in Kenya when elections come. Do you believe that?

I want to say this, those who want trouble it is up to them. (PC1)

Example (52) encoded the declarative "It is said...", "I want to say this ...", and the interrogative mood "do you..." which correspond to the speech acts of saying and asking

respectively. The propositional forms of the declaratives were integrated into the descriptions “PC1 said that, it is said there will be trouble in this Kenya when elections come”, “PC1 said that he wanted to say that those who want trouble it is up to them”. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995) these descriptions are relevant if they provide the speaker with evidence. In the present study, the evidence can be “PC1 believes that someone is saying there will be trouble in Kenya when elections come” which could lead to an assertion that “there would be trouble”. The interrogative represented the thought that the hearer did not believe the propositional content of the utterance if it had to be regarded as relevant if true. According to Lenci (1994), the decoding of the semantic content and the mood of the sentence gives the hearer a set of assumptions that are contextualized. In the present study, these assumptions were solicited from the question what PC1 meant by (52) and for whose benefit was the utterance in (53) and (54).

(53) *Ni kama hawa ni viongozi wenzake... Anajaribu kukana kuwa alisikia matamshi yao. Kwa hivyo anachukua tahadhari.*

It is as if they are his fellow leaders... He is trying to refute that he had heard their utterances. So, he was only taking precaution. (T2F)

(54) *Hiyo ni kuchukua tahadhari ili watu wajue vile ilivyo kuwa mbeleni, na wakati uchaguzi utakuja, pengine kutakuwa vurugu.*

That was like taking precaution for people to know how it was once, and when elections come, may be there will be violence. (T4D)

Response (53) brings out the contextual assumptions that fellow leaders had said there will be violence in Kenya when elections come but he is not admitting it. Response (54) also brought out the contextual assumption about 2007/2008 PEV where PC1 told people to take precautions in case there was another conflict. The contextual assumptions as stated by (53) and (54) expressed a belief in what PC1 had said. This was marked by “he said” which referred to the

propositional contents of the declarative and the interrogative. Such interpretations, according to Sperber and Wilson (1995), can be entertained as a description of actual or desired states of affairs. Identifying the set of assumptions defines different illocutionary acts (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). In the present study, this led to the identification of warning acts asserted by T2F and T4D. In (53), T2F asserted that PC1 was dissociating with other leaders' utterances on the possibility of violence eruption as a way of cautioning people against it. In (54), T4D argued that PC1 was cautioning people against the negative consequences of election-related conflict in case there could be a repeat.

The findings are supported by Akinwotu (2013) where Chief Awololo, a Nigerian presidential candidate, warned against indiscipline and urged his listeners to avoid acts that would lead to termination of the civilian administration. In the same token, PC1 warned people not to be misled by leaders who anticipated violence in the 2013 elections. This was confirmed by the accompanying rhetorical question "Do you believe that?" which solicited the answer "No" which dissociated from the preceding declarative. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), rhetorical questions are reminders, designed to prompt the retrieval of information the speaker regards as relevant to the hearer. Thus, the phrase "up to them" in the declarative "...those who want trouble it is up to them" carried with it the illocutionary force of disagreeing with the errant leaders as well as condemning them. Based on the responses, utterance (53) was true and therefore relevant for the people of Tarakwa in conflict management in the 2013 elections.

The persuasive illocutionary act was analyzed in (55):

(55) *Kura ndiyo itakayoamua. Kura itafanya nini?*

The vote is the one that will determine. What will the vote do? (PC1)

Example (55) encoded the declarative "The vote is...", and the interrogative mood "What will..." which correspond to the speech acts of saying and asking respectively. The propositional form in (55) can be integrated into the description "PC1 said the vote is the one

that will determine the winner”. The relevance of this utterance provided the hearer with evidence such as “PC1 believes that the vote is the one that will determine the winner” and if the hearer trusts the speaker enough it will also provide evidence for “The vote will determine...” When asked if (55) was relevant in conflict management in 2013 presidential campaign speeches, T3G adduced the evidence in (56):

(56) *Ni kweli kwa sababu wananchi wakipiga kura, mshindi atapatikana. Kwa hivyo kura za wananchi ndizo zitaamua mshindi.*

It is true because when citizens vote the winner will be found because of the votes, hence, the votes of the citizens are the ones to decide who wins and rules. (T3G)

The correlation between determining and winning emerged from the preceding discourse “there is no need for war”. In (53) and (54), this was a contextual assumption and it elicited additional contextual assumptions which march Idris, *et. al* (2013) assertion that Kenyan elections had been marred by conflict. Thus, the propositional form in (56) was an interpretation of a desired state of affairs in which a winner is declared on the basis of 50% plus one vote. The contextual assumptions backgrounding (56) was important in defining the persuasive illocutionary force. Sharndama and Mgbemena (2015) points to a similar finding in Nigerian elections where presidential candidates, Jonathan Goodluck and Mohammed Buhari used illocutionary forces urging or persuading people to take certain courses of actions. Emphasis on the vote determining the winner was reiterated in the Wh-interrogative “What will the vote do?” According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), Wh-questions have a logical form but not a full propositional form and communicates that there is some completion of the thought interpreted by *P* into a fully propositional thought which would be relevant if true. Example (56) was a rhetorical question which according to Sperber and Wilson (1995) is a reminder designed to prompt the retrieval of information the speaker regards as relevant to the hearer.

In the contextual discourse, the reiteration of the declarative “the vote will decide” was such a reminder. In Sharndama and Mgbemena (2015), however, the presidential aspirants employ interrogatives to perform declarative acts with the same force in order to gain an edge over their opponents. T3G also confirmed that the assertion in (55) was true and according to Sperber and Wilson (1995), if an utterance is true it is also relevant. This being the case, the declarative and rhetorical question in (55) were indirect speech acts. These had the force of urging people that a candidate is bolstered to power through the number of votes he or she garnered but not through military prowess. This had important implication for conflict management.

Use of interrogatives to warn or caution people against being incited is evident in (67).

(57) *Lakini ni nani alifurushwa?... Ni wanyonge. Hata walipofurushwa, kuna matajiri kutoka hizi jamii ambao wana nini? Shamba. Ni kama... watu wakiambiwa wafanye ualifu, wanatetemeshwa na utajiri.*

But who was evicted?... It is the helpless. Even where they were evicted, there are still rich people from these communities who have what? Land.... it is as if when people are told to cause destruction, they are shaken by wealth. (PC4)

As in (55), there was a semantic decoding involving the recognition of the interrogative and declarative mood in (57). The interrogatives were rhetorical questions, and as Sperber and Wilson (1995) point out, rhetorical questions are reminders designed to prompt retrieval of information the speaker regards as relevant to the hearer. In (57), PC4 provided the answers to the interrogatives in the adjacent declaratives. These declaratives elucidated the belief that “PC4 believed that the poor were evicted”, “PC4 believed that the rich people from these communities still have land” and “PC4 believes that the poor people are shaken by wealth when they are told to cause destruction”. All these had propositional attitudes of beliefs describing the actual state of affairs. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), an actual state of affairs is

a description. In the present study, responses (58) and (59) provided the contextual assumptions that provided the evidence for (57) and consequently defined the illocutionary acts.

(58) *...matajiri na mashamba makubwa hawakufurushwa. Ilikuwa ya manufaa kwetu.*

Because the rich with big land were not evicted. It was for our benefit. (T1F)

(59) *Alikuwa anajaribu kuwaonya wanyonge wasitumike na viongozi. Anamulika viongozi wanaokampeni wasijiushe na lolote linalowalenga masikini.*

She was trying to warn the weak not to be used by the leaders. She is focusing on the leaders who are campaigning not to involve anything that can target the poor. (T2J)

In (58), the land issues formed a contextual assumption that combined with (57). This assumption is confirmed by Idris *et. al.* (2013) who assert that electoral violence in Tarakwa is rooted in historical patterns of land alienation, migration and natural resource ownership. In (59), an assumption that the poor are used by the rich to perpetrate conflict augers well with Idris *et. al.* (2013) view that lack of economic opportunity drives the youth to electoral violence. PC4 also confirms this notion through the interrogative in (57) with the Wh-question where *P* is an incomplete propositional form and the speaker communicates that there is some completion of the thought represented by *P* that would be relevant if true, namely desirable to the hearer (Wilson & Sperber, 2002). For the completion, PC4 provided the answer “the helpless” which was desirable to the poor as evident in (58) and (59). In addition, the role land played in violence was brought out in the rhetorical question “there are still rich people who have what?” whose answer PC4 retrieved as “land”. Through outlining these assumptions (68) recognized the illocutionary act of warning as being PC4’s communicative intent. The warning illocutionary act and their role in conflict management in the 2013 elections were confirmed in (60) and (61).

(60) *Masikini hawana haki maana viongozi wananga'nga'nia mamlaka. Wananchi hawawezi kuwafikia na kuharibu mali yao.*

The poor have no right because the leaders are in competition struggling for power.

The Citizens will not reach them and destroy their wealth.

(T3G)

(61) *Tajiri na mali yake ataingia ndege na mali yake aende, lakini mimi, masikini, siwezi.*

Kwa hivyo, masikini anatemeshwa na mali ya tajiri.

The rich person will take a flight with his property and flee, while me, a poor person,

will not. Therefore, he (the poor) is shaken by his (the rich person's) wealth. (T1D)

The evidence presented in (60) and (61) confirmed the warning acts in (57) which is emphasized in the declarative sentences answering the interrogatives. The wide array of implicatures in (60) and (61) match Mendelziz (2007) answers to the question "How can peace be secured?" which include "Being ready to withdraw in return for peace", "Land for peace" and "There is need to learn to live together". These answers, Mendelziz (2007) argues, are in disregard to the pertinent questions regarding the aggressors and how to stop them; the problem and how to solve it and bringing together differing entities. In the present study, however, PC4 warned the voters not to be used by the rich who have land and wealth to perpetrate violence.

The issue of the rich politicians inciting the poor by giving handouts was reiterated in (62). As conflict management strategy in the 2013 elections, PC4 told voters not to receive such handouts.

(62) *Tukitegemea ile inayoletwa wakati wa uchaguzi, tutakula siku moja au mbili, na*

miaka tano... utateseka kwa sababu haukuli pesa za kampeni.

If we depend on the one that is brought during elections, we will eat it in one or two

days, and five years... you will suffer because you do not eat the campaign money.

(PC4)

PC4 used an utterance consisting of "if" conjunction in the subordinate clause. According to Wilson and Sperber (2002), a conditional statement "if P, then Q" has a number of derivable

consequences including that the consequent Q will be true when the antecedent P is satisfied, that P and Q will be true together, and that P and not Q will not be true together. These set of conditions were revealed in the contextual assumptions in (63), (64) and (65).

(63) *Kiongozi anakuja anasema anataka kura na anatupea kitu kidogo...lakini akingia hajui ni nini unakula. Yao ni ya siku chache na yetu tunatafuta kwa muda mrefu.*

A leader comes saying he wants votes and gives us something small.... but during his term he doesn't know what you are eating. Theirs is only for few days and ours we look for it for a long time, she said we use our sweat. (T4E)

(64) *Tunafanya kazi nyingi lakini hizo siku chache wanakampeni, tunapewa shilingi hamsini au mia moja...hawawezi kuonekana tena.*

We do a lot of work but those few days they campaign we are given may be fifty or hundred shillings.... they cannot be seen. (T2A)

(65) *Alikuwa anajaribu kuwaonya wanyonge wasitumike na viongozi maana wananchi ndio wanateseka.*

She was trying to warn the weak not to be used by the leaders because the citizens are the ones who suffer. (T2C)

The set of assumptions in (63) and (64) revealed that voters were given handouts by politicians to perpetrate violence. The contextual assumption that citizens suffer in the event of conflict in (65) led to an illocutionary act of warning citizens against politicians who misuse them. The propositional form in (62) was "PC4 said that if we depend on the one that is brought during elections, we will eat it in one or two days...." This created the expectation that the antecedent "if we depend..." and the consequent "we will eat it in two days" would both be true. In turn, (62) was integrated in the description leading to the actual state of affairs "the voters are bribed to perpetrate violence" which was evidence that PC4 believed that voters were bribed and therefore relevant as (63), (64) and (65) indicated. The significance of (62) in conflict management was derived from the preceding discourse "Therefore, I am asking... Kenyans to

decide. We want peace so that we can, each person, fend for himself'. Hence, the illocutionary forces in PC4's utterances were urging or persuading in (63) and (64) and warning or rebuking voters in (65) to dissociate with leaders who bribe them as in the process, such leaders use their positions to perpetrate atrocities.

4.3.2 Relevance of Expressive Acts in Conflict Management in Tarakwa

Expressive acts reveal the psychological state of speakers about the state of affairs which the illocution presupposes. Expressive acts often communicate a speaker's intention in relation to the situation. According to Levinson (1983) and Saeed (2003), expressive acts include thanking, apologizing, welcoming and congratulating. The expressive act of apologizing was reflected in (66).

(66) I would like to see what happened we have finished, forgotten and gone ahead. Let us forgive one another as Kenyans. (PC2)

The identification of (66) as a semantic representation of the declarative mood in the utterance correlated to the speech act of saying and it communicated the speaker's intention. The speech act communicated a current state of affairs that something happened which if settled would set people free for other exploits. The reference of "what happened" in section 4.2 was past election-related conflict which was distasteful to PC2. In the present analysis, past election-related conflict was accessed frequently as a contextual assumption that combined with various ostensive stimuli conveying conflict management in the 2013 elections. Wilson (2007) points out that frequency of use of an assumption is one of the factors that affect the processing effort required for utterance comprehension. Therefore, arriving at implicated conclusions on how the presidential candidates' utterances were used in conflict management required the contextual assumptions associated with election-related conflict to be weakened, contradicted and eliminated.

The utterance, “Let us forgive...” in (66) derived assumptions from the strife between PC2 and PC1’s running mate after the latter was prosecuted at The Hague for crimes against humanity following the 2007/2008 PEV. The propositional form of (66) embedded PC2’s belief that if leaders forgave and forgot what happened, they will be united. This belief was reiterated in the answer to the question if (66) was relevant in conflict management in (67):

(67) Watu wansema mwenye alifix PC1 na wengine ni PC2

People were saying the one who fixed PC1’ and the rest was PC2. (T1C)

There was an apparent enmity between PC2 and PC1’s running mate stemming from the latter’s belief that the former played a role in the latter’s prosecution at The Hague. This enmity was aggravated by the fact that PC1’s running mate support for PC2 in his presidential bid in a previous election, which led to a disputed election result and consequently PEV, led to his prosecution. Aware of this belief, PC2 expressed regrets and sought forgiveness. This finding is in tandem with Ayelazuno (2007) contention that Nana Akufo-Addo sought forgiveness from anybody he might have wronged during the heat of campaigns in Ghana’s 2008 elections which ended peacefully. Seeking forgiveness amounts to being convicted psychologically of a wrong doing which leads to a verbal expression of asking for forgiveness. In the present study, apologizing was an expressive act that sought to forge unity between PC1’s and PC2’s parties. As established in section 4.2 forging unity of tribes was an important way of managing conflict in the 2013 elections. This was plausible because PC2’s and PC1’s alliances were rivals. This follows from the ethno-political nature of Kenya’s politics (Lynch, 2012).

The same illocutionary force was expressed in (68):

(68) If I have offended any person, I am a human being, I ask for forgiveness because we were in one team. (PC2)

From the ostensive stimulus in (68), it emerged that the enmity between PC2 and PC1’s running mate was profound and PC2 sought forgiveness. Apparently, the conditional clause sets the condition that the consequent Q will be true when the antecedent P is satisfied and vice versa

(Wilson & Sperber, 2004). If *P*, then *Q* achieves relevance by making it possible to derive the consequent *Q* in cases where the antecedent *P* is satisfied (Wilson & Sperber, 2004). The clause with “if” is a description of a potential and desirable state of affairs (Sperber & Wilson, 2002). In (68), the desirable state was forgiveness if PC2 had offended PC1. Unlike (66), (68) lacked conviction because both the antecedent and consequent could also not be true, and therefore being irrelevant in conflict management. In addition, although PC2 accepted liability of the offence implicitly, the onus was on the referent of “any person” to assert if he had been offended. “Any person” was PC1’s running mate in (68) and there is no evidence that PC1 was forgiven. What emerged, therefore, was a tacit expression of regret with no guarantee of forgiveness.

The build-up of tension between PC2 and PC1’s running mate fits into Guerin (2010) description of how conflict arises. According to Guerin (2010), conflict may start out subtle if the relation involves resources for liking or status but escalate and involve verbal threats. These developments can be pointed out between PC2 and PC1’s running mate when the latter supported the former in the presidential bid until their fall out in the 2013 election run-up. As was pointed out in section 4.2, political altercations among presidential candidates, watered down conflict management efforts. This is also true of the relationship between PC2 and PC1’s running mate which the former sought to amend in the saying speech acts with the illocutionary force of seeking forgiveness. The futuristic intention with a desire to be forgiven in (68) had the illocutionary force associated with imperatives and was thus an indirect speech act.

4.3.3 Relevance of Commissive Acts in Conflict Management in Tarakwa

Commissive acts supply information regarding a speaker’s intention to carry out a future action. They include promising, pledging, offering, vowing and swearing (Levinson, 1983). The analysis of commissives in the present study was hinged on the communicative intentions

manifested in the presidential campaign speech utterances regarding conflict management. The analysis of (69) in regard to its relevance in conflict management solicited responses (69).

(69) *Yangu ni kuwaahidi kitu kimoja. Haijalishi matokeo yatakavyotokea, lazima tuwe na amani, lazima tuungane...hata baada ya uchaguzi...tufanye kazi pamoja.*

Mine is to promise you one thing. Whatever the outcome we must be peaceful, we must be united... even after the election, we must work together. (PC1)

The utterances in example (69) encoded declarative mood. Although in the framework suggested by Sperber and Wilson (1995) declaratives represent a description of an actual state of affairs, the propositional form in (69) represented a potential and desirable state of affairs that is relevant. Such state is associated with the imperative mood. The declaratives in (69) were PC1's resolve to uphold peace whether he wins or loses in the election as well as a commitment to remain united after the election. The use of the collective noun "we", which includes the hearers in the actions named by the verbs, made the resolve desirable for both PC1 and the audience. The propositional attitude in the declaratives embedded a desire to uphold peace after elections regardless of the outcome which is typical of imperatives. The obligatory modal auxiliary "must" gave the declarative the linguistic mood of imperative and signaled the futurity of the action promised by the verb which is a property of commissives. In this case, the sentences performed the telling speech act associated with imperatives. Such indirectness results in more processing effort being incurred. Nevertheless, (T1C) and (T2G) derived implications (70) and (71) respectively.

(70) *Anajaribu kutafuta amani...anasema anataka viongozi waungane. Alikuwa na lengo...la kuwaleta watu karibu na yeye...*

He is trying to look for peace. You see he is saying we want leaders to unite. He had an objective... to bring people near him.... (T1C)

(71) *Ni kukubali kushindwa bila kulaumu yeyote. Kutoshoka.*

This is to accept defeat without blaming one another. Being satisfied. (T2G)

The illocutionary force assigned to the utterance was promising evident from “Mine is to promise you one thing” which was followed by the promises PC1 gave. Responses (70) and (71) were contradictions and eliminations of potential causes of election-related conflict. In (70), trying to unite leaders was an important way of containing conflict. In section 4.2, division of leaders and the electorate was along tribal lines and their party affiliations. As a way of managing conflict, there was need to unite and concede defeat. In (71), the implicated conclusion was that if presidential candidates would accept defeat and be satisfied with the election results, conflict would be managed. Conceding defeat as a way of fostering peace has been highlighted by Ayelazuno (2009) where Nana Akufo-Addo accepted the Supreme Court’s verdict against his presidential victory appeal. Thus, in the present study, the promise to accept election results and uniting leaders were strongly implicated as ways of managing conflict in the 2013 presidential elections by the people of Tarakwa.

Promising as well as vowing illocutionary acts were noted in (72).

(72) If there are any anomalies, we will pass through the legal channel. We will go to the courts and we are urging all our supports to be peaceful ... we are winning the elections. (PC2)

In (72), there was a commitment to uphold peace regardless of the outcome of the elections. This commitment in the modal auxiliaries “will” as well as the infinitive “go to” captured a pre-emptive futurity of PC2’s intentions to avert conflict through addressing grievances in court. When asked what (72) meant, T3B and T4D derived the implications in (73) and (74).

(73) *Hii ni kuhakikishia wafuasi kuwa hatutatumia silaha yoyote lakini tutafuata sheria...*

This is to assure the supporters that we won’t use any weapon but the legal... (T3B)

(74) *PC2 aliogopa marudio ya vurugu ya 2007. Ndio maana aliwahakikishia wafuasi wake kuwa ataenda kortini na hatafunga barabara ama kuchoma magari.*

PC2 feared a repeat of the 2007 violence. That is why he assured his supporters that he will go to courts and not close roads or burn vehicles. (T4D)

T3B and T4D are contextual assumptions derived from 2007/2008 PEV on presidential candidates' supporter's roles on violence and the cause respectively. Consequently, T3B and T4D derive the implicated conclusions that to avoid election-related conflict, they will go to court if they are not contended with the presidential results. This reaction is the inverse of politicians' insults and abuses Indede (2008) establishes preceded 2007/2008 PEV. However, in example (72), the futuristic intentions in the propositional form of the sentence embedded a propositional attitude of a desire to avert conflict through seeking court redress. Idris *et. al.* (2013) confirms this by adding that when PC2 felt the elections had been rigged, he did not use expressions "mass action". He told his supporters "I do not want you to protest", "I do not want violence" and "I want to go to court". Thus, the performative verb "fear" in (74) had the force of dissociating with the unfavourable acts encapsulated in 2007/2008 PEV, while "assure" in (73) had the force of PC'2 readiness to engage in activities that will not disrupt peace. The futurity of the actions stated in the performative verb had the illocutionary forces of promising and vowing.

Noting that conflict was entrenched in rivalry between the leading presidential aspirants (PC1 and PC2), PC3 vowed to extinguish the animosity between them, and instead lead Kenya.

(75) *Kama Jubilee inachomeka upande huu, kama CORD... upande huu, nina maji baridi nitamwagilia Jubilee, ...CORD wapoe. Halafu sisi ...tuendeshe Kenya tuwalete pamoja.*

If Jubilee is burning on this side, if CORD... on this side, I have cold water I will pour on Jubilee, I... CORD to calm. Then, we drive and bring you together. (PC3)

In (75), the future intentions were captured in the modal auxiliary “will”. The responses to the question what (75) meant and if it was relevant in conflict management to the people of Tarakwa were (76) and (77).

(76) *Wakiendelea kubishana na maneno makali ananjia ya kuwapoesha. Anajua vile ataongea nao wapoe.*

If they continue arguing with thrashing words, he has a way of calming them. He knows how to talk with them to calm. (T3C)

(77) *Maji inamaanisha maneno matamu. Ataacha PC1 na PC2 stranded asonge mbele.*

Water means good words. He will leave PC1 and PC2 stranded ... move ahead. (T3B)

In (76), PC3 noted that there was verbal altercation between PC1 and PC2. In (77), PC3 asserted that he had the ability to pacify the two as manifested in his intention of pacifying PC1 and PC2 which is implicated in “pour cold water on...” This paved way to the identification of the illocutionary force of vowing. Given that PC3’s intention was to pacify PC1 and PC2, (75) was relevant to the people of Tarakwa in conflict management. In the analysis of the acceptance speeches of Chief Abiola and Chief Obafemi in the Nigeria’s elections, Akinwotu (2013) establishes the illocutionary force of vowing to do something that will change the future. In the light of the present study, change was in so far as the pacifying of PC1 and PC2 contributed to conflict management. The contention that the presidential race is stiff between two presidential candidates has been advanced by Burnes (2011). In Kenya’s presidential campaigns, this competition was evident in PC1 and PC2 with occasional altercation between them as Michira (2013) argues. Thus, PC3’s assertion to pacify the two followed from this assertion.

4.3.4 Relevance of Declarative Acts in Conflict Management in Tarakwa

Declaratives offer immediate changes in the institutional state of affairs which tend to rely on elaborate extra-linguistic institutions and examples include excommunicating, declaring war, christening, firing from employment, endorsing, nominating, resigning, accepting and

appointing (Levinson, 1983). The declaratives that were analyzed in this sub-section focused on the presidential candidates' pronouncements relating to abating conflict. In view of this, example (78) was considered.

(78) *Ni mtu mmoja atakalia kiti kwa wakati mmoja.*

It is one person who will sit in the seat at a time. (PC1)

In the propositional form of (78), "one person" meant the president and "seat" meant presidency. The propositional form was integrated into the description "PC1 said that one person will sit in the seat at a time" which provided the hearers with evidence for the propositional attitude "the speaker believes that one person will sit in the seat at a time." This provided further evidence for "one person will sit in the seat at a time" as response (79) indicated.

(79) *Hiyo kitu inaitwa president ndio inaleta shida kwa sababu kama jina president haikuwepo, hakungekuwa na vurugu. Kungekuwa na MPs, ingekuwa tofauti....*

That thing called president is the one causing problems... if the name president were not there, there wouldn't be violence. If there were only MPs, it would be different.

(T3E)

Response (79) was a set of contextual assumptions that strengthened the preceding discourse "Kenyans want to make sure that what happened, does not happen again...." These set of contextual assumption combined with the ostensive stimulus in (78) to give it the illocutionary force of endorsing one presidential candidate. The question of conflict management in regard to presidential elections requires a power sharing arrangement where all the ethnic constituents are considered. In the present study, the question "to whom was (78) relevant" made speculations such as the candidate was endorsing himself for the position or declaring himself the president. Thus, the utterance was relevant to PC1 in his campaign for presidency with the question of conflict management raised in the contextual assumptions left unanswered.

Examples (80) and (81) were declaring and accepting acts respectively:

(80) We want to finish this election without any incidents that will cause embarrassment.

(PC3)

(81) We said, if we are defeated we will concede defeat. I know we will not be defeated.

(PC2)

Examples (80) and (81) were declaratives falling into Sperber and Wilson (1995) category of *saying that*. While (80) indicated intention in “we want’ and (81) indicated that PC1 was reiterating his declaration in “we said”, in both cases there were desires for an election that will not be dogged with violence. Such desires were integrated in the descriptions “PC3” is saying that they want to finish the election...” and “PC2 is saying that if they are defeated they will concede defeat”. Although (80) and (81) were declaratives, it is evident that they expressed desire in the states of affairs named in the performative verbs “to finish” and “will concede” through the expressions “we want” and “we said” respectively. Nevertheless, the descriptions were relevant because they provided evidence for some contextual assumptions.

First, referent for “embarrassment” was made clearer in the contextual discourse “I am standing here saying that today ... the youth went to disrupt a political meeting...”. Thus, embarrassment referred to a case in which political campaigns were disrupted by rowdy youth, which was detrimental to peace in the forthcoming elections. For this reason, the apparent desire to dissociate with violence in elections, marked by “want to finish”, had the illocutionary force of declaring. Second, in (81), contesting presidential results was an assumption drawn from previous elections. As in (80) conceding defeat was the same as saying that the election result would be accepted which had the force of accepting or declaring to accept. The performatives in (79), (80) and (81) exhibited endorsing, declaring or accepting illocutionary forces discernable from the interaction between the form of the utterance, the hearers’ accessible assumptions and the principle of relevance.

Similar accepting and declaring acts observed in the present study were singled out in Akinwotu (2013) analysis of Chief Abiola and Chief Awololo of Nigeria acceptance speeches. According to Akinwotu (2013), the presidential candidates employed the declarative acts in their acceptance speeches to show that the candidates acknowledged their delegates' works as well as encouraged listeners to further support them in winning the elections. Unlike the present study, the declarative in Akinwotu (2013) had the force named by the performative verb in the matrix clause "I accept the mandate...as a call to service" and "I hereby reaffirm..." thereby confirming Levinson (1983) first clause of literal force hypothesis, that is, "explicit performatives have the force named by the performative verb in the matrix clause" (p. 263).

In the present study, the force was not named by the performative verb. Despite this, it could be discerned from its deep or underlying structure as Levinson (1983) adds. The realization that the utterances had the respective illocutionary forces was aligned to the fact that the forces could not be derived from the forces traditionally associated with the sentence types in the correlation between the declarative, imperative and interrogative, and the stating, ordering and questioning respectively. This revelation defied another literal force hypothesis clause. For this reason, the desires to dissociate with violence in elections accorded the utterances the forces associated with declaratives. In RT, such an inferential process is termed as indirect speech act.

4.3.5 Relevance of Representatives in Conflict Management in Tarakwa

Representatives or assertives commit the speaker to the truth of the expressed proposition. Examples include asserting, stating, suggesting, describing and informing (Levinson, 1983). The representatives that were analyzed in this sub-section focused on the presidential candidates' commitment to the truth of the propositional contents of the utterances they employed regarding conflict management.

- (82) *Tulisema hata kama hakuna lolote tutafanya, waKenya kila kona wana amani na umoja.*

We said even if we can do nothing, Kenyans from every corner have peace and unity.

(PC1)

(83) *Kila tulifanyalo ni kuhubiri amani. Tunaamini ...viongozi waje pamoja. Katiba mpya inasema kuwa tuhakikishe jamii zote zimeheshimiwa.*

Everything that we are preaching is peace. We believe...leaders should come together. The new constitution... says ... all communities are respected. (PC4)

The description signaled by “we said” indicated PC1 had already stated his belief in the propositional content of the utterances which meant (82) and (83) were attributed to other utterances. The beliefs reiterated the truth embedded in the attributed utterances. As Sperber and Wilson (1995) state, an utterance intended to achieve relevance by expressing the state of affairs is an ordinary assertion. In (82) and (83), PC1 painted the picture of a country that could not develop without peace. He saw peace being threatened by the impending elections as various contextual assumptions in this section revealed. Phrases like “have peace” and “we are preaching” had illocutionary force of claiming and describing respectively the commitment and steps taken by PC1 to propagate the peace agenda. Although presidential utterances on peace were attributed to conflict management as revealed in section 4.2, T1D and T3G pointed out (84) and (85) in response to the question what (82) and (83) meant.

(84) *Sasa watu walianza kusema wale walituchoea na hawakupoteza kitu. 2013 viongozi wakaanza kuhubiri amani na kufanya kampeni bila uchochezi.*

Now, people started saying, so those were inciting us and they lost nothing. In 2013 leaders started preaching peace...holding peaceful campaigns without incitements.

(T1D)

(85) *Vurugu ilisababishwa na watu kukasirika wenyewe...ilitokea wakati matokeo ya rais yalitangazwa. Mbeleni tulipokuwa tunafanya upatanishi watu hawakuwa na mwelekeo. Waliona kulikuwa na mambo mengine zaidi ya vurugu lakini tulipoendelea ...USAID*

kupitia Kanisa ya Catholic, Uasin Gishu, ikiongozwa na Bishop Korir. Amani ilikuja kwa sababu ya kuhubiri amani.

This violence... was brought about by people becoming angry ...it erupted when the presidential results were announced.... Initially, when we were doing reconciliation, people did not have a good direction. They were seeing that there must be something more than the violence but as we went on ...USAID came through the Catholic Church, Uasin Gishu led by Bishop Korir. Up to now peace came because of preaching peace.

(T3G)

In (84) and (85), it is evident that the presidential candidates' efforts of preaching peace were complemented by societal effort. The description of the state of affairs in T1D's and T3G's testimonies carried descriptive forces evident in performative acts such as "becoming", "reconciled" and "preaching".

In the present study, the relevance of a description is in providing evidence for PC1's utterance which also depends on whether the study participants trusted PC1's utterances to promote conflict management. Again, as stated before, two members of a group in T1 did not fully attribute PC1's claim on preaching peace to conflict management. Rather, they argued that the people of Tarakwa themselves and other societal organizations backed the efforts. This finding is supported by Idris *et. al.* (2013) and Chebii (2014).

Concerning tribalism, the representatives in (86) and (87) were analyzed.

(86) That is why I said that I want to see us not divided on tribal basis. Kenyans fought the other years and you know why. (PC2)

(87) This is a cage for the Kikuyu, this is a cage for the Akamba, for the Luo, for the Arabs. We are saying this has affected development in our country. We will break this. (PC2)

In (86), PC2 expressed his belief in the role of tribal division in conflict, while (87) described the state of affairs that was attributed to tribal division. In section 4.2, tribalism was cited as

one of the contributing factors of conflict in elections. Because (86) and (87) described the actual states of affairs, that is, the entrenchment of tribalism in the political scene, they are assertions. Semantically (86) and (87) encoded the declarative mood and as Wilson and Sperber (2002) claim, mood merely encodes a rather abstract property of intended interpretation: the direction in which the relevance of an utterance is to be sought. In the case of (86) and (87) the descriptions could be relevant if they provided the respondents with evidence in the belief PC2 ascribed to the utterance and if they trusted PC2's evidence that tribalism should not shape Kenya's politics. Therefore, in interpreting (86) and (87), a set of assumptions which according to Sperber and Wilson (1995) are consistent with the principle of relevance and which can be interpreted as representing the informative intention of the speaker, were activated as in section 4.2 repeated as (88) and (89).

(88) *...tuseme huyu ni...kabila hii...siasa za ukabila ziishe...vurugu za 2007 zilikuwa za kikabila.*

Let us say this one is...this tribe...tribal politics to stop... 2007 violence was tribal.
(T1A)

(89) *Tulipigana kati yetu kwa sababu ya ukabila....Mambo ya ukabila.*

We fought among ourselves because of tribalism... Tribalism issues. (T2A)

Assumptions (88) and (89) described the inherently tribal politics of Kenya, hence, confirming the illocutionary act of describing in PC1 utterances. It is also imperative to recall that some participants in section 4.2 asserted that tribalism had been deeply entrenched in politics and it was not about to end. Hence, the belief that conflict management was promoted by PC1 was weakly implicated. That is, T4D in (90) argued that Tarakwa people upheld peace on their own volition.

(90) *...tuliona amani ianzie kwako mwenyewe... Kukiwa na amani hata mwingine atakuwa nayo na ukimweleza maneno ya amani atakusikia...*

...we felt that peace should start with us. When there is peace, others will also have it, and if you tell others about peace, they will listen. (T4D)

The implicated conclusion in (90) is confirmed by Idris, *et. al.* (2013) that in the run up to 2013 elections, no one wanted to be seen as “the person who did not want peace”. This contrasts with Akinwotu (2013) findings where Chief Awololo of Nigeria performed the act of claiming his state of origin as a full-blooded Nigerian and stating his quest for nationhood.

4.4 Attitudes Expressed in Tarakwa towards Conflict Management Utterances

This section addressed the third objective of the study: to investigate the relevance of the attitudes expressed towards the presidential campaign speeches in conflict management by the people of Tarakwa. In section 4.2, it was revealed that although presidential campaign speeches were relevant in conflict management, there were instances these speeches were not relevant as candidates used them for self-campaign, for political altercation and advance celebration of victory. In section 4.3, five speech acts with different illocutionary forces were analyzed and it was also established that some speech acts were relevant in conflict management in the elections while others were not. Compliments with opposing views regarding the reactions of the FGD participants towards the state of affairs expressed by the candidates were noted. In this section, the duo pronged observations in 4.2 and 4.3 were developed as cases of either endorsing or dissociative attitudes. Since attitudes are attributive, it was important to relate these attitudes to the utterances they echoed (Sperber & Wilson, 1995).

4.4.1. Attitudes from Echoic Interpretations of Tribalism in Tarakwa

In section 4.2, the lexical pragmatics processes analyzed featured tribalism as one of the factors causing disunity and also established that presidential candidates dissuaded people from this kind of disunity. Using examples (91) to (95), this section analyzed attitudes derived from echoic interpretations of tribalism by the people of Tarakwa.

(91) *Hatutaki siasa ya kugawa wakenya katika misingi ya kikabila...kwa sababu tumejionea kile ukabila imetuletea ...Kenya.*

We do not want the politics of dividing Kenyans on tribal lines...because we have seen for ourselves what hatred has bought in...Kenya. (PC1)

(92) *Ukienda hospitalini, daktari anakuuliza kabila yako kabla hajakutibu. Tafadhali ndugu zangu tuache siasa za ukabila.*

When you go to the hospital, does the doctor ask you your tribe before treating you?
Please my fellows, let us stop tribal politics. (PC1)

(93) *Ndiyo maana nikasema...sitaki kuona kama tumegawanyika katika misingi ya kabila.WaKenya walipigana miaka ingine na mmnajua ni kwa nini.*

That is why I said I do not want to see us divided on tribal basis. Kenyans fought the other years and you know why. (PC2)

(94) We are saying we must break the tradition of dividing Kenyans. Kenyans have been put in tribal cages. This is a cage for the Kikuyu, this is a cage for the Akamba, for the Luo, for the Arabs. (PC2)

(95) Our tribe all of us is Kenya. Let us improve what we call Kenyanism so that we can fight with our three greatest enemies: diseases, ignorance, poverty and poor governance. (PC2)

The process of examining the attitudes expressed towards the presidential candidates' utterances regarding conflict management followed Sperber and Wilson (1995) three steps. These are the hearer recognizing the utterance as echoic, the hearer identifying the source of the opinion echoed and the hearer recognizing the speaker's attitude to the opinion echoed. For the present study, however, the onus was for the FGD participants to express their attitudes towards the attributed utterances of the presidential candidates. Thus, attitudes identified in the present study were classified as either endorsing or dissociative in sections 4.4.1.1 and 4.4.1.2.

4.4.1.1 Endorsing Attitudes Attributed to Tribalism in Tarakwa

The common denominator for examples (91) to (95) was tribalism. In (91), (92), (93) and (94), tribalism was attributed to election-related conflict in Kenya. In (95), the effect of unity of all tribes included fighting together common enemies. Regarding the question of the relevance of the utterances in conflict management in elections, it was noted:

(96) *Huyu ni kabila hii...siasa za ukabila ziishe...vurugu ya 2007 ilikuwa ya kikabila.*

This one is this tribe...tribal politics to end...2007 violence was tribal... (T1A)

(97) *Alifanya makosa kidogo hapo, angesema angesema “ndugu zangu tumalize siasa za ukabila” na sio kusema tu tumalize tukiwa hapa halafu tuendeleo baada ya mkutano.*

He made a slight mistake there, he should have said, “my brothers let us end tribal politics” and not say let us end it when here only and continue after the meeting.

(T4A)

(98) *...Kuwa kiongozi wa Kenya, sio kabila Fulani.*

...To be the leader of Kenya, not a certain tribe.

(T1E)

(99) *... 2007 walioadhirika ni wananchi. Wakiongea kutoka juu, wanaongea kuhusu mambo yao lakini sio sisi..tulipigana kati yetu kwa sababu ya ukabila.*

..In 2007, those who suffered are citizens. When they are speaking from above, they talk about their issues but us. We fight among ourselves because of tribal. (T1A)

(100) *Hili ni jambo alikuwa ameona kwa sababu katika hizo kampeni watu walitegemea kabila zao...Wanafaa kutumia lugha nzuri kuwasawishi wafuasi wao...*

This is an issue he had seen because in those campaigns they were conducting people depended on their tribes...They should use good language to campaign and win the supporters' love by giving them the right thing.

(T2G)

In the responses, the participants endorsed the presidential candidates' utterances on putting an end to tribalism as a way of managing conflict. Echoing involved repeating the presidential candidates' utterance in all responses. For instance, in (96), the respondent repeated the word "tribalism" and in (100), the demonstrative "this" co-referred to the statements issued concerning tribalism. To show that they were echoing the presidential candidates' utterances, the respondents used the linguistic indicators "he should have said..." in (97) and "they talk about..." in (99). Such linguistic indicators show that the speaker is not expressing her own attitude, but expressing a thought or utterance attributed to someone else (Wilson, 2007). In the examples, when T1A, T4A, T1E, T1A and T2G echoed the candidates' utterances on need to end tribalism in elective politics, they were expressing the fact that they had heard the candidates saying that tribalism was the core of election-related conflict. Responses (96) to (100) therefore, endorsed the candidates' views and expressed optimism that conflict could be contained if tribalism was put to an end. Such optimism can be found in Barack Obama's and George Bush's presidential speeches where exploitation of irony as a strategic means for dominance does not preclude conflict (Al-Hindawi and Kadhim, 2015). Although conflict is presupposed in Obama and Bush's speeches, it appears subtle. As a result, optimism brought out through irony in these speeches, is restricted to minimizing face attacks in the processes of persuading voters to vote. This subtlety contrasts with the present study's findings where attacks are perpetuated through tribalism.

Tribalism is a vice that has been condemned in relation to its role in election-related conflict (Latto, 2009; Idris, *et. al.*, 2013). By echoing its attributed role in conflict, (96) to (100) indicated a deviation from the norm. Sperber and Wilson (2012) argue that echoes of norms point out situations, events or performances which do not live up to some norm-based concepts. Thus, it is evident that (96) to (100) pointed out the norms relating to unity of the diverse ethnic groups as well as the role of the candidates in uniting people in order to foster conflict management in elections. Supporting this finding, Idris *et. al.* (2013) and Wanjala (2013)

observe that election-related conflict is rooted in land and natural resources whose struggle manifest in ethnically divisive politics. The effects of such balkanization were evictions of outsiders in Tarakwa for allegedly not voting for the presidential candidate of choice in the area in 2007 (Njogu, 2009).

According to Yieke (2008), election-related conflict has culminated to the politics of inclusion and exclusion involving the notion of “us” and “them” perpetuated by politicians. Thus, the attitudes expressed towards tribalism apart from being attributed to the presidential utterances regarding conflict management, were also derived from contextual assumptions involving election-related conflict as well as contextual implications that confirm the role of tribalism in conflict which Yieke (2008) and Njogu (2009) bring forth. Noh (1998) maintains that irony as echoic use covers attitudes attributed to assumptions, implications, norms and hopes. Viewed as ostensive or new contextual assumptions, (96) to (100) contradicted and eliminated the old contextual assumptions such as balkanizing Kenyans ethnically, when T1A, T4A, T1E, T1A and T2G expressed approving, consenting and supportive attitudes towards the attributed presidential candidates’ utterances on conflict management.

4.4.1.2 Dissociative Attitudes Attributed to Tribalism in Tarakwa

Although utterances (96) to (100), derived from the 2013 presidential campaign speeches were endorsed for conflict management, some FGD participants had contrary views. In RT, These FGD participants abandoned their expectations of relevance in these utterances promoting conflict management. In the present study, this amounted to expressing dissociative attitudes towards them. Though the least effort principle stipulates that one’s expectations of relevance is achieved through the first interpretation accessed, it is evident in the present study that the search for relevance persisted and explored the dissociative side of the attitudes. This explains why a listener may echo someone’s utterance with approval and at another time echo it with

disapproval or rejection (Sperber & Wilson, 1995; Wilson, 2007). This sub-section, therefore analyzed the dissociative attitudes attributed to (96) to (100) in relation to conflict management.

The question on “What are your attitudes towards utterances (96) to (100) derived from 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches on conflict management” elicited (101) to (103).

(101) *Sidhani ukabila utaisha. Nikiwania kura Nyamira kama Mnandi siwezi kupata hata kura kumi...people elect leaders on tribal basis.*

I don't think tribalism will end. If I go to Nyamira as a Nandi and vie, I won't get even ten votes. People elect on tribal lines. (T3B)

(102) *Kila mtu ndani ya roho yake anahisi ukabila hautaisha. Ninaongea juu ya hapa kwetu na sio kwingine. Mtu wa kabila ingine akitafuta kura hawezi kupiga kura. Moyoni mwangu nafikiria hiyo ni ukabila. Mnandi wa hapa akitafuta kura tunafurahia na tunamchagua.*

Each person, in their hearts feels that tribalism will not end. I am referring to our place here and not outside. If another tribe vies for any elective position they will not be elected... I think that is tribalism. If a Nandi vies for an elective post, we become happy and elect him. (T3C)

(103) *Ukabila ni siasa ile ile ya numbers hapa Kenya.*

Tribalism is the same politics of numbers here in Kenya. (T3B)

The responses indicated that (96) to (100) were echoed interpretively with dissociative attitudes being identified. Responses (101), (102) and (103) are the contextual assumptions that indicated how tribalism was entrenched not only in election-related matters but also in people's belief. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), a belief is a mental representation of the speaker which is entertained as a description of an actual state of affairs. In (101), (102) and (103), the mental representations were captured in the verbs “think” and “feel”. In addition to perceiving attitude as beliefs, Bohner & Wänke (2002) and Mey (2009) argue that it has affective elements (feelings), cognitive elements (thought) and the resultant tendency to action

(behavioural element). These dimensions are evident in the responses encapsulating the performative verbs “think” and “feel” and how they influenced the respondents’ beliefs that one would only seek elective position in his native home, and if he does not live in his native home then he should vote for a contestant who hails from that place.

The implication compares to behavioural element in Bohner and Wänke (2002) and Mey (2009) which in the present study amounted to the contextual assumptions made manifest in the communicative intention of the presidential candidates. The implication was that the stakes for ethnically instigated violence remained high as implicated in (101) and (102) with the negation “I don’t think” and “will not end” and in (103) “politics of numbers”. These further implicated that the minority tribes were absorbed into the voting blocks of the majority tribes and followed the ensuing ethno-political patterns of violence, a finding that is in tandem with Ayelazuno (2007). According to Ayelazuno (2007), the suppression of the minority ethnic groups in elections by giving extra incentives to two dominant parties to engage in crude ethnic politics, renders the relative peace in Ghana fragile. In (101), (102) and (103), ethnically-oriented politics evoked strong emotions which according to Leech and Svartvik (2002) influence the actions and hearer’s attitudes. Consequently, dissociating with politicians’ utterances on unity of tribe severs relationships as what remains is deeply ingrained hatred waiting to explode in the run-up to elections. Such attitudes, Moraes (2011) argues have a bearing on social relationships between people which in the present study are viewed through the lens of tribalism. Tribal alignment in elective politics and its role in triggering election-related conflict auger well with Hirsch (2009), Merino (2013), Michira (2014) and Elder, Stigant and Claes (2014) observations concerning the inherently ethno-political nature of Kenya. However, in the present study, dissociative attitudes expressing cynicism, criticism, skepticism and regret towards the attributed utterances of presidential candidates on conflict management through avoiding tribal alignments were revealed.

Dissociation in (101), (102) and (103) emanated from tacit dissociation with violence in the presidential campaign speech utterances (96) to (100). T3C and T3B implicated that the candidates were not honest with their bid to bring tribalism to an end. Tribalism defies people's expectations of a peaceful election given that it has been blamed for election-related violence (Njogu, 2009) and therefore, defies the norms of the society. Values and norms of a society constitutes one's encyclopedic entry (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Detachment with such values and norms has an echoic connection to a previous utterance, facts and norms of behaviour shared by interlocutors or factual information by the whole community (Sperber & Wilson, 1981). Through echoes, attitudes which contribute to the relevance of the utterance in relation to conflict management were expressed. Thus, the relevance of these utterances was in the tacitly dissociative attitudes expressed by T3B and T3C towards the tacitly interpretive utterances regarding conflict management.

4.4.2 Attitudes on Incitement of Voters and Violence in Tarakwa

This section analyzed attitudes derived from echoic utterances derived from incitement and violence and related them to conflict management in the 2013 presidential campaign speeches. Examples (104) to (108) were used to solicit information on endorsing and dissociative attitudes expressed in presidential candidates' utterances concerning incitement to conflict.

(104) *Kiongozi akikuambia “wewe kijana enda upigane”, mwambie “chulua bibi yako na watoto mwende mstari wa mbele wa vita.*

If a leader tells you, “you, youth, go and fight”, tell him “take your wife and your children to the battle front. Leave us alone”. (PC1)

(105) *Kila kiongozi, kila mkenya, tuna jukumu la kuwaambia waKenya kukaa na amani kwa sababu ukifanya uchochezi, ni wanyonge wanaachiliwa wapigane. Viongozi wanaangalia na wanaona ni sinema...*

Every leader, every Kenyan, we have a responsibility of telling Kenyans to stay peacefully because if you cause incitement, it is the poor who fight among themselves. Leaders look and see that it is a movie... (PC4)

(106) *Mtu akikuchochea akikuambia ...ukiona mtu wa upinzani, mpigie kelele, elewa huyu mtu. Hakuna mwanasiasa analeta watoto wake kufanya kazi kama hiyo.*

If a person incites you telling you when you see a member of opposition, yell at them, understand this person. No politician brings his children to do such work. (PC4)

(107) *Hatutaki kuona waKenya wanafurushwa ovyo.*

We do not want to see Kenyans being evicted carelessly. (PC2)

(108) *Wakenya walipiga miaka ile na mnajua ni kwa nini*

Kenyans fought the other years and you know why. (PC2)

In (104) to (108), the relevance of attitudes expressed towards presidential campaign speeches on conflict management were solicited. It was imperative to examine the attitudes expressed by the people of Tarakwa towards utterances urging people to desist from incitement to violence. This followed from the findings of section 4.2 where presidential candidates persuaded voters to desist from politically instigated conflicts.

4.4.2.1 Endorsing Attitudes towards Desisting Incitement and Violence

The content of the communicative intention of (104) resembled paraphrases (109) to (112) which had tacit interpretive uses. That is, there was either overt or covert linguistic indication that the utterances were attributed to the presidential candidates. The responses to the question “What are your attitudes towards PC1’s utterance in (104)?” were (109) to (112).

(109) *Hakuna kiongozi anapatikana vitani...utamwambia huyu mtoto akuje kutoka Nairobi achukue silaha?*

There is no leader who is found in war... Are you really going to tell this child to come from Nairobi and hold a weapon here? (T3B)

(110) *Vijana wanatumika kwa sababu huwezi kumwambia Rono...enda ufanye hili na lile....uibe hiyo laptop... lakini sio mimi ninaonekana. Tom anatwambia twende tufanye hivyo kwa sababu yeye ni kiongozi na ananipa pesa kidogo.*

The youth are used because you cannot tell Rono... go do this and...steal that laptop ... but it is not me who is seen. Tom tells me we go and do that because he is a leader and he gives me little money. (T4D)

(111) *Kama wanataka tupigane, waanze na sisi tutafuata kutoka nyuma.*

If they want us to fight, they should start and we will follow from the rear. (T2B)

(112) *Anatumia vijana kufanya hivi kwa sababu ni wadogo...hawajui uchungu wa kuwa mzazi. Wanasisia wanawauwa watoto wa watu.*

He uses the youth to do this because they are young...they do not know the pain of being a parent. The politicians are killing people's children. (T3D)

Evidently, in (109) to (112) the respondents paraphrased presidential candidates' utterances in (104) to (108). According to Wilson (2007), a speaker can echo an utterance by repeating it verbatim, summarizing it or paraphrasing it. Consequently, (104) to (108) embedded the contextual assumptions that incitement to violence in past election-related conflict has led to deaths of the youth who participated in acts of violence while the politicians and their families distanced themselves. Such paraphrases have interpretive uses and as Wilson (2007) states, they represent another utterance or thought they resemble in content. Utterance (104) itself was interpretive by virtue of having a linguistic indication "tells you" thereby embedding the clause "You, youth go and fight..." which represented a thought PC1 attributed to the politicians who incited the youth. "Telling" conveys an imperative mood (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Through the performative verb "tell", PC1 echoed a potential description of the form "*the speaker is telling the hearer to P*" an inciter could employ. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), this

communicates that the thought *P* interprets is a description of a desirable state of affairs. T2B, T3D and T4D were therefore interpreting an utterance they attributed to PC1 who in turn attributed a thought to other politicians. Thus, all the paraphrases in (109) to (112) were attributed to the original thoughts of PC1.

When T2B, T3D and T4D attributed PC1's utterances to his thought, they in turn read his mind, which is a comprehension process called mind-reading or mental representation (Wilson & Sperber, 2004). According to Sperber and Wilson (1995) mental representation emanates from the propositional form of an utterance which is also an interpretation of the speaker and can be entertained as interpretations or descriptions (see figure 1). According to Fodor (1993), all intentionality is at the bottom of mental representation which brings out the internal physical states and events that represent possible state of affairs. Sperber and Wilson (1995) add that the state of affairs can be actual or desirable. Given this train of thought, T2B, T3D and T4D endorsed PC1's utterances that urged the youth to dissociate from politicians' incitement to violence, and expressed attitudes that approved, backed and showed sensitivity towards loss of lives as well as validated the claims PC1 made. The attribution of these attitudes indicated that (109) was relevant in conflict management in the 2013 elections. According to Wilson (2007), the relevance of an utterance depends on the expression of attitude towards an attributed utterance of thought.

The role of leaders in abating conflict during elections and the suffering of the poor were made manifest by PC4 in (105) who appealed to the leaders to participate in restoring peace. The responses to the question "What are your opinions to PC4's utterance in (105) were (113) to (117).

(113) *Alikuwa akionya jamii na viongozi waliokuwa wakikampeni wawe wangelifu ili wasiwagawanye watu. Alikuwa akiwapa viongozi mwelekeo ili kuwadhibiti...*

She was cautioning the community and those leaders who were campaigning to be careful so as not to divide people. She was trying to give directions to the leaders in order to tame them. (T2E)

(114) *Alikuwa akiwaonya viongozi. Kwa mfano tulipokuwa tukistruggle 2007...PC2 alikuwa ndani ya swimming pool. Nilimwona kwa TV akitoka swimming pool na kwenda kwenye swing ya watoto. Wakati mareporter walimuuliza mambo yalivyokuwa, alicheka tu.*

She was warning the leaders. For example, during the 2007... when we were struggling here PC2 was in the swimming pool. I saw him on the television leaving the swimming pool and going to the children's swing. When news reporters asked him how things were, he just laughed. (T2G)

(115) Obviously (T3E)

(116) *Sisi... tulibakia bila makazi na mali, lakini matajiri walipoona mambo yameharibika, walipanda ndege na kufurahia mali yao ng'ambo na kutuacha tukiteseka.*

We...remained without shelter and wealth, but when the rich people saw things had worsened, they took flights and enjoyed their wealth abroad and left us suffering. (T1A)

(117) *...tutatumia akili zetu... wanasiasa wanatumia political science kugawa watu na wakifika mwisho... na kusema wanaweza kuchezea watu na kufika malengo yetu.*

... we should use our brains... politicians use political science to divide us and once they reach the end... and say we can play with people to achieve our ends. (T2C)

Responses (113), (114), (115) and (117) were paraphrases of (105). These represented opinions attributed to PC4 using the linguistic indicators “she was” with illocutionary forces of cautioning or warning embedded. Wilson (2007) states that in such cases the embedded clause represents a thought a speaker attributes to someone else. According to Levinson (1983),

cautioning and warning are directive acts. Thus, these paraphrases expressed propositional attitudes embedding desires while echoing PC4's utterance. Response (115) was a summary which modified PC4's utterance in (105). Decapua (2008) argues that an adverb like "obviously" or "frankly" conveys an attitude, which in the present study was true as (115) revealed only that the attitude was echoic. In (113) and (114) the verbs cautioning and warning offered the alternative as they described a desirable state of affairs of the echoed utterance.

Paraphrase (116) and (117) did not give an overt linguistic indication and as Wilson (2007) observes the speaker will trust the hearer to infer that she is not expressing her own opinion but representing a thought or utterance attributed to someone else. Nevertheless, the two are cases of tacit interpretive use. From the responses, there was a consensus that the encyclopaedic entries for incitement included division of people. As a result, leaders had a role to guide the electorate towards a peaceful election. The participants also made mutually manifest the contextual assumption that the division among the poor was deeply ingrained, while the politicians derided in it as signified through the opposing sides of leaders partaking tea. This yielded the contextual implication that election-related conflict adversely affected the poor people. By attributing their utterances to (105), four participants in T2 and one in T3 expressed attitudes of approval, agreement and consent. In addition, utterance (106) also resembled (105) in the incitement content and therefore represented an utterance PC4 attributed to herself at another time. Therefore, the attitude expressed towards it by T2C, T1A, T2E, T2G and T3E was that of approval.

In examples (107) and (108), PC2 made mutually manifest the assumptions derived from escalation of conflict during elections which include eviction of outsiders, bodily physical harm and deaths. According to Yieke (2008), Hirsch (2009) and Jenkins (2012), election-related violence and the metaphor of the outsiders are intertwined. From Section 4.3, utterances like (107) and (108) had the illocutionary force of cautioning both the leaders and the electorate

against ethnically instigated conflict. In this section, the utterances were attributive and an endorsing attitude was expressed as shown in (118):

(118) *Haya ni mambo kama vurugu iliyosababisha watu kuuwana na kuibiana, ndiyo maana nasema lazima kuwe na amani Kenya.*

This refers to issues like violence that led to people killing each other and stealing from each other and that is why I am saying Kenya should be peaceful. (T1A)

“This” in (118) was a linguistic marker which indicated that (28) was attributed to PC2’s utterances, and therefore, had tacit interpretive use. It was also clear that T1A expressed endorsing attitudes towards the attributed utterances. This is evident through the contextual assumptions attributing conflict to tribalism invoked in (118) which drew a connection between tribalism, deaths and thefts. Thus, T1A expressed attitudes that backed or approved the attributed utterances in (107) and (108) in their roles in conflict management in the 2013 elections. These attitudes sum up Yieke (2008) observations that politicians, religious leaders and vernacular radio stations played a role in inciting people to exhibit violent behaviour towards the “other”. Applying Straus (1945), Bohner and Wänke (2002) and Mey (2009) views, incitement and violence can be compared to behaviour change processes that are at the extreme ends of attitude formation steps. This means that before violence is executed towards the “other”, the perpetrators are prepared in advance in such a way that they are turned against the “other”. The “others”, Hirsch (2009) observes were portrayed as refugees or economic immigrants who were no longer welcome and were castigated as foreigners or visitors with no entitlement to Kenyan residence. By asserting “we do not want to see Kenyans being evicted carelessly”, PC2 appeared to endorse their Kenyanism by attributing the utterance to his earlier utterances concerning unity of Kenyans. The resemblance of refugees and outsiders drawn by Hirsch (2009) endorses PC2 utterance.

4.4.2.2 Dissociative Attitudes Expressed Towards Incitement to Violence

Apart from verbal irony endorsing an attributed utterance, it can also involve tacitly dissociative attitudes and this was true with (104) to (108) as captured in responses (119) and (120) to the question “What are your opinions towards utterance (104) to (107)?

(119) ...*Hakuna uchaguzi amabao wanasiasa wametimiza yale wamesema...ten percent ya wanasiasawanasema “tunataka amani” kwa sababu wanataka kutunyanyasa...*

Tukiwa na amani mashinani, viongozi wana nafasi ya kutunyanyasa kupitia constituency development fund

...no election in Kenya have ... the politicians achieved what they say... ten percent of the politicians when saying “we want peace” it is because they want to exploit us ...when we are peaceful at the grassroots the leaders have the opportunity of exploiting us through constituency development funds and road funds. (T3G)

(120)*Hakuna kiongozi ataambia watu wapigane kwa sababu anajua hiyo (uchaguzi wa amani) ni njia inatumika kwa uchaguzi.*

There is no leader who can tell people to fight because he knows that (referring to peaceful elections) is a technique used in elections. (T3E)

Responses (119) and (120) reveal that the presidential candidates’ communicative intent in urging people to desist from conflict was selfish. In (119), there is a discrepancy between what the politicians said and the expectations of the voters on the ground which is translated to peace as a predecessor of exploiting Kenyans. T3G’s and T3E’s encyclopedic entries of politicians’ promises constituted of verbal irony because there was a mismatch between what they (politicians) said and what they did. Verbal irony was also manifested in the incongruence between peaceful coexistence at the grassroots and the opportunity leaders got of exploiting people through constituency development funds and road funds. According to Wilson (2007), verbal irony of this nature involves an element of indirectness which causes the hearer some additional processing effort. In this case, relating the utterance with peace and the behavioural

disposition of the politicians stored in T3G's and T3E's encyclopedic entries regarding the promises they give conveyed broad implicatures. Broad implicatures involve greater processing effort but yield broad cognitive effects (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Consequently, the expectation of relevance of (105) in conflict management in the election was abandoned by T3E.

Response (120) represented what Grice (1975) refers to as blatant violation of the maxim of quality. This means that although politicians urged people to be peaceful during the elections, they were insincere and therefore, used peace as a slogan for seeking votes. Such insincerity can be compared to covert communication employed in advertisements to persuade consumers to buy a commodity. Zu (2013) argues that irony stems from the manipulated contradiction of the user of a product and what the product promises to do. For instance, the contradiction between an emaciated toothless old man and the advertised product (Colgate tooth paste) in the background. The relevance of the advertisement is in echoing a common belief most people share that using tooth paste can protect one's teeth, which had the force of persuading. In the present study, the promise of a leader to uphold peace during campaigns was a yard stick for selling one's policies to the electorate. Although Zu (2013) does not reveal the attitudes expressed towards the discrepancy portrayed by the advertisement, there is no doubt that more processing effort is expended in understanding the advertiser's communicative intent. The same was observed in the present study when T3G and T3E processed the utterance as a discrepancy between what was said and what was implied by the presidential candidates. In RT, such irony involves a tacitly dissociative attitude. For both (119) and (120), T3G and T3E conveyed mistrust, cynicism and skepticism in the candidates' utterances while hinting that they were used to such utterances. In RT, the more frequently a contextual assumption is used, the less the effort required to process it (Wilson, 2007). It was therefore, a straight forward matter to deduce that T3G and T3E tacitly dissociated with the candidates' utterances and conveyed wry attitudes.

Concerning utterances such as (119) and (120) which come at the electioneering time as attested by T3G and T3E, Hirsch (2009) maintains that there is need to understand the intent and contexts of the utterances to determine if indeed they are benign or not. Hirsch (2009) argues:

...intent, though a good guide to most harmful instances of speech, is only one aspect determining the role of language in relation to violence. The power of particular utterances includes their power to incite or justify violence and is shaped by the contexts in which those utterances are spoken. Certain utterances achieve terrifying power in the "right context" (p. 7).

The fact that T3G and T3E expressed tacitly dissociative attitudes towards the utterances in (104) to (108) confirmed that the politicians' intent was to hide behind benign utterances to woe voters. Therefore, the emergence of tacitly dissociative attitudes can be compared to Al-Hindawi and Kadhim (2015) use of verbal irony in politics for defense as face saving acts and attacks within face saving acts. This face-saving act is what T3E echoed when he claimed that no politician can tell people to fight. This implied that some could incite people to perpetrate violence, but they had to conceal such face threatening acts in the benign utterances of upholding peace. Despite this, Al-Hindawi and Kadhim (2015) analysis of irony does not establish if such utterances are face saving through their echoic interpretation. In the present study, the analysis of verbal irony depended on the recognitions of the expressed attitude towards an attributed utterance.

4.5. Relevance of Stylistic Effects in Conflict Management

Section 4.5 addressed the fourth objective of the study which was to investigate the interpretations of specific stylistic effects used by the 2013 Kenyan presidential candidates in conflict management. In this section, metaphors, repetition and parallelism were analyzed with focus being on the manner in which these stylistic effects were interpreted in regard to conflict management in the 2013 elections.

4.5.1 Relevance of Metaphors in Conflict Management in Tarakwa

This sub-section focused on metaphors employed in conflict management in the 2013 presidential campaign speeches classified into war and sports metaphors. The classification took precedence from studies on political discourse such as Ling (2010), Burnes (2011) and Otieno (2016) which have conceptualized elections in terms of war and sports. However, whereas the aforementioned studies focus on war and sport strategies used in winning elections, the present study focused on how these strategies were employed in conflict management. RT was employed to analyze war and sports metaphors through metarepresentations involving interpretive relations between the propositional form of an utterance and the thought they represent or resemble. The hearer processes the metaphor, which in RT is an input, by connecting it with the background information he has to yield a conclusion.

4.5.1.1 War Metaphors in Campaign Speeches

This section presents the results and discussions on war metaphors used in the 2013 presidential campaign speeches regarding conflict management. Utterances with war metaphors from the presidential campaign speeches were presented to the FGD participants. Responses to the question “Why did the presidential candidates use war metaphors in the speeches?” were sought.

In (121), PC1 used “bloodshed” in an utterance regarding conflict management in the 2013 presidential campaigns. The response to the question on what “bloodshed” meant was (122).

(121) *Mwishowe ni nini ilifanyika walipokataa kubali matokeo? Si ni damu ilimwagika hapa?*

In the end, what happened when they refused to accept the results? Wasn't there

bloodshed?

(PC1)

In (121), PC1 makes it manifest that bloodshed was as a result of his opponent refusal to accept election result. The interpretation of the metaphor “bloodshed” in relation to conflict management was (122).

(122) *Hizi ni vurugu zilozopelekea watu kuuana na kuibiana, na ndio maana nasema ni lazima Kenya iwe na amani.*

This is PEV that led to **people killing each** other and stealing from each other, and that is why I am saying Kenya should be peaceful. (T1A)

T1A provides an assumption derived from previous election-related conflict in which people killed and stole from each other. This is through constructing a hypothesis “bloodshed is people killing each other.” The determiner “this” co-referred to “bloodshed”. This was a strong implicature which brought out the interpretive relationship between the propositional form of utterances (121) and the thought T1A stated it represented in (122). That is, two presidential candidates and their supporters on the one hand, and war between the factions which resulted in deaths on the other hand. The implicature was arrived at in the context of Kenya’s elections being marred with conflict (Yieke, 2009). This finding is supported by Otieno (2016) who opines that people have been structured to think that an election is a battle to be won. However, while Otieno (2016) focuses on war metaphors as strategies for winning an election, the present study hinged on how presidential candidates employed war metaphors to urge people to dissociate with conflict during elections. This is evident in T1A endorsement of peace in (122) “...Kenya should be peaceful” in response to PC1’s rhetorical question “...wasn’t there bloodshed?” which contradicted the contextual assumption the latter made manifest: “the cause of PEV was presidential elections result dispute”.

In addition to dissociating with conflict and avoiding deaths in (121), (PC3) in (123) employed metaphors which denoted ceasefire declaration. When asked why such metaphors were used, T4D's response was as in (124).

(123) *Hakuna siku ingine tungependa kuona tena damu ikimwagika kwa sababu ya siasa.*

There is no day we would like to see **bloodshed again** because of politics. (PC3)

(124) *Unajua damu ikimwagika ni kifo. Anaongea juu ya kuzuia vurugu ingine.*

You know when **blood sheds it is death**. He is talking about avoidance of another violence. (T4D)

In (124), T4D pointed out the interpretive relationship between bloodshed in the propositional form of the utterance in (123) and death. T4D hypothesized this in "bloodshed is death". According to Sperber and Wilson (1995), such a metaphor is standard and has one or two dominant and highly accessible contextual assumptions. Accessing the contextual assumption, avoiding another violence, embedded the contextual assumption of violence in elections. This raised expectations of relevance of PC1's utterances in promoting conflict management in 2013 elections. There was an interpretative relationship between the propositional form "...no day would we like to see bloodshed again..." and the thought "...bloodshed is death". The relevance of this was that avoiding violence could avoid deaths in elections. The implicated conclusion was that PC3 was making a declaration of his displeasure with future deaths resulting from election-related conflict, and it resembled a ceasefire declaration or truce between enemies to stop fighting for a specified period of time.

The method of executing the truce was captured in (125):

(125) *Tunataka jina letu...Amani Coalition lifanye kazi katika mambo ya uchaguzi ili damu isimwagike kabisa kama ilivyomwagika wakati ule.*

We want our name...**Amani Coalition** to work in election issues so that there would not be **blood shed** at all again. (PC3)

When asked what the metaphor of “blood shed” represented in (125), the response was as (126):

(126) *Wakati kuna vurugu... watu wanauana na damu inamwagika.*

When there is violence... people kill each other and there is bloodshed. (T1E)

Example (125) elicited broad cognitive effects concerning the aftermaths of violence which revealed the interpretive relationship between people killing each other in the propositional form and the thought of bloodshed which it represented. Killing each other implicated that there was war in which people took sides. Looked at in terms of interpretive relationship, election-related violence resembled war, and bloodshed resembled death. The implicated conclusion in T1E’s response was that there was no need of violence in the elections because through violence people die. This finding is congruous to Burnes (2011) who argues that metaphors of conflict are used to describe peace times. Thus, despite the metaphor of bloodshed signifying conflict, the weakening, contradiction and elimination of conflict derived the implicated conclusion that PC3’s intent was promoting conflict management in the elections.

The notion of war, soldiers and battle field was captured in utterance (127).

(127) *Mwanasiasa akikuambia, ”Wewe, kijana enda upigane” mwambie “Chukua bibi yako na watoto mwende mstari wa mbele wa vita”*

If a politician tells you “You, youth go and **fight**”, tell him “Take **your wife and children** to the **battle front**”. PC1

When asked what the word “fight” and phrases “your wife and children” and “battle front” meant in (127), responses (128) and (129) were given:

(128) *Tulipigana kati yetu...Tukabakia bila makao...matajiri... wakapanda ndege wakaenda kufurahia mali yao ng’ambo.*

We fought among ourselves.... We remained without shelter...the rich people
(politicians)...took flights and enjoyed their wealth abroad... (T2A)

(129) ... *vijana hawana kazi na wanaweza hata kukugonga, hawafikirii mara mbili.*

... the youth are idle and they can even hit you because they do not think twice.

(T3G)

While (127) is a dissociation with violence, it invoked in the encyclopedic memories of T2A and T3G the aftermaths of election-related violence which include the voters fighting among themselves, the youth being enlisted in violent activities and when conflict escalates the rich politicians fleeing. Consequently, (127) entailed an interpretive relationship between election-related violence and placing of wives and children in the battle front. "Fighting" in (127) was interpreted literally because according to Wilson and Sperber (2004), the search for relevance may result in literalness of the metaphor. However, the choice of battle front in the propositional form of the utterance precluded a war scenario as revealed in the following dichotomies. Politicians and army commanders; wives (and children) and soldiers; outsiders or the enemy and the opponent; battle front and the constituents, and electioneering and war. These resemblances brought out the organization of the army battalion in the event of war. However, PC1 in (127) cautioned people against this war. This was evident from PC1's utterance with a condition that a politician should take his family to the war and leave the youth alone. This fulfilled Wilson and Sperber (1998) assertion that in a conditional sentence, the consequent Q will be true when the antecedent P is satisfied. Through this condition, the expectation of relevance in conflict management through war metaphors was fulfilled through dissociation with such politicians. In the contextual assumption in (128), fighting was almost literal in that people took weapons and fought the vulnerable outsiders. Jenkins (2012) unravels the notion of outsider as an immigrant guest who had come to settle in a place that is not their ancestor's home.

In the present study, the metaphor in (127) was an ostensive stimulus also known as new contextual assumption, while election-related violence culminating into deaths and loss of property in previous elections were old contextual assumptions. Eliminating and abandoning the old contextual assumptions paved way for new and stronger assumptions meant to make people avert conflict in 2013 elections. The resemblance of war and politics in the present study proves Ling (2010) contention that politics is riddled with war metaphors. Using POLITICS IS WAR conceptual metaphor, Ling (2010) demonstrates the various ways politics is conceptualized as war including A POLITICAL ELECTION IS A BATTLE ON A BATTLEFIELD and POLITICIANS ARE SOLDIERS. Despite the similarity, Ling (2010) study does not address issues of conflict management in elections which the present study continues to analyze in (130) where observations of violence augured well with those made about (127) as (131) reveals.

(130) *Kazi ya upumbavu (vita) inaachiwa wanyonge na watoto wao.*

Foolish work (war) is left for the weak and their children. (PC4)

(131) *Retired president...na PC2, kwa sababu sio hao walikuwa wanapigana, ilifika wakati walikunywa chai pamoja. Saa zi nginge tutumie akili kwa sababu politicians wanatumia political science kutu divide. Wakifika mwisho wanasema tunaweza kuchezea watu na tupate kile tunachotaka.*

Retired president ... and PC2, because they were not the ones who were fighting, there reached a time they took tea together.... Sometimes, we should use our brains because the politicians use political science to divide us. Once they reach the end they look back and say we can play with the people to achieve our ends. (T2C)

The phrase “foolish work” implied a war where the poor fight anyhow without any strategy in place resulting in deaths of the poor people. T2C noted in (131) that politicians do not themselves fight but their followers do. Meanwhile, after satisfactorily dividing the poor along

tribal line as observed in section 4.2, they sit together partaking tea and laughing at the folly of fighting and killing each other. Noting that politics is divisive, T2C stressed that they should use their brains. In RT, looking at fighting as foolish work entails an interpretive relationship between fighting and the poor people who are incited to do the vice as unvalued. In this case the propositional form conveyed in the utterance of the participants concerning playing is an interpretation resembling the thought of manipulating poor people to engage in war. This finding is supported by Burnes (2011) argument that use of conflict metaphors to describe elections is morally highly valued in the Western cultures as the exercise of democracy and is indicative of positive ethos surrounding conflict in these cultures. Burnes (2011) exemplifies this with the notion of physical strength in metaphors such as “the old stronghold on Pakistani politics” which hold positive evaluation in the Western culture. In the present study, there is an indication that voters were striving to achieve positive ethos during elections whether the politicians instill them or not. Hence as observed in section 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4, peace was initiated by the voters and not necessarily by politicians.

Use of metaphors in conflict management in the presidential campaign speeches also entailed a study of winning and losing in war and the reaction of the soldiers in either case as reflected in the propositional forms in (132) and (133) depicting election. The war metaphors “defeat” and “concede defeat” employed in (132) and (133) were interpreted in (134) and (135).

(132) We have said that in the ... event that we are defeated we will accept the results. (PC2)

(133) I know we will not be defeated. But if we will be defeated, we will concede defeat.

(PC2)

(134) *PC2 alichukulia uchaguzi kama vita. Ukienda vitani...ushindwe, unakubali.*

PC2 viewed elections like war. If you go to war and you are defeated... accept. (T1A)

(135)...*Ukishindwa, hautakubali; ni vizuri kama angepeana ushauri mapema ili akishindwa akubali. Asikatae kukubali kushindwa ili aepuke malumbano.*

...if he is defeated, he will not accept, now it is better if he advises (followers) earlier so that if he is defeated he will accept to avoid arguments. (T2G)

T1A and T2G underscored the resemblance relationship between elections and war. They also observed a likelihood of soldiers being defeated in war which depicts war as the thought represented by losing in an election. Constructing this implicature, entailed a metarepresentation involving the resemblance between war, soldiers, commander, defeat and conceding defeat on one hand with election, party supporters, party leader, loss in election and accepting election results respectively on the other hand. PC2 showed the readiness of his battalion, of which he was part, to engage in war combat with the enemy and being prepared for any outcome: a win or a defeat. On defeat, they were ready to withdraw troops from the battle field. By declaring to accept defeat and not call for mass action. Idris *et. al.* (2013) posit that PC2 was able to restrain his followers from perpetrating violence even when he felt that elections had been rigged in favour of his opponent. This evidence is adduced by T1A and T2G. Despite this, expectations of relevance of the war metaphor “concede defeat” in conflict management in the elections was abandoned as depicted in (136) and (137).

(136)*PC2 anajaribu...kuwaonya wapinzani wake...alikuwa na matumaini ya kushinda katika huu uchaguzi...Anajiona kwenye mashindano lakini anafikiri wataiba kura...chochote kikitokea atakuwa na njia kuteta...Lakini PC2 alikuwa na ... madharau. Ukisikiza anavyosema “kama tutashindwa....” Kumaanisha hayuko moto ama baridi.*

PC2 is trying... to caution his opponents. Secondly, PC2 had hopes that in this election he could win... “If I will not win...” meaning he is not hundred percent sure.

He sees himself in the race but thinks they will rig again... if anything happens he will have a way of claiming.... But PC2 was contemptuous. If you see the way he is saying, “if we will be defeated...” meaning that he is neither hot nor cold. (T2C)

(137)...Unajua mtu akishindwa lazima alalamike. Hawezi kukusalimia ... sababu umeshinda.

...you know if someone is defeated he must complain. He will not shake your hand because you have won. (T3F)

T2C and T3N argued that PC2’s use of the war term “conceding defeat” was superficial, defensive, skeptical, contemptuous and therefore tacitly dissociative with conflict management agenda. This description matches Lynch (2013) contention that peace in the 2013 elections was superficial and cosmetic. In (134), the utterance “in the unlikely event that we are defeated” conveyed PC2’s unwillingness to accept loss in election. This, combined with the contextual assumptions accessed by the participants “he sees himself in a race but thinks they will rig again he was cautioning his competitors”, it emerges that PC2 was not committed to the truth of the propositional content “we will concede defeat”.

4.5.1.2 Sports Metaphors in Election-related Conflict

This section attempted to establish how sport metaphors, employed in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches, were relevant in conflict management. On the question about the relevance of (138) responses (160) to (162) were given.

(138) *Wananchi wakikukata roundi hii enda nyumbani kwa upole, miaka ingine tano, ukitaka kurudi kwenye uwanja, wananchi wataamua kama ni wewe ama hawakutaki.*

If the citizens reject you this time **round** go home gently, another five years, if you want to go back to the **football pitch**, the citizens will decide...if it is you or they do not want you. (PC1).

In (138), “round” and “field” were metaphors drawn from sports. Cibulskiene (2014) asserts that the differences of countries and cultures in sport preferences necessitate employment of different sporting metaphors to conceptualize political discourse. In the present study, round and field were interpreted in the context of boxing and football which are popular in Kenya. The interpretations of “field” and “round” in (138) in the context of elections were as in (139), (140) and (141):

(139) *Kiwanja ni wananchi.*

Field is the citizens. (T3G)

(140) *Kiwanja inamaanisha kurudi kwa wananchi kutafuta kura ujue kama utachaguliwa...*

Field means going back to the citizens to seek votes to know if you will be elected. (T3A)

(141) *Round inamaanisha kurudi kupiga kura...*

Round means going back to vote. (T4F)

In football, a match is played in a football pitch, while boxing is done at intervals known as rounds. In the present study, these were metarepresented through a resemblance relationship between the propositional form of an utterances and the thought they represented or resembled. Responses (139) and (140) captured this fact in the resemblance between the propositional form of the utterance in (138) and “citizens” which is the thought represented. In (141), “round” was interpreted as going back to vote after five years as in Kenya, general elections are held after every five years. In boxing, one is declared a winner upon knocking down his opponent and the game ends. As a conflict management strategy, the aforementioned interpretive relationships triggered a search for more implications to justify the use of the metaphor which led to the conclusion that a defeated candidate accepts defeat, goes home gently and waits for another election cycle to persuade voters to elect him. This implicature was premised on a past PEV that was occasioned by election result dispute as (142) shows.

(142) *Hauoni kulikuwa na shida wakati wa kivuitu na hiyo ilizua vurugu?*

Don't you see there was a problem during Kivuitu's time and that sparked violence?

(T1A)

In the contextual assumptions manifested by PC2 in the final campaign rally, the defunct Electoral Commission of Kenya chairman, Kivuitu, did not make a fair final decision, and this provoked the voters who in turn engaged in mass action. In alluding to the metaphor of field, PC1 downplayed the claims that the elections were rigged but rather portrayed PC2 as a loser in the past and impending elections and should try his luck in the 2017 elections. Knowing that voter apathy was a potential setback, PC1 added:

(143) *Mjitokeze kwa wingi. Tupige hii kura, tumalize round one.*

Come out in big numbers. We cast this vote, we finish in the **first round**.

(PC1)

PC1 made manifest the assumption that in Kenya, there is a requirement that a presidential candidate needed to garner 50% plus one vote in order to be declared winner. Some participants recovered the contextual assumption that combined prolonged voting time increased the possibility of violence outbreak. Thus, when asked about the relevance of (143) in conflict management, T3G argued:

(144) *Unajua hawa wanasisia wanafanya mjadala kama tunavyofanya sasa. Wanachukua kura zetu, wanajadili kila constituency...PC1 alikuwa anajua ameshinda uchaguzi.*

...these politicians hold discussions as we are doing now They take our votes...discuss every constituency ... PC1 was confident that he had won the elections.

(T3G)

The weakening of ostensive stimulus concerning conflict management was overt in the boxing metaphor "this time round" in (143) "If the citizens reject you this time round, go home gently, another five years, if you want to go back to the field, the citizens will decide again if it is you

or they do not want you”. Before the elections, PC1 had declared himself the winner and confidently commanded PC2 to accept defeat pending another election. This confirms Cibulskiene (2014) assertion that the use of a boxing metaphor creates an aggressive image of a politician as a boxer. Bergh (2011) adds that sports are not fair play as their description lend to militarism. Indeed, some FGD participants were skeptical about the football and boxing metaphor PC1 employed to anticipate his own victory, which was contrary to advancing conflict management agenda as the findings in 4.2 revealed.

Related to the metaphor “field” was “match” used in (145):

(145) We want ninety-minute match...No extra time. (PC2)

When asked about the relevance of the metaphor of a match the responses were (146) and (147).

(146) Match *is the vote*.

Match is the vote. (T3B)

(147) *Watu wanapiga kura kama mpira. Watu wakienda mpira si inaisha?*

The way people vote is like a match. When people go for a match doesn't it end?

(T4A)

(148) *Katiba ilileta style fulani ya kupiga kura. Yaani wasipofikisha percentage fulani, wakwanza wawiliwatarudia uchaguzi. Alimaanisha kushinda zaidi ya 50% plus one.*

The constitution brought a certain style of voting. That if they didn't acquire a certain percentage, the first two candidates would repeat the elections. He meant ninety minute-match is winning more than the 50% plus one. (T3F)

The encyclopedic knowledge of people concerning match, was a ball game taking ninety minutes and not more as the expression “no extra time” denoted. The football match duration may, however, be more than ninety-minutes if there is a draw and the winner is not absolute or there were injuries that prevented a continuous play of ninety-minutes. This interpretive

relation was represented in the thought of a repeat of the election if the threshold of 50% plus one is not met in (148). Emphasis on voting overwhelmingly to avoid a repeat of the violence in the presidential election was weakly implicated in (149), (150) and (151):

(149) ...*Hiyo extra time ya usiku ni ya rigging.*

...That extra time for darkness is for rigging. (T3D)

(150) *Uchaguzi ukiisha six ...na matokeo yatangazwe...additional time ni ya rigging...*

If elections end at six...let results be announced... additional time is for rigging

...(T1E)

(151) *Ile tension itajirudia.*

That tension would have repeated itself. (T2E)

In (149) and (150), the interpretive relation of a football match duration of ninety minutes resembled the thought of using the extended voting time for rigging. This finding is backed by Cibulskiene (2014) in asserting that sport metaphors present politics as a rule-bound contest between two opponents. Thus, extending the play duration represented the thought that delaying tallying time facilitated rigging. This implicated that there would be tensions in (151). Given this train of thought, conflict management entailed weakening, contradicting and eliminating (149) to arrive at a conclusion that voting within the lawful time would manage conflict as in (152):

(152) *The match will be for the citizens now. The citizens have remained with the match to*

play on Monday. (PC2)

Whereas PC1 regarded the presidential candidates as players who should go to the field (citizens) to seek votes, in (152), PC2 visualized the citizens as players in the match. The question “What did the speaker mean by (152) elicited responses (153) and (154).”

(153) *Wamecheza mpira. Kama ni kampeni wamemaliza na wanangojea wananchi siku ya uchaguzi kwa sababu uamizi ni wao.*

They have played football. If it is campaigns, they have already finished and are only waiting for the citizens on the election day because the decision is theirs. (T1A)

(154) *Uamuzi umeachiwa wapiga kura na baada ya uchaguzi matokeo yatajulikana.*

The decision is left with the voters... after the voting the results will be known.

(T1E)

In (152), the propositional form of utterance included in playing a match interpreted the thought represented by voters casting their ballots in (153) in which their decisions will determine the presidential elect. This interpreted the fact that in a match, players score goals which determine the winner. (152), however, weakly implicated that voting should not be interfered with in any way by politicians. Therefore, PC2 committed himself to upholding peace by respecting the voters' decision. This was relevant as the undertaking had come from the leader as dichotomized in (155):

(155) A human being looks up to a leader. Even in school. That means, one starts at home when his father says something, the mother and the children follow. If you go to school, when the headmaster says something the pupils follow. (T4M)

T4M's responsibilities of constructing implicatures concerning conflict management involved an interpretive relationship of the resemblance of a political institution and a family as well as a learning institution. Given the numerous interpretative resemblance, a wide array of implicatures was activated all of which pointed towards PC2's commitment to uphold peace after the announcement of the presidential results. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995) the wider the range of potential implicatures and the greater the hearer's responsibility for constructing them, the more poetic the effect, the more creative the metaphor. However, some implicatures were contradictory and were eliminated as shown in (156).

(156) *Amekasirisha wananchi...kuna kitu alikuwa amepanga. Ikienda extra time, shida itatokea. Huu mchuaano ulikuwa na Jubilee na CORD tu ilhali kulikuwa na vyama vingine. Anafunika kitu.*

He has infuriated the citizens. It means there is something he had planned. So when it goes extra time, problems will set in. This match had only Jubilee and CORD, yet there were other parties. He is covering up something. (T1D)

Like (152), (156) had weak implicatures. However, recovery of positive cognitive effects in (156) seemed to involve greater processing efforts which rendered the utterance irrelevant in conflict management, and hence expectations of conflict management in PC2's utterances were abandoned. T1D contention that PC2 was covering something stemmed from the fact that PC2 was referring to a match where there were two teams, yet in that years' elections there were eight presidential candidates. In this regard, T1D did not trust that PC2 will perpetuate conflict management through football metaphors. This concurs with Michira (2014) and Magonya and Oloo (2015) who single out war undertones in sports through metaphors such as defence and kicks.

4.5.2 Epizeuxis as a Feature of Style in Conflict Management in Tarakwa

This sub-section analyzed the relevance of repetition in conflict management. In RT, epizeuxis is the immediate repetition of a word, a phrase or a sentence (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). This means that the repeated concepts are not intervened by words, phrase or sentences with different phonetic forms other than the repeated ones.

Example (157) analyzed the repetition of the phrase "this tribe".

(157) *Kuna wale wangependa kutaja Kenya kabila hii, kabila hii.*

There are those who would like to name Kenya **this tribe, this tribe.** (PC1)

In (157), the propositional form was followed by the phrase "this tribe" which modified "Kenya" after the infinitive phrase "to name". PC1 repeated "this tribe" which was obligatory

in the non-defining relative clause. In RT, repetition involves greater processing effort in reconstructing the same propositional form, however, this leads to greater activation of encyclopedic entries attached to the repeated constituent (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Responding to the question on relevance of repeating the phrase “this tribe”, T3B, T1A and T2G noted:

(158) *Ni siasa ile ile tu ya numbers hapa Kenya.*

It is the same politics of numbers here in Kenya. (T3B)

(159) *Kenya ina makabila mengi.*

Kenya has many tribes. (T1A)

(160) *Zile kampeni walifanya, watu walitegemea makabila yao.*

In those campaigns they conducted, people depended on their tribes. (T2G)

In (158), (159) and (160), the repeated constituent activated encyclopedic entries about ethnically oriented politics of Kenya in T3B, T1A and T2G. Because of this, the interpretation of tribalism elicited assumptions such as election-related violence is attributed to tribal groupings in (160). The emphatic appeal of the immediate repetition of “this tribe” made the assumption of violence stored in the encyclopedic entry more salient. In addition, the contextual effects realized took the form of modified explicature whose effect was reflected in the propositional content, and which entailed finding references for demonstratives “those” and “this” used in the utterance and the reason for their uses as follows:

(161) *Yeye ni kiongozi na anatafuta kura. Hawezi kutaja mtu.*

He is a leader and he is seeking votes. He cannot mention anybody. (T2C)

(162) *...Ukitaja mtu na huna ushahidi, utajitetea aje?*

....If you mention someone’s name and you do not have any evidence, how will you defend yourself? (T4E)

As observed in (161) and (162), the demonstratives concealed the identities of those PC1 thought were potential perpetrators of atrocities. Knowing that Kenyan politics are ethnically-oriented, working out the reference of “this tribe” entailed matching PC1’s opponents with their tribes. This is possible as Chilton (2004) maintains that politics is about projecting a positive self-image while portraying a negative image of the “other” in what Van Dijk (1998) refers to as “othering”. Thus, the communicative intention of example (157) was to manifest other candidates as perpetrators of violence. In this perspective, the emphatic effect of immediate repetition of “this tribe” was reflected in PC1’s expression of tacitly dissociative attitude of scorn towards leaders who portrayed Kenya as belonging to people from certain tribes. By repeating “this tribe”, PC1 was diminishing the imminent explosion of conflict instigated by politicians who incite their tribes mate against other tribes. As observed in section 4.5.1.1, politicians can influence their followers to protest or not. Backing this finding, Fundell (2008) confirms that certain lexical repetitions remind people of their history and promote unity. Such lexical items include “nation” and “war” in the analysis of 1863 Gettysburg Address, Pearl Harbour Attack and 2003 Operation Iraqi Freedom. In the present study, apart from having poetic effects, repetition of words in the immediately following constituents was also a source of echoic interpretation of the utterance. In this regard, PC1 tacitly dissociated with the politicians who perpetuated tribalism with a scornful attitude. Although the framework employed in the present study restricted repetition to adjacent constituents, words like peace, unity, tribalism and violence were repeated in the presidential campaign speeches disparately. According to Fundell (2008), repetition of some lexical items is expected in conflict discourse. Hence, the reason for the repetition of “nation” and “war” in three American presidential speeches is to remind Americans of their great history. Regarding such repetitions, some FGD participants recalled what was said earlier concerning, for example peace, in the same speech or another speech by another candidate. At times some FGD participants would request for a rerun of sections where “peace” is mentioned. However, when the repeated words were

adjacent each other, this was not the case. This indicates that more processing effort is incurred in trying to find propositional forms, contextual assumptions and implicatures in order to interpret the emphatic effects of the repetitions. However, such repetitions were important in the present study in the echoic interpretations of utterances.

Similar emphatic effects, where repetition conveyed dissociation with past election-related violence, were noted in (185):

(163) *Wakenya wanataka kuhakikisha kuwa yaliyofanyika hayafanyiki tena, na sio kulia ilikuwa, ilikuwa, ilikuwa, ilikuwa.*

Kenyans want to make sure that what happened does not happen again, but not to cry that yesterday **it was, it was, it was, it was.** (PC1)

Example (163) had several repetitions of a clause. Sperber and Wilson (1995) observes that different instances of repetition offer different contextual effects and the effort involved in reconstructing the same propositional form leads to greater activation of assumptions stored in the encyclopedic entries attached to the constituent concept. In (163) the constituent concept emphasized with the repeated clause was not explicitly stated in the utterance which activated a range of implicatures communicated by the co-referentially repeated clause. The responses to “Why did the 2013 Kenyan presidential candidates repeat some words?” were (164) to (189):

(164) *WaKenya wanataka kusahau yaliyotendeka na wasikumbuke walifanyiwa hili na lile.*

Kenyans...forget what happened..not remember this and that was done to them. (T1G)

(165)...*PCI analinganisha ...2013 na vile mwenyewe anatarajia kuwa kiongozi. Anawaambia wareflect back. Hatutaki mambo kama ya 2007 PEV. Analenga kiongozi fulani.*

...PC1 was relating ... 2013 with the way he himself is expecting to be a leader. So, he is telling them ... to reflect back. We do not want things like the 2007 PEV. He was targeting a certain leader. (T2C)

(166)*Anahisi uchungu kwa sababu yay ale yaliyotendeka hapo nyuma...hataki tuyarudie.*

He feels the pain...of what happened back then... does not want us to repeat it.

(T3D)

(167)*Hii ni kama kusema tusahau yaliyopita tujanje yajwayo.*

This is like saying we forget the past and dwell on the future. (T3B)

From responses (164), (165) and (166), there was a mutual contextual assumption of “what happened” which T1G, T3D and T3B respectively also left implicit. This means that PC1 had trusted the audience to interpret “what happened”, and as Sperber and Wilson (1995) maintain, not all utterances should be made explicit as stylistically they will be a bore. This is confirmed by the manner T2C assigned references and disambiguated utterance (164) thus manifesting the 2007/2008 PEV as a plausible contextual assumption as well as implicating a leader for the atrocities. It is also important to note in the reference assignment, “was”, whose object was left out in the repetition was recovered as past election-related violence. Regarding the multiplicity of implicatures, Sperber and Wilson (1995) opines that it is easy to imagine contexts in which one or two implicatures are strongly communicated.

Repetition entails more processing efforts and there is no doubt that it was much greater in (164) owing to multiple repetition of the phrase. Sperber and Wilson (1995) argue that this effort is offset by the contextual effects achieved. Therefore, the emphatic effects of the repetition of “it was” three times was in the commitment of PC1 to the propositional content of the main constituent as well as in the attitude expressed towards it. Evident in the responses was the distasteful experiences of the 2007/2008 PEV which PC1 implicated was reiterated instead of forging peaceful voting ways. Repetition in (164) was intentional which augers well with Forraiora (2011) findings that intentional repetition is useful to the audience as opposed

to hesitational repetition which is caused by the speaker's fault. In the present study, the emphatic appeal of repetition carried with it verbal irony which involved a tacitly dissociative scornful and rebuking attitudes towards the disposition of dwelling in the past conflict. This finding differs from Forraiora (2011) who argues that repetition in Barack Obama's speeches makes the text cohesive, emphatic and memorable.

Dissociating with the events that led to previous election-related conflict, emotionally appealed to the electorate not to engage in things that will make them regret. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995) dissociative attitudes result from echoic utterances in which one shows a detachment from the attributed utterance. Attitude, Pilkington (2000) argues, exhibits rather than describes the speaker's mental or emotional state. In the present, however, the emphatic effects of repetition conveyed a wide array of implicatures all of which brought out dissociation with conflict in elections. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995) such a wide array of implicatures contribute to poetic effects. This finding contrasts with Lahlali (2012) whose focus on repetition revealed the stylistic command of the speaker and his attempt to make the speech memorable. Another contrast is that Lahlali (2012) focuses on focuses on a post-conflict context in which the president applauded the Hezbollah fighters and the Lebanese for their positive contribution towards victory, the present study focused on pre-election speeches where through dissociation and emotive appeal PC implored people to desist from conflict and PC1 aiming at conflict management.

Although example (164) was relevant in conflict management as revealed through the broad cognitive effects gleaned, some implicatures led to abandoning of expectations of relevance regarding conflict management. This was evident in a section of (165) repeated as (168) and (169):

(168)...*Alikuwa analenga kiongozi fulani.*

.....He was targeting a certain leader. (T2C)

(169)*Alikuwa na confidence atashida; ... aliambia wafuasi wake ni lazima washinde.*

He also had confidence that he would win; he...told his supporters...they must win.

(T3A)

T2C and T3A did not fully credit PC1's utterance in (164) for conflict management. Rather, what came out was enmity between the presidential contenders. Enmity in politics is driven by the notion of "othering" (Van Dijk, 1998). Therefore, the utterance was a cover up for hitting at each other as well as campaigning for oneself. Noticing that there was rivalry between PC1 and PC2, PC3 uttered (170):

(170) *Ndugu zetu wanatafuta kura, wanatafuta kura; lakini ukiangalia vile wanaangaliana, wakikutana kwa kona , hatujui ni nini kitafanyika.*

Our brothers **are seeking votes, are seeking votes**, but if you look at the way they are looking at each other, if they meet in a corner, we don't know what will happen.

(PC3)

In (170), the verb phrase "are seeking votes" repeated the proposition content which took an obligatory argument in the subject position. The inferred candidate was the subject "our brothers". As in all cases of repetition, the efforts involved in reconstructing the same propositional form leads to greater activation of assumptions stored in the encyclopedic entries attached to a concept (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). This task is even greater as the concept "our brother" had to be assigned the reference "opponents", specifically PC1 and PC2, worked on the basis of two leading presidential contenders who are often vocal (Burnes, 2011). The responses to the question "Why was 'are seeking votes' repeated?" were as in (171), (172) and (173):

(171) *Watauana.*

They will kill each other. (T1E)

(172) *Wanatafuta umaarufu. Inawezekana watu kama hawa kupigana, lakini sio lazima.*

(They are seeking) popularity. It is possible...such people to fight...it is not a must.

(T2E)

(173) *...Ni matamshi anasikia...viongozi wakiongea kuhusu wao wenyewe na anhofia chochote chaweza kutokea*

...Are utterances he hears...the leaders talking about each other...he fears that anything may happen. (T2G)

The interpretations exhibited the emotional state of the entities described by PC3. Responses (171) and (172) strongly implicated that the two candidates PC3 referred to had the potential to fight or cause people to fight which proves Pilkington (2000) assertion that two implicatures can be strongly communicated. These implicatures entailed deriving more assumptions from the contextual discourse and campaign discourse of PC3 in which he disapproved the way PC1 and PC2 engaged in political altercations. The verb phrase “Are seeking votes” on its own was not relevant but its repetition raised expectations of relevance as it prepared the hearers for more implications which PC3 offered in the discourse that followed “If you look at the way they are looking at each other...” Response (173) recapitulated the inherent hostility in the campaign between PC1 and PC2, while absolving PC3. By communicating more than two implicatures, the cognitive effects gained were broad resulting in more poetic effects. Analytically, the first use of “are looking for votes” was not stylistic. Style arises in search of relevance (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Therefore, other than emphasizing hostility between PC1 and PC2 while they are campaigning, the repetition of the verb phrase “are seeking votes” was poetic and emotive. Hostility in campaigns can be accounted for through name calling, subtle abuses and “othering” which PC3 left implicit was for stylistic purpose or avoiding the risk of

being quoted as mentioning people's names. As Wilson (2007) states, communication takes place at a risk.

Rather than contributing to literary work alone as is the case of Pilkington (2000), the present study adopted a duo-pronged approach involving first emphatic, emotional and poetic effects of repetition in speech, and second, conflict management and campaign discourse. The emphatic and emotive use of repetition by PC3 drew the attention of the hearer to what conflicting leadership could lead people to, given that the 2007/2008 PEV was attributed to the contest of victory between two presidential candidates which trickled down to their followers. The emphatic effect of the expression such as the one employed by PC3 was conveyed through the expression of an attitude like ridicule and sarcasm which in the overall was tacitly dissociative. In the contextual discourse, PC3 made it clear that there was animosity between PC1 and PC2 which made the assertion that the presidential candidates were champions of peace questionable. As observed earlier, though the presidential candidates' speeches were replete with messages of conflict management, altercations among the presidential candidates watered down the import of these messages.

As stated earlier, the emphatic effects of repetition are worked out in different ways (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). In (174) the emphatic effects were reflected in the speaker's degree of commitment to the propositional content.

(174) *Hatutaki matusi; hatutaki matusi.*

We do not want insults; we do not want insults. (PC2)

The interpretation of (174) was reflected in the following responses:

(175) *Mtu wa CORD akija, atamtusi mtu was Jubileena watakibishana papo hapo.*

If a person from CORD comes, he will hurl insults to a Jubilee member and they will argue with each other just there. (T3G)

(176) ...*Anawaambia wanasisa wenzake wanaotafuta kura na kuwashauri kuwa popote wanapotafuta kura wauze sera zao na sio kuharibu majina ya watu.*

In my opinion, he is talking to his fellow politicians searching for votes and advising them that anywhere they go seeking for votes they should sell their policies and not tarnish other people's names. (T3A)

From these observations, leaders did not shy away from using words that could be summed as offensive. The encyclopedic entry of "we do not want insults" involved dissociation with lexical items that offended PC2. The repetition led to activation of assumptions discernible from the 2013 presidential campaign speeches of PC2 alleging that PC1, PC1's running mate and their party members insulted him during their campaigns alluded in (176). Michira (2014) gives the example of *jamaa wa nusu mkate* literally translated as "that fellow of half-a-loaf" which contemptuously describes the coalition government of the former president of Kenya, Mwai Kibaki, and PC2. It was thus plausible to comprehend PC2's reason for repeating the expression "we do not want insults" to express commitment to the propositional content of the first occurrence of the expression at the same time having in mind the content of insolent behaviour reflecting what PC1's running mate said at another time.

In the present study, it was important to place utterance (174) "we do not want insults" in the 2013 Kenyan campaign context where insults were likely to lead to violence as (175) indicated, but PC2 expressed dissociation with violence. These assertions concur with Michira (2014) that in spite of the hate speech law, some politicians managed to conjure and employ the ubiquitous denigrating references like Mt Kenya mafia to refer to the Kikuyu community together with their "cousins" from the larger Meru and Embu regions. Michira (2014) adds that by using "Mt Kenya" label to refer to a block of ethnic communities, these politicians were cleverly propagating an ethnic agenda without the risk of prosecution. Michira (2014) claim confirms T3G's and T3A's perception that though the presidential candidates manifested

concern for conflict management in their campaigns, they did not live up to this expectation. Further, there was animosity among the candidates which portrayed conflict. Thus, though the presidential candidates' emphasis for conflict management during the 2013 Kenyan elections was comprehended, T3G and T3A abandoned their expectation of relevance based on the context they accessed about the candidates. This confirmed their belief that the decision to choose peace was up to them as inhabitants of Tarakwa.

4.5.3 Interpretation of Conflict Management in Parallel Structures in Tarakwa

In this sub-section, parallelism was analyzed in regards to how utterances with similar repeated structures achieved relevance in conflict management in 2013 presidential campaign speeches. Parallelism is used by politicians when they want to draw attention to a particular part of their message and make it stand out from the rest of the speech (Thomas & Wareing, 1999; Van Dijk, 2000). It is a grammatical device used in speech or writing to create effect through repetition of a sentence or part of it (Thomas & Wareing, 1999). The repetition can be in terms of lexical, phrasal or clausal similarity and can be employed across or inside sentences or even inside clauses and phrases (Short, 1996). Examples (177) and (178) with parallel structures were analyzed.

(177) *Sisi hatupigani na yeyote, hatupigani na hao.*

For us we are not fighting with anyone; we are not fighting with those ones. (PC1)

(178) *Jubilee ikichomeka upande huu, CORD ikichomeka upande huu, niko na maji baridi nitamwagia Jubilee, nitamwagia CORD watulie.*

If Jubilee is burning on this side, if CORD is burning on this side, I have cold water I will pour on Jubilee, I will pour on CORD to calm. (PC3)

Example (177) exhibited syntactic parallelism. There was a repetition of the syntactic structure “we are not fighting” in the two clauses preceding the prepositional phrases “with anyone” and “with those ones”. In (178), there was also a repetition of the syntactic structures “if Jubilee is

burning on this side” and “if CORD is burning on this side”. In the main clause, however, “I have cold water” was not repeated before the clause “I will pour on CORD”. In both (177) and (178), there was semantic equivalence in the parallel structures. (179), (180) and (181) were responses to the question “Why did the presidential candidates use parallel structures in the utterances on conflict management?”

(179) *Haya ni matumishi anasikia viongozi wakiongea kuhusu wenzao na anahofia kuwa chochote chaweza kutokea kwa sababu hiyo...lakini alikuwa ameona kutakuwa na vurugu kwa sababu pande zote zilikuwa zimeanza vita vya maneno.*

These are utterances he hears the leaders talking about each other and he fears that anything may happen because of that.... But he had seen that there must be violence because both sides had started engaging in verbal wars. (T2D)

(180) *Labda ni Jubilee iko vitani na CORD na malumbano yanawasha moto.*

May...Jubilee that...is in war with CORD...disagreement makes fire to be ignited. (T4A)

(181) *Wakiendelea na maneno makali, ana njia ya kuwatuliza. Anajua jinsi ya kuongea nao watulie.*

If they continue arguing with thrashing words, he has a way of calming them. He knows how to talk with them to calm. (T3D)

Responses (179), (180) and (181) indicated that there was verbal altercation between Jubilee and CORD presidential candidates in their campaigns which could trigger violence between their supporters. The responses also indicated that PC3 had a way of calming PC1 and PC2 if they continued with the verbal altercations. These observations are supported by Burnes (2011) and Michira (2014) in that the contest for the presidency is stiff between two leading candidates. PC3 acknowledged this fact and also apportioned blame for conflict to PC1 and PC2 while making himself the one to restore peace in elections. The cognitive effects achieved

in (179), (180) and (181) reveal that the syntactic and semantic parallelisms in (177) and (178) were convergent. According to Sperber and Wilson (1995) such a convergence involves less processing effort in achieving cognitive effects. This finding is in tandem with Kazemian and Hashemu (2014) observation that categorizing items together in parallel structures, results in unification as they either express the impression and the efficiency that are in some way related or to intentionally invite comparative investigation. The example “we have built the best-trained, best-led, best-equipped military in history” Barack Obama employed had a parallelism involving repeated direct objects which added clarity, equality, persuasion and beauty. The difference is that Kazemian and Hashemu (2014) do not consider the processing effort involved in the comprehension or reveal how the military structures Obama mentions are relevant in conflict management. The relevance of (177) and (178) in conflict management was in PC1 and PC3 showing that despite political contests, their intention was to avert an imminent conflict in the elections.

Another example of presidential candidates’ utterances with parallel structures was (182). The response to the question why PC2 used parallel structures was (183).

(182) *Ningependa kuona yaleyaliyofanyika tumemaliza, tumesahau na kwenda mbele.*

Wacha tusameheane kama waKenya.

I would like to see what happened we have finished, forgotten and gone ahead. Let us forgive one another as Kenyans. (PC2)

(183) *Wakenya wasahau yaliyofanyika na wasikumbuke walifanyiwa hili na lile.*

Kenyans to forget what happened and not remember... that was done to them.

(T1G)

In example (183), T1G needed to access the contextual assumption in “what happened” which in section 4.1 was the 2007/2008 PEV. “We” referred to the speaker, PC2, and party supporters. The missing subject and verb in the second and third clause was recovered as “we have”. In

section 4.2, it was revealed that there was enmity between PC2 followers and PC1's running mate and followers because the latter thought that the former played a role that culminated to his prosecution at the International Criminal Court. In (182) what happened referred to this contextual assumption. The clause "we have finished, we have forgotten and we have gone ahead" had syntactic parallelism, that is, similar subject, auxiliary verb and active verbs whose objects were "what happened". Semantic parallelism was revealed through the cognitive effects achieved in (183) in which forgetting what happened was a way of seeking reconciliation and forging ahead. The conclusion was that forgiveness was important in conflict management in elections. The matching of syntactic parallelism and semantic parallelism through the responses revealed more cognitive effects in relation to (182)'s role in conflict management in the elections. Consequently, the processing of (182) revealed that Tarakwa's residents needed, on one hand, to put behind the experiences of 2007/2008 PEV and PC1's and PC2's differences and focus on development issues. On the other hand, T3B (in section 4.2) regretted that such experiences were indelible and forgetting them was an uphill task.

However, for the sake of peace and unity, the experience needed to be forgotten as (206) shows:

(184) *Tulipata taabu na kila mmoja anaogopa yaliyofanyika, na kumbuka kuwa uchaaguzi wa 2013 ulifanyika ndani ya katiba mpya...kila mtu alijirekebisha. Kampeni haikunchangia kamwe kwa kubadilika kwa watu. Ni kwa yale tuliyoyapitia sisi wenyewe.*

We experienced problems and everyone was afraid of what happened. Remember that 2013 elections were under new constitution...everyone changed on their own. The campaign did not make people change. It was by ourselves through experiences.

(T3G)

As one FGD group commented, the 2007/2008 PEV was largely tribal war. Consequently, T3G recommended that it was important to forget what happened and forge peace. This finding

reflects Adegaju (2009) tripartite import of conflict in society in the proverb *akii ri arema ja a ki i si n ri aja mare* “there are no permanent friends and neither are there permanent enemies”. According to Adegaju (2009) this fluid state is emphasized by the parallel structures “permanent friends” and “permanent enemies” which are made prominent by the repetition of “there are” at the subject position. Adegaju (2009) focus on the fluidity of conflict compares with the dynamics of conflict management in Kenya such that conflict escalates around election time since 1992, however, in 2013 conflict was averted. That the 2013 campaign speeches were dominated by messages urging people to shun tribalism was not a coincidence as captured in (185) and (186).

(185) Kenyans have been put in tribal cages. This is a **cage for the Kikuyu**, this is a **cage for the Akamba, for the Luo, for the Arabs**. (PC2)

(186) *Hatutaki siasa ya kugawa wa Kenya kwa missing ya kabila. Hatutaki siasa ya kugawa wa Kenya kupitia chuki kwa sababu tumejione wenyewe yale chuki imetuletea...*

We do not want the politics of **dividing Kenyans on tribal lines**. We do not want the politics of **dividing Kenyans in hatred issues** because we have seen for ourselves what hatred has bought.... (PC1)

Example (185) exhibited parallelism in which PC2 employed identically patterned prepositional phrases “for the Kikuyu...for the Akamba...for the Luo...” and all these had the same subject and verb “this is...” According to Sperber and Wilson (1995) such identical patterns have syntactic parallelism which lead to a reduction of processing effort that is rewarded by the contextual effects achieved. Thomas and Wareing (1999) also observe that such identical structures serve to emphasize that the ideas are equal in importance and can add a sense of symmetry and rhythm which makes the speech more memorable. Similarly, in the present study, such memorability helped in recovering the right propositional forms and the underlying contextual assumptions. That is why in the parallel structures, it was easier to

predict the tribes PC2 mentioned in the list or apply the rule of three Thomas and Wareing (1999) posit is the norm in politics, to conclude that the list in (185) did not require any addition. Apart from parallel structures introducing symmetry and rhythm, parallelism serves three other functions. These include serving as an organization principle through which the text is woven, giving it poetic function and reflecting cultural thinking (Jaradat, 2007). Of these three functions, the poetic function is echoed in RT in that like other tropes, parallelism achieves relevance through a wide array of weak implicatures (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). Contrary to Jaradat (2007), in the present study, parallelism in the presidential candidates' utterances was investigated in relation to reduction of processing effort for the hearers while looking for matching parallelism in propositional forms and implicatures. In addition, the cultural thinking Jaradat (2007) examines does not state if the wisdom of proverbs can be used to resolve or manage conflict as Adegoju (2009) illustrates while using Yoruba proverbs.

In (185), PC2 made it mutually manifest that election-related violence was largely tribal and leaders had played a part in dividing Kenyans along tribal lines. According to the findings in section 4.1, in 2007, political parties were organized along tribal lines with stereotypical altercations characterizing the political campaign arena. In fact, three FGD participants invoked the Swahili proverbs *fahali wawili wakipigana, nyasi ndizo huumia* "when two bulls fight, the grass suffers". In this proverb, the image of the bull interpretively represented the leaders, while grass also interpretively represented the electorate. They also argued that the violence that engulfed the country in 2007, saw tribes affiliated to particular political leaders fight against each other, while the leaders for whose sake they were fighting either shared tea in five-star hotels or fled the country. Having these as the contextual assumptions, it was possible to work out the propositional form and the implicature of (185). To start with, the context of ethno-political violence was accessed and this enabled the clauses to yield parallel contextual effects with the implicated conclusion that tribalism was to blame for election-related violence.

Through contradicting and eliminating tribalism, the cognitive effect that shunning tribalism would contribute to conflict management was achieved. The deliberate use of parallel structures leads to a reduction of processing efforts and rewards the search for relevance (Sperber & Wilson, (1995). Example (186) was also interpreted in the same way as (185). The contextual assumptions were common. Therefore, the two utterances yielded parallel contextual effects interpreted on fairly standard dimensions.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of key findings derived from the analysis and discussions in chapter four. The findings are derived from the research objectives. This is followed by conclusions drawn from the key findings in line with the objectives of the study. The chapter also makes recommendations based on the research findings, which paves way for suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary of Findings

The first objective of the study was to interpret lexical choices in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches in conflict management. The lexical choices portraying peace and unity in the presidential campaign speeches revealed various *ad hoc* concepts constructed resulting from pragmatic adjustments including narrowing and broadening. The concept *peace* was expressed in lexical items including peace, peaceful, calm and rest which were narrowed, broadened or both. The narrowing of the encoded concept *peace* denoted averting violence as well as desisting from incitement instigated by politicians in the 2013 elections. It was revealed that careless utterances and illegal assemblies to discuss the potential winner of presidential elections could lead to violence. Therefore, the encoded concept *rest* was narrowed to denote the need for people to disengage from such arguments but wait for the results from their houses. In line with this was the encoded concept *calm* which was also narrowed to denote the sense of non-involvement in any violent acts during the 2013 elections. The encoded concept *peaceful* denoted the inherently peaceful nature of Kenyans who were incited by politicians or reacted to incredible tallying of results. Owing to the negative socio-economic impacts of violence on individuals, the encoded concept *peace* was broadened to denote love, unity, freedom and development besides denoting presidential candidates' confidence in acceptable

resolution of election disputes by the court. The concept *peace* was also broadened to denote freedom to do people wished including engaging in productive work.

The interpretation of the concept *peace* elucidated contextual assumptions derived from past election-related violence including incitement from leaders, bloodshed, displacement of people and property loss. The 2013 presidential campaign utterances with the theme of peace combined with these contextual assumptions and weakened them, hence satisfying the expectation of peace raised in the utterances. However, the expectations of relevance were also abandoned as the interpretation of the concept revealed that the candidates were not concerned with peace in the actual sense. Rather, the concept peace was broadened to denote advance celebration of victory, self-campaign and a way of indirectly and unknowingly campaigning for a presidential candidate whose party name was *Amani* which literally translates to peace. It also meant that peace would only prevail when a candidate won as well as the ability of a party's name to avert violence. Owing to the fact that each candidate anticipated his or her own victory, the concept *calm* was broadened to denote the creation of an atmosphere for manipulating election results. This was a setback for conflict management.

The encoded concept *unity* was expressed in lexical items including unite, together, team and family. The encoded concept *unity* encapsulated tribalism in the elective politics and its narrowing denoted the need to unite tribes. To avert violence instigated by tribalism, the encoded concept *unity* was broadened to denote that each politician needed to embrace inclusive politics devoid of tribal divisions triggered by presidential elections. The encoded concept *unity* also denoted each Kenyan's responsibility to shun tribalism in the run-up to the 2013 elections. It was further broadened to denote brotherhood and sisterhood regardless of party and tribal affiliations so that Kenyans could be one family. It also denoted forgiveness and reconciliation of politicians, apart from being a prerequisite for conflict management. However, the broadening of unity also denoted entrenchment of tribalism among voters and

presidential candidates with voters more likely to vote for candidates from their respective tribes. This hindered conflict management initiatives. The lexical item *together* in “bring together” denoted that a candidate had bestowed himself the role of unifying Kenyans. Further broadening denoted that unity was conditional as traces of PEV abounded among the tribes. The traces were manifested in the unreturned stolen property and covert tension among the different communities living in Tarakwa. Unity of the Kikuyu and Kalenjin was also perceived as that of convenience between PC1 and his running mate respectively who exploited it to buy their innocence from crimes against humanity cases at the ICC in particular and Kenyans in general.

The second objective of the study was to establish the relevance of speech acts in the 2013 presidential campaign speeches regarding conflict management. The findings indicated that the presidential candidates’ utterances mostly employed indirect speech acts while explicitly or implicitly conveying the illocutionary forces of the performative verbs. The declaratives and interrogatives were employed to convey illocutionary forces associated with the imperatives such as warning and condemning. These illocutionary forces were in turn broadly classified into the respective directive, expressive, commissive, declarative and representative acts. The directive acts conveyed warning, condemning and persuasive illocutionary forces which were employed to dissuade voters from incitement by errant leaders. In doing so, indirect speech acts involving declaratives and interrogatives were employed. The candidates also urged and persuaded voters that the winner would be determined by the number of votes cast and not through violence. Owing to the indirectness of the speech acts, it emerged that the declarative mood expressed desired states of affairs contrary to the actual state of affairs associated with declaratives. The desired state of affairs was found to be relevant in conflict management and therefore, there was truth in the propositional content of the utterances. Through expressive acts, a presidential candidate sought forgiveness for anything that might have caused differences with another candidate. However, owing to the deeply ingrained vengeance and

enmity between the candidates and their followers, the apology sought did not have a conviction of wrong doing. Consequently, there was no guarantee for forgiveness. Through expressives, leaders also conveyed regrets for past PEV, but instead of forgiving each other, they condemned each other. Thus, expressives did not have relevance in conflict management in 2013 elections.

Regarding commissives, the presidential candidates promised, vowed and offered to accept the election results whether their respective parties won or lost. They also swore to lead the country peacefully instead of engaging in political altercations. The illocutionary forces were expressed using indirect speech acts through declaratives that represented potential and desirable states of affairs, which is a domain of the imperative, instead of actual states of affairs associated with declaratives. The desirable state of affairs represented was desirable to some FGD participants initially, but later they found it irrelevant owing to the fact that some leaders' motives for promising or offering to mediate between other candidates or lead peacefully were selfish. This broke the correlation between the commissives and the utterances' communicative intentions.

Declarative acts were used by the presidential candidates to endorse their support for the candidate who would win the presidency. Otherwise, if a candidate did not win, they also declared that they would accept the results. The fact that they had been mandated by their parties and the electoral body to vie for the position, legitimized their declaration in undertaking the acts of endorsing, declaring and accepting the presidential results. The desired and potential states of affairs communicated were relevant as they adduced evidence that the struggle for presidency had been associated with election-related violence. Despite this realization in the desired states of affairs, there were speculations of each candidate endorsing themselves as the deserving candidates. This left the question of conflict management in the declarative acts unanswered. Representatives expressed the illocutionary force of describing evident through

performative acts which described the actual state of affairs. Through descriptions, it emerged that conflict management initiatives through popularizing peace in the run up to the 2013 elections were jointly shared between the presidential candidates and societal institutions including churches, village elders and international organizations. Through descriptions, the actual states of affairs attributing tribalism to election-related conflict was confirmed. It also emerged that tribalism had been entrenched in politics and it was not about to end. In addition, the evidence confirming the actual state of affairs indicated that Tarakwa residents decided to uphold peace on their own volition.

The third objective of the study examined the attitudes expressed towards echoic utterances of the 2013 presidential candidates regarding conflict management. It emerged that endorsing and tacitly dissociative attitudes were expressed towards the candidates' attributive utterances or thoughts regarding conflict management in the 2013 elections with respect to tribalism and incitement. In the process of echoing an utterance, propositional attitudes embedding beliefs or desires were also expressed. Regarding the role of tribalism in conflict and possible ways of averting conflict, both endorsing and dissociative attitudes were expressed. Utterances attributing election-related conflict to tribalism were echoed and endorsed with attitudes expressing optimism that conflict would be contained if tribalism was put to an end. This was through politicians undertaking to lead and unite all tribes and not only one tribe. Tribalism was a deviation from the society's norm and values and therefore defied unity. Echoic utterances that contradicted and eliminated ethnically divisive politics were endorsed with attitudes that expressed approval, support and backing. However, tacitly dissociative attitudes of cynicism, criticism and skepticism were expressed towards presidential candidates who claimed they dissociated with violence yet they perpetrated it. It emerged that the candidates were dishonest in their bid to end tribalism. Therefore, regretful and dissenting attitudes were expressed towards their echoic utterances on ending tribalism.

Regarding incitement of voters to perpetrate atrocities, both endorsing and dissociative attitudes were expressed. The aftermath of incitement outlined by presidential candidates included loss of lives, destruction of property and displacement of the poor. This view was endorsed and attitudes that sympathized, empathized and showed sensitivity to loss of lives were expressed. Consenting, empathetic and sympathetic attitudes were expressed by some FGD participants on realization that election violence affected the poor while competing politicians on whose behalf the poor fought partook tea in five-star hotels. These attitudes were embedded in the presidential candidates' utterances with the illocutionary forces of cautioning voters against politicians who incited members of the public. The people of Tarakwa also attributed their own utterances to the presidential candidates' utterances which were in turn attributed to the thought of other politicians regarding the roles these politicians played in inciting voters to violence. Such utterances and thoughts constituted second degree interpretations with approving, ratifying or confirming attitudes being expressed while Tarakwa people expressed approving and consenting attitudes towards their own attributed observations.

Dissociative attitudes were also expressed towards the utterances attributing violence to incitement of voters. This was because the motive of the politicians for urging people to desist from violence was selfish. Tarakwa residents' belief was that peaceful coexistence made it possible for leaders to exploit the people through various government funds including constituency development funds and road funds. Their echoic interpretation of peace was that peace was used as a campaign slogan which politicians disguised themselves in while campaigning. This revealed a tacitly dissociative attitude towards conflict management with expression of bitter and sarcastic attitudes. It emerged that utterances that urged people to dissociate from incitement were a catch phrase and campaign strategies which the people of Tarakwa were used to. Wry, mocking and scornful attitudes were therefore expressed towards

such utterances. Similarly, attitudes of insincerity, mistrust and skepticism were expressed following the realization that politicians had over the years betrayed the trust of the people by going against the grain of what they said. These dissociative attitudes implied that experiences of election-related violence had taught residents of Tarakwa lessons that it is the people at the grassroots who suffer. Therefore, the electorate themselves had roles in ensuring that they averted conflict.

The fourth objective of the study was to investigate the interpretations of specific stylistic effects used by the 2013 Kenyan presidential candidates in conflict management. Metaphors and epizeuxis revealed a wide array of implicatures that allowed broader cognitive effects to be achieved. War metaphors brought out metarepresentations involving the interpretive relations of the propositional forms put forth in military war set up and the thought represented by elections. As a conflict management strategy, the relevance of these metaphors was embedded in dissociation from acts of atrocities. Bloodshed represented the interpretive relationship between two warring army factions on one hand and the thought represented by two presidential candidates and their supporters in politically instigated conflict on the other hand. Bloodshed interpreted the thought represented by death hypothesized as bloodshed is death. This implicated that to manage conflict, a cease fire or truce was declared in the interpretive relation “there is no other day we would like to see bloodshed. Campaigns involved altercations among politicians which raise political temperatures and the likelihood of violence. Therefore, cold water, a metaphor employed by a presidential candidate, was perceived to lower political temperatures as depicted in the interpretive relationship of resemblance between cold water and good words that would calm politicians.

Manipulating the poor and the youth to engage in election violence had an interpretive relation with placing the army in the battle front. This drew interpretive relationship between elective politics and war as follows: politicians and army commanders, wife and children and soldiers,

outsiders and enemies or opponents, constituents and battle fronts, and loss in election and defeat in war. Further, findings revealed that election-related violence was foolish and was left for the poor. This, therefore, portrayed an interpretive relationship resembling the thought of manipulating the poor to engage in war. Therefore, intellect and wit were useful conflict management strategies that could guard the poor from being manipulated by the rich politicians to engage in war. The propositional form of the utterances containing the phrase accepting election results resembled the thought embedded in the battalion that wins while the other concedes defeat. Conceding defeat had an interpretive relation with calling a truce by accepting election results which was an important conflict management strategy. Despite these, the politicians' primary interest of winning in an election clouded the relevance of dissociation from war metaphors as a conflict management strategy. Instead, uses of such metaphors were also viewed as a scheme to achieve personal interests or a cover up in case the elections did not turn out as expected. This way, the expectations of relevance raised by utterances where such metaphors were used to promote conflict management was abandoned by some FGD participants.

With regard to sports metaphors, there was a metarepresentation involving the interpretive relationship between the propositional form containing the lexical item field on one hand, with citizens which was the thought it resembled on the other hand. The same interpretive relationship was also evident between round as used in boxing contest and another general election. The relevance of these resemblance relationships in conflict management was envisioned in citizens being the ones who vote while defeated candidates wait for another election to vie rather than contest the results violently. Playing a ninety-minute match resembled casting votes within the stipulated period, while scoring goals resembled determination of the winner by voters through the ballot. Extra time for voting had an interpretive relationship resembling the thought of a football match exceeding the standard

ninety-minutes in case the two teams drew. The extra time was perceived to potentially attract violence. To avoid a re-run of the election, voters were called upon to vote overwhelmingly in round one which was a metarepresentation of the first voting phase, and it resembled a win in boxing during the first round. Despite justifying conflict management through sports metaphors, their expectation in fostering conflict management was abandoned. The football and boxing metaphors employed conveyed undertones of arrogance and the overconfidence of anticipated personal victory while spelling doom to the opponents. Metaphors such as “another round”, which resembled the determination of a winner in boxing through strong punches, seemed to present violence scenario between the leading presidential candidates thereby defeating what they set out to achieve.

With respect to epizeuxis, the findings confirmed that emphatic effects of repetition of expressions such as ‘this tribe, this tribe’ were reflected in the propositional content, commitment to the propositional content of an utterance and the candidates’ attitudes. Repetition emphasized the relationship between tribalism and election-related conflict which the presidential candidates tacitly dissociated from with scorn and sarcasm. Through epizeuxis, the candidates left implicit propositional content on PEV which they believed reminded them of distasteful experiences. Through emphatic appeal of repetition, however, they expressed scornful and rebuking attitudes towards perceived perpetrators of violence. Repetition also emphasized the inherent hostility among the presidential candidates during campaigns. Through implicit utterances, the candidates minimized the risk of making manifest insolence and name calling in the campaigns but trusted the hearers to recover it. The findings also revealed that the echoic utterances in the repetitions expressed attitudes the presidential candidates employed to malign their political opponents. Thus, the assertion that the candidates were champions of peace was watered down. Other than epizeuxis, the findings revealed that presidential campaign speeches exhibited lexical repetition of the words peace, unity, tribalism

and violence which were not adjacent to each other as in the case of epizeuxis. It emerged that the interpretation of such repetitions involved more processing efforts in reconstructing implicatures as all contexts of the words within a speech or across different speeches were considered.

The parallel structures employed in the presidential campaign speeches achieved more contextual effects because of their convergence and the narrow range of implicatures conveyed. Although the implicatures did not have much stylistic import, the cognitive effects were easily recovered as most content in the parallel structure were explicit and the elliptical ones were recovered as the similar syntactic and semantic structures were predictable. This made the recovery of encyclopedic entries, contextual assumptions and implication possible. The explicit and implicit content of the parallel structures emphasized the inevitability of conflict if leaders continued to divide people along tribal lines or engaged in political altercations.

5.3 Conclusions

In view of the foregoing findings of the study, the conclusion is that 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches were replete with utterances that promoted conflict management among Kenyans. Through a wide array of implicatures in the presidential campaign speeches, the study established that some utterances in the speeches were relevant in promoting conflict management. The electorates were urged to desist from acts of atrocities embedded in tribalism and incitement but uphold peace and unity. In the process, however, the utterances were clouded with selfish motives and violence undertones. Nevertheless, the extent to which these utterances were relevant in conflict management reinforced people's own initiatives for conflict management through the resignation that election-related violence adversely affected the poor socially and economically. Further conclusions derived from specific objectives were as follows.

The first objective of the study was to interpret lexical choices on conflict management in the 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign speeches. The conclusion to this was that the narrowing and broadening of the encoded concepts *peace* and *unity* in the presidential campaign speeches denoted conflict management in the 2013. It also denoted politics which included all tribes. Peace and unity were required among the presidential candidates and the electorates in order to promote conflict management. The broadening of the concepts *peace* and *unity* denoted love, development, freedom, family hood, forgiveness and reconciliation and this strengthened conflict management initiatives in the elections. Therefore, various interpretations of the lexical choices peace and unity were basic ingredients for conflict management but presidential candidates had to be committed in what they said about peace and unity.

The second objective of the study was to establish the relevance of speech acts in the 2013 presidential campaign speeches regarding conflict management. Various speech acts pointed out that the key to conflict management rested in the presidential candidates and their followers accepting the election results and seeking court redress in case of disputes. This reinforced conflict management given that, on their own volition, and through community initiatives, people had also seen the need for conflict management. Therefore, various speech acts were influential in promoting conflict management.

The third objective of the study examined the attitudes expressed towards the utterances of the 2013 presidential candidates regarding conflict management by the people of Tarakwa. Tribalism and incitement of the people by politicians impeded conflict management. By drawing the voters' attention to these vices, presidential candidates' attributive utterances were endorsed and dissociated with. This meant that the people of Tarakwa credited presidential candidates for conflict management in elections but felt that they were not devoted enough towards it. Therefore, attitudes were discernible depending on candidates' commitments to conflict management.

The fourth objective of the study was to investigate the relevance of specific stylistic effects in the 2013 presidential campaign speeches in conflict management. Through metaphors, repetition and parallelism, presidential candidates displayed their dissociation with conflict in the 2013 elections through downplaying violence and insolence towards each other and among their followers. This was because these vices weakened the gains made towards conflict management. Despite this, conflict was imminent because some stylistic effects were aimed at attacking fellow candidates.

5.4 Recommendations

The relevance of presidential campaign speeches in conflict management has a number of implications to political discourse analysts and policy formulators. The present study has demonstrated that attempts to interpret campaign utterances focus on how human cognition tends to maximize relevance. The recommendation for objective one is that various lexical choices in political discourse have various implications. At the policy level, presidential candidates should be aware that the audience are critical interpreters of conflict management messages. Therefore, they should critically assess their lexical choices of peace and unity and reflect inclusivity of all tribes in order to promote conflict management. Political discourse analysts' comments regarding peace and unity in elections should bring into play the contextual resources, experiences, memory and encyclopedic knowledge shared by the politicians and audience. The audience should be at the core of the analysis of peaceful elections.

The recommendation for objective two is that presidential candidates should employ speech acts that promote conflict management in their campaigns. These speech acts should demonstrate that the country's peaceful existence during and after elections supersedes struggles for presidency that the candidates prioritize. At policy level, the community's initiative towards conflict management effort must be visible and recognized in open forums including campaign rallies and media so that all stake holders may be credited for peaceful

elections. At language level, the electorates have the disposition and linguistic resources to interpret the illocutionary forces, whether direct or indirect, employed in political utterances and attach meaning to them. Language analysts should take into account that the electorate interpret politicians' utterances based on the illocutionary forces, the context made mutually manifested and their memory.

The recommendation for the third objective of the study is that what politicians say and do should be driven by unity of tribes in and out of the campaign season. Politicians, through their attributive utterances on tribalism and incitement, should gradually develop the audiences' attitudes by issue driven campaigns and not political altercations revolving around tribalism and incitement. In their campaigns, the presidential candidates should endeavour to win the trust of the electorate in the concepts they implicitly employ in the political speeches that border on tribalism and incitement. Policy makers at county government levels should note that incitement to violence, which is closely associated with tribalism, should also be downplayed through the youth's social and economic empowerment.

The recommendation for the fourth objective is that presidential candidates should not manifest their political prowess through stylistic effects that glorify conflict. Presidential candidates should also be more explicit in their speeches to avoid misinterpretations that result from multiple interpretations of their utterances. Part of conflict management initiative through use of style should be to discourage political altercations among presidential candidates and promote issue-driven campaigns at all levels of elective positions.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The research findings and conclusions point to a number of issues that need to be addressed in future research. First, the present study suggests an analysis of lexico-pragmatic processes of the terms violence and tribalism which featured in the presidential campaign speeches on conflict management as well as in the interpretations of the terms peace and unity in Tarakwa.

It is suggested that the various *ad hoc* concepts created by these words be analyzed in the speeches employed by politicians of other elective positions in conflict management.

As a follow-up to objective two, further research should analyze the relevance of specific categories of speech acts in conflict management in the speeches of national assembly and county assembly candidates. The findings pointed out that presidential candidates urged politicians from these levels to stop inciting the youth and the poor people to violence. In addition, the respondents argued that conflict management initiatives also took place at grass root level. It is important to establish how the involvement of these candidate through various speech acts promoted conflict management in the elections.

For objective three, it is suggested that future research evaluate echoic utterances attributing violence to presidential candidates' political altercations in campaigns. This is because attitude is a matter of attribution to echoic utterances. Dissociative attitudes indicated that despite advocating for conflict management among the electorate, the presidential candidates did not manifest it among themselves. Their attributive utterances to one another were suggestive of violence.

Through wide arrays of implicatures, the various ways stylistic effects, including metaphors, epizeuxis and parallelism, achieved relevance in conflict management was revealed in objective four. For further research, the present study suggests an investigation of the relevance of stylistic effects including riddles, allegories, proverbs, biblical allusions and songs in sparking violence or advocating for conflict management in all levels of electoral offices. It will be important to analyze how repetitions of lexical items, phrases and clause in these genres are patterned to emphasize conflict management. In the same token, the use of parallelism in these genres in relation to conflict management should be investigated.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Data Extraction Tool

The data extraction tool below contains lexical items and phrases that guided the researcher in extracting utterances from the sampled presidential speeches for analysis in all the four objectives of the study.

Lexical Choices	Speech Acts	Attitudes	Metaphors
Peace	I think	Tribalism	War
Peaceful	I feel	Tribal lines	Battle front
Peacefully	I believe	Tribal politics	Fight
Calm	We know	Violence	Blood/bloodshed
Rest	We want	Divisive politics	trouble
Unity	Promise	Fight	Defeated
Family	Warning	Incitement	Concede defeat
Humbly	Cautioning	Evicted	Field
One team	Disagreeing	That time	Round
provoked	Trying to	What happened	Football match
Used	Urging	Forgiveness	Ninety-minutes
Court	Assure	Rigging	Extra time
	Forgiving	Destruction	Children/youth
	Preaching		Burning

Appendix II: Focus Group Discussion Guide (English)

I am grateful to you all for sparing time to talk about general elections in Kenya. Today I want to concentrate on conflict management in 2013 elections. I would particularly like to hear from you how you interpreted the presidential campaign speeches regarding conflict management. There is no right or wrong answer and I would like you to feel free to say what you really think.

1. What is the importance of *peace* in Tarakwa in relation to general elections in Kenya?
2. What was the relevance of these words in conflict management as used in the 2013 presidential campaign speeches in the sentences that follow them?

Peace	Rest	Calm	Peaceful	Unity
Humbly	Bring together	Unite	One team	One family

- a) Leave us alone. We want **peace** in our nation. (PC1)
- b) And as we approach elections, I want to appeal to any Kenyan wherever he is to cast his vote, go home, **rest** and **be calm**. (PC1)
- c) As you can see the Kenyan people are very **peaceful**. Even last time they were very **peaceful**. (PC2)
- d) We will go to the courts and we are urging all our supporters to be **peaceful** because we are winning the elections. (PC2)
- e) We want our name which is **Amani** Coalition to work in election issues so that blood will not spill at all the way it spilt that time. (PC3)
- f) Those others from the other coalitions, when they come to the meeting they say live in **peace**. When they finish the meeting they say go home in **peace**. When they say vote, they say vote in **peace**. Now, if they are campaigning for me because they are saying vote in peace.... Aren't they saying vote for peace. Who is **peace**? (PC3)

- g) Every leader, every Kenyan, we have the responsibility of telling Kenyans to be **peaceful** because if you do incitement it is the poor that clash. (PC4)
- h) I am asking every county to decide we want peace so that we can everyone fend for themselves. (PC4)
- i) And we said, it is necessary, even if there is nothing we can do, Kenyans in every corner have peace and have **unity**. (PC1)
- j) Have we decided that we will engage in politics of **uniting Kenyans**? (PC1)
- k) We as Amani we will lead Kenya and **bring them together**. (PC3)
- l) I want to unite Kenyans. (PC3)
- m) The question of unity so that we can be **one family** is very important. (PC4)
- n) And what unity if the cattle a person sees at his neighbours' has not been returned? (PC4)

3. What did the presidential candidates mean in the following utterances? Did they really mean it? For whose benefits were the acts named in the utterances?

- a) It is said that there will be **trouble** in Kenya when elections come. (PC1)
- b) The vote is the one that will **decide**. (PC1)
- c) But who was evicted?... It is not the rich people from these communities. It is the helpless. Even where they were evicted, there are still rich people from these two communities who have what? Land. If your land is big, it is as if when the people are told to cause destruction, it is as if we are shaken by the wealth. (PC4)
- d) If we depend on the one that is brought during elections, we will eat it in one or two days, and five years which is one thousand eight hundred and about fifty days, you will suffer because you do not eat the campaign money. (PC4)
- e) We know that the youth are the majority in our nation of Kenya, and when they are many, we want a government that will serve them, but not to use them the way they have been used in the past. (PC1)

- f) Our fellows, we know that as leaders if we cooperate, and say that there is no hatred among us and we will not destroy the assets of the citizens of Kenya, we will achieve a lot. (PC1)
- g) I would like to see what happened we have finished, forgotten and gone ahead. Let us forgive one another as Kenyans. (PC2)
- h) If I have offended any person, I am a human being, I ask for forgiveness because we were in one team. (PC2)
- i) Mine is to promise you one thing. Whatever the outcome we must be peaceful, we must be united and we should know that we must unite even after the election, we must work together. (PC2)
- j) If there are any anomalies, we will pass through the legal channel. We will go to the courts and we are urging all our supports to be peaceful because we are winning the elections. (PC2)
- k) If Jubilee is burning on this side, if CORD is burning on this side, I have cold water I will pour on Jubilee, I will pour on CORD to calm. Then, us as Amani, we drive and bring you together. (PC3)
- l) It is one person who will sit in the seat at a time. (PC1)
- m) We want to finish this election without any incidents that will cause embarrassment. (PC3)
- n) We said, if we are defeated we will concede defeat. I know we will not be defeated. (PC2)
- o) That is why I said that I want to see us not divided on tribal basis. Kenyans fought the other years and you know why. (PC2)
- p) This is a cage for the Kikuyu, this is a cage for the Akamba, for the Luo, for the Arabs. We are saying this has affected development in our country. We will break this. (PC2)

4. i) What are your opinions concerning the following utterances by presidential candidates urging Kenyans to shun tribalism so that conflict will be averted in 2013 elections? Were they relevant?

a) We do not want the politics of dividing Kenyans on tribal lines. We do not want the politics of dividing Kenyans in hatred issues because we have seen for ourselves what hatred has bought in our nation of Kenya. (PC1)

b) When you go to the hospital, does the doctor ask you your tribe before treating you? Please my fellows, let us stop tribal politics. (PC1)

c) That is why I said that I want to see us not divided on tribal basis. Kenyans fought the other years and you know why. (PC2)

d) We are saying we must break the tradition of dividing Kenyans. Kenyans have been put in tribal cages. This is a cage for the Kikuyu, this is a cage for the Akamba, for the Luo, for the Arabs. (PC2)

e) Our tribe all of us is Kenya. Let us improve what we call Kenyanism so that we can fight with our four greatest enemies: diseases, ignorance, poverty and poor governance. (PC2)

ii) What are your opinions concerning the following utterances by presidential candidates urging Kenyans to shun incitement so that conflict will be averted in 2013 elections? Were they relevant?

a) If a leader tells you, “you, youth, go and fight”, tell him “take your wife and your children to the battle front. Leave us alone”. (PC1)

b) Every leader, every Kenyan, we have a responsibility of telling Kenyans to stay peacefully because if you cause incitement, it is the poor who fight among themselves. Leaders look and see that it is a movie they are watching. (PC4)

- c) If a person incites you telling you when you see a member of opposition, yell at them, understand this person. No politician brings his children to do such work. (PC4)
- d) We do not want to see Kenyans being evicted carelessly. (PC2)
- e) Kenyans fought the other years and you know why. (PC2)
5. i) Why do you think the presidential candidates used words signifying war and sports in the speeches?
- a) Isn't it **blood** that **shed** here? (PC1)
- b) And there is no day again we would like to see the **blood of the citizens shedding again** because of politics. (PC3)
- c) We want our name which is **Amani Coalition** to work in election issues so that **blood would not shed** at all as it shed that time. (PC3)
- d) If a politician tells you "You, youth go and **fight**", tell him "Take **your wife and children** to the **battle front**". (PC1)
- e) **Foolish work** (fighting/war) is left for the weak and their children. (PC4)
- f) We have said that in the unlikely event that we are **defeated** we will accept the results. (PC1)
- g) I know we will not be **defeated**. But if we will be defeated, we will **concede defeat**. (PC2)
- h) I have **cold water** I will pour on Jubilee; I will pour on CORD, I cool them. Then, us as Amani, we drive and bring you together. (PC3)
- i) If the citizens reject you this time **round** go home gently, another five years, if you want to go back to the **field**, the citizens will decide again if it is you or they do not want you. (PC1)
- j) Come out, and come out in big numbers. We cast this vote, we finish in the **first round**. (PC1)

k) And we want ninety-minute match. No extra time. (PC2)

l) The match will be for the citizens now. The citizens have remained with the match to play on Monday. (PC2)

ii) Why did the candidates repeat some words in these utterances?

a) a) There are those who would have liked to name Kenya **this tribe this tribe**. (PC1)

b) b) Kenyans want to make sure that what happened, does not happen again, but not to cry that yesterday **it was. It was, it was, it was**. (PC1)

c) c) Our brothers are **seeking votes**. They are **seeking votes**. (PC3)

d) e) For us **we are not fighting with** anyone. **We are not fighting with** those ones. (PC1)

e) f) **We are resting our case today**. We are saying that **we are finishing today** here. (PC2)

f) g) If Jubilee **is burning on this side**, if CORD **is burning on this side**, I have cold water **I will pour on Jubilee, I will pour on CORD** to calm. (PC3)

g) I would like to see what happened we have **finished, forgotten** and **gone ahead**. Let us forgive one another as Kenyans. (PC2)

h) i) Kenyans have been put in tribal cages. This is a **cage for the Kikuyu**, this is a **cage for the Akamba, for the Luo, for the Arabs**. (PC2)

i) **We do not want the politics of dividing Kenyans on tribal lines. We do not want the politics of dividing Kenyans in hatred issues** because we have seen for ourselves what hatred has bought in our nation of Kenya. (PC1)

Appendix III: Focus Group Discussion Guide (Kiswahili)

Utaratibu wa Majadiliano (Kiswahili)

Ninawashukuru nyote kwa kutenga muda ili tuweze kuzungumza kuhusu uchaguzi wa Kenya. Leo nataka tuzingatia udhibiti wa mizozo katika mwaka wa 2013. Ningependa kusikia kutoka kwenu jinsi mlivyoelewa hotuba za kampeni za urais kuhusu udhibiti wa mizozo. Hakuba jawabu sahihi ama lisilo sahihi na ningependa muwe huru kusema vile mnavyofikiria.

1. *Amani* ina umuhimu gani hapa Tarakwa katika mambo ya uchaguzi?
2. Maneno haya yalikuwa na umuhimu gani katika udhibiti wa mizozo katika hotuba za rais za 2013?

Amani	Pumzika	Tulia	Wa amani	Umoja
Kwa unyenyekevu	Lete pamoja	Unganisha	Timu moja	Jamii moja

- (a) Sisi wachana na sisi. Tunataka **amani** katika taifa letu. (PC1)
- (b) Na wakati tunaenda kwa uchaguzi, mimi nataka kuhimiza mKenya pahali popote alipo, wewe piga kura yako uende nyumbani **upumzike** na **utulie**. (PC1)
- (c) Kama mnavyoona, waKenya ni watu wa amani. Hata wakati ule mwingine walikuwa na amani. (PC2)
- (d) Tutaenda kortini na tunawahimiza wafuasi wetu wawe na amani kwa sababu tunashinda uchaguzi. (PC2)
- (e) Tunataka jina letu ambalo ni **Amani** Coalition lifanye kazi katika mambo ya uchaguzi ili damu isimwagike kamwe kama ilivyomwagika wakati ule. (PC3)
- (f) Wale wengine, wanasiasa wa mrengo mwingine wakija kwa mkutano wanasema muishi kwa **amani**. Wakimaliza mkutano wanasema mwende nyumbani kwa **amani**. Wakisema mpige kura, wanasema mpige kura kwa **amani**. Sasa ikiwa wananifanyia

kampeni kwa sababu wanasema mpige kura kwa **amani**... Si wanasema piga kura kwa **amani**. **Amani** ni nani? (PC3)

(g) Kila kiongozi, kila mKenya tuko na jukumu la kuwaambia waKenya tukae na amani sababu mkifanya incitement ni wanyonge wanawachiliwa wagongane. (PC4)

(h) Nauliza kila kaunti tuamue tunataka amani ili kila mmoja aweze kujitafutia. (PC4)

(i) Na tukasema, inastahili hata kama hakuna lolote tunaweza kufanya, waKenya kila kona wako na amani na wako na **umoja**. (PC1)

(j) Tumeamua wenzangu ya kwamba sisi tutafanya siasa ya **kuweka waKenya pamoja?** (PC1)

(k) Sisi kama Amani tuendeshe Kenya **tuwalete pamoja**. (PC3)

(l) Mimi nataka niunganishe waKenya. (PC3)

(m) Jambo la umoja ndio tuwe **jamii moja** ni la muhimu sana. (PC4)

(n) Na umoja gani kama ng'ombe yule mtu anaona ako kwa jirani hajarudishwa? (PC4)

3. Ni nini wagombea wa urais walimaanisha katika matamshi haya? Walimanisha kweli walivyosema? Ni kwa manufa ya nani matendo yaliyotajwa katika matamshi yalikuwa?

a) Inasemekana kuwa kutakuwa na taabu uchaguzi ukifika. (PC1)

b) Kura ndiyo itaamua. (PC1)

c) Lakini ni nani alifurushwa?... Sio matajiri kutoka hizi jamii. Ni wanyonge. Hata pale walifurushwa kuna matajiri kutoka hizi jamii mbili ambao wako na nini: mashamba. Kama shamba yako ni kubwa, ni kama watu wakiambiwa kufanya uharibifu, ni kama wantetemeshwa na utajiri. (PC4)

d) Tukitegemea ile inaletwa wakati wa uchaguzi, tutakula siku moja au mbili, na miaka tano ambayo ni siku sifu moja mia nane na karibu hamsini, utateseka kwa sababu haukuli pepsa ya kampeni. (PC4)

- e) Wenzetu, tunajua vijana ndio wengi katika taifa letu, na wakiwa wengi, tunataka serikali ambayo itawatumikia na sio kuwatumia vibaya vile wametumiwa hapo awali. (PC1)
- f) Wenzetu sisi tunajua ya kwamba kama viongozi tukishirikiana pamoja, tuseme ya kwamba hakuna chuki kati yetu na hatutaweka chuki mali ya wananchi wa Jamhuri ya Kenya. Ni mengi ambayo tutaweza kutimiza. (PC1)
- g) Mimi ningependa kuona yale ambayo yalifanyika tumemaliza tusahau tuendeleo mbele. Tusameheane kama wakenya. (PC2)
- h) Kama nimekosea mtu, mimi ni binadamu, naomba msamahakwa sababu tulikuwa timu moja (PC2)
- i) We must be peaceful, we must be united. Natujue ya kwamba lazima tuungane hata baada ya uchaguzi, lazima tufanye kazi pamaoja.
- j) Kama kutakuwa na hitilafu, tutatumia njia ya haki. Tutaenda kortini na tunasihi wafuasi wetu kuwa na amani kwa sababu tutashinda uchaguzi. (PC2)
- k) Kama Jubilee inawaka upande huu, Kama CORD inawaka upande huu, mimi niko na maji baridi nimwagie wa Jubilee, nimwagie wa CORD watulie halafu sisi kama Amani tuendeshe Kenya na tuwalete pamoja. (PC3)
- l) Ni mtu mmoja tu atakalis kiti kwa wakati mmoja. (PC1)
- m) Tunataka kumaliza huu uchaguzi bila mambo yoyote ya aibu. (PC3)
- n) Tulisema tukishindwa tutakubali kushindwa. Ninajua hatutashindwa. (PC2)
- o) Ndio maana nilisema sitaki kuona kama tumegawanywa kwa misingi ya kikabila. (PC2)
- p) Hili ni pango la wakikuyu, hili ni pango la wakamba, la wajaluo, la waarabu. Tunasema hii imeadhiri maendeleo incini. Tutamaliza hii (PC2)

4. i) Maoni yako ni yapi kuhusu matamshi yafwatayo ya wagombea urais katika kuwahimiza watu wajitenge na ukabila ili kuthibiti mizozo katika uchaguzi wa 2013? Yalikuwa ya manufaa?
- a) Hatutaki siasa za kugawanya Wakenya kwa mirengo ya ukabila. Hatutaki siasa za kugawanya wakenya katika mambo ya chuki kwa sababu tumejionea kile chuki imetuletea kwa taifa letu la Kenya. (PC1)
- b) Ukienda hospitalini, daktari anakuuliza kabila yako mbele akutibu? Tafadhali wenzangu tumalize siasa hizo za chuki. (PC1)
- c) Ndio maana nilisema sitaki kuona kama tumegawanywa kwa misingi ya kikabila. (PC2)
- d) Tunasema lazima tumalize tamaduni za kugawa waKenya. Wakenya wamewekwa mapango y kikabila. Hili ni pango la wakikuyu, hili ni pango la wakamba, la wajaluo, la waarabu. (PC2)
- e) Kabila yetu sisi wote ni Kenya. Tuimarisha kile tunachokiita Ukenya ndipo tunaweza kupigana na maadui wetu wane wakuu: maradhi, upumbavu, umaskini na utawala mbaya. (PC2)
- ii) Maoni yako ni yapi kuhusu matamshi yafwatayo ya wagombea urais katika kuwahimiza watu wajitenge na uchochezi ili kuthibiti mizozo katika uchaguzi wa 2013? Yalikuwa ya manufaa?
- a) Kiongozi akijaribu kukuambia “wewe kijana enda upigane”. Wewe mwambie “upeleke watoto wako na bibi yako waende mstari wa mbele. Sisi wachana na sisi tunataka amani katika taifa letu”. (PC1)
- b) Kila kiongozi Kila Mkenya tuko na jukumu la kuwaambia wakenya tukae na amani sababu mkifanya incitement ni wanyonge wanawachiliwa wagongane. Viongozi wanaangalia wanaona tu ni kama movie wanaona. (PC4)

- c) Mtu akikuchochea kwa kukwambia ukiona mtu wa upinzani mppigie kelele, elewa huyu mtu. Hakuna mwanasiasa analeta watoto wake kufanya kazi kama hiyo. (PC4)
- d) Hatutaki kuona wakenya wakifurushwa ovyo ovyo. (PC4)
- e) Wakenya Walipigana miake ya awali na mnajua ni kwa nini? (PC2)
- 5) i) Ni nini maneno yafwatayo ambayo yanalinganisha uchaguzi na vita ama michezo yalisaidai katika uchaguzi wa urais kuhusu udhibiti wa mizozo?
- a) Si ni damu ilimwagika hapa? (PC1)
- b) Na hakuna tena siku ambayo tutataka kuona damu ya mwananchi ikimwagika tena kwa sababu ya siasa. (PC1)
- c) Tunataka jina letu ambalo ni Amani Coalition lifanye kazi katika mambo ya uchaguzi ili damu isimwagike kamwe kama ilivyomwagika wakati ule mwingine. (PC3)
- d) Kiongozi akijaribu kukuambia “wewe kijana enda upigane”. Wewe mwambie “upeleke watoto wako na bibi yako waende mstari wa mbele. Sisi wachana na sisi tunataka amani katika taifa letu”. (PC1)
- e) Kazi ya upumbavu inawachiwa wanyonge na watoto wao. (PC4)
- f) Tumesema kwamba tukishindwa, na hakuna uwezekano wetu kushindwa, tutakubali matokeo. (PC2)
- g) Tunajuwa hatuwezi kushindwa na tukishindwa tutakubali kushindwa. (PC2)
- h) Kama Jubilee inawaka upande huu, Kama CORD inawaka upande huu, mimi niko na maji baridi nimwagie wa Jubilee, nimwagie wa CORD watulie halafu sisi kama Amani tuendeshe Kenya na tuwalete pamoja. (PC3)
- i) Wananchi wakikukataa safari hii tafadhali nenda nyumbani kwa upole miaka ingine mitano, ukitaka urudi kwa uwanja wananchi watadecide again kama ni wewe ama hawakutaki tena. (PC1)
- j) Mjitokeze kwa wingi. Tupige kura hii tuimalize roundi ya kwanza. (PC1)
- k) Tunataka mechi ya dakika tisini. Hakuna muda wa ziada. (PC2)

- 1) Mchuano utakuwa ni wa Wananchi sasa. Tunataka mechi ya dakika tisini. (PC2)
- 5) ii) Ni kwa nini wagombea urais walirudia maneno mengine katika matamshi haya?
- a) Kuna wengine wangependa kutaka Kenya kabila hii kabila hii. (PC1)
 - b) Wakenya wanataka kuhakikisha kuwa yale yalitendeka hayatendeki tena lakini sio kulia yakwamba jana ilikuwa ilikuwa ilikuwa ilikuwa. (PC1)
 - c) Ndugu zetu wanatafuta kura. Wanatafuta kura. (PC3)
 - d) Sisi hatupigani na yeyote. Hatupigani na hao. (PC1)
 - e) Hatutaki matusi. Hatutaki matusi. (PC2)
 - f) Kama Jubilee inawaka upande huu, Kama CORD inawaka upande huu, mimi niko na maji baridi nimwagie wa Jubilee, nimwagie wa CORD watulie halafu sisi kama Amani tuendeshe Kenya na tuwalete pamoja. (PC3)
 - g) Ningependa kuona kwamba yale yalitendeka tumemaliza, tumesahau na kwenda mbele. Tusameheane kama wakenya. (PC2)
 - h) Wakenya wamewekwa mapango y kikabila. Hili ni pango la wakikuyu, hili ni pango la wakamba, la wajaluo, la waarabu. (PC2)
 - i) Tumesema sisi ya kwamba siasa zetu hatutaki siasa za kugawanya Wakenya kwa mirengo ya ukabila. Hatutaki siasa za kugawanya wakenya katika mambo ya chuki kwa sababu tumejionea kile chuki imetuletea kwa taifa letu la Kenya. (PC1)

Appendix IV: Informed Consent for Focus Group Discussion Participants (In English)

You have been invited to participate in a discussion for a research titled *Lexico- pragmatic choices for conflict management in 2013 Kenyan presidential campaign discourse* which is part of my PhD in Maseno University. You will watch four 2013 presidential campaign speeches lasting 5 minutes each. After each speech, you will give your views on how you understood the 2013 presidential campaign speech utterances regarding conflict management and if you think these utterances helped in mitigating election-related conflict. The discussion will take one hour. Your participation is completely voluntary and if you decide to participate in the discussion, we promise you the following:

1. **Confidentiality.** All information you provide us will be kept in the strictest confidence. The discussion will be audiotaped and we will be taking notes also. The notes and audiotapes will be used for this research only and will be kept by the researcher. However, Maseno University Ethical Review Committee may access the audiotapes when there is need to monitor the study. The name of participants will neither be used in preparing the notes nor in preparing the report.
2. **Voluntary Participation.** Your participation is voluntary and you may pull out of the discussion at any stage you feel you do not want to proceed. You also have the option of not answering a question at any one time you decide.
3. **Additional Information.** If you have any questions about the research or wish to receive a copy of the report when it is completed, you may contact Norah Mose P. O. Box 3280, Kisii. Email: ignarayn@yahoo.com. Telephone: 0721992410. Further, if you have any questions about your rights as a participant contact: The Secretary, Maseno University Ethics Review Committee, Private Bag, Maseno; Telephone Numbers 057-51622; Email Address: muerc-secretariate@maseno.ac.ke; muerc-secretariate@gmail.com

Focus Group Discussion Consent

I agree to participate in this Focus Group Discussion. I understand that my participation is voluntary and will not affect me in any way. I also understand that I can stop participating or refuse to answer questions at any time.

Participant _____ Sign _____ Date _____

Witness _____ Sign _____ Date _____

APPENDIX V: Informed Consent for Focus Group Discussion Participants (In Kiswahili)

Fomu fa Kukubali Kushiriki katika Utafiti

Umealikwa kushiriki katika mazungumzo ya utafiti kuhusu udhibiti wa mizozo katika hotuba za kampeni za uchaguzi wa rais wa 2013, ikiwa ni sehemu ya PhD yangu katika chuo Kikuu cha Maseno. Utatazama hotuba nne za hotuba za kampeni za urais na baada ya kutazama mtatoo maoni yenu kuhusu uchaguzi mkuu wa 2013 kuhusu jinsi mlivyoelewa matamshi ya kuthibiti mizozo katika hotuba za kampeni ya urais ya 2013 na ueleze kama matamshi haya yalikuwa ya manufaa katika kudhibiti mizozo ya uchaguzi. Mazungumzo yatachukua saa moja. Kushiriki kwako katika mazungumzo ni kwa kujitolea na ukiamua kushiriki, tunakuahidi yafyatayo:

- 1. Usiri:** Habari zote utakazotupa zitabakia kuwa siri kabisa. Mazungumzo yatanaswa na kutumia kinasauti huku tukinakili mengine kwa kalamu. Nakala hizi zitatumika kwa minajiliya utafiti pekee na zitahifadhiwa na mtafiti. Lakini, Kamati ya Kukadiria Maadili ya Chuo Kikuu Cha Maseno yaweza wasilishiwa itakapohitajika. Majina yenu hayatumika katika utayarishaji wa ripoti.
- 2. Uhusika wa Kujitolea:** Kushiriki kwako ni wa kujitolea na unaweza kujiondoa kwenye mazungumzo wakati wowote katika kiwango chochote ikiwa utahisi kuwa hutaki kuendelea. Pia una uhuru wa kutojibu swali ikiwa hautataka kulijibu.
- 3. Ujumbe wa Kuongezea:** Kama una swali lolote kuhusu utafiti huu ama ungependa kupokea nakala ya ripoti hii itakapomalizika, unaweza kuzasiliana na Norah Mose, S.L.P 3280, Kisii. Barua pepe: ignarayn@yahoo.com. Nambari ya simu: 0721992410. Vilevile, ukiwa na maswali yoyote kuhusu haki zako za kushiriki katika utafiti wasiliana na: The Secretary, Maseno University Ethics Review Committee, Private Bag, Maseno; TelephoneNumbers 057-51622; emailAddress muerc-secretariate@maseno.ac.ke; muercsecretariate@gmail.com

Kujitolea Katika Mazungumzo

Ninakubali kushiriki katika mazungumzo ya kikundi. Ninaelewa kuwa kushiriki kwangu ni kwa kujitolea na hakuwezi kunidhuru kwa njia yoyote. Pia naelewa kuwa naweza kujiondoa ama nisijibu swali wakati wowote.

Majina _____ Sahihi _____ Tarehe _____

Shahidi _____ Sahihi _____ Tarehe _____

Appendix VI: Ethics Approval Letter



MASENO UNIVERSITY ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Tel: +254 057 351 522 Ext: 3050
Fax: +254 057 351 221

Private Bag – 40105, Maseno, Kenya
Email: muerc-secretariat@maseno.ac.ke

FROM: Secretary - MUERC

DATE: 22nd March, 2017

TO: Norah Nyarangi Mose
PG/PhD/FA/00093/2014
Department of Linguistics
School of Arts and Social Sciences
Maseno University
P. O. Box, Private Bag, Maseno, Kenya

REF: MSU/DRPI/MUERC/00364/16

RE: Lexico-pragmatic Choices for Conflict Management in the 2013 Kenyan Presidential Campaign Discourse. Proposal Reference Number: MSU/DRPI/MUERC/00364/16

This is to inform you that the Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (MUERC) determined that the ethics issues raised at the initial review were adequately addressed in the revised proposal. Consequently, the study is granted approval for implementation effective this 22nd day of March, 2017 for a period of one (1) year.


Please note that authorization to conduct this study will automatically expire on 21st March, 2018. If you plan to continue with the study beyond this date, please submit an application for continuation approval to the MUERC Secretariat by 22nd February, 2018.

Approval for continuation of the study will be subject to successful submission of an annual progress report that is to reach the MUERC Secretariat by 22nd February, 2018.

Please note that any unanticipated problems resulting from the conduct of this study must be reported to MUERC. You are required to submit any proposed changes to this study to MUERC for review and approval prior to initiation. Please advise MUERC when the study is completed or discontinued.

Thank you.

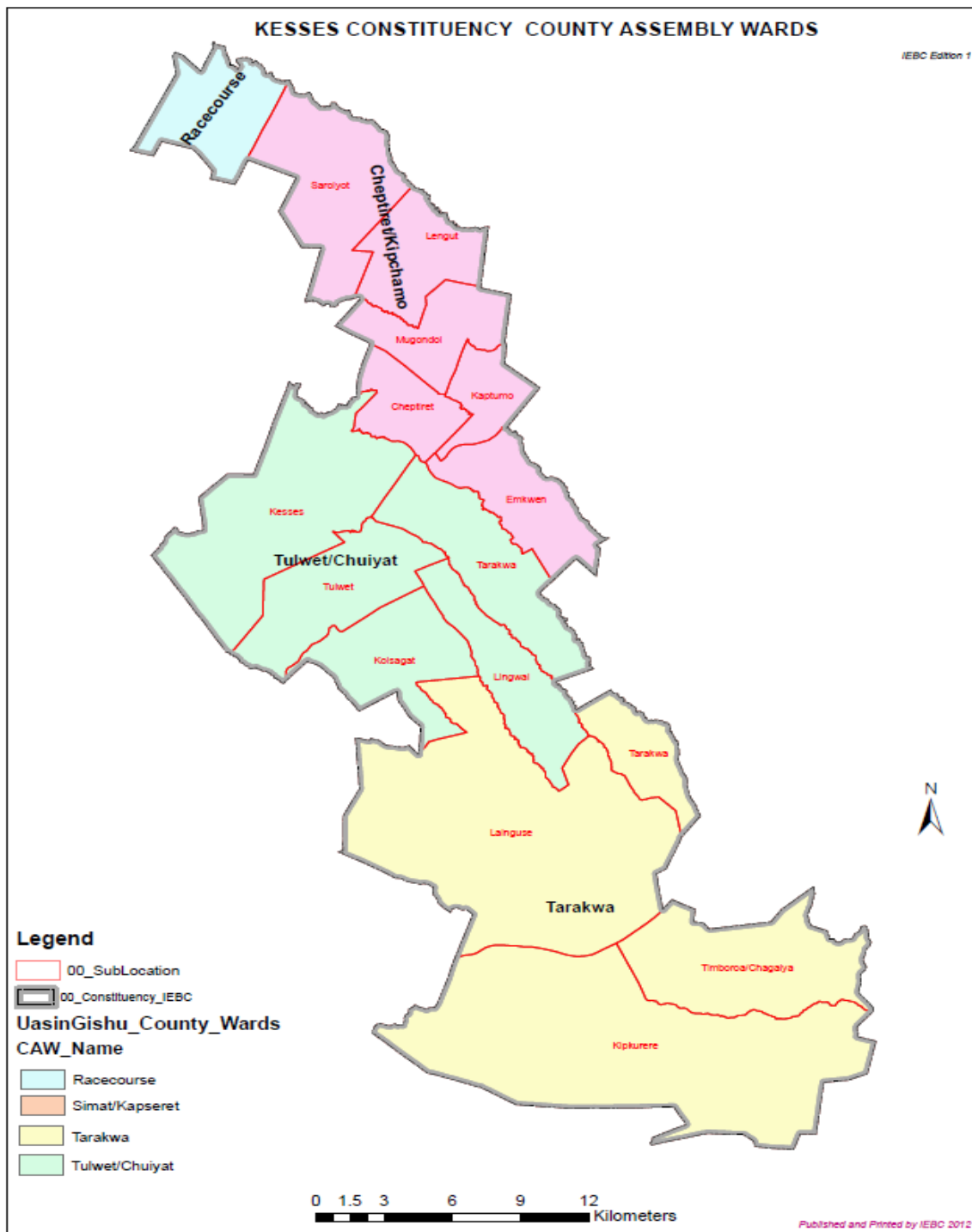
Yours faithfully,


Dr. Bonuko Anyona,
Secretary,
Maseno University Ethics Review Committee.



Cc: Chairman,
Maseno University Ethics Review Committee.

Appendix VII: Kesses Constituency County Assembly Wards



Source: Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission Atlas (2012).

Appendix VIII: Campaign Speeches in English

PC1 Speeches

Speech 1

How are you!

We as Jubilee members, our first aim is to ensure that we have brought peace in our nation. Secondly, to ensure we have unity of all Kenyans so that together we can expand our economy. And we should ensure that every Kenyan wherever he is he is proud of his nation. Our fellows, our politics are not of insults. We know that the youth are the majority in our nation of Kenya, and when they are many, we want a government that will serve them, but not to use them the way the youth have been used badly in the past.

Our fellows, we know that as leaders if we cooperate together, and say that there is no hatred among us and we will destroy the assets of the citizens of Kenya, we will achieve a lot. Our fellows, we want to ensure that we have dealt with poverty in our nation of Kenya.

The thing that has spoilt our country is the politics of quarrels and politics of hatred. We have said that those are over, because our fellows those politics are the ones that have brought poverty in our nation of Kenya. Leaders are seeking trouble but do not care about the welfare of the ordinary citizens of this republic of Kenya. Our fellows we want a change.

Therefore, our fellows when we are here we want to say, when we are here tribal politics to end. We want now to have politics that all of us we will discover ourselves as Kenyans knowing that problems are problems and do not know tribes. And I am telling you this, my fellows, there are those who would have liked to name Kenya this tribe this tribe but I know that the blood that circulates among us all is red. When you go to the hospital, does the doctor ask you your tribe before treating you? Please my fellows, let us stop tribal politics.

We unite as Kenyans, we dialogue as Kenyans and I have no doubt if we do that we will achieve many good things for our nation of Kenya.

As I come to the end, my fellows I want to tell you one thing. It is said that there will be trouble in Kenya when elections come. Do you believe that? I want to say this, those who want trouble it is up to them. We know that Kenyans are for peace. And as we are going for elections, I want to urge any Kenyan wherever he is, you cast your vote, go home, rest and be calm. There is no need for war. The vote is the one that will decide. What will the vote do? The vote is the one that will decide. If a leader tries to tell you, "You youth, go fight". You tell him "take your children and your wife to the battle front. Leave us alone, we want peace in our nation".

And I know, if we do this our fellows, because that is the objective of Jubilee alliance, we want to ensure that the economy moves from being an economy that is run from the top, but rather one that is run from the grassroots. We want to know that our success will not be based on whether our economy has grown by 12 or 13% but by the way we have reduced poverty.

I want to assure you that our alliance has united Kenyans from every place, every corner of our republic of Kenya. Our alliance has united old men, it has united the youth, and mostly, it has united women.

Nairobians, do you want politics of hatred? Nairobians do you want politics of self-pride? Kenyans, have we agreed that all of us have unity? Have we agreed that we want peace?

UHURUTV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=SY6mLAAQxo

Speech 2

We want to talk about our economy and how we will expand it. We can talk about our roads and how we can construct them. We can talk about hospitals and how they will have medicines, but without peace, my fellows, we cannot tackle poverty. And we said it is worth it even if there is nothing we can do, Kenyans from every corner have peace and unity. This is a foundation to help us to produce the others.

You know that as Kisii people you know how to eat your sweat wherever you are. I am saying, I want a government of unity that will ensure that every Kenyan has the right to live, to have property, to cultivate land anywhere and he has a government that takes care of him and to ensure that his property is guarded. We do not want a nation of those who eat others' property. That if you have cultivated the next day you are evicted from your land and it is your sweat and it is your money.

The constitution that we have now ensures that every Kenyan has that ability I have state. And our responsibility as Jubilee members is to implement that constitution and ensure that every Kenyan has what I have mentioned and to ensure that Kenyans have been given enough security where they are.

.....

We do not insult people; we do not have hatred towards any person. We want to accomplish those that will be of beneficial to us all. To have a nation that will have peace. To have citizens that will be happy because they are proud of their nation. These things are the ones that will help build tomorrow's nation. My fellows, will we walk together? With respect shall we walk together? Will you give us your votes? Please show me by hands if you will agree to walk with us in this safari.

UHURUTV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=IpJem4016pc

SPEECH 3

We are saying that in our politics, we do not want the politics of dividing Kenyans on tribal lines. We do not want the politics of dividing Kenyans in hatred issues because we have seen for ourselves what hatred has bought in our nation of Kenya. We have decided my fellows that we will do the politics of uniting Kenyans. And there is no day again we would like to see the blood of the citizens shedding again because of politics.

We want our children who are entering primary schools in standard, like that one I am seeing there (Diminutive) entering computer classes, so that every child in Kenya can have the opportunity of learning with the computer because that is tomorrow's education and many other things. Will you agree that we help each other in that work?

NTV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=YeWcu4N2zsk

Speech 4

I greet you all, I greet you again. Even at the back there, we greet you all. Thank you very much for coming. For us, our stand is that we want all to unite and together we join hands to ensure we build the ordinary Kenyan citizen because he carries the load of the country of Kenya. (wild cheers)

For us because we have agreed to work with others we would like you to help us, come March 4th we would like you to all come out in large numbers and vote for the Jubilee Coalition, so that things do not happen like they happened in 2007. Don't you remember what happened? What happened? Didn't others say that the election was rigged? In the end what happened when they refused to accept, isn't it bloodshed that poured here? Destruction of property. Would we like to see things like these happen again? The way to ensure that those things do not happen again is for us to be united.

In the year 2002, didn't I vie for presidency seat of the republic of Kenya? But our problem that year is that instead of us being in the same party with those that would have supported him (Mwai Kibaki) we were in different parties and even though in the end we gave Mwai Kibaki votes, he did not have enough members of parliament, isn't it true?

This is because the members of parliament were from various parties thus people got a chance to say that there was foul play in the election but there wasn't. because of this, we are saying,

we want to be in one party, all those people got a chance to say that there was foul play in the elections but there wasn't.

Because of this we are saying, we want to be in one party, all those that have similar policies, we join hands together, we bring them together so that we can build Kenya together, and that is the only way that can benefit us. Even in 2007, I told you that competition will be between those that are reformers and those that are not reformers.

I want to explain to you this, competition will be between those who still look at Kenya through the rear mirror that is looking at it yesterday and those that have accepted reforms are already here and what Kenyans want now is to transform society and to partake it to a new level of development. We have the reforms, we are committed to those reforms, what we have desired as always is to implement them and to transform this country of Kenya and to build and to place it in greater heights.

Some people think that because they are the ones who used to command yesterday, that today, tomorrow it remains the same. Ogre stories, it was riddle, riddle. This, my elder, what it is. Tell them we are tired of their stories. We want to know how we shall live tomorrow. *That is, our benefit is to know how we shall live tomorrow. We are tired of looking at the world through rear mirror. Everyone who stands up is to talk about others, that this one is like this and that one is like that...*

Let him tell us what he will do and if he doesn't know what he will do, we are telling him to let Kenyans choose new leaders. Those that want to look through the rear mirror, let them go home. For us we are not fighting with anyone, we are not fighting with those ones. We will buy them TV and give them police to guard them at home, so that they can watch TV in the evening and see how Kenya is being led without problems, with a people united together, isn't it? And that is why today people of Chuka, we ask you come March 4th to come out in large numbers and vote so that together we can move this country to the next level, do we agree to do this? Show me by show of hands that this time round we shall walk together.

Speech 5

I greet you all, I greet you again, thank you, thank you again for coming here.

We as Jubilee Coalition, we would like to say that we respect all leaders, we do not want politics that is abusive, because abuse is what brings hatred and abuses do not solve our problems. True? And that is why we also know that you people have a person that you prefer most. Isn't it true? *Yees! Truth be told but for us we are saying we are inside a competition and it is there people will what? Isn't it the people who will decide? If they say it is Raila who will lead us, okey.*

Mine is to promise you one thing. Whatever the outcome is... We must be peaceful, we must be united and we should know that we must unite even after the election, we must work together.

Politics that is full of hate and tribalism has reached its end. We want leaders that will be elected not because of their tribe, not because of their denomination but because of their vision, goal, their thoughts and the place they want to take this country. Everything that we are preaching is peace. We believe that the only way is for leaders to come together, the new constitution that we have now says that we have to ensure that all communities are respected

UHURUTV.www.youtube.com.watch?v=hsuDBGjOsw&index

Speech 6

Those who have gone round saying that Uhuru and Ruto will not vie, they have cases in Europe, the Almighty God has opened that road and Kenyans are the ones to decide who their leaders will be.

What remains, my fellows, is to ask you to come out, and come out in big numbers. We cast this vote, we finish in the first round. Come out. At 1:00 pm the person of riddles should have started packing his luggage going home.

I am begging my brother PC1 and I am telling him like this. It is not hard. If the citizens reject you this time round go home gently, another five years, if you want to go back to the field, the citizens will decide again if it is you or they do not want you.

They have said that Uhuru steals land. I asked him in the debate eye to eye to mention one. He started jumping. He even didn't know what to say.

The choice is simple. You can elect those who are used that theirs is rhetoric, theirs is intimidations, theirs is hatred or you can elect us a team that can change the lives of Kenyans.

NTV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=2A7hDtry7ss

Speech7

How are you! The way you have seen us here today, we have come from every county of Kenya. All people of Kenya we are here. All tribes, all religions, the youth, men, and women we are here. And we have decided one thing. We know all problems of Kenya. Nobody does not know about lack of employment. Nobody does not know about our problem of getting proper food security in this country. But the problem we have been having is that when leaders are looking for votes, when they are elected instead of debating on important issues and which raises the living standards of Kenyans, their work is to fight and fight and fight. That everyday we hear the politics of fighting and insults. We have decided that the government that will be formed will not be made by one person. It will be formed by forty-two communities of this country of Kenya, all religions, all colours, it will be a government that will be anchored on devolution, in which the resources will be devolved. The leaders that will be in Nairobi must make the governors that you will have elected at the grass root to plan and execute development plans which will be beneficial to our citizens. And we have said we do not want to see victory or elections that will be based on religious bases other similar things. We have said that we want leaders that we will walk together with holding hands. Our nation of Kenya to unite to become one so that we can have a government, not for one reason but for all people. Kenya got independence and we have independence.

Kenyans want unity. Kenyans want to make sure that what happened, does not happen again, but not to cry that yesterday it was. It was, it was, it was. We want to more ahead and we want our unity in order to be able to have unity. It is only one person who will sit in the seat at a time.

UHURUTV. [www.youtube.com.watch.?=uZFP8Sr43WC](http://www.youtube.com/watch.?=uZFP8Sr43WC)

PC2 speeches

Speech 1

Ok, ok, the youth hoye! The youth hoye! The youth are you ready? Thank you ery much.

You see we are standing here three f us. It is called triangle. The triangulate. We are like this. We have left the pentagon, we have come to the triangle. Have you seen? Ha ha ha ha! nw we are in triangle we buried the pentagon, alright? This now has come out more powerfully. Today we come from the election commission. We have been cleared and the referee has put the whistle in the mouth. He has whistled and the team is ready. Have you seen that? Have you seen this team? Number eight is this one (Wetangula), number ten is this one (Kalonzo), number nine is tis one (pointing at himself). Now you have seen. This team is undefeatable. This team is undefeatable.....

If you want to help the poor people, there are many Kenyans who do not have land. There are many Kenyans who do not have a place to build a house. Others are fighting over a quarter of an acre of land. You have a thousand and thousands of acres. Take even ne acre and give to these people so that you can show in action that you sympathize with the poor. But do not say you sympathize with the poor yet thousands and thousands of acres of land is lying bare without anybody cultivating it.

Others are saying, others are saying that we say and act, we say and act, we say and act. Don't we know those actions? Your neighbour has land. He leave and you grab. Is that in order? Is that in order? Is that in order? We say and act. Others are calling themselves hustlers, hustlers what for? I am asking, since you left school where did you work? Who employed you? And what is the source of your wealth? Isn't it?

We do not want insults; we do not want insults. We want an orderly campaign. A campaign that will be played in an orderly way. Let us put this in our policy.

[NTV. www.youtube .com/watch?v=WXecm4rGoto](http://www.ntv.co.ke/yt/watch?v=WXecm4rGoto)

Speech 2

OK! OK! The youth hoye! The youth hoye! The youth hoye!

CORD wants to join all Kenyans to be one thing. Our tribe all of us is Kenya. Let us improve what we call Kenyanism so that we can fight with our three greatest enemies: diseases, ignorance, poverty and poor governance.

Our party wants to equalize development. That is why we are saying we want social democracy where there is no great difference between those with high income and those without. We want to stop the chameleon's movement. It is of trial ha ha ha; ha ha ha. (Cheers). Now we want to run at a very high speed. We want to engage gear number four. Is that alright? Alright young people?

We have come from far. We know where we have come from, where we are, where we will go. With security there is no life. It is the government's greatest responsibility to safeguard the lives and the property of all human beings. Without that, there is no need of having a government. We want to see that security has come to our country where Kenyans sleep without fearing we will be attacked by gangsters, others will come to take your cow and run away with it. Isn't it? That is very important and those who are concerned, those who have been given the responsibility of taking care of human beings, they must respect human being and all human being's life. We want to see that the police becoming the servant of the citizen, he takes care of you and your property because his salary is your tax.

Secondly, it is the food issues because we say in our national anthem we get happiness, peace and development. Can a hungry person be happy? He is not happy, isn't it? We want to see that the nation of Kenya has satisfied the needs of the citizen in terms of food. There is no hungry Kenyan. Also, we do not want to import food from outside or relief food that is given to our people.

The third issue is employment, employment, job to every Kenyan because the constitution says in article four that every Kenyan who has reached the employability age has a right to employment, OK? Ok? I want to see that all youth have jobs. Ok? Ok? These jobs are available if the economy expands in the side of industries, roads agriculture, private businesses, ok? Ok?

[NTV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=OcyznTXuZgY](http://www.ntv.co.ke/yt/watch?v=OcyznTXuZgY)

Speech 3:

The propaganda that they are saying that ho! If Raila and him (Kalonzo) will take it (Presidency) they will even take people's land. That is propaganda. We want to help farmers. We cannot tax farmers. What for? There are those people who can pay tax. This is propaganda only being spread that we will take people's land. Every person with a title deed, that land is his. Raila does not have any land that he has grabbed from anybody. He has not grabbed and will not grab. He will say the truth. He has not lied. The truth is known. What happened you all know. That is why I said that I want to see us not divided on tribal basis. Kenyans fought the other years and you know why. I would like to see what happened we have finished, forgotten and gone ahead. Let us forgive one another as Kenyans.

If I have offended any person. If I have offended any person, I am a human being, I ask for forgiveness because we were in one team. We walked together and we knew the goal, the goal that we were playing for was on the other side. I said we talked about that because we started

talking and we still continued talking. I placed the ball in his court. I am waiting for him to return to me the ball. But I am ready and I will continue to wait.

NTV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=Js_4QETKfSQ

Speech 4

Aaya, Praise the Lord! Praise the Lord! Praise the Lord! This is a great day for Kenya. Kenya has come of age. We left Egypt 50 years ago. We left Pharaoh in Egypt. We crossed the Red Sea. For fifty years, we wandered in the desert of Sinai. We are now standing on the edges of River Jordan. Canaan is yonder. With what we are doing today, we are going to Canaan.

I Raila Amolo Odinga. I repent for all past sins of this nation. I ask the Lord to give us peaceful elections and that after the election, we shall all work together. It will not be the winner take all. There will be a role for all. Finally, I thank the apostle of the Lord because he has tried to hold us together. I reveal here that last year, he brought us together. The prophet has always brought us together. I reveal here that last year he brought us together with my brother William Ruto and we forgave each other and we will work together. I thank the Lord. Long live Kenya. And I and my brother Uhuru Kenyatta, we are together.

NTV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=WXecm4rGoto

Speech 5:

We as the ODM party, we are saying we must break the tradition of dividing Kenyans. Kenyans have been caged in tribal cages. This is a cage for the Kikuyu, this is a cage for the Akamba, for the Luo, for the Arabs. We are saying this has affected development in our country. We will break this. Tribalism is foolishness. Our country cannot develop if we are divided on tribal lines. Let us look at policies, sound policies. Like in ODM, we have sound policies of social democracy that does not allow such divisions. Some are rich, others are very poor. They do not have anything. This is social democracy.

Land is the basis of creating wealth. People must be given land to those who need it for creating wealth. We do not also want land grabbing. We do not want to see Kenyans being evicted carelessly. We want to equalize development in Kenya. The constitution is a piece of paper but it says every Kenyan has a right to food. Right to food. Therefore, we must make enough food for everybody. We should not say that the food is little, you and you will sleep on an empty stomach. This and that are the only ones who will eat food. We must change the trend in this Kenya. We must change how we are running Kenya because the path we are following will not take us where we are going. We must change the way we are running our economy. The economy must develop very fast. We must create big industries that will create employment for the youth. We must have infrastructures in our country. Every child born of a rich or poor father has the chance for education from nursery to university. Isn't it? Isn't it?

Every Kenyan, when sick, with or without money can access good medical care. Is that okay? Is that okay? Then the constitution says every Kenyan has a right to shelter. He should not be sleeping on the road. Also the constitution says every Kenyan who has attained the age of getting employment has the right to get employment. No if we achieve all these Kenya will grow. It will leave the poverty status to the wealthy status. There are great enemies to this new constitution. That is why recently chiefs demonstrated because they were told that if ODM takes over the government, they will be dropped. That you don't have jobs. The constitution states that when the new constitution will be implemented the provincial administration shall be restructured to make it comply with the devolved system of government. It will not be abolished. So I am telling chiefs that nobody will retrench you. But do not accept to be used with our opponents to campaign against ODM because if you enter politics we will treat you as a politician. Therefore, desist from politics. You will do your work. It is safe.

I want to see that Coast people register themselves as voters. I have even talked with the MRC leaders. I have appealed to them to register as voters. I have told them to tell all their people to

register as voters. I have issued a directive that we talk with MRC leaders because they are our people. And I have said their problem, political problems require political solution and not a forceful solution of beating people.

Riddle riddle! I saw a belt on the road but I was not able to pick it. What is the answer? Have you been defeated? The answer is ants.

NTV www.youtube.com/watch?v=fo_1p2ijpQU

Speech 6

We want ninety-minute match. No extra time, no extra time. We are saying we want peace. We want peaceful elections. And we said, if we are defeated we will concede defeat. I know we will not be defeated. But if we will be defeated, we will concede defeat.

We are resting our case today. We are saying that we are finishing today here. Monday. Thirty-six hours are remaining. The match will be for the citizens now. The citizens have remained with the match to play on Monday and we want ninety-minute match. No extra time.

As you can see, the Kenyan people are peaceful. Even last time, they were very peaceful. They were only provoked through the rigging that took place at the KICC.

We hope and we hope that there will be no rigging this time. As CORD Coalition, we have given you the undertaking that we will respect the outcome of these elections. We have said that in the unlikely event that we are defeated we will accept the results. If there is any anomalies we will pass even through the legal channel. We will go to the courts and we are urging all our supports to be peaceful because we are winning the elections. Every Kenyan with 1 a vote, whether old, lame, sick to be carried and be taken to cast a vote.

NTV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=33AetRn2J38

PC3 Speeches

Speech 1

Those who grow flowers here, here at Timau, where do those flowers go? Those who grow coffee, where does the coffee go? The tea leaves that is near this place, where does it go?

And when those many tourists come here, where do they come from? If someone says that we have no use of other countries, where will he want you to sell your coffee? We want our name which is Amani Coalition to work in election issues so that blood will not pour at all as it poured that time.

Our brothers are seeking votes. They are seeking votes. But sometimes if you look at politics, if you look at the way they are looking at each other, you would see that if they meet in a corner at night, may be one will not leave the other. So I am saying watch me properly. If Jubilee is burning on this side, if CORD burning on this side, I have cold water I will pour on Jubilee, I will pour on CORD to calm. Then, us as Amani, we drive and bring you together.

NTV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=QFbB7KuzcOQ

Speech 2

The issue of land cannot be discussed without the devolved government. This is because perhaps the others perhaps are speaking thinking that thinking that everything will be done in Nairobi. The time for playing, the time for concerts is over. Now it is time for you to think of what kind of a decision you will make because you have entered into a contract with the leader you have elected.

Those others, politicians of other parties, when they come to a meeting they say live in peace. When they finish the meeting, they say go home in (to) peace. When they say cast votes they say cast to Amani. Now if they are campaigning for me because they are saying vote for Amani, or haven't you heard that? Aren't they saying vote for Amani? Who is Amani?

CITIZENTV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=KZ4ytgqdnk&index

Speech 3

I have no anger with anybody. My politics has not been of anger with anybody. I want to join Kenyans. Those with anger, we heal them. Therefore, I am telling the people of Kabarnet, the people of Baringo County because we want calm in Kenya.

Those with anger this side and this side we calm them. Even when you look at politics now, there is the side of CORD, there is the side of Jubilee. The truth of the matters is, the way they look at each other politically, if they meet in a corner at night, we don't know what can happen. Assist me to become the fourth president of the republic of Kenya so that I can take cold water, I pour on those of CORD, I take cold I pour on those of Jubilee, I calm them for the temperature to come down for Kenya to be united we forge ahead without disagreement.

CITIZEN TV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=DeMoGvgla-1

Speech 4

We want to finish this election without any incidents that will cause embarrassment. And I am standing here saying that today we have said that we read in the newspapers that in Embu the youth, the youth went to disrupt a political meeting in that place. That is going back to where we came from. There is no benefit if people stand here in a political meeting, and you are from another party, you go to that meeting and attempt to disrupt it.

Everyday when you wake up, it is critical politics that has no direction. When will you ever work if that is the politics everyday? They went all over the place telling people not to attend a political meeting at certain places so that as to give the impression that UDF political meetings do not have supporters.

We want to ensure that Kenya is peaceful and has security because we want resources to come in our nation so that the youth can get employment. We cannot be a strong nation if we are condemned internationally. We cannot have a strong economy if we cannot access international financial resources. And that is why we must vote so that our government is a government of dignity

CITIZEN TV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=63DnUfK-vda

PC4 Speeches

Speech 1

The issue of unity so that we can be one community is very important. You saw during post-election violence many people were evicted and here a number of people from these two counties of yours, were second to be driven away, with people from Central being number one. But who was evicted? Let us say the truth. It is not the rich people from these communities. It is the helpless. Even where they were evicted, there are still rich people from these two communities who have what? Land. If your land is big, it is as if when the people are told to cause destruction, it is as if we are shaken by the wealth. The rich person was left the way he is. The poor person with a house he built with difficulty, because he sweated so much to find the two or three iron sheets he put on the roof. Even the things he has in the house do not cost much, but those are his things in this world. He does not have others. That is the one whose things were burnt.

The one with a house and a lot of wealth and money in the bank such that if his home is touched he will build another, that was not touched. And what unity if the cattle a person sees at a neighbour's place has not been returned? Every leader, every Kenyan, we have a responsibility of telling Kenyans to stay peacefully because if you cause incitement, it is the poor who fight among themselves. Leaders look and see that it is a movie they are watching. You people of Nyamira County, the youth of Nyamira, if you say in Nyamira there will be peace and there will be no violence of any type, that is how it will be. Therefore, I am asking every county, Kenyans to decide. We want peace so that we can, each person, fend for himself. If we depend on the one that is brought during elections, we will eat it in one day or two days, and five years

which is one thousand eight hundred and about fifty days, you will suffer because you do not eat the campaign money. You depend on the sweat of your hands.

CITIZEN TV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=dvhsxbokfOY

Speech 2

In the nominations people were scrambling for nominations, or they buy it. The war you saw after elections had started before elections. People fought to get nominations. If you uphold democracy why do your supporters to beat up other people's supporters? Aren't you scaring them so that they cannot elect him? When you see a person has supporters you scare them. That pattern fanned the post-election violence. I want you to join Nark- Kenya, so that we can form one party. I believe in rule of law. The party will reject corruption completely. I am telling you that we have improved our plans completely. And that is what will make our Kenya to progress. I will take this message to all counties of Kenya. From here I will go to Kisii, all parts of Nyanza. There is no place I will not reach. This Kenya is for all of us. From Mandera to Coast. From Busia to the end of Kenya. I will go to all of them because Kenya is one and the people are one. And if you are waiting for a clan member to be elected, I am telling you this, even if he is your brother that will be elected, you will not succeed if your brother does not have plans or humanity. And I am telling people, go to Gatundu or Baringo and you will find abject poverty. The place the first president came from; the place the second president came from. That means all those years those who were lucky are those surrounding them and they from varied tribes. It is possible that many were close to them but they got mixed up.

NTV www.youtube.com/watch?v=JNvECc980mas&list

Speech 3

If a person incites you telling you when he you see a member of opposition, yell at them, understand this person. No politician brings his children to do such work. Foolish work is left for the weak and their children. I want to tell you that you may not have money but you have brains. If I send you to do foolish work kindly do not do it.

Our objective is to see that we have gone to all corners of Kenya to be able to make a government that will improve Kenya, a government that unites all Kenyans. Our sayings; one Kenya, one nation, one people. Therefore, our message today is that the responsibility of making Kenya better is mine, is yours. I have offered to do this. Will you also offer to make Kenya better? Everyone should come out and make Kenya a better place. Everyone should work hard. The government alone cannot bring changes. Members of parliament or leaders alone cannot bring changes. Every Kenyan must contribute in bringing changes. Every Kenyan must contribute to changes. You have the opportunity during elections to make sure you elect a person with a firm stand, a person who will not destroy your property.

I want us to understand that the party is the one that rules the county. The ODM party and the PNU party were in the coalition government. We were in that government and we quit. Now we are preparing our party NARC Kenya to be a party that does not tolerate corruption. a party that stands for the truth. A party that takes care of the weak people's needs. A party that brings equity to all Kenyans. A party that does not know tribalism. We are saying Kenya is one, the nation is one and the people are one.

NTV. www.youtube.com/watch?v=PD5rOG08L54&Index