

**MEANING RETRIEVAL AND TRANSFER IN THE TRANSLATION OF
HEDGES IN PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SPEECHES**

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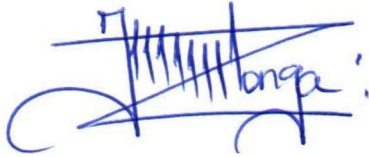
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Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Kiswahili Translation,
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2022

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original and authentic work as the researcher. It has not been presented in any University for examination for an award of academic degree.



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We declare that this thesis has been written under our supervision and presented for examination with our approval as the University supervisors.



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DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my late father John Nyaga Mathew who would have been pleased to see this stage of my academic work, having pushed me to excel in education and urging me not to limit myself in life. To my mother Jemima Nyaga, this has been a journey we have moved together with your prayers having kept me fixed on the higher goal.

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My prayer is that this work will be a reservoir where my children and others will draw inspirations to always do their best in life through education.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

Hedges A hedge is a word which makes things fuzzier or less fuzzy. In pragmatics, it is a mitigating word, sound or construction used to lessen the impact of an utterance due to the constraints on the interaction between the speaker and addressee, such as politeness, softening the blow, down-toning, as a defense against attack as a result of an utterance, thus showing lack of commitment to that utterance on the side of the interlocutor, a situation of being vague or fuzzy deliberately. In this study a hedge is defined and operationalized as a term used to refer to linguistic and pragmatic elements of communication which express a possibility, probability and uncertainty, thus reducing the degree of the author or utterer's commitment to the content of the statement. The initial definition of the term hedges as given by Weinreich (1966) and later by Lakoff (1972) and further by pragmatic scholars like Fraser (2007) and Schaffner (1998) were put into considerations.

Speech **Drawing from the argument advanced by Leech, (1983), the term speech in this study is viewed as** the faculty or power of speaking, ordinarily associated with oral communication; it is the ability to express one's thoughts and emotions verbally in terms of speech sounds and gestures. In this study, speech is defined as the oral verbal communication through which political thoughts, ideology and emotions are expressed so as to persuade or sway the masses to think or act in a certain direction. In the scope of this study, it includes formal presidential political speeches which are viewed as nationalistic. This is in line with the definition given by

Political speech

Political speeches in this study are defined as utterances, views, opinions thoughts and emotions expressed verbally in a political rally or any other forum meant to seek political support in terms of votes or intended to advance opinions of a political ideology of a given political party or even the political aspirations of an individual in the context of campaigns. Political speeches are characteristically linguistically manipulative and intrinsically embedded in societal linguistic manipulation. This

definition was in tandem with the earlier contributions to these topical issues as advanced by Habwe (1999)

Implicature Is defined as a discernible action or communicative strategy in which meaning is implied beyond the literal sense of what is explicitly stated. It is, as such, an implied meaning from a given utterance which is verbally expressed. In this study implicature is used in reference to words, phrases or sentences which imply more than what is given explicitly; it implies meaning which context is perceptible and is as such implied nevertheless. Further in this study, implicature is used to refer to what hedges are perceived to mean in relation to the explicit meanings which may be discernible in utterances in which they occur. The Grice (1975) maxims of communication implicatures guided this definition.

Explicit Further to the arguments advanced by Grice (1975), in communication, explicit is a situation when something is expressed fully or revealed clearly, thus leaving no room for implication, vagueness or ambiguity. It is when no room for any question as to meaning or intent can be raised. This is where something is stated clearly and in detail, without any room for confusion or doubt.

Implicit The term refers to something that is suggested though not expressed directly. In this study the term will be used in reference to the utterances in political discourses where utterances contain unvoiced or unexpressed meaning as explained in the maxims of communication by Grice (1975).

Maxims A maxim is defined as a general truth, fundamental principle, or rule of conduct. This study uses this term to refer to the general principles formulated by Grice (1975) in the theory of communicative implicature. Its application in this study, maxims are used to frame the general principles of communication which are either upheld or violated in a political speech specifically and political discourses generally. This is further meant to specify and indicate the locale of meanings of hedges in presidential political speeches in Kenya, which we argue from the onset are overly and largely characterized by implicatures.

Conversation In this study, this is a talk, a dialogue or an exchange, especially an informal one between two or more people exchanging news, views, ideas and opinions in a discussion or a discourse. In this study, political speeches in Kenya are habitually referred to as political conversations in political gatherings. This definition put into consideration the inputs of Schaffner (2001) on the purpose of communication.

Inferences Drawing from the explanations and discussion of Brown and Levinson (1987), this is an extrapolation or deduction that one makes or an opinion that one forms based on the information that is available in a verbal exchange or written communication. In this study, the term is used to refer to the extrapolations made by the translator on the basis of the information they understand when translating, especially the translation of presidential political speeches from English to Kiswahili. It is also used to refer to the opinions made by the addressees from the political utterances.

Illocution Referring to the arguments advanced by Marimadou (2000) and Brown and Levinson (1987), this is a term used in linguistics to refer to an act performed by a speaker in producing an utterance, such as suggesting, warning, promising, or requesting. It is used in this study in reference to the utterances made by politicians in political meetings and discourses during the election campaigns for a specific purpose.

ABBREVIATIONS

SA Source Audience

SC Source Culture

SCL Source Culture Language

SL Source Language

ST Source Text

TA Target Audience

TC Target Culture

TCL Target Culture Language

TL Target Language

TT Target Text

ABSTRACT

Notwithstanding their diverse and convoluted definitions and understandings, pragmatic studies in political discourse(s) have always animated debates in pragmatics thus becoming a major area of scholarly inquiry. Analyzing the pragmatic underpinnings of political speeches has been a dominant area of academic investigations which have sought to explore and uncover the “unsaid”. This study, which is domiciled in pragmatics, is an attempt which sought to examine and unravel the intricacies associated with hedging in political speeches and its translatability from English into Kiswahili. This study, as such, investigated the use of hedges and hedging devices in political speeches on the hand and the translation of these hedging devices on the other; it also investigated the semantic and pragmatic roles which these devices play in political texts and what challenges they pose in translation. The analyses of the translated political texts revealed considerable degree of digression, omission, accommodation and varied modifications of hedging devices. On the other hand, the analyses of target texts showed that several factors such as, inadequate pragmatic competence, poor translation competence, lack of critical understanding of discourse orientation as well as the decoding of the form, type and category of hedging devices, accounted for both intentional and unintentional interventions underpinning hedging modifications in Kiswahili translation. Consequently, this study sought to understand the dynamics of hedging in meaning making, political coding and message transfer of political speeches. It also sought to explore apt strategies deployed in translating hedges from English into Kiswahili, drawing data from presidential political speeches made in Kenya during the general elections of 2013 and 2017. The study was premised on Grice’s theory of communicative implicature (1975) and Hans Vermeer’s (1999) Skopos Theory of Communicative Translation, notably, the critical centrality of Gricean maxims in informing the analyses of identified hedges and the assessment of their communicative impact in both the source text (English) and the target language (Kiswahili). The juxtaposition of these maxims of communications was critical in uncovering various hedging strategies, especially given that hedges are characteristically implicit both in manner and function, such that any flouting of these maxims was potentially an instance of hedging in the sampled political speeches. In order to complement the Gricean maxims of communication, the Skopos theory as proposed by Vermeer (1999) was incorporated to account for the analyses of the translatability of hedges and the realization of purposeful and functional translations of political texts, in this study, presidential speeches in Kenya. The inclusion of the Skopos theory was predicated on the fact that it outlines

critical tenets which enable the realization of optimal and functional translation. The skopos of the translation of the speeches determined the selection of the appropriate and effective translation strategies of the hedging devices. The use of different approaches and strategies for the translation of hedges and hedging devices was necessary since no single approach appeared to have capacity and capability of resolving routine and emerging problems associated with hedging strategies in political messaging, particularly so in their translation context. Data analyses consisting mainly of transcribed political speeches, necessitated the juxtaposition of the tenets of the Skopos theory with Grice's maxims of communication so as to understand how the fidelity of hedges is upheld, reconfigured or violated in the translation processes. Indeed, the deployment of these approaches in an eclectic manner was profoundly productive in unmasking additional categories of hedges in the sampled speeches as well as marking appropriate translation of hedging devices in the speeches sampled. Overall, this study was a time and context bound case study which utilized data predicated on sampled political speeches and as such regarded as primary data. Data analysis was qualitative and the study conclusions were explanatory in nature where the lexical and non-lexical hedging devices were identified and their translatability discussed and conclusions made. The findings of this study overall offer important insights into the challenges which pragmatic elements present in deciphering political texts and more so in the rendition of hedges in translation.

CHAPTER ONE

THE PRAGMATICS OF HEDGING: POLITICAL MESSAGING, STRATEGIZING AND TRANSLATION

1.1 Background to the Study

This study was catapulted by the philosophical underpinning that, human beings constantly and socially congregate and interact in various activities which form their lives mostly and importantly on their cultural expeditions. In these interactions, the primary connector to their togetherness is their cultural heritage. To connect and to exchange the cultures, the usage of a language is very critical in their lives, acting as an enabler to these social interactions. It is fascinating to see how people of diverse cultural beliefs and norms congregate and integrate using the means of communications that unites them and enables them to live in harmony. This phenomenon is largely due to the usage of language where translation accounts for the language barriers that could arise in the process of communication. This upholds the need for human connectivity and harmonious coexistence. It is out of this realization that this study sort to delve into the translation to reveal its role in human communication, connectivity and conduction of daily business as well as their administrative roles.

There are numerous researches on translations in Kiswahili which clearly map out several strands of scholarly inquiry, some of which have roused animated debates while others present interesting scholarly intrigues for further academic and research exploration. One such strand is corpus of numerous studies which have been preoccupied with translation methodology, focusing on how to translate, particularly suggesting and laying down rules, procedure and processes of translating varied text types. Within that strand of translation studies, approaches to translation techniques have been proposed and outlined. A number of such studies have advanced general strategies and procedures of translation, notably studies borrowing from or influenced by Newmark (1981, 1988) which advocate and advance diverse techniques and strategies of translation. Likewise, other studies have focused on the development of genre, register or discipline specific terminologies in translation, particularly laying emphasis on how to choose words, terminologies and meaning expressions within a given register. On the other extreme are studies which have focused on analyses and investigations of errors of commission and omission frequently encountered in

translation works (Fraser, 2010:201). While it is important to appreciate the depth and with of scholarly studies in translation available hitherto in Kiswahili and other languages, methodologies to the study of the translation in terms of its conceptualization, processes and expected outcome, have continued to intrigue scholars of various persuasions. In essence, this implies that there are certain aspects and areas of translation which present new insights or grey areas that have not been sufficiently researched—notably in the areas of the pragmatics of translation where meaning is not necessarily text immanent but rather contextually perceptible as in political speeches (Al-Rashady, 2012).

Indeed, one area of translation studies that has continued to intrigue scholars, is in the area of the available research theories on translation, this is because there appears to be little that has been done to unravel the complexity and dynamism of social communication—a pragmatic approach to social interactions which involves the translation of hedges both as a linguistic reality and as a sociopolitical messaging strategy, at least in view of this study. These theories include Nida's (1964) engagement with dynamic and formal equivalence translation, which advances three factors for consideration when translating namely; the nature of the message being translated, the purpose the translator aspires to achieve as well as focusing on the author and the type of audience targeted by the translation. A number of other later and alternative theories advancing similar arguments have proposed not entirely different approaches, but rather variations and dissimilar understandings of a common concept. Catford (1965), is remembered for advancing the theory of equivalence, specifically linguistic equivalence which was expounded further by Nida and Taber (1969). Regardless of the detailed views and opinions pointed out in Nida and Taber's assertions, they upheld the centrality of the notion of equivalence in the translation of all text types. Newmark (1988), has delved into translation theory by advocating for four levels of translation, that is, translating at the textual level, referential level, cohesive level and the level of naturalness. On the other hand, Venuti (1995), advanced the theory of domesticating practice in certain types of translation. Baker (1992), in addition to the equivalence and functional translation notions advanced earlier, brought a new dimension to translation by advocating for narrative approach to translation. These sample of approaches to translation conceptualization and practice in spite of their detailed engagements with translation, do not seem to given much attention to the pragmatics of translation, even much later approaches, as has been argued by Yule (1998:38) have not done

much either, especially mainstreaming the place of theory in the translation of implicature and hedges, a critical pragmatic consideration in translation.

In view of the above quandary in translation theory and translation practice, there is urgent need to understand the interplay between social interactions, communication flow and meaning transfer as actualized within certain pragmatic constraints. In social and political communication processes, every speaker must strive to understand and use social communication conventions which underpin the truthfulness, fidelity and credibility of their assertions or utterances. In the absence of adherence to social communication conventions, there are plausible reasons to assert that the speaker or the addressee of an utterance may be misled or misunderstood outrightly (Majeed, 2010). Whenever and wherever they are engaged in a communicative process, interlocutors will constantly and consciously or otherwise manipulate, configure and formulate the grammatical categories and the structural possibilities of the language in use to achieve intended pragmatic meanings. This manipulation in a number of ways is necessitated by the need to complement or overcome the lexical limitations which may hinder, down tone or curtail envisioned utterance functions or targeted meanings. Human interaction, especially through verbal communication, is prone to occasional or inadvertent unpleasant and unwanted things which would have the potential to adversely affect both the speaker and the addressee. Such unpleasant and unexpected pop ups usually and instinctively prompt communication participants to do something to protect themselves against such missteps of communication. Such prompts may lead to evading a specific problem in an utterance, avoidance of answering a question if the utterance necessitated one and a deliberate non-commitment to a particular action or decision. Such undertakings are mainly realized through hedging strategies or the use of specific hedging devices (Fraser, 2010).

In linguistics, the term hedge when used as a verb, refers to certain choices of communication strategy. The use of *hedge* as a linguistic term can be traced back to Weinreich (1966) and later in the 1970s as expounded in Lakoff's (1972) article, "Hedges: A Study in Meaning Criteria and Logic of Fuzzy Concepts". Lakoff's idea and interest in hedges was not driven by the need to understand it as a communication concept and strategy, rather Lakoff was concerned with the logical attributes of words and phrases such as *rather*, *largely*, *in a manner of speaking*, *very*, a pursuit which was necessitated by the need to understand the ability this category of words and phrases to "make things fuzzier or less fuzzy" (Lakoff, 1972: 195). In broad pragmatic terms, the

term hedge or hedging, usually refers to a barrier, limit, defense, or the act or means of protection or defense in communication contexts, initially used by Lakoff (1972:194). Consequently, the terms hedge and hedging devices, collectively and severally mean, words or phrases whose work is to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy.

The original scope of the concept of hedge has been expanded so as to allow pragmatists and discourse analysts to delve into it seeking to introduce dimensions either considered excluded or necessary for inclusion. As currently used, the term does not only refer to expressions which modify the category membership of a predicate or noun phrase, rather it is used to encompass the idea of hedged performative, that is, locating hedges within the wide context of pragmatics, as one route towards widening the concept of hedges (Fraser, 2010). The widening of this concept has as such led to the investigations of the place and how hedges function in such disciplines such as; politics, psychology, sociology, mathematics, economics, scientific researches, physics, medical law and legal researches, agricultural researches, researches and academic papers, translation and interpretation among many more (Sanatifar, 2015).

In Kenya's political discourses, it has been observed and asserted that political speeches, whether rendered formally or informally, are characteristically hedged. The preponderance of hedges and hedging devices in political speeches subtly suggests that, the presenters of these discourses—the politicians, do not necessarily take responsibility for the fidelity of their utterances, they habitually distance themselves from the literal meanings of their utterances. The criticality of taking responsibility is as such centrally implicated in politicians' proclivity for hedging their speeches and employing hedging devices for purposes of political messaging, tactical audience profiling and other political communication scheming, thus populating their speeches with implicit meanings which cannot be easily deduced by the addressees (Wangatia, 2017). From the foregoing observations, there is a general realization that, deciphering political messaging generally and political meanings in particular is an area of research interest. Consequently, there is need to explore how meaning retrieval is actualized in political speeches, how such meaning is reformulated and transferred in translation processes, particularly where such meanings are embedded in hedges. This is even more so when such political speeches are presented as texts for translation from English to Kiswahili. The following examples drawn from some sampled political speeches are presented here to demonstrate the preponderance of hedges in political speeches, thus

suggesting the adoption of practical strategies for their identification, the retrieval of their meanings, the analysis of such meanings and eventually their optimal translation into Kiswahili;

Uhuru Kenyatta: We will *accept* the Supreme Court's verdict, but *we will revisit*.

Here, in this single sentence, hedging is couched in single word form as well as a phrase. The term to *accept* has explicit meaning but when phrased as *we will accept*, it has an implied meaning. This also applies to the word *revisit* and its phrase realization, *we will revisit*. The whole sentence as is, is hedged, that the meaning being delivered is much more subtle. (*This was in a political rally in Nakuru immediately after nullification of the results of Presidential election on September 2, 2017*).

Similar hedging is perceptible in the following excerpts sampled from speeches delivered by Raila Odinga;

Raila Odinga: *Those who kill by gun will die by gun as the bible says those who kill by sword will die by sword.*

The whole rendition in this sentence is hedged, it is imbedded with multiple meanings, where the more obvious one suggests that those who are shooting people—the police and state machinery—will also be shot. The other possible meaning nuance imbedded in this assertion is that there will arise an opportunity for revenge and retribution, an admonition that those who are killing people using state weapons (sword) will be killed by the same weapons—insinuating when the opposition takes over, opportunities for retribution will be availed. In a subtle way, this expression has an explicit meaning and implied meaning at the same time, where the implied meaning is in reference to the killings during the 2017 campaign period where government agents were accused of killing masses supporting the opposition. In another speech, Raila said;

Raila Odinga: *We have some communities targeted here.*

This is a rendition of an implied meaning where Raila tries to come to the defense of his ethnic base but at the same times tries not to alienate himself from other ethnic groups whose political support he craves. The hedged meaning is nonetheless contextually perceptible that the speaker—Raila—was referring to his community, a subtle political messaging of not mentioning

communities yet being clear that his use of *communities* in its plural form has a singular reference, his ethnic community. In yet another speech, he asserted;

Raila Odinga: *I represent change; we believe we can turn around.*

This expression has meaning going beyond lexical meaning enabled by the verb form of its rendition. However, once this assertion is contextualised within the Kenyan political situation, the *change* alluded to is that of governance without being specific on what change actually entails — which could be good or bad. In an *NTV* television interview, Raila was asked the following question: *Do you have proof of what you are saying?* His response was typically hedged and rendered as follows;

Raila Odinga: *I told you I don't speak in vain.*

Raila's purported answer was not a response to the question but rather a tactic evasion where his response was simply hedged. In fact, the whole sentence is a hedge since the question was not answered and its meaning was deliberately left implicit, its true or intended meaning could only be comprehended through inferences. (*Hon. Raila Odinga on NTV interview about the chaos in Thika on July 13, 2017*).

The examples presented here above have attempted to demonstrate a number of things, namely—the habitual characteristics of political discourses within the Kenyan context, the preponderance of implicit message coding actualized in terms hedging, which is in turn realized in terms of specific words and also in phrasal forms as well as in whole sentences. Most political utterances appear to be explicit but have implied meanings which are only understood by the addressee contextually. This subtle layering of meaning in political discourses is an intriguing area of scholarly inquiry especially in translation, where as we have already asserted, meaning is both text immanent and pragmatically context situated. This is what this study sought to explore.

1.1.1 Challenges of Getting Specific Meaning in Translation of Hedges

Given the prevalence of numerous interpretations and understandings of hedges and the hedging concept in particular, the translation of presidential political speeches in Kenya, as texts habitually populated with hedges and hedging devices, are prone to numerous translation challenges, which

translators have to contend with in terms of whether hedges, once identified as embedded in a given political speech, should be analyzed in terms of their textual constitution or their pragmatic-semantic composition, as postulated by Ingo (2007). The other competing aspect worth paying attention to is whether the rendition of meaning as hedged in political texts should be predicated on specific elements in a text which carry meaning, or subjected to pragmatic imperatives which impact on meaning, or be subjected to communicative functions of a given political text so as to decipher its functional meaning. It is imperative, therefore, that translators have to find a compromise between what the target text must achieve and still demonstrate and maintain fidelity to the source text in terms of its aim, meaning, style and content; notably in retrieving of the source text meaning especially where that meaning is masked in hedges. Texts on presidential political discourses are not immune to this edict (Loeschner, 1991). The translation of presidential political texts as aforementioned, must of necessity engage in identifying and categorizing hedges and their functions in the political texts in which they occur so as to enable proper and optimal meaning rendition. This is not always a straightforward undertaking especially given the convolutions of deciding which words constitute a hedge in a given context, presenting a rather subjective decision all the time.

As already indicated in the foregoing sections, the term hedging is variously defined in pragmatics, which in essence means there are diverse challenges relating to discerning what constitutes a hedge and in performance when a speaker is hedging. This convoluted understanding of hedging has direct consequences in translation processes, ideally meaning that it complicates a translator's rendition of any given political text which is heavily hedged. It must be assumed, as has been argued by Gutt (1991) that, the core concern of a translator in undertaking any translation, is to enable the rendition of the maximum interpretative resemblance between the source and target texts creating an optimal relevance to the target audience. In order to optimize this relevance, adequate clues should be made available to the target audience so as to maximize their contextual comprehension and minimize their cognitive process (Gutt, 1991). This approach is what Gutt (1992), refers to as meaning explication inspired by relevance theory of Sperber and Wilson (1986). This is predicated on the recognition that languages are imbued with communicative cues which facilitate meaning recovery as embedded in implicatures. Consequently, the translation of political texts characterized by extensive use of implicatures, of necessity oblige their rendition into the target language in ways which minimize meaning misinterpretation (Pym, 2016).

However, and in general terms, implied meaning is not easily translatable or it cannot be rendered unambiguously in the target language without distortion. This is because the translation of implicatures under normal circumstances has a tendency of widening or narrowing the range of the intended meaning (Gutt, 1991). Hedges, from the point of view of an implicature, ordinarily originate from the speaker's intentions on what the uttered text is meant to do. Since the intention of the speaker is not always out rightly known, the identification and subsequent translation of hedges becomes problematic.

When dealing with hedges, the translator is obliged to take into account the style and meaning of the source text, while still making sure that the target text fits naturally into the target culture. However, it has been asserted that, the resultant rendition in translation of political speeches, the translation of hedges is always convoluted, given that what is treated as a hedge in the source text, English in this study, may be treated differently in a target text, Kiswahili in this study. The identified hedges may be used more or less frequently in these two different languages, thus presenting the challenges at the interface between hedging and translating. Given that there is no single word or phrase that is inherently a hedge, is an issue that gives rise to a number of challenges during the translation of texts populated with hedges and the hedging devices. Such challenges may include the difficulties of discerning when something is a hedge or when a speaker is hedging (Fraser, 2010).

In view of the foregoing discussions on hedges and hedging generally, this study sought to argue that Kenya's presidential political speech texts, are ordinarily hedges laden. This essentially means that any engagement with Kenya's political discourses is an engagement which entails appropriate and accurate identification of hedges and their meanings therein in the source text before making any consideration as to whether they should be transferred to the target text in any translation process. This is regardless of whether hedges are expressed through an array of linguistic means such as; if-clauses, verbs, adjectives, modal auxiliary adverbs, modal lexical verbs, nouns, and or compounds. Hyland (1998) has argued that, words or expressions from these linguistic categories usually function as hedges when they are used to draw attention to the reduced strength of an utterance. However, as we have asserted in the foregoing section, no words or expressions are inherently hedges, hedges and hedging are language use immanent. Instead, as Hyland (ibid) points out, whether or not a word or expression should be considered as a hedge is ultimately determined

by its context of usage. The issue of determining how to transfer hedges to target texts, and whether or not it is necessary to do so in the first place, is always present in the translation of political text. Apparently, there are no clear guidelines on how to handle hedges in the translations of political texts, more so presidential political speeches in the Kenya. Munday (2004) uses the terms such as word-for-word and sense-for-sense renditions to represent literal and free translation, insinuating that the translation of hedges embedded in political discourses requires a set of approaches which would yield near optimal translations.

The criticality of the foregoing theoretical, functional and translational observations when juxtaposed against the fact that translation is primarily interested in the transference of meaning, the transfer of meaning embedded in hedges and other linguistic features which imply fuzziness, indeterminacy and uncertainty, presents unprecedented challenges in terms of actual decisions on meaning and its eventual transfer. This may imply that hedges are inevitably treated differently in contexts of meaning transfer depending on which translational approach is used, what pragmatic parameters are taken into consideration and what function the translation is intended to fulfill (Vermeer, 2012). While these translation strategies look straight forward, the translation of presidential political speeches in Kenya from English to Kiswahili ordinarily defy this prescription. This is an intriguing observation, especially given that there seems to be no available literature suggesting how to translate hedges in political discourses from English to Kiswahili.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

This study sought to investigate the challenges which hedges, both as a linguistic phenomenon and as a conversational strategy in presidential political discourses pose in translation, notably the translation of political speeches populated with hedges from English to Kiswahili. This arises out of the realization that translating hedges is an intriguing undertaking which is frequently plagued with indeterminacy and uncertainties of meaning on the one hand and the possible multiplicity of meanings on other hand. There is a profusion of evidence that language use in political discourses is heavily hedged, intimating that such language—either at the level of the lexicon, phrase, syntax or context—is subtly deployed, covertly coded and semantically fluid. The use of hedges in political speeches is in most cases an intentional communication strategy used by politicians in their interactions with varied audiences. Politicians use hedges for varied reasons although the cardinal one appears to be the need to distance themselves from the truth validity of their

assertions. They purposely choose to be vague and imprecise, which is a strategy that ultimately enables them to influence the thinking their audiences in a particular way as well as persuade those audiences to act in a certain preferred way (Brown and Levinson, 1987). In political discourses, as is routinely observed in presidential political speeches in Kenya, the use of hedging and hedging devices is in all intents and purposes a premeditated use of implicatures, hence hedges and implicatures are a characteristic feature of political discourses, used intentionally by politicians to achieve specific political goals (Van-Dijk, 2002).

In order to decipher the meanings of implicatures as embedded in hedges in political discourses, a translator needs to bring into consideration a wider range of contextual and encyclopedic knowledge in a dual sense, first as a reference frame for deciphering meaning and secondly as a methodology of enabling target audience understanding of the text translated. In order to render meaning optimally in translational contexts, it is the responsibility of the translator—on the assumption that target audience lacks necessary contextual information to understand the implicatures embedded in a specific political text—to make appropriate adjustments to compensate for the implied and hedged meanings, hence reduce the target audience’s cognitive effort and make translation appropriate and more relevant to them. However, making translation relevant to the target audience is always subjected to additional or more contextual information which results in extra mental effort on the part of the target audience because the target audience will be encumbered with more linguistic codes to work with (Scott, 2006). This brings to the fore the fact that, because of their inherent meaning variability, translating hedges is always amenable to both over translation and its reverse, under translation. This study, therefore, sought to explore and suggest strategies to account for over translation or under translation of political speech texts as routinely observed in Kenya’s presidential political speeches. As earlier on observed, translation of hedges in political speeches in Kenya from English to Kiswahili has not been studied and the scanty available literature has no mention of translatability of hedges in the said language pairs, making this gap the focal point of this study.

Whether translators over-translate or not in order to make the translation relevant in the target paradigm, there is need to explore the methodologies and strategies which restrain the selection of endless meaning possibilities when working with implicatures in political contexts. This is basically because hedges, like implicatures are acquiescent to multiple meanings. It must be

pointed out that the ultimate aim in translating political speeches or texts as it were, is to render meaning optimally without compromising the fidelity and the intention of the source textual or verbal political discourse, while at the same time remaining accountable to the target audience expectations which may be saddled with the burden of making meaningful and appropriate interpretation of the political message as enabled by meaning decoding (Sanatifar, 2015).

This study takes cognizance of the fact that, translating hedges either as linguistic and pragmatic realities or as a subset of implicatures as embedded in political speeches on the veracity of available theoretical orientations, is always prone to numerous challenges. Indeed, there is need to acknowledge the limitations which abound in translating hedges on the basis of such theoretical orientations as Nida's, (1964) dynamic and equivalent theory, Jerome's sense for sense theory of translation through to Newmark's, (1981) communicative theory of translation. There abounds evidence that the capacity of available theories to render meaning optimally without negating fidelity to source text, upholding the textual and contextual content of the source text, accounting for the target audience's cognitive environment in deciphering meaning, enabling the best possible communication of source text message within the constraints of target text paradigms and making the translated text functionally viable, is not always guaranteed. Consequently, this study sought to among other things, suggest methodologies and strategies for minimizing inappropriate meaning renditions in the translation of hedges and implicatures as embedded in political speeches. Such suggestions are predicated on the functional tenets of the Skopos theory of translation. This study, therefore, sought to affirm that, a Skopos theoretical orientation has potential to make up for the limitations of the theoretical orientations which have been used in scholarly translation studies in Kiswahili hitherto, and that the translation of hedges from English to Kiswahili in political discourse is best actualized on the theoretical propositions of the Skopos theory.

1.3 Objectives

The general objective of this study was to examine the challenges of retrieving meaning from hedges entrenched in political speeches. It explored the strategies of reconfiguring that meaning in the process of translating hedges from English to Kiswahili in political speeches as texts that have a markedly high level of meaning indeterminacy. The specific objectives were as follows;

- i. To determine the types of hedges which are emblematic as a linguistic or pragmatic phenomenon in presidential political speeches in Kenya,
- ii. To demonstrate and show how the functional meanings enabled by hedges and hedging devices in the presidential political speeches in Kenya are identified, decoded and reformulated in their translation processes,
- iii. To account for the phenomenon of over translation or under translation of hedges as implicatures in the retrieval, reconfiguration and rendition of its meaning in political speeches from English to Kiswahili,
- iv. To identify theoretical and practical strategies that are suitable for translating hedges from English to Kiswahili in Kenya's presidential political speeches.

1.4 Research Questions

This research was guided by four research questions which critically probe the retrieval of meaning as entrenched in hedges and hedging devices and its reformulation and consequently its transfer in translation processes and rendition into the target text. This research sought to answer the following questions;

- i. What types of hedges are frequently identifiable in presidential political speeches in Kenya?
- ii. How are meanings in hedges identified, decoded and reformulated in the translation of presidential political speeches in Kenya?
- iii. How is the over translation or under translation of hedges couched as implicatures upheld in the translation of presidential political speeches from English to Kiswahili?
- iv. What effective theoretical and practical strategies are available for the rendition of the meanings of hedges in presidential political speeches from English to Kiswahili?

1.5 Justification of the Research

Although hedges and hedging devices in general have attracted varied attention in scholarly studies and researches, the plethora of conflicting notions about what exactly is hedging in linguistic and pragmatic terms, has continued to give rise to a proliferation of converging as well as diverging definitions and functions of hedges. Apparently, there is no single word that is inherently a hedge or a hedging device and as such it would be difficult if not impossible to discuss the notion of hedges devoid of context and pragmatic considerations, particularly so in translation contexts Ingo, (2007). Studies on the translation of hedges either purely as a linguistic criterion or in terms of their “situatedness” available in Kiswahili hitherto, are scanty and the few that exist are rather theoretically and content superficial, especially those that have been undertaken in studies focusing on the translation of hedges in political speeches in Kenya, more specifically from English to Kiswahili. Fraser (2010) attests to this by asserting that, very few studies have conclusively been dedicated to the study of hedges in political interviews. Although this study is not focused on political interviews, Fraser’s assertion is critical nevertheless as it points to a broader area of scholarly interest about hedges in a political discourse generally.

Axelsson’s (2013) discussion of the translation of hedges from English to Swedish focusing on the occurrence of hedges in academic discourses, presents useful observations which are critical in understanding the centrality of hedges in political speeches in Kenya. Axelsson’s study set out to suggest mitigation approaches to denude the profuse usage of hedges when writing academic work, ideally suggesting how to write academic work clearly and unambiguously. Though the translation in question focused on English and Swedish languages, its findings nevertheless indicate a general truism that, the translation of hedges is not a forthright task to translators who lack skills to identify hedging devices in their linguistic as well as the contextual settings. Translation of hedges from English to Kiswahili, as embedded in political speeches, does indeed exhibit similar problems. Consequently, Axelsson’s study is critical in advancing the argument that any translation undertaking involving texts heavily populated with hedges requires skills and critical understanding of how to approach such a translation exercise. This is a significant consideration that has been lacking in translation studies in Kiswahili generally and therefore a justifiable reason for this study.

Given the dearth of studies available on the concept of hedging in translation, specifically studies which focus on the translation aspects of hedges both as a linguistic and pragmatic phenomenon, this study is imperative so as to enable proffering an approach that facilitates a critical decoding and interpretation of meanings embedded hedges in political discourses. Such approaches, methodologies as well as strategies must be purposeful in discerning meaning, more specifically the perception of such meaning in translation undertakings so as to enable the rendition of functional and appropriate meanings of hedges in the presidential political speeches from English to Kiswahili. The over-arching aim was to draw attention to a better understanding of how meaning is invested in hedges and as such propose strategies that enable the retrieval and reconfiguration of such meaning in translation processes. Politicians use hedges for varied reasons such as influencing targeted audiences to a particular course of action or point of view; they also use hedges to shield themselves from unintended legal consequences such as libel and judicial accountability arising out of their utterances (Brown and Levinson, 1987). These usually muted functions of hedges in turn demand that a translator must of necessity be imbued with critical insights that enable sufficiently correct interpretations of meaning within this interactional and rhetoric nature of political language once rendered to the target audience (Schaffner, 1997).

This study, in view of the foregoing observations, was necessary so as to initiate a study dimension that subjects political speeches to insightful scrutiny that specifically focuses on how political speakers invest meaning their messages, how the target audience perceives and interprets such messages. Fundamentally, there is need for a study of this nature so as to draw attention to methods and strategies of meaning retrieval both for purposes of understanding political speeches and enabling optimal translation whenever they become necessary. It is also necessary for purposes of creating a knowledge repertoire from which translators and political analysts would draw an understanding of meaning investment in hedges and hedging devices, how such fluid meaning, however insignificant, is transferred in translation processes, notably from English to Kiswahili. It is important to note that political speeches in Kenya constitute a high percentage of news and information presented in myriad of news and media platforms, a significant number of which rely on translations from English to Kiswahili (Wangatia, 2017).

1.6 Scope and Limitations

Scholars have identified different functions performed by hedges in different contexts which also vary from one register to another. Though initially hedges were perceived as words which express fuzziness, scholars have also identified hedges as words or expressions which act as shields, a communication and conversation strategy which speakers use intentionally to express politeness or uncertainty. Hedges have also been seen as a communication strategy used by speakers to indicate lack of commitment to the truth validity of their assertions and utterances, hedges have also been perceived as an indication of a desire not to express a commitment to an assertion categorically, thus intimating that hedge are a means by which speakers present a proposition as an opinion as opposed to a fact. Other perceptions of hedges have viewed hedges as a means which enables the expression of ambiguity or the avoidance of giving promises or direct answers (Myers, 1989, Schroder and Zimmer, 1997). These findings suggest that hedges perform various functions in any utterance or conversational exchange, where such functions are actualized both linguistically and pragmatically. This is regardless of whether a given hedge or hedging device functions as a single word or a whole sentence. It has been repeatedly emphasized that there is no word that is inherently a hedge, instead words function as hedges in discernible contexts and cannot be easily isolated or identified as hedges devoid of communicative context. It is within this understanding that this study sought to focus on identifying hedges in selected political speeches, determine and evaluate the functions of the identified hedges in presidential political speeches in Kenya as well as locate hedged meaning and functions within specific speeches and in specific contexts. However, this identification is not an end in itself but rather a critical first step in accounting for how hedges in political speeches are optimally translated.

This study also sought to evaluate how meaning is invested in the identified hedges, however, discussions on the functions performed by hedges and hedging devices was context bound, a fact which arose out of the realization that hedges as used in political speeches, are context sensitive given that political meaning and meaning making, besides being genre-specific are equally context sensitive. This was further informed by the realization that, if the meanings of identified hedges are appraised outside of their specific contexts, they may not qualify to be referred to as hedges in political discourse (Brown and Levinson, 1987). Indeed, such meaning identification and evaluation was a necessary first step in assessing the translatability of hedges and hedging devices discernible in political campaign discourses. They formed the basis for determining how they

would be translated optimally from the source language—English, to the target language culture—Kiswahili. Besides, what is treated as a hedge or a hedged function in specific political contexts may not function the same way in other non-political contexts. This is a justifiable pursuit given that, whereas there are different studies which have explored the nature and functions of hedges in other fields of human conversational interactions, there is little that has been researched in the translational transfer of meaning in political discourses from English into Kiswahili.

Presidential political discourses have always presented intriguing and numerous opportunities worthy of scholarly investigations such as, linguistic peculiarities of political debates, the idiosyncrasies of political interviews and speeches covering all manner of political actors such as Members of National Assembly, Members of County Assemblies, governors, senators, women representatives and other political functionaries. This study did not seek to explore and discuss hedges in speeches where these categories of politicians were involved because these speeches, are by and large mostly localized and the use of English may be very limited with most of them if not all of them, delivered in the local language of the specific area where it is delivered because the issues discussed may affect only that particular area and the political leaders would be limited in their scope of engagement (Habwe, 1999). Moreover, initial data sampling of political speeches for the purposes of this study, presented language challenges given that they were delivered in local languages which did not necessitate translations, this is besides the fact that they fall outside the confines of this study which set out to explore hedges in presidential political speeches in Kenya. This study as such, confined itself to exploring and discussing political speeches delivered by two main presidential candidates and their running mates, the opposition candidate and the ruling party candidate. Their speeches drawn from 2013 and 2017 which were election years in Kenya's election calendar formed the core focus of this study. The study focused on the identification of types of hedges and hedging devices, the determination and evaluation of their functions in presidential political speeches in Kenya. It also discussed the processes of translating identified hedges and the hedging devices. Any other aspects of hedges and hedging devices which were not discussed, were left out because they were considered to be outside the aim and focus of the research although they were interesting to investigate.

1.7 Literature Review

The approach adopted in the review and discussion of relevant literature in this section is thematic, focusing on four main areas namely; general literature on hedging both as a linguistic phenomenon and pragmatic conversational strategy, broad definitions and treatises of political speeches in contextualised paradigms, the implication of hedging in translation contexts and the nexus between translation and communication, notably the transference of indeterminate meaning.

1.7.1 Linguistic Approach to the Study of Hedges

Studies which have focused on hedges and hedging as a linguistic phenomenon, have among other things affirmed that, the hedging concept has been in existence as long as language itself. Many earlier scholars investigating the concept of hedging in conversational context, initially located the whole conceptualization of hedging on a fuzzy set theory which stated that a linguistic item fits in a class only up to a certain extent. In a 1965 study undertaken by Zadeh, the analysis of hedges was done in terms of semantic and logic approaches, where the study singled out English words like *more or less, essentially, very, slightly, technically, much and practically* as potential cases of fuzziness in the context of this approach. These words were viewed as fuzzy terms in the fuzzy and prototype theory that was advanced by Zadeh (1965). However, the terms hedge and hedging were introduced into the linguistic discourses to define lexical units whose primary task was to make things fuzzier or less fuzzy Lakoff, (1972) thus founding the initial broad boundary on the meaning of fuzzy concepts in linguistics. Zadeh's study is still significant in serving as a constant reminder that when dealing with hedges in translation contexts, the idea of fuzziness, imprecision and vagueness still holds. This is indeed true and actually emblematic of political speech discourses.

In an effort to categorize hedges, Fraser, (2010) does not assign them to any specific category but rather discusses them all as means that lead to lack of full commitment, a notion that had been expounded earlier to assert that hedging devices are used to show either lack of complete commitment to the truth value of a proposition or a desire not to express that commitment categorically. Furthermore, Fraser asserts that the use of hedges unwittingly draws attention to the reasons why hedging is an intentional strategy in social interactions intended to enrich the utterances on one hand and as a strategic avoidance of a conflict on the other. Although the term hedging was originally meant to refer to fuzziness, it has attracted a lot of interest with researchers

broadening its definition by incorporating diverse forms of its manifestations as well as its functions (Hua, 2011). Broadly speaking, the meanings related to hedges and hedging generally include vagueness, indirectness, approximation, indetermination as argued by Brown and Levinson (1987). Indeed, this is true of political speeches in the Kenyan context in the sense that, even a short political salutation can get heavily populated with hedges, thus insinuating imprecision and meaning multiplicity, a reality that compounds their translation especially from English to Kiswahili.

The different ways of handling words in communication, especially in speeches arouse interest in why different people speak the way they do and what the purpose of their style is, in structuring an utterance in a certain way. Consequently, the use of hedges in any language, is deployed for specific purposes such as conveying covert meanings and intentions embedded in political campaign speeches. Given that presidential political speeches are characteristically embedded with hushed meanings and intentions, it is prudent to affirm that political speeches are heavily hedged. Thus, when such speeches are subjected to translation, a translator's skills are truly stretched. This is so because to translate a hedge or any hedging device discernible in political speeches, accurate and appropriate interpretation of what meaning is embedded in a hedge is an absolute consideration. Furthermore, deciphering meaning hushed in a hedge or hedging device and then reconfiguring the same for transference into another language is a critical consideration in the translation process so as to approximate the optimal appropriate and correct meaning for purposes of translation Munday, (2008). This, as has been argued by the proponents of multiple meaning dynamics of hedges and hedging devices, is critical in the identification and classifications of hedges.

Given that there is no single word, phrase or sentence in any language that is inherently a hedge or identified as a hedging device, the linguistic realities of a language, the pragmatic imperatives of a language as well as the contextual realities of its usage are responsible for imbuing words, utterances, phrases or sentences with hedging characteristics. Consequently, it can be argued that a political discourse regardless of its functional dimensions can provide a convergence of linguistic realities, pragmatic essentials as well as contextual conditions necessary to facilitate the realization of hedged meaning generally. When the same is applied to translation realities, a translator is called upon to carefully identify the presence of hedges and hedging devices in the source text, discern

their meanings and hushed intentions so as to transfer such meanings in an optimal sense possible. This discussion was necessary in laying linguistic grounds and points of entry in discussing hedged and implied meaning in political speeches and how the same manifest themselves in translation contexts.

1.7.2 Hedging in Pragmatic and Cultural Communication

Recent studies which have initiated deliberate shifts of focus and infused cross-cultural thoughts into researches and studies of hedges, have explicated hedges from diverse view points and perspectives, such as explaining hedging as a form and function of social communicative phenomenon which goes beyond what is linguistically and contextually manifest (Sanatifa, 2015). Thus, when a single lexical item, utterance, phrase or sentence is identified as a means to safe face in political discourses, politicians in their political speeches use an equivocation strategy which enables them to advance their intentions through the utterances they make, thereby influencing their audiences in a certain direction (Sanatifa, *ibid*). It must be noted that such influence or persuasion to certain perceptions or certain actions are discernible once the hushed meanings and intentions have become discernible on the part of intended audiences. In situations where hedges and hedging are identified as characteristic of human language, hedges make a language flexible and reliable, easing the understanding of the information contained in an utterance and plays a vital role in maintaining interaction in social communication (Jingwei, 2013).

As a feature which is ever present in political utterances, hedges are deployed to convey politeness, to act as a protection device, and help to exhibit diplomatic behavior which protects the face of the speaker where such a speaker is perceived as being tactful or diplomatic (Fraser, 2010). Alternatively, hedges are used as a tactic and means of conveying vagueness purposely, with the speaker carefully selecting words, linguistic terms or phrases to conceal the meaning of a given utterance thereby rendering it ambiguous or vague. Targeted audiences are left to grapple with the meaning, often finding it difficult to decipher the whole gamut of meaning intended, but the speaker will have passed his/her message altogether (Powell, 1985, Salager-Meyer, 2000). The peculiarity of hedges as a means of conveying non-explicit meaning makes it quite difficult in conveyance of these meanings to target audiences in translation processes. Therefore, a translation process has to ensure that the ambiguous and indistinct meanings, whose interpretations are beyond the range of single lexical items, should be treated cautiously when translating them into

target texts since understanding their hushed meaning is central to the understanding of the whole discourse. The import of these observations in view of the current study, is that there is need for translators to be aware that hedges are always acquiescent overt and hushed meanings in political utterances where the hushed meaning may be more critical than what appears obvious. It can be argued that, in political speeches higher premium is placed on what is hedged and implied rather than what is overly conveyed. This is indeed what requires retrieving from political speeches, appropriately understood and functionally reformulated in order to transfer it to the target language and ultimately to the target audience. Consequently, translators are inevitably called upon to equip themselves with knowledge of pragmatics, given that in social as well as political interactions, meaning in pragmatically framed and understanding this is critical in transference of appropriate meaning in translation processes (Fraser, 1980).

Across different academic disciplines, hedges and hedging devices have been studied in diverse ways spanning discourses, registers, and genres. Hedging as a linguistic phenomenon is a feature of language use as old as the language itself, but whose definition has tended to be transient and flux, thus causing a considerable arguments and disputes about what exactly a hedge is comprised of. Though the definition of hedges has remained largely unsettled, it must be pointed out that this medley of definitions arises out of theoretical perspectives canvassing diverse trajectories as well as scholarly practices informed by disparate interests from diverse scholars (Zadeh, 1965, Lakoff 1972, Brown & Levinson 1997, Hyland, 1998, Fraser, 2007, Ingo 2007, Jingwei, 2013, Sanatifa 2015). These definitions are also associated with the functions of hedges as spread across semantic and pragmatic notions. Equally unsettled is the issue of a clear taxonomy of hedges (Salager-Meyer, 2000). What needs to be understood in these observations is that both the definitions and perceived functions of hedges and hedging devices, are circumstantially tentative and circumscribed, a reality which explains the frequent overlaps between hedges and implicature. These realities have a critical bearing in translation in that the fluidity of meaning discernible in both is not easily retrieved or maybe wrongly reconfigured in the translation process, and this is significantly true in the translation of political speeches.

In view of the foregoing arguments, it can be asserted that in political discourses, being vague, fuzzy or not being categorical, is a deliberate conversational choice, hence the frequent and pervasive use of words, utterances or sentences which portray vagueness. Political interlocutors

whether as writers or speakers are characteristically averse to making categorical assertions, they make vague, unclear and cautious statements whose exact meaning is always flux, and this may be speculated to arise out of non-availability of exact data or where precise information available to a politician is irrelevant in view of the primary results sought (Myers, 1989). As such, vagueness and fuzziness are strategies that political speakers make use of when they do not wish to be explicit. Hedging as such, protects the speaker from accusations of making false statements because hedges inherently indicate either lack of full commitment to the felicity value of an utterance or a desire not to express that commitment categorically. Hedges are characteristically an indicator of vagueness and imprecision although associating them with vagueness does not necessarily mean confusion or uncertainty on the part of the speaker (Salager-Meyer, 1994). In terms of political discourses, utterances and statements made routinely exhibit uncertainty, skepticism, improbability and evasiveness; consequently, such discourses will be characterized as heavily hedged and therefore acquiescent to multiple interpretations (Martin-Martin, 2008). This then is the reality that a translator of political speeches has to contend with in translational contexts—first to retrieve meaning embedded in imprecise statements and then render such meaning to an audience further removed from the source audience first targeted in the political discourse.

The truth value of a statement is an ideal and acceptable condition in social interaction although speakers may have a way of modifying this condition and thus accord themselves opportunities to detach from given utterances by use of down toners; words which make their statements less emphatic and less categorical. To avoid being categorical or emphatic to the fidelity of utterances, speakers resort to language strategies that express vagueness, court politeness, generally, strategies which guarantee face protection, thus enabling the delivery of political messages (Grice, 1975, Markkanen & Schroder, 1997, Hyland, 1998). In their quest to persuade people to act the way they want; politicians usually use political rhetoric and other language strategies that are discreet and manipulative such as, fuzziness and euphemism to sway and indirectly influence peoples' thinking. When such strategies are deployed in political campaign speeches, their truth predictions are uncertain, thus confirming that often, it is difficult to tell what truth is embedded in politicians' utterances during political campaign periods (Cassier, 2003). It can be argued that through linguistic and contextual strategies combined with available language dynamics such as hedges and implicature, politicians are able to convey vagueness intentionally, they are also enabled to remain at the periphery of their utterances, thus taking refuge in either direction of the utterance

whether accepted or rejected on felicity grounds (Salagar-Meyer, 2000, Lewin, 2004). Overall, political utterances and propositions, notably in campaign rallies, are emblematic of ambiguous antecedents, implicit statements and other anecdotes delivered tactfully to save face (Chilton, 2004, Bloomer, 2007). This kind of interactional maneuvering ordinarily renders meaning indeterminate and thus saddles the translator with the problem of wrestling with meaning retrieval, reconfiguration and transfer.

Human beings need to be treated well in any social interaction; therefore, the choice of words, utterance as well as the contextual appropriateness of language use constitute a vital strategy in conversation analysis. In terms of word choices which focus on words such as; *possibly*, *sort of*, *maybe* and *I think*, frequently used in political discourses, tend to create a sense of meaning fluidity and indeterminacy; thus, making meaning convoluted and not amenable to productive discussions of what meaning is tenable, this is in spite of advanced counter arguments that such words underpin vitality of communication, indicate politeness, and lubricate phatic communication (Holmes, 1982, 1984, Coates, 1987). It is also argued that they serve as a strategy of using negative politeness principle to reduce the threat to the addressee from the interlocutor. Whereas this may be important in terms of interactional politeness, their import on meaning conveyance is nevertheless complicated, placing on the translator demands that go beyond meaning transference but instead entail intricate retrieval and configurations of meanings (Myers, 1989, Banks, 1994).

In certain interactional circumstances, hedging is treated as an outcome or as a mark of the style of a speaker, seen as a product of social force, a device that gives life to language and a communication strategy which maintains social interaction acceptable to the target audience (Crompton, 1997). In this sense, hedging becomes a means to shorten distance between the speaker and the utterance resulting in close social attractiveness, with the message being accepted by addressees who form a positive attitude towards it and minimize any possible rejection that would have been caused by a wider social distance emanating from the choice of words and the style of speech (Brown & Levinson, 1987). Inevitably, speakers are socially and pragmatically bound to follow some socially acceptable linguistic norms as well as communicative strategies such as using hedges in an explicit sense within their utterances so as to mitigate the effect of distance in social interaction. The consequences of this maneuvering are that, speakers are called upon to be aware of the need to invest in their utterances, thus choosing the appropriate style and words which build

confidence on the part of addressees by making their meanings explicit as well as enabling the manifestation and realization of certain and agreeable attitudes to their audience. The sense of investment alluded to here has to do with linguistic, contextual and pragmatic meanings on and above subject meaning. It is through discerning meaning that modesty in an interaction becomes exhibited and appealing and accommodation becomes possible, hence facilitating obtrusive meaning that is amenable to translation (Holmes, 1984).

The overarching argumentation in this section is that, though hedging may be said to have a linguistic parentage, this linguistic view has been revisited, revised and thus mutated and shifted without shedding off its original core characteristics so as to accommodate interests that are not strictly lexical. Consequently, the definition of hedges has shifted to accommodate pragmatic interests embedded in conversational interactions, as well as accommodate the imperatives of contexts underpinning any conversation (Fraser, 2010). With this paradigm shift and expanded focus on pragmatics and context, this study sought to essentially ground the analyses of hedges and hedging devices on a paradigm of lexical linguistics, conversational pragmatics as well as contextual imperatives of a discourse such as political speeches. Identifying hedges as a phenomenon that spans all these interests is a critical requirement that informs adequate identification, retrieval, configuration and subsequent transfer of linguistically, pragmatically and contextually correct meaning from a source text to a target text (Beaugrende & Dressler, 1981). This identification is only possible when the concept of hedging is understood as being acquiescent to a multiplicity of interests, more so when hedging is at the core of addressing meaning retrieval and meaning transfer from English to Kiswahili (Hubler, 1983, Brown & Levinson, 1987, Markkanen & Schroder, 1997, Sanatifa, 2015, Paterlin, 2016).

1.7.3 Translation of Hedges

Some schools of thought have expressed realistic reservations as to whether hedges once identified in source texts, should be transferred as they are into target texts at all. These reservations assert that in the first-place hedges are not part of the main meaning of the message being transferred, though in reality such meaning is either suggested or is embedded in the given hedge. Suggestions have been advanced that hedges should as such be ignored altogether, though it is never made evident at what cost to meaning being transferred (Ingo, 2007). This arises out of the realization that at their base level, hedges need to be correctly identified since they get manifested through an

array of linguistic strategies such as modal auxiliary verbs, adjectives, adverbs, modal lexical verbs, nouns, if clause, compounds, introductory phrases and sentences. In terms of executing a realistic translation which attempts to maintain fidelity to source text meaning, it would be difficult to transfer such meaning if these hedge manifestations are not well understood or indeed if they are ignored (Sanatifa, 2015). Words from these categories function as hedges given that they draw our attention to the weakened strength of an utterance, hence suggesting or implying the presence of a certain meaning or range of possible meanings which would not have been the case if the utterance was devoid of hedging devices. Words and expressions acquire their hedging functions in terms of their pragmatic dispositions and the contextual constraints of their use. In terms of meaning analysis, any consideration of words and expressions as hedges is pragmatically and contextually determined, thus enabling a broad understanding of forms and functions of hedges as made possible by lexical linguistics, pragmatic imperatives and contextual constraints (Hyland, 1998).

The identification of hedges as linguistic devices whose meaning import is responsive to pragmatic and contextual sensibilities, is an essential consideration in translation, given that such identification facilitates the processing of the source text in terms of discerning overt meaning and implied meaning as well as figuring out its transfer to the target language context. Although certain translation theoretical orientations provide for this type of transference on the general process of translation, assuming that the meaning of what is identified as a hedge may be rendered in the target language in literal, free, idiomatic, communicative, functional, equivalent and literary translation sense (Nida, 1964, House, 1977, Newmark, 1988). Just like it is true of virtually all translations, there is no known specific approach to the translation of hedges and hedging devices generally; consequently, there is lack of a clear stand on how hedges should be handled in process of translation. This may indeed explain why translation scholars and practitioners have continued to provide hints and clues as to how to translate hedges although not in a forthright manner. For instance, Munday's (2008) assertion that using word-for-word and sense-for-sense translation strategy is adequate in handling hedged meaning, does not adequately resolve the issue of translating hedges, given the fluidity and indeterminacy of meaning embedded in hedges generally and how broad and flux that meaning may be in political discourses. It is apparent that hedges like other linguistic features frequently encountered in translation contexts, are amenable to different approaches of translation and therefore, the strategy that renders optimal correct results is

dependent upon the discourse involved and the interplay between pragmatic and contextual imperatives.

While there may be a need to translate hedges using a word-for-word approach, which allows lexical elements in the source text to be transferred to the target language, as to whether the meaning discerned in the hedges is rendered in a free way or sense-for-sense, is dependent on what best serves the functional needs of the translation and what accounts for fidelity to the source text (Vermeer, 2012). The freedom given to the translator to retrieve meaning embedded in hedges is not indefinite, thus the translator must work within the paradigms of what may make equivalent meaning realizable in the target language (Ingo, 2007, Zaja, 2012).

Although there is no clarity on what is entailed in the literal and sense-for-sense meaning rendition in translation, it is possible to presume that literal translation is the process that sticks to the structure (sentence structure), lexical options (choice of words, vouching for equivalence) and paying attention to pragmatic meaning of source language. Sense-for-sense on the other hand is a translation process that conveys the intended meaning in disregard of style and form of the source language as asserted by (Ingo, 2007) thus, compelling translators to render in an optimal sense, the meaning retrieved from hedging devices that have been identified in the source text without neutering their intentions as to how information is reformulated for the target audience. By so doing, this approach gets imbued with pragmatic awareness which encompasses both the word-for-word and sense-for-sense imperatives of the translation processes as advanced by Ingo (2007).

It also advocates for necessary and appropriate adaptations to ensure that the target text meaning as embedded in hedges discerned is in tandem with target culture sensibilities in respect to form and content. Further, by demonstrating this sense of attentiveness and responsibility, a translator's task is constrained to transfer the meaning of the source text to the target text, not necessarily by making direct translations of all semantic components, but rather by rendering meaning in an optimal sense. In bringing all these diverse interests into play, the translator is obligated to demonstrate deep insight, flair and feel of his/her own language, he/she also bound to deploy a kind of third eye or a sixth sense, perceptive intelligence, intuition and sensitivity—in short, the use of an array of skills depicting knowledgeability in undertaking a rather complex task of

transferring hedged meaning circumscribed by a given culture to another cultural and language milieu (Pym, 2016).

While it is important to keep in mind that these are the demands required in the transference of meaning from source to target texts in the translation processes, the overriding primary purpose of a translation is the conveyance of meaning as invested in the source text and as retrieved with due regard to the fidelity of all the imperatives active in the translation process (Nord, 2012). A translator is called upon to demonstrate general awareness of how spoken words are pragmatically and contextually interpreted generally and how the specific requirements of a given discourse alter their general understanding. Consequently, the interpretation of hedges, always considered vague, implicit and fluid, in political discourses it demands the deployment of discourse specific understanding as informed by the frame and nature of the context (Habwe, 1999). There is no doubt that dealing with a large number of hedges in an utterance or written statements can be problematic in the translation process, however, the most tenable thing a translator can do is to transfer, where practically feasible, linguistic features of the source text that carry considerable amount of information (Ingo, 2007). In political discourses such as political campaigns, this means the transfer of meaning and information deciphered in such speeches, given that vagueness and avoidance of commitment to utterances is a strategic choice made by politicians, but it nevertheless has adverse effects of the exactness of meaning.

By their very nature, the meanings of hedges are by and large implied; therefore, their translation finds cognates in the translation of implicatures. The translation of implicature, generally speaking, is variously understood in the sense that, some perspectives have tended to emphasize that language is a set of communicative cues with potentially recoverable implicatures which are amenable to transference to target audiences in ways which minimize misinterpretation (Pym, 2005, 2010). There are a number of studies that have interrogated the concept of hedging and asserted that, in the complex interaction and the exercise of political power, hedges are strategic devices which attempt to effectively address face saving mechanisms (Fraser, 2010).

Though other recent studies have shown that, hedges both in linguistic and pragmatic terms in political discourses play a significant role in political utterances, these studies do not contradict the fact that, meaning in hedges is still indeterminate and as such their translation will of necessity

require an understanding of how implicatures in political discourse are translated (Abeer & Saidat, 2011, Axelsson, 2013). Given this dearth of information, theoretical postulation and functional strategic interventions on how to deal with hedges in a translation process, specifically hedges as populated in presidential political campaign speeches, this study sought to establish how translators deal with this issue in translational contexts. It further sought to expound the particularity of the presidential political speeches in political discourses in Kenya. Based on these available researches, it seems that very little has been done on translation of hedges in political discourses with translation of hedges from English to Kiswahili receiving no attention at all. This is the realization that informed this study to search for insights and informed understandings of the manifestations of hedges in a political discourse and how they are translated from one language to another.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

This study used an eclectic approach infusing the theory of Implicature advanced by Grice, (1975) and Skopos theory of translation as advanced by Vermeer (1978), in an attempt to understand and gain insights into the intricacies surrounding meaning investment and retrieval in political discourses on one hand, and the reformulation of such meaning for transference in translation processes. Inferring a speaker's intent in any given discourse utterance, is not always a straightforward task, it is an undertaking which requires both linguistic and pragmatic cues for it to be deciphered optimally and this is a critical consideration in guiding translators in the translation of political campaign speeches. Consequently, Grice's (1975) theory of implicature in this study was used to underpin our understanding of hedges generally, but more specifically understanding hedges when they manifest themselves as implicatures in political communication. Thus, Grice's maxims of communication, were critically implicated in the identification of hedges/implicatures, accounting for their forms and functions in political speeches in Kenya. Further to this, given that this study was interested in the functional soundness of the translation of hedges as subset of implicatures into target language paradigms, Grice's theory of implicature alone would not have been sufficient in addressing this functional concern as it manifests itself in the translation of hedges in a political discourse, therefore, there was valid need to incorporate the Skopos theory of translation as advanced by Vermeer (1978) to enable the determination of hedges' functionality in target paradigms.

It has been asserted that translation theory dates as far back as 871 AD (Lonsdale, 1996), when King Alfred the Great, in his attempt to solve the problem of whether to be “faithful” to the source text or to render “free” translations, came up with the solution of concentrating on the function which the translation is supposed to achieve. Since then, theories in the area of translation have been developed and can be grouped into three categories; pre-linguistic theories which focused on free versus faithful translation, linguistic theories which argue that the main function of language is communication and hermeneutic theories which focused on the interpretation of the source text. In more recent times the functionalist approach to translation has gained popularity as well. In this approach, language is considered to vary according to the function it plays in a specific context, therefore various strategies or rules can be used during translation in order to ensure the function of the target text is achieved.

1.8.1 The Theory of Communicative Implicature

The theory of communication and implicature advanced by Grice (1975), is predicated on understanding meaning, referred to as non-natural meaning—*nn*. This meaning—*nn* attempts to account for communication in circumstances where intended meanings are not conveyed through conventional means. Grice points out that a speaker means something by using an utterance X if and only if the speaker intended to cause some effect Y in the addressee Z, and the speaker intended his/her initial intention to be fulfilled simply by the addressee’s recognition of the speaker’s initial intention (Grice, *ibid*). In this condition, communication is reflexive; it is a complex intention which is met by just being recognized as such. In a communication process, communicative intentions of the speaker become mutual knowledge between the speaker and the addressee. Communicating successively entails attainment of this state of mutual knowledge of communicative intention (Marmaridou, 2000). It is on the basis of these foregoing assertions, emphasizing that, studying the functions of hedges as a subset of implicature is critical in resolving the misunderstanding caused by implied meaning in an utterance.

Scholars of meaning studies have argued that, in the universality of languages, the basic unit of meaning is contained in sounds and words. This means that words-sounds and words in full, are cues to meanings which they provoke in the mind of the addressees, depending on how given words are used as well as depending on the situation and context of usage. Their actual usage in fully formed sentences in their varied styles in those sentences, such words are prone to conveying

meanings, both general and specific and often, what the hearer comprehends when such words are uttered, could be different from what is meant, or is more than what the speaker actually means. This brings to the fore presuppositions identifiable as propositions which are not explicitly asserted by the speaker (Marmaridou, *ibid*). Whenever a speaker is not explicit in his/her utterances, that speaker initiates implicit meaning conveyancing which is predicated on distinct linguistic features contained in his/her utterances, usually viewed as a strategy for circumventing responsibility of the truth validity of given propositions. Differences and discrepancies between what the speaker utter and what a speaker really mean, has been linked to indirect speech acts attributed to illocutionary force of the utterances and the role of intentionality in identifying such forces (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The import of this assertion is that it clearly demonstrates the interplay between what is theoretically perceptible and the practical realities and characteristics which are espoused in political speeches in Kenya generally.

Social interaction is unimaginable and is not possible if the intended meanings in any conversational interaction are not fully and appropriately encoded in linguistic form on the one hand, and are decipherable on the other (Marmaridou, 2000). This is more complicated in translation contexts where questions arise as to how non-explicit meaning in the source text language is translatable into the target text. Under these circumstances, hedges also understood as implicatures, ideally present not only intriguing meaning scenarios but also the very reality of meaning obliqueness in political discourses where they are discernible. The manifestation of hedges in language use, and particularly so in political speeches, usually puts pressure on translators to figure out how to retrieve implicit and or deliberately hushed meanings while at the same time maintaining fidelity to the source text.

The appreciation of implicit meaning on the basis of pragmatic inference, affirms that the choice and use of words perceived or characterized as hedges or implicatures, are critical in bridging the gap between what is said and what is communicated (Levinson, 1983). Consequently, the use of implicature in communication, notably political speeches, is usually predicated on certain context specific cues of meaning which arise as a result of interlocutors' realization that they are involved in a cooperative interaction which is enabled by their shared encyclopedic knowledge. This mutual cognition and reasoning allow the interlocutors to differentiate between what is said, what is understood, what is meant and what is intended, otherwise known and drawing conclusion from

an utterance. This interactional cooperation is subconsciously based on what Grice (1975) called the Cooperative Principle in conversation which, states: *'that, a speaker is supposed to make his/her conversational contribution such as required at the stage at which it occurs, by the accepted purpose or direction of the lack exchange in which he/she is engaged.'* Grice (ibid), asserts further that communication is not haphazard, it is made predictable because it is predicated on organizing principles which make conversations function and be comprehensible.

Indeed, Grice proposes four other conversational principles, namely; the maxims of Quantity, Quality, Relation and Manner, which collectively or severally enrich conversations. These principles underpin the recognition that human social interactions are largely enabled by choice of words depending on the subject and context of conversation. The whole range of communication actors—speakers, audiences, subject, context and channel—are critical in determining the explicitness or implicitness of message conveyance. However, used, conversational maxims are ordinarily deployed as communicative strategies intended to meet specific conversational goals, a fact which abounds in political speeches, the subject of this study. The import of Grice's maxims in view of this study is that, the concept of hedges is centrally implicated in the affirmation, but mostly in the violation of these maxims. Hedges, whether couched in words making reference to quality, quantity, relation and manner of meaning, are always violated in political discourses whether used as modifiers of the speaker's assertions or down toning a speaker's commitment to the truth validity of their assertions.

1.8.2 Skopos Theory

The term Skopos in Greek means aim or purpose. This is a technical term used to refer to the purpose of any translation undertaking. Vermeer (1978), while expounding the cardinal tenets of the Skopos theory and particularly its application in translation practice, Vermeer viewed Skopos as an action of translation, as stated in later studies such as Schaffner (1998). To translate, it was argued, is to produce a text in target settings, for a target purposes and for the benefit of target audiences in target circumstances. Consequently, every translation is an action directed at an intended audience (Nord, 2001). The Skopos theory advances the notion that any form of translation action and the process of translation itself are intentional and purposeful actions, where the purpose of the entire translation action determines the translation process (Vermeer, ibid). While appreciating the core theoretical postulation of the Skopos theory, Christian Nord enlarged

its theoretical scope by specifically focusing on differentiating its core terminology—intention and function. Nord viewed the term *intention* from the point of view of the sender and the term *function* from the view point of the receiver who uses the text for a particular purpose (Gambier et al, 2010).

The *skopostheorie*, therefore, unlike its earlier theoretical precedents such as the equivalence approach, the target text is appraised on its adequacy in relation to its function in the target paradigm and not its equivalence to the source text. The translator is, as such, obligated to get as much information as possible about the context in which the translation will be actualized as well as what functions it is intended to achieve in order to produce an adequate target text. In other words, the purpose of translating a political speech determines how meaning is retrieved and reformulated for target audience. In this sense the Skopos theory shifts translation focus from the original or source text and lays emphasis on the translation action and its eventual purpose in the target paradigm. Because of this shift in focus, Skopos theory is a descriptive and standard theory which sets the criterion of translation action prior to and after the translation process. It heightens the understanding of the text prior to translation and sets guidelines on how to work with the purpose of translation rather than focusing on translation that entirely pays too much attention to the linguistic composition of the source text (Nord, 2001).

By and large, the Skopos theory as advanced by Hans Vermeer is a functionalist approach to translation which contends that the linguistic approach to translation on its own cannot solve the myriad problems manifested in translation nor explain the interplay between linguistic meaning and pragmatic meaning. When the Skopos theory is explicated in terms of function and purpose, it broadens the human context of translation where the theory is less abstract and the translation process it advances is infused more with human activity, thus equating translation with a kind of human action, which is carried out with a purposeful behavior internationally (Nord, 1997). The rendition of a text in target paradigms within the understanding of this theory is constrained by a number of parameters spanning linguistics, pragmatics, context and functional meaning transfer. When seen from Vermeer's (ibid) perspective, Skopos is the action of translation which is guided by purpose as opposed to being guided by linguistic rules and principles of constitution. It is a purpose driven translation that caters for the whole outcome of a translation process, which pays more attention to the purpose and function the translation enables in the target audience. It is a

shift from linguistic driven translation to function driven translation that caters for extra linguistic factors such as culture, context, client and textual factors such as purpose of that text (Nord, 2012). This far, it will be argued that this is indeed what is required in the translation of political speeches populated with hedges, implicature and implicit meaning—where it will be necessary to prioritize the purposes and functions which political speeches seek to achieve in targeted audiences.

1.8.2.1 The Skopos Rule

The cardinal rule that guides the Skopos theory is the *skopos*. The term *skopos* refers to the purpose of the translation, the target text (Nord, 2001:28). Additionally, at its core, the term holds that translation activity is guided by the Skopos. Thus, each translation text is produced for a purpose and has to serve that purpose. The rule dictates that, translators, or interpreters for that matter, should do so in such a way that the translated text functions in the context of its use considering the people who will use it, and in the way they want it to function. Besides the Skopos rule, this theory argues for upholding the coherence rule which underpins any translation, that any translation produced in the target paradigm, must be adequately coherent so as to allow the target audience to comprehend it, and it should provide the audience with assumed background knowledge and situational circumstances and that this translation must be meaningful to target culture audience. Further to that, the theory advances the rule of fidelity which specifically outlines the relationship between the source text and the target text, being the intertextual coherence referred to as fidelity (Reiss & Vermeer, 1984).

These rules as advanced by Vermeer, are critical in founding the basis for exploring the translation processes as well as translation outcomes of political speeches populated with hedges. Given that political speeches are delivered for specific purposes and intentions, it is critically important for the translators to understand the purposes, the functions and the meanings embedded in hedges discernible in political speeches. This is a translation fact which recognizes that, in most cases, the use of hedges and hedging devices in political speeches, is an intentional act which aims to elicit a definite reaction from the targeted audiences. Therefore, a translated political utterance has to produce the purpose intended by the speaker and to serve that purpose in the target audience. Translation of political speeches at optimal levels must uphold the intended purpose despite its unclearness as a result of the use of terminologies which have implicit meaning.

1.8.3 Convergence of the Communicative Implicature (Grice, 1975) and Skopos (Vermeer, 1978) Theories in this Study

Grice theory of implicature was very critical in this study for a number of reasons, notably its flexibility in enabling the categorization of maxims of conversational interactions which make it easier to identify hedges and their functions in Kenya political discourses. The four maxims in the theory, as advanced by Grice, were used to identify types of hedges and their spread in the political discourses in Kenya. They were as such foundationally helpful in answering the question of how hedges specifically and implicatures in general, are best translated from English into Kiswahili. The identification, the explication and the translation of hedges as embedded in political speeches were predicated on the tenets of Grice's Implicature theory, notably the maxims of conversational interactions. The exposition of the translation processes, particularly the analyses of the results of translated hedges was complimented with the tenets of the Skopos theory as outlined by Vermeer (ibid). Thus, the two theories were used in a complementary way throughout the study process spanning identification, categorization, analyses and the translation strategies of hedges as implicatures in political speeches.

1.9 Methodology

This section of the study is an outline of the research design, the study data sources, discussion of the research instruments, data collection methods and data analyses.

1.9.1 Research Description

This study was majorly library and archival based relying on primary audio and documentary sources and was mainly explanatory. It was a descriptive qualitative approach since the data was in form of transcribed utterances (selected political speeches). The data comprising largely of political utterances in terms of either assertions or responses to interview questions, mostly rendered in English and the translated versions of those utterances in Kiswahili, were analyzed and explored in several ways spanning the identification of hedges, hedging devices and implicature, the retrieval of the overt and covert meaning, the reconfiguration of those meanings and their rendition in translation into Kiswahili. The descriptions, analyses and attendant explications were grounded on the tenets of Grice's theory of Implicature and Vermeer's Skopos theory.

1.9.2 Data Source

The principal source of data was a purposive sample of presidential political speeches, extracted from interviews, political rallies, debates and statements, attributed to Uhuru Kenyatta, Raila Odinga and their running mates William Ruto and Kalonzo Musyoka in 2013 and 2017 election years in Kenya. These speeches were not written thus not read and had not been priorly prepared since they were the speakers spoke from their mind with no perceivable reference. The main reason why Kenya was selected as the source of data was largely because of the provisions in the Kenya Constitution that gave Kiswahili and English equal status as official languages in Kenya and further making Kiswahili a national language. This gave us two languages of equal status to work with and more to assess what message one could miss out if he or she relied on one. The data dating from January 2013 up to the general election and August to December in 2017 was obtained from Daily Nation and Taifa Leo newspapers and online internet sources. The sample of political speeches used in this study comprised of speeches made by the politicians mentioned above between January to December 2013 and January to December 2017 which were general election years in Kenya. These speeches mainly delivered in English in political campaign rallies, interviews, press briefs, press conferences and radio/television talk shows, were transcribed and analyzed and their hedge identification, meaning retrieval and reconfigurations were juxtaposed against their translated versions in Kiswahili.

1.9.3 Data Collection

The primary data for this study was the presidential political speeches delivered in 2013 and 2017 and briefly after the general elections from the two main political contenders—Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga and their running mates William Ruto and Kalonzo Musyoka respectively. The study randomly selected five speeches ranging between 05 and 15 minutes made variously by each contestant made in the year 2013 and 2017 and the same number of speeches from their running mates, thus a total of twenty speeches. The speeches were transcribed and translated into Kiswahili. Other political speeches samples were extracted from the daily *Nation* and *Taifa Leo* newspapers publications of diverse dates in the specified period. From the data, linguistic features which were characteristically describable as hedges, hedging devices or as implicatures were identified. Their possible meanings and functions in the sampled speeches entailed the identification of linguistic features as well as contextual cues indicating possible multiple meanings in these features. Their renditions into Kiswahili were analyzed on the basis of the possible strategies used to translate

these features from English to Kiswahili, the purpose of which was to identify the congruence of the hedged meanings as rendered into Kiswahili as well as identify incidences of meaning violations in terms of under translations, over translation or outright distortions.

1.9.4 Data Analysis

Data was analyzed in the following steps: categorizing hedges as a subset of implicature in accordance with Grice's maxims. This distinguished the hedging devices used in Kenya political discourses and the functions they perform in political utterances. The categorization of the lexical hedges followed the Salager-Meyer's (2000) taxonomy of hedges due to its wide categorization of the hedging devices. Their functionality in the statements were discussed and observations made as well as conclusions. Secondly the translation strategy employed during translation of hedges in the utterance was identified, discussed and observations made. Finally, observations, explanations and conclusion from the results of the analysis were made.

CHAPTER TWO

HEDGING: CHARACTERISTICS, SIGNIFICANCE AND PRAGMATIC REALIZATIONS IN COMMUNICATIVE UTTERANCES

2.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the identification of hedges, meaning investment, its retrieval in conversational interactions as well as their translatability from source languages to target languages, laying special emphasis on the translation of hedges from English to Kiswahili. Apart from engaging in a continual expounding of hedges and hedging in particular in political discourses, the discussion intended in this chapter also explores the interplay between hedges as a linguistic phenomenon, their pragmatic manifestations and their implication in underpinning implicature in human communication within given social constraints. Though the concept of hedging and the linguistic devices used was explored and explicated in terms of the prevailing debate, attention was also focused on various taxonomies of hedges, the varied functions that hedges play in political discourses and the various ways in which they manifest themselves as genre specific phenomenon in presidential political discourses in Kenya.

2.1 Hedging as a Linguistic Occurrence

The universality of languages is such that by using any language, speakers are intuitively cognizant of the grammatical rules governing such a language, and the users are equally cognizant of the pragmatic codes which enable language and communication comprehension within the constraints of the world around them. Therefore, the choice of words, the way they are syntactically connected and the meanings evoked therein within a definite context, outline the communicativeness within a community set up (Marimadou, 2000). As such, use of different words in a certain and specific manner, by a certain set of people and in a given situation, is an intriguing phenomenon that is imbued with multiplicity of meaning which requires functional disaggregation. Hence, the use of diverse words or word groups and the meaning they carry across in a communication set up require deeper understanding in order for communication to be functionally complete. Therefore, words that are habitually couched as hedges and which are embedded with extra meaning in conversational contexts, inevitably give rise to an utterance exhibiting fuzziness and ambiguity. The retrieval of meaning from such assertions can only be accessed by means of deciphering the implicatures therein so as to ascertain their function and purpose in a given communicative context.

On purely linguistic considerations, hedges and hedging devices may be presented as single words or set of words whose function makes things fuzzier or less fuzzy (Lakoff, 1972). Whenever and wherever these words or phrases are discernible, they may manifest hedging characteristics which define and underpin the communicative effect of an utterance and the manner in which an utterance is interpreted. Right from the conceptualization of the term, scholarship has attributed different words or sets of words to have hedging influence in linguistics although the term carries pragmatic functions as well. This is the reason why there is not a single word that is inherently a hedge but rather, words derive their hedging characteristics and attendant functions from their context of usage. The words imbued with hedging characteristics are, conversely, the same words used in communication offering conventional meaning within the language culture. The extra meanings they are capable of evoking ensure that the social interaction and conversation cooperation is maintained, hence exhibiting their polypragmatic attribute that makes translation problematic task due to their multi-faceted meanings.

Broadly speaking, hedging as a linguistic and pragmatic phenomenon has been variously researched in many research fields emerging with different research findings explaining such issues as the types and forms of hedges, the varied functions enabled by hedges, hedges and hedging categories as well as their applications in different social and discourse interactions. This is evidently exhibited in various researches where it is considered as an attenuation and mitigation strategy in communication (Holmes, 1984, Myers, 1986; Salager-Meyer, 1994; Markkanen & Schroder, 1997; Hyland, 1998; Vass, 2004; Burrough-Boenisch, 2006; Fraser, 2010; Thaler, 2012). Earlier studies on hedging majorly focused on their semantic characteristics and functions, precisely on its negative connotation of words whose main purpose was to express imprecision and fuzziness.

Lakoff (1972) defines hedges as words whose meaning implicitly involves fuzziness and whose communicative function is either a deliberate or inadvertent creation of fuzzy or less fuzzy things. This definition inadvertently painted hedges as a negative conversational phenomenon in social interactions. However, subsequent studies of hedges and hedging generally have come to view hedges as a pragmatic phenomenon where Schroder and Zimmer, (1997) have asserted that hedges are words whose form and function are contextually constrained. This extended the meaning of hedging from being words which express imprecision and fuzziness, to drawing attention to

hedging as a means of expressing politeness as an act of saving face of an interlocutor from the utterance made (Levinson and Brown, 1987). Likewise, hedges have been viewed as possible problems in social interactions particularly where such interactions are set in an intercultural community. They are notably problematic in translational contexts and this arises as a result of pragmatic differences in the languages and cultures where source text aspects must be transferred to the target text (Vassilleva, 2001; Zaja, 2012; Yang, 2012; Itakura, 2013; Sedaghat, 2015). Furthermore, they are problematic because their forms and functions in social communication emanate from divergent views as to what constitutes hedges and how they are implicated in message conveyance given that hedges are not always in the main frame of meaning of that utterance.

Lakoff (1972) has analyzed hedges and categorized them as fuzzy words which predominantly express fuzziness and vagueness, in terms of their conversational assessments, where hedges are perceived as words or communicative devices used to create liveliness, facilitate discussions, indicate politeness and lubricate phatic communication as elaborated by Cotes, (1987) and Holmes (1984). Skelton (1988) identifies hedges and hedging devices as strategies which give life to a language. On his part, Myers (1987), regards and argues that hedges are basically strategies of positive and negative politeness which serve to reduce the threat to the addressees' negative face by moderating a given assertion, thereby giving the message recipients freedom of judgment or showing 'solidarity with the target audience by exhibiting responses that assume shared knowledge and desires.

Banks, as cited in Salager-Meyer (1994), contends that hedges are words whose function is to enable avoidance of face threatening acts, normally associated with the character and style of the speech in question where an individual speaker may adversely be identified. Crompton (1997:275), explicates hedges as words which are a product of social forces and which also contribute to either positive or negative attitudes towards the content of the message in a given utterance (Crismore & Vande, 1997). It has also been argued that the frequent use of hedges contributes positively to social attractiveness which makes an utterance appealing to the recipients thereby reducing the social distance between the addressee and the speakers (Parton, Sitanen, Hosman & Langenderfer, 2002). The plethora of definitions, analyses and assertions that abound in research studies regarding hedges, ordinarily arise from divergent perceptions and understandings of what hedges

are, the identification of the conflicting forms of hedging devices, collectively have been identified as underpinning the emerging prominence of hedges in social interactions as a means of conveying information.

These definitions of hedges and hedging devices in their varied senses, have profound implications in deciphering meaning in political discourses but much more so in the rendition of optimal meaning and communicative function in translational contexts. These diverse understandings of hedges, potentially mean that many translators have isolated understandings of hedges, they apportion meaning to hedges in diverse ways according to their backgrounds and their ways of perceiving and comprehending meaning, more so when such meaning is embedded in hedges. The import of this diversity of understanding hedges is that, when applied to the transition of hedges in political speeches, the whole translation undertaking becomes very complex especially in terms of negotiating and balancing between the demands of the true characteristic of hedges, the limits of their meaning's multiplicity and how best such meanings are deciphered in political speeches. This is so because, the nature of political speeches in Kenya is such that, hedges are used for varied reasons and are deployed to function and achieve diverse political goals. Consequently, whenever translators deal with political texts as genre specific texts, they are obliged to unravel the problem of meaning exactitude in the translation process, notably through the identification of hedges and attaching them with appropriate and accurate meaning. This essentially means that translators are under obligation to understand the various ways and the varied typologies of hedge manifestations.

In their detailed categorization of hedges, Salvager-Meyer (1997), developed a taxonomy indicating a more distinct and elaborate classification of hedges, though in functional terms, the categorized hedges are similar to the functions of hedges discussed in earlier studies. This classification may not be a clear and concrete identification of hedges since there is no single word that is inherently a hedge and hedges manifest themselves differently in different languages. The classification of hedges is merely an attempt to put words in a hedging perspective and indicate their manifestation in speeches. They have similar pragmatic functions expressing such issues as politeness, uncertainty, lack of commitment to the truth validity of assertions, lack of information and concealing of information.

Given that hedging devices present different manifestations in specific languages, the transfer and rendition of their meanings from one language to another ideally requires careful and insightful considerations in order to extract accurate meanings as well as explore their potential perceptions and reception by target audiences. Identification of appropriate translation strategy normally goes hand in hand with the identification of correct meaning, which then functions as a strategy of ensuring that the meaning of hedges is maintained in the target text. It is also a strategy which ensures that purpose carried or embedded in a given hedge is optimally transferred to the target audience which needs to understand it and offer the required feedback or take action on the strength of how the audience comprehends utterance information. Hedges in English do not necessarily give the same meaning and function in Kiswahili and thus a careful strategy for meaning transfer is of great importance as discussed below.

2.1.1 Adverbial Hedges

Adverbial hedges are words which fall in the category of adverbial grammatical words. An adverbial hedge in this sense equals an adverbial phrase, which is a group of words that refine the meaning of a verb, adjective, or adverb. Similarly, adverbial hedges modify other words by explaining why, how, where, or when an action occurred. They may also describe the conditions of an action or object, or the degree to which an action or object was affected. In a given utterance in communication, therefore, they serve to give more information on the verbs, adjectives, adverbs and nouns embedded in a conversation and imbued with various meaning potentials. Whenever and wherever they are used in a conversation as hedges, the speaker may consciously or unconsciously use them to hide or provide less information or conversely exaggerate information on the subject matter at hand. This rendition of more or less information in discourse contexts is indeed the first indicator of the potential problems that hedges pose in translation, as is discernible in presidential political statements as evidenced in the excerpts below;

1. I am not certain but I guess the number of voters was *approximately* two hundred thousand in that constituency.
2. The turn up of the voters was *generally* not good.

The use of the adverb *approximately* in the sentence (1) above is by all means a hedging strategy in the sense that, the speaker has no information certainty, consequently the assertion the speaker makes exposes lack of or the curtailing of the rendition of complete information in the speaker's assertion. Where and whenever hedges are treated as implicature, the translator is disadvantaged in the sense that he/she may not know the reason why such information is concealed. It is not easy to discern whether the speaker lacks actual figures of the number of voters or whether the speaker is not ready to reveal it since it reflects on him/her adversely. Thus, in translation contexts, a translator would be torn between focusing exclusively on the adverb itself and therefore leave out the implied or embedded meaning, or the translator may get preoccupied with attempts of unravelling what meaning may be embedded in the adverb in question. Whenever such detailed analysis is not undertaken, the uncertainty inherent in the source text utterance will be rendered in the target context as such as is evident below.

3. *Sina uhakika ila nakisia kuwa idadi ya wapiga kura katika eneo bunge hilo ilikuwa takribani laki mbili.*

4. *Kujitokeza kwa wapiga kura kwa jumla hakukuwa kuzuri.*

2.1.2 Hedges of Epistemic Verbs

In grammar, modality has to do with properties, such as the expression of possibility, obligation, and/or emphasis. This is realized through the use of main modal verbs in the English language notably: *can, could, may, might, must, shall, should, will, would*, all of these may find cognate verbs in Kiswahili or alternatively may be subsumed under a few verbs. Modality is as such about a speaker's or a writer's attitude towards the world. In conversational terms, a speaker can express certainty, possibility, willingness, obligation, necessity and/or ability by using modal words and expressions. Consequently, if one of the key functions of adverbs is to add to the meaning of verbs, it makes sense to argue that modal adverbs add additional meaning to modal verbs. It is important to always remember that modality has to do with ideas such as the possibility of something happening or something being, consequently modality is centrally implicated in hedging devices. This expression of probable possibility is a constant characteristic in political discourses where information is constantly expressed without certainty. When a speaker uses modal verbs to express his/her opinion on a given statement, then he or she is using epistemic modality in that conversation. Essentially, epistemic modality signifies the truthfulness or lack of it in a statement,

thus intimating the state of possibility and not certainty in such said statement (Halliday, 1999). Using these words, the speakers express their attitude on the truth factor.

5. The promise made by that politician *might be* fulfilled in many years to come.

Ahadi za wanasiaisa huenda zikachukua miaka mingi ijayo kutekelezwa.

6. The statement *suggests* that the general election of 2017 was a reflection of how divided Kenya was.

Taarifa hiyo inaashiria kwamba uchaguzi mkuu wa 2017 ulikuwa ni dhihirisho ya jinsi Kenya imegawanyika.

Epistemic verbs used in the examples above allude to the plausibility of more than one meaning. The verb *might* reveal doubt as well as an indication that the action will not be undertaken altogether. Using the words *many years to come* is an indication of loss of hope and that citizens should not wait for the fulfillment of that promise. On the other hand, the epistemic verb *suggests* has more than one meaning. It could be taken as *ashiria* or *maanisha*, or *pendekeza* which are all contextually probable in Kiswahili rendition. They nevertheless end up manifesting as hedges in Kiswahili as well. Thus, the verbs are potentially polygramatic in political utterances. They can carry more than one meaning which would be difficult to decipher when translating political speeches generally and in Kenya in particular.

2.1.3 Hedges of Modal Verbs

Hedges that are predicated on modal verbs constitute words which express a speaker's perceptions, possibilities or certainty on an obligation. They express the speaker's opinion and indicate lack of facts on his/her utterance and unwillingness to take full responsibility of what they say. These verbs are an indication of a need for further verification of the information given because speakers usually distance themselves from the authenticity of their statements in given contexts. In other cases, speakers may portray politeness, thus avoiding direct or harsh reality of the situation, hence cushioning the reader from eminent embarrassment.

7. In Kenya, campaign rallies *may* turn violent at any time.

8. It *would* be futile to report a corruption case to police officers in Kenya today.

Epistemic modal verb *may* as used in example 7 is translatable in two ways which give different meanings. It can be translated as: *inaweza* or *kuna uwezekano*.

9. *Kuna uwezekano* wa mikutano ya siasa nchini Kenya kugeuka kuwa fujo wakati wowote.
10. Mikutano ya siasa nchini Kenya *inaweza* kuwa ya fujo wakati wowote.
11. Kuripoti ufisadi kwa Polisi nchini Kenya *itakuwa* ni kazi bure.

The use of the verb *may* exhibit ambiguity, uncertainty, or lack of commitment to the truth fidelity of the utterance. As an implicature, the speaker can use it to mean that political rallies in Kenya are always violent or are in all probability potentially violent. This is the message that is not given out rightly thus complicating translation due its ambiguity in the source text. The comprehension of utterance meaning as contextually constituted would require to be made manifest as a way of solving a potential translation problem otherwise the same ambiguity will be transferred to the target language.

2.1.4 Hedges of Cognition Verbs

Various researches have intimated that there are six levels of cognitive complexity notably; knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis and evaluation. The implication of this in discussing hedges and the hedging devices in general is that, the use of cognition verbs in framing hedges entails the deployment of a distinct category of terms that indicates a speaker's state of mind in constituting a link between language and the real world. Cognition verbs mainly function to indicate deeper mental status, such as thinking, knowing, remembering, believing, regretting, intending, forgetting and promising among others, thus making them form an integral part of syntactic, pragmatic and semantic aspects of communication. In pragmatic terms, verbs of cognition have a variety of functions such as, indication of connectivity of words to the knowledge of the real-world, maintenance of text coherence such as the connection of the unspoken events in a text, expounding of text in order to achieve better comprehension through use of figurative language, and showing the speaker's level of commitment to the statement in subsequent subordinate clauses which indicate the degree of speaker's certainty towards to a given utterance. The verbs of cognition have different functions in communication processes but the ones which stand out are, the pragmatic ones which are focused on the speaker's attitude toward an utterance

which qualifies them to be hedging devices. The translation of these verbs of cognition as hedges is always a potential challenge in translation since they potentially present a variety of functions in a text. A translator would find it difficult to determine and render in translation the appropriate and accurate meaning in Kiswahili from the many options presented by the verbs.

12. I **believe** that Kenyans will not fight each other again.

Nina imani kuwa Wakenya hawatapigana wenyewe kwa wenyewe tena.

13. I **think** we are together in this fight.

Nafikiri tuko pamoja katika vita hivi.

The hedge **believe** in sentence (12) indicates that the interlocutor would mean he or she is certain that Kenyans will not fight each other again. The speaker has a conviction that fighting will not happen again in Kenya. The verb would easily be translated as *imani* yet in Kiswahili it is a noun. This is an indication that it is possible to translate a verb with a noun in Kiswahili and maintain the same meaning, a scenario of word class change occurring in a translation process. Thus, *Nina imani kwamba Wakenya hawatapigana tena*; or *Naamini kwamba Wakenya hawatapigana tena*. The difficulty that a translator faces in discerning the meaning to attach to the verbs of cognition arises out of the potential multiplicity of meanings they invoke and possible translations of the verb *amini* which may translate as *sadiki, kubali, afiki, itakidi, ridhi* or even *wafiki*, which in their contextual realizations may also intimate other meanings thus making meaning certainty very fluid. This, unfortunately, is the reality of political speeches as they obtain the Kenyan political discourses. Political speeches in Kenya tend to be inclined to the popular meanings which people have attached to words and phrases that appeal to them. Thus, it is difficult to separate the popular and the accurate meaning in a text with cognitive verb hedges more so when translating into Kiswahili.

2.1.5 Hedges of Hypothetical Constructions

Hypothetical constructions are sentences based on possible ideas or possible situations as opposed to actual ones. These are utterances which speakers make indicating that an action or a statement's accomplishment will be dependent on another one. In essence, hypothetical constructions intimate imaginary situations and there are specific English grammar structures, phrases and forms to express hypothetical situations which may or may not be replicated in Kiswahili. Hypothetical

constructions vary from one language to another, however, that notwithstanding, they are critically implicated in the framing of hedges overall. By giving conditions of accomplishment of an action, hypothetical constructions present a rather different perspective on how the phrase or sentence would be translated. It would not be a direct transfer of meaning from English to Kiswahili since in the later, hypothetical construction takes a different form and thus the meaning would vary from the English source text.

14. *If* we are to win this war on corruption, we must all fight together.

Iwapo tutashindwa vita hivi vya ufisadi, sharti tupigane pamoja.

15. *Unless* you vote wisely, we shall have no development in this region.

Isipokuwa mpige kura kwa werevu, hatutapata maendeleo katika eneo hili.

Msipopiga kura kwa werevu, hatutapata maendeleo katika eneo hili.

The *if* clause in sentence 14 may be translated as; *Ili tushinde vita vya ufisadi, ni sharti tupigane pamoja*. In back translation, the phrase would be; *For us to win the war on corruption, we must fight together*. The translation of *-if* in Kiswahili is quite problematic because it may insinuate a wide range of probabilities entailing such expressions as—*kama, iwapo, endapo, tuseme, pindi, hata kama, pindipo, itokezapo, asaa*, etc. What this means in translation terms is the potential for endless possibilities; hence it is critical that the hedge or hedging device being translated may have its meaning deciphered optimally.

The translation of sentence (15) would even be more problematic because the whole phrase is hedged. Voting wisely would be construed to mean that the voters need to be careful with who they are voting for. Thus, if they vote in a person of bad character or a person who is not developmental conscious, the area would remain underdeveloped. This message would ordinarily not appear in translation of such a hedged statement. The likely message to be translated would be; *Iwapo hamtapiga kura kwa hekima, eneo hili halitakuwa na maendeleo*. Given that the whole construction is conditional, the use of *iwapo* is just but one possibility because this conditional construction is also amenable to such expressions as—*ila, isipokuwa, lakini, minghairi, bighairi, ghairi ya, bali*—which have their own further manifestations. The information in the translated sentence thus remains implicit as it were in the source language

making it harder for the target audience to comprehend and appreciate the message passed across and in return act accordingly.

2.1.6 Hedges of Anticipatory It-clause

The *it*-clause is presented in a sentence to introduce or to anticipate the subject or object, especially when the subject or object of that sentence is a clause whose function is to soften and diminish the force of an utterance. The softening of the force of an utterance would be carried by the *it*-clause when used as a subject of verbs in words like, *occur, seem, appear* and *look* among others. This makes the utterance less forceful or harsh to the recipients who would act in tandem with the meaning passed across. One of the functions of hedging devices is to soften the utterances and cushion the recipients and the speaker from embarrassment and thus acting as a mitigating agent in a conversation. If *it*-clause perform such a function in an utterance, it therefore qualifies to be a hedging device. How to translate them into Kiswahili would depend on the attached meaning and the way the translators would retrieve the ‘it’ through an appropriate technique without losing the intended information.

16. *It seems* we have to fight harder to have fair elections in Kenya.

Inaonekana itabidi tupigane kwa nguvu ili tupate uchaguzi wa haki Kenya.

17. *It occurred* to me that going to vote early in the morning is a waste of time because results seem to have been determined before the actual voting.

Ilibainika kwangu kwamba, kwenda mapema kupiga kura ni kupoteza wakati kwa sababu inaonekana matokeo huwa yashaamriwa kabala ya upigaji kura wenyewe.

18. *It is likely* that the corrupt presidential candidates will win the election despite the efforts put by the genuine ones.

Inwezeka kuwa wagombea uchaguzi wafisadi watashinda uchaguzi ingawa wale halali wametia bidii ya kutosha.

Translated into Kiswahili, the hedge *it-seems* has multiple meanings—*onekana, elekea, kuwa, fanana, kama-* which are similar to the meaning of the hedge *it is likely*—*kuelekea, kufaa, kutakakuwa, huenda, and labda.*

Whenever a word or a phrase carries more than one meaning, there is a high likelihood of transference of the wrong message to the target text due to incorrect or mismatched decoding of the initial information. Over reliance on literal translation without paying attention to the

communicative function of the target text would deny the target audience the information that is implied but not translated into Kiswahili. This kind of realization in the translation processes seems to be the case when a hedge is not correctly understood in the English source text. Sentence (16) above carries multiple meanings that makes it difficult to identify the one that needs to be transferred into Kiswahili. The hedging device insinuates that Kenyans have to go to war for fair election to take place. It politely informs Kenyans that they have to do much more in terms of advocacy and for politicians to be disciplined in order for fair elections to be realized. The translation of this utterance would not carry over this expanded message into Kiswahili, thus, the message and information which the target audience receives is reduced and rendered inadequate for the realization of intended functions and actions. Likewise, the selection of an equivalent term in Kiswahili would dictate the meaning that is to be passed across to the target audience which is a laborious task to the translators.

2.1.7 Compound Hedges

Given that hedging devices can function either as single words, phrases or sentences, the devices can combine to form compound hedges which comprise phrases of several hedge types. In some cases, there are modal verbs that combine with the lexical verbs to form a compound hedge.

19. *If it would appear that* this general election is rigged again, Kenya would never be peaceful.

Iwapo itataokea kwamba uchaguzi huu utakuwa na udanganyifu, Kenya haikutakuwa na amani tena.

There are also compound hedges made up of a lexical verb followed by a hedging verb or an adjective where an adverb or adjective reinforces the hedge already inherent in the lexical verb for example;

20. *It seems reasonable that* the presidential debate has not taken place under the current situation.

Kwa busara Inaonekana kwamba mjadala wa urais haujafanyika katika hali iliyopo.

21. *It seems possible that* a preferred candidate would overwhelmingly be voted for, but the results are contrary.

Inaonekana kuwa na uwezekanao kwamba, mgombea pendelewa atapigiwa kura kwa wingi ila matokeo yatakuwa kinyume.

Further, compound hedges combine and form double hedges thus appearing as, *it may suggest that, it seems likely that, it would indicate that, this possibly indicates that*, all of them revealing that functionally hedges express uncertainty in respect of utterances in question and the communicative behavior of the speaker regarding the information presented to the listeners.

22. *It seems likely that*, the information on the tallying of the votes at the constituency level is tempered with at the national tallying Centre.

Inaoneneka kuwa na uwezekanao kwamba, habari kuhusu kuhesabiwa kwa kura katika maeneo bunge kumeingiliwa kutoka kituo cha kitaifa cha kuhesabu kura.

23. *If* the Supreme Court annuls the presidential election results as announced, *it would indicate that* the judiciary will have redeemed itself from the control of the executive.

Iwapo Mahakama ya Upeo itatupilia mbali matokeo kama yalivyotangazwa, *basi inaonyesha kwamba* idara ya mahakama imejinasua kutoka kwa uhibitwa utawala.

Besides the double hedges, there are triple hedges which manifest themselves as, *it seems reasonable to assume that*. They are three hedges in a phrase or a sentence.

24. *It seems reasonable to assume that*, from the elections results already released, the presidential elections will never be fair *if* the electoral system remains as it is.

Inaoneka kuwa na busara kuchukulia kwamba, uchaguzi wa urais hautakuwa wa haki iwapo mifumo ya uchaguzi itabikia kuwa vile.

Quadruple hedges are another category of compound hedges which are used as a possible way of presenting an individual's assertion, especially assertions which are speculative and based on plausible thinking. The absence of these hedges in a given utterance, essentially imply that the target audience will take it that, the given utterance is the speaker's position regarding the truth validity and his/her own conviction. A phrase or a sentence would contain four hedges each complimenting the other in an utterance.

25. *If it seems reasonable to assume that* corruption thrives in the whole election process in Kenya, then there is no need to vote.

Iwapo itaonekenka kuwa na busara kuchukulia kwamba ufidadi umekidhiri katika mfumo wote wa uchaguzi nchini Kenya, basi hakuna haja ya kupiga kura.

It is not guaranteed that the *if*-clause in English will be the same or will work the same way in Kiswahili. The *if*-clauses may present similar or near similar characteristics but function

differently and convey different messages in translation contexts. Recognizing *if*-clauses as hedging devices domiciled in this particular category, is critical in recognizing and understanding that they perform pragmatic functions in speeches, and this is in addition to their grammatical functions. These pragmatic and grammatical functions usually present challenges and complications in translation, given that the occurrence of both in an utterance presents a fluid overlap which complicates the identification and determination of the correct function, and therefore, the rendition of correct meaning in the target contexts. This situation is even more so in the translation texts of political nature such as the translation of presidential political speeches.

2.1.8 Adjectives as Hedges

Whenever and wherever adjectives are used as the basis for framing hedges, epistemic adjectives function in similar manner as adverbs in terms of meaning rendition, that once used in an utterance or in speech, adjectival hedges exhibit characteristics of uncertainty, inattentiveness or imprecision. These words include; *most, possible, consistent, seldom, plausible, rare, questionable* and *probable* (Attala, 2001). Adjectives are words in a phrase or sentence which describe the quality, quantity or mode of an action which is carried out. The word order in a sentence which is distinct to each language, dictates the performance of the adjectives. Therefore, adjectives have performative roles which are different in any two languages. Pragmatically, they not only qualify the action carried out by the noun, but reveal uncertainty and interlocutor's imprecision, making his/her message doubtful. Use of adjectives like *rarely, possible* and *probable* is an indication of doubt on the truthfulness of an utterance in political speeches in Kenya. A translator dealing with adjectives of uncertainty and imprecision would thus struggle in finding the accurate equivalences in Kiswahili.

26. The truthfulness of Moses Kuria's statements is always *questionable*.

Ukweli wa taarifa za Moses Kuria ni wa *kutiliwa shaka* kila wakati.

The hedge *-questionable*, although there is an equivalent hedge in Kiswahili there are other words which are attributed to the same hedge but contextually, they suggest different meanings in a political scenario. These are; *kushukiwa, kutoaminika, kupotosha, atiati, uwongo, kuzua taharuki, chochezi*; showing the level of uncertainty of the statement and the effect the meaning has to the audience. The appropriate hedge to be used and retain the original meaning becomes a task to the translators.

2.1.9 Probability Adjective as Hedges

Human communication is routinely inclined to be responsive to contextual realities, which intimates that in any given conversational interaction a number of issues are bound to arise which predispose speakers to resort to expressions lacking exact or truthful answers to with regard to the topics of discussions, the problems addresses or questions raised by the audience. This in a way obliges speakers to make assertions or give responses based on probability, alternatively speakers are forced to postpone giving answers or responses to given questions until such time when they have accurate and factual answers, correct figures or appropriate explanations. Ordinarily, this is executed though probability adjectives which highlight methods or arguments on account that human beings cannot be certain at all times of communication; they can only base their beliefs or actions on what is likely to be possible. The characteristics of probability embedded in these words, essentially means that they are bound to perform pragmatic functions which may indicate that, a given assertion, statement or argument, lacks enough factual information and distances the speaker from the validity of their utterances. The authenticity of the information in assertions, statements and arguments, is thus queried. If the information is later proven to be untrue, the speaker can be exonerated from blame basically because of the usage of hedges framed on adjectives of probability. The whole idea of probability usually leaves the recipient, that's the audience in a conversational interaction, with unverified data or information which would have enabled a complete comprehension of the assertion or debate overall.

Unless there is a possibility of another forum to explain or give the correct facts, the information given and the meaning intended would as such remain fluid. The words which characteristically frame adjectival hedges include and not limited to; '*possible, probable, likely, and unlikely*' which, in conversational interactions indicate that information proffered in assertions and responses is not verified, its truth is interim or the speaker is not certain of what he/she is saying (Baker, 1992:109). Probability adjective hedges present an abstract situation in an utterance that lacks conclusiveness. The use of probability adjective hedges in political speeches in Kenya, usually leaves audiences to grapple with what possible meanings to deduce from political utterances, which intimates that in the final analysis audiences are unable to comprehend what the message was all about. The adjectives of probability in English do not in most cases work in the same way in Kiswahili, there are differences in the way they function in Kiswahili, which means that translating them requires that translators must understand them well and figure out how to transfer their meaning into

Kiswahili. Their manifestation in political speeches is almost routine and such a constant feature in political discourses as seen in the following excerpts;

27. It is *likely* that the IEBC ICT systems were hacked during the election.

Kuna uwezekano wa kuingiliwa kwa mitambo ya kiteknolojia ya IEBC wakati wa uchaguzi.

The hedge *likely* indicates that the information cannot be verified. Thus, the claimant cannot make a conclusive decision regarding meaning based on probable information that, and yet the claimant keeps claiming that they were defeated on account of the hacking of the IEBC systems. In translation contexts, the translator is immediately faced with a dilemma as to what choice of words to use to render the information with precision into Kiswahili. This is because of the range of words available and the multiple meanings they evoke such as; *yaweza kuwa, huenda, kutoka, kutaka kuwa, kuelekea, and labda*.

2.1.10 Nouns as Hedges

Nouns are another category of hedges which portray non-commitment on the part of the speaker to the truth of an utterance, which as such acts as strategy for distancing speakers from the claims they make or the conclusions they draw in given discussions. Whenever they are framed as hedges, epistemic nouns present a state of tentativeness or indefinite meaning in an utterance. Many epistemic nouns are derived from epistemic lexical verbs and adjectives, which means they possess the same functional characteristics of expressing lack of commitment to an utterance, a situation which arises because the utterance presents inadequate or no information, is used as a strategy for apportioning blame or giving credit to others. The tentativeness and indefinite meanings which may be carried by hedges predicated on nouns such as; *possibility, assumption, tendency, prediction, implication, doubt, contention, and conjecture*. It is important to note that despite their varied manifestations, nouns in any language have a definite function in sentence constructions and meaning making (Salvager Meyer, 1997).

Nouns as words used to identify or name something such as persons, places, things, ideas, actions or quality, are typically used in sentences as subjects or objects of verbs or even as objects of prepositions, they as such, have distinct functional meaning involving larger classes of words in a language. When used as the basis for framing hedges, they present a state in which the meanings they enable can act as disclaimers, as expressions of probability or assumption. In translation, the

nouns are thus treated in specific manner, paying attention to their grammatical functions but more so when they manifest as hedges. In political speeches in Kenya, hedged nouns have a pragmatic function which does not give direct information. This requires careful scrutiny of the meaning they carry in political speeches so that the correct information is translated into Kiswahili. The following excerpt based on nouns of quality illustrates this;

28. In the *assumption* that Raila Odinga becomes the next president, Kenya will be a different country.

Ikichukuliwa Kamba Raila Odinga awe rais anayefuata, Kenya itakuwa nchi tofauti.

29. According to her *claim*, political parties in Kenya are an amorphous group that cannot be well defined on its membership.

Kwa mujibu wa madai yake, vyama vya kisiasa nchini havina mashiko na haviwezi kubainika kwa kuzingatia uanachama.

30. There is a *possibility* of amendment of the Kenyan Constitution in the next two years.

Kuna uwezekano wa marekebisho ya Katiba ya Kenya kufanyika ndani ya miaka mawili ijayo.

2.1.11 Adverbs as Hedges

Another category of words which manifest as hedging devices is adverbs. When adverbs work as hedges in an utterance, they indicate a sense of imprecision and uncertainty, lack of commitment of the part of the speaker to statements, arguments or assertions, they also indicate evidence of lack of adequate information on a claim, they underpin a generalization and express doubt. This category of hedges manifesting in terms of adverbs, account for hedging functions through words such as, '*perhaps, possibly, probably, practically, likely, presumably, virtually and apparently*' which exhibit pragmatic functions in a statement (Baker, 1992:109). Adverbial hedges are commonly used in political speeches in Kenya such that their hedging qualities always manifest double or triple embedded meaning. The meaning they evoke as single words can potentially change when put in a political context, either expanding or negating that very meaning such that it becomes rather difficult to determine what exact meaning a translator can render into a target paradigm. Adverbial hedges are a challenge in the determination of suitable and accurate equivalent meaning which accurately reflects what was intended in the source text and at the same

time render and enable similar function in the target context. The following excerpt illustrates this phenomenon;

31. *Perhaps*, Raila Odinga won the 2017 presidential elections.

Labda Raila Odinga alishinda uchaguzi wa Urais wa 2017.

The Kiswahili word *labda* is potentially hedged as used because it may mean **may be**, which is translatable as *huenda*, **possibly-** *kuna uwezekano* or *inawezekana* and **probably**, which is translatable as *labda*. Ideally, where such adverbs are used in political speeches, the meanings they engender are fluid and indeterminate, a reality which complicates the rendition of accurate meaning from English into the Kiswahili.

2.1.12 Approximators as Hedge

Approximators are a category of hedges which when present in an utterance have the potential of altering the recipient's perception about the content of a conversation, statement or assertion. They also have the potential to alter the initial meaning embedded in a discourse as well as shape its orientation with regard to the functions it was expected to perform in the source text and more in the target text when translated. Thus, approximators are capable of altering the truth value of an utterance, they have the potential to make significant amendments to the discourse on the basis of situational facts, and also provide some range of differences to the initial discourse (Halliday, 1999).

Moreover, as Halliday (ibid) asserts, approximators occur in two different sub categories—as adapters, which are known to make certain changes to the initial meaning of a given message, and as rounders, which provide certain range of differences to initial utterances. Within that range of hedges, there is another category of hedges referred to as shields, a category of hedges which does not alter the content and the felicity conditions of an utterance, rather they present the speaker's state of doubt or hesitancy in a given discourse, they also show a speaker's perspective indirectly in terms of softening the tone of an utterance made. All these hedges singularly and collectively impact on the meaning of any given utterance in which they occur, consequently they demand insightful analysis in translation contexts.

Hedges as approximators potentially present the extent of frequency, quality and time; intimating that their primary function is the potential to express uncertainty in circumstances where a speaker

is not sure of the accuracy of the information rendered in an utterance, suggesting that in order to decipher meaning and intention, further clarification is required so as to ascertain information authenticity. This category of hedges is manifested in words like, '*approximately, roughly, about, often, occasionally, generally, usually, somewhat, somehow,*' many of which function as mirrors of probability; thus, they present potential problems in meaning rendition in translation. (Halliday, *ibid*). Hedges of approximation do not necessarily have equivalent hedged meanings in Kiswahili. Their apparent usage in political speeches in Kenya suggests that the information conveyed in such speeches is largely approximation, nothing specific or accurate. Since languages approximate time, weights and measurements differently, the translation of the hedges of approximation in political speeches in Kenya from English to Kiswahili need detailed analyses so as to unveil hidden meanings embedded in political speeches;

32. *Approximately* over five million Kenyans voted for the presidential candidates.

Takriban Wakenya Zaidi ya milioni tano waliwapigia kura wagombea uraisi.

33. The Supreme Court of Kenya *somehow* managed to avert chaos by annulling the presidential results of 2017.

Mahakama ya Upeo wa Juu ya Kenya kwa *namna fulani* ilizuia kuzuka kwa fujo kwa kutupilia mbali matokeo ya uchaguzi wa Urais wa 2017.

The expression hedged as *approximately* does not express any specific meaning in political utterances, assertion or argumentations, it is just that, approximation. It essentially implies that very few voters turned out to vote or that the number of voters who determined the winner, is known, but the essence of the assertion is that, that number was far below what could be considered as acceptable threshold for a presidential win. These implied meanings are never transferred into Kiswahili in translational contexts; thus, the targeted audiences are never enabled to comprehend what function the hedging device serves in the first place.

2.1.13 If- Clauses as Hedges

If-clause hedges are an example of hypothetical constructions in the sense that they are discernible in conditional compound sentences carrying two distinct meanings in which the fulfilment of one condition enables the completion or realization of the other. The *if*-clause functions in a sentence as a condition that needs action before the other one is actioned. Further, in pragmatics terms, the *if*-clause is viewed as an enticement, an act of concealing information, sarcasm, threat, command

or order. Hedges of *if*-clause constructions are contextually connected and would need to be translated with caution in political speeches which are populated with hidden functions. Since it is a hedging device, the clause has to be reviewed critically before the message and its total meaning are transferred into Kiswahili. Semantic meaning alone is not adequate in decoding the pragmatic information embedded in *if*-clauses hedges. This is demonstrated in the following excerpt;

34. I will not participate as a presidential candidate *if* the Electoral Commission is not reconstituted.

Sitashiriki kama mgombea urais *iwapo* Tume ya Uchaguzi haitaundwa upya.

This assertion may be taken as a threat or blackmail intended to force the government initiate the reconstitution of the electoral commission. The whole idea of withdrawal as a presidential candidate, is presented as posing potential danger or adverse consequences to the body managing the electoral process and the credibility of the election itself.

35. *If* nothing is done to repair this road, I will stop attending the Parliamentary sessions.

Ikiwa hakuna chochote kitafanyika kukarabati barabara hii, nitasusia kuhudhuria vikao vya mbunge.

The *if*-clauses used above are presented as threats and as strategies of pressurizing targeted adversaries into submission, however, they also function as a means of expressing defiance. Political speeches in Kenya are characteristically premised on either out right or concealed threats, defiance and blackmail, and these are strategically hedged so as to appeal to targeted audiences. They are also strategically deployed as a means of self-aggrandizement of the part of a political speaker in terms of portraying oneself as courageous and formidable candidate with the wherewithal to fight for given constituents, where not attending parliamentary proceeding is considered as strategy, yet the member of parliament, the speaker in this context, cannot fulfil the threat because such threats are merely bravado that has no potential of either altering or stalling parliamentary proceedings. It is also a way of concealing information and not telling the truth.

36. *If* you didn't vote with your stomachs, we would be in Canaan.

Iwapo msingekubali hongo ili mpige kura, tungekuwa Kanani.

The statement above predicated on the *if*-clause expresses implicit meaning because *if*-clauses are characteristically hedges which function as strategies for conveying implied meaning. Therefore,

when politicians make utterances such as, *voting with stomachs*, the hushed meaning rendered by the sarcasm denotes insult, disgust and distaste for voters who vote on account of miniscule bribes such as food or monetary pittance for a particular person or particular party, thus betraying the greater good. This information is not in the statement but it is implied all the same and it is contextually perceptible. Thus, the translation of such a statement will oblige the translator to determine the critical and cardinal meaning embedded in the statement, and employ the best strategy to transfer it to Kiswahili without offending the voters or concealing the information. However, it is important to note that there is an instance where the rendition of a hedged utterance may be rendered in the target paradigm within that hedged formulation without necessarily losing meaning. As in this case—*Lau msingalipiga kura kwa matumbo yenu tungekuwa Canaan*.

2.1.14 Pragmatic Hedging

Some scholars have attempted to classify hedges in pragmatic and linguistic terms, however, there is no one distinct classification which can be designated as being complete. This is because every other study on hedges inevitably discovers additional classes of hedges on the basis of their pragmatic function in societal communications. However, all attest to the fact that hedges are domiciled in various classes depending on the linguistic and pragmatic functions identified in each hedging device. Those hedges that have linguistic functions have their meaning easily deciphered and easily transferable into Kiswahili through literal translation. Since pragmatic functions of hedges are majorly inclined to implication, the information in the source text would require detailed analyses in translation strategies so as to decipher accurate meaning that goes beyond literal translation. Pragmatic meanings of hedges in political speeches in Kenya are best analyzed and translated using pragmatic approaches to translation so as to unveil meanings which are not amenable to mere structural linguistic analysis. This is possible when and where the translator first identifies the pragmatic function of any given hedging device, the genre of the texts under analysis as well as the identification of the social nature of their use in political speeches which may make them function differently. Translating them into Kiswahili would require translators to confine themselves to meanings which are pragmatically enabled. Thus, there is need to delve further in search of functions which clearly explain them as pragmatically imbued.

37. I urge you to have your weapons ready. We are going to war and we must win it.

Nawasihi kutayarisha silaha zenu. Tunaelekea vitani na ni sharti tushinde.

The weapons under discussion are not the war weaponry. The speaker means the voting cards. The war in reference is the elections that are under way thus, the context of the message dictates the strategy of translation which is beyond fuzziness and cannot be translated literally.

In translation contexts, perceiving hedges as single words is potentially limiting given that there are several forms of hedging devices which go beyond single words. Translation as negotiated communication entails many factors which underpin its structural and functional completeness. Speakers can always choose particular ways of communication given that various communities as well as various contextual communication circumstances obligate the presentation of information in certain preferred and optimal ways, a reality which suggests that hedges cannot always be seen only in terms of eliciting fuzziness or lack of it. Hedges have several functions in social communications and are routinely deployed as a deliberate strategy to communicate in a certain way though there are instances where hedging is not a deliberate action on the part of speaker. Such instances may be constrained by customary ways of social communication which are at times involuntary and simultaneous.

When expressions such as *utajua haujui (you will know that you don't know)* arise in a Kiswahili conversational utterance presented as warning, this does not imply fuzziness rather it is a communication of a socially coded message with deep meaning not easily and forthrightly comprehended. This is a clear indication that hedges go beyond linguistic parameters and, in several senses, employ social or contextual codes to enable a communication of given messages. This is generally true of political discourses where speakers use nonlinguistic signs and body language as ways of not committing to their utterances or expressing the uncertainties of their statements. Signs such as shrugging of the shoulders, pointing fingers at someone, facial expressions as frowning, whistling, shaking of the head and fidgeting can rightly be regarded as implicated in hedging. Hedges or hedging devices should be determined by the context of an utterance and the whole communicative process. Such non-linguistic signs may not necessarily be retrieved in written political speeches, bulletins or manifestos, however interpreting such communications within contextual and temporal realities can make such non-linguistic signs perceivable, and therefore make their meanings much more manifest. This thus calls for further scrutiny of the classification of hedges, not limiting it to the lexical taxonomies only with

realization that none verbalized cues constitute hedging strategies in human communication which needs to be identified and appreciated.

Pragmatic expressions embedded in political speeches invariably have varied meanings indicative of warnings, threats, commands, signs of truce, signs of cowardice or politeness. These largely manifest as implications where the intended message is not clearly coded to convey given meanings or privileged information to targeted audiences. Consequently, the practical deployment of skewed linguistic definitions and classification of hedges in translation contexts which do not take into consideration the pragmatic undertones of hedging may not surmount translation difficulties experienced in dealing with political speeches in the Kenyan context. Therefore, in practical translational terms, the enumeration, categorization and interpretation of hedges in political discourses, must treat specific hedges and hedging devices as pragmatic occurrences whose translatability into Kiswahili must be tampered with contextual and temporal imperatives.

2.2 Gricean Maxims and Meaning Implication

The use of different language conventions in various communicative contexts essentially means that, language use is not always constrained to monolithic and unchanging forms; language use routinely goes beyond what is uttered and the meanings evoked by such forms of communication may be completely different from the intended meaning that a speaker sought to convey in a given utterance. Human beings, therefore, regularly employ presuppositions in their conversations which lack explicit assertions and this is achieved through the use of specific linguistic expressions deployed to tactfully avoid taking responsibility of the truth validity of what is conveyed. These presuppositions essentially suggest that such conversations are couched in implicatures, which are enabled by forms of coded meanings requiring to be decoded so as to arrive at the intended meanings. Consequently, a critical analysis of the characteristics of implicative language and the words that are used, makes it possible to translate words which carry the implied meaning in an utterance (Grice, 1975).

The notion of conversation implicature as advanced by Grice (1975), is a point of reference for inferring what is contained in a conversation. Grice's theoretical postulations laid the foundation for the development of conversational maxims which, theoretically govern a conversational

interaction. At the core of these developments was the idea of making a conversational exchange productive in every optimal sense, thus the maxims were developed to suggest what must be done in a conversation and how it should be done. Current reference to these maxims typically seeks to explore whether conversers have adhered to or flouted those maxims while engaged in a cooperative communication underpinning a social conversation. Given the realization that conversation is more than mere linguistic constitution, pragmatics inferences have become critically implicated in conversational studies. Consequently, inquiries into conversational implicature seek to explore and bridge the gap between what is said and what is actually communicated by the speaker. This is predicated on the notion that human reasoning is a cognitive process which corroborates with other social factors working in tandem to effect cooperative communication that is beneficial to all the actors in a conversational event. This assumption in terms of cognitive pragmatics explains the nature of implicature in a conversation and the way messages are conceived and comprehended by the interlocutors, it also identifies the role of human reasoning in creation of implicature in social interactions. On the other hand, societal expectations of conversational etiquette influence distinct forms of message conveyance where pragmatic use of language makes it possible to discern implicatures (Levinson, 1983).

The foregoing theoretical exposition is critical in understanding that, available literature focusing on approaches to the translation of implicature and hedges generally, suggests that translators have repeatedly followed the literal translation approach of remaining faithful to the surface structural manifestations of meaning of the original utterance while compromising on the intention and purpose of the source text. This suggests that translators have only been concerned with textual content while they remain largely unconstrained by pragmatic considerations in which deeper or hushed meaning is contained. Such translation approaches have tended to ignore the target audience's cognitive environment and its horizons of expectations in deciphering the meaning as envisaged in the original speech. There is cognition that, in spite of suggestions advocated in earlier translation approaches focusing on the inclusion of pragmatic considerations in translation undertakings, translators have continued to face the challenge of upholding optimal conveyance of intended information and meaning to target audiences. Attempts to solve this dilemma have been suggested by a number of scholars such as Nida's, (1964) dynamic and equivalent theory, sense for sense theory, Newmark's, (1981) communicative theory as well as expositions by Jerome in Venuti, (2010) advocating the inclusion of audience cognition of the message.

In spite of all these developments, the problem of inappropriate translation of hedges is still evident, and this arises largely because the translation of political texts is still predicated on textual meaning of the source text, an approach which tends to neglect the target audience's cognitive environment (Chilton, 2004). Over reliance on textual meaning without consideration of the pragmatic dynamics noticeable or perceivable in political speeches impedes the rendition of information and implied meanings contained the source text. Implied meaning is decipherable on the basis of the pragmatic understanding that a translator employs in the interpretation of the source text. The translation of hedges in political speeches from one language to another, more so from English to Kiswahili, needs to be tampered with the understanding of implicature and how it is implicated in political speeches, particularly within the Kenyan context. This is necessary in underpinning accurate and optimal translation of political speeches into Kiswahili. The biggest challenge in translation of hedges revolves around the fact that, whether translators in their rendition of the source texts are able to arouse similar communicative effect on target audiences considering that, linguistic peculiarities notwithstanding, the contextual basis of political hedging in Kenya political speeches is shared between English and Kiswahili.

The translation of hedges in political speeches essentially suggests the translation of implicature, and by extension the consideration of the cooperative principle, are a critical element informing optimal translation. Human communication and specifically political communication are populated with implicature, that is, indirect speeches which suggest that what a speaker utters is sometimes distinct from what is meant (Searle, 1975). Consequently, translating political speeches whether in their verbal or written forms, demands understanding that not only what is visibly manifest in the text but what is implied as well. Understanding a speech's intended meaning obligates the translator as a text user to understand what is said as well as what is implied. This is the reality in Kenya's politics where implied messages dominate political speeches, therefore, understanding political meaning as embedded in political speeches essentially entails comprehending the intention of the speaker. In situations where most political speeches are given in English, translators are obliged to comprehend the implied meaning first and then transfer it into Kiswahili.

One major theoretical postulation in pragmatics that has dominated scholarly discussions is the concept of conversational implicature proposed by Paul Grice in which he asserts that, "human

conversational exchanges don't normally consist of sequences of disjointed remarks, if they do, they would not be rational. Human conversations as such, have characteristics of cooperative efforts, recognized in each conversation as constituting a common purpose or set of purposes, or at least as a mutually accepted direction" (Grice, 1975:45). Furthermore, in social interactions and communication, human beings strive to cooperate under the dictates of Cooperative Principle which they may be conscious of or not. Arising from this notion is the realization that there is a set of over-arching assumptions which guide any conversational conduct (Levinson, 1983). Thus, four basic maxims of conversation play a significant role in shaping the overall Cooperative Principle. The need to understand the significance of the Co-operative principle is intricately intertwined with the fact that hedging is a critical characteristic of any conversational discourse which lends that given discourse an air of calculated argumentation, objectivity or lack of it and the extent of convincing which may be adduced from the same (Meyer, 1997). In translation terms, the skillful and appropriate usage of hedging is critical in determining appropriate meaning rendition or in a majority of cases; possible communicative mismatches as well as pragmatic errors where what is rendered in translation from the source text may appear or sound impolite, aggressive, assertive or even tentative in the target paradigm.

The maxim of quantity emphasizes that a speaker should make his/her contribution as informative as is required for the current purpose of that exchange, and not to make contribution more informative than required. This maxim guides speakers in determining the amount of information which is adequate in a given conversation. Although it sounds ideally tenable, it is not a possible maxim to maintain in all conversations, and particularly so in political speeches. Meyer (1997), has pointed out that there are situations which call for more or less information in a conversation. In political discourses, this maxim is routinely flouted given that the recipients of such speeches are denied this information in various ways including disguises of censure, notably when such speeches are couched in hedges. In certain other times more information is presented in a conversation than it should be. This is exhibited mostly where political speeches use coded language.

By being cognizant that human communication may be categorized as true or false, and that whenever interlocutors are engaged in any conversational interaction, they are generally aware of the truth validity of their utterances, Grice argued that interlocutors should try to make their

conversational contribution by acknowledging what constitutes true utterances, that they should avoid false utterances whose truth they may not be aware of or utter any information that is not backed by adequate evidence. By so doing, speakers are in essence obeying the maxim of quality. However, the greatest challenge in upholding the maxim of quality is that, it is almost impossible in human communicative interactions to sustain the fidelity of this maxim. When the same maxim is interrogated in political discourse contexts, it is the most flouted maxim. A political speaker can choose and do usually choose to use words which insulate him/her from a lie but at the same time avoid saying the truth. By using hedges, political speakers routinely flout this maxim yet they remain relevant in their communication interaction with their audiences. It is true there are situations which may demand interlocutors to evade the truth fidelity in their conversations but still remain relevant to the topic of discussion in an attempt to mitigate any negation from the addressees (Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981).

It is not uncommon for speakers to say what is not relevant to the issue under discussion, notably in terms of indiscernible anecdotes, hedged information and other similar devices (Grice, 1975). This is in spite of the fact Grice asserted that, interlocutors ought to convey appropriate and relevant information which is in accord with the discourse. This requires that speakers stick to what is appertaining to the issue under discussion or what is of great value at the said time. A speaker's use of hedges or implied meaning may purposively or inadvertently conceal the relevance of the topic, make fun of it and communicate at the same time. Hedges in such discourses may make the message more elaborate if used to affirm certain figures or facts which the speaker does not wish to take credit for. Many times, in political discussions and speeches in Kenya, politicians digress to other issues which may not be part of the debate. The digression leads to disjointed information which routinely flouts content and topic cohesion and coherence deliberately. This problem would be carried to translations processes ultimately making the flow of translated information incoherent.

The maxim of manner entails the need for speakers to strive to be perspicacious in a conversation by avoiding obscurity of expressions and keeping off ambiguous utterances. The communication should be to the point and follow logical and sequential orderliness expected in a speech or given discourse. This implies that a speaker has to be aware of the cohesion and coherence requirements expected in upholding the content and topic of conversation (Beaugrande and Dressler, 1981).

There should be clarity of the message where speakers convey explicit meaning and eschew ambiguity and at the same time remain relevant to the point of discussion by ensuring that there is sequential flow of the information (Grice, 1975). Political speeches in Kenya rarely observe these maxims. If they happen to do so, much of the information is exaggerated, overrated, abusive and defensive. Avoidance of ambiguity is accomplished through straight talk but the information relayed is usually false and exaggerated. If such information is translated into Kiswahili there is always a debate in the mind of the translator about what to translate and what to leave out, what to put straight and what to hide in Kiswahili hedges. This makes translation more laborious and technical due to the realization that English hedges don't function the same way in Kiswahili as they do in English.

2.3 Hedging in Political Speeches

Scholars such as Lakoff, Hyland and Salager-Meyer (*ibid*) have cautioned that there is no general agreement on what functions hedges perform since each identified hedge or hedging device can be demonstrated to perform a specific function in a particular context. However, notwithstanding the theoretical divergence of opinion, there have been postulations that hedges are used to show some kind of uncertainty and also show some form of politeness (Lakoff, 1972). Hubler (1983), has argued that hedges are useful linguistic devices which serve functions such as expressing politeness, showing uncertainty and conveying indirectness. Hedges have also been perceived as linguistic devices which allow the avoidance of confrontation between opinions and as such, they are considered as a negative politeness strategy which aims at saving the face of the speakers (Brown and Levinson, 1987). There have been suggestions that hedges are devices used in showing caution while expressing thoughts which border on opinions or negotiating unsubstantiated claims in a diplomatic way (Hyland, 1994). Other scholars such as Fraser (2010:201), have argued that hedges are used for showing both positive and negative politeness, protecting one's ego, avoiding confrontation, getting rid of responsibility, showing mitigation, and appearing modest and less powerful in conversational contexts. Given these diverse understandings of hedges and their varied functions, it can be argued that their application in political discourses is usually perceived in terms of expressing probability, demonstrating lack of certainty and lack of commitment on the part of a political speaker.

There is no doubt that political discourse borrows a lot from pragmatics and as such implicature is heavily implicated in political speeches as evidenced in the Gricean Maxims (Sanatifar, 2015). In political discourses, politicians' utterances are habitually couched in implicature and the politicians are usually outright uncooperative, they are not averse to telling lies, being expediently sly, evasive and unpredictable since they are aware that they can easily be disavowed by their audiences (Chilton, 2004). Political discourse is, as such, hinged on the relationship of what is explicit and what is implied, thus prompting it to be viewed as a discourse of implicative relations characterized by implicativeness and presupposition. The constant use of implicature by politicians is subtly deployed to manipulate the audiences' comprehension and interpretation of the politician's message, manipulating the audience to think in a certain predetermined direction (Wilson & Sperber, 1990).

Indeed, implicatures form an integral and distinctive feature of political discourses and are critical in revealing politicians' intentions and aspirations usually through the use of distinct and carefully selected terms for a particular function (Van Dijk, 2002). In knowingly deploying implicatures in their interactive communications, politicians convey messages implicitly without accepting responsibility of their implied meaning, thus making implicatures a dominant and crucial aspect of political discourse. Implicature, thus, viewed from the politician's perspective, is an exploitative strategy which is deployed to manipulate the audience's mental frame in directing and influencing the audience to accept a certain worldview, defend certain vested values and beliefs espoused by the political speaker. Political speeches as such, exhibit and are replete with implicatures, essentially meaning that implicature is one of the focal features employed by politicians to manipulate their audiences in terms of swaying their mental processes and making them acquiesce to a given political viewpoint. In this sense, it is evident that in political discourses implicatures are pragmatic inferences which contextually influence the knowledge and understanding of political interaction.

On the basis of the foregoing theoretical debate, the critical issue that arises here is criticality of the challenges encountered in the interpretation of the meanings of hedges and hedging devices in given political discourses, the interpretation of hedging in languages in contact where intercultural pragmatic differences are manifestly differentiated, as well as challenges encountered in the rendition of meaning in translation contexts involving the translation of presidential political

campaign speeches. Available evidence, if any, suggests that the translation of hedges, whether recognized as hedging devices or as implicatures in presidential political discourses from English to Kiswahili, besides being minimally researched, it is a daunting undertaking.

2.3.1 The Nature of Political Speeches

Wherever speakers in political contexts seek to articulate political views and opinions aimed at successful conveyance of such views to targeted audiences, such speakers will inevitably appeal to the emotional and attitudinal inclinations of their audiences (Charteris, 2009). In order to establish mutual connections between speakers and their audiences, there must exist mutual trust initiated by the speaker through the use of specific and pragmatically responsive language, employing emotional shrewdness and standpoints which relate well with the recipients of the speech, thus enabling them to understand and support the views being communicated. A communication where the speaker and the recipients mutually connect in order to reciprocally agree on a given subject, will inevitably employ diverse strategies by the speaker in order to achieve a level of congruence acceptable to both the speaker and the audience (Thomas & Wering, 1999). The contextualization of this theoretical understanding in political discourses means that, political speakers employ such tactics as symbolism, making the message clearer or ambiguous in accordance to their intentions, mostly appealing to the targeted audience and swaying the audience and standpoint (Ball & Peters, 2001)

It is a common occurrence in political discourses that, literary devices will be appropriated and used in political communication so as to achieve a given goal. Consequently, it is not uncommon for politicians on the podium to sing and at other times dance fervently with the audience. The songs are not only carefully selected but purposely so to enable the conveyancing of particular messages with hedged meanings. These songs can constitute part of the speech while at the same time acting as interludes. They can be used as gems of sarcasm trolling an opposing group. Such theatrics can be referred to as “entertaining with a purpose”, that is ensuring that the audience remembers and supports a particular point or message, ensuring that the audience is lured to follow a particular point of view or demonstrating that something which needs to be done. These songs can and do usually have ethnographic meaning nuances which are only recoverable on account of their contextual performance and the stage imperatives of that particular performance. Performed away from situated contexts, such songs and performances can only carry meanings alien to the

situated contexts referred to earlier. Just like songs are used to embellish and convey political messages, there also some words and word categories used in political speeches in Kenya which make specific meanings only valid in situated political platforms.

The utterance appropriated from a popular reggae song *Nobody can stop reggae* during the BBI political campaigns, is an example of the appropriation of both secular and gospel songs to buttress political speeches and convey situated political messages in Kenyan political discourses. The song has hedged political message quite dissimilar to the original message as expressed by the composer. Besides various types of songs, other literary devices routinely appropriated for political discourse include allusions, amplifications, analogy, anaphora, litotes, metaphors, parallelism, similes onomatopoeia and oxymoron, among many more. When these devices are integrated into political speeches, they are critical in underscoring implied or hedged meanings, thus their critical implications in the conveyance of purposeful political meanings which are only perceptible on the basis of the connections between performance and situation. For instance, Aisha Jumwa, the MP for Malindi on October 2, 2018 on a politically rally said:

38. *Safari za kuja pigiwa mdomo majukwaani na sisi kupiga makofi na kukatika viuno, viuno vina kazi yake hivi.*

The time for people to come and make noise on the podium as we clap our hands and hip dance is over, these hips have a specific function.

This statement is formulated on the basis of sarcasm which then enables the presentation of veiled information which is decipherable once situational and contextual knowledge is brought into consideration. In order to infer the intended meaning, there is need to interrogate several aspects of the statement in terms of their sociocultural and biological associations, that is, the physical hip and the metaphorical hip within this speaker's community. There are obvious biological functions of the hip but the hedged meaning embedded in this statement is not necessarily referring to any of them. To discern which function the speaker is referring to may be, both straight forward and deeply nuanced thus complicating the identification of the exact message to be translated.

Apart from the wide appropriation and usage of literary devices, which are by their very nature implicatures, political speeches in Kenya are populated with commands, commentary, narrations, storytelling, prescriptions, directions, questioning and requests. For instance, Raila Odinga uses commentary and narrative anecdotes widely as a way of conveying veiled messages. The messages

in his commentaries are characteristically implicit and as such necessitate his audience to decode and link narratives to the political topic under discussion. Sometimes politicians will analyze situations, give accounts of political issues, and use speech acts to convey information concerning problems which require political solutions. The essence of using these literary devices is to enable the listener to understand the information in the best way possible and take a political stand which is pleasant to the speaker.

It would appear that political messages are received better by audiences when they are delivered in implicit and hushed ways, which explains perhaps why political speeches in Kenya are routinely delivered by means of hedging devices. It will be noted, nevertheless, that hedged information in political speeches is problematic to translate because they are acquiescent to varied and fluid ways of interpretation. Some hedged information may be outright sexually suggestive, hence pragmatically obscene, as in the *hip joint* nuance in Jumwa's statement, which if expounded and rendered literally in translation may end up rendering vulgarities which are unacceptable in the target contexts. Resolving this translation problem requires a robust strategy which ensures that the source text meaning is retained and the target audience is enabled to access the information therein without distortion.

One thing that stands out clearly in political discourses is that, hedging is an indispensable ingredient in political communicative interaction. As such, one of the main functions of hedges, as used by politicians, is to make utterances non-assertive, as a strategy that eschews absoluteness. The overriding reason for using hedges is to make utterances more acceptable to the hearer and thus accord such assertions optimal chances of ratification. Though politicians are not always cognizant of the requirements of the maxim of quality in speech and communication generally, hedges predicated on this maxim are routinely flouted, this is despite politicians' attempts to make their speeches and messages clearer and forthright. If this is achieved, though often not in the political speeches in Kenya, translation problem would be resolved with the information accurately transferred into Kiswahili.

Political discourses entail the preparations and delivery of speeches containing facts, ideas, intentions and programs on government or party activities. Such speeches may expound on alternative viewpoints about given political issues as well as individual politician's evaluation on

conduct and performance of political matters. The speeches may be framed on urging the electorate to participate in a political event such as elections to elect a particular contestant in a political party, consequently the electorate's acceptance to participate, its choice of a political leader, its belief in a political point of view, are all primarily influenced and determined by the language used. Both the contestants and the electorate in Kenya's general and party elections rely on the spoken word as well as the written word for their varied participations (Habwe, 1999). Language in political discourses manifests itself in terms of its functions and variations in functions and how it finally influences perceptions, convictions and identities underscoring political discourse. This means that political speeches, election campaigns, political ideas and ideologies are conveyed through language. Language is not used wholesale because words and expressions are used or omitted so as to affect meaning in particular predetermined ways.

Besides literary features which characterise the language of politics, pragmatic cues are also ever evident in political speeches. The language of politicians is generally antagonistic, it is usually punctuated by an interplay of assertions, statements and accusations is between rival parties—the party in power and the opposition. Ordinarily, opponents oppose each other in calculated moves where the choice of words plays a significant role in mounting counter attacks and propaganda. There are indeed instances where political campaigns are equated to a foot match, politics is characterised by features which are domiciled soccer matches featuring such elements as enemy, opponents, rivals, rules and ethics of the game, legal regulations, tactics of fight, victory, defeat and triumph at the end of the game. This sense of competitiveness discernible in political discourses is manifested in parliamentary debates and pre-election campaigns. The language is aggressive, predicated on the ideology of hierarchy and domination which brings about the stature of hierarchical order of human relationship, usually marked by specific language controls (Salager-Meyer, 1997).

The language of politics has ideological characteristics which in many subtle ways depict preferred strategies for advancing systems of social representations, group knowledge, beliefs and opinions based on group values, norms and interests. This means that the realization of these ideals is based on carefully selected terms which are articulated in specific and appropriate ways which reflect war like situations in political discourses (Habwe, 1999). Besides ideological underpinnings, political discourses are also theatrical. This is construed in terms of political actors, an audience

that is addressed, a political script that is performed, a drama plot that is perceivable and a perceivable sense of turn taking. The use of clothes with party colours and other apparels connote costumes while dances and songs provide interludes. However, just like in drama all these augmentations are usually predicated on carefully articulated speeches as well as on strategies for the conveyancing of coded messages. At the core of political theatricality is language that is crafted and repurposed for the presentation of information, giving instruction, warnings, directions, commands and opinions. This is notwithstanding the fact that, political language is characteristically hedged so as to enable politicians to hide information, persuade, misinform, under inform, present contradictory information and advice but remain relevant in their political communication. It may be pointed out that words selected from various categories such as figurative language, proverbs, symbolism and idiomatic expressions are critical in expressing the suitability and acceptability of political messages. The creative repurposing of syntax and semantics is equally critical in making pragmatic functions more practical.

It is important to note that pre-election speeches are usually hedged more heavily than post-election ones and this is attributable to the pressure of goals each seeks to achieve. Pre-election speeches are more tilted towards self-confidence, candidates expressing their opinions more robustly and defending their position on various matters. In pre-election speeches, regardless of the mode of delivery, there is avoidance of language that is too categorical or too definite, hence such speeches are characteristically hedged, meanings and messages are generally hushed so as to portray language which is more cautionary, self-serving and insidiously non-committal. In such equivocal speeches, hedging devices are critical in enabling effective conveyance of electioneering messages, political standpoints and opinions. The overall import of this is that, election information, manifestos and strategies will ultimately entail some form of translation into Kiswahili if they have first been rendered in English. This would require a translator who is capable of decoding the information and present it in the best way possible in Kiswahili.

2.3.2 Language Influence in Political Speeches

National political leadership in Kenya is characteristically dual in terms of appeal, that is, appealing to national, ethnic or sectional allegiances. Consequently, national leadership is never completely insulated from parochial influences, meaning that, politicians have to appeal to differentiated audiences and language use is critical in maintain a balance between local and

national interests. Therefore, in campaign meetings and rallies, speeches have to be strategically crafted to appeal to varied audience expectations and sensibilities. Coupled with strategic crafting, speeches must be tactfully presented, thus entailing the deployment of an array of communication skills. The mode of presentation, must of necessity be predicated on skillful communication strategies, this is perhaps what explains why ill-educated people manage to win elections and get voted in as leaders.

The power of the spoken word is very central in winning an election, and this founded on the adept strategies of coding and decoding political language, but more so political messaging and the overall management of political communication (Charteris-Black 2005). Hedging devices are constantly employed in political language in Kenya as a means of coding political language and guaranteeing its message acceptance by the targeted audiences. Ordinarily, in Kenya political speeches are highly populated with hedges which range from the use of metaphors to figurative language. Besides conveying ordinary messages, hedges in political utterances are also representative of linguistic symbols which give concrete labels to abstract ideas which politicians want the audiences to understand and make decisions. In such circumstances, hedges constitute a tangible route through which privileged information is passed to targeted audiences. Thus, in political electioneering, hedges are not just linguistic features, they are also strategic tools which perform extra pragmatic functions in the overall political discourse. Thus, the appropriate use of hedging devices as a communication skill in political discourses, influences the language of politics (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

2.3.3 Political Language and Translation

In terms of the broad categorization of political discourses, political language is regarded as particular and therefore constitutes a unique genre of communication. Consequently, political language is viewed as specialized and technical in translation contexts. Thus, political speeches in translation are categorized as special and technical, a genre that requires special attention in translation so as to render source text meaning in the target language in an optimal sense and for the benefit of the target audience. Political texts, whether as campaign manifestos, policy formulations, political opinions or even political rebuttals where initial standpoints have been questioned, are written and addressed to either specific or perceived audiences. Consequently, political speeches are closely entwined with political thinking, policy definition and dissemination.

Therefore, how these speeches are perceived, comprehended and received by targeted audiences depends on the language and the communication manipulative skills of the political speaker within given contextual constraints. The issue of political language being special and technical arises from the rhetorical nature and characteristics of its terminology, its delving into a variety of discourses related to politics and its complexity of topical interests and social interactions.

Political discourse and political language in particular as genre, characteristically convey past political experiences, flux socio-economic situations which have varied social effects in given societal settings as well as canvassing and presenting a multiplicity of past experiences, present occurrences and other issues decipherable by the targeted audiences. Indeed, political language is severally implicated in facts and data preservation, ranging from such issues as political occurrences in the nation as well as legal bindings to territorial demarcations. The expressions of factual data may connote highlights on the general concerns of an individual, his society and universe where such data may be embedded in elusive political terminology and philosophy intended to assuage and resolve the concerns in lived experiences of targeted audiences (Sarosi, 2014).

Naturally, political language has strong inclinations to political theories because the terms used in political texts may be framed in terms of formulating theories which are descriptive of the phenomenon of politics, hence revolving around issues that are related to political and social criticism, the rule of law, justice and equality; alluding to the theory of state which conceptualizes good governance. This language may describe the ideas surrounding politics which touch on doctrinal adherences, ideological perspectives, political systems, preferred political programs and policy guidelines. The language of politics, therefore, has unique characteristics, making it an important aspect of technical and special domains for translators. However, as much as these characteristics are emblematic of political language and political discourses in particular, their import in translation terms means that, translating political texts is essentially translating a technical text. Part of this technical aura lies in the fact political articulation is habitually implicit and hedged.

In political representations in multilingual nations, there arises a genuine need for using two or more languages so as to aid the creation of mutual contacts with the other languages in that given

nation. This necessitates creation of a lingua franca in politics which facilitates the dissemination of political policies and ideologies for both the party in power and the opposing parties. In regards to political issues, the relationship between speakers and their audiences in such a country would require a mitigating language which enables political speakers and their audiences to share in a common experience or common issues of mutual benefit. Communication in such a language embedded with countless interests of necessity requires insightful interpretation before any translation is undertaken. This may mean that political texts or indeed discourses espousing political persuasion, reasoning, deceit or even political hustling, may at some point be facilitated by translation. Politicians' use of persuasive speeches to convince their audiences to concur with a given opinion, idea, or perspective which the speaker identifies with, is not always explicitly delivered. This is done through structuring of the argument as a solution to a problem and this actualized by use of carefully selected terminology. By identifying a particular problem and convincing targeted audiences that this problem is important to them, and that speaker has a solution to the problem, is not always an explicit rendition (Habwe, *ibid*). The solution proffered is unveiled or veiled through the choice of words in the text or utterance.

In any political system of governance, political pronouncements, agreements and policies form the basis and reservoirs for the citizens of a country to base their understanding on matters concerning their education, health, economy, the well-being of a nation and its development considerations. Political language which is persuasive in nature requires persuasive argument. To be successful in this kind of discourse, politicians or other speakers in relation to a political action, have to constantly employ manipulative language predicated on careful choice of words which are topic and context responsive.

A speech may fail to achieve a set political goal such as persuading an audience towards a given orientation, this is routinely emblematic of political speeches. Such failure usually results in target audience perceiving the relayed message as a distortion, evidence of deceit on the part of the speaker, calculated misinformation, deliberate enticement to misleading and obvious hustling of the fidelity of the message relayed. In order for political speakers to achieve their goals of persuasion, they avail to their audience's false data, unreliable and spurious statistics in coded language, usually hedges which aid them to prevail on their audience by making unattainable and non-maintainable promises. If political persuasion is in written form, it may turn out that, the more

one reads a political text the more one gets new interpretation resulting in one text revealing new meanings and importance to one's expectation. What this reveals is that, political discourses are heavily hedged, they are acquiescent to multiple interpretations and they tend to make their meaning flux. In translation terms this is even more problematic in that, if a translator cannot comprehend the precise meaning of a given political message or even political discourse in general but rather perceives probable meaning, the rendition of these polygramatic meanings and attendant implicatures is a daunting undertaking.

To understand the textual meaning of a political speech and to translate it to another language and maintain the intended meaning, one has to critically understand and know the political jargon employed and treat it as a technical and specialized area of communication, which is amenable to specialized and sometimes peculiar terminology habitually deployed by politicians to express their diverse and fluctuating political ideas. Political terminology is functionally responsive to speaker content and situation because, in ordinary circumstances word choice and its formulation will indicate or at least suggest the expression of function and aims anchored in the real world of politics. Besides expressing function and aims, political terminology may be deployed to influence the opinion making process as well as perceived feelings and actions of the targeted audience (Sarosi, 2014).

The terminology used in this genre may have meanings which are specific to political discourses which employ hedging devices as a tool of information dissemination to the advantage of the politicians. In any text genre specified as technical, specialized translation strategies which are responsive to specialized terminologies and technical nuances will always be required. This intimates that the transference of meaning from the source text is not always an ordinary process, this is because textual or utterance meanings may be genre influenced. For instance, the translation of political texts cannot eschew overt and covert hedges which characterize political discourses and politics as a specific genre. Overall, political terminology used in whatever political discourse is bound to be hedged in several senses and political speeches in Kenya are not immune to this specification.

In their campaign processes, Kenya politicians routinely use language predicated on various forms of symbolism, that is, they use language based on symbols where feelings, thoughts and

perceptions are expressed through political symbols—reference to a specific political point no matter how genuine, may be expressed in symbols which distance the speaker from political issues being canvassed. Ordinarily, politics and political discourses canvassed in covert symbols, is in essence hedging so as to enable the conveyance of deception, to substitute action meant to distract hearers from actual political reality. The critical point is that, politics canvassed in symbols is manifested in language, it is articulated in language and is perceived in language, in essence, political discourses are language immanent. Political symbols are always manifested in terms of selected political terms, which inevitably intimates that, political symbolism entails symbolic meanings which are implicitly expressed (Sarcinelli, 1988, Sarosi, 2014).

Translators are as such obliged to decipher and interpret hedged meaning before its rendition in the target language either in plain form or in hedged forms that are easily decipherable in the target paradigm. Whichever way a translator perceives a political text, especially for purposes of translation, political jargon must be clearly understood; the linguistic characteristics of politics must be understood and must be well contextualized pragmatically. This is even more so when political texts for translation are saturated political rhetoric emblematic of diverse political struggles, mass media analyses and trolling as well as jaundiced and political analyses in media stations. These forms of political messaging present intriguing sites where political language use are variously comprehended, dissected and meanings analyzed as an attempt to discern the information embedded therein. The jargon is then thoroughly scrutinized in terms of uncovering implied and explicit meanings, usually embedded in the use of political symbols which serve as hedging devices (Szabo, 2003).

Analyzing political speeches before subjecting them to translation is ordinarily a procedural truism which entails analyzing the structure of the language discernible in a given political text, its symbols, tropes and other figurative aspects of that speech such as metaphors, sarcasm, parallelism, proverbs and other figures of speech appropriated for political purposes. These language features are not necessarily expressed explicitly, sometimes they are ingeniously deployed to influence certain political perceptions as well as underscore preferred political objectives and aims. This is so because the overriding objective of a political speech is to manipulate audiences in particular a way (Szabo, 2003). On another level, the mode of political delivery is as critical as what is being conveyed, in which case, it can be argued that political

language is closely entwined with communication technology and media, which in essence makes political language instrumental in a dual sense, language itself being an instrument and object of actions.

To understand political communication, one must also understand its multi-faceted functions such as its manifestation as a linguistic sign populated with varied meanings, its perception as a carrier of political content as well as a strategic tool employed to attain leadership positions and power. Politics as a discursive process enables the analysis of the language of politics, it makes it possible to understand in depth how political players shape the world surrounding them. This analysis may either focus on how a person manipulates linguistic tools to achieve a political goal or focus on how a man utilizes linguistically negotiated interpretation to convey a particular piece of information.

The discursive nature of political discourses is such that political players in a given political context may appropriate an issue resolvable in other subsectors, for instance, environmental, agricultural or health issues may be restructured as political phenomenon requiring political solution. This means that, virtually anything and everything may be appropriated and restructured as a political problem which can legitimately be canvassed in a political discourse (Szabo, 2003). Overall, the perception of political discourses in terms of discursive formations, subtly suggests that, in politics the perception of reality is the same as the perception of political symbols. The political symbols appropriated by politician of necessity require deep understanding for accurate decoding of the message contained in political texts written or verbal. In translation terms, this is even more demanding if a given political speech, text or discourse is heavily hedged, because apart from engaging in detailed linguistic analysis, a translator will need several other cues to enable the deciphering of the meaning.

Political terminologies whether used as hedges or are deployed characteristically as implicatures, are analyzed in relationship to other words, whole phrases, sentences or the entire discourse and the totality of a discourse context rather than being analyzed in isolation. Though the core function of these terms may be a description or an elucidation of a phenomenon, they may also be seen as a setup of relationships underscoring the differentiation between terms and the rest of the lexicon. In pragmatic terms, politicians routinely deviate from what is perceived as common language as

generally used by a people. Consequently, it is not uncommon that in addressing their audiences, politicians are not averse to forcing their audiences to adapt to a certain language register. A given common term will of necessity be made to bear certain political relevance in this specific political register, resulting in the distortion of everyday language use and its comprehension. In essence, the language of politics is markedly different from popular and common language, its semantic value in terms of political terminology, is contextually embellished in comparison to common communication terminology, it has a constant use of performative political expressions, a situation which calls for mediation between what is patently political language and language of regular communication in a society (Simpon, 2004). Consequently, the language of politics forces its listeners to recreate, through comprehension, the thinking contained in a political speech. This is a mental process through which listeners reconstruct texts in accordance to their understanding in a deliberate effort to gain an appropriate understanding of the speech.

In order to achieve this level of communicative skill, politicians habitually use words in a specific way to manipulate their audiences which at times leaves audiences' understanding of the speech in question amenable to diverse interpretations either by the targeted audiences or by political opponents. The choice of political terminologies is hardly haphazard, it is always deliberate and strategic so as to enable the presentation of information either implicitly or explicitly in an utterance, it is always a careful selection of word or expression intended to achieve specific goals. The extent to which a politician may wish to be explicit or otherwise will in the final analysis determine the type of hedging devices which may be used. Consequently, politicians' language use is habitually imbued with varied meanings amenable to diverse interpretations such that in terms of translation transfer, there would arise instances of intra and inter-textual transference of meaning to Kiswahili. Regardless of what translation strategies one may employ in the translation of political texts, it is always prudent to remember that political language in Kenya, as is in other locales, is genre specific with its specialized terminology which routinely enables political hedging.

2.3.4 Translation of Hedges in Political Discourse

Political discourses are usually populated with hedges and in most cases the meanings conveyed in political speeches are habitually implied, multi-faceted and sometimes deliberately ambivalent. Thus, given that human language in its pragmatic settings is usually a form of complex sets of

communicative clues, it is prudent to argue that within these clues, there are those that are easily recoverable, consequently implying successful conveyance of intended meaning. Alternatively, there those clues whose meaning, usually embedded in hedges, that are not readily recoverable. The consequence of this realization in translation terms, notably the translation of political speeches, is that in order to translate hedged meanings especially when perceived as implicatures, would require a translator to use a translation approach which enables the target audience to access source text message as much as possible, in essence, use a methodology or strategy which lessens endless interpretation and contains what is expressed in some way (Pym, 2004). This notion and viewpoint are derived from the fact that, any communication, and more so, communication in translation, must provide adequate clues for the target audience to access meaning as enabled by the operative contextual effects of that particular political communication (Gutt, 1991). In situations where the communicated message is couched in hedges, a translator is obliged to strive to enable maximum interpretative resemblance between source and target texts. This may be achieved through use of para-textual tools such as meticulous introductions, footnotes, prefaces or margin direct translations. This achievement of message recovery through explication known as contextual enhancement, essentially means that the target text is enriched, though measures should be taken to constrain excessive explication which may border on over-translation.

Christina Schaffner (1998), has argued that politicians are almost always speaking as representatives of political parties, governments, groupings or caucuses and as such, are engaged in policy-articulation, outlining or defending political decisions, directly or indirectly criticizing or commenting on ideas, proposals or actions of their opponents. Consciously or otherwise, politicians may be aware that they are addressing an intricate network of audience constellations given that any political speech may be open to varied interpretations. The linguistic structure of political speeches is such that it is characterized by hedging devices of various types such as evidentiality hedges, modifying and qualifying hedges, despecifying and specifying hedges.

The contextualization of these characteristics in translation obliges translators to employ appropriate techniques such as expanded explication in order to encompass a wider scope of possible meanings likely embedded in a given political communication. Explication is essentially an act of textual amplification which allows the addition of supplementary information including notes, introductions or glossaries to aid the target audience comprehend the rendered text and its

meaning mosaic. For optimal communication, translators need to provide adequate communicative clues for their target audiences so as to enable such audiences surmount cultural and contextual differences, decipher source text assumptions (Gutt, 1992). In translation terms, this explains why scholars like Schaffner (ibid), have recommended such translation strategies like deletion of identified hedges, addition of new hedges as well as changing hedging device perspectives. In terms of translation, the translator must of necessity identify the type of hedging device involved whether the hedges are specifying or modifying, whether they are involved in implicit argumentation, in which case, they will be populated with presuppositions and implicatures necessitating the activation of background knowledge in deciphering implied meaning.

2.4 Conclusion

Political discourses constitute part of the larger mosaic of human communication, as such, whereas they share several aspects with other forms of communication, political discourses are characteristically identified as specialized areas of communication. They use and deploy language in a variety of ways so as to convey information, messages, meanings and worldviews habitually discernible in politics. There is some uncontested truism that politics by its very nature is partisan yet parochialism is something that political language seeks to run away from almost perpetually. This double bind necessitates strategic use of language such that every word, word-group, utterances and expressions are imbued with coded or privileged meanings. Hedging is one of the most obvious strategy perceptible in political language, consequently, there is need to understand the linguistic aspects of hedging, how they are used in any social conversational interaction and how they function to allow appropriate comprehension of political messages. There is further need to understand the different forms and types of hedges which obtain in political contexts and how they function structurally, linguistically and pragmatically. Hedges, it has been observed are habitually implicative, hence it is important to understand their linguistic and pragmatic implicature. In situations where it becomes necessary to translate political speeches which are heavily populated with hedges, focus must be directed towards identifying hedges, their typologies and their spread and embedded meanings. This is critical in realizing optimal translation renditions where transferred information and meanings are least distorted.

CHAPTER THREE

SKOPOS: THE FUNCTIONAL APPROACH TO MEANING TRANSFER IN KENYA'S PRESIDENTIAL POLITICAL SPEECHES

3.0 Introduction

There is a truism that translation undertakings essentially entail the understanding and comprehension of meaning, how that meaning is correlated with a particular context, its reconstruction and transfer into a target text product. The realization of this truism has never been a straightforward task. In practical translation processes, the rendition of meaning has to go beyond the notion of word equivalence, the rendition of meaning must take cognizance of the fact that translation is purposive communication between two cultures. Consequently, translation becomes negotiated communication which strives not to compromise the intended meaning by prioritizing one culture at the expense of another. This is realizable in terms of in depth understanding of the source culture meaning as constrained by a given situation and context, without discarding the criticality of semantics and lexical equivalence in attaining optimal results. Thus, meaning in the source culture text is retrieved in terms of reading/hearing the source text, taking it through a translator's mental processing and reconfiguration before transferring it "appropriately" into the target audience. Hence translation is an account of three crucial occurrences before a text can be heard or read by the target audience. In view of the assertions above, this chapter explores the retrieval of meaning as embedded in hedges in the presidential political speeches in Kenya in tandem with Skopos tenets, its reconfiguration and successive transfer into the target language. The discussion further focused on the available techniques of translation which are more inclined to meaning transfer of hedges in presidential political speeches in respect to the purpose of that translation.

3.1 Meaning Retrieval

The recognition and retrieval of meaning in human communication is a well-coordinated process which places high regard on the signifier and the signified. This arises out of the realization that, meanings are attached to the real and perceivable objects and ideas in the real world. The attachment or association of meanings to signs is usually predicated on sign which are mutually agreed upon by the speakers of a given language. Thus, the meaning of an object or a sign in the world of the language speakers is ingrained in their minds. It is these meanings which define a

language and culture of a people in a given language community. In order for the language users to understand one another, the meanings of the signs and that of the objects in their worldview must be in their minds (Chandler, 2007). They cannot communicate meanings which are not in their world or which they are not aware of. People express themselves on the basis of meanings attached to the things they interact with every day within their surroundings, which ultimately constitute their initial and original dictionary in their minds as language users. Correct, accurate and appropriate contextual and cultural meanings can only be obtained from the language users' mind as opposed to written dictionaries. These dictionaries can only be used as references in a people's language to those who cannot comprehend the meanings in the first place (Schaffner, 2004).

At the very basic level translation involves two languages and the process makes the translator a bridge and mediator of the two languages—the source and the target language. The initiation and completion of the translation process assumes that, a translator has native or near native language competence of the languages he/she works in. The translator is expected to demonstrate equal mastery and competence in the second language into which the translation is rendered. The underlying need for this competence arises out of the fact that, mastery and competence in language are critical requirements in the comprehension of meaning, its retrieval, reconfiguration and eventual transfer into the target language. Meaning retrieval is a process of meaning recovery in textual and verbal language presentations within the constraints of appropriate interpretation in the context of use. Meaning retrieval is highly dependent on a translator's understanding, knowledge, competence and performance in the source language and the skills he or she has in the rendition of the meaning retrieved into the target language (Berger, 2010).

Meaning retrieval in translation entails searching for appropriate and functional lexical and semantic meaning equivalences and aligning them to the context of the text. The search for appropriate, relevant and contextual meaning is not a function of lexical semantics alone; it entails other converging imperatives which impact on meaning in various ways. This is why the determination of appropriate and functional meaning will entail the deployment of a wide range of tools ranging from monolingual, bilingual, and multilingual dictionaries, computer assisted translation tools, word searches, translation memories to translation software. In this sense, translator competency must be seen as an interplay of many imperatives domiciled in the two

languages as well as in other intervening trajectories which impact on meaning. The meaning equivalence embedded in a word, symbol or phrase, requires initial understanding and discerning the context of its use as outlined in the tenets of the Skopos theory which underscores the functional approach to meaning transfer.

Translators are obliged to continuously seek to retrieve the meanings of unfamiliar words or phrases to ascertain their contextual meaning as embedded in discernible verbal utterances or written texts. This theoretical assertion intimates that, in situations like in Kenya's political discourses, political speeches both verbal and written characteristically carry implied messages heavily loaded with symbolism and a vast array of hedges. When subjected to translation processes, there is an obligation on the part of the translator to demonstrate optimal understanding and knowledge of the information entailed in such speeches. Where such speeches are first delivered in English, it is imperative to accurately determine what is textually, contextually and pragmatically transferrable into Kiswahili since the offer of information in both languages is mutually connected. The informativity of the original presidential political text determines the appropriate strategies to use in transferring its embedded meanings into Kiswahili bearing in mind that, the characteristic obliqueness of these texts complicates the comprehension of meaning overall.

It must be noted that, depending on a variety of issues such as nature of text, subject and discourse typologies, meaning is not always plainspoken. Texts will always be subjected to various implicatures in their speeches, a fact which makes processing and determining sources texts' meaning as well as enabling its retrieval, a complex consideration of the interplay of all the factors impacting on meaning such as context and situation its occurrence, among others. In translation terms, appropriate meaning retrieval is always critically important because, politicians are prone to using and employing coded information which may not be readily text accessible. Ordinarily, this means that, implied meaning must to be decoded and context appropriate meaning discerned in terms of its associations and relationships to mutually recognizable objects and signs discernible in these utterances (Chandler, 2007). This is functionally possible if the translator retrieves the correct meaning as made possible by the contextual constraints of the text in question. This is what Vermeer refers to as coherence led translation while Nord sees it as loyalty principle (Nord, 2012:34) Thus, the translation of political texts must go beyond word for word renditions so as to

encompass sense for sense renditions where, translators have to constantly and deliberately reconfigure the texts through selection, assemblage and structurization of meaning in the target language. Such reconfiguration and transfer of political information, as is also true of other social translations, is susceptible to ‘fabrication, falsification, denial, counterfeiting and creation of new codes, which arise from the way the meaning has been retrieved (Gentzler & Tymoczko, 2002: xxi).

In the final analysis, the translation of implicature requires proper retrieval of meaning from the source text before transferring it to the target text. Implicature, in which hedges are subsumed, has discernible characteristics which are critical in the comprehension of meaning before its reconfiguration and eventual transfer into the target language. The retrieval of implicature meaning entails among other factors, the comprehension of the lexical connections and the function they have in a given utterance in the target audience (Gentzler& Tymoczko, 2002). In addition to these, it is important to always remember that, hedges as implicatures, are potentially double sided in meaning formulation and rendition, a fact which makes them problematic in translation processes. Hedges in political discourses are an indication and manifestation of the range of responsibilities which a political speaker holds in terms of affirming the truthfulness or lack of it in an assertion, statement or part of a statement.

Political utterances habitually contain implicatures which render meaning ambiguous, veiled, feeble or inconsequential, consequently, discerning the appropriate meaning hushed in such implicatures is generally speaking, problematic in translation. Meaning retrieval and reconfiguration is normally a complex process which oscillates between strongly hushed and slightly implied hedges, whose meaning is not easily noticeable but may potentially be misunderstood because of presenting multiple possibilities. Weak hedges may be easily omitted or wrongly translated in the processes of their rendition from source text to target text, yet they may carry significant meaning which needs to be conveyed to the target text (Gutt, 2000). This can only be cured by the translator’s prior understanding of the verbal textual function and the purpose of the translation and the effect it is supposed to elicit in the target audience.

The rendition and general transfer of meaning in translation processes is a specialized movement of textual material from source to target paradigms. The translator’s role is as such, to retrieve

meaning professionally, reconfigure it and reconstruct it within the contextual constraints of target language, but this must be rendered in such a way so as to enable the target audience to understand the text rendered overall. The target audience may not have mutual meaning interaction with the source text, such a situation may lead a translator to form opinions which may be at variance with the hedged or overt meaning embedded in the source text such that the meaning rendered in the translated text is not in accord with the functions of the source text as intended (Vandepittes, 2005). This is why it is very important for the translation, that is, the target text to be imbued with equivalent meaning and effect as discernible in the source text. Source text meaning retrieval plays a critical role in translation because it forms the basis for meaning transfer in terms of the rendition and comprehension. Meaning retrieval, therefore, is a deliberate decision-making process which is hierarchically controlled by constraints which a translator must negotiate appropriately (Nord, 1997, Venuti, 1998, Setton, 1999, Nilson, 2018).

3.2 Reconfiguring Meaning

Reconfiguration of meaning is a translation reality which is both obligatory and optional in the sense that, the rendition of a source text in target paradigms inevitably entails changes of the structure as well as the conventions of the source text and its rearrangement within the constraints of the target language to facilitate optimal communication. In practical terms, this means that the rendition of meaning in translation processes is not a wholesale transfer but rather a negotiated and carefully calculated transfer that entails constant reconfiguration of meaning so as to enable optimal translational transfer. This further means that actual translation is a continuous interplay spanning the comprehension of meaning, rearranging the meaning in accord with the dictates of the target language as well as the horizons of target audience expectations. Besides being a language facilitator, the translator is also cultural negotiator in the sense that he/she bridges the cultural gap between the two cultures interacting in the translational exchange (Gentzer & Tymoczko, *ibid*).

In the final analysis the reconfiguration of source text meaning to enable the creation of a target text is prone to varied outcomes including alteration of meaning orientation, introduction or affirmation of cultural knowledge of a people, swaying certain perceptions and understandings, ultimately creating a text that is responsive to target language and culture sensibilities (Alvarez & Vidal, 1996). Translators continuously reconfigure, recreate and transfer knowledge across

cultures to aid human interaction. As already intimated in the foregoing discussion, translation is a multi-method and multi-level process which encompasses the interchange of words and linguistic structures across the languages, a process of deliberate reconfiguration of source language meaning and its eventual transfer to the target language. However, it must also be pointed out that meaning transfer is constantly plagued with varied challenges such as lack of clarity and introduction of differentiated understandings of what was assumed to be common. This expectation notwithstanding, translators have to be accountable for upholding the communicative intention of the source text information, preserving the inimitable basic design of the source language and source text so as to meet the expectations and demands of the recipient of the translated information (Pym, 2014).

Though theoretically translation may be perceivable at the level of the lexical and semantic elements of a language, the total realization of translation is achievable through further interrogation of language use as a purposeful action in a given context (Gutt, 2000). The import of this assertion is that, in political discourses, meaning may be invested in the lexical resources of the source language, its semantic repertoire or syntactic structures and equally retrievable in cognate elements of the target text. For instance, political speeches which are habitually hedged in Kenya's political discourses, it is not always easy to discern meaning and more so the speaker's intention in particular utterances and what specific purposes and functions they are intended to achieve. Ordinarily, it has been observed that politicians usually say what they think should be said but not necessarily mean what they say. This convoluted strategy of political speech making has direct bearings on the nature and complexity of translation which impact on all aspects of meaning equivalence sought in the target language. The same factors which make optimal translation possible are equally the same which limit the attainment of equivalence—namely; linguistic differences, syntactic and semantics features as well as cultural considerations. These limitations necessitate a shift towards functional translation which is more relevant than the attainment of equivalence (Bassnett, 2002:22).

One other important issue which translation seeks to achieve is to solve specific problems which limit the attainment of optimal meaning transfer as they are embedded in cultural, situational and contextual factors which are normally extra-linguistic. This expectation obligates the translator to be accountable to the target language audience, hence it becomes more sensible to undertake the

translation of political speeches in terms of what purpose it seeks to accomplish and, therefore, make the translation acceptable to the target audience (Newmark, 1988). Consequently, the translation of hedges as constituting a specific aspect of the political discourse genre must be analyzed, reconfigured and transferred into the target context in terms of their communicative purposes rather than merely limiting them to the deciphering of meaning. This is because utterance meanings are not only found on the text or the language symbols; they are also embedded in the contextual imperatives of the utterance (Hatim, 2006).

The analysis of meaning focused on individual words or word groups must proceed on the realization that words in textual constructions co-exist in cohesive and coherent formations so as to give coherent and perceivable information. This kind of analysis is critical in making the source text linguistically coherent and pragmatically functional. However, this must always go in tandem with the realization of textuality in terms of making manifest the communication intention, the information embedded in the text, the intention it seeks to attain, its purpose as well as the situationality which underscores the text's relevance (Munday, 2001, Beaugrade, 1981). Textual analysis must also seek to uncover the intention underpinning the use of hedges in an utterance, decode such intentions so as to unveil the concealed meanings, figure out the communicative function which needs to be upheld in the reconfiguration of meaning in the target text. In terms of political speeches in Kenya, their information and message constitution are a reflection of either accurate or falsified information. The translation of speeches with indistinct information into Kiswahili, is by all means a daunting task which requires a translator to either uphold the hedged expression or render it in an explanatory form (Bassnett, 2002:22).

3.3 Meaning Transfer- the Skopos Approach

The Skopos theory in translation is a concept which originated in Germany towards the end of 1970s. This approach, initially viewed as a reaction to the prevailing linguistic influenced theories of the 1960s, is also a reflection of how translation theory has evolved over time and taken a turn away from formal linguistic perspectives and instead moved to mainstreaming translation within functional, purpose and culturally acceptable paradigms. The motivation behind this shift arose out of the limitations of earlier translation perspectives which domiciled translation within restrictive linguistic systemic comparisons. Generally, the development of the Skopos theory took cognizance of the strengths and weaknesses of such perspectives as the translation theory of action,

the communication theory of translation, the text linguistic approach to translation, and other translation perspectives borrowing their orientations from literary studies. The Skopos theory, does indeed borrow and builds on action theory which argues that every human action has a reaction and purpose wherever and whenever they are intentionally undertaken. Translation is a human action, it is not happenstance, it is a purposeful interactional action undertaken to meet a specific purpose. This is, in the articulation of Hans Vermeer, the skopos of translation, the purpose of any translation undertaking (Vermeer, 1978).

The initial thinking underpinning this theoretical transformation in the study and analysis of translation was Katherina Reiss who developed a model of translation criticism which made functional comparisons between the original and target texts. Katherina Reiss averred that, ideally the target text ought to be equivalent to the source text in relation to information content, linguistic parameters and communicative function. Clearly, this was inclined towards equivalence approach to translation, an approach which later studies proved to be functionally untenable and undesirable in certain circumstances, especially in situations where the target text is purposefully undertaken to meet certain purpose or function which is different from that of the source text. She thus acquiesces to the fact that function and purpose in translation supersedes equivalence and that, a ‘translation critic does not have to be dependent on features transferred from source-text to undertake an analysis, rather such analysis can be predicated on assessing the purpose and functional viability of the target text (Nord, 1997:9).

The transition from the reliance on linguistic forms of translation enabled Hans Vermeer to develop the Skopos theory of translation, ideally in terms of mainstreaming purpose and function without necessarily negating the linguistic and cultural constitution of the translated texts. Vermeer’s interest in developing an approach which prioritized purpose and function in translation studies, arose out of the realization that, there was a need to use a different approach to solve to translation problems which were discernible in many text types but were not acquiescent to systemic linguistic solutions. This, in essence, formed the basis for shifting towards a purposeful and functionally active translation tailored to meet target recipients’ expectations without negating the target text’s link with the original source. The notions of purpose and function in translation are naturally amenable to the social constitution of human beings, notably, the recognition that any

physical or intellectual action, is a human oriented activity which is purposefully driven with a specified aim to achieve a particular goal.

Moreover, the action theory avers that, for every action in the universe there is an equal measure of reaction, consequently, any consideration of translation as a human action, must acknowledge that translation is a human activity which is intention, purpose and function driven. This purpose is what is referred to as *skopos* (Nord, 1997:11). The tenets of the *skopos* theory, outline and propose sets of different approaches to conveyance of meaning in a purposeful and functionally optimal sense, which primarily seeks to achieve communicative function and enhance human interaction. Whether the purpose is met or not in a translation, there is always a reaction from target audience indicating its achievement or failure (Vermeer, 1996:65).

The conceptualization of translation in terms of purpose and function, was a development which aroused the intellectual interests of many scholars such as Monttari, who advanced the view that, translation is a complex human action undertaken to meet specific purposes through ‘message transmission’ which through linguistic and extra linguistic features enables the realization of function without sacrificing meaning (Nord, 1997:13). Thus, translation action is purposed to transfer meanings across cultural and linguistic barriers, to enable the realization of certain purposes and functions in the target paradigms. This supports the idea that, translation is a purposeful action which is undertaken purposely to overcome language barriers, enable the sharing of information, but more so enable the realization of specific purposes and functions. The relevance and applicability of the *skopos* theory in the translation of political speeches in Kenya, is that, whereas this is a multilingual society, political speeches given mostly in English are purpose laden, yet there is obvious need to avail such purposeful speeches into other language, specifically Kiswahili. Although there are no government policy guidelines compelling politicians to translate their speeches, it is in the politicians’ interests to encourage the translations of their speeches as a way of reaching a wider political audience.

There is no doubt that there is critical motivation to initiate and undertake translations of these speeches so as to have political messages reach a larger audience. Presidential political speeches are habitually delivered either in English, sometimes in Kiswahili or a mixture of both. The use of Kiswahili in political speeches is an emotional, cultural and nationalistic obligation, it is the

language of the people, the unifying factor for Kenyans, the language which connects the political elite and the electorate. However, it must be noted that, not every Kenyan understands the political jargon embedded in political speeches, which is in turn, are marred with intentional vagueness discernible in the use of hedges. Thus, for purposes of translation, any optimal transfer of meaning arising out of such speeches, entails decoding the meaning and transferring it across to target audiences in a clear and accurate manner, for that is how function can be realized. The translation of political speeches is always purpose driven, to pass political messages. Translating political speeches is not perceptible outside of political contexts, consequently any translation of a political speech is an intentional act, a purposeful undertaking which requires balancing between what is implied and what is intended so as to realize purposeful functions.

Nord (*ibid*), another functionalist scholar persuaded by the tenets of the skopos theory, enriched the postulation of the functional approach to translation by incorporating the concept of fidelity with the argument that there are aspects of original text that would need to be carried over to the target audience, especially those aspects which are text immanent and therefore critical in enabling the realization of purpose and function in the target paradigm. Nord comprehensively summarized the critical tenets of the theory and maintained that translation is a purposive activity whose intention is to make the message clear and easy to understand by the recipient (Schaffner, 2001). Although initially the postulations of the skopos theory were instigated by Vermeer, other theorists attracted to this theoretical orientation expanded it by enriching its transformational perception by espousing the argument that translation is a functional undertaking. They included Kussmaul, (1991) and Heidrun Witte (2000), who introduced other approaches which contribute towards optimal functional translation.

Optimality in translation, before the advent of the functional approach, was predicated on the concept of equivalence and fidelity to the source text. Though the idea of equivalence has its relevance in certain translation processes and is perceived to aid translation, equivalence has its limitations which may be associated with its structural constitution, such as its inadequacy to retrieve textual meanings which are not structural but rather contextual. Equivalence is equally inadequate in meaning transfer, consequently necessitating repurposing the tenets of skopos theory to widen the scope of the theory and shift it from its confinement to linguistic constitution to embrace the functional, situational and pragmatic acceptability of the target text. This is the

purposeful action as discoursed by Vermeer insinuating that, meaning retrieval from the source text must be in concurrence with specific purposes in order to appropriate the right system of its transfer. The functional aspect of translation, as conceptualized in skopos theory, highlights the need to consider the functional attachment that a source text has with a target text as well as what role the translator plays in the choice of translation strategies and methods and how they enable the realization of specific functions in the target paradigm. The tenets of skopos theory underline the basic aspects which would guide a functional translation however complex it may seem.

In certain instances, the tenets of the Skopos theory reflect an interplay of aspects of structuralism and functionalism, reinforcing the fact that, indeed, there is an innate relationship between aspects of structural and functional constitution of texts, whether in source or target paradigms. This duality of textual composition is always discernible in political texts and it, therefore, obliges translators to adapt a translation approach with a wide scope, an approach which gives due consideration to the combination of diverse linguistic, pragmatic and functional features. It also obligates translators to use a combination of different translation methods and strategies to ensure easy and optimal transfer of meaning across diverse barriers between English and Kiswahili. This is premised on the understanding that, the translation of texts embedded with implicature and hedged language generally, is not viable through the use of a single approach. Rather, optimal translation is best undertaken on the basis of combined strategies and methods, thus allowing translators to understand and determine textual meaning underpinning the purpose of translation. Intra and intertextual coherence which defines the cultural and situational realities of the source and target audiences, are critical considerations in determining the choice of the most appropriate translation strategy (Nord, 2001). The tenets of the skopos theory are critical considerations which give indications to appropriate translation strategies for transferring meaning in presidential political speeches in Kenya. The tenets of the skopos theory also function as rules in a variety of ways such that, in certain instances they work collaboratively yet in other instances they work in a distinct manner in the transfer of meaning. An overview of how these diverse functions manifest themselves in actual translations of political texts is outline in the following sections here under.

3.3.1 Every Translation Process is Determined By its Skopos

'Translation intension', however it is determined by and is the skopos which needs to be fulfilled by a translator while its *'translation function'* is the purpose which is decipherable by the target

community. The realization of intention and function in the target text, is usually presupposed to be purposefully commissioned or initiated, and such the initiation of the whole process of translation. The purpose of translation has its details in the commission, a brief which outlines the function and purpose of translation, defines the role of the audience and cultural aspects which become the compass to direct the process. At the core of the translation commission, there are assumptions about sets of instructions directing how a given translation should be carried out, ensuring that a target text offers information which the initiator of the translation needs to avail to target audience, within specified time frame, situation, place and how best it should be communicated to the recipient (Nord, 1997:27-29).

The situation which obtains in political discourses is that, the commissioner of the political speeches could be the initiators of the texts themselves or other players like the political opponents. News editors and journalists could also commission the translation of political speeches for their own purposes which might be far removed from the purposes intended by the original text producer. In this sense, the commissioners of any translation undertaking, presumably also set the rules and requirements for the final target text. In all these, a translator has to understand and determine in specific ways the particular political purpose in a given political speech; such as the amplification of the policies of the presidential candidates or the demeaning of political opponents. This has to come out clearly in the target text.

There is no contestation that generally speaking, political speeches and their formulation within the hedging trajectory, distort reality for short term gains. It is possible that, when translators analyze the political texts that they translate, they become aware of the distortions of reality inherent in those texts. In such circumstances, their sense of responsibility and accountability will be determined not so much by the configuration of meaning but rather by the purpose of the translation—that is, whether they want to be accountable to the politician or the target language audience. Under these circumstances, the assumption that translation has to serve its purpose of giving correct information is not absolute (Munday, 2001). Political speeches are not invulnerable to contextual and ideological factors which in turn impact on meaning investment and its eventual transfer in translation processes. Ideology and power dynamics are context sensitive and the Kenya political speeches are not an exception. Essentially this means that, the translation of political

speeches rendered in English into Kiswahili, is also a transmission of political ideologies which calls for the purpose to be determined and hence executed appropriately.

3.3.2 The Offer of Information in Original and Target Texts is Mutually Agreeable

Arguments have been made affirming that, the target text cannot offer information which is clear and reversible, that is, taking it back to the source text without distortion. The primary reason underpinning this assertion is that, the source text is a distinct cultural product whose function and purpose, are equally distinct from the target text. Moreover, translation does not always seek to render the textual or communicative purpose as conceptualized by the author of a written text or the speaker of a verbal text, this is because a text or speech may be appropriated for other purposes. Essentially, this means that, what the author may have intended to be understood in the source text, there is no guarantee that that is what will be transferred into the target text, more so where the message, information and meanings are implied or generally hedged. Whenever source and target text purposes are conflicted, a characteristic feature in political campaign speeches, the translator's discernment of what is to be rendered accurately and appropriately, is equally conflicted. These situations, inevitably make a translator assume the role of a mediator between the source text creators and the recipients of their texts, the target audiences. This also means that, the translation of contextually sensitive texts is a mediated process which seeks to balance the interests of text creators—in this sense, political speakers and the recipients of their speeches—both immediate and distant. This balancing is more problematic with regard to what has been referred to here as distant recipients, the audiences targeted in translation, which bring into play other extraneous factors for consideration such as the appropriateness of the translation strategy to be used.

The selection of a feasible translation strategy in the translation of political speeches which are characteristically indirect and coded, is a must and first consideration towards ensuring successful translation of political speeches as a specialized text genre. A critical understanding of text typology, is an essential element in the determination and retrieval meaning, its reconfiguration and eventual transfer. The translator, is as such, obligated to understand how and in what ways vocabulary (the lexical constitution of a text), syntax and its diction are implicated in political speeches as a text typology. Consequently, text typology is critically implicated in the determination of textual information and its meaning in the source text and its transfer into the target text without distortion. Equally, it is imperative to understand the place of context, history,

sociocultural values and political norms as determinants of meaning in political texts, particularly if that meaning is hedged on the basis of these factors. All these factors are a contribution to the process of meaning retrieval in the translation process, guiding the translator in making correct and functionally appropriate alterations in reconfiguring and transferring the information into the target text (Van Dijk, 2005). Moreover, a translator must understand how syntactic, semantic and pragmatic elements of language are implicated in determining political text typology and how they remain relevant in the target text as they were in the source text. Overall, in order to realize optimal translation of heavily hedged political speeches, translators must be alive to the cultural, ideological, collocation and aesthetic dictates of a political text which act as the purpose for the translation.

3.3.3 The Intra and Intertextual Coherence

Coherence is one of the basic standards of textuality which must be observed in the production of any text, regardless of whether that text is in its source or translated form. The Skopos theory and its application to translation, does indeed recognize a translated text as a text in its own right, and as such, it must meet the standards of textuality. Cohesion and coherence, the linguistically structural constituents of any given text, underpin the basic structure and overall harmony of text, they guarantee rule governed communication consistency of a text. These standards, ordinarily ensure that the choice of vocabulary is not only appropriately used but is also rule governed, they also ensure that a given text communicates effectively to the targeted population on the basis of rule governed constitution. The translator is obligated to ensure there is sense in the target text and the audience is capable of comprehending it under the prevailing circumstances, needs and knowledge. Coherence in presidential political speeches in their original form, is best understood in terms of ascertaining how the various sense segments of an utterances cohere with each other both in the source text and target text, more when such sense segments are implied or hedged as in political speeches. Sense coherence in terms of the information constitution of the text is amenable to elaboration and improvement in later instances as in translation, especially where such coherence was not clearly discernible in the source text. This standard of intratextuality as realizable within the source text is critical in determining what meaning is transmitted to the target text and in so doing upholds intertextual coherence.

The import of this theoretical assertion with regard to the nature of presidential political speeches in Kenya, is that, translators are obligated to ascertain that source text coherence is discernible the target text and that target text is coherently well formed. In order to ensure that textual coherence is maintained, an appropriate and detailed comprehension of the source text is critical in unveiling textual information, whether overt or unconsciously veiled by presidential candidates in their utterances. Oftentimes, politicians flout the coherence standard and expectation of textual formation, they give mixed information which is incoherent and therefore problematic to understand, thus forcing recipients to infer all manner of meaning from a single speech. Textual coherence, whether in written or verbal texts, is manifested in a dual sense; coherence within the target text and between the source and the target texts. To this extent, upholding intra and intertextual coherence, obligates the translator to assume the role of a mediator, to mediate between the interests of the two texts, a role which is enabled on the basis of the choice of appropriate translation strategies.

3.4. Skopos and Translation Strategies for Presidential Political Speeches in Kenya

Translation strategies are sets of ‘capabilities, steps or processes’ through which textual information is retrieved, preserved and/or transmitted from source texts to target texts (Baker, 2005:199). Similarly, translation strategies entail the recognition and application of rules and principles which govern the achievement of specific goals of translation. Moreover, strategy in translation also involves the recognition and formulation of plans for solving specific or recurrent translation problems as discernible in the translation of a specific text or part of it with the aim of eventually creating a well formed text in target language. Baker’s assertions intimate that, various theoretical developments in translation theories have always been accompanied with probable translation processes as well as feasible applicable strategies. Such strategies as equivalence, have been touted as feasible by focusing on the maintenance of the structure of the source text and its transfer to the target text. Later theoretical developments advocated approaches which went beyond the restrictions of linguistics to encompass approaches with wider scope such as textual functions which prioritized other aspects of translation like the nature of communication, the purpose and functions expected of the translated texts—essentially, the adoption of strategies which shifted translation from the source text to recognizing the dynamics animated by a translated in the context of the target audience.

The purpose and functional approach to translation has always been characteristically applied either as a complement to function or as a strategy that focuses on the purpose of a translation as opposed to the source text structure and its reliance on formal equivalence. As such, translation is not viewed as structure and lexical transfer from the source text to the target text; rather it is perceived as an in-depth meaning retrieval from source texts in which meaning is eventually configured to fit into the structure of the target language besides serving specific functions and communication purposes (Schaffner, 2001). In the final analysis, the translation of hedged texts cannot be executed on the basis of only one strategy but rather through a number of strategies which complement and reinforce each other (Nida 1964, Catford 1978, Vermeer 1978, Newmark, 1988, Gutt 1991). This line of thinking intimates that a translator must consider the best translation method, strategy and approach which can enable an optimal translation of source text in ways which render it well formed in the target paradigm and thus eliciting acceptance by the target audience.

As already alluded to in the foregoing sections, not all translation strategies work optimally for each translator, translation situation or text type, the choice of any strategy is dictated by translation purpose and function. The essence of strategy in the rendition of meaning in translation processes arises out of the realization that, strategy ensures that meaning retrieval and reconfiguration is not random, strategy also enables making certain that adequate and appropriate meaning gets rendered optimally. Strategy guarantees that translation is adaptable, it is regular and is responsive to emerging twists and turns in the translation process regarding both loss and distortion of meaning. Appropriate translation strategies give translators a clear road map as to what needs to be included or excluded from the whole translation undertaking (Nida 1964, Catford 1978, Venuti 1998, Newmark 1988, Pym 2014).

The overall argument in this is that, there is no single translation strategy that fully serves all text types, consequently certain texts like political texts are amenable to certain specific strategies which make respond to the peculiarities of such texts. For instance, there is always need to recognize the usage of traditional, regular or cliché hedges as well as instantaneous ones as creatively applied in political speeches, a peculiarity which is routinely discernible in political texts in the Kenyan context. Such strategies must be adapted so as to enable appropriate and functionally permissible omissions, additions, rewritings, explanations or explications which

domesticate, accommodate or adjust discernible hedges and their hushed meanings (Zirker, 2016:45). Not all the proposed translation strategies are appropriate in the translation of hedges in the Kenya's political speeches and as such, translators of such texts will always be bombarded with uncertainty as to what strategy to use and which one to leave out.

Text types exhibit different levels of translation difficulties depending on their specialty and technicality. The level of text difficult which may arise as a result of words used, complexity of sentence constructions, implicitness and incoherence, may in certain subtle ways suggest what strategy is most appropriate for the translation of the text in question. The main objective of the translation of texts which exhibit a high level of difficulty is to ensure the message transferred across is informative, accurate and meets the translation purpose. Political speeches in Kenya's presidential campaigns, which ordinarily fall in the category of implicit and complex texts, require a variety of translation strategies in order to render their intended messages effectively into Kiswahili. The translation of this genre of texts does not wholly rely on equivalence or literal translation rather, it involves borrowing, accommodation and adaptation of the source text aspects into the target text so as to allow the realization of optimal communication. Where more information is required though not initially provided in the source text, amplification and explication are routinely deployed and this is functionally allowable. Owing to the fact that political language potentially offers more and embarrassing information to the target audience, implication, generalization and other strategies are deployed to underpin what is to be transferred to target text.

3.4.1. Accommodation and Adaptation

There are instances in translation where untranslatable expressions are incorporated in the target text in various formats, thus marking the source text peculiarity in the target paradigm. This is referred to as accommodation, a strategy which enables the creation of a text which is not strictly a translation as such, rather a text that takes into consideration the non-translatability of some aspects of the source text. This ensures that the peculiarities of the source text such as the source text's local flavor, its peculiar and sometimes culture specific concepts are not lost, consequently ensuring that the translated text preserves the nature, influence and effect as intended by the original source texts. Generally speaking, all translations are amenable to aspects of accommodation, adaptation and domestication, all of which, collectively, seek to be accountable

to the constitution of the source text while at the same time seeking to ensure that contextually embedded meanings and information enable communication in the target language (Jalilifar, 2007). It must always be remembered that, political language and specifically presidential political speeches in Kenya, are characterized with features and elements which are non-translatable. Consequently, it is plausible to argue that accommodation and adaptation are adequate strategies which mitigate non-translatability in situations as these.

The practical application of accommodation as a translation strategy involves other carefully negotiated strategies which allow for the inclusion of explanatory translations; eschewing certain features of the source text which do not negatively impact on meaning and making obligatory additions which make the target both natural and communicative. Moreover, accommodation may involve adopting new stylistic forms which make the translation of certain text type aesthetics or ideologies in political discourses more realistic and acceptable. Accommodation, as such, frees a translation from the perpetual search for equivalences, the constant adherence to the dictates of the original forms of the source text in search of fidelity and makes it possible for the translation to take a responsive turn of accommodating beliefs, cultural features, aesthetics, and other extra linguistic features which make text viable.

Accommodation frees translators from acting as bilingual dictionary compilers and instead allows translators to become communicators in the target audience. This is a strategy which is critically applicable to the translation of hedges in political texts where it makes it possible to offer explanatory notes where hedges may be culturally formulated, it allows adaptation of cognate hedges drawn from the target text milieu. In the final analysis, adaptation makes it possible to maintain in an optimal sense the source message purpose, force, effect and cultivate acceptability in the target text (Schaffner, 2014). Accommodation and adaptation resonate well with the skopos rule where the offer of information in the original text is similar to that of the target text and thus maintains equilibrium of the two texts.

37. The Jubilee party is now sleeping in the bedroom of the ODM.

38. *Chama cha Jubilee sasa kimepenya kwa milki za ODM.*

The term *penya* which may translate as *penetrate* has been adapted here in place of *lala* which translates as *sleep* and *milki* which translates as *territory* instead of bedroom. Sleeping is a term

which insinuates that the persons mentioned are closely related or are spousal friends for whom sharing a bedroom comes as a given. Jubilee, the ruling party and ODM as the opposition party, are by all means expected to be adversarial and cannot therefore share a bedroom, so to say. They are perceived as opponents in the political arena. Thus, the bedroom and the act of sleeping together can only be accommodated and adapted in the Kiswahili translation to indicate the struggle and influence the Jubilee party is gaining in ODM strongholds. Although the Kiswahili recipients would understand and relate the implied meaning to Jubilee's victory, accommodation makes the meaning more relevant and accurate.

3.4.2. Amplification

In translation processes, there are instances of obligatory as well as optional additions which expand the reality of the source text in the target paradigm. This technique may be referred to as amplification which essentially entails the addition of obligatory or optional items in the target text in order to expand the text in terms of detail or make it clearer in the target paradigm. Details not discernible in the source text are introduced in the target text on the basis of logical and justifiable criteria so as to allow additional information which supplements the meaning rendered in the target paradigm. The whole idea of amplification draws a lot from explication in the sense that it involves legitimate and sometimes inadvertent paraphrasing which end up introducing both necessary and unintended additions (Molina, 2002). The additional information in the target text language, is a linguistic means of filling sense and meaning gaps, thus ensuring that the coherence of the translated text flows well and naturally and frees the text overall from the dictates of the source text.

39. Ramadhan, the Muslim holy month of fasting.

40. *Ramadhan, Mwezi mtukufu wa Waislamu kufunga.*

The additional information supplementary to the term Ramadhan as a noun, is necessary in enhancing the meaning of Ramadhan and this is done in such a way it does not distort the meaning overall. This may arise out of two possibilities, first to enable those who do not know what Ramadhan means get a clear understanding. Secondly, this has also to do with the fact that perhaps in the target language, that additional information may be mandatory. For instance, the less fortunate in society, whenever they given unexpected material donations, may in those circumstance exclaim and express their gratitude by saying; *Leo kwetu ni Ramadhan; It is*

Ramadhan for us today. This does not mean they are in the Muslim Holy month of fasting, rather they equate the material bestowments to the alms generously availed to the poor during Ramadhan, they see these donations the same way they receive gifts of food from the Muslim community. When politicians give out money and other forms of handouts in political rallies to entice the voters to vote for them, voters would use the term to mean that they had plenty from the politicians. This can also be seen in the following statements from the political rally utterances in Kenya.

41. We have started our journey to Canaan and we must reach there by all means.

42. *Tumeanza safari ya kuelekea Canaan na ni lazima tufike kule kwa vyovyote vile.*

Canaan is a specific geographical location but its usage in the Kenyan political context is predicated on its Biblical connotations, a reference to a destination of refuge and plenty associated with the very best and perfect that one can get in life, the perfection of Biblical proportions. This goodness is what awaits Kenyans, if they elect leaders making such haughty promises. Thus, the term Canaan in this political context is hedged in the sense of over promising, presenting unrealistic expectations used as a bait to lure the voters towards a certain political thinking.

3.4.3. Borrowing

Borrowing entails translators making deliberate choices to use terms, concepts or ideas found in the source language and not in the target language. This is done without altering their phonological or structural characteristics thus naturalizing the terms to functionally fit in the target language. The borrowed term is aligned to the cultural context of the target language and is done in such a way to make linguistic cultures manifest and enable the reader to decipher their meanings in the target contexts. Functionally, borrowing primarily bridges the lexical gap in the target language and further preserves the word's meaning flavor. There are indeed instances in which borrowed terms may inadvertently gain certain prestige in terms of use and enjoy a higher hierarchical ranking in the target language. Such borrowed words may have specific meanings and may find no equivalents in the target language, this reality as such necessitates borrowing. Some of the borrowed terms add flavour to the political statements, may gain popularity and their use may imbue them with certain prestige which may enhance the political message. In order to maintain this flavour, the term would easily be borrowed into Kiswahili and the audience would have comprehended its meaning earlier due to its constant use in both languages.

43. They have the deep state and the system, but we the *hustlers* have citizens and God.

44. *Wana serikali na utawala lakini sisi mahasla tuna wananchi na Mungu.*

The term *hustler* has been carried over to Kiswahili to maintain rhythm and emphasis that would not be found if the term was translated literally or its equivalence used. It is more of a hedged slogan that is used to push a certain political understanding to the citizens.

3.4.4. Literal translation

Literal translation essentially entails use of direct equivalence of the source words in the target language. This means that words are translated in isolation without consideration of their cultural or contextual meaning or meaning nuances. The flaw inherent in literal translation is that it does not take into consideration the fact that a given lexical item or a phrase has the potential of carrying numerous meanings beyond the lexical semantic meaning, thus literal translation is prone to distortion and ambiguities of the reality of the source text rendering it unintelligible in the target paradigm. Literal translation as a strategy is best regarded as a base stage of meaning processing before its eventual transfer; it is a building unit of lexical meaning which does not factor much attention to extra linguistic factors which impact on meaning overall. Literal translation as such may be important in maintaining the form and structure of the original source text but does little in enabling communication in the target language (Newmark, 1988). This is even more so in the translation of implied meaning which is emblematic of political texts which are heavily saturated with hedges. To translate political speeches in Kenya using this strategy may potentially lead to loss of meaning which is attached to a context but delivered indirectly. At this point, the translator seeks to know the purpose of a given translation and the message intended for the audience, this may necessitate the blending of a number of techniques, methodologies and strategies to render a message whose purpose and function are clearly discernible.

45. *Ahadi za jubilee ni kama kujamba kwa punda.*

46. Jubilee's promises are like a donkey's fart.

Translating the above political statement made by Raila Odinga in one of his campaign rallies in 2017, has been literally translated. The message is transferred literally into English from Kiswahili but the intended meaning that should have been comprehended prior to translation is lacking. What the original text meant was the Jubilee party has tendency of giving empty promises which are

equated to a donkey's fart that is useless. Donkey's fart is loud enough but it cannot scare anybody and it is inconsequential. Literal translation does not offer this information and, therefore, it would be difficult for the target audience to comprehend the meaning unless it is amplified. Thus, literal translation alone cannot be sufficient in translating hedged information in Kenya's presidential political speeches.

3.4.5. Equivalence: The Limitations of an Enduring Translation Technique

Equivalence is nebulous and sometimes indefinable translation strategy, which seeks to establish the existence of similarity, sameness and a sense of uniformity, where a term in the source text has near or the same meaning in the target text. The many scholars who have researched and interrogated the concept of equivalence, have in certain sense established a general convergence of agreement which affirms that, generally speaking, equivalence denotes a translation skill which is founded on the replication of the same lexical, semantic and syntactic realities of the source text whilst using linguistic materials of the target language to produce a replica target text. On its own, the concept of equivalence may not realistically achieve a translation purpose which hedged or implied in very general terms. Indeed, equivalence seems to work oblivious of the problems of untranslatability arising from contextual, cultural and other extra linguistic factors which impede the determination and the retrieval of actual or most probable meaning as intended in the source text (Vinay & Darbelnet, 1995: 255).

The import of this theoretical postulation is that, the translation of presidential political speeches cannot be based only on the linguistic constitution of such speeches. The determination of meaning, its retrieval and more so the rendition of purpose and function in the target paradigm, is not a product of adherence to the grammatical rules and other aspects of linguistic constitution. Rather the many other features in any political speech, such as cultural, textual and situational factors which must be considered. Although linguistic adherence is the basis upon which every translation is built on, some text types like political speeches, which are characteristically full of hedges, are not amenable to equivalence thus necessitating calling into play other translation strategies. A realistic translation of political speeches which are heavily hedged must always seek to accommodate cultural situations which are different in the language-pair under consideration (Leonardi, 2007). The realization of semantic and pragmatic equivalence in target texts and paradigms generally, is critical in enabling the translation process to fulfill its communicative

functions. However, it must be noted that lack of adherence to situational and contextual factors of translation, substantially affects the realization of functional equivalence between source text and target text. Thus, optimal translation will always seek to match source text function with target text function, usually through the employment of equivalent situational aspects which are indispensable in the realization of the specific function in the target text. This is because in translation equivalence is realizable at word level as well as beyond the word (House, 1977:49).

Whereas linguistic equivalence is much more problematic to realize in translation processes, textual equivalence between source text and target text is feasible. This so because in the processes of rendering source texts as target text, all standards of text creation are not abandoned. The target text seeks to attain cohesion, coherence and comprehensibility as much is practically possible. The upholding of textual creation standards ensures that the translator produces a cohesive, coherent and contextually responsive target text. On another level, the target audience's acceptance of the translated text, the recognition of its primary purpose as well as its situational relevance, collectively work together to enable the realization of textual equivalence. Political speeches in Kenya are ordinarily couched in a language which is always responsive contextual imperatives, which means that the messages in political speeches are always context sensitive. Such speeches are hardly amenable to linguistic or basically grammatical equivalence. Whatever lexical items stand for in ordinary communication situations, is not the same when such lexical items are deployed to convey hedged and implied messages because pragmatic imperatives come into play so as to enable the rendition of appropriate meaning in the target culture (Jakobson, 2000:233).

47. *Kwekwe shambani mwa Nyayo na zilimwe.*

48. Weeds in Nyayo's shamba should be weeded.

During the era of the late President Moi, those who were traitors and trouble makers were perceived as *kwekwe*. In English weeds are parasitic plants growing amongst crops depriving crops the required nutrients. The metaphoric use of weeds in Nyayo's farm which need to be weeded out is a hedged message intimating that the real or perceived traitors in the Nyayo government must be stamped out. Translated in contexts which do not share these metaphoric nuances, the intended meaning will be rendered in a manner that clouds or completely shifts the meaning. Ordinarily implied meaning is not constituted at the lexical level, it is context enabled, in which case context

is critical in unraveling deeply entrenched meanings. Consequently, there is need to always remember that the pragmatics of political discourses are critical in pointing out acutely coded messages, discern presuppositions, assumptions and implications.

3.4.6. Explication and Implication

It has been variously observed that whenever and wherever information in the source text is implicit, translators tend to make it explicit by means of additional of information or additional constructions of the target text. As such, explication entails the ‘introduction of information to the target text which may have been implicit in the source text or which is made implicit by the operative circumstances of the source text. Explication usually seeks to present information that is straight forward, open and easy to understand. On the other hand, the identification of implicatures in a text that is being translated, is very crucial since implied messages, meanings or even the overall information will affect the cohesion and coherence of the translated text. Consequently, a text that is populated with implicatures is usually problematic to translate, particularly the recreation of its meaning in target text. This is more so given the implicit requirement in translation context which obligates translators to render in the target paradigm, information that is correct, clear and understandable by the target audience (Munday, 2000:187).

On the other hand, implication is a strategy of making explicit information implicit. The source text message could be configured in such a way that its offer of information that is exaggerated. There may be justifiable reasons for this information to be truncated in translation to conform to certain structural, contextual or social norms operative in the target language. The information presentation may hence require coding in the target language so as to accord to the imperatives of the target language paradigm such as managing security concerns, ensuring politeness, or simply restricting the circulation of certain sensitive information to target audience (Kharmanda, 2015). Under this strategy translators may have to grapple with coding explicit information to make it implicit information and yet maintain its communication purposes. The import of this requirement is predicated on the understanding that in Kenya’s political discourses, notably political speeches, explicit messages in many instances could be insults, confrontations, false and dramatic claims. The translation of such information manifestations requires more than mere transference, it may involve verification and negotiation of what needs to be transferred.

39. *Hii pesa si ya mamako; hii pesa si ya babako; ni ya Wakenya wote.*

40. This money is not for your parents; it belongs to all Kenyans.

41. This money is not your mother's or your father's; it is for all Kenyans.

The phrase *hii pesa si ya mamako*, is a forceful phrase that is outright offensive, it is uncivil and insulting. This political utterance is made out of anger and fury to attack the opponent and pass a strong message against misuse of public money. The sentence is a hedge that could be explicit yet has an implicit information. The person in this reference could actually have stolen money but the speaker does not want to brand him a thief ought rightly. Eventually, it is the translator who will make decisions and choices as to whether to remain explicit and uphold the impoliteness of the expletive and obscenity loaded utterance or tone it down.

3.5 Conclusion

Translation strategies are a means of transferring messages from source texts to target texts after a thorough reconfiguration of the information requiring rendition. Translation strategies do not work in isolation without factoring in human interests and involvement; this is because, unlike machines, the use of translation strategies by human translators must of necessity tamper those strategies with cultural, contextual and situational imperatives. Numerous translation strategies are products of specific responses to specific translation realities, problems or challenges; hence there is no single strategy that is superior to others. Translation strategies usually work in tandem and in complementary ways throughout the whole process of text production in the target culture and language. They as such ensure that translation meets and is accountable to the horizon of demands of the target audience while at the same time fulfilling the communicative and functional intentions of the text author. The various strategies as enumerated in this chapter underscore the need to correlate translation strategies with practical translation realities such as translating political texts as a genre specific issue. Generally, translation strategies are deployed to solve linguistic and extra-linguistic problems which abound in translation processes; thus, they are critical in offering varied solutions to specific and general problematic issues in translation. Translation strategies are not an end in themselves; they are tools and frames of reference for the analyses and rendition of various text types, varied translation purposes as well as differentiated audience characteristics and expectations. The translation of hedges in political speeches, as a genre specific issue, demands carefully selected strategies which have capacity and latent potential to unravel hedged as well as implied messaging which is emblematical of Kenyan political discourses. The retrieval of implicit

meaning habitually hedged and embedded in political speeches is not amenable to straight forward interpretation and often is misinterpreted and mistranslated.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.0 Introduction

Various studies which have been carried out on hedging devices in political discourses, have largely been concerned with the identification and examination of syntactic, semantic and pragmatic elements which function as hedges. This study too is premised within that broad paradigm; however, it narrows its focus and makes specific the identification of hedges and hedging devices to presidential political speeches in Kenya and explores probable and appropriate strategies for their translation from English into Kiswahili. This is a deliberate shift that changes the examination of hedges and hedging devices from focusing on linguistic elements and instead prioritizes the pragmatic functions of hedges and hedging devices in political discourses. Although there are numerous studies which have been undertaken in varied explorations of hedging generally, a few of these studies have focused on hedging in political discourses and even fewer on the translatability or non-translatability of hedges and hedging devices in presidential political speeches from English to Kiswahili in Kenya.

To the best of researcher's knowledge, this study is perhaps the first that has opted to investigate the translation of hedges in Kenya's presidential political speeches from English to Kiswahili. The reasons underpinning the necessity for translation is that, though the hedging in political speeches in Kenyan political discourses is predominantly in English, the targeted audiences are characteristically multilingual, where Kiswahili occupies a unique position as a unifying language. Consequently, this chapter presents data and discussions predicated on unraveling the information, communication strategies and political messaging embedded in hedged presidential political speeches in Kenya. It also presents discussions and makes suggestions regarding the lexical, semantic and pragmatic functions of identified hedges and the probable translation strategies employed in their translation from English to Kiswahili. This chapter also presents varied discussions regarding various research findings prior to providing conclusions.

4.1 Data Presentation and Discussions

Randomly selected presidential political speeches delivered by candidates and their running mates in the 2013 and 2017 Kenya's general elections, were studied to identify the usage of hedges and

hedging devices in presidential political speeches specifically and political discourses generally. Transcriptions of these speeches were carried out purposely to enable the identification of hedges and hedging devices, so as to enable the assessment of their pragmatic information and contextual functions in the contexts in which they were used. The excerpts comprising hedges in three speeches from each of the two presidential candidates and their running mates were extracted and analyzed and thereafter translated into Kiswahili. The translations were assessed to ascertain if internal information and cross textual coherence functions were upheld. This assessment formed the basis of observations and informed discussions on the hedging devices as used in Kenyan political discourses as well as their functions in the speeches. Their translatability into Kiswahili was also interrogated.

The identification of hedges in terms of their semantic and pragmatic functions in the political speeches sampled, were analyzed in terms of Salagar-Meyer's taxonomy of hedges. Essentially, this entailed analyzing the functions performed by hedges and hedging devices in political utterances, examining the probable ways they may have been understood versus the ways they may have been perceived in pragmatic terms. These parameters were outlined and critically examined. The excerpts, which essentially contained the hedging devices were sampled and translated into Kiswahili where the translation strategies were analyzed and discussed in tandem with the tenets of Skopos theory. The Salagar-Meyer model of taxonomy of hedges, was used because of its critically nuanced sense of outlining major hedging devices and hedging categories which are characteristic of political speeches generally and how they may apply in the Kenyan context. Overall, the study is overly qualitative and as such it is amenable to discussions of hedging devices which interrogate linguistic features within the paradigm of translation.

Alternatively, the hedges which were sampled, were utilized as political messaging strategies underpinning hushed attacks on opponents as well as mechanisms for outright refusal to give specific and unambiguous answers to questions raised in interviews. They were also deployed as devices for tactful refusal to be truthful and as ways of buttressing the pragmatics of political speeches, particularly political messaging. It also captures the information and messaging strategies and functions of hedges in Kenya's presidential political election speeches. Generally, the hedges identified and analyzed, were characteristically indeterminate, vague, lacking in commitment to the political assertions advanced in given political speeches, the conveyancing of

outright falsehoods and advancing populist appeals to targeted audiences. The translations of these political speeches, either in full or partially into Kiswahili, were generally convoluted because of their meaning multiplicity, thus enabling the conveyancing of their overt and covert message nuances and they did not, in most cases give rise to functional variance within the same utterance of the speeches analyzed.

The data presented in the sampled excerpts were extractions from presidential political speeches delivered by political candidate; Raila Odinga, Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto and Kalonzo Musyoka. In no particular order, the excerpts were obtained from online sources, *The Daily Nation* and *Taifa Leo* newspapers. The main determinant for the choice of Daily Nation and Taifa Leo newspapers was due to the fact, the Daily Nation’s main news items were found in Taifa Leo as translated versions. Largely, the news in Taifa Leo newspaper was a reflection of what was contained in the Daily Nation newspaper but presented in Kiswahili. Thus, the choice of these newspapers was premised on this fact. Further, Taifa Leo was the only Kiswahili newspaper that contained the news sought for. These speeches were delivered on divergent dates as presents in table below.

Speaker	Speech	Date
Uhuru Kenyatta	Interview in K24	September 15 th 2012
Uhuru Kenyatta	Speech on Jubilee Manifesto Launch	February 2013
Uhuru Kenyatta	Second Presidential Debate	February 25 th 2013
Uhuru Kenyatta	First Presidential Debate	February 11 th 2013
Uhuru Kenyatta	Political Rally	November 28 th 2017
Uhuru Kenyatta	Speech to Governors, Senators and MCAs elect	September 2 nd 2017
Uhuru Kenyatta	Interview in France on October	October 2 nd 2020
Raila Odinga	First Presidential Debate	February 11 th 2013
Raila Odinga	Second Presidential Debate	February 25 th 2013
Raila Odinga	Interview with Aljazeera on Re-run Election	October 2017
William Ruto	KTN TV interview	January 30 th 2013

Speaker	Speech	Date
William Ruto	Acceptance Speech on Election Victory	March 4 th 2013
William Ruto	Uhuru Park Rally	March 2 nd 2013
William Ruto	Campaign Rally in Kirinyaga	June 28 th 2017
William Ruto	Aljazeera TV interview	October 26 th 2017
Kalonzo Musyoka	Campaign Rally on Raila Tosha	January 10 th 2013
Kalonzo Musyoka	NASA Deal Signing	February 22 nd 2017
Kalonzo Musyoka	NASA Presidential Campaign Launch in Kakamega	June 3 rd 2017

Table 1. Speeches Delivered by Presidential Candidates and their Running Mates in 2013 and 2017.

It will be noted that the fourth objective of this study was to interrogate the interplay between hedging and pragmatic functions in political speeches, especially those speeches rendered in English and their eventual transfer in translation terms into Kiswahili. Consequently, an attempt to translate three excerpts from each category of hedges was made by the researcher and with input of Rajab Omary, a translator at the University of Dodoma. Rajab, a citizen of Tanzania, though aware of Kenyan politics, had not keenly followed the Kenyans politics and as such could not be biased during the translation process. This thus gave an independent translation without prior conditions given on the outcome of the translation process.

These translations were complimented by excerpts from *Taifa Leo* which were mainly translations of political speeches as published in *The Daily Nation* newspaper. These translations were discussed in tandem in the sections discussing specific hedges and hedging devices but focusing specifically on decrypting implicature and its translatability into Kiswahili. The analyses of meaning decoding and translatability of the excerpts presented, was predicated on the Skopos tenets of translation utility as well as intra-textual coherence. The excerpts, as translated, were discussed in tandem with the translation strategies employed. From the onset, it must be emphasized that, the skopos of any translation is determined by its commission, a practical conceptualization which dictates the understanding of the original text and the functions intended to be realized in the target paradigm. However, in this study, some exceptions were allowed in the sense that, the skopos of the translation of these political texts does not arise from a particular

commission but rather is derived from the nature of texts and in regard to the audience's comprehension of the intended message.

4.2 Lexical hedges in Political Speeches

In order to answer the research question relating to what categories of hedges are a frequent linguistic phenomenon identifiable in presidential political speeches in Kenya, lexical and pragmatic hedging devices were examined in the sampled speeches and were categorized as visible and invisible hedges. The visible hedging devices were identified as lexical items which are identifiable as single or multiple words which function as hedges in the speeches under review. These are, as outlined in the Salagar-Meyer's taxonomy of categories of hedges. The invisible hedges were identified as full statements which do not manifest in terms of a single word or multiple words which can be referred to as a hedging device, but the whole utterance is hedged in terms of its perceivable performance of very specific political functions. It will be noted that the consideration of a whole utterance as a hedge, principally flouts the Gricean maxim of quantity and clarity in communication, but it nevertheless achieves political functions and purposes within the contexts of the speech rendition. These lexical hedges are found in different categorizations as expounded in Salager-Meyer's (ibid) taxonomy of hedges as evidenced below.

4.2.1 Modal Auxiliary Verbs

The modal auxiliary verbs presented as excerpts for analyses in this study were taken from presidential political speeches which were delivered during the election years under review. These were extracted from political rally speeches, radio and TV interviews as well as from *the Nation* and *Taifa Leo* newspapers of divergent dates on the electioneering period. The modal auxiliary verbs used in the speeches under review were; ***might, may, can, could, should, would, must, shall*** and ***will***. In terms of their pragmatic functionality, the usage of modal auxiliary verbs ***might*** and ***may*** in these political speeches as presented in the sampled excerpts, it was apparent that, generally they expressed a past or future possibility or probability. They demonstrated the probability of an action to have happened or bound to happen. Functionally, in terms of presidential political messaging, this is a strategy of building and sustaining hope in targeted audiences with promises of developments and other political incentives. The use of ***might*** and ***may*** as basis for hedging, is a messaging strategy intended to make the audience either to maintain or shift its stand on the issues under discussion so as to vote for the candidates giving such promises.

The political speeches as presented by the candidates as such, crafted their responses and political messages as hedges so as to remain relevant even if their promises were or would not be fulfilled. Translated into Kiswahili, the modal auxiliary verbs *might*, *may* and *can* transferred the same meaning of the possibility of occurrence of the action under discussion. The use of *might* as the basis for hedging is rendered into Kiswahili as *huenda*, *weza* and *wezekana*. This also applies to the verb *may* which is translatable as *huenda*, *labda*, *inaweza kuwa* and *huenda ikawa*. Similarly, the verb *can* is translatable as *weza*. All these auxiliary verbs once framed in hedging terms, are expressions of uncertainty and lack of personal conviction with regard to when an action would take place as used in the speeches under consideration. These auxiliary verbs, when used with the verb *be* express a possibility and an indication of indetermination even in Kiswahili. This intimates that hedging devices which use these auxiliary verbs, characteristically express indetermination and are translatable into Kiswahili through paraphrasing without loss of the intended meaning.

It was observed that, in many instances translators often omit these hedging devices in their translation. The omission of this hedging device, although it may not impinge on the sentence sounding natural, crucial information conveyed or embedded in the hedging devices enabled by *might*, *may* and *can* is lost in the translation as seen in following excerpt where William Ruto, responding to the question on when the teachers strike would end in January 30th 2013. In his responses, Ruto used the verbs *might* and *may*: —

42. Ruto: *It might mean that we may go into two to three weeks of the August holidays.*
This is rendered into Kiswahili as—*Inaweza maanisha kuwa tunaweza kuingia kwa wiki mbili au tatu za likizo ya Agosti.*

The translation appropriately captures the modal auxiliary verbs together with their pragmatic functionality. However, the same excerpt is translated as —*Inamaanisha tuingie kwa wiki mbili au tatu za likizo ya Agosti*— the modal auxiliary verbs are omitted. This intimates that the speaker is certain of what he was saying and had no doubt on the occurrence of actions spoken about. He was sure the strike would go to the month of August. This is due to omission of hedges which express doubt as seen in the previous rendition. Thus, this is a different rendition in comparison to when the hedging devices are in place.

Likewise, Uhuru Kenyatta in his public rally address on November 28th 2017 used the verbs *may* and *can*. These excerpts with auxiliary verbs were also translated into Kiswahili with one excerpt translated with and without the modal auxiliary verb as seen here: —

43. Uhuru: *So, you **may** be my greatest friend, you **may** be my greatest support and I appreciate that as a person but ultimately if you are vying for a position of county assembly person, senator, governor, MP the person you must entrust yourself to is not me but the electorate.*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as—

*Kwa hivyo **unaweza kuwa** rafiki yangu mkubwa, **unaweza** ukawa mfuasi wangu mkubwa na binafsi ninashukuru kwa hilo, lakini mwishowe ikiwa unawania nafasi kwa Bunge la Kaunti, senata, gavana au mbunge, mtu **unayepaswa** kujiaminisha kwake sio mimi ila ni mpiga kura.*

Additionally, Uhuru used the verb *can* as seen in this excerpt—

44. Uhuru: *He is crying before the foreign countries so that they **can** sympathize with him and set up a team that will oversee mediation.*

This was translated into Kiswahili as —

*Analilia mataifa ya kigeni ili **yaweze** kumhurumia na hivyo kuunda jopo la kusimamia maridhiano.*

By omitting the modal auxiliary verb *may*, this excerpt was translated as —*Analilia mataifa ya kigeni ili yamhurumie na hivyo kuunda jopo la kusimamia maridhiano.* The omission of the verb led to loss in translation of the hedging device which expressed uncertainty thus turning the doubtful assertion into a surety, indicating that the foreign countries would constitute a mediation committee. This is observable as guaranteed action. Thus, it is possible to argue that although omission is a legitimate strategy in certain translation contexts, where such omission helps in the reduction of redundancy, ignoring it in the translation of presidential political speeches is not very advisable because, such a hedging device is critical in the conveyance of covert meanings and political messages overall.

The speeches analyzed in this study contained another set of modal auxiliary verbs; *can* and *could*, which characteristically exhibited the speakers' hedging strategy in the expression of probability of an action to be executed, and also as a promise which does not bind the speaker to the fidelity

of its fulfilment. Their translation into Kiswahili likewise indicated an expression of possibility and a future promise, as both of them are translated into Kiswahili as *weza* and *wezekana* respectively. The term *weza* is more inclined to mean capability while in the translation, it is rendered to stand for *wezekana*. The verb *could* is translatable as *weza kuwa* or *huenda ikawa* or *labda*, or indeed *pengine*, depending on the context of usage and when used together with the verb *be*, it overly indicates uncertainty and non-committal to the fulfilment of the promise made. Thus, the overall crafting of the hedge is strategic, technically exonerating the speaker from any future blame or complaint if the promise is not fulfilled. By hedging their responses, the speakers are enabled to remain relevant, they are not called upon to be accountable to the veracity of their statements. The translation does not make the statements any better since the function of these hedges is transferred into Kiswahili without any alteration. This is what is realized in this excerpt in which Uhuru, responding to a question during a TV interview in Paris on his stand on his support to Ruto on October 2nd 2020; and Ruto's response on the KNUT strike on January 30th 2013 respectively as evidenced here.

45. Uhuru: *To ensure that the next election will not be an election that shall be a tense election or an election that **can** lead to a potential rise of ethnicity and that is the reason I reached out to those who were in the opposition.*

This was translated as —

*Kuhakikisha kwamba uchaguzi ujao hautakuwa uchaguzi wa hofu au uchaguzi **unaoweza** kusababisha ongezeko la ukabila na ndiyo maana niliwaendea walio kwa upinzani.*

The verb *can* is translated as *unaoweza* which contextually is translatable as *ulio na uwezekano* that shows the hedging strategy used by Uhuru in implying that election potentially could increase ethnicity. In this instance, he expressed uncertainty and remained non-committal to the truth validity of the assertion, only expressing the likelihood of occurrence of that action as opposed to exactness of the claim.

In the same style of messaging strategy, Ruto used the verb *could* to express uncertainty and indetermination on which possibilities were available before the strike yet not exploited thus

leading to prolonging of that strike. In this context, the verb **could** has been used as a polite lamentation due to government's failure to end the strike. It revealed that there were conditional actions that were possible to be fulfilled but were not, thus, the action (strike) continued. Using the same verb, he further sought mutual connectivity with the audience as a government personality who cares as seen here: —

46. Ruto: *I think so far, we **could** have avoided, for example, the strike of KNUT you know, see what we were trying to do, we **could** have avoided certain minor hiccups here and here maybe we would have done better.*

This is rendered in Kiswahili as —

*Nafikiria kufikia sasa **tungezuia**, kwa mfano, mgomo wa KNUT wajua, tazama kile tunajaribu kufanya, **tungezuia** matatizo kidogo hapa na pale, **labda** tungekuwa tumefanya vyema.*

This expressed possibility and probability of the teachers strike coming to an end where William Ruto was not certain if this would happen. The use of this modal auxiliary verb which expresses uncertainty and indetermination, is strategic in terms of its message conveyance, it absolves the speaker of residual responsibility on the non-realization of the issue at hand. Of course, the same excerpt devoid of hedges, would convey different information and generate different unintended response even in translation.

The presidential candidates further used modal auxiliary verb **must** in their communication to strengthen and affirm their illocution as an expression of the need to do something in earnest. It functions as an enabler in the propagation of an idea that is of necessity to the audience by giving it the priority it deserves. It shows the assertiveness and the responsibility the speakers have to their statements. All the presidential candidates and their running mates used this hedging device as an emphasis on the ideology they were propagating to the audience. Similarly, the hedging devices predicated on the use of **must** are rendered in translation as, **lazima, sharti, yapaswa, haina budi, and mpaka**. In the presidential political speeches sampled, the verb **must** as a hedging device, exhibited distinct meaning by expressing certainty in relation to the undertaking of certain actions. However, having many words to choose from in Kiswahili which do not necessarily share similar functions and meaning in communication in political messaging is an eminent source of confusion to translators. They are unable to discern the exact appropriate equivalent meaning in Kiswahili.

Thus, this leads to employment of literal translation strategy with little realization of the hedged meaning. This is visible in the excerpts where Raila Odinga responded to a question on the confrontations between opposition and the Ruling Party on disputed August 8th 2017 elections, and Uhuru Kenyatta's address to the nation on his election victory in 2013 appealing for national unity.

47. Raila: *Raila Odinga does not have to be the president of Kenya but Kenyans **must** have a good president.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as—

*Raila Odinga sio **lazima** awe Rais wa Kenya lakini Wakenya lazima wawe na Rais bora.*

48. Uhuru: *Our nation **must** heal and our people **must** come together with the realization that, difficult as it may seem, we do need each other.*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as—

***Lazima** taifa letu lipone na watu wetu **sharti** waje pamoja kwa kutambua, hata ingawa inaonekana vigumu, tunamhitaji kila mmoja wetu.*

In Raila's statement, the verb **must-** functions as a command that has to be obeyed while in Uhuru's assertion, it is perceived as an appeal or advice but both of them are rendered as **lazima** or **sharti** in Kiswahili which largely implies a command. It is thus difficult to distinguish when the speaker is giving a firm advisory or a command.

Additionally, the presidential candidates used the modal auxiliary verb **should** in their advisory messaging to their audiences, thus subtly expressing their personal interests and needs as common national interests when viewed from the recipient perspective. This advisory messaging is hedged as cautionary, but is also a subtle strategy which the speaker uses to safeguard and maintain the relationship between the speaker and his audience and at the same time project himself as a caring person who is aware of what is happening and what solution is needed, which can only be provided by him. Translated into Kiswahili, this hedging device is rendered as **faa, paswa** and **stahili**, which means an expression of polite advisory to the audience. However, when used in negation, it becomes a command for stopping an action as used in this excerpt when Raila was reacting to the reference always made on him as a witch doctor by Ruto: —

49. **Raila:** *You **should** stop calling me mganga.*

Translated into Kiswahili as—

Yapaswa mkome kuniita mganga.

In addition, while discussing the political status in the country and providing the picture of the trends and political tension in the country during his acceptance speech for election victory in 2013, Uhuru Kenyatta safely and without committing himself to the assertion, used the hedging verb **should** to give an advisory, as a personal opinion expressing his commitment to the assertion. Thus, politely giving a direction on how politics should be conducted in Kenya. This is observable in this excerpt: —

50. Uhuru: *Politics **should** never be about personality and I have stood by that for the longest time.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as—

*Siasa kamwe **hazipaswi** kuwa juu ya ubinafsi na nimeshikilia hivyo kwa muda mrefu zaidi.*

Further, he gave an advisory on how to tackle the land issue as seen in this excerpt.

51. Uhuru: *If anybody wants to engage in business of land, we **should** look at the broad spectrum of land.*

Translated into Kiswahili as—

*Iwapo mtu yeyote atataka kujihusisha na biashara ya ardhi, **lazima** tuangalie suala pana la ardhi.*

By use of this hedging device, not only does he get along with the audience, but also makes his audience comfortable and accommodating since he projects a position of understanding their problem on unity and land issues and subtly suggests a solution in terms of looking at the problem broadly, which still makes it indeterminate.

The final set of the modal auxiliary verbs used in the speeches under review were the verbs **will** and **shall**, used to predict future occurrences or realizations of actions, mostly promises of what the candidates would do for the benefit of the audience if elected into office. The hedging device

predicated on the verb **will** as used in the excerpt where Raila Odinga was making reference to what they were to do the day of general election in 2017.

52. Raila: *They **will** announce and we **will** announce, at the polling station they **will** add and we **will** add.*

Translated into Kiswahili as—

Wataangaza na sisi tutangaza, katika vituo vya kupigia kura wataongeza nasi tutaongeza.

Likewise, Uhuru Kenyatta used the verb while answering the question on land in the presidential debate in 2013.

53. Uhuru: *With regards to the issue of squatters my government **will** give them the rights to their land as well, but **shall** work through the law and the owners of the land to find appropriate compensation mechanism for them.*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as—

Kuhusu suala la maskwota, serikali yangu itawapa haki kwa mashamba yao vilevile, lakini tutafanya kazi kwa kuzingatia sheria na wamiliki wa ardhi ili kupata njia stahiki ya kuwafidia.

In these excerpts, Raila was expressing a prediction of addition of votes by members of the NASA coalition at the polling stations while Uhuru used it as a future promise that had political binding if the Jubilee Party would be elected into office. As evidenced in these excerpts, modal auxiliary verb hedges predicated on **shall** and **will** are translatable into Kiswahili and are appropriate in expressing a future occurrence. The verb form with the infix showing a future tense, typically expresses possibility of completion of a promised action. However, **shall** and **will** are functionally indistinguishable in Kiswahili since they are both marked by one morpheme **-ta-** indicating a future tense. Once used in a sentence, it is not possible to distinguish which stands for the hedging device **shall** or **will**. This is a case of expansion of meaning where one morpheme represents two different modal auxiliary verbs meaning in Kiswahili.

Unhedged statement gives specific answers upon which the audience can hold the speakers accountable. Should this turn to be untrue, the speakers would be seen as liars and persons who do not seem to know what happens in actual political contexts, and thus jeopardizes their chances of election victory because of the disconnect between emphatic assertions and their unrealized

outcomes. Consequently, this affirms that the use of modal auxiliary verbs in Kenya's presidential political speeches, is strategically deployed to distance political speakers from the truth validity of their public statements. It also affirms that, political speakers either lack critical information or are not committed to the truth validity of the topics or assertions they make in their political speeches. This also subtly withholds, slants and manipulates information conveyed to targeted audiences, deliberately making political speeches to be characteristically confusing, audiences bewildered and unable to make informed decisions because of being saddled with imprecise information pertaining to contextual and temporal political issues. When such information is subjected to translation, deciphering appropriate meaning becomes complicated. Given the excerpts presented this far, it is evident that the speeches from the presidential candidates and their running mates, generally employed the hedging device of modal auxiliary verbs for various reasons ranging from enabling the expression of possibility to camouflaging indetermination. The rendition of such messages devoid of using such hedging devices, would have conveyed different meanings which would have repercussions later.

4.2.2 Modal Lexical Verbs

Modal lexical verbs are another category of hedging devices whose function is equated to that of speech acts and function as expressions of doubt and evaluation. Their functions go beyond description of varied degrees of an illocutionary force. The presidential political candidates used this hedging strategy to show that what they said is their own personal conviction, opinion or some quotations from other speakers. This was also evident when they were reporting other sources of information which were worthy of attention to the audience (Salagar-Meyer, *ibid*: 109). The hedging device predicated on the modal lexical verb *assume* as used by Ruto when answering a question on a TV interview while commenting on the nullification of presidential election of August 2017

54. Ruto: *I assume you get it right; just because we conceded defeat and accepted the court verdict doesn't mean we are cowards.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as; --

Nadhani unaipata sawasawa, kwa vile tulikubali matokeo haimaanishi sisi ni waoga.

This is an expression of emphasis and caution to the interviewer, in a sense, a very subtle expression of anger, but rather politely. Delivered in any other way in this context, it would have been regarded as arrogance from the speaker.

The Kiswahili equivalent of the hedging device using the lexical verb *assume* is *dhani* as used in translation. But it can also be translated as *chukulia*. Whenever there are synonyms of the same term in Kiswahili, it becomes difficult to choose the most appropriate one and which delivers the same meaning as in the source language. Raila used the term *assuming* on a television interview after the repeat election of 2017, a hedging strategy about his stand on the election outcome.

55. Raila: *Assuming Uhuru Kenyatta got 7.4 million votes which I know he did not get; I know he got 3.5 million; still there are 12 million Kenyans who did not vote for him even that particular day.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as—

Tukichukulia kuwa Uhuru alipata kura milioni 7.4 ambazo najua hakupata, najua alipata milioni 3.5, bado kuna Wakenya milioni 12 ambao hawakumpigia kura hata siku hiyo.

As seen here, the term is translated as *nikichukulia* instead of *nikidhani*.

The two words are applicable but contextually the term *nikichukulia* sounds more natural and the translation strategy used here is accommodative. This implies that the meaning has been accommodated to convey the intentions of the original hedge thus fulfilling the purpose and coherence dictates of its skopos. In this excerpt presented above, the hedging device predicated on the form—*assuming that*, is in the present continuous tense, where Raila expresses indeterminateness and disassociation from the truth validity of his statement. Its rendition in Kiswahili is *ikichukuliwa kwamba*, which is an appropriate and acceptable translation form intimating that one form of a hedging device is translatable into Kiswahili in different forms yet succeeds in upholding internal textual coherence of the target text.

The hedging devices predicated on the verbs *propose* and *seem* translated into Kiswahili as *pendekeza* and *inaonekana*, are illustrative of this hedging reality. The hedging device predicated on *guess* which is translated as *dhani* is appropriate in rendering the same meaning as *assume*, though the rendition of correct and exact meaning will always be context sensitive. One of the functions of the modal lexical verbs is to act as an expression of politeness or non-coerciveness of

certain actions. This function is evident in modal lexical verbs predicated on *I propose* and *I suggest*. This function is transferable into Kiswahili as *nashauri* and *napendekeza* for the verb *I propose*. The verb *I suggest* is translatable as *natoa rai*, *nashauri*, *napendekeza*, *naashiria*, *nadokeza*, and *namaanisha*. The realization of their multiple equivalences in Kiswahili, particularly, the exact meaning of these verbs can only be contextually based, a bother that translators have to contend with when deciding the exact term that renders the exact and appropriate meaning. This is because, characteristically, presidential political speeches carry implicit messages as demonstrated in these excerpts:

56. Uhuru: *Instead, I propose to offer solutions that will create opportunities that will help us overcome our difficulties.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as;

Badala yake napendekeza kutoa suluhu ambayo itaunda nafasi ambazo zitatusaidia kushinda matatizo yetu.

57. Raila: *We suggest that the only way to liberate our country from thugs is through eradication of corruption and nepotism in our public sector.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as;

Tunapendekeza kuwa njia ya pekee ya kuokoa taifa letu kutoka kwa wakora ni kwa kuangamiza ufisadi na upendeleo katika sekta ya umma.

The two modal verbs used in the excerpts given above express a degree of politeness and involvement of the audience in the conversation without forcing things on them. Both have been translated as *pendekeza* although there is a distinct meaning differentiation between the terms *suggest* and *propose* in their context of usage when deployed as hedging devices. In this sense, the term *propose* is used as a bait for the audience to support or to be in agreement with the speaker, an indication that the speaker has superior knowledge about the subject matter and what he wants the audience to support without coercing it. On the other hand, the term *suggest* does not presuppose a dire need to seek support from the audience, it presupposes an option and a leeway for the audience to choose whether to support or not. This complicates its translation into Kiswahili since out of the available equivalences in Kiswahili, none of them distinguishes the exact meaning of these two verbs, leaving the translator with no other option other than to use the term *pendekeza* that carries a generalized meaning.

The use of the modal lexical verbs *I guess* as used in these political speeches, demonstrates that the verb suggests a degree of non-commitment to the truth validity of the political message being conveyed. Functionally, this verb strategically distances the speakers from their statement cogency overall. Additionally, it expresses some degree of politeness which is a strategy that enables the upholding of mutual relationship between the speakers and their audiences. This is best illustrated when it was used by Ruto in his reaction to the Judiciary decision. In this particular reaction, the overall hedging strategy is pragmatic;

58. Ruto: *And I guess they will be reasonable to understand that once we are elected as the Jubilee coalition they will have to live with that fact.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as;

Nadhani wanatafakari vyema na kuelewa kwamba, pindi tu tukichaguliwa kama muungano wa Jubilee, itabidi waishi na ukweli huu.

The usage of *I assume* in this statement indicates a polite way of delivering harsh message without making it confrontational. Ruto refrains from using harsh and perhaps forceful words like; *they should be reasonable to understand...* instead he uses the hedge *I guess* and *will* to express disgust and at the same time remain polite given the constraints of the time and context of usage. He did not have the pragmatic latitude to make uncensored statements against the judiciary, especially just after the nullification of the presidential election in 2017. The term *I guess* here is used to mean that it is obvious and upon the intelligence of the judiciary to know that he and Uhuru would be above them should they be elected into office. The hedging strategy employed here diffuses tension and cushions the speaker from possible negative reactions for proffering personal comments on a subject that would have been construed to be an attack to the Judiciary. This is an implicit messaging which intends to tell the Judiciary that the speaker is not happy and would reiterate on the decision made by the Supreme Court.

From the translations rendered with regard to the excerpts presented, it is evident that a translator has to understand the context of the hedging device as an enablement to the identification of the appropriate and equivalent meaning given the fact that, there is more than one term in reference to the same verb. Thus, not all equivalent terms in bilingual dictionaries on a source term are appropriate in the translation of hedges in the presidential political speech in Kenya since most of the hedging strategies employed are contextually embedded. The hedges constructed on the basis

of modal lexical verbs in presidential political speeches sampled, are translatable into Kiswahili in both literal and accommodation strategies of meaning transfer.

4.2.3 Adjectival, Adverbial and Nominal Modal Phrases

In this broad hedging categories, there are further three subcategories according to the taxonomy of hedges presented by Salagar-Meyer (ibid). The presidential candidates made use of hedging devices predicated on these phrases in their speeches as expounded here below.

4.2.3.1 Adjectival Modal Phrases

The use of hedging devices enabled by adjectival phrases in the speeches under review, were generally predicated on expressing possibility or probability of an action taking place, as such they characteristically expressed the uncertainty of occurrence of a said action. Such usage strategically subdues the strength of the claim thus making it weak and unguaranteed. This suggests that when adjectival modal phrases are used as hedging strategies, they function the same way as modal auxiliary verbs which weaken a statement's force. The same weakened force is transferable into Kiswahili through translation.

The adjectival modal phrases when used as hedges in the presidential political speeches, they function as an expression of the likelihood of an action happening or alternatively, they express the uncertainty of a truth. They strategically do not commit the speaker to the truth validity of one's statement or assertion. This allowed the presidential candidates to convey unproven messages and proffer claims whose certainty they were not sure of. They convey messages and make promises knowing very well that they are not certain how their assertions would be effected or how much truth is contained in their messages. They enabled the presidential candidates to remain non-committal to their claims whichever way they turn out. The use of such adjectival modal phrases is a strategic shielding of the self as well as a strategy for avoiding the wrath of the audience arising from falsity or non-fulfilment of the action promised. This is transferable into Kiswahili and the function of the hedging device remains unaffected by the translation, although the term used may not account for the exactness of the meaning owing to the fact that, translation cannot be a copy of the original text.

There is evidence that the plethora of presidential speeches in Kenya's election circles use adjectival modal phrases as a primary hedging device. This hedging strategy ordinarily expresses

a sense of remaining non-committal to the outcomes of predictions, it is a strategy of staying in the middle, whichever way the outcome goes. The adjectival modal phrase *likely* when subjected to translation, the following scenarios are observable where many equivalent terms are availed to mean the same thing in Kiswahili as; *wezekana, elekea, faa, yaelekea kuwa, huenda, labda* and *kutaka kuwa*, all of these equivalences largely express uncertainty, a revelation that the outcome of an action could go either way. This is evidenced in these excerpts extracted from Uhuru and Raila's political speeches in 2017 general election. Uhuru Kenyatta was intimating that violence was bound to happen owing to the acts of the opposition in 2017;

59. Uhuru: *It is likely to have violence if the opposition does not desist from the call to demonstrations.*

This was translated into Kiswahili as;

Kuna uwezekano wa kutokea fujo iwapo upinzani hautakoma kuitisha maandamano.

It is evident that, the term *uwezekano* does not necessarily mean *kuelekea* neither *kufaa* nor *kutaka kuwa*. Uhuru further uses the hedging device *possible* which is translated as *uwezekano (inawezekanaje)* just as the hedging device *likely*. This reveals that the hedging device enabled by *uwezekano* is the equivalent of both *possible* and *likely*, a term that is used generally to convey the meaning of these similar terms but which functions differently contextually. Since its usage is contextually bound, the actual meaning has to be established before the translator makes a decision on what to transpose into the target language. *Uwezekano* in this context has the same meaning as *possibility*, which carries a lesser degree of occurrence in comparison to the term *likely*, a popular meaning in this genre of speeches in Kenya. From this, a translator has to get the actual and correct meaning and desist from being confused by a set of possible equivalences and popular meanings which may not convey the intended meaning. Likewise, Raila used the term *likely* in a way expressing negation while answering a question on a TV interview on his preparedness for the election outcome in 2017.

60. Raila: *I have only one acceptance speech and not two because I will win. However, in the unlikely event I lose of which I don't see, I don't need a speech. I will speak from the heart.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as;

*Nina hotuba moja tu ya kukubali ushindi wala sio mbili kwa sababu nitashinda. Hata hivyo, katika tukio ambalo **halina uwezekano** wa kutokea kwamba nishindwe, ambako sioni, sihitaji hotuba. Nitahutubu kutoka moyoni.*

Raila's response was further elaborated, he said;

*We are **unlikely** to lose the election and even if we lose fairly, Kenya must go on.*

This is how it is translated into Kiswahili;

*Hakuna **uwezekano** wetu kushindwa katika uchaguzi na hata **iwapo** tutashindwa kihalali, Kenya lazima iendelee.*

The translation of this hedging device is an example of how contextual meanings overlap with popular ones in the sampled presidential speeches. This is further evidence of the usage of a popular meaning where the hedging device **unlikely** has been translated as **hakuna uwezekano**, a translation that could also be used for a hedging device predicated on **possible** although its exact equivalence in translation is **sioelekea** or **siyoyamkinika**. Their usage expresses a high degree of possibility but not a guaranteed one, thus strategically ensuring that, should Raila lose, he still commands respect on account that there was no emphatic pronouncement of winning by all means. The use of adjectival modal phrasal verbs as hedges, subtly convey confidence even in uncertain circumstances, they enable the candidates to appeal to the audience and they sustain hope as well as preclude targeted audiences from being swayed by the opponents. The implication of the information coding in such a contextual form might complicate its rendition into Kiswahili, although in certain instances what is implied in English is easily translatable into Kiswahili since the two language share characteristics of cuing implied meaning. When this possibility is rendered in varied manifestations, its translation usually becomes a dicey task because the functional context must be comprehended before transferring the meaning. This calls for a translation strategy which will accommodate the source meaning without significant deviation from the intended meaning and in this case a 'generalization' approach where one term is used to evoke a general but contextual meaning without affecting coherence and the purpose of the translated statements.

4.2.3.2 Nominal Modal Verb Phrases

The nominal modal verbs as hedging devices in the presidential political speeches in Kenya were infrequently used compared to other hedging devices. The nominal modal verbs hedging devices, as used in presidential speeches in the Kenyan election circles expressed uncertainty and

indetermination by the candidates. These phrases, when conceptualized and viewed as hedges, are strategically deployed to distance presidential candidates as speakers from the truth validity of their statements and thus, the targeted audience cannot hold them accountable in the event that the claims or assertions made turn out to be false. The usage of hedges predicated on the verb **claim** in the speeches sampled in this study, is a typical indication that the truth of proffered statements and assertions cannot be verified and as such, statements of such nature should be treated with caution. Likewise, when the term **possibility** is used as a hedged expression which indicates a likelihood of occurrence of an action and thus there is no guarantee of its execution.

In the number of times this category of hedges was used, it typically functioned as a strategy for distancing the speaker from the truth validity of a statement and/or the likelihood of completion of an action. Based on the excerpts from the political speeches sampled, this category of hedging devices has easily accessible equivalents in Kiswahili which perform similar functions as in the source text without giving rise to noticeable deviations. In assessing the translatability of the nominal modal verbs, the hedging device predicated on the verb **claim** is usually translatable as — **dai, taka haki, nena kwa dhati, kuthibitisha ukweli, taja, stahili** and **hitaji** (TUKI, 2006). This is evidenced in the following excerpt where Ruto asks a hedged question predicated on nominal modal verb with the operative word **claim**:

61. Ruto: *If NASA people **claim** that there were no elections yet they boycotted the same elections how will they be helped?*

This is rendered variously in Kiswahili as—

- a) *Iwapo wanachama wa NASA **wanadai** kwamba hakukuwepo na uchaguzi watasaidiwa kwa njia gani?*
- b) *Iwapo NASA wanataka **haki kwamba** hakukuwepo na uchaguzi na ni wao waliosusia uchaguzi watasaidika vipi?*
- c) *Iwapo NASA **wanathibitisha** hakukuwepo na uchaguzi na ni wao waliosusia uchaguzi watasaidika vipi?*
- d) *Iwapo NASA **wananena kwa dhati** kwamba hakukuwepo na uchaguzi na ni wao waliosusia uchaguzi watasaidika vipi?*

It is evident on the basis of the highlighted translation alternatives that, there are various equivalences in the rendition of that one hedged question asked by Ruto. There are four possible

correct translations as shown with the highlighted expressions in (a—d) however, the appropriate meaning as intended by the author can be inferred from the context leading to the best and appropriate meaning transfer. Equally, the usage of *possibility* as a hedged expression is translatable as *uwezekano* which is the only equivalent term in Kiswahili, thus easing the transfer of meaning. This is due to its characteristics of a noun as exhibited in this excerpt;

62. Uhuru: *The possibility of nullification of the presidential election cannot even be imagined because the will of people cannot be overturned by a few people.*

This is rendered in Kiswahili as;

Uwezekano wa kuvutiliwa mbali kwa uchaguzi wa uraisi hakuwezi hata kutafakarika kwa kuwa uamuzi wa watu hauwezi kupinduliwa na watu wachache.

However, the hedge predicated on the usage of the adverb *possibly* is translatable as *labda, kwa kadiri* or *uwezekanavyo*; indicating that the understanding of context is critical in the Kiswahili translations of political speeches in Kenya. Its usage in the sampled excerpts has a straightforward equivalence in Kiswahili as *labda* which is not amenable to multiple meaning nuances. The strategy of equivalence meaning transfer in translation is applicable in this category of hedging devices.

4.2.3.3 Adverbial Modal Phrase

This category of hedges which is enabled by the use of adverbial modal phrases, was discernible in the presidential political speeches. It was characteristically evident in situations where the speakers were found to use it as a content adjunct in the evaluation of certainty or uncertainty of their statements as well as assessing the truth or falsity of propositions. The adverbial modal verb *perhaps* as used in the excerpts below, is an indication of a possibility, that something is possible or that the speaker is not certain about what he is saying. The usage of the adverbial modal phrase *necessarily* as a hedged expression, connects two actions and shows that the second action doesn't have to be as a result of the first one and that the truth of the first action is not directly related to the second one. Further, hedges predicated on the adverbial phrase *probably* generally indicated a certain degree of truth which can be accommodated without much doubt because it is reasonably true or it is something that can be expected. When there is even a little doubt on something that has been promised, its fulfilment is doubted by the audience and the trust in the statement is eroded. When the politicians want to hide their true intentions, they make promises which show some

degree of accomplishment, they use adverbial phrases which show a certain degree of probability of occurrence of an action. When translated into Kiswahili, these hedging devices carry the same function that expresses uncertainty of occurrence of an action in the presidential political speeches as exhibited in the excerpts discussed below.

When asked to address the land question in Kibera, Uhuru Kenyatta does not give a straightforward answer, rather his response to this question is hedged within the framework of adverbial modal verb phrase: —

63. Uhuru: *It will be the responsibility of my government to help and organize the people of Kibera so that the community who own the land can reap its benefits. **Perhaps** through local societies, community trusts or directly as property owners.*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as:

*Itakuwa ni wajibu wa serikali yangu kusaidia na kuwapangia watu wa Kibera ili jamii inayomiliki ardhi inaweza kupata manufaa yake. **Labda** kupitia kwa hifadhi za mashirika ya umma ya mashinani au moja kwa moja kama wamiliki mali.*

Consequently, the translation of this category of hedging devices as used in the presidential speeches sampled, presented intricate scenarios. This arose out of the fact that, when adverbs are used as content adjuncts in the evaluation of certainty or uncertainty of statements, or when used in assessing the truth or falsity of assertions, they convey more than one contextual meaning. Other than expressing uncertainty, the usage of the adverb *perhaps* is appropriately placed to give advice or make polite requests. Additionally, it is a polite way of giving an opinion where the speaker portrays uncertainty or lacks definiteness. The usage of the adverb *perhaps* in a hedged expression is translatable into Kiswahili as *labda* or *huenda* which has close meaning to the adverb *probably* which is translatable as *huenda* or *labda* in Kiswahili. Consequently, the usage of the adverb *probably* in a hedged expression means that the speaker talks of an action acceptable without much doubt. However, it must be noted that in Kiswahili the adverbial modal verbs *perhaps* and *probably* can be used interchangeably without any noticeable change in meaning. The distinct meaning which the speakers emphasized was not missed out in the translation. This is because Kiswahili has a general meaning term which incorporates the two adverbial modal verbs and therefore their English equivalent meaning is very close. The same closeness in meaning transfer is evident in the following excerpt—

64. Raila: *Next time I will not **probably** be a candidate but then there will be another candidate and that candidate will suffer the same fate.*

This is rendered into Kiswahili translation as:

*Wakati mwingine **huenda** nisiwe mgombeaji lakini kutakuwepo na mgombeaji mwingine na mgombeaji huyo atakumbwa na matatizo sawa na haya.*

4.2.4 Approximators of Degree, Quantity Frequency and Time

Though not all approximators make things vague and imprecise, a majority of them do, particularly when used as hedging strategies critical for political messaging. Consequently, approximators are characteristically evident in political speeches and utterances made by presidential candidates and their running mates as shown in the excerpts given below. This is particularly noticeable where political speeches involve the citation of figures to emphasize varied claims presented by political speakers. One notable thing about information or assertions made in terms of figures is that, they are not easy to authenticate and as such they hardly make sense in their speeches, the candidates can hardly cite correct figures or the figures cited are impertinent and they are routinely meant to impress but not to state facts that are critical in the messaging overall.

The hedging devices constructed on the basis of approximation play diverse functions in political speeches such as making propositions to be less than absolute and imprecise. The candidates used phrases characteristically oscillating around *more*, thus hedging their messaging of quantity in terms that demonstrate indefiniteness and unquantifiability. In this sense, hedges constructed on the basis of approximation as used by the presidential candidates, are expressions of non-willingness to make a proposition forthright or precise, thus demonstrating a sense of non-commitment to the truth validity of their statements. Thus, while talking about maize production in the country, Uhuru predicates his responses on approximations: —

65. Uhuru: *Purely through supply and demand that is what it is because what we produce now is **about** 36 million bags of maize.*

Translated into Kiswahili as—

*Kabisa kwa kupitia utoaji na mahitaji hivyo ndivyo ilivyo kwa sababu tunachozalisha kwa sasa ni **kama** magunia milioni 36 ya mahindi.*

The same sense of approximation is noticeable in his response with respect to the 2007-2008 post-election violence: —

66. Uhuru: *The most serious of this violence was witnessed in 2007 post-election when **over** 1300 of Kenyans lost their lives and **over** 300,000 were forced to free their homes.*

This is rendered in Kiswahili as:

*Vurugu kali zilishuhudiwa baada ya uchaguzi wa 2007 ambapo **zaidi ya** Wakenya 1300 walipoteza maisha yao na wengine **zaidi ya** 300,000 wakafurushwa kutoka nyumbani mwao.*

It will be noted that the expression of degree is hedged within approximation phrases in the excerpts presented above. Overall, the approximations demonstrate that the speaker is neither sure of the amount of maize nor the number of bags of maize produced in the country. Similar sense of approximation is evident in respect of the post-election violence figures where the political messaging is in terms of *about* or *over*, thus making the assertions conditional and vague. Therefore, this hedging strategy as constructed within the approximation phraseology, typically functions as an expression of non-absoluteness, refusal to make assertions certain or claims precise. The hedges predicated on this phrasing format, also expresses lack of commitment to the truth validity of the political messages being conveyed. This is also seen in statements attributed to Raila Odinga when he says; *they say of* which distances him from the statement and shows that he is not sure of the amount in question as expressed in his statement while commenting on the teachers' payment row: —

67. Raila: *First, the issue of teachers alone **they say of** 30 billion Kenya shillings is actually wasted in government.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as—

*Kwanza suala la walimu pekee **wanasema** shilingi bilioni 30 ambazo kwa hakika zinatumiwa vibaya serikalini.*

The approximator, *they say of* is translated as *wanasema* which functions in the same way in Kiswahili as an expression of distance between the claim and the speaker. The other hedges of approximators used in the political speeches to express indetermination were; *almost, over, never, more or less, some, few* and *often*.

The hedging devices predicated on approximators of degree, quantity, frequency and time as used in the presidential political speeches, have ready and appropriate equivalences in Kiswahili making

it easy for meaning transfer from English to Kiswahili. The function of indetermination is still maintained in the translation and the authors express lack of precise information about the subject of discussion. This is evidenced in Kalonzo Musyoka's assertions on alleged manipulation of votes in 2017 general elections: —

68. Kalonzo: *We went on to score, believe it or not, **around** 5.8 million votes but was downgraded to 5.4 million,*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as;—

*Amini usiamini tulipata kura **karibu** milioni 5.8 lakini zikashushwa hadi milioni 5.4.*

The same sense of approximation is also evident in Ruto's reference to the opposition on the issue of land:—

69. Ruto: *Well, first I was really surprised today when I saw **some** of our competitors may be consistently talk about, ooh you know so and so has **so much** land...*

This renders the same approximation in Kiswahili without distortions as:

*Kwanza nilishangazwa sana leo nilipoona **baadhi** ya washindani wetu labda kwa mfululizo wakizungumza ooh wajua **fulani na fulani** ana ardhi kubwa sana.*

He further uses the approximator more in his answer on a television interview question on the reasons for teaming up with Uhuru for presidential election:—

*I mean it would have been much **more** convenient politically for me to work against Uhuru.*

This is translated as—

*Ninamaanisha ingenifaa **zaidi** kisiasa kwa mimi kumpinga Uhuru.*

From these sampled excerpts, it is evident that the hedging devices of approximators of degree, quantity, frequency and time are easily translatable into Kiswahili due to the availability of appropriate equivalents which are not clouded by similar terms with close meanings.

4.2.5 Introductory Phrases

Introductory phrases are another category of hedges which have a variety of contextual functions in communication. They are ordinarily a typical feature of political messaging, consequently

constituting a significant presence of hedging in political discourses. Additionally, introductory phrases constitute a strong hedging strategy, extensively used by the political candidates and their running mates in their speeches and political assertions. Generally, they expressed respective speaker's personal doubt or his direct involvement in the assertion or claim being made. Their usage in the presidential political speeches in Kenya during the general elections, strategically conveyed caution and acted as strategies of distancing the speakers from the validity of their statements. Moreover, they were strategically employed to enable the candidates to play it safe just in case the truth validity of their statements was to be challenged.

The introductory phrases used by presidential candidates were characterized by use of personal pronouns, notably *I/we* followed by verbs of cognition and performance, thus enabling them to express their personal views and involvement in an assertion, thereby affirming their hold on the subject matter under discussion. This is a messaging strategy intended to involve the audience in the assertions made, and also a strategy which expresses respect for the audiences' opinion and standpoints on the matter under deliberation as seen in the usage of the personal pronoun—*I* in Uhuru's answer to the question about the ICC case involving him and his running mate on first presidential debate in 2013:—

70. Uhuru: *So therefore, as far as **I am concerned**, there is a case in court and **I believe** this case will be heard, and **I think** this week, and the issue of integrity question will then **without a doubt**, be resolved.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as—

*Na kwa hivyo, na kwa **uhusika wangu**, kuna kesi mahakamani na **naamini** kesi hii itasikizwa na **ninafikiri** wiki hii na hapo suala la uadilifu bila shaka litatatuliwa.*

Likewise, his running mate William Ruto used the personal pronoun to state his personal stand on the way the voters would act during the general election in 2017:—

71. Ruto: ***I mean** really, **I think** people will make really informed choices.*

This is translated as —

*Kwa **hakika** ninamaanisha, **nafikiri** watu watafanya uamuzi wa busara.*

The use of the personal pronoun *I* with the verbs *believe*, *concerned* and *think*, is an affirmation of the speakers' sense of uncertainty and lack of clarity in their assertions, although highlighting their personal commitment to the subject under discussion.

The pronoun *we* is a subject verb referring to a group which includes the speaker who is making the statements or assertions. Wherever it is used with the performance enhancing verb *suggest* or *suppose*, it exhibits two communicative functions; that is, it subtly enables the speaker to encompass all those present into the conversation and as such makes them co-authors of the assertions expressed. By expressing himself in terms of *we* the speaker uses an attribute that recognizes others, he subtly admits that the claim asserted is shared with the others. It also signals audience solidarity with the speaker in the political conversation. The usage of pronoun *you* further shows a sign of recognition of the audience by involving audience participants in the conversation thus invoking their positive approval. This is evidenced in the sampled excerpts where Uhuru and Raila were making assertions on their commitment and believe in the Kenyan case, showing that they were part of the country:—

72. Uhuru: *We believe in Kenya and we believe in the spirit of that Kenya and that is the spirit in which we adopted our new constitution and stand for as Jubilee.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as—

Tuna imani kwa nchi ya Kenya na tunaamini msimamo wa Kenya hiyo na ni kwa msimamo huo ambapo tulipata katiba yetu mpya na kuishikilia kama chama cha Jubilee.

This is further seen in Raila's statement:—

73. Raila: *We in this country, this country is bigger than all of us, but at the same time, we must conclude this electoral cycle.*

This is translated as—

Sisi katika nchi hii, nchi hii ni kubwa kuliko sisi sote. Lakini lazima tuhitimisha uchaguzi huu.

In these excerpts, Uhuru and Raila use the introductory clause that is premised on the personal pronoun *we* and the cognition verbs, to emphasize and subtly acknowledge collaboration and collective responsibility as hallmarks of the Jubilee party and all Kenyans respectively. When this language use is seen in terms of hedging, it presents an ingenious political messaging strategy

which expresses the speaker's connectedness with his people. In terms of their translatability, the hedging devices predicated on *we* have their equivalent rendition in Kiswahili as *sisi* which marks the second person plural. Strategically, the use of *we* evokes inclusivity and that the speaker is speaking on behalf of others, a collective assertion. This makes the speaker not to take individual responsibility of the assertion on the subject under discussion.

When introductory phrases are used together with interjections in the presidential political speeches, they perform a distinct communication function of information confirmation and highlighting the point of discussion. This was more evident during TV interviews where the presidential candidate or their running mates sought to ascertain certain assertions and dispel any sense of doubt about the said assertions. In this sense, the lexical modal verb *I think* was used with the verb *mean* and the adverbs *really, honestly, surely, well* and *truly* as introductory phrases to reinforce given arguments. However, they also inadvertently demonstrated a sense of doubt about the truth validity of the same argument when seen from an outsider's point of view. They also functioned as statements of disapproval of the question or utterance to which the presidential candidate was responding.

The introductory *I think* is an expression of personal opinion which may be right or wrong. When qualified by the verb *mean* and adverbs *really, honestly* and *surely*, the communicative function shifts from expression of uncertainty to a show of dissatisfaction with the particular question raised. It is a strategy for avoiding to give a direct answer, implying that there is no certainty or that the truth cogency of the answer given cannot be vouched for. The translation of the introductory clause *I mean* which is rendered as *maanisha* in Kiswahili, introduces very intriguing scenarios. In this context the term is used to emphasize a given point or to draw the audience's attention to specific aspects of given political assertions as in excerpt;

74. Ruto: *I mean, it would be much more convenient politically for me to work against Uhuru Kenyatta and for him to work against me.*

This is rendered in Kiswahili as—

Ninamaanisha, ingekuwa inafaa kisiasa kumpinga Uhuru Kenyatta na yeye kunipinga.

However, it is not clear what meaning the target audience infers from *ninamaanisha*, consequently the statement as rendered in Kiswahili seems to suggest that the speaker *meant* something which is not accounted for in translation. This is because the hedge *I mean* does not necessarily mean — *ninamaanisha* in implied communication. The term carries a number of pragmatic functions which are outside the meaning of *ninamaanisha*. Thus, once the intended meaning of the hedging devices is not appropriately comprehended, the rendition of the internal coherence of the statement is very low and as such a misunderstanding of the translated message is bound to occur.

Such hedged renditions typically express indetermination, uncertainty and in subtle ways, politeness. This hedging strategy was extensively used by all the candidates. The use of a combination of lexical modal verbs, adverbs and interjections as introductory phrases acted as hedging devices to express politeness, to underpin uncertainty or express lack of appropriate language of expression given the uncertainty of the facts obtaining in a given situation, especially in interviews. Use of words like *well, yes, so, my friend, in fact* and *I know* in the statements as introductory phrases may seem insignificant but their pragmatic function was very crucial in this political messaging.

The introductory phrase predicated on the interjections *well*, when presented as a hedge, it pragmatically expresses indetermination or lack of information about the issue under discussion, it is very problematic to handle in translation into Kiswahili. In many instances of presidential political speeches, its meaning is usually considered insignificant and, therefore, tends to be omitted in the translation renditions. A critical interrogation of both the contextual and pragmatic meaning nuances of *well* would seem to suggest that, other than drawing attention, *well* is also a marker of hesitancy, which in a subtle way suggests meaning that is situationally perceptible. This situationally implied meaning is not easily recoverable in the translation, given that the hedging device is unfortunately seen as a nuisance or a redundancy in communication and thereby easily omitted in the translation. This is evidenced in this excerpt:—

75. Raila: *Well, Joe let me begin by saying that I believe that in this country there is enough land for each one's need but there is not enough land for each one's greed.*

This is rendered in Kiswahili as—

Joe wacha nianze kwa kusema kwamba naamini kuwa katika nchi hii kuna ardhi ya kutoshelesha kila mtu lakini hakuna ardhi ya kutoshelesha walafi.

It is evident that the *well* which is well embedded in the hedging device, has been omitted in the translation, yet pragmatically it marks hesitancy whose inclusion in the interpretation of the answer that Raila provides, underpins the totality of the message therein. Therefore, its omission in the translation deprives the audience the intentions of its presence in the statement. Thus, disregarding the purpose of its use in the source text denies the Kiswahili audience the extra-linguistic meaning carried by the hedging device. Often times, the hedging devices discernible in political speeches are not accidental. They are well executed to drive a certain political message and their omission in translation denies the target audience this contextual information. The use of this hedging strategy is in a number of ways largely spontaneous pointing to the fact that human beings do not always speak all that is in their mind, rather they incorporate cues which lead the recipient to decipher the meanings embedded in given presuppositions (Martin-Martin 2008:138). Equally, introductory phrases hedges like *I think, I know, as you all know, according to them* and *in fact* have been translated literally with appropriate meaning derived from the context. They were translated into Kiswahili as *nafikiria, najua, kama nyote mnavyojua* and *kulingana na wao*.

The introductory clause hedge *my friend* as often used by Ruto in his political speeches, presents variations in contextual meaning given that its skopos is indeterminate and fluid. In the literal translations available, the meaning of the hedge has been rendered as *rafiki yangu*, which is a reference to an acquaintance, a person of close relationship. It is also translatable as *msaidizi* or *mfadhili wangu*. These variations make it difficult to determine the correct meaning embedded in this hedging device. In pragmatic terms, this hedging device is strategic, it enables Ruto to convey his annoyance or disgust without appearing arrogant or offended. It is also a tactful way of expressing a sense of being assured, being in control and knowledgeable about the facts relating to the subject matter under discussion. Ruto doesn't use the term to mean a friend or an acquaintance in the conventional sense, he uses it to draw attention, to give his message an aura of authority. This is an innovative hedging strategy which curiously is untranslatable in Kiswahili, the supposed equivalents *rafiki yangu, mfadhili* or *msaidizi* (TUKI, 2006) do not in any way insinuate calling attention or giving an aura of authority. It can only be speculated that once rendered as *rafiki yangu* target audiences can infer appropriate meaning to the hedging device in terms of its contextual circumstances. This is exhibited in the following question and answer;

76. Mohammed: *The electoral commission says 33% turn out you say 7.7 million people voted for Jubilee. The numbers don't add up there, right?*
77. Ruto: ***My friend**, your figure of 33% did not come from Electoral Commission. I have been following this process keenly because I am an interested party.*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as:

***Rafiki yangu**, tarakimu yako ya asilimia thelathini na tatu (33%) haikutokana na Tume ya Uchaguzi. Nimekuwa nikifuatilia kwa makini mchakato huu kwa kuwa mimi ni mhusika.*

It is evident here that ***my friend*** as used in English and ***rafiki yangu*** in Kiswahili, do not convey the same contextual meaning. Whereas ***my friend*** in English evidently draws attention, it is not clear what ***rafiki yangu*** in Kiswahili conveys.

Other introductory phrases were translatable literally without loss of meaning, although the implied contextual meaning could not be transferred noticeably into Kiswahili, a fact which is attributable to the polygrammatic functions of the hedging device which was only deducible through inference from the context of usage as revealed in these excerpts: —

78. Ruto: ***In fact**, it is to the contrary, **I think** for the first time in a long while, Kenyans are coming together.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as;

***Kwa hakika**, ni kinyume, **nafikiri** kwa mara ya kwanza kwa kipindi kirefu, Wakenya wanaanza kuungana.*

79. Raila: ***Yes, I am saying** that there was confrontation that was unnecessary.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as;

***Naam, nasema kwamba** kulikuwa na makabiliano ambayo hayakuhitajika.*

80. Ruto: ***To the best of my knowledge** and **on the advice of my attorneys**, it is very clear that we haven't reached any of the conditionality that were attached to our trial.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as;

Kwa uelewa wangu mkubwa, na kwa ushauri wa mawakili wangu, ni dhahiri kwamba hatujafikia hata sharti moja miongoni mwa yale yaliyoambatanishwa na kesi hii.

In this excerpt, Raila's use of the introductory phrase *yes, I am saying*, does not reflect his acceptance of occurrence of confrontations which he had organized or called for. This answer makes him downplay the seriousness of these confrontations thus, sitting on the fence as far as acknowledging his responsibility was concerned. The translation into Kiswahili does not convey the same message which shows that he does not fully take responsibility for his actions, although he does not deny it either. To him, it might not have been a bad thing to have this confrontation according to the hedging devices used. These pragmatic functions have not been transferred into the target language.

Using the same category of hedging device, Ruto emphasized his claim by use of the introductory phrase *in fact*, but again he down-stepped it with the phrase *I think*, which expresses his doubt on the same claim. Ordinarily, this is translatable into Kiswahili as; *hakika*. Once this is embedded in a hedging device, it makes the audience to accept the truth of the statement. However, the infusion of the phrase *I think* in the same assertion, translated as *nafikiri*, makes the statement doubtful at the same time. This demonstrates how political messaging uses this kind of hedged messaging to confuse their audiences. This is further illustrated in the Ruto's statement above where he uses the phrase; *to the best of my knowledge* an indication of strong conviction to his assertion. However, he down-steps this assertion by introducing the phrase, *on the advice of my attorneys*. The phrases are translated literally into Kiswahili giving the same implied meaning. The messaging strategy employed is to conceal the fact that the speaker's knowledge is based on the lawyers' advice, thus he does not own it and cannot verify its applicability. The usage of the introductory clause is thus a hedging strategy in presidential political speeches whose contextual meaning needs to be understood in order to render it appropriately into Kiswahili.

4.2.6 If-Clause Hedges

In the presidential political speeches sampled for this study, the *If-clause*, which is typically part of conditional sentences hence conditional assertions, was utilized majorly to express a possibility of fulfillment of a condition. As a conditional part of the sentence, its functions as such are analyzable in different ways. As a zero-conditional sentence, it expresses a general truth in

situations where an action causes another action. It as such functions as means of expressing universal truth as opposed to a specific situation of an occurrence of an action as realized in this excerpt: —

81. Kalonzo: *If you voted for the right people like NASA, Kenya would be free of corruption.*

This is rendered in Kiswahili as;

Iwapo mngepigia kura watu wanaofaa kama NASA, hakungekuwa na ufisadi Kenya.

When used in the first conditional sentence, the **if-clause** expresses a situation of an action whose outcome is a likelihood or a possibility in future although that likelihood is not guaranteed. The **if-clause** was widely used by presidential candidates to give promises whose fulfilment was not guaranteed. This is a hedging strategy which ensured that whichever way the elections outcome went, the candidate would not be held responsible for non fulfilment or fulfilment of these promises as evidenced in this excerpt: —

82. Ruto: *We will have a dialogue on that issue and if we form the next government, we will ensure the devolution money is increased substantially if the economy improves.*

This is translated as —

Tutakuwa na mdahalo kuhusu suala hilo na iwapo tutaunda serikali ijayo tutahakikisha pesa za ugatuzi zimeongezwa kwa kiwango kikubwa ikiwa uchumi utaimairika.

In the second conditional sentence, the **if-clause** is used to express outcomes which are unrealistic and are unlikely to occur in future as indicated in this excerpt where Kalonzo promises free education: —

83. Kalonzo: *If NASA coalition was elected and form the government, education in Kenya would be absolutely free from primary to secondary school.*

Translates into Kiswahili as —

Iwapo muungano wa NASA ungechaguliwa kuunda serikali, elimu nchini Kenya ingekuwa bila malipo yoyote kuanzia shule za msingi hadi za sekondari.

Although the action sounds likely to occur due to the hedging strategy employed, this is not an absolute possibility because the government would only pay for some aspects of education such as tuition fee, payment of teachers and the recurrent expenditures for the running of schools, leaving the rest of the costs to the parents like purchases of uniforms, development fee, boarding, transport and food expenses, among others. Therefore, it is not possible to have an absolute free education where the parent doesn't incur any expense. This type of *if-clause* was widely used by the presidential candidates as a strategy to give attractive and appealing promises that are unlikely to be fulfilled, its overriding function is simply to persuade targeted audience to vote in a certain direction.

In some of speeches sampled for this study, the use of the *if-clause* in conditional sentences, was deployed to express missed opportunities in the previous governments where the fulfillment of such promises would have been possible if certain actions would have been taken. The expression of this conditionality in some of these political speeches, the *if-clause* expressed lamentation and complaint directed at the opponents who were in the government previously and who failed to fulfil the promises they made. This is what is expressed in this excerpt where Kalonzo Musyoka was lamenting that, by failing to elect the NASA coalition, there was rampant corruption in the country yet the Jubilee Government had promised to eradicate it but totally failed: —

84. Kalonzo: *If you voted for the right people like NASA, Kenya would be free of corruption.*

This is translated as into Kiswahili as—

Iwapo mlipigia kura watu wanaofaa kama NASA, hakungekuwa na ufiisadi Kenya.

Likewise, Uhuru laments about constant demonstrations which were destabilizing the peace in the country: —

85. Uhuru: *If this Kitendawili man did not call for mass action, Kenya would be very peaceful after elections.*

Translated into Kiswahili as—

Iwapo huyu mtu wa kitendawili hakuitisha maandamano ya umma, Kenya ingekuwa na amani baada ya uchaguzi.

In instances where the *if-clause* was used as a conjunction in the speeches sampled, its deployment as a hedging device presented varied meanings depending on the prevailing context. This is because, typically *if-clause* as a conjunction connotes such ideas as; *on the assumption that, on condition that* or as a replacement of the word *whether*. This is translatable into Kiswahili by a variety of different terms such as; *ikiwa, iwapo* and *kama*. It would also mean *laiti*, which is an expression of a wish or lamentation of a non-fulfilled condition. Furthermore, when used after the word *even* its translation turns out as, *hata kama, hata ingawa* and *ijapokuwa*. When it appears before the conjunction *as*, it typically tends to be rendered as *kana kwamba* (TUKI, 2006). In reference to these translations of the *if-clause* into Kiswahili, it is deducible that there are variations in the rendition of its meaning.

When translated as a single word, the *if-clause* equivalence in Kiswahili is *iwapo, ikiwa, kama*, all of which present a general meaning which does not account for the pragmatic meaning it carries as a hedging device in the speeches under review. The generalization of meaning is applied across without the consideration of contextual meaning nuances arising from its hedging functions in the speeches. Given that there are many closely related equivalent terms in Kiswahili available for the translation of this hedging device, the obvious temptation is to use a popular meaning, which in most cases shuts out the realization of contextual meaning in the target language. The general term used is *iwapo* in place of other implied meanings. In an extended TV interview focusing on the candidates' willingness to accept the outcome of the elections, the presidential candidates gave conditional answers predicated on the *if-clause* as revealed in the following extracts; —

86. Ruto: *You know, and if ICC is going to be one of the issues that they put on their score card, so be it.*

This was rendered into Kiswahili as—

Wajua, na hata iwapo ICC itakuwa ni mojawapo wa masuala ambayo wataweka kwa kadi yao ya matokeo, basi na iwe hivyo.

Ruto further responds to questions with conditional answers,

87. Ruto: *We would be prepared if we are, if the people of Kenya at the ballot decide that our competitors are better than us.*

This was also rendered into Kiswahili as—

Tutakuwa tayari iwapo tutashindwa, iwapo Wakenya katika debe wataamua wapinzani wetu ni bora kutuliko.

Uhuru does the same: —

88. Uhuru: *If we as Kenyans we have to build a kind of a society that we want our children to inherit then it must come as a way of life—*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as—

Iwapo sisi kama Wakenya tutahitajika kujenga aina fulani ya jamii ambayo watoto wetu watarithi, basi ni sharti iwe kama mtindo wa maisha.

It is the same for Raila: —

89. Raila: *If we are defeated, we will accept the defeat and if there are complains we will go to court;*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as—

Iwapo tutashindwa, tutakubali kushindwa na ikiwa kutakuwa na malalamiko, tutakwenda mahakamani.

It is evident from the excerpts provided that, the presidential candidates made assertions, claims and responded to questions using the *If-clause*. This was obviously used as a hedging device and a communication strategy deployed to express uncertainty, doubt and tentativeness on the assertions made. This is an effective communication strategy that politicians seeking positions used to emphasize tentative conditionalities anticipated in the fulfilment of some future action. The multiple equivalences in Kiswahili complicate translation of contextual meaning that led the translator to settle on a single general equivalence that does not account for the contextual meaning in the speeches.

4.2.7 Compound Hedges

The only compound hedging devices used in the sampled presidential political speeches were the double hedges whose functions and translatability are discussed here below.

4.2.7.1 Double Hedges

The use of compound hedges in political communication was mainly evident in utterances predicated on double hedges. This was majorly in the use of modal auxiliary verbs with the lexical verb reinforcing the modal verb to further soften the statement. This is best illustrated in the following excerpt where Ruto asserts the electability of the Jubilee candidates: —

90. Ruto: ***Really, I mean and if** all this is about democracy, **I mean, I think** they will listen to the voice of millions of Kenyans who will have said yes to Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto have cases but we believe they are the right people in a Jubilee year to run a Jubilee government.*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as—

***Hakika, ninamaanisha na iwapo** hii ni kwa ajili ya demokrasia, **naamini, nafikiri** watasikiza sauti za mamilioni ya Wakenya ambao watakuwa wamesema **naam**, Uhuru Kenyatta na William Ruto wana kesi lakini tunaamini ndio watu wanaofaa katika mwaka wa Jubilee kuendesha serikali ya Jubilee.*

In other instances, the candidates used the verbs of cognition with *if clause* where the *if clause* reinforced the verb of cognition as an expression of tentativeness as seen in the following excerpt by Ruto's answer to a question on how him and Uhuru would run the government when elected yet they had cases at the ICC: —

91. Ruto: ***I am sure that you know that** court is run by human beings and **I guess** they will be reasonable to understand that once we are elected as the Jubilee coalition they will have to live with that fact.*

His reaction is translated into Kiswahili as—

***Nina hakika kuwa wajua kwamba** mahakama hiyo inaendeshwa na binadamu na **nadhani** watakuwa wangwana na kuelewa kwamba, pindi tutakapochaguliwa kama muungano wa Jubilee itabidi wakubaline na ukweli huo.*

Interestingly, there is an extensive usage of compound hedges framed on personal pronouns *I/we* and verbs of cognition to reinforce and express personal commitment to given assertions or claims as evidenced in the following excerpt drawn from Uhuru's speech to the Jubilee elected leaders after nullification of 2017 presidential election in 2017: —

92. Uhuru: *Because **we do believe, if we do it**, then it means that the agendas and the purpose that we have are for pushing forward our party.*

This excerpt was translated into Kiswahili as—

*Kwa sababu **tunaamini, iwapo tutafanya hili, basi ina maana kwamba ajenda na lengo tulilonaldo ni kusukuma mbele chama chetu.***

Functionally, this hedging device worked to weaken the probability of action or, in other instances, it was deployed to tactfully strengthen an assertion. It was not always that the presidential candidates were imprecise in their assertions, this is because there were certain situations in which political assertions are factual and the primary reason for presenting precise information and facts is usually intended to convince targeted audiences. Presentation of factual information is usually predicated on the use of words of persuasion or intensifiers and, therefore, the use of such words such as **surely, no doubt, honestly, absolutely**, depict and express a higher degree of certainty, precision and total commitment to assertions and claims. This is illustrated in the following excerpts where Ruto, in a TV interview, was answering questions concerning his electability as Deputy President of Kenya;

93. Ruto: **Honestly, surely, I mean** who represents status quo, **surely**, Henry Kosgei, I sang for him when I was in school.

This was rendered into Kiswahili as;

***Cha kuaminika, hakika ninamaanisha** ni nani anayewakilisha ukawaida uliokuwepo, hakika nilimwambia Henry Kosgei nikiwa shuleni.*

94. Ruto: **I mean really, I think people will** make really informed choices.

Translated into Kiswahili as—

***Hakika ninamaanisha, nafikiri** watu kwa hakika watafanya uamuzi wa busara.*

95. Ruto: **We have absolutely** no intention with interfering with the ICC process, **absolutely none.**

This is rendered into Kiswahili as—

***Kabisa** hatuna dhamira ya kuhitilafiana na mchakato wa ICC, **kabisa** hatuna.*

96. Ruto: **I have no doubt** in my mind that the Jubilee coalition under the leadership of my friend Uhuru Kenyatta, we **will** deliver every pledge and discharge every promise.

Translate into Kiswahili as—

Sina wasiwasi akilini mwangu kwamba muungano wa Jubilee chini ya uongozi wa Rafiki yangu Uhuru Kenyatta, tutatimiza kila mojawapo wa ahadi zetu.

Compound hedges which were discernible in the political speeches sampled, were largely double hedges, the same were translatable into Kiswahili in different ways. Double hedges characteristically emphasized the statements made by the presidential candidates. The translation of these compound hedges was rendered the same way as the single hedging devices, the meaning transferred was considered appropriate in their contexts of use.

4.2.8 Hedges Framed as Questions

The question type hedges were regularly used in the presidential political speeches sampled, however, in terms of their classification, they clearly fall outside the Salager-Meyers taxonomy of hedges. Question type hedges were strategically deployed to convey covert political messages considered significant and crucial in engaging with targeted audiences. In certain subtle ways, some of the questions were strategic cues for the identification of intended answers while others were intended for diversion of what was considered certain or obvious and as such did not call for immediate or any responses at all. This, therefore, was a hedging strategy deployed to ensure sustained audience engagement in which it is unwittingly tied to the political assertions, such as giving a false sense of shared opinions, yet in strategic terms this type of political messaging clearly distances the speakers from the truth validity of their assertions. Question type hedges shield the speaker from any plausible rejection or attack arising from the assertions made. Moreover, question type hedges acted as transmitters of deeper contextualized messages which though not explicit were of great concern for the speaker. The messaging and conveyancing of information in the form of a question, may be an expression of anger, disappointment or perceived betrayal. This did not need to be made overt in the given assertions and as such, they necessitated deeper analysis in order to discern the intended communication cues as well as the intended meaning. The following excerpts demonstrate this hedging strategy as structured in the form of rhetorical questions which do not require immediate or any response at all. These questions are translated literally into Kiswahili although the message delivered is clear as in the source text with the pragmatic meaning remaining implicit;

97. Raila: *Is this really an election? Is this how election should be held in Africa? Why should Africa be judged by lower standards compared to the rest of the world?*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as—

*Je huu ni uchaguzi kweli? Je hivi ndivyo uchaguzi unapaswa kuandaliwa Afrika?
Kwa nini Afrika itathminiwe kwa viwango vya chini ikilinganishwa na kwingineko
ulimwenguni?*

The tone of the excerpt is of an angry Raila who is frustrated by the election process and seems to have nothing to do about it. This pragmatic meaning does not come out explicitly in the assertion and as such is transferred as it is into Kiswahili, leaving the audience to deduce the exact meaning which is supposed to portray betrayal and as such seeks to attract sympathy from the audience. This is further demonstrated in Uhuru's speech after nullification of presidential elections by the Supreme Court where the tone or the utterance also portrays anger and frustration that calls the attention of the audience for sympathy and out of this the action he would propose would be acted upon the sympathy.

98. Uhuru: *When we finish, we will revisit this thing; every time we do things the judiciary puts an injunction; just who do you think elected you?*

This is translated into Kiswahili as—

*Tukimaliza, tutalirejelea jambo hili; kila wakati tukifanya jambo idara ya
mahakama huweka vikwazo; kwani unafikiria ulichaguliwa na nani?*

Likewise, Ruto uses this hedging device as a means of expressing caution on the part of the journalist, Linda Ogutu, who was interviewing him on his viability for election as a Deputy President of Kenya while he still had ICC cases to handle. His tone was of an angry person, thus cautioning the journalist to ask questions whose answers would build and not to destroy him.

99. Ruto: *So, what are you saying?*

Translated as;

Kwa hivyo unasema nini?

In situations where the question framed hedges were not outright rhetorical, their usage was strategic, majorly to point at particular issues, urging targeted audiences to specific actions or responses. The audience was expected to give spontaneous response in terms of disapproval or approval of the issue being asserted. This was evidenced in the political rallies where the

presidential candidates and their running mates asked rhetorical questions with an already predetermined responses of affirmation. If the audience answered in affirmative as expected, and in reference to the following excerpt;

100. Raila: *When a horn blasts, there is a problem isn't it?*

This is translated into Kiswahili as—

Mbiu ya mgambo ikilia kuna tatizo, sivyo?

This would be taken to mean that, Raila would have gotten an approval from the audience to deal with the problem he was referring to in his assertion. This would give him confidence to deal with the problem since the audience is seen to be with him. The translations of these question type hedges were forthright but the implicit meaning remains unexpounded.

4.2.9 Hedges Framed as Interjections

Derived from a Latin word '*inter iacere*', interjections refer to an act of unexpected insertion of some words in between a conversation known as 'thrown between'. The Latin word '*inter*' '*iacere*' means 'between' and 'throw' respectively. These are words which do not get into syntactic relation and their appearance emanates from expressions of pain, surprise or non-anticipated feeling by participants of a conversation (Jovanovic, 2004:18). Some are full words while others are sounds which express certain feelings when a person is delivering a speech or is engaged in a discussion. Interjections functioning as hedging devices were routinely used at the beginning of sentences or in between sentences. This hedging device was frequently used and deployed to express doubt or uncertainty with regard to statements or assertions which were about to be made as evidenced in the following excerpt: —

101. Raila: *Well, there is that claim as my colleagues have said, that Migingo is not in Kenya.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as—

Naam, kuna dai kama vile wenzangu wamesema kuwa kisiwa cha Migingo hakiko Kenya.

Translation of hedges framed as interjections into Kiswahili from the presidential political speeches were rendered largely through literal translation. However, this strategy wasn't always effective because there were omissions of interjections in the target text, indicating that source text meanings were not wholly transferred. Omission of an interjection meant that some information was lost and target audiences would not access that vital pragmatic meaning in the statement. This is illustrated in the following excerpt: —

102. Ruto: *My friends we may not be learned but we are not stupid.*

Translated into Kiswahili as—

Huenda tukawa hatuna uelewa wa masuala ya sheria lakini sisi si wajinga.

The translator did not translate the interjection hedge framed as *my friend*. Perhaps this arose from the fact that the translator considered it insignificant, yet in terms of its original meaning and political messaging, its impact cannot be underrated. This expression, *my friend* which is usually associated with William Ruto in his political speeches, has pragmatic functional importance given that it enables him to express dissatisfaction, and in this particular instance, it is a critical indictment of the Supreme Court Judges who nullified the presidential election results. The omission of such an expression essentially means lessening the impact of Ruto's response to the question raised. Although the inter and intra coherence is maintained, the overall political messaging impact of the hedging strategy in expressing dissatisfaction was dulled.

Similarly, it was important to analyze the translation of interjection hedge framed within the expression *well*. This expression was typically rendered as *naam* in Kiswahili, which is basically a domestication strategy since in this context the expression *well* does not have any significant meaning other than calling for attention or providing a pause in a conversation. This was a revelation that the translator realized the importance of the hedging device and as such searched for an accommodating term instead of omitting it. In the following excerpt the implied meaning presented by use of the interjection *well* is an indication that Uhuru Kenyatta, as one of the presidential candidates, was not well prepared to answer the question asked by the interviewer on what he meant about division of votes: —

103. Uhuru: *Well, what I am saying is that if we understand and we move in the same platform, having the necessary number in Parliament to implement our agenda is going to make a difference.*

Translated in Kiswahili as—

Ninachokisema ni kwamba tukielewa na kuelekea kwa jukwaa moja, tukiwa na idadi stahilifu katika Bunge kutekeleza ajenda yetu, italeta tofauti.

He started the statement with a hedging device *well*, an advance preparation to the listener that, whatever was about to be said could be doubtful, unclear, or not certain. This pragmatic meaning which is an extra offer of information in the assertion, was missed out in the translation due to omission of the hedging device framed on this interjection.

Other interjections found in the presidential political speeches under review were basically sounds with no specific lexical meaning but carried a significant meaning nuances in the speeches sampled, nonetheless. These were sounds like *eeeeh*, *mmmmm*, *aaaaah*, and *oooh* which enriched the communicative aura of the speaker, thus enhancing the implied meaning, something that was referred to as hesitancy in early sections of this debate. Their functioning as hedging devices suggests indetermination, uncertainty, acceptance of an assertion or pause in preparation to answer a question asked. These would be adopted into the target language due to the fact they are not lexical words but they convey hushed meanings all the same. Often, these words were omitted in the translations, thus denying the target audience the hushed meanings discernible in the source text. The following excerpts illustrate the translations of hedges framed as interjections;

104. Ruto: *Section 73 of the constitution on plain reading, this is the famous chapter 6, that clearly stipulates that ammmm eeeeeh issues with people who eeeeh have integrity issues should either be subjected to eeeeh the test or to free and fair democratic election.*

All these non-lexical items are omitted in the rendition of this response to Kiswahili, ending in—

Sehemu ya 73 ya Katiba yetu na kwa kusoma tu, hii ndiyo sura ya Sita maarufu na inayoweka wazi kuwa masuala ya watu ambao wana matatizo ya uadilifu wanapswa kuwekwa kwa tathmimi au kwa uchaguzi wazi, haki na wa kidemokrasia.

This is similarly evidenced in the next excerpt—

105. Ruto: *We are not asking to be given these things and we are prepared to face the people in the ballot and that is in the Constitution and **eeeh eeemmm** these qualifications and disqualifications of one to be able to run for president and indeed any other offices are provided for in the constitution.*

The Kiswahili translation reads—

Hatuombi kupewa vitu hivi na tuko tayari kukabiliana na watu kwa debe na hiyo yamo kwa Katiba na mahitaji haya ya kufaulu au kutofaulu kwa mtu kugombea Urais na ofisi zinginezo kwa hakika yamo kwa Katiba.

In the Kiswahili rendition, these interjections are omitted in the two excerpts. The omission thus deprives the target audience the implied meaning that the hedges carry in the source text.

Uhuru's response, though not predicated on these non-lexical items, is treated the same way in translation: —

106. Uhuru: ***Well**, what I am saying is that if we understand and we move in the same platform, we saw a situation where for example, you have a number of candidates in a particular constituency all saying they support the same presidential candidate but yet they are on different platforms, but I said if we really want to implement the agenda that we have in our new constitution; with the powers that the parliament has been given having the necessary number in parliament to implement our agenda it is going to make a difference.*

The hedged expression predicated on **well** in this excerpt is omitted in the translation into Kiswahili—

Ninachosema ni kwamba, tukielewa na tuende kwa jukwaa moja, tuliona kwa mfano kuna wagombezi wa eneo Bunge fulani wote wakisema wanamuunga mkono mgombea Urais mmoja lakini wako kwa jukwaa tofauti, lakini nikasema tunataka kutekeleza ajenda kwamba tuna Katiba mpya; kwa nguvu zile Bunge imepewa, kuwa na idadi hitajika kwa Bunge ili kutekeleza ajenda yetu italetatafauti.

4.3 Nonvisible Hedges and Political Messaging in Kenya

Nonvisible hedges, in this discussion, are defined as some kind of code that is perceivable in given contexts, especially contexts of political discourses. Although presidential candidates and their running mates used a wide range of hedging devices in their political speeches delivered on television and radio interviews, formal and social gatherings such as funerals, religious congregations or weddings, this type of hedging device as deployed, varied from context to

context. However, in virtually all political speeches where hedging was discernible, there was always hidden and coded political messaging requiring that the audience processes such messaging so as to decipher the hushed or covert meanings being conveyed. Even in situations where pointed questions were not answered, the speakers' facial expressions as well as their body language said a lot, thus making certain answers rather obvious although not transcribable in words. Much of such hedging strategy clearly flouted the Gricean maxims of communication, consequently leading to information hedging in situations where such information should have been delivered in plainspoken manner.

Overall, it was observed that many of the hedging devices and strategies discernible in political speeches in Kenya, are not easily amenable to any of the hedging categories as outlined in the Salager-Meyer's (ibid) taxonomy of hedges. Consequently, given that there is a discernible category of invisible hedges in Kenya's presidential political speeches which is not captured in lexical words, phrases or clauses, it is reasonable to argue that there is a category of hedging that is invisible yet perceivable given the dynamics cited above. This was quite discernible during interviews and public rallies where political pronouncements were made. The recognition and discussion about invisible hedging strategies was made possible through the flouting of Gricean maxims of communication in terms of information compression, generalization, topic shift and categorical refusal to give information as asked.

4.3.1 Nonvisible Hedges Framed on Maxim of Quantity

One discernible characteristic that was ubiquitous in the presidential candidates and their running mates' speeches was a constant flouting of the maxim of quantity, notably in terms of availing of too much information than was actually needed or giving too scanty information than the situation required. The flouting of the maxim of quantity was strategic political messaging. This was typically exhibited in terms of topic generalization, a strategy which gave the political speakers leeway to talk about an issue in broad terms leaving out specific information considered more beneficial both in terms of the understanding of the subject and the material benefits accruing to the targeted audience. In other instances, the flouting of the maxim of quantity was manifested in terms of rendition of scanty and imprecise information on the topic under discussion. This usually arose either from the speakers' lack of knowledge on the topical issue or from a deliberate strategy of information concealing. This was most noticeable in interviews where the flouting of the maxim

of quantity was a strategy of evading specific questions, slanting questions towards certain preferred ends or simply avoidance of giving exact and direct answers or information pertaining to questions raised. It was further deployed as a means of face protection and avoidance of rejection by the audience. The excerpts of a conversation presented here below attests that this strategy was widely used by the presidential candidates in their speeches in time under review. In an interview focusing on the ICC case, Ruto was asked this question;

107. Linda Ogutu: *Are you in a way Mr. Ruto suggesting if at all you are elected and Uhuru Kenyatta is elected as well, you would actually go to the ICC and tell them look we have a country to run we cannot do these with all these cases forth and back can we defer this?*

Ruto's response does not directly address the question, it flouts the maxim of quantity;

108. Ruto: *There will be a discussion on whether to proceed with cases and we have no problem with that. You know we will attend court so long as we create a timetable that will allow us to attend court and at the same time to run the business of this country.*

This is rendered in Kiswahili as;

Kutakuwa na majadiliano ya iwapo tuendeleo na kesi na hatuna tatizo na hilo. Unajua tutahudhuria mahakama ikiwa tu tumeandaa ratiba itakayotuwezesha kuhudhuria mahakama na wakati huohuo kuendesha biashara ya nchi hii.

In this excerpt, the question asked sought to know whether Ruto would defer the case at The Hague. This was a leading question anticipating a direct answer, yes or no. Contrary to that expectation, the answer given tilts towards the need for discussions, a subtle and tactful strategy of evading the direct and precise answer sought. The circular discussion about the possibility of creating a timetable to run the country and at the same time attend to the case at The Hague, is all strategy of clouding the issues with unnecessary extra information. This answer does not in any way intimate any possibility of deferment yet he did not rule out its possibility. In terms of political messaging, the whole answer is strategically an implicature presented invisibly in terms of the maxim of quantity given that the information given does not respond to the question at hand though related to the topic of discussion.

The translation of the hedge was quite intriguing because it allowed its rendition to be explanatory. Such explanatory translations availed information that was more than what was asked, the overall

translation product is thus based on inference. In the above conversation, Ruto would have simply stated that they would attend the court case in The Hague whenever required thus, translatable as; —*Tutahudhuria mahakama ya Hague tuhitajikanapo*. The rest of the information included in the translation was as provided in the source text, was not necessary, nevertheless it was an important aspect of communication. It arises out of the fact that the translator transferred more information than necessary, a faithful rendition motivated by the need to achieve optimum communication. The translation into Kiswahili is literal since the information given is straight forward but the hedging element is conceivable by understanding the context in which the answer was given.

Similar flouting of the maxim of quantity is evidenced in response to a question asked by in a television interview;

109. Mohammed Adow: *Are you ready to dialogue with your opponent?*

Ruto responds thus;

110. Ruto: *Kenya is a very open society. Dialogue is a continuous process in Kenya. What we must however be careful about is something called dialogue that is aimed at scuttling the constitution of our country.*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as; —

Kenya ni jamii wazi mno. Mazungumzo ni mchakato endelevu nchini Kenya. Kile ambacho hata hivyo tungetaka kujitahadhari ni mazungumzo yanayonuiwa kusambaratisha katiba ya nchi yetu.

In this discussion, Ruto does not want to commit himself to say if he was for the dialogue between Raila Odinga and Jubilee Government. He gives information that is not directly related to the dialogue. The translation does not make the statement's meaning forthright either.

In another interview, **Uhuru Kenyatta** was non-committal to a question asked on the issue of land;

111. Ageyo: *Mr. Kenyatta do you own or at least your family at least own half of Kenya and what do you have to say on what Miss Karua has just talked about?*

Uhuru's response is typically hedged in terms of flouting the maxim of quantity, he responds thus;

—

112. Uhuru: *I think I will begin by saying I have been very keen for my honorable sister here to take me to that land because maybe I can begin doing something about it. First and for most, this issue of land is a very emotive issue in Kenya. And unfortunately, the manner in which it has been handled has not been professional or a manner that is really seeking to find solution.*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as; —

Nafikiria nitaanza kwa kusema nimekuwa makini sana kwa dadangu mheshimiwa kama atanipeleka kwa shamba hilo kwa sababu labda ninaweza kuanza kufanya kitu kulihusu. Kwanza kabisa suala hili ni la kuamsha hisia kwa Wakenya. Na jambo la kushikitisha ni jinsi ambayo limeshughulikiwa ikiwa sio kwa kitaalamu au kwa namna ya kutafuta suluhu.

Pressed further to give the exact acreage of land owned by his family, Uhuru escalates the flouting of the maxim of quantity by saying; —

113. Uhuru: *My family and myself own land. And I personally own land. And we consider land as factor of production. We have not in any place acquired any land illegally except through willing buyer willing seller and to use it as means of production to boost our own economy.*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as; —

Sisi kama familia tunamiliki ardhi na mimi binafsi namiliki ardhi. Na tunaichukulia kuwa nyenzo ya uzalishaji. Hatujawahi kwa njia yoyote ile na mahali popote pale kujipatia ardhi kinyume cha sheria isipokuwa kwa mfumo wa mnunuzi na muuzaji wa hiari na kuitumia kwa ajili ya uzalishaji ili kupiga jeki uchumi wetu.

The explanatory translation in this answer is as a result of offering of extra information that is not needed directly transferred from the source text. The translation ought to have been—*Sisi kama familia tunamiliki ardhi, na mimi binafsi namiliki ardhi.* The rest of the statement was not required but, as a hedging strategy, used to tactfully evade the mention of the exact size of land he and his family owns. This had to be translated because this extra information is what was purposefully in the source text. Further, contravention of the maxim of quantity is discernible where Uhuru Kenyatta does not provide direct answers to the question asked. Instead, he engages in circular rendition of generalized information which does not speak to the question. Whereas the questioner anticipated an answer that proffers a specific figure or a yes or no answer, Kenyatta tactfully evades the question, with no personal commitment and inadvertently renders an implied confirmation of the allegation in the question. Though the answer is circular, the implied meaning is discernible

nevertheless and this is made possible because of the flouting of the maxim of quantity is used here as a hedging strategy. The literal translation offers the same messaging style to the target audience.

In another interview involving another presidential candidate, the flouting of the maxim of quantity is discernible yet again;

114. Julie: *Let me ask this, as the Prime Minister for the past few years, why have you not already started to have this?*

115. Raila: *Because there has been resistance from the big boys as you know...*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as—

Kwa sababu kumekuwapo na upinzani kutoka kwa wavulana wakubwa kama unavyojua.

116. Julie: *Who are the big boys?*

Translated into Kiswahili as—*Je wavulana wakubwa ni nani?*

117. Raila: *The big boys are known, the big boys in the insurance companies.*

Rendered into Kiswahili as—

Wavulana wakubwa wanajulikana, wakubwa katika makampuni ya bima.

Ideally, the conversation above illustrates the flouting of the invisible maxim of quantity. This infringement inevitably turns out as a hedge where Raila gives scanty and imprecise information which he does not elaborate, making the audience wonder who the big boys are in this context. The flouting of the maxim quantity is in this context, deployed as a discreet hedging strategy which enables the speaker to evade giving direct answers as well as save the candidate's face. The answer as provided by Raila is an overt expression non-commitment to the truth validity of his answers. It is also a tactic for saving face should it be revealed that the information was wrong since there was no mention of any particular person. Possibly he actually didn't have that exact information about the big boys or he deliberately avoided naming them. The information given is scanty yet it is critical in terms of political messaging, that answering a question while at the same time shielding some political truth.

Though the translation does not make this information any clearer in Kiswahili, that is to be expected, it is hedged. The translated text did not account for the meaning of the expression **big boys** and what it stands for in reference to impunity as stated by Raila. **Big boys** is a pseudo name that has a deeper political meaning referring to one who makes decisions, the untouchables in the company's management or the corrupt ones. The expression has an implied meaning that required to be translated appropriately for the audience to understand that the big boys are not the *wavulana wakubwa* as translated in Kiswahili. The appropriate meaning was not transferred into Kiswahili making the statement remain vague as it were in the original status.

It will be recalled that the maxim of quantity has to do with over expression—the provision of more information than is necessary or provision of scanty information. In the following debate, the use of scanty information, understood as strategic hedging for political messaging, is explored in tandem with its translatability into Kiswahili. This means that, translation into Kiswahili of hedges framed on the maxim of quantity, can only render as much information as contained in the hedge and when the information is scanty, the translation will render into Kiswahili the same scanty message. This is revealed in the following excerpt where **Ruto** does not give expected information on what was to be revisited relating to the Judiciary's nullification of presidential election;

118. Ruto: *What we said is we will visit that issue.*

This is translated as; —

Tulichokisema ni kwamba tutarejelea suala hilo.

The information about the issue to be revisited is missing even in translation but in an alternative communicative translation expressly seeking to convey expanded information, clarity of the statement would have been achieved as seen here; —*Tulichokisema ni kwamba tutarejelea suala hilo la uamuzi wa mahakama.* Similarly, Raila's statements has scanty information and its translation has the same scanty and implicit information as seen here;

119. Raila: *We have reached a point where Kenya must wake up.*

Translated into Kiswahili as; —

Tumefikia mahali ambapo Kenya lazima izinduke.

It is not clear what Raila meant in the statement and a word for word translation could not make that statement any clearer. Overall, it can be argued that implicit meaning is usually transferable into Kiswahili but it remains as such—implicit. Another critical consideration in the translation of hedges has to do with the polygrammatic attributes of some hedges; that is the capacity to embed several meanings and functions. In Raila's statement; — *we have reached a point where Kenya must wake up*—the literal translation of this statement is problematic. What is it that is supposed to take priority in its rendition into Kiswahili? Would it be, that it is time to resist impunity, time to take up arms and defend themselves, time to vote for good personalities or a time to oppose the government? All these are possible meanings arising out of Raila's statement. It is not possible to conclude whether the purpose was achieved due to the several layers of meanings attached to the statements arising from flouting of maxim of quantity.

4.3.2 Nonvisible Hedges Framed on Maxim of Quality

One other fact that was observable in many of the candidates' speeches, was the subtle tact deployed by presidential candidates to evade and dodge giving specific answers to specific questions. Their answers were typically structured to enable them tactfully drift away from the core topics under discussion. There were several scenarios where candidates stated openly that they would not answer a given question, a response which once interpreted in terms of the Gricean maxims of communication, intimated the breaching of the maxim of quality, refusal to divulge the truth of what they knew. This did not arise out of the candidates' lack of knowledge or information with regard to the question raised, rather it was a face saving and preservation strategy. It was also an expression of dissatisfaction with the question asked since the answer would expose the candidate to scrutiny given the nature of the question and how it was asked. As a powerful tool that aids success in their political contests, political candidates exercised a very high degree of topical issue awareness and were, therefore, very cautious about what could be stated and the impact it could have on the probability of their political victory thus, the necessity to decline the response that would incriminate them or cause them to lose. This sense of topic awareness is demonstrated in the following conversation on the presidential debate in 2013;

120. **Raila:** *We are not entangled with issues of land but we have people here running in these elections who have got cases. My brother has got cases and issues on land*

ownership. There are others who have court cases on land issues. You cannot allow a hyena to protect your goats. And that's why we are saying we are the best.

Translated into Kiswahili as—

Sisi hatujahusishwa na mambo ya ardhi lakini tuna wagombezi hapa ambao wana kesi. Ndugu yangu hapa ana kesi na masuala yanayohusu umiliki wa ardhi. Kuna wengine wana kesi za ardhi mahakamani. Huwezi kamruhusu fisi kulinda mbuzi wako.

121. Ageyo: *I believe the brother you are referring to is Mr. Kenyatta.*

Rendered into Kiswahili as—

Naamini nduguyo unayemrejelea ni Bwana Kenyatta?

122. **Raila:** *Yes —*

Translated into Kiswahili as —

Ndiyo.

123. Uhuru: *Thank you. I have just heard my good brother Raila say that I have many cases pending before court. I would like him to maybe cite a few.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as—

Asante. Nimemsikia ndugu yangu Raila akisema kwamba nina kesi nyingi mahakamani. Ningetaka labda azitaje baadhi ya kesi hizo.

124. Raila: **No, I said some people.** *His running mate is known to be having cases with his own neighbors in court. I am saying, me and my colleague running mate are not involved in cases; we have no conflict of interest as far as land ownership is concern.*

This has been rendered into Kiswahili as—

La, nilisema watu wengine. *Mgombea mwenza wake anajulikana kuwa na kesi na majirani zake mahakamani. Ninachokisema ni kwamba mimi na mgombea mwenza hatujahusishwa na kesi; hatuna uhitilafiano kuhusu umiliki wa ardhi.*

The excerpts of the conversation above are taken from a scheduled presidential debate where the presidential candidates were put to task to present their positions and pronounce themselves on the land situation in Kenya. Raila, in his statement said that his brother (Uhuru Kenyatta) had court cases relating to land issues. Asked if he meant Uhuru that he referred to as his brother, he affirmed

the same. When put to task by Uhuru to name a few of these cases in court that he was referring to, Raila denied having said that Uhuru had court cases, shifting it to Uhuru's running mate. Raila knew very well that he had mentioned Uhuru as having court cases but he denied. The truth cogency of his answer went down significantly because he was not telling the truth. The audience was left wondering what or who to believe. The overall interpretation of this response is that the candidates used invisible hedges of the maxim of quality to save their faces from embarrassment and to protect themselves from audiences' rejection. The obvious observation from the conversation is that, Raila denied what he had said. At no point of his assertion had he mentioned that Uhuru's running mate had court cases. The interesting observation here is that even though this is a forthright lie, it is transferred into Kiswahili as a lie because it is a hedging device which a translator cannot exemplify. Exemplifying it would cause a communication conflict because it would portray Raila as a liar and that is what he denied. Raila Odinga did not tell the truth but denied having said it and gave contradicting information on what he had said earlier in the conversation. If a translator would have used an explication strategy, the translation would have been perceived differently as seen in this rendition; —

125. Raila: *La, nilisema baadhi ya watu (si kweli). Mgombea mwenza wake anajulikana kuwa na kesi na majirani zake mahakamani.*

With the insertion of the extra information, the audience would accept the information without question since they had read the earlier statement where Raila had accepted that the person with land cases was Uhuru Kenyatta.

In the following excerpts presented here below, we demonstrate further how the flouting of the maxim of quantity—offering too much or too little information, is strategically deployed as invisible hedge which facilitates the shifting away from the topic under discussion and refusal to give specific answers to specific questions;

126. Joe Ageyo: *Do you find it necessary to say just how much land we are talking about? Do you find it necessary to say how much land you or someone else in your family owns because that seems to be a major point of speculation that you keep referring to?*

127. Uhuru: *I, I really don't unless you want to insist that I do but the most important aspect is the fact as I have always stated, no organization, from Anti-corruption to*

the ministry of land has ever accused me of any kind of impropriety in land. Not at all not anywhere.

This is rendered in Kiswahili as; —

Kwa hakika sitaki ila uwe unataka kusisitisha, lakini cha muhimu ni ukweli ambao nimekwisha sema, hakuna shirika lolote, kutoka kwa tume ya kukabiliana na ufidadi au wizara ya ardhi ishawahi kunihusisha na kosa lolote linalohusu ardhi. Hakuna yeyote wala mahali popote pale.

128. Joe: *So, you would be willing to mention how much?*

Translated into Kiswahili as—

Kwa hivyo uko radhi kusema ni kiasi gani?

129. Uhuru: *Well, like I am saying I do own land. That I do and it is declared you know.*

Translated into Kiswahili as—

Naam, kama ninavyosema, ninamiliki ardhi. Ardhi ninayo na ishatangazwa wajua.

130. Joe: *How much Sir?*

Translated in Kiswahili as-

Kiasi gani?

131. Uhuru: **You know**, *we have now Public Officers' Ethics Act. And it clearly states that every public officer, of which I am one and I have been since the law was in place, is supposed to report on his or her wealth. I have dutifully and in accordance to the law, fulfilled that particular requirement. Those files are available and open for anybody who has any reason to suspecting me of doing anything. They just need to go to the speaker's office.*

Translated into Kiswahili as—

Wajua tunayo sheria ya uadilifu kwa maofisa wa serikali. Na nimesema kwamba, kila ofisa wa serikali, ambapo mimi ni mmoja wao na nimekuwa tangu sheria ibuniwe, anapaswa kutangaza utajiri wake. Kwa utifu, na kwa mujibu wa sheria nimetekeleza mahitaji hayo haswa. Faili zinapatikana na ni wazi kwa yeyote aliye na sababu ya kunishuku kufanya chochote. Wanahitaji tu kwenda kwa Afisi ya Spika.

The conversation above extracted from a presidential debate, reveals that Uhuru Kenyatta used invisible hedges of maxim of quantity to evade the questions focusing on the truth about the size of land he or his family owns. There is no doubt he knew the truth about the information the question sought to find out, however, he purposefully declined to divulge such information. Instead, his answer strategically flouts the maxim of quantity by giving more information far beyond what was required. The whole response from Uhuru becomes hedged, that is, he uses a hedging strategy that allows him to offer information which though contextually relevant, does not exactly answer the question. This strategy is absolutely appropriate and supportive of his political messaging. This is strategic political balancing, which involves weighing the benefits and relevance of revealing the truth and political import of concealing the truth about the size of land the Kenyatta family owns. By hedging the response in this manner, Uhuru forestalls political backlash, stems diminishing election possibilities, and evades antagonizing supportive audience expectations.

Besides the expediency this hedging strategy accords him in terms of political messaging, the contravention of the maxim of quantity is a hedging strategy which also functions as a means of self-protection, survival and expression of the knowledge he has on land issues in Kenya. The implication in the information from Uhuru is that the audience got the information about the land issues but not how much land he owns. In translation terms, Uhuru's response, typically proffered general information as it were, the translatability of such information is plainly straightforward, the audience is left to deduce the hidden meaning as embedded in Uhuru's verbose response, a wit refusal to disclose the amount of land he owns.

Flouting of the maxim of quantity was also observed where a question from the interviewer was answered with a question from the candidate, which nevertheless ended making the whole contravention a hedging strategy. This is evidenced in the conversation below;

132. Linda Ogutu: *Let me just take you a little bit back Mr. Ruto. You said that Kenyans are not bothered about ICC, they are not bothered about what is going on there but you realize Mr. Ruto, there are implications of Uhuru-Ruto presidency. With regards to ICC surely, they have to be concerned, they must want to know what will happen if you get the presidency.*

Translated as into Kiswahili as; —

Wacha nikurudishe nyuma kidogo Bwana Ruto, umesema wakenya hawajalishwi na ICC, hawajalishwi na kile kinachoendelea kule lakini Bwana Ruto, kuna athari kutokana na Urais wa Uhuru-Ruto. Kuhusu ICC kweli lazima wajali, lazima watake kujua ni nini kitakachotendeka kwa Urais wenu.

133. Ruto: *So, what are you saying?*

Translated into Kiswahili as; —

Kwa hivyo unasema nini?

In the conversation above, Ruto refused to answer the question asked instead he asked his own question. Though it may be speculated that this might have arisen from either not understanding the question, querying the validity of the question or outright unwillingness to answer that question, there is no doubt his answer is hedged and as such strategically deployed for purposes of political messaging, a purposeful refusal to answer a question that appears to be obvious. In terms of conversational interaction, his answer is a face saving strategy which protects him from possible negative attack from his opponents if he answered the question directly, which was the main focus of the political contest in the general election under review. Further, it was a polite way of declining to answer the question on the ICC cases yet Kenyans were concerned about the same. He knew the answer but chose to block it thereby concealing the truth. The flouting of maxim of quality is evidenced in Mr. Ruto's question which was not an answer to that particular question. Thus, the presidential candidates used this strategy in their conversations during the campaign rallies and in the interviews where several layers of meanings could be deduced from the messages.

Hedges framed on the flouting of the maxim of quality, are anchored on the speaker's fallacious information on the subject under discussion, a tactful denial of the truth. This flouting of the maxim of quality also undermines full comprehension of the intended meaning. Due to the nature of the information given, translation would take similar perspective where the translated information would remain fallacious as in the source text. This is a scenario which the translators faced when the information was not true, yet that is what the source text conveyed, thus encouraging a literal translation of the same. Although the maxim of quality in communication majorly focuses on a speaker being truthful, providing information that can be demonstrated to be true, flouting of this maxim is evidence of falsity. In absence of the commissioner of the translation, translators would

literally translate the speeches without explication which would have indicated that the information given was not true. They literally translated the conversation to maintain the internal coherence.

4.3.3 Nonvisible Visible Hedges Framed on Maxim of Relation

One regular characteristic that was discernible in many of the presidential speeches, was purposeful shifting and avoidance of discussing topics under consideration. This was observable in situations where the candidates digressed or purposefully diverged from focusing on specific issues and tactfully introduced non-related matters. The speakers knowingly shifted to topics which were clearly unconnected to either the questions raised or the topic under discussion. This was most observable in interviews where presidential candidates and their running mates answered specific questions in totally irrelevant ways. This was a strategic tactic used by the speakers to evade answering a given question specifically because of the political implications the question would raise. It is also possible that digressing from specific questions may have arisen out of lack of requisite information on the given subject matter. But on and above these reasons, the answers provided were strategic hedging which may be interpreted as expressions of lack of certainty and non-commitment of the candidates to the question asked or the topic under discussion. The excerpt below demonstrates this;

134. **Interviewer:** *Will your party back William Ruto in 2022 election?*

135. Uhuru: *I have always maintained very clearly and it has been my position and I have been a public servant. We have an agenda as a government that we want to complete we are still almost two years away from an election this is not the time to start campaigning.*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as; —

Kila mara nimeshikilia kwa udhahiri na huo ndio umekuwa msimamo wangu na nimekuwa mtumishi wa umma. Tuna ajenda kama serikali ambayo tungependa kukamilisha na bado tungali na karibu miaka miwili kabla ya kuwa na uchaguzi na bado huu sio wakati wa kuanzisha kampeni.

In answering the question above, Uhuru Kenyatta digressed from the point of discussion and instead gave information which was not relevant to the question. Even when trying to infer the meaning, the information could not give useful clues to whether he would support Ruto in 2022 presidential elections or not. He flouted the maxim of relation by giving unrelated information that was not relevant for the issue under discussion, thus protecting himself from blame because either

way his yes or no answer would cause him political problems. Thus, the contravention of maxim of relation, is a strategic invisible hedge intended to safeguard certain political interests and it is also possible to speculate that this was a tactical way for the candidates to express uncertainty on the subject under discussion.

Whereas the maxim of relation emphasizes the need to remain relevant to the topic under discussion, this was however frequently violated in the political speeches sampled. There were several instances where candidates intentionally drifted from the topic of discussion such that the response provided for a specific question shifted from what was intended to some wild and completely separate information. Speakers were hardly bothered by their shift in argument and relevance to context. The translation of these hedges does not ordinarily in any way restore relevance in Kiswahili. Though the question asked simply required a yes or no answer with a brief explanation, if need be, Uhuru Kenyatta did not answer the question and did not commit himself to the answer given and the answer did not in any way provide the required information. If the skopos of translation would have been established and found that the speaker wanted the information to remain vague, then this literal translation served the purpose. The translation maintained the same inconsistent and irrelevant information and this is what the speaker wanted in the source text and thus non-coherence of the message was maintained both in source and target text.

Even where the questions did not require a direct answer, candidates ensured that the answers were implicitly rendered for their own personal purposes. The translation could not make the information any clearer since it was literally rendered into Kiswahili. Had the translator chosen to deviate from being faithful to the original text and added some information to make the target text more communicative, the statements would have been comprehensible on the basis of explication as seen in this excerpt; —

(Pasina kuligusia suala la kumwuunga mkono naibu wake) Kila mara nimeshikilia kwa udhahiri na huo ndio umekuwa msimamo wangu na nimekuwa mtumishi wa umma...

However, the inter and intra cohesion of the text would have differed since the speaker's wish is to keep the information as implicit as possible. The notion of un-altered faithfulness in translation of the political speeches is thus a compromise to the precision of the meaning needed by the

audience. The translation of Uhuru's response would have been clear with the explication. This would have made the audience understand that the question was not answered precisely.

Similarly, the flouting of the maxim of relation was extensively discernible in presidential political speeches from other candidates as seen and demonstrated in the two excerpts below;

136. Linda: *If you sort that out you will have sorted out this country?*

Translated into Kiswahili as; —

Ukitatua hili utakuwa umeshughulikia nchi hii?

137. Ruto: *We will sort out this country believe you me. So, we will tackle the land issue and we will not be simplistic and we will not, eeh, be imaginary about it because when you say my dear, when you tell people we are going to get land from so and so decided by the digital generation, what we are saying is that, eeh honestly, I saw our competitors try to say today, oh you see, eeh we want to fight the status quo. You know that we represent the status quo and they represent change. Honestly, who will believe that? The people in that CORD coalition some of them I read them in civics when I was in standard, standard seven in 1980. I was in standard seven I was reading about William Ntimama and I thought William Ntimama was in the league of Vasco da Gama you know?*

This is rendered into Kiswahili as; —

Tutashughulikia nchi hii niaamini. Kwa hivyo, tutakabiliana na suala la ardhi na sio kwa usahili, na hatutakuwa tunalidhahania tu kwa sababu unapowaambia watu tutapata ardhi kutoka kwa fulani na fulani kwa uamuzi wa kizazi cha kidigitali, unasema nini kwa hakika? Niliona wapinzani wetu leo wakisema wanataka kupigana na ukawaida uliokuwepo na kwamba wao wanawakilisha mabadiliko. Kwa hakika, ni nani atawaamini? Watu katika muungano wa CORD nilisoma kuwahusu katika historia nikiwa darasa la saba mwaka 1980. Nilikuwa katika darasa la saba na nilisoma kuhusu William Ntimama na nikidhani William Ntimama ni wa enzi za Vasco da Gama.

In the two excerpts above, the responses to the questions raised, are a tactical contravention of the maxim of relation, a hedging strategy which Ruto deployed to enable him evade giving direct responses. By bringing into the discussion irrelevant, obscure and unconnected information relating to political status quo, he tactfully shifts the topic without being offensive. Both the interviewer and audience are not enabled to understand the relationship between land issues and the political status quo as implied by Ruto. In terms of political messaging, the hedging strategy makes the information implausible and opaque, thus enables the speaker to be noncommittal

without being irrelevant. The obscure and unconnected information is literally transferred into Kiswahili without explication thus, the audience will have to interrogate the assertions further to comprehend the message therein.

The flouting of the maxim of relation was further observed to be used where the speakers needed to shield themselves from further interrogations in given interviews or from further probing of certain specific issues where more information was needed. It may be assumed that further information sought would threaten the speaker's political fortunes with regard to forthcoming elections. This is a hedging strategy that politicians used to confuse their audiences about the truth validity of their answers.

138. Stephen (Interviewer): *What I am getting at is that, politics in this country actually makes it easier to make money. In many countries politicians are genuinely fulltime businessmen and when they go into the public life, when they seek elections, they put their business interests to trust or ask other people to run them and they leave business altogether.*

This rendered into Kiswahili as; —

Kile ninachokilenga ni kwamba, siasa katika nchi hii kwa hakika hurahisisha upataji wa pesa. Katika mataifa mengi, wanasisia ni wafanyabiashara wakati wote na wakiingia kwa maisha ya umma, wanapooomba kuchaguliwa, wanaweka biashara zao kwa wakfu na kuwaomba watu wengine kuendesha biashara hizi na kuacha kufanya biashara kabisa.

139. Ruto: *And for your information I have, I don't do any business.*

Rendered into Kiswahili as—

Na kwa taarifa yako, nimefanya hivyo, sifanyi biashara yoyote.

140. Stephen: *You don't do any business?*

Translated into Kiswahili as—

Haufanyi biashara yoyote?

141. Ruto: *Whatever interest in business I have, they are done by those people who run those businesses on a professional basis and that is it.*

Translate into Kiswahili as; —

Shughuli nilizo nazo kwa biashara zinaendeshwa na wale wanaoendesha biashara hizo kwa misingi ya kitaaluma na ni hivyo.

In the excerpts above, Ruto employs an invisible hedging strategy which contravenes the maxim of relation, yet tactfully achieves a number of goals—his answer buttresses his political messaging while at the same time shields him from further questioning about his businesses. His answer that he doesn't do business, is cleverly hedged such that he focuses on not doing business which shields him from the political consequences of owning business. The critical issue which is being hushed in this context, is directing the audience to focus on doing business rather than owning business. The political implications of doing business, given the prevailing political discourses, are far less than owning. This is a very well calculated hedge which perfectly suits his intentions, to disengage from giving an honest answer and remain relevant in the discussion. Ultimately, he evades deeper scrutiny and stops the interviewer from probing the business issue further. Thus, he shields himself by flouting the maxim of relation in which, not telling the truth is a polite evasion of accountability with regard to the implications of conflicts of interests spanning doing business, owning business and engaging in politics. It is observable that the meaning transfer into Kiswahili is literal and there is not alteration of the information which was implicitly expressed. The internal coherence is maintained even in the absence of explication which would have made the information more comprehensible.

4.3.4 Nonvisible Hedges Framed on Maxim of Manner

The invisible hedges constructed on the flouting of the maxim of manner, is a strategy that was evident in political speeches made by presidential candidates and their running mates. This was manifested in terms of unclear statements which were characteristically disorderly, ambiguous or vague. This was a critical political messaging strategy where politicians demonstrated a sense of non-commitment to their statements as well as evading the implications of the disclosure of information which jeopardizes political interests. It was also deployed as a means of self-defense from future repercussions arising from the content contained in the statement. It also exhibited the uncertainty that the candidates had on the statement they made. Asked about his understanding and commitment to national unity, Uhuru contravenes the maxim of manner in the most fragrant manner as exhibited in the following conversation;

142. Kaikai: *Bringing all Kenyans together honorable Uhuru Kenyatta and when you were in Meru last month when you asked a certain region not to divide their vote, what do you mean?*

Translated into Kiswahili as; —

Kuleteka Wakenya wote pamoja Mheshimiwa Uhuru Kenyatta na ulipokuwa Meru mwezi uliopota ulipouliza eneo fulani lisigawanye kura zao, unamaanisha nini?

Uhuru's heavily hedged response; —

143. Uhuru: *Well, what I am saying is that, if we understand and we move in the same platform, we saw a situation where for example, you have a number of candidates in a particular constituency all saying they support the same presidential candidate but yet they are on different platforms, but I said if we really want to implement the agenda that we have in our new constitution with the powers that the parliament has been given, having the necessary number in parliament to implement our agenda, it is going to make a difference. So, I was saying if we are having two or three or four candidates that are saying, claiming to support me then I said we need to be in one party so that we can implement the agenda and the promises that we are making in the parliament.*

This is translated into Kiswahili as; —

Naam, kile ninachokisema ni kwamba, tukielewa na twende kwa jukwaa moja, tuliona kwa mfano, hali ambapo una idadi ya wagombea katika eneo Bunge fulani wote wakisema wanamuunga mkono mgombea Rais mmoja bali wako kwa jukwaa tofauti, lakini nilisema iwapo kwa hakika tunahitaji kutekeleza ajenda tuliyonayo kwa katiba yetu kwa nguvu ambazo zimepewa kwa Bunge, kuwa na idadi hitajika kwa Bunge kutekeleza ajenda yetu, kutaleta tofauti.

Uhuru's response is not clear, it is muddled up and does not address the question asked. This is a deliberate deviation from the question asked which presents purposeful vagueness. He did not want to come out clearly on what he meant by telling people not to divide their votes knowing well his answer would have repercussions on his election victory thus by choice, becoming disorderly and vague, exhibiting well thought out hedging strategy. It is not clear what Uhuru meant because his response was a medley of issues unrelated and irrelevant to the question raised. There is miscellany of issues dithering between dividing the country and dividing votes. The inclusion of issues like the constitution and the powers of the parliament are obvious markers of the flouting of the maxim of manner, which inevitably also contravenes logical flow and cohesion of the message. There is every reason to believe that this was intentional and therefore a strategy of evasion knowing well that a straightforward answer would have negative consequences for his political messaging. The

same confusing message was transferred into Kiswahili without any attempt to reorganize or reconfigure it to make it more sensible and clearer. The translator chose to faithfully render the same meaning into the target language visibly due to lack of commission that possibly would have enabled explication. Mainly due to fear of alteration of the political messaging style presented in the source text, the translator opted to transfer the same vague information into Kiswahili without consideration of its comprehensibility by the target audience.

Further, this flouting of the maxim of manner was discernable where the candidates were agreeable to an issue yet their responses were a denial of that fact at the same time. This is evidenced in this excerpt where Raila denied and accepted the call for people not to vote on the repeat election on October 26th 2017; —

144. Raila: *I went on live TV interview and I urged my supporters not to turn up to vote but not stop anybody who wanted to go and vote.*

Translated into Kiswahili as—

Nilienda kwa mahojiano ya moja kwa moja katika runinga na nikawasihi wafuasi wangu wasiende kupiga kura lakini sikumzuia yeyote aliyetaka kwenda kupiga kura.

This is a clear example of how candidates chose to be deliberately vague and ambiguous. Telling the voters not to turn up to vote meant the same as stopping them from voting, but Raila claimed that he told them not to turn up to vote but he did not stop them from voting. As a political heavy weight and commanding a big following in Kenya, his word was taken as law by his followers, yet he distanced himself from the truth value of his statement. By accepting and denying the action at the same time caused confusion, his intention being to make the statement unclear to avoid backlash from his supporters and opponents or a possible legal implication as a result of his utterances. The same vagueness was rendered the same way into Kiswahili with no provision of the correct meaning since the translator chose to be faithful in rendition of the meaning.

Raila further advanced an ambiguous statement in reference to confrontations between police and the public after the 26th October repeat election. He seemed not to deny it fully, but blamed the government as seen in this excerpt; —

145. Raila: *Yes, I am saying that people, I am saying that there was confrontation that was unnecessary and I am not really praising it but I am also blaming the government for over deployment of security forces in the area.*

Rendered into Kiswahili as—

Naam, ninasema kwamba watu, ninasema kwamba kulikuwa na makabiliano ambayo hayakuhitajika na sio kwamba ninayapongeza vile, lakini pia nailaumu serikali kwa kupeleka maofisa wa usalama wengi kupindukia katika eneo hilo.

The hedge shows that he was not opposed to the whole idea of the confrontations he called for although he apportioned the blame to the deployment of the security forces in the affected areas. This was a self-protection tactic, a means to shield himself from rejection and possible attacks from his opponents because of calling for mass action. He distanced himself from the truth condition through intentional vagueness. The intentional vagueness is transferred literally into Kiswahili and the audience cannot comprehend the stand taken by Raila on the issue under discussion. In every sense, Raila's response flouted the maxim of manner and lacked clarity. Collectively, such responses don't speak to specific issues and they are difficult to understand outside the context in which they are made vague. Consequently, the flouting of the Gricean maxims of communication subtly enabled the construction of invisible hedges through which presidential candidates expressed uncertainty, shielded themselves from possible attacks and created the impression of lacking precise information or purposely avoided giving direct answers. The hedges thus created were also critical in mitigating direct criticism, enabling avoidance of the speakers' commitment to the truth of their prepositions, demonstrating politeness and modesty, modification of discourse drift, and self-protection.

In quite a number of instances in the political speeches sampled, there were speeches which lacked internal coherence because the information provided was either incomplete or incomprehensible. The maxim of manner obliges a speaker to present complete information that targets a certain point of discussion. Regardless of whether this expectation is with regard to a translation or a source text, the maxim of manner is in assumption that there ought to be coherence in terms of the specificity of the topic of discussion so as to enable its comprehension (Grice *ibid*). The incomprehensibility exhibited in the source text was transferred into Kiswahili, a clear exhibition of how the implicit message is transferable into the target language conveying the message in the same manner as intended by the speaker. In absence of the *skopos* from the translation, the

translator has to be keen in terms of establishing appropriate interpretation of the meaning based on the context.

Once information in the source text is incoherently stated, such information was transferred into Kiswahili without making any distinct difference between the source and the target audiences' horizons of expectations. This emanated from a lack of mechanism which would allow the translator to reconstruct and reconfigure the source text on the contextual basis of the target audience. It may be speculated that in situations where these speeches were not directly commissioned for translation, the intentions of the speaker would be accessed on the basis of the information discerned from the speeches. Consequently, the translator was constrained to maintain and transfer the same implied meaning into the target text. Some of the opacity discernible in the political speeches sampled may be attributable to anger, excitement or over confidence on the part of a political speaker. It is not surprising, therefore, that some of the translations of these speeches were incoherent because they were transferred literally. In the absence of specific translation commission like in the case of this study, the translator strived to render literally what the speaker uttered without alterations on the dictates of faithful rendition.

4.3.5 Observations

A number of observations were inferred from the data presented and analyzed, with regard to the construction, formulation and translation of direct hedges, hedging devices as well as hedging strategies in presidential political speeches in Kenya within the period under review;

- a) various hedging devices discernible in presidential political speeches were used for the expression of politeness and appeal to targeted audiences with regard to specific issues requiring acceptance, avoidance or rejection,
- b) hedging in the presidential political speeches was a mitigation strategy intended to cushion candidates from probable future repercussions arising from untruthful claims, statements or assertions,
- c) generally speaking, most hedges as used in political speeches were characteristically expressions of indetermination where the speakers were uncertain of the pertinent information required or appropriate in view of the subject under discussion,

- d) hedges were routinely used whenever political speakers chose to be deliberately vague or non-committal to the truth validity of their assertions or whenever they found it convenient to proffer blatant lies for populist purposes or deliberate refusal to tell the truth,
- e) hedging was routinely used as a strategy to enable a political speaker to digress and evade providing truthful information with regard to the topic of discussion,
- f) hedges were used to express of indecisiveness whenever political speakers were not ready to make clear decisions on matters under discussion,
- g) hedging was used a strategy for distancing political speakers from the truth validity of their statements whenever future actions could not be guaranteed,
- h) hedging was used whenever political speakers wanted to divert the attention of their audiences from specific issues or information regarding the issue under discussion,
- i) in some situations, hedging was strategically used to shield speakers from opponents and audiences' attacks,
- j) hedging was used as a political messaging and communicative strategy by all presidential candidates in their political speeches,
- k) all hedges sampled were constructed as lexical items, though some were nonvisible hedges constructed within the constraints of the prevailing context and their functions were equally contextually perceptible,
- l) the commonly used strategy for the translation of hedges in this study was literal translation with a few instances where generalization and particularization were employed, these strategies were effective in the transfer of meaning although not always appropriately, particularly in instances where the information being translated was highly hushed and vaguely presented,
- m) the generalization strategy used in the translation of hedges framed on modal lexical verbs as they manifested themselves in the sampled political speeches, occasioned loss of specific meanings that was critical in terms of political messaging as well as in the comprehension of the hedges in use,

- n) there were a number of omissions which were observed to occur in the translation of hedges predicated on interjections, this in several instances occasioned the loss of the feel of hedging device and its meaning extended the information,
- o) intra coherence within the source and the target text hedges and inter coherence between source and the target texts hedges does not necessarily make the translated information comprehensible; in situations where presidential political texts were vague, ambiguous or implicit, the translators rendered the same message into Kiswahili as it was in the source,
- p) the flouting of the Gricean maxims of communication in political speeches in Kenya was both intentional and non-intentional; in situations where overt information was easily transferable into Kiswahili, the implicature remained unresolved since it was transferred as it were from the source text,
- q) outright refusal to give precise information sought, the concealment of truth, deliberate vagueness and ambiguity embedded in given responses in the source text were transferred literally into Kiswahili without any attempt to make the information forthright or comprehensible,
- r) word for word translation strategy was interchangeably used in translation of invisible hedges but could not express the meaning in a natural way like in idiomatic expressions,
- s) bilingual dictionaries, thus English - Kiswahili, alone would not provide sufficient meaning of hedges and hedging devices required to be transferred into the target language as used in the speeches.

4.4 Conclusions

Hedging and the deployment of varied devices are a common communication strategy used by politicians in their political discourses, this explains their copious manifestations in the presidential political speeches of 2013 and 2017. The various discussions which have been undertaken in this chapter, have demonstrated that hedging devices are a critical means of heightening the quality of speeches which attract and appeal to targeted audiences on one hand, and persuading ambivalent audiences on the other hand in various political contexts. It has been demonstrated that all the categories of hedges as represented in the Salager-Meyer (ibid) taxonomy, are a common

characteristic of all the political speeches, they were critically implicated in all types of political discourses which the presidential candidates engaged in. The copiousness of overt hedges, hedging devices and hedged complete speeches, is a clear demonstration that hedging and the deployment of hedging devices generally, is a communicative strategy which is ever-present in Kenya's presidential political speeches. Hedges are communicative and political messaging strategies which define the nature and quality of political discourse, the subtle mechanisms of political engagement, as well as political candidates' capacity to communicate their political agenda. The copious use of the hedging devices in political speeches was quite amenable to populist politicking where pertinent political issues, social and economic facts, political morality and truth and modest human rectitude, were conveniently sacrificed at the altar of political expediency.

The translation of hedges in presidential political speeches from English to Kiswahili was not a forthright action. Some hedges were translatable although the meanings rendered into Kiswahili tended to tilt towards perceptible popular meanings found within the contextual paradigms in which the hedges were used and not necessarily the precise meaning in a given hedge. It was noted that because of the overreliance on literal translation as a strategy intended to maintain faithfulness and the coherence of the target texts, the comprehension problems experienced in the source text were inevitably transferred into the target text. Instead of upholding both textual and contextual meaning coherence, some of the translated speech texts deviated by a wide margin from source textual and contextual meaning coherence to the extent of becoming incomprehensible in target paradigm. It was also noted that in some instances, the translations undertaken somehow conveyed the same vagueness of meaning, imprecise and obscure meanings discernible in the source speech texts. This may be attributed to the fact that the contexts in which the speeches were made are populated with shared linguistic cues as well as political experiences. Nevertheless, it was noted that regardless of the variety of translation strategies used, no hedged meaning was successfully rendered on the basis of using just one translation strategy. Sufficient rendition of correct meaning into the target text was best achieved through a diversified approach in which a number of translation strategies were used collaboratively. Overall, hedging devices are a critical part of presidential political speeches regardless of where they are made. Most of these hedging devices literally translatable into Kiswahili where they were observed to retain the same characteristics of hedges as perceived in the source speech texts. It was also noted that, however translated, these hedges did not lose their pragmatic functions in the target paradigm, a reality which may be

attributed to the fact that, the hedges as discerned in these speeches functioned beyond their lexico-semantic meaning attributes.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The summary of the findings of the research are presented in this chapter, drawing on the information as discerned from the identified hedges and their manifestation as hedging devices in presidential political speeches in Kenya, their pragmatic functions in the conversations under review and their transfer from English to Kiswahili. Further, conclusions from the research findings were made in tandem with the four objectives set for the study. Finally, based on the findings and the conclusions made from the study, recommendations were made forming the final part of this study.

5.2 Summary of the Findings of the Study

The research explored the usage of the hedges in Kenya presidential political speeches and the translatability of these hedges from English to Kiswahili. The hedges were characterized as political given that they were contextually situated and were drawn from different political speeches as delivered in 2013 and 2017 and thereafter in other political speeches in Kenya. The research was anchored on four research objectives which were to: determine the categories of hedges which are emblematic as linguistic phenomenon in presidential political speeches Kenya; explore the concepts of meaning retrieval and meaning reconfiguration in rendering a functional translation of implicatures as hedges in political speeches from English to Kiswahili; examine the functional meaning enabled by the hedging devices in the presidential political speeches in Kenya; and identify strategies that are suitable for translating hedges from English into Kiswahili in presidential political speeches in Kenya.

The Skopos theory used in the research was fundamentally helpful in the analyses of the translated texts as predicated on the foundations of purposeful translation action and as guided by the tenets of cohesion which ensure that a translation meets the expectations of the target audience. The skopos of translation of the presidential speeches was predicated on establishing how the strategies employed in the rendition of hedged meaning from English to Kiswahili ensured the rendition of purposeful and functional translation texts in Kiswahili. The Gricean maxims of communication were incorporated into the analyses for purposes of accounting for the nonverbal hedging devices

which were discerned in the presidential speeches sampled for this study. Given that in a general sense all the political speeches sampled were purposeful and action oriented, the translation of such speeches as texts was inevitably predicated and guided by its purpose, which in essence obligated translators to strive to attain optimal comprehensible and cohesive communication in the target audience. In order to identify the hedging devices used as implicature in the presidential political speeches sampled for this study, the Gricean maxims of communication were invaluable in identification of non-visible hedges as used in the political speeches, notably in identifying how hedging devices used in political speeches flouted the maxims and how such flouting impacted on their translatability into Kiswahili contexts.

The study employed descriptive research design targeting two presidential candidates and their running mates in the 2013 and 2017 general elections in Kenya. Hedging devices were identified following the Salager-Meyer (ibid) taxonomy of hedges. Different categories of hedges were discussed and their pragmatic functions in the speeches analyzed. Four speeches from each of the presidential candidates and their running mates were both purposefully and randomly selected in a way designed to ensure each presidential candidate's and their running mate's speeches were equitably incorporated in the sampled speeches for this study. Generally, the speeches were transcribed and analyzed in terms of identifying sections or aspects of the speeches which contained hedges, these were then presented as excerpts for analyses and further as texts for translation and their various realization in Kiswahili. This is what constituted the bulk of the discussions and debates canvassed in this study. The results of the study were presented in a discussion in line with to the objectives set for the study.

The first objective of the study, has been severally stated, was predicated on exploring and determining the categories of hedges emblematic as a linguistic phenomenon in presidential political speeches in Kenya. The research revealed that in the presidential political speeches sampled for this study, there were words as lexical items, phrases, clauses and sentences which function as hedges or hedging devices. These were the core hedges easily identifiable and isolatable as distinct words or phrases which had various pragmatic functions in the conversations. Their pragmatic functions in the speeches included indetermination and non-commitment to the assertions made or indeed the whole political issues canvassed. The juxtaposition and analyses of the identified hedges within the Salvager-Meyers (ibid) taxonomy of hedges, the study revealed

that in the presidential political speeches sampled for this study, all the categories of hedges as enumerated in the Salvager-Meyers taxonomy, featured prominently. Equally, whereas hedging devices were identifiable in all categories, there was a distinct emergence of two extra categories namely, invisible hedges and interjections framed as hedges. This revelation of further categories of hedging devices, as observed in this study, was an affirmation that the available taxonomies of hedges were non-exhaustive, suggesting that further studies in this area of hedge studies are bound to reveal even more categories.

Further research and investigation in the study, entailed the exploration of meaning as guided by objective two of the study, which sought to examine the functional meaning enabled by hedging devices in the presidential political speeches in Kenya. The research established that the functions of hedging devices as canvassed within the sampled speeches, clearly went beyond the dichotomy of mere lexico-semantic meanings. The hedging devices discerned in the sampled speeches for this study exhibited duality of meaning which complicated the way in which they were comprehended and interpreted. The identified hedges and hedging devices exhibited meaning in terms of their relationship with other words in sentences, but hushed meanings were inferred from contextual cues in which the speeches were delivered. Contextually infused meanings were not explicitly identifiable, thus posing insurmountable challenges for translation. Indeed, the study revealed that there was a copiousness of hedges, hedging devices as well as extensive implied meanings all of which were strategically expressed as critical characteristics of political discourses. Hedging and implied meanings, however used, were tactical messaging strategies employed by presidential candidates to communicate with specific constituencies and targeted audiences as well as with the general citizenry about political issues affecting the country and how they impacted pending general elections.

Moreover, most hedges identified characteristically expressed indetermination, self-defense, especially in instances where speakers lacked adequate information on the subject under discussion; hedges also functioned as expressions of intentional ambiguity, expression of recusal to tell the truth, expression of involvement of the audience in the discussion, expression of intimidation and harassment of opponents, strategic concealment of information, obscuring truth by telling outright lies and creating uncertainty. The determination and ascertaining the functional meaning of hedges, revealed that the speakers' use of hedges was predetermined and as such their

functions were largely determined by their contexts of usage. The import of this, is that, the use of hedges was no impulsive because the speeches themselves were not haphazard, they were pre-prepared and seized of the contexts of their delivery, they thus functioned in harmony and within the constraints of their delivery. Consequently, their meanings were not superficial, but rather well founded, comprehensible and contextually responsive.

The third objective sought to explore the concepts of meaning retrieval and meaning reconfiguration in the rendition of functional translation of political speech texts heavily infused with implicatures, hedges and hedging devices from English to Kiswahili. The research finding in relation to this particular objective affirmed that, presidential political speeches were populated with insinuations which called for detailed analysis in order to determine their actual meanings. Both the visibly identifiable lexical hedges and the nonvisible hedges which were contextually perceptible, had functional meanings. Such functional meanings were determined through the analysis of modal auxiliary verbs such as could, would, might, which expressed uncertainty and probability, ultimately making political assertion lack guarantee of occurrence. There was some uncanny sense of convergence in that political speeches delivered in public rallies and those delivered in media such as radio and TV interviews, press briefings and statements, all of them the exhibited a lot of implied meaning.

Non-visible hedges, as identified and discussed in the research findings, formed quite a significant part of implicatures framed as hedges and majorly perceptible through contextual cues. This was most discernible in the sense of the flouting of the Gricean maxims especially given that in virtually all the presidential political speeches, there were copious instance of violations of these maxims in that presidential candidates and their running mates hardly heeded or adhered to the requirements and expectations of Gricean maxims of communication. By so flouting these maxims, their utterance ended up constituting nonvisible hedges. The flouting of the Gricean maxims was not haphazard, it was always deliberate and calculated to underpin or achieve particular and specific functions and goals. In translation terms, the flouting of the communication maxims, essentially meant that, no matter how carefully and painstakingly the decoding of meaning was undertaken, contextual cues in the source text were missed out, here the increased probability of rendering into Kiswahili the same utterance as realized in the source. Nevertheless, since the political utterances were intended to conceal certain damaging or privileged information,

or even hide the truth, the same was transferred into Kiswahili given the fact that the speaker's intention was to have the information in message remain obscured. Thus, the subtly implied and coded meaning in English, remained hedged even in translation.

The fourth objective of the study sought to identify strategies suitable for translating hedges from English into Kiswahili in presidential political speeches in Kenya. The scrutiny of the data collected, namely, the sample of speeches made by presidential candidates and their running mates, it was affirmed that, there was no single strategy that would suffice in translating hedges and hedging devices and achieve optimal purposeful and functional translation texts in the target paradigm. Different strategies and approaches were necessary and were indeed used in the translation of hedges and hedging devices given the polygramatic nature of the speeches themselves. Thus, a combination of strategies and approaches were required and indeed used in the rendition of appropriate meaning into the target language. However, regardless of this critical consideration, it was noted that the strategy often used was literal translation where the meaning was transferred as it were in the source text. This helped in maintaining the implicatures in the target language since this was the very purpose of using it in the source language. Any further explication of hedges and hedging devices discerned in political speeches would have diluted the impact of the political speeches and would have altered the textual purpose and function of the source text and most probably expose the political speakers to vilification or ridicule, thus making the translated text serve completely different purposes and functions.

Given that the use of hedges and hedging devices was deployed to realize certain specific purposes and functions, it is incumbent upon the translator to render in the target language, translated texts which make these roles manifest. It is also necessary to maintain certain critical cues which enable the realization of invisible hedging strategies. Thus, wherever and whenever there is hedged, implied or hushed meaning which is intended to remain as such in translation, the translator is obligated to enable the same. Besides the literal translation, other translation strategies used were, omissions, domestication, generalization, explanations and accommodation. Overall, the findings revealed that the translation of hedges as implicatures in presidential political speeches was largely literal such that implied meanings and concealed information remained so even after translation. In some instances, English and Kiswahili shared the cues to the comprehension of oblique

meanings, thus enabling optimal renditions of hedged and implied meanings into Kiswahili paradigm.

5.3 Conclusions

The fundamental findings of this study were that, presidential political speeches in Kenya were and are routinely populated with hedges, hedging devices and subtly implied meanings and coded messages. These communication strategies collectively and severally, conveyed different meanings in different situations depending on their usage and the type of political assertions made or espoused. It was also affirmed that, notwithstanding the types of hedges involved, hedges conveyed semantic meanings where they were used as distinct lexical items and they also conveyed pragmatic meanings where a whole utterance was analyzed and interpreted in terms of a complete contextual setting. Moreover, beyond the lexical hedges isolated as single words, phrases or clauses, there were nonvisible hedges which were presented as whole sentences or as whole and complete utterances. In the analyses of the sampled political speeches, non-visible hedges were discerned in terms of the flouting the Gricean maxims of communication, where the contravention of these maxims was affirmed as deliberate, calculated and projected to conceal, lessen or even cut out certain critical information in a given political utterance.

The study further established that, hedges in presidential political speeches in Kenya, functioned and manifested in different ways depending on their contextualized usage as well as what goals a given political the speaker sought to accomplish in an assertion. Hedged meanings were deciphered on the basis of understanding the implication and the contextual intention of the message being conveyed. It was also established that, the usage of hedges was a deliberate and careful selection of political messaging strategies for the conveyance of appropriate and specific meanings. There were certain settings where the usage of hedges was non-intentional, a fact attributable to the realization that, hedging is a phenomenon present in human communication, phenomenon deployed in the expressions of politeness and non-commitment to the assertions made. The research findings further revealed that although hedges carried different meanings in presidential political speeches sampled for this study, communication was not hindered by their usage. Further, various hedging strategies did indeed improve and embellish the speakers' style of message delivery and indeed made their speeches more interactive and livelier in some instances. Being part of human communication strategies, the hedging devices in the presidential political

speeches were contextually bound and as such their functional meanings were well understood by the audience in the political language.

Although the usage of hedges as implicatures does not create a communication barrier in the language of use, their translation was not straightforward. The notion that any translation should be as communicative as possible, is significantly inadequate in the rendition of hedged meanings in translational interactions. It was affirmed, on the basis of the sampled speeches, that the transference of hedged meaning remained generally vague, ambiguous, false or incomprehensible as it were in the source text. Although literal translation was the strategy widely used in the translation of presidential political speeches, other strategies were employed in order to transfer appropriate political messages as intended by the speaker. The study revealed that no single translation strategy would singly be sufficient in transfer of meaning of hedges in political speeches, rather, a combination of strategies and methods were required to help in transferring of the intended meaning from English to Kiswahili.

5.4 Recommendations

Given the foregoing observations and findings arising from this study, a number of recommendations were made focusing on the exploration of hedge usage, the spread of such usage and further study.

- i. Presidential political speeches are routinely populated with different categories of hedges which need to be recognized and understood in terms of how they facilitate appropriate comprehension of hedged information and implied meanings.
- ii. Non-visible hedges in presidential political speeches are a category of hedging strategy that is widely used by presidential candidates and their running mates as a specific and shrewd political messaging style. This usually obliges targeted audiences to listen beyond the audible word in order to discern and understand hushed meaning embedded in political speeches and consequently take appropriate action based on the information extracted. Indeed, it was observed that any one political utterance or even statement may actually constitute a hedged communication.
- iii. The usage of hedges in presidential political speeches is not accidental rather, a well-planned communication strategy targeting particular audiences for whom message information and overall meaning must be coded in implied terms, therefore, deciphering

such information requires careful analyses to deduce the specific meaning as intended by the speaker.

- iv. In translation terms, translators should always be aware of the presence of hedges in presidential political speeches, indeed the presence of hushed messages in virtual all political discourses, this is necessary because translation demands deciphering and rendering appropriate meaning into targeted paradigms such as into Kiswahili.
- v. Given that hedging is a widely used phenomenon in politically charged communications in Kenya politics, political analysts should always be aware that political communication is specialized communication which demands the recognition of hedging strategies in order to give a correct analysis of the speeches.
- vi. There are several intriguing and emerging issues in the area of hedges and hedging strategies in a variety of disciplines which call for further investigation and study, especially how such hedge issues manifest in Kiswahili, how they impact on message coding and meaning transfer.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Uhuru Kenyatta's Speeches

The 2013 presidential debate took place on the 2013. Conducted by nation TV anchor Linus Kaikai and Citizen's TV anchor Julie Gichuru

LINUS KAIKAI: Thank you once again candidates and welcome to this debate. The first part is about self-introduction. We are not going into policies. We are just going to do self-introduction. This is the moment you are going to do what you don't get to do in political rallies. Tell about yourself for thirty seconds. Who are you and what are your strength is?

UHURU KENYATTA: Good evening, everybody. My names are Uhuru Kenyatta, I am a proud Kenyan who has been in public service and as a politician for the past 15 years. I am a husband, a father and a person who is greatly committed to this country and seeks to be given the opportunity to make my contribution to this country through the election that is due in the next few weeks.

LINUS KAIKAI: thank you all candidates for introducing you and us are now going straight to the issues and the broad thematic areas and governance, matter security and social services. And I want us to begin the single most serious issue in this country, the cancer that afflicts the politics, the elections and governance in this country. The problem of tribalism or ethnicity. Let us hear for two minutes what is your appreciation of the problem is, what you intend to do and what difference will you be from the predecessors of the presidents that we are intending to elect that is Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel Arap Moi and Mwai Kibaki all who made tribe the base of their governance.

UHURU KENYATTA: Thank you. Let me first begin by saying that tribalism is the cancer that has afflicted this country for a very long time. **And** has been a source of conflicts, has been a source of death and has been a source of destruction of property. **And** this is all the worst of in the post elections violence of 2007. **I personally think that** this problem is associated as a result of the battle for resources and in the past, we have as a position where positions of leadership go and people are made **to assume** that **if** your community is in leadership therefore you will be entitled to a larger piece of the cake. We have a new constitution now that new constitution is very clear of what it requires on all of us as Kenyans. My job as president is to ensure that this constitution is implemented **but further more** to ensure that through devolutions, something that I had tried practically when I was in the ministry of finance, we ensured that resources are fairly distributed accordingly to every part of this country and ensure that the government that we **will** form is an inclusive government that **will** ensure that every single person feels that he is part and parcel of that government.

LINUS KAIKAI: Just for the 5 seconds of your time are still on and I want to know from you what is the link between the new constitution and the eradication of tribalism?

UHURU KENYATTA: **First and foremost, I think** the constitution is now very clear and there are very clear guidelines on what politicians can say during their campaigns. The use of ethnicity as a card in the campaign is something that the constitution **cannot** recognize anymore. Therefore, what has been happening in the past saying or accusing communities that is in the past. The hate speech that has been used in the past now has been clearly controlled and ensured that **that kind of** a language isn't allowed on any

political platform. We cannot insight one another we have to offer what is in our policies that we ensure we eradicate poverty and issues that are of concern to Kenyans.

LINUS KAIKAI: Now candidates, viewers watching you at home and even the audience haven't listened to you opening statements on ethnicity. We therefore wonder why some things are done the way they are and I want to refer to all of you and some of these specifically to campaigns. Current campaigns, none of you have referred to campaigns and I want to refer you to that. Campaigns have taken the contest between tribes or blocks of tribes. I want to specifically put on the spot CORD of the honorable Odinga and JUBILEE of the honorable Kenyatta to immediately right now respond to that perception that both of you are indeed leading two tribes or blocks of tribes that are against each other.

UHURU KENYATTA: Thank you very much. **Let me say this**, our jubilee platform is a platform that is built on issues. **If** you have followed and listened to the speeches that we have made with my running mate William Ruto, we have emphasized indeed on the issue that affect our people; unemployment, poverty, the social infrastructure, the need for us to be able to put together as Kenyans, the need for us to be able to be united and understanding as the best way to deal with our problems is not for us leaders by working apart but by understanding our differences. We need to pull together. Now this indeed is true that numbers are being bundied around but this numbers **if** you look are largely also being bundied around by the political analysts who are out there just as the language that is also... (Interrupted)

LINUS KAIKAI: But do you admit honorable Uhuru Kenyatta that your campaigns are involved around the kikuyu community and the Kalenjin communities

UHURU KENYATTA: **I completely disagree** with you. **If** you look at where we have had our rallies, I have not had a single rally yet in central province. Since I was nominated, we have been campaigning in the coast province, I have been campaigning in Meru, we were in Rift Valley the other day, we are moving in to lower Eastern where we intend to be, and we have been up to Kuria so we are actually conducting a national campaign. A campaign that is aimed at bringing all Kenyans together with a purpose and forming a government that **will** deal with a lot of issues that face the common mwananchi.

LINIUS KAIKAI: bringing all Kenyans together honorable Uhuru Kenyatta and when you were in Meru last month when you asked a certain region not to divide their vote what do you mean?

UHURU KENYATTA: **Well, what I am saying is that if** we understand and we move in the same platform , we saw a situation where for example, you have a number of candidates in a particular constituency all saying they support the same presidential candidate but yet they are on different platforms, but I said **if** we really want to implement the agenda that we a have our new constitution with the powers that the parliament has been given having the necessary number in parliament to implement our agenda it is going to make a difference . **So, I was saying if** we having **two or three or four candidates that are saying, claiming to** support me then I said we need to be in one party so that we can implement the agenda and the promises that we are making in the parliament.

LINUS KAIKAI: ...STILL ON UHURU AND Raila the question on the rivalry between the kikuyu and the Luo community is the epicenter of Kenya's ethnicity problem. a lot of people view you as taking on from where your fathers left it. Both of you picking it up from '69, Uhuru

UHURU KENYATTA: Kenya has come a long way since then and I want to remind those Kenyans' who **maybe** have that feeling that they just need to look back at recent history. **You know** back in 1997 we were together with honorable Raila in KANU government and we campaigned together until the time at Kasarani we parted ways and he went to support Mwai Kibaki. Soon thereafter the 2005 referendum, again, we campaigned on the same platform and led the NO campaign for the constitution at the time and I supported him through and we campaigned throughout the country. **Personally, I** have no differences with honorable Raila. I see him as a colleague, I see him as a brother but **we may** differ on how to handle some of the issues that face the country and **I think** that is why we have elections so that the people of Kenya are given an opportunity to choose between the candidates.

LINUS KAIKAI: We have to bring this to the end and go to the next question. You may remember from the daily's yesterday we had a look and there was a caricature on this debate and we had that there was a huge elephant, a huge elephant towering over all the candidates. We want now to bring the elephant into the room and that is the ICC question. And I want to begin with uhuru Kenyatta, your trial on crimes against humanity begins in April. For two minutes honorable Kenyatta provide the public with a clear plan of how you intend to govern if you are elected president and at the same time attend trial on crime against humanity

UHURU KENYATTA: Thank you and **I have said this severally**, first and foremost the issue of the crimes that we are accused of, we have not been found guilty in any way whatsoever. This is an ongoing case and we and my deputy have made our intentions clear that we intend to follow the process through and to ensure that we clear our names. At the same time, we are offering ourselves in a position of leadership in this country, a position that **we believe** and we want to pass on to Kenyans an agenda that **will** first and foremost ensure **that the kind of things** that caused the problems of 2007 are brought to an end and we want to focus on the critical issues that face the people of Kenya. **As I have said**, the issue of poverty, the issue of unemployment, lack of basic services and it is on that platform that we are campaigning. Now like with everybody else... (Interrupted)... I am getting there.... (interrupted)

LINUS KAIKAI: We need some clarity honorable Kenyatta, the question is how you will govern if elected president in the first round, for example, your trial is in April

UHURU KENYATTA: **I was getting to that point** and the thing is **many** Kenyans are faced with personal challenges and I take that as a personal challenge, and my colleagues here also have personal challenges and the challenges here do not prevent one from continuing with their day to day jobs and **if** people today decide to vote for me as their president I **will** be able to handle the issue of clearing my name while at the same time ensuring that the business of our government continues, our manifesto and our agenda is implemented, and **further more** even **if** we look at the current situation, the ICC in its fact with the recognition that there **may** be this issue are even saying that they **can** move this case closer by. In two days' time and we are in the middle of our campaign. We **will** be having status conference. **And** in that status conference... the business of Kenya will not end... (Interrupted)

LINUS KAIKAI: ...Just a moment honorable Kenyatta. Honorable Dida you have a point?

ABDUBA DIDA: according to the culture of justice, if you are found or suspected of a crime, the norm we had is you step aside until you are cleared. If there is nothing with you and you are found not guilty then you resume your office. Why is it different with honorable Kenyatta and his friends?

LINUS KAIKAI: what do you have to say on that honorable Kenyatta?

UHURU KENYATTA: **Let me say this**, the position I am looking for is an elective position not an appointive position. The position I seek is given by the Kenyans through their democracy which is their democratic right. It is also my democratic right to present myself to the Kenyans, they know full well the issues that I am confronted with. **If they** choose to elect me it means that they have confidence in my ability to discharge my duties as the president while still handling the case that is before me.

LINUS KAIKAI: thank you. Some of your opponents have raised issues of ICC as a question of integrity in the campaigns and I want to bring in Martha Karua because you have been on record on the ICC question

MARTHA KARUA: Thank you. **I consider it** as a matter of display of impunity. My...what the opponent, Mr. Dida, has indicated, we have laws the public service act, **if** you are checked and suspected of crime and you re public servant, you are expected to step aside to facilitate investigations. We have another law, the anti-corruption law, it demands **if** you are a public officer and you are charged with a criminal offense you actually stand suspended, you are suspended pending the outcome. So, since the charges were framed, my brother out to have been suspended as a deputy prime minister and **if** he gets elected as a president the question is, are you going to be suspended before taking oath or after taking oath? Any Kenyan can go to court to challenge the position in office because as our law stands there is that handle...yeah.

LINUS KAIKAI: and Kenyatta reply to that

UHURU KENYATTA: **I want to clarify again that** the position I seek is going to be given by the people of Kenya. The people of Kenya who fully well know the political issues that I am confronted with. **If** they show the desire to give me that job and still do the **will** it means they have the confidence in me that I have the capacity to discharge my duties while still proceeding to clear my name. Secondly, **I think** we need to distinguish between an appointive position, of which it is not what I am seeking, and an elective one not with anything hidden but with Kenyans knowing full well the charges that are before me. **So therefore, as far as I am concerned**, there is a case in court and **I believe** this case **will** be heard, **and I think this week**, and the issue of integrity question **will** then without a doubt, be resolved.

LINUS KAIKAI: Right, Honorable Odinga?

RAILA ODINGA: **Every Kenyan knows** how I stood on this particular matter. Kofi Anan **actually** warned us about The Hague and me and president Kibaki spent **nearly** 8 hours in parliament trying to convince our colleagues to voter for a local tribunal. Unfortunately, two of our colleagues who are now in The Hague are the ones who **actually** led the campaigns against a local tribunal and unfortunately, I am the one who is being accused of taking people to The Hague because nothing could be found the truth. **I personally** don't want to eliminate any kind of a person in the competition that is why **I would** rather have my brother on the ballot but **I know** that this poses challenges to run a government by Skype from The Hague. **I know** that it is not practical.

LINUS KAIKAI: Paul Muite,

PAUL MUIITE: My plea is to spare a thought for the victims, the 1300 people, Kenyans, innocent that were murdered or were killed leaving behind relatives, the many women and men who were raped. Let us spare a thought for the victims. Let us also agree that we cannot continue with the culture of impunity.

Having said that, the way to tackle the issue of impunity is to go to the highest levels where it is to be filed. And I am asking as a lawyer having written the law statute, the ICC can only handle the cases of people or accused persons, jurisdiction is limited to those holding highest responsibility. As a feeder government would revisit the issue of jurisdiction. The honorable Uhuru Kenyatta, and he has not asked me to hold his brief, was not a presidential candidate. If you are going to charge six people you must begin with number one number two up to number six you cannot begin with three, four, five and six. And I wonder whether there was blinking on the part of the office of the prosecutor. As a feeder government I would like to revisit that is that those holding the highest responsibility perhaps go to the door there, the others are dealt with here in accordance to the law

LINUS KAIKAI: Are you talking about presidential candidates and therefore your colleague to your right Raila Odinga, he should be in the list?

PAUL MUIITE: Two people who were presidential candidates, it is impossible, you cannot persuade my mind or the mind of any rational people, that the two candidates did not know about its people, Kenyans is only this four other Kenyans who are facing charges there and it is only the other two candidates who did not have a clue about it. That is the issue I want to see investigated as a SAFINA government; we would revisit that issue.

LINUS KAIKAI: honorable Odinga respond to that.

RAILA ODINGA: That is the most irresponsible state that I ever heard. Because **my friend** needs to know that investigations carried out by a jurisdiction that is appointed by the Serena process through the justice working which then produced the list of the names which were handed over to Kofi Anan who was the leader of the process and then that list was handed over to Mr. Ocampo. **Me I don't fear**, I have nothing to hide, **I know exactly** what I did and **I know** that I was not responsible and **I will** be very willing to go to the Hague **if** only Muite **will** want to take me there.

LINUS KAIKAI: Martha

MARTHA KARUA: I just wanted to disprove that the two principals actually pushed for the local tribunal. I was the minister for justice then, the entire cabinet passed but when I reached parliament, they left me with the baby. The two principals in spite of my pleas to them failed to come and persuade members they merely came to vote and in their full view there was rebellion on cabinet pushing people to vote...Refuse to vote for the local tribunal. So, to put the record straight, the two principals did not stand in parliament and persuade their troops to vote for the local tribunal.

LINUS KAIKAI: And one of the principals is here, Raila Odinga

RAILA ODINGA: **I really just** wanted to jog with the memory of my justice here that first we had a PGA, joint PG meeting of PNU and ODM. Who shared myself and president Kibaki in the old chambers, pleading with the members to agree to vote for the local tribunal? This is on record even for the answers it bears out. We tried as much to persuade all the members to vote for a local tribunal but the cry was don't be vague let us go to The Hague, unfortunately.

LINUS KAIKAI: But prime minister, why is it difficult for a lot of people to believe your position on the ICC question? The common perception is you put a front that looks like you support a local process when indeed you wanted your opponents out of the country?

RAILA ODINGA: In fact, we first set up a cabinet committee on ICC chaired by the late professor Saitoti and former attorney general, there was also Mutula Kilonzo, James Orengo, Amason Kingi and so on. They went first to Geneva then they went to The Hague. Then Mr. Ocampo told him he was not interested in coming to Kenya. **If** Kenyans can agree to set up a local tribunal, the ICC **will** not get involved so we tried to do everything possible. The second time we went to the cabinet when Martha had already resigned in the government, it was shot down in the cabinet and the two who are now in the Hague led the campaign in the cabinet to shoot down the proposal to set up a local tribunal.

LINUS KAIKAI: Finally on this question...okay honorable Kenyatta...

UHURU KENYATTA: **I think** there is a discrepancy there because he just said cabinet. First it was rejected on the floor of parliament so we **couldn't** have let it pass in cabinet. **I think** we are all together in cabinet we approved and on the floor **I think** Martha is quite correct that on the floor there was complete confusion, there was no guidance and as many members of the ODM team, as many members of the PNU disagreed with the position so it was not as my brother put it that he mobilized troops to vote for a local tribunal process because his own troop rebelled on that particular position with regard to this document.

LINUS KAIKAI: Thirty seconds.

RAILA ODINGA: **You know** the troop that rebelled from ODM are troops who are loyal to my friend William Ruto and who were told to vote against and the troops who were loyal to me voted for a local tribunal and the set up here. But then **I was saying** there was a second attempt after Martha has resigned from the government when mutual Kilonzo he redrafted the bill, brought it to the cabinet, it was not approved, it was rejected in the cabinet through the intervention of **my friend**.

LINUS KAIKAI: Are you satisfied with that?

UHURU KENYATTA: **I think** the handset record and the voting record proved that it is not that way.

PROFESSOR KIYIAPI: I wanted to make two points. The first one is that it doesn't really matter now what we did or didn't do, the judicial process is at the Hague, it is on and for me the questions Kenyans must ask the answers must be given is, whether or not my brother here should run for president and that can be given by our courts and if our courts fail to give the answer he himself can give the answer by saying I will step aside in view of this until I clear myself and I don't want to engage Kenyans in this matter and if he himself refuses to do that then he has actually put the ball to the Kenyan people that he is running and let the Kenyan people decide and I think this is very important as a country that we don't contribute to burry our....

LINUS KAIKAI: Thank you Mr. Kiyiapi your time is up. Let me go to Martha your hand was up

MARTHA KARUA: I just want to remind my worthy colleague here, honorable Raila, there was no vote on the local tribunal because for a constitutional debate you need 148 members. Those who did not want a

local tribunal literally whipped people out of parliament was left there pleading for them to come back. So, there was no vote.

LINUS KAIKAI: All of you presidential candidates and each one of you stands a chance to be elected president and just looking at what the ICC question has done on the country, the exchange with diplomats and the perception that local systems do not work that is why some of the Kenyans ended up in The Hague. What do you feel about this because there are Kenyans who are embarrassed about this...30 seconds please?

UHURU KENYATTA: There was a lot of misgiving and **I think** it was that misgiving that was used in the 2007 elections that our courts **could** not be trusted that is why some of us here went to the streets the dispute of our courts started there. It caused a lot of problems but we now have a constitution, we want to build on the institutions that we have, we want to build. Rebuild on the judiciary to restore confidence to the people, with... On the judicial system and that is something as the president **will** continue to support and as I continue because that is the circumstance that we find ourselves, clearing our name through the international court that we are currently in.

LINUS KAIKAI: Gentlemen we have now to close on the first part of the ICC question and now get to the final issue of this part of the presidential debate, and the issue now is party politics. If we don't get the construction or the foundation right, we can't get right the rest of the structure right. And I want to go to the political parties right now, what are you political parties flag bearers doing to make sure that the country departs from the culture of temporary political parties that are formed and disbanded thereafter. Umm.....honorable Kenyatta, TNA, JUBILEE

UHURU KENYATTA: **As many of you would know** I was the chairman of KANU for a good number of years but after disagreements within the party and we were unable to resolve I found it necessary to start my own political party in order to be able to group together with other individuals, other like-minded individuals and build on a platform where we have issues to drive our agenda. It is unfortunate that the KANU party was not willing to open itself up to alliances at that time with other parties which **I thought** was necessary with the number of parties that we had so that we can come up with the number of parties that focus on issues, fewer parties that we can build on strengths and build structures that are up. **And** that is why when we formed our party initially, we embarked to try and look for partners who will at least enter into this election with and build on and hopefully merge to create a strong political foundation that **will** be issue based and that **will** be able to survive personalities or individual's laments.

LINUS KAIKAI: Okay thank you and preparing you for the next session that is just about to begin.....I want now to get to the next question, the question of security. Just quick 30 seconds on your thoughts. Every one of you have heard of this story on Migingo. Is it in Kenya or not and if it is what would you do as president do to ensure that the people of Migingo are part of Kenya? 30 seconds.... honorable Kenyatta, Migingo

UHURU KENYATTA: Migingo is in Kenya, **however**, the truth of the matter is that there exist disputes as a result of not having clear maps that have been registered in the UN so **I think** this need to be done is for all our borders with our neighbors is to embark on an exercise that **will** ensure that demarcate all our borders and get this fully registered I don't think it is a subject of be war at. I think JUBILEE with an association with our neighbors that issue can be resolved but in the longer term **I think** what is to be done

is to ensure that all our borders are properly marked out and been registered for us to prevent future conflicts about boundaries.

LINUS KAIKAI: Thank you very much. ...and there is that charge that Honorable Raila Odinga as the prime minister has done nothing on the Migingo issue

LINUS KAIKAI: ...that will be the last comment of this first part of our presidential debate...my colleague Julie will take you through the final part of the debate.

JULIE GICHURU: Yes, indeed I will take you through the final part. Half an hour is already gone and another one and a half hour is also to go.... We have questions from the public and we start our question with a gentleman based in Tana delta. Let's have Dara Godana...

DARA GODANA: My name is Isabel Godana Dara I am from Tana delta District. I am asking this question on behalf of my fellow Kenyans. There is this issue of security of late we have observed a lot of women and a lot children losing their lives because of insecurity. What are your future plans to curb this issue of insecurity in Kenya?

JULIE GICHURU: Thank you, both of the candidates it is clear that the domestic issue and external forces as well have contributed greatly to an increased insecurity in Kenya along our borders and within the country as well. What does your administration intend to do for each and every Kenya irrespective of the county, social status, age, what is your commitment to this country?

JULIE GICHURU: I am going to come back to you because it is good if you give a comment on who is here today and has suffered the hands of insecurity on the governments responds and why perhaps it has failed to respond on the issue...let me now come top uhuru Kenyatta and the jubilee manifesto goes into quite bit of detail, talks about these 15000 new recruits a year, tell us more about your plans and are they too ambitious, perhaps?

UHURU KENYATTA: I think first and foremost let me address Ismael himself and say that indeed what is happening in Tana River are most unfortunate. **And** let me say this, in my government a crime will be a crime. No one will be able to hide behind a community. If it is murder, you are a murderer or a community **if** you are a cattle rustler, you are a cattle rustler. You will be treated by the law in exactly that manner. **As I said earlier**, we need to also recognize the problem that is in Tana River also goes a little bit deeper. There was socialized based rival it is a fight of boundary; it is a fight on resources. In my government we **will** ensure that the pastoral communities in those regions are given access to water for these livestock and also adequate perennial services for their lives. Also, we **will** ensure for our farming communities also in the region we will expand irrigation, also programs that were initiated by this government while I was in the ministry of finance and my running mate William, Ruto was in the ministry of agriculture, we **will** seek to expand irrigation in those areas and so as to reduce the potential areas of conflicts. That said and done, insecurity is not just a problem in Tana River, it is a national problem we **will** be able to address it. I don't think we need to change our pastoral communities per se I think we can turn our livestock industry into a productive segment. We need to train, to reeducate our pastoral farmers. We need to be able to ensure that we will be able give them improved range management with good supply so that they in shot don't have to travel all those distances. We need to commercialize our livestock industry. That said and done, to also

reduce incidences of cattle rustling and inducing modern technology for example implanting chips in our livestock which **will** help in tracking those animals and those cattle.

JULIE GICHURU: Okay your time is up you have gone into detail on the pastoralist issue but we will try and come to more on security in just a moment because I am gonna put another question to each of you. We are speaking of insecurity as we head into an election and we all know what happened in 2007/2008 and many questions have come in with same question put in different ways with Kenyans asking, “what will each of you pledge to do to ensure that Kenya is peaceful during and after the elections?” ...uhuru Kenyatta

UHURU KENYATTA: Our coalition is based on unity, peace and reconciliation of all the communities in this country. **If** anybody has followed speeches that I have made in every single rally, I have said first and foremost I have said on that note of peace, national reconciliation and unity in order for us to achieve our objectives together as Kenyans. Secondly, the issue of governance often emanates from the politicians themselves. **I strongly believe** that **if** politicians were to follow due processes, use exactly the best institutions people **will** not go to the streets. I have proved myself in the past in 2002 Where I accepted and conceded defeat to the honorable Mwai Kibaki. **I will** not **shirk** from doing the same again. Kenya is far better than every single individual and **I do believe** that a transparent and democratic process **will** give Kenyans their leader that they want and it is for all of us to accept the will of the people and to join hands and support that candidate who will be me on the fourth of March.

JULIE GICHURU: We have another question from a teacher and her name is Irene, please go on

IRENE: good evening, my name is Irene Omangi I am a high school teacher. My question is on education, I would like the presidential aspirants to let us know what they will do to ensure that the children will leave primary school, tranced into high school because we saw last week quite a number of children who did not get positions in secondary school and that will mean they will not get a basic education. What will your government do to ensure that this problem, is clearly solved?

JULIE GICHURU: Thank you so much for that I think on the issue of education if we go back to so many years in terms of enrollment, we have achieved something big as a nation. We have received huge charities that helped n transition from secondary but also transition from secondary to higher education and...thousands of students. Where do they go? Probably will also become a security issue...let me come to you uhuru Kenyatta on this issue

UHURU KENYATTA: Our manifesto is clear on this issue and I do appreciate this problem that is being mentioned. The problem that also of things that we see. And that is why in our manifesto we have made it very clear that we want to move to a situation where no child under the age of 18is either out of school or any other training institution and we have made it very clear that we would want to continue adding the classrooms, increasing the number of teachers as well as ensuring that we have, one, technical school in at least every ward in our country to ensure that those who do not ,make it into secondary school at least are able to be given some form of training that they could use to make a livelihood for themselves so the basic fact is that this would not only help us ensure that kids remain in school but to go a long way towards creating or move into a breeding ground that has been there for criminal gangs using this young men and women.

JULIE GICHURU: You also touch things like school feeding programs, milk for children in primary school, talk about the tablets, power tablets. How would you finance this?

UHURU KENYATTA: I stated severally and I have done in the past. I do believe that there is a lot of waste in government today. We moved when I was minister for finance for example to ensure that all the fuel guzzlers which were there were removed. These are moneys that **can** be saved to put into more serious issues like feeding our children, like ensuring no child is out of school before the age of 18. For example, what we are moving towards now is the ministry of foreign affairs that is equipped with professionals. There is no reason for every single conference to be attended by minister from another department. The minister who is properly staffed, properly equipped can handle that arm of government. There is major savings to be made there. Through the unnecessary travels that are made in this country severally and turn this and put it into useful uses that benefit the people in this country

JULIE GICHURU: You have admitted that there is wastage as well and what have you done and you are doing about it

UHURU KENYATTA: Thank you I know that.... **the truth is** that indeed there is a lot of wastage in government. And I have said that my record is very clear we tried various endeavors to curb that excessive spending especially with regard to vehicles that I mentioned for example, trying to reduce those trips and let put it on record the trips that we have been trying to reduce is foreign trips in the coalition government of Kenya. For the honorable prime minister...most important aspect is that it was under my tenure that we introduced the integrated management financial system all aimed at ensuring that we have better management and better financial accountability of our ministry. So that is something practical that I can say I have done moving in the direction of ensuring that we curb wastefulness in the government.

JULIE GICHURU: ...we are moving on from this issue to the next issue and the fact that we have been talking about inefficiencies on corruption and the money that has been lost in the government through excessive spending and everybody here admits clearly that this is happening. We come to the issue of health where corruption means life or death. We know that the communicable diseases have been a huge problem for this country now we see non-communicable diseases like cancer claiming so many lives and we have a question from a lady tonight who works in the health sector. Please go ahead

GLADYS SHUNDU: Hello, my name is Gladys Shiundu from the health sector and I will not be complete without talking about a patient, health service provider and the community who are the partakers of the services so my first question will be on the services. So, what do we intend to improve because we have high mortality, high maternal mortality, how do you intend to improve that if you are elected as a president? On health care providers, we have seen doctors, nurses and clinical officers in the streets striking for enumerations, for motivations and good working conditions what do you intend to do on that, because it is compromising the health care services. Then the last one will be on the community who are the partakers of the services, we have poor Kenyans who have got chronic illnesses, cancer, lacteal diseases and they need a lot of money for care. They end up dying because Kenya is overstretched and the other hospitals are very expensive for them, what are you going to do in that area?

JULIE GICHURU: Thank you very much and Gladys has three questions and I will try to summarize them. The high maternal mortality rate, I think we all must admit that this is an issue and shouldn't be happening, how you will address this issue. And she talks about the health sector workers and we saw this

on our country last year and she also talked on chronic diseases. Let's try and capture this in one question in the health sector. There is the issue of access perhaps to health care and there is the issue of access to quality healthcare and of course better pay conditions for those in the sector.... Let me come to you Uhuru Kenyatta on this very serious issue. Lives are being lost, it is a painful thing especially in a country where we are seeing cancer, diabetes, asthma now on the rise. And I think even cancer as a killer has overtaken tuberculosis and HIV/AIDS combine. What would your government do?

UHURU KENYATTA: I think first and foremost is a recognition that we need to ensure that we have a healthy nation and indeed we are seeing a huge increase in especially cancer and tuberculosis and other umm, lesser but preventable diseases rising. **That said and done I think** our manifesto is very clear. We have indicated that we want to move in the shortest time possible to a regime of universal healthcare. But we are not saying that we are going to wait until then. We are saying that immediately we want to be able to ensure that all health centers and dispensaries are free to our citizens. Furthermore, we have gone ahead and said that when it comes to maternal health care and in order to reduce both child and maternal mortality, we are saying that no woman **will** be charged at a public institution for having to have her delivery. This to me is the begging and again it may sound ambitious but this is something that we have practically tried when we had the economic stimulus for example, and when made sure that we build a health center in every constituency in the country with a wing dedicated for maternal healthcare. This is a program that we **would** want to continue and **will** continue.

JULIE GICHURU: Uhuru, with entrenched cartel and this is the reality we are dealing with. How do you deal with that?

UHURU KENYATTA: You have to ensure that at the public level you have the right facilities with the proper equipment people **will** go to the facilities. We need to equip our facilities we need to ensure that every area, a Kenyan can have access to a public health institution where he **can** receive treatment which then will reduce all pain. again, it will work in tandem we are not saying the private institutions **will** not be there but it is the primary responsibility of government to provide or make available healthcare for its citizens and that is what **I am saying** we need to have institutions better equipped, better staffed and also with the necessary drugs so that people can have access especially to those issues that are preventable.

JULIE GICHURU: We have now come to the end of the debate so I just want you to make the final comments...uhuru Kenyatta

UHURU KENYATTA: Thank you very much Julie. **I think it** has been an engaging evening, I want to conclude by saying that Kenya is a country with great potential. Kenya is a country that is just about ready to take off what Kenya needs is to change and to break away from past. For far too long, politicians have engaged themselves to bickering who holds what position as opposed to really dealing with the issue that really affects the common man. What I promise as a commitment to Kenyans is a coalition that will lead the government together with my colleagues in government. it will be a listening government that will seek and transform this nation, that seeks to unleash the potential that we have especially amongst our and one that **will** not focus itself on blaming individuals for this and that but rather be driven by action and truth that **will** bring positive change to the Kenyans. I ask you and ask the people of Kenya vote for me, vote for the jubilee coalition and let us together transform our nation.

1. Uhuru Kenyatta speech at Jubilee Manifesto Launch February 20, 2013

Thank you very much x2 and I appreciate that.

Let me take this opportunity to first of all thank my colleagues for their presentations and **I think** from what you have heard this is truly going to be a partnership where all of us **will** be given an opportunity to contribute to the development and to the governance of this nation. Friends let me say its pleasure to welcome you all to the launch of the joint manifesto of The National Alliance, The United Republican party, The National Rainbow coalition, and the republican congress party of Kenya. When we launched our coalition, we promised to go to the people and seek their views on the content of this manifesto in Kenya with our motto.

Tunaamini ‘Kusema na kutenda’ we have done just that, unlike other manifesto ours is not a dormant or lifeless write-up destined for safe storage away from mwananchi’s scrutiny. Rather it is a living document whose evolution is set to benefit from contribution of Kenyan. **We believe** in spirit of our people their ability they hope and desire for a better future and their commitment to this future **if** given an opportunity jubilee coalition has come together because **we believe** in Kenya and we stand here united by our vision and united for our country. **We know** the challenges our people face are great but **we know** that the opportunity for Kenya are grater still. We stand together to give our people the opportunity to make themselves as good as they can be. I want to take just a little moment to tell you how this coalition came to be.

The jubilee coalition was not founded as a political outfit. On contrary it was born in the process of seeking the lasting solution to the violence that has roughed out nations so often in the past.

Mistrust frustration and anger has too often led to violence as different communities worried about their future, have fought each other over resources and access to power more often than not. This has been fueled by politicians in their quest for political office and power. Since the advent of multiparty politics in Kenya in 1992 we have seen a cycle of violence that has led to death and destruction of property picking every five years. The most serious of this violence was witnessed in 2007 post-election when **over 1300** of Kenyans lost their lives **and over 300,000 were forced to free their homes**. Trauma of this cycle of violence has dominated our national dialogue ever since. This violence ladies and gentlemen **must** end. Our nation **must** heal and our people **must** come together with realization difficult **as it may seem** we do need each other. The solution should be obvious to all and we must learn to live with one another. Trust one another, respect one another, as Kenyans. This year ladies and gentlemen marks 50 years since the birth of our nation. This is our jubilee year and as the bible tells us the year of jubilee is the year of healing and forgiveness. It is the year of renewal.

My brother William Ruto and I were once in opposite side and we did agree that we needed to put aside our differences and come together as leaders to end this cycle of violence. And bring enduring peace and this has been our jubilee journey. We had meetings and we started with small meetings. These meetings have grown and they led to others and then to public rallies where we prayed together and publicly asked communities to forgive one another and to move on. To respect one another and we **will** never slip back to the darkness of violence. The overwhelming support we received in this endeavor is manifested in the fact that people return to their land and were welcomed back. The businesses that were closed were reopened and the community have started to mend the bridges and repair the relations that were fractured as a result of violence. It was in the process of achieving these milestones that a political alliance was forged not with interest of power but built on common understanding and commitment to build a united Kenya. We do not

imagine that we can dispel all ethnic tension and violence overnight but we **must** stay on course because we believe in Kenya.

We believe in Kenya and we believe in the spirit of that Kenya and that is the spirit in which we adopted our new constitution. Our nation has made progress in implementing that constitution strengthening the rule of law, reforming the judiciary over the last few years, and as a jubilee coalition, we **shall** continue to render our unwavering support to these reforms that are so vital to peace and stability in our country. That peace and stability has been tested in the past often times needlessly I do not intend to continue discussion on our nation solely on the context of challenge that we have faced, but instead **I propose** to offer solutions that **will** create opportunities that **will** help us overcome our difficulties. We need ladies and gentlemen to break from the past. It is now time to consign the days of strive to history and that's why we have formed this coalition. **We know** that we are created the right team to not only make Kenya vision 2030 a reality but also to deliver an accelerated economic growth higher living standard and more jobs.

More importantly the coalition is dedicated to radically address inexcusable poverty and inequality that exists in our country today.

The jubilee coalition is more than a political grouping. It is **actually** a national movement for peace unity development and transformative leadership for the people of Kenya.

Kenya has arrived at a turning point of our history and its time to fully embrace our destiny. This time to rededicate ourselves to the task of nation building and to the pursuit of the promise that hard work discipline and action will bring a life of prosperity dignity, peace and harmony and plenty within our borders. Ladies and gentlemen, **it is indeed time** to redeem Kenya. A renewed Kenya where we celebrate our diverse cultures and history a renewed Kenya, we forge a new future of peace unity and tolerance. A renewed Kenya where we shed our history of ethnic tension and social division. A renewed Kenya where all of us irrespective of who we are whatever over religious or ethnic identity whether men or women whether young or old we all put our country first. This is the future we aim to build a place where we live as one people in one nation. Ladies and gentlemen, we **will** build on successes especially on economic growth seen in the recent years under His excellency president Kibaki's government through building of infrastructure such as roads fiber optic cables, electricity and water supplies. The president has delivered vast improvement in our nation's hard work. **However**, our mission is to ensure that every Kenyan shares in that growth. Our mission is to build our nation software. The measures of our success **will** not be just how much wealth we create but how many benefits from it. **We all talk** of unity and umoja but that need to be more than just a word. **If** we as Kenyans we have to build a kind of a society that we want our children to inherit then it **must** come a way of life. A society where every citizen whoever they are wherever they live **will** have the same opportunity to succeed and prosper free of discrimination open or hidden. Our coalition is a symbol of change we **will** bring in Kenya. That change **must** transform the lives of all ordinary Kenyans by giving them the means to help themselves empowering them to make the choices they want about their own lives. In order to do so there are serious issues we **must** address. The first most of this is the kind question. It has been a running sore that has poisoned the relationship between communities promoting suspicion and driven dispute and even has been used as a political weapon. When our opponents seek short term political advantage, **we** as jubilee coalition seek to provide a long term solution. Land is always seen as a source of problems in Kenya. When it can instead be used as a tool to create wealth and opportunity for all Kenyans. The time has come my fellow Kenyans for us to settle this issue and to end the discord and argument. For

too long now in Kenya we have talked about land question. Now ladies and gentlemen we need to find the land answer. Fellow Kenyans for us to settle this issue and to end the discord and argument. Now ladies and gentlemen we need to find the land answer. **Fellow Kenyans**, please allow me to dwell on this subject for a little while. **You all know** that when colonial rule established itself in Kenya. It created three categories of land ownership. First was the land taken by colonial government for its own use which was called crown land. Second was the land given to settlers as private land and lastly what remained was assigned to Africans as native reserves. Back in 1954 under the sultan plan, some native reserves saw a process of adjudication consolidation and registration that gave titles to Africans. At independence our government inherited the crown land and renamed it the government land. Today this accounts for 13% of our country's total land mass. Native reserves became trust lands invested in local county council. Even after independence the settlers kept their land under private title or sold it to Africans on willing buyer willing seller basis. Today private land bought or sold like another commodity all together that private land accounts for 20% of our land mass. Land in those reserves that were not adjudicated, and given back to Africans is now called community land. Under our new constitution and is to be managed by the National lands commission. This category of land accounts for 2/3 or 67% of total land in Kenya. My fellow Kenyans each one of these categories carry its own problem.

Government lands has been poorly used and mismanaged, as trustees of the nation's assets, the jubilee government **will** reform its management, and ensure that it is used in the public interest and for the benefit of all Kenyans. The second category of land private land suffers from subdivisions and fragmentation leading to small and smaller parcels being passed on to new buyers or successive generations this is meant that some parts of our country land parcel have become so small that they are no longer viable for agriculture. The long-term economic consequence is that farmers can no longer support themselves or their families. In urban areas overcrowding and informal settlement or slums has grown and this trend is now being reflected even in densely populated rural areas. As a government **we will** provide a wider economic opportunity so that people especially in the rural areas do not feel that the only way they can make a living is tilling even the smaller parts of land using a jembe and a panga.

We aim to reverse the process of fragmentation and instead institute a process of reconsolidation that **will** create viable land holding. While our policy **will** be deliberate the process of consolidation **will** be voluntary and driven by availability of better opportunities across the country. To ensure this happens, we will build spinal infrastructure such as roads, rail water supply electricity and support new local centres where people can live and work. Our programme for skills training and economic development **will** ensure that life from land using modern mechanized, farming methods is a matter of choice not one of necessities. We **will** give new alternatives to our young to earn a living. Let me turn to community land. Today sixty years after suenitan plan was initiated 67% of our land in Kenya has still not been adjudicated and has no tittle. It is community land but those communities which live on it have no real rights the only thing we have done is to charge the category of that land and bureaucracy that is time to time the responsible for mismanagement. **The truth** is there has been no fundamental attempt to answer land question in Kenya since solution. For too long the land debate has been about the small fraction land while in fact 2/3 of our country is untitled and has remained unnoticed and never part of the pledge. The new constitution recognizes that this is a problem but it has not provided a solution. My government **will** be committed to give the land answer people living in community land suffer disadvantages not suffered by people living on their own land. They cannot unlock the commercial value of that land. Public bodies are hampered from providing services as effectively it's a no man's land individual **cannot** invest and develop the land as they do not know **if** one

day they may be moved on. The insecurity means they cannot invest even on their own housing. Above all they cannot raise capital or seek investment from others. We have turned them to squatters on poverty living **in a kind of** economic limbo. While those who have private titles are able to get credit invest in their land and consequently enjoy the phenomenon rise in value of that we continue to witness. The existence of these different categories of land private and community has led to a squad development across the country with millions missing out on benefits. Giving these people the right to own their land they live in **will** increase not only food production, but create more investment improve housing and health outcomes. It will allow individuals to take charge of their own lives, rely on their own efforts and it **will** minimize dispute of ownership between individuals, families and community. My government **will** be committed to giving people the title to their land. Sixty years after suenitan Kenyans deserve to have this process completed.

We **will** do this not just in the rural areas but also in urban areas where informal settlement are found. When we look at slums in our great cities, we see poverty but its time we saw the opportunity to generate wealth that lies therein. Take any slum take Kibera for example which has become famous for depth of its poverty. Visitors to our country are **often** taken to Kibera to see the levels of deprivation and erosion of human dignity that is residence there. Yet Kibera is some of the most valuable lands in Nairobi **rough estimates** of its value in Kibera around 60 billion shillings. People are **literary** walking over 60 billion which they own. Yet they have been denied by their politicians the chance of unlocking that wealth because they have been denied the title to their land.

My government **will** be committed to giving them title to that land which is key to unlocking the people of Kibera. It **will** be the responsibility of my government to help and organize the people of Kibera so that the community who own the land **can** reap its benefits. **Perhaps** through local societies community trusts or directly as property owners. My government **will** work with people of Kibera who **will** be the owners of the land they live on and with finances and developers to put up decent high rise high value homes and business which the people of Kibera **will** own themselves and no one else **will** transform a slum into a thriving new community without a single eviction or compulsory demolition. This is the model we intend to use with other areas where people live in slums with regards with issue of squatters my government **will** give them the rights to their land as well, but **will** work through the law and the owners of the land to find appropriate compensation mechanism for them. This **will** allow us to adjudicate that land and give rights to the squatters so that they have firm title too. For all those Kenyans who have been displaced whether by violence or by government policy on forest conservation or interethnic conflict and have waited for a long time for pleas to be answered we hear you and our government **will** accelerate and complete the resettlement efforts that are currently underway. To complete my plan on land reform we are committed to digitizing and decentralizing the land registry to scrab search fees and other fees imposed by land tribunals. The government **should** not place unnecessary roadblocks and obstacles to people doing transaction over their own land. I have taken time to give this matter the consideration it deserves and I don't want to score any cheap political score, indeed I welcome ideas that **will** help resolve these issues from whatever source they come. Land was the basis on which the war for independence was waged.

It is too serious a matter to become a political football. Too much blood has been shed in this country for that politicians especially those seeking higher offices in the land should not use it as a stone to throw at one another. This issue requires serious steady consideration and judgement. **And** answers designed to offer a long time solution and not short term political advantage.

Ladies and gentlemen, the last ten years has seen an extraordinary change in Kenya. Just walk around Nairobi and you can see the construction that is taking place in almost every corner. New cars crowd the street. New malls are full of busy shoppers. A new generation has embraced technology and made our country a high tech leader in Africa. **However**, ladies and gentlemen, there is another Kenya one that is not shining one where people are struggling every day to feed themselves sometimes going hungry themselves so that their children **can** eat in this other Kenya the last decade has not been so bright. A generation has grown up not knowing dignity and sense of self-worth that job brings. In this other Kenya when the rains have failed to come people have lost lives and livelihoods. Mothers have seen their children die from diseases that we learnt to cure decades ago. **In this other Kenya** and Kenya have to suffer the indignity for calling for relieve in order just to survive. So, two Kenyans have grown up side by side we have been an **island of wealth in a sea of poverty gated community guarded by armies of security guards** looking out over the slums where a lot of generation of young people feel they have been forgotten by the country they love. In the villages far beyond the end of the tarmac. There seen to be no alternative to life. People have lived for over a thousand years struggling to survive hoping to raise enough capital or growing food just to feed their families. We **cannot** go on like this anymore fellow Kenyans. The task of the next government is to build one Kenya not two Kenya.

2. Sept 2, 2017 – Address to Governors and MCAs Elect at State House.

Uhuru: I thank you for peace.

Uhuru: Kuheshimu uamuzi sio kukubaliana na uamuzi.

Uhuru: Explain to me (can you imagine x2)

And I have said we have a problem with our judiciary but regardless we respect but we **will** revisit we shall respect but we shall revisit.

This agenda oh yes, we **shall** first and foremost we **shall** address ourselves to the people of Kenya. Can imagine even in America which is supposedly the largest greatest democracy in the world..... Even before we discuss anything else kwanza, we are here to respect the will of the people.

..... because they know as a supreme court, they cannot overturn the will of the people lakini Maraga thinks he can overturn the will of the people. We **shall** show you in 60 days that the will of the people cannot be overturned by one or two individuals. Na tukishamaliza tutarevisit hii mambo yenu. Kwani wewe umechaguliwa na nani no Wewe no there is a problem and we must fix it. Going forward we must fix it. We must fix that problem we must fix that problem.

Let me tell you, let me tell you, we have been here before. They chased the older IEBC. If they think we don't have that time. If you have accepted all the rest of the results let us accept the ruling. Maraga don't interfere! And don't think because our friend shout at we keep quiet that we are scared of you know we are not. We are not.

You have done your ruling we have respected it. Let IEBC do their job, let them declare the date and Raila let us meet at the ballot.

We don't care, we have nothing to hide we have nothing to hide. All we want is for the will of the people to prevail.

3. Uhuru's Interview in France Oct 2, 2020

Will your party back William Ruto in 2022 election?

Uhuru: I have **always maintained very clearly** and it has been my position and I have been a public servant. We have an agenda as a government that we want to complete we are still almost 2 years away from an election this is not the time to start campaigning. That's number one. Number 2, I have also **made it very clear that** my intention is to do everything I **can** to bring people of Kenya together. To ensure that the next election **will** not be an election that **shall** be a tense election or an election that **can** lead to a potential rise of ethnicity and that is the reason I reached out to those who were in the opposition and **I said** look we have a mutual responsibility as a leadership of the county to ensure that we work together and try and find out why is it that our people fight or tensions... Now of course there some who **may** be feel that as a result of **that kind of** partnership and me reaching out to the opposition is meant to sideline William Ruto but there is nothing more to the contrary because what we are trying to do is to bring people together to agree on those issues that divide us and then be in a position to **actually** have an election....

Interviewer: Is he doing it?

Uhuru: **I don't say** he is doing it but my hope and my prayer is that I achieve.

4. Uhuru interview Sept 15, 2012 K24

The one thing I want to be clear and very categorical is that the willingness to work together with me **will** never, never override the democratic right of people to choose their candidate. So, you **may** be my greatest friend you **may** be my greatest support and I appreciate that as a person but ultimately **if** you are vying for a position of county assembly person, senator, governor, MP the person you **must** entrust yourself to is not me but the electorate.

Interviewer: Political analyst are saying perhaps, one day soon or later a combination of Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga would be a sure winning combination what are possibilities. Do you ever see yourself working with Raila Odinga again?

Uhuru: **I told you** politics for me has never been about enmity, politics is about programmes, politics is about agendas, politics is about where we want to take this country and the issues and visions that we have of this country so consequently I am willing to work with anybody so long as we share a common dream a common destiny for this country. That is what is most important.

Because politics should be about agenda and **should** be about issues it should not be about personalities. Politics **should** never be about personality. And I have stood by that for the longest time. The where we see in sharing in common, we must work together in order to achieve and deliver for the people of Kenya. That is why we are leaders We are not leaders for the sake of politics we are not leaders because of our personalities. We are leaders because the people who support expect us to deliver them from myriads of problems or to take our country in a certain direction.

Interviewer: How important is this by elections coming only a few months before the general elections coming only a few months before the general elections. How are they to the country to your party TNA and you as an individual?

Uhuru: Of course, they are important. They are important because for us as TNA this is our real first test each in eeh the electoral process. We are very young party. We did go through a process of nomination we are going for a major learning camp and this is the first time. We are giving Kenyans the opportunity to vote for TNA candidate. So of course, they are important and I know there **will** be many lessons that we **will** learn through this particular process. And we do also hope to win. Because we do believe **if** we do it then it means that the agenda, the purpose that we are pushing this our party, the direction we want to push our party it means we are heading the right direction. And that direction is the direction where we are talking about. As a youthful party we are talking about party that is concern with issues, we are taking about party that is inclusive of all communities of all religious of all ages of all creed in this country.

This is the new Kenya is the transformational Kenya that we see and of course this is going to be our first test before the Kenyan public.

Interviewer: Then there is issue of William Ruto at one point you seemed to be very close you were working together and all over sudden you are working separately. Does it mean you are no longer working together with William Ruto?

Uhuru: My friend there is no, I have no problem with either Ruto or anybody nothing. We are still good friends we meet regularly on **I think** what has happened and it's important to call a spade a spade **I think** what has happened which resulted in those issues coming up is that everybody is trying to build their own they own respective parties which is acceptable and is understandable. But eeh we still meet regularly we are still friends we still consult and we are still looking in ways in which we can work together going forward but **I think** over the last few months what has happened why may be people end up with all those speculations as people have been busy building their respective parties, people **think that** people are no longer working together. No building and strengthen your party is not enmity.

5. THE 2ND PRESIDENTIAL DEBATE 2013 PART 2 FEB 25, 2013 ON ECONOMY, INTERGRITY AND LAND

ODUOK AMIMO AND JOE AGEYO

Uduok A: Mr. Odinga we have heard a few people talk about engagement with labour. We have heard about livable wage put into the discussion. What do you think the lowest, the least wage a Kenya should earn?

Joe Ageyo: Mr. Kenyatta do you own or at least your family at least own half of Kenya and what do you have to say. What miss Kuria has just talked about?

Uhuru Kenyatta: I think I will begin by saying I have been very keen for my honorable sister here to take me to that land because **maybe** I can begin doing something about it. First and fore most this issue of land is a very emotive issue in Kenya. **And** unfortunately, the manner in which it has been handled has not been professional or a manner that is **really seeking** to find solution. What makes **me happy** today is the fact that today under our new constitution have a national land commission. Which therefore **means** we have an independent body that is not tied to anybody or answerable to anybody. That is supposed to help us resolve and bring about a solution to the land question. Allowing Kenyans for the first time to move to find the land answer. **We** as Jubilee coalition have in very big detail laid out how we intend to deal with the

land question. By providing land answer by ensuring that the independent land commission is given full support to execute its mandate. **I have said very clearly** that mandate does not involve putting anybody a side everybody who has been accused of impropriety the land commission should deal with it starting with myself. But I **would** like to **remind you** that to date safe from the rumors that have been peddled around, nobody! Nobody! Has ever pointed out and said that I have been involved in impropriety in land anywhere in this country.

Joe Ageyo: How much does your family own because there is a contention, some people say it is half the country, some people have said 500,000 probably tonight is an opportunity to clear this matter once and for all.

Uhuru Kenyatta: My family and myself own land. **And** I personally own land. **And** we consider land as factor of production. We have not in any place acquired any land illegally except through willing buyer seller and to use it as means of production to boost our own economy. **And** that is what we have been doing and have established and are on record the honorable Prime Minister has mentioned the fact that the land is an issue that what we have is extensive tracks of land half Province today. My sister is **talking of half** country. He has been in charge of this government for the last five years as Prime Minister. The minister of lands was appointed by him. To date there is nothing that they have put forward to proof those justifications.

Joe Ageyo: Prime Minister Mr. Raila Odinga. He says that you have been quite literally in charge of the land ministry. You have been saying recently you said in Kapenguria that he should give some land to IDPs and yet the minister for land James Orengo is directly supervised, actually appointed by yourself. What have you done? It has been five years. Why haven't you taken him to court?

Raila Odinga. Well Joe, let me begin by saying that **I believe** that in this country there is enough land for each one's need but there is not enough land for each one's greed. Land **as you know** was the centre of the struggle for independence in this country. It is a shame that today go and find people are squatters on their own ancestral land. They don't have titles. The something you find in central province and also in the Rift Valley. This issue was never settled that is why it has remained contentious up to now. What we did was first to have the legal frame work the new constitution which has got very elaborate chapter on land. Secondly, we now have a national land policy which was developed through this stewardship of my ministry lands. Then we now also have the national and commission. So now we have a legal framework to deal with these issues of land policy. **And** we are saying that the commission will be able to work independently. **Ask** yourself why did president refuse to gazette or to appoint the commissioner – all this time despite the fact the court ordered him to do so. Because of vested interest. Vested interest who does not want see proper reforms on land. And these interests are somewhere. We are not saddled with issues of land but we have people here running in these elections who have got cases. My brother has got cases issues on land ownership. There are others who have court cases in land. You cannot allow a hyena to protect your goats. And that's why we are saying we are the best.

Joy Ageyo: I believe the brother you are referring to is Mr. Kenyatta

Uhuru Kenyatta: Thank you. I have just heard my good brother Raila say that I have many cases pending before court. I would like him to maybe to cite a few.

Raila Odinga: No, I said some people. His running mate is known to be having cases with his own neighbours in court. **I am saying**, me and my colleague my running mate are not saddle we have no conflict of interest as far as land ownership is concern.

Joe. Mr. Kenyatta you probably need to respond because he has mentioned you who ever the author of that is

Uhuru Kenyatta: Well, I have no idea who the author of that report is. But what I can say **categorically and clearly** is that there is nothing in that statement that is true. **I have said severally** I have never safe for the rumors mongering been accused of any impropriety in terms of grabbing anybody's land. Land that we own as a family is land that has been purchased on basis of willing buyer and willing seller. At no instance whatsoever, however we do recognize that there is need to deal with this problem, not from an emotion point of view but from a practical point of view. And that is why we have said for example in our own manifesto that what we intend to do is to ensure that 60%, 67% of them and mass in this country which remains undedicated is adjudicated so that communities and individuals **can** begin to use that land as a factor of production as opposed to the way it is currently now. **And I believe** that we want to move to a society where Kenyans can own land that they can built properly on, farm, increase production in this country as opposed to the manner we have handled it so far which really has just focused on speculations, has just focused on playing on people's emotions as opposed to actively try to find that will allow Kenya to move forward.

Joe Ageyo: Do you find it necessary to say just how much land we are talking about?

Do you find it necessary to say how much land you or someone else in your family owns because that seems to be a major point of speculation that you keep referring to?

Uhuru Kenyatta: **I, I really don't unless you want to insist that I do** but the most important aspect is the fact as **I have always stated**, no organization, from Anti-corruption to the ministry of land has ever accused me of any kind of impropriety in land. Not at all not anywhere.

Joe: So, you would be willing to mention how much.

Uhuru: Well, like **I am saying** I do own land. That I do. And it is declared **you know**

Joe: How Much Sir?

Uhuru Kenyatta: **You know**, we have now public officer's ethics act. **And it clearly** states that every public officer of which I am one and I have been since the law was in place is supposed to report on his or her wealth. **I have dutifully** in accordance to the law fulfilled that particular requirement. Those files are available and open by for anybody who has any reason to suspecting me of doing anything. They just need to go the speaker office

Dinda: If Kiambu where he comes from the residents are complain, can he take charge of this country and work on land issues in the 47 counties?

Uhuru Kenyatta: **I want to put it this way**, it is not just in Kiambu where we have a problem of land. We have problem of land in every single one of our 47 counties. **And I believe** that is why land was a critical component of our new constitution. That is why we have now the national land commission that has been given the mandate to look into the issues of historical justice to look into issues of grabbed land, to look into issues of land use. **I have stated clearly and I will state** again, as the president **I will** take an oath that **I will** protect and defend that constitution. I intend to do so fully regardless of who or what is involved. We have that constitution and it is the responsibility of each and every one of us to ensure that it is fulfilled and what is stated is done in the best interest of the people of republic of Kenya.

Joe Ageyo: Mr. Odinga you were mention by that document that Mr. Dinda seems to be referring to.

Raila Odinga. Well, in defense of my brother Uhuru Kenyatta. He was **just** an innocent inheritor. He did not commit original sin and **I think** the country should sympathize with him but the issue is the betrayal of the freedom fighters. The original struggle those who sacrificed most were completely abandoned by the leadership that is the reason this issue has remained contentious issue for all this time. And now we have national land commission which **will** be given powers under my government to deal with these issues comprehensively respecting the sanctity of the title.

6. Uhuru interview Sept 15, 2012 K24

The one thing I want to be clear and very categorical is that the willingness to work together with me **will** never, never override the democratic right of people to choose their candidate. So, you **may** be my greatest friend you **may** be my greatest support and I appreciate that as a person but ultimately **if** you are vying for a position of county assembly person, senator, governor, MP the person you **must** entrust yourself to is not me but the electorate.

Interviewer: Political analysts are saying perhaps, one day soon or later a combination of Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga would be a sure winning combination what are possibilities. Do you ever see yourself working with Raila Odinga again?

Uhuru: I told you politics for me has never been about enmity, politics is about programmes, politics is about agendas, politics is about where we want to take this country and the issues and visions that we have of this country so consequently I am willing to work with anybody so long as we share a common dream a common destiny for this country. That is what is most important.

Because politics should be about agenda and **should** be about issues it should not be about personalities. Politics **should** never be about personality. And I have stood by that for the longest time. The where we see in sharing in common, we must work together in order to achieve and deliver for the people of Kenya. That is why we are leaders We are not leaders for the sake of politics we are not leaders because of our personalities. We are leaders because the people who support expect us to deliver them from myriads of problems or to take our country in a certain direction.

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Appendix II: Raila Odinga's Speeches

The 2013 presidential debate took place on the 2013 conducted by nation TV anchor Linus Kakai and Citizen's TV anchor Julie Gichuru

LINUS KAIKAI: Thank you once again candidates and welcome to this debate. The first part is about self-introduction. We are not going into policies. We are just going to do self-introduction. This is the moment you are going to do what you don't get to do in political rallies. Tell about yourself for thirty seconds. Who are you and what are your strengths?

LINUS KAIKAI: Right, honorable Odinga?

RAILA ODINGA: every Kenyan knows how I stood on this particular matter. Kofi Anan actually warned us about The Hague and me and president Kibaki spent nearly 8 hours in parliament trying to convince our colleagues to voter for a local tribunal. Unfortunately, two of our colleagues who are now in The Hague are the ones who actually led the campaigns against a local tribunal and unfortunately, I am the one who is being accused of taking people to The Hague because nothing could be found the truth. **I personally** don't want to eliminate any kind of a person in the competition that is why I **would** rather have my brother on the ballot but I know that this poses challenges to run a government by Skype from The Hague. **I know** that it is not practical.

LINUS KAIKAI: Paul Muite,

PAUL MUIITE: My plea is to spare a thought for the victims, the 1300 people, Kenyans, innocent that were murdered or were killed leaving behind relatives, the many women and men who were raped. Let us spare a thought for the victims. Let us also agree that we cannot continue with the culture of impunity. Having said that, the way to tackle the issue of impunity is to go to the highest levels where is to be filed. And I am asking as a lawyer having written the law stature, the ICC can only handle the cases of people or accused persons, jurisdiction is limited to those holding highest responsibility. As a feeder government would revisit the issue of jurisdiction. The honorable uhuru Kenyatta, and he has not asked me to hold his brief, was not a presidential candidate. If you are going to charge six people you must begin with number one number two up to number six you cannot begin with three, four, five and six. And I wonder whether there was blinking on the part of the office of the prosecutor. As a feeder government I would like to revisit that is that those holding the highest responsibility perhaps go to the door there, the others are dealt with here in accordance to the law

LINUS KAIKAI: Are you talking about presidential candidates and therefore your colleague to your right Raila Odinga, he should be in the list?

PAUL MUIITE: Two people who were presidential candidates, it is impossible, you cannot persuade my mind or the mind of any rational people, that the two candidates did not know about it, it is only this four other Kenyans who are facing charges there and it is only the other two candidates who did not have a clue about it. That is the issue I want to see investigated as a SAFINA government; we would revisit that issue.

LINUS KAIKAI: Honorable Odinga respond to that.

RAILA ODINGA: That is the most irresponsible state that **I ever heard**. Because my friend needs to know that investigations carried out by a jurisdiction that is appointed by the Serena process through the justice working which then produced the list of the names which were handed over to Kofi Anan who was the leader of the process and then that list was handed over to Mr. Ocampo. **Me I don't fear, I have nothing to hide, I know exactly** what I did and **I know** that I was not responsible and **I will** be very willing to go to the Hague **if** only Muite **will** want to take me there.

LINUS KAIKAI: Martha

MARTHA KARUA: I just wanted to disprove that the two principles actually pushed for the local tribunal. I was the minister for justice then, the entire cabinet passed but when I reached parliament, they left me with the baby. The two principals in spite of my pleas to them failed to come and persuade members they merely came to vote and in their full view there was rebellion on cabinet pushing people to vote...Refuse to vote for the local tribunal. So, to put the record straight, the two principals did not stand in parliament and persuade their troops to vote for the local tribunal.

LINUS KAIKAI: And one of the principals is here, Raila Odinga

RAILA ODINGA: **I really just** wanted to jog with the memory of my justice here that first we had a PGA, joint PG meeting of PNU and ODM. Who shared myself and president Kibaki in the old chambers, pleading with the members to agree to vote for the local tribunal? This is on record even for the answers it bears out. We tried as much to persuade all the members to vote for a local tribunal but the cry was don't be vague let us go to The Hague, **unfortunately**.

LINUS KAIKAI: but prime minister, why is it difficult for a lot of people to believe your position on the ICC question? The common perception is you put a front that looks like you support a local process when indeed you wanted your opponents out of the country?

RAILA ODINGA: **In fact**, let us first set up a cabinet committee on ICC chaired by the late professor Saitoti and former attorney general, there was also Mutula Kilonzo, James Orengo, Amason Kingi and so on. They went first to Geneva then they went to The Hague. Then Mr. Ocampo told him he was not interested in coming to Kenya. **If** Kenyans **can** agree to set up a local tribunal, the ICC **will** not get involved so we tried to do everything possible. The second time we went to the cabinet when Martha had already resigned in the government, it was shot down in the cabinet and the two who are now are in the Hague led the campaign in the cabinet to shoot down the proposal to set up a local tribunal.

LINUS KAIKAI: Finally on this question...okay honorable Kenyatta...

UHURU KENYATTA: **I think** there is a discrepancy there because he just said cabinet. First it was rejected on the floor of parliament so we couldn't have let pass in cabinet. I think we are all together in cabinet we approved and on the floor I think Martha is quite correct that on the floor there was complete confusion, there was no guidance and as many members of the ODM team, as many members of the PNU disagreed with the position so it was not as my brother put it that he mobilized troops to vote for a local tribunal process because his own troop rebelled on that particular position with regard to this document.

LINUS KAIKAI: Thirty seconds

RAILA ODINGA: you know the troop that rebelled from ODM are troops who are loyal to my friend William Ruto and who were told to vote against and the troops who were loyal to me voted for a local tribunal and the set up here. But then I was saying there was a second attempt after Martha has resigned from the government when Mutual Kilonzo he redrafted the bill, brought it to the cabinet, it was not approved, it was rejected in the cabinet through the intervention of my friend

LINUS KAIKAI: Are you satisfied with that?

UHURU KENYATTA: I think the Hansard record and the voting record proved that it is not that way.

LINUS KAIKAI: Thank you very much. ...and there is that charge that Honorable Raila Odinga as the prime minister has done nothing on the Migingo issue

RAILA ODINGA: Well, there is that claim as my colleagues have said, that Migingo is not in Kenya. **We did actually** discuss with the Ugandan government **and actually** set up a joint committee consisting of experts from Uganda and Kenya. That survey work has not been completed because of certain technical issue from the other side. Uganda is a friendly neighbor and is **actually inconceivable** that two countries **can** go to war over a piece of rock on the lake. We are trying to resolve this matter peacefully with Uganda because we are now trying to move to the East and Central African federation so we don't want to let the issue of Migingo to mar the relationship between Kenya and Uganda.

LINUS KAIKAI: ...that will be the last comment of this first part of our presidential debate...my colleague Julie will take you through the final part of the debate

JULIE GICHURU: Thank you, both of the candidates it is clear that the domestic issue and external forces as well have contributed greatly to an increased insecurity in Kenya along our borders and within the country as well. What does your administration intend to do for each and every Kenya irrespective of the county, social status, age, what is your commitment to this country? Honorable Raila Odinga

RAILA ODINGA: ...Internal and external. First, we have to ensure that we have secure borders because we have insecurity that comes from the small arms that come across the borders because of the conflicts in our borders. Here our armed forces are equal to the task and I want to congratulate our armed forces tonight in front of Kenyans for the job that they have done in Somalia in trying to secure our borders with Somalia. Internally, we need to continue with the police reforms. We **must** reform our police so that the police unit is efficient. The reforms need to be started, need to be continued and need to be completed. A Police that is more disciplined, better remunerated, more equipped that then discharge the responsibilities irrespective ...

JULIE GICHURU: lets us just have this before we continue, as a prime minister what has happened in the Tana Delta, what we have seen in Baragoi, many other parts of the country have happened under your watch, what is your comment on that?

RAILA ODINGA: **You see** there are **certain** historical issues that we also need to address. The issue of the border disputes between the two counties that is Tana River and Tana delta... I mean Tana River County and the Garissa County, all these need to be resolved but we need to know that pastoralism as a way of life has now become unsustainable in the time of climate change so we need to find a way of diversifying the

economy of our pastoralists so that we can **actually** be able to exist in this time of climate change. We still have now the cowboy culture which was existing in United States of America in the pre-industrial era. This is **actually** happening in our society today. Then we need to improve community policing so that this trust between the community and the police officers to be able to do proper policing. Finally, poverty, the insecurity that comes as a result of poverty can only be dealt with by dealing with poverty among our people

JULIE GICHURU: I am going to come back to you because it is good if you give a comment on who is here today and has suffered the hands of insecurity on the governments responds and why perhaps it has failed to respond on the issue...

JULIE GICHURU: Okay your time is up you have gone into detail on the pastoralist issue but we will try and come to more on security in just a moment because I am gonna put another question to each of you. We are speaking of insecurity as we head into an election and we all know what happened in 2007/2008 and many questions have come in with same question put in different ways with Kenyans asking, "what will each of you pledge to do to ensure that Kenya is peaceful during and after the elections?" ...let us now go to Raila Odinga

RAILA ODINGA: **You know** that Kenya has now had about 4 multi-party elections and the past violence was actually before the elections but only this last time round, in 2007, when we had violence post-election. **We all know** what actually happened because we don't want a repeat of what happened in 2008 to be repeated again. We have said as CORD we **will** accept the results of this election. **If** we are defeated, we **will** accept the defeat and **if** there are complains we **will** go to court. But... (Interrupted)

JULIE GICHURUR: 10 seconds...

RAILA ODINGA: **What I am saying** is that we do not want to mobilize along ethnic lines that is why we are campaigning on a national platform to unite people and we are also telling the media to help us do this so that the media also stop going along the ethnic lines and **actually** come together. Like what happened **recently** and **I have mentioned before** and **I have mentioned again here** this is a way of banding ethnic figures, polarizes the country along ethnic lines and this is not helpful for a national campaign. We want to compete along ideological lines. We have clear policies that we want to the people of Kenya and to judge us on the agenda to the people

JULIE GICHURU: Thank you so much for that I think on the issue of education if we go back to so many years in terms of enrollment, we have achieved something big as a nation. We have received huge charities that helped n transition from secondary but also transition from secondary to higher education and...thousands of students. Where do they go? Probably will also become a security issue... honorable Odinga your government over the past five years and certainly this did start in 2002 has achieved a lot since we first introduced free primary education and has gone now to do0 more so in terms of having more children in school is a success but in terms of quality there are huge issues and of course we talked again about the transition issues as well. What would you do in this coming administration to ensure the success of this?

RAILA ODINGA: **First and foremost**, we are talking about an inclusive government, Kenya for all. And I **will** start here by offering equal opportunity for each and every child born in our country. We are talking about manpower development and this starts here in nursery then in primary. **First what I am saying** is

that free education much be really free. **Free must be free.** Meaning that there **will** be nothing like uniforms being provided by parents, things like writing materials, textbooks and so on. All that **will** be provided by the government. Then we want to ensure that there is a higher rate of transition. In 2007 the transition rate was 66%. It has moved gradually to 73% in 2011, this time round is 78%. It is still unacceptable. We want to see another rate of transition from primary to secondary but also disparity between girl child and boys. More boys triumph than girls. We want to address the issue of girl child in this country. For example, this issue of sanitary towels, we talked about that last time round, I am trying to push this time this government **but** there has been a lot of resistance. We are going to ensure that there are sanitary towels in each and every primary school in our country provided by the government to ensure that girls have equal opportunities to triumph as boys.

JULIE GICHURU: We are talking about sanitary towels but provision was made to actually start to sanitary towels by the government but we introduce the whole issue that has been raised by Dida of the pay. There is a huge discrepancy of the pay of teachers for instance and the members

RAILA ODINGA: Yes, there is a shortage and **actually I** have started negotiations, and there is a shortage of teachers, within professor ole Kiyiapi and we must hire more teachers so that we reduce the ratio of teacher to children ratio in primary school.

JULIE GICHURU: How do you handle the issue of then paying and of course of...?

RAILA ODINGA: This is an issue that we have looked at very carefully. First, the issue of teachers alone **they say**, of 30 billion Kenya shillings is **actually** wasted in government. And what I have is that we are going to transform the public sector within the first 100 days to ensure that we have that saving. We **will** have then also in terms of revenue every year; the revenue increases by 100 billion shillings. So, we **will** allocate that 1/3 of that revenue to primary and secondary education to ensure that our children get quality education right through to secondary school.

MARTHA KARUA: My problem is that just looking at the campaigns of my learned colleague and the lavish spending of that campaign and most of the campaigns of my colleagues here except a few, I am just wondering if they continue with that lavish spending where will the money come from? When I say that we will ensure that then use of public funds is not abused, I have practiced it in my campaigns. So how is my colleague honorable going to do that?

JULIE GICHURU: Honorable Raila I will allow you one minute to respond to that.

RAILA ODINGA: Campaign time is campaign time and that is why people actually did fund raising. Look at the amount of money they used in the US campaigns recently. The...campaign. You raise money from friends because you have to reach the rest of the country. **But** this is very different once we are done with campaigns and settle down with the serious business of governance.

JULIE GICHURU: I was actually coming to that point which is education promise with that question but I will allow the prime minister 30 seconds to respond to this...you have been asked a question by peter Kenneth 30 billion you say, and what have you done about it?

RAILA ODINGA: My friend actually he knows he has been an assistant minister in the treasury and he is now vying this time round. These are now the challenges that come with running a coalition government

actually a grand coalition government. **I have been charged within the responsibility of supervising the impunity.** But there are certain areas where this impunity there is **little that you can do** and there is the point which minister of finance honorable Uhuru Kenyatta has just admitted that there is **this kind of** wastage in the finance ministry but it does not tell us what.... (interrupted)

JULIE GICHURU: You have admitted that there is wastage as well and what have you done and you are doing about it

UHURU KENYATTA: thank you **I know that....** the truth is that indeed there is a lot of wastage in government. And I have said that my record is very clear we tried various endeavors to curb that excessive spending especially with regard to vehicles **that I mentioned** for example, trying to reduce those trips and let put it on record the trips that we have been trying to reduce is foreign trips in the coalition government of Kenya. For the honorable prime minister...most important aspect is that it was under my tenure that we introduced the integrated management financial system all aimed at ensuring that we have better management and better financial accountability of our ministry. So that is something practical that I can say I have done moving in the direction of ensuring that we curb wastefulness in the government.

JULIE GICHURU: there is a claim that your office is a big spender...

RAILA ODINGA: This is why, whenever the prime minister goes out of the country unlike the president, he goes with a bigger entourage he goes with other ministers and he always goes out to try to negotiate funding for the country so what my office has brought back into this country is far much larger than the little amount that was spent to get him out of this country.

JULIE GICHURU: So, you are saying indeed you do spend?

RAILA ODINGA: I always do that; all members of my delegation are people who add value to the trips I don't just take people on a joyride. All come because we have something to contribute to the trips.

JULIE GICHURU: Thank you very much and Gladys has three questions and I **will** try to summaries them. The high maternal mortality rate, **I think** we all **must** admit that this is an issue and shouldn't be happening, how you will address this issue. And she talks about the health sector workers and we saw this on our country last year and she also talked on chronic diseases. Let's try and capture this in one question in the health sector. There is the issue of access perhaps to health care and there is the issue of access to quality healthcare and of course better pay conditions for those in the sector...Raila Odinga, is about priorities, has the government misplaced priorities and what would you do differently?

RAILA ODINGA: In chapter 4 that is in the human rights chapter, Medicare is **actually** a fundamental human right. It says that every Kenyan, when sick, **should** have access to health care. So, we are going to implement the constitution that is why we are a coalition for reforms and democracy. Now, when Medicare is a fundamental right of all people, and we are going to do this by first introducing a comprehensive national health insurance scheme. This has been an issue which has exercised the mind of Kenyans for a long time. It has been debated for long time. Remember the bill was brought to parliament, it was approved by the former minister for health but then we did not get the ascend of the president because of the lobbying that has stopped it. But Kenyans are **actually** more concerned with self-services. Kenyans **will** be willing to pay some little money for quality services. So, what we are talking about here is that we are going to deal with issues of access. Accessibility and affordability. So, we are talking here in terms of facilities being

brought closer to the people from the sub locations, to the locations, to the sub counties, to the county and then to the nation level. So that we **can** actually reduce pressure on the other national institutions.

JULIE GICHURU: Let me ask this as the Prime Minister for the past few years, why haven't you not already started to have this?

RAILA ODINGA: Because there has been resistance from the big boys as you know...

JULIE GICHURU: Who are the big boys?

RAILA ODINGA: The big boys are known, the big in the insurance companies.

JULIE GICHURU: Private sector you are saying, and they are certainly here today

RAILA ODINGA: They are here today and we are saying they also have their own share in this, market. This market is big enough. Those who can afford to pay. But we are not saying it is not right but the few who have the money who can afford to pay and get quality services at the expense of the majority who cannot afford to pay saying that, one we are saying that anti natal services should be free completely. We want this HIV/AIDS people have access to medicine for free.

JULIE GICHURU: Thank you.....how many want to chip in for 10 seconds? Rail go ahead

RAILA ODINGA: What has happened is that we have got the national government and the county government but this **should** work in a complementary manner. They national government is responsible for policy and also supervision to the county government to ensure that the standard is uniform. Secondly we **must** ensure that we work with the private sector. What we are talking about is not the seclusion of the private sector. We are just saying agenda is so important and you for example how contentious it has been in the United States of America, the Obama care, a very contentious issue. **We think** it is actually doable here and this is what is **actually** going to make Medicare accessible and affordable to every Kenyan.

JULIE GICHURU: We have now come to the end of the debate so I just want you to make the final comments...please Raila Odinga go ahead

RAILA ODINGA: Kenya is now 50 years down the road. This year there have been two forces, pulling and two of directly opposed directions. The forces for retention status quo vs. the forces reform and change and this why we are here. **What we are saying** is that the forces of retention status quo are responsible for what we have today. Our per capita income was higher than that of Korea in 1970 110 against 79. Today Korea's per capita income is 22000usd against 460usd here in Kenya. The reason is because of the mediocrity in this country that has been led in this country for 50 years. The time for change is now and that change **will** come through the coalition for reforms and democracy which has been the comprehensive agenda to move Kenya from a third world status top a first world status.

Mohammed Adow Interview with Raila Odinga - Aljazeera on 2017 Rerun Elections

Mr. Raila Odinga welcome to talk to Aljazeera. You have been reacting to the results of the rerun election which you have rejected and said that the election should not be allowed under any circumstances. What are your reasons for that?

Raila Odinga: These were a sham election in other words **in our view** they never took place. **And** these results **should** not be allowed to stand, because it **would** give a very bad example to our future generations

who are watching what is happening here. **Is this really an election?** is this how election **should** be held in Africa? Why **should** Africa be judged by lower standards compared to the rest of the world? And that's **is the reasons we said** we want to be the people who **will** do away with election rigging on the African continent. To show that African people deserve a better standard than what they are seeing right now.

Mohammed Adow. But you boycotted this election voluntarily. You stood in front of the media and said you were withdrawing from the election process. And you of all people should not be allowed to pass a judgement on an election that you quit on your own.

Raila Odinga: It is precise because I withdrew, that these elections **should** not be allowed to stand. **As you know** we went to the Supreme Court I challenged the election results of elections of 8th of August and provided sufficient evidence that there was massive rigging of those elections. Supreme Court agreed with us and said that those elections were not held according to the constitution and the laws of the country. Directed the election commission to go and do it they said there were irregularities and illegalities which needed to be addressed. On that basis we came out and prepared a twelve point document called the irreducible minimum conditions which needed to be implemented to ensure that there was a level playing field to avoid a repeat of what happened on 8th of August. The electoral commission refused to respond positively to those points which were raised. Then we realized that the ground was not level going back to an election was just going back for a repeat that is doing the something the same way expecting different results. **And** we said it was a shared was going to be a waste of time and waste of our resources on that basis we decided to pull out of the elections. In spite of that, electoral commission went ahead to put our names on the ballot paper. But not only that one of the seven commissioners Madam Roseline Akombe resigned ten days to the election aah and **actually** freed the country citing insecurity, threat and said that electoral commission cannot provide free and fair elections.

Mohammed Adow: You went to the Supreme Court challenging the results of August 8th elections. The Supreme Court in its verdict agreed with some of the issues you had raised in court and nullified the elections but again in its verdict said it is the current electoral commission as constituted would be holding elections in 60 days. You knew what you were getting into from all set Mr. Odinga didn't you?

Raila Odinga. The Supreme Court directed the electoral commission to do a repeat poll in line with constitution and the law of the country and to address the irregularities and illegalities which had been discovered by the court by swearing false affidavits. There are those who had hacked into the system and had posted false results and this had been discovered through a verification which had been ordered by the court. The other officials particularly the ICT manager who had refused to comply with court order to allow our experts to access to the server so that **we could** inspect the result of the election as contained in the server. Aah then was the head of the electro commission himself who also had committed perjury.

Mohammed Adow: Regarding the rerun results you said numbers don't add up what proofs do you have?

Raila: Well, I have got report from the IEBC itself **which we call** whistle blowers within the IEBC also the Safaricom which was the major service provider who did the transmission.

Adow: The telecommunication company you mean?

Raila: **Exactly** the telecommunication company the service providers there was Safaricom, there was orange and there was Airtel who were transmitting.

Mohammed Adow: The ruling party says one of the reasons for the low turnout was people were stopped from going to the polling stations roads and highways were crossed by your supporters and that you and your party actually took part in acts of sabotage to sabotage the election

Raila: **I' I went on live Tv interview and I urged my supporters not to turn up to vote but not stop anybody who wanted to go and vote.** But as you voting in this country is voluntary. It is not mandatory

like countries like Australia. So, people **can** decide not go and vote, they **can** decide to do a procession just to express their anger and the impurity that was being exercised by the government and the electoral commission and the excessive deployment of security forces around their places of residence. That itself offends people and annoys people. Those youths were basically confronting the security agencies.

Mohammed Adow: No, they were not doing only that Mr. Odinga. I was at Kibera Olympic primary school where some of your supports broke through the wall, they destroyed the wall first and set fire on classrooms and police had to use the water canister to put it out. This was done in your name Mr. Odinga.

Raila: The fact the school where the wall was broken **is actually** called Raila education centre I sponsor that school I build it myself but then there were security officers inside so that you were actually fighting with the security officer they were not blocking anybody from going to vote.

Mohammed Adow: and the government had to do what it had to do to ensure that voting took place.

Raila: Yes, I am saying that people I am saying that there was confrontation that was unnecessary I am not really praising it but I am also blaming the government for over deployment of security forces in the area. We can say by and large there was general boycott of the elections. And I would say that is wrong to attribute this to interference.

Mohammed: The turnout was 38+ %. The electoral commission says Uhuru Kenyatta got more than 7 million votes. That's is not very far from the mark of what he got in the August 8th election

Raila: For the records that we know and even from the media has its own story because they are the ones who went around the country, they tell you the turnout was very low and we are surprised that in the end they say here that 70% of the people voted.

Mohammed Adow: You have said that you were turning your national super alliance into a resistant movement and you will be carrying out acts of civil disobedience what do you want to achieve?

Raila: We are talking about peaceful resistance to authoritarianism aah not talking about armed resistance use of violence. We have said that we detest violence as a way of bringing up change in the country.

Mohammed: You say more protest on the streets of the major cities of this county which will results in violence automatically because as it is known to be crashes between police and your supports. And this hurting this country Mr. Odinga. Why don't you just agree and accept that you have been outsmarted and move on.

Raila: I have not talked about violence. I am talking about nonviolence means of bring about change in this country and I have mentioned our constitution in the human rights section talks about the rights to demonstrate rights to picket, the right to protest the rights to boycott and the rights to petition. All these are perfectly legal. The violence is never made by the members of the public. It is the authorities who instead of providing the security to the people once they have been notified that we are going to do a procession which should not be use of violence against innocent people.

Mohammed Adow: These protests are not just protest they are a continuation of what started way back in June and the economy is suffering tourism is at an all-time low people are losing their jobs. Why do you to drag the country you know through even a longer and elongated political process?

Raila: This is the easy option which the government actually wants accept and move on. Then what happens next time. Next time there will be complete apathy in this country. No Kenyan will turn up to vote at all. And this indeed what we call electro autocracy in the African continent. There are now countries in this continent where 10 or 20% of the population turn up to vote and the president would then get 98% of the vote because he is running alone.

This is what has happened here for example.

This is not what we want, we want a vibrant democracy in our country. **So, we are concern** about violence the loss of life of our people **but at the sometime we must converse** for change in this society. We can't accept this kind of imposition of leadership on our people. Because otherwise our democracy **will** collapse and we have a duty not only to ourselves but to the future generation of our country. Next time **I will not probably** be a candidate but then there will be another candidate and that candidate will suffer the same fate.

Mohammed: Are you saying that you will be satisfied with just reforms in the electoral commission. What you call electoral justice and once that is done you will be fine and continue with your life.

Raila: We this country is, this country is bigger than all of us. But at the sometime we **must** conclude this electoral cycle. It is not yet concluded.

Mohamed: The electoral commission says it is.

Raila: According to them, why did they have to repeat it and repeat and bangle it again like they bungled the first one. That is why it is still unfinished business. **It is not done until it is done.**

Mohammed: Aren't you being unfair to millions who turned out to vote on 26th of October.

Raila: Assuming Uhuru Kenyatta got 7.4 million votes **which I know he did not get; I know** he got 3.5 million, still there are 12 million Kenyans who did not vote for him even that particular day. Those who did not vote for him are even more than those who voted for him. **I think** it is that majority I am talking of; it is that majority on whose behalf I am talking and **I think** that majority deserves to be listened to.

Mohamed: Your opponents describes you as a sour sole loser, a man who never accept defeat.

Raila: I don't really care about what they say about me because I don't expect them to complement me. In 2013 what happened in 2017 is exactly what happened. We went to court the court said that our evidence was produced late so it dismissed the evidence. And went ahead to award victory to our opponent. And we said we don't agree but we respect ruling of the Supreme Court and we argued our supporters not to protest. So how can I be called a sour loser.

Mohammed: So, what you are saying you contested four times and you have been robbed off what you call victory.

Raila: Three times.

Mohammed: Three times that must say a lot about you too.

Raila: Yes, I am just saying I am not that because Raila Odinga is power hungry. Raila Odinga want to see democracy properly established in our country. Either we have autocracy aa where election is just a ritual where the incumbent deal with them after every five years and just entrench themselves or it's a true competition where that is a possibility for the opponent to also win.

Mohamed: President Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto say that while they are ready to dialogue with you, they are not ready to discuss anything outside the current constitution. This sets stage for a confrontation, doesn't it? Given what you have called for the protests the demos and the picketing.

Raila: I have seen Mr. Ruto say he is ready to discuss with me my retirement package. My retirement package is in the constitution and in the law. I don't need any kind of favoritism from Mr. Ruto about my retirement package. They refused to give it to me since I retired as the prime minister of this country. But is subject for another day. **Here I am talking about electoral justice and its not Raila Odinga speaking.** I am talking on behalf of millions of this country, who **actually** matter. They have taken the electoral commission hostage they are **basically** running against themselves.

Appendix III: William Ruto's Speeches

LINDA OGUTU INTERVIEW WITH WILLIAM RUTO- JAN 30, 2013

Secondly, the people of Kenya having engaged in a democratic process, because at the heart of every nation at the heart of every democratic state is the right to choose if people of Kenya choose Uhuru Kenyatta and myself, to run the business of Kenya, I **am sure** the court in the Hague **will** find a timetable that **will** allow us to attend court and at the same time to attend to the business of the people of Kenya. Kenya is a signatory to the Hague eeh statute.

And therefore, they have an obligation to make sure that Kenya is moving. And therefore, to the best of my knowledge on the 5th of March it **will** down and the people running the business in the Hague and tell you see we have a matter in court. We have every intention to attend and to make sure we take ourselves through the process but we also have a country to run. And therefore, we are going to create a timetable that will gives us time to run the business of Kenya and I want to promise you we intend to do a very good job of it.

Linda Ogutu: Are you in a way Mr. Ruto suggesting if at all you are elected and Uhuru Kenyatta is elected as well, you would actually go to the ICC and tell them look we have a country to run we cannot do these with all these cases forth and back can we defer this?

Ruto: There **will** be a discussion on whether to proceed with cases and we have no problem with that. **You know we will** attend court so long as we create a timetable that will allow us to attend court and at the same time to run the business of this country. And if the court and **I am confident** that the court is actually run by reasonable people they **will** want to appreciate that six seven million people in Kenya I mean have a right to the leadership they have chosen. Really, I mean and if at all this is about democracy, I mean I think they **will** listen to the voice of millions of Kenyans who **will** have said yes Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto have cases but we believe they are the right people in a Jubilee year to run a Jubilee government.

Linda Ogutu: So, in essence deferment is an option?

Ruto: I cannot tell you that here but there **will** be a discussion.

Linda Ogutu: We have less than thirty days to go the general election do you think then this election **will** be sort of a referendum the ICC process by the Kenyan people.

Ruto: The people of Kenya by the way are least bothered about the ICC. The people of Kenya have very serious issues that they want attended. They have no time for personality issues. The people of Kenya a government that will ensure there is expanded food does not become the preserve of the privileged and the rich that food becomes available to every Kenyan irrespective of their situation in life and in prices that are affordable. **We** have a plan as a Jubilee coalition that **will** put in place a mechanism that **will** expand food production so that we can attend to millions of Kenyans who sleep angry every evening and some of them die of hunger. We have a plan. We have a serious plan on how to tackle the runaway security in our country. We have a plan on how to tackle youth employment in our country, we have plan on infrastructure, we have a plan on how to turn around this country. That is what is going to inform this election. It is not the issues about individuals. It is the issues that are dear and close to the people of Kenya. **And** Kenyans **will** be watching and will be searching for the men and women who have a track record of performance, people who don't engage in empty rhetoric. People who don't *eeeh* spend all their time explaining the problem of the people of Kenya. People who have a solution to the challenges that face the people of Kenya. **My dear** that is what is going to inform this election.

Linda Ogutu: Let me just take you a little bit back Mr. Ruto. You said that Kenyans are not bothered about ICC they are bothered about what is going on there but you realize Mr. Ruto there are implications of Uhuru Ruto presidency. With regards to ICC surely, they have to be concern they have to want, they must want to know what will happen if we get you presidency.

Ruto: So, what are you saying?

Linda Ogutu: It has to be a concern at the back of your mind. Does it worry you that people really think about this? They make it as consideration when they are making their decision?

Ruto: **And if** they do so, that's okay with **us you know**, we are prepared, we are confident that the people of Kenya **will** make informed choices at the ballot. You know and if ICC is going to be one of the issues

that they put on their score card so be it. But I want to tell you, but I want to tell you my dear sister, **many** people I have come across this country and I travel a lot. They want to know their children **will** go to school, they want to know their next meal is going to be prepared and how much its going to cost. They want to know, the young people, they want to know, the young people, they want to know how they are going to feed their families, they want to know they are going to contain insecurity eeh in their homes in their villages. They want to be safe. They want this economy to grow. Those are the concerns of the people at least the ones I have come across.

Linda Ogutu: So, what is driving you to want to be the deputy president of this country? Talk to your people.

Ruto: Well, I believe that combined force between Uhuru Kenyatta and myself **will** give this country the necessary synergy that **will** unleash the tremendous potentials that exist in our country. We made a conscious decision Uhuru Kenyatta and myself that we are going to remove the politics of us versus them, the politics of ethnicity the politics of this community versus that community. For a long time since the advent of multiparty democracy, this country has witnessed violence after violence clashes after clashes and clashes and all and we made conscious decision. And very many people persuaded us otherwise, very many people told Uhuru Kenyatta; you know you cannot work with William Ruto we are told he is responsible for the many people of kikuyu who died in the Rift valley. I was told you cannot work with uhuru Kenyatta he is responsible for the misfortunes that have befall communities in the Rift valley. But we said, **I mean** as leaders as people of this generation this cycle of violence, how long is it going to continue and how many people **must** suffer consequences of this violence before it comes to an end. We said whether we are going to win or lose, we **must** unite the communities that for a very long time have quarreled and fought and we said we **must** put a stop to a Kenya that is influenced or an election that is influenced by this community versus that community. We made a conscious decision. We began there and **believe you me** even the people who believed this would never work, they are shocked. They are **actually** wondering; **I mean** even the people who told me **my friend** you are walking into political oblivion **if** you are going to work with these fellows. But today they appreciate that we **must** unite this country. You must create a movement that would bring this country together and take it to the next level.

L. Ogutu: There is a concern by a lot of people Mr. Ruto, you said you made a conscious decision to work with Uhuru Kenyatta but there is a notion out here that this is a union that came as a means of convenience because in a way you are coming together the two of you are facing charges together at the ICC. So, this is basically a union to fight off the court charges.

Ruto: Well, everybody are entitled to their opinion but I worked with uhuru Kenyatta in 2002. I supported his presidential bid in 2002 there was no ICC we were not facing any charges. We were not being pushed by anybody. We worked with Uhuru Kenyatta in referendum in 2005 we were all in NO campaign. **Right?** Then we were not pushed by ICC. How come the same William Ruto and the same Uhuru Kenyatta working together in 2013 it has now become an issue in the Hague. **I think** these are just people who are engaging in a lot of guess work **but I think** the reality of this matter and **in fact even if it** was about the ICC **right, I mean really, I mean** the communities that fought against each other are the communities on the opposite side **I mean it would be much more** convenient politically for me to work against Uhuru Kenyatta and for him to work against me. **It would** have been politically expedient. But you see we chose do what **many** people would not have wanted to do. **And I** am telling you I am a very satisfied Kenyan that in our tenure in our time we want to do what posterity **will** remember this country for. Harmonize communities bring people together create a government that serve people beyond tribe beyond community, beyond race, beyond colour and beyond religion.

Linda Ogutu: You have talked about land. Mr. Ruto how do you intend to sort the issue of land inequality in the country?

Ruto: Well, first I was **really surprised** today I saw **some** of our competitors **may be** consistently talk about **ooh you know** so and so has so much land we are going, why don't we take **a bit** from him so that we can give to these other here. That is **really simplistic you know** and that is **really backward**. **Let me tell you,** twelve percent 12% of land in Kenya today is in private hands. Only twelve percent, right? Another 25% is in the hands of the government a whole sixty **something** percent is land that is community

land that is trust land that today is not adjudicated, has no title. **If** anybody wants to engage in business of land, we should look at the broad spectrum of land.

Linda Ogutu: Then how will you sort it out?

Ruto: The first thing is to make sure that land is a factor for production, from a jubilee stand point vision twenty thirty and the jubilee manifesto. We have 2.5 million acres of uncultivated land. **Right?** This is where we want to go first, 2.5 million hectares, mechanize it. Make sure you use it to produce food in tones. We have a plan to import **between 7 and 8 thousand** of tractors into this country to be able to expand food productions. Because the quarrel about land is a quarrel informed by poverty is a quarrel informed by not having food.

L.O: If you sort that out you will have sorted out this country?

Ruto: We **will** sort out this country **believe you me**. So, we **will** tackle the land issue and **we will** not be simplistic and we **will** not eeh be imaginary about it because when you say my dear when you tell people we are going to get land from so and so decided by the digital generation and all we are saying is that eeh **honestly**, I saw our competitors say try to say today try to say, **oh you see** eeh we want to fight the status quo. You know that we (pointing to himself) represent the status quo they represent change. **Honestly**, who **will** believe that? The people in that CORD coalition some of them I read them in civics when I was in standard eight, standard seven 1980, I was in standard seven I was reading about William Ntimama and **I thought** William Ntimama was in the league of Vasco Dagama **you know?** So, if they tell us..... (amidst laughter...)

Linda Ogutu: Be nice, be nice Ruto be nice.

Ruto: I want just tell you the truth. **Honestly surely so I mean** who represents status quo. **Surely**, Henry Kosgei, I sang for him when I was in school. He was a minister then. He is still a minister now. **I mean honestly, surely** who represents the status quo and who represents change? Let us be honest. **I mean really, I think** people **will** make really informed choices. **If** there are people who represent the status quo the Nagumo of this world all those people in that collation they represent the past and they represent the status quo.

We were not meant for constitution the constitution was meant for us.

L.O: Would you be prepared to concede defeat?

Ruto: We **would** be prepared **if** we are **if** the people of Kenya at the ballot decide that our competitors are better than us. We have done that before.

William Ruto: Jan 13: 2017 Address Jubilee party Delegates at NTV Kasarani

In 2013 tulikuwa tumebebishwa mzigo wa ile kesi ya choices have consequences. But today we walk in our country by the Grace of God as free men that **can** work for our country. That baggage is not with us anymore. Jambo la pili, 2013 tulikuja hapa na kwenda kuuliza kula kwa wakenya as different political parties in a coalition. Today this time 2017, we are going to face the people of Kenya as a party that unites all the communities all the region all the faiths, of the republic of Kenya. In 2013 members, we went to face the electorates with a list of pledges and promises. 2017 we are going to face the electorates with a score card and with a track record that speaks for itself and that we are proud of.

Number 4 in 2013, we faced a formidable opponent with have the government a prime minister, a sitting vice president siting, but today we face a clueless radarless, leaderless, planless disorganized opposition.

Crowd: Rudia!

Ruto: Hakuna haja ya kurudia wamesikia tuko pamoja?

Number five: Tuko pamoja and that is why and that is why I want you to believe in Jubilee. In 2013 number 5 we went into an election. (The crowd demanded repeat of number 4). In 2013 we faced a formidable opponent with a sitting prime minister and a sitting vice president running **almost three quarters** of the government but today we face a clueless, radarless, leaderless, planless, disorganized opposition.

That is what it is and you don't need any evidence beyond what you saw in Bomas. Number five, we went to an election that was highly influence by matters of tribalism regionalism and division. But this election is going to be about what Kenya consider as issues that matter to them. That is why even our friends in the opposition have started to talk about which road which project, because they have realized its not enough

to say so and so comes from this ethnic community or a region of professing a certain religion what is their agenda for the people of the great nation of Kenya.

Kenyans want to know what is in it for them beyond the community you come from the region you come from or the faith you profess. We are very proud now because even the opposition are beginning to think and talk about roads about water because all along, they have been talking about ethnicity.

Jubilee is a home for every community in Kenya and every region in Kenya and every faith in our republic. And that is the party Mr. president that you lead and that is why we are proud to be associated with your leadership. **And I tell you** the country of Kenya is praying for you.

Interview with William Ruto on the 26/10/2017 Elections. Aljazeera

Mohammed Adow: Deputy President William Ruto thank you for talking to Aljazeera

Are you concern under your collective watch of you and President Uhuru Kenyatta we are witnessing most division and ethnicity in Kenya?

Ruto: Aah in fact it is to the contrary, I think for the first time in a long while, Kenyans are coming together. If you look at the last election if that is anything to go by on 8th of August there were basically two formations unlike the ethnic divide we have had in the past. Slowly by slowly,

Kenyans are beginning to appreciate political parties and political formations that go beyond their ethnic arena. And that is why in the last election we had basically two formations. One under jubilee the other under our competitors NASA signifying that there is a more by the people Kenya to appreciate not the ethnic groupings but political parties. And **if** you look at what happened with jubilee which is one party for your information, we have made a deliberate attempt. And by the grace of God, we have succeeded in trying to formulate a party that brings all communities many regions of our country into one political formation. It has never happened that one political party can be voted in 41 counties signifying that there is an appreciation by Kenyans that aah we can belong to a party irrespective of the communities we come from the faith we profess the region we come from we **can** engage and move together as Kenya.

Mohammed: That is more of how successful your party has been but doesn't acrimony the divisions we are seeing and the disputed elections actually twice within 3 months say a lot about your leadership too?

Ruto: It says a lot about our democratic credentials. It demonstrates that Kenya is progressive a stable progressive democratic state that appreciate that we **can** have differences of opinion and that does not necessarily become division as you want to call it. But it is the fact that we have differences of opinion and we have built institutions that manages our engagements both at the personal level at the collective level as political parties as individuals. **And for your information in the fact the fact** that Kenya is becoming the first country in Africa for a presidential election to be repeated. **Right?** It has never happened.

This is the first time a presidential election has been nullified. And all our institutions from the judiciary to the legislature are holding. **In fact**, Thursday was historic on 26th that we actually managed deliver a rerun or a repeat presidential election which was unfortunately boycotted by the opposition. And they had good reasons why they boycotted. Because it was obvious the writing was on the wall. They had lost the election on 8th of August they were going to lose the election again as they did.

Mohammed: You surely cannot be proud of a process that you say happened on 26th which was marked by wide spread violence, intimidation of voters, people being turned away from polling stations and police shooting young people at point black killing them?

Ruto: There is two sides to what happened on 26th. Number one. We proofed and that is the part I am proud about. We proved people of Kenya that it doesn't matter how powerful you imagine you are. It doesn't matter how important you think you are or your political party is. It is not your whims that **will** decide the destiny of Kenya. It is the constitution of Kenya. **In fact**, the biggest winner on 26th of August when we repeated the presidential election was not **necessarily** uhuru Kenyatta and myself. It was the constitution of Kenya. Where was violence? It was mostly in Migori, Kisumu, Homa Bay eeh Siaya, largely the backyard of Mr. Odinga and this violence was not spontaneous. It was organized violence and the violence was supposed to prevent election officials and materials from getting to polling stations so that the people of that region can vote. Mr. Odinga **knew for sure** that if these election materials got to the polling station as it did in two constituencies in Nyanza you **know that very well** in those two constituencies

where in Muhoroni and in Kisumu town west where the election materials got to the polling station people voted. And that is what Mr. Odinga did not want because he had announced and failed that there would be an election boycott. Unfortunately for him 7, **I think now** 7.7 million **approximately** Kenyans turned up, woke up in the morning and went and voted because they were following dictates of the constitutions not the whims of an individuals.

Mohamed Adow: Why are the same question being asked about the rerun just as they were raised on the 8th August elections? Some people are concern that jubilee party and some elections officials are ** with the number to try and make up the low turned out that we witnessed.

Ruto: Forget about the numbers that we have from our agents as jubilee. Forget about the numbers that electoral commission has from their infrastructure, independent media have sent their own numbers they are on the TV screens independent of the IEBC independent of any political party independent press and there is one we are proud of in this country is our independent media. Independent media sent their own reporters to every tallying centre in Kenya they are only two hundred and ninety. And they have tallied the results and they are matching with the results eeh the election body has what we are witnessing is estimates that were given initially, you know being now said you estimated 6.5 why is seven-point eeh why is it 7.7 when somebody says it is estimated what does that mean?

I think it is a question of language. So, I don't think there is playing with numbers. The reality is that people who are surprised that actually so many Kenyans turned up and for the record eeh in Nairobi for example more people voted for jubilee president uhuru Kenyatta and myself in Nairobi than they did in August 8th

Mohammed Adow: Now you just a little while ago said that its constitution that is supreme.

Ruto: In Kenya and that what the constitution says. The media has not been assigned by the constitution to collect election data. For their own use yes but not for the official's purposes.

Adow: It is the electoral commission.

Ruto: Absolutely.

Mohammed Adow: The electoral commission says 33% turn out you say 7.7 million people voted for jubilee. The numbers don't add up there, right?

Ruto: My friend your figure of 33% did not come from electoral commission. I have been following this process keenly because I am an interested party. The electoral commission gave an indication of 48% turn out according to the number they had about three days ago. They have kept on revising those numbers as they receive additional eeh information from the field.

Mohammed Adow:

They kept lowering it. They kept lowering the number.

Ruto: They did lower and that was an estimate. **And you see if** you have an estimate what does it tell you about an estimate? They **estimated** 6.5% eeh 6.5 million the figures have gone up to 7.2 million the percentage turnout has come down from 48% to about 40%. **Basically**, because of the numbers and the turnout. And those are **just numbers** and **my friend** numbers never lie.

Mohammed Adow: Let us talk about the issue of the turnout. Is nowhere near the 8th August election, which means even if I take your number of 40% turnout 60% of registered Kenyans did not vote in that election. That raises huge legitimacy issues. If you were to be sworn in, how are you going to made through that?

William Ruto: 79% turnout on 8th of August when all candidates were on board there was no boycott there was no eeh intimidation, there was no violence with all the violence that we have said, with all the intimidation with all the blackmail with eeh militia unleashed by Mr. Odinga on eeh parts of our country not to vote 9% percent not to vote between 40 and 41 percent of Kenyans turn up which tells you only about 36% of Kenyans who turned up in August did not turn up this time. When **you talk about** turnout and you compare with what happens elsewhere 41% **my friend** is very respectable.

Legitimacy is not a function of perception. Legitimacy is a function of constitutional provision. A legitimate government is formed in Kenya where a candidate garners 54% of all cast voters. We have 98% not 50 +1. 50 in so far as constitution is concern. We have won this election fair and square. This election is done and dusted.

Mohammed Adow: But still a huge chunk of the population of this country did not participate in that process. How are you going to account for them and also ensure that they are not excluded because this is a country that has a history of exclusion of different communities which have always proven a problem.

William Ruto: unlike other countries where it is mandatory to vote, in Kenya it is choice. You can vote or eeh not vote. **In fact, many** of Kenyans who did not vote it is not true they did not participate in the election. They participated in the election but they elected not to vote. It is a choice in the constitution so in fact every Kenyan participated in this election. This was an option for every Kenyan to vote who is registered. There are those who chose to vote 7.7 million. There are those who chose not to vote and that is also participation in an election. There were those who were persuaded by eeh the opposition to abstain or to withdraw from eeh to boycott the election. That is also a choice. Lastly it is not possible any more for any part of Kenya or any group in Kenya to be marginalized. Our constitution robustly addresses mattes of inclusion.

Mohammed Adow: Mr. Deputy President you are tackling of what is on paper and not what is actually happening.

William Ruto: Let me tell you what is actually happening. Every part of Kenya today through the devolved system of government. It is not possible anymore to marginalize any part of Kenya

Mohammed Adow: and why is it that we have the loudest cries of self-determination on secession of all those who are unhappy this time more than even before?

Ruto; If you say the only time, I **will** agree that there is inclusion is **if** me I am the one included that is not constitution. **You know** there is big problem with people who eeh believe falsely that they can override the constitution provision because they have supported or because they are important but slowly, they are beginning to realize that the constitution and the people of Kenya are supreme. In this election that reality downed on Mr. Odinga when he thought that by withdrawing from election, he would change the constitution just by simply withdrawing there is no provision for this election eeh being held outside 60 days. **I heard him say** it is going to be held in 90 days that is nowhere in the constitution. And soon he **will** begin to realize that he **may** be important he **may** think he is important but it is the people of Kenya that are supreme. And it is the constitution of Kenya that is supreme. No individual no person can supersede the provision of our constitution.

Mohammed Adow: Absolutely and some might say you as well.

Ruto: Yes, Yes

Mohammed Adow: Mr. Deputy president, Raila Odinga says and has said it so many times that the supreme court found fault with election and cancelled it and it is the same electoral commission that bungled up the election process and again tasked with the same responsibility and that he wasn't confident with the process and had asked for reforms which you refused why?

Ruto: Under our constitution the electoral commission is an independent institution it doesn't report to government, it doesn't report to the opposition, it doesn't report to this party or that party or this group or the other. So, in our very honest opinion the so-called irreducible minimum were actually an avenue for our competitors to run away from eminent defeat that was facing them in the repeat election.

Mohammed: Your opponents say that this is all about you and your ambition to become president of Kenya in 2022 and a pack five years ago with Uhuru Kenyatta that you give him 10 years in office and he gives you 10 after that.

Ruto: The presidency of Kenya, the leadership of Kenya can never be a negotiation by individuals.

Mohammed: Do you have ambitions?

Ruto: It is the people of Kenya who will ultimately decide their leadership for president to the people in future.

Mohammed Adow: And you have ambition for 2022?

William Ruto: You see we do one thing at a time what is at stake at the moment is for our party we have worked so hard to put his party together. And we have put his party together painstakingly because we value this country. And we had seen the ethnicity, the ethnicization of politics in Kenya that almost cost us Kenya. We almost lost this country in 2008 because of ethnic politics and Kenyans by their nature want a united country they don't want ethnicity. But politicians chasing narrow parochial ambition help

dismember this country. I am very proud that we have been able to bring Kenya together matters of 2022 we will decide when that time comes.

Mohammed Adow: Now the rerun election disgruntled voter could take it back to the courts or even Raila Odinga could be collecting the evidence he needs to present to court to try and get a fresh election he says he is going to agitate for. How much confidence do you have in judiciary?

William Ruto: Whether I like or not, whether the next person likes or not the judiciary have a job to do. They are an independent institution. A constitution says **if** there is a challenge to a presidential election it goes to the Supreme Court. There is no option there is no challenge the election. So, we **will** meet again at the Supreme Court.

Mohammed Adow: Both you and President Uhuru Kenyatta criticized Supreme Court.

Ruto: Yes, we did.

Mohammed: President Uhuru went a step further calling them wakora which is thugs. You too in one of your speeches say they had their day our day is coming and you have promised reforms in judiciary. How do you like to reform them?

Ruto: What we said is well will revisit this issue.

Mohammed: How?

Ruto: And we **will** revisit this issue in this manner; people voted on 8th of August, when the Supreme Court a nulled the presidential election there was no mention of how **many** votes we got and our competitors got. The question we want answered and it **will** be answered some day is if in deed we won the election on 8th of August or did we not? That is the question we **will** revisit. And we are going to ask for a recount because every other argument was made or there was this form that was not filled there was that form that was not signed there was another form, I don't **know** what was not stamped. There was some server that was not opened, I don't know. You **know** very you know confronted argument. But we were told by Supreme Court numbers don't matter processes matter. But our argument is how can you penalize a voter who has gone to the ballot box marked and made a decision and then because of mistakes of others either by not filling this form or by not stamping that form you actually overturn the decision of the voter because ultimately the people are supreme and their supremacy is exercised in the decision, they make in a ballot box.

Mohammed Adow: This is a deeply divided nation as of now if and when you are sworn in how do you want to fix that? How do you want to bring Kenyans together in unity once again?

Ruto: We are divided politically we are not divided as a people yah. And there is a mechanism of fixing politics, **right?** When this election is over Kenya becomes one. Whatever government is doing at the movement at the country level they **will** do their job. Whatever we **will** be doing at the national level we **will** do our job. And we **will** ensure as we had done in the last four and half years and as any other government **will** do, we **will** ensure that every part of Kenya belongs.

Mohammed Adow: Mr. Raila Odinga says he has turned his national supper alliance coalition into a resistance movement peaceful resistance movement as he puts it. There will be demonstrations, there will be mass action. How will you deal with that?

William Ruto: It is **really** tragic that the so-called bigger announcement that Mr. Odinga was going to make was to turn a political party into a resistance militia that he says will engage in civil disobedience.

Mohammed Adow: You and years ago were on the other side and right beside Raila Odinga and the height of post-election unrest were calling for mass action to achieve what you had called your stolen victory then. He is just doing what you had done before.

Ruto: People learn from history they say it is only fools who don't learn from their own mistakes. We have been there as a country. Anybody who has not learned from our mistakes in the past and repeat then they are fools.

Mohammed Adow: So, you have moved from that.

Ruto: I mean **if** anybody who is intelligent must not repeat what happened before.

Mohammed Adow: Are you ready to dialogue with your opponent?

Ruto: Kenya is a very open society. Dialogue is a continuous process in Kenya. What we **must** however be careful about is something called dialogue that is aimed as scathing the constitution of our country.

Mohammed Adow: Are you and President Kenyatta ready to sit down with Raila Odinga and talk about the way forward, how to bring Kenya together?

Ruto: We are prepared, willing and ready to engage with Raila Odinga just as we are ready to engage with every other Kenyan to discuss the future of our country.

Acceptance speech March 4th 2013

My fellow Kenyans today we celebrate triumph of democracy the triumph of peace the triumph of nation

Ruto: God and I say God did it for us. God turned every huddle into a bridge. He turned every roadblock into a stepping stone and turned every challenge into an opportunity.

Victory speeches march 9, 2013

Ruto: your Excellency aah, you remember Saturday, at Uhuru Park I said that that was the last time I was to call you man UK so I really have no excuse. This afternoon, your Excellency the president elect of the republic of Kenya the honourable Uhuru Muigai Kenyatta. The first lady to be Margret Kenyatta. The honourable Charity Ngilu, the Hon Najib Balala (aaammm) the honourable governor elect present in this meeting the honourable senator elect in this gathering the honourable members of parliament elect in this meeting, the honourable women representatives who are members of parliament also elect in this meeting distinguished eehh guests present here. The chairman of URP the Hon Francis Kaparo chairman of TNA my friend Sakaja. All protocols observed. Ladies and gentlemen. This afternoon I am lost for words. I am telling you I am lost of words for us to get where we are today is God, and I say God did it for us. God turned every hurdle into a bridge. He turned every road block into a stepping stone and turned every challenge into an opportunity. Our victory today ladies and gentlemen is in all manner of definitions a miracle. It doesn't matter how you look at it and we want to thank God we want to dedicate this victory of Jubilee coalition to the almighty God. **Many** people made huge sacrifice to get us here. I want to single out my wife many nights she sneaked out of our bed to at midnight to pray. **I know many** other people fasted and prayed for us. My dear wife I want to say thank you and to those many other many committed dedicated prayerful men and women who made this possible. We want to say God bless you many people our friends, supporters, mobilizers, party officials, organizers. You guys ladies and gentlemen you are simply great and **we want** to say thank you very much.

I know that we have committed ourselves heart and soul and body to take this country to the next level. **I have no doubt** in my mind that the jubilee coalition under the leadership of my friend Uhuru Kenyatta, we **will** deliver every pledge and discharge every promise. I am confident that we **will** leave to what we have promised this country. That **we believe** tunaweza kusema na kutenda. We want to say to our competitor the Hon Raila Odinga the Hon Kalonzo Musyoka, the Amani coalition under Musalia Mudavadi the Eagle coalition under Peter Kenneth our friend Dinda the Iron Lady of Kenyan politics Martha Karua, Paul Muite and of course Prof. Ole Keiyapi. **We want** to tell them from Jubilee coalition that we are looking forward to working with them. That we can build a united Country.

We are looking forward to building bridges so that we **can** achieve the Kenyan vision that will take this country to the next level. To our fellow countrymen the Kenyan people we are humble by the confidence that you have demonstrated in our capacity to lead. **We want to promise** that **we will** do everything possible within our power and God helping us to harness the talent, the expertise, the knowledge and the energy of every Kenyan so that together we **can** deliver a Kenya that **we can** all be proud of. Ladies and gentlemen, I do not want to speak beyond there today because with where we have come it has taken God to be here and we trust God to the future.

Aaammm. I want to conclude by saying that we have a robust Multi talented jubilee team from members of county Assembly members of parliament senators and governors and of course our leader the honorable

Uhuru Kenyatta and I. This team we are confident we are sure that working with the people of Kenya across tribe beyond religion beyond creed beyond region we **will definitely** succeed in creating that Kenya that we have always hoped for.

I really want on behalf of Jubilee coalition before I invite **my brother** to ask **our brothers** who went to this competition with us respectively with a lot of humility that the people of Kenya have spoken. And people have spoken very clearly. **I have heard** our brother Hon Prime Minister before say the voice of the people is the voice of God. I really want to persuade our friends to join hands with honourable Uhuru Kenyatta and the Jubilee team because the people of Kenya have spoken and the best of our knowledge God has spoken. Let us work together and build a Kenya that we can all be proud of.

William Ruto (June 28, 2017 in Kirinyaga)

Their entire campaign including the choppers they are using is funded by corrupt cartels who siphoned billions of money from Anglo leasing **to every other** scandal that took place in our country. We want to tell them the story they are telling us about corruption cartels they **can** go and tell it to the birds.

William Samoei Ruto interview with Linda Ogutu January 30, 2013

Mheshimiwa thank you so much for joining us on KTN Prime

Ruto: Thank you very much

L.O: You could no show up today from IEBC how does that make you feel.

Ruto: Oh, great I feel great. **You know** we have come a long way. We have really come a long way. We have crossed **many** eeh hurdles to be able to get here. There are **many** people **could** not **believe we would** eh those who erected issues on our way but God is great.

L.O: One of the issues put along the way as you say a petition that is right now could and of course it will be heard on Wednesday. Does that worry you?

Ruto: It doesn't worry us **a bit** because we have read the constitution back and forth, we have solid legal advice and the constitutional rights to run is the right that you cannot deprive any Kenyan in any democracy unless this country changes. **And** so, our candidature is **based solidly** on what the constitution says about our ability to run and that is very clear to us.

L.O: The constitution makes it clear that it is your right to run. But the same constitution has bars, has standards that every single leader must meet if in the event Mr. William Ruto that the court decide you're not your will really not pass the integrity test. What then what next for you?

Ruto: We have confidence in our courts that they make the right decision. Section 73 of the constitution plain reading that is the famous chapter 6, clearly stipulates that amm eeh issues with people who eeh have integrity issues **should** either be subjected to eeh the test or to free and fair democratic election. We are not asking to be given these things we are prepared to face the people in the ballot and that is in the constitution and eeh eemm these qualifications and disqualifications of one to be able to run for president and indeed any other office are provided for in the constitution. They are in simple English or in Kiswahili. You don't even need a lawyer to read it clearly says even if a man or a woman for that matter and just use me as an example has a matter in court aah it has to be a matter that has been exhausted it has to be a matter that has been determined and there is no room even for appeal. The issues **we are talking about** today have not even started. The cases have not, **forget about being** determined forget about our chance to appear. **So, to be honest I think** we a good to go.

L.O: Leave the court cases out of this and if Kenyans were to put you on test and ask you if you were would you pass that.

Ruto: Absolutely, absolutely (3times).

L.O: You would pass that.

Ruto: Absolutely

L. Ogutu: Let us move to the ICC of course you knew this was carrying I had to ask this. I am not bothered about allegations I am not bothered about whether or not you are guilty whether or not how that will go my concern is actually coming in this case if at all come March 4th Jubilee alliance actually takes this, we will have a scenario where both of you will have to attend the proceedings at the court. And Kenyans are asking how feasible is this. How practical is it?

Ruto: how will you run the country and you will be having a back and forth trips to the Hague?

Ruto: First let me tell you, I think we are sophisticated enough to be able to chew gum and scale the stairs.

L.O: Explain to simple Kenya.

Ruto: **That what I am saying I think** we understand how to run the affairs of the country as we subject ours as people who believe in rule of law. Ya. The allegation today made against us aside, we indeed we have every plan to exonerate ourselves using the due process of the court. Now come 4th of March and Uhuru Kenyatta is elected the president and William Ruto as the deputy president (forcefully) **I am sure** the international criminal court is run by people and I am so sure it is run by reasonable people **alright. If** the people of Kenya elect two gentlemen who are alleged to have committed crimes serious crimes against its citizens and actually participated in killing their own citizens, **if** the people of Kenya elect us (forcefully voice) on the 4th, **I am sure** reasonable person **would** want to ask themselves what is going on.

Really how can people of Kenya forty seven million of them elect two fellows who are facing charges of crime against humanity. **I mean** any reasonable person **will** ask themselves and they **will** begin to internalize that may be there is something absolutely wrong with the cases.

L.O: So, in a way you think that will exonerate you:

Ruto: **No, I mean, I mean** I don't mean it **will** exonerate us. We are very clear in our minds that eeh the vote by the people of Kenya **will** not take away our responsibility to go and defend ourselves, but it **will** inform the court that the people of Kenya are aware of about what is going on.

Jubilee final pitch Uhuru Park March 2, 2013

William Ruto: Monday for our country you **will** be choosing between the past, the failures, the lost opportunities, the disappointments of the past and the future, represented by the jubilee coalition.

Every coalition and every party must desist from issuing reckless statements about rigging about violence. We want a peaceful nation the people of Kenya are competent they will elect their leaders on Monday.

Let us give them the opportunity. Let us not intimidate anybody.

Our young people **will** stop being part of the problem. The jubilee coalition **will** make the talent, the expertise the knowledge the effort the education of our young people harnesses it and make it part of the solution to the challenges that face it's as the nation.

TNA VRP Umoja Rally – Nakuru December 4, 2012

Ruto:

And that is why we are saying this thing that a new chapter for the country and the nation of Kenya is going to be turned a leaf today. And we have come here because of URP and TNA and we are coming here because we are going to announce a coalition of ideas between men and women subscribe to reconciling this country to a united country and to a prosperous nation.

William Ruto May 29, 2017

The jubilee has transformative agenda for Kenya superior and practical.

Uhuru Kenyatta

Appendix IV: Deputy President William Ruto

TALK TO BBC HARDTALK 08-10-2012

STEPHEN: William Ruto welcome to hard talk

WILLIAM RUTO: thank you Stephen

STEPHEN: I wanna talk politics and I wanna talk justice with you. Let's start if we may with justice. You are scheduled to face trial at the international criminal court in The Hague in April 2013. Do you intend to present yourself before the court?

WILLIAM RUTO: I have presented myself before. I have taken myself there even before I was taken and I intend to present myself at any other time in the future.

STEPHEN: So, if as it is currently planned there is a trial and you are put on trial in April 2013, you will be there?

WILLIAM RUTO: I thought I said that I will be there.

STEPHEN: I just think that everybody in this country and across the world was to know because there is enormous scrutiny on this case. You know that people around the world are watching it is another test for international justice and of course it comes at a time when you are running for the presidency of Kenya. The election is due to be held in march 2013. With all that in line you are still absolutely committed to go into the ICC in April 1 month after the presidential election

WILLIAM RUTO: Yes, I am.

STEPHEN: in that case what is your message to the Kenyan people because if you succeed in winning the presidency almost the first thing you will do is absent yourself from the country and judging from the way the ICC works it is very unlikely you will be given bail so you will be in effect an absent president on trial in a foreign country.

WILLIAM RUTO: I am surprised that you are already aware that we won't be given bail. Really surprised.

STEPHEN: I am not saying you won't be but the way the ICC works in the past usually they are granted when the trials have already begun.

WILLIAM RUTO: eeeeh...to the best of my knowledge and on the advice of my attorneys, it is very clear that we haven't reached any of the conditionality that were attached to our aaaa...eeeeee...to our trial, we have done the best that we could to be within the limits that were assigned to us and that is why we are conducting this case while we are away from the Hague. I do not see any of the circumstances that were attached to our trial changing and therefore there will be absolutely no reason for anybody to change the parameters of the way this case is being conducted. To the best of my knowledge, we will appear in The Hague, and as has happened in the past, the case will proceed. We will be required once in a while to be personally present in court which we will, and the rest of the time conduct our business

STEPHEN: Do you think it is entirely practical and feasible for you to be both president of Kenya if you see it in your election campaign and a defendant before the ICC facing very serious charges of crime as against humanity?

WILLIAM RUTO: Take into account that both the ICC process and the constitution of Kenya hold me as a man who is innocent and I do not find any difficulty for a man who is innocent being the president of Kenya as a case is running against him in The Hague

STEPHEN: Do you think the Kenyan people will want a leader who mas I been looking at the document before the ICC now, a leader who in your case faces charges of being a coconspirator in crimes against humanity that is alleged to have been a key planner of a campaign of violence in your home town of the rift valley who is said and alleged to have supervised the distribution of weapons, given instructions of homes to be targeted and people to be displaced or even killed. Is that the sought of man facing those charges that should be seeking the highest office in Kenya?

WILLIAM RUTO: That is a message that my competitors would want to use to persuade the Kenyan electorate not to vote for me. But if the people of Kenya despite that kind of a campaign which the people of Kenya know because they know me, they know William Ruto, they know the charges that are preferred against me and they can make the choice whether on the basis of those allegations, they can go ahead and vote for me or not. And **if** they chose to vote for me then it tells you **very well and clearly that** they have an idea as to how we ended up with **those kind of charges** against me.

STEPHEN: Of course, the people cannot know whether you are innocent or guilty , you have already mentioned to me with a very basic principle-le that a man that is innocent until proven guilty but of course the court has not yet heard the evidence and has been barred so that no one can know what the verdict is so I still wonder given the gravity of the charges and the nature of the evidence against you which we have seen, we have seen it from, the Kenya national on human rights, we have seen it from Philip wacky commission report, we've seen it from Kofi Annan's document, another evidence. We know that there are3 very serious allegations sitting over your head and on that basis, do you think really it is for the best of Kenya for you to pursue the presidency?

WILLIAM RUTO: Absolutely. Precisely. To disabuse this country that a game of people **can** conspire, sit in a corner, **you know**, because you have many things which are not true Kofi Annan has nothing against me. You have talked about the rest of the people, those reports... (Interrupted)

STEPHEN: What I did was find evidence and I have got a Kenyan high Commission on Human Rights report which you know and has very specific allegations, accuses you of a key role in the killing of hundreds and the displacement of thousands of people in your home town

WILLIAM RUTO: **Do you know that** there are two Kenya Human Rights Reports by the same commission saying different things. **Are you aware?**

STEPHEN: I know why you have challenged the allegations that have been put before you. Of course, I am aware of that but I am also aware duos of witnesses have been interviewed and the evidence against you is not just based on one or two voices but is based on a whole number of testimonies

WILLIAM RUTO: **Are you also aware** that all those witnesses, especially the key witnesses, have also confessed that they themselves **are actually** criminals in their own testimony. **Are you also aware of that?**

STEPHEN: Actually, what I am aware of (Interrupted)...

WILLIAM RUTO: **Would** you also want to believe a person who is saying I am a criminal, **right**, but I am accusing William Ruto if this and this... where **would** you draw the line?

STEPHEN: I know that you have challenged the credibility and the veracity of the witnesses who are key to the case against you, but I also know there are very serious allegations that supporters of yours in Kalenjin community have intimidated witnesses , have tried to discredit witnessed and according to a report and

investigation by the Christian science and the newspaper have conspired and this is a quote of the meeting from the so called Friends of Honorable William Ruto have actually committed themselves on a direct quote to move against witnesses ...(interrupted)

WILLIAM RUTO: I don't think Stephen you are doing any justice to this interview

STEPHEN: why is that?

WILLIAM RUTO: You want to go into that direction. You **should** have also alerted me so that I can bring quote to counter what you are saying.....and **I don't think** you want us to conduct the case in The Hague in this interview.

STEPHEN: This is not a about the case in The Hague but it is about how your own friends and supporters have responded to the fact that you know you have this charge...

WILLIAM RUTO: I have no friends called friends of William Ruto they don't exist. It is a publication of your source and **I don't think** you're going to use this interview to try and give credibility to a source that is not verified by anybody, that does not exist in any place. I am William Ruto I do not have friends

STEPHEN: It is very clear. It says those witnesses prepared to testify against William Ruto should be presented with limited option they either be offered with a handsome cash incentive to drop their case or punitive measures including assassination.

WILLIAM RUTO: That is garbage. That is garbage in short.

STEPHEN: To be quite clear about it then, this organization is so called friends of honorable William Ruto. ...

WILLIAM RUTO: It is an in figment of an evil fertile imagination.

STEPHEN: as you sit before me now, the idea and it is again it comes with detail, it comes with dates and it comes with time and places. The idea that you incited your people to acts of violence against the spirited enemy in your midst is something that you flattered out categorically denied.

WILLIAM RUTO: let me tell you in fact, some of those dates, first let me tell you whatever is being said about planning, about executing about buying of guns, about...that is all fallacy. Absolute fallacy. It did not happen including facts that **are so obvious** that even on dates that I was supposed to have been distributing guns in my house, the released documentary evidence as to where I was, **miles of** kilometers from my house. In a public place captured by the Kenyan free media. What further evidence would you need?

STEPHEN: it is not just you that faces the trial of the ICC, there are three others senior figures. There is one other key figure, Uhuru Kenyatta, who like you, is running for the presidency. Do you think that it is likely before the March elections and before the ICC trial that you and Uhuru Kenyatta will come into some sought of understanding for political deal that only one of you will go forward to actually fight this presidency election?

WILLIAM RUTO: Why **would** he do that?

STEPHEN: there are Kenyans who believe you would do it because your written understanding that one of you would become president and the other will take Avery senior position perhaps as vice president and the understanding would be that both of you will operate on the understanding that you will; use 6th immunity powers with the presidency to ensure that the ICC trial will never happen

WILLIAM RUTO: We have **absolutely** no intention with interfering with the ICC process. **Absolutely** none. Our quest, or let me speak about myself, my quest for the presidency of this Kenya has nothing to do with the ICC process. I was a candidate at the nomination stage in ODM in 2007 Uhuru Kenyatta was a candidate in 2002, there was no ICC. There was no ICC when we were candidates for the ODM nominations in 2007 and then therefore our running this time round **should** have, and nobody **should** think that we are trying to run for presidency merely because we are suspects. We are running for president because **we believe we** are leaders and we have a contribution to make to this country at that high level.

STEPHEN: You are known in Kenya as a very successful businessman. I think it is fair to say that you have never allowed your political fear to stand in the way of making money. Would you say that is fair?

WILLIAM RUTO: **I think that is** a very wrong statement. First, despite my humble background I have worked hard, I work very hard. **And everybody appreciates** in this country that William Ruto works very hard.

STEPHEN: What I am getting at is politics in this country actually makes it easier to make money. In the many countries politicians are genuinely fulltime politicians and when they go into the public life, when they seek elections, they put their business interest into flying trust or other people run them and leave business altogether.

WILLIAM RUTO: **And for your information I have,** I don't do any business

STEPHEN: You don't do any business?

WILLIAM RUTO: **Whatever interest in business I have,** they are done by those people who run those businesses on a professional basis and that is it.

STEPHEN: But you have faced very serious allegations of corruption you fought them and you've had court cases and you had your name cleared. But as we discussed you have agreed it needs politicians who are squeaky clean. Do you fit that bill?

WILLIAM RUTO: I do because **if** you are accused of something Stephen, **yeah,** you are taken to court because accusation is an allegation, **right?** **And** you are cleared by the court, are you guilty are you innocent? **I mean if** you are cleared by the court are you innocent or are you guilty? Let us just put it that way.

STEPHEN: Why do you think it just seems strange that allegations seems sought of attracted to you. Whether it is the pipeline scandal, whether it is the maize scandal when you are in agriculture, you seem, to attract these legal difficulties if I may put it that way. Why do you think that is?

WILLIAM RUTO: **You see** when you come from a background like mine, and you work and people cannot just place William Ruto, son of who, how **can** he come this far? There **must** be some shortcuts he has done. Therefore, we have to check....

STEPHEN: There is a real discussion going on in this country at this very minute whether the candidate running for president should be allowed to spend as filthy as they want in their campaign. There has been talk in parliament of cubing spending through the campaign financial regulations. Do you support that?

WILLIAM RUTO: I support that. **I believe that** Kenyans **should** be able to make choices on the basis of what the candidate stand for not on the basis of how much money they roll out.

STEPHEN: but you, I know, are raising an awful lot of money I mean you had your 100000 Kenyan shillings a plate dinner I think many seem have raised millions of Kenyan shillings. You and Uhuru

Kenyatta have had the best in doubt financially of the presidential candidates, you might dispute that but how much are you prepared to spend to win this election?

WILLIAM RUTO: Aaaah... **I am prepared** to spend the money enough to take me to the rallies to explain my view, my position what policy programs I have for this country that is the much I need to be able to be elected as the president of Kenya and that is the much, I need to spend to be able to explain myself to as many **Kenyans as possible**, time allowing.....and you have talked **about us raising 31million**. Yeah, 41million Kenyan shillings which is a lot of money but in terms of politics and how much you need to spend even to print election material alone, that money is not enough, **right?**

STEPHEN: So, you spend your own money or business money?

WILLIAM RUTO: We spend money from friends, we raise money.... we **would** spend as much money as **possible** and we will make it available to the people of Kenya to see. When we carried out our fundraising, we didn't do it undercover, we brought it to the public domain

STEPHEN: And you have always if I may say, you have always talked about transparency. And you maybe more than Uhuru Kenyatta said yes that I am a wealthy man and I am ready to account for every penny that I have made so when you are here on hard talk telling people in Kenya how much you are worth.

WILLIAM RUTO: **I don't think** that is the discussion for here, **certainly I am** not in the league of the rich people of Kenya but I am not a poor man.

STEPHEN: the problem here is that political insecurity and instability seem to have slowed down Kenya's attractiveness to foreign investors. How do you persuade the world that Kenya is not facing a new period of instability as the election campaign unfolds?

WILLIAM RUTO: You have put it correctly the single critical issue that we must address that is going to determine this election is how to grow the economy. Who has what it takes to grow the economy of Kenya? Our neighbors in Ethiopia are growing their economy at 12% across in Ghana they are growing their economy at 13%. Our country is going between 4 & 1/2% there is no reason why the Kenyan economy cannot grow by double figures. And there are clear specific growth areas that **if** you have a government and specifically a leader who has been judged before, I have a track record as William Ruto, in every ministry that I have run in this country I ran the ministry of agriculture when it was nowhere, it was rated number one when I was minister for agriculture. I went to the ministry of higher education; I did the same. This country requires a leader who is a performer who knows where trouble is and go for it and unravels it.

STEPHEN: Can you think just to finish and to go back to the beginning you think you can deliver that message and you can persuade the outside world that you know how to deliver that economic growth to Kenya and at the same time as appearing before the international court tribunal charged with serious crimes against humanity. You see no contradiction there whatsoever?

WILLIAM RUTO: I see no contradiction at all because this is a job I have to do for Kenya as for the allegations, they are allegations, right? And the people of Kenya are the jury. If the people of Kenya decide, we have seen the allegations against William Ruto, we know William Ruto, and he has what it takes...

STEPHEN: They are not the jury. The jury is in The Hague.....

WILLIAM RUTO: In this election the jury are the Kenyan people. **We are talking about** an election here. We are not conducting a case in this election. This election is not about conducting a case in The Hague. This election is about electing a president for Kenya who will take Kenya to a greater prosperity and that is what Kenya wants.

STEPHEN: And there we must leave it at. William Ruto thank you very much for.....

TALK TO ALJAZEERA

INTERVIEWER: he is one of Kenya's most popular politicians but is facing charges of crimes against humanity at the international criminal court. William Ruto is running to become Kenya's deputy president in the March 4th general election that is hope to return the page on the post-election violence of 5 years ago. Ironically Ruto is accused to be one of the instigators of the unrest in the last election. A prominent leader of the Kalenjin tribe he was indicted by the ICC for perpetrating into ethnic violence that led to more than 1200 dead but is revealed as a hero within his community. And what is seen as shrewd political move Ruto joined forces with one of his bitter rival presidential candidate Uhuru Kenyatta who also stands accused of crimes against humanity for his role in the last election violence. Together Ruto and Kenyatta represent two of Kenya's biggest ethnic groups that have always dominated the highest office in a country where people tend to vote along tribal lines, will theirs be the winning ticket and what will their victory mean for the people of Kenya? William Ruto talks to Aljazeera. William Ruto thanks so much for talking to Aljazeera. Kenya has gone through so many difficult times what would be the first action you take if your ticket wins the vote in March?

WILLIAM RUTO: I think the single critical issue that faces our country at this point in our history is the challenge of millions of young people who're not gainfully employed, they have no access to credit, they are almost hopeless and to us the 4.5 million young people who have some education, **some** of them very good education is our first priority. Our first order of business. The other issues that we will tap into is tap into the huge potential in tourism. This country has the best tourism product I can attest in the world. Of course, that is also influenced by the state of our security in the country. As the jubilee coalition we have uumm, a blue print bon how to turn around security sector. We intend to turn around our production machine **we believe** that a well mechanized system that includes subsidies on fertilizers and seeds will expand our food production together with irrigation so that we can eliminate the shame of hunger in our country.

INTERVIEWER: Your schedule Mr. Ruto to appear before the international criminal court in The Hague in April, if your ticket wins the vote, will you still appear before the court and answer the charges against humanity against you?

WILLIAM RUTO: I guessed that is the whole reason why you came to interview me.

INTERVIEWER: Not really....

WILLIAM RUTO: And I want to answer that directly. We are very responsible law abiding citizens of this country, **we know** our constitutional rights. We **will** attend The Hague when that comes up in April and we **will** do that at every other subsequent request until this case is determined.

INTERVIEWER: But as you know the court hearings in The Hague can last for months so a power vacuum could in essence happens assume you and Mr. Kenyatta are inaugurated. Is it really feasible, is it really practical to attend these hearings while trying to attend the affairs of our country like Kenya, how will you be able to carry out the official duties while making court appearances in the Hague? Thousands and thousands of kilometers away from Kenya

WILLIAM RUTO: In other words, are you suggesting that we should not go?

INTERVIEWER: I am not suggesting anything I am just asking you how you are going to make it possible to run the affairs of a country like Kenya and also defend yourself in the serious charges that you face at this time

WILLIAM RUTO: I am sure that you know that, that court is run by human beings. And I guess they will be reasonable to understand that once we are elected as the jubilee coalition they will have to live with that fact. That we have been elected, not selected, we didn't get to power through unconstitutional means. They will and we expect them to put into consideration the fact that a Kenyan people exercising on a democratic manner their right to choose their leaders will have chosen two Kenyans despite facing charges in the ICC to run the affairs of their country.

INTERVIEWER: You have said a lot about Kenya in fact. Don't touch it a minute

WILLIAM RUTO: So that will be something that the ICC will have to factor in to the whole of this case and I am confident that if the court is run by reasonable people, they will think about how to run the case and give us the opportunity to run the affairs of our country.

INTERVIEWER: So, Mr. Ruto you won't use the immunity powers that come with the presidency to ensure that this ICC trial won't happen?

WILLIAM RUTO: We are aware and very clearly so that no immunity is available under the Rome statute for any president; we are very clear in our minds even with the plain reading of the Rome statute clearly says that.

INTERVIEWER: The recent surveys shows that many Kenyans believe if you and Mr. Kenyatta were to be elected that you wouldn't in fact go to The Hague that we are looking at a form of Omar Albasheera scenario that Kenya would stop cooperating with the international criminal court.

WILLIAM RUTO: now you are talking to me? So, you would have to choose believing what I have told you and the rumors you have heard from other quarters.

INTERVIEWER: It doesn't make sense a negative image of Kenya to have two of its most senior politicians who are facing trial at The Hague also running for this country. Doesn't it send a negative message to the rest of the world?

WILLIAM RUTO: That is the point. In fact, you have gotten the point. The world should ask itself, I mean up, six/seven million people who vote for two gentlemen inducted by the ICC are they mad, or there is something absolutely wrong with the charges at the ICC. Because that is our contention that the whole of these charges, the people of Kenya know. They live in this country. They were here in 2007 and if we participated in the manner in which the charges had been framed, the people of Kenya will have nothing to do with us. But because what happened in this country and because they know the conspiracies around this case, in the ballot the people of Kenya want to prove that indeed we are innocent. They want to say despite of everything else that has been said about Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto we have confidence in their leadership. And I think that message should go more to the people out there who think about us in that negative way. They should really reassess their position.

INTERVIEWER: how you are planning yourself against some of the allegations made against you, the ICC alleges that you are a key planner of a campaign of violence in your home territory of the rift valley that you allegedly supervised the distribution of weapons, gave instructions to target people. Of course you are innocent until proven guilty. They say they have a lot of evidence against you, they have witnesses but you say all this is wrong.

WILLIAM RUTO: We are not going to conduct the case here, are we?

INTERVIEWER: No. you are not gonna answer?

WILLIAM RUTO: I mean you want me really to defend myself before you?

INTERVIEWER: How are you gonna discredit them?

WILLIAM RUTO: that is the business of my lawyers and attorneys

INTERVIEWER: are you disappointed that the current prime minister Raila Odinga isn't also standing trial at the ICC because you were his lieutenant at the time of the violence of 2007/2008 and there are a lot

of people-le who believe that the accusations that are leveled against you couldn't have happened, that what you are accused of couldn't have happened without the knowledge of Mr. Raila Odinga

WILLIAM RUTO: The charges that we face have no basis. Absolutely no basis. And I wouldn't be disappointed that any other person is not framed because the charges are not true. **So, it really doesn't matter** how many people are in how many people are out. It matters to me that the charges are no true. And that is as basic as it gets.

INTERVIEWER: Let's talk about your alliance with Mr. Uhuru Kenyatta. There are a lot of people who say that it is an alliance of convenience because you would want to avoid the ICC, you denied this of course. There are also those who said that this is the alliance about the numbers, the ethnic numbers. Because you and Mr. Kenyatta are a representative of the biggest tribes in Kenya. And Kenya is a country that tends to vote along tribal lines. What do you respond to those? What would you say that you are then only one who said that the only reason that you decided to come together with Mr. Kenyatta to win, to get the tribes behind you?

WILLIAM RUTO: Well, I think those are escape lists. **You know**, convenient reasoning. Trying to reason out this situation conveniently. The fact that we are together with the honorable Uhuru Kenyatta for the purposes of trying to bring the communities together is absolute nonsense. Because in 2002, we were in the same camp with Uhuru Kenyatta, in 2007 we were in different camps. In 2012/2013 we again back with Uhuru Kenyatta. So, it isn't anything about tribes, we have a chemistry with Uhuru Kenyatta, we have a history with Uhuru Kenyatta and therefore my association with him has absolutely nothing to do ethnicity or numbers. **Of course**, it is convenient for people to bring in issue of tribe. When I supported Raila Odinga why weren't issues of tribe brought around? So, these are people who have realized that the combination and the chemistry between Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto **will** win this election in round 1.

INTERVIEWER: in round 1, you are confident?

WILLIAM RUTO: Absolutely.

INTERVIEWER: You sought the nominations for the Orange Democratic Movement and its presidential candidate in 2007 and you lost and you backed Raila Odinga then now you are with Uhuru Kenyatta as his deputy. It must have been disappointing for you to always be the second man

WILLIAM RUTO: That is what I choose. ...I am a very reasonable person; I judge a situation I don't exaggerate what I know. I weigh myself; I look at the options and for me at this at this point in time I decided to step down my presidential ambition to create a winning formula between me and Uhuru Kenyatta. **And I won't tell you the** details of how we arrived at that or how we agreed on how to take this or what because that is not for you.

INTERVIEWER: It could have been you leading the ticket and Uhuru Kenyatta being you deputy. You have a lot of political experience. ...why wasn't it that the case?

WILLIAM RUTO: We discussed all that among other things and we finally settled that we go this way.

INTERVIEWER: Why wasn't it the case that you are leading the ticket?

William Ruto: **There are many reasons.**

Interviewer: was it a money issue?

William Ruto: what money? That he has more money than me? This is not a money game this is a game of political... (interrupted)

Interviewer: Well, let's talk about the current violence we have seen a rising tensions in Tana River. Some people are calling it ethnic tension fueled by local politicians. What if you are in government right now and you are an MP of course, if you are in government right now what would you do to quell these tensions? The Kenyan government seems to have failed we have seen dozens of deaths in recent months leading up to these elections and there are a lot of people that fear a repeat of 2007 and 2008. Why is this not being addressed?

WILLIAM RUTO: It's really really unfortunate that government is taking a whole lot of time in getting into the bottom of this. In fact, a commission was formed which to me it is really a waste of taxpayers' money. Because we have a whole intelligence service, **you know**, security intelligence service that **should** be and has a 4000man force that would actually get to every village and get the government to understand what is going on and where the problem is coming from. **It is really surprising** that both the president and

the prime minister have taken their time to issued useless statements on what is going on...firm and decisive action **should** have followed at the very beginning. Very firm and decisive action **should** have followed. **I think the** casual statements issued by the president, the prime minister about this and the other are really inadequate. **I think** this is a very serious situation, 162 Kenyans so far have died in Tana River that is something that would stop the whole government, **you know**...and get people working.

INTERVIEWER: That doesn't seem to have helped health the wounds of 2007 /2008 as Kenya prepares to vote again because you know, justice hasn't been served. And this type of violence seems to be going on.

WILLIAM RUTO: I think what you see in Tana River is **not the kind** of thing that happened in 2007. 2007m was the whole country. Was in gun...

INTERVIEWER: Let us talk about corruption. This government has claimed time and again that it will fight against corruption two of the biggest scandals in recent years happened during this ministry. You yourself honorable Ruto was suspended in October 2012 on corruption charges. You of course defended yourself you faced serious allegations and you had your name cleared. But it seems that government ministries in Kenya are always surrounded by this controversy. This issue of corruption. Are Kenyan politic elite really serious about tackling corruption?

WILLIAM RUTO: When my name was mentioned in the maize scandal I stepped aside. Four government agencies investigated. the Kenya anti-corruption commission, they cleared my name. the audit department in the ministry of finance cleared my name. the Criminal Investigations Department cleared my name. a forensic audit by uum CUBAS cleared my name, right. And when I was cleared, I was still sacked to tell you that all those allegations were made for purposes of getting me out of office

INTERVIEWER: But it wasn't only the maize scandal there was also the pipeline scandal. You are always seemed to be surrounded by all these controversies is it really just uh, you know, by chance? Or...

WILLIAM RUTO: The pipeline case that happened in 1997 it was dragged on and on and on but finally it was cleared by the high court **and for your information** I did not even have to defend myself, **for your information**, the case was dismissed on a no case to answered basis. **For your information** I did not even have to say one word. I needed not say anything. Because the people who brought those charges against me, they themselves could not even prove that I had any case

INTERVIEWER: YOU WILLIAM are a VERY SUCCESSFUL BUSINESS MAN MR RUTO there are some who believe ...let me just finish...there are those who believe that you will put your business interest first once you are in a leadership position because this a country where politics makes it easier to make money.

WILLIAM RUTO: I have shares in a couple of businesses some of them family.

Appendix V: Kalonzo Musyoka's Speeches

1. Kalonzo Musyoka speech at NASA Presidential Campaign Launch in Kakamega June, 3, 2017

Hata kama walikuwa wanamwogopa kiasi gani. And I **can** forgive them. And I **can** understand them to some extent why the guilty are always afraid.

We **can** assure them, sisi tukiwapeleka nyumbani, we **shall** treat them with decorum definitely we **shall** treat them with decorum.

2. KALONZO MUSYOKA SPEECH AT NASA DEAL SIGNING FEB 22, 2017

..... yakafanyika yaliyofanyika, the good intensions of Kenyan people were hijacked by forces that were not progressive. Negative forces I like to call them.

Mheshimiwa Ndugu: Raila Odinga utakumbuka mimi na wewe tukaweka sahihi. Mara nyingine 2013. Alafu yaliyofanyika **in fact** the 2002 coalition agreement when it was not honoured brought serious grieve in this country. **And** this country has never recovered. In 2013 we did a similar thing mimi na ndugu Weta na ndugu Raila. We went on to score believe it or not 5.8 million votes lakini ikawa downgraded to 5.4 million.

..... by presence with us by our brother Wycliffe Musalia Mudavadi. I have no doubt in my mind ndugu **will** be the missing link. **And** therefore, will bring us luck. This time I want to make it clear that the document we have signed today is basically a framework document. There is still a lot of work to be done we have made it clear the team of twelve **will** continue to do, to do the most important matter in three areas. Mainly the matter of nomination of our candidates as national supper Alliance. The, **will** be areas because we are wiser. We lost Nairobi; Nairobi County could have given us at least ten minimum CORD members. **If** we had done our nomination right. We are wiser this time that matter must be dealt with conclusively. Of course, the areas where in any political organization are seen as strong holds with the team again **will** continue to at what is possible whether the sister parties **can** have friendly fire, or whether the sister parties **can** again have joint nominations. That is work under progress. But the team of twelve have done a tremendous job and I **must** thank them for what they have done. **They know** that the most important matter is to work on all the important matter of flagship of NASA. And this is important. They **will** have to burn the midnight oil on our part the four of us. And you **will** notice in that coalition agreement because it is public in fact after this our secretaries general are going straight to the registrar of political parties to hand over this document. Therefore, to that extend it **will** be public. We have actually said that even the critical matter of power sharing and whatever. Not necessarily as in our statement we have made it clear we are not power hungry. We are not looking at who becomes what we are looking for common good of this nation. And therefore, we **must** work towards all inclusive government. Inclusivity to us is absolutely pivotal. Is a core value and this is why Jubilee have completely failed to recognized the demography of this country that we have nationalities living in this country. And the go up and they have come up with an administration that is clearly not all inclusive. Therefore, this is important. And again, this is work under progress. So, we undertake to move with speed this time guided, guided by the most important matter between us and that is the principle of good faith. Moving every step in good faith believing that Kenyans are also going to come along with us.

..... Kenya, ina uhuru wake. First and final liberation. The last liberation we are going to instill the spirit of constitutionalism, the spirit of brotherhood the spirit of honesty in politics and in the conduct of public affairs.

... Kenya's cannot be lured by excessive power and unconstitutional power and use of the same. The freedom of association. A nation that has even lost its conscious. Where have you heard in the world doctors' strike going over 70 days. Where in the world have you heard of a country that is permanently one strike after another and an administration that is literally having like hearts of stone not heart of flesh. Kwa hivyo IEBC I **will** mention here there is rot absolute rote in the vote register. As we speak now, they have not even cleaned it.

We are saying this platform today these games must end. The culture of free and fair and credible and verifiable elections **must** crib in immediately. Jubilee owes it to themselves even. Because all of us on world stage. We **will** come and plant act two act three in play where one of them say **if** you read a book, called a man of all seasons, that the world is basically a stage and this common man come and played and said, I am just a common man and here is a play made up of kings and cardinals in speaking costumes. He says this is a costume and actually barely covered one man's nakedness. We are all going to exit the stage what is important is what do we leave behind. Therefore, we are putting IEBC on notice on this matter. Mr. Chabukati, we met you with your team. You know you have our full support but **if** you discover there is rot in the system come out and say it. Because we know there is rot. And this rot must be cleaned up. Double registration. I went as far as Kianjokoma in Embu. And there I found a young lady who came to register at that particular place and she was told you are already registered. She had just obtained an ID, 18 years old na tayari amesajiriwa kama mpiga kura.

This game has to end. The whole thing now is, the IEBC. Finally shake spear said there is a tide in affairs of men. This is the high time and as my brother Raila has said this tide now **will** translate into Tsunami. Already it is. Because people did not expect we would come this far but **you know** God for Christians like me is Ebenezer. This far God has brought us. And is going to deliver a wonderful nation. Therefore, even jubilee please relax to know a NASA win is even good for you. 3. **JANUARY 10, 2013- KALANOZO SAYS RAILA TOSHA**

When I say, **all** that I am and all that I hope to be without Kenya Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka **will** be nothing. And because we **must** now change this country for good, we have been singing reform change for too long. The time for change is now.

Appendix VI: Different Excerpts and their Translations

No	Utterance	Translation
	<p>Uhuru Kenyatta: Thank you. I have just heard my good brother Raila say that I have many cases pending before court. I would like him to maybe to cite a few.</p> <p>Raila Odinga: No, I said some people. His running mate is known to be having cases with his own neighbours in court.</p> <p>Ruto: First let me tell you, I think we are sophisticated enough to be able to chew gum and scale the stairs.</p>	<p>Uhuru Kenyatta: Asante. Sasa hivi Nimesikia ndugu yangu Raila akisema kwamba nina kesi nyingi sana mahakamani. Ningependa labda ataje chache.</p> <p>Raila Odinga: La, nilisema watu fulani. Mgombea mweza wake anajulikan kuwa na kesi mahakamani na majirani zake.</p> <p>Ruto: Kwanza wacha nikwambie, Nafikiri tunauchangamani wa kutosha kutuwezesha kutafuna gum na kupanda ngazi.</p>
	<p>‘Say what you may I must do what I must.’ Uhuru Kenyatta Nov 5, 2015.</p>	<p>Sema kile unaweza lazima nitende ninacholazimika kutenda</p>
	<p>Uhuru: Explain to me, explain to me, explain to me.</p> <p>And I have said we have a problem with our judiciary but regardless we respect but we will revisit we shall respect but we shall revisit.</p>	<p>Nieleze. Na nimesema mahakama zetu zina tatitizo, lakini hata hivyo tutaheshimu lakini tutarejelea.</p>
	<p>‘Let us send home the riddles guy by 8 a.m. (Uhuru 6/8/2017)</p> <p>Has NASA team cornered you or you are still in Jubilee? (Ruto 6/8/2017)</p> <p>I said a tsunami is coming and now its here. On August 7 we are listed as number 8 on the ballot but on August 9, we will have reached Jerusalem as the first.’ (Odinga 6/8/2017)</p> <p>When they said they are going to enjoy meat as we watch we are telling them that we will snatch it from them and give to the people. (Musyoka Kalonzo 6/8/2017)</p> <p>(Change begins on August 8) Raila (Daily Nation 7/8/2017)</p>	<p>Wacha tumtume nyumbani jamaa wa vitandawili kufikia saa mbili asubuhi.</p> <p>Mmenaswa ama bado mko jubilee?</p> <p>Nilisema tsunami yaja na sasa I hapa. Agosti saba tumeorodheshwa namba 8 katika karatasi ya kupiga kura lakini tarehe 9 tutakuwa tumefika Jerusalem wa kwanza.</p> <p>Waliposema watafurahia kula nyama tukiwaangalia, tunawaambia kwamba tutawaponya na kuipa wananchi.</p> <p>Mambo ya badilika nane nane.</p>

No	Utterance	Translation
	<p>I am not interested in nusu mkate. We need full boflo (bread Raila 16/10/2017)</p>	<p>Sina haja na mkate nusu. Tunataka mkate mzima.</p>
	<p>If as Jubilee we wanted to swear in Mr Kenyatta as president, we could do so, but never wanted to plunge the country into chaos because we are for peace (William Ruto 16/10/2017)</p> <p>The constitution allows for peaceful demonstration but you cannot call them peaceful demos when you send your men to stone police stations. What do you expect to find when you storm a police station? Uhuru 16/10/2017</p> <p>If you are not ready to participate in this election nobody is forcing you to. Just stay at home and don't bother Kenyans who want to exercise their democratic rights. Uhuru 17/10/2017</p> <p>If one player chooses to abandon the contest, he should not dictate how the election should proceed or prevent those who are ready participate in it. (Uhuru 17/10/2017)</p>	<p>Kama Jubilee iwapo tungetaka kuabisha Bw. Uhuru Kenyatta tungefanya hivyo, lakini ni hatukutaka kutumbukiza Taifa kwa vurugu kwa sababu tunataka amani.</p> <p>Katiba inaruhusu maandamano ya amani lakini hauwezi kuyaita maandamano ya amani ikiwa utatuma wanaume kupiga mawe kituo cha polisi. Unatarajia kupata nini unapovamia kituo cha polisi?</p> <p>Iwapo haupo tayari kushiriki kwa uchaguzi huu, hakuna mtu anakurazimisha. Kaa tu nyumbani na usiwasumbue Wakenya ambao wanataka kutekeleza haki yao kikatiba.</p> <p>Iwapo shiriki mmoja anaamua kutoshiriki kwa mashindano, hapaswi kulazimisha utaratibu wa uchaguzi au kuzuia waliotayari kishuriki.</p>

No	Utterance	Translation
	<p>Uhuru August 2017..... because they know as a supreme court, they cannot overturn the will of the people lakini Maraga thinks he can overturn the will of the people. We shall show you in 60 days that the will of the people cannot be overturned by one or two individuals. Na tukishamaliza tutarevisit hii mambo yenu. Kwani wewe umechaguliwa na nani no no there is a problem and we must fix it. Going forward we must fix it. We must fix that problem we must fix that problem.</p>	<p>Kwa sababu wanajua kama Mahakama ya Upeo wa juu haiwezi kupindua uamuzi wa chaguo la watu. Tutakuonyesha ndani ya siku 60 kwamba uamuzi watu hauwezi kupinduliwa na mtu mmoja au wawili.... Hapana, kuna tatizo na ni lazima tulitatie. Kuendelea mbele ni lazima tulitataue. Ni lazima tulitataue.</p>

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	<p>Raila: I’ I went on live Tv interview and I urged my supporters not to turn up to vote but not stop anybody who wanted to go and vote. But as you know voting in this country is voluntary. 2017, October.</p> <p>So, we are concern about violence and the loss of life of our people but at the sometime we must converse for change in this society. We can’t accept this kind of imposition of leadership on our people.</p>	<p>Nilikuwa kwa mahojiano ya runinga na nikawasihi wafuasi wangu kutoenda kupiga kura lakini si kumkataza yeyote aliyetaka kwenda kupiga kura. Lakini kama ujuavyo upigaji kura wa humu nchini ni wa hiari.</p> <p>Kwa hivyo tunajali kuhusu fujo na vifo vya watu wetu, lakini wakati mwingine lazima tutetee mabadiliko katika jamii. Hatuwezi kukubali kusukumwa uongozi kwa watu wetu.</p>
	<p>Now this Joshua wea are being told about here is Joshua to take people to Canaan and he has announced to demonstrate in this Canaan. Does he think this is Canaan of Busaa? I s this a true or a fake Joshua? Is this a true or fake Canaan?</p> <p>And I told you these brothers of ours of traps because they have no agenda, they think they can make traps to catch people. Is there anybody here who is so foolish to be trapped by a mole trap?</p>	<p>Sasa huyu Joshua tunaambiwa ni Joshua hapa ya kupeleka watu kanani na ametangaza kugoma kati hii Canaan anafikiria ni Caanani ya chang’aa na busaa. Huyu Joshua ni Joshua ya kweli au ni Joshua ya badia? Hii Canani yake ni ya kweli au ni Kanani ya badia?</p> <p>Na mimi niliwaambia hawa ndugu zetu wa mtego ya kanasa kwa sababu wamekosa agenda wakaenda wakatengeneza mtego ati ya kunasa watu... iko mtu gani hapa mjinga ya kunaswa na mtego ya panya? Ruto 2017</p>
	<p>When the buffalo – horn sounds, there is something of importance. 2017 campaign Rally - And we have come to blow the buffalo horn. And to feel you that we have a problem. When a buffalo – horn sounds? (There is a problem). There is a problem isn’t it?</p>	<p>Mbiu ya mgambo ikilia ina jambo.</p> <p>‘Na tumekuja kupiga mbiu ya mgambo.’ Nakuambia nyinyi ya kwamba kuna maneno. Mbio ya mgambo ikilia? (Kuna jambo) Si kuna jambo?</p>
	<p>Will your party back William Ruto in 2022 election?</p> <p>I have always maintained very clearly and it has been my position and I have been a public servant. We have an agenda as a government that we want to complete we are still almost 2 years away from an election this is not the time to start campaigning. Uhuru’s Interview in France Oct 2, 2020</p>	<p>Je chama chako kitamuunga mkono Naibu Raisi katika uchaguzi wa 2020?</p> <p>Kila wakati nimeshikilia kwamba na ni dhahirina umekuwa msimamao wangu na nimekuwa ofisa a umma. Tuna ajeda ya serikali ambayo tunahitaji kukamilisha na tuna miaka miwili kufikia uchaguzi huu sio wakati wa kuanzisha kampeni.</p>

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	<p>If there are those who are grieved and feel like they are not ready to accept (General election results) there are also constitutionally laid down procedures they can use to express their dissatisfaction while allowing millions of Kenyans who wish to continue with their normal lives to do so. (Uhuru 15/8/2017)</p> <p>I truly believe that there is no single Kenyan who wants to continue seeing violence, looting and demonstrations. (Uhuru 15/8/2017)</p>	<p>Iwapo kuna wale ambao wana malalamiko na wana hisi kana kwamba hawapo tayari kukubari(matokeo ya uchaguzi mkuu) kunazo pia taratibu za kikatiba zilizomo na wanaweza kuzitumia kulalalmikia kutoridhika kwao wakiwaruhusu mamailioni ya wakenya kuendelea na maisha yao ya kawaida.</p> <p>Kwa kweli naamini kwamba hakuna hata Mkenya mmoja anayependa kuendelea kuona fujo, uporaji na maandamano.</p>
	<p>They have stolen our votes and they still come to kill our people. They think they can steal our victory; we refuse. Odinga 14/8/2017</p> <p>Tomorrow there is no going to work, wait until Tuesday when I will give directions' Odinga (14/8/2017)</p> <p>We will show how they shamelessly cooked results from non existent polling stations and fake ungazetted presiding and returning officers (Odinga 17/8/2017)</p> <p>Kenyans won't accept and move on. (Raila 20/8/2017)</p> <p>Kenyans will not allow their sons and daughters to be butchered... The young people must stand up. Enough is enough. (Raila 20/8/2017)</p> <p>If supreme court is for Kenyans it must give a comprehensive judgement (Musalia Mudavadi 20/8/2017)</p> <p>To David Maraga and other judges, you will be condemned if you sit and make a single pronouncement' (Wetangula 20/8/2017)</p> <p>We have reached a point where Kenya must wake up' Raila 23/8/2017</p>	<p>Wametuibia kura na tena waja kua watu wetu. Wanafikiri wanaweza kuiba ushindi wetu; tumekataa.</p> <p>Kesho hakuna kwenda kazini, msubiri hadi Jumanne nitakapotoa mwelekeo.</p> <p>Tutaonyesha jinsi walivyoiba kura zeetu bila aya kutoka kwa vituo vya kupiga kura visivyokuwepo na maofisa wa uchaguzi badia.</p> <p>Wakenya hawatakubali na kuendelea. Wakenya hatakubali wana wao kuchinjwa.....Vijana wanapaswa kusimama. Yakutosha imetosha.</p> <p>Iwapo Mahakama ya Juu ni ya wakenya. Inapaswa kutoa hukumu ya kina.</p> <p>David Maraga na Majaji wengine mtashtumiwa iwapo mtaketi na kutoa tangazo moja.</p>

No	Utterance	Translation
		Tumefikisha sehemu ambapo ni sharti Kenya iamke.
	<p>Mohammed: Do you have ambitions?</p> <p>Ruto: It is the people of Kenya who will ultimately decide their leadership for president to the people in future.</p> <p>Ruto: If you see someone asking for help in the bedroom, you should know things are thick. Isn't it?</p>	<p>Je unatamaa?</p> <p>Ni Wakenya hatimaye watakaoamua raisi kwa katika siku zijazo.</p> <p>Ikiwa utaomba msaada katika chumba chako cha kulala, unapaswa kujua mambo ni magumu. Au sivyoy?</p>
	<p>Mohammed Adow: You some years ago were on the other side and right beside Raila Odinga and the height of post-election unrest were calling for mass action to achieve what you had called your stolen victory then. He is just doing what you had done before.</p> <p>Ruto: People learn from history they say it is only fools who don't learn from their own mistakes. We have been there as a country. Anybody who has not learned from our mistakes in the past and repeat then they are fools.</p>	<p>Miaka michacha nyuma ulikuwa kwa upande ule mwingine na ubavu kwa ubavu na Raila na katika kilelel cha gasia za baada uchaguzi mlikuwa mnaitisha maandamano ili kukifikia mlichokuwa mankiita wizi a ushindi wenu. Anafanya tu kile mlikuwa mmefanya hapo awali.</p> <p>Watu husoma kutokana na historia, wanasema ni wajinga pekee ambao hawajifunzi kutokana na makosa yao. Tumekuwa pale kama taifa. Yeyote amabye hajasoma kutokana na makosa ya awali na kuyarudia, basi wao ni wajinga.</p>
	<p>Adow: Are you concern under your collective watch of you and president Uhuru Kenyatta we are witnessing most division and ethnicity in Kenya?</p> <p>Ruto: Aah in fact it is to the contrary, I think for the first time in a long while, Kenyans are coming together. If you look at the last election if that is anything to go by on 8th of August there were basically two formations unlike the ethnic decide we have had in the past.</p>	<p>Unajali kuwa chini ya uangalizi wako wa Pamoja na Uhuru Kenyatta tunashuhudia migawanyiko mingi sana ya kikabla nchini Kenya?</p> <p>Kwa hakika ni kinyume na hayo, Nafikiri kwa mara ya kwanza kwa muda mrefu, Wakenya wanaunganika. Ukiangalia uchaguzi uliopita, iwapo ni chochote cha kurejelea, mnamo Agosti 8 kulikuwa tu na miungano miwili kinyume na migawanyiko ya kikabila ambayo tulikuwa nayo hapo awali.</p>
	<p>As I say.... all that I am and all that I hope to be without Kenya Stephen Kalonzo Musyoka will be nothing. And because we must now change this country for good, we have been singing reform change for too long. The time for change is now.</p> <p>Kalonzo January 10, 2013- Raila Tosha</p>	<p>Nikisema kile nilicho na kile ninachotumainia kuwa bila Kenya, Kalaonzo Musyoka hatakuwa chochote. Na kwa sababu ni lazima sasa tubadilishe nchi hii kabisa tumekuwa tukiimba mabadiliko kwa muda mrefu. Wakati wa mabadiriko ni sasa.</p>

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	<p>Just because we have obeyed the law and constitution, they shouldn't see us as fools. We are not fools, so don't tell us about form this form that. And don't tell us that it is not important that people voted.</p> <p>'My friends we may not be learned but we are not stupid. Ruto may 2017</p>	<p>Wasituone sisi tunaheshimu sheria na katiba waone sisi ni wajinga.</p> <p>Sisi si wajinga kwa hivyo usituambie kuhusu fomu hii au fomu ile. Na usituambie kuwa si muhimu kwa watu kupiga kura. Marafiki zangu tunaweza kuwa hatujasoma lakini sisi sio wajinga.</p>
	<p>You can fool some people sometimes, but you cannot fool all the people'</p> <p>Ruto – Oct 5, 2018</p>	<p>Unaweza kuwafanya watu wajingal akini huwezi kuwafanya watu wote wajinga.</p>
	<p>Raila: They tacked about laptops... have you seen them?</p> <p>They said they would build stadium...</p> <p>Have you seen them? So, promises of Jubilee are like donkey's fart (which is so rare)</p> <p>Raila: 'Insulting Raila is like pinching donkey's buttocks (which will elicit instant back kicks)</p> <p>Raila: Clouds are the sign of what? (rain) it is about to rain heavily.</p> <p>When a fool becomes enlightened, the wise person is in trouble" (Raila 23 October 2017 in Kisii).</p> <p>Ruto: He is crying before the foreign countries so that they can sympathize with him and set up a team that will oversee mediation. But even if he goes to Europe, Washington pass through Mexico and go to Casablanca there will be no nusu mkate (Ruto 16/10/2017)</p>	<p>Waliongea juu ya laptop... mumeona? Walisema watajenga stadium, mumeona? Basi ahadi za jubilee ni kama kujamba kwa kupanda.</p> <p>'Kutukana Raila, ni kama kuchuna matako ya punda.'</p> <p>Dalili ya mwa ni? Mawingu yametanda! Mvua I karibu kunyesha.</p> <p>Mjinga akielevuka, Mwerevu yu mashakani.</p> <p>Analilia mbele ya mataifa ya kigeni ili wamhurumie na hivyo kuunda kamati ya kushughulikia maridhiano. Lakini iwapo ataenda Uropa, Washington apitie Mexico na Kwenda Casablanca, hakutakuwa na nusu mkate</p>
	<p>Uhuru: Chief Justice Maraga thinks he can overturn the will of people? We shall show you in 60 days that the will of people cannot be overturned by one or two individuals. And I want to say with some anger, just a little but still say it:</p>	<p>Jaji Mkuu Maraga anafikiria anaweza kupindua uamuzi wa watu? Tutakuonyesha ndani ya siko 60 kwamba uamuzi wa watu hauwezi kupinduliwa na mtu mmoja au wawili. Na ninasema haya nikiwa na hasira, hasira kidogo tu lakini ni lazima niseme, amani, amani, amani.</p>

No	Utterance	Translation
	William Ruto: Monday for our country you will be choosing between the past, the failures, the lost opportunities, the disappointments of the past and the future, represented by the jubilee coalition	Jumatatu kwa nchi yetu tutakuwa tunachagua kati ya yaliyopita, maanguko, fursa zilizopotea, kukatizwa tamaa ya yaliyopita na yajayo yakiwakilishwa na muungano wa Jubilee.
	Linda Ogutu: So, what is driving you to want to be the deputy president of this country? Talk to your people. Ruto: Well, I believe that eeh combined force between Uhuru Kenyatta and myself will give this country the necessary synergy that will unleash the tremendous potentials that exist in our country. We made a conscious decision, Uhuru Kenyatta and myself that we are going to remove the politics of us versus them, the politics of ethnicity the politics of this community versus that community.	Ni nini kinachokusukuma kutaka kuwa Naibu wa Raisi wa nchi hii? Zungumza na watu wako Naam naamini nguvu pamoja kati yangu na Uhuru Kenyatta zitaipa nchi hii nguvu hitajika ya kuzidua uwezo mkubwa wa nchi hii. Tulifanya uamuzi fahamika mimi na Uhuru Kenyatta kwamba tutaondoa siasa za sisi dhidi yao, siasa za kikabila na siasa za jamii dhidi ya jamii nyingine.
	L.O: Would you be prepared to concede defeat? Ruto: We would be prepared if we are if the people of Kenya at the ballot decide that our competitors are better than us. We have done that before.	Unaweza kukubali kushindwa? Tutakuwa tayari iwapo watu wa Kenya katika debe wataamua kwamba wapinzani wetu ni bora kutuliko. Tushafanya hivyo hapo mbeleni.
	Mohamed: President Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto say that while they are ready to dialogue with you, they are not ready to discuss anything outside the current constitution. Raila: I have seen Mr. Ruto say he is ready to discuss with me my retirement package. My retirement package is in the constitution and in the law. I don't need any kind of favoritism from Mr. Ruto about my retirement package. They refused to give it to me since I retired as the prime minister of this country.	Rais Uhuru Kenyatta na William Ruto wanasema kwamba mabali na kwamba wako tayari kuzungumza nawe, hawako tayari kujadili chochote nje ya katiba ya sasa. Hili linaleta makabiliano itakuwa hivyo? Nimwona Ruto akisema ako tayari kujadili kiwango cha fedha zangu za kustaafu. Kiwango cha fedha zangu za kustaafu ki kwenye katiba na ni sheria. Sitakai aina yoyote ya kupendelewa kutoka kwa Ruto. Kuhusu malipo yangu ya kustaafu. Walikataa kunilipa na nilistaafu kama Waziri Mkuu wa nchi hii.
	"The theft of public resources is now called hustling. The sacking of corrupt and incompetent is now called targeting people' @Raila Odinga tweeter	Wizi wa rasilimali ya umma sasa unaitwa kujitafutia. Kuwaachisha kazi wanaoendesha ufisadi na wasiowajibika kazini sasa kunaitwa kuwalenga watu fulani.
		'Ama mtoto wa maskini akipata ameiba lakini wa tajiri akiiba ni biashara.' Ruto
	We want Maraga to hear us well. Because he had his day, ours is coming. By the way, that is not a	Tunataka Maraga atusikie vizuri. Kwa sababu alikuwa na siku yake, yetu yaja. Na sio

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	<p>threat. He has had his day, he has done his game, our day is coming – Ruto 2017 September</p> <p>So, has CJ taken sides? Listening to the tone, language and drift of Maraga’s lecture the only phrase missing is NASA HAO/ TIBIN and TIALALA/ Ruto 19 Sept 2017.</p>	<p>vitisho. Alikuwa na siku yake ashacheza mchezo wake, siku yetu yaja.</p> <p>Kwa hivyo, Jaji Mkuu ameegemea upande fulani? Sikiliza toni na lugha ya kubadilika kwa hotuba za Maraga. Kirai kinachokosa tu ni NASA HAO/TIBIN na TIALALA.</p>
	<p>I cannot be hustler here on earth and in heaven.</p>	<p>Siwezi kuwa hasla huku pia nikawa hasla binguni Ruto Oct 5, 2018</p>
	<p>We believe in United Kenya. We do not support secession but you have seen the disintegration of countries in Eastern Europe.</p> <p>The debate about self-determination is gaining currency. When people become desperate, they resort to desperate measures. (Odinga 20/10/2017)</p> <p>If proper consultations are done and if proper reforms are carried out, and those fears that we raised are addressed, we will reconsider (Odinga on withdrawal from polls 20/10/2017)</p> <p>I do not want to appear as if I am going to beg. I do not need anything from the so-called William Ruto (Odinga 20/10/2017)</p> <p>There are several means of killing a cat. On October 25, I will tell you how to kill the cat. (Odinga 21/10/2017)</p> <p>If we do not stop this computer based rigging now, it will be institutionalized.</p> <p>I have universal speech because I am confident, I am going to win but in the unlikely event that I</p>	<p>Tunaamini kwa Kenya iliyoungana. Hatuungi mkono kujitenga lakaini umeona usambaratikaji wa nchi za kusini mwa Uropa.</p> <p>Mdahalo kuhusu kujitawala unapata umaarufu. Watu wanapokata tamaa wanachukua hatua za ukataji tamaa.</p> <p>Iwapo mashauriano ya maana yatafanyika na kama mabadiliko stahilifu yatatekelezwa, na hofu hizi tulizosema kushughulikiwa, tutafikiria tena.</p> <p>Sitaki kuonekana kama nakwenda kunyenyekea. Sitaki chochote kutoka kwa huyu anayelitwa William Ruto.</p> <p>Kuna namna nyingi za kuua paka. Mnamo October 25, nitawaarifu nmana ya kuua paka.</p> <p>Iwapo hatutakomesha wizi huu kupitia kwa tarakilishi sasa, utakuwa umekubalika</p> <p>Nina hotuba ya jumla kwa sababu ni na hakika nitashinda lakini kwa tukio lisilowezekana niwe nimeshindwa, sihitaji</p>

No	Utterance	Translation
	<p>loose, I don't need a speech as I will speak from the heart.'</p> <p>As Jubilee we are democrats and we shall accept the verdict of Kenyans and our competitors should do the same if they lose.' (Ruto 9/8/2017)</p> <p>'There will come a time when we may call you to action.' Kalonzo 10/8/2017</p>	<p>hotuba kwa sababu nitazungumza kutoka moyoni.</p> <p>Kama Jubilee, sisi ni wanademokrasia na tutakubali uamuzi wa Wakenya na wapinzani wetu wanapaswa kufanya vivyo hivyo wakishindwa.</p> <p>Kutafikia wakati ambapo tutaweza kuwaita mchukue hatua.</p>
	<p>We sharpened razorblades, we sharpened axe, and we shaved jubilee supporters. Wangatia (2016) Espoused by the</p>	<p>Tulinao wembe, tukanoa shoka, tukanyoa watu wa jubilee'..."</p>