LANGUAGE OF FOOTBALL REPORTING IN KENYAN NEWSPAPERS

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DECLARATION AND RECOMMENDATION

DECLARATION

This project report is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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RECOMMENDATION

This project report has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors

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DEDICATION

To my children Marlyn, Carson and Gloria. May you grow to desire and acquire wisdom and knowledge. My dear wife, Evelyn, you believed in me and have always

encouraged and supported me. My late mother, Sarah Wambui, for all the love and struggles she endured to keep me in school. Finally and most importantly, to God for life and strength to do this work.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

ABSTRACT

Football game, as a social activity, plays a significant role in promoting the well being of the society. People engage in football games as a way of spending their leisure time, to boost individual health and at the professional level, as means of economic gain. The transformative growth and professionalism that football has undergone throughout the world has increasingly attracted the attention and interest of many people, becoming the leading global source of sports entertainment. Part of this entertainment accrues from the creative use of language used in the reporting of football. This study examined and analyzed the features of language that characterize reportage of football news in Kenyan newspapers. The study had two objectives; first, to identify the interpretative structures employed in the language of football news reporting in Kenyan newspapers and two; to describe the military and war imagery in the reporting of football news in Kenyan newspapers. The study employed Priming and Conceptual Metaphors theories as its theoretical frameworks. According to Conceptual Metaphor theory, metaphors are essential to human thought and communication process since they influence conceptual understandings of human beings; and they operate at the level of thinking where an individual uses one idea and links it to another to better understand something. The target population for the study was the four English media daily newspapers reporting on football news. A sample of two newspapers, *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* was selected and thereafter the researcher used purposeful judgemental sampling to identify and select thematically related articles from the two papers. Since the interest of the study was on newspaper content, qualitative content analysis method which entailed identification, selection, coding and thematic categorization was used to analyse data. The results of this study reveal a wide range of interpretative features employed in the reporting of football news in Kenya including allusion to normal day to day activities such as trade, human conversations, culture, religion and animal characters. Military metaphors that correlate football to war and conflict are generously used to describe the football phenomenon. The findings of this study therefore provide linguistic insight into the features that characterize football reporting, thereby filling the knowledge gap in this area with regard to Kenyan context. The findings will provide insight to media and language students in institutions of higher learning interested in analysis of football language as reported in media agencies.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ST   Standard newspaper

DN   The Daily Nation

USA   United States of America

KPL   Kenya Premier League

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Sports, especially the informal ones, are a common tool of socialization in every society since they are a popular form of recreation. No one can say when sports really began since it is impossible to imagine a time when children did not spontaneously run races or wrestle (Encyclopaedia Britannica). Baker, (1988) notes that sports are one of the significant constants in human history and that they are rooted in an inherent competitive nature in humans.

An important aspect that has made sports an integral activity across cultures and time is because they reinforce cultural values (Coakly, 2008). Sports can therefore be seen to play an important role in not only creating and maintaining social relationships but also as a tool for identity.

Baker (1988) contends that the competitive instinct in humans is what necessitated the rise of sports. Human got into competition with wild animals for survival hence they learnt to work together to kill animals for food and to keep off predators for survival. He further observes that as the communities developed, rewards were bestowed upon the most skilled hunter or the most proficient warrior. When these native tribes encountered others, there arose violence as a result of disruption to the social order.

Baker (1998) further observes that such aggression increased as humans became agriculturally based. Farming, he notes, meant that communities became attached to specific places, thus property such as land, huts, farming tools, domesticated animals, and cooking and eating utensils had to be protected. With these changes, Baker explains that honour was given to the warriors who demonstrated most bravery in battle for the sake of protecting the community. Thus, competition for hunters and warriors was a natural consequence of early survival strategies for humans. He argues that such a competitive urge in humans remains evident in modern sports contests in which rewards and social status are given to those who rise above others in physical contests

The earliest forms of recorded sporting events include sprinting and wrestling in France dating back to about 17,300 years ago (Capelo, 2010), while swimming and archery are reported to have been practiced around 6000 BC (Gyozo, 2007). Boxing is attributed to Sumer in 3000BC (Kendall, 1995) while in Egypt, monuments to the Pharaohs dating to around 2000 BC indicate that a number of sports, including wrestling, weightlifting, long jump, swimming, rowing, flying, shooting, fishing, (Terry, 2005), as well as javelin throwing, high jump, and snooker (Baker, 1988) were being played. In Asia, the Chinese are reported to have engaged in Gymnastics competitions as early as 2000 BC, and Persians played martial arts, polo and jousting (Kendall, 1995)

Most of the modern sports are attributed to Europe, especially the ancient Greeks. Craig notes that " There can be no doubt that the ancient Olympics Games held every fourth year in Olympia, Greece, are the starting point for almost any discussion about sports that predate the modern professional era." P. 79. It was in Greece that sports were first instituted formally, with the first Olympic Games recorded in 776 BC in Olympia (Craig, 2002), and occurring every four years where athletes competed in foot races, boxing, wrestling, chariot racing, long jump, javelin throw, and discus throw.(Baker, 1988, Wendy, 1988, Craig, 2002)

While sporting activities in Africa are not as documented as those in Europe and other civilizations, Gitonga, Munayi, Mwangi & Ngetich, (2011) acknowledge their existence and value noting that, 'The traditional genre of sporting activities in Africa had numerous and diverse objectives ranging from preparation for tribal wars, initiation, payment of homage to the gods, fitness for daily living and economic activities; however all these changed with the advent and introduction of Western sporting traditions' (p. 305)

 Staurt (1993) is of the same opinion and says;

> *Sport has always been part of life in Africa, but in the past people played different games and took part in different sports. Young people wrestled or fought friendly stick fights. Young herds boys rode races on their animals. Those who lived near*

water enjoyed swimming and canoe racing, dancing was always popular…..
Those who were successful in traditional sport had high status. Then, some the
winners were admired and respected (P. 77)

The earliest form of football game for which there is scientific evidence was an exercise from a military manual dating back to the second and third centuries BC in China. It was called Tsu' Chu and consisted of kicking a leather ball filled with feathers and hair through an opening, measuring only 30-40cm in width, into a small net fixed onto long bamboo canes. The player was not permitted to aim at his target unimpeded, but had to use his feet, chest, back and shoulders while trying to withstand the attacks of his opponents. Use of the hands was not permitted (www.fifa.com).

Although there are many other types of football games that developed and were played in different parts of Europe and America, the modern football, according to world football governing body, FIFA, (www.fifa.com) started in Britain in 1883. Since then the sport has spread throughout the world.

In Africa, and Kenya in particular, the football game was introduced in the twentieth century by missionaries who saw the potential of the game to encourage qualities such as loyalty, selflessness and cooperation. (Gitonga, et al.)

Football game is widely reported in both electronic and print media. The game can thus be said to be contextualized and conceptualized through distinct images and expressions communicated through the language of reporting. Language does influence how people think and as Bloom and Keil (2001) argue, language affects thought, and can inform, convince, persuade, sooth, dismay and encourage. It is the most important communication tool for human beings.

Language does not only reflect the reality of the society, but also has various functions to strengthen and maintain social existence. Much of the content in peoples' minds exists because of information that was conveyed through the medium of language. Language affects the way people conceptualize their world and in this case, the way they

conceptualize the game of football. Without correct interpretation of football language, which is often riddled with metaphorical images, understanding of the football phenomenon would be greatly hampered.

The language of football offers many rewarding topics for linguistic research. One such topic is the lexicographic analysis of football vocabulary. Since, on the one hand, a football match is made up of a relatively small number of ever-recurring events (shots, passes, referee interventions, etc.), but, on the other hand, myriads of texts (written reports, spoken commentary, etc.) are produced every day which describe these events, a vocabulary has been developed in many languages which abounds with synonyms, with fine-grained semantic distinctions and with subtle stylistic variation. (Lavric, Pisek, Skinner & Stadler, 2008). This research contributes to the existing knowledge in the lexicographic analysis of football, considering the Kenyan context.

Football has attracted a great deal of scholarly attention, increasingly so in recent years. Thaler (2008:392) notes that football as a "global cultural phenomenon" is nowadays "widely discussed in academic discourse", mentioning such diverse fields as linguistics, religion, art, psychology, pedagogy, aesthetics, economics and philosophy; history and sociology.

Football language makes up the most widespread special language of all in terms of the number of people using it, as regards speaking and writing as well as listening and reading. It should, therefore, be of obvious linguistic interest, as should sports language in general (Gunnar, 2011)

In other words, interest in football language is a fairly recent scholarly concern, except, it may be argued, with regard to English loanwords in other languages, to which considerable attention has been paid, especially concerning sports language at large. Despite this, however, the total volume of research specifically devoted to football language may be described as relatively limited. (Gunnar, 2011),

This study, in analyzing the language of football reporting in Kenya explores features of football reporting as well as the use of military metaphors and related expressions in the reporting of football news, as a way of contributing to the existing literature on football communication with regard to Kenyan context.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

The language of football reporting, whether in broadcast or in print media, is both entertaining and informative, tailored to capture in the best way possible the experience in the field. In an effort to communicate this football reality, football reporters often depict football match as a duel, a battle, a hostile encounter between the teams playing and their supporters. This creative use of language that entails use of both literal and metaphorical images is an important key to effective football communication, yet has not been accounted for in media research in Kenya. This study therefore set out to examine the features of language employed in the reporting of football news in Kenyan newspapers.

1.3   Objectives

i)   To identify the interpretative structures employed in the language in football news   reporting in Kenyan newspapers

ii) To describe the military and war imagery in the reporting of football news in Kenyan   newspapers.

1.4 Research Questions

i) What interpretative structures characterize language of football reporting in Kenyan   newspapers?
ii) How are military and war imagery used in reporting of football news in Kenyan   newspapers?

1.5 Justification of the Study

This research sought to contribute to the knowledge area of sports communication, specifically through the analysis of football language in Kenyan newspapers. The findings of this study will be important to sports reporters, both practicing and prospective since it reveals important features that characterize football reporting, and places into context the use of imagery, which when used carefully gives an edge to a writer's communicative competence. The fact that no analysis of these features of the language of football reporting in media research had been done on Kenyan newspapers was a gap that this study sought to fill. The results of this study will also be important to those in institutions of higher learning interested in analysis of football language as reported in media agencies.

1.6 Scope and Limitations

Although reporting on sports is done in both print and broadcast media, this study only confined itself to the analysis of language used in the reporting of football in two Kenyan newspapers namely; *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. These are leading mainstream newspapers in Kenya.

Nation Media Group (NMG), which publishes *The Daily Nation*, was founded by His Highness the Aga Khan in 1959. It is a large independent media house in East and Central Africa, engaging in print, television, radio and digital media platforms. The Group's business extends to other East African nations; Uganda and Tanzania, where they run sister newspapers and television stations (www.buzzkenya.com)

The Daily Nation is considered as the most influential of all newspapers in Kenya, and is widely regarded as being independent and balanced. It is the largest newspapers not only in Kenya but also in the whole of East Africa, with daily circulation of above 200,000 copies. However, since copies are often read by many people, the actual readership is much higher. *The Daily Nation* and its sister paper *Sunday Nation* command a market share of 53% per cent compared nearest competitor, *The Standard* by a ratio of than 2:1 (KARF DATA 2014 research). The Daily Nation also maintains an active website where

online editions of the newspapers are published. The cite registers over 3 million daily page views (www.nationmedia.com/)

The Standard was established in 1902 by Alibhai Mulla Jeevanjee. The paper is owned by The Standard Group, which also runs the Kenya Television Network (KTN), Radio Maisha, the *County Weekly* (a bi-weekly county-focused newspaper) and Standard Digital World which is its online platform. It commands a market share of 30 percent (www.britannica.com)

Both The Daily Nation and The Standard newspapers are influential with regard to setting the national political and social agenda. They are considered to hold high journalistic standards and enjoy a reputation of a generally reliable source of news in Kenya and in the region. (nationmedia.com/)

The study considered metaphoric and images used in the reporting of football news in the mentioned papers and the analysis was limited to reportage of matches played by teams affiliated to the Kenya Premier League (KPL) for the duration spanning between February and November 2013.

1.7 Definitions of Terms

Derby

A football derby is a game played between two local football teams with great rivalry. This kind of a game usually attracts a lot of attention and pressure.

Discourse

Discourse is a text in context, a form of language use and a specific form of social interaction interpreted as a communicative event in a social action (Van Dijk 2001). Discourse is also any instance of language use' (Fairclough 2003: 3). It is therefore a language used in particular writing or speech. In this research, discourse is the language used in the reporting of football news as well as the spoken words related to football

Football/ Soccer

A game in which two opposing teams of 11 players each defend goals at opposite ends of a field having goal posts at each end, with points being scored chiefly by carrying the ball across the opponent's goal line and by place-kicking or drop-kicking the ball over the crossbar between the opponent's goal posts. The ball may be advanced by kicking or by bouncing it off any part of the body but the arms and hands, except in the case of the goalkeepers, who may use their hands to catch, carry, throw, or stop the ball. (dictionary.reference.com). in this research, the two terms, football and soccer refer to the same game.

Football violence

This is unruly behaviour that emanates from sporting rivalry between two opposing sides and targeted against opponent team players, match officials or fans. It is any interpersonal behaviour intended to cause physical harm or mental distress (www. britannica.com). Football violence can be unintentional but this study concerns itself with the deliberate acts intended to distract, harm or disparage the perceived rivals.

Images

A mental representation of something previously perceived, in the absence of the original stimulus. Images in this research will also include figurative use of language.

Imagery

Use of mental images of things that appeal to human senses aimed at deepening understanding of a concept. This is achieved by the use of vivid and descriptive language

Interpretative structures

A symbolic framework of assigning meaning to a text or conversation regarding a phenomenon. In this research the interpretative features of language include the images linguistic images or figures of speech employed in the reporting of football news.

Language of violence

Abusive, derisive, intimidating utterances and other demeaning remarks said to opponent team or supporters.

Metaphor

A metaphor is an implied comparison between two different things, which leads to a generalisation of meaning in a word or an expression. It is a word or an expression that is used to describe something abstract, even though it carries a different literal meaning. Alm-Arvius (1998:58)

Metaphorical expression

The term metaphorical expression refers to a linguistic expression (a word, phrase, or sentence) that is the surface realization of a cross domain mapping (Lakoff, 1993)

Military and war imagery

Concepts, vocabulary and expressions adopted from the nature and operations of armed forces in real war scenarios. This entails images relating to the personnel, equipment, and conduct of the officers in actual combat situation.

Sarcasm

Ironical use of expressions to mock, ridicule or taunt a person or a team. In this research sarcasm will be considered in reference to a team's field activities.

Text

This study adopts the definition of text by Fairclough (2000), that a text is a record of an event where something was communicated and involves the presentation of facts and beliefs. It is what is said in a piece of written or spoken discourse. In this research the text is the words used in the reporting of football news in the Kenyan daily newspapers.

Violence

This refers to behaviour that is intended to hurt other people physically or emotionally. Violence may manifest through physical pain or psychologically by way of intimidation and threats. Violence is the use of excessive physical force, which causes or has obvious potential to cause harm or destruction Coakley (2009).

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a survey of written texts that bear relevance to this work as well as the theoretical frameworks that guide the study.

2.2 Football in Kenya

Although there were several traditional sports activities, Gitonga, et al. (2010) note that most of the modern games such as football were introduced into Kenya by the British colonialists, settlers and missionaries in the first half of the 20th Century. Since then, sports activities have continued to play a significant role in the development of the nation.

The game of football has been identified with improved physical fitness, good health, nation building, co-operation, capacity for excellence and positive image, (Mahlman et al., 1993). Mwisukha, Njororai and Onywera (2003) note that football has continued to play an invaluable role of enhancing political tranquility in Kenya as a neutral tool of minimizing political tension and differences thereby paving way for collective effort toward the development of various sectors of the country. Mwisukha et al. (2003) also notes that the government of Kenya recognizes the importance of sports such as football in building capacities both in individuals and communities that enable them to participate effectively in socio-economic development. Furthermore, football plays a key role in poverty reduction through creation of direct employment and related investment opportunities and is also an important avenue for information dissemination on matters of national interest.

Football games are mostly played by young people as a recreational activity. Ongong'a et al., (2010) note that recreational activities such as engaging in football games are important for the psychological and physical development of the youth since they

contribute to their personal development by promoting good health, personal discipline, and leadership and team skills. In addition, they also provide enjoyment.

Kenya's football has consistently attracted the attention of football fans who jam football arenas to witness the live tournaments. Many others follow the action on television, presently made possible through sponsorship of *Supersport* television channel while others will still ardently keep updated through their radio receivers. Some online sites such as www.futaa.com have primarily been established with a focus on national football reporting.

2.4 Football and War:

Although football and real war are totally different phenomena, they exhibit an interesting relationship in terms of the shared vocabulary, notions and expressions. Football structure and reporting has heavily borrowed from the military language, where, as Seddon (2004) reports, its conceptualization and linguistic expression often take a militaristic turn. Lewandowski (2010) says that there is a conviction that the language of sport is permeated with war metaphors, probably because sport, such as football, is perceived as a substitute for war, especially in the time of peace.

The correlation between the military and football game has been strong and this seemingly unbreakable link has nowhere been more emphasized than through the media. The link between military references and sports is strengthened because metaphors of war are not limited to use by sports media, but are used by government and military officials and war journalists as well (Jansen & Sabo, 1994). Ultimately, society dominantly consumes and experiences sports through the media (Kellett, 2002). The dialogue that relates sports and war was initiated by G. Orwell, who in 1945 wrote in the *Tribune* that sport 'has nothing to do with fair play. It is bound up with hatred, jealousy, boastfulness, disregard of all rules and sadistic pleasure in witnessing violence: in other words it is war minus the shooting' (Beard, 1998: 84).

Charteris-Black supports this view, saying that both domains typically entail control of territory (with potential gains and losses), and require physical and mental strength as well as training…… and that at least in theory, both are governed by rules and, generate worldwide interest. (2004: 125–126). Gunnar (2011:85) also notes that the permeation of military jargon into football is so particularly because commentators, pundits, journalists and others tend to depict the activities in and around the football pitch in terms of an informal war zone, sparked, arguably, by the resemblance between the two conceptual domains, and realized, typically, through the use of various forms of symbolic and dramatic language, including everything from clear-cut metaphorical expression to mere allusions to line-ups, strategies and general aggressive behaviour. This study sought to find out whether reporting of football news in Kenyan newspapers exhibit these militaristic notions and how they aid in the communication of football reality.

Lakoff (1991) avers that football, like war, is a competitive sport where there is normally a clear winner and loser, strategic thinking, team work, preparedness, spectator behaviour, glory of winning and shame of defeat. In addition, Chapanga (2004) asserts that there is an undeniable theme of war in football and that reporting on the physical contest of football makes it almost inevitable for reporters to use allusions to war, metaphors of battle and strategy. Vierkant (2008) also agrees with this view and says that terms such as 'shot', "midfield", "enemy" or "battle" etc., denote war and seem to be unavoidable when talking about football. It is this militaristic language that defines our understanding of the game. According to Gunnar (2011), the game of football tends to be portrayed in terms of warfare and that the 'unavoidable' and 'undeniable' connection between war and football is so much that our understanding of the game nowadays even depends on it.

The frequent overlapping of two domains has led to a situation where the concepts of war and football have become partly indistinguishable in the minds of today's reporters and fans. This has yielded support for the idea that war-inspired vocabulary has in fact become an unavoidable feature in current football reporting as well as an indispensable

tool for those journalists who are set to provide it (Gunnar 2011). The use of war notions, Lackoff and Johnson (1980) note, has become part of language over a long time since people tend to draw upon experiences in one area of life in order to fire fresh insight and understanding into experiences in another. For instance, soldiers who have had vivid, sometimes traumatic experiences during military duties have then applied that language and expressions to non-military situations. The use of such militaristic language aids in making communication of ideas more colourful and precise.

Acknowledging that football reporting is heavily laden with war metaphors, Lewandowski, says the war metaphor exhibits the greatest degree of elaboration and that it would be fair to say that the whole football match could be conceptualized in terms of war. (2010:90). He also says that "it is relatively easy to recreate the mappings that hold between the domains of war and football since the soccer match itself corresponds to a *battle*, a *clash*, *encounter* or *war*. (2011:91). Even the stadium where the football match is usually played is perceived as a fortress that should be conquered by the visiting team, the ground as a battlefield while the players are seen as soldiers or troops. (Gunnar 2011). In particular, the playfields are transformed into battlefields and this makes it difficult for sports commentators to avoid militarizing the language and thus war and sports become indistinguishable in the minds of reporters (Chapanga, 2004).

From the British newspapers reporting about football news, Gunnar (2011) quotes the following expressions that denote violence and war:

a. Liverpool *beat* Arsenal after titanic *battle*.
b. Former *captain* David Beckham named in England *squad*.
c. Wenger awaits United's *heavy artillery*.
d. Evans to become first *casualty* of Manchester City *revolution*

He observes that by using such terms, the game of football can be seen as an event (a battle) which has active participants (captains and squads) trying to defeat each other (through beating) using weapons (heavy artillery) to bring about certain consequences (casualties – and perhaps even revolutions). Soccer, especially at the international level,

is analogous to warfare and structurally militaristic in its organization. Combined with the promotion of hegemonically masculine and nationalistic ideologies through the media, war metaphors can perpetuate social hierarchies and promote international aggression. This makes it imperative to track their prevalence and the context in which they are used in the media. (Arens, 1976; Guttman, 1978). This is what this study sought to do, to assess and the prevalence and use of metaphorical expressions used in the reporting of football news in Kenyan newspapers.

According to Lewandowski (2010), it would hypothetically, be possible to construct a match report in predominantly military rhetoric. Reporters, he notes, do this consciously in order to build up fan excitement, especially in the previews of games pitting teams whose countries used to fight real wars (e.g., Germany vs. England). Bishop and Jaworski support this argument noting that 'in constructing the 'nation', the press resort to a number of discursive strategies constructing and reinforcing national unity by invoking stereotypes, generic references, shared sporting and military history, and the timelessness of the nation spanning mythical past and indefinite future'. (2003: 244). Gunnar (2011) claims it would be hard to imagine football reporting without the use of war-inspired terminology because the use of such expressions have become an indispensable verbal tool in the commentator's or football news writer's profession.

From the Minute by Minute football commentary study of Euro cup matches 2008, Gunnar (2011) says that the football game is actually conceived of as a rather violent game containing a considerable share of war-inspired images conveyed through a range of linguistic expressions such as *brutal*, *cruel*, *desperate*, *ferocious* and *frantic*. (P. 88). Such words he further asserts, not only help to muster a fighting-spirit concept - making them pose as metaphorical mappings from the war domain- but they also seem to reflect, at least to some extent, a literal description of the actions in the game or the psychological state of some of its players, for example as seen in the (brutal, cruel, ferocious) character of a tackle and the (desperate, frantic) state of an injured victim.

'Just as war has to do with political conflict that takes place in a battlefield, football is concerned with sports competition that occurs in an arena. The participants in war consist of armies of soldiers mustering both aggression and ability to handle their weapons and ammunition, just as footballers are organized in teams of players who challenge their opponents on the basis of skilful treatment of the ball using various parts of their body. For soldiers the aim is to hit, kill and defeat the enemy in order to win the war and achieve political supremacy, just as the objective of football players is to trick the opponents, score goals and beat them, thereby winning the game and the title of the competition.' (p. 91)

The above description, as Seddon (2004:26) says, "confirms the notion that football is a ritualized war, a stylized territorial battle, complete with casualties, which can only be resolved with the victory and defeat that produces winners and losers." Football reporters thus use the militaristic expressions in order to add pace and a violent touch to the drama of the game. Such expressions relate primarily to the action and activities on the field in terms of what the teams, players, coaches and referees do.

Gunnar (2011) also says that reporters' use of a widely defined war domain terms serve to depict a game of football, setting the stage for the creation of an often full-fledged war scenario through which they can provide zest to the match covered, noting that their main tasks is to set up and market a media product which arouses interest and drama among football fans, without adding unnecessary complexity or difficulty of understanding. (91)

Achieving this understanding would call for invoking the simplicity and straightforwardness of war metaphor, as a means of facilitating understanding by conceiving of one thing in terms of another. Reporters therefore employ this tactic to make the football game easy to comprehend, while trying at the same time to increase its attractiveness by supplementing instances of metaphor with various forms of intensifying terminology that add action and suspense as well as pace and power to the commentary.(Gunnar 2011). It is these instances of metaphor use in Kenyan newspapers reporting on football news that this study sought to bring out.

16

2.5 Football and Violence

Since football has often been perceived in terms of war, with consistent employment of militaristic notions that in one way or the other allude to physical violence and war, it is necessary to focus on football related violence and its effect on the game, players and football fans. There are very many times when football matches have turned to literal violent physical battles between fans of different teams. Violent acts during a football match can be the consequence of the multiple, contradictory and complex emotional meanings that supporters give to a football match and also express through it (Coakley, 2009). Although football violence may often be assumed to be triggered by rivalry in performance between teams this rivalry may not necessarily be tied to performance of the sporting activity but may also point to rivalries and division at other spheres of the society.

As Spaaij and Vlienenthart (2010) argue, rivalries between soccer fan groups arise out of contention which may also be a repository for long-standing divisions along class, religious, political or ethnic lines. Spaaij (2006) further notes that fan violence in Spanish football is intertwined with political nationalisms and that tension and conflict between fans of opposing clubs is shaped not only by historically evolved sporting rivalries, but also by the expression of deep-seated political identities. In Italy, Scalia (2009) notes that most of the football violence has broken out as a consequence of local, national or political rivalries. He observes that the fights between Fiorentina and Pisa football clubs supporters, for example, are a consequence of long-term hatred between the two cities, just as the clashes between the supporters of Hellas Verona and AC Napoli fans, rise out of differences and resentments between the North and the South of Italy.

In addition, Tilly (2003) says that when individuals identify strongly with a collective, they learn a repertoire of behaviours which are directed at the object of their contention. Rookwood and Pearson (2010) further observe that much of the real violence at football is inter-group rather than intra-group i.e., occur between fans of different teams rather than among fans of the same team). They also report that football violence has two perspectives; One, the level of intensity of the violence, which ranges from low-level

conflicts, such as interpersonal verbal assaults, to high-level violence, for example mass fighting which involves large sections of a soccer crowd. Two, the degree of organization and planning involved.

The level of organization necessitates viewing of football violence as deliberate hooliganism. Braun and Vliegenthart (2008: 800) argue that 'in most cases, more or less organized groups try to initiate fights with rival groups', that 'hooligans want to humiliate the competing gangs that support other club teams', and that hooligans deliberately seek to obtain media attention for their actions". In Kenya for instance, violence has often broken out between the fans of different teams, but the most severe have always been between Gor Mahia and AFC Leopards teams. The two have a long history of rivalry in performance and command a huge fan followership. Violence during football games has far reaching consequences especially among the fans who attend the matches. As Rookwood and Pearson (2010) argue, these risks may range from serious physical injuries to some people whilst others may have their interests harmed, for instance by a match being postponed, their club fined or banned from competitions as well as being subjected to public order tactics designed to prevent or control the violence.

Although it is just a small number of fans that engage in violence during football matches, Rookwood and Pearson (2010) report that some non-violent fans do approve these acts of violence meted out against their rival teams. These non-violent fans also approve formation of organized violent groups so that when their rival teams' fans turn violent, they will have their own group which can counter fight, thus divert the violence from them. Approval of violent behaviour by non-violent fans as well as the larger society poses a threat to future football games. Fields et al. (2007) aver that generally only the extremely bad incidences of violence attract the attention of the media and public concern. This shows that there is a lot of violence that has been accommodated and approved by the society though it is never brought to public limelight.

Tolerance of football violence is a serious social issue that is detrimental to the well-being of the society at large as well as the future of sporting activities. This is because it

may inculcate a culture of acceptance of violence in day to day life by portraying violence as an acceptable means of settling differences between parties that have competitive interests. Violence, as already noted, often results in physical and psychological injuries and this is counterproductive, especially to the efforts towards societal integration and individual health development.

This study aimed at assessing the reporting of football news in Kenyan newspapers, bearing in mind the crucial role language plays in creation and interpretation of reality. Caldas-Coulthard (2003) notes that, 'the language of the media is one of the most pervasive and widespread discourses that people from all sorts of literate societies are exposed to. With the advances of technology within communication systems and networks, the production of written and spoken news invades our lives daily.'(P.273). To deal with violence, Fields et al. (2007) say there is a pressing need for tracking, interventions, reform, and recognition of the area of violence as a broader field of study, noting that previous research recommendations on dealing with sports violence include recognition of that problem, educating the participants, rethinking the purpose of sports and changing the culture to make the behaviour unacceptable. Football is not a spontaneous event but rather essentially unnatural given that it is organized, enacted, and reproduced through language and other communicative practices that echo and maintain particular cultural forms and their ideological underpinnings. The study of language that creates the interpretation of this phenomenon, as in this research is thus paramount, considering that language affects thoughts (Bloom & Keil, 2001)

Calvillo (2008) argues that the linguistic strategies that journalists employ in their news reports do not always spring from a "conscious" decision. Probably this is so because journalists, being part of the community for which they report also draw their vocabulary and expressions from the linguistic repertoire commonly used by those communities. Steeves (1997) argues that the press plays a key role in securing consent for specific hegemonic ideologies through the use of language to represent reality in particular ways. Therefore, press journalists' language, while not always the result of conscious planning, does reflect the newspaper's interests to convey some messages. Terry and Jackson

(1985) contend that a powerful socialization process is the primary deterrent of football related violence. They see this aggression as behaviour learned in a culture that reinforces and models violence.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

The study of the language of football reporting in the Kenyan newspapers was guided by the tenet of the Priming Theory propagated by Iyengar, Peters, and Kinder (1982) and further expounded by Krosnick and Kinder (1990). The premise of the Priming theory is that media images can activate or trigger related thoughts in the mind(s) of the audience members. Grounded in cognitive psychology, the theory of media priming is derived from the associative network model of human memory, in which an idea or concept is stored as a node in the network and is related to other ideas or concepts by semantic paths. Priming refers to the activation of a node in this network, which may serve as a filter, an interpretive frame, or a premise for further information processing or judgment formation. It suggests that knowledge is stored in the form of nodes in memory and, when receiving stimulus, the nodes activate related nodes. In this way, media content can increase accessibility of related constructs (Rokos-Ewoldsen et al., 2009)

The priming consequence is established by offering the audience a prior context that will be used to interpret subsequent communication. This enhances the effects of the media on their audiences, by providing the audiences with standards and frames of reference. Rokos-Ewoldsen and Carpenter (2009) describe priming as "the effects of the content of the media on people's later behaviour or judgment related to the content that was processed" (p. 75). The audience's language, therefore, is a function of the language they hear themselves and the use of this language has an influence on concept formation.

Krosnick and Kinder (1990) argue that when it comes to expressing an opinion, an individual does not make long disquisitions, but rather takes a 'short cut, for or against the issue in question. One of such short cuts is to resort to the information one has at hand in the memory, information one remembers spontaneously and effortlessly. The information provided by mass media is, by far, the most accessible one to individuals.

Hence, the criteria the audiences use to evaluate an issue are determined by the way the media cover it. The more attention paid by the media to a specific issue – or particular aspect of an issue – the more prepared the minds of the people will be to be influenced by that issue at the time of taking some position since the mind is loaded with more information on the issue, which will later be used to support its future judgements. (Krosnick & Kinder 1990)

Thus priming explains the judgements and the cognition arising from the news, and the impact a piece of information exerts on the feelings and affections an individual might have towards a particular issue. Priming theory was thus relevant to this study since the research is primarily concerned about the language use in presentation of football news in Kenyan newspapers cognizant of the fact that media provides the framework for interpretation of the reality presented in football news reporting. The priming effect is achieved through constant repetition of those interpretative references to an event or an aspect of a phenomenon until the audience is able to relate the use of a term or expression with the idea intended.

The study also employed the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, also commonly referred to as Cognitive Metaphor Theory propagated by Lakoff and Johnson, in 1980. The basic tenet of the theory is that metaphor operates at the level of thinking where an individual uses one idea and links it to another to better understand something. The scholars argue that most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature thus; metaphors are integral and not peripheral to language and understanding. Lule (2004) argues that metaphors are essential to human thought and communication and that they are extremely influential on conceptual understandings of human beings. For this reason, they are often unavoidable in language. The metaphorical concepts, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), "structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people". The nature of human communication can therefore be fundamentally said to be metaphorical.

Metaphors often serve as the only way for humans to comprehend complex concepts such as life, death, sickness, health, war and peace (Lule, 2004). Because our conceptual systems are central to the way we interact with the world, and these systems are largely

metaphorical, our thoughts, experiences and interactions with others are hugely reliant on metaphors (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Ricoeur (1981) argued that words become metaphorical in specific contexts when opposed to other words taken literally. Metaphors, through language, help to construct realities and can serve as guides for future understandings (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Metaphors are a matter of thought and not merely of language (hence the use of the term conceptual metaphor) and they consists of words or other linguistic expressions that come from the terminology of the more concrete conceptual domain. The mappings of a conceptual metaphor are motivated by image schemas concerning space, time, moving, controlling, and other core elements of embodied human experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

A conceptual domain can be any coherent organization of human experience. Metaphors link two conceptual domains, the source domain and the target domain. The source domain consists of a set of literal entities, attributes, processes and relationships, linked semantically and apparently stored together in the mind (Deignan, 2005). These are expressed in language through related words and expressions, which can be seen as organized in different groups. The target domain tends to be abstract, and takes its structure from the source domain, through the metaphorical link.

Target domains are thus believed to have relationships between entities, attributes and processes which mirror those found in the source domain. At the level of language, entities, attributes and processes in the target domain, which in this case is football, are lexicalized using words and expressions from the source domain. Proponents of Conceptual Metaphor Theory argue that thought has primacy over language, noting that few or even no abstract notions can be talked about without metaphor; that there is no direct way of perceiving them and we can only understand them through the filter of directly experienced, concrete notions (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

For instance, according to Lakoff, life can be metaphorically conceptualized as a purposeful journey and realized linguistically through expressions such as "He got a head start in life. He's without direction in life. I'm where I want to be in life…" (Lakoff, 1993: 223). Metaphor plays a very significant role in human thought, understanding or

even creating our social, cultural, and psychological reality, because it is used effortlessly by ordinary people in everyday life. Attempting to understand metaphor means understanding what kind of world we live in. As a basic cognitive structure, metaphor helps us to understand a relatively abstract concept, such as football, by means of more concrete concept, such as war, etc.

Conceptual metaphors are seen in language in everyday communication. They shape not just communication, but also thoughts and actions. According to Lakoff, metaphors are used to talk about different aspects of life and that it is very difficult to find expressions used to talk about the subject of life which are not metaphorical in some way. Abstract subjects are therefore generally talked about using metaphors. A close examination of the metaphors used can be an important key to the way people have mentally constructed abstract domains. (Lakoff, 1993:227). Metaphors entail comparison of concepts, requiring the hearer to transfer one basic domain of experience to another basic domain (for instance war domain versus football domain). The classic example of how metaphorical concepts can structure basic everyday activities is that of looking at the process of argument in terms of physical conflict or war. Viewing argument as war, people say;

Your claims are *indefensible*.

He *attacked every weak point* in my argument.

His criticisms were *right on target*.

I *demolished* his argument.

I've never *won* an argument with him.

You disagree? Okay, *shoot*.

If you use that *strategy*, he'll *wipe you out*.

He *shot down* all of my arguments. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, p. 104)

In the above example, "argument" is "partially structured, understood, performed and talked about in terms of 'war'. Metaphor is therefore essentially used to enhance "understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another" (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 105). Such metaphors are extremely powerful because they are so embedded and common in communication that they often go unnoticed. Analyzing news

coverage provides a way to understand metaphors, and consequently, the society in which they are prevalent. This is what this research was intended to do, by analyzing the images associated with football reporting in the daily newspapers in Kenya.

Metaphors are therefore not merely linguistic expressions but are important tools that relate our experiences of different concepts, making all metaphors a result of how we view the world. Conceptual metaphors help people to understand abstract subjects of such central importance as life and communication. It is therefore necessary to study the conventional, frequent metaphorical expressions that are used by communities, and in this case the newspaper language of football reporting. This kind of study does provide clues to the conceptual structures that both reflect and shape the thought patterns of the football community.

In many cases, metaphors represent subconscious choices on the part of the speaker or writer, whose choice of language is partly constrained by the conceptual structures shared by members of his or her community. Metaphors can also help people to talk about difficult, emotionally intense or uncommon experiences, and thus, according to Conceptual Metaphor theory, to think about them (Deignan, 2005). There are numerous ways in which conceptual metaphors shape human perception and communication, especially in mass media and in public policy. The theory was therefore found important to this study since it provided the basis for discussion on the war metaphors and related expressions in the newspaper reporting of football news in Kenyan newspapers.

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the procedure that was adopted such as sampling, codification and categorization of data in the quest for the answers to the issues under investigation. The rationale for the chosen method is also discussed in this chapter. This section also includes the research design, target population, sampling techniques and procedures of data collection and analysis.

3.2 Research Design

This study adopted a descriptive research design. According to Shields, Patricia and Rangarjan, (2013), a descriptive design is used to describe characteristics of a population or phenomenon being studied. It does not answer questions about how/when/why the characteristics occurred. Rather it addresses the "what" question (what are the characteristics of the population or situation being studied?). The researcher chose the descriptive research design because the study aimed at analyzing and describing features of the football news reporting phenomenon in the Kenyan newspapers. This design was further narrowed to documentary analysis. Documentary analysis is a social research method which is used as a tool for obtaining relevant documentary evidence to support and validate facts stated in a research. The exercise involves analytical reading and review of a lot of written material, in this case newspaper articles reporting on football news. This is valuable to help the researcher to extract the relevant portions that can be deemed as statements of facts to validate individual research objectives.

The use of documentary methods refers to the analysis of documents that contain information about the phenomenon under study (Bailey 1994). Payne and Payne (2004) describe the documentary method as the techniques used to categorize, investigate, interpret and identify the limitations of physical sources, most commonly written documents whether in the private or public domain. This was relevant to this study since it involved studying of printed documents; the newspapers reporting of football news in Kenya. The study further falls under qualitative research, one that seeks to understand

and interpret phenomena in settings such as a "real world setting where the researcher does not attempt to manipulate the phenomenon of interest" (Patton, 2001, p. 39). Broadly defined, qualitative research involves "any kind of research that produces findings not arrived at by means of statistical procedures or other means of quantification" (Strauss & Corbin, 1990, p. 17). Unlike quantitative researchers, qualitative researchers seek "illumination, understanding, and extrapolation" in similar situations (Golafshani, 2003: 600).

In this study, the researcher, guided by the above mentioned design sought to identify the interpretative features of language employed in football news reporting in Kenyan newspapers and to describe the use of military metaphors in football reporting in Kenyan newspapers, namely *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard.*

3.3. Target Population

The target population was all the daily Kenyan newspapers reporting on football news. These include *The Standard, The Star, The Daily Nation* and *The People*. All these are published in English which is an official language in Kenya. This provided a wide sample of language use in football reporting considering that these papers are extensively read. The average circulation of these papers in Kenya is about 450, 000. (Ipsos, KARF 2011)

3.4 Sample and Sampling Procedure

The sample of this study comprised two newspapers, *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard.* Judgemental sampling was then employed to enable the researcher arrive at thematically relevant and suitable articles for analysis, covering a period of nine months. The Kenya Premier League matches started in February and ended in November thus this period covered the duration when all the matches were being played. The sampled articles come were written by 17 writers, 8 from *The Daily Nation* and 9 from *The Standard.*

3.5 Data Collection Procedure

The researcher considered articles reporting football news from each of the two newspapers in question; *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers. The process of data collection involved first of all identification of the newspaper articles reporting on KPL football matches. After careful assessment of the content of the article, excerpts that bore content relevant to research quest were purposefully selected. These were then coded and categorized according to their inherent thematic qualities in relation to the objectives of the study. A total of 63 articles were analysed.

3.6 Data Analysis

The researcher employed qualitative data analysis mainly because the study was on content analysis and adopted the views of Hsieh and Shannon (2005), who define qualitative data analysis as "a research method for the interpretation of the content of text data through the systematic classification process of coding and identifying themes or patterns" (p.1278). Patton (2001) regards it as any qualitative data reduction and sense-making effort that takes a volume of qualitative material and attempts to identify core consistencies and meanings. This approach usually produces descriptions along with expressions reflecting how the social world is viewed, paying attention to unique themes that illustrate the range of the meanings of the phenomenon rather than the statistical significance of the occurrence of particular texts or concepts (Hsieh & Shannon, 2005).

The research adopted Hsieh and Shannon's (2005) second approach, directed content analysis, in which initial coding starts with a theory or relevant research findings. Then, during data analysis, the researchers immerse themselves in the data and allow themes to emerge from the data. In this research, this entailed coding the metaphoric expression used in the newspaper reporting of football news in Kenyan newspapers, guided by the tenets of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory which claims that metaphors help us to understand a relatively abstract concept by means of more concrete concept within the range of our experience (Kövecses, 2002). Denzin, (1989) further reports that qualitative content analysis does not produce counts and statistical significance; rather it uncovers patterns, themes, and categories important to a social reality. This was found applicable

to this study that sought to examine a real phenomenon such as football game. On his part, Schamber (2000) points out that content analysis functions both as a secondary observational tool for identifying variables in text and an analytical tool for categorization. This approach was relevant to this study as it enabled the researcher to observe, identify and select the words, phrases and expressions that enabled categorization and description of metaphoric images that are used in interpretation of football phenomenon in Kenyan newspapers.

CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study as collected in the field together with the analysis of the data. The results of the study are summarized and presented in the table below and later discussed according to the objectives of this study.

Table 4.1: A Summary of the Results of the Study According to Thematic Categorization

Perception of football game as a daily basic activity
Social and cultural connotations in football reporting
Display of dominance and might in football reporting
Representation of players in football reporting
Religious beliefs and superstitions in football reporting
Use of animal behaviour in language of football
Use of sarcasm in football reporting
Metonymy and nation unification in football language
Military mappings in football language reporting
Warfare strategies in football language

Research Q1. What interpretative structures characterize language of football reporting in Kenyan Newspapers?

The research found a widespread use of imagery as an interpretative framework through which the football reality is communicated to audiences in Kenyan newspapers. The broad use of elements of interpretation revolves around figures of speech, especially the use of metaphors. Majority of the items under discussion are used to describe the activities in the field, score attempt, scoring, state of the players as well as team defeat. These will be discussed in various thematic categorizations that include the following;

4.2 Perception of Football as an Everyday Social and Economic Activity

Football is reported as a normal everyday engagement. This way, images of trade, food, race or even human interpersonal communication are employed. The essence of metaphor is to enhance meaning of a relatively abstract concept by means of more concrete concept within the range of our experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). These images are further elucidated below;

4.2.1 Trading Language in Football News

*(1) But Sofapaka will not be easy **customers** for Finlays. Batoto ba Mungu beat the Naivasha   side 2-1 in the finals of 2007 edition ....and Finlays will be looking for a revenge of sorts   DN 11/10/2013*

(2) *'I have never seen so much improvement in two weeks like the one we have made but it is disappointing that we have not collected maximum **profit** from our effort' the (AFC coach Luc Eymael) said.ST 23/4/2013*

Trading involves buyers and sellers who meet to exchange goods and services. Similarly, a football encounter is an exchange between players of teams who try to 'buy' victory from the other. In trade there is intense haggling and competition between the sellers and buyers, each aiming at getting the best bargain for an item. Similarly in football, players strategically try to outdo their rivals by executing calculated moves and passes in order to emerge victorious. Events in the field are therefore seen as a trading affair where each team tries to negotiate and maximize their gain through scoring to defeat the other. Achievement or scoring is seen as gaining of profit, which places a team at an advantage.

4.2.2 Allusion to Food in Football Language

*(3) With seven minutes left on the clock, towering Shikokoti put the contest to bed even as   the Robert Matano coached men threatened to go on a **goal feast** DN 3/3/2013*

*(4) The bankers have been riding high and are yet to **taste defeat** since the season began.   DN 30/3/2013*

A football contest is conceived of as a '*meal*' or a *'feast'* that is supposed to be enjoyed by the players as well as fans. The fact that it is a ceremonial 'feast' implies the collective pleasure or joy that emanates from a team's win over the other. Again invoking the sense of taste when referring to defeat, as in *'tasting defeat'* foregrounds the unpleasant feeling that a game loss generates among fans and players. The desire to score is also referred to using image of hunger;

*(5) With a whooping 18 points separating the leaders and their 5pm guests, the slum boys are   just as **hungry** for the three points as their opponents, in their quest to restore lost glory. DN   27/10/2013*

The anticipation, the intense desire to obtain victory out of the match is correlated to a physical hunger. Just as food is an essential element to human survival, victory in football matches is essential for survival in the football tournament. Without the urge to eat one cannot literary survive. Similarly, without the desire to win it would be practically impossible for a team to advance in the tournament. The metaphorical correlation between football and food domain is thus relevant medium of communicating a salient abstract feature of football playing.

4.2.3 Football as a Conversation between Teams

*(6) Sony **replied** by throwing a number of long balls into the Sofapaka box*

The response or a counter move by the rival team is metaphorically viewed as a conversation. These exchanges, basically involving possession and dispossession of the ball in a football match are presented in a familiar human communication process of conversation. This further highlights the close interaction between the players of rival teams as they try to negotiate their chances of scoring.

This kind of conversation can take a religious angle where it is likened to a religious activity of praying.

*(7) Bandari's **prayers were answered** in the 43rd minute when Buki, who is a former Mathare United player, placed his free kick between a forest of KCB's legs in the net, raising his goals   for the season to 3.* ST 21/4/2013

Just as prayers might require dutiful patience, the prayers in the field also require consistency and patience to yield fruits, which are goals. Prayers are also an invitation of a higher power to enable an achievement. In the football context, players summon a higher collective power of playing as a tem to obtain victory. The notion of prayers also brings a religious element in the game of football.

Playing is also reported as information looking process, one that is supposed to elicit answers with which to engage in another team.

*(8) Wanga claims a double, Okwamba on the mark as Karuturi **find no answer** to inform AFC at Nyayo DN 28/10/2013*

Failure to score is here termed as inability to find answer, and aptly so because the results generally inform about the weakness or strength of a team. This way, playing football is presented as a diligent activity that is supposed to yield answers (goals) to a quest (desire to progress in the tournament).

4.2.4 Football League as a Race

*(9) There is no time to relax. This is a **marathon**; you only relax when you have touched   the tape,'' Williamson told his players on Saturday after their match against   Chemelil Sugar DN 20/10/2013*

*(10) With 12 matches to go, the Kenyan Premier League title **race** is getting more intense   DN3/5/13*
Marathon is very familiar concept to many Kenyans owing to the heroic performances of Kenyan athletes in long races. Perceiving football using a race metaphor underscores the long, tedious struggle that players must be willing to engage in order to reach the climax of the competition. A marathon is the longest of the races and requires great sense of physical and mental discipline to finish. Similarly, football players must be willing to embrace the same qualities to win the football race.

In addition, the end of a title race is correlated with death;

*(11) The club fans are so confident they will be celebrating this season, they have even coined a word 'giniwasekao' meaning we have won this one but it is this overconfidence that turned into heartbreak last season when they lost the title at the **death**. DN 16/10/2013*

*(12) Olunga saves champions the blushes with a strike at the **death** in a mid-week clash played at the deserted Nyayo Stadium DN14/3/2013*

The death image is symbolic of coming to an end. The title race faces its death when the last match in the tournament is played, just as every mach suffers death when the last whistle is blown.

4.3 Social and Cultural Connotations in Football Reporting

Football is a social activity that attracts the interest of people from all walks of life. It is an acclaimed source of entertainment for both men and women. The language of football reporting captures this social component, likening it to the process of looking for a bride. For instance, efforts to win the premier league title are compared to wooing.

*(13) Gor's **wooing** saw them finish runners up in 2010 and 2012, and fourth in 2011* DN   26/10/2013

The title is the most prestigious achievement in the tournament and just like wooing a beautiful bride takes great determination to outdo all the other (probable) suitors, the football wooing also entails a lot of hard work, patience and skills to defeat all the other rival teams in order to clinch the title. It is the most deserving of the football suitors that get the ultimate prize, the trophy.

Reporting of some matches also highlight lasting relationships created between teams and fans, similar to those that are established through marriage. For instance, matches between Gor Mahia and the Abaluyia Football Club (AFC) are usually referred to as *Mashemeji derby*.

*(14) It's going to be a '**Mashemeji Derby'** in the final of GoTv Shield after AFC Leopards beat Sofapaka 2-0 in the second semi-final yesterday to set up a date with archrivals Gor Mahia.   DN 11/11/2013*

By terming it as *mashemeji* derby, which translate to 'in-laws' derby, the reporter portrays a relational aspect of football as a socialization tool/agent capable of bringing communities together. History of Kenyan football has reported many violent encounters between these two strongest teams thus the application of the term *mashemeji* is a bridging effort to curtail the hostility and violence that has often emanated from the competition rivalry between the two Western Kenya teams, by invoking long historical social relatedness in marriage.

African traditions advocate great respect for in-laws and this kind of football reporting is an attempt to make fans regard and treat each other with respect and gentleness, acknowledging that they need each other, just as in marriage institutions where both families must deliberately treat each other respectfully if their relationship is to last. The marriage metaphor presents the relationship between these two clubs and fans as one that is bound to be challenged now and then due to competition. In a literal marriage setting, the bride is the centre of the relationship between two families and conflict between the same families would also revolve around the handling or treatment of the bride. In football, interest revolves around the glory of winning, and both teams are aware that in the course of nurturing this 'bride' there will always be intense competitive interests that may generate discomfort, however, they cannot cut ties and regard each other as enemies since they already enjoy an established longer lasting identification with each other.

Another demonstration of culture is the dances played and attires worn during the matches.

*(15) Buoyed by tireless **isukuti dancers** from the terraces, Ingwe staged several attacks…. DN 17/10/2013*

The AFC Leopard team has traditionally associated themselves with the image of a leopard, hence the name AFC Leopards. The term leopard translates to *'ingwe'* in Oluluyia and is a common synonym for the team in the reporting of football news in

Kenyan newspapers. *Isukuti* is a Luyia cultural dance and the fact that these dancers perform during the matches played by AFC Leopards club brings a cultural aspect to football. The dance is presented as an encouragement, an inspiration; an assurance of a community's (of fans) backing of their players in the field.

(16) Gor Biro….'Green March' to glory. Gor biro yawne yoo! Gor is coming clear the way! So goes the K'Ogalo nation's rallying cry. DN 3/11/2013

(17) The goal came as goal fans started chanting what has now come to be their signature lyrics "Giniwasekao Gor Biro Yawne yo-we have taken this thing! Gor is coming, clearthe way DN12/11/2013

(18) Behind the banner and around the Stadium hundreds Gor Mahia fans-donned in the clubs traditional green and white regalia- danced around happily. Others wept in joy. That moment had finally come. DN14/11/2013

Songs, dances and adornment of club uniforms are other aspects of culture highlighted in football matches reporting. In addition, there is use of vernacular in some incidences, especially with regard to Gor Mahia team which enjoys the most fanatical support of its fans; way above all other teams. The passionate display of admiration and love for a team shows how seriously football impacts on individuals as well as collectively. This brings to the fore that football has and will continue to be an important identity maker and an agent of socialization in the community.

4.4 Display of Dominance and Might in Football Reporting

4.4.1 Football as a Physical Fist Fight

Although there is little hand to hand contact between football players, many reporters metaphorically communicate football experience as a fist fight between players, often times alluding to use of or justification for use of force to silence or defeat the opponents. For instance, the act of scoring is reported as a physical act of beating, spanking, hammering, whipping, crushing and punching;

*(19) Ulinzi stars **beat** Gor Mahia 2-0 in a Tusker Premier League match at the City Stadium yesterday. DN 28/3/2013*

*(20) Enock Agwanda rattled City Stars with an 80th minute goal. He picked a loose ball….made just one step and released a sucker **punch** which beat Kagunzi (goalkeeper) all the way ST.   21/4/13*

*(21) Mangi scored a brace when the side **spanked** Sony Sugar 3-0 last weekend at home 3 St   30/3/2013*

*(22) The bankers **hit** Nairobi city Stars 4-0 last weekend and are in no mood to drop points so early in the season ST 1/3/2013*

Metaphors just as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue, help us to understand a relatively abstract concept by means of more concrete concept within the range of our experience. Fist battles are the most common between people thus equating football loss to a loss inflicted in a hand battle brings the experience closer to the audiences' natural experiences and understanding. The commonest kind of loss in the above cases is related to familiar hand fight, one which involves a punch, spank or being beaten through hitting.

Apart from the fist fight, the players are reported as having used tools such as whip or hammer to defeat their rivals.

*(23) They (Sony Sugar) won their first match 4-0 **beating** Nairobi City Stars before **whipping** Muhoroni Youth 6-0. DN17/3/2013*

*(24) K'Ogalo are fresh from qualifying to the first round of the CaF federations Cup after **hammering** Seychellois Club ANSE RE-Union 5-0 away in the weekend. DN7/32013*

*(25) Sofapaka went on a rampage **thrashing** Nairobi City Stars ST 3-1 21/4/13 p. 43*

*(26) Playing at home Tusker **crushed** ST Michele United also of Seychelles 3-0 for 7-1 ST/N 4/3/2013*

*(27) Sofapaka bounced back to winning ways in style, **clobbering** Karuturi Sports 4-2 ST. 6/4/13 p. 42*

The reporters try to capture the dramatic execution of victory of one team over the other by use of exaggerated notions of pain and use of force. The players body parts- mostly feet and head- are regarded as weapons- lashes, clubs and hammers with which they can *whip, hammer, crush* and *clobber* the others. This, however, does not necessarily portray the exact reality in the field for players do not carry any external weapon and any offensive aggression against another player is usually severely discouraged and punished.

Football language celebrates might or force as a tool for dominance over other teams.

*(28) They will meet Sony Sugar who **tossed out** Mathare United in an earlier game at the same venue. DN 26/10/2013*

*(29) At the City Stadium, Sofapaka also **forced** a 2-1 win score line over Chemilil Sugar. DN 2/11/2013*

*(30) In Muhoroni, visiting Thika United **disciplined** Muhoroni Youth FC 2-0 ST 25/5/2013*

*(31) The visitors had taken the lead in the 56th minute when Paul Odhiambo **drilled** home from the edge of the box, beating Thika goalkeeper Joel Bataro. DN 11/3/2013*

A match void of aggressive tackles between players is usually considered dull and boring. It is that energy that players bring into the game that creates excitement and anxiety among the fans. This demonstration of energy and might is reported to enable a team *toss out* another or *force* their way to victory. Authority, which in this case is brought about by the ability to defeat the other, is implied by terming victory as an act of *disciplining* another team. Only a person who is in a superior position can mete discipline on another, thus the term is befitting as an assertion of skill superiority over the defeated team. Scoring is also referred to as '*drilling*' referring to the energy or strength that was needed to break through the strong resistance the other team was posing, and manage to score.

Reporters also refer to scoring as though it were physical bodily hurt in a violent encounter.

(32) Mathare **drew the first blood** *at the hour mark when David Mwangi shook the net   beating Sofapaka's veteran shot stopper Duncan Ochieng' DN 28/3/2013*

(33) Yesterday's victory meant that Kogalo backed by the livery green army were out for **revenge** *and specifically, to silence Thika couch John Kamau, who had warned Gor   of another heartbreak DN 3/11/2013*

(34) In a late kick off match played at the same venue KCB **held their nerves** *to outclass   visiting Sony Sugar 3-2 with Jacob Keli claiming a brace to add unto a Benedict   Owuor strike to secure the win. DN3/11/2013*

Getting a chance to score is likened to a painful act of drawing or spliing of blood, suggesting an injury to the stability and functionality of the other team. It is therefore natural to expect that the rival team will seek to *revenge* for the attack. The image of *drawing of blood* highlights the gravity of damage, especially psychological, that a score deals to the rival team's spirit and chances to continue in the tournaments. The antidote therefore can only be a *revenge*, scoring back to equally draw blood of the rivals. The endurance that playing such a match calls for is *nerve wrecking* and that players need to *hold their nerves* highlighting the kind of emotional and physical strain that players go through in an attempt to secure victory.

The drawing of blood resonates with other images of violence and death;

(35) ***Deadly*** *Sserunkuma* ***buries*** *SofaPaka to take K'Ogalo closer to title DN12/11/2013*

Death and burial symbolism here underscores the devastating sense of loss emanating from a match defeat, especially in the hands of more experienced and skillful players. The quest for title glory is put to rest by the winning team which moves closer to victory. Just as literal death arouses moaning, the symbolic death in football results in wailing and gnashing of teeth;

(36) The 2013 Kenya Premier League is almost over and the champions this season is   none other than Gor Mahia. Two seasons ago, there was ***wailing and gnashing***

of   teeth at the last game. It was a narrow defeat for K'Ogalo but this time round their   faithful fans shall   cheer as they raise the well deserved trophy. DN 24/10/2013

Wailing and gnashing of teeth accentuates the terrible sense of loss, devastating emotional distress as a result of pain and shame of failure. Moreover, loss of rank in the premier league is considered as torment through fire;

*(37) Sony under coach Zedekiah Otieno are also staring **relegation fires** and have now   increased their points tally to 27 from 24 outings and are lying in position 14   25/10/2013*

Demotion is compared to being tormented by being cast in fire. The ambition of any team is thus to avoid pain and suffering that may accrue from loss of matches, thus in essence, escape from the fire. As already mentioned, victory attracts glory to the winners and shame to the losers. This shame or public humiliation is compared to being stripped or slapped in the open;

*(38) Onkangi's 64ᵗʰ minute powerful header sent Chemilil into disarray frustrating   Chemilil's ambition as stress **slapped** the faces of Chemilil officials and at the same   time silenced their vocal followers who earlier on electrified the main stands. ST   22/4/2013*

*(39)   ....the industrious winger, Anthony Kimani, then put the icing on the cake for the   Batoto ba Mungu with quarter of an hour left on the clock with another   splendid goal, blasting into   the far right corner of the net leaving the Salim Ali   coached Ulinzi in **tatters** DN 26/10/2013*

Considering that football happens in an open field, correlating losing to being slapped or being left in tatters implies great shame and embarrassment, as that which would rise from being stripped in full view of the public. While the term tatters connote despair, it also captures the degree of physical struggle witnessed in the field between players in an attempt to gain match victory. A football encounter is projected as an event that is aggressive, brutal and devoid of mercy, one where attaining glory, supercedes every other

human consideration. Lakoff (1991) avers that football, like war, is a competitive sport where there is normally a clear winner and loser, strategic thinking, team work, preparedness, spectator behaviour, glory of winning and shame of defeat.

4.5 Representation of Players in Football Reporting

The dramatic aspect of football is usually realized by the direct actions of players in the field. The research found some peculiar features that football reporters employ to refer to players' bodies, experience and general conduct in the field. These are discussed below;

The football reporters' ideal football player is one who is adequately masculine; strong, tall, muscular and aggressive.

*(40) Gor coach Zdravko Logarusic began his defense with usual suspects deploying   Solomon Nasio and Christopher Wekesa in the full backs while the **giant** Ugandan   centre back Israel Emuge partnered with **towering** Donald Mosoti in central   **defense** but they could not withstand the endless missiles hurled from the soldiers   end DN28/3/2013*

*(41) With seven minutes left on the clock, **towering** Shikokoti put the contest to bed even as the Robert Matano coached men threatened to go on a goal feast DN 3/3/2013DN*

The goal area is the most guarded area of the field and the defenders are therefore expected to be strongest, physically and mentally to rebuff the pressure that will emanate from the rival team. The qualities of these players are therefore reflected as *towering, huge* (giants) and intimidating.   The reporters show admiration of this presumed masculinity by reinforcing the notion that the player's size and strength are necessary prerequisites to success in the field. When a lesser physically endowed player achieves success in the field, the aspect of size is emphasized;

*(42) The bankers were the first to score in the 10th minute through **pint-sized** attacker   John Keli, before Chemilil equalized in injury through Wycliff Nyangechi's spot   kick…. Dn 17/3/2013*

The tough maleness quality as a condition for success in football game is further emphasized by distinction between boys and men in reporting;

(43) .....with seven minutes left on the clock, **towering** *Shikokoti put the contest to bed even as the Robbert Matano* **coached men** *threatened to go on a goal feast* DN 3/3/2013

(44) But Rama Salim pulled the equalizer in the 78th minute to **save the blushes** *for Gor who were* **reduced to ten men** *two minutes later when Joseph Njuguna got sent off for punching Sony goalkeeper Wycliff Kasaya* ST 22/4/2013

In the first reporting, the physical endowment of players, *the men,* towering and strong, was what made them make a heroic feat, achieve many scores that they were threatening to go on a *goal feast*. In the second case, the reporter highlights the fact that score success under such disadvantaged circumstances required more than players, more than boys, it needed courage and determination from real *men,* who could endure nerve wrenching challenge from their stiff competitors who were more numerically advantaged.

The view of football as a game of men is also entrenched in the ridiculing diminutive comments of a player when they make 'unmanly' mistakes.

(45) Oluoch is so prone to **school boy errors** *that he nearly cost Tusker their title ambition in 2011 by conceding some simple goals ST 2/3/2013*

Failure to prevent a goal is considered a boyish character, implying the player is not seasoned enough to fit in the men's serious game. Being manly connotes seriousness, application of manly authority and a great deal of endurance in order to rebuff the rival team's challenges. The player must live to that to count as a man.

Looking at football as a man's game, or even a boy's game (errors are associated to a school boy, not a school child which would have accommodated even girls, and ideologically implies that the boy will always be in school to learn as opposed to a girl) reinforces the traditional hegemonic perspectives in most societies, that men are supposed to be "assertive, competitive, and tough," and women are caretakers of children, household duties and the "tender roles" (Hofstede, 2005). Hegemonic masculinity, Connell, (1987) notes, is founded in the ideal of a strong and brave hero that relies on muscular strength, which is a perfect outlet for male footballers. This discriminates against women who may not be able to possess the muscular advantage that men have.

This ideal stature of players i.e. the physical qualities, is said to enable them to facilitate success in contests, and is what is hailed as a good form;

(46) In the other semi final match, the AFC Leopards will be aiming to continue their **good form** *by clawing Sofapaka DN 10/11/2013*

But when they lose their performing ability, their form becomes rusty;

(47) The one time FC Parma trialist and a Sony Sugar man, was in a **rusty form***, squandering four glorious chances on a one-on-one situation with goalkeeper Cheptoo. DN22/10/2013*

Rusty here highlights the incompetence of a player that leads to failure to score for the team. The act of missing the target in the above excerpt is associated with the player's rusty or inefficient form- perhaps physically and psychologically. Missing the chance to score is also considered as *squandering*, which connotes carelessness and lack of concentration, ending in loss of *glorious* opportunities to achieve victory.

On the other hand, when a team outplays another so well, their victory is associated to their ferocious form;

(48) The soldiers were in a **devastating form** *against K'Ogalo, with skipper Evans Omuoka, scoring two clinical goals to guarantee them the win. DN 30/3/2013*

Being in a devastating form alludes to the fierceness with which the team executed their game against their rivals, and this bore fruits since they won. The ferocious attitude with which players approach the game allows them to execute their assignment clinically, again reinforcing the notion of rivals as enemies that must be defeated or perhaps eliminated. Similarly, a player who is adored or greatly admired for his brilliant performance in the field is said to be '*hot*'

(49) At Bukhungu Stadium Bandari FC shocked hosts Homeboyz with at 3-2 win. Eric Okoth was in a **red hot form** *grabbing a brace for the Dockers with Ali Bai scoring the other. ST 2/3/2013*

*(50) In the contest played in a clear afternoon, the **red hot** Allan Wanga continued with his predatory skills notching in his ninth of the season* DN 20/10/2013

The ability to maximize on an opportunity to score is compared to being red hot. Being red hot alludes effectiveness, ability and preparedness to destroy or melt away the opposition. A player in this form therefore becomes very difficult to stop, thus they score.

The maneuvers of a player in the field are compared to those of efficient machines at work;

*(51) The first half was tight, Gor Mahia dominated but they could not get past the **well-oiled** Western Stima defense. DN 26/10/2013*

*(52) I have enough **fire power in my strike force** led by Emeka and Akinyemi. Quality strikers are key in every campaign* DN 9/3/2013

Being *well-oiled*, as opposed to being *rusty* highlights the proper and efficient functioning of a team, and this is supported by the fact that the other team was unable to go past this 'well-oiled' team. At the same time, the term 'oiled' implies the skills of the coach who 'oils' the team- referring to the coaching expertise. The players are in direct influence and manipulation of the coach, they are '*fire power in my striking force.*'

Efficiency of a player is equally conceived in terms of colour;

*(53) On resumption coach James Nandwa rested **off-colour** Mike Baraza and introduced Charles Okwemba and this substitution paid dividends as Muhoroni Youth rear guard crumbled due to intense pressure from Leopards strikers DN 25/10/2013*

*(54) Captain Evans Amwoka, who is yet to find his scoring magic this season was **off colour** and in the 50th minute entered the box and but lifted a high ball that went over the cross bar DN 17/302013*

Being off-colour highlights the inefficiency of a player, one who fails to take advantage of chances in the field to score for his team. The interest of fans and the coaches is to have their team outperform the rival team. The term off-colour therefore is a reflection of

the disappointment in a player who does not seem to advance the interests of a team. Consequently, such *off-colour* players who are not appealing in the eyes of fans and coaches are sooner or later substituted.

Another description of disappointment is realized by terming the player as 'leaking'

*(55) City stars (coach) criticizes his **leaking** defense.ST 30/302013*

A leaking defense is that which is unable to contain the pressure mounted against it. The use of this metaphor is therefore a reflection of the team's or players' inability or incompetence in performance of the expected task since they are not in control of their game at their designated positions.

4.6 Religious Beliefs and Superstitions in Football Reporting

4.6.1 Religious Allusions in Football Reporting

The research revealed several football experiences conveyed using concepts borrowed from religious domain. Kenya is a predominantly Christian nation hence the use of Christian doctrinal allusions, biblical characters and events appear natural references that many can identify with. In addition, Christian Religious Education is offered as an examinable subject in Kenya and this increases the awareness of Christian teachings even among those who do not profess the faith. As mentioned, most of these religious concepts relate to doctrinal practices such as baptism; the process of judgement, condemnation and redemption as well as reference to biblical characters.

*(56) In Kakamega a determined Western Stima squeezed sweetness out of the sugar   millers Chemilil FC **baptizing** them 1-0 ST 22/4/13*

Here the reporter emphasizes the overwhelming effect of victory of one team over the other using a metaphorical expression that relates to Christian teaching of baptism. Baptism is a sign of obliging or surrendering to dictates of higher authority. Just as the evidence of conceding to Christian faith is baptism, the evidence of this metaphorical football baptism is conceding of goals by a team, an admission of superiority of skills or otherwise of the rival team. However, different from faith teachings, in football realm,

the surrender or baptism is not self-initiated but rather forced one- likened to squeezing sweetness out a cane.

Other prominent religious concepts are redemption and condemnation

(57) ……*the Batoto Ba Mungu however got* **redemption** *from substitute Bob Mugalia who calmly slotted home in the 77th minute DN28/3/2013*

Redemption is a religious doctrine where one is set free from the evil in the world. The anticipation of any team engaged in a football match is to emerge victorious since in winning there is attainment of glory while defeat attracts a sense of shame. Scoring as in the above reporting is perceived as redemption from impending shame, a tremendous achievement as elucidated by the fact that the match was almost ending (77th minute), and the score was made by a substitute player. Used this way, these religious concepts portray football as a judgment process where one team can judge the other, the outcome being either vilification/ condemnation which comes with heaps of misery or redemption which earns glory.

The flipside of *redemption* is *condemnation*; which is another religious concept employed in the reporting of football news.

(58) *Collins Neto netted a superb header as Muhoroni Youth heaped more misery on AFC Leopard when they* **condemned** *them to a 2-1 loss during a Tusker Premier League game at Awendo Green Stadium* ST 31/3/2013

The act of losing is metaphorically referred to as a condemnation, a religious concept that many may easily identify with, as the final fate of those not redeemed. A match is thus equated with a judgement process- and rightly so since the skills and prowess of both teams is literary judged by their performance in the field- that results in redemption and glory, and or condemnation and shame. The effect of condemnation is emphasized by the state of gloom and suffering in 'heap of misery'. Association between football and religion is further reinforced by referring to supporters of a football club as *faithful*

(59) *The weeks that followed offered a buoyant and bullish K'Ogalo* **faithful** *–as the club supporters are fondly referred to –ample time to plan for celebrations*

including the   jest of it –the medal and trophy presentation day in style
DN14/11/2013

The use of the term *faithful* denotes the passionate attachment, loyalty and faith the fans have towards their team. It is no surprise then that no other team in the premier league enjoys such bold demonstration of loyalty in terms of fan numbers and the adornment of club colours and attires. Just as religion defines a believer so does the faith in this club define the football followers.

Another religious aspect is the biblical allusion to the epic battle between David and Goliath;

*(60) **Goliath, David** face off in city as Gor takes bogey side Nairobi City Stars today ST   18/5/13 p. 39*

The reporter here deliberately uses a familiar bible story which depicted a contest between two uneven opponents. This symbolism is apt in reference to the two teams, considering that Gor Mahia is a big and strong team owing to its long history of winning the premier league as well as other competitive titles, while Nairobi City Stars are relatively recent entrants in the title contests. Metaphoric language is therefore used to demonstrate the courage and determination that the underdogs would require to engage a more advantaged team and emerge victorious.

Just as David, though smaller in stature managed to eliminate Goliath who was a bigger challenger, when a small team defeats a bigger one, they are regarded as giant killers;

*61) They have earned the **'giant killers'** tag, but Finlays are not just going to be content   with that.* DN 11/10/2013

The giant tag is not only used in reference to the collective might of a team but also with individual players in a team.

*(62)Gor   coach   Zdravko   Logarusic   began   his   defense   with   usual   suspects deploying   Solomon Nasio and Christopher Wekesa in the full backs while the **giant** Ugandan   centre back Israel Emuge partnered with **towering** Donald Mosoti in*

central defense   but they could not withstand the endless missiles hurled from the soldiers end   DN28/3/2013

The two players here are presented as giants, in terms of their physical qualities of muscular strength and height and were expected to repulse any threat posed to their team by the team's opponents. However, just like in the biblical story, they could not outdo the weaker team. As David won by hurling a stone at Goliath, the Soldiers team *'hurled missiles'* that the giants could not withstand. This angle of reporting brings us back to the concept that football is war, and that it produces winners and casualties as well.

Similarly, an encounter between two strong teams, such as Gor Mahia and Sofapaka is reported as a match pitting two giants. Endowed with might and skills, the expected outcome of such a duel between these two 'super beings' can only be epic and *explosive;*

*(63)...the battle lines are distinctly drawn for today's epic duel pitting **league giants**, Gor Mahia against Sofapaka FC. The two rivals go head-to-head at the 60,000 seater Moi International   Sports Centre, Kasarani in a late kick-off match in what is expected to be **an explosive encounter.*** DN 9/3/2013

4.6.2 Superstitions in Football Reporting

*(64) Captain Evans Amwoka, who is yet to find his **scoring magic** this season was off   colour and in the 50th minute entered the box and but lifted a high ball that went   over the cross bar DN 17/302013*

*(65) The **magic** number for Gor Mahia to end their 18 year wait is seven points –from the   next three games- which translates to beating Thika and Sofapaka and hold   Homeboys DN   16/10/2013*

*(66) Should Stars prevail over the Super Eagles, it will shatter the **spell** of perpetually   losing to the African champions DN 20/3/2013*

*(67) For Gor, the **gods** seemed to be firmly against them…. and a draw was okay   ST29/4/13*

(68) *AFC Leopards summoned all their **spirits** to overcome a hard-fighting Sony Sugar 1-0 to regain the second spot in the Tusker Premier League table at the City Stadium yesterday. DN 17/1/2013*

(69) *Chemilil to unleash sweet **charms** on Leopards ST 17/4/13*

The use of the term magic implies outstanding or spectacular ability of a team to perform or an individual player to score. In (64) the player's excellent scoring skills are projected as superhuman achievements, usually out of meticulous display of speed and accuracy. Chances of a performing better in the league are also associated with belief in magical numbers as in (65), in this case number seven which is commonly associated with completeness or perfection. Similarly, a team is said to be able to cast a spell on another, resulting in perpetual loses whenever the two meet, though this spell can be shattered. Similarly, *gods* are reported to be in a position to influence the outcome of the match, highlighting the unpredictability of a football encounter where success is not obvious even with good display of skills. In (68) the act of courage and determination in the face of a strong challenge is equated to *summoning* of *spirits* for reinforcement, especially because the other team is 'hard-fighting.' The metaphoric summoning of spirits underscores the need for active participation by all parties supporting a team to achieve victory. The association between football and spirit world also alludes to cultural practices where in some communities, wars were fought after contacting the spirits for guidance and everyone- dead or alive- was instrumental in obtaining victory.

There is also a superstitious imagery in the use of charms (69) which need to be sweet or enticing in order to manage and defeat the rivals. In a country where use of charms is widely practiced by many communities as a way of protection and fortune attraction, the use of the charm imagery would be easy to comprehend, as a way of telling that weaker team would need to give the match extra brilliant skill, spark, determination and wit to overpower their rivals.

The image of a bad omen forestalls the need for aggressive, intensive efforts in the field to avoid the misfortune, which is shame of defeat or loss of opportunity to advance in the competition that may emanate from the encounter.

4.7 Use of Animal Behaviour in Language of Football

The most generous animal character feature in football reporting is closely related to the leopard. In the first place, AFC Leopards team has adopted the animal's name, and the reporting of their matches often reveals this characteristic, frequently highlighting the witty and destructive quality of the animal.

(70) *Leopard* **mauled** *Karuturi Sport 3-0 while Sofapaka edged out division one side   Finlays 1-0 ST 26/3/2013*

The concept of mauling forestalls the overwhelming strength of a team over another. The ability to eliminate the other team is thus related to use of might, skill and aggressiveness, like those of a predatory animal out to kill its prey. The training efforts of the team are also metaphorically referred to as *sharpening of claws;*

(71) AFC Leopards who have been **mauling** *opponents at will have* **sharpened their   claws** *for a bruising* **battle** *(against Ulinzi Stars) DN 5/3/213*

(72) In the other semi-final match, the AFC Leopards will be aiming to continue their   good form by **clawing** *Sofapaka ST10/11/2013*

Harnessing the football skills is directly correlated to the animal's act of sharpening of claws, to be used in fight, *a bruising battle* for survival and dominance. The actual animal hunting of prey is a cruel, *bruising* activity that involves shedding of blood and death. The football battle also involves '*drawing of first blood*' and may result in a symbolic death of a team's chances at the league.

In addition, preparing to meet another team is conceived as an animal hunting activity

(73) Leopards **prey** *on Sony Sugar DN 17/10/2013*

(74) Wanga scores fastest goal as Leopard **roar** *DN 25/10/2013*

(75)Mathare **lie in wait** *for Gor Mahia DN 27/10/2013*

(76)Leopards **stalk** *high flying KCB DN 6/4/13*

(77) Preying, roaring, lying in wait or *stalking* are animal characters associated with the predators who exercise their wit and strength to overpower the weaker ones for their natural survival. Used in football, these images emphasize that successful outcome of a game for any team, just like for any predator, requires deliberate planning, study and patience. It also highlights the unpredictability of any match since in a hunting

expedition, success is not always guaranteed, it is the preparedness, strength and wit of both animals that dictate the outcome of the attempt.

The end result of scoring is equated to an animal's demonstration of authority through *roaring*. Although in reality, it is the lion, rather than the leopard that is known for roaring as a sign of stamping its authority over other animals in the jungle, the roar here emphasizes the power, might and dominance of the team which is intimidating (through splendid ability of scoring of goals) to their the rival. The animal behaviour, *clawing, mauling, bruising* does not reflect any mercy on the victim. Apparently, this notion permeates to the football language;

*(78) However, Mohammed had **no mercy** for Odhiambo (goalkeeper) when he unleashed a powerful 18 metre volley ST 29/4/13 p.43*

*(79) **Merciless brewers** Tusker FC bundled up hosts Kakamega Homeboyz FC **mauling** them 5-1 in an astounding fashion that left the rookie side dazed ST 24/6/13 p 10*

The excellent demonstration of football prowess that resulted in scoring for a team is metaphorically viewed as being merciless. It implies ruthless, uncompromising determination to thrive in the competition, the undeterred desire to outdo the competition and reach for the trophy.

The animal trait is moreover reinforced by likening player's urge to score to animal poaching instincts;

*(80) Ouma will particularly be counting on the **goal poaching instincts** of ageless John Baraza to fire his side to victory ST27/3/2013*

Goal poaching instinct alludes to inherent desire in every player to score or assist in scoring efforts by his team. Just as animals survive by relying on this intrinsic endowment, a team survives by utilizing their players' mental and psychological energy as well as strong determination to see the team climb up in the league standings.

4.8 Use of Sarcastic Figures of Speech in Football Reporting

Sarcasm is the use of sharp, bitter or cutting expression or remark intended to mock, taunt or ridicule or show derision on someone or something. Use of sarcasm in reporting of football news in Kenya mainly revolves around team losses, most of the cases ridiculing the team by relating the loss to corporate loss by the team's sponsor.

(81) Stima fails to shine ST.8/4/13

(82) Tusker FC switch off Stima to register victory ST28/4/13

(83) Stima fry K'Ogallo ST 27/5/13

(84) In Kakamega a determined Western Stima squeezed sweetness out of the sugar millers (84)   Chemilil FC baptizing them 1-0 ST22/4/13

(85) Chemilil to unleash sweet charms on Leopards ST 17/4/13

(86) Chemilil brew champs Tusker as Sofapaka edge Muhoroni ST. 19/5/13

(87) Gor disarm Ulinzi to enter top 8 semis ST12/4/13

(88) Sofapaka rub salt in Sony Sugar misery ST. 8/4/13

Defeat of Stima team, which is sponsored by a power generating firm, Kenya Power and Lightning Company is symbolically regarded as a *failure to shine* and being *switched off* implying that their ability to perform has been curtailed by the skills of their opponents, while their strength is related to the efficiency of the product of the sponsor, the energy that is able to *fry* another team. The team's success or failure is therefore perceived in relation to the success or failure of the sponsor organization. Chemilil team is sponsored by a sugar producing firm, Chemilil Sugar Company and the image of sugar is alluded to in their ability to *unleash sweet (sugary) charms.* Equally, the defeat of Tusker FC, which

51

is sponsored by a beer making company, East African Breweries, is correlated to the action of themselves being brewed or better still being defeated as a result of being intoxicated. Ulinzi on the other hand is a team comprised of professional soldiers who are by the nature of their job allowed to carry real arms in the course of their defense duties. Though as football players they are not allowed to use weapons, and football playing does not use literal arms or weapons, their defeat is sarcastically referred to as being *disarmed,* a mocking remark especially because it is Gor Mahia, a civilian team that does the disarmament.   Finally, the defeat of Sony Sugar, sponsored by a sugar making firm, is sarcastically described as rubbing of salt on the team.

The humorous contradictions between the teams' performances in the field and the economic activity carried out by the corporate sponsors create and enhance the dramatic effects on the reporting of football news in Kenyan newspapers. Use of sarcasm therefore becomes an efficient way of communicating thoughts and emotions about football experiences, and gives the reporters a chance to be dramatic using word play that is more interesting than straight forward commentary. Employment of sarcasm also allows the reporter to creatively ridicule, or express disapproval for the unsatisfactory display of football skills by a team.

4.9 Metonymy and Nation Unification in Football Language

Metonymy is a figure of speech where something or a concept is not referred to by its actual name but by a name of something associated in meaning with that thing or concept. In the reporting of football news in Kenya, there is a deliberate employment of metonymy especially with regard to international matches.

(89) ....Tusker Coach Robert Matano has said he is prepared to go past the **Egyptians**   *DN 4/3/2013*

(90) The team (Nigeria) is ready to **roll over Kenya** *and all other opponents ST. 6/6/13* *p.*   *45*

*(91) Harambee Stars coach Adel Amrouche has vowed to bring down African champions   **Nigeria** in a 2014 world cup qualifier in Calabar this Saturday   DN 20/3/2013*

*(92) Last Saturday, they (Nigeria) were so sure of making mince meat out of **Kenya** but it   went awry for them DN 2/3/2013*

*(93) -Obafemi Martins, scorer of great goals in Europe, was expected to be the master   assassin. He was the chief attacker but **Kenya** had Brian Mandela and David   Ochieng- unknown players in African football to stop him. DN 25/3/2013*

In these statements, the national teams from Nigeria (Super Eagles) and Kenya (Harambee stars) are rarely mentioned and instead there is use of a country's name as equivalent to the team. For instance, Nigeria is reported to be ready to roll over Kenya and any other opponents. The reporter deliberately avoids mentioning the individual team's names and instead drags the entire image of nations in to the game of football. Use of such unsubstantiated blanket statements can create an impression that one country is ready to literary go to war, brutal battle as in '*making mince meat out of another,*' with another or others. Similarly a player is reported to be a great scorer of great goals in Europe rather than the individual clubs that he plays for. Even the coach, though he doesn't play is synonymously equated with a team and can thus vow to *bring down another team.*

The reporters writing on matches between their country and another deliberately show their open bias against the other nation and by and large try to draw support to their own team. For instance, reportage on matches between Kenya and Nigeria are skewed against Nigeria players who are presented as malicious, brutal, boastful and dangerous.

*(94) The team (Nigeria) is ready to **roll over Kenya** and all **other opponents** ST. 6/6/13*

*(95) Last Saturday, they (Nigeria) were **so sure of making mincemeat out of Kenya** but   it went awry for them DN 2/3/2013*

*(96) Obafemi Martins, scorer of great goals in Europe, was **expected to be the master   assassin**. He was the **chief attacker** but Kenya had Brian Mandela and David   Ochieng- unknown players in African football to stop him. DN 25/3/2013*

In describing Nigerians this way, reporters stress the ability of soccer to unite an entire nation against their rivals. The players and teams are considered as uniquely representative of their nationality thus people identify with them in their successes or failures. This coverage stresses the teams' representative qualities of the nation as a whole and the collective joy or anguish of the entire nation.

The bipolarization of the two countries into *us* (innocent, suffering people) and *them* (cruel and heartless opponents) leads to the establishment of feelings of community and belonging among people. The representation of the events evokes sympathy towards the Kenyan team and antipathy towards the Nigerian team, which results in readers' identification and solidarity with the nation. This way, football is symbolically used to knit people together into one large community.

Research Q 2.   Is the language of football reporting in Kenyan newspapers militaristic?

The study revealed that there is widespread use of military jargon and concepts in the reporting of football news in both newspapers under investigation; *The Standard* and *The Daily Nation.* The entire process of football, from organization, setting and actual competition compares heavily to that of military and war domains. These concepts are illustrated below.

4.10 Military Mappings in Football Language Reporting

4.10.1 Football Field as a War Zone

A standard football field is between 90 to 120 metres long and 45 to 90 metres wide. This area where the football action takes place is often construed in militaristic notions of war

and violence. In the first place, the field is divided into sections that correspond to military mappings of a war zone by the soldiers.

(97) Again saw his curving shot hit the upright post following a cross from Kevin   Mwangi on the **left flank** *ST 29/4/2013*

(98) Homeboyz Dennis Mukaisi, however, sharpened the claws in the tenth minute and   his powered riffle outside the box from the **right flank** *silenced the Green Army's   restless followers ST29/4/13 p 43*

(99) Tusker **dominated** *play in the* **midfield** *in the first ten minutes but Gor quickly settled   and started pushing them back*

(100) Wamalwa missed another opportunity ...when he collected a square ball inside the **danger zone**

(101) He penetrated the Ingwe **defence** *and unleashed a fierce grass cutter of a shot ….*

The above reportage demonstrates that the football field perceived as a war arena where soldiers (footballers) are stationed and can engage in combat from the *right* or *left flank* or tackle from the *midfield*. Indeed some of the players are referred to as *defenders* since their task in the field is to neutralize any threat or danger that was not eliminated at either of the other combat positions, to prevent an ambush against their ultimate fortress, the goalposts. In this effort, either of the combatants can overpower the other and *dominate* the field. This is the immediate aim, to be in control and in a way eliminate the chances of the other team's chances to score or win. The field is thus partitioned in a way that each of the teams have their own territory to fight for to defend, but if one team turns out stronger or more skillful, they can overpower and defeat the other. The mandate of the players is to try to keep the rivals far but when they cross the line into the other's territory, the effort is consequently geared towards *pushing them back* to their positions or territory thus neutralizing the threat they pose. Each team thus perceives the other as enemies that must be fought and forcefully ejected from their territory, or beaten to eliminate threat on the other.

This agrees with Guttman (1978) observation, that football demonstrates an inherent built-in military structural trait that is analogous to a miniature warfare whose aim is not to annihilate the enemy, but to conquer territory. He further describes the game makers as mimicking the movements on a military map and red-zone defenses as players who defend their end zone "with the determination of men who stand between the ravaging foe and their homeland" (p. 121).

The approach of the rival team is also reported as a *'raid'* which is consistent with the theme of military action;

*(102) Gor's goal was largely untested as Tusker preferred to play in the midfield, save   for occasional **raids** which were dealt with by Gor **defenders**. DN1/8/13*

A raid often implies a surprise ambush to attack an opponent and overpower them. A military raid would require systematic planning and meticulous execution of the strategy. In football as in warfare, the element of surprise is a strong tool that often dictates the outcome of many plays—teams or players who are caught off-guard are at a severe disadvantage and could easily lose. Similarly, a football raid implies there is thorough planning to manage a surprise attack and break into the territory of the other team. As the military aim in a raid is to defeat enemies and take control of a region, and maybe take the plunder, the aim of the football raid is equally to take the 'football spoil'; score and take the glory from the other team.

There is also a chain of command in the field, led by the captain who the other players look to for directions and coordination.

*(103) **Captain** Evans Amwoka, who is yet to find his scoring magic this season was off   colour and in the 50th minute entered the box and but lifted a high ball that went   over the cross bar. DN 1/3/2013*

*(104) Upfront, **captain** Dennis Oliech provided the killer pass that forced a Nigerian   defender to bring down Gateri and in the process provide that perfect free kick for   Francis Kahata. DN 2/3/2013*

The role of *captain* is analogous to the military commander and alludes to a sense of responsibility and ability to mobilize or organize a group to achieve a set mission. Under

a commander, the soldiers realize centralized direction. Similarly, in football, the players meet at a 'war zone' (football field), in a battle (match) fought (played) by highly skilled personnel with an aim to obtain the ultimate victory over the other, especially through scoring which is termed as 'killing' and a 'massacre' as in below;

*(105) Brighter stars from Lamu were **massacred** 8-0 by Bidco at Del Monte ground ST   25/3/2013*

The players are also regarded as a squad, which is a military grouping;

*(106) (Ulinzi) Coach Salim Ali is unlikely to make major changes to Wednesday's   triumphant **squad**. DN 30/3/2013*

*(107) A **squad** of 18 players, including Anthony Akumu, who was red-carded in the first   leg match, were part of Gor's touring party. DN 1/3/2013*

The view that football teams and individual players are perceived as military outfits out on a battle for a cause are in tandem with those of Gunnar (2011) who observes that by using such militaristic terms, the game of football can be seen as an event (a battle) which has active participants (captains and squads) trying to defeat each other (through beating) using weapons to bring about certain consequences (casualties – and perhaps even revolutions).

Charteris-Black also supports this view, saying that both domains- military and football- typically entail control of territory (with potential gains and losses), and require physical and mental strength as well as training…… and that at least in theory, both are governed by rules and, generate worldwide interest. (2004: 125–126)

4.10.2 Football Clubs as Military Establishments

The study revealed that several clubs have adopted militaristic names. Gor Mahia supporters for instance are referred to as *The Green Army.*

*(108) There were pomp and colour as the '**Green Army'** turned up in record numbers at   the 60,000-seater stadium to witness the crowning moment DN14/11/2013 Ap 36*

57

*(109) Yesterday's victory meant that K'Ogalo backed by the livery **'Green Army'** were out to revenge and specifically, to silence Thika coach John Kamau, who had warned Gor of another heartbreak* DN 3/11/2013

*(110) The **Green Army** is marching to glory DN17/10/2013 AP 31*

The above reportage shows that footballers are not only considered as players but also as a group of soldiers or an army out to fight for a cause. The fact that the colour of Gor Mahia's official jersey is green partly explains the reason for referring to them as *The Green Army*. It is not surprising then that the team's fans also don themselves with green coloured attires whenever they attend the matches. Thus the term '*Green Army'* is used to refer to the team as well as the fans or supporters of the club, both of which are in a 'military uniform'

Other teams going with military names include Admiral FC and Posta Rangers.

*(111) ….in another match played in Mombasa, **Admiral** stopped West Ham 2-0 in what was billed as a Coast derby* ST 26/3/2013

*(112) Two years ago, the team's season opener against now relegated **Posta Rangers** was called off after irate Gor Mahia fans threw stones on the pitch as their team was trailing 3-0 at Nyayo National Stadium. ST 9/3/2013*

An admiral is a professional rank in the military navy unit. The fact that the team hails from the coastal city of Mombasa where the Kenya Navy is located may provide an insight into the association of the team with the military outfit of the navy. This association still affirms that teams liken themselves to military outfits. Similarly, a ranger is a member of an armed troop employed in patrolling a specific region, making raids, either on foot or ground vehicles or by airlift. It is evident that by using such a name as rangers, the team wants to appear militaristic, an admired quality alluding to toughness, courage, determination, discipline and an inherent desire and ability to overcome the football territory.

4.10.3 Football Action as an Act of War

The football action is what generates the greatest interest thus it is always characterized by intense emotion. It is the culmination of expectations that each team supporters have over any given match. Newspaper reporters use different terms in an attempt to capture in the best way possible the reality of events that happen in the field during a competitive football engagement. For instance, football match is seen as a *clash*, or *battle*;

*(113) Gor Mahia shared the spoils with champions Tusker in a mid week **clash DN1/8/13***

*(114) Tough Sofapaka **disarm** soldiers in lop-sided **clash** DN 26/10/2013*

*(115) Sofapaka is breathing hard on their necks as they prepare for the **battle** with Chemilil Sugar at the City Stadium DN 16/10/2013 AP 29*

The competition is here seen as a quarrel, a fight, collision, disagreement, dispute or a conflict that must be resolved in the field, by either a defeat or victory of one team over the other; by overpowering or through disarming them thereby incapacitating its competitive ability to end the dispute. Football playing is also portrayed as a territorial battle, analogous to military engagements that require strategic positioning; with drawn lines against which, crossing calls for reaction;

*(116).....the **battle lines** are distinctly drawn for today's **epic duel** pitting league giants, Gor Mahia against Sofapaka FC . The two rivals go head-to-head at the 60,000 seater Moi International Sports Centre, Kasarani in a late kick-off match in what is expected to be an **explosive encounter** DN 9/3/2013*

Drawing battle lines shows preparedness and readiness of a team for the impeding match. It demonstrates that football is not a spontaneous but a preplanned activity. This agrees with Fields et al, (2007) who note that football is not a spontaneous event but rather essentially unnatural given that it is organized, enacted, and reproduced through language and other communicative practices that echo and maintain particular cultural forms and their ideological underpinnings.

The rigour with which the players engage each other in pursuit of score victory is metaphorically captured using the following military images:

*(117) ...we underwent the same predicament last weekend and this therefore set the stage for a bruising **battle**, one that will shake the walls of Kakamega today* ST 1/3/2013

*(118) It will be a **do-or-die battle** for Bandari when they host unpredictable Karuturi Sports in a nerve-wrecking match.* ST 1/3/2013

*(119) Bandari did not relax and kept Thika on toes as they **terrorized** their defence time and again ST 8/4/13 p.48*

*(120) Beating Sofapaka today may be a good way to begin a **resurgence** ST 22/6/13 p. 46*

The reporters generously use war and military mappings to refer to football competition thereby invoking the aesthetic sensation of war. The pre-match commentary that a team is *headed for a bruising battle* or that it will be a *do-or-die* match reveals earnest determination, zeal and energy that each team is prepared to dispense at the football field, reserving nothing in pursuit of score victory. Just as a soldier in combat would expect physical suffering in the field of war, the football player is metaphorically ready for *bruises* and a *nerve-wrecking* experience in the field. Similarly, soldiers are expected to sacrifice for their nation and the same happens in football game where players equally sacrifice for the survival of their team and are ready to engage in a *do-or-die battle* to avoid the embarrassing consequences of defeat at the hands of their rivals. There is also brilliant use of exaggeration to whet the appetite of football fans, where the match is said *'will shake the walls of Kakamega'*. The town Kakamega is metaphorically perceived as a fortress that can be shaken by the rigour of the game. Military operations can also shake a place depending on the intensity of the artillery used.

Thus it can be concluded that the newspaper reporters of football news employ war metaphors and referenced military terminology of armed conflicts in their coverage and commentary on football.

4.10.4 Football Players as Military Personnel

The study also found out that football players are metaphorically perceived as specially trained paramilitary personnel;

*(121) **Captain** Evans Amwoka, who is yet to find his scoring magic this season was off colour and in the 50th minute entered the box and but lifted a high ball that went over the cross bar.* DN 1/3/2013

A captain is a title of a ranked military officer who is in charge of the others. In football, the captain is equally in charge of the other players and is often depended on for guidance and coordination.

*(122) The team is in a desperate need of a **striker** who can replace suspended **hit man** Dennis Oliech ST 8/5/13p.62*

Football striker is an attacking player especially one who generally positions himself near his opponent's goal in the hope of scoring. To capture the preciseness at which the player targets the score line, and the danger that the player's action poses to the rival team, the reporter metaphorically refers to the player as a specially trained killer, a hit man or an assassin. Comparison of players scoring prowess or *efficiency in assassination* is also presented in levels;

*(123) Obafemi Martins, scorer of great goals in Europe, was expected to be the **master assassin**. He was the **chief attacker** but Kenya had Brian Mandela and David Ochieng-unknown players in African football to stop him.* DN 25/3/2013

Efficient goal scorers are referred to as 'master assassin' indicating that they have the greatest mastery and responsibility in attempt to defeat the other team. Thus, they pose the greatest threat to the other. Apart from correlating individual's player's prowess to that of armed and experienced military personnel, players are also metaphorically perceived as military groupings;

*(124) A **squad** of 18 players, including Anthony Akumu who was red-carded in the first leg match, was part of Gor's touring party. DN 1/3/2013*

*(125) The Tusker **brigade** remain positive ahead of what appears like **mission** impossible; (125)Champions League fixture against Al Ahly ....today ST. 7/4/13*

*(126) Ulinzi **gun down** Gor as Mathare hold Sofapaka. DN28/3/2013*

*(127) …..the soldiers will be aiming to **empty** their **magazine** on the Bankers to glean maximum points* DN 30/3/2013

*(128) Leopards **shoot down** hosts Ulinzi stars 1-0 DN 4/8/13 p. 46*

*(129) Tough Sofapaka **disarm** soldiers in lop-sided clash DN 26/10/2013 Ap 17*

From the above we can see that football playing is extensively correlated to war and military operation, where the soldiers (players) working in their divisions- squads and brigades, (football teams) engage in a mission (football match or a tournament). They try to attain victory by the use of weapons with which they can *attack, shoot, shoot down, gun down* or *empty a magazine* on their enemies (rival teams). While soldiers depend on weapons, guns and ammunitions, the players wage war using their body parts - basically legs and heads.

This demonstrates that football is conceptualized and communicated as though it were a real war. This agrees with Seddon's observations that "football is a ritualised war, a stylised territorial battle, complete with casualties, which can only be resolved with the victory and defeat that produces winners and losers." (2004:26).

Defeating a team through out-scoring them is compared to military conquest over enemy;

*(130) Buoyed by their 2-0 **conquest** of Gor Mahia on Wednesday, Ulinzi starts return to victory at Nyayo National Stadium, hoping to maintain their good momentum against league leaders KCB* DN 30/3/2013

The exhilarating feeling of gladness and excitement at the defeat of the other team is captured by the use of the term conquest. For the military, it is the reward for being resilient at war, a demonstration of their courage and strength. Similarly football conquest elicits strong emotion of excitement, compared to being *buoyed.* Just as military warfare results in literal death of casualties, football war also entails metaphorical death of a team or its ambitions to continue competing in the league;

*(131)Navy corporal, Evans Omuoka was the toast of the day for the soldiers **putting K'Ogalo to the sword** with two brilliantly taken goals in either half* DN28/3/2013

*(132) …in their Kenya Premier League (KPL) opener, Western Stima were **drowned** 2-0 by Muhoroni Youth FC, while Bandari were **stabbed** by Ulinzi FC in Nakuru 1-0* ST 1/3/2013

*(133) Allan wanga's **last gasp** goal was all AFC Leopards needed to sink a stubborn Karuturi Sports in their Tusker Premier League match played at Kasarani yesterday DN   25/10/2013*

The ultimate expectation of any team is a win over their rivals and this victory is compared to the effect of military campaign which entails causing of death through *shooting*, *use of swords*, *stabbing* or even *drowning* the rivals. In addition, the desperate struggle to attain a score especially when time is running out is referred to as *gasping*.

4.11 War Strategies in Football Reporting

The study, as noted earlier, found out that the football reporting has borrowed heavily from the military sphere. As such many concepts and terminologies used in military and war domains have been generously employed to describe the football events in and out of the pitch.

*(134) Both teams played a closed contested game with Muhoroni Youth **launching salvo attacks** to earn a consolidation goal ST 30/6/13 p.51*

*(135) Sofapaka **hit back with a counter attack** which saw Osborne Monday release a long ball… ST 12/5/13 p. 43*

*(136)For victory, Eymael should consider using a **twin prong attack** as opposed to his three- man attacking option and create a space for an extra midfielder on the flank ST 22/6/13 p.46*

*(137) Tusker were **solid** in **defence** DN 2/8/13 p.70*
*(138) Cliffon Miheso was **unmarked** to slam home the equalizer   ST 8/4/13 p.49*

*(139)KCB could **not break the walls** of Ingwe's central defenders of Burundian import, John Nahimana ST 7/4/13 p. 50*

*(140)Another chance by the bankers came through Benjamin Chaka in the 20ᵗʰ minute when he made a **burst through the middle of the pack** only for Ochieng' to come out and neutralize the danger ST 12/5/13 p. 43*

*(141) Leopards **shoot down** hosts Ulinzi stars 1-0 DN 4/8/13 p. 46*

It is possible to construct a military strategy in the reporting of the above football news. First of all the football war, just like the military battle needs official *launching* for *attacks* to begin. These players can thereafter intensify the battle by *launching salvo attacks*. When a team is attacked they can *hit back with a counter attack* or even offer a better attacking plan, *a twin prong attack.* The players reinforce each other to make a *solid defense* or a *wall* to prevent the rival team from advancing to their territory. However, some still outmaneuver this *defense* and *break the wall*, sometime so skillfully that they manage to *burst through the middle pack*, and especially because they were *unmarked*. Just as a soldier would have to carefully track or monitor the moves of the enemy fighter, the football players must also always carefully watch the activities of the rival players. Failure to monitor the opponent fighter for soldiers at war would be fatal for that particular soldier. In the case of football, failure to mark a rival player gives the opponent an advantage to score, which is also a fatal blow to the team's chances of advancing in the competition. It is possible however, for a team to *neutralize the danger* posed to it.

All these strategies are offshoots of two main ones, defensive or offensive strategies. The players' activities in the game advance either the offensive strategy; the *strikers*, those playing at the *midfield,* those at *right* or *left flanks* etc while *defenders* and the goal keepers try to defend the *fort* from being *raided.*

The other war strategy is *shooting.* The meaning of the war term 'shoot' is the action of firing a bullet at something or somebody. The concept of defeating the other team, as in (141) is thus communicated in a concrete way using the imagery of shooting bullets in a war. Gunnar (2011) claims it would be hard to imagine football reporting without the use of war-inspired terminology because the use of such expressions have become an

indispensable verbal tool in the commentator's or football news writer's profession. Similarly, Chapanga (2004) asserts that there is an undeniable theme of war in soccer and that reporting on the physical contest of football makes it almost inevitable for reporters to use allusions to war, metaphors of battle and strategy.

Gunnar (2011:85) notes that the permeation of military jargon into football is so particularly because commentators, pundits, journalists and others tend to depict the activities in and around the football pitch in terms of an informal war zone, sparked, arguably, by the resemblance between the two conceptual domains, and realized, typically, through the use of various forms of symbolic and dramatic language, including everything from clear-cut metaphorical expression to mere allusions to line-ups, strategies and general aggressive behaviour.

The use of war notions, Lackoff and Johnson (1980) note, has become part of language over a long time since people tend to draw upon experiences in one area of life in order to fire fresh insight and understanding into experiences in another. Just like various military personnel perform different duties in the course of actual war, in football there also special roles done by specific players. For instance, the captain is in charge of the fellow players, coordinating and motivating the players to continue in their scoring efforts. There are also suppliers of 'goods,' in this case, the football

*(142) Salim is a **great provider** for the front men and combines well ..striker..ST.22/5/13*

So militarized the language of reporting of football news is that even the act of sending off a player is regarded in militaristic terms as 'being given matching orders'

*(143) However, both teams were reduced to ten men in the 56th minute when Ambassador's Nicholas Mzee and Shell's Hassan Bege were given **marching orders** by a no nonsense   centre referee Daniel Mwanza ... ST 31/3/2013*

Both the officials and the players are thus perceived as military personnel where the one wielding more power or authority can command another to march out of the operation zone, as a way of discipline. Military is a disciplined unit and breaching this expectation always attracts penalties from the seniors. Similarly, the player's action necessitates a

painful disciplinary procedure of being sent out of the field. Parties involved in football; players, teams, referees, and even the fans, are construed as military organs and their actions correlate to what the military does in actual course of war.

(144) Leopards fans reacted to the sending off of their star striker Mike Baraza by throwing **missiles** *into the pitch.*

From the above statement we can see that the use of war terminology in football is not only used to capture the struggle for goals by the players in the field but also extends to the other parties. For instance, the act of throwing things or objects in the field by fans is said to be a military operation of throwing artillery, in this case *missiles*, in the field. Just like a missile is meant to cause harm or destruction to an enemy at a further distance, the fans are said to have thrown these '*missile*s' into the pitch, and the target is obviously the rival team.

In addition, football teams are metaphorically referred to as enemies;

(145) The two teams (Gor Mahia and Sofapaka) have, of late, become **sworn enemies** *on the pitch in their quest for honours. DN9/3/2013*

Though there are other terminologies that allude to hostility, reporters, like in (145) refer to the teams as '*sworn enemies.*' In such cases therefore, the spectator is already primed to perceive the relationship between the teams as sour owing to previous match outcomes and the competition interests. The audience is thus prepared to see and interpret this kind of relationship as presented in the media. Krosnick and Kinder (1990) argue that when it comes to expressing an opinion, an individual does not make long disquisitions, but rather takes a 'short cut, for or against the issue in question. One of such short cuts is to resort to the information one has at hand in the memory, information one remembers spontaneously and effortlessly.

5.0 CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a summary of the study findings based on the objectives of the study. Conclusions reached in the study are also presented**.** Finally, recommendations made from the study based on the conclusions are also presented

5.2 Summary

Many people rely on the mass media's ability to provide accurate and up to date news on different aspects of life. Equally, football fans do rely on, among other channels, newspaper reporting of the game to follow on their teams' performance in different tournaments. Some competitions such as regional, continental or world cup attract huge football audience across the globe. Consequently, many scholars have studied the football phenomenon from different angles. This study aimed at exploring the lamguage of football reporting in Kenyan newspapers. Particularly, it aimed at identifying the interpretative features associated with football reporting as well as analyzing the militaristic notions found in the reporting of football in Kenyan newspapers.

The study found out that the reporting of football news in both newspapers; *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard* generously employs metaphors that help in interpretation of

football realities in and out of the field. Football, just like any other game, is a social activity that is meant to provide entertainment and social integration in the sense that teams from different regions and countries meet to play. Teams are often conceived of as representatives of various groupings of people and this explains the intense emotional attachment fans have with their respective clubs. The win or loss is not only victory or defeat for the team but for all the stakeholders, technicians, trainers, players and fans.

In using imagery to report on football happenings, journalists presume that their audiences will rightly interpret the message. One way of achieving this is by resorting to use of metaphors that the audience can easily relate to, either because it is in their culture, environment or have experienced a similar phenomenon earlier. In this regard, football encounter is described in terms of individual fights where victory comes by 'beating', 'clobbering', 'punching', 'hitting', 'slapping', 'whipping', 'hammering', 'spanking', 'thrashing', 'crushing' e.t.c. Similarly, the society is used to morality whose breaking or losing attracts some reprisals in various degrees. In football therefore, failing to win is seen as a 'punishment' or 'being disciplined' while the winning side is 'rewarded'.

The study also found religious concepts such as redemption, condemnation and generous use of the analogy of David and Goliath to describe football matches that would require extra determination for underdogs to obtain victory over stronger teams. Other images relate to social life, where a team's pursuit of a trophy win is likened to a man's wooing of a bride. The dominance and preference of male over female is also portrayed in the use of masculine expressions such as 'school boy mistake'. This expression is used to refer to a goal keeper's inability to hold seemingly easy balls. This lack of aptitude is not associated to a 'school child' but to a 'school boy' which projects boys as being able to acquire education as opposed to girls.   Moreover, the mistake is somehow pardonable because it is just a matter of time before the 'school boy' graduates to engage in real football where 'men', play as in '….*is a great provider for the front men', 'However, both teams were reduced to ten men', 'Robert Matano coached men…' ….the Flower men….* The continuous reference to football as a man's game is also discriminatory since women also play football. This kind of reporting, combined with the extensive use of war metaphor further alienate the woman since it in a way asserts maleness; tough to endure

great challenge, muscular and tall (as in towering), aggressive and able to endure pain or suffering e.t.c. These ideals propagated by the media help to reinforce male dominance over the female since they show that you dominate by using masculine force and strength, which femininity frame naturally is not able to master. This notion and attitude perhaps explain why the women football is rarely captured or emphasized in Kenyan newspapers.

Reporters also use images of superstitions, where spirits or ancestors, gods, and magic are said to be able to influence the course of the game, and the misfortune of not scoring is associated to a 'spell' or bad omen. These images are in common use in the society hence their use furthers the understanding of loss or victory in football game.

Journalists also rely on animal character and behaviour metaphors to relay football news. Achievement or winning is likened to action of a predator pursuing another animal to overpower and kill it, either for food or to maintain dominance over territory. Teams are therefore said to 'prey', 'maul' and 'claw'. To prepare for a match is to 'lie in wait', 'stalk' or 'sharpen claws'. People celebrate the courage and skill of powerful animals and this pleasure in witnessing victory over challenge is transferred to football scene and spices up the football experience.

Through their writing, reporters draw a dichotomy between 'us' and 'them' where others are *bad* but we are *good*. This was evident especially in the reporting of international matches. For instance, the Nigeria team was portrayed as arrogant, boastful and merciless, *'so sure of making mincemeat out of **Kenya.**'* They were said to want to '*roll over Kenya'*. This kind of reportage shows the ability of football to unite an entire nation to support their players who are regarded as uniquely representative of their nationality, hence identify with them in their successes or failures. This reporting rallies the citizens behind the national team, which is the only representative of the country that can save the nation, for instance from being '*rolled over'.* The teams' achievement or failure symbolizes the collective joy or anguish of the entire nation. Reporters thus employ metaphors to build a coherent picture football experience. Used this way, metaphors are not just a matter of language but are also social mobilizers towards an end. The bipolarization into *us* (innocent, suffering, threatened people) and *them* (cruel and

heartless opponents) leads to the establishment of feelings of community and belonging among people and evokes sympathy towards the home team and antipathy towards the rival one. Use of such image therefore brings about feelings of solidarity among a nation's football fans thus, in a symbolic way, knits people together into one community.

Football is also reported as a normal day to day activity and as such is compared to a race, a marathon, a trading exercise, food or a conversation between teams. These are images closely attached to the lifestyle of many consumers of football news in the country. Football as a race metaphor is particularly relevant in the Kenyan context considering the athletic prowess of her citizens in international competitions.

With regard to the second objective, the study revealed that the reporting of football news in Kenyan newspapers extensively uses military jargon and expressions to report on football events.

The theme of war runs through the whole football discourse, starting from the field positions where each team engages the other from their designated territories. The task of the players is either to attack in order to gain control or dominion over the other's ground thereby defeating them, or defending their territory from the 'enemies' who want to 'seize' it. The players are conceptualized in military terms and referred to as 'soldiers', 'fighters', 'defenders' 'troops', 'squads', 'brigade' and their leaders as 'captains'. Skilled players are 'hit men', 'assassinators' and 'chief attackers'. In addition the players are out on a 'mission' to 'conquer'. Since this is 'battle', the fighters can 'shoot', 'clobber' , 'crush' 'sink', 'drown', 'eliminate', 'terrorize', 'empty magazine' and 'disarm'. The use of arms enable them to 'draw the first blood', or even to 'put the enemy to sword' by 'stabbing'. Some matches are meant to achieve 'revenge' or to 'silence' the opponents.

This metaphorical war has strategies such as to 'launch attacks', 'push the enemy back', 'draw battle lines', 'carry out raids', ' mark the enemy' and to fortify the denfense so that it can become 'solid'. A player can 'burst through the middle' of the enemy territory or the army can 'break the wall' of the other team to get at them. When a team is 'attacked' they can engage in 'counter attacking' and rely on 'providers' of ammunitions such as 'magazines' in order to 'launch' 'salvo attacks', sometimes in a more complicated war

formation such as 'prong attack'. Their weapons, just as some players, are 'lethal'. Notable also is the reference to the rival as an enemy, for instance in the 'arch enemies', and 'sworn enemies' who must be engaged in 'bruising battle' that will be 'nerve wrecking'. The battle could be so intensive such as 'mother of all battles' and is capable of 'shaking the walls' or even 'breaking the walls'. The ultimate goal of football encounter is to achieve the glory that culminates from defeating the other team.

From the foregoing it is evident that football is conceived as a war scenario and the results of this study agree with those of other scholars, (Gunnar, 2011; Chapanga, 2004; Charteris-Black, 2004; Lewandowski, 2010; Jansen & Sabo, 1994, Vierkant, 2008 e.t.c)

who note that football is riddled with images of war and violence. However, though described in such militaristic images, in reality footballers do not possess weapons or ammunition. They do not explode, and they are not enemies at all who kill each other as suggested in the reportage. By using the metaphors, reporters give martial qualities to players who are presumed to work on the pitch with the lethal precision and ruthless efficiency of a professional soldier. The use of such military language in sports demonstrates creative use of language by the reporters.

However, though football reporting may provide appropriate metaphors, they should not be someone's sole window into understanding of the game since they only imply a certain way of understanding the football phenomenon. Sometimes metaphors provide illumination or new insight, simplify complex issues yet at other times may trample important distinctions between the two domains implied. As Lakoff and Johnson (1980 argue, conceptual metaphors help us to understand a relatively abstract concept by means of more concrete concept within the range of our experience. In so doing, they shape not only our communication, but also the way we think and act.

Another function of metaphor is appeal to readers' emotions and dramatization of a situation. By transferring connotations and associations from a source domain, such as war domain, to a target one, such as football, metaphors provoke persuasive emotion rather than reason. In other words, without rational questioning, readers automatically accept the constructed picture of football given to them by the newspaper reporters. This

is a kind of priming, where interpretive framework is already provided for the audience by the media based on how an issue is reported. Rokos-Ewoldsen et al. (2009) argues that priming effect, which is the activation of a node in a semantic network serves as a filter, an interpretive frame, or a premise for further information processing or judgment formation. Priming suggests that knowledge is stored in the form of nodes in memory and, when receiving stimulus, the nodes activate related nodes. In this way, media content can increase accessibility of related concepts. Use of metaphor leads to the categorization of the football events drawing upon frames that fans are familiar with-helping them to comprehend and make sense of football reality.

As noted earlier, though the use of metaphors seems to provide an easy way of grasping meaning, it should be approached with some caution in the sense that if a reporter consciously chooses to use metaphor in a certain way, he or she has the ability to push for a certain understanding of events, one that would not necessarily be shared by all those who experience an event first-hand. Another reason why metaphors should be handled with care is that they entail a lot of decoration, disguise or exaggeration. Goatly (1997), says that metaphors can be used not only to clarify, but to clarify certain aspects at the expense of others.

5.3 Conclusion

This study sought to address two aspects of journalism; to identify the interpretative language features used in football news reporting in Kenyan newspapers and, to describe the use of militaristic nature of football reporting in Kenyan newspapers.

The study discovered that reporters heavily relied on metaphors and to express the match expectations, describe the activities in the field as well as present the outcome of a football match. There is a notable widespread use of images that denote war, conflict and aggression. Football reporting also borrows from other life domains and is therefore viewed as a race, battle, food, trade, conversation or even a prayer. Football is also associated with religious concepts such as redemption and condemnation. Biblical

characters such as David and Goliath and the epic battle they fought is used to refer to matches pitting two seemingly unequal opponents.

On the other hand there are elements of superstition where gods, spirits and use of magic are reported as having a stake in determination of a match results. Players are also metaphorically correlated to objects whose forms and colour dictate their efficacy in the field. They are also equated with manipulatable machines in the hands of the technicians (coaches). The cultural aspect of football is elucidated through cultural songs, dancers and regalia. The other angle to culture is social relations through marriage, where football is seen as a process of wooing a bride. The football relationship between two communities such as Luo and Luyia culminates into 'Mashemeji' Derby. However, alignment of football activities with cultural structure of the society brings out the masculine dominance, where football is regarded as a man's game and this might be discriminative against the females. Finally, the use of animal characters and behaviours is a feature that is generously used to refer to football event. Teams are reported as being able to claw, maul, roar, hunt, preying or even stalk another.

The study results also showed that reporters of football news borrow heavily from the military domain to tell of the football reality. Football ground is correlated to a war zone where fighters can engage from right or left flank. Other distinct positions are midfield, defense area, danger zone, penalty area. e.t.c. Lead players are given military roles and titles such as captains, whereas the players are collectively referred to as brigades and squads. Other titles that denote trained weaponry use include assassins, hit man and danger man. The action of playing football is seen as a military engagement in a clash, battle, act of terrorism or resurgence where battle lines are clearly drawn. The need or duty to protect own region or boundary is what necessitates the shooting down, killing, putting to sword, emptying magazine, and use of riffles on the perceived enemy.

There are also war strategies such as marking an enemy, bursting through the enemy territory, counter attacking, ambushing, launching attacks, neutralizing the danger, e.t.c. All these terms have been borrowed from the military domain and their use attests to the fact that football reporting in Kenyan newspapers is indeed militaristic.

5.4 Recommendations

The study has demonstrated the passion, intensity and excitement of football reality is reported using diverse imagery, most of it alluding to images of daily activities within the reach of many people as well as those that denote pain and war. The study recommends that the reporters should also seek to exploit other areas of imagery as overdoing this might become too predictable thus lose the aesthetic value it has been generating. Balancing between conflict and other source domain metaphors is also necessary to promote other areas of interest in the society such as art, music, culture, history and politics.

It is also recommended that reporters should sparingly use criminal terms like assassins, hit men and terrorists since use of such references to refer to positive skills and expertise of players may seem to trivialize and glorify crime.

Reporters should also engage in promotion of positive view of women football prowess and bring it out in the light. This can only be realized by toning down on masculinity ideology propagated through media's endorsement of male aggressiveness.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Study

This study focused on the reporting of football news in Kenyan newspaper and only considered two mainstream newspapers, *The Daily Nation* and *The Standard*. Further research on newspaper reporting of football can be carried out in other newspapers in the country, both daily and periodical, to further elucidate on the nature of football news reporting in Kenya. Also, other forms of media such as electronic media; radio, television and internet, could be investigated in order to come up with a comparative view of language used in the reporting of football news in the country.

In addition, the nature and features of language used in the reporting of other sport disciplines (such as volleyball, rugby, athletics, horse racing etc) could be investigated to create a broader understanding of the language of sports reporting in the country.

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Appendix 1: List of coded items

Terms associating football to daily activities

1a) Trade – customers

1b) Trade- profit

1c) Food-feast

1d) Food- taste

1e) Food- hungry

Football as a conversation

2a) reply

2b) answer

2c) prayer

Football as a race

3a) race

3b) marathon

Social and cultural connotations in football

4a) wooing

4b) mashemeji concept

4c) traditional dances

4d) costumes

4e) use of mother tongue

Football as a physical fist fight

5a) beat

5b) punch

5c) spank

5d) hit

5e) whip

5f) hammer

5g) thrash

5h) crush

5i) clobber

5j) toss out

5k) discipline

5l) drill

5m) slap

Representation of football players

6a) towering

6b) pint sized

6c) men

6d) good form

6e) rusty form

6f) devastating form

6g) red hot form

6h) oiled machinery

6i) striking force

6j) leaking

6k) colour

Religious notions

7a) baptism

7b) redemption

7c) condemnation

7d) faithful

7e) Goliath and David

Aspects of superstition

8a) magic

8b) spell

8c) gods

8d) spirits

8e) charms

Traits denoting animal behaviour

9a) maul

9b) claw

9c) sharpen claws

9d) prey

9e) lie in wait

9f) stalk

Figurative language

10a) *Stima fail to shine*

10b) *Tusker FC switch off Stima*

10c) *Western Stima squeezed sweetness out of the sugar millers Chemilil FC baptizing them*

10d) *Chemilil brew champs Tusker*

10e) *Gor disarm Ulinzi*

10f) *Sofapaka rub salt in Sony Sugar misery*

Military concepts in football news

Field as a war zone

11a) right flank

11b) left flank

11c) midfield

11d) defence

11e) danger zone

Players as military personnel

12a) captain

12b) squad

12c) brigade

12d) hit man

12e) assassin

12f) striker

Football teams as military establishments

13a) green army

13b) admiral

13c) rangers

Military combat terms in football

14a) clash

14b) disarm

14c) battle

14d) terrorize

14e) resurgence

14f) gun down

14g) shoot

14h) conquer

14i) put to sword

14j) draw blood

14k) enemy

14l) missiles

14m) revenge

14n) duel

War strategies in football reporting

15a) launch attacks

15b) counter attack

15c) twin prong attack

15d) defence

15e) making

15f) break the wall

15g) burst through

15h) neutralize danger

15i) providers

15j) stab

15k) drown

Appendix II: Newspaper articles surveyed