**Language and Politics: An Analysis of the Semantics, Political Discourses and Sociolinguistics of Kenyan Political Party Names**

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**Abstract**

Kenya Political Party (KPP) name construction is often realised using many different elements central to which is language. Language-linguistics provides resources upon which KPP name creators assign political meaning. The choice of an appropriate language (like English or Kiswahili) and the appropriate linguistic resources becomes a necessity in the construction of a KPP name that is easily recognised by voters. The linguistic strategy employed in the creation of a KPP name that easily attracts voter attention is an area of concern to this study. This paper detects then examines how KPP name creators meticulously influence language use at the semantic, political discourse and sociolinguistic levels resulting in linguistic manipulation at the structural design, phrase expansions, phrase deletions, semantics, mixed code data, sense relations, associative meanings, political discourses and abbreviations manipulations within KPP names.

**Key words:** Kenya, KPP names, semantics, mixed code data, abbreviations, linguistic manipulations and political discourse

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## Introduction

In the current global political dispensation, Language is an important variable in power relations between dominant (politicians) and subordinate (voters) groups. Politicians utilize phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and textual devices to achieve their goal (David, 2014). Kenyan politics is not an exception for "a Kenyan politician is a master of deception (language manipulating) and will cover their tracks with genius" (Malande, 2013bThis is possible granted that politics is very largely the use of language (see Chilton, 2004) and "questions of language are basically questions of power" Chomsky (1979:119). Butt (2004) makes a similar albeit somewhat stronger claim that the very use of language is ideological. He argues that the use of language necessitates choices between different modes of meaning). A politician who can manipulate language to their advantage easily wins over voters. Malande and Masiolo (2013) observe that an East African politician has the ability to invent, re-invent, shift, twist and manipulate multilingual terms thus highlighting the inter-connectedness between language and politics in East Africa. It is precisely these multilingual, political, syntactic, semantic and ideological choices that inform the Kenyan political actors' creation and selection of KPP names in order to attain maximum political effect. To achieve this, English and Kiswahili languages grant Kenyan politicians linguistic resources necessary for crafting and then selling KPP names to unsuspecting voters granted

Kenya, a country located in Eastern Africa, holds relatively free, fair and competitive General Elections every 5 years. Kenya's experiment with multiparty politics has been a flip flop exercise often dictated by the political interest of the president or the political party in power often suffering post-election violence due to disputed presidential elections (as was case in 2007-2008 and 2017-2018). From 1963-2017, this study uncovered 118 KPPs-a majority of which are extinct. As at august 2018, only 44 KPP were considered active by the Kenya Political Party Registrar.

Studying the semantics, political discourse and sociolinguistics of KPP names is important granted that names and naming trends in Africa are of socio-cultuaral significance.KPP names constitute 'a set of linguistic signs' (Martin and Ringham, 2000:1-13). Studying these signs from a linguistic perspective provides additional knowledge on African anthropological linguistics. In Africa, anthropological linguists have generated a lot of data on naming patterns and name meanings as espoused in local or native-African languages. Such studies by Malande (2012, 2011 and 2006), Batoma (2009), Légere (2008 and 2004), Agyekum (2006), Guma (2001), etc. have largely looked at people, plant and place names. Those studies have established a socio-cultural and morpho-semantic basis as the sole motivation behind names and naming in African languages. Secondly, these studies examined naming as a phenomenon in individual local-native-African languages (monolingual context) but not inter linguistic (languages-native and non-native or bilingual context spoken in Africa). This paper, however, examines a new inter linguistic area i.e.

Kenya political party names which are created using three codes (languages) granted the diglossic attitude and 'multilingual culture in Kenya' (Malande, 2013a).

We have recent political discourse studies on Kenyan political scene including Malande & Masiolo (2013a, 2013b, and 2013c), Habwe (2010), Ngonyani (2006), Oduori (2002), King'ei (2002), Wairagu (2001), etc. These studies have complemented numerous global researches by linguists such as Rozina & Karapetjana (2009); Caldas-Coulthard and Coulthard (1996); Fairclough (1992a, 1995a); Fairclough and Wodak (1997); Fowler et al. (1979); van Dijk (1993b, 1997); Chilton (2004 and 1985[ed],); Chomsky (1979); Butt (2004) etc. As aforementioned, none of these studies tackled political party names hence the need to identify and profile, highlight, and analyse such linguistic occurrences informed the duty and spirit of this paper.

Finally, a demonstration on how KPP name creators meticulously influence language use at the semantic, discourse and sociolinguistic levels resulting into linguistic manipulation at the structural design, phrase expansions, phrase deletions, mixed code data, sense relations, associative meanings, political discourses and abbreviations manipulations of KPP names.

## Statement of the Problem

The strategy that a Kenyan politician applies in the creation of Kenya Political Party Names [KPP] that easily attracts voter attention was an area of concern to this study. KPP names construction is often realised using many different elements central to which is language. Language-linguistics provides resources upon which KPP tools creators assign political ideology-meaning. The choice of an appropriate language (like English or Kiswahili) and the correct linguistic resource therefore becomes a necessity in the construction of KPP tools that are easily marketable to voters. The study, therefore, investigates, identifies and examines how KPP tools creators meticulously influence language use at the phonological, morphological, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, discourse and sociolinguistic levels resulting into linguistic manipulation at the structural design, phrase expansions, phrase deletions, semantics, mixed code data, sense relations, associative meanings, political discourses, abbreviations manipulations etc.

## The semantics of KPP names

KPP name formation is semantically motivated. This implies that all KPP names are meaningful. This meaning component in KPP names is of interest to this paper. Under this section, we examine two semantic relationships namely semantic fields and sense relations. We take a look at each relationship.

### a)  The semantic field of KPP names

I categorise KPP names into semantic fields by borrowing procedures from Malande (2011&2006), O'Grady (2005), Akmajian, (2001) and Jurafsky and Martin (2009) who captured a more integrated, or holistic relationship among entire set of words/names from a single domain noting that a word/name shifts fields over time. KPP names were examined then placed into their appropriate associative/connotative (meanings) groups. The KPP name designers/crafters basically create names using the vocabulary/resources available in their social cultural domain thus creating names voters could easily identify with. This process yielded nine (9) possible KPP semantic fields that are presented below.

I.    Farming activities connotations
   a) Farmers Party
   b) Wakulima Party of Kenya (formerly United Agriparty)
II.   Environmental activities connotations
   a) Mazingira Greens Party of Kenya
   b) Green African party
III.  People/ Citizenry connotations
   a) Citizen Democratic Party of Kenya
   b) Kenya People's Convention Party of Kenya
IV.   Social-political movements or Forums for Social Change connotations
   a) Kenya Social Congress
   b) Sisi Kwa Sisi Party
   c) Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD ASILI)
   d) Restore and Build Kenya
   e) The Nuru Party of Kenya
V.    Democracy/Democratic denotations
   a) Democratic Assistant Party
   b) Kenya African Democratic Development Party
   c) Wiper Democratic Movement-Kenya
VI.   Religious connotations
   a) Agano Party
   b) Safina Party
VII.  Regionalism-Majimbiosm connotations
   a) Chama Cha Majimbo na Mwanganza
   b) Kenya African democratic union Asili
   c) Shirikisho Party of Kenya
VIII. Republicanism Connotations
   a) Republic Party of Kenya
   b) Republican Liberty Party
   c) Kenya Republican Reformation Party

### Sense relations in KPP Names

Examining the sense relations phenomenon within KPP names presents unique relationships that exist amongst them. According to O'Grady (2005), the study of semantics is concerned with the nature and types of meaning/semantic relations such as sense relations among words-synonymy, antonyms, polysemy and homophony. The sense relations that obtain in KPP names include: antonym, synonym, hyponymy and meronymy. They are discussed below with examples of prevalence cited.

The terms **hyponymy** and **hyperonymy** both refer to the KPP that have semantic-meaning inclusion comprising the general (mother KPP) alternatively called hyperonym/ hypernym/ superordinate and the specific (daughter KPP) called hyponym or subordinate. KPP daughters (hyponyms) that share a mother (hyperonym) are called co-hyponyms because they share the same hierarchy or same sense relation level. In simple terms this is a loose political alliance in which the individual KPP maintain their identity and party structures-this is an alliance or coalition arrangement. Examples:
   a) The original 1992 FORD (**superordinate**) movement broke into two daughters
      (**subordinates**) namely FORD-Asili and FORD-Kenya. FORD-Asili and FORD-

Kenya existed as **co-hyponyms** that operated at the same level. FORD-Kenya later splintered into SAFINA, NDP, SDP and New FORD-Kenya (NFK) whereas FORD Asili gave birth to Saba Saba Asili Party itself delivering Mzalendo Saba Saba Party. Whereas FORD-Asili and FORD-Kenya are **co-hyponyms** and exist within the same hierarchical taxonomy, their daughters and granddaughters do not share the same.

b) 2013 Kenyan General Elections witnessed the formation of two major political alliances namely CORD and JUBILEE. Both CORD and JUBILEE were **superordinate**. Jubilee **subordinates** included TNA, URP, RP and NARC-but for all intends and purposes TNA and URP appeared to operate at a higher hierarchy. For CORD, the **subordinate** were represented by 3 principals (three leaders) representing their three KPPs namely ODM, WDM and FORD-Kenya. In theory CORD principals were equals yet in practice the taxonomical rank had ODM, WDM and FORD-Kenya occurring in that order of prominence.

c) NAK (**a superordinate**) was formed in 2001 as a coalition uniting DP, SDP and FORD-Kenya as **subordinates** (**co-hyponyms**). Just before the 2002 General Elections, NAK joined LDP forming a super alliance called NARC. NARC a **meronym**. When NARC became ineffective and moribund, her daughters LDP and NAK alongside her, interestingly, DP, SDP and FORD-Kenya maintained their individual party status.

KPP names that appear in an antonymous relationship (**Antonyms**), or oppositeness of meaning are a common feature in Kenyan politics which (as they say time and again) is always a two-horse race between those who call themselves change advocates (opposition) against those representing status quo (government). Every other Kenyan General Election is a contest of many KPPs coalescing within two competing coalitions. The two wings occur in a polar relationship of *us vs. them* contest. Such contests are studied as a linguistic feature of antonymy. Caution is necessary granted this relationship might obtain both semantically or ideologically. Examples of antonymous relationships in previous Kenyan General Elections:

a) In 1963 we had KANU vs. KADU
b) In 2002 we had NARC vs. KANU
c) In 2007 we had ODM vs. PNU
d) In 2013 we had CORD alliance vs. JUBILEE alliance
e) ODM and ODM-K appeared more of complimentary antonyms in 2007 after having ideologically split from the superordinate ODM movement

**Meronymy** is has and is a part of sense relation. The whole is called meronym whereas holonyms are one of the parts of the whole. But this relation is integral and not a loose *can do without* kind of relationship. The parts are inseparable from the whole and can't exists on their own. In the case of KPP, this is a fixed political alliance in which (the individual) KPP lose their individual party identity and party structures and work for the whole-it's a unitary system. Such occurrences have been a regular occurrence on Kenyan political scene where KPPs by pronouncements at National Delegates Conferences dissolve to form mega unions (coalitions). In 1964, KADU dissolved and joined KANU immediately after independence. The word out there was a merger between KANU and KADU (both holonyms) in which the super KANU (meronym) was formed with KADU technically dissolving-being wiped off existence.

In 2001, the same case obtained when NDP and KANU merged to form the Grand union again with the name KANU. KANU remained on scene with NDP being swallowed up. In 2002, in the lead up to a general election two giant opposition wings NAK and LDP- themselves alliances- signed a memorandum of understanding to merge creating the meronym National Rainbow Coalition (NARC). Both LDP and NAK died.

In the cases cited above any attempts by a member to pull out these relationships has only resulted in a weakened meronym. Never once has the holonym been neither strengthened nor re-established as an independent KPP after a break-up. That is the sad story of KADU, NDP, LDP and NAK whose members had to move out and construct new KPPs when they felt the meronymous relationships couldn't stand any longer.

**Synonymy** is a relationship of semantic identities, which has the same range of meanings and is substitutable for each other in all relevant contexts without changing the meaning of the sentence as a whole. We have such cases of synonymy in KPP granted the constant name changes. In the case of KPP names we considered the aspect of one party changing a name by retaining the same structures and leadership a case of synonymy. Example

## Linguistic Manipulation in the design of KPP Abbreviations

A significant number of KPP names can be abbreviated for both linguistic and political reasons. Generally, abbreviations can be grouped according to two orthographic and phonological properties. They can be spelled with either capital or lower-case letters, and they can be pronounced either by naming each individual letter (so-called initialisms or Alphabetisms). Since KPP abbreviations are political tools, they are linguistically manipulated. Tepavacevic (2014) observes that political language has a distinct and definable structure and style evident in the vocabulary, grammar, textual and inter-textual features of discourse. The most prominent class of abbreviations is the Acronyms. Prasad (2008) identifies three types of acronyms in English:

(a)     Those whose sequences of initial letters are pronounced as words. Examples include UNESCO, UNICEF, ECOWAS, etc. Compared to KPP we have KANU, KADDU, etc.
(b)     Those whose sequence of initial letters is pronounced as letters. Examples include: WHO, EU, AU, EAC, etc. Under KPP we would have CCU, UDM, PDP, etc.
(c)     KPP abbreviations, just like KPP Names, lack a clear convention in crafting/ formation, thus opening the door for a linguistic manipulation study of the same.
Abbreviations are a general term which refers to linguistic features such as:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

   i.   **The** National Alliance is abbreviated as **TNA.**
   ii.  **The** Independent Party is abbreviated as **TIP.**

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

c) Language resources such as ellipsis and shortenings are a common feature in the construction of KPP abbreviations. Here again KPPs abbreviation crafters demonstrate lack of a clear convention on which word or phrase one should delete or drop/ shorten. Examples:

   A. We have cases where the definite article 'the' is dropped or itemized (see examples of TNA and TIP in *b* above). But in many cases it is dropped. Examples:
   i.   NVP- **The** National Vision Party
   ii.  LPK- **The** Labour Party of Kenya

   B. The word 'PARTY'
   Example, MSS- MZALENDO SABA SABA *Party*

   C. The word 'KENYA'
   **DP-** Democratic Party *of Kenya*

   D. The word 'party of Kenya'
   i.   **RC-Republican Congress** *Party of Kenya*.
   ii.  **SDP-** Social Democratic Party *of Kenya*

   *Now contrast the above examples by comparing them with following abbreviations against their names whose names haven't been shortened/ deleted/ trimmed**:**
   i.   **NPK-** National Party of Kenya
   ii.  **PPPK**- Peoples Patriotic Party of Kenya
   iii. **TNA**-The National Alliance

d) KPPs which have a mix of names and abbreviations
   i.   NEW **FORD** KENYA-*FORD* refers to **F**orum for the **R**estoration of **D**emocracy

   ii.  **NARC**-KENYA-*NARC* refers to **N**ational **R**ainbow **C**oalition.
   iii. **FORD**-ASILI-*FORD* refers to **F**orum for the **R**estoration of **D**emocracy.

56

      iv.    NEW **FORD** KENYA-*FORD* refers to **F**orum for the **R**estoration of **D**emocracy.

      v.    NEW **KANU**-**K**enya **A**frican **D**emocratic **U**nion.

      vi.    **VIPA** progressive alliance-VIPA reference unknown

e)  KPP Acronyms are formed from the initial letters of a set of other words.

      i.    KANU    - **K**enya **A**frican **N**ational **U**nion

      **ii.**    KENDA- **K**enya **N**ational **D**emocratic **A**lliance

      **iii.**    KADDU- **K**enya **A**frican **D**emocratic **D**evelopment **U**nion

      **iv.**    ARK-**A**lliance for **R**eal **C**hange

      v.    PICK- **P**arty of **I**ndependent **C**andidates of **K**enya

      vi.    POA- **P**arty of **A**ction

f)  KPP acronyms can remain essentially 'Alphabetisms' or 'Initialisms' where the pronunciation consists of the set of letters. Examples:

      i.    NVP    The **N**ational **V**ision **P**arty

      ii.    LPK    The **L**abour **P**arty of **K**enya

      iii.    GNU    **G**rand **N**ational **U**nion

      iv.    MP    **M**wangaza **P**arty

      v.    UDFP    **U**nited **D**emocratic **F**orum **P**arty

      vi.    ODM    **O**range **D**emocratic **M**ovement

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

Coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD) is a coalition bringing together ODM, WDM-K, and FORD-Kenya. In 2013, these parties pledged to work out as one united team or rather work in one accord. At the unveiling of the coalition, CORDs three principals Raila Odinga (ODM), Kalonzo Musyioka (WDM) and Moses Wetangula (FORD-Kenya) introduced themselves holding their arms together as a string or chain. This was to communicate a united front. CORD as a word means a string, a thread, lead, twine, rope, cable and flex. With the principals' political base emanating from Nyanza/ Nairobi, Eastern and Western regions, CORD, would politically unite/ string/ flex/ cable the Kenyan communities together. This new acronym-CORD came into general6 use so quickly that many speakers do not think of its component meanings-Coalition of Reform and Democracy. The statement 'we are CORD-ed' has gained footing in Kenyan political discourse.

h)  Some abbreviations are simply numerals for party name. Such numbers signify important dates in Kenyans initially peaceful then turned violent demonstrations while clamoring for the re-introduction of multi-party democracy. Those demos were held on 7/7/1991 alternatively named saba saba (Swahili for 'seven seven') day. Example: 77    SABA SABA ASILI i.e. SABA SABA is Swahili for Seven Seven.

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

      i.    SAFINA

      ii.    NARC-KENYA

      iii.    FORD-ASILI

j)  Finally, some abbreviations may come to resemble blends by combining larger sets of initial syllables. However, such forms still differ crucially from proper blends in that they neither obey the three pertinent prosodic constraints, nor do they necessarily show the semantic property of blends described above.

      FOREPA-Forum for Republican Party.

k) The spelling and pronunciation of abbreviations offer interesting perspectives on the formal properties of these words. Acronyms, being pronounced like regular words, must conform to the phonological patterns of English or Kiswahili. For Example:

    I.    KANU follows the Kiswahili syllable structure of CVCV. KANU is basically a Swahili acronym even though the initials denote an English language syllabic structure. The crafters of such acronym thus had the Kenyan voter in mind. However, it is fair to say that NATO (Northern Atlantic Treaty Organisation) is an English acronym that could largely pass as a Kiswahili name. NATO as an organization made up of both English and non-English speaking nations.

    II.    FORD, CORD, PICK, and ARK acronyms largely agree with English syllabic structures.

l) Sometimes abbreviations are formed in such a way as to yield not only pronounceable words (i.e. acronyms), but also words that are homophonous to existing words. This is often done for marketing or publicity reasons, especially in those cases where the homonymous word carries a meaning that is intended to be associated with the referent of the acronym. Consider the following examples:

    a) ARK-Alliance for Real Change

    b) PICK- Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya

    c) POA- Party of Action

    d) FORD-Forum for Restoration of Democracy

**NOTE**

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

    i.    FORD i.e. Forum for Restoration of Democracy, which latter splintered in to several daughter parties was formed in 2001 to ostensibly challenge KANUs hegemony as the only vehicle to political power and emancipation. They may have incidentally or deliberately formed a body with a name similar to the legendary American car, FORD, which is known for speed, reliability, efficiency, durability, class, etc. These attributes were to be transferred to the new entity.

    ii.    PICK i.e. knowing a Kenyan politician it wouldn't be surprising if the Party of Independent Candidates of Kenya (PICK) was simply designed to ask voters to *pick* her candidates-The wordplay, a feature in KPP structure noticeable.

    iii.    POA i.e. Party of Action makes use of a popular *sheng*-a Kenyan urban youth slang-word *poa* which means OK, no problem, fine, good, etc. Such attributes were expected to be transferred to the new party.

m) Truncation features in KPP names and abbreviations which may be completely overshadowed by a popular word or symbol. For example:
    The name *wiper* in Wiper Democratic Movement-Kenya is widely known than abbreviation WDM whereas symbol *bus* overshadows Alliance Party of Kenya's APK abbreviation. The two are commonly called wiper and the bus party.

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

    i.   AP- AGANO PARTY; *AP* stand for administration police, an elite unit that serves Kenyans from grassroots to the international borders.

    ii.   MP- Muungano Party: *MP* stands for Member of Parliament one of the highest sought-after elective position in Kenyan politics. Such abbreviations are meant to ride on a known political position. E.g. 'Vote in all MP candidates.' As vague as it may sound could attract attention.

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

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

**Note**:
It is important to note here that there is neither laid down rule nor convention in the creation of KPP abbreviations.
Deletion, omission and addition of words or phrases together with elevation of functional words to content words status display a case of determiner phrases (DP) that are headed by a determiner *the* (which may be null), thus no longer have the noun as headword.
Word play in some instances becomes the order of the day. This in pure linguistic terms is a deviation from the norm on KPP abbreviations structure thus inviting an interest on the manipulating language for political purposes.

**KPP abbreviations distortions**
KPP abbreviation distortion mostly occurs as a feature of political teasing across all political divides. Below we provide examples of KPP party abbreviations that suffer from distortions specifically designed by their competitors.
Virtually all major KPP (ODM, PNU, JP, URP, and TNA) suffers from abbreviations distortions. Such distortions are either from within the party-used as praise or from competitors-usually a negative tease in this case.

a) ODM suffers from many abbreviations distortions which all revolve around the party leader. Three of them are personal or character-related attacks on ODM party leader Raila Odinga while one.
   i.    ODM-Ondoa Demokrasia Mbovu (remove bad democracy)
   ii.   ODM-Odinga Dandia Mat (Odinga board a matatu-PSV vehicle-ostensibly to get votes)
   iii.  ODM-ODM-Odinga Democratic Movement
   iv.   ODM-Odinga Danganya Mudavadi (Odinga decieve or cheat Mudavadi)
   v.    ODM-Odinga Danganya Mjinga (Odinga lie to or deceive a fool)
b) PNU, JP, URP, and TNA also suffer from abbreviations distortions which are mostly character-related attacks on key political leaders. Examples:
   i.    TNA-Tuko Na Agwambo
   ii.   Jubilee (pamoja, uhuruto, Amani)
   iii.  JP-Jackpot Party
   iv.   URP-Uhuru Ruto Party
   v.    PNU-Pitia Nyeri Uone (passby Nyeri and face it)

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

**Analyzing KPP names into Codes**
Kenya has two official languages, namely English and Kiswahili in addition to numerous regional vernaculars. So basically, a majority of Kenyan adults are multilingual for they speak at least three languages namely: regional or ethnic vernacular (native), Kiswahili and English. The unwritten KPP political practice presupposes name creation be either of the two national languages although it's silent on the mixed code data. The KPP name crafters have manipulated language in designing or crafting names using at least three CODES (Languages) namely: English, Kiswahili and Mixed Code. The data below has 118 KPP names has been analysed in the three codes [see Appendix 2]

**The Mixed code data**
From the data provided on 118 KPP names above we make the following observations:
   a) English-only names are 99 constituting 84% of the sample
   b) Kiswahili-only names are 3 constituting 3% of the sample
   c) Mixed data names are 16 constituting 13% of the sample
KPP name formation is complex venture crafted using either English, Kiswahili or a mix of both; this maybe from a desire to appeal to voters at both top (elites& educated) and bottom (poor & illiterates) end of the society.
In a country where English and Kiswahili have a constitutionally equal language status-as official languages, diglossia sets in to play thus elevating former to higher political status than the latter as far as KPP name formation is concerned. Such diglossic tendencies aren't

entirely surprising. Abuhakema (2013) notes 'English is used as a sign of prestige, modernity and sophistication' or simply put, the language of the schooled.

13% of KPP names have mixed code data hence the need for a study to decipher the reasons behind the KPP Code [see Appendix 3]

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

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

**Kiswahili KPP Code mixed with English NP 'Party of Kenya'**
The description and analysis of the section on Kiswahili KPP Code mixed with English NP 'Party' above is also true with this section. The phrase 'party of Kenya' is a restrictive code-identity marker (linguistic tool) meant to hoodwink supporters that such and such a party has a national outlook. However this could be a matter of style due to a general lack of convention on political party naming.
These six KPP given below offer vivid examples
➢ Wakulima Party of Kenya (formerly United Agriparty)
➢ Shirikisho Party of Kenya
➢ Pambazuka Party of Kenya
➢ Sisi Kwa Sisi Party of Kenya
➢ Mzalendo Saba Saba Party
➢ Safina Party of Kenya

### Repetitive Code Mixing for Emphasis

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

## INTRA PHRASE CODE MIXING at the Morpheme level

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

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

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

## INTRA PHRASE CODE MIXING at the word level

   a) *The Nuru Party of Kenya*

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

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

   b) *Kenya African Democratic union Asil*

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

   a) The independence period iconic party carried almost a similar name Kenya African Democratic Union. KADU a pro-Majimbo (regional government's party) dissolved to join KANU (a republican party). Their abbreviations (KADU and KADU) would sound similar upon articulation hence the need to add a Swahili code Asil to Abbreviate KADU-Asil and not KADUA. Kindly note the abbreviation deviates from convention.
   b) One of the very first registered multi-party era parties in Kenya was called FORD-ASILI. For avoidance of accusation of name tapping they clipped Asili to Asil.
   c) From a study, the party has its roots in the coast region of Kenya hence the desire to tap into Kiswahili.

## The linguistic motivations behind KPP name code mixes

Motivational factors behind KPP code switching include:
   a) The role of word formation processes (such as borrowing) necessitates the crafting of KPP names as a code mix realising Linguistic manipulation.

b) To tap linguistic resources provided by the two Kenyan national languages of English and Kiswahili.

c) The need to accommodate both illiterate and the literate voters. The former group are more inclined towards Kiswahili usage whereas the latter English. A KPP name that is easily identifiable and sellable to the voters is any crafters dream.

d) Diglossia could explain the craze to mix codes. KPP that have largely Kiswahili frame mostly add the word 'party' or phrase 'party of Kenya' instead of using 'Chama.' Diglossic tendencies cut across Kenya. Coastal Kenya, Kiswahili bedrock, has its regional parties majorly crafted in Kiswahili but with *party tag* added. Example: Shirikisho party of Kenya. Shirikisho is Kiswahili for community.

e) Such mixed code phrases (in the use of both Kiswahili and English) highlights the mixed linguistic identity of targeted audience-voters thus realising the expressive function of code mixing. The voting publics generally mix vernacular, English and Kiswahili codes in their day to day speech.

f) Mixed codes are always popular with Kenyan youths who constitute 75% of the populace. Sheng is a mixed code (argot or language) mostly designed and used by Kenyan youth across the social status. KPP crafters might have found it irresistible to code mix given that sheng users have a majority of voters. It is now a given practice by Kenyan political operators to use Sheng.

g) Notably are the associative meanings of the word Chama. Chama initially meant Party. Today its usage and meaning has been extended to small like-minded informal financial groupings, merry-go-rounds, ethnic groups in cities, youth and women groups, workers unions, etc. With a desire to sound politically correct or authentic, *party* is commonly used as an identity marker.

h) The phrase 'party of Kenya' is a restrictive code meant to hoodwink supporters that a party has a national outlook or network for it covers the whole republic. Again, this usage is purely aesthetic in nature.

**Matrix Language Frame analysis of the KPP mixed code data**

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

Examples:

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

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

i. Daraja Ya Wakenya *party*
ii. Chama Cha Uma *party*
iii. Sisi Kwa Sisi *Party*
iv. Saba Saba Asili *Party*
v. Muungano *Party*
vi. Agano *Party*
vii. Wakulima *Party of Kenya* (formerly United Agri-party)

  viii.    Shirikisho *Party of Kenya*
    ix.    Pambazuka *Party of Kenya*
     x.    Mzalendo Saba Saba *Party*
    xi.    Safina *Party of Kenya*

## 2) Intra Phrase Code Mixing at the word level

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

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

## Conclusion

KPP names have a definite linguistic and meaningful structure. This structure is best demonstrated in the crafting and design of KPP names and KPP abbreviations. Linguistic resources are manipulated to create several KPP names: that are meaningful (semantics), have mixed code data (sociolinguistics) and whose abbreviations are distorted (syntax) for political (discourse) reasons.

## Recommendations

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

2) Further research should be done on socio-cultural meanings of KPP on a wide variety-diversity of voters including the KPP owners. Our research generally sampled respondents that were exposed to post-secondary education.

3) Further research should be conducted on the role of diglossia-a common feature in KPP names and slogan-in determining electoral outcomes. This research only examined diglossia in KPP names.

4) The Kenyan elections act or laws should clearly spell out a convention to govern KPP naming, sloganeering, colouring and symbols. This process should make KPP tools (names, colours, symbols and slogans) unique, predictable and KPP specific hence abolishing the culture of sharing such KPP tools. Enforcing these rules would abolish the negative perception voters have towards KPPs.

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Appendix 2: **Analysing KPP names into Codes**

| ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP | KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA | MIXED CODE KPP DATA |
|---|---|---|
| Alliance for Real Change | Chama Cha Majimbo na Mwanganza | Agano Party |
| Allied Democratic Party of Kenya | Chama Cha Mwananchi | Amani National Congress |
| Citizen Democratic Party of Kenya | Chama Cha Uzalendo | Chama Cha Uma party |
| Commonwealth Development Party of Kenya | | Daraja Ya Wakenya party |
| Communal Democracy Party of Kenya | | Mazingira Greens Party of Kenya |
| Community Development Party of Kenya | | Mkenya Solidarity Movement |
| Congress of Democrats | | Muungano Party |
| Democratic Assistant Party | | Mzalendo Saba Saba Party |
| Democratic Community Party | | Pambazuka Party of Kenya |
| Democratic Labour Party of Kenya | | Saba Saba Asili Party |
| Democratic Party of Kenya | | Safina Party |
| Democratic Reformation Party of Kenya | | Shirikisho Party of Kenya |
| Democratic Representative Party | | Sisi Kwa Sisi Party |
| Farmers Party | | Sisi Kwa Sisi Party of Kenya |
| Federal party of Kenya | | The Nuru Party of Kenya |
| Forum for Orange Democratic Change | | Wakulima Party of Kenya (formerly United Agriparty) |
| Forum for Republican Party | | |
| Forum for Restoration of Democracy (FORD ASILI) | | |
| Forum for Restoration of Democracy for the People | | |
| Forum for the Restoration of Democracy (FORD-KENYA) | | |
| Freedom Party of Kenya | | |
| Generation Alliance Party of Kenya | | |
| Grand National Union | | |
| Green African party | | |
| Growth and Development | | |

| ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP | KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA | MIXED CODE KPP DATA |
|---|---|---|
| Party | | |
| Jubilee Peoples Party of Kenya | | |
| Kenya African Democratic Development Party | | |
| Kenya African National Union | | |
| Kenya Alliance for National Unity Party | | |
| Kenya Cultural Alliance | | |
| Kenya National Congress | | |
| Kenya National Democratic Alliance | | |
| Kenya National Liberation Party | | |
| Kenya Nationalist Peoples Democratic Party | | |
| Kenya Patriotic Trust Party | | |
| Kenya People's Convention Party of Kenya | | |
| Kenya Republican Reformation Party | | |
| Kenya Social Congress | | |
| Kenya Union of National Alliance Of Peace | | |
| Labour Party of Kenya | | |
| Liberal Democratic Movement | | |
| Liberal Democratic Party | | |
| Mass Party of Kenya | | |
| Moral Integrity Party | | |
| Movement for Democratic Advancement Party of Kenya | | |
| NARC Kenya | | |
| National Agenda Party of Kenya | | |
| National Alliance Party of Kenya | | |
| National Conservative Party of Kenya | | |
| National Democratic Alliance | | |
| National Dynamic | | |

| ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP | KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA | MIXED CODE KPP DATA |
|---|---|---|
| Development Party | | |
| National Integrity Party | | |
| National Labour Party | | |
| National Liberation Party | | |
| National Party of Kenya | | |
| National Progressive Party | | |
| National Rainbow Coalition | | |
| National Revival party | | |
| National Star Party of Kenya | | |
| New Aspiration Party of Kenya | | |
| New Democrats | | |
| New FORD Kenya | | |
| New KANU Alliance Party of Kenya | | |
| New Peoples Democratic Party | | |
| New Revival Generation Party | | |
| Orange Democratic Movement Party of Kenya (Wiper Democratic Movement-Kenya) | | |
| Orange Democratic Movement-Kenya | | |
| Pan African Assemblies | | |
| Party of Action | | |
| Party of Democratic Unity | | |
| Party of Democratic Unity | | |
| Party of Independent candidate of Kenya | | |
| Party of National Unity | | |
| People's Patriotic Party of Kenya | | |
| Peoples Democratic Party | | |
| Peoples Party of Kenya | | |
| Progressive Party of Kenya | | |
| Reform Party of Kenya | | |
| Republican Alliance Party of Kenya | | |
| Republican Congress Party of Kenya | | |

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| ENGLISH DATA ONLY KPP | KISWAHILI ONLY KPP DATA | MIXED CODE KPP DATA |
|---|---|---|
| Republican Liberty Party | | |
| Republican Party of Kenya | | |
| Restoration Democrats of Kenya | | |
| Restore and Build Kenya | | |
| Social Democratic Party of Kenya | | |
| Social Party for Advancement and Reforms-Kenya | | |
| Social Peoples Party and Congress | | |
| The Independent Party | | |
| The Jubilee Party | | |
| The National alliance | | |
| The National Vision Party | | |
| The Peoples Solidarity Union of Kenya | | |
| United Democratic Front party | | |
| United Democratic Movement | | |
| United Democrats of Peace and Integrity In Kenya | | |
| United Peoples Party | | |
| United Republican party | | |
| Unity Party of Kenya | | |
| Universal Democratic Party of Kenya | | |
| VIPA Progressive Alliance | | |

**Source: Field data 2017**

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Appendix3    Graph 1: Showing KPP data in three languages