

**SPEECH ACTS AND CULTURAL CONTEXT: A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF
DEBATES AT THE COUNTY ASSEMBLY OF BOMET, KENYA**

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**A Thesis Submitted to the Graduate School in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements
for the Doctor of Philosophy Degree in English Language and Linguistics of Egerton
University**

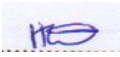
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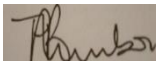
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to my late parents: Kiplangat Arap Koech and Rose Tabutany Koech who bore me, loved me whole-heartedly and sent me to school. I also dedicate this work to my dear husband and friend Vincent Rotich; children Brian, Conrad and Debra. I would not be where I am now without their massive support.

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ABSTRACT

The study examined the utterances of Members of County Assembly of Bomet in order to establish the influence of cultural context on the participants' use of speech acts. The use of speech acts varies across different contexts and this variability has been noted to cause communication breakdown in some speech situations. Effective communication is possible when interlocutors share the same cultural background which enables them to interpret speech utterances appropriately. The objectives of the study were to examine the types of speech acts that participants use during debates, to determine the functions of the speech utterances, to examine how the participants use the cultural practices of the Kipsigis to creatively justify their claims during debates, and finally to establish the relationship between the use of speech acts and gender. No comprehensive study has focused on the County Assembly of Bomet specifically, on the significance of cultural context on speech acts that are used during debates by Members of County Assembly. Successful communication not only depends on adequate knowledge of the language but also on an understanding of what is appropriate to utter in particular situations. For debaters particularly, an understanding of what hastens consensus is critical. When debaters fully comprehend the functions of utterances, effective communication can be attained. The function of an utterance is determined not only by the structure or type of the sentence but by a complex interaction between form and context. The study used Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory and the Five Categories of Speech Acts identified by Searle (1969, 1976, 2005). The research further incorporated insights in the study of speech acts from Sotillo (2017) and Davis (1979). Three Motions, purposively sampled, were examined. The data from the Hansards of Bomet County Assembly was collected using observation guide and note-taking. Data collected was analyzed using descriptive statistics. The results showed that every utterance produced by the participants in the County Assembly could be categorized under one of the major categories of speech acts proposed by Searle (1969) and for each major speech act there was a wide range of sub acts with various pragmatic forces. The results further showed that the cultural context of utterances is significant for proper interpretation of meaning. The study provides real-life examples from the Kipsigis community, and data for researchers in Pragmatics. Participants engaged in argumentative discourse can benefit from a deeper understanding of the various types of speech acts at their disposal which they can use to minimize the confrontational nature of their interactions.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BCA:	Bomet County Assembly
CGB:	County Government of Bomet
CK:	Constitution of Kenya
MCA:	Member of County Assembly
MP:	Member of Parliament
SAT:	Speech Act Theory

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Introduction

This chapter contains information that lays the foundation of the study. It includes the background to the study, the statement of the problem, research objectives and research questions that guided the study. The chapter further discusses the significance of the study and gives the scope and limitations of the study.

1.2 Background to the Study

The notion of context is central in pragmatics as a field in linguistics. The context of an utterance is considered significant because of the notion that utterances perform different functions depending on the situations of their production. Many theorists in pragmatics recognize that speaker intention, sentence meaning and hearer interpretation are not always the same and therefore, the context of an utterance should always be taken into consideration for the utterance to be interpreted accordingly. One of the theories of Pragmatics that has had a great impact in linguistic analysis is the Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). In speech act theory, most work on context has focused on the importance of felicity conditions which a speaker must fulfil in order for the utterance to be performed successfully (Chakrani, 2007). However, a major criticism that has been levelled against the theoretical premise of SAT lies in its failure to consider variation in ‘cultural context’ as a determining factor in assuring successful communication vis a vis performance and reception (Leech, 1983). SAT conveniently used the English language and the broader western tradition as its context and hoped that any conclusion drawn will be culturally universal truths (Poythress, 2008). Some empirical studies have found that speakers of different cultures can use the same speech act differently as a result of their situation (Al-Eryani, 2007; Tannen, 1984). This variability in cultural context has been noted to cause communication breakdown in some speech situations (Tannen, 1984). When interlocutors come from the same cultural background, they are able to interpret the speech utterances appropriately thereby enabling successful communication. Using data from the debates at the County Assembly of Bomet, this study investigated the influence of the Kipsigis culture in determining the illocutionary forces of utterances that were used during debates at the County Assembly. The study attempted to show that the debaters ability to perform an act and determine its illocutionary force is achieved not only by meeting and fulfilling the felicity conditions, but is, in fact, also attained by creatively

invoking and mobilizing aspects of the Kipsigis cultural context. The study revealed that the arguers in the debates manipulated important, shared cultural concepts and strategically used them to support their claims and win the debate to their side.

Nuyts observes that one of the greatest contributions that SAT has had on linguistics is by looking at language as performing action within contexts and not as a mere 'isolated structural phenomenon' (Nuyts, 1993). SAT shifted the focus so that instead of analyzing the actions as produced spontaneously, it studied the achievement of these actions by virtue of its socially standardized context. Despite the introduction of context in analyzing speech utterances, the driving force behind the theoretical conceptualization of SAT was geared toward essentially 'mapping utterances into speech act categories' (Levinson, 1983). Levinson (1983) further argues that in order for a speech act to conventionally perform a given illocutionary act, it must specify the nature of its context in the form of felicity conditions. These felicity conditions include, preparatory conditions, which check the hearer's ability to perform the action as well as the speaker's authority to tell the hearer to do the action, the essential conditions which specify the need for the hearer to do the action and the sincerity condition in which the speaker believes the action should be done (Searle, 1969). However, the pressing question facing SAT, and pragmatic theory in general, is 'to describe how, for any given utterance, the hearer finds a context which enables him to understand it adequately' (Chakrani, 2007).

According to Leech (1983), SAT has failed to consider cultural context as a determining factor even in the performative nature of verbs. Leech asserts that the utterance, "I divorce you" said three times by a husband constitutes an action in the Islamic world, which shows that context (Levinson, 1983) determines what reading an utterance should take. This study was therefore done to show that meaning of utterances that ensured successful communication was not solely achieved by linguistic codes, but was also created by the commonality of the cultural context of the interlocutors. According to Malinowski in Halliday and Hasan (1989), linguistic interaction involves not only the immediate sight and sound surrounding the event but also the whole cultural history that is behind the participants and the kind of practices that they are engaged in. It was for the same reason that the present study investigated the speech acts and their functions based on the cultural context of the Kipsigis community. The study argues that proper interpretation of meaning in language can only be done if we consider the situational and cultural contexts in which utterances are

produced. Trying to understand the meaning of utterances on the floor of the County Assembly of Bomet may be insufficient. There was need to look beyond the immediate context of the debates to the cultural setting of the arguers to do a detailed analysis on their use of language. The study, therefore, investigated how the Kipsigis culture is reflected in speech acts used during debates at the County Assembly of Bomet.

A study by Sambu (2011) puts the Kipsigis community as the largest group of all the Kalenjin tribes. Sambu says that at an estimated population strength of about 2,000,000, the Kipsigis comprise about forty per cent of the entire Kenyan Kalenjin population. Most of them live in the counties of Kericho and Bomet. All the kipsigis living in the twin counties speak one uniform dialect. According to Sambu such degree of dialectical homogeneity that spans such vast territorial space is not matched anywhere else within the Kalenjin homeland. Studying the types and functions of speech acts in Bomet County Assembly was therefore important because it would give a clear picture of how cultural practices are used as persuasion tools during debates.

The Kipsigis community believe that words are powerful because they cause things to happen. The importance attached to the performative aspect of words guided their talk right from birth. For instance, when a baby was born, he/she would be given a traditional name through a series of chants (Rutto & Maritim, 2016). As the children grew, they would be taught the importance of appropriate talk so that they avoid trouble. The Kipsigis believed that language misuse could lead to unpleasant consequences. It was believed that even innocent acts of children could lead to terrible outcomes if they misuse speech. Adults were not spared either. They were expected to be cautious of their use of language so that they do not offend unseen forces (Komma, 1992). Whenever there was an issue that needed to be discussed, the male adults would come together under the leadership of the village elder. After deliberation, a verdict would be issued and in case of a dispute, one could either be declared innocent or guilty. Once the pronouncements were made, the concerned parties would believe they are innocent, forgiven or otherwise guilty and any judgement passed by the council of elders was obeyed by all (Komma, 1992). In some cases, curses (*chubisiet*) were invoked to punish the offenders and it was believed to eventually happen although there was no time frame. These examples serve to show that the Kipsigis believed in the power of language to realize actions.

A speaker uses language with an intention. The speech act theory is based on the premise that communication takes place when the hearer recognizes the speaker's intention guided by the context of communication. The context of an utterance has to be taken into account because the speaker intent, utterance meaning and hearer interpretation are not always the same. Showing the effect of culture on felicity conditions, Levinson notes that some acts are culture-specific because they are possible in one language community but not in another. Deborah Tannen found that when New Yorkers want to express their listenership, and that they are attentive, they would remark with Wow! Or No kidding! While Californians might feel terrified and confused if they heard a New Yorker say these phrases. New Yorkers who thought that they were 'appreciative listeners' misinterpreted Californians'silence as being shy and reluctant to carry on the conversation (Tannen, 1984). Other scholars such as Wierzbicka (1985), Hirschon (2001) and Mey (1998) report that there is a close link between language use and cultural context in which it is used. Language transmits culture, which uses language to reveal its whole stretch of values by which people come to perceive themselves and their place in society. Successful communication often relies on shared information about contexts, traditions, and attitudes. That language, particularly speech acts, is laden with culture. Speech acts involve real-life interfaces and demand not just knowledge of the language but suitable application of it within a specific context. Culture can be defined in terms of what people value and their beliefs. Because this study considers context to be essential in comprehending the debating process as a whole, it is regarded as a pragmatic study.

Pragmatics is the study of language application in a given situation. It is especially useful when the actual words used may appear to mean something different in certain contexts. Pragmatics include an evaluation of speech act, which entails an utterance which has both a literal meaning and a particular illocutionary force (Paltridge, 2000). The present study examined the utterances of Members of County Assembly of Bomet to determine the extend to which the culture of the Kipsigis community influenced the production of speech acts during debates at the County Assembly.

Searle (1969), a student of Austin, delved into the study of speech acts by categorizing them into five basic types that speakers can perform depending on the purpose being expressed in the utterance or proposition. The five types of speech acts include; assertives or representatives,

directives, expressives, declaratives, and commissives. Assertives or representatives are statements that describe a state of affairs in the world which could be true or false. They commit the speaker to the truth of what they have said. The speaker uses assertives to make the words fit in the world and examples of acts performed include; stating, suggesting, boasting, complaining, claiming, and reporting. Directives are statements that compel the hearer to act according to what the speaker has proposed. The speaker tries to make the world fit via the hearer by commanding, requesting, advising, recommending and ordering. Expressives are statements that show the speaker's feelings. They include utterances of pleasure, pain, likes, dislikes, joy, or sorrow. A person speaks an expressive to make the words fit the world (of feeling) that is, appreciating, congratulating, forgiving, blaming, flattering, condoling, etc. The purpose of the expressive statements is to express sincerity of the speech act like excuse and sympathy. Declaratives are speech acts that change the state of affairs in the world in uttering them. In order to perform a declarative act, the speaker must have a specific institutional role and the utterance must be performed in a specific context. The statements are used to say something and make it so, such as pronouncing someone guilty and declaring a war. Commissives are statements used to commit the speaker to certain future action. It could be in the form of a promise. Acts performed include; vowing, offering, treating, or promising.

This study used Searle's approach in the classification and analysis of speech acts since it is more elaborate and clearer. The five classes of speech acts clearly revealed that the participants in the debates perform a number of things such as describing the actual situation at the County, getting their debating partner(s) or those in the executive position at the County to undertake some action so that the prevailing situation can be improved, expressing some psychological state, feelings or attitudes about one's situation, bringing about a change by virtue of their authority as Members of County Assembly, and finally committing themselves to doing some action in the future so that the state of affairs at the County could be improved for the betterment of the people of Bomet County. In performing these speech acts, the arguers also performed other acts since each major speech act consists of a wide range of sub acts. These categories of speech acts and their sub sets help in a better understanding of the participants' use of language and their communicative intentions at the County Assembly.

The study recognizes that arguers' utterances during debates have very many pragmatic forces or functions. As such, there was need to establish what people are doing as they deliberate. For example, are they complaining, threatening, criticizing, or blaming? Any successful analysis of debates needs to capture every action of the participants as they attempt to arrive at a consensus. This will also help in arriving at a judgement regarding their participation and attitudes towards the various motions at the County Assembly. In Searle's (1975) view, all utterances in a speech situation perform some kind of acts such as commanding, asking, requesting, stating or committing. Because of this, every utterance in the County Assembly is important in advancing the communicative intentions of the participants. The study therefore aimed at establishing the role of the various kinds of illocutionary acts employed by the participants during debates. These participants were the Members of County Assembly of Bomet who served between 2013 and 2017.

The main aim of debates at the County Assembly just as in any communicative situation is to convince the hearers of the truth of the claims being advanced. The utterer hopes to change the attitude of the hearer so that they see things the same way as the utterer. It is important to analyze how the hearer is affected due to any conversation with the speaker. In debates, the hearer could either choose to agree or disagree with the arguments advanced by the proponents and depending on the action taken, several speech acts will be performed. Austin (1962) called these acts perlocutionary acts. The perlocutionary acts is the impact on feelings, thoughts or actions of the listener. Such acts can, for example, be inspiring, persuading, consoling, intimidating, deceiving, irritating, impressing, embarrassing and many others. The atmosphere surrounding the debating activity is highly dependent on the utterances made by the participants. How the participants feel during debates will greatly determine the results of the debating process.

The study also looked at the variations in speech acts use between the male MCAs and their female counterparts. This included looking at their participation in sampled motions on the floor of the House, the kinds of speech acts used by either gender to convince their opponents about their claims and the meaning projected in their messages. In the first County Assembly of Bomet, there were only 10 female MCAs out of the 36 Members of County Assembly. The small number of women getting elective positions may be attributed to societal or cultural factors that still prefer males in leadership positions. It was not surprising, therefore to

discover that the same cultural factors could have played a role and contributed to the nature of discourse at the County Assembly.

The context of the study is Bomet County Assembly which is one of the 47 county assemblies in Kenya. In 2010, Kenyans enacted a new constitution, which established a system of devolved government with 47 lower-level county governments. The Constitution assigns the county governments the executive and legal powers and duty to raise funds, define policies and financial plans for devolving amenities. All these activities are undertaken in the County Assembly through debates or motions. Debates at the County Assembly are influenced by the cultural context of the participants because context can affect the interpretation of speech utterances.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

The functions of speech acts vary across different cultural contexts. This variability has been noted to cause communication breakdown in some speech situations. That means that successful communication is not only achieved by uttering the right words, but also considering the cultural context of their use. Effective communication is possible when interlocutors share the same cultural background because they will be able to interpret the speech utterances appropriately. The role of cultural context in influencing language use and related behavior has not received much attention from scholars. The study examined the debates at the County Assembly of Bomet in order to bring to the fore the whole cultural history that is behind the participants' use of speech acts which greatly contributed to effective communication.

1.4 Objectives of the Study

1.4.1 General Objective

The study examined the utterances made by Members of County Assembly of Bomet in order to determine the role of cultural context in the realization of speech acts. This was achieved by the following specific objectives.

1.4.2 Specific Objectives

- i. To examine the types of speech acts used during debates at the County Assembly of Bomet.
- ii. To determine the pragmatic forces of speech acts used by Members of County Assembly of Bomet during debates at the County Assembly.
- iii. To examine the ways in which the illocutionary acts reflect the cultural practices of the participants at the County Assembly of Bomet.
- iv. To establish the relationship between the performance of illocutionary acts and gender at the County Assembly of Bomet.

1.5 Research Questions

- i. What are the types of speech acts used during debates at the County Assembly of Bomet?
- ii. What are the pragmatic forces of speech acts used by Members of County Assembly of Bomet during debates at the County Assembly?
- iii. In what ways do illocutionary acts reflect the cultural practices of the participants at the County Assembly of Bomet?
- iv. What is the relationship between the performance of illocutionary acts and gender at the County Assembly of Bomet?

1.6 Justification of the Study

Studies in speech acts have featured in various types of literature, for instance, in the examination of texts such as poetry and novels (Leongkamchorn, 2011; Oloo, 2019), in the work of discourses in various contexts such as courtroom discourse (Gatitu et al., 2018; Tkacukova, 2010), political discourse like speeches by political leaders (Saputro, 2015; Suhair, 2015; Tarham & Miracle, 2013), classroom discourse (Barnas, 2015; Mukhroji et al., 2019), family discourse (Paymar, 2016) and even discourse in TV and social media platforms (Bangun et al., 2017; Mukti, 2008) just to mention but a few. But the same attention has never been transferred to argumentative discourse and subsequently this area has received little attention. The present study therefore, endeavored to highlight the fact that speech acts play a vital role in debating activities as well.

The study will enrich previous research in speech acts by looking at how the Members of County Assembly of Bomet employ various speech acts during debates at the County Assembly. The study also contributes in testing the claims of Speech Act Theory involving the Kipsigis community, which is culturally and linguistically dissimilar to the western context where the assertions of the Theory were first applied (Al-Kahrani, 2005; Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969). To the researcher's knowledge, this study is also the first in the Kipsigis community regarding speech acts use by politicians at the County Assembly and therefore the study fills the current gap in the Kipsigis sociolinguistic literature by showing how cultural practices are reflected in the use of speech acts during debates. The study also opens the way for other studies in different cultural contexts in Kenya and even beyond its borders.

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study was conducted in Bomet County Assembly. The utterances of all the Members of County Assembly who participated in the debates were identified and categorized using Searle's taxonomy of speech acts. The study obtained its data from three recorded Motions that were purposively sampled.

One of the limitations of the study was that most of the Hansards were not available to the researcher online. The researcher solved this problem by sampling only the Hansards that were accessible online. That is, purposive sampling was done. Secondly, the researcher used data from one county out of the 47 counties in Kenya. This is because Bomet County has all the members coming from one linguistic background making it possible to identify the participants' underlying values and beliefs that influenced their language use. That means, the study findings can only be generalized to those Counties in Kenya with the same socio-pragmatic issues as Bomet County.

1.8 Operational Definition of Terms

Argument: An argument, according to Govier (2010), constitutes one or more claims for which reasons are put forward to support it. The reasons given will give rise to other claims until a conclusion is reached. The researcher defines an argument as a dispute in which arguers try to give reasons in support of. The county assembly is a site where participants discuss a wide range of issues before them. These discussions involve the use of arguments to support their claims and refute those of their opponents.

Argumentation: Van Eemeren (2002) defines argumentation as a verbal, social or rational activity whose purpose is to convince a reasonable judge of the acceptability or in acceptability of a standpoint by giving reasons that designed to justify (or refute) the standpoint. On his part, Fischer (2012) defines argumentation as the process through which people attempt to arrive at conclusions by giving reasons. While agreeing with the definitions of the two scholars, this study takes argumentation as simply conversations among the participants in which reason or reasons are given to support or disapprove an issue under discussion. The participants at the County Assembly of Bomet are engaged in argumentation so that at the culmination of the debate they are able to arrive at a consensus.

Argumentative Discourse: Van Eemeren and Houtlosser (1999) consider argumentative discourse as an interchange of actions ideally intended to resolve divergence of views. The researcher defines argumentative discourse as conversations between discussants in which reason or reasons are given to support or disapprove an issue under discussion. This applies to the discussions at the County Assembly where participants talk in an argumentative way to support their own claims and discredit those of their rivals.

Claim: According to Rottenberg (1991), a claim is a thesis statement that answers the question, “What are you trying to prove?” A claim, according to this study, is a disputable statement that an arguer is trying to persuade the other party to accept. This is something that not everyone agrees on. Claim is also referred to as standpoint in this study. A claim is an idea being proposed as true by a speaker and he/she uses reasons to explain why he/she thinks so. During

debates a claim can be supported or not supported and the speakers give reasons why they think they agree or not agree with the claim.

County Assembly: This is the County parliament in which elected and nominated leaders debate issues relating to the administration of their jurisdiction. They ratify financial plans, veto governor's appointees and enact local laws. It is constituted in line with the dictates in Section 177(a), (b), (c) and (d) of the Constitution and Section 7(1) and (2) of the County Governments Act 2011. Every Assembly consists of a speaker, heads of majority and the minority, lasts for life span of five years, as explained in Section 177(4) of the Constitution of Kenya.

Culture: According to Hofstede (1984), culture is the collaborative grounding of the mind which differentiates the members of one community from the other. In this study, culture refers to a people's way of life which includes behavior patterns, beliefs, values, and attitudes which are transmitted through language. The Kipsigis have their own culture which can include their religion, language, morals, beliefs, and so on. When it comes to culture, the Kipsigis like any other society, have their own social conventions such as, when to speak, how to talk to people of different ages, how to be polite, how to apologize, how to talk about sensitive topics such as sex, death, and so on. Culture refers to the Kipsigis way of life and how they view their world.

Cultural Context: This is the physical environment where the Kipsigis community inhabit and practice their culture. The Members of County Assembly are part of this community such that their utterances reflect that of the general population because they have been socialized in the Kipsigis culture.

Cultural Practices: Refer to shared perceptions of how people routinely behave in a culture. Such practices include forms of worship, rites of passage such as birth, marriage and death, traditional events and ceremonies among other.

Deliberation/Debate: Steiner (2012) defines deliberation as a particular form of argumentation procedurally regulated by an ideal model, so that conclusions are reached only by the force of the better argument. In this study deliberations/debated are the discussions that take place in the debating chamber of the County Assembly of Bomet. Debates involve the participants taking different views on the topics of discussion. Debate and deliberations are

used interchangeably in this study. Participants in this study deliberate by discussing the motions at the County Assembly.

Gender: According to Eckert and Ginet's (2003), gender is the social elaboration of biological sex. Gender does not speak of sex but is an aspect inherent in both men and women. Gender according to this study refers to the male and female members of county assembly of Bomet.

Hansard: Hansard refers to the official record of debates in the British and other commonwealth parliaments. The term Hansard was derived from Thomas Curson Hansard, a London printer and publisher, who took over the publication in 1812. In 1829, Thomas named the official publications, Hansard's Parliamentary Debates. The Hansard family continued the publications of Parliamentary Debates until 1889. Thereafter, for over ten years, other publishers were involved in the production of the parliamentary proceedings until the House of Commons took over the production in 1909. In 1943, the British Parliament reinstated the name Hansard in the title of its formal records (Reinhardt, 2000). In this study the term is used to refer to an official document where recordings of deliberations of Members of County Assembly are made. This study involved extracting the motions from the Hansards that were sampled.

Illocutionary Acts: According to Yule (1996: 48) an illocutionary act is performed via the communicative force of an utterance. He explains that when people interact, they do not just produce sentences with no intention. Rather, people form an utterance with some kind of function in mind. Cutting (2008: 14) states that illocutionary acts refer to what the speakers are doing with their words. The study considers illocutionary acts as those acts that speakers perform with their words during debates.

Members of County Assembly: The Assembly is composed of members who are elected by registered voters in the wards, members who are allocated special seats, such as women nominees and members of marginalized groups, including persons with disabilities (CK, 2010). When these members of County Assembly converge at the County Assembly, their main activity is to debate or deliberate on various issues affecting the County.

Parliament: For Kampf (2009), the term parliament refers to the place where political activities are done. Parliament also means the activity of speaking where the

term ‘parler’ as borrowed from French means “to speak” (Ilie, 2010). This study takes parliament to mean the venue where members of County Assembly meet to carry out their business.

Parliamentary Debates: According to Ilie (2010), parliamentary debate is a stylized kind of discussion (often heated) involving exchanges of opinion: it is intended to make it easier for the participants to make informed and collective decisions on specific issues. This study takes debate to be a process where arguers exchange arguments about controversial issues or topics. Debate include more than arguments and can have stories, explanations, humour, and even threats or verbal aggression. Parliamentary debates are equated to County Assembly debates in this study.

Perlocutionary Effects: Perlocutionary effects are the changes brought about by an illocutionary act on the beliefs, attitudes or behaviours of the audience (Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere, 2012). The present study regards perlocutionary effects as the changes in the attitudes of the listeners as a result of what the speakers say during debates.

Pragmatic Forces: Pragmatic forces or illocutionary forces refer to the different kinds of functions of language (Austin, 1962). In this study pragmatic forces are the reasons that an utterance is made, for example, an utterance could be used to make a promise, apologize, threaten, disagree, and so on.

Speech Acts: Speech acts are often (but not always) patterned, routinized utterances that speakers use to perform language functions, such as thanking, complimenting, requesting, refusing, apologizing, and complaining (Cohen, 2006). According to this study, Speech acts are utterances used to carry out various functions at the County Assembly of Bomet. The study involved identifying the speech acts in the utterances of Members of County Assembly of Bomet and looking at how culture is reflected in the production of these utterances.

Utterances: Schmidt and Richards (2002) define an utterance as a sequence of words within a single person’s turn at talk that falls under a single intonation counter. This study considers an utterance as words said by speakers when it is their turn to talk.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This section discusses the important role played by context in the interpretation of meaning. It also examines the global concept of speech acts to determine the various meanings associated with it in various social contexts as a background to understanding the use of speech acts within a specified context. Particularly, the study identified and discussed speech acts types and their functions in the debating process. Further, the study sought to show how the Kipsigis' cultural practices are deeply entrenched in the discussions at the County Assembly of Bomet. And finally, the realization of speech acts based on gender at the County Assembly was established.

2.2 Role of Context in Interpretation of Meaning

Context is a key element in pragmatic analysis because pragmatics is about the interpretation of words as used in a specific context. Words may mean different things in different contexts. According to Mocanu (2015), pragmatics distinguishes between various kinds of context:

- a) Circumstantial context—This is similar to the physical setting of the utterer in terms of place and time. It is the factual world where communication happens and includes the identity of the participants and their speeches as determined by place and time. This observation by Macanu (*ibid.*) is critical for this study. This is because the study looked at the various speech acts contained in the discourse of Members of County Assembly who converge in the County Assembly Chamber to deliberate on important issues touching on their electorate. The County Assembly members belong to different ranks and gender and this affected their deliberations.
- b) Situational or paradigmatic context--coincides with the cultural milieu wherein communication takes place. The is in recognition of the fact that a statement that is considered proper in one culture may be inappropriate in another. This study was carried out among the Kipsigis of Bomet County to establish whether their culture influences the speech acts of the MCAs as they interact on the floor of the Assembly. The use of language for communication is determined by culture. The meanings that words have in a certain area rely to a considerable extent upon shared cultural understandings (Hill et al., 2007). Furthermore, conversations not only have to be what we hear and see but also the whole cultural history behind the participants and

the kind of practices they engage in. Therefore, it is not enough if people only consider the situational context and neglect the cultural one.

- c) Interactional contexts—this include the verbal and non-verbal forms of language, governed by specific rules. The research looked at the debates of Members of County Assembly of Bomet as recorded in the Hansards. Parliamentary debates are ruled-governed and the participants are expected to abide by them whenever they are in session.
- d) Epistemic context--covers all beliefs and values shared by the participants in their exchange. The study is of the opinion that culture of a people influences the realization of speech acts.

Adding to the value of context in communication, Senft (2014) says that language application does not just depend on linguistics knowledge, but equally on cultural, situative, and interpersonal context and convention. One aim of pragmatics is to examine how context and convention contribute to meaning and understanding. Senft (2014) further explains that pragmatics looks at language from the angle of its users within their diverse contexts using various methodological and interdisciplinary techniques. The speakers create social and accountability networks that differ based on languages and cultures. Pragmatics studies these language-and culture specific forms of language application (Senft, 2014).

In using persuasive acts, the speakers may resort to linguistic tools from their society to try and make others agree with their proposals. The study looked at the various speech acts, including persuasive acts, that are employed by Members of County Assembly of Bomet during debates and the ways those speech acts depict the culture of the Kipsigis community. Therefore, to account for meaning of speech acts produced at the County Assembly of Bomet, their cultural context of use was crucial. To illustrate, in persuading others to halt payments to persons who have not been lawfully employed until employment of such persons has been regularized, Hon. Kibii says: “...*I believe the same ghost workers will eat in the next financial year of 2015/2016. I urge the House to debate the motion considering the suffering of the people because of the huge losses which this County is incurring...*” (Bomet County Assembly Debates, Wednesday, July 15, 2015).

To fully explain the interpretation of the above utterance (assertive act), it is necessary to clarify what the verb 'éat' means in the wider kipsigis context of use and how it relates to the suffering of the citizenry. Similarly, contributing to the same motion, Hon. Kiptui says:

Thank you Mr. Speaker. I don't think I have mentioned anybody's name Mr. Speaker. If Hon. Kigen is able to read people's minds then I want to thank him but I was not on that direction...Mr Speaker, if we are going to this direction where everybody is coming with his friend, is employing his relative, is employing his in-laws, then we are lost. I suggest that if we want to make this flowing river dry completely we do not need to block down the valley we need to find the source and block. Thank you Mr speaker.

An explanation of the Kipsigis' ways of thanking, their understanding of loss, and the importance of the river must be made for proper interpretation of the above speech acts.

According to Abdullah (2013), the speech acts of any language offer its users a readymade 'catalogue' of culture-based structures of verbal exchange, which makes sense within, and is attuned to a specified portfolio of cultural values, assumptions, and attitudes. Abdullah further says that the examination of speech acts highlights the wider cultural context and equally the place of any given speech act group can be grasped solely within its wider context. This observation resonates well with the present study as it sought to understand the meaning of speech acts used at the County Assembly of Bomet by borrowing insights from the broader context of the Kipsigis community.

2.3 Pragmatics

This study is a pragmatic evaluation of speech acts as they occur in the utterances of Members of County Assembly of Bomet. Pragmatics is concerned about how we can interpret the meaning of words or sentences by looking at the context of their production. Pragmatics enables people to interpret the meaning of speaker's utterances, their assumptions, their intentions or goal, and the kinds of actions that they perform when they speak. What words mean when spoken is not always explicit but pragmatics enables listeners to infer what speakers imply when they talk. Therefore, pragmatics appears as an understanding between people to obey certain rules of interaction. The inquiry into pragmatics requires a scrutiny of the situation where the conversation takes place.

The value of context in pragmatics is reflected in the various definitions of pragmatics by different scholars. For instance, Levinson (1983) defines pragmatics as the study of language use, that is, for proper interpretation of the meaning in language, the words in the conversation should be linked to their context of use. According to Mey (1993), pragmatics has to do with language and its users. Here, the focus is on the users of language or conversants because how people use language is, to a larger extent, determined by the society. For instance, it is from the society that people learn different rules pertaining to, say greetings, saying sorry, thank you, complaining, and so on. Finch (2000) states that pragmatics is concerned with the meaning of utterances. He explains that it examines what is not directly uttered and on how people interpret utterances in situational context. Similarly, Bowen (2001) observes that pragmatics is the area of language function that embraces the use of language in social contexts (knowing what to say, how to say it, and when to say it and how to “be” with other people).

Yule (1996) mentions some things in his definition of pragmatics. First, that pragmatics examines what speakers mean when they talk. In other words, pragmatics is about interrogating what the speaker has said and how it has been interpreted or understood by the hearer. Second, it entails the exploration of contextual interpretations which involves the effort to grasp what the utterers mean in a given scenario and how that context affects what is uttered. The third point is that pragmatics explores how the unsaid is noticed as entailed in the uttered. It concerns how a listener can make assumptions concerning an utterance to deduce the speaker’s intended message. Lastly, pragmatics investigates the interaction between linguistic structures and those who deploy those structures. In short, pragmatics studies how language is utilised within a certain situation and the reasons for doing so. The present study focused majorly on the actions that Members of County Assembly of Bomet perform as they speak. This is because such acts are determined by the cultural environment of the discussants and the Motions that are brought before the Assembly.

2.3.1 Pragmatic Forces of Speech Acts

Every speaker of a language, Members of County Assembly of Bomet included, produce utterances that are meant to achieve certain goals. An utterance constitutes a section of evaluation of a conversation most popularly conceived as a series of words that are spoken when it is the turn of an individual to speak and consists of a single intonation contour (Schmidt & Richards, 2002). These utterances must be understood by the hearers in order for

the speaker's messages to be delivered successfully. In addition, it is also crucial to recognize the situation of conversation so that proper explanation of the messages can be carried out. The functions that utterances perform may differ based on contexts where they are produced. An example of an utterance affected by the context was said by Hon. Kipruto in Motion1, thus: "I must say that we have to fight by all means a scam that is going to derail the success and the achievements of our people."

The sentence above may be expressed in atleast two distinct sets of circumstances, namely a participant in a County Assembly vowing that they will not allow underhand activities that will undermine development at the County. Another context could be a school where learners debate by taking different roles or even one where actors will be performing some plays. The only context where the above interaction will affect the state of affairs will be the County because the actors have actual authority to change the way things are done. Therefore, utterances like above have the same sentence meaning but different illocutionary forces. In producing these utterances, the speaker hopes to influence the feelings or attitudes of their listeners and make them behave in a certain way. When speakers produce utterances in a given context, they also perform actions such as informing, requesting, commanding, complimenting, and apologizing among other actions. This research zeroed in on the kinds of actions that debaters at the County Assembly perform as they speak during debates.

Suhair (2015) notes that most politicians do not link the meaning of the words that they say with the actions that such words perform. According to Suhair, politicians express lots of intentions in their utterances and we will only understand what they mean by looking at the illocutionary forces behind their utterances. When the MCAs come together to debate, there are certain political messages and functions they intend to pass through their utterances. Therefore, every utterance produced by them should be analyzed to determine the types and functions of speech acts used during debates.

Austin (1962) categorizes speech acts into three classes, which are locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary. The locutionary act is the simple act of saying something; it describes what the speaker says (Leech, 1983). It entails the fundamental act of a speech, or generating a meaningful linguistic intonation (Yule, 1996). Cutting (2002) defines locutionary act as the word(s) uttered. Locutionary acts can be classified into three types. The first type are declarative acts that are used to tell about something. The second are imperative acts that are

used to issue commands and the third category are the interrogatives that are used to pose a question (Austin, 1962). In performing an illocutionary act, the intention of the utterer is to cause an action by what is said. Illocutionary acts are considered to be very important to the theory of speech acts. They are closely connected to the speaker's intentions such as; stating, complaining, declaring, promising, appreciating, lauding, apologizing, intimidating, forecasting, ordering, and demanding (Leech, 1983).

Austin (1965) observed:

illocutionary act is an act, which is uttered by the speaker with intention, by keeping motive in mind. It includes asking or answering a question, giving information, warning, announcing a verdict, or an intention, pronouncing a sentence, appealing, criticizing, describing and many more suggestions (p. 98).

Therefore, an illocutionary act is always uttered with an intention. One can issue an apology because he feels guilty for offending another party and wants to repair the relationship. Another person can perform the act of promising because they think it will make the other party happy. Most of these acts are constrained by culture, that is, what you say or do, to whom, how you say it, and so on are determined by culture. That is to say that an illocutionary act is governed by culture and with illocutionary force behind it.

Austin (1962) further classified utterances into five types based on their illocutionary effects. The first type are the Verdictives and revolves around the giving of a verdict by a judge, a referee, or an adjudicator. These utterances are used in giving judgements such as acquitting, convicting, ruling, estimating, valuing, calculating, or analyzing. The second type of utterances are the exercitives that revolves around exercising power, right, or influence. This category of speech acts includes, appointing, voting, ordering, urging, advising, and warning. In the third category are the commissives. Commissives are made in order to commit the speaker to do something in future. They also include declarations or announcements of intention such as to undertake, promise, sign a covenant or contract, swear, bet, or plan. The fourth type are called behabitives. These acts are of various types and are used to describe attitudes and social behavior. Examples include, apologizing, congratulating, thanking, resentment, blessings, sympathizing, condoling, cursing, and challenging. And finally, the expositives which are used to show how utterances fit into the structure of an argument or exchange, how words are used or in sum are expository. Examples are verbs like, postulate,

state, deny, remark, inform, ask, testify, accept, correct, deduce, interpret, illustrate, and so on.

Searle (1969) improved on Austin's SAT by categorizing the illocutinary acts into five types. One category, he called assertives or representatives: These are utterances that depict how things are in the real world, which could be true or false. The utterances commit the utterer to the truthfulness of what they have spoken. The utterer uses assertives to make utterances fit in context and examples of acts performed include reporting, informing, stating, suggesting, boasting, and claiming. The other category was referred to as directives. Directives push or make the hearer's action appropriate to the expression. The utterer tries to make the listener to do something by recommending, requesting, advising commanding, ordering, requesting, and advising. Thirdly were the commissives: These utterances obligate the utterer to specific future acts. It can take the shape of a promise. Acts performed include; vowing, offering, treating, or promising. Fourth type was the expressives: These are statements that reveal how the utterer feels. They can be statements that describe pain, joy, sadness, likes, and dislikes. The utterances are used to show the feelings of the speaker and include such acts as, thanking, appreciating, forgiving, condemning, praising, mourning, etc. The goal of expressives is to show genuineness of the uttered act like excuse and sympathy. And finally we have the Declaratives: These are speech acts that cause changes in the world when uttered. In order to effectively perform declaratives, the utterer must hold a specific institutional role and the utterance must be performed in a specific context. Once uttered, the words make changes in the world such as declaring one as guilty, declaring a war, or naming a ship. This research employs Searle's approach in the categorization and evaluation of speech acts as it is more elaborate and easily recognizable.

Speech acts are used in context (s) where communication is intended. For instance, declarative sentences are used to express the speaker's attitudes and emotion; directives are used to direct the listener to do some acts and reveal the speaker's intention; apologizing points out the speaker's regret. As Das (2005) notes, in the lens of SAT, there must exist two or more actors using the language and relaying their intentions. One participant is the utterer and the second is the addressee. The addressor is the initiator of the meaning, and scrutinisation of the message enables the hearer to grasp the intention or the implication of the source. The addressee is the receiver of the meaning. Addressee will interpret the message and act accordingly.

According to Searle (1969), the hearer has an integral role to play in communication. This is because, if the hearer does not understand what the speaker means or is unable to accept what the utterer is trying to say, the illocutionary act will not be fulfilled and therefore becomes infelicitous or inappropriate. Searle therefore came up with what he calls felicity conditions. According to Searle, we can interpret the actions of the occurring utterances using the following felicity conditions:

- a) Propositional content—There is a sentence with the right grammatical configurations
- b) Preparatory rule—The hearer has the ability to do the action; also the speaker has the authority to tell the hearer
- c) Essential rule—There is need for the hearer to do the action
- d) Sincerity rule—The speaker believes the action should be done.

Thus, the kinds of utterances occurring in a discourse together with their function can be assigned based on Searle's five categories of speech acts, and with the help of felicity conditions, along with other features of context, we can interpret the discourse.

2.4 Debating as an Argumentative Discourse

Debates are carried out because people have diverse opinions over certain issues. Therefore, debating is done to ultimately reach consensus, even if not everyone agrees with certain positions taken. This is also the same case with County Assembly debates. The participants come together to discuss important matters affecting them and each one of them try to persuade those with contradictory opinions to change their stand and agree with them. The work done by Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) enriches this study with important illuminations concerning the nature of argumentation. According to them, argumentation, or debates in this study, is about thinking on what to do; the two scholars call it practical reasoning. They explain that whenever persons in argumentative process come together, their main objective is to deliberate on the acts that they think are necessary to solve a particular problem.

Fairclough and Fairclough (2012) suggest that the participants in argumentation may begin with an open question; what should I do (or not do), given the situation I am in and what do I want to achieve? These observations are pertinent for this study because the MCAs come together to deliberate on matters affecting the electorate. During the debating process, these

leaders evaluate their current situations and come up with ways to better the lives of the people who elected them. By examining the discussions happening at the County Assembly, the means they will use to achieve their goals become clear. Fairclough and Fairclough's perspective examines the structure of argumentation using a new approach which they refer to as Political Discourse Analysis. They argue that participants in argumentation start by describing their current situation and what they desire to achieve while taking values into consideration. They illustrate a form of deliberation where arguers reason practically by weighing options before arriving at the right course of action.

It is crucial to indicate that the way the debates are structured at the County Assembly follows the same format as the two scholars describe. The existing gap, however, which this study intended to fill, concerns the linguistic means that interlocutors use during the entire argumentation process. There was need to know what people are doing as they deliberate. For example, are they complaining, threatening, criticizing, or blaming, etc.? Any successful analysis of debates needs to capture every action of the debaters as they attempt to reach consensus. This also help in arriving at a judgement concerning their attitudes towards the various Motions at the County Assembly. In studying the debating process, one main theory that was appropriate for the research is the Speech Act Theory. The proponents of the theory are the two philosophers of language; Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). Austin and Searle assert that individuals perform actions as they speak. These actions are, for instance, asserting, complaining, declaring, refusing, informing, commanding, requesting, criticizing, apologizing, and acknowledging among others. The acts done in speaking constitute speech acts. Speech acts are of two types, that is, direct and indirect.

2.5 Direct and Indirect Speech Acts

Speech acts can be performed directly or indirectly with regard to how words are used. Searle (1969) explains that the easiest meanings are ones where the utterer speaks a sentence and intends exactly and literally what she utters. In such a case, a declarative form functions as statement or assertion; an interrogative one as a query, and an imperative type as an appeal or order. While agreeing with Searle's explanation, Cutting (2002) adds that a person speaking and utilising an explicit speech act intends to relay the literal meaning of the utterance. In such a case, the relationship between form and function is a straightforward one. For example, the question "are you going home now?" is a direct act in an interrogative form. However, not all cases of meaning are straightforward. A speaker may produce a statement

with a meaning that was intended but the sentence may simultaneously mean something more. For example, if someone says, “I don’t have a pen” he/she is simply declaring they need a pen while the intended meaning is for the receiver to give him his/her pen. This is where an illocutionary act is undertaken indirectly (Searle, 1975).

Nozar (2004) observes that an explicit speech act serves one purpose only, whereas an implicit one serves multiple functions simultaneously. For instance, when an assertive act is utilised to utter a statement and an interrogative to ask for information, they are called explicit speech acts. But a polite request like the question “Can you open the window?” is called an implicit act. Such an interrogative statement beginning with the verb “can” does not question the ability of the receiver to open the window; rather it constitutes a polite and effective way of making an appeal.

In another instance if someone says, “can I have your pen?” may not be simply a query but a request. Searle (1969) explains that indirect speech acts involve those cases in which one illocutionary act is undertaken indirectly while performing another. Therefore, there is an implied link between a surface structure and action. A declarative sentence can command, an interrogative can request, among others.

Indirectness is a widely used interactional strategy. Speakers use implied speech acts especially when they want to be courteous (Leech, 1983) since they minimize the unpleasant messages entrenched within appeals and orders. Nonetheless, politeness is not the sole aim of indirectness. Some speakers can also utilize them to make their speech more likable, to achieve ends distinct from their partners’ or to increase the impact of their communication. Both speech acts types were considered in this study. Describing the Kipsigis, Komma (1992) says that they like to talk indirectly when they are illustrating their points. Komma, however, does not elaborate further and this study endeavored to discover their motivation for doing so. Thus, speech acts may perform various roles, for instance, to show politeness and to persuade the audience to agree to the utterer’s proposition.

2.6 Perlocutionary Acts

The perlocutionary acts is the effect on feelings, thought or acts of the receiver. Perlocutionary acts could be motivating, coaxing, intimidating, deceiving, irritating, impressing, embarrassing and many others. It engenders an effect upon beliefs, attitudes or behaviours of the audience (Ayeomoni & Akinkuolere, 2012). We can notice that the

performative verbs for both the illocutionary and the perlocutionary acts may seem similar and quite confusing. Austin (1962), however, observed that there were two ways of realizing speech acts which will give rise to variety of acts.

The first type, and by far the most popular and important for language are speech acts realized “by articulating the right, explicit performative statements” (Akmajian, 1979). In these types of sentences, the person utters what they mean. For example:

I promise to take you to the museum (speech act: promising)

I order you to do the assignments (speech act: commanding)

I apologize for coming late (speech act: apologizing)

Austin called the above acts, illocutionary acts. The acts are performed in saying the sentences. It is the utterer’s intent of how they wish the utterance to be taken (as a promise, command, apology, etc.). The performance of an illocutionary act does not rely on the addressee to be realized. If it happens that the addressee does not interpret the speaker’s intention correctly, the act will be deemed successful if the intention has been performed by uttering the right explicit performative sentence. Verbs which perform explicit illocutionary acts are called performative verbs. Austin called the second type of speech acts, performative acts. These acts are not realized by uttering the right explicit performative sentence. Rather they are achieved by means of illocutionary acts, but their effect is not that of illocutionary act. For example, the act of stating, “This soap is made of pure vegetable oils,” has the perlocutionary effect of persuading. Similarly, the illocutionary act of warning in the sentence, “If you don’t do your reading, you will fail in your exams,” has the perlocutionary effect of intimidating (Akmajian, 1979).

It is worth noting that the perlocutionary acts have the shape but not the function of the illocutionary act. Perlocutionary acts involve both the intentions of the utterer and their effects on the thoughts, feelings and acts of the hearer. The illocutionary act is achieved in uttering something, whereas the perlocutionary act is undertaken by uttering something. Notice that if a speaker were to tell a student, “I am persuading you to read so that you do not fail in your exams,” the student might still not be persuaded. But it is only when the utterer deploys the illocutionary act of warning that the perlocutionary act is realized (Akmajian, 1979).

The difference between illocutionary and the perlocutionary acts is important when we consider debating. We ask ourselves, is the debating action illocutionary or perlocutionary? If perlocutionary, then this entails important considerations about the debaters' duty of making sure that their intentions of persuading their critics or rivals is achieved. The demarcation between illocutions and perlocutions has been problematic since the time of Austin (1962) and scholars are yet to agree on the distinction. The following discussion looks into the various ways that scholars have attempted to define and characterize perlocutions.

2.6.1 Defining and Characterizing Perlocutions

According to Akhimien (2010), scholars have not yet agreed on what constitutes perlocutions and perlocutionary causes (triggers). He observes that this problem may have begun with Austin's (1962) failure to clearly demarcate between illocutions and perlocutions. Austin defines perlocutionary acts as: "Saying something will often, or even normally, produce certain consequential effects upon the feelings, thoughts or actions of the audience" (as cited in Akhimien, 2010).

Levinson (1983) observes that Austin's definition lacks clarity and raises several questions:

- a) Who performs a perlocutionary act- speaker, hearer, or both?
- b) What is a perlocutionary cause- a locutionary act or an illocutionary act, or both?
- c) Do acts remotely connected with an utterance qualify as perlocutionary acts of that utterance?

Other scholars interested in perlocutionary causes such as Cohen (1973) and Davis (1979) say that close to everything (ranging from the sound of an utterance, its propositional content, the hearer's state of mind and the physical environment of the utterance) can cause a perlocutionary effect or act (Akhimien, 2010). Austin's definition, they opine, suggests that a perlocutionary cause is the act of saying something, a locutionary act. Akhimien concurs by saying that any sentence or utterance is a perlocutionary cause. In other words, perlocutionary cause (trigger) is a locutionary act (Akhimien, 2010).

Austin's definition also acknowledges that a perlocutionary act may be intentional or unintentional. To explain this point, Gu (1993) uses the utterance *don't wake up* in which he observes that if the sentence is sufficiently loud it may arouse one from sleep. Rousing one from sleep is the unintended consequence. The sleeping person could have been woken or

alarmed by the sound or vibration emanating from the utterance. Since the speaker and the hearer were not involved in any exchange and, subsequently, the utterance not aimed at any listener, the hearer's being alarmed or aroused from sleep cannot be perlocutionary (Akhimien, 2010).

Davis (1979), however, seems to differ with Gu's observations. He uses the statement *there is a spider on your lap* to explain his point of view regarding perlocutionary acts and their causes. He argues that while the above utterance can be utilised to trigger the action of scaring someone, there exist other potential perlocutionary reasons and he pinpoints four:

- 1) The sound of the utterance - a phonetic act (in which H is startled by sounds).
- 2) The English language in which H is startled by the language - a phatic act.
- 3) The concept spider in which H is startled by spiders - a locutionary act.
- 4) The implication of the utterance, namely the location of the spider on H's body - an illocutionary act.

In 1, H is terrified by a phonetic act and by a phatic one in 2. In 3, H is startled by a propositional act and, then, by the illocutionary one in 4. Davis correctly notes there are various other methods that the action of startling H could have been realized in that utterance (Akhimien,2010). To decide which utterances pass as perlocutionary acts, Davis (1979) uses the following criteria. He says that H's action is considered perlocutionary only if:

- 1) S undertakes an illocutionary act
- 2) S implies by the statement what it implies in English.
- 3) H comprehends S to imply to realize some illocutionary Act (inform him of something)
- 4) H comprehends S to imply something by the statement
- 5) What H interprets S to mean leads to H's action.

The significance of Davis' suggestion is that an act may be classified perlocutionary only if it arises from both S and H deploying their language in consort aside from an intention by S to trigger an action in H (Davis 1979). According to Akhimien, by using this formula, Davis then effectively eliminates phonetic, phatic (locutionary) and extra-linguistic acts as perlocutionary forces. Davis believes that a perlocutionary force has to be an illocutionary act and that simply saying something is enough to generate a perlocutionary act.

In making his contributions, Akhimien adds that context is very critical for a proper interpretation of a perlocutionary act. He says that a perlocutionary impact should arise directly from H's interpretation of S's illocutionary act, incorporating the context of what is said. This, he observes will eradicate all remote acts or outcomes of the uttered words. A perlocutionary act can thus be understood, using Davis' criteria, as the mechanism or act of effecting some change on H by S using language. The act or impact caused by S's expression is the perlocutionary outcome or perlocution (Levinson, 1983). Perlocution is hence an act of H arising directly from H's interpretation of S's illocutionary act as shaped by the milieu of the exchange (Akhimien, 2010). Akhimien continues to state that a perlocutionary trigger, seen through a limited lens, is an illocutionary act. And considering the act cannot exist without a locutionary one, it is best to regard them as one occurrence that engenders perlocutionary effects.

It is out of Davis' (1979) and Akhimien's (2010) observations and understanding of perlocutionary causes (triggers) that this research sought to explain the perlocutionary impact of the illocutionary acts noticeable in the utterances of Members of County Assembly of Bomet. In debates, the hearer can either choose to agree or differ with the arguments advanced by the proponents and subject to the line of action taken, several illocutionary acts will be performed. These acts are meant to influence the feelings, thoughts or actions of the recipient(s). Such acts could be for example, convincing, inspiring, persuading, consoling, intimidating, deceiving, irritating, impressing, embarrassing and many others.

We also posit that the key aim of debates at the County Assembly is persuasion and the intention of any participant is to persuade. The atmosphere surrounding the debating activity is highly reliant on the utterances made by the participants. How the participants feel during debates will greatly determine the outcome of the debating process.

A debater who intends his hearers to affirm his propositions must choose the most effective speech acts that will produce the desired effect on their interlocutors. To do this, an evaluation of speech acts corresponding to the standards suggested by Austin and Searle will enable the debaters to delineate the speech acts most valuable for their needs. Table 2.1 gives a summary of illocutionary acts as categorized by the two philosophers of language, Austin and Searle.

Table 2.1: The Speech Act's Classification

Austin's Classification of Speech Acts	Searle's Classification of Speech Acts
1. Locutionary acts	1. Utterance acts
2. Illocutionary acts	2. Propositional acts
a. Verdictives	3. Illocutionary acts
b. Exercitives	a. Representatives
c. Commissives	b. Directives
d. Behabitives	c. Commissives
e. Expositives	d. Expressives
3. Perlocutionary acts	e. Declaratives

Source: Austin (1962) and Searle (1969)

We can therefore say that debating entails persuasion. In speech acts, persuasion falls under assertive or representative type. It entails how a speaker convinces the hearer to agree to his claims because they believe in the truth of those claims. In the County Assembly, the participants try to best verbalize their opinions, beliefs and convictions. The utterances made could be in the form of complains, compliments, threats, requests, acknowledgements and so on. All these actions are made possible by language. According to Ayeomoni and Akinkuolere (2012), most tasks undertaken by political leaders are via the avenue of language. The debates are communication exercises, but are equally political events that calls for specific tactics and strategies.

According to Aristotle (1909), there exist three main ways to appeal to an audience. One could make a rhetorical urge by attempting to modify someone's emotions (pathos), persuading others that you are trustable, truthful, and moral source (ethos), or by providing original data or infallible evidence (logos). These appeals are inherent to all arguments or assertions. Ethos is linked to the English word ethics and infers trustworthiness of the speaker. Ethos is a productive persuasive approach since when one is convinced that the utterer means well, one tends to listen to the utterer. For instance, if you visit a hospital and you are given counsel by a trusted physician, it is possible that you may not grasp fully the medical justification behind the counsel, but you undoubtedly heed the advice since you are persuaded the doctor is well-trained. The techniques that can make the audience trust the person delivering the message include personal anecdotes and use of inclusive language. The

pronoun 'We' is usually used instead of 'I' to draw the audience in and suggests being on the same side as the utterer.

Pathos relates to the words pathetic, sympathy and empathy. When you consent to an assertion for how it makes you feel without fully evaluating the reasoning behind it, you are operating on pathos. Pathos include feelings, such as love, fright, patriotism, guilt, hate or happiness. As parties converse more without asking 'why', their discussion becomes more effective. Most arguments can convince on logical grounds, but the apathetic hearers may fail to follow or undertake the implied action. Appeals to pathos impact the hearer immediately and compel them to listen and then move further and act. Rhetoric as a style is about stimulating the feelings of the listener since it is only a particular way of saying something that can generate some emotional reactions in the audience. Therefore, achieving of pathos is closely associated with the application of a specific style, element, or techniques, e.g. figures of speech and the way language is used.

The Greek *logos* is the root of the English concept of logic. *Logos* entails any effort to stir the intellect, which is the aim of logical arguments. Everyday persuasions depend heavily on ethos and pathos, although academic reasoning leans more on *logos*. Aristotle (1909) states that appealing to reason means allowing 'the words of the speech itself' to do the persuading. The impact of persuasion is also recognized in the Kipsigis community. For example, Komma (1992) observes that the basic requisites for a leader status among the Kipsigis were bravery and oratory skills, the capacity to persuade both his Kipsigis colleagues and opponents. It is said that a man had to speak in a certain way called 'berir' to succeed as a warrior leader or an advisory judge. To 'berir' is way of speaking wherein the speaker impresses his listeners with relatively brief words and illustrates his point without directly referring to it. Having sensible arguments in which the answers would be arrived at after carefully giving reasons was not especially convincing for the Kipsigis (Komma,1992). Persuasion is a speech act meant to shape the mind and behavior of the hearer so that they support the speaker's position. Based on the above observations, this study sought to explore how the Members of County Assembly of Bomet who come from a similar cultural background undertook diverse acts via their speeches and how cultural factors influenced the realization of the identified speech acts. The debates at the County Assembly are recorded in the The Hansard document.

2.7 The Hansard

The publishing of the Hansard Report in Kenya is based on the U. K model and is a verbatim report of all proceedings of the House. The Hansard Report is typically expected to be published within forty-eight hours of sitting of the House unless the Speaker is satisfied that the publication is rendered impossible by some emergency or any substantial mitigating factors. Every member of parliament (MP) is accorded an opportunity to correct the draft verbatim report of his or her contribution so long as such corrections do not alter the substance of what the Member actually said. In scenarios where misgivings arise regarding the accuracy of the records of House proceedings, the honourable Speaker decides on its resolution (The Hansard Department, Kenya, 2017). The above definition of ‘Hansard’ may sound contradictory because while Hansard records should be verbatim, some alterations are allowed. The question is, to what extent can these alterations be made?

2.7.1 Approaches to Hansard Editing

The editorial policies regarding the editing of what is supposed to be a verbatim report is still not yet clear. Hansard editors from several countries do not seem to have reached a consensus on the production of these publications (Reinhardt, 2000). In Kenya as aforementioned, every Member is given an opportunity to alter their speeches as long as the alterations do not change the substance of what they actually said.

Similarly, in Canada, only a few areas of editing are allowed. The standing order states that:

- (a) revisions that are allowed will only be those that are meant to rectify grammatical mistakes such as spellings and punctuations as long as correct parliamentary codes are observed. Such revisions will help in reducing superfluous repetitions and redundancies, but no material changes shall be done, nor any adjustments that could in any way alter the sense of what is spoken; the transcript shall remain an accurate and, as far as possible, an exact report of what was said;
- (b) a member has no right to alter the report of any speech or remarks attributed to the member in any way, and the Speaker shall determine whether or not a member’s suggested correction shall be admitted (Reinhardt, 2000).

The editors who took part in the Commonwealth Editors Forum in 1999 (Reinhardt, 2000), agreed that the politicians or the editors themselves could effect changes to the verbatim version in instances where any of these occur:

- (1) Grammatical errors;
- (2) Incorrect parliamentary forms;
- (3) Word –order;
- (4) Prepositions and conjunctions;
- (5) Repetitions and overuse of transitional words.

For example, regarding word- order, the editors agreed that the word-order could be changed only if the sense of the member’s remarks might be misread if the text were left as said. On Grammatical error(s), editors are to correct it if they can (do so) without changing the sense of what was said and without inserting words a member did not say (Reinhardt, 2000).

The 1999 Commonwealth Hansard Editors Forum noted that the Hansards play an important role in today’s world and as such should contain as close as possible, the exact words produced by politicians during parliamentary and legislative assemblies. They explain that besides being used as historical documents, the Hansards can also be used as evidence of actual political speeches in cases where political disagreements need to be settled (Reinhardt, 2000). These two requirements, according to Reinhardt, appear contradictory because whereas there is the pressure to publish a document that provides the exact utterances or the closest versions of the politicians’ words, there are also expectations that the Hansards will be of high linguistic standards that will boost the reputation of the concerned politicians.

The researcher’s choice of written records (Hansards) and not the spoken word was motivated by various factors. Firstly, the researcher was focused only on the substance of the debate, i.e. the arguments, that means even if any alterations were made, no effect would be caused on what the Members actually said. This is because any changes made are only to correct mistakes such as redundancies and repetitions. Secondly, Hansards enabled the researcher to sample various Motions that had a bearing on the aims of the research. The study also argues that proper analysis and interpretation of the debates required a thorough comprehension of the context wherein the interlocutors were operating from. The promulgation of the Constitution (2010) in Kenya gave rise to 47 County Governments. Each county has its own governor (executive) and a county assembly (legislature) comprising elected as well as appointed members of county assembly.

2.8 The County Assembly in Kenya

This is the County-level House of Representatives in which elected and nominated leaders discuss issues affecting the County. The Assembly is created in accordance with the Constitution and the County Governments Act 2011. The activities carried out at the Assembly include, vetting personnel appointed by the governor, enacting bills and approving budgets. The Assembly comprises a Speaker, majority and the minority leaders. Each county Assembly has a tenure of five years, as espoused in Section 177(4) of the Constitution. It houses all members duly elected by the people in the electoral wards, persons allotted special seats, such as women nominees and representatives of marginalized groups, including persons living with disabilities.

When these members of County Assembly converge at the County Assembly, their main activity is to debate or deliberate on various issues affecting the County. That means that the vital role that language plays in the debates cannot be underestimated. The study looked into the language of debate processes as documented in the Hansard of the County Assembly. Parliamentary debates form a special type of political discourses and part of global political action of legislation. These debates are regulated by various rules and norms that vary from one country to the next. For example, there are rules about the person in charge of the debating process, turn-taking procedures, the topics to be discussed, whether interruptions are allowed or not, and many others (Bayley, 2004; Steiner, 2004). The present study only focused on Motions (also debates in this thesis). The general parliamentary debates consist of three parts: opening procedure, discussion, and the closing of the debate.

2.9 Motions at the County Assembly

Discussions at the County Assembly can be virtually about any motion. However, given the prevailing political, regional, economic or social/local happenings, political discourse can exhibit preferred motions. In principle, deliberations at the County Assembly is about politics and the Motions under discussion usually combine politics with issues that arise in the society. Examining the Motions under discussion can reveal very interesting information about the participants and the debating activities.

Firstly, the Motions will reveal the thoughts and feelings of the participants regarding the Motions under discussion. The assumption of the research was that different Motions draw on various types of discourses. To van Dijk (1985), discourse parties are all those able to give

their views in political procedures. Given the important role that politicians play in the society, they are expected to talk of what they have done or what they intend to do, or their opinions about certain political issues. These actions will be expressed through various speech acts.

Secondly, the modal verbs that are used will show the reaction of the discourse participants on the issues being discussed. For example, it will show whether certain actions are very necessary or whether there is still a possibility of some events/actions being carried out or not or if they regret certain failures in the past. The choice of modal verbs will show the actions that may be allowed or mandatory, desired or regretted, etc. (Coates, 1990; Maynard, 1993). Politicians who are discussing about certain topics will be describing the reality on the ground and what they need to do about it. Modality choices play a political role within the diverse politically relevant speech acts (like promises, intimidations or suggestions) and a more general lobbying role (Chaiken & Eagly, 1976).

Thirdly, motions may also be used to pass judgements or evaluations. During debates, participants justify their viewpoints and refute those of their opponents. That means, one side will have the WE and OUR whose actions are evaluated positively and THEY and THEIR whose actions are described negatively. In debates, the politicians talk about themselves and their actions. The motions under discussion enable the participants to talk about what they have accomplished, what they are currently doing, and what they plan to do in the future.

2.10 Language as Action among the Kipsigis

It has long been established that speaking and doing things with words happen simultaneously. Many scholars (Austin, 1962; Leech, 1996; Searle, 1969) agree that speech and action are inseparable. They explain that when people speak they perform actions at the same time such as advising, requesting, complaining, acknowledging, protesting, naming, threatening, and warning among others. The view of the performative aspect of language applies to all languages of the world, the Kipsigis language included.

In this regard, Komma's (1992) work enriches this study on the issues related to language as action. Komma gives a clear perception of the Kipsigis community in relation to the power of the spoken word to realize actions. The scholar inspires this study in the way he highlights the interdependency of speech and action. Komma further sheds light regarding language use

as seen by the Kipsigis. He explains that the Kipsigis acknowledge that language possesses a unique power that exists beyond individuals. The community believes that once the words have been verbalized, they will fulfil the content of the utterance regardless of the true intention of the utterer or the addressee. The scholar continues to explain that the Kipsigis believe that language has ability that makes humans unique. According to the Kipsigis, although both humans and animals have life (*sopondo*), animals do not have soul (*atondoiyet*). Even though animals are said to communicate, they do not use language the same way as humans, for example, animals do not address one another by name.

To further explain the impact of the spoken word, Komma uses the ritual surrounding naming ceremonies in the traditional Kipsigis community. The scholar states that the Kipsigis believes that when a person dies, his or her soul (*atondoiyet*) leaves the body, enters the world of ancestral spirits and becomes ancestral spirit (*oindet*). When a baby is born, the ancestral spirit from the father's relation enters its body after some verbal ritual, thus becoming the infant's soul (Komma, 1987a). Komma explains that for this ritual to happen, an old woman of the infant's clan (who married into the clan) recite the names of the ancestors from the father's relation and who are of the same sex as the infant's one by one immediately after birth. When the infant sneezes, it is believed that the ancestral spirit has entered its body. The child will then henceforth acquire the name of the ancestral spirit (*kainetap kurenit* or *kainetap oiik*) which may be used alongside other names that the infant will be given.

The naming ceremony among the Kipsigis has a close resemblance to the performative aspect of language as expounded by Austin (1962). Austin notes that there exist utterances wherein the saying and the doing are one and the same thing. Such utterances are called performatives and naming is one them. The performative utterances are not verified by truth conditions but by felicity conditions. The word felicity means appropriate. In other words, performative utterances require that certain conditions have to be fulfilled for them to be acceptable. These conditions are related to rituals and standards as dictated by the speech community. For example, for the utterance to be perceived as performing the act, it should be uttered by the person with that authority, at the right place and at the right time.

The importance of speech to perform actions seems to permeate all aspects of life among the Kipsigis including leadership. The Kipsigis selected their warrior leaders by their individual

abilities and achievements; the family background was never a factor (Komma, 1992). The primary attributes sought were bravery and eloquence although eloquence was given more weight. The practice of giving more prominence to the skillful manipulation of speech and persuasion than to bravery is the Kipsigis's view that language (*ngálek*) is an autonomous power going beyond its user.

Komma adds that language can be used for maleficent and positive uses. The impact of utterances can vary depending on the method of expression, such as prayer, blessing, curses, swearing, casting spells, etc. He further says that language as having ultra-human power may occasionally severely impact people irrespective of what the speaker initially intended. As such, the Kipsigis are convinced it is better for an individual to say less to avoid inadvertent mishaps to him and/or someone unknown (Komma, 1992).

While appreciating the above enrichment from Komma, the study nonetheless, identified a gap that this study could fill. The shortcoming is that Komma gave us a general view of language in the Kipsigis and did not focus on a particular genre or specific context. He mentions that the impact of speech can vary depending on the mode of expression and this study investigated the debating process at the County Assembly of Bomet. Again, Komma's work while appreciating the power of speech to realize actions did not look at this aspect of language in the light of the SAT.

Rutto and Maritim (2016) give an account of the Kipsigis people and their traditional institutions. They attempt to trace the community's history, including a brief description of their migratory routes to their present habitat, the South Rift. The two scholars also look at the community's traditional political and social structure as defined by factors such as kinship, age-sets, initiation, religion, marriage, inheritance, divorce and death. Further, Rutto and Maritim give a detailed record of the clans and their origins and the various anecdotes, tales, legends, myths and chants that are associated with them. Although their work is mainly ethnographical, the present study appreciates language role in maintaining the traditional institutions.

Towett (1979) is another scholar whose work enriches our study. Towett analyzes the various theories on the origin of the name Kipsigis. He also attempts to trace the migratory routes of the Kipsigis community till they settled in the current settlement. Towett further examines the

social organization of the Kipsigis, their culture as well as their religious practices. In his other book, Towett (1975) covers the main areas of the Kalenjin language. He describes the phonological, lexical, morphological and syntactic aspects of Kipsigis. He also lists the Kalenjin dialects by their numerical strength with Kipsigis being the most numerous and Pokot as the least numerous.

Peristiany (1939) studied the social institutions of the Kipsigis. He explains the ancestral origin of the Kipsigis people saying they originated from Southern Sudan. He then describes the customs of the Kipsigis people and discusses the rites of passage, from birth to death while giving both the cultural and religious significance. The scholar further analyzes the socio-political organization of the community. It is worth noting that Peristiany only gives a general overview of the Kipsigis community with little regard for their language use, the focus of this work. It nevertheless enriches the study by giving us information regarding the social and cultural aspect of the Kipsigis community.

Ronoh (2000) studies the history of colonial education among the Kipsigis. He gives a detailed description of how the community passed on vital lessons across generations though informally. He also explains the missionaries' role in education in the Kipsigis region. This study appreciates that although Ronoh's work is about education among the Kipsigis both informally and formally, the study recognizes the centrality of speech and how this notion was made clear to the learners at every stage of their lives.

Language represents the vehicle through which our individual and collective actions are made known. People use different forms of expression to reveal their intentions and their actions. Debating is one such form in which individuals describe their experiences and make their plans known. The language utilised to explain these experiences and events is always constraint by direct and implicit rules and legitimating practices of a specific culture. What to say and what not to say, to whom, where and when are culturally determined. By deploying speech acts or other discourse acts, Members of County Assembly of Bomet are also typically undertaking various political acts. According to Van Dijk (1985), if during a debate, one was to ask a question about (say) immigration, it should not be taken as a political act because many people in society in their respective situation may ask the same question. Van Dijk observes that it is the political functions of these acts (legislation, governing, engaging

in opposition, representing the people, etc.) that will relate the question to a parliamentary debate.

2.11 Social and Political Organization of the Kipsigis Community

This section discusses how language helps in maintaining the social-political institutions of the Kipsigis community. In this section, we argue that the Kipsigis's belief in the power of speech to realize actions saw them abiding by the unwritten rules of appropriate behavior in all spheres of their lives. The conviction that language transcends an individual and the capacity of the speech to cause things to happen made the Kipsigis cautious in their language use lest they offend the supernatural beings. The Kipsigis group is the largest single Kalenjin sub-nation (Sambu, 2011). The larger numbers of them live in the Kericho and Bomet counties. At an estimated population strength of about 2,000,000, the Kipsigis comprise about 40% of the entire Kenyan Kalenjin population. All the kipsigis, living in the twin counties, and beyond, speak one uniform dialect. That degree of dialectical homogeneity that spans such vast territorial space is not matched anywhere else within the Kalenjin homeland (ibid.).

According to Omwoyo (2000), the Kipsigis community had the homestead as its basic unit. A homestead consisted of a husband, his wife or wives and unmarried children. A few homesteads that were close to each other formed a *temet* (pl. *temenik*) which Evans-Pritchards (1939) called a hamlet. Several *temenik* or hamlets formed a *Kokwet* (village or neighbourhood). The *Kokwet* then became the basic unit of administration and political organization. The *Kokwet* would normally extend over some kilometres. A *Kokwet* was made up of about fifteen to sixty huts and were separated from other villages by a tree, stream, field or pile of stones (Omwoyo, 2000). According to Komma (1984), the demarcation of the villages was not in any way related to the geographical units that are separated by natural features such as rivers or mountain ridges. The *Kokwet* entails a grouping of people created by the ease of human communication. People living within the same *kokwet* knew each other well.

According to Komma (1984), the *Kokwet* is the basic unit in which all the various social organizations of the community were build. It is the most important social structure that guaranteed the unity of the people, not only in the past when the community were grazing their animals while driving away other communities like the Gusii, Masai or Luo, or when they were expanding their territories and migrating, but also at the present with economic

priorities shifting to permanent residence and agriculture production rather than cattle grazing (Komma,1984).

Komma observes that the *Kokwet*, not the clan, played an important legal function in the community. He describes that within the *Kokwet*, a council organized by adult males would meet whenever there was a need. The work of the council included arbitrating disputes and discussing important matters like how to overcome natural calamities such as looking for the cause of continued misfortunes in certain families. Within the *Kokwet*, is an important office of the village elder (*boiyotap Kokwet*) or village leader (*Kiptaiyatap Kokwet*).

In times of disputes, the *Kokwet* council would listen to both sides that had disagreements. At the end of the session, the council would make a decision based on what has been publicly agreed on. Then, an ox, ram or he-goat provided by the party that has lost the case would be slaughtered and eaten by the entire group at once (Komma, 1984). In some cases, disputes were not concluded by making a ruling but rather by taking an oath (*mumek*) in which both parties participated. After a communal feast was taken or an oath-taking was completed and the affair completely settled, anybody who thereafter voices a complaint or an objection was considered akin to a witch, and receives a communal curse (*chubisiet*) (Komma, 1984). Looking at Komma's observations, it becomes clear that the Kipsigis community long understood the performative aspect of language. The performative utterances are verified by felicity conditions (Austin, 1962). The *Kokwet* council can declare one innocent or guilty. They can even impose a fine on the guilty party. Once the pronouncements are made, the concerned parties will believe they are innocent, forgiven or otherwise guilty and any judgement passed by the council is obeyed by all. The action of invoking a curse (*chubisiet*) is another instance of the power of language to realize the intentions of the utterer. This study used a story by Rutto and Maritim (2016) to explain the import of oath-taking among the Kipsigis and why people are always advised to be cautious in what they say because speech has power to realize action either positively or negatively.

A legend is told of a well-known and respected Kipsigis mediator called Kipkeles who was sent to Maasailand to discuss peace. Kipkeles was known to the Maasai and he had no problem settling down to negotiate with the Kipsigis'perennial enemy. However, on this particular mission, and for unknown reasons, the Maasai were doubtful about Kipkeles' true intentions and decided to kill him. Knowing that the news of the murder of Kipkeles would

infuriate the Kipsigis, the Maasai dispatched their own emissary to Kipsigisland to do some damage control. Using a circuitous route to Kipsigisland, to appear as if he had no knowledge that Kipkeles had been to Maasailand, the Maasai emissary named Ole Lang'unya (the Kipsigis called him Arap Lang'unya), arrived in Kipsigisland with his own message of peace. He pretended not to have any knowledge of the death of Kipkeles. In fact, he expressed 'utter surprise' when he was confronted with the information that Kipkeles has not returned home from Maasailand. The Kipsigis were not convinced by Ole Langúnnya's show of ignorance; he seemed to know what had happened to Kipkeles in Maasailand.

A council of elders decided to subject him to the *mumiat* (pl. *mumek*) oath to test his truthfulness. Ole Langúnnya, who understood the ramifications of the oath, took the oath nonetheless; solemnly binding himself to the outcomes of the curse that would follow should he have been lying about Kipkeles. In the oath, Ole Langúnnya would "lose" his tongue in the event he was being untruthful in his testimony. That is, if Ole langúnnya were lying under oath, he would somehow bite his tongue in two. That was the expected consequences of violating the oath. On his return journey home Ole Langúnnya is said to have tripped over something, fell down heavily and bit his tongue so badly that the tongue was cut in two. The news of Ole Lang'unya "losing his tongue" convinced the Kipsigis that the man had actually been lying about Kipkeles and that he knew that Kipkeles had been killed by the Maasai. Retribution was swift; the Kipsigis not only invaded Maasailand, they also expelled all the Maasai from areas the Kipsigis had partially conquered and confiscated all their livestock.

This story just serves to underline the value of the power of the spoken word to realize action and the manner in which language is utilised to enforce moral and ethical conduct among the Kipsigis.

Ronoh (2000) further notes that the *Kokwet* was also used for teaching the youth about the cultural norms of the community. During meetings at *Kokwet*, the youth were taught several things by the elderly. For instance, they were taught how to live and work together; they learnt that one could not live alone, and consequently, the group which made life possible demanded conformity to its manners, obedience to its laws, his services for the defense and propagation of children for its perpetuation. They were also taught decency of speech and behavior in the community at large (Ronoh, 2000). As Ronoh continues, lessons on hospitality were taught. For instance, the youth learnt that the host at every beer party had the

right to invite or exclude whomever he wished. In most cases strangers were also welcomed, though after being interrogated as to the intentions and their relationship to those present at the party (Ronoh, 2000).

At *kokwet*, individuals were taught when to invoke or avoid the ancestral spirit together with other mysterious powers for the sake of their survival. This also shows the power of language to realize the desires of the speaker. It was believed that invoking or calling the names of ancestral spirits could lead to unintended consequences. During all *kokwet* proceedings, decisions were usually by consensus, with the younger men leaving most of the talking to the elders (Ronoh, 2000). Nowadays, the *Kokwet* council is incorporated effectively as an extremity of the national court system. At least for civil affairs, if a suit does not pass through the *Kokwet* council, the Magistrate Court will not take it up (Komma, 1984).

The Kipsigis traditional justice system consisted of customs and traditions that regulated all people's activities from birth to death. The specific rules of behavior and social etiquette were strictly observed and maintained to ensure continuity of a moral and ethical society that hardly resorted to the physical enforcement of the law (such as arrests or imprisonment). This successful and orderly society resulted from the deeply religious Kipsigis society. Nevertheless, there were lawbreakers and social miscreants who caused trouble. According to Rutto and Maritim (2016) such trouble makers were punished after the due procedures of the law was followed. In the following sections, we show how language as action permeate every element of life, from birth to death, of the Kipsigis community.

2.11.1 Birth and Naming Ceremonies

The utterances that accompanied the birth of a child among the Kipsigis illustrate the performative feature of language. Performatives are sentences where the saying of the words constitute an action. Although these sentences are in the declarative form, they cannot be tested for truth value. The conditions required for the meaning of performatives to be accepted are not truth conditions but rather conditions of appropriateness. Such conditions were named by Austin (1962) as felicity conditions. Felicity conditions are requirements that have to be fulfilled before an utterance is accepted as performing a specific act. Austin gave two types of felicity conditions. Firstly, the ritualistic constraints involving the societal events. That means a ritual must accompany the utterance for it to be accepted as performing the action. Secondly, an accepted conventional procedure must exist for the utterance to

perform the act. That means, the process must involve the speaking of certain words by the right person in the right place and at an appropriate time. Naming of persons or things constitute good examples of performative utterances.

The Kipsigis traditionally gave two names to a newly born child. This is practiced by some families to date. One name was *Kurennet* (the name of an ancestor) and the other name was the child's "proper" name which was given based on the time or occasion of birth (Rutto & Maritim, 2016). For example, if a child was born around noon, she would be named Chebet for a girl or Kibet for a boy. One born in presence of visitors is named Cheptoo for a girl or Kiptoo for a boy. This "proper" name was given without much ceremony compared to the *Kurennet*. The child was given the *kurennet* name after a sequel of utterances accompanying the ritual. For instance, immediately a child was born, an old woman who married to the clan would immediately begin chanting the names of ancestral spirits that the new-born would embody and perpetuate. To determine the departed relative, the baby, if a boy, would be asked immediately it was born, "Are you Arap Barta?" If the child sneezes, it was taken as an affirmative response. If the child does not sneeze, say in a period of one hour, the women gathered around would substitute the name of the departed relative. The process would be repeated until the infant sneezed and the correct *kurennet* is ascertained (Rutto & Maritim, 2016). This study argues that the procedure of name-giving among the Kipsigis resonates well with the idea propagated by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) who did their study in a Western context. The process of naming new- borns underlines how the Kipsigis ascribe to the power of language to perform certain actions. Again, name-giving helps to differentiate one culture from another. The moment one mentions a name, we can (often) quickly tell where the named person comes from in Kenya's context. According to Carbaugh (1996), people's actual names have cultural implications. Names common in one speech community may be less common or non-existent in another culture. We can therefore conclude that names index culture.

Naming among the Kipsigis did not stop immediately after birth. Rutto and Maritim (2016) observed that other names were given (praise names) to individuals to describe their behavior, conduct or achievements. Praise names were different from nicknames (*salanik*) in that while nicknames were created or coined on an ad hoc basis, either for affection or ridicule, praise names were assigned from a pre-existing "pool" of praise names that were present in the Kipsigis folklore since time immemorial. An important feature to remember

about these names is that for each praise name, there was a chant (the rhythmic speaking or singing of words) associated with it. Rutto and Maritim also point out that the praise names served to reveal (or elaborate) on the inner meanings of the praise names, which were obscure or cryptic. Another point to note is that every woman was given a praise name soon after initiation based on, among others, her character and behavior while in seclusion. The praise name became her permanent post -initiation name. Not every man was, however, given a praise name. But for those who acquired a praise name, it was used alongside his other ordinary names. Table 2.2 gives just a few examples of praise names present in the Kipsigis community.

Table 2.2: Women Praise Names

Women's nicknames/ Literal translation	Related chant	Interpretation (Exegesis)
<i>Tap-Bel Gaa</i> She who burns homestead	<i>Tap-bel kaita korinden kot</i> <i>kotubech iliono newutu</i> <i>ng'ereret</i> She who "burns" her surroundings and creates an enveloping cloud of confusion	A jovial lady with a fascinating personality that enchants her audience
<i>Tap-Sa Bei</i> She who worships water	<i>Tapsa-bei nesoe si koe</i> She who prays before drinking	A lady who does not take anything for granted (as exemplified by her offering a prayer in thanksgiving for a "commonplace" item such as a sip of water)
<i>Tap-Lel Ei</i> She of white ox	<i>Tapleleito kou asis</i> She of the white ox that shines like the sun	A lady who means well for everybody: she "returns good for good and evil for justice," as in Confucius philosophy
<i>Tap-Tulmat</i> She of the thunderous fire	<i>Taptulmat kotuldo chemi ng;</i> <i>eny</i> She of the thunderous fire whose effects (sound and illumination) can be felt by those at the saltlick	A lady whose actions have far-reaching impact on her family and the wider community
<i>Tabutany</i> She who shares out a cow	<i>Tabut tolelyoi</i> She who shares out the Yellowing cow	A generous lady with what she has or has acquired

Source: Rutto and Maritim (2016)

The names in Table 2.2 above reveals how certain meanings are linked with them. The meanings denote the actions attached to the individuals who carry those names. Mwanzi (1976) gives a curious explanation regarding the word "arap or araap" among the Kipsigis.

According to him the early communities from whom the modern Kipsigis descended were gatherers and hunters who supplemented their livelihoods with crop production. Mwanzi explains that the Kipsigis later changed their way of living by becoming pastoralists as a result of organizing raids on the neighbouring Gusii and Maasai communities. Mwanzi suggests that it was the introduction of cattle in the Kipsigis community that led to far reaching social, cultural and economic changes.

Mwanzi (1976) explains that when the Kipsigis community started keeping cattle, this activity changed the matrilineal base of that society to a patrilineal one, and the rise of the word 'arap' represented that change. Mwanzi further notes that when Kenya was colonized, the Kipsigis were slowly and intentionally de-pastoralized and turned into crop growers (ibid.). Although Mwanzi's work gives an account of the rise of the socio-economic as well as the religious institutions of the Kipsigis during the pre-colonial and the colonial times, it nevertheless provides a base for the current study because it provides an understanding of where the Kipsigis have come from: their source of livelihood and the values accompanying them as all these will be reflected in their conversations at the County Assembly. It is worth mentioning that the names are Kipsigis names which help to situate the text in the cultural context. The names are culturally distinct and although they may exist in other Kalenjin sub-tribes, the names nevertheless show that culture is without doubt reflected in the generation of speech acts.

2.11.2 The Kipsigis' View of Language

The Kipsigis recognize that language has a unique power that goes beyond the individual using it. According to Komma (1992), the Kipsigis acknowledge that words spoken will ensure that the content of the message is actualized regardless of the true intention of the utterer or the recipient. The community, therefore ensured that words were given great care and used in the most appropriate manner following the set standards. To guarantee that people used language appropriately, the Kipsigis introduced unwritten rules to guide speakers on what not to say at particular situations. This is because of the belief that language has power to change the state of affairs, and in most cases could lead to unpleasant consequences. This position is akin to what Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) called declarative speech acts; where a speaker changed situations or conditions of things when uttering some sentences. The only difference here entails the time taken for the action to be effected. While the action happens simultaneously as the speech in Austin and Searle's case, the Kipsigis case was not

always immediate; the act or acts that followed pronouncements were not bound in a time frame but it was believed to ultimately take place.

The above observations by Komma are relevant to this study because language is used to perform certain actions. That utterances realize the intentions of the utterer is not just applicable to the western context but the Kipsigis context as well. But this study argues that although speech acts use is universal, understanding the use and functions of certain speech acts requires that we include the cultural context to do a proper interpretation of them. Soi (2014) also notes that the Kipsigis are generally considered secretive and less outspoken. With the few words spoken, the Kipsigis believe that language has the power which will bring to reality, if the utterer follows the societal guidelines, the wishes of the speaker (Komma, 1992). The Kipsigis had different expectations on how children and adults use language.

2.11.3 The Language of Children

The childhood stage of a Kipsigis child was for learning, playing and looking after lambs, kids and calves. They were taught to be of good manners and to respect the adults (Rutto & Maritim, 2016). Among the things that children were taught was the appropriate use of language. The Kipsigis believed that language misuse could result in unpleasant consequences; speech as action. They acknowledged that even the speech acts that would be considered as ‘innocent’ because they were performed by young children were capable of bringing unpleasant outcomes if proper speech manners were not followed. For instance, a man who had many children but of the same sex, drew suspicion that either he or his wife, while they were young might have said something horrible such as, “When I grow up and get married, I don’t want a son (daughter).” Such an utterance would be suspected as the primary cause of misfortune for the affected family and people would always want to find out the truth (Komma, 1992).

2.11.4 The Language of Adults

The Kipsigis made a clear distinction regarding language use by children and adults. For instance, riddles were a no-go zone for adults and the community strongly abhorred any engagement in it by adults because it was regarded as an extremely dangerous act which nullifies and confuses the boundary between a child and an adult. A mature person who engaged in riddling or participated in activities that were meant for young children was

referred to as “riddle-player” (*kiptangoiyan*) and was detested by people (Komma, 1992). People were also discouraged from speaking about the sizes of their families and livestock. The number of children or wives or cattle one owned was not to be mentioned. People were further prohibited from talking about qualities such as beauty. People who spoke about such things were not considered as genuine, rather they were regarded as having hidden jealousy. The Kipsigis believed that if such acts are performed, the hidden motives would actually be caused to happen. It is believed that speaking of such subjects somehow attracts unknown evil power which will ultimately cause misfortune or death on those being talked about. (Komma, 1992).

The exploration on the use of speech acts at the County Assembly therefore requires that we include the cultural context to do a proper interpretation of them. This is because when people interact, they assume social and cultural roles. These two are so entrenched in people that they almost go unnoticed. Language and culture are bound together because culture dictates the kind of people taking part in a conversation, the topics to be handled and generally how the conversation will proceed. Culture enables people to encode messages and assign meanings to such messages, or dictates how messages should be decrypted.

2.11.5 Taboos Associated with Language Use among the Kipsigis

The term taboo describes a cultural or religious tradition that prohibits people to act, use or speak about certain things because doing so would be offensive or embarrassing to others (Hornby, 2015). The study uses the term taboo in this sense. According to Chepkwony (1997), taboos ensure that norms of the society are preserved and maintained. The Kipsigis used taboos (*etanik*) to prevent people from misusing speech which would otherwise bring untold sufferings to the speakers themselves and others. This is because of the conviction that words have so much power that when vocalized by the human mouth have the ability to cause to happen the words uttered irrespective of what the utterer initially intended (Komma, 1992). To achieve this, the Kipsigis community employed the illocutionary force of threatening to ensure members use language appropriately. For instance, no one was supposed to mention the name of a dead person until his/her ancestral spirit reincarnates in the body of a family’s newborn. The dead would instead be referred to as a “person of yesterday” (*chichigonye*). The belief was that if the name of the dead person was mentioned before reincarnation, his or her spirit would be attached to this world causing untold suffering to family members. (Komma, 1992).

Prohibition concerning names not to be mentioned not only applied to human relationships but covered relationships between humans and animals as well. For example, animals like lions, elephants, buffaloes and rhinos which were considered fierce were not to be called by their actual names if they were around the vicinity because doing so would make them extremely violent and would attack and injure the people who are closest to them. Because of this belief, Orchardson (1961) noted that an elephant (*beliot* or *ongenyot*), was, for example called *kiptechit* (honourable one), the secret word for elephant.

A similar taboo was used when a waterbuck (*Kipsomberut*) was near a herd of goats and/or sheep, or when goats and sheep were kept inside a pen or a house. The waterbuck was referred to as “chemokemwa,” or “the one which must not be talked about” since it was believed that mentioning its actual name would turn the goat or sheep fur to be coarse and gray as that of the waterbuck (Orchardson, 1961). Another instance of non-mentioning of names applied to situations when a thorn of bracken (*birirwet* and *tilowet*) got stuck in arms or legs; it was not called a bracken thorn but a simple thorn (*katet*); otherwise, the belief was that the bracken would break into pieces in the body and could never be removed, thus causing the wound to fester (Orchardson, 1961). Serious diseases were also never mentioned by name. For example, if one contracted anthrax (*burasta* or *kiptegoit*), the most feared disease by Kipsigis, it must be called by the secret code, *kuserwet* (meaning a kind of small, soft shrub), or the patient would never be cured (Orchardson, 1961). All these examples help to show the kind of language taboo that the Kipsigis applied so as to make life peaceful and healthy.

2.11.6 Cultural Values of the Kipsigis Community

There are some cultural values that the Kipsigis community hold dear. These include; cultivation of gentle behavior, consideration for other people’s feelings, maintenance of personal dignity and generally being well-mannered. Therefore, people are taught from their childhood to show respect to their parents and other older people including their leaders. Speech etiquette is important and people are encouraged to think carefully before uttering any potentially sensitive verbal interaction. The Kipsigis community expected all its members to practice good manners and impart to the young as they grow up. Snell (1954) explains that good behavior is admired and all the people especially the circumcised were expected to practice. Such kind of morality apply to both genders. One of such virtues that the

community expect everyone to practice is *aiyepindo* (hospitality). The qualities seen in a person who is *aiyep* include generosity, hospitality, selflessness and kindness (Chepkwony, 1997). All the community members were expected to be *aiyep*. If one was found to be selfish, they would be referred to as *ng'ok* a very unpleasant label. Chepkwony adds that being *aiyep* is not just confined to giving of food to the hungry but it also implied a person's readiness to welcome and accommodate strangers for as long as they were willing to stay in their homes. Besides, a person who is *aiyep* is to offer assistance to the needy and the poor.

The second virtue that the Kipsigis emphasized was *Tolosio* or *Tolosiet*. According to Chepkwony (2007), a person who lived a life of *tolosio* was expected to be polite and kind. Such a person is well-mannered and considerate of others. This virtue was to be practiced by both genders.

The other concept is *Tegisto* (respect). Chepkwony (1997) explains that the concept *tegisto* is found within the virtue of *aiyepindo*. In other words, a person who is generous is also respectful; a person who is *aiyep* has *tegisto*. *Tegisto* is also a sign of honesty. Sambu (2007) also adds that one exhibiting *tegisto* is the one who follows the strict rules governing behavior as expounded by the cultural standards of behavior. These cultural values are important for this study as it investigated the speech acts that help to highlight them. As such, the manner in which culture influences the realization of speech acts can be explained.

2.11.7 Aspect of Gender in the Kipsigis Community

The Kipsigis culture, like most others in Africa, was heavily divided along gender lines (Komma, 1992). The idea of gender responsibilities can be categorized into two, the private and public realms. The women played private roles which involved reproduction in the biological sense, welfare of children, well-being of their husbands, and general home-keeping. In all these roles, women were to be apolitical. Men's roles were public; it involved leadership and decision-making and was therefore political in nature. The Kipsigis men referred to their wives as 'children' because it was thought that women could not make decisions and it was upto the men to represent them. Men in the Kipsigis society made decisions regarding the crops to plant, the labour, and the crops to sell even though it was the women who were heavily engaged in the tending of these crops. No woman was allowed to own land if their husband was alive and it was when the family head was not around that a woman was allowed to make decisions regarding management of resources. The Kipsigis

tradition of granting decision-making authority to men and the perception of women as being weak has continued to marginalize women upto date. We still find fewer women in government policy-making bodies like the County Assembly of Bomet where gender balance is heavily skewed against women. Of the 36 Members of County Assembly, only 10 are female. Such a low number of women is happening even with the enactment of the new constitution in 2010 that saw women being given equal opportunities as men in public institutions. Article 27(8) provides for affirmative action in which the government is required to ensure that at least not more than two-thirds of the officials elected or appointed for various State jobs are of one gender. When women lack critical mass in the County Assembly, they are constraint from making any notable and constructive change in overhauling the male-dominated culture of the Assembly and influencing resource allocation in a gender equitable manner. Nthiiri (2014) also rightly observes that although the Constitution of Kenya has provided opportunities for men and women to equally participate in political processes, the women still face numerical limitation which incapacitates them from meaningful participation in parliamentary processes. Any discussion touching on gender and politics must first acknowledge the history of the patriarchal nature of the Kipsigis society.

2.12 Language and Politics

The utilisation of language in politics is evident in how political ideologies are articulated and how political actions are performed. The County Assembly is a site of discussions, of debate, and the activity taking place is therefore a linguistic activity. The discourse that ensues results in concrete action in the rest of the County and the Country at large. These actions could be related to what must, may and may not be done in the County. Language is thus a principle medium for the construction of what really happens in people's lives. It is a means of persuading and manipulating others to believe what you are telling them. Politics is concerned with power: the power to make decisions, to control resources, to control other people's behavior and often to control their values.

Jones and Peccei (2004) observed that politicians often achieved success because of their skillful use of rhetoric which enables them to persuade their audience. Rhetoric is the art of using language to persuade or influence others. According to Llie (2001, 2004), if we want to understand what goes on in parliament, for instance, when they are defending or discarding certain topics, we have to explore the various linguistic devices and argumentative strategies

that parliamentarians like to use and which can expose their hidden agendas and ideological beliefs. Chilton (2004) notes that power could equally be exercised via control of other's utilization of language, specifically by applying various levels of censorship and access regulation.

The close relationship between language and politics has always been central to both Western political thought and rhetorical tradition. In *politics*, Aristotle famously equated the very possibility of politics with the possession of language. According to Aristotle, "man is by nature a political animal" because "man is the only animal whom Nature has endowed with the gift of speech" (Aristotle, 1943: 1-10). Commenting on the relationship between language and politics, Farr (1989) notes,

"politics as we know it would not only be indescribable without language, it would be impossible.... Neither could we criticize, plead, promise, argue, exhort, demand, negotiate, bargain, compromise, counsel, brief, debrief, advise nor consent. To imagine politics without these actions would be to imagine no recognizable politics at all" (Farr, 1989: 48).

Van Dijk (2006) mentions the importance of context in conversations. He points out that political situations do not simply cause political actors to speak in certain ways, instead "there is a need for a cognitive collaboration between situations and talk or text, that is a context" (van Dijk, 2006: 733). Such contexts define how participants experience, interpret and represent the for-them-relevant aspects of the political situation. Fairclough (2000) equally believes in the significance of context saying that there exists a considerable variation in the way people perform in political positions, particularly as the leader, the PM or the President. The variation in performance comes from their social identity- their social class, the cultural and regional community from which they come, their gender, etc. Language analysis will reveal how words and concepts work together to define meanings, associations and appropriateness.

2.13 Culture, Language and Communication

Culture, language and communication are intimately related because people use language to communicate. Language can be used to identify a specific cultural population, thus we have the French, the Kikuyus or the Kipsigis. Languages embody the cultural values held by the people who speak these languages. Shi (2014) notes that the link between culture and

communication is reciprocal, meaning that they affect and influence each other all the time. She explains that the subjects we talk about and how we talk are decided by culture. In turn, these ingredients will influence or even permeate the culture. Without culture, communication cannot exist at all. Language thus carries culture and can be utilised to communicate (ibid).

Kavanagh (2000) explains that communication is often determined by factors that are cultural in nature like the age of a person, gender and behaviours like politeness. Successful communication will largely depend on an adequate knowledge of one's culture which will guide the appropriateness of utterances in every situation. Kavanagh (2000) points out the value of language to ethnic or cultural identity. People can use language to identify themselves with others or to separate from them. It is therefore important to comprehend that we all have those things from our culture that were inculcated in us as children and which we knowingly or unknowingly bring into our dealings and conversations with other people. (ibid.). The study examined language use in a cultural context of the Kipsigis people in order to show how certain cultural elements find their way to the County Assembly in the utterances of the politicians.

2.14 Pragmatics and Argumentative Discourse

Debates at the County Assembly are obviously argumentative in nature. The participants give reasons for their claims in anticipation that there will always be someone who will cast doubt on the claims made. The reasons given are meant to persuade the hearer to agree with the utterer's saying or to act according to the utterer's intentions. In pragmatics, particularly Speech Act Theory (Searle, 1976), an argument is an illocutionary act associated with the perlocutionary act of persuasion. The act of persuasion is aimed at getting the interlocutors to accept a sequel of ideas-the arguments-so that consensus is achieved.

Van Eemeren (1984) explains that the illocutionary act of persuasion has the following characteristics:

- i. Propositional content, the totality of propositions expressed.
- ii. An essential condition, the fact of articulating these series of propositions constitute an attempt by the speaker to justify an opinion O to the hearer.
- iii. Preparatory conditions, the speaker believes
 - a. that the hearer will not accept opinion O at the outset,

- b. that the hearer will accept the totality of propositions expressed,
 - c. that the hearer will accept the constellation of propositions as a justification of O.
- iv. Sincerity conditions, the hearer believes that
- a. O is acceptable,
 - b. the propositions expressed in the utterances are acceptable,
 - c. that those propositions constitute a reasonable justification of O.

In other words, speakers who know they have an opinion O which is not accepted at the outset by interlocutors, employ a series of propositions which are thought to be acceptable and which are thought to be a good justification of O, in order to change interlocutor's initial opinion.

2.15 Empirical Literature Review

This section reviews related literature from different studies around the globe from global perspective to regional perspective and to local context.

2.15.1 Global Perspective

Some scholars around the globe have done studies on parliamentary language albeit approaching it from different perspectives. Suhair (2015) used two speeches, namely John Kerry's *The Economy and The Middle Class families* of 2004 and George W. Bush's *Inaugural Address* of 2001. The analysis examined the speech acts of persuasion that were present in the utterances of the two leaders. Suhair then adopted the Speech Act Theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) to analyze the data. The selected speeches varied in length and the number of sentences. Calculations of percentages of speech acts in the speeches were done to make interpretations of the tables clear and factual.

Another scholar who utilized documentation technique to collect data is Saputro (2015). To this end, the researcher read and downloaded the recorded speeches delivered by Jokowi from [www. Youtube.com](http://www.Youtube.com). Two speeches were selected; one delivered in a world forum which promoted the economic prosperity of the nations. The speeches were intended to persuade the relevant parties to collaborate in achieving the economic prosperity. Also, the language used by Jokowi indicated a desire to build an image, convince the audience and influenced them in a particular way.

Al-Kahrani Ali (2005) carried out a study on three subjects; Americans, Arabs and Japanese on the ways they perform refusals based on three dimensions of semantic formulars: order, frequency and content of semantic formulars. Moreover, the respondents were given varied statuses in which the refusals were equal, higher or lower to the refusee. The results showed that the subjects differed in their performance of refusals, but not in all the circumstances. There are circumstances in which they tend to react the same way. Ali's study is relevant to the present study insofar as the speech act of refusal is concerned. The present study is however, broader since it is about all the speech acts used during the debates and how context contributes to their realization.

Tinatin's (2015) study concerned itself with students and teachers' practice of the politeness strategies and the speech acts of apology, thanking, request, compliment/encouragement, command, agreeing/disagreeing, addressing and codeswitching. The analysis was based on Searle's Speech Act Theory and Brown and Levinson's Politeness strategies. The results showed that the students have some know-how on politeness yet they do not apply them in speeches. Moreover, most of the speech acts from the classroom interaction are used by the teachers and not the students. Although this inquiry is done in a different context, it nevertheless benefits from Tinatin's research regarding the use of various speech acts that are used for communication.

Hadher et al. (2013) carried out a study on the cultural values underlying the speech act of invitation among the Iraqi EFL speakers. The conclusion was that the speakers of two languages of Arabic and English differ in the way they make invitations. This difference is due to the cultural differences between the two language groups. Although Abdullah's study is comparative in nature and is only interested in the speech act of invitation, the present study borrowed from it especially regarding the cultural values underlying the realization of speech acts.

Banikalef and Bataineh (2017) investigated the types of speech acts in the status updates posted by young Jordanian Facebook users. Using Searle's taxonomy of speech acts, the findings showed that students used expressives, assertives, directives, God's invocation, quotation and humour. The findings also evidently showed that the cultural standards and religious upbringing can strongly influence their linguistic expressions in their first language.

Rabe (2011) did a study to explore how various cultural upbringings can impact utterers' interpretation of the indirect request for speech act. The investigation found that culture has significantly impacted the understanding of indirect request for speech act. Nevertheless, gender does not have a significant effect. One aim of this research was to establish whether gender affects the use of speech acts and Rabe's study was of great benefit.

In her paper, Cornelia Ilie (2010) investigated peculiar attributes of Romanian parliamentary discourse with regard to the management of interpersonal relationships and particularly the tactics used for dealing with disagreement in parliamentary debates. Special attention was paid to the members of parliaments' strategic uses of ritualized and non-ritualized forms of address and their role in enabling a conducive environment for negotiations. The findings indicated that the ways of addressing one another came from two sources. The first source is the Romanian culture which determined how rapport was to be regulated including how agreements or disagreements were to be handled. The second source is the Romanian institutional norms which provided guidelines on how to communicate and behave in parliament. For example, institutional rank and hierarchical status are explicitly acknowledged (Ilie, 2010). To guarantee accurate and right reception of their messages and hence foster a true interpretation of their positions, Romanian members of parliament are quite keen on using the correct forms of address which will foster good rapport. The speakers were found to make use of hedging formulas to mitigate potential offence that might be caused through the act of addressing somebody in an inappropriate way or at a potentially unsuitable moment. They were also found to minimize dissent and maximize interpersonal rapport through the use of conditional mood, which is generally believed to be "overpolite" grammatical form of particular categories of verbs. Ilie (2010) gave such examples as were used by the president of the chamber as, 'I would like to ask you to finish---' or 'please. Nevertheless, I would like you to limit yourself to two minutes---' etc. Ilie (2010) observes that the purpose of the hedging conditions is to neutralize or minimize the clashing of ideas which is common in parliamentary debates. Her study is beneficial because this study looked at the use of speech acts that serve different functions like politeness and how these acts contribute to easing the tension in the House. Although Ilie's studies do not concern the use of specific speech acts, the study still benefited by looking at those acts that are used to manage disagreements at the County assembly of Bomet.

Bruteig (2010) investigated the extent to which parliamentary talk in former Czechoslovakia and in the present-day Czech Republic has been influenced by major societal and political transformations. The study was done by comparing the debates in the chamber of Deputies in 2008 and the debates of the late 1940s which happened during the communist regime. The researcher mainly focused on the participants' roles and the tactics that they used during the debates. The results underlined that the language used in sessions contains features of the administrative style combined with use of professional jargon, (e.g. this question is settled). The Czech parliamentary language is also rife with passive verbal constructions, and nominative sentences. The long sentences may result from an effort to use more complex expressions to explain more details. The extent of formality in the utterances varies across parliamentary genres. In more spontaneous speeches of the MPs, delivered during Question Time and in actual remarks, there was frequent use of the demonstrative pronoun *ten, to, tento* (Bruteig, 2010). Colloquial expressions are also common. The MPs use humour to reduce the level of confrontation. Sometimes the use of humour is strengthened by the use of exaggerated (hyperbolized) politeness. The present study identified various types of speech acts used during debates, therefore, Bruteig's research is relevant.

Grainne (2015) carried out an inquiry in which she identified how strategic language is used to negotiate the dynamics of power in Irish parliamentary debate. The study also investigated how gender is invoked in the deliberate use of language. The findings suggest that females may use strategic language which appeals to gender to challenge male authority during debates, and that females may bring about gender issues more often than do males when using linguistic strategies. The findings indicated the following strategies as being employed by Irish parliamentarians; Patronizing strategy to portray the other participant as inexperienced or naïve; invoking gender as another strategy to imply weakness; insulting/accusing/criticizing as a strategy and also using meta-language as a strategy. The present study looked at gender participation in parliament and how each gender uses various speech acts to articulate issues that come up for discussion during debates.

2.15.2 Regional Perspective

Ayeomoni and Akinkulere (2012) examined President Musa Yar'Adua's victory and inaugural speeches through the framework of the Speech act theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). The study focused on the three types of acts: locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts in the speeches and analysis of their pragmatic patterns. The results reveal

that although Yar'Adua performs speech acts such as assertives, directives, expressives, verdictives, commissives and declaratives, assertives are more prominent in the utterances.

Abuya (2012) similarly studied President Goodluck Jonathan's inaugural speech from a pragma-stylistic perspective. This was done with a view to describing the linguistic acts in the speech using the Speech Act Theory of Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). The study zeroed in on the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts in the speeches. The findings showed that the President's speech featured assertive, verdictive, commissive and declarative acts although it features more commissive acts than others. The studies on the two presidents of Nigeria are relevant to the present study as it investigated the various speech acts used by participants at the County Assembly of Bomet.

Mwiinga (2015), studied the discourse components of the Zambian parliamentary session of 15th, March 2013 wherein the immunity of the President was lifted. The goal was to establish the ideological ramifications of those components. The analysis was done by first identifying the linguistic items present in the arguments used by members of parliament's debate session. Then the ramifications of these linguistic items were identified, and finally these implications were used to establish the ideological dimensions of Zambian politics. The study showed that the rhetorical structure of the arguments of the parliamentary debates follows a particular sequence and that the discourse of individual members of parliament is reasonable as well as persuasive. The findings also revealed that the specific parliamentary discussion was characterized by discursive polarization wherein the MPs exercised a perspective of 'US' against 'THEM'. In this case, 'US', which was a positive self-portrayal was contrasted with negative depiction of 'THEM', which generated in-groups and out-groups. Moreover, the session was characterized by skewed power patterns in which MPs from the ruling party had greater leeway than those from the opposition. Mwiinga's study is relevant to the current study regarding the implication of the messages contained in the identified speech acts.

Khaleel and Abed (2016) carried out a study in which they identified occurrences of persuasion during Mandela's interview prior to his presidency. The study was also meant to clarify Mandela's persuasive techniques. Therefore, Mandela's persuasive language was evaluated to determine the figures of speech he utilized. Next, Khaleel and Abed investigated how Grice's maxims (of quantity, quality, relation and manner) were contravened by Mandela when deploying rhetorical features to realize his persuasive ends. The evaluation

targeted specific tropes, such as metaphor, pun, hyperbole, litote, and rhetorical quizzes as persuasive tools. They found that persuasion can be created by using these tropes and that ignoring Grice's maxims that results from using each figure of speech can create persuasion in a certain context. Metaphor and understatement were the most frequent figures used by Mandela, and the maxim of quantity was the most flouted in using these figures. This study benefited a lot regarding the use of persuasive acts to affect and influence the audience.

2.15.3 Local Perspective of Related Research

Atieno et al. (2016) set out to identify and discuss hate speech as a linguistic strategy used by parliamentarians in the creation of socio-political dominance. The data was gathered from the Hansard through a guiding card to delineate utterances that could be grouped as hate speech. The findings indicated that the MPs used explicit and indirect forms of hate speech to coerce others to support, embrace or reject some people and to incite others against the establishment. An orator may cite some words used by someone else or deploy metaphors for the listener to decrypt. Although the present study is not about hate speech, it investigated the use of various speech acts and the meaning of the messages contained in them. So, their study is beneficial to the present work.

Oloo et al. (2019) carried out a study on the uses and significance of speech acts in Margaret Ogola's two novel; *The River and the Source* (1994) and *I Swear by Apollo* (2002). The researcher used Austin (1962) and Searle (1969) speech act theory. The findings revealed that every utterance produced by a character in the novels could be categorized under one of the major categories of speech acts proposed by Searle (1969). The study revealed that each major speech act contains a wide range of sub acts which are distinguished based on their felicity conditions. In addition, each illocutionary force of sub act of speech act has a specific use and significance in a speech situation. The present study borrowed a lot from Oloo's study especially on the application of speech act theory in the analysis of data. The only difference is on the form; the former being prose and the later argumentative discourse. This study shows that speech act theory is useful in analyzing argumentative discourse as well.

2.16 Theoretical Framework

Pragmatics is the study of language as used by people in their situational, behavioral, cultural, societal and political contexts, using a broad variety of methodologies and interdisciplinary approaches depending on specific research objectives (Senft, 2014). Key to pragmatics is Speech act theory. It entails a tool used to decrypt the meaning and function of words in

different communicative situations. The present study applied insights from Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory, Searle's (1969, 1976, 2005) five categories of Speech Acts and Sotillo's (2017) notion of Speech Act Theory in its analysis of data. Speech act theory allows researchers to describe and classify the different acts that people accomplish when they use sentences in actual speech (Poythress, 2008). Therefore, the theory was selected because Members of County Assembly of Bomet perform various actions during debates. They apologize, criticize, disagree, and direct among other acts.

The study adopted Austin's theory in order to describe the locutionary, illocutionary and perlocutionary acts. These acts are utterances which have a certain pragmatic (conventional) force. Illocutionary acts refer to what one does in saying something. Perlocutionary act is performed to generate certain effects on the listener. Searle's speech act theory was, however, employed in the evaluation of illocutionary acts because it is very detailed in explaining the illocutionary acts such as representatives/assertives, directives, commissives, expressives, and declaratives. All the five kinds of speech acts were found in the utterances of Members of County Assembly of Bomet. One function of the theory is to make us realize that there are many acts that MCAs perform with their speeches before they conclude their debates with a *nay* or an *aye*. Such awareness has value because people often concentrate on the end product of the debate and not the process. Such concentration is legitimate as people are usually concerned with the action that comes out after debating for this is what will eventually have an impact on their lives. But one needs to appreciate as well that there exist other important linguistic activities that aid in the deliberation process and that may reveal interesting things about the debaters and how they think or feel about the happenings at the County. In other words, the means justifies the end. This information is also very important to the electorate because everything that is said or done on the floor of the County Assembly affects them. The utilisation of SAT in data analysis, therefore, allowed an in-depth inquiry into the speech act features that have been employed by the speakers as they attempt to convince others into supporting their claims during the debates.

Following Sotillo's (2017) research, this study applied SAT in Conversational Analysis (CA). It is vital to note that CA and SAT share some common features. One feature that is relevant to this study is that both approaches view language as "social interaction." (Schiffrin, 1994). Schiffrin explains that the purpose of linguistic communication is to relay the impact of an utterance to the listener via interactive system that entail our sociocultural milieu that

mediates interaction. Sotillo (2017) concurs by pointing out that SAT tries to explain how speakers deploy language to realize their goals or actions and how listeners infer the speaker's intended meaning (Sotillo, 2017). CA makes it possible for interactions to proceed smoothly. It is by following the rules of conversations that the participants will know when to take a turn or give way for another speaker to make their contributions. SAT helps the language user to understand the message beneath the surface of illocutionary force that the utterer means so as to interpret accurately the utterances performed (Nguyen, 2014). The goal of the study was to look at the interactive activities of Members of County Assembly of Bomet in order to discover the kinds of actions performed as a result of their speeches.

Conversational analysis and Speech act theory, however, have divergent views on how to approach linguistic analysis. Some contrasting points are as a result of their different origins. CA emerged out of humanism while SAT sprang out of philosophy (Schiffirin 1994). The place of an utterer's aims and association in utterances are considered by SAT proponents whereas CA gives little attention to these features. Instead, CA focuses on explanation for human behavior- the social and cultural meanings that speaker and hearer exchange in the process of interaction. CA and SAT also differ in terms of structure and function of conversations. Conversational analysis focuses on turn-taking techniques where conversational participants should be aware of the turn-taking rules, that is when to take turn or how to give turn, how to produce appropriate responses, how to manage a topic, etc. Nevertheless, units in SAT are arranged in order as pointed out by Schiffirin (1994). These units are in fact tools for language functions like the illocutionary meaning in a syntactical structure underlined by a verb denoting it (*ibid.*). That is why, according to Schiffirin, function is more important than structure in SAT. According to Schiffirin, it is better to consider the context to which a speech relates in surrounding utterances. This is because an utterance can be used to perform different things as dictated by context. Sotillo adds that SAT enables scholars to access the intended interpretation of a speech by determining and coding it as illocutionary acts, whereas CA looks at the co-construction and negotiation of meaning within direct or recorded conversations (Sotillo, 2017).

CA and SAT further differ in the way that data is collected and interpreted. According to Schiffirin (1994), both approaches obtain data from a speech community, that is, from utterers, but how they collate and manage data differ. In CA, as Schiffirin (1994) asserts, all the feature of speakers' utterance may be underlined in "what is said" and "what is done."

Conversely, SAT scholars suggest that utterers' social, cultural and personal characteristics do not affect their process of constructing talk. This research adopted Sotillo's approach of combining CA and SAT in the analysis of the data because the two approaches complement each other very well. The SAT enabled the researcher to analyze the intentions of the utterer while the CA helped in explaining the social and cultural meanings that the utterer and listener exchange in the process of interaction. Again, Conversational analysis's idea of turn-taking enabled the researcher to investigate the debating activities since it consists of a number of turns taken by the participants. Additionally, the turn-taking procedure of CA enabled the researcher to investigate if the number of turns by both sexes at the County Assembly affected the frequency of illocutionary acts used during the debates.

Despite its many advantages in the decryption of meaning and function in language, speech act theory has also received quite a number of criticisms. One critique notes that SAT is not able to distinguish the actual meaning of a speaker's utterance because one locutionary act may give rise to different illocutionary meanings. Nguyen (2014) explains that the sentence, "will you join us?" said before a party is held, may cause different interpretations. One explanation is that we do not know whether the speaker is inviting us to join the party or he simply wants to find out if we want to participate or not. This also accounts for why people from different cultures will encounter difficulty in interpreting the speaker's meaning. Thomas (1995) suggests that failure of people from different cultures to understand the intended illocutionary effect is a case of cross-cultural pragmatic failure; pragma linguistic and sociopragmatic failure. Pragmatic failure refers to failure in linguistic competence where a speaker transfers linguistic meanings of a speech act from their L1 to L2. Sociopragmatic failure arises from the difficulty of understanding the different cultures of the target group.

Pike (2008) concurs when he observes that SAT correlates a single sentence containing a single form of speech act. Pike explains that Searle (1969) gives an example of the sentence "Sam smokes habitually." According to Searle, when a speaker utters such a sentence, he is simply making a statement. A statement is different from asking a question such as, "Does Sam smoke habitually?" Pike observes that the weakness in SAT is that it fails to consider the particular context which would have helped in determining the particular type of speech act. When a speaker says "Sam smokes habitually," he might be making an assertion about the smoking habits of Sam for which he and the hearer already know, but where the main topic of discussion is the foolishness of habitual smoking, and its effects on health (Pike 1967).

The sentence, “Sam smokes habitually is then not exactly an “assertion,” as if the sentence was meant to inform the listener of something he is probably not aware of, but rather the statement should be seen as more of a reproach or a comment on Sam’s lack of foresight. Or the speaker might use the same sentence in another situation where he and his interlocutor are discussing about how they would want to honour Sam as their leader and mentor. They could be discussing about the kind of habits they should embrace in order to strengthen their comradeship. In such a case also, the sentence is not an “assertion,” since there is an implied proposal about one habit from Sam that they might want to acquire (Pike 1967). These examples show that the exact impact of an utterance depends on context. The more reason that the study adopted the cultural context of the Kipsigis people to aid in the decryption of some speech acts at the County Assembly of Bomet. With respect to the Hansards used for analysis, the outcome is that we cannot always read and analyze directly from the type of the sentence; that is whether the sentences are in form of questions, declaratives or imperatives. There is need to consider the context of the utterance, and be cognizant of the many dimensions of communication.

The second criticism levelled against SAT according to Pike (1967) is its failure to differentiate the etic-emic divide. Pike explains that SAT simplifies its analysis of all languages by only analyzing one language (English). He elaborates that all the discussion is intended to be etic, completely universal. But it conveniently uses English and the broader context of scholarships in the Western tradition as its context for what it hopes will be culturally universal truths. Therefore, the researcher studied the Kipsigis society to investigate if the tenets of SAT are applicable to the African context that is different from the Western world as far as language and culture are concerned.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The study explored the types and functions of speech acts used by MCAs of Bomet and how the cultural practices of the Kipsigis community are reflected in the production of these speech acts. This chapter justifies the utilisation of qualitative approach to the study. It also explains why the Interpretivist paradigm is considered suitable for the study. The methodology adopted is also explained. Moreover, the choice of geographical location and its significance is explained. The procedure of how data was collected and its analysis is also explained in this chapter.

3.2 Research Design

This work is mainly library based because it involves textual or document study in which data presented for analysis is collected from recorded Hansards (texts) and other secondary sources as guided by the study objectives. Therefore, the research utilized a descriptive research design because the variables could not be manipulated as suggested by Odera et al. (2019). Descriptive research involves a description of the features of a particular person or group (Kothari, 2004). Mugenda (2008) points out that descriptive studies are mostly undertaken to examine social concerns, and they allow scholars to generate solutions or suggestions to resolve issues. The present study sought to describe the kinds of acts performed by Members of County Assembly of Bomet through their speeches and the significance of speech acts in the debating process. The research employed qualitative procedures in sampling, data collection and data analysis.

3.2.1 Qualitative Research Approach

The main goal of this study was to look at the discourse of Members of County Assembly of Bomet in order to understand when, how and why certain speech acts are realized and in the process uncover how the Kipsigis culture plays a crucial role in the deliberation processes. Therefore, the research purpose is best achieved using qualitative methods (Morsi & Richards, 2007) which allow the researcher to explore deeper meanings and insights as dictated by words, phrases, actions and even the subjective understanding of the participants.

Another reason for using qualitative techniques emanates from the view that qualitative research is multi-method and involves interpretive, naturalistic tactic to subjects (Denzin &

Lincoln, 1994). This means the research done was undertaken in the ‘natural habitat’ of the respondents. Galafashani (2003) also adds that qualitative research deploys naturalistic techniques to comprehend subjects in context specific setting and that the investigator does not try to modify the phenomena of interest. Sanaa and Qamar (2012) also used this approach to collect and categorize data. The speech acts found were broken up into individual parts and categorized based on Searle taxonomy. They then used percentages and statistics to explain the communicative functions of the Facebook status updates. This study was carried out at the County Assembly of Bomet, the usual environment, where participants often meet for deliberation. So it is their natural setting. The researcher used data from the Hansards which did not allow for any manipulation.

While advocating for the merits of qualitative approach, Marshall and Rossman (1999) explain that the suitability of qualitative research is that it is useful when research cannot be done experimentally for practical or ethical reasons. The study is mainly *ex post facto* with lived experiences.

3.2.2 Research Paradigm

This research subscribes to interpretivist paradigm. Interpretivist research holds that realities are multifaceted and socially created and that context is necessary for comprehension of phenomena (Guba & Lincoln, 1985; Morgan, 2007). This view is important for the current study as it sought to examine argumentative discourse of Members of County Assembly of Bomet as they give us a glimpse of their world. Textual analysis formed the core of this investigation and resonates well with epistemological view of interpretivists’ traditions that factuality and objectivity are attributes of texts and that texts can represent reality (Guba & Lincoln, 1985). The study took the Hansards as the source of its data and examined them to establish how culture and language are linked. It is therefore a qualitative study.

Interpretivist paradigm advocates for a relativist ontology. That reality is socially constructed. Reporting these realities, language does not passively label objects, but actively shapes and moulds reality (Frowe, 2001). As such, reality is created via interactions between language and different features of an objective world whereas actual utterances attest to the multiplicity of realities (Creswell, 2007).

In the view of Crotty (2003), the paradigm searches for culturally created and historically located meanings attributed to the surroundings. Interpretive research is about personal feelings as it seeks to recognize how individuals appreciate the social world (Schwandt, 1994). Interpretivist scholars try to explore individuals's perception, interpolate their worldview and generate deductions from observation (Bryman, 2008; Grix, 2004).

Orlikowski and Baroudi (1991) observe that the goal of interpretive inquiry is to understand how members of the social group, through their participation in social processes, enact their particular realities and endow them with meanings, beliefs and intentions of the members, help to constitute their actions. This constitutes the critical goal of this research as it sought to determine how MCAs in Bomet, who are participants of a social group, deliberate on various issues and subsequently reveal their intentions, their beliefs and how all these are tied to their culture.

3.2.3 Research Methodology

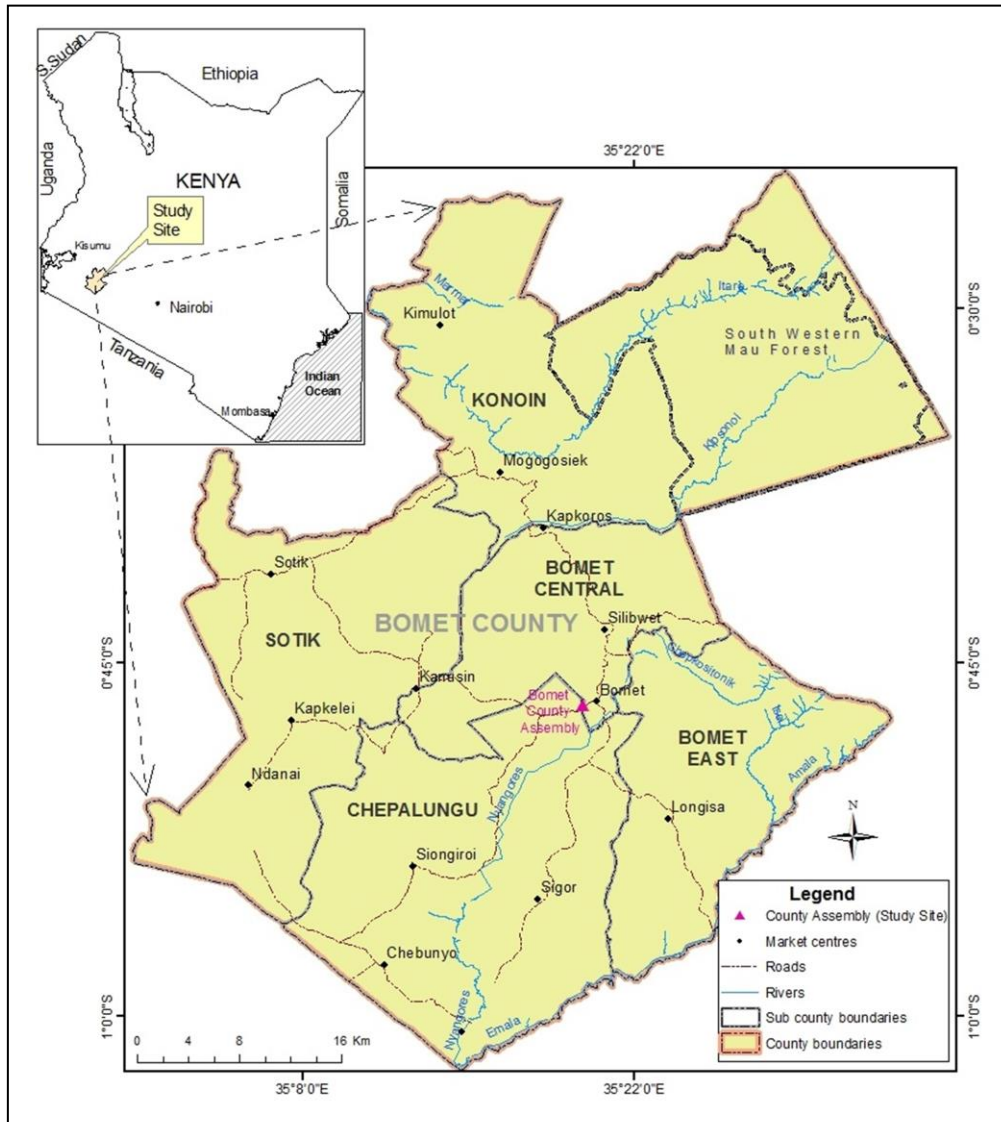
This was desktop research which involved downloading and reading the motions extracted from the Hansards. The study used purposive sampling to select the County Assembly and the three Motions for analysis. Bomet County was sampled out of the 47 counties in Kenya because of its linguistic and cultural homogeneity which means that their political representatives (MCAs) belong to one ethnic group. Assumptions and conclusions can therefore, be made regarding the relationship between the use of speech acts and culture.

3.3 Location of the Study

This project was done in Bomet County. It is predominantly a rural setting and most of its inhabitants are the Kipsigis people. Bomet County Assembly is located in Bomet town, the headquarters of Bomet County. The first batch of MCAs were elected into office in 2013 and were then expected to deliberate on issues affecting their people. Therefore, the speech acts used during debates may reflect the needs of the people of Bomet. Bomet County was purposively chosen because of its linguistic and cultural homogeneity not witnessed in other counties occupied by the Kipsigis populace. All the wards in the County are inhabited by the Kipsigis and therefore their representatives share the same language and culture. The culture of the Kipsigis community provides the debaters with a sense of identity. This identity facilitates common understandings, traditions and values, all central to the identification of plans of action to improve the well-being of their electorate. Interpretivists advocate for

investigations of peoples' interactions in their cultural or historical settings to grasp any social phenomena from peoples' perspectives (Creswell, 2009).

The Kipsigis are known to be reserved and speak very little (Soi, 2014). The community is also said to make their points without directly referring to those points. Their leaders are to be brief and eloquent and the notion of logical arguments is not especially convincing to the Kipsigis (Komma, 1992). The research, thus investigated how these observations about the Kipsigis influence their deliberations. Figure 3.1 below shows the location of the study.



**Figure 3.1: Top (left) -Map of Kenya showing location of Bomet County
Main map (right)-Bomet County**

Source: Survey of Kenya (2015)

3.4 Target Population

The target population for the study were all the MCAs of Bomet from 2013 to 2017. The study focused on the utterances made during debates as recorded in an official document called the Hansard. Out of the 36 members, 25 were elected while 11 were nominated. The unit of analysis for the study was the turn of talk by the participants at the County Assembly.

3.5 Sampling Procedures

The study deployed a purposeful sampling technique to select the County and the motions to be analyzed. A purposeful sampling is one where a sample is selected according to a specific pre-determined criterion. Patton (1990) also states that, the rationale for purposeful sampling is its potential to select information-rich cases for in-depth study. Oso and Onen (2005) further note that purposive sampling is convenient for research analysis because it selects typical and useful cases only and therefore saves time and money.

Bomet County was chosen because all or majority of the Members of County Assembly come from the same cultural background and it was interesting to see how their cultural practices influence the realization of speech acts. People receive information and make meaning through their own cultural lenses. The culture of the Kipsigis community enabled the debaters to have common understandings on several issues during debates and this contributed to effective communication. The usual heated confrontations witnessed in many parliamentary debates were very minimal at the County Assembly of Bomet. The debaters share the community's value system, traditions and beliefs which provided them with a sense of direction in addressing specific needs and problems in the County. Assumptions and conclusions can therefore, be made regarding the interplay between realizations of speech acts and cultural milieu wherein they are produced.

The sampled motions are those that occur frequently but bear different themes. One motion touching on health was sampled (Motion 1) because health is one of the social services that was devolved to the counties. The researcher wanted to know the speech acts used by the debaters in handling this new responsibility. Unemployment continues to be a disturbing issue in Kenya and around the world and the researcher wanted to know how Bomet was grappling with this matter and so Motion 2 was sampled. Motion 3 talks about naming of streets in Bomet County. This is a social issue as well as a cultural one. While Bomet is a new County that necessitates the naming of her streets, the researcher saw it as an opportunity to showcase the importance to which the Kipsigis community attached to the cultural issue of naming. In all the sampled motions the different types of speech acts that help to reveal the attitudes of the discussants toward the happenings at Bomet county were identified and analyzed. The analysis further revealed the cultural practices of the Kipsigis that aided effective communication.

The motions chosen were those recorded between 2013 and 2017, the first five years of devolution in Kenya. The researcher purposively selected one motion for 2014, the second year of devolution, one motion for 2015, the mid-year of devolution, and one motion for 2017, the year that marks the end of the first five years of devolution. No motion was picked for 2013 since it was a transitional year when structures for the new county assemblies were being established in Kenya. This period, being the start of devolution in Kenya, interested the researcher regarding the nature of discourse taking place at the County Assembly. This is due to lack of previous discourse practices that participants can borrow from. The utterances were therefore expected to reflect what the participants bring with them from their cultural environments. Thus, the link between the use of speech acts and cultural context can be established.

3.6 Sample Size

In the study, the sample size consisted of three motions from the County Assembly of Bomet. The County Assembly Standing orders stipulates that, unless the speaker directs, the County Assembly shall meet at 9.00am on Wednesdays and at 2.30pm on Tuesdays, Wednesdays and Thursdays, but more than one sitting may be directed during the same day. The sittings are expected to end by 12.30 if it is morning and at 7.00pm if was an afternoon sitting. Based on the above regulations, the number of sittings per week is assumed to be 4 which translates to about 192 sittings per year. Out of these 192, the researcher picked three motions; one motion for 2014, the second year of devolution in Kenya, one motion for 2015, the mid-year of devolution and one motion for 2017, the end of the first five years of devolution. The Hansards bearing different motions were purposively sampled. The motions chosen were those that frequently appeared in the Hansards and represented diverse issues affecting the County.

3.7 Tools and Instruments

The study involved a document analysis of the Hansards that bore the recordings of the utterances of the Members of County of Assembly of Bomet. Observation list was developed to collect data from the sampled motions. Observation list was used to record the types of speech acts present in the sampled motions. Handwritten notes were also made regarding the functions of speech acts in utterances, the manner in which the use of speech acts reflected the cultural environment of the participants and finally notes were made to determine the relationship between the use of speech acts and gender.

Document analysis demands that data be scrutinised and decrypted to generate meaning, comprehension, and create empirical evidence (Corbin & Strauss, 2008; Rapley, 2007). Documents include text (words) and pictures collated without the investigator's mediation (Bowen, 2009). Bowen explains that document analysis often serves to enrich other techniques, although it can be used alone, especially in some specialized kinds of qualitative works. For instance, Wild et al. (2009, as cited in Bowen, 2009), undertook a 'diary study' to determine engineers' information needs and document use. They utilised data to create new 'document use' contexts and a 'proof of concept' test of a related software system. Bowen (2009) notes that, justifiably, documents could be the sole needed data source for investigations developed within the interpretivist approach, as in hermeneutics; or it could be the sole reliable source, as in historical and cross-cultural investigations. The present study necessitated the adoption of document analysis as a stand-alone method. This is because the subjects of the study and their utterances had a time frame; the discussions happened between 2013 and 2017 and therefore using other methods such as interviews or participant observation was not practical because the MCAs and the Motions had changed.

There exist many advantages of using document analysis as a research method in qualitative research. Bowen (2009) discusses at least seven advantages;

- 1) Efficient method: Document analysis takes less time and, as such, is efficient. It entails data selection instead of collation.
- 2) Availability: Many documents can be accessed through public means, particularly with internet, and can be obtained with limited copyright problems.
- 3) Cost-effective: It is cheaper than other research methods. The data has already been gathered; what remains is for the content and quality of the document to be evaluated.
- 4) Lack of obtrusiveness and reactivity: Documents are 'unobtrusive' and non-reactive, that is, they are unaffected by the research process.
- 5) Stability: Documents are stable. The inquirer's presence does not affect their content. Such sources are thus fit for repetitive reviews.
- 6) Exactness: The use of exact names, references and details of occurrences make documents reliable in research.
- 7) Coverage: Documents provide broad coverage; they cover a long span of time, many events, and many settings.

Document analysis are not without disadvantages. One of the limitations is that documents do not provide sufficient detail. According to Bowen (2009), documents are created for a specific aim aside from research. As such, they often lack sufficient detail to address the research goals. Secondly, documents have low retrievability. This means that some documents can be deliberately blocked and in some, the researcher is deliberately denied access especially regarding sensitive documents like minutes. Bowen (2009) concludes by saying that although document analysis has limitations, the advantages far outweigh the disadvantages and therefore is a very useful method in qualitative research.

3.8 Authorization and Data Collection Procedure

The researcher sought and received consent to do research from Egerton University. The researcher then requested for research permit from National Commission for Science, Technology and Innovation (NACOSTI). After getting the research permit, the researcher visited Bomet County offices to get permission to conduct research with them. The data was collected from Bomet County Assembly Hansards, written records of the County Assembly proceedings. The motions were downloaded from the e-version of Hansards, available at <http://www.bometassembly.go.ke>.

The benefit of using public records such as parliamentary speeches is the almost complete absence of the researcher's effect on the data (Potter & Netherell, 1987). It is thus a source of 'naturalistic' data, the talk would have occurred even if it had not been recorded, compared to non-naturalistic data, such as interviews (Taylor, 2001). Taylor (2004) identifies three benefits of using naturalistic data. Firstly, it provides a direct record of the object of study. Secondly, it captures the action-oriented and situated nature of talk and texts better than interviews, which are directed by the agenda of the interviewer, and thus also avoids any influence from the interviewer's expectations. Finally, naturalistic data supports a focus on practices rather than persons.

3.9 Data Analysis Technique

The Theory of Speech Acts as developed by Austin (1962) and elaborated by Searle (1969, 1976, 2005) was used in the analysis and evaluation of selected motions. The unit of analysis was the turn of talk by the speakers at the County Assembly. The choice of SAT was because when the Members of County Assembly come together, they don't simply produce utterances for their sake, rather they undertake different actions through words.

Some steps were followed in data analysis. The first step involved downloading the sampled Hansards. The next step was reading carefully the sampled motions selected from the Hansards and sorting out words, phrases and sentences that were significant for the study. The third step was categorizing the data based on speech act classification proposed by Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). In this step, the researcher put all units having the same coding together. Then the researcher calculated the frequency of occurrence of speech acts so that reading the data could be made easy. The final step was presentation of data. This involved using words or sentences and figures and tables to account for the data. The same procedure was used by Sanaa and Qamar (2012). In their study, they used 60 participants and 171 updates collected for 5 days. The speech acts found were collected and classified as per their communicative content. The speech acts in the status updates were categorized using Searle's taxonomy.

Wolfson (1981) argued that speech acts vary across cultures not just by how they are achieved but equally in the scattering, occurrence and their roles (as cited in Farnia et al., 2010). That means the study employed both qualitative and quantitative methods in its analysis. Therefore, the results from the texts were organized and tabulated. Frequency tables and percentages were drawn to present the findings.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

The data used for this research came from the Hansards that are publicly available. The public can access the data from Bomet County Assembly website <http://www.bometassembly.go.ke>. Pseudonyms were used instead of the actual names of the debaters. This was done to protect their identity and also to enable the researcher to interpret data freely. The researcher however, tried to retain the actual words of the debaters as much as possible. Generally, the researcher ensured that appropriate ethical standards were observed when carrying out research. This was done by first seeking informed consent from the County Assembly of Bomet. The researcher first visited the County Assembly and informed them of the intention to do research on the debating process and language use. Neumann (2003) points out that ethics in research involves what is allowed and disallowed in conducting research and that it involves an integral part of any research. On the same note, Shaffer and Kipp (2010) advise that any investigator carrying out research should observe certain standards of conduct so that research participants are protected from physical and psychological harm. Second, the researcher ensured that objectivity was practiced by ensuring that only relevant data was collected. The researcher conformed with all the standard procedures for carrying out research.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The main objective of the study was identification and analysis of speech acts performed by Members of County Assembly of Bomet during debates in order to determine the pragmatic forces behind the utterances. This chapter describes and analyzes the study results. In particular, the chapter examines the types of speech acts used during debates, their pragmatic forces, how cultural context influences their realization, and the relationship between gender and speech acts.

The findings of the study are presented using Austin's (1962) SAT and Searle's (1969, 1976) taxonomy of speech acts, descriptive statistics and brief discussions. The study also incorporated insights in the study of speech acts from Sotillo (2017), Davis (1979) and Akhimien (2010). The results are presented in the order in which the research questions were stated. A total of 3 Motions extracted from the Hansards of Bomet County Assembly were used and the utterances of all the 36 Members of County Assembly of Bomet were sampled for the study.

4.2 Types of Speech Acts used during Debates

The first objective of the inquiry was an examination of the types of speech acts used during debates as recorded in the Hansards of Bomet County Assembly. This was especially necessary because speech acts are an important part of communication. To determine how a speech act was to be interpreted required that we first establish the kind of act being performed. This was done by looking at each of the 3 sampled motions that came up for discussion at the County Assembly of Bomet.

Table 4.1 below shows the overall relative frequencies and percentage distributions of speech acts of Members of County Assembly of Bomet from the sampled motions. The frequencies show the incidence of each speech act while the percentage was calculated by placing the frequency over the sum of speech acts present in the utterances and thereafter multiplied by one hundred. The data is analyzed using Searle's taxonomy of illocutionary acts.

Table 4.1: Distribution of Speech Acts from the Data

	Motion 1		Motion 2		Motion 3		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Assertives	45	42.45	65	48.50	28	53.84	138	47.26
Expressives	25	23.58	31	23.13	13	25	69	23.63
Directives	22	20.75	24	17.91	7	13.46	53	18.15
Declarations	10	9.43	9	6.71	2	3.84	21	7.19
Commissives	4	3.77	5	3.73	2	3.84	11	3.76
Total	106	100.00	134	100.00	52	100.00	292	100.00

From the table, it was observed that the Members of County Assembly used utterances that were mainly assertives/representatives accounting for 47.26%. This was followed by expressives at 23.63%, directives 18.15%, declarations 7.19% and finally commissives at 3.76%. The percentage distribution of all the illocutionary utterances are shown in Figure 4.1.

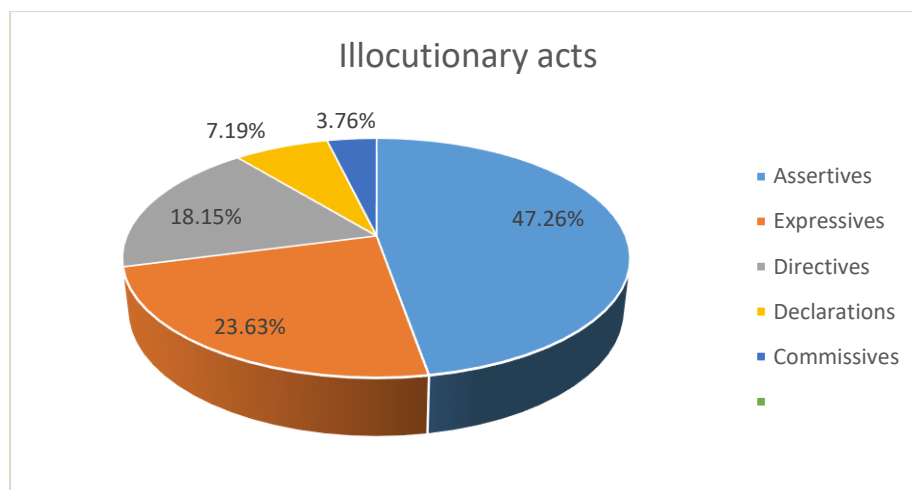


Figure 4.1: Percentage distribution of illocutionary acts from the data

In the section below, the researcher discusses how Members of County Assembly of Bomet used the speech acts in the three sampled Motions.

4.2.1 Motion 1: The County Assembly Seeks to Revoke the Contract to the Kenya Red Cross

The Motion was done on 27, February 2014 and the issues surrounding the discussion was the need to cancel the contract assigned to the Kenya Red Cross society on account of the cost it would have on the County. At the time the county governments in Kenya were

transitioning from the national government, certain sectors, including health were devolved. Therefore, county governments, including Bomet County, were setting up structures to handle the devolved services. Among the steps taken to aid in offering health services to its people, Bomet County Government signed a contract with the Kenya Red Cross to provide their ambulance services to the residents of Bomet. How the contract was entered brought contention as seen from the debate. The motion Mover began the debate with the following excerpt;

Excerpt 1

...deeply concerned that the County Government of Bomet did not involve the County Assembly in its contract award...this County Assembly do revoke the contract to the Kenya Red Cross since it did not follow provisions of the law...I want the members to get me clearly, it is because we were sworn in to protect the constitution and to represent the electorate...I want to remove the notion that I intent to derail the Contract...the County Government in its duty to provide service must be effective, efficient, and inclusive and embrace people's participation. But they never allowed people's participation...If we allow these roadside shows to rule this County, we will be doomed and the residents will not blame the Executive but this House...anything a leader does must have the blessings of the people. We want to end this impunity...If you look at the contract, it says that the sum to be paid per ambulance per day is sh. 20,000 and if you multiply by 6 vehicles it comes to sh. 120,000. And if you calculate it we pay sh. 600,000 per ambulance per month and that translates to sh. 3.6 million for six vehicles per month which is enough to buy two ambulances per month. And if we have our own, the money could remain within the County at the same time we will create job opportunities for both drivers and paramedics...So I urge the members that we rescind the contract and redraft it in line with the Constitution...

The Mover of the motion in excerpt 1 above performs a locutionary act via a sequel of declarative sentences. The motion Mover informs the hearers that the contract was entered without regard for the law. That the County loses money due to the contract. That if the situation is not salvaged then as a County, they are *doomed*. As an illocutionary act, the utterance belongs to the class of assertives (representatives), because the motion Mover is committed to the truth of the proposition. And to tell somebody about something, especially in an official way is known as informing. Furthermore, the motion Mover warns the listeners

that if the contract is not revoked, they are *doomed*. That *Bomet residents will not blame the Executive but them*. This constitutes a directive class of speech acts by which the speaker influences the hearer to act. Excerpt [1] is also a commissive act wherein the speaker is committed to a future action such as revoking the contract and redrafting it afresh by following the law. As a perlocutionary act, Excerpt [1] influences the listeners to understand that the motion Mover is truly concerned about the law.

On the pragmatic level, the speech acts of the motion Mover fully comply with Searle's (1969) felicity conditions. On the propositional content, the Mover has produced utterances that are grammatical and can be understood by the audience. The preparatory conditions have also been fulfilled because the audience have the ability to revoke the contract and start afresh. The essential condition specifies the need for the hearer to do the action. This condition may however run into problems in linguistic activities such as the debates because the hearers may not see the need to carry out the action. This will lead to the motion not passing. The sincerity conditions are conditions required by the speaker to carry out the act. The motion Mover gives reasons why the contract should be revoked hoping that the rest of the participants will support him in achieving this goal.

While opening the motion for debate at the County Assembly, the Hon. Speaker performs a declarative act by announcing that the motion was *open for debate*. The debate will only progress after the honourable speaker utters these specific words. That means that the Speaker by virtue of his authority fulfils Austinian's (1962) felicity conditions. These conditions are divided into two parts; ritualistic constraints and acceptable conventional procedure. Ritualistic constraints involve social and cultural events. That is, there must be a ritual going on for the utterance to be seen as performing the action. The conventional procedure is about following an acceptable procedure. The procedure must include uttering of certain words by a certain person in a certain setting: place and time. According to Austin (1962), if these conditions are not met, the utterance will misfire or becomes infelicitous. For instance, if the Speakers says, *can you contribute to the motion*, his utterance will likely run into problems because he will have flouted the rules of language use at the County Assembly.

While contributing to the same motion, Hon. Kipsang performs a locutionary act by stating;

Excerpt 2

...I was challenging the Executive Committee and we have sat with the CEC health and discussed a lot of things which should be a priority, and as we take the

patients to hospitals, we need a well-established hospital for example Longisa since it is not a must to take patients to outside places, yet we have the ability to equip our facilities and treat patients to curb expenses. And it should be a priority to assist patients, and imagine bringing patients to hospitals which are not equipped and it will be very unfortunate that such patients might die...

Though his contribution may not be linked to the motion of the day, Hon. Kipsang performs an illocutionary act through a directive speech act wherein he suggests to the House that they should have equipped the local hospitals first because even if ambulances take patients to hospital, they still die because the hospitals are ill-equipped. Again it entails an assertive act where the speaker is committed to the truth of the proposition. The perlocutionary act performed reveals that the utterer wishes the listener to understand that he does not consider the motion of revoking the contract to the Kenya Red Cross a priority; there are more pressing issues than that.

Hon. Kiprop opposes the motion by performing a locutionary act using different statements.

Excerpt 3

I want to categorically oppose the motion and I have four reasons...I think he does not know the definition of the Executive, and I want to clarify to him that it is upon the Executive to execute the funds that have been allocated to various sectors...the mover is not articulating the issues of his people...he is misplaced in the Committee. He should be re-delegated.

The bill of rights entitles people to utmost health facilities which befit a human being...the honourable member is driving a Rav4 while his people are actually moving barefooted. We do not have second class human beings in our republic and we need to treat each individual with dignity...I think the honourable member should pity himself and should not talk about that for the sake of his electorates...We should not be gospel preachers while we are taking wine.

The excerpt by Hon. Kiprop perform various illocutionary acts. Firstly, through an assertive act, the listener is informed that he opposes the motion and he has four justifications for the assertion. He goes ahead to claim that the motion Mover is misplaced because he is questioning allocation of funds that the Executive has an ultimate decision over while he, the mover is in health docket. Therefore, the Mover should be moved from his current position (health department) since he knows more about finances (directive act). Secondly, Hon.

Kiprop uses an expressive act to complain that the Mover drives a Rav4 while his people (Mover's) are suffering. Thirdly, he uses a directive speech act to caution the Mover not to discuss the motion for the sake of his electorates and says that *we should not be gospel preachers while we are taking wine*. The perlocutionary act that the speaker wishes the listeners to understand is that the motion Mover does not truly care for his electorates.

Hon. Kibii on his part performs a locutionary act through declarative statements by stating that the people of *Kenya exercises their sovereign powers either directly or indirectly through their representatives who are in the House*. He reports that they *have one vehicle where he comes from and they have welcomed it*. He equally performs a locutionary act by asking whether *they are not wasting money by paying for ambulances even when they do not do anything*. He further claims that *there must be somebody somewhere who actually wants to use it to embezzle public funds*. He challenges one of the members who claimed that the ambulances have served a number of people yet they are only four. He states that the *Assembly may exercise oversight on executive organs and because they are on the right tract, they are not supposed to be compromised to leave their powers*. The illocutionary acts performed by Hon. Kibii are assertives because the speaker is committed to the truth of his propositions.

Hon. Rono reports that they *budgeted for 295 million towards Health and 50 million for the purchases of ambulance services and not purchase of ambulance*. He felt sorry that *some committee members were not there when the Executive Member was before them*. He reported that the Red Cross was picked because they quoted the lowest price; *sh.600,000 as opposed to the AAR who quoted sh. 650,000. St. John Ambulance refused to offer services*. He also reported that *public participation was done at st. Bakhita in Bomet and another at Sotik and some members went to Nairobi for the same*. He said he was glad that *a hundred and sixty lives had been saved so far*. The illocutionary acts performed by Hon. Rono include assertives and expressives in which he apologizes for the members who were absent during the meeting and also expresses gladness that lives had been saved by the ambulances. The perlocutionary act performed is to convince the hearers to reject the Mover's assertions because due process was followed in signing the contract; public participation and tendering process were properly done.

Hon. Kipruto started by thanking the Speaker for giving him an opportunity *to make his contributions*. He also congratulated the Mover for the *great concern he has for the welfare of the people of Bomet*. The speech acts performed are therefore expressives as they deal with thanking and congratulating. Through a directive speech act, he requested that they only wanted to grasp *the amount of money or the value for delivering services; whether it was accurate or exaggerated*. Through an assertive speech acts he reports;

Excerpt 4

If we compare with Machakos County, we cannot say that our people are sicklier than those in Machakos so that we go for the higher value. Machakos County is paying 1.7 million per ambulance purchased. If we are to pay 216 million for five years, there will be no assets remaining in Bomet and we will still be in the same level. If we use the money to buy ambulances, we will be having 108 ambulances in Bomet in five years and they belong to us...when we talk about negotiations, who are these negotiators? I can see this as a scandal in waiting. I must say that we have to fight by all means a scam that is going to derail the success and the achievements of our people...I cannot be intimidated by the members ...who challenge the interest of my people.

Apart from performing assertives, the honourable member also uses commissives to articulate future actions; that of *buying own ambulances* and therefore *saving money* and of fighting scandals that threaten to *derail the success and achievements of the people of Bomet*.

Hon. Kemboi performs an assertive act by claiming that he regards the *motion as a mischief by one honourable member to micromanage the Executive*. He further claims that the *Mover of the motion was trying to remove a speck in the eye of the Executive and bringing power struggles to try as much as possible to discredit what has been of great assistance to the County*. He then performs an expressive act by saying that he was *shocked and dumbfounded that part of the members who went to Red Cross were the ones lying to the public and also lying to the House*. He further performs an assertive act by claiming that he believes *that there were members in the House who enjoy seeing citizens suffer, and if possible wishing them to die so that they can go and do politics in their funerals!*

Hon. Chepchumba in her speech performs expressive acts by giving an example of *a child who fell into a pit latrine in Chesoan ward and the only team who could save the child was the Red Cross*. She explains that the *Red Cross had also given sh. 100 million for food*

security in the lower parts of the County. Using assertives she demonstrated that the sh. 600,000 being paid for the ambulances when calculated for a population of 10,000 people that she represents comes to sh. 0.04 cents. She questions whether this little amount can be compared with sh. 75 million insurance cover that the honourable members are given. She further uses expressives to state that the elected members should respect the residents. She performs a directive act by cautioning the Mover that whenever he is bringing motions to the House, he needs to critically look at them and check if it is binding to the citizens of the County.

Hon. Chelangat while using assertives confirms that indeed the *Red Cross is returning back to the community by supporting projects through water and irrigation. She informs the listeners that they were preparing to bring information about the contract to the House and that if the Mover had prior knowledge about it, he would have withdrawn the motion. She further informs the members that when calculated, the 3.6 million per month translates to sh. 3 per person in the County. The Red Cross takes care of services including medicine and ICU which the County ambulances lack.*

Hon. Tabutany performs assertives through the use of declarative and interrogative sentences. She informs the audience that *more than 160 people had been helped by the Red Cross. She reports that more than 19 women have delivered their babies in those ambulances. She performs expressives by mentioning that it was sad that she lost her sister-in-law because of losing time while being rushed to the hospital. She stated that even people suffering from meningitis have been saved by these ambulance services. She asks about the amount of money contributed during funerals. How much they pay for a mother stuck in hospital after delivery.* The perlocutionary effect that speaker wishes the hearer to understand is that the Red Cross offers cheaper services compared to what the Mover claims and many people have benefited from the Society.

Hon. Kigen congratulated (expressives) the Mover *because they are friends.* He performs assertive speech acts by informing the audience *the people of Chebunyo ward welcomed the ambulances. He praised the quality of the services and personnel working in the ambulances (expressives).* He reports that *the first place to benefit is Chebunyo ward specifically Nogirwet sub-location (assertives).*

Hon. Koech uses various declarative statements in the form of assertives in his utterance;

Excerpt 5

We were elected by Wananchi some few months ago and after that we were asking SRC to increase our salaries...the truth is burning to those who are opposing...the House is full today at the public gallery...almost like south Africa where Nelson Mandela was arrested for the truth...there was an incident in my place of an old man who was sick and had been referred to Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital, Eldoret...when the ambulance arrived the family told me this is a hospital...For a serious politician like me who is praying day and night to be elected several times, I am happy to see that lives are saved in order to vote for me...usually when there is something bad, people do like laughing.

When the Mover was finally given a chance to make his remarks, he also used a number of speech acts. He complains that *he sensed mischief and witch-hunt from the members who deliberated on the motion*. He complained that *it became personal because he was seen as wanting to destroy the programmes of the County Executive (expressives)*. That it was *painful when members conclude that the people of Embu are too poor (expressives)*. He reported that they were *dealing with the commercial wing of the Red Cross known as Emergency Plus Medical Services which is a profit making organization (assertives)*. He continues to say that *members violated the Standing Orders in their debates. They gave oral evidence without documentation and therefore were lying to the Assembly as some information could not be verified (assertives)*. He further states that *if they were to calculate the amount of money paid and the services offered by the ambulances, they are making a loss. So the buck stops at the County Assembly (assertives)*.

The Hon. Speaker performs a directive act by asking the County Assembly whether the contract award of ambulance services to the Kenya Red Cross Society should be revoked and they voted nay.

In all the above speech acts by the debaters, the speakers have fulfilled the felicity conditions that make their communication successful. It is very important for the speakers' intentions to be interpreted appropriately by the hearers. The SAT emphasizes on the need for speaker's intention to be understood by the hearer for proper communication to take place.

4.2.2 Motion 2: The County Assembly do resolve that the County Public Service Board and the County Secretary do halt Payments to such persons who have not been Lawfully Employed until Employment of such Persons has been regularized

The motion which was held on 15th, July 2015 revolves around the manner in which County employees are employed by the County Government of Bomet. According to Hon. Kibii, the motion Mover, some employees were employed irregularly and because they are drawing salaries, the County incurs huge losses and expenditure. By informing the hearers, the Mover performs a locutionary act through the use of declarative sentences. As an illocutionary act, the utterance belongs to the assertives because the Mover is committed to the truth of the proposition. The Mover continues to perform assertive acts by claiming that some employees have different qualifications, for instance one has a Masters and the other a form four-leaver yet they are in the same job group. He concludes that since the County Government is paying sh.200 million per annum to these ghost workers instead of using it to improve the lives of the people, he urges *the County Assembly to halt payments to such persons who have not been lawfully employed until employment of such persons has been regularized* (a directive speech act).

The Hon. Speaker performs a declarative speech act by opening the motion for debate. Declarations are those utterances in which the saying and doing the action are one and the same thing. Declarations are used to bring about change in our utterances.

Hon. Kipruto uses declarative sentences to contribute to the motion. The form of locution is therefore declarative. As an illocutionary act he uses various speech acts. He performs an expressive act by congratulating the Mover for coming up with a very important motion touching on all the areas they are representing. He then uses assertives to affirm the need to follow the constitution to ensure fairness is exercised:

Excerpt 6

I always believe in spirit of fairness...The Constitution is very clear...if it was not there, nepotism would have prevailed in the recruitment of the persons...without law Clanism was going to play the role in recruitment. Without the law the flesh was going to determine who is going to hold a given position...

Hon. Kipruto then uses expressives to lament that it was unfortunate that *these cases are occurring in Bomet County in the presence of County government act, the Constitution and in the presence of labour laws which are clear in the terms of recruitment*. He informs the listeners that there are *only two bodies that are legalized to employ, that is the Public Service Board led by Amb. Terer and the County Assembly Service Board to do for the Assembly* (assertives).

Through a series of declarative sentences, Hon.Kipruto performs expressive acts by complaining about the state of affairs at the County as far as recruitment is concerned and the effects of employing people irregularly:

Excerpt 7

The current rate of recruitment in the County shows that in the next two years, it shall stand at seventy percent. That is to say part of the services shall not be delivered to the public. It is unfortunate that today there are two names branded as liaison officers and these are the people who are trying to gather sensitive information affecting the political future of the Governor and they are in payroll...I urge the members that we handle this issue with sobriety because it affects all of us. As we talk we have a shortage of nurses in our dispensaries, nursery teachers and tutors, but there is a large recruitment of the recently graduated enforcement officers.

The Honourable member further uses expressives to complain about the recruited officers and the problem of gender imbalance in the recruitment:

Excerpt 8

As you get out you will see the men in blue everywhere...if you go for lunch, they follow you...you try to greet a friend, you find a man in blue at the gate. You go to a bank and you find a man in blue monitoring your movements...The staffs that are recruited are based on other factors that I don't want to be captured but go there and you will find out for yourselves. The people treated as tea girls and don't have qualifications but have physical qualifications are taken...the number of women employed in this County government are many as compared to men.

Hon. Kipruto is disappointed that if the trend continues, they will be discouraging young children from going to school. That it was wrong for members to *attend funds drive for*

educating children and the same qualification is not recognized. Let the voiceless also be given jobs (expressives).

Hon. Kibet started by thanking honourable Kibii for the Motion which urged the Public Service Board to halt payment to the members who were unlawfully recruited (expressive act). He claims that *the office of the County secretary had undermined the public service board* (assertives). He urges the members to *defer the motion and look for sufficient information so that they get to the root cause of the problem and solve it once and for all*. This locutionary statement is declarative in nature. The illocutionary force is both directive and a commissive. As an act belonging to directives, the statement requires the hearers to do something and in this case it is to defer the motion so that they look for sufficient evidence. As a commissive, the act commits the interlocutors to a future action, that of solving the problem of recruitment once and for all.

Hon. Cheruiyot's utterances consists of a series of statements, so the locutionary act is a declarative one. As an illocutionary act, the utterance belongs to commissives. The honourable member wants to *know the list of people who were employed by the defunct local authorities and the new employees*. He also wants to *know the payroll and their roles and if there is anyone employed physically without documents, then they would be able to deal with the problem once and for all*. Commissives commit the speaker to a future action and here, honourable Cheruiyot believes that if they have sufficient information they can solve the problem once and for all.

Hon. Cheptoo claims that *there was unnecessary employment at the County*. She further claims that *employment was done in political forums and cited her area as an example where people were employed without following the right procedure*. She pointed out that *old men were employed thereby sidelining the youth who are productive*. She claims that *some were employed with fake certificates from River road, an example being CFO who was removed from office*. These utterances are assertives because they commit the speaker to the truth of the propositions.

Hon. Kipsang's utterances consists of a combination of assertives, expressives and commissives. While performing illocutionary acts of the assertives type, the honourable member reports they *have not agreed on Appropriation Bill for 2015 because one of the*

issues that brought problems was that the wage bill took more money than development. That they are paying more than 1.2 billion shillings out of 4 billion allocated to the County. In performing illocutionary acts of the expressives type, the speaker *pities the students at the gallery because there was no toilet as all the money was used for salaries*. The honourable member also *pities the employees from the defunct council because they have not been regularized*. He is also bitter with the recruitment process because it is not regionally balanced; nobody has been employed from his ward. In performing the commissive type of speech act, the speaker warns *that if the problem persists, they will go to court*.

Hon. Chepchumba makes her contribution using declarative sentences. She began with an expressive speech act in which she expresses her *shock that they were discussing the messes done by the County Government of Bomet*. Nevertheless, she thanks the Honourable Speaker for giving her the *opportunity to contribute to the motion brought by honourable Kibii*. She claims that *no single member of the House knows the number of employees at the County*. She further claims that *two offices, the offices of the CS headed by the Governor and the office of the Public Service Board, together have been colluding and are making irregular employments in the County Government*. Other issues she raised include, the issue of *flower guards*, the issue of *radio callers, praise and worship team*. That the *praise and worship team earns money from the County Government having been employed through the back-doors* (assertives).

Hon. Kigen also makes use of assertives to report that *the board had no say over some employees because they were handed over by the National public service board while in their job groups*. He however pointed out it was *unfair for a KJSC, CPE or KCPE to earn more than a degree holder and so harmonization needs to be done*.

Hon. Kimutai makes an indirect request that *the motion be interrupted to allow them collect all the information which will enable them make informed decision* (directive act). He performs assertive acts through interrogatives such as:

Excerpt 9

When we say we are supposed to stop payment of these people. Who are these people? If we employ those who know people, who will employ those ones that do not know people?

Hon. Kimutai also performs assertives through declarative sentences. He reports that they are not witch-hunting anybody. *They just want to ensure that what has been done is right.*

Hon. Kiptuiya stated that he was shocked to learn that honourable Kipsang was also being *discriminated despite the fact that the big man comes from around that area* (expressive act).

Through assertive acts he warns:

Excerpt 10

if they are going in a direction where everybody is coming with his friend, is employing his relative, his in-laws, then we are lost.

The honourable member then uses a directive speech act by urging his interlocutors:

Excerpt 11

If we want to make this flowing river dry completely, we do not need to block down the valley. We need to find the source and block.

Hon. Kemboi makes use of commissives, expressives and directives to add his voice to the motion. He tells his colleagues that they are *symbols of justice and welfare in the society*. He reminds them that people should not be *recruited on the basis of who knows who but on the basis of who knows what*. Commissives commit the speaker to a future action and in this case Hon. Kemboi wishes that employment should be done fairly in Bomet. He uses expressives to explain how *cancellation of shortlisted nurses through a newspaper had caused trauma to those who had been shortlisted and also those who had not been shortlisted as they had been told those with two-year relevant experience qualified but in the list you find those who have nine months*. Through the use of directives, the speaker says that the motion should be deferred and *the offices of the County Secretary and that of the Public service board should be investigated*.

Hon. Soi performs a number of illocutionary acts of the assertive type of speech acts. For example, he reported that there was a committee that was set up by the House *which came up with two recommendations; one was to fire key office holders and the other was to further investigate on how the CS was interfering but unfortunately, the House in its own wisdom or lack of it decided to vote against the recommendation*. He claims that he had reminded them that they will regret the decision and that is happening now. He also claims that there were *a number of officers like the liaison officers who have never been regularized and other offices like BOCADA which did not pass through the House and the water company which has directors which were never vetted by the House* (assertives).

Hon. Tanui requested that before they defer the Motion, they should bring the names of those working against the law so that when they will be debating, they will be having their names (directive act). He performs an illocutionary act by warning that if everybody drives the County in their own style, they will be lost (assertives). He also uses an assertive to say that even the *CEO who has been jumping must stick to the law so that they deliver services to the people who elected them.*

The Mover of the Motion uses expressives to thank the members for participating in the motion and contributing positively. He also thanked the member who talked of liaison officers that has since been changed to administrative officers. He reported that he has a list of those who were earning, their names, job group, qualifications and their IDs (Assertives). He requests the chair to allow him defer the motion until next time (directive act).

The Hon. Speaker while delivering his verdict makes a number of illocutionary acts. He uses assertives to report that Kimutai had received *a letter from CS saying that the Assembly had overstepped its mandate.* He reiterated that it is either the *CS was not consulting the legal team from the Executive or the legal team is giving wrong advice because that had become a trend for some time.* He directed the Assembly to summon the CEC who said they (assembly) are overstepping their mandate. If he refuses, *the assembly has powers to go to high court* (directive act). He also uses directives by allowing the deferment of putting the question until a time the House business will decide time and date.

It is important to point out speakers in debates have a responsibility of ensuring that their arguments are received in favour by their rivals. In order for their intentions to be fulfilled, they must adhere to the conditions necessary for the success of the speech acts they perform. That means they must follow Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) felicity conditions. In Motion 2, Austin's (1962) felicity conditions were mostly used by the Speaker in *opening the motion for debate* and *putting the question* at the end of the debate. The rest of the debaters applied Searle's (1969) notion of felicity conditions. These were, propositional content that ensures that the speakers produced sentences that were grammatical and made sense; preparatory rule which checked the hearer's ability to do the action as well as the speaker's ability to tell the hearer; the essential rule which specifies the need for the hearer to do the

action, and finally, the sincerity rule in which the speaker believes the action should be done. These felicity conditions played a role in the success of the debate.

4.2.3 Motion 3: The County Assembly Urges the County Executive Committee to develop a Street Naming Policy for Naming of Streets in Our Towns and Municipalities

The Motion above took place on 28th, March 2017 at 9:30 am. Hon. Tabutany, the Motion Mover sought the support of the members in passing the motion so that street naming could be carried out in Bomet. The Mover performs an act through declarative sentence, so the form of locution is declarative. The illocutionary act performed belongs to assertive type. When a speaker informs their interlocutors about something new, it is known as informing. The Mover says:

Excerpt 12

Naming of streets has two elements, direct and indirect advantages and benefits. The elements of the indirect benefits are more or less of the technical exposition which requires a non-professional to understand.

The Mover, through a series of statements further explains her own experiences of the importance of street naming. When a speaker talks about something that he has seen or heard, it is known as reporting. The illocutionary act performed belongs to assertive type. Assertives commit the speaker to the truth of what he/she says. Hon. Tabutany says:

Excerpt 13

When I went to England in 1985, I expected to be picked from the airport but no one came. What helped me was the written letter which indicated the house number. When I visited Japan, it does not have the street naming but it has a numbering system that can easily get you where you want to go.

The Mover also performs other illocutionary acts of expressive type by complaining that in Bomet, there is *only one street named after Kipchamba, the great musician after he died*. Otherwise, *identifying places in Bomet is hectic*.

The Mover further suggests that the County Executive member concerned can develop a policy that will ensure that the streets are accordingly named (directive speech act). She uses expressives to thank the members for supporting her when her mum was sick. Through

assertives, she describes how she had to have *somebody leave the house and come to a cattle dip* so that the ambulance could locate where to pick the patient (reporting). Through declarative sentences, she uses assertives to claim that the reasons why not all revenue is collected is because some shops are hidden and there is no proper street.

The Mover performs an illocutionary act to ensure naming of streets is done in a legal manner. She proposes that in the policy making, there should be ways that will not make everybody want their names to appear in the streets (directive act). She performs assertive acts to report that there have been *many buildings getting fire and it is difficult to have the fire brigade reach there especially when there is no street naming*. Moreover, the Mover explains through assertives that;

Excerpt 14

naming geographical locations can help in analyzing the spatial temporal patterns or the incidences like diseases and crime areas or any other phenomenon.

The Mover gives an example of countries like Australia which add the direction to where you are going whether east or west. She finally performs a directive speech act by urging the Assembly to pass the Motion to help them move one-step from where they have been for 50 years since independence.

The Hon. Soi, the temporary speaker, declares the Motion as open for debate (declaration). Hon. Chepchumba performs some acts through declarative sentences. The form of locution is therefore declarative. In her speech she indicates her reasons as to why naming of streets may not be done immediately:

Excerpt 15

The motion requires thorough research because the naming of street is something that cannot be done in a particular period of time but over time.

The above utterance can be seen as a commissive because it commits the speaker to some future action of naming streets after thorough research has been carried out.

Hon. Chepchumba also performs assertive acts. For example, she reports that *Bomet County has only two streets which were named two years back and that there was digital mapping that was done before the inception of the County Government*.

She also uses assertive acts by claiming that digital mapping was done in only seven counties, among the forty-seven. She further claims that the documents were in the hands of the County Government of Bomet yet they have never been brought to the Assembly for approval to pave way for the implementation of several developments that have to take pace. This assertive act is about blaming somebody of being responsible for the unpleasant happenings in the County.

Hon. Chepchumba advises that *well-planned towns should be showing residential areas, industrial areas, major roads and the railway that is supposed to pass through the town, and therefore naming cannot be done until this is done*. The utterance may be seen as both a commissive and a directive one. In performing the above utterance, the honourable member is committed to a future action of naming the streets when all the processes about town planning are completed. At the same time, it is a directive act because, the honourable member seems to suggest that discussions about naming of streets should not be happening because planning should be given priority.

Hon. Chepchumba also performs expressive acts by congratulating the honourable members for looking at the future and thinking of the naming but she cautions through directive act that a technical person should give the way forward on the procedures to be followed in street naming. She further directs that the Motion be put on hold until they have the relevant documents that are going to give them the direction.

Hon. Chepchumba reports that most towns do the street naming after proper planning is approved and gave an example of Kapkwon area which was supposed to be an industrial area, Zebra was supposed to be a residential area and Kyogong was to be a dumping site as per the plan and that should be approved first (assertives).

Hon. Kemboi performs illocutionary acts of the expressives and assertives types. Using expressives, he thanked the honourable speaker for giving him an opportunity to contribute to the Motion. He also congratulated the Mover of the Motion for coming up with the motion. He uses assertives to affirm the importance of street naming because when visitors come, most of them use Google to trace their destinations. Therefore, he says that it is very important that places in Bomet are in Google maps. He also uses assertives by claiming that Bomet had not matured because of the impunity which takes place in the town which has

even scared the investors. Such an utterance belongs to complaining type of speech act because somebody is being blamed for the mess in the County.

Hon. Tabutany, the Motion Mover, while giving her final remarks uses expressive type of speech acts to thank the members for their contributions. She performs an assertive act by stating that *a child has already been born in Bomet*. She equates the birth of a child to the coming up of Bomet County which has streets that are tarmacked. Just as a child is given a name after being born, the streets also should be given names.

The Mover uses assertives further to state that the country has great women who fought for independence and therefore the streets should be named after them. The Mover then performed a directive act by urging the members to pass the motion so that they can name the streets.

Hon. Soi, the temporary speaker, while putting the question reiterated the importance of street naming and uses an assertive act, thus:

Excerpt 16

A street naming policy based on a set of criteria can prevent conflict and provide a historical context for future generations in our community.

He finally uses a directive act to close the debate by saying;

Excerpt 17

The County Assembly urges the County Executive Committee to develop a street naming policy for naming of streets in our towns and municipalities.

Generally speaking, the specific speech acts performed in the data are composed of acts such as informing the hearers about the state of affairs at the County and promising them of a better future if things go according to the speaker's expectations. From the data, the researcher was able to identify all the types of speech acts as categorized by Searle (1969).

4.3 Pragmatic Forces of Speech Acts

The second objective of the study involved a determination of the pragmatic forces of speech acts used by Members of County Assembly of Bomet during their routine act of debating. Speech act theory adopts a functional approach to language use in that it attempts to describe

what speakers and hearers do with language. More specifically, the aim is to unearth what intentions lie beneath their verbal actions and how they render these intentions mutually comprehensible. In other words, every speech act performed has a function to accomplish. Each speech act consists of a series of sub acts that show their specific functions. The following section discusses the functions or pragmatic forces of each type of speech act.

4.3.1 Assertives

Assertives according to Searle (1979) are acts which commit to speaker in varying degrees to the truth of the expressed proposition. Assertives, also referred to as representatives is the most common type of illocutionary act in the corpus representing 47.26% of all the utterances performed in the data. This is in line with studies done by Ghasella et al. (2020), Nurhasana (2017), Nurhayati and Yuwartatik (2016) and Mufiah and Rahman (2019). These studies found that representative speech acts were the most performed because they show the truth of the speaker's utterances. This observation is supported by Cutting (2002) who states that representative is an act in which the word said by the speaker affirm to be the case or not.

The reason for using assertive acts more than the other acts in the present study may be attributed to the type of discourse that the participants are engaged in. In argumentative discourse such as debates, participants make claims and use arguments to support their positions while those opposing use arguments to disagree or rebut the claims. Although most assertive acts are expressed through declarative form, they can also be expressed through the imperative and interrogative forms. The high frequency of assertives revealed that the participants meant to commit themselves to the truth of what they were saying. For instance:

Excerpt 18

If the honourable member is now driving a Rav4, his people are actually moving barefooted. We do not have second class human beings in our Republic and we need to treat each individual with dignity... (Motion 1).

The excerpt above was said by Hon. Kiprop while he was opposing the motion tabled by motion Mover. Hon. Kiprop shares some information with the listeners in which he seems to suggest that the Motion Mover lives lavishly while the people who elected him are suffering. The direction of fit is words-to-world. The first part of the excerpt has this direction because it explains something that is happening in real life. The audience should believe that Hon. Kiprop has the evidence that this is true. The second part of his utterance starting with *We*

need explains something that needs to be done to alleviate the sufferings of the people. This talks about a future where all individuals are treated with dignity. The world should therefore be changed to ensure every individual is treated with respect and this makes the utterance to take the direction of world-to words. Moreover, as an assertive act the audience should assume that the speaker actually wants this to happen. An assertive act should also express the belief of the speaker, a belief that whatever he/she is saying is true. The action verbs like *driving* and *moving* help to paint a picture that the speaker might have seen the motion Mover's car and his people walking barefooted. The three features combined clearly shows that the utterance belongs to the class of assertives. This approach was used in determining the class of assertive acts from the corpus. An assertive speech act has an illocutionary force of the speaker's belief and an excerpt like Extract 18 above could either be true or false. It is a claim made by the speaker which commits him to the truth of what he has expressed.

Assertives are further divided into several classes based on the illocutionary forces of the verbs used in the utterances. Searle and Vanderveken (1985) provided a taxonomy of at least 32 assertive (representative) verbs and subsequently the same number of illocutionary forces which were used in the analysis of the data. These assertive verbs include; assert, claim, affirm, state, deny, disclaim, assure, argue, rebut, inform, notify, remind, object, predict, report, retrodict, suggest, insist, conjecture, hypothesize, guess, swear, testify, admit, confess, accuse, blame, criticize, praise, complain, boast, and lament. Assertive acts found in the data included claiming, reporting, stating, predicting and informing as shown in Table 4.2 below.

Table 4.2: Examples of Assertives in the Data

Theme	Codes	Reference
1.0 Assertives	1.01 Informing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Well-plan towns should be showing residential areas, industrial areas, major roads and the railway. (Motion 3)</i> • <i>The Mover...does not know the definition of the Executive...It is upon the Executive to execute the funds that have been allocated to various sectors. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>Last week, I issued a statement that I enlisted my concern as the County Secretary, the public Service Board and the Director of human resource in the County. (Motion 3)</i>
	1.02 Reporting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>As we talk, we have shortage of nurses in our dispensaries, nursery teachers and tutors, but there is a large recruitment of the recently graduated enforcement officers. (Motion 2)</i> • <i>Machakos County is paying 1.7 million per ambulance purchased. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>I have had the privilege of visiting England and I realized the importance of street naming. (Motion 3)</i>
	1.03. Claiming	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The people treated as tea girls and don't have qualifications but have physical qualifications are taken. (Motion 2)</i> • <i>I see this motion as a mischief by one honourable member to micromanage the Executive. The function of the Executive is well stated in the Constitution. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>The development of this town of Bomet has not matured because of the impunity which takes place in this town, and it has even scared the investors.(Motion 3)</i>

Theme	Codes	Reference
	1.04. Predicting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>If we continue with road side decisions, we will enter the annals of history as the first County Assembly to do because we have reports from the Controller of Budget or the Auditor General... (Motion 1)</i> • <i>Mr. Speaker, if we are going to this direction where everybody is coming with his friend, is employing his relative, is employing his in-laws, then we are lost. (Motion 2)</i> • <i>And if we continue this way, we may not actually deliver what we promised the citizens. (Motion 2)</i>
	1.05 Stating	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>The County Secretary or the CEO of this County does not have power to recruit anybody without going through the County public service board. (Motion 2)</i> • <i>First, in Chapter one of the Constitution, it says all sovereignty belongs to the people of Kenya. It also goes and says the people might exercise their sovereign power directly or through their representatives who are in this House. It also gives us power to do what the members of the public should have been involved in, and Mr. Speaker, personally and from where I come from, we have one vehicle and we have welcomed it. (Motion 1)</i>

All the 138 instances of assertives found in the data were analyzed in order to reveal the most dominant type of assertive act and even further to assign a valid illocutionary force to each act.

Table 4.3 provides an overview of the pragmatic forces and frequency of assertives appearing in the corpus.

Table 4.3: Distribution of Assertives in the Corpus

Types of Assertives	Motion 1		Motion 2		Motion 3		Total	%
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%		
Informing	16	35.55	20	30.76	11	39.28	47	34.05
Reporting	17	37.77	18	27.69	8	28.57	43	31.15
Claiming	6	13.33	12	18.46	5	17.85	23	16.66
Predicting	2	4.44	6	9.23	0	0	8	5.79
Stating	4	8.88	9	13.84	4	14.28	17	12.31
Total	45	100.00	65	100.00	28	100.00	138	100.00

The findings show that informing leads in the illocutionary forces of assertives with 47 occurrences. This is because politicians like informing others of the happenings in their areas of jurisdiction. The speech act of informing is also used to enlighten the listeners about certain issues that they (listeners) may have insufficient knowledge. This is in line with what Searle and Vanderveken (1985) state: To *inform* is to assert to a hearer with the additional preparatory condition that the hearer does not already know what he is being informed of (p. 185).

The act of informing aims to make the hearer aware of certain things about the motion under discussion. The intention of the speaker in this case is to make the hearer have a better understanding regarding the issues that the speaker is presenting. The findings are consistent with the study done by Saputro (2015) who investigated the speech acts present in two speeches of Jokowi, the Indonesian president. Saputro found that in Jokowi's speeches, the speech act of informing had the highest frequency. The perlocutionary effect of informing was to make the hearers know about the facts that the president was explaining. Saputro (2015) adds that if the act is performed successfully, the audience will have a good understanding about the information that the President was presenting. Regarding the present

study, the perlocutionary effect of the utterances is to persuade the hearer to support the speaker after clearly understanding the issues under discussion. The analysis revealed that the illocutionary act of informing mostly appears implicitly in the speeches of Members of County Assembly although there are cases where the act is performed explicitly, such as when a member rises on a point of information. The act of informing aims at getting the hearer know about certain things that are assumed by the speaker to be new. That is, the hearer may not be aware of their existence. The following is an example of informing utterance uttered by Hon. Kibii:

Excerpt 19

There must be somebody somewhere who actually want to use it to embezzle public funds, and I challenge one of the members who is trying to represent my ward by saying that it has served a number of people; yet they were only four. During our budget, we budgeted for the purchase of ambulance and not hiring. We approved 10 ambulances and not 6; let us not interpret the budget to suit the interests of some people. (Motion 1)

The perlocutionary effect of Hon. Kibii's utterance is to persuade the other honourable members to support the revoking of contract that was awarded to the Red Cross. This is however done implicitly. He provides reasons as to why the contract should not be honoured. In his arguments, he seems to downplay the kind of assistance being provided by the ambulances. He informs his audience that the Red Cross has only assisted four of his constituents as opposed to what proponents of the contract are saying. By doing this, Hon. Kibii attempts to change the attitudes of the honourable members towards the ambulances. That the ambulances have done so little because they were not provided to genuinely assist the citizens; it was a way of embezzling public funds by those in power at the County. Furthermore, the ambulances were supposed to be bought and not hired. The number to be bought was also higher as opposed to what is being said in the debate. Therefore, the intention of the speaker is to make the Members of County Assembly realize that the Executive had hidden motives in awarding the contract and that they should support the motion which seeks to revoke the said contract.

Another example of the act of informing was uttered by Hon.Koech when he drew the attention of the members to the public gallery. He says that the motion attracted the attention

of many people and that explains why “the House is full today at the public gallery” Then he adds something interesting saying:

Excerpt 20

This thing is almost turning like that of South Africa where Nelson Mandela was arrested for the truth and here we are dying for the common person who is almost the voting tool for those who don't want the ambulance to be given to these people. (motion 1)

Nelson Mandela was the first black president of South Africa and the first one to be elected in a fully representative democratic election. He was known for his fight against the apartheid system which disadvantaged the blacks in his country and ensured there was equality for all races. By comparing those who are opposing the motion with Nelson Mandela, the honourable member wants to distinguish between those who are fighting for the interests of the common man versus those who want to exploit them. According to him, those who want the contract revoked are selfish because the ambulances were meant to assist the needy access medical care in time. So these members supporting the motion only see the electorate as voting tools who are only required during elections. On the other hand, those opposing the Motion, like him, wants to see the ambulances operating in the County because they care for the disadvantaged just like Nelson Mandela did in South Africa. This is a very effective persuasion strategy by the honourable member because no member would want to be portrayed as selfish and indifferent on matters touching on the electorate. The speaker is also quick to add that Nelson Mandela was arrested for doing the right thing just like, they themselves are dying for the common man. The speaker seems to suggest that the idea of the ambulances may not have been welcomed by majority of the people at the County and that is why the gallery was full when they were debating the motion. But he encourages the other members not to fear speaking the truth because even Mandela was arrested for speaking the truth and fighting for equality for his people in South Africa. So when the act of informing is performed successfully, the participants will have a better understanding of the significance of the motion given the attendance by the public. The speaker also hopes to project a positive image in the eyes of the public because he is fighting for the “common person.” He is also not treating people as mere voting tools and is even ready to “die for the common person.” By saying this, the speaker’s intention is to change the attitude of those who believe that the contract was unlawfully done and that the County will lose a lot of money. If the contract is not revoked, Bomet people are going to benefit because the ambulances were meant to bridge

the gap between the common person and those who have medical insurance like the honourable members. In general, the speaker wants the audience to know that he (and others who don't support the motion) have the best interests of the people of Bomet at heart and they are willing to do anything to safeguard them.

Hon. Chepchumba also performed the illocutionary act of informing in his speech at the County Assembly. He says:

Excerpt 21

Last week I issued a statement that I enlisted my concern at the County Secretary, the Public Service Board and the director of human resource in the County. What I asked was the staffs that were on permanent and temporary. (Motion 2)

It is worth noting that the main concern of the members who support the Motion (Motion 2) is to ensure that payment of salaries to workers who have been irregularly recruited is stopped. Therefore, when Hon. Kibet speaks as he does above, his main intention is to persuade the other participants to support the motion with him. If this is done successfully, there are many positive benefits to the honourable members and the County at large. One of the benefits of the act of informing is to make the hearers know that the speaker has taken some steps to stop irregular recruitments at the County. The other benefit to the members is that their electorate will see them as being fair in ensuring that recruitment is done on merit and where necessary. They will also score highly in matters of oversight to the Executive. They will also have helped in exposing the Executive as being fraudulent and extravagant.

Hon. Kipsang further explains this extravagant nature of the Executive by informing the honourable members that the County is spending a huge chunk of money allocated to it on salaries. He says:

Excerpt 22

If we look at the current expenditure, especially the issue of paying salaries, we realize that we are paying more than 1.2 billion shillings out of the 4 billion allocated to this County. Meaning we need to be sensitive to an extent that whoever is employed should be vetted to see if that person will be of importance to this County. Honourable Speaker, some are in the payroll but if you go now, you will find them eating meat. (Motion 2).

The perlocutionary effect of Hon. Kipsang's utterance is to make the hearers see the huge amount of money spent on salaries and do something about it. That is, to support the Motion under discussion which requires that members halt payments to such persons who have been irregularly recruited until their employment is regularized. If this act of informing is performed successfully, the County will greatly benefit by having its budget on recurrent expenditure reduced significantly. Secondly, the act of informing will make the employment body careful in its work so that only the required workforce is recruited on merit. The County will also benefit by saving some money which can then be directed elsewhere.

In another utterance (motion 3), Hon. Chepchumba informs the honourable members that planning of Bomet town had been done previously though it was never effected. For instance, *Kapkwon was supposed to be an industrial area, Zebra was supposed to be a residential area while Kyogong was to be a dumping site as per the plan.* In this utterance the speaker would like to make the motion Mover and the other audience understand that naming of streets require proper planning of the town first before anything else is done. The Mover should have done thorough investigations first before bringing the motion to the floor of the House. The speaker also wants the hearer to know that she is in a better position to offer advice on matters regarding planning of Bomet town since she previously worked as the Mayor of the town. Therefore, the general perlocutionary effect of the utterance is to make the audience realize that expert advice is sometimes required before bringing of motions to the floor of the House.

Wierzbicka (1987) explains that the act of informing appears to leave no room for doubts, in that after being informed about a proposition, the hearer has to believe that the proposition is true. Wierzbicka adds that the illocutionary force of informing appears to carry with it some notion of authority on the subject of proposition. The authority does not have to be an official one, but an unspoken agreement between speaker and hearer that the speaker is an authority on the subject of discussion. Wierzbicka (1987) then gives the following conditions for inform:

- 1) I assume that you want to know things about X.
- 2) I know something about X that I think you should know.
- 3) I assume I should cause you to know it.
- 4) I say (...).
- 5) I say this because I want to cause you to know it.

- 6) I assume that you will understand that this is not something that could be untrue.
- 7) I assume that I will cause you to know it by saying this.

According to Smith (1991) the possible problems that might arise with the illocutionary force of informing is when the hearer does not want to know about the proposition or if the speaker is not perceived by the hearer to be an authority on the proposition. That is why in the County Assembly discussions, the speakers always encourage the hearers to believe them citing their work experience, for example:

Excerpt 23

Well-planned towns should be showing residential areas, industrial areas, major roads and the railway that is supposed to pass through this town, and therefore we cannot do the naming until this is done. I have been part of the development of this town but there are a number of things that have to be streamlined before naming.

The speaker wishes to remove any doubt on the part of the hearer since the information she is providing is true having worked as a Mayor of Bomet town. Therefore, the hearers should believe what she is saying.

The second most common illocutionary force is reporting with 43 occurrences. People report things that they have seen or heard. The fact that reporting was the second most dominant act implies that the participants in the debate have a lot to report regarding the topics of discussion at the County Assembly. When the act of reporting is done successfully, the hearer will have a better understanding of the happenings in the County Assembly. Consequently, the speaker will be able to get the hearer's support in pushing the agenda proposed by the proponent in the debate. The act of reporting will also have many positive benefits to the proponent and the citizens at the County in general. The participants at the County Assembly perform the act of reporting when they want to discuss the current state of affairs and to show how certain situations can be improved for the betterment of the citizens of Bomet. Reporting also uses facts like statistics and real life cases. The aim of reporting is to inform someone that something has been done (Hornby, 1991). Searle and Vanderveken (1985) say that reporting refers mainly to the past. Excerpt 24 below shows how Assertives can be used to report about state of affairs at the County.

Excerpt 24

Hon. Kipsang: Recently we have cancelled a process meant for recruitment of Health officers. We cancelled another one for Chief officers and another one for drivers. In all these Honourable speaker, in my own understanding, I think public money is being used...meaning misuse of funds. (Motion 2).

Excerpt 24 expresses the worries experienced by the speaker because of the cancellation of the recruitment process. He shares this information with the audience. He is aware that money is being lost and yet nobody seems to be concerned about it otherwise they should have stopped the process until issues get sorted out. He emphasizes his opinions in the last part of the sentence starting with *I think* which makes the direction of fit to be words-to-world. He believes that *money is being misused* and this commits him to the truth of what he has expressed.

The MCAs also use statistics to support their claims. Thus:

Excerpt 25

Hon. Kibet: If you look at the contract, it says that the sum to be paid per ambulance per day is sh. 20,000 and if you multiply by 6 vehicles it comes to sh. 120,000. So let us be practical, this County losses sh. 120,000 per month and as leaders, we know how much that money is. (Motion 1).

The speaker in excerpt 25 tries to persuade his hearers by using statistics to explain the amount of money the County is paying for ambulances. According to him, the contract they entered with The Kenya Red Cross should be revoked because the County is losing a lot of money. Though he uses figures to explain his position, his opponents treat his utterances as mere claims because the ambulances have saved lives and according to some of them, one cannot put a value on human life. As Hon. Langat asserts:

Excerpt 26

I think let us put aside just thinking of the cost. How much is the cost of our lives on us? How much do we contribute during the time for funerals? How much do we contribute even to have a mother who is stuck in hospital out after delivery? But this particular time, I think all of us are getting relieved because we are not contributing... (Motion 1)

While contributing to the same motion, Hon. Kipruto says:

Excerpt 27

The report tabled on the floor of the House is stating very clearly...on the contract letter no. 4.5 that the hire of ambulance was going at 600,000 per month equivalent to 20,000 per day for six ambulances. We are paying 120,000 per day to the Red Cross and 3.6 million per month, 43.2 million per year and for five years we are paying 216 million. If we compare with Machakos County, we cannot say that our people are sicklier than those in Machakos so that we go for the higher value. Machakos County is paying 1.7 million per ambulance purchased. If we are to pay 216 million for five years, there will be no assets remaining in the County Government of Bomet and we will be in the same level.

By reporting on the nature of contract that the CGB has entered with the Kenya Red Cross, the Motion Mover hopes to persuade the audience to agree with him and revoke the contract. This, he succeeds because one honourable member, Hon. Kipruto, has decided to jointly work with the Motion Mover and have the debate succeed so that the contract is revoked because it will be very expensive for Bomet County. Again, if the act of reporting is done successfully and the motion is passed at the end, the County Assembly, through the motion mover, will have succeeded in showing the County and the Kenyan nation in general, that indeed the County Assembly is performing one of its core functions of providing oversight to the County Executive. As a result of the illocutionary act of reporting on the exorbitant nature of the contract, the people of Bomet will be able to save a lot of money which can be put to other good uses.

In Motion 2, Hon. Chepchumba says:

Excerpt 28

...unfortunately, the CEO, who happens to be the Governor, continued the process and the Public Service Board moved aside. The said Public Service Board has now taken the advantage of saying that some officers are overstepping their mandates without making a written communication to this House...

The intention of the speaker in the above utterance is to persuade the other debate participants to agree with her that there are many irregularities in recruitment of personnel at the County. This act of reporting is also meant to make the audience see how the Governor has misused his powers by usurping the powers of the PSB thus making the recruitment body useless. The

speaker also seems to insinuates that the PSB is disrespecting the honourable House by making accusations against some honourable members without using the right channel, that is, there was no written communication. Another perlocutionary effect of the illocutionary act of reporting is that, if the act of reporting leads to halting of payments to people who have been unlawfully recruited, then there are many positive benefits to the people of Bomet. One of these benefits is that the Governor and those in power will be forced to follow the law and ensure that all those bodies that were created for certain functions are given freedom to execute their mandates. Secondly, any recruitment at the County will be fair and it will be done on merit and thirdly, the trust that the people of Bomet will have on their leaders will be greater. This is best summarized by what Hon. Kimutai said in the same motion. Thus:

Excerpt 29

We are not witch-hunting anybody. We just want to analyze that what has been done is right. If we employ those that know people, who will employ those that do not know people? Mr. Speaker, we want to know people by papers.

In other reports, the participants in the debates used real life stories to try to change the attitude of their rivals. For instance, while opposing the Motion, Hon Chepchumba defends the Kenya Red Cross in the following manner:

Excerpt 30

Mr. Speaker.... during the time of the defunct local authorities, there was a serious case where a child fell into a pit latrine in Chesoen ward and the only person who could save that child was the team from the Red Cross. (Motion 1).

In the above utterance, the honourable member is trying to justify why the contract should not be terminated. According to her, the Kenya Red Cross has qualified staff who can assist in times of crisis. Furthermore, the Red Cross assist people in other emergencies like the above mentioned case. Therefore, working with the Red Cross is going to benefit the people of Bomet in several ways.

Similarly, Hon. Koech wants the Red Cross to continue their work in the County because many people have benefited in his ward. One of the real- life situation he tells the audience is about an old man “rescued” by the ambulance belonging to the Red Cross. The perlocutionary effect of this utterance is to make the hearers know that the ambulances have

assisted real people and there is evidence to show for it. That the people of Bomet will greatly benefit from the ambulances is without doubt. Hon. Koech continues to say,

Excerpt 31

For a serious politician like me who is praying day and night to be elected several times, I am happy to see that lives are saved in order to vote for me, but when you interpret according to the mover of the motion, he prays that people should die.

Although the perlocutionary effect of the above utterance is to persuade the honourable members to reject the Motion, the speaker has introduced another element to the discussion; that of treating the electorate as mere voting tools for the politicians. The more people one has, the more he/she is likely to win the elections. At the same time, Hon. Koech tries to discredit the arguments of his opponent and tries to silence him by saying that his agenda is not for the good of the electorate. In fact, he says that *his opponent is praying for people to die*; an extremely offensive act in the eyes and culture of the people who value life.

Similarly, Hon. Tabutany uses her own experiences when he toured several countries abroad. In one of her travels she says:

Excerpt 32

When I went to England in 1985, I expected to be picked from the airport but no one came. What helped me was the written letter which indicated the house number. (Motion 3)

Using real life stories in utterances helps the speaker to make the listeners create that mental picture and see things the way the speaker intends. The intention of Hon. Tabutany is to make her listeners see the need of naming streets in Bomet town. What we cannot fail to see however, is the kind of culture shock that greeted the honourable member when she went to England. She implicitly describes her pain and probably anxiety when she went to a foreign country and there was no one to take her to her destination. She finally had to use a written letter to help her reach where she was going to stay. The use of a written letter is akin to a cold reception and it is not what the honourable member is used to back at home. In Kenya and Africa in general, a visitor is always gladly given directions by fellow human beings. In rural areas, for example among the Kipsigis, a visitor is usually given something to eat before he is given directions to where they are going. The reality that the Hon. Tabutany found at the airport in England, however, seems to jolt her into realizing that things are slowly changing.

That, in future visitors coming to Bomet will require to just find their destinations by simply checking street names. Moreover, street naming will also assist during times of emergencies like fire. Thus, street naming will not only benefit visitors alone but the locals should find it useful as well. So if the other debaters agree to jointly support the motion with her, the act of street naming will become a reality in Bomet.

Assertive acts, to which informing and reporting belong, commit the speaker to the truth of what they say. The speaker therefore knows that any statement made will be judged for their truth value.

Similarly, the MCAS used the illocutionary force of claiming to explain how they found themselves in the current situation (which is not so good in most cases). According to Searle and Vanderveken (1985), a claim expresses a view of the speaker who may be expecting some kind of objections as claims are often not proved. Kroupa (2017) notes that the illocutionary force of claiming is popular in politics because politicians always tend to claim something. For example, one honourable member says in the following excerpt;

Excerpt 33

Hon. Kipruto: The staffs are recruited based on other factors that I don't want to be captured but go there and you will find out for yourselves. The people treated as tea girls and don't have qualifications but have physical qualification are taken. Those who don't have qualification in terms of papers but can qualify are always given the names secretaries. If you try to check on the number of ladies working in this County vis-a vis the men working in this County, you will realize they are less. (Motion 2)

Excerpt 33 paints a gloomy picture about the recruitment processes at the County. In fact, Hon. Kipruto dares the other MCAs to go and find out for themselves if they are doubting him. According to the MCA, the number of female employees versus their male counterparts speaks for themselves. That employment is not done on merit but based on gender, particularly the “physical qualifications” of the female gender. Although the last part of the excerpt is ambiguous, the point has been made clear in the preceding statements. The fact that the speaker feels that employment procedures at the County are unfair commits him to the truth of his statement. The speaker emphasizes his points using the negative adverbs “don't” and draws on what he believes ought to have been done using the contrastive conjunction

“but.” The right things ought to have been done but those responsible for recruitment are not following due processes; merit should be the driving force not physical qualifications.

Wierzbicka (1987) gives the following conditions for the illocutionary act of claiming:

- 1) I say: X
- 2) I imagine that some people will say this is not true.
- 3) I think that I have good reason to say this.
- 4) I think that I can cause people to have to say that this is right.
- 5) I say this because I want to cause other people to think that it is right.

Using Wierzbicka’ observations, the speaker in excerpt 33 believes that she is saying the truth. She is also aware that some people might not believe her. To convince them to believe what she is saying she tells them to ‘go and find out for yourselves’. She also uses statistics to back up her claims; that women employees in Bomet County are more than men.

The illocutionary act of claiming is followed closely by the illocutionary act of stating with 17 occurrences, the act of predicting appears rarely in the data with 8 occurrences. Given the nature of the debates at the County assembly reporting, informing, and claiming would indeed be expected to appear quite often. There are cases, however, when the difference in the illocutionary forces of the utterances can be rather small or unclear. For example, the illocutionary forces of claiming, blaming, informing, and stating in the corpus.

Excerpt 34

Hon. Kipruto: *If we compare with Machakos County, we cannot say that our people are sicklier than those in Machakos so that we go for the higher value...*

(Motion 1).

From the above excerpt, it may not be clear whether the speaker is blaming someone for paying a higher amount for which Machakos County paid less for the same services or the speaker is simply stating a fact. Excerpt 34 in the data is classified as reporting because reporting refers mainly to the past and it can be proven. Statistics can be provided to show the lower value that Machakos is paying for the ambulances. A claim on the other hand cannot be proven.

The study found that the distribution of illocutionary forces of assertives are different in the sampled Motions. While the illocutionary forces of informing are almost fairly distributed across the three Motions, there is great variance in the distribution of other illocutionary forces in the data. For instance, Motions 1 and 2 have fairly equal distributions of illocutionary forces of reporting with 17 and 18 occurrences respectively while Motion 3 has only 8 occurrences. Similarly, the illocutionary force of claiming stands at 6 in Motion 1 and 5 in Motion 3 while in Motion 2 there were 12 occurrences. This therefore, means that the occurrence of some illocutionary forces were influenced by the topic of the Motions under debate. The illocutionary force of predicting was found to be the least used in the data with only 2 occurrences in motion 1 and 6 occurrences in Motion 2 while Motion 3 registered none. In cases where the act of prediction is used, it appears as a warning that if things do not work at the County, the future may be bleak. Politicians in most cases are tasked with improving the standards of living for their electorates and painting a picture of hopelessness is not in their best interest. They do not want to be portrayed as incapable and this could explain why prediction of negative consequences for their people is rarely used. In debates at the County Assembly, the participants support the Motion but in most cases use different arguments to give their own points of view.

There are three features that distinguishes assertives from other illocutionary acts. One of them is that assertives commit the speaker to the truth of the proposed content. This means the speaker should defend his/her utterances as true even if the hearer thinks otherwise. The second feature is their direction of fit is world to the word which means that world should change to match with the words beinn spoken. The third one is that by uttering an assertive, one expresses a belief (even if it is an insincere one) (Kroupa, 2017). The illocutionary point of an assertive act focuses on persuading the hearer to form a parallel belief. Given the importance of the Motions in the County Assembly, that is, to convince the listeners to agree with the speaker's position, it might be understandable that this class of illocutionary acts is, in fact, the most numerous.

4.3.2 Expressives

Expressive acts were the second most dominant class of illocutionary acts in the data accounting for 23.63%. Searle (1979) describe expressives as those acts which express the psychological state of the speaker with respect to the proposition. Expressives state what the speaker feels. The form of expressives can be statements of pleasure, pain, like, dislike, joy,

or sorrow. In using expressives, the speaker makes words fit the world (of feeling) using acts such as thanking, apologizing, congratulating, and praising. In the data the MCAs used various types of expressives to state how they felt about various matters under discussion. The excerpts below reveal a lot about their attitudes towards what they were discussing in the debates.

Excerpt 35

Hon. Kipruto: We are discouraging this young children going to school. It is wrong for the members to attend the funds drive for educating children and the same qualification is not recognized... (Motion 2).

The honourable member is disappointed because according to him, merit in recruitment processes is not taken into account. He therefore wonders if education is of any value because those who are qualified are not employed. Other factors seem to play a role in recruitment at the County. The illocutionary force is that of complaining because those mandated with recruiting staff are doing it the wrong way. Similarly, Hon. Tabutany uses personal experience to explain her feelings thus:

Excerpt 36

I personally lost my sister in-law because of losing time while just being rushed to the hospital. But for all those that these ambulances have supported, they have all lived. (Motion 1).

Hon. Tabutany uses her experiences to persuade others not to revoke the contract with The Kenya Red Cross because the ambulances were of great help to the people of Bomet. According to her many lives have been saved by the ambulances and implicitly states that had these services been available when her sister in-law needed them, she would not have died. By using expressives, the participants shared how they felt about the state of affairs in the County. In doing this, they had to reflect on previous events which were supposed to provide a background for their political intentions and how they intent to change the state of affairs into better ones in the future.

Based on various dimensions, Searle and Vanderveken (1985) describe 13 illocutionary forces for expressives. These include; apologize, thank, condole, congratulate, complain, lament, protest, deplore, boast, compliment, praise, welcome, and greet. Out of the 13 class of expressives provided by the two scholars, only about 6 were found in the data as shown in table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4: Examples of Expressives in the Data

Theme	Codes	Reference
2.0 Expressives	2.01 Thanking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Thank you Mr. Speaker, I would like to say it is nice for us to have a motion that has been attended by the public and we wish to congratulate the Assembly...I want to thank the Mover. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>Thank you Mr. Speaker. I thank my colleague for the correction made. (Motion 2)</i> • <i>Hon. Speaker. I am grateful to have this opportunity to present my motion. (Motion 3)</i>
	2.02 Apologizing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>I am very sorry honourable Speaker. We removed her from office. (Motion 2)</i> • <i>I apologize, Mr. Speaker. (Motion 1)</i>
	2.03. Protesting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Is it in order for the Hon. Member to push me to support the Motion because it will be named after me? (Motion 3)</i> • <i>I think the honourable member is out of order to use two languages. He should stick to one language. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>Mr. Speaker, is it in order for the member contributing to term the place the Governor is coming from like this especially in terms delicate like this. (Motion 2)</i>
	2.04. Congratulating	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>I equally rise to up to congratulate the mover of the motion for coming up with a very important motion which is touching all our areas which we are representing. (Motion 2)</i> • <i>Thank you very much Hon. Speaker for this opportunity. I want to congratulate the Mover of the Motion, Hon. Taplelei for coming up with this. (Motion 3)</i>

Theme	Codes	Reference
	2.05 Complaining	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>That is too painful, and I still want an explanation on when the member did research, and concluded that the people of Kembu Ward are too poor; you allowed him to go on and I am not satisfied up to now. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>It is very unfortunate that these cases are occurring in Bomet County in the presence of county government act, the constitution and in the presence of labour laws which are very clear in terms of recruitment. (Motion 2)</i> • <i>We miss many things in our County and directing one to a definite place is almost a nightmare. (Motion 3)</i>
	2.06 Complimenting	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>I am glad that a hundred and sixty lives have been saved so far...the County Government is making saving lives cheaper than it was before. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>Honourable Speaker, the Speaker normally doesn't have eyes or ears but seems today you are catching all the wordings honourable Speaker. (Motion 2)</i>

Table 4.5 below shows the distribution of expressive acts in the corpus.

Table 4.5: Distribution of Expressives in the Corpus

Types of Expressives	Motion 1		Motion 2		Motion 3		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Total	%
	y		y		y		I	
Thanking	14	56	13	41.93	7	53.84	34	49.27
Apologizing	1	4	1	3.22	0	0	2	2.89
Protesting	1	4	1	3.22	1	7.69	3	4.34
Congratulating	3	12	1	3.22	3	23.07	7	10.14
Complaining	4	16	14	45.16	2	15.38	20	28.98
Complimenting	2	8	1	3.22	0	0	3	4.34
Total	25	100	31	100.0	13	100.0	69	100.0
		0		0		0		0

The results reveal the illocutionary act of thanking leading in the class of expressives with 34 occurrences out of the total number of Expressives. This is attributed to the parliamentary routine style of thanking the Speaker of the House and also thanking the Motion Mover for tabling the motion of the day. This is the same observation made by Aijmer (1996) who says that the speech act verb “thank” is often used performatively as an illocutionary force indicating device (IFID) to the extent that it has become a routinized speech act with formulaic expressions. Leech (1983:84) thinks that thanking is inherently a polite speech act and its force can be maximized or boosted using intensifying adverbs or by prosodic devices.

Searle (1969) states that thanking expressive act is considered as an expression of gratitude and appreciation to someone who has done something good. According to Searle (1979:63), the speech act of thanking as an expression of gratitude and appreciation is defined by a set of rules as:

- 1) Propositional content rule: past act A done by H (hearer).
- 2) Preparatory rule: A benefits S (speaker) and S believes A benefits S.
- 3) Sincerity rule: S feels grateful or appreciative for A.
- 4) Essential rule; count as an expression of gratitude or appreciation.

Excerpt 37

Hon. Kemboi: *Thank you Mr. Speaker, I would like to say it is nice for us to have a motion that has been attended by the public and we wish to congratulate the Assembly...I want to thank the Mover.* (Motion 1)

As a County Assembly routine, the Motion Mover thanks the Speaker for giving him a chance to make his contributions on the debate. He then appreciates the members of public for attending the sitting that day because politicians thrive well in numbers: the more people attracted to listen to them, the better. He also thanks the Motion Mover for the motion of the day. Apart from thanking the Speaker of the County Assembly, Hon. Kibet thanks the Mover of the Motion as well. By thanking the Mover, the speaker creates an impression that the mover has saved them from bad publicity. He mentions that the public has attended the proceedings in large numbers and this could be because the motion has generated a huge interest in the County. Thanking the Mover of the Motion, therefore means he supports the Motion, that is, revocation of contract to the Red Cross. In the eyes of the public, the speaker will also be seen favourably because he does not support the contract which is very expensive. So, the act of thanking the Mover is a very effective persuasion strategy which will benefit the honourable member and the others who are opposed to the contract.

All these speech acts of thanking are meant to appreciate the addressees for their good deeds. They are acts of gratitude because the speaker, Hon. Kemboi benefits from them; he is able to make his contributions on the floor of the Assembly. The public will also hear him speak and perhaps get more endeared to them (public) and so his political life is elevated. The speaker should be seen to be sincere in his acts and the addressees should also count these acts as expression of gratitude so that the specified rules of the speech act of thanking are fulfilled (Searle, 1979).

There are other cases, however, where the speaker thanks other persons as well. For instance:

Excerpt 38

Hon. Chepchumba: *I want to categorically thank the Red Cross team in a number of issues, Mr. Speaker...* (Motion 1).

The perlocutionary effect of the utterance above is to make the hearers know that the Red Cross has done a lot of work in the County. The intention of the speaker is to enumerate the number of things done by the Red Cross that are of benefit to the people of Bomet and by so doing change the attitude of those who want the contract revoked.

Excerpt 39

Hon. Kiptuiya: *Thank you Mr. Speaker. I don't think I have mentioned anybody's name Mr. Speaker. If Honourable Kigen is able to read people's minds, then I want to thank him but I was not on that direction.* (Motion 2).

The illocutionary act of thanking has been used in a sarcastic manner by honourable Kiptuiya. As a persuasive strategy, the act of thanking has been used to “fix” his opponent, that is honourable Kigen. Hon. Kiptuiya wants to let the hearers know that Hon. Kigen is accusing him falsely because he (Kiptuiya) has not mentioned anybody's name.

The act of thanking was followed by the act of complaining with 20 instances showing that the participants are highly dissatisfied with the state of affairs at the County from the way contracts are done, the manner in which recruitment processes are carried out to the lack of direction resulting from streets with no names. According to Searle's (1976) typology, complaint belongs to the category of expressive speech acts, expressing the speaker's approval as well as disapproval of the behavior which the complainee has already done or failed to do. Trosborg (1995) points out that when a complaint is issued, a directive act may be implied or added. Trosborg further explains that when a complaint is made, the complainant makes an attempt to make the complainee repair the damage he/she caused, and /or an attempt to prevent a repetition of the deplorable act. So when a speaker complains, rather just expressing his/her moral censure or blame, he/she is tending to request the hearer to perform a remedial act to compensate for the loss of the speaker. Therefore, the speech act of complaint involves both expressive function and directive function (Ghaznavi, 2017). Consider the following example from the data.

Excerpt 40

Hon. Kibet: *A member said for example “I bought a RAV4 vehicle and the people of my ward are walking barefooted.” That was painful and you even asked the member to elaborate. That is too painful, and I still want an explanation on when the member did research and concluded that the people of Kembu ward are too poor; you allowed him to go on and I am not satisfied up to now. I quoted the*

Constitution and never opposed the programme, and I still don't oppose it.
(Motion 1).

Hon. Kibet complains (expressive function) about the allegations made against him by one of the honourable members. He implicitly requests the Hon. Speaker of the County Assembly to compel (directive function) the member who made the allegations to repair the damage (perhaps to apologize). The complaint is directed to the member who expressed disapproval about Hon. Kibet's speech but this is done through the Speaker of the County Assembly. The honourable member is complaining about the person who made the negative remarks about him for allegedly accusing him unjustifiably. The act of complaining in the utterance above is also directed to the Speaker of County Assembly who, according to the member, did not stop the offensive utterances from a fellow debater. The perlocutionary effect of such an utterance is to create a contrast between what the Hon. Speaker usually does and what he failed to do at the current situation. The Speaker is therefore painted as partisan in this situation for failing to stop what was seen as a direct and personal attack on the mover of the motion. The hearer is also expected to understand that the member who attacked the mover did not concentrate on issues under discussion but expressively went on a personal attack on the mover of the motion.

According to Boxer (1989), two categories of complaints can be distinguished in terms of their patterns and functions: direct complaints and indirect complaints. In direct complaints, the addressee is held responsible for the perceived offence and is expected to acknowledge or change the undesirable state of affairs. Clyne (1994) defines an indirect complaint as a long or repeated expression of discontent not necessarily intended to change or improve the unsatisfactory situation. It differs from a direct complaint in that the addressee is neither held responsible nor capable of remedying the perceived offence. For example, excerpt 41.

Excerpt 41

Hon. Kipruto: *It is very unfortunate that these cases are occurring in Bomet County in the presence of county government act, the constitution and in the presence of labour laws which are very clear in terms of recruitment.* (Motion 2)

As opposed to excerpt 40, excerpt 41 is a case of indirect complain because the addressees, that is, Members of County Assembly of Bomet, are not held responsible for the irregular recruitment processes at the County. Instead, it is the County Public Service Board who have abdicated their responsibility and allowed the Executive to interfere with their mandate. As a

result, the MCAs complain that the recruitment of personnel at the County is not done according to the Law but on the whims and dictates of those in power.

Another act of complaining was performed by Hon. Chepchumba when she says:

Excerpt 42

Honourable Speaker, I really don't understand why we are in this House. Honourable Speaker, why we have Committees in the Assembly. As we speak, this Assembly and every other Committee that has been formed is equivalent to the High Court; they can summon the CECs, they can deliberate on a number of issues, they can deal with a number of malpractices that are happening in this County Government. It is shocking when an able Chair of a Committee writes to a CS to furnish them with information and they are given back a letter being told they are overstepping their mandate. (Motion 2)

The honourable member above complains about the kind of treatment that Members of County Assembly are given by the Executive at the County. Their responsibilities have allegedly been taken away by those at the Executive and when they try to question this they are told they are overstepping their mandate. The intention of the speaker is to make fellow participants realize that their powers have been weakened by the Executive and they need to do something to exert their force. One way of doing this is to halt payments of those recruited unlawfully by the Executive until their employment is regularized. The rest of the citizens will also be made aware that the Members of County Assembly do not have a hand in some of the malpractices happening at the County; the Executive is responsible. The participants will also benefit from the act of complaining because they will be exonerated by their electorate as they are not wholly responsible for the bad things happening in the County.

The intention of the speaker in excerpt 41 above is to draw the hearer's attention to the kind of casualness at which things are done at the County by the key players. It may also result in the Executive paying closer attention to the rule of law. The people of Bomet will benefit from the act of complaining because recruitment processes are likely to be done in accordance with the law.

The illocutionary force of complaining seems to perform other functions apart from showing the speakers' dissatisfaction of other people's actions or services. Another function is that of determining the status of the speaker making the complaint. In excerpt 40, the speaker complains about the remarks made by a speaker of the same status as the complaine. That is why the complainant wants the County Assembly Speaker to ask the complaine to apologize. The Speaker has the authority to direct the person who has made the distasteful remarks to apologize. Excerpt 41 is, however different because the complaint is made by Hon. Kipruto, a Member of County Assembly, against the County Executive who have interfered with the recruitment process. Because the County Executive belongs to a higher rank, the complainant has no authority to compel the complaine to repair the damage; he can only register his complain and hopes that those responsible for recruiting staff at the County do a good job.

The acts of congratulations come at a distant third with only 7 occurrences, still pointing at the kind of dissatisfaction of the participants. There is not much to congratulate anyone for anything.

Protesting and complimenting have 3 occurrences each while acts of apologizing appeared twice in the data. Protest as a speech act involves some strong disagreement towards something. The speech act of protest in the data is realized in three strategies as noted by Chrisman (2017). According to Chrisman, the first strategy is that the act must aim to express disapproval of something; second, it must aim to demand some change in response to this disapproval; third, it must do both of these things by appealing to some presumed shared conception of what is fair. In the data, the MCAs were found to utilize the speech act of protest in their speeches. The norms constituting the speech act of protest can be clearly observed in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 43

Hon. Chepchumba: *Is it in order for the Hon. Member to push me to support the Motion because it will be named after me? Hon. Langat always says that the law speaks louder than words and unless we do proper approval of the plan then we cannot do the naming because procedures should be followed. Is it in order for the Hon. Member to push me to agree to have my name after a street? Some procedures must be in place before the naming.* (Motion 3).

Hon. Chepchumba disapproves being asked to support the Motion so that one of the streets could be named after her. She tells the Assembly that the law must be followed so that naming can be done fairly and lawfully.

The act of complimenting as already pointed out also occurred 3 times in the data. Holmes (1995, p. 117) states that a compliment is a speech act which explicitly or implicitly attributes credit to someone other than the speaker, usually the person addressed, for some 'good' (possession, characteristic, skill etc.) which is positively valued by the speaker and the hearer. This type of compliment is addressed to a single person, and it expresses a positive valuation about assessable good that is directly related to the addressee of the compliment. This observation by Holmes is evident in excerpt 44.

Excerpt 44

Hon. Chepchumba: *Honourable Speaker, the Speaker normally doesn't have eyes or ears but seems today you are catching all the wordings honourable Speaker.*
(Motion 2)

Hon Chepchumba compliments The Speaker for his great attention in that Session. She paints a picture of a Speaker who is characteristically inattentive.

Apologizing as a speech act was used when one was pressed to tender an apology. For example:

Excerpt 45

Hon. Kipruto: *(He rose on a point of order). After informing him that he is out of order, he was supposed to withdraw and apologize because no one is praying for people to die.*

Hon. Koech: *I apologize and withdraw Mr. Speaker.* (Motion 1).

Other participants apologized after realizing they made a mistake in their utterances. For example:

Excerpt 46

Hon. Speaker: *Honourable member, did you impeach? You have no powers to impeach a CFO.*

Hon. Cheptoo: *I am sorry honourable Speaker. We removed her from office.*

Information on the use of Expressives is important because it will reveal whether the use of expressives is related to the type of Motion or the cultural context of the participants.

4.3.3 Directives

The third most common class of illocutionary acts in the data are the directives appearing 53 times. According to Searle (1979), directives are those acts which attempt with varying degrees of force to get the addressee to do something. Therefore, their direction of fit is world-to-words. The hearer should do something to change the state of affairs in the world. It also means that the speaker is in a position to make the hearer do something, perhaps in terms of strength or authority. The speaker also believes that the hearer has the ability to carry out the directive. At the County Assembly, the participants know that they have authority to change things for the better and that is why directives were also frequently used.

Searle and Vanderveken (1985) describes 24 directive verbs that are used in the analysis of directives. These verbs correspond to the illocutionary forces of the utterances. They include the verbs; direct, request, ask, urge, tell, require, demand, command, order, forbid, prohibit, enjoin, permit, suggest, insist, warn, advise, recommend, beg, supplicate, entreat, beseech, implore, and pray. In the data, 10 types of directives were found which had the illocutionary forces of request, urge, ask, suggest, warn, advise, pray, direct, demand, and require.

Table 4.6: Examples of Directives in the Data

Theme	Codes	Reference
3.0 Directives	3.01 Request	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>I want to request that we investigate if we want to solve the problem since we have been having the problem since the County Government came in place. (Motion 2)</i> • <i>And I want to request the person who brought this motion that whenever you are bringing a motion to this House, you need to critically look at it and even see if it is binding on the citizens of this County or even the individuals. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>I wish to request Hon. Hellen Chepkirui to second the motion. (Motion 3)</i>
	3.02 Urge	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>We need to get serious. We need to put in place preventive measures. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>I urge the members that we handle this issue with sobriety because it affects all of us. (Motion 2)</i> • <i>I urge this Assembly to pass this motion to help us move one step higher from where we have been for 50 years since independence. (Motion 3)</i>
	3.03. Ask	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>We have community health workers and these people have not been supported by the County Government of Bomet, and they only get support from Walter Reed, USAID and the rest, what is happening Mr. Speaker? (Motion 1)</i> • <i>Can you compare this with the Ksh. 75 million insurance cover that has been given to these honourable members...? (Motion 2)</i> • <i>I ask the Sergeant at-arms to ring the bell for 10 minutes. I am not seeing any of the Whips. (Motion 3)</i>

Theme	Codes	Reference
	3.04. Suggest	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>You can read the whole of it, member, since this is a very heavy matter that needs to be dealt with in a heavy way. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>I suggest that if we want to make this flowing river dry completely, we do not need to block down the valley, we need to find the source and block. (Motion 2)</i> • <i>We should put the motion on hold until we have the relevant documents that are going to give us direction. (Motion 3)</i>
	3.05 Warn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Can you sit down. I think you are out of order, and if you repeat it again, then I will ensure you are thrown out, so restrict yourself to the motion. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>There is a big danger if this intervening will fail Mr. Speaker...(Motion 2)</i>
	3.06 Advise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>And if we have our own, the money could remain within the County at the same time we will create job opportunities for both drivers and paramedics. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>All you need to do is to give an invitation as per article 125 to the CEC and now he has said article 8 and 9 is alleging that we have overstepped. Just disregard that and summon him because if he refuses, that article is clear and inform him the documents that he need to bring...(Motion 2)</i>
	3.07 Pray	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Thank you very much Mr. Speaker. The prayer of this motion is to stop payment to these people. Mr. Speaker, it is said that fruits of a poisonous tree are poisonous. Therefore, if a process is wrong, the result of the process is wring and should not be in that position. (Motion 2)</i>

Theme	Codes	Reference
	3.08 Direct	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Order honourable members, when the Speaker stands you should sit. This is a motion, and we should restrict ourselves to the content of the motion; do not personalize, and as you proceed, strictly move in the direction of the motion. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>Just disregard that and summon him because if he refuses, that article is clear...you have the power like the high court...it will serve as a lesson to those who have been trying to undermine the Assembly. (Motion 2)</i>
	3.09 Demand	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>I want to say that we want to know the list of the people who were employed by the defunct local authorities and the new employees. We also want to know the payroll and their roles, we... (Motion 2)</i>
	3.10 Require	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>We need a well-established hospital for example Longisa since it is not a must to take the patients to outside places, yet we have the ability to equip our facilities and treat patients to curb expenses. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>I have read this motion and it has occurred to me that it requires some further amendments so that it will be stronger than how the Member has put it....It requires more investigations to get more evidence which we can use to take stern action against any culprits.(Motion 2)</i>

Table 4.7 below shows the distribution of directives form the data.

Table 4.7: Distribution of Directives in the Corpus

Types of Directive	Motion 1		Motion 2		Motion 3		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Request	7	31.81	3	12.5	1	14.28	11	20.75
Urge	3	13.63	5	20.83	3	42.85	11	20.75
Ask	2	9.09	5	20.83	1	14.2	8	15.09
Suggest	2	9.09	3	12.5	2	28.57	7	13.20
Warn	2	9.09	1	4.16	0	0	3	5.66
Advise	1	4.54	1	4.16	0	0	2	3.77
Pray	0	0	1	4.16	0	0	1	1.88
Direct	3	13.63	2	8.33	0	0	5	9.43
Demand	0	0	1	4.16	0	0	1	1.88
Require	2	9.09	2	8.33	0	0	4	7.54
Total	22	100.0	24	100.0	7	100.0	53	100.0
		0		0		0		0

From the data, the findings show that the illocutionary forces of requesting and urging lead the class of directives with each appearing 11 times. The present analysis used the description of request as given by Searle and Vanderveken (1985, p. 199) who state that a request is a directive illocution that allows for the possibility of refusal. It is possible for the addressee to refuse to carry out the task as requested although in excerpt 47 below, it is assumed that there is a prior agreement between the Mover of the motion and the person to second the motion. In such a case the person to second the motion cannot refuse to do so. Smith (1970, p. 123) on his part defines request as ‘a politer word for the same thing as *ask*.’ Smith continues to say that in a request there is often an implied sense of authority that makes it akin to a command. It is politer for Hon. Taputany to use the verb ‘request’ than if she were to say, “I ask Hon. Jane...”as shown in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 47

Hon. Tabutany: *I wish to request Hon. Jane Chebet to second the motion.* (Motion 3)

Although the above excerpt is dressed up as a request, the speaker expects Hon. Jane Chebet to second the motion without any complain. There are situations where requests do not carry the possibility of refusal as argued by Searle and Vanderveken (1985). Smith (1991) uses an example from Wierzbicka (1987) to explain this point; *Passengers are requested to extinguish their Cigarettes*. Smith points out that if such statement is said as a safety requirement, say of an airline, there is no possibility of refusal. He suggests that a command with the surface form of a request is explained by considerations of politeness which he feels should be an integral part of speech act theory.

Wierzbicka (1987) gives the following conditions for request:

- 1) I say: I want Y to happen.
- 2) I know that Y cannot happen if someone (X) doesn't do something to cause it to happen.
- 3) I say this because I want to cause X to cause Y to happen.
- 4) I don't want to say that X has to do it.
- 5) I assume that X will understand that I have a reason to say that I want Y to happen.
- 6) I assume that X will cause Y to happen.

When Hon. Tabutany requests Hon. Jane Chebet to second the Motion, she knows that condition (2) will have to be fulfilled for the Motion to be debated. Smith (1991) is quick to say that the illocutionary force of requests can run into problems. Firstly, the hearer may ask the speaker to carry out the task himself. Secondly, the hearer may refuse or decline to carry out the task. It is also possible that the hearer may defer the task in some way by promising to do it at a later date, or even nominating someone else to do it.

The act of requesting is followed by the illocutionary act of asking with 8 occurrences. As earlier mentioned, Smith (1970) treat request the same way as ask. The only difference, according to him, is that *request* is politer than *ask*. For instance:

Excerpt 48

Hon. Soi (Temporary Speaker): *I ask the Sergeant at-arms to ring the bell for 10 minutes. I am not seeing any of the Whips.* (Motion 3)

The illocutionary force of directing occurred 5 times. Searle and Vanderveken (1985, p.198) describe direct as the primitive directive act. However, Wierzbicka (1987, p. 42 as cited in

Smith, 1991) observes that it is a complex of different acts. Firstly, she describes it as being ‘somewhere between requesting and ordering,’ in that by directing, the speaker wants the hearer to do something, and expects him to do without any conflict, and yet at the same time is not making an order that the hearer carry out the act. In a sense it is co-operative behavior. Her second meaning of direct is akin to giving directions, and, third which is really a variant on the second seeks an explanation for why directions are sometimes given as imperatives. Consider the following example:

Excerpt 49

Hon. Speaker: *Order honourable members, when the Speaker stands you should sit. This is a motion, and we should restrict ourselves to the content of the motion; do not personalize, and as you proceed, strictly move in the direction of the motion.* (Motion 1)

The Hon. Speaker is ordering the members to observe the code of conduct for County Assembly debates. He expects the debaters to comply so that the debate is carried out amicably. Cooperation is key in arriving at consensus during debates.

Apart from the illocutionary force of require which appeared 4 times, the other classes of directives are rarely used. It was also found that Motion 1 had the most acts of requesting with 31.81% compared to Motions 2 and 3 which had 12.5 % and 14.28 % respectively. The other acts of directives were fairly similar for Motions 1 and 2. Motion 3 had most of the directive acts missing. The differences in the use of directive acts in the 3 Motions can be attributed to the type of Motion and also the number of participants taking part in the debate. For example, Motion 1 is about revoking the contract between the Kenya Red Cross and the County Government of Bomet. There were many participants who debated against the Motion and a lot of requesting the other hearers not to revoke the contract because the ambulances were of great assistance to the people of Bomet. In Motion 2, many participants urged the Mover of the Motion to defer the motion until sufficient documents were availed that will give weight to the Motion. Motion 3 was about naming of streets and therefore being a suggestion, directive acts such as requesting, urging, asking and suggesting were fairly employed. The other illocutionary acts such as warning, demanding, and directing were missing, probably because the kind of Motion did not warrant their use. Moreover, the number of people who participated in the Motion were fewer compared to Motions 1 and 2 and this can explain why most speech acts were missing.

4.3.4 Declarations

Declaratives are those acts which effects immediate change in the institutional state of affairs. Declaratives must however meet the felicity conditions to be effective (Searle, 1979). Declaratives were the fourth most frequently used category of illocutionary acts present in the data. They appear 21 times. The direction of fit for declarations is both words-to-world and world-to-words. Once uttered, declarations produce a change in the world. Such utterances include; resigning, declaring a war, naming, pronouncing someone guilty and many others.

Most of the declarations are done by the Speaker of the County Assembly because he is vested with authority to change the status of the motions. He is responsible for declaring the Motions as open for debate and for putting the question at the end of the debate. The other participants also use declarations to change the direction of debates as either supporting or opposing. The occurrences of these acts were however few and that is why they are fourth in preference. Searle and Vanderveken (1985) provided 21 declarative verbs used to express such declarations. They include; declare, resign, adjourn, appoint, nominate, approve, confirm, disapprove, endorse, renounce, disclaim, denounce, repudiate, bless, curse, excommunicate, consecrate, christen, abbreviate, name, and call.

Out of the 21 declarative verbs given by the two scholars, only 5 were found in the data as shown in Table 4.8 below.

Table 4.8: Examples of Declarations in the Data

Theme	Codes	Reference
4.0 Declarations	4.01 Declare	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>...deeply concerned that the County Executive did not involve the County Assembly in its contract award of Ambulances to the Kenya Red Cross Society.... It is open for debate. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>Therefore, this County Assembly do resolve that the County Public Service Board.... It is open for debate. (Motion 2)</i> • <i>It is now my turn to propose the question. THAT, aware that one of the functions devolved under part 2 of the Fourth Schedule to the Constitution of Kenya 2010 is that of County Planning and development...motion opens for debate. (Motion 3)</i>
	4.02 Adjourn	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>I allow the deferment of putting the question until a time the House business will decide time and date. When that day comes I will allow a little debate based on the document and then the Mover. The deferment is guaranteed. (Motion 2)</i>
	4.03 Christen	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>We have the list of temporary employees, we have the list of the Radio callers, we have the list of praise and worship team of Isaac Rutto...(Motion 2)</i>
	4.04 Approve	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>We should look at these things critically and approve it not because it is a motion but do so after a thorough research. (Motion 3)</i> • <i>I rise to support this motion that there is unnecessary employment. (Motion 2)</i>
	4.05 Disapprove	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>So I stand to reject the motion in totality. (Motion 1)</i>

Table 4.9 below shows the distribution of declarative speech acts in the data.

Table 4.9: Distribution of Declarations in the Corpus

Types of Declaration	Motion 1		Motion 2		Motion 3		Total	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
Declare	9	69.23	7	53.84	1	50	17	60.71
Adjourn	0	0	1	7.69	0	0	1	3.57
Christen	0	0	1	7.69	0	0	1	3.57
Approve	0	0	4	30.76	1	50	5	17.85
Disapprove	4	30.76	0	0	0	0	4	14.28
Total	13	100.0	13	100.0	2	10	28	100.0
		0		0		0		0

The illocutionary force of declaring was found to be the most common accounting for 80.95%. The remaining 4 types of declarations each had 1 occurrence. The force of declaring is also determined by the status of the speaker, so that being politicians make it possible for them to change the world via their utterances. They are tasked with making laws and passing bills which can have far reaching consequences on the lives of the people they lead. Motions 1 and 2 have fairly similar occurrences of declarative acts with 10 and 9 occurrences respectively. Motion 3 had 2 occurrences. The following extracts show the use of declarations in the data.

Excerpt 50

Hon. Chepchumba: *...informing you about the flower guards, the militia, the praise and worship team and the radio callers who have been drawing public funds from the County without passing through the legal procedures.* (Motion 2).

In the above utterance, the speaker has christened all the various employees given jobs by the Executive without passing through the Public service board. Again, it can be concluded that the appearance of declarative acts is determined by the type of motion. In excerpt 51 below, just like all other debates, the Hon. Speaker usually declares that the motion is open for debate.

Excerpt 51

Hon. Soi (Hon. Temporary Speaker): *Motion opens for Debate*. (Motion 3).

The Speaker has authority to open the Motion for discussion. When such an utterance is produced, it changes the status of the Motion so that participants can discuss it and come up with a consensus on the best course of action.

4.3.5 Commissives

According to Searle (1979), commissives are acts which commit the speaker to some future course of action. Commissives were the least frequently used class of illocutionary acts with only 11 occurrences. The direction of fit of commissives is world-to-words. This means when someone utters a commissive act, like a promise, the world must change in order to match the propositional content. The expressed psychological state of commissives is intention. The propositional content expresses the fact that the speaker is committed to a future course of action by using verbs such as promise, guarantee, pledge, swear, vow, and many others. The fact that commissives were rarely used point to the powerlessness of the participants in making certain decisions. The Members of County Assembly have got good intentions of changing the current state of affairs into better ones in future but the final decision and ultimate action rest with the Executive headed by the Governor.

Searle and Vanderveken (1985) describe 17 different forces of illocutionary acts belonging to commissives. The verbs used include; commit, promise, threaten, vow, pledge, swear, accept, consent, refuse, offer, bid, assure, guarantee, warrant, contract, covenant, and bet.

The illocutionary forces of commissives found in the data included promising, refusing, assuring, and threatening.

Table 4.10: Examples of Commissives in the Data

Theme	Codes	Reference
5.0 Commissives	5.01 Promise	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Mr. Speaker, I will challenge the contract, I will also challenge the County Assembly of Bomet, and I will also challenge the County Executive Committee. (Motion 1)</i> • <i>I urge that we defer the motion and we have sufficient information...get to the root cause of the problem...and we will stop these issues once and for all based on the report of the Public Service Board showing the irregularities. (Motion 2)</i> • <i>I hope it can be passed by this Assembly.... can help in eliminating wastage of time and ease revenue collection so that we can be able to move with the rest of the world in timely service delivery. (Motion 3)</i>
	5.02 Refuse	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>Let me refute the opinion of the Minority leader despite the good intentions he might have had; he is my friend and we served together in the defunct Local authorities....(Motion 1).</i> • <i>We are supposed to have a planner to do the planning of this town before we start naming. (Motion 3)</i>
	5.03 Assure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>We are here for justice and welfare of the society and in this County, people should not be recruited on the basis of who knows who but on the basis of who knows what. (Motion 2)</i>
	5.04 Threat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • <i>When it comes to the Executive, in the entire Country, you find a problem. I want to urge the CRA, next time we will go to court.(Motion 2)</i>

The distribution and frequency of the types of commissive acts in data are shown in Table 4.11 below.

Table 4.11: Distribution of Commissives in the Corpus

Types of Commissive s	Motion 1		Motion 2		Motion 3		Total	
	Frequenc y	%	Frequenc y	%	Frequenc y	%	Tota l	%
Promise	1	50	1	33.33	1	50	3	42.85
Refuse	1	0	0	0	1	50	2	28.57
Assure	0	0	1	33.33	0	0	1	14.28
Threat	0	0	1	33.33	0	0	1	14.28
Total	2	100.0	3	100.0	2	10	7	100.0
		0		0		0		0

The analysis reveals that the illocutionary forces of commissives were fairly distributed across in Motions 1 and 2. Motion 3 had most of the illocutionary forces missing except for the illocutionary forces of promising and refusing which had 1 occurrence each. This scenario could be attributed to the type of motion under discussion, that of naming streets. It can be deduced that illocutionary forces of vowing and threatening were not necessary in this type of debate.

It can also be observed that the illocutionary force of promising lead by appearing 3 times in the corpus. A promise is a statement of telling someone that you will definitely do or not do something. Take for instance the following utterance:

Excerpt 52

Hon. Kibet: ... *I urge that we defer the motion and we have sufficient information and we get to the root cause of the problem and we will stop these issues once and for all based on the report of the Public Service Board showing the irregularities.*

(Motion 2)

Hon. Kibet is promising to stop irregular recruitment processes in Bomet County once they get the report from the County Public Service Board. In saying this he knows that he will get

the support of other MCAs because it is also in their best interest. He uses the pronoun ‘we’ to show that it is a co-operative act. The honourable member also knows that they have the ability and authority as representatives of the people of Bomet to carry out the task of stopping the unfair recruitment of personnel at the County. He therefore sees a future where recruitment processes will be done on merit and other irregularities will be stopped *once and for all*.

Searle (1975) proposes five requirements to make a valid promise speech act. First, the speaker has to intend to do what he promises. Secondly, the speaker must believe (that the hearer believes) that the action is in the hearer’s best interest. Thirdly, the speaker has to believe that he (speaker) can perform the action. Fourthly, the speaker must predicate a future action, and finally, the speaker has to predicate an act of himself.

Verscheuren (1985) adds that in promising to carry out the proposition, the speaker is putting his credibility on the line. And sometimes when making a promise, the speaker is making a commitment to undertake a proposition even if the promise will be carried out by someone else (Wierzbicka, 1985). In excerpt 52 Hon. Kibet promises to stop irregular recruitment procedures at the County, but he knows he cannot do it alone. He needs the cooperation of other MCAs and that is why he says *we will stop these issues once and for all*. This is different from the promise that the same speaker made in Motion 1. He says:

Excerpt 53

Hon. Kibet: *Mr. Speaker, I will challenge the contract, I will also challenge the County Assembly of Bomet, and I will also challenge the County Executive Committee.* (Motion 1).

In this utterance the Speaker makes a promise that he knows he can do it on his own. According to Wierzbicka (1987), the effect of promise is to make the hearer to believe that the speaker will undertake to do the proposition. Wierzbicka gives the following conditions for promise:

- 1) I know that you want me to do P.
- 2) I know that you think that I may not do it.
- 3) I want to do it because you want me to do it.
- 4) I say: I will do it.

- 5) I want us to think that if I don't do it, people will not believe anything that I say I will do.
- 6) I say this, in this way, because I want to cause you to be able to think that I have to do it.

Wierzbicka observes that the possible problems with the act of promise are; firstly, that the hearer may question the speaker's veracity or commitment to carry out the promised action. Secondly, the speaker may not want to do the proposition but might make the promise anyway. Finally, the hearer might question the speaker's ability to carry out the proposition.

Nabilah (2013) states three strategies for realizing a promise. The first strategy of promise is expressing intention. This is found in the County Assembly debates in which the debaters showed their intention to develop and improve the conditions of the people of Bomet County. The second strategy is offering solution. In this strategy, the debaters tried to give better solutions to problems facing the people of Bomet. The last strategy, is expressing want. By this strategy, the debaters are stating their want about what the future of Bomet residents should be like.

The MCAs also use the illocutionary force of refusal a number of times in their speeches. Sadler and Eroz (2000) describe refusals as negative responses to invitations, requests, offers, suggestions and the like which are frequently used in our daily lives. They explain that saying 'no' is somehow more important than the answer itself. They add that both the speaker and interlocutors are expected to understand the context as well as form and function of refusal, depending on the cultural linguistic and ethnicity values. Nabilah (2013) explains that refusal is realized through four strategies. The first strategy is the giving of alternatives. Here the speaker is stating the alternative of the previous problem. The second strategy is giving a reason in which the speaker is revealing the reasons of the previous argument. The third strategy is saying what is offered is inappropriate. In this strategy, the speaker is openly refusing the offer by saying that it is inappropriate. And the last strategy is direct refusal/direct no. the speaker is directly saying no or directly refusing the argument.

Most of the strategies for realizing refusals were utilized by MCAs during debates. For instance:

Excerpt 54

Let me refute the opinion of the Minority leader despite the good intentions he might have had; he is my friend and we served together in the defunct Local authorities.... (Motion 1).

In the excerpt above, the speaker is directly refusing to support the argument (fourth strategy). He begins by saying so (let me refute); the other debaters already know his stand on the Motion. In excerpt 55 below the speaker uses the third strategy. Here, the speaker refuses to support the argument by saying that it is inappropriate because planning has to be done first before the streets are named.

Excerpt 55

We are supposed to have a planner to do the planning of this town before we start naming. (Motion 3)

The illocutionary force of assure was also found in the data. Searle and Vanderveken (1985, p.184) describe assure as; asserting with the perlocutionary intention of convincing the hearer of the truth of the propositional content in the world of utterances. Wierzbicka (1987) adds that *assure* is concerned with the removal of ‘worry’ from the mind of the hearer. The excerpt below reveals how the speaker tries to solve the problem of unfair recruitment processes and subsequently remove worry from the minds of the people of Bomet.

Excerpt 56

We are here for justice and welfare of the society and in this County, people should not be recruited on the basis of who knows who but on the basis of who knows what. (Motion 2)

The speaker is promising a better future for the people of Bomet where recruitment of employees will be done based on merit. Wierzbicka (1987) gives the following conditions for assure:

- 1) I assume that you are thinking of something that you would want to be true.
- 2) I assume that you are not sure if it is true.
- 3) I think I can cause you to be sure that it is true.
- 4) I say X.

- 5) I say this because I want to cause you to be sure that the thing that you would want to be true is true.

Wierzbicka observes that in condition 1, the speaker assumes that the hearer is thinking about the proposition. This assumption about the hearer from the speaker is inferred from the context. In condition 2 the speaker believes that the hearer may doubt whether the proposition is true hence the need for assurance. It can therefore be concluded that the type of speech acts used during discussions in the County assembly depend, to a large extent on the type of motion. The more heated the exchanges are, the more the variety of speech acts used.

4.4 Kipsigis Cultural Practices as Reflected in the Performance of Speech Acts

The third objective of the study was to establish the ways in which the performance of illocutionary acts at the County Assembly reflect the cultural practices of the Kipsigis community. Speech act theory has been largely criticized for excluding cultural context in its analysis of communication. Levinson (1983) notes that SAT has failed in its consideration of cultural context as a determining factor in assuring successful communication vis a vis performance and reception. To address this shortcoming of SAT, the researcher borrowed Sotillo's (2017) notion of combining SAT and Conversational Analysis (CA). Both approaches view language as "social interaction." Conversational Analysis helped in explaining the social and cultural meanings that the speaker and hearer exchange in the process of interaction. Using the debates at the County Assembly of Bomet, the study attempted to show the importance of cultural context in the determination of the illocutionary force of utterances of the participants engaged in the decision-making processes. The study argues that the ability of an arguer to perform an act and determine its illocutionary reading is achieved not solely by meeting and fulfilling the felicity conditions, but is, in fact, also attained by creatively invoking and mobilizing aspects of the Kipsigis cultural context. The study therefore, investigated how the MCAs manipulated salient, shared cultural concepts in an attempt to persuade their opponents into supporting their claims. The participants in a debate use all manner of persuasive strategies while being aware that they are expected to reach a consensus however heated the debating exchange is.

According to Fairclough and Fairclough (2012), arguers can explicitly invoke an audience's known values in support of a claim for action; and ground their arguments in these known commitments, as part of a rhetorically effective strategy. Following this assertion by the two

scholars, the study focused on examining the sampled motions at the County Assembly of Bomet to establish the ways in which the participants used some common human values which may also apply to the Kipsigis community as a persuasive strategy to justify their arguments. Some of the Kipsigis known values which may act as motivators for action include; leadership and responsibility, the sense of communalism, hospitality, justice and fairness, and values associated with the rites of passage such as birth and death among others.

4.4.1 Leadership and Responsibility as Values that Drive Action

Elections of Kipsigis leaders began with the advent of the British system (Rutto & Maritim, 2016). Before then, leaders in the community were chosen through consensus after an elaborate consultative process by the elders. According to Rutto and Maritim (2016), the highest authority in political organization among the Kipsigis before colonialism, rested on *Kirwogindet Neo* (the great judge or governor). The *Kirwogindet Neo* reviewed and tried cases referred to him by subordinate councils (court) of *Kokwotinuek* (sing. Kokwet).

The Kokwet (village) is a Kipsigis neighbourhood covering an area of approximately three or four square kilometers. During Kokwet proceedings, the elders would arbitrate disputes and discuss important matters affecting the community (Komma, 1992). Fast forward to the advent of devolution in Kenya, after the promulgation of 2010 Constitution, we see the same kind of leadership still playing its role although with more responsibilities and expanded territories. The leaders know that the welfare of their people is their priority. The Members of County Assembly come together to deliberate on matters affecting their electorate. When they sense that things are not done in the right manner, they look for ways to rectify the situation. These activities are done through linguistic means in the form of debates at the County Assembly. For instance, in Motion 1, the Mover (Hon. Kibet) felt that there was total disregard for the rule of law when the County Executive awarded the contract for the supply of ambulance services to the Kenya Red Cross. He gives his reasons using a number of illocutionary acts to show why the contract should be revoked. For example, he begins by *informing* the hearers that the contract was entered without following the provisions of the Constitution. He *warns* the audience that the County will lose a lot of money if the contract is not revoked. That if the situation is not salvaged then as a County, they are *doomed*. *That Bomet residents will not blame the Executive but them*. He reiterates that as a representative of the people, if he cannot account, he is *doomed*. He then makes some *promises* saying:

Excerpt 57

Mr. Speaker, I will challenge the contract, I will also challenge the County Assembly of Bomet, and I will also challenge the County Executive Committee.

He finally *urges* his fellow colleagues at the County Assembly to agree with him by revoking the contract and awarding it afresh by following the rule of law. The verbs, informing, warning, reiterating, promising, and urging are all illocutionary acts performed by the motion Mover to show that there is a problem with the way the contract was awarded. He knows that as a leader, his main duty is fidelity to the rule of law and he reminds his colleagues thus:

Excerpt 58

We were sworn in to do oversight. I base my argument on the Constitution, we were sworn in to protect the Constitution and to represent the electorate.

Therefore, as a responsible leader, the Motion Mover acted when he saw that there was blatant abuse of the law in Bomet County. He knows that as leaders, they are expected to follow the law and the Executive is no exception.

The perlocutionary effect of Hon. Kibet's utterances is to make the hearer understand that the law was broken when the contract was awarded to The Kenya Red Cross Society. The utterances are meant to persuade the hearers to support the motion so that the contract is revoked. Implicitly, the audience are made aware that the Executive should not be trusted because they do things without regard for the rule of law. The motion Mover's image is also supposed to improve as a law-abiding citizen.

Other participants however, used the debate to show how their electorates have benefited from the ambulances. These participants show that they are concerned about the welfare of their electorates. They value the lives of their people so that they try to help them whenever they are sick. For example, Hon. Koech gave two incidences when the ambulances have come to the rescue of the people in his ward. In one of the incidences, he *reports* a case of an old man from his ward who was sick and had been referred to Moi Teaching and Referral Hospital. His family was not able to meet the cost of transport and medication but when the ambulance arrived, they thought it was a hospital and said there was no need to go to Eldoret. Furthermore, they thought they would be charged for the ambulance and when they learnt that it was free, they said "Jonny" ...

In Motion 2, the Mover sees it as his duty to ensure that there is fairness in the recruitment of personnel at the County. He raises a red flag when he thinks that there were irregularities in the way the process of recruitment was being done. He *complains* that there were persons in the County Government who had not been directly hired by the Public Service Board and were drawing salaries. He therefore *urges* the County Assembly to halt payments to such persons until their employment has been regularized.

The Motion Movers of Motion 1 and 2 sprang to action when they saw that things were not being done in the right manner at the County of Bomet. They showed leadership and commitment in trying to right the wrongs being perpetrated on the common citizens by those in power; the executive arm of the County Government. They do this by *reporting* the wrongs, *complaining* about the problems and *urging* or *directing* the honourable members to do something so that such problems are minimized or eradicated completely. In all these activities, we see language performing actions although the debaters do this unconsciously. The debaters' belief in the power of their spoken word to achieve their desires is also revealed in these motions and this is in line with how Komma (1992) describes the Kipsigis as people who believe in the power of language to realize actions desired by any user of language.

4.4.2 Sense of Communal life as Reflected in the Realization of Illocutionary Acts

The Kipsigis cherish communal life where most activities are done together. This communal life, according to Rop (2015) guarantees togetherness and solidarity. In this kind of life what affects one affects all. The Kipsigis sums this with a proverb that goes, *kipangenke ko kimnon* (community is strength). This sense of communal life is especially seen during ceremonies such as circumcision, marriage or work related activities such as tilling land, weeding and harvesting or when there are misfortunes such as sicknesses and death. The Members of County Assembly invoked this value of communal life as a strategy to justify their standpoints during debates. They do this to appeal to their hearers that they are concerned about their electorates and what they are going through or what might happen to them if certain actions are not taken. The value attached to communal life are elaborated in the following examples.

In Motion 1, Hon. Tabutany reminds the honourable members to put aside thinking about the cost of ambulances and think about saving lives. She says:

Excerpt 59

I think let us put aside just thinking of the cost. How much do we contribute during the time for funerals? How much do we contribute even to have a mother who is stuck in hospital out after delivery? But this particular time, I think all of us are getting relieved we are not contributing to even get a vehicle to rush this mother to bring home another citizen to this nation.

In her utterance, Hon. Tabutany describes the usual activities that are done by the community to those in need. It reveals what might be taken for granted as normal but which nevertheless paints a picture of community's sense of togetherness and solidarity in the face of adversity. Rop (2015) observes that the Kipsigis community mobilized their resources when their members had problems that required financial solutions. For example, he says that many destitute but intelligent pupils have been sponsored in their studies through such communal solidarity. In excerpt 59 above, the speaker, through a number of rhetorical questions, *complains* (expressive act) about what he perceives as members' preoccupation with less important issues (financial impact) at the expense of serious issues; that of saving lives.

The honourable member asks her listeners the amount of money they contribute during funerals. This implicitly shows that funerals are more expensive than the hiring of ambulances which would help to reduce the number of deaths. Funerals in Kipsigis land just like in any other community in Kenya are a communal affair. Ordinary citizens as well as politicians attend burials as a sign of respect to the dead and also as a show of solidarity to the bereaved. Consequently, work had to be stopped temporarily especially in the neighbourhood of the deceased until he/she was buried. During such times, people come together to help the bereaved family offset hospital and funeral expenses while at the same time to console the affected family. Although funerals are supposed to be used to show the last respect to the deceased and console the bereaved family, politicians usually hijack the ceremony and used it as a platform to advance their political agenda. Hon. Kemboi says;

Excerpt 60

Mr. Speaker: *I believe that there are some members in this House who enjoy seeing citizens suffer, and if possible wishing them to die so that they go and do politics in their funerals.* (Motion 1)

In the literal sense, excerpt 60 is an assertive act with the illocutionary force of *claiming*. It carries with it very serious allegations for the mover of the motion and any other supporter of the motion. Pragmatically, it negates the sense of community life that the Kipsigis so cherish. It suggests that the politicians supporting the motion are very selfish because they want to advance their agenda by attending as many funerals as possible; they want more people to die so that they can drive their agenda. The speaker is aware of the seriousness of such accusations and therefore would not expect any member to continue supporting the revocation of the contract to the Kenya Red Cross. The speaker knows the hearers are able to perform the action of rejecting the motion and so the felicity conditions are fulfilled. But he also knows that mentioning that someone could be celebrating because of the misfortune of others is callous to say the least. He effectively exploits this assertion to his advantage because he is aware of the cultural position on this; that the community members share in the sorrow of the bereaved. The speaker in the above utterance further misinterprets the saying to suit his position and cleverly adds that such people who are happy when others are sad are those opposing the ambulance. The concept of death among the Kipsigis has therefore given the participants an avenue to manipulate the minds of the hearers in order to advance their interactional goals.

There were also a considerable number of speech utterances connected to death in the data which require an understanding of the cultural context for their proper interpretation. For instance, when Hon. Koech (Motion 1) says the following:

Excerpt 61

Hon. Koech: *Mr. Speaker, allow me to give a parable in a local language.*

Hon. Speaker: *So long as you speak in English*

(The House breaks into laughter)

Hon. Koech: *I think the issue is that it has been put in a parable that, usually, when there is something bad, people do like laughing. That is why you find people opposing the ambulance.*

To put it correctly the Kipsigis say *Kichomyo meet ak roriot* (death and laughter like one another). This saying means that where there is death, it is also possible to find happiness. For people of other cultures, it would probably not make sense to find happiness where death has occurred but the Kipsigis have their own explanation on why both are found together. According to Rop (2015), death among the Kipsigis was met with sadness and somehow happiness; sadness because of separation with the terrestrial kin and happiness because it was

viewed as a gateway for joining ancestors. King (2013) supports this fact when he postulates that death is a natural transition from the visible to the invisible. The literal meaning of the speech act is an assertive with an illocutionary force of claiming. The non-literal meaning of the utterance is a directive meant to persuade the hearers not to revoke the contract to the Red Cross.

The sense of communal life is also explained in Motion 3 by the Motion Mover, Hon. Tabutany. While pushing to have the County Assembly adopt a street naming policy, she explains that such a move will aid in rescue missions during disasters like fire. Rop (2015) explains that when someone's house is on fire, it is immediately repaired or rebuilt without any regard to the time of the day. He adds that the joyful part of this type of work is that it is done happily and voluntarily. We can therefore say that occurrences like death, fires and any other misfortunes gave the community a chance to show their togetherness. Other situations like hospitalization or education where those affected required financial assistance also called for communal solidarity. Rop (2015) observes that this kind of communal life echoes Nyerere's philosophy of "Ujamaa" which is a philosophy rooted in 'togetherness' as the base for communal life. Rop notes that according to Nyerere, "African traditions should serve as a basis for all future African development."

It is important to note that when the honourable members use the sense of communal life as a strategy to persuade their opponents, they are appealing to the core element of life among the Kipsigis. In a way the debaters are saying that this kind of life is good and should be encouraged by all. That is why any person who is seen as individualistic is heavily criticized as it happened to the Motion Mover of Motion 1 in the data. Hon. Kiprop said this about the Mover;

Excerpt 62

If the honourable member is now driving a Rav4, his people are actually moving barefooted. We do not have second class human beings in our Republic and we need to treat each individual with dignity...

Through the act of *informing*, Hon. Kiprop paints a picture of a Motion Mover who is rich but selfish. Such a trait goes against the sense of communal life where people take care of each other so that no one is found suffering in one way or the other. It also indirectly

criticizes the leadership style of the motion Mover. Looking at the language of debate and particularly the ways in which the Kipsigis community value communal life could be helpful in understanding why the debaters use such a strategy.

4.4.3 Speech Acts Showing Importance of Birth and Motherhood among the Kipsigis

Ensuring safe delivery of infants is a core cultural notion that is utilized effectively by the participants during discussions at the County Assembly. In fact, among the Kipsigis, there were rituals performed to ensure that pregnancy and birth happened smoothly. According to Peristiany (1939), ceremonies were performed during pregnancy and after birth to ensure the safety of the infant and its mother. The Kipsigis viewed life as sacred and everyone was expected to behave in a manner that ensured that there was protection of life and prosperity for all. Among the Kipsigis a child belongs to the whole community. The broader cultural resonance of this notion manifests in the speech utterances of some participants such as Hon.Tabutany (Motion 1) in which he opposes the Motion by saying:

Excerpt 63

But I stood more so because the President of this Nation declared that maternity services would be very free for the women in this Country....And I am telling you there has never been any other time that maternity costing was really free until this time when we got these ambulances. It is not less than 19 women who have delivered in those ambulances, and they have gotten their babies very well. The mothers are safe and the children are safe.

The honorable member in the above utterance persuaded her hearers by cleverly tying her arguments with the vision of the President of Kenya; that of ensuring protection of life. By doing this, she knows that the success of her arguments lies in satisfying the cultural duty of ensuring safe delivery of babies and the safety of the mothers. The literal meaning of this speech act is an assertive, namely a report. The non-literal meaning of the speech act is an appeal to the hearers to look at the benefits of the ambulances and reject any act that is meant to deny the residents of Bomet the much needed services. The mention of the president further helps to show that in fact the County is in the right direction and the president is probably going to be pleased with what is happening in Bomet. The speaker further shows what happens when the ambulance services are not provided:

Excerpt 64

I personally lost my sister in-law because of losing time while just being rushed to the hospital. But for all those that these ambulances have supported, they have all lived.

The literal meaning of the above speech act is an expressive. The speaker *complains* that her sister in-law died because she could not be rushed to the hospital in time. The non-literal meaning of the utterance is an *urge* to her hearers not to revoke the contract offered to The Kenya Red cross because the services offered by the ambulances have saved lives. Culturally, the utterance depicts the Kipsigis community as relational in nature. The extended family is a reality in Kipsigis culture because it is functional and fundamental among the people (Rop, 2015). No member of the family feels isolated and this kind of relation provides security and adequate care for all in the family. Rop continues to say that in the Kipsigis extended family system, moments of joy, misfortune and sorrow are shared together. The system offers security in the sense that someone in the family is always there to help. (ibid.).

The fact that the speaker was able to invoke the illocutionary force of an urge (which is a type of directive) to persuade the hearers not to revoke the contract does not solely fulfil the felicity conditions, but it is also because the expression is made salient in the Kipsigis culture.

Thus, with the cultural importance attached to safety of the mothers and their newborns in the Kipsigis culture, the performance of such acts is made socially and interactionally meaningful and this in turn enabled the speaker to strategically use such discursive expressions to win the debate. Moreover, the use of such expressions touching on the culture of a people help to neutralize the gap that exists in an argumentative exchange between the proponents and the opponents. The two opposing sides are brought together by something that is familiar to them as opposed to when they are discussing new information or unfamiliar issues during the debates. Therefore, when participants in the debates selectively use culturally relevant notions that are collectively agreed upon to support their claims, it can help them to persuade their opponents and ultimately succeed in winning the debate to their side.

4.4.4 Speech Acts Depicting Respect for Life and a call for Action

In the Kipsigis society, life is central and everyone is expected to protect it. According to Rop (2015), life to a Kipsigis was and is still more central and fundamental. He continues to say that life means so much to a Kipsigis that they go to the extent of celebrating it vigorously in

music, with bodily movements, with harmonized voices, with rhythmic drumming, with greetings, with drinks and foods, with mode of speaking and with dances of life (ibid.). This cultural notion is given prominence in motion 1 and Motion 3. In motion 1, the motion Mover seeks to persuade the members to revoke the contract awarded to The Kenya Red Cross. Using the illocutionary force of informing, he justifies his claims by providing several reasons, the major one being that the contract signed between the Red Cross and the CGB did not follow the law. The other reason is that the contract is very expensive because the County will pay Ksh. 3.6 million for six vehicles per month which is enough to buy two ambulances per month. The Mover is, however, aware of the Kipsigis culture; that of protecting life and he quickly tries to thwart any attack using the following speech act with the illocutionary force of stating:

Excerpt 65

I want to remove the notion that I intent to derail the Contract...I know members will protest that the ambulances have saved many lives but had the right procedure in law been followed, we could not be wasting our time discussing this.

The Mover further predicts (assertive act) that if the law is not followed, the County is *doomed* and he therefore directs (directive act) the participants to reject the contract so that due process is followed in *redrafting it afresh*. He explicitly indicates that they are losing a lot of money as a County. The intention of the Mover is to have the Motion supported so that the contract is revoked. According to Searle (1969), understanding the speaker's intention is crucial to interpreting the meaning. Without the speaker's intention, it is not possible to understand the words as speech acts.

The participants listened to the Mover's assertive speech acts but majority of them did not believe him. When the Motion opens for debate, they use various types of speech acts to directly and indirectly describe the character of the Motion Mover. Hon. Kiprop used an assertive act to directly describe the Mover as a deceptive character who does not value his people because he drives a Rav4 while his people walk barefooted. The Mover also enjoys a huge medical insurance from the County while he wants to deny his people the little support they receive from the County in the form of ambulance services by attempting to revoke the contract. Hon. Kiprop sums his utterances, thus:

Excerpt 66

We should not be gospel preachers while we are taking wine.

Hon. Kemboi equally makes serious claims on the character of the Motion Mover stating:

Excerpt 67

I believe that there are some members in this House who enjoy seeing citizens suffer, and if possible wishing them to die so that they can go and do politics in their funerals.

Though the above assertive utterance attracts laughter in the House, it still portrays the Mover as a selfish person who only cares for himself. This is not how a Kipsigis conducts himself. To be accused to taking advantage of others' misfortunes is therefore a serious allegation.

The intended perlocutionary effect of the utterances is to make the listeners realize the duplicitous nature of the motion Mover on the floor of the House. The Mover is painted as not caring for the community and this contradicts the Kipsigis ways of life. Ukpong (1984) observes that Africans-Kipsigis included -define themselves not in egoistic terms but rather in terms of their community and thus find their identity there. He continues to say that individuals exist first for the community and then for themselves and that community too exists first for the individual and then for itself.

Many participants opposed the Motion because they believed the contract with the Red Cross had assisted the County by saving lives. For example, Hon. Rono reports that he was glad that a hundred and sixty lives had been saved so far and used a directive speech act to persuade the members 'to agree with the community because the County Government is making saving lives cheaper than it was before.'

Hon. Chepchumba narrates an incident in the quarry where they lost three lives and saved three lives. She laments (expressive act) that if they had the ambulances as is happening now, they would not have lost those lives. These utterances and many others help to explain the importance with which the Kipsigis attach to life. Towett (1979) points out that the Kipsigis valued life and anyone who prevents or blocks or stops others from living fully commit a grave sin or rather breaks the greatest taboo in Kipsigis terms but the one who supports and ensures full living is appreciated and honoured. The Kipsigis understood this as promotion of life. Elders, medicine men, rain makers, medium diviners and pregnant women are highly respected because of their commitment to the promotion and protection of life (Rop, 2015).

4.4.5 Utterances on the Notion of Hospitality among the Kipsigis

In Motion 3, Hon. Tabutany through an assertive act, reports about her experiences when she visited England in 1985. She reported that *she expected to be picked from the airport but she did not find anyone*. What helped her was *the written letter which indicated the house number*. In such an utterance, one cannot fail to see the disappointment experienced by the honourable member. Traditionally, the Kipsigis people, like other Africans, have a good spirit that is welcoming to their visitors (Rop, 2015). A visitor was heartily welcomed and everyone went out of their way to ensure that the visitor was comfortable. Even a stranger who passed by the home had to be given something to eat before they proceeded on their journey. This was because of the belief that the visitor must be tired and hungry. Rutto and Maritim (2016) further explains this point by saying that the Kipsigis were so generous with food that a visitor was served food first before the members of the family, even at the risk of the host getting less. It must have been therefore shocking for the honourable member to find herself all alone in a strange country with only a written letter indicating the house number in which she was going to stay in.

An analysis of the data revealed some interesting things about the above utterance. Firstly, the first part of the utterance is an assertive; a report about the speaker's experiences in England and Japan. Secondly, the speaker implicitly talked about her disappointment when no one came to pick her up but instead she was forced to use a letter showing the house number as her destination; this is an expressive act. Thirdly, in supporting the naming of streets, Hon. Tabutany also used expressive acts to explain how she had to send someone to the cattle dip to give direction to her home when her mother fell sick. She further used expressives to thank the members for their support when her mother was sick. While Tabutany's utterances may appear contradictory to her experiences (showing hospitality to visitors as dictated by the Kipsigis culture) as opposed to having the visitor to use maps, a deeper analysis portrays otherwise. The non-literal meaning of the speech acts is that naming of streets will make it easy to assist people during times of tragedies like fires or sickness because in the Kipsigis community what affects one affects all (Rop, 2015). The speakers therefore use such expressions touching on the welfare of others to help build meaningful speech utterances that ensure they win the debate to their side. Moreover, the utterances help to show the culture of hospitality among the Kipsigis.

4.4.6 Utterances showing Politeness

The Kipsigis community expects its members to be polite and respectful at all times. The young are expected to be polite to the elderly. Children are also required to be polite with their parents and the teachers. Simply put, politeness goes with respect and it is one of the unwritten rules that all should abide by it. That explains why even in a beer party, one who shows disrespect is immediately send away (Komma, 1992).

In the County Assembly, the participants are expected to follow parliamentary guidelines on how they should conduct themselves during deliberations. More often than not, members still break these rules and are sometimes found hurling insults at each other and use other un-parliamentary language to “finish” their opponents. Some even use physical force to settle issues in debating chambers!

Analysis of data showed that Members of the County Assembly of Bomet employed indirect speech to minimize threat to others’ public image. This was especially used by the honourable Speaker of the County Assembly. For instance, while using a directive speech act to tell to motion Mover to read section 6 about the powers of the County Government, he says;

Excerpt 68

You can read the whole of it member, since this is a very heavy matter that needs to be dealt with in a heavy way. (Motion 1).

The use of the verb ‘can’ does not question the ability of the Motion Mover to read the document, rather, it is a polite and effective way of making a request. Moreover, the speaker with the authority vested on him may probably not want to be seen as ordering the other honourable members to do as he wishes. According to Clark (1979), indirect speech acts have properties that indicate the importance of speech acts as a source of language analysis. Similarly, Stapleton (2004) explains that one of the properties of speech acts is that they are polite and purposeful because they are used to fulfill a certain societal norm of indirectness and serve the purpose for meeting the speaker’s intentions.

In Motion 2, honourable Kipruto indirectly pointed out the lack of fairness in the employment of persons at the County and why this should be checked keenly. She uses the illocutionary force of informing by saying:

Excerpt 69

The staffs that are recruited are based on other factors that I don't want to be captured but go there and you will find out for yourselves. The people treated as tea girls and don't have qualification but have physical qualifications are taken.

In producing the above assertive act, the member is making interesting claims about those charged with the recruitment process. That merit is not considered in employment of staff and indirectly puts to question the morality of those responsible for recruiting staff at the County of Bomet. The speaker above also exercised politeness and respect by not directly illustrating his points.

In fact, she does not directly mention the qualifications but simply said, 'other factors' though she quickly gives us a hint that those factors are 'physical qualifications.' Again the physical qualifications are not explained until another speaker requests to explain on her behalf that:

Excerpt 70

Hon. Chepchumba: *...if you look brown, smart and well-built you can be employed faster than the paper work.* (Motion 2)

This indirectness witnessed in excerpt 69 seems to lend credence to what Komma (1992) pointed out about the Kipsigis; that they illustrated their points indirectly without referring to them. While Komma did not give any explanation, a number of scholars have given their opinions regarding the use of indirectness in conversations. Leech (1983) observed that people use indirect speech when they want to be polite because it diminishes the unpleasant messages contained in requests and orders. In the case of excerpt 69 the use of phrases such as "other factors" and "physical qualifications" acted as euphemistic for words that would have otherwise been embarrassing. Among the Kipsigis, there is always a thin line between politeness and respect. The two terms seem to mean the same thing. Respect (Tegisto) among the Kipsigis is highly valued that whoever lacks it is considered *sogoran*, a very disgusting term in the community (Chepkwong, 1997). Every member of the community was expected to show *tegisto* regardless of the age or status in the society. Chepkwony (1997) explains that children foremost, owed respect to their parents. Parents in this case meant the father, mother, uncles, aunts, etc. In return, these parents were also expected to exude the same. Sambu adds that the children too are supposed to be shown *tegisto* because it is through good example that they can emulate and learn and exude to others in future. Chepkwony further explains that *tegisto* was also to be shown to different sexes. A man for example is expected to show

respect to a young wife because although, she is much younger, she takes the age of her husband.

The few examples discussed above reveal that the participants in the debate prefer to speak indirectly as a show of politeness and respect as expected of them in their culture. They do this using various speech acts and as Sifianou (1992) observes, speech act theory has been very influential especially regarding categorization of speech acts. Commenting on Searle's categorization, Leech (1983) argues that negative politeness belongs pre-eminently to the directive class, while positive politeness is found pre-eminently in the commissive or expressive class. Negative politeness applies when a speaker wishes to have his/her opinions respected while positive politeness is about the desire of the speaker's opinions to be accepted by others.

It was further discovered that using an indirect strategy as a sign of politeness helps to increase the force of the message that is being communicated. Therefore, people can use different techniques to show politeness, namely, indirectness, use of euphemism and using tag questions instead of direct statements among others.

4.4.7 The Use of Evidence in Debates

The findings revealed that assertive acts were the most common type of speech acts preferred by the Members of the County Assembly of Bomet. Of all the assertive acts, reporting was found to be the most frequently used illocutionary force. This is because politicians usually report about the state of affairs in the County and how they would want to change these states to better ones in the future. Reporting also uses facts like statistics and real life cases. This is consistent with an observation by Korir (2013) who reported that in cases of conflict, false or unsubstantiated accusations carried heavy penalties in the Kipsigis community. The County Assembly is an arena where participants seek consensus on their divergent opinions. Each participant is aware that their assertions may not be immediately accepted by their opponents and so they try to use all means to win the debate to their side. The participants in the debate who come from a culture that places high premium on evidence may consciously or unconsciously justify their positions using factual evidence. This could help explain why the participants at the County Assembly use statistics and real life cases to persuade their listeners to support their claims. The following examples help to clarify this point.

In Motion 1, Hon. Kibet uses statistics to persuade the other discourse participants to revoke the contract that the County Assembly of Bomet had entered with The Kenya Red Cross.

He reports:

Excerpt 71

... the County losses a lot of money if they pay Ksh. 20,000 per ambulance per day and if you multiply this figure by 6 vehicles it comes to Ksh. 120,000 per day. And if calculated further, it is Ksh. 600,000 per ambulance per month ant that translates to Ksh.3.6 million for six vehicles per month which is enough to buy two ambulances per month.

While contributing to the same Motion, Hon. Kibet urges the members to check the value for the service delivery, *whether it is accurate or exaggerated*. He points out that the County is *paying 43.2 million per year and for five years they will have paid 216 million*. Hon. Kibet demonstrated that *Machakos County was paying Ksh. 1.7 million per ambulance purchased* which was less than what they were paying in Bomet. He warns that *if they pay Ksh.216 million for five years, there will be no asset remaining in the County Government of Bomet*.

The participants who support the contract equally use statistics to convince the proponents of the motion to change their stance. For instance, Hon. Chepchumba demonstrate that the amount of money paid to The Kenya Red Cross is *actually little if we factor in the number of people at the County of Bomet*. She explains that the ambulances were brought at *Ksh. 600,000 and when it comes to daily costs it is Ksh. 20,000 per constituency and Ksh. 4,000 per ward. And for a population of 10,000 people in the ward she represents, it comes to ksh. 0.04 cents*. She then poses a question that this amount cannot compare with *Ksh. 75 million insurance cover that the honourable members are given and yet these honorable members are elected to come and serve and help the electorate*.

In Motion 2, Hon. Kipsang uses numbers to explain why payments should be halted for those persons who have not been lawfully employed. He said that they are *paying more than 1.2 billion shillings out of the 4 billion shillings allocated to the County*.

4.4.8 Person Referencing

The names used in the data are Kipsigis names which help to situate the text in the cultural context of the Kipsigis people. The names are culturally distinct and although they can be

found in other Kalenjin sub-tribes, the names nevertheless show that culture really influences the production of speech acts. The Kipsigis gave two names to a newborn. One of the names was Kurenet, that is the name of an ancestor whose spirit the newborn would embody and perpetuate (Rutto & Maritim, 2016). The second name was given to the child based on the time of the day or night the child was born, for instance names like Chepkirui, Kipkorir, Kibet or Kipngeno or a particular event, such as if it was raining when the child was born, the child would be given the name Kiprop if it is a boy or Cherop if it is a girl. The roots of such names appear frequently in the data, for instance, Koech, Kibett, Kiprop, Kirui, and Rono. Apart from the two names, the Kipsigis had praise names that were given to individuals as a means of describing and honouring their behavior, conduct or achievements. One such name appears in the data. Table 4.12 below gives the chant that accompanied such names and its interpretation.

Table 4.12: An Example of Kipsigis' Praise Name

<i>Tabutany</i>	<i>Tabut tolelyo</i>	A generous lady with what she has
She who shares out a	She who shares out the	or acquired
cow	yellowing cow	

Source: Rutto and Maritim (2016)

According to Carbaugh (1996), people's actual names have cultural implications. Names common in one speech community may be less common or non-existent in another. As such and not surprisingly, names index culture.

When the Speaker of the County Assembly calls out the name of a member, it is a directive act to either speak or stop speaking if the member has contravened the standing orders. Participants in the debate can also mention the names of their counterparts when they are supporting or criticizing their claims. What is clear here is that using people's names are acts with different illocutionary forces.

4.4.9 Linguistic Expressions as Indexing Culture

Linguistic choices also help to identify the cultural context of the interlocutors. Linguistic choices refer to differences in the words that people use. In their study, Banikalef and Bataineh (2017) found that people's cultural norms and religious background can strongly

affect their linguistic choices in their native language. On the same note, data analysis revealed a number of linguistic expressions that can be said to be specifically used by the Kipsigis. That means that unless one has been to Kipsigis land and learnt the Kipsigis ways, he/she may not understand the meaning of such expressions. Appreciation of these linguistic expressions require some shared cultural backgrounds and since the MCAs come from the same ethnic group, they capitalize on this shared knowledge in the performance and interpretation of these utterances or acts.

For instance, Hon. Kipsang complained (expressive act) about some of the County employees who do nothing but are in the payroll, thus:

Excerpt 72

Honourable Speaker, some are in the payroll but if you go now, you will find them eating meat. They are not doing anything yet we are sacrificing building a toilet here because we want to pay them. (Motion 2).

An outsider may not immediately understand why the honourable member is complaining about others eating meat, firstly because it is normal to eat meat especially in those communities whose staple food is milk and meat and secondly, those feasting on meat have used their pay and so there seem to be no problem. But according to the honourable member and the Kipsigis community at large, meat is a luxury and eating it often is considered extravagance. In, fact, in most homes, meat is only eaten when there are visitors.

The concept of eating has also been mentioned by another participant in relation to misuse of allocated funds in the County. The motion Mover, Hon. Kibii, used an assertive act with the illocutionary force of predicting by saying:

Excerpt 73

I believe the same ghost workers will eat in the next financial year of 2015/2016. I urge the House to debate the motion considering the suffering of the people because of the huge losses which this County is incurring leaving in paying these ghost workers... (Motion 2).

In both instances, the meaning of ‘eat’ requires an understanding of the wider context of being Kenyan in general and Kipsigis in particular. The debaters above are decrying the rampant corruption that has permeated even the recruitment process. It seems there are more

employees than is required because they are ‘eating’ into the budget and secondly, they are alleged to be doing nothing. It is therefore an indictment on the executive and those charged with overseeing the recruitment of employees at the County.

Hon. Tanui while contributing to the motion stated (assertive act):

Excerpt 74

We must stick to the law. Even the CEO who has been jumping must stick to the law so that we deliver the services to the people who elected us. (Motion 2).

The above utterance should not be interpreted to mean that the Governor has been literally ‘jumping’, rather when the speaker talks about ‘sticking to the law’ it helps us to understand that sometimes the Governor bends the law to suit his desires. Again, the linguistic expression paints a picture of a County head who cannot be trusted because he keeps changing his mind on issues affecting his people and therefore the honourable member seems to be saying that the law is what will save them and the CEO is not above the law.

Still on the issues of the law, Hon. Kimutai asserts:

Excerpt 75

And I have said more than once that the law is shouting and it must be followed. (Motion 1).

Honorable Kimutai has used the term ‘shouting’ to emphasize on the need to follow the law. One must shout to be heard, the same way the law was to be followed in acquiring the ambulances. The expression ‘shouting’ can only be understood by someone from the same cultural background and should not be interpreted literally. ‘Shouting’ here is equivalent to ‘paramount.’

Hon. Koech while making his contributions stated:

Excerpt 76

I think the issue is that it has been put in a parable that, usually, when there is something bad, people do like laughing. That is why you find people opposing this ambulance. (Motion 1).

Again an outsider may not understand the above parable by Hon. Koech because socially we expect people to grieve when something bad has happened and not to feel happy as alleged by the speaker. But coming from the same cultural background, the participants in the debate

understand the parable and that is why the speaker does not need to elaborate. Culturally, the Kipsigis believe that the dead join their ancestors in the yonder life and that is why they talk of happiness but the physical separation of the dead from them is a sad affair (Rop, 2015).

4.5 Gender and the Use of Speech Acts

The fourth objective of the study sought to find out whether there was any significant difference in the use of speech acts by male and female participants during debates at the County Assembly of Bomet. The findings are shown in Table 4.13 below.

Table 4.13: Distribution of Speech Acts according to Gender

Frequency	Motion 1		Motion 2		Motion 3		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Assertives	41	4	46	19	5	23	138
Expressives	20	5	25	6	3	10	69
Directives	21	1	18	6	3	4	53
Declarations	5	5	6	3	2	0	21
Commissives	4	0	5	0	0	2	11
Total	91	15	100	34	15	39	292

The analysis revealed different distribution of speech acts for male and female Members of County Assembly. In Motion 1 and 2, the males enjoyed a higher distribution of all types of speech acts. The most common type of speech acts were assertives which appeared 41 times in Motion 1 and 46 times in Motion 2 while females had 4 and 19 occurrences respectively. Expressives were used 20 times by males in Motion 1 and 25 times in Motion 2 while the females used 5 and 6 expressive acts respectively. The frequency for directives was 21 occurrences in Motion 1 and 18 occurrences in Motion 2 for males. The females had 1 occurrence for directives in Motion 1 and 6 occurrences in Motion 2. The male and female MCAs had similar number of declarations in Motion 1. In Motion 2, the male MCAs had 6 occurrences of declarations while the females had 3 occurrences. On the use of commissive speech acts the males had 4 occurrences while the females had none.

The fact that assertive speech acts were the most frequent type of speech acts used by males during debates means that the males used assertives mainly to discuss ideas surrounding the

revoking of contract to The Kenya Red Cross and to discuss issues to do with recruitment processes at the County. It also means that the males provided more information and provided facts by reporting more on issues than their female counterparts. These findings are consistent with what Rivai (2015) found out in his study on the speech variations of male and female students of State University of Makassar. Rivai reported that the male students tended to make statements that express facts and opinions. The females in Rivai's study were found to use more expressive speech acts in form of questions, use of apologetic expressions preceding questions and expressing thanks. The present study however, differs from Rivai's because the males still lead in their use of expressive acts. Rivai concludes that the speech variations in male and female speech is a result of cultural background and character as well as embedded biological and psychological factors that underlie their speech usage.

Kariuki (2010) while commenting on the gender differences in most Kenyan societies also notes that the differences are not as a result of one's sex but a creation of Kenyan cultures that are primarily patriarchal. He continues to say that once a child was born, patriarchal aspects of the society were inculcated in his or her mind through socialization. The Kipsigis society is patriarchal in nature and in a family unit, the man, considered as the head of the family makes decisions on behalf of his wife (wives) and children. Though the cultural attitudes towards men and women have shifted radically in the modern times, this study established that culture still plays a role in the way interlocutors interact on the floor of the County Assembly. The number of males who speak are more than their female counterparts. This kind of interaction affects the way male and female MCAs use speech to act in the County Assembly. Other scholars, however give different explanations for low participation of women leaders during debates. According to them, it is not the numerical strength of women that counts, but it is the fear of backlash that prevents women from engaging in debates the same way as their male counterparts. In fact, they say that the risk of backlash may increase when women's numbers rise since male colleagues may feel threatened and close down space for women's participation and influence (Grey, 2006; Heath et al., 2005; Kathlene, 2005).

The findings of the present study also revealed that the topics of discussion play a vital role regarding gender participation during debates. More males actively participated in Motion 1 whose topic was on the need to revoke the contract that had been awarded to the Kenya Red Cross because the agreement was not done according to the law. Motion 2 was about the need

to halt payments to persons who had not been lawfully employed until employment of such persons was regularized.

On the contrary, Motion 3 shows the female participants having a higher number of the types of speech acts in all the areas except for declarations which registered a null value. The results could be attributed to the number of participants and the number of turns taken by each gender. In Motion 1, the number of females who participated in the debate were only two as compared to their male counterparts who were 14 in number, excluding the speaker. The male participants also had a total of 55 turns (excluding the Speaker) compared to females who had a total of 9 turns. This can explain why the males had a total of 91 speech acts against 15 speech acts used by female participants. These findings are consistent with what Forbes and Cordella (1999) found out on their study of the Chilean parliament. The Chilean parliamentary discourse show that the gender composition of a group may determine the frequency with which participants use a particular argumentative strategy. Similarly, in Motion 2, the number of males who participated were 14 whereas the female participants were 2. The number of turns taken by male participants were 22 while their female counterparts had 11 turns.

Another observation made was that Hon. Chepchumba, a female, had the highest number of turns at 9 compared to the rest of the participants. This revealed that it may not be the gender that determines the frequency of speech acts used but it is the number of the participants. In Motion 2, the speech acts used by male participants stood at 100 while the speech acts used by females were 34 in total. Commenting on women MCAs in Kenya, Bouka et al. (2018) noted that their participation and influence varied greatly across the counties. For instance, women MCAs in Nyandarua who are all nominated were significantly less active and engaged compared to their male counterparts. That one nominated MCA lamented that, “all the nominated members who are mainly women are just there! They just attend the assembly and go home.” However, women like Dorcas Njoroge and Patricia Wanjugu were singled out as being active debaters on the floor of the assembly. Furthermore, Bouka et al. (2018) observed that women MCAs in cities tend to be active in agenda setting. For example, in a city like Kisumu where there is a long history of women’s participation in politics, women were found to be successful in agenda setting.

In Motion 3, the tide changed because the female participants had a higher number of speech acts compared to males. They had 39 and 15 respectively. The total number of participants were 4; 2 males and 2 females. Each gender also had 3 turns. It was therefore observed that what contributed to the number of speech acts may not only be the number of participants but the length of the turns as well. This finding seems to contradict some earlier studies that suggested that men tend to participate more fully than women in public contexts by speaking for longer, taking more turns and interrupting others. Examples of such studies was done by Kathlene’s (1994, 1995) who studied floor apportionment in 12 U.S state legislative committee hearings and found that male participants spoke for longer and took more turns than women, and that men made and received more interruptions than women committee members.

The distribution of illocutionary acts based on gender are clearly shown in Figure 4.2.

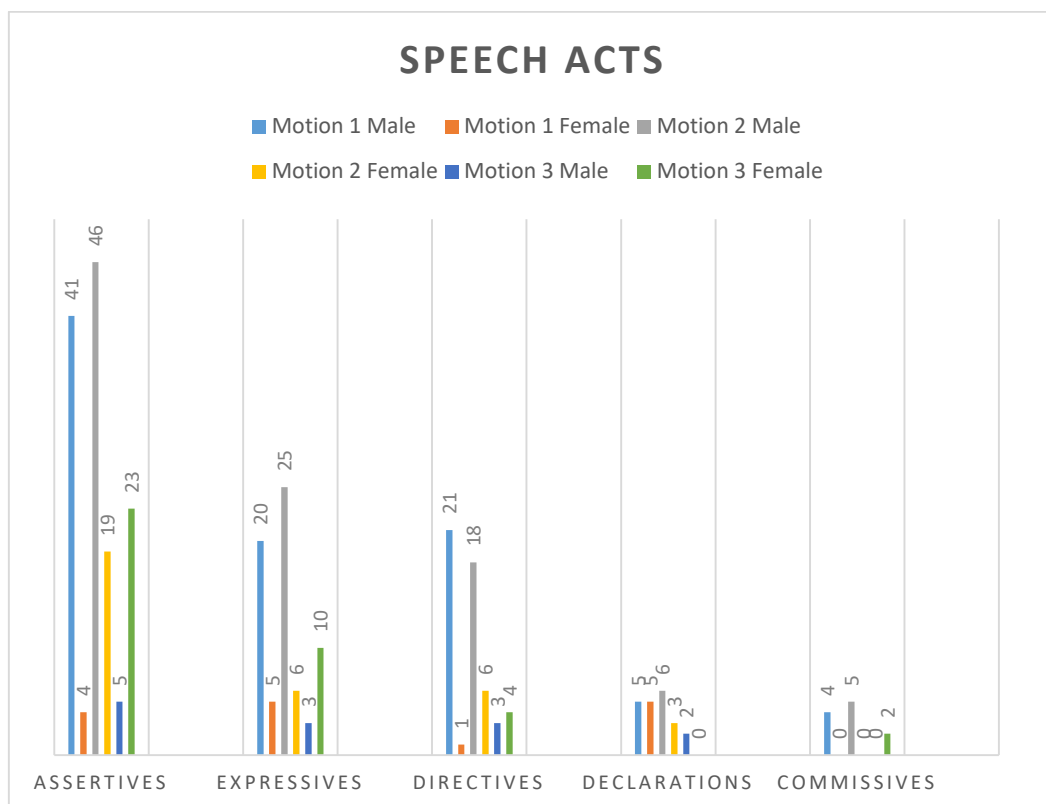


Figure 4.2: Distribution of speech acts based on gender

It seems therefore that the gender of the participants, the number of turns and the length of these turns are important factors to be considered in any argumentative discourse. As Grimshaw (1990) observed, there are some constraining factors that may determine how an argument is carried out by the participants. These factors include things like ethnicity, chosen

topic, participants' relations and orientations, considerations of utility and linguistic devices that are employed.

The findings further show that even though the 2010 constitution and devolution are key enablers of women seeking public office in Kenya, women are still under-represented at the County Assembly. According to Bouka et al. (2018), the 2013 elections in Kenya saw only 33 percent of women being elected as MCAs of whom 10 percent held elective seats. In the County Assembly of Bomet, of the 25 elective posts, only 3 women were elected. That means that the women enter a male dominated domain and inevitably during discussion this is reflected in the number and frequency of speech acts used. This explains why males lead in almost all the categories of speech acts. According to Brescoll (2012) and Mast (2002) gender is central in determining talking time. They point out that regardless of power differences, women tend to engage less in verbal aggressiveness or dominant behavior.

The reasons for low number of women MCAs and their lack of active participation during debates may be attributed to social as well as cultural factors. Traditions, in many countries, Kenya included, continue to emphasize women's primary roles as mothers and housewives and restrict them to those roles. A traditional strong, patriarchal value system, as Bouka et al. (2018) argue, favours sexually segregated roles, and traditional cultural values militate against advancement, progress and participation of women in any political system. Other scholars (Eagly 1987; Eagly & Wood, 1991) report that women develop traits that manifest communal and less aggressive behaviour as a result of cultural stereotypes about gender and expectations related to social roles. This may explain their lack of active participation during interactions at the County Assembly. The Kipsigis society is a patriarchal one where decision-making was the preserve of men. The women's place was in the kitchen and child welfare. This cultural notion about gender roles will inevitably affect female members' participation and influence at the County Assembly. Even though there is a lot of pressure to change the traditional gender roles, the culture prevalent around the world still favours men especially in the political arena.

The low number of women politician can also be attributed to the prevailing political culture of masculinity engrained in legislative assemblies and organizations such as political parties may also act as a major obstacle to female politicians (Lovenduski, 2005). Indeed, Yoon (2004) report that on a global survey, only about 39 states have elected a woman president or

prime minister. This can also explain why most researches in Kenya according to Nzomo (2011) are preoccupied with the issue of access and presence of women in political leadership. It is worth mentioning that Kenya has made great strides in promoting gender equality in almost all spheres of life although women are still finding themselves outnumbered in most leadership positions. Women who get into the County Assembly should, therefore be encouraged to look beyond their low numbers and try to maximize their impact on the political activities in the Assembly.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the findings, draws conclusions and underlines the implications and recommendations to researchers and other interested parties in general.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

The following is a summary of the findings of the types and functions of speech acts employed by Members of County Assembly of Bomet, the reflection of culture in the realization of speech acts, and the differences in speech acts use by gender of MCAs of Bomet. The findings are stated as follows:

- i. The findings revealed that the MCAs used all the five types of speech acts as categorized by Searle (1969). The speech acts types are assertives, expressives, directives, commissives and declaratives. The MCAs used more assertive acts in their exchanges compared to other speech acts provided by Searle (1969). Assertives are meant to commit the utterer to the truth of what they say. That means the speakers are prepared to defend their positions if challenged regardless of the veracity of their claims. The findings show that SAT could be extended to the analysis of Argumentative discourse.
- ii. The categories of speech acts are further divided into sub acts. These sub acts have got specific functions in linguistic interaction such as the debates. The findings demonstrated that among the assertives, the act of reporting was used more frequently compared to the other acts. This may be attributed to the speakers' desire to report about what they already know about the state of affairs at the County. Furthermore, reporting uses facts like statistics and real-life cases.
- iii. The interpretation and meaning of speech acts depends on context. The study looked at how the context affected the realization of speech acts. It concluded that unpacking the meaning of speech acts did not merely depend on the successful performance of felicity conditions and the illocutionary forces behind the utterances, but partially on their cultural interpretation within the Kipsigis culture. The debaters' success in performing the speech acts used to convince and persuade their hearers was partially based on their understanding of the Kipsigis culture. For instance, communalism

among the Kipsigis is observed during the discussions surrounding birth of babies and during funerals. Community's values of hospitality and politeness are brought to light through speech acts such as assertives and commissives. The utilisation of actual names also index culture. The names of honourable members are mostly found in Kipsigis land. Choices of words also reveal the cultural milieu of the interlocutors. Culturally, among the Kipsigis, the talk surrounding death was approached with much caution. Many beliefs abound on why the dead should be left alone but the study found that MCAs freely talk about death and even make jokes about it. Therefore, culture influences the way one uses language; it guides people on what to say and when, how to be civil and when to issue an apology, and so on. All these activities of language are known as speech acts. The fact that Members of County Assembly from Bomet use speech acts when interacting illustrates that context does not matter in the application of speech acts. That African contexts, particularly among the Kipsigis community from Bomet, use speech acts just the same way that western contexts (where SAT was first applied) use them. Members of County Assembly, irrespective of their status, always use speech acts to explain their views and try to change the attitudes and feelings of their colleagues especially those with contrary opinions. The perlocutionary impact of utterances during debates is persuasion. The MCAs persuaded each other using various strategies such as acts of information and reporting using statistical evidence or real life cases.

- iv. The issue of gender also affected the utilization of speech acts at the County Assembly. The number of speech acts utilized by male participants were more because the males outnumber female participants in the debating chamber. The males also enjoyed more turns than did their female counterparts.

Overall, the participants used various speech acts to achieve their goals; the topmost goal being to convince their opponents of the truth of their claims thereby changing their attitudes and beliefs regarding the Motion under discussion.

5.3 Conclusions

- i. All the five types of speech acts suggested by Searle (1969) were used by MCAS during debates at the County Assembly. These speech acts are assertives/representatives, expressives, commissives, directives and declaratives. The

proponents used speech acts to support their claims while the opponents used speech acts to disapprove others' claims and to explain their position. In sum, the various categories of speech acts were used by the MCAs to justify their standpoints and to ultimately win the debate to their side. The frequency of the various categories of speech acts were shaped by the types of motion and the number of participants.

- ii. The most commonly used illocutionary forces of assertives were those of informing and reporting. The speakers in the Assembly persuaded their colleagues by revealing information that was considered unknown to the rest. They also used statistical evidence and real stories to persuade others to support their views. Speech acts such as expressives and directives were deployed to convince the critics to change their stand and support the views of the proponents during debates. Expressive speech acts mostly used the illocutionary forces of thanking and complaining to generate the perlocutionary effect. The perlocutionary effects of utterances was mostly carried out through the use of assertives and expressives types of speech acts.
- iii. Culture exerts a significant influence in the use of speech acts by Members of County Assembly. Cultural beliefs and practices are exposed during the discussions through the performance of various speech acts.
- iv. There were differences in the use of speech acts between male and female Members of County Assembly. This finding illustrates that speech acts use is related to the quantity of participants and of turns taken by both genders. The study shows that males are more than females at the County Assembly and therefore participation is highly skewed in favour of males. The males lead in the use of almost all categories of speech acts.

5.4 Implications of the Findings

Successful communication depends on adequate grasp of the language and an understanding of things deemed appropriate to utter in particular situations. For debaters particularly, a grasp of what hastens consensus is critical. Participants engaged in argumentative discourse can benefit from a deeper knowledge of the various speech acts types at their disposal which they can use to minimize the confrontational nature of their interactions. When the debaters

fully comprehend the illocutionary forces of utterances, effective communication can be attained. The illocutionary force of a spoken text is shaped not only by form but by a complex interaction between form and context.

The place of culture in contexts like the County Assembly cannot be overlooked. Successful communication often depends on shared information about contexts, traditions, and attitudes. That language, particularly speech acts, is laden with culture. Speech acts include real-life interactions and require not just mastery of the language but also appropriate use of that language within a given culture. That is why the usual confrontational nature of parliamentary debates was very minimal at the County Assembly of Bomet. Almost all the participants shared similar linguistic background and therefore same culture. But this is not always the case everywhere; there are County Assemblies where participants come from different linguistic backgrounds. In such contexts, the participants should be encouraged to use the acts that do not threaten the 'face' of other participants because their speeches often attract attention and the messages they convey might affect the citizens as well. We hope that this study can provide real-life examples from the Kipsigis community and data to researchers in pragmatics.

From the findings, females at the County Assembly of Bomet are still few and their participation in debates is very minimal. That means, women have a long way to go in realizing gender equality. For those already in the County Assembly, they must be encouraged to actively take part in debating activities and make themselves felt so that the community is encouraged to elect more women.

The government and other constitutional bodies should profit from the findings. The government should realize that although the Constitution provides for gender balance in almost all constitutional bodies, this idea is yet to be realized. The government should do more to guarantee that there is actual gender equality in every sector in Kenya.

5.5 Recommendations

- i. Members of County Assembly of Bomet used different speech acts forms to carry out debating. The speech acts use is an indication that the MCAs are willing to act on their deliberations. Essentially, the speakers are not only saying something but also action is embedded in their utterances. That means

that the speech act theory should also be applied in African contexts as opposed to the western context where it was first used.

- ii. Members of County Assembly of Bomet perform some functions through their utterances. By evaluating the utterances, we will understand their intentions and what they mean during debates. Being representatives of the public, their goal is to guarantee benefits from devolved government and that every elected leader should play their role effectively and efficiently. Most problems that arise at the County, however, are due to lack of proper communication and consultation. Therefore, the Executive and the County Assembly are encouraged to improve on their communication skills so that they lessen misunderstandings and ensure their people benefit from the devolved functions.
- iii. Culture plays a critical function in communicative contexts such as the County Assembly. The speech acts used during debates reflect the Kipsigis people's culture. Cultural values such as respect for all people, hospitality and politeness were key enablers to successful communication at the County Assembly. That is why the usual confrontational nature of parliamentary debates was rarely witnessed at the County Assembly of Bomet. In contexts where arguers come from different cultures, the participants should be encouraged to use speech acts that never threaten the 'face' of other participants. When leaders engage in a peaceful manner, consensus is hastened which can translate to actual economic and social development.
- iv. The number of women in the County Assembly is very low and most of them do not participate actively in the debates. This could be linked to the Kipsigis traditions that still prefer the males in leadership. The men are given the decision-making authority regarding all the affairs of the society. Women's roles are restricted to child-bearing and general house-keeping. These gender-based roles will inevitably affect their participation and influence at the County Assembly. To help women overcome these challenges, special mentoring programmes should be developed by political parties to help women gain or improve their skills in politics and realize their potential. Such

programmes will also help women leaders become self-confident because they will learn the strategies of self-defence against any form of oppression.

5.6 Suggestions for Further Research

In relation to the study findings, the researcher puts forward some suggestions for future investigations.

The present study has focused on identifying the types and functions of speech acts used by Members of County Assembly of Bomet in their debates. Further studies should involve counties where members come from different cultures to find out how they use speech acts in their exchanges.

The present study has also sampled three motions recorded between 2013 and 2017, more researches can be done by sampling different motions with similar/different topics undertaken in different periods of time.

It is also recommended that further studies can examine the interplay of the various themes of the motions and gender participation.

In addition, cross-cultural studies can be done to compare speech acts use in contexts where participants have similar linguistic backgrounds to see how the cultural practices of the debaters are revealed in their speech acts.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

MOTION 1: The County Assembly Seeks to Revoke the Contract Awarded to the Kenya Red Cross.

This is an Abridged Version of Motion 1 held on 27th, February, 2014 (Second Session)

Hon. Kibet: Thank you very much Mr. Speaker, that aware that article 176 of the Constitution of Kenya 2010 establishes the County Government for each County consisting of the County assembly and County Executive; also aware that section (6) of the County Government Act provides that a County Government may enter into a contract or any partnership with any private or public entity in accordance to any law relating to public and private partnership for any work, service or function for which it is responsible in its jurisdiction; deeply concerned that the County Government of Bomet did not involve the County Assembly in its contract award of ambulance services to the Kenya red Cross Society; this County Assembly do revoke the contract to the Kenya Red Cross since it did not follow the provisions of the law. Allow me to argue my case Mr. Speaker, the County Executive entered into a contract with Emergency Plus medical services for the purposes of providing ambulance services in this County. The reason why I brought this motion is; we were sworn in to do oversight. I base my argument on the Constitution, we were sworn in to protect the Constitution and to represent the electorate. What pushed me to bring this motion is the above. I want to remove the notion that I intend to derail the contract. My conscience here is clear; when you go to article 176 of the County Government Act it says: “There shall be a County Government, that County Government shall comprise of County Assembly and County Executive.” And when you interpret it well, it implies that the Assembly shall preside over the Executive using its role of oversight. This is because the members of that Assembly are representatives of the people. The reason for moving this motion is; the County Executive of Bomet violated the County Government Act (17) 2012; if you go to section (6) of the Act, it elaborates the powers of the County Government; section 176 refers to the County Government as the County Assembly and the County Executive. The County Executive has contracted the Kenya Red Cross to provide ambulance services without consulting the

County Assembly and this is violation of the law. Number two, under article 6(5) of the same act, it says that, “the County Government in its duty to provide service must be effective, efficient, and inclusive and embrace people’s participation.” But they never allowed people’s participation. Mr. Speaker, we all have the heart for our County and our people. I know members will protest that these ambulances have saved many lives but had the right procedure in law been followed, we could not be wasting our time discussing this. Objectives of devolution are earmarked in article 176 and to quote in part it says: “To promote democratic and accountable use of power.” And as a representative of the people, if I cannot account, I am doomed. Under the Constitution, this House has power to legislate, to oversight and represent. So this House has to take up its role of oversight and I want members to base their argument on this. If we allow these roadside shows to rule this County, we will be doomed and the residents will not blame the Executive but this House. When the Executive entered into contract, they never involved the Assembly, I am the Vice Chair Health Committee, but there was never any communication on the same. Number two is that the Executive never conducted any public participation which is the biggest violation of the law. Yet article 1 of the Constitution says that the sovereign power belongs to the people of Kenya, and therefore anything a leader does must have the blessings of the people. We want to end this impunity; you cannot come up with the idea then you implement overnight without involving the people. I want to urge the members that we rescind the contract, then we involve the assembly and the public, then we redraft the contract as per the Constitution. Again, if the Executive are exercising power without following the Constitution, then the same Constitution has power to deal with them. And those powers are vested in this House. And I want to say that the County Executive member of finance who came up with the idea should be held responsible. If you look at the contract, it says that the sum to be paid per ambulance per day is sh. 20,000 and if you multiply by 6 vehicles it comes to sh. 120,000. So let us be practical, this County loses sh. 120,000 per day and as leaders, we know how much that money is. And if you calculate it, we pay sh. 600,000 per ambulance per month and that translates to sh. 3.6 million for six vehicles per month which is enough to buy two ambulances per month. And if we have our own, the money could remain in our County at the same time we will create job opportunities for both drivers and paramedics. I therefore propose that this House forms a committee that will probe into this contract; how it was entered into and how

much money was spent. This should also probe why the contractor is called Emergency Pus and not Kenya red Cross; as the members of the public know. I do not want the members to see this from a political angle, but rather we follow the law and do oversight role. So I urge members that we rescind on the contract and redraft it in line with Constitution, so that the objective of devolution is achieved. With those few remarks I do urge the members to support this motion to set the record straight and end impunity in this County.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable member, before you sit may be you can read out te section 6 of the County Government Act that you referred to.

Hon. Kibet: Thank you Mr. Speaker, section 6 talks of powers of the County Government which consists of the Executive and the County Assembly. Subsection two says it has powers to enter into contract of which the Executive entered into the contract, without involving the Assembly.

Hon. Speaker: You can read the whole of it member, since this is a very heavy matter that needs to be dealt with in a heavy way.

Hon. Kipruto: Mr. Speaker, I believe that when a member is trying to justify his point, he can quote. This means you cannot read the whole Constitution.

Hon. Speaker: I think this is a very heavy matter and using Standing Order (1) I have told the member to read the whole of it.

Hon. Kibet: The powers of the County Governments:

(1) As an entity exercising constitutional authority, a Couny Government shall be a body corporate with perpetual succession and shall have all the powers necessary for the discharge of its functions.

(2) Without prejudice to the generality of subsection (1), a County Government shall...

Hon. Speaker: Who seconds?

(Hon. Kimeto seconded)

Hon. Speaker: I now propose the question that: aware that article 176 of the Constitution of Kenya establishes the County Government for each County consisting of the County Assembly and County Executive; also aware that section (6) of the County Government Act 2012 provides that a County Government may enter into contract or any partnership with any private or public entity in accordance to ant law relating to public and private partnership for any work, service or function for which it is responsible in its area of jurisdiction; deeply concerned that the County Executive did

not involve the County Assembly in its contract award of Ambulance services to the Kenya Red Cross Society; this County Assembly seeks to revoke the contract to the Kenya Red Cross since it did not follow the provisions of the law. It is open for debate.

Hon. Kipsang: Thank you Mr. Speaker, I would like to say that it is nice for us to have a motion that has been attended by the public and we wish to congratulate the Assembly. I am also concerned with the motion and I want to thank the mover as it will remove the notion that has been moving around. I want to state that I am also a member of the committee on health Services and what I am going to refer, I do not want anybody to ask me where I got the facts from. Mr. speaker, I am only challenging some issues when it comes to the contract, I am not against the ambulances, I think I was the first person to benefit from them when it was brought in my ward and I want to challenge on some issues that if they had been brought before Assembly, we would not have been here. Mr. Speaker, I will challenge the contract, I will also the County Assembly of Bomet, and I will also challenge the County Executive Committee. Mr. Speaker sir, if you look at the contract bullets 4 and 5 where it is talking about disaster, and in case of a disaster we are supposed to surrender the ambulances without questioning them; when it comes to exceeding 3000miles, for the miles exceeded, it is supposed to be the County Government that will contribute with an emergency plus services of a 50% contributions towards them. I am also challenging this because if we surrender the vehicles during emergencies, we should avoid the contribution, and only contribute, when they are in our use. I am also challenging that because if the ambulance goes beyond the County, we are supposed to pay the driver, and I see this as a big challenge, and it is like a business; and if we could have been given time, we would have raised the issues and ironed them.... I am saying this Mr. Speaker because we do not want to be seen as against the ambulances, other things might be on the way and we need to put our House in order. I am a medic and I want to tell the Executive that preventive measures are better than curative measures. We need to get serious and it is like we only want people to get sick and then we rush them to the hospital, but we need to put in place preventive measures....

Hon. Speaker: What is your point of order honourable Joyce?

Hon. Chepchumba: Thank you Mr. Speaker. The honourable member is a member of the Committee and he wants to challenge the whole House, I want to know if he has called the Minister concerned or even talked about the issues in their committee?

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Kibii

Hon. Kibii: Mr. Speaker, the member was very clear that they are still in the Committee stage and I wonder whether the point of order arises; unless the member was not keen.

(interruptions)

Hon. Speaker: Yes, honourable Chepchumba. The same point of order?

Hon. Chepchumba: Yes, Mr. Speaker, before the flagging of the ambulances, the members received invitation letters to attend the event.

Hon. Speaker: Order honourable members, honourable Kipsang, proceed with your contribution.

Hon. Kipsang: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I was challenging the Executive committee and we have

sat with the CEC health and discussed a lot of things which should have been a priority.... imagine bringing patients to hospitals which are not equipped and it will be very unfortunate that such patients die.

(Honourable Kemboi rose on a point of order)

Hon. Speaker: What is your point of order, honourable Kemboi?

Hon. Kemboi: I wanted the member to clarify whether ambulances will take back patients who

die because he was among the members who went to Nairobi for a meeting with Red Cross. I want him to clarify that. Thank you.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Kemboi, I want to overrule you on that because you stood on a wrong

point of order, and therefore proceed honourable Kipsang.

Hon. Kipsang: Thank you honourable Speaker. I am winding up, and I have another recommendation; on serious conditions like Cardiac arrest they need to offer such patients free treatment....

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Kiprop

Hon. Kiprop: Thank you very much Mr. Speaker, I want to categorically oppose the motion and I have four reasons.... In this context of the purchase of the ambulances within the County, the mover has his right in questioning this, having passed a budget for the health department. But the mover in as much as he knows how to read the

Constitution, through various Acts, I think he does not know the definition of the Executive, and I want to clarify to him that it is upon the Executive to execute funds that have been allocated to various sectors. So I announce to the mover that he is not articulating the issues of his people, and more so he is misplaced in the Committee he is in... He should be placed in a committee which deals with public accounts. So with due respect, I think the honourable member should be re-delegated.

(Honourable Kemboi rose on a point of order)

Hon. Speaker: Which point of order?

Hon. Kemboi: I think the member who is contributing is out of order to be directing other members to the committees that they should join.

Hon. Kiprop: I am just giving information, and I have not directed anybody to a particular committee.... If the honourable member is now driving a Rav4, his people are actually moving barefooted. We do not have second class human beings in our republic and we need to treat each individual with dignity....as a member, I am insured and given protection but my voters are not. I think the honourable member should pity himself; and should not talk about that for the sake of his electorates.

Hon. Speaker: Order honourable members, when the Speaker stands you should sit. This is a motion, and we should restrict ourselves to the content of the motion; do not personalize, and as you proceed, strictly move in the direction of the motion.

Hon. Kiprop: I will stick to the motion but the sentiments should be taken seriously.... we should not be gospel preachers while we are taking wine. Thank you.

Hon. Kiptuiya: Asante sana nataka kumshukuru Mheshimiwa Spika...Mimi nimeamka kuelewa ni jinsi gani kandarasi ilifanywa hili kinifanya nikubali. Kwa sababu naona wengi wanacheka na inaonekana wanajua.... Huduma ni nzuri lakini lazima tujue utaratibu ikue wasi. Mlionaje hayo magari yakitoka nje ya kaunti sis indo tunalipa...mimi ni moja ya member wa chama cha afya na sijajua namna mkataba iliafikiwa. Na kama hauna la kusema kwa heshima nyamaza sukari isije ikaanza bila sababu ukitetea bure.

Hon. Kibii: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I am one man who follows what the law says, rather than abusing each other for no reason...from where I come from, we have one vehicle and we have welcomed it. We are only asking that since we are paying, and if it does not move, are we actually going to pay the same amount. Because if it is there for ten days and it is doing nothing and we are paying are we not wasting the resources which should have been diverted to other functions? There must be somebody somewhere

who actually want to use it to embezzle public funds. During our budget, we budgeted for the purchase of ambulances and not hiring. We approved 10 ambulances and not 6; and let us not interpret the budget to suit the interests of some people....

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Rono

Hon. Rono: Thank you Mr. Speaker, I stand to reject this motion in totality. We budgeted for 295 million towards health and 50 million for the purchase of ambulance services. It was not purchasing of the ambulances but it was the ambulance services. The County Government and the Red Cross society signed an agreement on the 8th January.

Hon. Kipruto: I want to confirm to the honourable House that I was one of the Budget and Appropriation Committee members, and we didn't talk about the ambulance services but it was the purchase of the ambulance.

Hon. Sawe: I would like to ask the mover of the motion where he is getting the information from.

Hon. Speaker: I think the honourable member is referring to what honourable Kipruto has said; if I got it correctly.

Hon. Rono: I am in the committee on Health. We called the Executive for Health to appear before us; and we had an assumption that there was no agreement signed with the Red Cross but they brought documents saying the agreement was signed on the 7th January 22014. I am sorry that some committee members were not there when the Executive member was before us. Three institutions were approached, the AAR quoted sh. 650,000, St. John Ambulance refused to offer services and the Red Cross Society of Kenya quoted sh. 600,000. Public participation was done at St. Bakhita here in Bomet and another one was done at Sotik and some members here went to Nairobi for the same public participation. I am glad that a hundred and sixty lives have been saved so far. I want my fellow members to agree with the community because the County Government is making saving lives cheaper than it was before. So I stand to reject the motion in totality.

Hon. Cheruiyot: ...I really stand to reject the motion. Our people have been suffering very much but since the County Government came into place, our people are now in a better life. One hundred and sixty patients have been referred to various facilities. I want to inform this House that we have medical cover but the common person doesn't have one. I wonder why some honourable members who visited the Red Cross offices in Nairobi are saying they are not aware. I want to urge this House to perform its function of representation. Therefore, I stand to reject the motion.

Hon. Kipruto: ...I request the House to stick to the motion regardless of the mover of the motion. ...I must congratulate the mover of the motion for the great concern that this person has been having for the interest and welfare of the people of Bomet. The honourable member is trying to shed light on the value for money. We don't want to mind who won the contract but we want to understand the amount of money or the value for delivering services; whether it is accurate or exaggerated. The Chairman failed to confirm to this House whether there is a contract letter or a copy and he has never supplied it to the members; and am now accessing it here in the House. The report tabled on the floor of the House is stating very clearly that the budget is for the purchase of the ambulances and for hire of ambulances. It is very clear on the contract letter no. 4.5 that the hire of ambulances was going at 600,000 per month equivalent to 20,000 per day for six ambulances. We are paying 120,000Ksh. Per day to the Red Cross and 3.6 million per month, 43.2 million per year and for five years we are paying 216 million. If we compare with Machakos County, we cannot say that our people are sicklier than those in Machakos so that we go for the higher value. Machakos County is paying 1.7 million per ambulance purchased. If we are to pay 216 million for five years, there will be no assets remaining in the County Government of Bomet and we will be in the same level. If we use the money to buy ambulances, we will be having 108 ambulances in Bomet in five years and they belong to us. Based on the Public Procurement Disposal Act, a contract to be awarded must be advertised so that interested companies can show their interest. Unfortunately, we didn't see any advert; not even on Facebook, the Standard newspaper or the Daily Nation. There was no advertisement done by the Ministry of Health. Competitive bidding needed to have been done and the contract awarded.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable member (Kipruto) Have you read the whole Act?

Hon. Kipruto: With the little knowledge I have; and I am a specialist in procurement, I must say that the Public Procurement Act is very clear on the advertisement of government contracts...sovereignty of Kenya belongs to the people of Kenya, and it can be exercised directly through wananchi or democratically elected representatives; which is the floor of the House. Because the public was not involved and the Assembly was not involved, sovereignty was exercised by one arm of the government; which is the Executive. When we talk about negotiations, who are these negotiators? I can term this as a scandal in waiting. I must say that we have to fight by all means a scam that is going to derail the success and achievements of our people. Devolution is not about

engaging in a scam, it is not about fattening the pockets of an individual; it is about offering services to the deserving Kenyans effectively and efficiently. We may vote en-masse but the effects will haunt us as individuals. As a member of Kapletundo ward, I cannot be intimidated by the members who might have come from a given ward to challenge the interest of my people. I am not objecting to the ambulances but I am proposing the purchase of ambulances that will remain in our County after five years.

Hon. Kemboi: I arise to oppose this motion. I want to say we are dealing with a very heavy matter because it touches on, or infringes on the bill of rights which is the sanctity of the nation. The motion touches on the welfare of the society. I want to confine myself to the motion.... I see this motion as a mischief by one honourable member to micromanage the Executive. The function of the Executive is well stated in the Constitution....

Hon. Kipruto: (*He rose on a point of order*). Honourable Kemboi (The Majority leader) is talking about micromanaging the Executive and I want to be very specific that it is the approval of the County Assembly that is needed in the contract, and it is not for the Executive alone to be doing this
(*interruption*)

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Kipruto, the member has talked about micro managing the Executive and he has explained the separation of powers, and I think he is not out of order.

Hon. Kemboi: I was saying the County Government Act doesn't allow MCAs to exercise executive functions, and referring to article 81(85) (iii) which clearly states.....

Hon. Kipruto: (*Rose on a point of clarification*). When we talk about the role of the Executive to execute, it is to carry out implementation of what has been passed on the floor of the House. When we talk about the budget, it was on the purchase of ambulances; they should have done purchasing and not hiring, there we then attain oversight and not micro-managing.

Hon. Kemboi: I believe the statement will not add value to what I said. The members also need to be aware of the Public Procurement Disposal Act, and which I want to challenge my colleague here to read. The mover of the motion is actually trying to remove a speck in the eye of the Executive and bringing in power struggles to try as much as possible to discredit what has been of great assistance to this County. Mr. Speaker, we have to ensure that we don't trample on the citizens of this county. I want

to say that the citizens of Bomet County are greater than all of us. Also I want to say chapter six of the Constitution talks about leadership and integrity; part two of the chapter talks about accountability to the public. I want to state clearly Mr. Speaker, that I was so shocked and dumbfounded that part of the members who went to Red Cross are the ones lying to the public, they are lying to this House, Mr. Speaker and asking on the mandate of the ambulances and yet they were there...

Hon. Speaker: (intervenes) Honourable member, I want you to restrain yourself on the motion.

Hon. Kemboi: Thank you Mr. Speaker, I will restrain myself, Mr. Speaker. Want to say that chapter four, part (a) of the bill of rights.... I believe Mr. Speaker that those are the people who are unable but the honourable member with one million insurance cover does not read the bill of rights. Mr. Speaker, I believe that there are some members in this House who enjoy seeing citizens suffer, and if possible wishing them to die so that they can go and do politics in their funerals. Thank you Mr. speaker.

(Laughter in the House)

Hon. Chepchumba: Thank you very much honourable Speaker, I oppose the motion at hand. Mr. Speaker, I want to say we embrace the issue of ambulance in this County. Also I want to say we have the relevant committees in this County that are supposed to be handling several issues affecting each department of this County. Mr. Speaker, I am one of the members of this County who has benefited much on this contract. Indeed, we have been having a lot of problems in this County with the recent one being the accident that happened in the quarry where we lost three lives and saved three lives. I thought if we had these ambulances, Mr. Speaker, we couldn't have lost those lives. Also during the time of the defunct local authorities, there was a serious case where a child fell into a pit latrine in Chesoen ward and the only person who could save that child was the team from the Red Cross, Mr. Speaker. I want to categorically thank the Red Cross team in a number of issues. apart from ambulances, the Red Cross has given 100 million for food security in the lower parts of the County. Apart from that Mr. Speaker, I want to say that I am not a good mathematician but I want us to see sense: these six ambulances have been brought with Kshs. 600,000, when it comes to daily cost it is Kshs. 20,000 per constituency and kshs. 4,000 per ward. And for a population of 10,000 people which I represent in my ward Mr. Speaker, it comes to Kshs. 0.04 cents. Can you compare these with the kshs. 75 million insurance cover that has been given to these honourable members, and yet they have been elected by

these people to come and serve as well as help them, Mr. Speaker. I want to say Mr. Speaker indeed this is a motion that should have had a lot of research done before it was brought to this House. Indeed, it is a big shame. From research which has been done Mr. Speaker; we have one hospital in this County which has assisted a lot of people; this is Tenwek hospital. And as we talk right now Mr. Speaker, the scanner which used to assist a lot of people then now cost ksh 10,000. But when the scanner isn't working, Mr. Speaker, patients are forced to travel as far as Eldoret and Nairobi with Ksh. 90,000 using our ambulances that do not even have life savers Mr. Speaker. The ambulances I am talking about Mr. Speaker have got trained doctors as well as drivers. These are people who can save the injured at the scene of accident. I want to say as the elected members of this House, we need to respect our residents; we need to respect our people; we need to talk of issues as far much as we are talking about the constitution, Mr. Speaker. That is why we have a number of court cases in our country, Mr. Speaker. This is because of the poor interpretation of the Constitution. I want to say let us not interpret it selectively but we have to interpret the Constitution effectively. Let me say that we want to reject this motion in totality. And I want to request the person who brought this motion that whenever you are bringing a motion to this House, you need to critically look at it and even see if it is binding in the citizens of this County or even the individuals. For this case, I want to say we reject it in totality.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Chelangat

Hon. Chelangat: Thank you Hon. Speaker for giving me this opportunity to reject this motion which has come to this House. My reasons are: Emergency plus which is a company of the Red Cross is doing a good service to our County and they are even returning back to the community, as has been cited by some members who have already spoken through water and irrigation projects. I know many honourable members who have spoken in this House; they have touched on the Constitution and even County Governments Act. One honourable member cited article 183(30) and it was referring to the oversight role. But this was misinforming the Assembly since that article deals with the functions of the County Executive Committees and the role of the County Executive Committees is exactly to do the administrative part of the things they have done like they have done for the ambulances for this County. This morning, we had the executive committee member after summoning him to our health Committee; of which I am a member, and the mover of this motion is also a member

to that committee, but unfortunately he wasn't present to get information that was given by the Executive Committee member because may be that could have convinced him to withdraw this motion that we are discussing now. He cited what is in the contract. I know one member has said that it has not been given to the House, but we couldn't give it until it is explained to us by the Executive Member which he did this morning. We were in preparation to bring that now to the knowledge of the House. He told us the services that "Emergency Plus" of the Kenya Red Cross will only post what we leased in the contract: the Ksh. 20,000 per vehicle which rightfully been calculated to Ksh. 3.6 per month but when you further do mathematics of the people in this County, it means the cost per person in this County would come to Kshs. 3.1. I believe there is nowhere you will get any service for Kshs. 3 in this county or Kenya. So, that shows that at least we are there to benefit on that. Kenya Red Cross takes care of all services in the ambulance. It takes care of even maintenance, the medicine and all those other things. This of course as much as we saying would have got with Ksh. 50 million, ten ambulances, seriously all of us know our ambulances in this county have stalled and most of them do not have the services of ICU like the Red Cross ambulances.

Hon. Chepchumba: *(On further information)*. Thank you very much Mr. Speaker, further information on the same Mr. Speaker, after these five years the honourable members were talking about, we have what we call social corporate responsibility, the same vehicles can be disposed to this County for free.

Hon. Kibii: I want to ask Hon. Chepchumba if she is telling us that social corporate responsibility is actually captured in the contract. Also Hon. Chelangat, that if it is calculated based on the population each and every person is costing Shs. 3, did she also calculate that had the ambulances been purchased, how much would have been saved?

Hon. Speaker: Hon. Chepchumba, please answer that before Honourable Taputany.

Hon. Chepchumba: Thank you very much Mr. Speaker. I want to inform Hon. Kibii that the reason why I am talking about this social corporate responsibility is that even before we started this contract; they had already given us ksh. 100million that is under social corporate responsibility for the lower region to assist in food security...

(Hon. Speaker intervenes)

Hon. Speaker: Honourable members, we should restrict ourselves to the main motion. Hon. Kibii, I think you have been answered and we should proceed. Hon. Taputany proceed.

Hon. Taputany: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I think I leave the rest of mathematics for those who are concerned to get more mathematics to work on...One other thing that I want to say, as one other honourable member said, is that more than 160 people have been helped up to this morning and the mover of the motion has these ambulances in his local health centre waiting for patients; and 11 people have been supported through these services. But I stood more so because the President of this Nation declared that maternity services would be very free for the women in this Country. And I am telling you there has never been any other time that the maternity costing was really free until this time when we got these ambulances. It is not less than 19 women who have delivered in those ambulances, and they have gotten their babies very well. The mothers are safe and the children are safe. I personally lost my sister in-law because of losing time while just being rushed to the hospital. But for all those that these ambulances have supported, they have all lived. In these ambulances, there are ICU services, and yet we all know that in our County there is none of the government hospital which has got ICU services. Therefore, the cost effectiveness has been very good for us and they have been those ones bringing those services into these ambulances. Even people who are suffering from meningitis and you know how fast the effects are before getting to hospital; they have been saved through these services. I think let us put aside just thinking of the cost. How much is the cost of our lives on us? How much do we contribute during the time for funerals? How much do we contribute even to have a mother who is stuck in hospital out after delivery? But this particular time, I think all of us are getting relieved because we are not contributing to even get a vehicle to rush this mother to bring home another citizen to this nation. And let us leave the Executive to do their role of administration because I don't think all of us wanted to go and witness the signing of the contract...and many are admiring what we are doing. We are becoming a benchmark for caring for citizens, and I am sure if you read all the reports that are coming with a positive mind/attitude, you will be able to see these things. And therefore, we should not just be fighting and thinking of the cost, just as for any child that we get at home, we cannot place a cost on that, and unless you can point where the money has been misappropriated then of course we are there to do oversight...It has been stated very well that AAR quoted higher

figure of 650 million while the Kenya Red Cross quoted 600 million. The St. John Ambulance which some of us are members to, cannot lease nor sell to us. What they can do is to manage; which would be another cost and therefore it will not be effective and it will not create any employment to any of our people. The AAR are using the Toyota Hiace which of course because of our roads, it means there are breakdowns every time and they will not take patients to the hospital. I don't think we want to go back to that, let us forge forward and help our citizens; the mothers of this nation, those who are very poor and the children of this nation. That will be accomplishing what our President said and I think we are aiming at having even free medical services for our citizens if only we have positive minds. Thank you very much.

Hon. Speaker: I think we are only going to give three more interventions and that is Hon. Kimutai, Hon. Kigen, and Honourable Koech. Honourable members, at the end of the day not every member will contribute.

Hon. Kimutai: Thank you Mr. Speaker for giving me this opportunity. Mr. Speaker, I think the House is sober right now. There was a lot of tension and now members are beginning to reason. Mr. Speaker nobody doubts the services that are being offered by these ambulances. These ambulances are offering the best services. Mr. Speaker, the question that we are asking and what everybody is asking is the process of acquisition of these ambulances. It is not the service itself. And even the mover of the motion didn't say he didn't want the ambulances. He asked about the process; that how was the process done? And that is the point of contention. What we are asking is about the process of acquisition. And I have said more than once in this House that the law is shouting and it must be followed. We know the services are the best and we are even better than other counties. But were these services acquired in the right manner?

Hon. Kigen: Thank you very much Mr. Speaker and the House at large. This House deserves the dignity just above the sea, but below the sky. Mr. Speaker, I rise to make recommendations on the motion before this House, Mr. Speaker. I must start by congratulating the mover who is a great friend of mine, and again it is not because I am opposing the motion that will break our friendship with the mover. As I stand, I am opposing this motion because of: because we are playing representation, I have gone all round my ward, and I have done great research by talking to them. After all that, the people of Chebunyo ward welcomed the ambulance very much. And they also said it is one of the first objective ever made since the start of this County Assembly on 4th March 2013 during their election. The reason why I say this is that I

see quality. There is a difference between quality and quantity because quality of this ambulance is captured from the medicine, the most expensive equipment and driver being paramedic. Also, the model of the vehicle is Land Cruiser which makes it comfortable to areas with poor road network like Chebunyo ward, Mr. Speaker. Life value and cost are never expressible, Mr. speaker. It is so unfortunate that most of the people in the past have lost their lives simply because of lack of transport to the hospital. Currently, most of our people have been saved by these ambulances. This KShs. 600,000 per month includes the transport of patients to the hospital, doctor's salary, driver's salary, fuel, medical equipment (ICU) and vehicle repair and maintenance. Apart from medical service, the Red Cross has offered support in agriculture and irrigation to the dry and lower parts of this County. The Red Cross is able to give out Kshs. 100 million in support of food security within this County. And fortunate enough, the first place to benefit is Chebunyo ward which is Nogirwet sub-location. The Red Cross surveyors will be coming on 4th of March next week to Nogirwet. So, I stand to welcome the Red Cross to offer their services, and still I say I am opposing the motion but the mover remains my friend.

(The House breaks into laughter)

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Koech.

Hon. Koech: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I also stand to oppose the motion and I think we should be realistic as honourable members. We were elected by the wananchi some few months ago and after we were asking SRC to increase our salaries. Wananchi were protesting out there against us increasing the salaries.

Hon.Kipsang: *(He rose on a point of order)*. I think the honourable member is out of order to use two languages. He should stick to one language.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable member desist from mixing the two languages.

Hon. Koech: Thank you Mr. speaker. But I know the truth is burning to those who are opposing.

(The House breaks into laughter)

Hon. Koech: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I think by the look of things; you can see how the House is full today at the public gallery. This thing is almost turning like that of South Africa where Nelson Mandela was arrested for the truth and here we are dying for the common person who is almost the voting tool for those who don't want the ambulances to be given these people. And when you check in the list, Mr. Speaker...

Hon. Kibii: *(He rose on a point of clarification)* Thank you Mr. speaker for allowing me to request for clarification from the member. I don't know whether he is grammatically correct when he said somebody was sleeping, which means he wasn't sick.

Hon. Koech: Thank you mr. speaker. As I said earlier some members are like playing around...

Hon. Speaker: Honourable member, you are out of order to use such language.

Hon. Koech: Thank you Mr. speaker. Now I was talking of an incident in my place where there was an old man who was very sick and had been referred to Moi teaching and referral Hospital, Eldoret. Indeed, the family wasn't able to meet the cost of transport and the medication as well but when the ambulance arrived, the family then told me that this is a hospital and there was no need to go to Eldoret. After that they thought there were charges for that but after knowing it was free, they said "Jonny" ...

(The House breaks into laughter)

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Koech, are you in order to call an honourable member 'Jonny' ? can you substantiate that?

Hon. Koech: I apologize Mr. speaker

Hon. Speaker: Apologizing is not enough

Hon. Koech: I withdraw. Okay Mr. Speaker. I was talking of how this ambulance is working. I have been going through my ward and there was an old man rescued by the same ambulance. Mr. Speaker, for a serious politician like me who is praying day and night to be elected several times, I am happy to see that lives are saved in order to vote for me, but when you interpret according to the mover of the motion, he prays that people should die.

(The house breaks into laughter)

Hon. Speaker. Can you sit down. I think you are out of order, and if you repeat it again, then I will ensure that you are thrown out, so restrict yourself to the motion.

Hon. Kipruto: *(He rose on a point of order)*. After informing him that he is out of order, he was supposed to withdraw and apologize because no one is praying for people to die.

Hon. Koech: I apologize and withdraw Mr. speaker. Thank you, Mr. speaker, allow me to give a parable in a local language.

Hon. Speaker: So long as you speak in English.

(The House breaks into laughter)

Hon. Koech: I think the issue is that it has been put in a parable that usually, when there is something bad, people do like laughing. That is why you find people opposing the

ambulance. As I conclude, I urge member to reject this motion and let ambulances go on serving our people. Thank you, Mr. Speaker.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable members, the way I expected is we will be playing on this issue and we cannot satisfy everybody to contribute on the same. And at the end of the day we really need to put the question. I want to give the mover of the motion to make replying remarks before we put the question. So honourable Korir.

Hon. Kibet: Thank you. I rise to respond on the contributions of members and I rise to respond to the statement the honourable member purports to have made. Members have deliberated, analyzed and debated and there are divergent views; but one can sense mischief and witch-hunt.

(interruptions)

Hon. Chepchumba: The member should explain the meaning of witch-hunt.

Hon. Speaker: Please clarify the meaning of witch-hunt

Hon. Kibet: The reasons why I am saying so are because things went personal; seeing me as if I wanted to destroy the programmes of the County Executive; and this interferes with my personal rights. A member said for example 'I bought a rav4 vehicle and the people of my ward are walking barefooted.' That was painful and you even asked the member to elaborate. That is too painful, and I still want an explanation on when the member did research and concluded that the people of Kembu ward are too poor; you allowed him to go on and I am not satisfied up to now. I quoted the Constitution and never opposed the programme, and I still don't oppose it. I simply wanted a clarification if due process was followed and the law adhered to; that is what I wanted in the motion, but instead members went on to an extend of telling us about services; of which I am a beneficiary as the ambulances are in my ward and even village, but I still question the authority and capability of members to understand a motion (*Loud interruptions*).

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Kibet, please go on.

Hon. Kibet: Let me comment positively on a member who said that as a County, we should have prioritized preventive measures rather than curative as we are not in a crisis or at war. The Red cross mostly attends to countries at war, terrorism and bomb blasts but not to hunger stricken residents in a County. So we need preventive measures rather than curative measures in the County. (*Loud interruptions*).

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Chepchumba

Hon. Chepchumba: The red Cross does not only attend to emergencies, but they are there to provide other services to the residents too.

(interruptions)

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Kibii

Hon. Kibii: I wanted to ask the member; what experience has she about the Red Cross? She has never worked in there.

(Loud interruptions)

Hon. Speaker: Honourable members, order! Honourable Kibet

Hon. Kibet: Let me bring to the attention of the members that the Kenya Red Cross Provides emergency medical services; but this is a commercial arm of the Kenya Red Cross and if they were giving us free services, we will not be wasting time in here; we will be outside rejoicing for the vehicles. This is a commercial arm by the name Emergency Plus medical services, and it is a profit making organization, and it is not Red cross as per the contract. A member said Executive functions; which the Executive was performing and they have that permission. My contention is; did they follow the due process as per section 6 of the Constitution which is on the powers of the County Government. Article 176 which is on the composition of the County Government; it comprises...A member also mentioned section 9920 of the act which says...The reason why I came up with this motion is not to micro-manage the Executive but to check if they followed the due process...Again members violated the Standing Orders in their debates...this was not in documentary form but it was mostly oral and cannot be evidence in a court of law. The contract was signed on 1st February 2014 and the amount agreed to is shs. 20,000 per day and the programme was launched on 7th February 2014. For the seven days, the amount is shs. 140,000 and for six units of ambulances, it is shs. About shs. 720,000.

Hon. Speaker: Please substantiate, honourable member. Do you have documents for these payments?

Hon. Kibet: Yes, I do. I am basing my calculation that if you sign a contract, the documents show everything and payment is assumed to have started from day one. Let me now go to the day the vehicle entered our County on 7th February 2014, which is 20 days up to now...*(interruption)*.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Taputany

Hon. Taputany: It was on 7th of January when the contract was signed. The vehicle came to the County on 10th February and they started work on 11th February. Again on the

statistics given, they were brought by the CEC this morning; unfortunately, the motion stated before we could present them. (*interruption*).

Hon. Chepchumba: Let me rise on a point of order. As per our standing Order number 84, it says no member shall refer to the substance of proceedings of a Committee; before the Committee has met and sat and presented the report to the senate.

Hon. Kipruto: You are talking about the Senate.

Hon. Chepchumba: It also include the County Assembly.

Hon. Kipruto: Since we are dealing with the right of reply, I fail to understand if we are allowed to interrupt or add more contributions. Please guide us.

(*Loud interruptions*)

Hon. Speaker: Honourable members, since we are dealing with the right of reply, I would not entertain further interruptions. Please proceed honourable Kibet.

Hon. Kibet: Let me say if you calculate the amounts paid and the services offered by the ambulance, then we are making a big loss as a County. I still insist, I am not against the project, but I wanted the rule of law and the Constitution to be followed (*Applause*). I was only pointing out that it contravened article 176(6) to see if the Executive was right, and it is not that I was against the services. A member said we met as members of the Health Committee at St. Bakhita, but I have never received communication that I were to meet and discuss the issue of the ambulances; and we have always formally been invited for meetings and also the House Business Committee has set a calendar which we follow. So I refute this and I was simply calculating the amounts to be paid since if we use a figure of shs. 20,000 per day, then we have lost shs. 3 million. In as much as we are saving lives, what is the value for money? (*Loud interruptions*)

Hon. Speaker: Order! Honourable members.

Hon. Kibet: Please let's stick to the law and the budget. I refer to the member who said we agreed to purchase and not to procure; that is the moment we started failing and we are still heading to a failure. We wanted to acquire our own 10 ambulances this financial year, and later we will add till we reach 108 ambulances, as calculated by honourable Kipruto. We will also have created job opportunities. Also a member says my intention is power struggle or that I wanted to take over the position of a member of the Executive, but I read the Constitution and Acts of parliament, which I vowed to protect ...let me refute the opinion of the Minority Leader despite the good intentions

he might have had; he is my friend and we served together in the defunct Local Authorities, we even share functions in our wards, but I think he lied to the House that the Kenya Red Cross has introduced a programme in his ward; without any documentary proof...I also have an NGO known as Walter Reed helping my people and If I discuss their functions here, I will be misplaced just as he is; he should bring a contract letter to show that. Let me also remind the honourable members that our electorate is watching us and are now aware of where the problems facing them are emanating from; they are aware that I the Executive constructs roads poorly or enters into contracts with the Red Cross poorly, the buck stops with the County assembly. If we continue with road side decisions, we will enter the annals of history as the first County assembly to do so because we have reports from the Controller of Budget or the auditor general...(interruptions)...So let's terminate it and we redraft it afresh; based on facts. This is a scandal that will embezzle County finances and we cannot provide oversight based on roadside declarations, but it should be based on facts in here. So the buck stops with the County Assembly. Thank you.

Hos. Speaker: Let me now put the question that: aware that article 176 of the Constitution.... deeply concerned that the County Government of Bomet did not involve the County assembly in its contract award of ambulance services to the Kenya Red Cross society; this county assembly does revoke the contract to the Kenya Red Cross since it did not follow the provisions of the law. (*A vote is taken; the nays have it*).

Hon. Speaker: Honourable members, this has been a heated motion and you have made your decision. The only thing we should be careful of is section 6; where it touches on if the County assembly was supposed to have been involved in the signing of the contract; but it does not mention it clearly (*Loud interruptions*) Honourable Kipruto, please do not shout; this is a honourable House, respect its sanctity.

Appendix B

MOTION 2: The County Assembly Do Resolve that The County Public Service Board and The County Secretary Do Halt Payments to Such Persons who have Not been lawfully Employed until Employment of Such Persons has been Regularized.

This is an abridged Version of Motion 2 held on 15th, July, 2015 (Afternoon Sitting)

Hon. Kibii: Thank you honourable Speaker and I just want to thank you for this very important time so that I can move the motion. Aware that article 10 and 32 provide for the principles and values of the public service, further aware that section 59 of the county government act provides function and powers of the county public service board as to establish and abolish offices in the county public services and to appoint persons to hold or act in the offices in the county public service including the boards of cities and urban areas within the county and to confirm appointment matters taken into account during appointment and to exercise disciplinary control over and remove persons holding or acting in those offices under part 7 of the Act, among other functions. Also aware that there are persons who have not been directly hired by the public service board and are drawing salaries; aware that such form of employment is irregular and unlawful leading the county to incur huge losses and expenditure. Therefore, this County Assembly do resolve that the county public service board and the County secretary do halt payments to such persons who have not been lawfully employed until employment of such persons has been regularized.

There are a number of people employed in this County without passing through the public service board and I therefore want to request honourable members that any irregular employment and those persons drawing the salaries from the public funds are actually drawing them illegally. As you are aware that the county public service board is also mandated to hire permanent and temporary employees, there are people in the service who have a master or bachelor's degree and they are in the same job group as a form four leaver. In fact, there are two persons who hold a form four certificate and are in job group 'M'. There are also those who are holders of EACE form four certificate and are in job group "L" with a master's degree holder. One wonders on the criteria used by the County Government to have persons in the said job groups yet these people were not hired by the public service board as mandated under article 32 of the Constitution and also section 59 of the county government act. Since the County government is paying KES 200 million per annum to these ghost workers instead of using it to improve the lives of our people, I request this House to

debate the motion in view of the expenditure which was not budgeted for in 2014/2015 and I believe the same ghost workers will eat in the next financial year of 2015/2016. I urge this House to debate the motion considering the suffering of the people because of the huge losses which this county is incurring I paying these ghost workers and I request honourable Kimeto to second the motion.

Hon. Kimeto seconded

Hon. Speaker: Let me now put the question; aware that article 10 and 32.... this County assembly do resolve that the County Public Service Board and the County Secretary do halt payments to such persons who have not been lawfully employed until employment of such persons has been regularized. It is open for debate.

Hon. Kipruto: Thank you very much Mr. speaker. I equally congratulate the mover of the motion for coming up with a very important motion which is touching all areas which we are representing.

I always believe in spirit of fairness. The reason as to why laws are in place is to ensure that fairness prevails. The Constitution is very clear and also the county government act is very clear on the procedures on which recruitment is done. If it was not there, nepotism could have prevailed in the recruitment of persons. Tribalism in areas which is cosmopolitan was not going to take Centre stage and without the law clannism was going to play the role in recruitment. Without the law flesh was going to determine who is going to hold a given position.

It is very unfortunate that these cases are occurring in Bomet County in the presence of county government act, the constitution and in the presence of labour laws which are very clear in terms of recruitment. The constitution is very clear in the role of county service board and we were expecting that when the constitution was passed, creation of 47 counties were made and each county did not have a public service board but after creation of the same, after we approved the members of the county public service board, that is where we expected the public service board to implement their role or participate actively in recruitment, whether ranging from internship, attachments, or permanent and pensionable terms. We only recognize one body that is the public service board. The Executive led by the Governor has converted himself into shadow public service board. There are only two bodies that are legalized to employ, that is, the public service board led by Amb. Terer and the county assembly service board to do for the assembly.... I have not seen any provision giving room to the Governor, or any member of the Executive the power to do recruitment without

engaging the county public service board. As we talk we are fighting for a budget that we are trying to increase the allocation for development but the highest budget is going for the wages. The wage bill in this County is increasing at an alarming rate. The wage bill is beyond forty percent. There are more positions that are lying down in the villages and they have not been indicated in the budget for the payroll in the County. The current rate of recruitment in the County shows that in the next two years, it shall stand at seventy percent. That is to say part of the services shall not be delivered to the public. It is unfortunate that after the public service board was created was put in place there are two centres that have been created so far as long as the recruitment is concerned. One is under the office of the Governor another one is the County Secretary and another one is the County Public Service board. The strongest power lies with the office of the County secretary against the law. As we today, there are members who are employed who are on contract terms or employed by the county government and if we continue his way, we may not actually deliver what we promised the citizens.... I have tried to find anywhere that permits the Governor but nowhere, even the president Uhuru Kenyatta cannot recruit someone in government to take care of his politics. I have not seen anyone employed to take care of the interests of honourable William Ruto...It is unfortunate today there are two names branded as liaison officers and these are the people who are trying to gather sensitive information affecting the political future of the Governor and they are in the payroll. I also want my politics to be well taken care of in the ground. I have mine taking care of my politics and not in the payroll. Do we allow this to take place as a county assembly and these are the interest of the politics of an individual? The names were changed from liaison officer to Administrative officers and senior administrative officers as from the time when the public service board wrote a letter regularization. Every ward has a liaison officer and in my ward I have an administration officer who was once a liaison officer in job group 'M' earning more than seventy thousand a month and their highest qualification is KCSE and yet there are other officers in job group M and they are degree holders....I urge the members that we handle this issue with sobriety because it affects all of us. As we talk we have enforcement officers and that is only a very light name and I term this as a militia recruited by the Governor so that it will play role somewhere trying to canvas for the position....As we talk, we have shortage of nurses in our dispensaries, nursery teachers and tutors, but there is a large recruitment of the recently graduated enforcement officers, As you get out, you will

see the men in blue everywhere....you go for lunch, they follow you everywhere trying to find out whom you talk with. You try to go and greet a friend you find a man in blue at the gate. You go to a bank and you find a man in blue monitoring your movements. It's unfortunate that very soon we shall cry for our security. Issue to do with security in this county government especially the county assembly...

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Kipruto, may be they are assisting the government to flush out Al Shabaab given the nature of the security in this country.

Hon. Kipruto: I have never heard of Al Shabaab or cattle rustling in Bomet County. The people who were supposed to be lying within the boundary are in West Pokot or Turkana. But we do not expect them to be in a peaceful land. Soon they will be moving to every family to know the political stature of the Governor.... Bomet county is almost heading to the wrong direction. The office that needs to be investigated is the office of the Governor, the County Secretary and the public service board.... The staff are recruited based on other factors that I don't want to be captured but go there and you will find out for yourselves. The people treated as tea girls and don't have qualification but have physical qualifications are taken. Those who don't have qualifications in terms of papers but can qualify are always given the names secretaries. If you try to check on the number of ladies working in this County vis-a-vis the men working in this County you will realize they are less.

Hon Speaker: Enlighten us more; you better come out clear because some of us do not know.

Hon. Kipruto: When I say qualification, I mean two forms, that is, physical and paper work. I hope I am communicating enough.

Hon. Speaker: Come out clearly, what is it honourable Chepchumba

Hon. Chepchumba: Let me elaborate what the honourable member is saying, you understand that if you look brown, smart and well-built you can be employed faster than the papers...

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Kipruto has not cleared

Hon. Kipruto: Let me end by saying this, I said the number of women employed in this County government are many as compared to men...We expect regularization be done whether one is qualified or not. We are discouraging these young children going to school. It is wrong for the members to attend fund drives for educating children and the same qualification is not recognized. If you are active in Facebook supporting the Governor, then you are sixty percent qualified. We need to be fair to those who are

not having interest in Facebook and are talkative and they cannot defend anybody in any public podium; let them be given jobs. I urge this county we be serious with what we are doing. Even us we need recruitment to be done in our area and if the people I represent are not in Facebook and represent anybody in Facebook and smile to anybody, then I am worried. That is why fairness needs to prevail so that everybody will get a chance to work in this county government. This County belongs to all of us. I support the motion.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Kibet.

Hon. Kibet: I thank honourable Kibii for this motion for urging the public service board to halt any payment to the members who are unlawfully recruited. This would give discipline to the County Secretary, the public service board and the Governor.... Last week I issued a statement that I enlisted my concern as the county secretary, the public service board and the director of human resource in the county. What I asked was the staffs that were on permanent and temporary. Two was the list of the new employees who were employed in March 2013 to June 2015. Third was the payroll and fourth was the staff that are on disciplinary measures, sacked or have left because of their own reasons. I stood not satisfied with the information I had sought in my statement. If we say we are going to stop who are we stopping, we should know, so subject to my motion this would take precedence and the mover would have enough evidence of those in permanent terms and those who have been promoted then the mover would get the information. The office of the county secretary has undermined the public service board..... So let me urge the Mover to defer the motion until we get the information from the Committee and we will move with substantive information...Of late the office of the County Secretary is dangerous as they are fond of recruiting and promoting somebody anyhow without following a proper channel. So I urge that we defer the motion and we have sufficient information and we get the root causes of the problem and we will stop these issues once and for all based on the report of the public service board showing irregularities. Thank you.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Cheruiyot, then honourable Lorna then honourable Cheptoo.

Hon. Cheruiyot: I want to say we want to know the list of the people who were employed by the defunct local authorities and the new employees. We also want to know the payroll and their roles, we shall be able to know where the problem lies where there is recruitment yet there is a body established to do the same. If there is anybody

employed physically without documents, we shall be able to deal with the problem once and for all.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Cheptoo

Hon. Cheptoo: I rise to support this motion that there is unnecessary employment. There is a possibility in this County increasing recurrent expenditure and reducing on development. It's unfortunate for the Governor that employment is done on public forums because in my area I remember there were some who were employed on political forum without following the right procedure. Mr. Speaker, it is unfortunate that in this County, a number of old men including those who have retired are recruited. This is putting this County in an awkward position. The old men, who are no longer productive sideline the youths who are still energetic and productive. Hon. Speaker, it is also unfortunate because some are employed with fake certificates from River road. Example is the CFO, the last CFO whom we impeached. She had fake certificates...

Hon. Speaker: Honourable member, did you impeach? You have no powers to impeach a CFO.

Hon. Cheptoo: I am sorry honourable Speaker. We removed her from office. Honourable Speaker, because the County Secretary is the one submitting these letters of employment, I want to say that let this honourable House impeach the CS because he cannot seek advice from the Public Service Board who have powers to establish this office and abolish. Honourable speaker, I support the motion, Thank you.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Kipsang and then Honourable Chepchumba.

Hon. Kipsang: Thank you honourable Speaker...this motion requires some further amendments so that it will be stronger than how the member has put it. We need more evidence to use to take stern action against any culprits. I am saying this because we are aware that the wage bill in this County Government is shooting up. The same wage bill has brought problems especially between the two arms of Government; the County Assembly and the Executive. Honourable Speaker, we are aware that we have not agreed on Appropriation Bill for 2015 because one of the issues is the issue of development that needs to be done in this County Assembly. Honourable Speaker, we are aware that we don't have a toilet here. I pity the students here. The reason being we are trying to cut down the wage bill. But surprisingly, if we look at the recurrent expenditure, especially the issue of paying salaries, we realize that we are paying more than 1.2 billion shillings out of 4 billion allocated to this County. Meaning we

need to be sensitive to an extent that whoever is employed should be vetted to if the person will of importance to this County. Honourable Speaker, some are in the payroll but if you go now, you will find them eating meat. They are not doing anything yet we are sacrificing building a toilet here because we want to pay them.... we have received complaints in this House where the County Attorney was just recruited in an unprocedural way and that has brought problems in the County.... I also pity the employees from the defunct council. Those are the people who have all the right to be regularized so that they can feel secure... but the same people have not been regularized but we are going for other people outside yet we have an unsolved problem...I know there is no equitable sharing of these employees. If you go to my ward, honourable Speaker, I have 3 to 4 sub-locations that do not have even a single person in this County Government. I have a sub-location called Kapolesero, honourable Speaker, it is big but nobody has been employed in that sub-location.... That is why I am talking with bitterness because if we have employed more than 500 employees in this County and there is nobody who has been picked from these sub-locations, then there something wrong with the system. Honourable Speaker, even on the side of oversight, when we do an oversight, issues are done so unlawfully. I like what honourable Langat has said that if we follow the law, we will not clash with anybody....The other bitter thing Honourable Speaker is, we have the ECD assistants who were employed lawfully but up to now they are not in the payroll.... yet these people are supporting us by teaching our kids.... you find somebody who did not pass through the Public Service Board is stable earning a lot of money.... When it comes to the Executive, in the entire County, you find a problem. I want to urge the CRA, next time we will go to court. We want to see what these people are doing.... Even if you have been employed unlawfully, you can be employed but we need the culprit.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Chepchumba then Honourable Kigen.

Hon. Chepchumba: Thank you Honourable Speaker....indeed it is shocking that today we are discussing on the messes done by these County Government of Bomet....before the start of Counties, we had the Constitution in place, we have the County Government Act, and we have the relevant bodies that are supposed to deal with the issue of recruitment and employment of the workers between the two Governments....even though every county is distinct, there are a number of issues that attach the issue of employment in the County government and in the National government....before we make a budget, we must know who is where. This is the

basis that enables us to do proper budgeting. As we speak today, the able Chair of the labour Committee has been writing a number of letters to the relevant offices trying to be furnished with the information.... shockingly, a letter has been written back telling the Chair that they are overstepping the mandates of those offices.... I wonder the kind of CEO heading this County. I wonder the kind of officers manning that office. Honourable speaker, we were here before those offices were established. The CS was approved by this House. The Public Service Board was approved by this House. The CECs were approved by this House purposely for the intended structures that are in the Constitution and in the County Government act.... when we came to this County Government, we had a number of officers who were already in place through the back-doors.... They are now causing chaos, taking the County to court; like the County attorney who is now in court yet he is the legal advisor who should have been regularized.... the House resolved that it should stop. Unfortunately, the CEO, who happens to be the Governor, continued the process and the Public Service Board moved aside...I request that we postpone this motion to pave way for the attachment of documents. Honourable speaker, the CEO, Honourable Richard has been going to a number of functions.... we were in a function with honourable Cheptoo, and this can become primary evidence...after politicking, the CEO of the County called that person and said I am going to employ you because Joyce and Evaline can never employ you. Right now he has been employed. Honourable Speaker, the things in this County have been in a mess. A number of Members in this House have information pertaining to that; we have the list of temporary employees, we have the list of radio-callers, we have the list of praise and worship team of Richard Koros...

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Chepchumba, with all due respect, I don't see any problem if you can be a radio caller. Even if you can sing well, there is no problem not unless you can convince the House the relationship between singing and calling the radio with what we are talking about here.

Hon. Chepchumba: ...the Speaker normally doesn't have eyes and ears but it seems today you are catching all the wordings Honourable speaker.

Hon. Speaker: Yes. Because the Standing Order number 1. This gives me the power. Proceed.

Hon. Chepchumba: Honourable Speaker, we have a number of issues. Remember we also have the issue of flower guards, the issue of the radio callers, the issue of praise and worship team and we also have the militia...

Hon. Speaker: How does it relate to the motion because that is critical? I will not allow you to engage in areas not related to the motion.

Hon. Chepchumba: Honourable Speaker, the issues I am raising; the praise and worship team earns money from this County Government having been employed through the back-doors. You also understand the ruling made by this House concerning security. You also understand the issue of the flower guards which have never passed through the relevant bodies. You also understand that all these problems have not passed through the legal office and the legal body Honourable Speaker.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Chepchumba, my problem is, flower guards, how does it relate to the motion? Is there anything wrong for somebody to go and sing? You are talking about militia, even you yourself you may have one, does it relate to the motion?

Hon. Chepchumba: Honourable Speaker, you can give me room I speak of these issues three days non-stop. Unless you confirm to me that I start now explaining one by one for three consecutive days, then...

Hon. Speaker: I know you are capable, but why don't you condense it into three minutes. Proceed Honourable member.

Hon. Chepchumba: Honourable Speaker, the reason I am bringing it into three minutes is by informing you about flower guards, the militia, the praise and worship team and the radio callers who have been drawing public funds from the County without passing through the legal procedures. If you want me to list them, I can list them one by one for three consecutive days. We request Can put this question and make these people pay back misused funds. Thank you.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Kigen.

Hon. Kigen: ...This is critical and an intervention needs to be undertaken...Two years down the line, it is embarrassing and it is a mess if the body is unable to work. My blame is on the County Public Service Board for being toothless. They have never raised any alarm that a foreign body is stepping on their job.... There is a big danger if this intervening will fail Mr. Speaker. There is the employment of the youths and persons with disabilities that is not being exercised. There is another body which was given authority to hand over the employees of the defunct Local Authority through secondment of the County Assembly. That one is the Transitional Authority...

Hon. Speaker: What is it Honourable Chepchumba?

Hon. Chepchumba: I want to bring a point of correction to Honourable Kigen that the TA was never an employment body. It was just to assist the transition from the national Government to the County Government.

Hon. Kigen: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I thank my colleague for the correction made. There is a problem on the same. Since we are talking of fairness....it is unfair for a KJSC, CPE or KCPE holder to earn more than a degree holder...Labour laws in this Country say that a person cannot be allowed to reverse a job group but instead the gear usually goes ahead. That is the big challenge we have.... Thank you Mr. Speaker.

Hon. Speaker: What is your point of information Honourable Kipsang?

Hon. Kipsang: ...I wish this House could be informed whether the cancellation that has been taking place in the recruitment process is also guaranteeing loss of funds in the County. Recently, we have cancelled a process meant for recruitment of Health Officers....in my own understanding, I think public money is being used yet the process is being cancelled thereafter meaning there is misuse of funds. This should go hand-in-hand with this motion.

Hon. Speaker: Thank you. Honourable Kimutai and then I give the mover to make his reply.

Hon. Kimutai: Thank you very much Mr. Speaker. The prayer of this motion is to stop payment to these people. Mr. Speaker, it is said that the fruits of a poisonous tree are poisonous. Therefore, if the process is wrong, the result of the process is wrong and should not be in that position.... Mr. Speaker, if we can allow this motion to be interrupted so that we collect all the information so that we can make a very informed decision.... We cannot just issue a blanket rule that all these people are supposed to be relieved.... Let us not talk about rumours. We have to be dealing with facts. We should table documents.... We are not witch-hunting anybody. We just want to analyze that what has been done is right. If we employ those that know people, who will employ those ones that do not know people? Mr. Speaker, we want to know people by papers. In the County Government Act, it says the first qualification is the academic credentials then others like regional balancing. Honourable Kemboi is talking about some sub-locations...When we were asking for the bio data, we wanted to see the one-third rule of gender, the disabled and other communities who are not from Bomet. Mr. Speaker, those things are not forthcoming and we should make a ruling. Thank you.

Hon. Speaker: Thank you. What is your information Honourable Kipruto?

Hon. Kipruto: Mr. Speaker, I like the statement put across by the Chair of the Public service...Mr. Speaker, I want to be very clear on this, we are not overstepping our mandate when we ask anybody to produce a relevant document to this House. The CS is acting on various contravention of the Constitution and the Constitution is the mother of all Acts.... I have sensed that this motion requires some additional flesh so that it becomes strong. I request the Honourable member, if possible, he withdraws the another time for debate is slotted so that more information shall be incorporated and investigation carried out in the office of the CS and whether there is an external body interfering with the work of the Public Service Board. Thank you.

Hon. Speaker: What is it Honourable Kipsang?

Hon. Kipsang: I just want to correct Honourable Kipruto so that it will not bring confusion. The motion should not be withdrawn but deferred because we know the implication of withdrawing.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable members, I had given Honourable Kimutai and then the mover. I know everybody wants to contribute but because of time, I have seen Honourable Kiptuiya and the Leader of Majority. I can give two minutes to each and also to honourable Soi. Honourable Kiptuiya, Honourable Majority and then Honourable Soi. Then the mover.

Hon. Kiptuiya: Thank you Mr. Speaker: I rise to support the motion.... Mr. Speaker, I was shocked to learn from Honourable Kipsang that he is being discriminated despite the fact that the big man comes from around that area.

Hon Speaker: What is your point of order Honourable Kigen?

Hon. Kigen: Mr. Speaker, is it in order for the Member contributing to term the place the Governor is coming from like this especially in terms delicate like this.

Hon. Speaker: I thought he said a place. Where do you have a problem?

Hon. Kigen: I have a problem because that is a discriminating word to use since the place the CEO is coming from is not suffering from the issues we are discussing Mr. Speaker.

Hon. Kiptuiya: Thank you Mr. Speaker. I don't think I have mentioned anybody's name Mr. Speaker. If Honourable Kigen is able to read people's minds then I want to thank him...Mr. Speaker, where we have a problem is the Executive....it is up to us that we stamp the authority.... if we are going to this direction where everybody is coming with his friend, is employing his relative, is employing his in-laws, then we are lost.... I suggest that if we want to make this flowing river dry completely we do not need to block down the valley we need to find the source and block. Thank you Mr. Speaker.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Majority

Hon. Kemboi: Thank you very much Mr. Speaker.... Honourable Speaker, I have a problem with the motion because to halt payment for people unlawfully recruited until they are regularized is an illegality... We are here for justice and the welfare of the society and in this County people should not be recruited on the basis of who knows who but on the basis of who knows what.... The time for impunity is no more Mr. Speaker and a time to hire relatives. I think we need to crack the whip.... As I close I want to say that means there is a disconnect between the CS and the Service Board but I think either of the offices has to be investigated because they are colluding to defraud the public or one of them is dysfunctional. It is my humble wish that for the County CS himself, the buck stops in his table. Thank you.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Soi.

Hon. Soi: Thank you very much.... this House had set up a committee to investigate the public service.... resolved with two recommendations that key holders be fired and that there were going to be further investigation on how the CS was interfering but unfortunately this House in its own wisdom or lack of it decided to vote against the recommendation honourable Speaker, and I remember saying that we will regret the decision that we had made and I am seeing it happening to us now....The County Secretary or the CEO of this County does not have power to recruit anybody without going through the County Public Service Board....Lastly on regularization, I do not think that it is about confirming those who are there but it is re-advertising and following the due process...I want to request that we would want to really place the blame where it is and stop irregularities. Thank you.

Hon. Speaker: I think the last person will be honourable Tanui then I give the mover.

Hon. Tanui: I also stand to support this motion...I know if everybody who was elected drives the County on his own style then we will be lost. We must stick to the law. Even the CEO who has been jumping must stick to the law so that we deliver the services to the people who elected us.

Hon. Speaker: Honourable Kibii.

Hon. Kibii: Thank you. I just to thank all members for actively participating in the motion and contributing positively to the motion.... I just want to say I have a list of those who are earning, their names, job group, qualification and their IDs. I have two hundred names but Mr. Speaker since I do not want to go against the grain, I request

through your Chair that you allow me to defer so that we discuss next time. Thank you.

Hon. Speaker: ...There are clarifications I want to make...Remember Kimutai said he received a letter from the CS saying the Assembly has overstepped its mandate. It is either the CS is not consulting the legal team from the Executive or the legal team is giving wrong advice because this has been a trend for some time.... article 183(3) is worded in a very mandatory terms that the executive shall give full and regular reports to the Assembly.... Just summon and if he refuses the next thing is to be compelled by the High court and I think the court will serve as a lesson to those who have been trying to undermine the Assembly. Those who are saying we have overstepped are entitled to go to court so that the court can interpret.... I allow the deferment of putting the question until a time the House business will decide time and date. When that day comes I will allow a little debate based on the document and the mover. The deferment is guaranteed. Thank you. Next order.

Appendix C

MOTION 3: The County Assembly Urges the County Executive Committee to Develop a Street Naming Policy for Naming of Streets in Our Towns and Municipality.

The following is an abridged Version of Motion 3 held on 28th, March, 2017 (Morning Sitting)

Hon. Speaker: Hon. Taputany

Hon. Taputany: Thank you Hon. Speaker. I am grateful to have this opportunity to present my motion. That aware that of the functions devolved under part 2 of the Fourth Schedule to the Constitution of Kenya 2010 is that of County Planning and development, also aware that.... also further aware that having a street naming policy based on a set of criteria can prevent conflict and provide a historical context for future generations in our community; this County assembly urges the County Executive Committee to develop a street naming policy for naming of streets in our towns and municipality.

Hon. Speaker, naming of streets has two elements, direct and indirect advantages and benefits. The elements of the indirect benefits are more or less of the technical exposition, which requires a non-professional to understand.

I have had the privilege of visiting England and I realized the importance of street naming. It makes work easier and faster. In England, they have even buildings numbered such that if you are going to Kipchamba street, all the buildings have numbers. My first time to go to England which was 1985, I expected to be picked from the airport but I did not find anyone. What helped me was the written letter, which indicated the house number.... That is when I realized that having a street named properly you cannot waste time and you can get to the place at the right time.

I have also had a privilege to visit Japan. There, they do not have the street naming but they have numbering and you can easily get to where you want to go. This is why, in Bomet County where we do not have the street naming apart from Kipchamba, which was named immediately after our great musician Kipchamba died, identifying places is hectic. This is because we are only describing the tall buildings, painted this colour and that and one may not know that a building can have the same colour.

It is for this reason that I found the necessity of this motion. The County Executive Committee member concerned can develop a policy that will ensure that the streets

are accordingly named. The importance of street naming cannot be underscored. There is of course great importance why naming of street is very vital element in our administration. This is because when somebody has a case like a police case; it takes very long for the police officers to reach to where you want them to help. Maybe something has fallen in water, maybe somebody requires some emergency and support like ambulances.

Recently, when my mum was sick and I am grateful that all of you supported me in one way or the other. To describe the case of the ambulance, I had to go an extra mile of having somebody to leave the house to come to a cattle dip so that the person could be able to locate where to pick the patient. This might have happened to some of us and I wish that this Assembly considers passing this motion so that the County Executive can have the policy in place.

Many times, we talk about revenue that we have not collected. What was in the budget and this could be because you cannot trace some of the shops because they are hidden and there are no proper streets.... We have the main roads like Moi Avenue in Nairobi.... What I wish to propose in the policy making is that there should be ways that will not make everybody want their names to appear in the streets but have some specific ways of naming.

Of late, we have been having many buildings getting fire and it is difficult to have the fire brigade reach there especially when there is no street naming. There is an element of geographical analysis in the whole thing.... which can help in analyzing the spatial patterns or the incidences like diseases and crime areas or any other phenomenon. If we bring about this, it will be easier to try and do research in some specific areas and the kind of diseases that appear there....

In some countries like Australia, you find that they add the direction where you get something.... I hope it can be passed by this Assembly so that the County Executive Member concerned can help in eliminating in wastage of time and ease revenue collection so that we can be able to move with the rest of the world in timely service delivery.

Hon. Soi (Temporary Speaker): Thank you very much the mover of the motion and the Hon. Member who seconded. It is my turn to put the question.... That, aware that one of the functions devolved...to develop a street naming policy for naming of streets in our towns and municipality.

Motion opens for debate

Hon. Chepchumba: Thank you very much Hon. Speaker.... The motion that we have at hand needs thorough research because the naming of streets is something that cannot be done in a particular period of time but overtime. Bomet County has only two streets.... We are supposed to have a planner to do planning of this town before we start naming.... To me the naming has to come after the approval of the town planning and digital mapping. The digital mapping was done in only seven counties among the forty-seven. I am privy to this because I was the Mayor of this town. The said documents are in the hands of the County Government of Bomet yet they have never brought to the County Assembly for approval to pave way for the implementation of several developments that have to take place.

Well-planned towns should be showing residential areas, industrial areas, major roads and the railway that is supposed to pass through this town, and therefore we cannot do the naming until this is done.... I want to congratulate the Hon. Member for looking at the future and thinking.... We should put the motion on hold until we have the relevant documents that are going to give us direction.... for example, we have Kapkwen area which is supposed to be an industrial area and Zebra is supposed to be a residential area and Kyogong should be a dumping site as per the plan and we should approve it first. I congratulate the Hon.Member and request that we should look at these things critically and approve it not because it is a motion but do so after a thorough research.

Hon. Kemboi: Thank you very much Hon. Speaker.... I want to congratulate the mover of the motion, Hon, Taputany for coming up with this. Naming of streets is important because when visitors come, most of them use Google maps to trace their destinations. It is very important that these places are on the Google maps.

The development of this town of Bomet has not matured because of impunity, which takes place in this town and it has even scared the investors. It is important that we pass the motion so that the few streets that we have can be named after Hon.Chepchumba who was the first woman Mayor and the second one named after Kipkalya Kones and our singer Kipchamba. I want to request Hon. Chepchumba to support the motion so that one street can be named after her.

(on a point of order)

Hon. Soi (Temporary Speaker): What is it Hon. Chepchumba?

Hon. Chepchumba: Is it in order for Hon. Member to push me to support the motion because it will be named after me? Hon. Kimutai always says that the law speaks

louder than words and unless we do proper approval of the plan, then we cannot do naming because procedures should be followed....

Hon. Soi (Temporary Speaker): Hon. Chepchumba, I think he was trying to persuade you to change your stand and there is nothing wrong with it.... We proceed from there and I wanted to put the question but let us first confirm the quorum.

Hon. Soi (Temporary Speaker): Since we do not have quorum, I ask the sergeant at arms to ring the bell for 10 minutes. I am not seeing any of the whips.

(Quorum Bell rings)

Hon. Taputany: It seems we now have quorum

Hon. Soi (Temporary Speaker): I want to give the chance to the mover.

Hon. Taputany: Thank you Hon. Speaker, I am grateful for the contribution from the members and I want to tell Hon. Chepchumba that the child has already been born. This is why we are Bomet County and we have streets which are tarmac. These are the babies and now they need to have names.

I thank Hon. Kemboi for his contributions. He agreed that there is need for these streets to be named through a policy which needs to be developed.... Hon. Chepchumba will be happy to be named after a street if she meets the criteria. There are great women in the Country who fought for independence and they should be named after the streets. It would require some input on the criteria.... I hope we all pass this so that we can name our streets. Thank you.

Hon. Soi (Temporary Speaker): It is now my turn to put the question; THAT, aware that one of the functions devolved under part 2 of the Fourth Schedule of the Constitution of Kenya 2010.... this County Assembly urges the County Executive Committee to develop a street naming policy for naming of streets in our towns and municipality.

(Question put and agreed to)

Appendix D

Types of Illocutionary Acts

Examples of the Types of Illocutionary Acts found in the Sampled Motions

Key:

Ass: Assertive

Dir: Directive

Com:

Commissive

Exp: Expressive

Dec: Declarative

No	Motion	Speech Excerpts	Acts	Illocutionary Acts				
				Ass	Dir	Com	Exp	Dec
1	2	I equally rise to up to congratulate the mover of the motion for coming up with a very important motion which is touching all our areas which we are representing	congratulating				✓	
2	2	The people treated as tea girls and don't have qualifications but have physical qualifications are taken	claiming	✓				
3	3	I have had the privilege of visiting England and I realized the importance of street naming	reporting	✓				
4	1	I will challenge the contract, I will also	guaranteeing			✓		

		challenge the County assembly of Bomet, and I will also challenge the County Executive Committee						
5	1	We need to get serious. We need to put in place preventive measures	urging		✓			
6	1	I think the Hon. Member should pity himself and should not talk about that for the sake of his electorates	complaining				✓	
7	2	The County Secretary or the CEO of this County does not have power to recruit anybody without going through the County public service board	Stating	✓				
8	3	Well-plan towns should be showing residential areas, industrial areas, major roads and the railway	Informing	✓				
9	2	The deferment is guaranteed. Thank you. Next order	declaring					✓
10	1	Mimi ni moja ya member wa chama cha afya na sijajua namna mkataba iliafikiwa	denying		✓			
11	3	Is it in order for the	protesting				✓	

		Hon. Member to push me to support the Motion because it will be named after me?						
12	2	I want to request that we investigate if we want to solve the problem since we have been having the problem since the County Government came in place	Requesting		✓			
13	1	I must say that we have to fight by all means a scam that is going to derail the success and the achievements of our people.	Vowing			✓		
14	2	The County secretary or the CEO of this County does not have power to recruit anybody without going through the County Public Service Board	stating	✓				
15	3	It is now my turn to put the question; That aware that of the functions devolved under part 2 of the Fourth Schedule...(Question put and agreed to)						✓

16	2	It is very unfortunate that these cases are occurring in Bomet County in the presence of county government act, the constitution and in the presence of labour laws which are very clear in terms of recruitment	complaining				✓	
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Appendix E

Research Permit from Nacosti


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SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION**

Date of Issue: **04/September/2020**

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Ms. Rotich Cherono Hellen of Egerton University, has been licensed to conduct research in Bomet on the topic: A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF DEBATES USED BY MEMBERS OF COUNTY ASSEMBLY OF BOMET, KENYA for the period ending : 04/September/2021.

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Appendix F

Permit from the County Government of Bomet

Clerk's Chambers
Off Narok-Sotik Road
P.O Box 590-20400
Bomet



Email: clerk@bometassembly.go.ke
Website: www.bometassembly.go.ke
Cell: 0727 887 146
Twitter @bometassembly
Facebook: County Assembly of Bomet

REPUBLIC OF KENYA
BOMET COUNTY ASSEMBLY
OFFICE OF THE CLERK

BCA/1/4/3/1

30th September 2020

Hellen Cheron Rotich
EGERTON UNIVERSITY

Dear *Madam*

RE: PERMISSION TO CARRY OUT RESEARCH AT THE COUNTY ASSEMBLY

I refer to your letter dated 30th September 2020.

Permission is hereby granted for you to carry out research on the County Assembly Hansard reports between 2013 and 2017.

Yours *Sincerely*

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Isaac Kitur'.

Isaac Kitur
CLERK OF THE ASSEMBLY

Appendix G
Published Article 1

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**PRAGMATIC FORCES OF SPEECH ACTS USED BY MEMBERS OF COUNTY
ASSEMBLY DURING DEBATES IN BOMET COUNTY, KENYA**

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ABSTRACT: *Members of County Assembly of Bomet, Kenya, engage in debates over different motions proposed to aid in determining the best course of action regarding important matters affecting the County. However, the actions of the Members as they routinely discuss various motions on the floor of the County Assembly have received little scholarly attention. A knowledge of what participants do during the debating process and the pragmatic forces behind their utterances will provide insights into the nature of interaction at the County Assembly and at the same time show the state of affairs at the County. Therefore, this paper examines the pragmatic forces of speech acts used by Members of County Assembly of Bomet during debates at the County Assembly. The paper relied on Austin's (1962) Speech Act Theory and the Five Categories of Speech Acts identified by Searle (2005), which include directives, expressives, commissives, declaratives, and assertives. The study also incorporated insights in the study of speech acts from Sotillo (2017). The paper purposefully sampled three motions from the Hansards recorded between the year 2013 and 2017. The data was downloaded from Bomet County Assembly's website. Textual analysis was used to collect data. The data collected was analysed using descriptive statistics. The results showed that most pragmatic forces were manifested in assertives/representatives (for instance, informing, reporting, claiming, stating) accounting for 47.26%. This was followed by expressives (for example, thanking, apologizing, protesting, congratulating) at 23.63%, then directives (for example, requests, urge, ask, suggest, advise, direct) at 18.15%, declarations (declare, adjourn, christen, approve) at 7.19% and finally commissives (such as promise, vow, guarantee, refuse, assure) at 3.76%. This study contributes to existing knowledge on pragmatics and particularly the use of speech acts to explain the state of affairs in the society. The study therefore proposes that speech act analysis be adopted as an effective tool in the analysis of argumentative discourse.*

KEYWORDS: Speech acts, textual analysis, debates, Hansards, pragmatic forces

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Appendix H

Published Article 2

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Gender Differences in Speech Acts Use among Members of County Assembly of Bomet, Kenya

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Abstract

The study sought to analyse the utterances of Members of County Assembly of Bomet in order to determine whether there was any significant difference in the use of speech acts by male and female participants during debates at the County Assembly. The study used Austin's (1962) and Searle's (1969) Speech Act Theory. The study purposefully sampled three motions from the Hansards recorded between the years 2013 and 2017. The data was downloaded from Bomet County Assembly's website. Textual analysis was used to collect data. The data collected was analysed using descriptive statistics. The results showed that there was no uniform distribution of speech acts for male and female Members of County Assembly. In Motions 1 and 2, the males enjoyed a higher distribution of all types of speech acts. However, the trend changed in Motion 3 where female participants had a higher number of the types of speech acts except for declarations, which registered a null value. The study concluded that the variations in the use of speech acts is related to the number of participants and the number of turns taken by each gender. Therefore, women who get into the County Assembly should look beyond their low numbers and try to maximize their impact on the political activities in the assembly. It is hoped that the study will contribute to existing knowledge on pragmatics and particularly the relationship between the use of speech acts and gender.

Keywords: Speech Acts, Gender, Debates, Distribution, Pragmatics

1. Introduction

Several studies done on the relationship between language and gender have revealed that indeed males and females use language differently (Lakoff, 1998; Fishman, 1998; van Dijk, 2008; Tannen, 1990). Although these scholars give various reasons, many of the differences point to the nature of the society in which individuals are socialized. Many researchers make a distinction between "sex" and "gender", with the term "sex" referring to the innate and biological aspect while "gender" refers to the social roles assigned to an individual on account of their being male or female (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003; Sunderland, 2006).

Children learn to behave differently from the other sex via the stereotypes they observe, create and reflect in their groups (Spolsky, 1998). Because of the different social contexts where children learn to carry on friendly conversations (Sunderland, 2006, p. 116), the difference between boys' and girls' use of language is reinforced. The difference in language use between male and female have been observed within groups of children even younger than 5 years old (Maltz & Borker, 1982). Through their studies on children's interaction, Maltz and Borker conclude that girls learn to create and maintain relationships of closeness and equality, to criticize others in acceptable ways, whereas boys learn to assert their position of dominance, to attract and maintain an audience and to assert themselves when others have the floor. From these observations, it is clear that the society in which individuals grow up has an immense influence on the way they act and use language. Gender is thus an important variable in language use and because research has established that men and women use language differently, speech acts are no exception. For this reason, this paper investigates the role of gender in the realization of various speech acts that as observed during debates by Members of County Assembly at the County Assembly of Bomet, Kenya. Bomet County is inhabited mainly by the Kipsigis community that is by nature culturally patriarchal.