CODE SWITCHNG IN POLITICAL SPEECHES: A CASE STUDY OF 2012/2013

SELECTED PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN SPEECHES IN KENYA.

BY

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DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented to any other university.

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DEDICATION

TO

My son, Mark Anthony

Thank you for growing up so fast and putting up with mama always being away.

Mommy

Thank you for being there for me all the way. You put your dreams aside so that we could be.

Dad

For bringing those Readers Digests and John Grishams home, it instilled in me the love for the word quite early in life.

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To all my classmates M.A class of 2011, cheers, you made the two years bearable.

Lastly, to all those who helped in one way or the other and whose names I have not mentioned here, God Bless You.

ABSTRACT

This study extends the study of code switching to political discourse and in particular spontenously produced campaign speeches with a view to finding out the motivation for code switching, types and functions of the same using using Myers (1993) Markedness Model.The study uses instances of campaign speeches given by presidential candidates Uhuru Kenyata, Martha Karua and Raila Odinga during the 2012/2013 campaigns in Kenya.

The analysis of the data was done in chapter two and three in the light of the marked choice maxim in markedness model which is a negotiation against the unmarked (expected) choice and directs a speaker to call up for another RO set in the place of the expected choice. This is because our data revealed only instances of marked Code switching. In chapter two we analysed intrasentential code switching while in Chapter three we analysed intersentential and tag switching.

It was the finding of this study that the motivation for code switching is; one, to fill a lexical gap, this showed prominence in our data. Code switching was also used for aesthetic effects through direct or indirect quotation of the speaker's words or other person's words in earlier incidences. Thirdly, structural flagging as a motivation for code switching was used for foregrounding and emphasis.

Our study also revealed that code switching to native languages was meant to express ethnic solidarity with speakers of the same native language. The same could also be used to break through ethnic barriers even if momentarily.

Instances of intrasentential, intersentential and tag code switching were revealed in our data with politicians exploiting code switching for both communicative and strategic functions. These findings are presented in chapter four with recommendations for further study.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

Myers (1993:1) observes that the use of more than one linguistic variety in one's speech act is a common practice in everyday conversation and mass crafted discourse such as advertising, marketing, media and political discourse.

Code switching to Myers is a term used to identify alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation; with bilinguals or multilinguals selecting forms from an embedded language in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation. She further observes that the linguistic varieties participating in code switching may be different languages, dialect or styles of the same language.On the other hand, Gumperz (1982:68) defines code switching as the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or sub-system with the items tied together prosodically and by semantic and syntactic relations equivalent to those joining passages in a single language.

Some scholars maintain a clear distinction between code mixing and code switching. This includes scholars such as Kachru (1993:193) who refers to code switching as the ability to switch from code A to code B whereas code mixing as the transferring of linguistic units from one code into another with code switching involving the alternation between higher level constituents such as clauses and sentences and code mixing as the alternations between lower constituent such as words and phrases.

McCormick (1995:194) echoes Kachru's sentiments as he defines code switching as the alternation of elements longer than one word while code mixing involves shorter elements, often just single words.

Kachru's and McCormick's definitions of code mixing seem to refer to intrasentential code switching whereas code switching to intersentential code switching. Myers' (1993:1) uses code switching as an umbrella term for both code switching and code mixing.

This study adopts the position articulated by Myers that recognizes code switching as alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation. The term code switching will be therefore used as a cover term for intra-word, intrasentential elements which Kachru (1978:67) refers to as code mixing and intersentential code switching.

According to Myers (1993:33) code switching is a natural language phenomenon in a multilingual setup world over.Myers argues that one who becomes a bilingual in Africa is anyone who is mobile either in a socio-economic or a geographic sense; what she calls 'the urban syndrome' to highlight the effects of salaried work experience and the multi ethnic nature of everyday interactions.

Whiteley (1974:35) refers to Kenya as a multilingual country. He observes that high multilingual would be found where:

(i) The community is linguistically heterogeneous.

(ii) Access to education is unlimited and prolonged.

(iii) Communication is good and there are incentives to use them.

(iv) Personal mobility is high

(v) Strong attempts are made to encourage people to speak a particular language e.g. in language policies.

According to ethnologue (2013) there are a total of 68 languages spoken in Kenya. More specifically various ethnic groups speak their mother tongue within their communities.The two official languages, English and Swahili are used in varying degrees of fluency for communication with other communities.

According to Appel and Muysken (1987:62) majority of Kenyan especially those living in urban Kenya (urban areas being places of convergence for people from different ethnic groups) are multilingual, they have as part of their linguistic repertoire Kiswahili and English and an ethnic language spoken within their communities while peri-urban and rural dwellers are less multilingual, this is because travel tends to promote bilingualism since the more travel, the more intergroup contacts.

The Kenyan language situation and the language policy as stated in the 2010 constitution recognizes both Kiswahili and English as the official languages with Kiswahili still maintaining its status as a national language. The policy also calls for the State to promote

the development and use of indigenous languages. Kenyan Sign language and Braille further reinforces the multilingual situation.

A speech is a structured verbal chain of coherent speech acts uttered on a special occasion in our case a campaign rally) for a specific purpose by a single person and addressed at a more or less specific audience. Schmitz (2005: 698).

The focus of our study is presidential speeches during 2012\2013 campaigns in Kenya. As it is in political speeches during election campaigns, ideas and ideologies need to be conveyed through language so that they are agreed upon by receivers as well as by others who may read or hear parts of the speech afterwards in the media.

Oduori (2002:8) views language as a tool that can be used to describe a community's social, economic and political order. He observes that language communicative value in different contexts can describe the user's intentions and actions.

Crabb (2010:11) argues that language is an important aspect to political campaigns. She observes that politicians deal in language; words are the units of commerce in this particular trade.

This view is also echoed in Wei J. (2003) who treats code-switching not only as a social mechanism of negotiation and definition of social roles, networks and boundaries (Heller 1988) but also proposes it as a verbal strategy in political discourse with which one can

achieve pragmatic and strategic functions without assuming responsibility of being put on record (Obeng 1997:14).

Politics displays a complex language matrix on which politicians depend on for persuading commanding, threatening, bargaining, reassuring, imposing and reasoning. O' bbat (1976) Canal (1989), Lwaitama (1995) as cited in Habwe (1999).

Politicians in Kenya often code switch in their political speeches as one of the ways in which they exploit the language matrix for varying reasons. Code switching in Kenyan political speeches could be from Kiswahili to English and vice versa or from English or Kiswahili to a native language (if or not the native language is shared with the audience).

1.2 Definitions of Key Terms

Code: A code is a system of communication that could be a dialect, register or language.

Code switching: Code switching is the alternations of linguistic varieties within the same conversation; bilinguals or multilinguals select forms from an embedded language in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation.

Matrix Language: The matrix language is the main language of the utterance
(ML)   containing code switching.

Embedded Language: The embedded language is the language inserted in the matrix
(EL)   language.

Rights and Obligation: RO set is an abstract construct derived from situational factors

                                    standing for the attitudes and expectations of participants towards

                                    one another.

Indexicality: Different linguistic varieties in a community's repertoire index

                                    (points to) different RO sets (relationship) within the interaction.

Intraword code   It is switching within the word boundaries.

Switching:

Intersentential code   It is the switching between sentences.

Switching:

Intrasentential code   It is the switching within the sentence boundaries.

switching

Tag switching   It refers to the insertion of a tag in a different language, register or

                                    dialect other than the matrix language.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The focus of this study is code switching in political speeches made by selected presidential candidates during the 2012/2013 campaign rallies in Kenya.The theory to be used is Markedness Model proposed by Myers (1993).

Although Myers argues that code switching is a natural phenomenon of the bilingual, Motivation for code switching and the functions the linguistic phenomenon serves in political speeches still remains puzzling as studies reveal little research has been conducted on motivation for code switching in political speeches.This study aims to find out the motivation for code switching and its functions.

In this study we shall strive to answer certain questions:

1. What is the motivation for code switching in political speeches?

2. Does code switching have communicative and strategic functions?

3. What types of code switching are revealed in political speeches?

4. What languages are involved in code switching in the data?

1.4 Objective of the Study

The objectives of the study are to:

1. Determine if code switching as an unmarked, marked or exploratory choice is the motivation for code switching in campaign speeches.

2. Establish whether code switching has communicative and strategic functions.

3. Find out if intrasentential and intersentential code switching in Markedness Model will be revealed in our data.

1.5 Research Hypotheses

The study will be guided by the following hypotheses:

1. Code switching as an unmarked, marked or exploratory choice is the motivation for code switching.

2. Code switching has communicative and strategic functions.

7

3. Intrasentential and intersentential code switching as proposed by the model will be revealed in our data.

1.6 Justification

Code switching serves important communicative and strategic functions in varying discourse. However, in majority of communities studied some social stigma has been attached to this mode of speaking by both in and out groups. This is because code switching does not sound conventional and those who do not understand the functions, may see it as a deviation and not as a pattern unique to bilinguals as argued in Myers (1993:1)

This study is therefore vital as it aims to shed light on motivation for code switching in political speeches and thus eliminates censorial judgment on its manifestations.Moreover; it is useful for experts in political communication techniques to process such materials in order to advise politicians on how they can use code switching to serve their needs.

1.7 Scope of the Study

The focus of this study is the motivation for code switching in political speeches. The study restricted itself to selected political speeches given by presidential candidates during the 2012/2013 campaign period in Kenya.

The study is limited to three presidential candidates' campaign speeches namely Hon. Uhuru Kenyatta, Hon. Raila Odinga and Hon. Martha Karua.Other than providing a regional disparity.Uhuru Kenyatta and Raila Odinga were chosen because they were the leading

contestants in the elections and also hold opposing view points, the researcher was therefore interested in finding out if they gave similar or varied exploits of code switching while Martha Karua provided gender disparity.

In this study we did not limit ourselves to code switching at any level but analysed code switching at intrasentential, intersentential and tag switching levels.

More so we dealt with code switching from Kiswahili to native languages, Kiswahili to English and Kiswahili to mixed forms of English and Kiswahili. We shall further limit ourselves to oral live campaign rally speeches delivered without prior documentation.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework adopted for this study is the Markedness model of code-switching developed by Myers (1993). The theory is modeled after Grice's Co-operative principle (1975) which propose choose the form of your conversation contribution such that it indexes the set of rights and obligation which you wish to be in force between speaker and addressee for the current exchange." (Myers (1975:113).

The Markedness Model postulates that speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but choose their codes based on the person and or relation with others within the community.

It goes on to argue that speakers also know the consequences of making marked or unexpected choices because the unmarked choice is '*safer*' i.e. it conveys no surprises because it indexes an expected interpersonal relation, speakers generally make this choice but not always, speakers assess the potential costs and rewards of all alternative choices and make their decisions, typically unconsciously, (Myers 1993:75).

Myers' negotiation principle modeled after Grice's Co-operation principle' which is central to the theory states that:

'all code choices can ultimately be explained in terms of speaker motivation.' Myers (1993:113)

1.8.1 Maxims used in the markedness model

The markedness model of code switching rests on the principle of negotiation and on the following maxims drawn from the principle. They are:

1. The 'unmarked-choice maxim'

    a) Virtuosity Maxim

    b) Deference Maxim

2. The` marked choice maxim`

3. The 'exploratory – choice maxim'

Following the maxims speaker engage in code switching resulting in the following types:

1. CS as an unmarked choice

The unmarked – choice maxim directs the speaker to "make your code choice the unmarked index of the unmarked Right and Obligation set in talk exchanges when you wish to establish or affirm that RO set" Myers(1993:114)

It results in either:

a) Sequential unmarked CS

When one or more of the situational factors change within the course of a conversation, the unmarked RO set may change. In many cases, the unmarked RO set changes when:

(i)   the participant make up of a conversation changes i.e. someone comes or goes or

(ii) when the topic is shifted

(iii) the quoting of remarks of someone else from a previous conversation reported speech when the unmarked RO set is altered by such factors, the speaker will switch codes if he or she wishes to index the new unmarked RO set by making the unmarked choice the speaker is accepting the status quo and acknowledging the indexical quality of the unmarked code.

The speaker choosing to accept or negotiate the new unmarked RO set is predicted by this model. The rewards of following societal norms by indexing the unmarked RO set are calculable: The speakers only consider the consequences they have witnessed or experienced already in their community when the unmarked choice has been made. The costs of this choice are that no change is the predicted RO set between the speaker and other participants is likely to result in contrast, it is likely that the exacts rewards possible through negotiating a change in the RO set are unknown.

Though the change in the markedness of RO sets which trigger this CS is external to the speaker, Myers emphasizes that it is still the speaker who has the choice to respond to this change.

The unmarked indication of the speaker's acceptance of that set for the remainder of the conversation.

Example 1

Edward on a visit to his relative, a manager of a company greets him in their shared mother tongue but partly because of topic and setting and other people present or who arrive he switches to English and Swahili to his staff.

b) CS itself as the unmarked choice (unmarked CS)

In this type of switching, speakers engage in a continuous pattern of using two (or more) languages often the switching is intrasentential and sometimes within the same word.

Example 2

Code switching between the alien official language and native language is the unmarked choice for many interaction types. Elsewhere in the world, such switching is frequent in some communities, but hardly present at all in others. This is unlike the other CS which occurs universally wherever there are bilingual or multilingual.

Moreso it is different from the others in that each switch in unmarked CS does not necessarily have a special indexicality; rather it is the overall pattern which carries the communicative intention.

Certain conditions must be met for unmarked CS to occur.

(i) Speakers must be bilingual peers; unmarked CS does not happen when there is a socio-economic differential between speakers or between strangers.

(ii) The interaction has to be of a type where the speaker wishes to symbolize the dual membership that such CS calls up i.e. informal and involve only in group members.

(iii) Proficiency in the languages used in the switching is not a sufficient condition; perhaps the most important criterion is that speakers must positively evaluate for their own identities in this type of interaction the indexical values of the varieties used in switching.

(iv) While speakers must be relatively proficient in the 2 or more languages, the degree of proficiency is open to question.

2. CS as a marked choice

In CS as a marked choice, the speaker dis-identifies with the expected RO set. The marked maxim directs the speaker to:

Make a marked code choice which is not the unmarked index of the unmarked RO set in an interaction when you wish to establish a new RO set as unmarked for the current exchange. (Myers1993:131). Myers goes on to argue that a marked choice derives its meaning from two sources:

(i) Since it is not the unmarked choice, it is a negotiation against the unmarked RO set.

(ii) As 'something else', the marked choice is a call for another RO set in its place, that for which the speaker's choice is the unmarked index.

Speakers engage in marked code-switching to:

(i)   Indicate a range of emotions from anger to affection

(ii)   Negotiate outcomes either to demonstrate authority or superior educational status.

(iii)   Assert ethnic identity

However, the one general motivation why speakers engage in marked choices is to:

"To negotiate a change in the expected social distance holding between participants, either increasing or decreasing it" (Myers 1993:132)

Uses of marked code switching

(i)   Use of marked CS to increase the social distance via authority or anger. A marked choice often complements its referential message e.g. anger is the message of the speakers words and the marked choice is associated with authority. The common use for marked CS is to express authority, anger, annoyance.

(ii)   Marked CS as an ethnically-based exclusion strategy.Careful to avoid overt displays of ethnicity people often avoid using one's own ethnic languages in a multi-ethnic setting and instead use lingua francas. However, in certain circumstances, speakers deliberately use their ethnic languages in front of others as a marked CS.

Though it is offensive to those that are excluded but such a choice weights the costs and rewards and speakers decide the rewards are great enough to make the marked choice.

(iii)   Switching to a shared ethnic language as a marked choice narrows the social distance between two speakers who share an ethnic language, making salient their shared ethnic identity but it alienates those from a different ethnic group and who do not understand the language.

(iv)   The Message is the medium

The fact that a marked choice is used at all has a message of its own. This means, it can stand on its own in its indexical function regarding RO sets. This happens in two ways.

   a) When a marked choice carries a repetition or referential content, this content is redundant so the 'real' message is in the change of the social distance negotiated by the marked choice.

   b) A marked choice's referential message does not have to be understood for its social message of communicative intent to succeed

(v) Marked CS for aesthetic effect

   This is the use of a marked CS on the retelling of an incident and may or may not have occurred in the original.

(v) Marked choices as echoic

   Myers argues that what causes an effect is the unexpectedness or markedness of the code choice. But what gives the marked choices their contextual import is that they are echoic, for they call up something different from what has been presented thus far or is expected i.e. refer back to another R.O set.

(vi) Speakers as entrepreneurs

Making a marked choice is a gamble preceded consciously or unconsciously, by weighing the relative costs and rewards of making this choice rather than an unmarked choice.

(vii) Structural flagging

Marked choices are structurally flagged. They are meant to attract attention to themselves. This is done by:

(a) The content of a marked choice is often a repetition of what is already said in the unmarked medium of the exchange or the marked choice may come first with the message repeated in the unmarked choice.

(b) Marked choices are also typically phonologically flagged because often a marked choice is produced with a higher pitch that surrounding utterances for emphasis.

3. CS as an exploratory choice (exploratory CS)

Speakers employ this CS when they are not sure of the expected or optimal communicative intent or are not sure which one will help them achieve their goals. Myers Scotton 1993: 142 says speakers follow the exploratory choice maxim:

"When an unmarked choice is not clear, use CS to make alternate exploratory choices

as Candidates for an unmarked choice and thereby as an index of an RO set which you

Favour."Myers (1993:142)

Exploratory CS is used because:

(i)   When there is a clash of norms e.g. conversation between brother and sister but in his place of work

(ii)   When it is not clear which norms apply e.g. when you know little about the social the social identities of a new acquaintance.

(iii)   When overall societal norms are in a state of flux e.g. to change in language policies.

The intention of the speaker which they expect the addresses to recognize is to propose the RO set associated with a particular code as the basis for the interaction if the code is not reciprocated they propose another.

4. CS as a Strategy of Neutrality

Both unmarked CS and exploratory CS serve as strategies of neutrality. By avoiding speaking one code bilingual avoid committing themselves to a single RO set.

The use of each of the two languages is recognized in terms of costs and rewards thus the speaker decides to choose a middle path regarding these costs and rewards by using two or more languages in a single conversation. Exploratory as does not make duality its goal in the same.

5. CS as a Differential Strategy

This maxim directs a speaker to: switch to a code which expresses deference to other when special respect is called for by circumstances.

This maxim complements the unmarked choice maxim by calling for deference where it is unmarked. This is when societal norms indicate it is appropriate. Therefore what appears to be a marked choice becomes unmarked. One form of showing deference is to accommodate oneself to an addressee code.

Example 3

A Luo boys declines to answer his father in English instead he responds in dholuo. Deference is achieved by using dholuo which indexes an RO set in which his father is the acknowledged superior.

6. The Virtuosity Maxim and CS

Whenever any participants in the conversation do not have the linguistic ability in the unmarked choice, the virtuosity maxim directs speakers to: "*switch to whatever code is necessary in order to carry on the conversation or accommodate the participation of all speakers present.*" (Myers 1998:26)

Example 4

In Africa, the virtuosity maxim is often applied to accommodate others. Educated person to accommodate the limited repertoire of less educated family member switch to the shared mother tongue in their presence.

1.8.2 Predicting Choices

Myers (1993; 153) in her markedness model goes on to give six general predictions regarding types of persons who will engage in CS and the interaction type.

(i)   Majority of speakers will follow the known path and make unmarked choices, thereby maintaining the status quo in the RO set in which they participate.

(ii)   The more linguistically conservative a group is, the more unmarked choices, it will make. If CS is examined in terms of social group membership, most CS as a marked choice will occur among the more linguistically innovative groups. E.g. women are generally expected to make more unmarked choices than men.

(iii)   The more potential a group has for upward mobility, the more likely members make marked choices in interactions allowing for status-raising e.g. youth, higher educational level, or the '*right*' ethnic-group membership.

(iv)   The choices of people already possessing high status in terms of socio-economic status or political power are more difficult to predict.

(v)   High-status persons will exploit marked CS as an interpersonal strategy.

More CS will occur in the least conventionalized exchange i.e. uncertain situations, where conflicting norms seem to apply and their relative hierarchy is unclear, all prime sites for CS.

1.8.3 Types of Code Switching

Myers (1993:4) distinguishes two types of code switching which we discuss below:

i) Intersentential code switching

It involves switching from one language to another between sentences.

Example 5

*Haya maneno ya siasa ya matusi na chuki tuwache.***We must be peaceful, we must remain united even after the elections.**

Trans: Let us stop politics that is abusive and full of hatred…

2) Intrasentential code switching

It involves switching within the same sentence from a single morpheme to clause level.

Example 6

*Na ndipo tunasema tunataka **free nominations**, wale watu wanataka kusimama wasimame wamanchi waamue.*

Trans: That is why we are saying we want free nominations. Those that want to vie and the people will decide

To Myers' two types of code switching discussed above, Poplack (1980: 44) adds two more types of code switching namely:

3) Tag-Switching

It refers to the insertion of a tag in language A into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in language B. The tag can be inserted almost anywhere in the discourse without going against the syntactic rules of either language.

According to Poplack majority of the switches made by bilinguals are of this type and require the least bilingual skill. The change from one language to another is smooth and there is usually little or no awareness of the occurrence of a switch.Consider the example given below:

Example 4

*This is the time for youth to take over leadership, **si ndiyo wananchi?***

(Isn't it my countrymen?)

4 Intraword Switching

This is switching made at word boundaries. To Poplack this kind of switching is rare. However, Poplack classification of intraword code switching is encompassed in Myers definition of intrasentential code switching.

1.9 Literature Review

In this section we review literature on studies conducted on code switching, markedness and motivation for code switching in political speeches.

1.9.1 Literature Review on Code Switching

Code switching in early studies of language in contact was largely considered as interference. This being that CS was considered part of the performance of the imperfect bilingual motivated by inability to carry on a conversation in the language on the floor at the moment. (Myers1993:47).

Weinreich (1953) dismissed CS in his classic work on language contact. He says 'The bilingual switches from one language to another according to appropriate changes in speech situations e.g. interlocutors, topic etc but not in an unchanged speech situation and certainly not within a single sentence." Uriel Weinreich (1953) as cited in Myers (1993:48).

Gumperz is seen as the most influential figure in studies on Code Switching in the 1970s and 1980s. In Blom J. and Gumperz (1972), they studied CS between dialects of Norwegian in Hemnes berget. They present CS as a type of skilled performance and gave types of CS as situational and metaphorical CS.Situational code switching occurs when there is a change in participants, setting or topic whereas metaphorical CS reflects symbolic connotation such as degree of involvement, objectiveness or power struggle.

In his later works, Gumperz (1982:80) went on to argue that CS is not a uniform phenomenon; the norms vary from group to group, even with what may be regarded as a single community. He adds that each communicating subgroup tend to establish its own conventions with respect to both borrowing and CS and that factors such as region of origin, social class and occupational niche are involved in defining norm.

Sridhar and Sridhar (1980; 203-204) describe CS using the term 'host' and 'guest' languages. They go on to add there is a basic language in a bilingual discourse and propose that intrasentential CS is a case where guest elements which have their own internal structure occur in the sentences of the host language and obey the placement rules of the host languages.

Grosjean and Soares (1986:117) state that a bilingual has a choice of activating both languages (switching codes) or of deactivating one and activating the other in a monolingual context. They propose a base or matrix language and then the bringing in of the other language by either CS through insertion of a word, phrase or clause.

Similar to Grosjean and Soares, Myers (1993:4) defines CS as the selection of bilinguals or multilinguals forms from an embedded language (s) in utterances of matrix languages during the same conversation. The matrix language (ML) is the main language in the CS while the embedded language (EL) has a lesser role.

1.9.2 Literature Review on Motivation for Code switching

Gumperz (1972:80) argued that code choices are not just choices but are discourse strategies. Myers develop the premise further by saying "speakers do not use language in the way they do simply because of their social identity or because of other situational factors, rather they exploit the possibility of linguistic choices in order to convey intentional meaning of a socio-pragmatic nature." Myers (1993:57).

Myers goes on to say that Gumperz was one of the first to view linguistic choices as dynamic events. By this it means, speakers are no longer seen as influenced by situation factors in making choices which include the socio-identity attributes of the speaker such as age, education and sex and factors outside the speaker such as topic and setting both seen as stable factors rather they also make the choices because of '*dynamics factors'* such as:

(i) Whether a long term or short term relationship is involved or

(ii) Whether power or solidarity is salient.

Myers in her markedness model posits that the motivation for code switching is socio-psychological attributes.

She goes on to say that this is because CS exploits the socio-psychological attributes which languages assume in a specific community, based on its patterns of language use.

The model posits that bilingual speakers achieve by engaging in CS rather than staying with only one language for a conversation. Therefore CS is a type of skilled performance with communicative intent and CS can be said to show:

(i) Unwillingness or an uncertainty on the speaker part regarding the commitment to indexing any single rights and obligation set between participants in a conversation.

(ii) Of a negotiation to change the rights and obligations set

The above is so because each linguistic variety used in CS has socio-psychological associations, making it the index of a rights and obligations set which is derived from salient situational features such as status of the participants, topic and setting.

A question arises,why then don't all speakers in the same speech community engage in exactly the same CS practices seeing they share the same general norms regarding the socio-psychological significant of switching linguistic varieties?

Myers argues speakers do not make identical choices in their CS practices because "*They have differing views regarding the relative costs and rewards of one choice after the other.*"Myers (1993:123)

However, though CS may vary from individual to individual Myers argues the motivation for the said CS is only identified based on society norms.

Valdes- Fallies (1997:65-72) argues CS achieves two functions:

(a) Fills a linguistic or conceptual gap

(b) For other multiple communicative purposes such as:

   (i) To show solidarity

   (ii) Eliminating some speakers from a conversation

   (iii) To show informality

   (iv) To express identity

Finlayson and Slabbert (1997:400) points out that the major function of CS is the accommodation of the addressee which includes:-

(i) Being aware of what the addressee prefers and switching accordingly.

(ii) Establish a common ground to meet the addressee halfway with the language.

(iii) A willingness to learn and experiment with other languages to the point of moving out of your comfort zones.

(iv) Employing measures to make yourself understood.

(v) Making adaptations on the variety continuum of deep' to 'urban'

The function of accommodation was reiterated by Finlayson, Calteaux and Myers (1998:395) they note that speakers are aware that communication problem may arise and thus chose different accommodation strategies; CS being a main strategy of accommodation takes many forms reflecting the norms and the demographics of the community. Thus CS offers a middle path in regard to costs and rewards which results from using any one language on its own.

Moreover, by using more than one variety a speaker can evoke multiple identities associated with each code. Myers (1993:110).

Evidence exist that bilingual speaker both consciously and unconsciously participate in code switching.According to Becker (1997:8) code switches are often triggered by unconscious factors and thus bilingual speakers are often unaware of their spontaneous alternation between languages.Becker (1997:58) categorizes unconsciously motivated code switching into three categories:

 (i) Code switches that result from a momentary inclination during the production stage of speech.

This means that a speaker is not able to access the equivalent lexical item in the matrix language and has to switch to another language.

(ii) Code switches triggered due to frequent exposure of such items in another language

Due to the habitual use of these terms so much so that their use is no longer a conscious choice.

(iii) Code switches due to untranslatability of a given item into another language

This occurs when a speaker would be hard-pressed to find an appropriate synonym in another language.

According to Becker (1997:8) conscious motivated CS may result from:

(i) Conscious psychological factors

To Becker, psychologists have found that bilingual speakers use code switching, as communication resource to achieve their communicative intention.

(ii) Social Motivations

This refers to what speakers try to communicate beyond the linguistic content of the message.

Scholars such as Myers (1993), Zang and Schmit (2004) agree there are certain overriding factors that control code switching.One such factor is bilingual ability.According to Myers (2000:33) the degree of bilingual language ability depends on which languages are known, on when, why, where and how they were acquired and also how much of each and how well the languages were mastered and presently known.

Zang and Schmitt (2004) argue CS may not be a proper communicative vehicle in communities where there are a few people who know a second language, especially when it is important to process information in both languages.

Oblamalu and Mbagwu (1989:11) argue a balanced bilingual; one who has attained equal level of competence in both languages is rarely achieved; most people have one language dominating the other.

Poplack (2004:13) posits that bilinguals with greater proficiency in both languages not only switch more, they switch more intra-sententially, and at a wider variety of permissible CS sites. Those who are less proficient in one of the two languages on the other hand, do not eschew CS altogether as might be the case were CS not the eminently social tool that it is, but rather restrict their CS in number, type and/or discourse location according to bilingual

ability. The less proficient thus favour sites and types requiring little or even no productive knowledge of the other language, such as tags routine or frozen phrases.

Poplack (2004:13) emphasizes bilingual proficiency is in no way causative of CS but given the appropriate discourse and social circumstances, speakers who engage in the most complex type of intrasentential CS turn out to be most proficient in both contact language.

Secondly, prestige also controls code switching.Zang and Schmitt (2004:8) argue prestige instantiated at the community level by group membership often correlated with social class is also a recurrent factor in CS.Unlike bilingual proficiency whose effect are universal, the effect of prestige factor varies from community to community and may act to promote or inhibit CS in one community CS may not constitute prestigious behavior, though bilingual display, appropriately flagged, may be vice versa may also be true in another.

Lastly, grammatical costraints is also a factor in code switching.Poplack (2004:12) argues that CS is favoured at the kinds of syntactic boundaries which occur in both languages.In his Equivalence constraint (Poplack 1980:3) he states that switched sentences are made up of concatenated fragment of alternating languages each of which is grammatical in the language of its provenance.

However, he adds in combining languages intrasententially, various problems of incompatibility may arise such as word order differences, mismatches in grammatical

categorizes, sub categorization patterns, morphology and idiomatic expressions but a wide range of bilingual speech show speakers manage to circumvent this difficulties.

1.9.3 Literature Review on code switching in political speeches

Habwe (1999) conducted research on code switching in Kiswahili political speeches.He observes CS in politics is common between Kiswahili and English. This he attributes to the roles of the two languages defined as national language and official language respectively; each without a clear-cut dormain. At presidential level, CS provides a means of reaching the common people, which CS to English from Kiswahili, would be to target foreign dignitaries.

Oduori(2002) argues that the level of code switching between English and Kiswahili among Kenyan Political leaders is not a measure of competence in both but a sign of incompetence in one of the languages; Kiswahili the national language being the victim.

Wei (2002) observes that election campaigners who are neither fluent in nor familiar with a particular code will strive to make a show of it for the sake of gaining approval or in an attempt to break through an ethnic boundary, if only temporarily. (Wei J.M 2003:11).
Wei goes on to argue one of the greatest strengths in adopting CS in political discourse is in its strategic ambiguities. The indeterminacy of a code switch arise in that neither speaker nor the hearer will have total authority over exactly what a code really means in a given context because the meaning of a code is often negotiated indirectly. Thus because of indeterminacy of the inference of CS Wei proposed it should be given status equal to other indirect (oblique) speech features such as metaphors and allusion. Wei J. (2002) treats CS not only as a social mechanism of negotiation and definition of social roles, networks and boundaries

(Heller1988:1) but also proposes it is a verbal strategy in political discourse with which one can achieve pragmatic and strategic functions without assuming responsibility of being put on record (Obeng 1997).

Obeng (1997:32) argues political interests and political necessity as well as personal face-saving; motivates indirectness. Indirectness could also be motivated by politeness (Brown and Levinson 1987) since speakers do not always want to be put on record especially involving sensitive issues.

1.9.4 Literature Review on Markedness

The modern concept of markedness originates in the Prague School Structuralism of Roman Jakobson and Nikolai Trubetzkoy as a means of categorizing the binary phonological features. The oppositions were analyzed as the presence which was marked Vs the absence which was unmarked.

In 1932 Jakobson extended the concept to grammatical meaning. Later on in 1972 Jakobson described language by saying "every single constituent of a linguistic system is built on an opposition of two logical contradictories: the presence of an attribute (markedness) in contrast to its absence (unmarkedness).

Myers (1993:74) argues the principle of markedness is recognition of various polarities within the different systems of language from the Lexicon to its sound system.Going by the concept of markedness implies that code choice is viewed as system oppositions. However,

Myers argues markedness is used in the markedness model in a gradient with code choices falling along a continuum as more of less unmarked. she adds there need not be a single unmarked or marked choice although there is often a dominant unmarked choice, especially within a relatively conventionalized interaction type.

 Markedness Model proposes "speakers have a sense of markedness regarding available linguistic codes for any interaction, but chose their codes based on the persona and or relation with others within the community." (Myers 1993:75) Moreover speakers also know the consequences of making marked or unexpected choices.

Speakers generally make unmarked their choice because it is 'safer,' it indexes no surprises because it indexes expected interpersonal relations. However, not always as speakers assess the potential costs and rewards of all alternative choices and unconsciously make their decision Myers (1993:131)

A speaker has a '*markedness metric'* which is part of the innate faculty of humans which enables speakers to assess all code choices unmarked or marked though the metric is cognitive and hence universal it underlies an ability of assigning markedness to codes which is particular but it is only developed in reference to a specific community through social experience in interaction.

1.10 Research Methodology

This research was qualitative because the study was an analysis and description of code switching. The research was interested in qualitative features like types, functions and motivation for code switching.

1.10.1 Data Collection

This study used secondary data source. The researcher obtained live recorded speeches from Kenya News Agency-Embu during the month of April and June. Library research was also vital as it provided available literature on code switching. The internet also provided scholarly contribution on code switching.

1.10.2 Method

The researcher obtained unedited live recorded speeches from Kenya News Agency-Embu. The speeches were transcribed and then translated to English.

1.10.3 Sampling Technique

Purposive sampling with an element of stratification was used for this study. The seven speeches selected for this study are deliberately chosen because they contain element of code switching which this study undertakes. More so the speeches are of three selected presidential candidates namely; Uhuru Kenyatta, Raila Odinga and Martha Karua. The choice of candidates is deliberate; Raila and Uhuru provided a regional disparity while Martha Karua was used for gender disparity.

1.10.4 Data Analysis

The data was analysed, interpreted and described using the Maxims provided by Markedness Model.Though the model has three maxims; only code switching as a marked choice maxim was used since our data revealed only instances of code switching as a marked choice.

Tthe data was classified into three categories as per the three types of code switching in the model namely intrasentential, intersentential and tag switching.

A discussion of the data was then made using Markedness Model and motivation code for switching pointed out.

1.11 Significance of the Study

To best of the researchers knowledge very little research have been conducted on motivation for code switching in political speeches in Kenya and its functions,therefore this phenomenon still remains puzzling; this research will therefore add knowledge to the scholarly work that already exists. The study will also be an insight for future research on the language of political speeches as it will provide information on motivation, functions and types of code switching in political speeches.It will also be useful for experts in political communication techniques to process such material to advise politicians on how to use code switching to serve their needs.

CHAPTER TWO

MOTIVATION FOR INTRASENTENTIAL CODE SWITCHING

IN POLITICAL SPEECHES.

2.0 Introduction

We now turn to the analysis of our data using the three types of code switching to categorize our marked code switched data. In chapter two we analyse intrasentential code switching while intersentential and tag code switching will be discussed in chapter three. In this chapter we analyse intrasentential code switching and further subcategorizes intrasentential code switching to switching from Kiswahili to English, Swahili to Kikuyu and Kiswahili to mixed forms of Kiswahili and English.The data will be analysed for type of switch, language of switch and the function of switch. We shall then set out to establish the motivation for code switching in our data. We will also compare the predictions given by the model on code choices regarding type and person who will engage in code switching with that in our data.

2.1 Intrasentential Code Switching

In our discussion we narrow down on the code switched segments, the full speeches are provided at the appendix. The code switched segments are bolded.

Example 1

*Viti ni vingi, kuna viti vya **Governor,** kuna viti vya **Senator**, kuna viti vya **County Rep** na kuna viti vya **Woman Representative**, mimi nasema kila mtu ambaye anataka kiti akuje hapa ajiongee na aombe watu wa Embu Kura.*

Trans: There are many seats, there are Governor Seats, Senator Seats, County Representative seats and the Woman Representative Seats and I will say everyone who wants a seat should come here and ask people from Embu for votes.

The matrix language of the speech is Kiwahili. The choice of Kiswahili as the main language for the speech is because Kiswahili is the language of the masses. More so the politicians use Kiswahili in order to reach out to the wider audience; not only to the immediate audience present at the campaign rally but also the whole nation, it is not lost on politicians that the media is present during their campaign speeches and hence their speeches are televised nationally.

The switch from Kiswahili to English in the words '**Senator, Governor, County Rep and Woman Representative'** is within sentence boundaries and is therefore an intrasentential type of code switching. This switching thus serves a communicative function because the switch fills a lexical gap.

Uhuru Kenyata switches to fill a lexical gap this could be because of the lack of an equivalent lexical item in Kiswahili or due the frequent use of the lexical items in English such that a switch to English is no longer conscious.

Markedness Model does not account for code switching to fill a lexical gap. However, Becker (1997) argues that switching could result from first, a momentary inclination during the production stage of the speech which means that a speaker is not able to access an

equivalent lexical item in the matrix language .Secondly; it could be due to the speaker being unable to find appropriate synonyms in the matrix language and three due to habitual use of these items in the language of switch. All the three factors are unconsciously motivated.

Let us consider another example.

Example 2

*Ya tatu, tusimame imara hakuna pahala watatupeleka, nimarie, riu unadirashoka kwiuria anake maitu maramoria kii nikuina maraina no ata wakiimba inasemekana wakiimba wimbo zinataja jina Uhuru hiyo ni **hate speech**, na nyimbo zimejaa Kenya hii ambao tunajua vile wanaongea juu ya watu wengine. Lakini jina ya Uhuru iwe hapo, niwo ucio.*

Trans: Thirdly, let us stand firm, they will not take us anywhere; let them talk; now I even ask myself, why are they asking our young men? They are singing but when they sing it is said if they sing songs that mentions the name Uhuru, it is said to be hate speech. Yet Kenya is full of songs that we know how they talk about other people, but if Uhuru's name is in the song, that is hate speech.

In this example Uhuru switches from Kiswahili to Kikuyu then to English in the use of the phrase '**hate speech**'. This is an intrasentential code switching since it occurs within the sentence boundary. His switching to English in the phrase 'hate speech' would be argued to serve a communicative function owing to either not being able to access the equivalent Kiswahili word for the phrase'hate speech' or due to the habitual use of the English equivalent phrase .

36

He further switches to English at the intrasentential level when he says:

Example 3

*"Mimi nataka niwaelezee hivi **competition** itakuwa kati ya wale ambao bado wanaangalia Kenya **through rear view mirror,** yaani kuiangalia Jana na wale ambao wamekubali reforms.*

Trans: I want to tell you this competition will be between those that still look at Kenya through rear view mirror, that is looking at it yesterday and those that have accepted reforms.

In this example, one would argue, that his switching to English in the word '**competition'** **and 'reforms'** results from what Becker (1997) describes as switch resulting from a momentary inclination during the production stage of speech. Our study restricts itself to speeches delivered at live campaign rallies without prior documentation therefore this could mean that Uhuru is not able to access the Kiswahili equivalent for these lexical items at the production stage of speech.It could also be due to the English equivalent being used frequently such that a switch is no longer conscious.

Another example of code switching to English to fill a lexical gap is given in (4) below.

Example 4

'*…sikusema kwamba watu hawana haki ya kutafuta kura, lakini kama sera zetu zinafanana kwa nini hatutafuti viti ndani **ya nomination process** ambayo itakuwa ya Uhuru, ambayo itakuwa ya haki, wanainchi wakiamuwa ni mtu fulani hao wengine wamuunge mkono,*

37

*hakuna faida ya kugawanya wananchi **nominations** zikiisha si ni kweli?We na wewe ungojee*

nafasi yako itakuja, si ni kweli?

Trans: I did not say that people have no rights to look for votes but if our policies are the

same why should we not look for seats in the nomination process which is free, which is just

if the people choose a particular person the rest should support him. There is no gain in

dividing the people once nominations are over, isn't it true? You and you should wait for

your chance it will come, isn't it true?

The switch from Kiswahili to English in the phrase **'nomination process'** and the word

'nominations' is an intrasentential code switching type. The phrase has a Kiswahili

equivalent 'mchujo' therefore the speaker switching to the English means the speaker is not

able to access the Kiswahili word at the time of the production of the speech which is during

the rally since our study dealt with speeches given spontaneously at rallies without prior

documentation.Another reason for the switch to English could be due to the frequent use of

the phrase in English such that the switch from Kiswahili to English is no longer conscious.

Consider also the example below from Martha Karua's speech that provides a gender

disparity in our data.

Example 5

"*Waziri aache kutuambia ya kuwa **Managing director** pekee na **Legal officer** ndio*

wanataabika. Tunataka kujua kwa nini low cost housing zinauziwa wadosi.

Trans: Let the Minister stop telling us that the Managing Director only and the legal officer are those to face the law. We want to know why low cost housing is being sold to the rich.

Myers predicts in her model that the more conservative a group is, such as women the more unmarked choices it will make, this is true of Martha Karua who uses Kiswahili almost throughout her speech and only switches to English to fill a lexical gaps and on two occasions to Kikuyu.

In example (5) above, Karua switches to English at the intrasentential level. The switch serves a communicative function as she switches because of lack of a Kiswahili equivalent lexical item at the time of the speech production stage or because of the frequency of use of the phrases in English.Consider also another example from her discussed in (6) below

Example 6

*"… niseme maneno ya Migingo sababu **I can see we are on the lake side.** Tuache kuambiwa migingo ni jiwe, Migingo ni **resources, fisheries**.*

Trans: Let me talk about Migingo because I can see we are on the lake side. Let us stop being told Migingo is a stone, Migingo is resources, fisheries.

Example (6) is a switch from Kiswahili to English at the intrasentential level. The switch is due to Martha Karua not being able to access an equivalent lexical item for the phrases in Kiswahili at the production stage of the speech.Consider also the example below

Example 7

*"Hata bibilia inasema **knock and it shall be opened**. Tunauliza raisi yetu **to knock and get Migingo and Ugingo back.***

Trans: Even the bible says knock and it shall be opened. We are asking the president to knock and get Migingo and Ugingo back.

The speaker is proficient in both English and Kiswahili yet she switches from Kiswahili to English at the intrasentential level to quote the bible verse in English and yet the same verse can be said in Swahili one would argue it is due to the habitual usage of phrase in English or the fact that she feels the expression would be more succinct when expressed in English.

Example 8

*"Mimi nataka niwaelezee hivi **competition** itakuwa kati ya wale ambao bado wanaangalia Kenya **through rear view mirror,** yaani kuiangalia jana na wale ambao wamekubali **reforms.***

Trans: I want to tell you this competition will be between those that still look at Kenya through rear view mirror, that is looking at it yesterday and those that have accepted reforms.

Uhuru gives the phrase '**through review mirror'** in the marked choice which is English then repeats the phrase in the unmarked choice Kiswahili in the phrase 'yaani kuiangalia jana'. Myers classifies the type of switch as is the switch to English in the phrase 'through rear view mirror' as a marked switch for structural flagging. In this the marked choice calls

attention to itself through repetition of what has already been said. In our case the marked choice comes first then the message is repeated in the unmarked choice.

We will posit that Uhuru switches to English to use the English expression' look at the world through the rear view mirror' because the phrase is expressed more succinctly in English and then translates it to Kiswahili to ensure the referential item is understood by members in the audience that can't understand the marked choice which is English. The switch therefore has a communicative function.Consider also example (9) below that also demonstates code switching for structural flagging.

Example 9

*"Wakati watoto wanalia njaa nani hutafuta chakula, si ni mama, niko tayari kutafutia Wakenya chakula, **Food security.***

Trans: When children cry hunger who looks for food? Isn't it the mother? I am ready to look for food for Kenyans; **Food security.**

Martha says that she will look for food for Kenyans in Kiswahili then reiterates the same message in English.The switch from Kiswahili to English in the phrase '**food security'** has a communicative function she does so as a reiteration for emphasize.Myers argues that the content of a marked choice is often a repetition of what is already said in the unmarked choice. when a speaker gives a message in a unmarked choice then reiterates the same in a marked choice it is for emphasis.Below is another example.

Example 10

*"… hatutaki kuona Mkenya analala na njaa. Tunataka kuona kama Kenya inajitoshereza kujipandia chakula, inaitwa **food self sufficiency.***

Trans: We do not want any Kenyan to sleep hungry, we want to see Kenya being sufficient in producing its own food, what is called food self sufficiency.

Raila switches at the intrasentential level from Kiswahili to English.He talks about Kenya being self reliant in Kiswahili then repeats the same message in English. This is to reiterate what he has just said in Kiswahili on food self sufficiency so as to emphasize what was one of the policies in the party manifesto.The is a marked switch which serves a communicative function of structural flagging for emphasis.

Example 11

*"Hiyo ingine tukasema tunataka kuona kama kila mkenya pale anapoishi anajihisi salama inaitwa, **The national security.***

Trans: We also said we want to see that every Kenyan wherever he lives feels he is safe; it is called the national security.

Raila in the above example switches from Kiswahili to English to reiterate on the issue of security which he has just discussed in Kiswahili. The repeat of the same issue in the matrix language then the embedded language has a communicative function of emphasis.

Example 12

*"Nimesikia wanasiasa wengine wakisema ati hii sijui ni **zone** ya Fulani, sijui ni **stronghold** ya Fulani.*

Trans: I have heard some politicians say that this I don't know is someone's zone; I don't know that it is someone's stronghold.

In this example Raila switches from Kiswahili to English at intrasentential level. The switch is deliberate so that the speaker can quote his opponents; Jubilee's candidates use of the words**'Stronghold'** and **'zone'** in their description of Embu county as a Jubilee's zone and stronghold in their campaign rallies.

To Myers the use of a marked code switching in retelling an incident bears aesthetic effects.It may or may not have occurred in the original. In our data we see instances where speakers switch to English to quote either their words at an earlier episode or someone else words.Let us look at another example that demonstrates code switching to English as a direct or indirect quotation.

Example 13

*Haiwezi (Merikebu) Kuzuiwa hata wengine wakibweka namna gani mzungu alisema **barking dogs seldom bite.***

Trans: It can not (this ship) be prevented even if others bark the white man said barking dogs seldom bark.

Raila deliberately switches from Kiswahili to English to quote the all famous English proverb barking dogs seldom bite.It is thus a marked choice of code switching foe aesthetic effects. He chooses to use the proverb in English rather than translate it to Kiswahili because

the meaning is expressed more succinctly in English; the original language than translating it to the matrix language of the speech which is Kiswahili. He uses it to attack the CORD'S coalition critics and oppositions.

Myers argues some cultural material carried in proverbs can only expressed in the original language as an attempt to translate the proverb would lose the nuance of meaning.Raila's choice to give the proverb in English other than translate it to the matrix language of the speech is one such example.Consider also example (14) below which also demonsrates code switching as direct or indirect quotation.

Example 14

"Naomba mkinipatia kazi mimi naweza kusukuma hii mambo, mimi nimeuliza kiti ya raisi 2013."

Audience: (Clapping and Cheers) Mama

Katika NARC Kenya tunasema, **'One Kenya, one Nation, One People.'**

Trans:I ask if you give me the job, am able to do the work, am vying for the presidential seat come 2013.In NARC Kenya we are saying one Kenya, one nation, one people.

Political party's manifestos are often written in English, we therefore see in our data various instances where politicians switch from Kiswahili the matrix language of all our speeches to English to quote party slogans and policies in the manifestoes. The above example is one such switch. This switch is a marked intrasentential switching since it occurs at sentence

boundaries. It serves a communicative function because it is used as a direct quotation of her party's slogan. One would argue it is conscious; she deliberately switches to English because in earlier part of the speech she uses a translation of the same slogan in Kiswahili.Let us consider a final example that serves the same.

Example 15

 "Mnakumbuka mwaka wa 1997 ***I said my priorities is going to be infrastructure, infrastructure, infrastructure, infrastructure****, mara tatu sivyo,"*

Trans: Do you remember the year 1997 I said my priorities are going to be infrastructure, infrastructure, and infrastructure three times, isn't it?

Example 15 is an intrasentential code switching because it is within clause boundaries.As discussed earier,we said one can switch to quote ones words at an earlier episode.Raila switches to English his words at a campaign rally in 1997.

Raila Odinga at many points of the speech switches to English at the intrasentential level to indirectly quote CORD'S policies in their party manifesto. One would argue that because party manifestos are written in English and because they contain technical terms such that speakers would be hard pressed to translate them to Kiswahili. They opt to switch to English to quote party manifestos.

Example 16

'Ya tatu, tusimame imara hakuna pahala watatupeleka, ***nimarie, riu unadirashoka kwiuria anake maitu maramoria kii nikuina maraina no*** *ata wakiimba inasemekana wakiimba*

*wimbo zinataja jina Uhuru hiyo ni **hate speech** na nyimbo zimejaa Kenya hii ambao tunajua*

*vile wanaongea juu ya watu wengine. Lakini jina ya Uhuru iwe hapo, **niwo ucio.'***

Trans: Thirdly, let us stand firm, they will not take us anywhere; let them talk; now I even

ask myself, why are they asking our young men? They are singing but when they sing it is

said if they sing songs that mentions the name Uhuru, it is said to be hate speech. Yet Kenya

is full of songs that we know how they talk about other people, but if Uhuru's name is in the

song, that is hate speech.

 In the switched segment Uhuru asks his supporters to stand firm, claiming they would take

them nowhere, he then criticizes the recent arrests of Kikuyu Musicians, Kamande wa Kioi

and John Dematthew whose songs were pro Uhuru and were alleged to be containing hate

speech messages.This example reveals a case of intrasententational code switching. Uhuru

Consciously switches from Kiswahili to Kikuyu it is a marked choice to express ethnic

solidarity.

Although Myers argues there is an instrumental value in keeping ethnicity salient, we will

argue that it is impossible to find an audience to a campaign rally speech which is wholly

homogeneous in language use. More so there is always the presence of media in the rallies

and the speeches are televised in national media houses.

However politicians are aware of this, yet they go ahead and switch to their native tongues

fully aware they will exclude non speakers of that ethnic language as seen in our example.

One prediction of the model is that people already possessing high economic and power status will make marked choices because they already possess high status they can afford to gamble. They assess the cost and rewards and decide though they will exclude non speakers the reward of using an ethnic language such as kikuyu as in our example are great enough to make a marked choice.The reward of keeping ethnicity salient in our case would be that someone from the same tribe would vote for one.Consider also another example below.

Example 17

 "Kuna wengine wanafikiria ati kwa sababu ndio walikuwa wanaongea jana, ati leo, kesho, noguo, **ng'ano cia marimu, kwari, kulikuwa, kitendawili, uu, oga, kii?, niguo mere ngano icio nitwanogiruo nicio, ithui turenda kumenya uria ruciu tugeikara,** *yaani sisi faida yetu nikujua vile kesho tutakaa. ….***niatwire uria egwika na okoruo ndoi uria egwika ii, ithui turamwera** *wacha wakenya wachague viongozi mpya*

Trans: Some people think that because they are the ones who used to talk yesterday, that today, ooh tomorrow it remains the same, ogre stories, it was, riddle riddle!, this my elder, what, it is. Tell them we are tired of their stories we want to know how we shall live tomorrow. Let him tell us what he will do and if he doesn't know what he will do we are telling him to let Kenyans chose new leaders.

This is an intrasentential type of switching. Uhuru consciously switches from Kiswahili the matrix language of the speech to Kikuyu. He uses the all too familiar phrases used in narration; His mention of ogre stories refer to stories that are irrelevant.

Uhuru then switches back to Kiswahili in the word "**kitendawili"** This switch serves a communicative function specifically so for direct quotation. He uses the word 'kitendawili' as direct quotation of Raila Odinga who often in his campaign rallies pose riddles to his audience and gives narratives as oblique messages to his audience.

He even quotes the famous Nigerian word '**Oga'** which is used as a beginning of conversation. He further asks the audience to tell them (Raila) that they are tired of their stories and that instead he should tell Kenyans what he will do for the country.Let us look at another example that demonstrates code switching as a quotation.

Example 18

*"… hii Ni Kenya mtu asikuje hapa akaseme ati, ooo Mimi ni **mundu wa nyumba,** ati **Mundu wa Nyumba** ati **Mundu wakwa.''***

Trans: This is Kenya; someone should not come here and say that ooh! I am part of this house, that I am someone from this house, that you are my person.

This example is a deliberate intrasentential switch serving a communicative function because Raila uses the Kikuyu phrase as a direct quotation of Kikuyu politicians who use the phrase to solicit for votes from their tribesmen.It is therefore a marked switch for aesthetic effect.

The phrase '**Mundu wa Nyumba'** means one from the same tribe. Raila uses the phrase to criticize Kikuyu Politicians for playing tribal politics by asking the audience to vote them because they share ethnic ties.Using the phrase in kikuyu other than translating it to Kiswahili quotes the words of the said politicians playing tribal politics which is what the speaker wants to criticize.

Example 19

'Niliwaambia kwamba nia yangu nikuunganisha Wakenya, kufanya kazi pamoja na

Wakenya, tupeleke Kenya katika kiwango kingine cha maendeleo. Tuwache maneno

*ya **mastory**.'*

Trans: 1 I told you that my aim is to unite Kenyans, to work together with Kenyans, to push

Kenya to a new level of development. Let us leave issues to do with stories.

In this example Uhuru switches from Kiswahili to mixed form of Kiswahili plural marker

morpheme' ma-' and English word 'story'.Though Poplack(1980) defines this as an

intraword code switching,this definition is encompassed in Myers' definition of

intrasentential code switching which defines as the switching to another language from a

single morpheme to clause level.

This type of switching is a marked intrasentential code switching which serves what Myers

calls an aesthetic function where a switch is used in the retelling of an incidence which may

or may not have occurred in the original. In using of the word 'mastory' Uhuru quotes

Raila's use of the word in his rallies and also gives a clue to the audience of who he is

criticising.Below follows another example.

Example 20

*"Sisi tunasema na kutenda, wengine wanajiita ati **mahustler**, ati **mahustler**, **hustler** ya nini?*

Uliza wewe tangu ulitoka shule ulifanya wapi? Uliajiriwa na nani? Na hiyo mali yako

uligawa wapi?

Trans: For us (CORD) we say and do, some people call themselves hustlers, that hustlers, hustlers for what? Ask yourself since you left school where have you worked? Who has employed you? And where did they get your wealth?

Raila consciously switches to a mixed form in the word 'Mahustler' and 'hustler'.The word is a mixed form of the Kiswahili plural marker –ma and the slang word hustler. He uses the words to quote an opponent ;(Ruto's) reference to himself as 'hustler' a sheng' word to refer to the struggling youth in a bid to identify with them.

In this attack on his opponent, Raila asks the audience to ask him if he has ever been employed and how he acquired his wealth insinuating that he is no hustler.

2.2 Conclusion

In this chapter we set out to analyse intrasentential code switching in the data. We analysed the data for the languages involved in the switch, the type of switching and the motivation for code switching and if the switch serves a communicative or strategic function.

We established that the matrix language for all our speeches is Kiswahili. The three presidential candidates whose speeches we analysed chose Kiswahili as the main language for their speeches because Kiswahili is the language of the masses. More so the politicians use Kiswahili in order to reach out to the wider audience; not only to the immediate audience present at the campaign rally but also the whole nation, it is not lost on politicians that the

media is present during their campaign speeches and hence their speeches are televised nationally.

We established that the languages involved in the switch were Kiswahili to English, Kiswahili to kikuyu and Kiswahili to mixed forms of Kiswahili and English.

The data revealed many instances of intrasentential code switching whose main function was to fill a lexical gap, although Myers' Markedness model does not account for this function. A few intrasentential switching served as a direct quotation while others were for structural flagging, with the reiteration being for emphasis and also to mark ethnic solidarity.

CHAPTER THREE

MOTIVATION FOR INTERSENTENTIAL AND TAG CODE SWITCHING

3.0 Introduction

This chapter analyses intersentential and tag code switching. Our analysis will only use the marked choice maxim in the theory since as discussed in chapter two our data reveals only instances of marked code switching. The chapter is divided into two sections. In the first section we analyse intersentential code switching while in the second section we analyse tag switching.

For both intersentential and tag switching we will analyse the data for the language of switch, type of switch and function of switch and finally we set out to establish the motivation for switching.

3.1 Intersentential Code Switching

Example 1

*'Ya tatu, tusimame imara hakuna pahala watatupeleka. **Nimarie, riu unadiracoka kwiuria anake aitu maramoria kii nikuina maraina no** ata wakiimba inasemekana wakiimba wimbo zinataja jina Uhuru hiyo ni **hate speech** na nyimbo zimejaa Kenya hii ambao tunajua vile wanaongea juu ya watu wengine. Lakini jina ya Uhuru iwe hapo, **niwo ucio.** '*

Trans: Thirdly, let us stand firm, they will not take us anywhere. Let them talk; now I even ask myself, why are they asking our young men? They are singing but when they sing it is said if they sing songs that mentions the name Uhuru, it is said to be hate speech. Yet Kenya is full of songs that we know how they talk about other people, but if Uhuru's name is in the song, that is hate speech.

This example reveals a case of intersentential code switching from Kiswahili the matrix language of the speech to Kikuyu.It is an intersentential code switching because it occurs beteeen sentences.

The above excerpt is taken from a speech given by Uhuru in Embu stadium.Embu is a cosmopolitan town made up mainly of Kiembu and Kikuyu speakers, this two languages are mutually intelligible.When Uhuru switches from Kiswahili to Kikuyu he weighs the costs and rewards and concludes that he will get more gain by speaking in Kikuyu.However,and the same time,he will exclude non speakers of Kikuyu both in the immediate audience and the wider audience since the speech was televised in national media houses.

It is evident that the switch to Kikuyu marks ethnic solidarity, Uhuru asks his supporters to stand firm, claiming they would take them nowhere, he then criticizes the recent arrests of Kikuyu Musicians, Kamande wa Kioi and John Dematthew whose songs were pro Uhuru and were alleged to be containing hate speech messages. Markedness model proposes one of the motivations for marked code switching is to mark ethnic solidarity. Myers argues there is an instrumental value in keeping ethnicity salient in our case, fellow ethnic-group members can vote for one.

 As highlighted by Becker (1997:8) that consciously motivated code switching serves either a communicative intent or communicates something beyond the linguistic content, it is evident this is a conscious switch that goes beyond linguistic content to mark ethnic solidarity.Let us consider another example of code switching to Kikuyu.

Example 2

*Hamjamboni watu wa Embu.**Muriega andu aembu? Muriega ringi?** Leo tumewatembelea watu wa Embu.*

Trans: How are you people of Embu? How are you people of Embu? How are you again? Today we have visited you people of Embu.

At the beginning of his speech Raila switches from Kiswahili the matrix language of his speech to Kikuyu to greet the audience. The use of Kikuyu to greet the audience is a deliberate choice.Raila does not share ethnicity with majority of the audience; his attempt to greet the audience in Kikuyu is an attempt to break through an ethnic boundary even though it is just temporarily he then quickly switches back to Kiswahili which is the matrix language of his speech.

The switch from Kikuyu to Kiswahili is at the intersentential level just as predicted in the Markedness model that people with a low proficiency of a language will switch at sentence boundaries to avoid making grammatical mistakes. Myers (1993:119) argues the psycholinguistic cost in terms of proficiency in the embedded language of such an insertion should be relatively low that is, it requires little ability in the embedded language.

One may question Raila's proficiency in Kikuyu but Myers argues that proficiency in the languages used is open to question but the most important criterion is that speakers must evaluate positively for their own identities in this type of interaction; the indexical values of the language used in the switching.

Example 3

Nimarie, riu unadirashoka kwiuria, anake maitu maramoria ki? Nikuina maraina no ata wakiimba inasemekana wakiimba wimbo zinaitwa jina Uhuru hiyo ni hate speech. Na nyimbo zimejaa Kenya hii ambayo tunajua vile wanaongea juu ya watu wengine (cheers) lakini jina ya uhuru iwe hapo niwo ucio. Ndireigure mundu ungi akiuga wa haha meru etagwo Imanyara, akarugama bunge akoiga ndiramucaragia nake ndiu ndiramucaragiria kii? Onatutiumite kumwe. Mundu auga kaundu Uhuru nigetha andikwo ngathitini.Ndirameera marote nanii noukorwo niwega maranjariria. (Wild cheers and clapping) Kwa sababu mimi sina ubaya na mtu. Tumeelewana?

Trans: I heard some other person from Meru by the name Imanyara; he stood in parliament and said I had been looking for him so that I could meet him I don't know why I was looking for him for what? We don't even come from the same place. When someone says anything he mentions Uhuru so that he can be featured in the newspapers I tell them to dream of me, maybe they are looking for good things for me.

In this example Uhuru consciously switches from Kiswahili the unmarked choice for campaign rallies to Kikuyu. It is an intersentential code switching. It is clear that this switch marks ethnic identity with his audience as he criticises Imanyara and the Meru block that was in support of the CORD Alliance. This is highlighted further when he says "we don't even come from the same place."

Here is another example of intersentential code switching in Martha Karua's speech in Tharaka.

55

Example 4

 'Tunataka wachunguzwe, kujulikana Ni Kwa nini, Na Kama sera ziliruhusu nyumba za wanyonge kuuziwa wale wako Na mishahara ya juu, Tumekubaliana hiyo?

Audience: *Ndiyo*

Kai *kwi wa nda na mugongo?*

Audience: **Ari**

Trans: We want them to be investigated, so that it may be known why and if policies allowed houses meant for the poor to be sold to those with high salaries. Do we agree on that?

Audience: yes

Is there one of the womb and another of the back?'

 This example is an intersentential switch because it occurs between sentences .Martha Karua switches to Kigichugu, a dialect of Kikuyu to introduce a quotation of a Kikuyu proverb; Gutiri mwana wa nda na wa Mugongo. Loosely translated it reads there no child carried in the womb and another carried at the back*;* it hints that we all were carried in the womb and thus all people are equal. In this she criticizes an Assistant minister and a PS that had bought houses in a low cost housing project meant for the poor.

The switch to Kikuyu serves a communicative function. The meaning of the proverb is more succinct given in Kikuyu and this would be lost if an attempt was made to translate it to Kiswahili.This is because cultural materials carried in proverbs would be lost in the attempt to translate such proverbs,in our case the nuance of birth is lost when the proverb is translated.

Example 5

'Mimi nataka niwaelezee hivi, **competition** *ambayo itakuweko ni kati ya wale ambao bado wana angalia Kenya* **through rear view mirro**r *yaani kuiangalia jana na wale amabo wamekubali* **reform** *tayari imeingia na ile kitu Wakenya wanataka saa hii* **nikutransfrom society** *yetu kufika kiwango kingine cha maendeleo. (Clapping)*

We have the reforms, we are committed to those reforms, what we have desired as always is to implement them and to transform this country of Kenya and to build it and to place it at greater heights.'

This is an intersentential switch from Kiswahili to English. He switches from Kiswahili to English as a strategy to mark authority and status of a national leader. One in leadership would switch to English to show authority as he states what his party will do for the country.

Although Myers (1993:133) argues that a switch to English is often a medium of a marked code switching to express anger or authority; the latter is part of a heritage left behind by former colonial masters, we will posit that switching to English gives one status of a national leader. Let us consider other examples of switching to English.

Example 6

'Hapa Nairobi ukipoteza njia, ukienda Kwa askari ati' nionyeshe njia ya kwenda kariokor,' swali ya kwanza' wapi kitambulisho?'

Audience: ndio.

'Oo afande sikubeba kitambulisho ilibaki nyumbani', unashikwa mara moja, pingu sio?

unajipata ndani ya cell kesho kotini unashtakiwa ati unarandaranda na madhumuni ya

kufanya uhalifu sio?

Audience: Ndio

Unajikuta ya kwamba wewe uko korokoroni, hiyo ni ungwana kweli?

Audience: Apana

That is why we are saying the police force must be reformed so that they can deliver

services to the people of Kenya.

The speaker switches to English also as a strategy to mark authority as he states what he will

offer which is police reforms, once elected as president.

Example 7

'Na ndio tunataka kuweka polisi ambao watakuwa watumishi si wale wanatawala wananchi.

Askaris ambao wanatoa huduma Kwa wananchi Kama askari wa Ulaya, unajua ulaya

ukipoteza njia unaenda Kwa askari unamuuliza njia anakwambia, **ooh take a straight walk,**

go straight about a hundred meters, take a turn right, walk another 100 meters then turn

left you can't miss it. *Halafu akimaliza ukimwambia* **thank you,** *anakwambia* **you are**

welcome*, anapiga saluti.'*

Trans: And that is why we want to have police officers that are servants and not those that

rule over the people. A police force that will discharge their duties like the British Police

Force, you know in Britain when you lose your way, you go to a policeman and ask him for

directions, he tells you ooh take a straight walk…'

Raila Odinga in the above excerpt switches from Kiswahili to English. This switch is a quotation of an English police man helpful nature as he paints his party manifesto policy to change the Kenyan police force.

Code switching to English can be used as a direct or indirect quotation of the speaker in an earlier episode or of someone else in what Myers calls marked code switching for aesthetic effect which has a communicative function. Intersentential code switching that serve this function is prominent in our data.

Example 8

Sasa tuna mipango zingine vile mmeambiwa ya kuimarisha hali ya elimu katika nchi yetu ili watoto wote wasome kutoka nursery kupitia primary mpaka secondary bila malipo yoyote.
Audience: ndio (clapping).

Now we have said in our manifesto that we are going to reform the education sector, to make education work for our country, we are going to make education affordable and accessible from nursery to primary to secondary and we are going to ensure that all students at the universities get bursaries.

Audience: wild cheers

We have also said that we are going to ensure every Kenyan when she or he is sick whether they have money or not will be entitled to free medical attention. We are going to improve the medical health facilities all over the country.

Trans: Now we have other plans, you have been told about improving education in the country, so that children can get education from nursery through primary all the way to secondary without paying any fees.

Example eight above is a case of intersentential switching from Kiswahili to English. Raila switches to English to indirectly quote party manifesto on party policies. The switch is also a marked choice to serve what Myers calls structural flagging.Myers (1993:141) refers to structural flagging as a repetition of what is already said in the unmarked Medium of the exchange. Raila talks of party policies in Kiswahili then reiterates the same in English.

3.2 Tag switching

Example 9

… mimi nataka kila Mkenya apewe nafasi ya kuania cheo chochote… Yule ambaye ataweza kuuza sera zake, achaguliwe na wananchi, hao wengine wakubali wangoje nafasi ingine,

niguo andu a Embu?

Trans: I want every Kenyan to be given a chance to vie for any seat. The one who is able to sell his policies to be elected by the people and those others to accept and wait for another chance, is it   people of Embu?

This type of switching is a tag switching. Uhuru Kenyatta uses Kiswahili to urge the audience to elect those that are able to sell their policies to the people and that those that are not elected should accept defeat and wait for another chance, he then switches to Kikuyu at

the tag in asking the audience whether they agree with this. This is a marked choice; Uhuru taps at ethnic solidarity in asking the audience to agree with him.

Markedness Model does not account for switching at the tag, however, as identified by Poplack (2004) tag switching as the insertion of a tag in language A into an utterance which is otherwise entirely in language B.our data reveals one instance of tag switching.

3.3 Conclusion

In this chapter we set out to analyse intersentential code switched data and tag switching with a view to finding out the languages involved in the switching, the type of switching, whether the motivation for code switching is conscious or unconscious and finally if the code switching serves a communicative or strategic purpose.

In our examination of data we found out that the languages of switch were:

Kiswahili to English.

Kiswahili to mixed forms of Kiswahili and English

Kiswahili to Kikuyu.

Moreover, we established that the motivation for code switching was either conscious or unconscious and that the switch to another language served either a communicative or strategic purpose. More specifically we established that in our speeches code switching served communicative functions of direct or indirect quoting, structural flagging and to fill a lexical gap.Code switching that served a strategic purpose was used to mark ethnic solidarity or to break through an ethnic barrier.

Our data revealed that marked tag switching served for ethnic solidarity. The speaker taps at ethnic ties in switching to a shared native tongue at the tag.

CHAPTER FOUR

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATION

4.0 Introduction

This study set out to test three hypotheses. The first hypothesis is that code switching as an unmarked choice, as a marked choice or as an exploratory choice is the motivation for code switching in the data. The second hypothesis is that code switching serves communicative and strategic functions.The third hypothesis posited that the types ofcode switching namely intrasentential and intersentential code switching identified by Markedness Model will be observed in the speeches that the study analyses.

We posited that Myers' Markedness Model would be adequate to analyse our data. In the analysis of the collected data we sought to answer the questions: What types of code switching does our data reveal? Can we get unmarked code switching? Can we get marked code switching in our data? Can we get exploratory code switching in our data? Can we get code switching that serves strategic purpose? Can we get code switching that serves a communicative purpose?

Are Myers' predictions on who engages in code switching and of the interaction type true?

Is Myers' Markedness Model universal?

4.1Summary and Conclusion

It was the findings of this study that though the model accounts for two types of code switching namely intersentential and intrasentential code switching, our data revealed three

types of code switching namely intersentential, intrasentential and tag switching, the last of which our model does not account for.

The languages involved in the switching were Kiswahili to English, Kiswahili to Kikuyu and Kiswahili to mixed forms of Kiswahili and English.

Markedness model classified code switching under unmarked, marked and exploratory choice maxim. However, our data revealed instances of only code switching as a marked choice.

Under code switching as a marked choice the model gives eight motivations that could account for speakers making of marked choices. This include marked code switching for; ethnic identity, ethnic exclusion, to increase social distance via anger or authority, for structural flagging, for aesthetics, where code switching is echoic, where the message is the medium and finally due to the view of speakers as entrepreneurs.

From the eight motivations of code switching as a marked choice our data revealed that marked code switching made by our three presidential candidates was mainly to mark ethnic solidarity, to increase distance via authority and anger and as structural flagging and for aesthetic effects.

We hypothesized that code switching served either communicative or strategic functions. The data proved this hypothesis true. In our data code switching that served a communicative or

what Kachru (1983) calls discourse function was either used to fill a lexical gap, give structural flagging to the code switched section and hence emphasis or simply because an expression could be expressed more succinctly in the embedded language other than being translated to the matrix language. Instances of code switching to fill a lexical gap had prominence in our data.

For code switching that served a strategic function, our data revealed that the code switching was used as a strategy to express ethnic solidarity, express authority and an attempt to break through ethnic barriers even though momentarily.

Myers in her Markedness model gives six predictions regarding type of person who will engage in code switching and interaction type.One prediction was that majority of the speakers will follow the known path and make unmarked choices. This is proven true in our data because in all our speeches, Swahili is chosen as the matrix language. Kiswahili is the unmarked choice in political speeches because Kiswahili is the language of the masses.

A second prediction is that the more linguistically conservative a group is such as women, the more unmarked choice it will make. Martha Karua's speeches reveal minimal instances of switching as compared to the speeches by Uhuru and Raila.

Myers also predicts that the choices of people already possessing high status in terms of socio-economic status or political power are more difficult to predict and that these people will exploit marked code switching as an interpersonal strategy.

The reason why the choices of the people already possessing high status in terms of socio-economic or political power is more difficult to predict is because they make marked choices which means unusual or unexpected choices.

The three candidates whose speeches we analyzed fit the above criteria; they already possess high status in terms of socio-economic or political power. The prediction by Myer that they will make marked choices is true because our data reveals only instances of marked code switching. The reason why they make marked choices is because they already possess high status and power and can therefore afford to gamble in assessing cost and rewards.

From our finding s we can therefore conclude that Myers' Markedness model can account for code switching in our data apart from code switching that is used to fill a lexical gap. This is because Markedness model gives the social motivation for code switching and therefore goes beyond the linguistic motivation for code switching.It cannot therefore account for communicative functions such as code switching to fill a lexical gap.

Secondly Markedness model can only account for two types of code switching namely intersentential and intrasentential code switching but cannot account for tag switching.

4.2 Recommendations

The data revealed only instances of marked code switching; this study therefore concentrated on marked code switching. We therefore recommend research on if political speeches exploit the unmarked and exploratory code switching.

Our study reveals that code switching serves communicative and strategic function; we thus recommend research on whether politicians achieve their objectives by resulting to code switching.

We also recommend a study of code switching using an eclectic approach that encompasses both linguistics and non linguistics motivation for code switching.

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SPEECH 1
UHURU KENYATTA IN EMBU STADIUM.

Hebu tusalimiane tu kwa hewa hapo, hapo,(*wild cheers and waving in the air*)
 Kule nyuma, asante, asanteni Sana.

Niliwaambia kwamba nia yangu nikuunganisha Wakenya, kufanya kazi pamoja na Wakenya, tupeleke Kenya katika kiwango kingine cha maendeleo.Tuwache maneno ya **mastory,** tuwache maneno ya kupigana*,* tuwache maneno ya chuki

Sisi tuko na haja kuhakikisha kwamba vijana wetu wamejiweza (*cheers, clapping*) *i*mnaelewa wenzangu. Wenzangu
Audience: *tuko*
Tunajua yakwamba tuko na shida mingi Kenya, lakini shida yetu kubwa ni viongozi ambao jukumu yao, shughuli yao ni maneno kila siku *ndio?*

Kama wat, ambao wako na fikira na nia kufanya kazi pamoja na ndio tunasema wale wote ambao wako na fikira moja, wale wote ambao wako na nia ambayo inafanana wacha tufanye kazi pamoja.
Audience: *Ukweli.*

Na ndiko mimi, na ninataka mjue hivyo watu wa Embu, mimi niko hapa nikijiombea kura, na kura ile naomba ni kura ya rais, ya Jamuhuri ya Kenya. (*Cheers, Clapping*). Tunaelewana?
Audience: ndio
 viti ni vingi, kuna viti vya **Governor**, kuna viti vya **Senator**, kuna viti vya **County Rep**, Kuna viti vya **Women representative**. Mimi nasema kila mtu ambaye anataka kiti akuje hapa ajiongee na aombe watu wa Embu kura, lakini asiseme ni Uhuru amemutuma, nitafanya kazi na Yule ameshida, tuunde serikali, sisi zote tuingie pamoja, tujenge Embu County, tujenge Kenya yetu (*wild cheers, clapping.)* Tumechoka na siasa ya watu kuwa wanapigana kila siku, ukiamkia, ukilala ni siasa ya kupigana.

Kama nia yako ilikuwa kutendea watu wa Embu na Kenya kuwafanyia kazi, unganeni na Yule ambaye atashida unaweza kupata kazi ingine baada ya miaka mitano(*clapping).*
Tuwe na umoja, safari hii tuwe na chama moja. Mtakubali hiyo?
Audience: *Ndiyo*.

Wale wanataka kusimama tuende mchujo katika chama *moja* ndio tuweze kuwa na nguvu ya wajumbe siyo kama hiyo safari ingine ya tatu, tusimame imara, hakuna pahali watatupeleka.
Audience: *hakuna.*

Nimarie, riu onandiracoka kwiuria, anake aitu maramoria ki? Nikuina maraina no ata wakiimba inasemekana wakiimba wimbo zinaitwa jina Uhuru hiyo ni **hate speech**. Na nyimbo zimejaa Kenya hii ambayo tunajua vile wanaongea juu ya watu wengine (*cheers*) lakini jina ya uhuru iwe hapo niwo ucio**. Ndiraiguire mundu ungi akiuga wa haha meru**

etagwo Imanyara, **akarugama bunge akoiga ndiramucaragia njarie nake ndiui ndiramucaragiria kii? Onatutiumite kumwe. Mundu oiga kaundu 'Uhuru' nigetha andikwo ngathitini.**

Ndirameera marote nanii noukorwo niwega maranjariria. (***Wild cheers and clapping***)
Kwa sababu mimi sina ubaya na M-*tu*. Tumeelewana
 Audience: *eee*

 Mimi nataka umoja na nataka kila Mkenya apewe nafasi ya kuania cheo chochote awe na uhuru bila kutishwa, Yule ambaye ataweza kuuza sera zake anachaguliwa na wananchi hao wengine wakubali wangoje nafasi ingine**, *niguo andu a Embu?***

Mtakubali tusimame pamoja?
Audience *eeh (wild cheers)*
Ebu nionesheni kwa mikono kwamba kweli safari hii mmekubali tutembee pamoja (*wild cheers, waving of hands).* Asanteni sana, Asanteni.

SPEECH 2
UHURU KENYATTA IN CHUKA
 (Wild Cheers and Waving of hands)
Nawasalimu nyote, nawasalimu tena, ata kule nyuma twawasalimu nyote (*cheers*))asanteni sana asanteni sana kwa kuja.

Sisi msimamo wetu tunasema kwamba tunataka tuungane, na ndio pamoja tushirikiane na tuhakikishe tumejenga mwananchi wa Kenya wa kawaida kwani yeye amebeba mzigo wa taifa la Kenya (*Wild cheers).*

Sisi juu tumekubali kufanya kazi na wengine, tungetaka mtusaidie. Tarehe nne mwezi wa tatu mjitokeze kwa wingi mpigie kura mlengo wa Jubilee, isifanyike tena kama mwaka wa 2000. Si munakumbuka nin i ilitendeka?
Audience: *Ndio*

Nini ilifanyika? si wengine walisema Kura imeibwa?
Audience: *Eeeh, ndio!*

 Mwishowe nini ilitendeka na wakakataa kukubali? Wakati walikataa kukubali si umwagikaji wa damu ulitendeka hapa?
Audience: *eeeh*
  Uhalibifu wa mali?
Audience: *eeeh*
Tungetaka kuona mambo kama haya tena?
Audience: *hapana*
Njia ya kuhakikisha kwamba mambo kama hayo hayatatendeka tena ni tuwe na umoja
 Audience: *ndio*
sikusema kwamba watu hawana haki ya kutafuta kura, lakini kama sera zetu zinafanana kwa nini hatutafuti viti ndani ya ***nomination process*** ambayo itakuwa ya Uhuru, ambayo itakuwa ya haki, wanainchi wakiamuwa ni mtu fulani hao wengine wamuunge mkono, hakuna faida ya kugawanya wananchi ***nominations*** zikiisha – si ni kweli?We na wewe ungojee nafasi yako itakuja, si ni kweli?

Si mwaka wa 2002 mimi niling'ang'ania kiti cha raisi wa Jamuhuri ya Kenya?
 Audience: *Ndioo*

Lakini shida yetu mwaka huo badala ya sisi kuwa ndani ya chama moja na wale ambao wangekuwa wanamuunga mkono tukakuwa vyama mbali mbali, ndiyo mwishowe hata kama tulipatia Mwai Kibaki kura, wajumbe hakuwa na wao, si ni ukweli?

Kwa sababu wajumbe walikuja na vyama vingi, watu wakapata nafasi ya kusema kulikuwa na udanganyifu kwa hiyo uchaguzi, lakini hakukuwa.

Kwa hii ndio tunasema, sisi tunataka tuwe chama moja, wale wote ambao wana sera sinafanana tuungane pamoja, tuwalete pamoja na ndio tuweze kujenga Kenya pamoja, na hiyo ndiyo njia pekee itaweza kutisaidia.

Nginya mwaka wa 2002 nindamwirire competition itakuwa katika ya wale ambao ni *mareformer* na wale ambao si *mareformer*.

Mimi nataka niwaelezee hivi**, *competition*** ambayo itakuweko ni kati ya wale ambao bado wana angalia Kenya *through rear view mirror* yaani kuiangalia jana na wale amabo wamekubali *reform* tayari imeingia na ile kitu Wakenya wanataka saa hii *nikutransfrom society* yetu kufika kiwango kingine cha maendeleo. (*Clapping*)

We have the reforms, we are committed to those reforms, what we have desired as always is to implement them and to transform this country of Kenya and to build it and to place it at greater heights.

Kuna wengine wanafikiria ati kwa sababu ndio walikuwa wanaongea jana, ati leo, kesho, *noguo, ng'ano shia marimu na kwari,* kulikuwa, kitendawili, *laughter* uu oga, kii noguo, *cheers.*

Mere ng'ano icio nitwanogiruo nicio ithui turenda kumenya uria ruciu tugeikara.

Yaani sisi faida yetu nikujua vile kesho tutakaa tumechoka kuangalia dunia kupitia *rear view mirror* kila mtu akisimama nikusema huyu ako namna hii, huyu ako namna hii, *niatwire uria egwika no okoruo ndoi uria egwika ii ithui turamwira* wacha Wakenya wachague viongozi wapya, wale ambao wanataka kuangalia *through rear view mirror* wacha waende nyumbani sisi hatuna vita na mtu hatuna vita na hawa, tutawanunulia TV tutawapatia askari wa kuwachunga hao nyumbani, ndio wanaangalia Tv jioni wanaangalia vile Kenya inaendeshwa vizuri bila shida, watu wakiwa pamoja *niguo*
 Audience: i   i   i (wild cheers)
 natumahe karedio juu sisi hatuna chuki na hao.

Na ndio leo watu waembu tanawasihi kuja tarehe nne March, mjitokeze kwa wingi na mtupigie kura ndio pamoja tuendeleze nchi yetu mahala pengine, tunakubaliana? Ndio. (*wild applause*) ebu nionesheni kwa mkono kwamba safari hii tutatembea pamoja (*waving and wild applause*).

Asante, Asanteni sana.

SPEECH 3
UHURU KENYATA IN KISUMU
Nawasalimu wote (waving) nawasalimu tena, asanteni, asanteni tena Kwa kuja hapa.
Sisi Kama wanamlengo wa Jubilee, tunataka kusema kwamba sisi tunaheshimu viongozi wote, sisi hatutaki, siasa ya matusi sababu matusi ndiyo inaleta chuki, na matusi haisuruhishi shida zetu
Audience: *ukweli*.

Na ndipo sisi tunajua ata nyinyi muko na mtu mnapendelea zaidi
Audience:*eeh,(wild cheers)*
 si ni ukweli?
Audience: *Ndio, (wild cheers), ukweli,*
 Ukweli usemwe, lakini sisi tunasema tuko ndani ya mashindano, na mashindano ni wananchi ndio watafanya nini?
Audience: *Wataamua*
  si ni wananchi wataamua?
Audience: *Ndio,*
wakisema Raila ndio atatuongoza, (*wild cheers),* mimi nitasema sawa (*clapping, cheers,)* wakisema Uhuru ametosha safari hii (*wild cheers and clapping)* sawa.

Yangu nikuwahakikishia kitu kimoja, ***whatever the outcome is***
 Audience:Aguambo, *farasi ni wawili*
 We must be peaceful, we must be united. Natujue ya kwamba lazima tuungane ata baada ya uchaguzi, lazima tufanye kazi pamoja.

Siasa ya chuki na ukabila imefika mwisho wake(*clapping)* Tunataka viongozi ambao watachaguliwa sio kwa sababu ya kabila lao, sio kwa sababu ya dini yao lakini kwa sababu ya maono yao, mwelekeo wa,o fikira zao, na pahali ambapo wanataka kupeleka Kenya hii pamoja(*cheers)*

Na ndipo sisi tumesema kwamba tunataka ***free nominations,(*** *cheers ,clapping)* wale watu ambao wanataka kusimama, wasimame, wananchi watu waamue
Audience: *ndio*
Tunaelewana?
Audience: *Ndio*
kile kitu sisi tunahubiri ni amani.

Sisi tunaamini njia pekee ni viongozi washirikiane, katiba mpya ambayo tuko nayo sasa inasema lazima tuhakikishe kila jamii inaheshimika.(*Clapping)*

SPEECH 4
MARTHA KARUA IN THARAKA ON 26TH JULY 2012
Leo kama Narc Kenya tunawatembelea huku Tharaka na tumekuja kuwahimiza mchague mimi mama kama kiongozi wa nchi ya Kenya katika uchaguzi huu.
Audience: *ndio*
Ningetaka kuwasihi mchague kiongozi anaye wajali watu wa Kenya, msichague kiongozi anataka kujisaidia yeye mwenyewe
Audience: *ndio*
 Anataka Kura zenu, Na Kura zikishapatikana, hamtamwona tena
Audience: *eeh*
Wewe utawachwa na tabu zako
Audience: *ndio*
lakini Narc Kenya tunawaambia hii chama ni yakuunganisha Wakenya wote, ndio tunasema. Kenya ni moja, taifa ni moja na watu ni wamoja.

Uwe Mtharaka, uwe Mgichugu, uwe Mpokot, nani ataishi bila chakula?
Audience: *Hakuna*
 Nani hatakai motto wake asome na apate kazi?
Audience: *Hakuna*.

Sisi zote ni binadamu, twatafuta kuboresha maisha yetu, tuungane zote tutafute namna ya kutengeneza nchi yetu na kuboresha maisha yetu ***ona umuthi uyu witu ni murathime.***
Nyumba ambazo zilikuwa zimetengenewa wanyonge, zimeuziwa wale wako na pesa, kwa hivyo haki za mnyonge zinaendelea kukanyangiwa chini.

Waziri wa hizo nyumba anaitwa shitanda, anatwambia wale watapelekwa kotini ni mkurugenzi mkuu wa wadogo wake lakini waziri mdogo wake ameuziwa nyumba hizo, manaibu, makatibu wakuu wa wizara zingine wameuziwa hizo nyumba moja kama nyumba ni za wanyonge mbona zinauziwa watu wenye wana mishahara kubwa? *Eeh.*

Wacha kutwambia, waziri aache kutuambia ya kwamba ***managing director*** pekee yake na ***legal officer*** ndio watataabika. Tunataka kujua kwa nini ***low cost housing*** zinauziwa wadosi, wale wako na mishahara ya juu. *Kabisa* ikiambiwa ni ya mnyonge, wacha ikuwe ya mnyonge, mjumbe na katibu hawezi kuwa nini mnyonge, aache kutuambia na kujificha na *managing director*.

Tunataka wachunguzwe, kujulikana ni kwa nini, na kama sera ziliruhusu nyumba za wanyonge kuuziwa wale wako na mishahara ya *juu*, Tumekubaliana hiyo?
Audience: *Ndiyo*
kai *kwi wa nda na mugongo?*
Audience: **ari**

SPEECH 5
MARTHA KARUA IN MBITA IN NYANZA
Leo hii tumewatembelea kama NARC Kenya na tungetaka kuwaambia watu wa Mbita mjitokezee na mchague mama.

Audience: Clapping
Ningetaka kuwataharisha kwamba mna changua Kiongozi atakaounganisha Wakenya pamoja, watu ni wamoja na nchi ni moja.

Audience: Ndio
Na tena mimi naelewa hiyo katiba sawa sawa.

Audience**:** Sawa
Mimi nasukuma vilivyo na pia mnaona nikifanya kazi.

Audience: (Wild Cheers and Clapping) Uko poa
 Naomba mkinipatia kazi mimi naweza kusukuma hii mambo, mimi nimeuliza kiti ya raisi 2012.

Audience: (Clapping and Cheers) mama katika NARC Kenya tunasema **One Kenya, one Nation, One People.**

Audience**:** Yees
Masilahi Yetu zote kama binadamu ni sawa

Audience**:** Ndio
Hata lugha zikiwa si sawa, mambo yote ni sawa, njaa yako, n jaa ya mtu wa kwetu Kirinyaga County ni sawa.

Audience**:** Ni sawa
Mambo ni sa…..
Audience**:** Sawa
Mimi nawauliza nyumba ikiwa chafu, nani hufagia?
Audience: mama, wild cheers
Kenya iko na uchafu wa ufisadi, uchafu wa kutofanya kazi
Audience: wild cheers, Toboa
Niko tayari kufagia mkinipatia ruhusa
Audience: chukua, ndio.
Wakati watoto wanalia njaa, nami hutafuta chakula?
Audience: mama
Niko tayari kutafuta wakenya chakula, **food security**
Audience: ndio
Mkinipea ruhusa
Sasa nipunguzie hapo niseme maneno ya migingo sababu **I can see we are on the lake side**
Audience yees
Tuache kuambiwa migingo ni jiwe, **migingo is resources, fisheries.**

Audience: ndiyo yees
Na hiyo ni utajiri wetu
Audience: ndiyo

Mimi ni na hofu serikali ya Kenya miaka ingine, haiwezi kujieleza na kuitisha migingo kutoka serikali ya Uganda.
Audience: ndio

The president na president museveni kila wakaki wanakula pamoja kwa nini anaogopa kumuuliza nziwa yetu
Audience: wild cheers, clapping

Hata bibilia inasema **knock and it shall**
Audience: opened
Tunauliza riasi yetu **to knock and get migingo and ugingo back**
Audience: ndio

Na tunataka mipaka yetu ilindwe, wakenya hatutaki kunyanyaswa ndani ya nchi yetu au kwa mipaka
Audience: ndio
Mimi ningetaka kuomba
Audience: ee
Mkubali tuishie hapo, naweza kuongea mpaka kesho
Audience: sawa, tuendelee.

SPEECH 6
RAILA ODINGA IN EMBU STADIUM ON 18ᵗʰ FEB. 2013.

Hamujambo watu wa Embu.**Muriega andu a Embu? Muriega ringi?**
Audience :(cheers) turiega

Leo tumewatembelea watu wa Embu na nimesikia wanasiasa wengine wakisema at hii sijui ni **zone** ya Fulani, sijui ni **stronghold** ya fulani, hii ni Kenya, mtu asikuje hapa akaseme ati ooo mimi ni **mundu wa nyumba**

Audience: ee shouts, uhuru
Ati **mundu wa nyumba**, ati **mundu wakwa**
Audience: laughter
Muulize na Raila nje?
Audience: Heckling and booing, interruptions from stone throwing youths

Hii merikebu ishang'oa nanga
Audience: eee
Imeshang'oa nanga, inaenda
Audience: ee
Hii ni kama ile mto Nile inatoka Jinja inaelekea Misri,
Audience: shouts
Haiwezi kuzuiwa, hata wenginge wakibwekwa namna gani

Audience: booing mingled with shouts
mzungu alisema **barking dogs seldom bite**
Audience: Noo!

Sisi kama mlengo wa CORD, tunaomba kura zenu, mkituchagua tutawafanyia wakenya wote kazi, natutajenga ee vituo vya utalii ili watalii wengi wakuje side hii ya Embu, sawa?
Audience: sawa
Sawa?
Audience: sawa, poa

Kahawa tutaimarisha, mambo ya majani chai tutaimarisha, kilimo katika eneo hii yote kwa hivyo sisi tuko na mpango wakuimarisha maisha ya watu wa Embu, na watu wa eneo hii yote ya Kenya.
Audience: ndio (clapping)

Mbunge itakapovunjwa hakutakuwa na serikali kamili hii ni **caretaker government**, kwa hivyo ningetaka kuwaambia walimu wasigome, warudi kazini wafanye kazi tukimaliza hii kazi ya uchaguzi. Tutaelewana nawo maana sisi tumesema tutaboresha hali ya walimu
Audience: (clapping) screams and noises of vuvuzelas

Sisi tumepigania nchi hii kwa mika mingi zaidi, tulikuwa tunapigania wakenya wote si watu wachache, wale wanabweka siku sizi walikuwa wapi? Uliza hao uwo ujana wao wamefanya nao nini?

Audience; eee

Kila mkenya ambaye amefikisha umri wa kupata ajira tumeandika katika **manifesto** yetu atapata kazi, tutapata kama uchumi imepanuka na kazi inapatikana

Mumeyasikia hayo?

Audience: Ndiyo

Kwa hivyo kuja tarehe nne mwezi wa tatu, ningetaka mjitokeze mpigie hii mlengo kura.

Audience: cheers mixed with heckling.

SPEECH 7
RAILA ODINGA IN UHURU PARK

Haya, Haya, vijana hoyee
Audience: Hoyee
Vijana hoyee, vijana mko tayari?
Asanteni sana. Mmeona tumesimama hapa watatu, inaitwa pembe tatu, the triangulate, tuko namna hii, tumeacha pentagon, tumekunja kwa triangle (clapping)
Sasa tuko triangle, triangle
Audience: triangle

Pentagon tulizika, hii saa iko na nguvu zaidi leo hii tumetoka kwa tume ya uchaguzi, tumepewa stakabadhi na referee ameweka filibi kwa mdomo.
Audience: wild cheers.
Ameshapiga firibi na timu yetu iko tayari simumeona timu hii? Namba nane ni huyu.
Audience: whistles and shouts

Namba kumi ndiyo huyu, namba tisa ndiyo huyu, hii timu haishindiki, haishindiki. Tumewaambia waingie uwanjani, tutamenyana na wao, tarehe nne, mwezi wa tatu itakuwa bao ni tano kwa yai.
Audience: cheers

Kwa sababu naona timu hii sisi tunataka mageuzi na ndio muungano wetu sisi tunaitwa muungano wa mageuzi na demokrasia wale yao ni ya mambo ya jana, wanaangalia mambo hamsini iliyopita na ndiyo maana wanajiita wanajubilee, wanaangalia kule tulitoka, wanaangalia mambo ati wewe ni mrefu kiasi gani? ati wewe ni mrefu kiasi gani? Umri yako ni miaka gapi? Hiyo ni takataka yote
Audience: cheers

Ile muhimu zaidi ni akili, sasa sisi tunawaambia ya kwamba wafanye yale wanaosema. Juzi niliwaambia ya kwamba ikiwa kama mtu anasema ako na huruma na mtu mdogo, kama unataka kusaidia maskini, kuna wakenya wengi hawana mashamba.
Audience: wild cheers

Kuna wakenya weengi hawana mahali pa kujenga nyumba, wengine wanapigana juu ya robo eka ya shamba, wewe uko na maeka maelfu na maelfu toa ata nusu eka upee hawa (clapping and cat calls)

Ndio unonyeshe kwa vitendo ati wewe uko na huruma na maskini, lakini huwezi sema uko na huruma kwa maskini, na mashamba kubwa inalala bure haina mtu ya kulima.
Wengine wanasema, wengine wanasema, ati sisi tunasema na kutenda ati sema na kutenda unajua yale matendo? Jirani yako ana shamba, anatoka na anaingia kwa shamba ya jirani yake na kunyakua, hiyo ni kutenda?
Audience: wild cheers

Hiyo ni ungwana? Hiyo ni ungwana?
Audience: apana

Sisi tunasema na kutenda wengine wanojiita ati **mahustler**, ati **mahustler hustler** ya nini? Waulize wewe tangu ulitoka shule ulifanya wapi? Uliajiriwa na nani? Na hiyo mali yako uligawa wapi?
Audience: laughter.

Sisi hatutaki matusi, yale tunataka ni **campaign** ya ungwana, ili tuiweke sera yetu chini. Juzi kule KICC tulizidua **manifesto** yetu kama CORD na tukasema yale ambayo tungetaka kufanya tofauti ni hii miaka iliyopita, tulisema tunataka vijana wote wafanye kazi na akina mama tukasema **jobs, jobs, jobs**, sivyo?
Audience: jobs, jobs, jobs

Pili tukaongea juu ya mambo ya chakula, tukasema ya kwamba hatutaki kuona mkenya analaa na njaa. Tunataka kuona kama Kenya inajitoshereza kujipandia chakula, inaitwa **food self sufficiency**. Kule Malawi raisi Mtharika alishika utawala na ndani ya miaka miwili nchi ambayo ilikuwa inaagiza chakula kutoka nje ikawa ina chakula ya kutosha inalisha Kenya. Kama Mtharika anaweza, Raila na Kalonzo na Wetangula hawawezi?
Audience: wanaweza

Hayo ingine tukasema tunataka kuona kama kila mkenya pale anapoishi anajihisi salama inaitwa **the national security**, hatutaki kuona kama watu wetu wanaishi na hofu atavamiwa na wakora na majingiri vile vile ndio sababu tumesema tunakata kusafisha polisi yetu Waiganjo amesema anataka kuniona
Audience: screams

Na mimi nitaona Waiganjo nione ataniambia nini, maanake polisi yetu ilikuwa imeoza na wale ambao wanahusika wanajulikana ukweli ukidhihiri uongo hujitenga. Ndio sababu juzi nilitaka kati hatuwezi kuweka watu hapa sijui commissioners na ndio tunataka kusafisha kikosi cha polisi.

Wanaongea sijui uu mambo ya ukabila ati hii kabila gani, hapana, Raila haongei mambo ya ukabila, sijui huyu weka hapa na yule pale nataka mkenya ambaye anaweza awekwe
Audience: ndio. (Clapping)

Mnakumbuka nilikataa walipoweka mkuu was sheria, walipoweka mkuu wa mahakamani, **chief justice** sinilikataa? Si baadaye ikafanya vizuri? Simuliona waliteuwa mungwan huko? Sivyo?
Audience:Ndio

Hivyo ndivyo nataka wale ambaye wanapinga ndiyo wanataka mambo ya jana, hawataki mabadiliko, lakini sisi tunataka mabadiliko, wakenya wameteseka yakutosha na ndio tunakaa kuweka polisi ambao watakuwa watumishi wa wananchi si wale wanatawala wananchi.
CORD! CORD!

Askari ambao wanatoa huduma kwa wananchi kama askari wa ulaya, unajua ulaya ukipoteza njia unaenda kwa askari anaitwa boby. Unamuuliza njia anakwambi,**ooh take a straight walk, go straight about a hundred metres, take a turn right, walk again another 100 metres then turn left**, **you cant miss it.**
Audience: cheers and vuvuzelas

Halafu akimaliza ukimwanbia **thank you** anakwambia **you are welcome** , anapiga salute
Audience: cheers.

Hapa, Nairobi ukipoteza njia, ukienda kwa askari at nionyeshe njia ya kwenda kariokor, swali ya kwanza wapi kitambulisho?
Audience: ndio.
Oo afande sikubeba kitambulisho ilibaki nyumbani, unashikwa mara moja, pingu sio? unajipata ndani ya cell kesho kotini unashtakiwa ati unarandaranda na madhumuni ya kufanya uhalifu sio?
Audience: Ndio

Unajikuta ya kwamba wewe uko korokoroni, hiyo ni ungwana kweli?
Audience: Apana

That is why we are saying the police force must be reformed so that they can deliver services to the people of Kenya.

Sasa tuna mipango zingine vile mmeambiwa ya kuimarisha hali ya elimu katika nchi yetu ili watoto wote wasome kutoka nursery kupitia primary mpaka secondary bila malipo yoyote.
Audience: Ndio (clapping)

Now we have said in our manifesto that we are going to reform the education sector, to make education work for our country, we are going to make education affordable and accessible from nursery to primary to secondary and we are going to ensure that all students at the universities get bursaries.
Audience: wild cheers

We have also said that we are going to ensure every Kenyan when she or he is sick whether they have money or not will be entitled to free medical attention. We are going to improve the medical health facilities all over the country.

And the ones opposed to the new consititution, siwanajulikana, wale ambao walikuwa wanapinga katiba mpya siwanajulikana? Wale ambao walikuwa wanabeba **red card** siwanajulikana? Mnawajua?
Audience: ndio

Sasa wanasema ati wanatengeneza katiba katiba ambaye wewe mwenyewe ulipinga utatengeneza aje? Si hiyo ni unafiki? Sisi tumesema hii katiba mpya ndio itakuwa ugatuzi unafanya kazi nitahakikisha pesa inatoka juu inafika mashinani kutumia kwa upande wa kutengeneza barabara stima, matibabu, elimu.

Mnakumbuka mwaka wa 1997 **I said my priorities are going to be infrastructure, infrastructure, infrastructure,** mara tatu sivyo?
Audience: ndio

Simumeona mabarabara zimejengwa, simumeona Nairobi barabara zimejengwa? Simumeona Thika road naya kwenda Mombasa ikijengwa? Sasa hii serikali ilikuwa ni mseto ilikuwa watu wawili, kibaki nusu Raila nusu, kwa hivyo yale yote yamefanyika ni ya kibaki na raila si kibaki peke yake. Lakini yale ambaye imefanyika mpaka leo ni kama tone ya maji ya bahari aki mambo bado sasa ndio kazi itaanza and I am telling you today we have crossed the rubricon according to the Romans, meaning we are now going to war and only victory na tutaenda pamoja. Vijana si mko tayari?
Kijana pande ile wacha kusukumana, waacheni vita, poeni hapo
Haya CORD! CORD!
Hii gari yetu imeanza kutembea sasa si mnaona vile inatembea leo hii sitaki kusema kitendawili
Audience: screams

Leo mimi nataka kusema hadithi hadithi
Audience: hadithi njoo

Hadithi ni ya mchwa, simunajua mchwa? Kitu ndogo sana sasa mnajua mchwa anakuwa anakuliwa sana na kuku akafikiria hii kuku atatumaliza tufanye nini? Moja akasema tujenge nyumba kubwa kisuguu tuwe Kama majeshi, halafu sasa mchwa akaanza kujenga nyumba, wanatoa matope wanaleta, siunaona mchwa ni kidogo sana halafu anajenga kisuguu halafu kule ndani yake anaweka malkia, we kaa huko ndani ndio kuku asikupate huko ndani.

Sasa huko ndani wewe taga mayai kuku hawezi kuingi huko ndani sasa mimi nataka mue kama jeshi ya mchwa, mko tayari?
Audience: Ndiyo

Wanacord wote muwe Kama jeshi ya mchwa ua kujenga kisugu kubwa halafu ndani yake tunaweka malkia yetu, mko tayari!
Timu yetu iko tayari sasa, simumeona hiyo timu, sasa hiyo mchezo imeanza, filibi imepigwa, mpira imechukuliwa pande ile kwa Waititu amerushia Ruto, Ruto na mpira, ameteleza ameanguka chini
Audience: cheers

Mpira ikaanza tena, mpira inaendelea wanajubilee na mpira, inaenda kwa Mudavadi anarudishia Ruto anarushia uhuru, Uhuru na mpira anapiga shoot ooh goal keeper, Fred Gumo anashika mpira amepiga huko juu huko mbele Henry Kosgei anachukua mpira anapatia Ababu namwamba, Ababu na mpira anapatia Kilonzao and mpira inarudi ngambo ile anachengwa na wetangula, wetangula anampatia Kalonzo, Kalonzo anampatia Raila, Raila anashoot ndani
Audience: wild cheers.

SPEECH 1
UHURU KENYATTA IN EMBU STADIUM.

Let us wave at each other in the air, there, there, at the back, thank you. Thank you very much. I told you that my aim is to unite Kenyans, to work together with Kenyans, to move this country to a new level of development.

Let us stop issues to do with stories, let us stop issues to do with fighting, let us stop issues to do with hatred. We have the aim to ensure that our youths are self reliant; do you understand my fellow countrymen?

My fellow countrymen
Audience: *we are here*
We all know that we have many problems in Kenya, but our biggest problem is leaders whose role and whose business is talking every day.
Audience: *yes.*

If we can work together and that is why we are saying that those with similar thoughts, those with goals that are alike, let us work together.
Audience: *true.*

And that is why me, and I would like you people from Embu to know this, I am here to ask for your votes and the votes I ask for is votes for the presidency of the republic of Kenya.(*Clapping).* Do we understand each other?
Audience: *Yes.*

Seats are many, there are governor seats, there are senator seats; there are county representative seats, there are women representative seats. I say every person who wants a seat should come here and talk and ask people from Embu for votes but he should not say that it is Uhuru who has sent him.
I will work with the person who will win, so that we can form the government, we all come together so that we can build Embu county and so that we can build our Kenya. (*Wild cheers clapping).*

We are tired of politics where people fight every day, when you wake up every day, when you sleep it is politics, where people fight each other.

If your aim is to work for people of Embu, to work for the people, join together and the person who will not win, you can get another chance after five years.(*clapping)*

Let us be united, this round let us share one party, will you agree with that? *Yes.* Those that want to vie for seats, let's go for the nominations in one *party* so that we can have the strength in the number of elected members no like the last elections.

Thirdly let us stand firm, they will not take us anywhere, let them talk; now I even ask myself why are they asking our young men." They are singing but when they sing it is said if they sing songs that mentions the name Uhuru, it is said to be hate speech. Yet Kenya is full of songs that we know how they talk about other people, but if Uhuru's name is in the song, there they go.

I heard some other people from Meru by the name Imanyara, he stood in Parliament and said I had been looking for him so that I could meet him. I don't know I was looking for him for what? We don't even come from the same place. When someone says anything, he mentions Uhuru so that he can be featured in the newspapers, tell them to dream of me, maybe they are looking for good things for me *wild cheers, clapping* because for me I hold no grudge with anyone.

So we understand each other? *Yees* I want unity and I want every Kenyan to be given a chance to vie for any seat, one should have the freedom without receiving any threats. The person who will be able to sell his policies and is elected by the people, the rest should accept and wait for another chance, isn't it people from Embu?

Will you agree that we stand together? *Yees, wild cheers,* show me by your hands that this time you have really agreed that you walk together (*wild cheers, waving of hands*).

Thank you very much, Thank you.

SPEECH 2
UHURU KENYATTA IN CHUKA

(Wild Cheers and Waving of Hands)
I greet you all, I greet you again even at the back there, we greet you all (*cheers*).
Thank you very much for coming.

For us, our stand is that we want all to unite and together we join hands to ensure we build. The ordinary Kenyan citizen because he carries the load of the country of Kenya (*wild cheers*).

For us because we have agreed to work with others we would like you to help us, come March 4th we would like you to all come out in large numbers and vote for the Jubilee Coalition, so that things don't happen like they did in 2007. Don't you remember what happened? *Yes.*

What happened? Didn't others say that the election was rigged? *Yes* in the end what happened when they refused to accept, isn't it bloodshed that happened here? (*Yes,* destruction of property? *Yes* would we like to see things like those happen again? *No.* The way to ensure that those things don't happen again is for us to be united. *Yes.* I didn't say that people do not have the freedom to look for votes but our polices are alike, so why can't we look for seats in nomination process that will be free, that will be fair, when the citizens decide that it will be fair, when the citizens decide that it will be a certain individual, the other should support him, there is no benefit in dividing the citizens when nominations are over; isn't it true? And you wait for another chance, isn't it?

In the year 2002 didn't I vie for the presidency seat of the Republic of Kenya? *Yees* but our problem that year is that instead of us being in the same party with those that would have supported him (Mwai Kibaki) we were in different parties and even though in the end we gave Mwai Kibaki votes, he did not have enough members of parliament, isn't it true?

This is because the members of parliament were from various parties thus people got a chance to say that there was foul play in the elections but there wasn't.

Because of this that is why we are saying, we want to be in one party, all those that have similar policies, we join hands together; we bring them together so that we can build Kenya together, and that is the only way that can benefit us.

Even in 2002, I told you competition will be between those that are reformers and those that are not reformers.

I want to explain to you this, competition will be between those who still look at Kenya through rear view mirror that is looking at it yesterday and those that have accepted reforms are already here and what Kenyans want now is to transform society and to partake it to a new level of development,(*Clapping.)*

We have the reforms, we are committed to those reforms, what we have desired as always is to implement them and to transform this country of Kenya and to build it and to place it at greater heights.

Some people think that because they are the ones who used to talk yesterday, that today, tomorrow it remains the same, orgre stories, it was riddle, riddle, (*laughter*) This, my elder, what, it is (*wild cheers*) Tell them we are tired of their stories we want to know how we shall live tomorrow. *That is our benefit is to know how we shall live tomorrow. We are tired of looking at the world through rear view mirror. Everyone who stands up is to talk about others, that this one is like this and that one is like that...*

Let him tell us what he will do and if he doesn't know what he will do, we are telling him to let Kenyans choose new leaders. Those that want to look through view mirror let them go home. For us we are not fighting with anyone, we are not fighting with these ones we will buy them TV and give them police to guard them at home, so that they can watch Tv in the evening and see how Kenya is being led well without problems, with a people united together, isn't it? *Yes (wild cheers)* and we give them a radio because us we have no hatred with anyone.

And that is why today people of Embu, we ask you come March 4th to come out in large numbers and vote so that togehte we can move this country to the next level, do we agree on this? *Yees wild applause* show me by show of hand that this time round we shall walk together. (*Waving and wild applause.*)

SPEECH 3
UHURU KENYATTA IN KISUMU

I greet you all, I greet you again, thank you, thank you again for coming here.
We as the Jubilee Coalition, we would like to say that we respect all leaders, we do not want politics that is abusive, because abuse is what brings hatred and abuses doesn't solve our problems. *True.*

And that is why we also know that you people have a person that you prefer the most *Yees, wild cheers* isn't it true? *Yes, true, (wild cheers).* Truth be told but for us we are saying we are inside a competition and it is there people who will do what? *Decide.* Isnt it the people who will decide? *Yees.*
If they say it is Railwa who will lead us, (*wild cheers*) me I will say okey (*clapping, cheers*)
If they say Uhuru is the one this time round. (*wild cheering, clapping*) Okey.

Mine is to promise you one thing. Whatever the outcome. (Ayumbo) is, *(There are 2 horses)* we must be peaceful, we must be united and we should know that we must unite even after the elections, we must work together.

Politics that is full of hate and tribalism has reaches its end (*clapping*). We want leaders that will be elected not because of their tribe, not because of their denomination but because of their vision, goal, their thoughts and the place they want to take this country to together (*applause*).

And that is why we are saying that we want *free nominations (applause, clapping).*

Those people that want to vie for seats, to vie and the people will decide (*applause, clapping*) do we understand each other? *Yes.* Everything that we are preaching is peace.

We believe that the only way is for leaders to come together, the new constitution that we have now says that we have to ensure that all communities are respected (*clapping*).

SPEECH 4
MARTHA KARUA IN THARAKA ON 26TH JULY 2012

Today as NARC Kenya we have come to visit you here in Tharaka and we have come to urge you to vote for me 'Mama' as the leader of the country of Kenya in this election.

Audience; Yes.

I would like to urge you to elect for a leader who cares about the people of Kenya, don't vote for a leader who wants to help himself.

Audience: Yes
He wants your votes and when he gets your votes, you will not see him again.

Audience: Yes
You will be left with your problems.

Audience: Yes
But for Narc Kenya we are telling you this party is for uniting all Kenyans and that is why we are saying, Kenya is one, the nation is one and the people are one whether you are a person from Gichugu, whether you are a Pokot who can live without food.

Audience: There is none
Who doesn't want his child to get educated and get a job?

Audience: There is none.
We are all human being, we are all looking to improve our lives, let us all unite and look for ways to develop our country and to improve our lives **and even today our country is blessed.**

Less priviledged Houses that had been set aside for the poor have been sold to those that have money and therefore the rights of the less priviledged continue being trodden upon.

The minister incharge of those houses is called Shitanda, He is telling us those that will be taken to court are the managing director and his assistant but his assistant minister has bene sold to those houses. Assistant ministers and permanent secretaries of other ministries have also been sold to those houses. If the houses belong to the less priviledged why are they being sold to those with big salaries?

Audience: Yes
Stop telling us, the minister should stop telling us that **the managing director** alone and the **legal officer** are the one to suffer. We want to know why the **low cost housing** are being sold to those with big salaries.

Audience; True
If it is said to be for the less privileged let it be for the less privileged. A minister and a secretary can't be a less privileged, let him stop telling us and hiding with the **managing**

director. We want them to be investigated so that it can be found out why and if policies allow for housing for the less priviledged to be those whose salaries are

Audience: High
Do we agree on that?

Audience: Yes

Is there a child of the womb and of the back?

SPEECH 6

RAILA ODINGA IN EMBU SPORTS GROUNDS ON 18TH FEBRUARY 2013

How are you? How are you people of Embu? How are you again?
Audience; Cheers (Waving of hands)

Today we have visited people of Embu and I have heard some politicians say that this I don't know is someones zone. I don't know that it is someone's stronghold, this is Kenya. Someone should not come here and say that I am part of this house.

Audience: Yes, shouts Uhuru, that someone from our house, that my person.
Audience: Laughter
Ask him what about Raila?
Audience: Heckling and booing, interruptions from stone throwing youths.

This ship has already sailed.
Audience: Yes.
This ship is like River Nile that moves from Jija to Egypt.
Audience: Shouts
It can't be blocked, however much some people will bark.

Audience: Booing mingled with shouts.
The white man said barking dogs seldom bite.
Audience: Noo!
We as the CORD coalition ask for your votes, if you vote for us we will work for all Kenyans, we will build uum tourist sites so that tourists can visit this sides of Embu, okey?

Audience; Okey
Okey?
Audience; Okey, fine.

We will develop coffee, we will develop tea and farming in this whole region. Therefore we have plans to improve on Embu people lives and the people of this whole region.

Audience; yes (Clapping)
When parliament goes in recess, there will be no proper government, there will be a caretaker government, therefore I would like to tell the teachers not to go on strike, they should go back to work and work until we finish the elections, we will negotiate with them because we (CORD) have said we will improve on the lives on teachers.

Audience: (clapping) screams and noise of vuvuzelas.

We have sought for this country for many years, we were fighting for all Kenyans not a few people, those that are barking now where were they?

Ask them what they have done for their youth.

Audience: Yes

Every Kenyans who has reached a working age, we have written in our manifesto will get a job because the economy will grow jobs will be available.

Do you hear that?

Audience: Yes

And that is why come 4th March, I would want you to all come out and vote this coalition.

Audience: Cheers mixed with heckling.

Audience: No.