

MUSIC THE LOADED WEAPON: WAR METAPHORS & ETHNICITY IN KENYAN SONGS

Cellyne N. A. Anudo

University of Kabianga, KENYA

&

Awuor, Quin Elizabeth

The Technical University of Kenya, KENYA

ABSTRACT

Songs are a means through which artists commune with their audience not only for entertainment purposes but also when they intend to engage them intellectually on matters that are of concern socially, morally, spiritually and economically. Songs are composed for a variety of reasons and, in the event of conflicts, the language used in the songs can either propel the already tense atmosphere to irreparable heights or pacify the souls of the warring groups and instill a sense of sanity in them. This study examined war metaphors used in the Dholuo songs ‘*Njao Par ng’ato*,’ sung by the late Benga maestro D.O. Misiani and ‘*Migingio dhi*’ by Ohangla sensation Onyi Papa Jey and the Gĩkũyũ songs ‘*Mwaka wa hiti*’ sung by the popular artist John De’ Mathew and ‘*Uhuru wa Ngina*’ sung by Kamande wa Kioi with the aim of deciphering the concealed meanings in the war metaphors found in these songs, the effects that they have on their audience and the perceptions created in them by these musicians. The choice of the two ethnic communities is based on the fact that over the years there has been rivalry with regard to matters politics between them and apart from the fact that they usually pull in different directions politically, they also view each other with suspicion and contempt. This study wants to argue that the fight against ethnic animosity can only be won if the ‘mouth pieces’ used to disseminate information to the general public understand the significance of peaceful co-existence and in turn use their messages to preach the gospel of cohesion and integration as enshrined in the Kenyan Constitution. This study seeks to address the following objectives: to identify and explain the war metaphors used in the selected Dholuo and Gĩkũyũ popular songs and to explain the vital relations that account for the comprehension of war metaphors in Dholuo and Gĩkũyũ popular songs. The study used the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) to analyze the conceptual metaphors of war. The study found out that vital relations play an instrumental role in the meaning construction process. In addition, Analogy is the most pervasive vital relation in the conceptual metaphors of war in Dholuo and Gĩkũyũ popular songs. Moreover, some of the metaphors used by musicians to relay their messages if not censored may have serious ramifications on the relationships among people of different ethnic communities. It was also noted that musicians use war metaphors not only to amplify the political climate that is normally tense especially during the electioneering period but also to endear themselves to their

audience and remain musically relevant. Data was analyzed qualitatively and the study employed a descriptive design in which the researchers explained the conceptual metaphors of war used in the popular songs of two ethnic communities in Kenya. The songs revealed deep-seated animosity that has existed between the Luo and the Gikũyũ from the time Kenya gained her independence in 1963. Through purposive sampling, a sample of eight songs (two songs by D.O.Misiani, two by Onyi Papa Jey, two by Kamande wa Kioi and the other two by John De Mathew) were chosen not only because they were rich in conceptual metaphors of war but also because in them the musicians showed their attitudes towards each other's ethnic group. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) was influential in the comprehension of the cognitive processes and how they influence the way we think, act and express ourselves.

Key words: **Conceptual metaphor theory, metaphor, popular song**

1.0 Introduction

This study sought to examine the war metaphors that are used in popular songs of musicians from the two ethnic groups who have had a love-hate relationship from the time that Kenya attained independence. Nie et al (2016) notes that violence and warfare have been humanity's constant companions for millennia. The 20th century alone witnessed two unprecedented world wars that claimed many lives followed by a cold war that lasted more than three decades. Due to a long history of conflicts, military metaphors have pervaded many human endeavours. Wars have led to loss of property and lives. Many at times it has contributed to instabilities of nations some of which have not risen from the shadows of war even with the help of their neighbours and other sympathetic nations. The effects of war in most cases are diverse and most victims of such conflicts are women and children who in the event of war may be 'lucky' to be displaced but in most instances they are killed. Wars are inevitable, in some instances people engage in them in order to exorcise the ghosts of injustices be they political, social, economic or otherwise. In other cases, people engage in war to secure their borders while in others to solve conflicts that may not be best sorted out using peaceful means.

Lule (2004) observes that:

War is the night-side of life, a more onerous citizenship. Everyone who is born holds dual citizenship in the kingdom of peace and in the kingdom of war. Although we all prefer to use only the good passport, sooner or later, each of us is obliged, at least for a spell, to identify ourselves as citizens of that other place.

Even though war must be understood from numerous cultural, political, critical and ideological vantage points, war is pervasive in our metaphorical understanding and we need to be especially vigilant to the use of war as metaphor and, conversely, to the metaphors that configure war (Lule, 2004). It is important to point out that this study is not about war but the language of war as used in songs by musicians from two ethnic communities in Kenya.

1.1 Songs

Oloo (2007) aptly points out that over the years songs have been used as a means to communicate political messages that may not be palatable across the political divide in Kenya. Such songs have provided the means to transmit political messages that would otherwise not have been expressed in common political language. Lyrics are phrased in coded language such that the intended message escapes the literal understanding of the recipient. Hence deciphering actual meaning requires an accurate interpretation of both the language and the context. Music, like language, is one of those aspects of culture, which can readily serve the purpose of asserting 'ethnic identity' (Oloo, 2007). Its effectiveness may be two fold; it is used for in-group and out-group identity and it has the power to reveal utilitarian emotions such as sadness, joy and anger among others as well as aesthetic emotions such as feelings of wonder, transcendence, nostalgia, power and tension (Corrigall & Schellenberg, 2013). For example, in his song *Migingo dhi* (Migingo is 'going') Onyi Papa Jey elicits emotions of sorrow. He shows the helpless state in which his listeners (mostly Luos) find themselves in.

When the musician says that Migingo is ‘going,’ it means that there is nothing that can be done to save the situation. He talks of the frantic efforts made by legislators from the Luo community to save the source of livelihood of their constituents by employing different mechanisms in parliament but they have not been successful. With these kinds of occurrences, disillusionment sets in because the victims (the Luos who depend on this island for their livelihoods) have lost hope, they can no longer earn a living from this source and the implication of this is that poverty levels will not only rise but there will also be tension between the two ethnic communities which may lead to unrest.

Musicians vary in their capacity to communicate to their target audience. Some coat their political messages in idiomatic and proverbial compositions intended to elude the comprehension of a superficial listener. Some are so simply put that only translation of the language is required to understand the message. However, others are so well hidden in the oratory that the controversy that comes with it takes keen listening and interpretation for the message to be understood (Oloo, 2007)).

1.1.1 The Role of Musicians

Musicians play several roles in society. They not only entertain but also raise social awareness in their audience by arousing in them the imaginative and emotional experiences toward social re-engagement through collective identity. Performers thus provide the indices by which audiences generate their sense of group membership by participating in deciphering and internalizing the meanings generated by the performance (Oloo, 2007).

1.2 Ethnicity

The Oxford Advanced Learner’s Dictionary (8th ed) defines the term ethnic as ‘connected with or belonging to a nation, race or people that share a cultural tradition. Ethnic issues are so fundamental in the Kenyan society that they seem to be its integral component. Since the onset of colonialism (1895), power in Kenya has been associated with the Gĩkũyũ ethnic group. In all the different regimes, the Gĩkũyũ community sought to use the resources of the state for the

special benefit of its own community and its allies (Yieke 2010). Opondo (2013) notes that ethnicity is a tool for political survival used by politicians in Africa. Individuals are called upon to adopt ethnic identity as an explanation of who they are, their achievements and perception of the world. Through ethnic congregation, sections of the citizens claim neglect and marginalization from the realm of economic development. In Kenya, Nyanza, Coast and Northern Kenya regions among others have complained of economic neglect in the last fifty years of independence.

Holmquist and Githinji (2009) argue that ethnicity is used in two distinct ways. The first is the older and probably more popular view that African societies are characterized by deep ethnic cleavages that are ancient and permanent. In this view, ethnicity is seen as irrational and primordial. The second more nuanced view and the one that this study embraces is that ethnicity is socially constructed and a moving target. Given the contours of historical ethnic relations in Kenya, ethnic identities are primarily used by political elites to mobilize citizen support and are rationally embraced by citizens in the absence of other forms of political identities, discourses and organizational vehicles at the national level. The current study adopts this second view on ethnicity.

In electoral competition, ethnicity is pushed by political elites in order to gather numbers to ensure they have a seat at the national table and access to economic resources. The emphasis on ethnicity is also driven by both horizontal and vertical inequality. The political class invokes the language of redistribution horizontally to mobilize their ethnic kin in competition with other ethnic groups, but at the end of the day the person on the streets gains relatively little (Holmquist & Githinji, 2009).

1.3 Functions of Metaphors

Metaphors have cognitive and social functions.

1.3.2 Cognitive Functions of Metaphors

Metaphor leads to the categorization of the events drawing upon frames that people are familiar with. It articulates a coherent, feasible worldview, which helps people to comprehend and make sense of natural catastrophes. It thus serves as a tool of conceptualization employed to get a better understanding of reality. Taggart and Wilson (as cited in Derwent & Inan, 2015) argue that metaphors enable the transfer of meaning from one object to another on the basis of perceived similarity. Moreover, Lopez (as cited in Derwent & Inan, 2015) note that metaphor connect imagination and reality, hence allowing individuals to articulate their thoughts, comments and purposes.

1.3.2 Social Functions of Metaphors

The key social function of metaphor is its working as an ideological weapon (Schumann, 2008). The fact that metaphors highlight only certain aspects of a concept while hiding others results in a biased picture of reality. To expound on this function, Trčkova (2011) in his study of Multi-Functionality of Metaphor in Newspaper Discourse postulates that despite the fact that tsunamis and hurricanes are normal naturally occurring phenomena, newspapers provide us with a demonizing portrayal of them as abnormal, monstrous, angry and violent creatures, the aim of which is to attack and harm people. This biased metaphorical representation of natural catastrophes conceals the fact that the damage inflicted in these events is to a certain extent the result of human failure. According to Niman (as cited in Trčkova, 2011), the damage in the Indian Ocean Tsunami catastrophe was not caused by natural phenomenon itself but was compounded by human made aspects, including a destruction of the protective environmental features provided by nature. To elaborate on this, Deeks (2012) gives the example of the war metaphor 'shock and kill' employed in the discourse of HIV cure research. He mentions that 'shock and kill' refers to HIV cure strategies that target latent 'reservoirs' of HIV within the body. The strategy is regarded as 'shock and kill' because if drugs can be found which 'shock' latently HIV infected cells into a replicative state so that the virus can be 'targeted' and 'killed' by anti-retroviral therapy or other cure interventions, HIV eradication may be achievable. The

war metaphor 'shock and kill' is thus ironic in the sense that when one is ill, it is the patient's hope to recover from the ailment and lead a normal life. However, the metaphor used in this case (shock and kill) implies otherwise because it insinuates destruction and death.

Another social function of metaphor, according to Trčková (2011), is appeal to the readers' emotions in addition to dramatization of a situation. By transferring connotations and associations from a source conceptual domain to a target one, metaphor calls forth emotion rather than reason. For example, the description of the Indian Tsunami by using hyperbolic expression in the metaphor themes of MONSTER and WAR intensifies the horror of the situation and evokes negative emotions, mostly fear. This paper investigated the war metaphors that are used in the popular songs sung by musicians from the Luo and Gĩkũyũ ethnic blocks and the effect that the songs have on their audiences as well as the relationships between these two ethnic communities.

1.4 Ethnic Animosity Between the Gĩkũyũ and the Luo

Sandbrook (as cited in Kwatamba, 2008) notes that the origins of ethnic consciousness as manifested in Kenya's political processes lay partially in the arbitrary way in which the British colonialists based administrative boundaries and local government on cultural and linguistic lines. This decision was informed by an assumption that Africans lived in 'tribes', so 'tribes' must constitute the basis of colonial administration. The antipathy between the Luo and the Gĩkũyũ can be traced back to the period after independence. When the first president (a Gĩkũyũ) took control of power, he appointed Oginga Odinga (a Luo) as his second in command but after a short while they fell out.

Maloba (as cited in Godwin, 2012) posits that ethnic divisions among the first generation of Kenyan politicians over the control of the State had two significant outcomes: it led to the assassination of Tom Mboya and political marginalization of Oginga Odinga, both politicians from the Luo community. Mboya, an astute politician, had been a key player in the political neutralization of Odinga by Kenyatta's allies. Kenyatta's allies perceived Odinga to be a threat to their hold on power. Odinga had the capacity to mobilize political support and create an

alternative political power base. He was also opposed to politics of wealth accumulation and remained among a tiny group of Kenyan politicians inclined towards the Marxist ideology. According to Stoian (2014), Marxist ideology is pegged on condemning capitalism and advocating for communism on the basis that the latter would be a more just society. Kenyatta's allies led by Mboya frustrated Odinga who later resigned as the vice president and founded his own political party. Muigai (as cited in Godwin, 2012) notes that after the Kenyatta inner circle had used Mboya to neutralize Oginga Odinga, they dispensed with him. He was assassinated in 1969, allegedly at the behest of some influential individuals in the Kenyatta government. Godwin (2012) argues that the sidelining of Odinga and his allies and the physical elimination of Mboya was meant to create room for exclusive access to power and the attendant economic advantages for the Gikũyũ elite. So polarized did the political landscape become that it was difficult for Kenyans to conduct policy-based politics. Ethnicity therefore became the ideology that informed political choices in the sense that people retreated back to their ethnic blocks so that if one of them was accused of a wrong doing political or otherwise, the whole community rallied behind him/her and acted as if it was the ethnic group that was on trial.

Ethnicity is at its best in the popular songs that Mungai (2008) examines. This is exemplified in the song Ngũhe Kĩrĩra (Let me educate you) which emphasizes the theme of intergenerational competition by calling upon the Gikũyũ elders led by Kibaki to show the younger generation, represented by Uhuru Kenyatta, how to share the spoils of power in order to ensure that the house of Mũmbi doesn't perish at the hands of the 'enemy.' The musician asserts that even though Uhuru had kept 'bad company' during the 2005 referendum campaigns this is not a good enough reason to throw him out of the house and leave him to the mercy of the 'hyenas.' Mungai asserts that in the end, Makibi's worldview comes down to an 'us' (Gikũyũ) vs 'them' (mainly Luo) bifurcated understanding of contemporary Kenyan politics and identity.

This paper examines the acrimony that exists between the Luo and Gikũyũ ethnic groups as espoused in the musical compositions of popular musicians from these ethnic blocks and gives the reader an insight into the history of conflict that the two communities have engaged in since Kenya gained her independence in 1963.

1.5 The Luo Music and the Kenyan Political Scene

Oloo (2007) notes that on the political scene Luo songs have been used to articulate political beliefs. The influential role of music among the Luo has always put the community's leading musicians at crossroads with the government of the day. In 1983 for example, President Moi ordered the arrest and incarceration of the musician Ochieng' Kabaselleh after accusing him of giving public performances in rural centers with guns hidden in acoustic drums 'meant for use to topple the government,' alleging that music was used as a cover up for political subversion. The same fate befell Owino Misiani on the basis that his songs not only undermine but also ridicule the government of the day. Owino and Kabaselleh have played a central role as the conscience and the mouthpiece of the Luo community through music. They have used past occurrences to explain the present and foretell the future. This has been done through rhetorical interventions and the definition of the Luo as a separate but cohesive moral and political community, standing in contrast to the national political reality. This study examines two songs by Owino Misiani and Onyi Papa Jey as an embodiment of the Luo conscience on the political scene and the social injustices that the community has been exposed to by successive governments.

1.7 The Gĩkũyũ Music and the Kenyan Political Scene

The story of Gĩkũyũ music is intertwined with the history and politics of Kenya. As struggle for political autonomy and defiance against forced labour intensified, music became a precious coded form of community dissent. Njogu and Maupeu (2007) claim that one of the famous Gĩkũyũ artists, Joseph Kamaru, promotes Gĩkũyũ nationalism through his songs where he uses rich metaphoric language. Moreover, he is admired by his audience for his mastery of Gĩkũyũ proverbs and idioms and his ability to weave in and out of complex, social and political issues. During the Moi regime for instance, Kamaru often had to operate through double edged meanings and ambiguities to capture the ambivalences of society and to keep the fangs of the state away. His music brings to the fore issues of gender relations, identity, power and socio economic tensions in Kenya.

It is for these reasons that this paper examines two songs sung by Gĩkũyũ artists in which they promote the Gĩkũyũ nationalism while at the same time castigating their enemies for not working hard to achieve success and expecting to reap where they did not sow.

2. Statement of the Problem

Wars have pervaded our societies from time immemorial. From the biblical perspective for instance, kings went to war for spiritual, political, social and economic reasons (2nd Samuel 18:1-18; Jeremiah 52:3-11). In the contemporary world, countries have ventured into warfare for reasons such as to attain access to property thereby expanding their economic bases, to resolve political dissension that may threaten their repose, to defend their cultural and spiritual ideologies as well as to guard their borders (Stoessinger, 2010). Wars may take different shapes they could be physical or verbal. Regardless of the shape that they adopt, they may have catastrophic effects on people as well as on economies. The war of words for instance, may fuel hatred and antipathy even though it may be communicated in an indirect manner through the use of varied linguistic devices such as metaphors. It is thus important that these war metaphors are examined to unravel their implications because they are channels through which conflicts are advanced. Moreover, peace is an elusive concept and once it escapes the confines of humanity, a lot of effort and time will have to be put in place to restore it. It is from this standpoint that the paper examines the war metaphors, their interpretations and their effects on the co-existence of the two communities in question.

3. Objectives of the study

This paper operates within the framework of the following two objectives:

1. To identify and explain the war metaphors used in the selected Dholuo and Gĩkũyũ popular songs.
2. To explain the vital relations that account for the comprehension of war metaphors in Dholuo and Gĩkũyũ popular songs.

4. Theoretical Framework

This study used the Conceptual Metaphor Theory in order to analyze the data that was collected from songs by musicians from two ethnic communities. Lakoff and Johnson (2003:3) postulate that metaphor is not merely a figurative expression or device, but it is essential to the way we understand the world around us, and that our conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is mainly based on metaphorical structures. Conceptual Metaphor theory (henceforth, CMT) is a theory that was propagated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Lakoff and Johnson (as cited in Moreno, 2008) aptly point out that metaphors that people use everyday are surface manifestations of underlying conceptual relationships. They constitute mechanisms of conceptualization for understanding and expressing complex concepts or situations. According to the theory, every metaphor is based on a single idea that links a bodily with a non bodily experience.

Moreno (2008) posits that the conceptual metaphor has two domains: the source domain and the target domain. The target domain represents the non-bodily concept that is being communicated and it corresponds to the domain that we are trying to understand when using the metaphor. The source domain on the other hand, corresponds to the bodily concept that is being used in the metaphor to understand the target domain. For example, when we have a conceptual metaphor such as AN ENEMY IS A GREEDY ANIMAL, we use our knowledge of a greedy animal to understand who an enemy is. Thus, the greedy animal is the source domain and an enemy is the target domain.

Moreno (2008) notes that target domains typically correspond to areas of experience that are relatively abstract, complex, unfamiliar, subjected or poorly delineated, such as time, emotion, life or death. In contrast, source domains typically correspond to concrete, simple, familiar, physical and well delineated experiences, such as motion, bodily phenomena, physical objects and so on.

Goatly (as cited in Rundhovde, 2012) notes that central to CMT is the idea that cross domain mapping of concrete source domains to abstract target domains does not take place randomly but

falls into certain patterns or broader metaphorical themes. Isabelle (2016) notes that according to the proponents of CMT, people construct many concepts by mapping abstract conceptual domains onto their knowledge of concrete domains. Domain mappings involve setting up systematic correspondences between the elements of the respective domains. As such, our knowledge of a source domain such as WAR, structures the more abstract domain of ARGUMENT via the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR.

Rundhovde (2012) notes that domains are realized at different levels based on taxonomic relations, there are superordinate and subordinate domains. This can be exemplified by the conceptual metaphors PROBLEMS ARE OBSTACLES and PEOPLE ARE TRAVELLERS, which are all subordinate domains to the superordinate domain LIFE IS A JOURNEY. Since the concrete source domain JOURNEY is often involved in diverse conceptualizations of abstract target domains, we are used to thinking about JOURNEY as a conceptualization of various target domains. The fact that conceptual metaphors are arranged in this type of pattern contributes to their pervasive quality and makes them efficient discourse tools.

Goatly (as cited in Rundhovde, 2012) states that another key element to the metaphorical process is the experiential domain. These structured blocks of knowledge and experience are constructed from image schematic structures which are created through early bodily infant experience. The schemas are numerous and diverse, and are learnt from a very early age. For example, from the practice of eating and excreting, we experience our bodies as containers, with insides, outsides and surfaces, which provide the source for MIND IS A CONTAINER. The fact that experiential domains are created through gathering of information about the world based on early bodily experiences entails that the size and content of experiential domains may differ from person to person. Hence, the use of and interpretation of metaphors are not universal and may vary between people and cultures (Rundhovde, 2012).

Barcelona (as cited in Rundhovde, 2012) states that the concept of unidirectionality is another essential feature of conceptual metaphor. This means that only qualities from the source domain are mapped onto the target domain and not the other way round. He uses the conceptual

metaphor PEOPLE ARE MACHINES to expound on this concept. He notes that in this metaphor, MACHINE is the source domain and PEOPLE, the target domain. Some of the inherent qualities of machine, such as being productive, precise and mechanical can be mapped onto PEOPLE, but qualities of PEOPLE, such as walking on two feet, talking and being civilized are not mapped onto the MACHINE domain.

5. Literature Review

In his study of War metaphors used in spoken commentaries of the 2004 Edition of the Premier Soccer League matches in Zimbabwe, Chapanga (2004) noted that high profile premiership games attracted a fair share of military metaphors. The undeniable theme of war in football is attributed to the intense competitive spirit between the contestants which leads to one side triumphing over the other. Soccer, an otherwise simple social activity is transformed into a battle by means of language. The study further notes that while proliferation of war metaphors in soccer heightened the electric atmosphere in particularly high profile matches, they tended to gloss over complexities and largely exaggerated the social contexts. While this study looks at the war metaphors in the spoken commentaries of the Premier Soccer League in Zimbabwe, the current study examined the war metaphors in Dholuo and Gĩkũyũ songs with the intention of finding out whether they were also motivated by the intense competitive spirit in the political arena that pits the Luo community against the Gĩkũyũ.

In the study of Social Construction of Terrorism: Media, Metaphor and Policy Implication Spencer (2012) mentions that metaphors do play a vital role in the discursive construction of terrorism and thereby contribute to our understanding of how to react to such a phenomena. Four salient conceptual metaphors were used to construct terrorism as a war, a crime, uncivilized evil and a disease. The study found out that metaphors predicate terrorism in a specific way which then makes certain counter options appear more appropriate than others. The point of divergence between this study and the current one is that while the former deals with metaphors of terrorism, the latter looks at war metaphors in the political arena in Kenya. Secondly, the current study also

explained the vital relations that account for the comprehension of war metaphors in Dholuo and Gĩkũyũ.

In the study on the use of metaphor in newspaper articles on natural catastrophes with the focus on social and cognitive functions that metaphor performs, Trčková (2011) revealed that the newspaper representation of the 2004 Indian Ocean tsunami and the 2005 Hurricane Katrina is predominantly metaphorical, drawing upon three major metaphor themes: the depiction of the natural phenomena as ANIMATE BEINGS, MONSTERS and WAR. The natural phenomenon is portrayed as enormous, frightening and violent using hyperbolic and emotionally coloured lexis. The WAR theme on the other hand, is expressed in explicit similes and references to the tsunami and hurricane as attacking, fighting and punishing people. The consistent employment of metaphors therefore results in the naturalized construction of the natural phenomena as furious and heartless monsters. The current study borrowed from this study in the sense that it was also interested in finding out whether the metaphorical expressions of war as illustrated in the present study are the same ones that are depicted in the current study and the reasons for such kind of similarity.

In their study of *Healing Without Waging War: Beyond Military Metaphors in Medicine and HIV cure*, Nie et al. (2016) note that careful consideration must be given to the language and symbolism employed in medical research and patient care since military metaphors hold the potential to create either hope or despair. The use of military metaphors in medicine, including those employed in HIV cure research, seems ironic, unfortunate and unnecessary. They argue that their use is ironic because the respective aims of the arts of healing are in conflict-to save lives versus to kill and destroy. It is unfortunate because military metaphors can inadvertently further stigmatize patients, inflict additional suffering on them and endorse the legitimacy of war and violence in social life. For example, Levit and Whitaker (as cited in Trčková, 2011) note that social class played a crucial role in the destruction that the tsunami and the hurricane caused in the sense that the poor, marginalized and the disempowered bore the brunt more than the rest of the population that was affected because they did not have the means to escape the catastrophe as well as options to live somewhere other than the place of the tragedy.

Far from being useful, the application of military metaphors is unnecessary because more positive alternatives are available, but underutilized. These scholars posit that the journey metaphors which have been employed extensively in sub Saharan Africa to frame both individual and collective HIV illness experiences may be a useful alternative to military metaphors within biomedicine, including HIV cure research. The reasons for the preference of the journey metaphors are that first, it has a universal appeal because humans readily relate to the metaphor of the physical journey, with the body as the vehicle of travel. Second, it is peaceful, future oriented, focused on the process and the means, open to new positive opportunities and devoid of confrontational references. While this study deals with the use of war metaphor in the domain of medicine, the current study is interested in analyzing the war metaphors used in the domain of songs generally and political ones specifically. Just like the present study, the current one sought to establish whether military metaphors endorse the legitimacy of war and violence in political life.

6. Methodology

This study is a qualitative analysis of war metaphors used in the popular songs of two ethnic communities in Kenya. The study adopted a descriptive design in which the researchers explained and illustrated the metaphors used to refer to each enemy community in order to expose ethnic animosity that is prevalent in these songs. Hellen (as cited in Määttä, 2006) notes that metaphor analysis often focuses on either variation of different metaphors of the same issue or the change of a certain metaphor over time. The current study focuses on the former and this entails identification of the metaphors from the text and interpreting their contextual meaning. The first step is to identify the metaphor. Schmitt (2005) gives three parameters that can be used to qualify a metaphor from a given text. The scholar postulates that: 'A word or phrase can be identified as a metaphor if: a word or phrase strictly speaking, can be understood beyond the literal meaning in the context. Moreover, the literal meaning stems from an area of sensoric or cultural experience (source area) which however, is transferred to a second, often abstract, area (target area).

Once the metaphor has been identified, Määttä (2006) notes that the CMT (1980) provides the model for categorizing the metaphor, because they maintain that a basic metaphor can have several different literal expressions. This involves categorizing the metaphors as ontological, structural and orientational. The third step involves reading the selected texts and picking the metaphors used therein. For the purpose of this study, war metaphors were selected from the songs by popular artists from the Luo and the Gĩkũyũ ethnic blocks. The fourth step encompasses identifying the possible ideologies behind the metaphors and giving descriptions of the images that the metaphors create about the different issues, which is the most fundamental part of the analysis. This study adopted this procedure in the identification as well as the interpretation of metaphors.

Purposive sampling was used to get a sample of four Dholuo and four Gĩkũyũ songs sung by different artists. These songs were chosen since they were rich in war metaphors and also because in them the musicians expressed their attitudes towards each other's ethnic community. The data utilized was in the form of words and expressions downloaded from You Tube. This data was then transcribed and coded and this encompassed two stages: categorization and processing. The data was then translated into English which is the language of study. The aim of translating the songs into the language of study was to enable readers who do not understand the base language in which the songs were collected to get the precise meaning of the messages conveyed in them.

7. Discussions

Below is a discussion of the war metaphors as identified in the songs by musicians from the two ethnic groups. The songs are first of all presented and thereafter the war metaphors therein discussed. The first songs that were analyzed for the war metaphors are those from the Luo community followed by those from the Gĩkũyũ community.

1. Migingo Dhi (By Onyi Papa Jey)

ST: Ni wololo omin Aoko

TT: Oh, the brother of Aoko

ST: Onyango wuod Josuba...

TT: Onyango son of the Suba people

ST: Oganda Luo Migingo dhi

TT: The Luo community Migingo is 'going'

ST: Onyango wuod Josuba

TT: Onyango son of the Suba people

ST: Maoni kule bungeni...

TT: Opinion given in parliament

ST: Amilo nyar Josuba chung malo

TT: Milly the daughter of the Suba people stands up

ST: E od bura okono Marende

TT: In parliament and tells Marende

ST: Yawa Migingo dhi

TT: Oh my, Migingo is going

ST: Mbadi chung' malo e od bura

TT: Mbadi stands up in parliament

ST: Okono Marende yawa Migingo dhi

TT: Tells Marende oh my, Migingo is going

ST: Kawuono agoyo ngero moro

TT: Today I want to tell a proverb

ST: Ng'ama riek owinja

TT: The one who has wisdom should listen

ST: Tula en winyo, winyo man gi bwombe

TT: The owl is a bird, a bird that has wings

ST: To wang'e chalo nyambura

TT: It has eyes that resemble a cat

ST: Winyo man gi bwombe

TT: A bird that has wings

ST: To wiye chalo nyambura

TT: Its head is like a cat

ST: Pache riek sana

TT: It is a very clever creature

ST: Oeno ka Migingo dhi

TT: It sees when Migingo is going

ST: Ajimmy ja Ugenya kabaye gi kidi

TT: When Jim the son of the people of Ugenya throws a stone at it.

ST: To wang'e ema odiema adiema

TT: It just blinks its eyes

ST: Orengo baye gi kidi

TT: Orengo throws a stone at it

ST: To wang'e ema odiemo adiema...

TT: It just blinks its eyes

ST: Mkoa wa Nyanza wametegemea uvuvi

TT: The Province of Nyanza relies on fishing

ST: Muhuru kisiwani wametegemea uvuvi

TT: Muhuru Bay relies on fishing

ST: Akonu joka nyanam kik utug dhawo

TT: I beseech you people from the lake do not start a fight

ST: Owete ni ma plan mopangi kod joka lee.

TT: Brothers this is a plan hatched by the people from the animal kingdom.

7.1 Explanations

The song '*Migingo Dhi*' (Migingo is going) was sung by Ohangla sensation Onyi Papa Jey. Being a native of Suba where fishing is a dominant activity, Papa Jey feels that as a musician he

can help his fisher kin by being the mouthpiece in their fight against economic marginalization by the government of the day. He adds his voice to the simmering conflict that has left many fishers not only jobless but also physically handicapped. He talks about the spirited attempts made by the Luo members of parliament to address the issue and urge the government to come to the rescue of the inhabitants of this island most of whom are the Luo. The legislators engage in numerous debates as they seek the indulgence of the speaker because they feel that the country's sovereignty is at stake.

The musician sends a political message indirectly by using an animal metaphor (the owl to refer to the head of state in whose reign the Ugandan government took over Migingo island that is in the Kenyan territory) in such a way that the message is hidden in the oratory such that the controversy that comes with it, takes keen listening and interpretation for the message to be understood. Oloo (2007) aptly points out that when such a message is communicated directly, it is disagreeable and may brush the powers that be the wrong way. The political ideology that the musician is fronting for is that of rebellion through protests against the powers that be because of the failure of the head of state to protect the sovereignty of the land and its citizens. In order to understand the message that has been communicated using the animal metaphor, the history of the Migingo conflict should be brought to perspective.

Wekesa (2010) argues that the controversy over the ownership of Migingo island fits into a broader pattern of increasing conflicts around African boundaries in recent years indicating the many debates and unresolved issues around the emergence, nature and transformation of borders generally and their significant role in addressing pertinent questions of territoriality, citizenship and nationhood. Border disputes have slowed the pace of international cooperation and integration and they have also betrayed the extent to which border communities have been alienated and marginalized by centralizing tendencies of the state of Africa. This reality is thus captured in the case of Migingo.

The Migingo confrontation is not just about fisheries, it is also about international territorial disputes. The fishery industries in Kenya and Uganda are currently suffering because of fish scarcity that has come about partly due to unscrupulous fishing with technically superior nets and trawling gear that depletes a wide variety of marine species, and partly from the dumping in the lake of industrial and urban affluent from the cities of Kisumu, Kampala and Mwanza (Wekesa, 2010).

The two nations (Kenya and Uganda) have reacted differently to the crisis. Wekesa (2010) posits that the Kenyan authorities have assumed a diplomatic stance on the crisis, treating the affair ‘a non-issue,’ while the Ugandan authorities have been more proactive. They have evicted the Kenyan administration police who were residents on the island, enforced the fishing revenue tax on Kenyan fishermen, arrested Kenyan citizens on the island who fail to comply with Ugandan regulations and at one point imposed a curfew on the island. Wekesa further notes that in Kenya many accused president Kibaki’s administration of having a weak response over Migingo, with sections of the press calling for the Kenyan military to be deployed on the island to protest Kenya’s threatened sovereignty.

There have been political undertones that have revolved around the Migingo issue. Two particular assertions are significant in trying to appreciate the gravity of the Migingo crisis. One such impression revolves around the lackluster manner in which President Kibaki handled the crisis. Those who subscribe to this intuition argue that the head of state donated the island to his friend president Museveni of Uganda as a reward for supporting him during the post-election crisis that was witnessed in Kenya in the early 2008. The second impression revolves around the issue that Migingo crisis is not about sovereignty of Kenya and Uganda at all but it is about President Museveni’s dislike for the Luo people who live around the lake and on the island. Wekesa (2010) therefore concludes that in the two impressions, the centrality of politics in the Migingo crisis is not only emphasized but also highlighted.

The Luo strongly ascribe to the second impression. The rivalry between the Luo and the Gĩkũyũ was at play once more in this crisis. The Luo believe that the laxity exhibited during the genesis of the conflict by the former president (Kibaki) and the current one (Kenyatta), towards finding a solution to the crisis is due to the fact that they wanted to continue marginalizing the Luo since it is common knowledge that fishing is the economic lifeline of the Luo community. Thus the crisis was likely to bring the Luo fishing economy to its knees, thereby making them vulnerable not only economically but also politically.

The assumption being advanced is that with the vulnerability of the Luo who the Gĩkũyũ believe are arrogant, they could easily fall prey to different political alignments and in this way the Luo kingpin, Raila Odinga's political base, will be destabilized. The Luo believe that the former and the current presidents (Kibaki and Uhuru respectively) want to portray their 'saviour' (Raila Odinga) as a helpless individual, therefore if they (Luos) want to claim what they believe is rightfully theirs (Migingi), they should rethink their political stand. Another narrative that is fronted by the Luos is that there exists a fear-hate relationship between the president of Uganda and the Kenyan opposition leader Raila Odinga. It is whispered among the Luo that Museveni fears a Raila Odinga presidency the reason why he will do everything to ensure that he 'humiliates' Raila indirectly through frustrating his political base by rendering them economically handicapped.

The Migingo issue rekindled the old rivalry that has existed between the Luo and the Gĩkũyũ since independence. During the fight for independence, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, a Luo and others were in the fore front in the fight for freedom when Jomo Kenyatta and other Kenyans especially from the Gĩkũyũ community were detained by the colonial masters in the fight for the country's liberation. This unity seemed to wane immediately Kenyatta took over the leadership mantle from the hands of the colonialists and before long, the president fell out with his vice-president, Oginga Odinga who then formed his own political party. To explain this conflict clearly in order to understand the Migingo problem from a historical perspective, Muga (2012)

elaborates two narratives pulling in different directions and these were used in the study to explain issues that seem to complicate matters in regard to the conflict.

The first narrative is the Luo narrative of victimology. In this narrative Muga (2012) explains the depth of historical apathy which is revealed in key incidents dating back to the late 1960's. First, there was assassination in broad daylight of the Luo political genius, Tom Mboya and the suspects were President Kenyatta's close allies from his Kiambu backyard. There was also detention without trial of the former vice president, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga. Such was the mistrust between the two communities that even when a prominent Luo cabinet minister, Argwings Kodhek, rammed his car into the roundabout of the road in Nairobi which now bears his name, many Luos saw this too as an assassination. Any Luo who rose to the echelons of power faced either death or imprisonment and an end to his or her political career one way or another-at the hands of the Gĩkũyũ political elite hence the narrative of victimology. Another reason that propelled the Luo mistrust of the Gĩkũyũ elite was the detention of Achieng' Oneko among others after the 'Russian hospital incident.' That Kenyatta would detain a leader who had been alongside him as one of the 'Kapenguria Six' painted him a traitor among the Luo.

The second narrative is the Gĩkũyũ one and it is the narrative of instability among the Luo. This narrative to a large extent gave much attention to a single and uniquely horrifying incident on October 29, 1969. This was the 'Russia hospital incident,' during which president Kenyatta's motorcade was attacked by a street mob when he went to officially open the Kisumu Provincial hospital (known then as 'Russia hospital,' in recognition of the Russian support which built this hospital). The mob reportedly screamed at Kenyatta demanding to be told, 'why he had taken Tom Mboya and Argwings Kodhek from them.' In this tragic incident which has never been equaled in Kenyan history, the presidential motorcade was only able to make its way out of town, because his team of bodyguards fired right into the crowd and literally 'shot its way out' of the extremely dangerous situation which might have easily led to the president being lynched by the hysterical mob. From the perspective of the Gĩkũyũ, this was a deliberate attempt on the life of a serving head of state.

Onyi Papa Jey chooses to use an owl to explain to his audience the situation that the Luo find themselves in and the measures that they should put in place in order to solve this problem amicably. There have been so many different and contradicting beliefs about owls. They are feared and venerated, despised and admired, considered wise and foolish and associated with witchcraft and medicine, the weather, birth and death. An owl's appearance at night when people are helpless and 'blind' linked them with the unknown. In the Mythology of ancient Greece, the little owl (*Athene noctua*) was a protector, accompanying Greek armies to war and providing ornamental inspiration for their daily lives. If an owl flew over Greek soldiers before a battle, they took it as a sign of victory. The little owl also kept a watchful eye on Athenian trade and commerce from the reverse side of their coins (Vee, 1995). In the English folklore on the other hand, Vee (1995) postulates that the barn owl had a sinister reputation probably because it was a bird of darkness which was always associated with death. It was considered a bird of doom for many people believed that the screech or call of an owl flying past the window of a sick person meant imminent death.

Among the Luo just like the English, the owl is a bird that is feared. Its hoot is associated with death. In communities that subscribe to Christianity, when an owl perches on the roof top, it is immediately sent away. In some instances when it refuses to depart a bible is thrown at it. The belief in this practice is that because the owl is evil and the bible is the word of God, the holy book neutralizes the effect of the bad omen that would have been experienced as result of the presence of the bird. The Luo are also in agreement with the English that when the 'evil' bird flies past the window of a sick person then the victim must die.

Used in the context of the Migingo conflict, the musician uses the owl to specifically represent president Kibaki who was at the helm when the Migingo issue was brought to the public limelight in 2004 and generally to the Gĩkũyũ nation who from independence have been at loggerheads with the Luo nation. The manner in which the issue has been handled leaves a lot to be desired. Kenya being a sovereign nation, one of the duties of the head of state is to protect Kenyans. Therefore when the president kept mum leaving members of his inner circle from the Mount Kenya region to handle an issue that was of national importance and which directly called

for his immediate attention, there was outrage from different quarters that culminated in some members of parliament at that time (Hon Mbadi and Ababu) asking the head of state to declare his stand on the Migingo saga (Atsiaya, 2009). The frosty relationship between the two communities was once again exposed and the narrative of victimology as expounded by Muga (2012) was replayed. This was against the backdrop that it was Raila, a Luo who campaigned for the candidature of Kibaki and led the nation into backing him for the top most job. To the Luo, Raila handed the presidency to Kibaki on a silver platter and the former's '*Kibaki Tasha*' slogan sealed the fate of other opposition leaders who had been eyeing the occupancy of the house on the hill. Hence, failure to reciprocate this good deed by protecting the interests of the Luo in this case Migingo made Kibaki a prime enemy of the Luo nation since they read mischief and dishonesty on the part of the head of state.

The conflict arose at a time when the Raila led faction was at loggerheads with the Kibaki led faction barely two years after the election that propelled Kibaki into power with the former accusing the latter of failing to honour the Memorandum of Understanding that was signed as a pre-election concordat. By using the owl to refer to the president means that the attributes of Kibaki are comparable to those of an owl. However, not all the traits of the bird are passed onto Kibaki. Rather, the listeners select those that apply to him in the context in which the singer uses them.

There are characteristics of the owl that are attributed to Mwai Kibaki. The owl is a bird that is shrewd so is Kibaki. As a politician, Kibaki knew when to react to a matter and when not to. He would let his adversaries condemn what they termed as atrocities either towards them as individuals, their constituents or towards their ethnic group, the head of state all the while acting as though nothing had happened. He is known as a fence sitter and was a lack luster president unlike his predecessor who was viewed as an individual who was always on top of things. There was a feeling that he did not handle matters of national concern the way a president should and as a result, disillusionment set in. Holmquist (2005) is in agreement with this feeling for he opines:

Since assuming the reins of state power, the Kibaki regime has not distinguished itself as committed to the basic tenets of good governance; as keen on making clean with the old corrupt and kleptocratic politics; and as a consistent defender to the basic rights of Kenyans (ibid: 210).

Another attribute of the owl is that it is intelligent. Kibaki who is likened to this bird is also intelligent. He studied at Mang'u where he passed with a maximum of six points in his 'O' level examination. Moreover, he had a distinction in all the six subjects. He proceeded to Makerere University where he graduated with a First class honours degree in Economics having emerged the best student in his class. He later enrolled for a postgraduate course at the prestigious London school of Economics, graduating once more with a distinction. He is considered a competent technocrat ('Mwai Kibaki,' n.d). It is believed that Kibaki was adept at what he did. He put the skills that he had acquired in Economics to good use in the different sectors of the economy and it is during his tenure as the head of state that the country's infrastructure improved drastically with the construction of the Thika Super Highway being one of the milestones marking his rule. The education sector also made massive strides with the introduction of Free Primary Education and Free Day Secondary Education. Moreover, the economy of the country also skyrocketed despite the fact that certain corruption deals among them the Anglo leasing scandal marred his incumbency.

As Vee (1995) notes: 'an owls appearance at night when people are helpless and blind, linked them with the unknown.' This trait of the owl could be likened to the unpredictable nature of Kibaki. For instance, when Raila raised an alarm about the existence of hired hit men in the country (the Artur brothers), fear gripped many politicians especially those that had fallen out with the powers that be. Rather than defend his government about such allegations, he kept silent about the matter.

Another case in point is when the fishers at Migingo island raised an alarm about the maltreatment that they got at the hands of the Ugandan police force with some victims being

interviewed and their predicament revealed in the media. During such incidents, Kibaki kept silent, his hands-off leadership style manifesting itself once more. He would on certain occasions respond to matters that affected the citizenry but nonetheless were considered trite and not worthy of presidential mention. A case in point was the issue of a woman from Nyando, who would perennially ask for government assistance every year when river Nyando broke its banks thereby causing floods and rendering the residents homeless. The president responded by terming it gibberish always calling on the government to assist one, to the dismay of those who thought that there were many momentous matters for him to address. Another instance that appalled the citizenry was when the president declared on national television that he was married to one wife. Such incidences portrayed him as a man who gave precedence to nonessential issues at the expense of important matters that affected the country. Just as the sight of an owl symbolizes death, the Migingo saga also dealt a blow to the main livelihood of the Luo. By failing to respond to their predicament, Kibaki 'killed' the Luo community.

It is also believed that a cat has a very clear vision and this the musician likens to the foresight that Kenyans believed that Kibaki had for the country. To Kenyans he was the best candidate to beat the incumbent in 2002 having held several portfolios in government institutions. Therefore, the failure to protect the sovereignty of Kenyans in general and the Luo specifically brought to the fore his love-hate relationship with the Luo, a community that overwhelmingly supported his candidature in 2002 despite the tribulations that the community went through in the hands of the founding president of the nation himself a Gĩkũyũ.

When one goes to war, there are war gadgets that must be carried. For example, one must carry equipment that will enable him/her emerge victorious in the war. Such paraphernalia include weapons such as guns, stones, arrows and shields just to mention a few. The fight for Migingo between Kenya and Uganda is a war that requires preparedness. While Museveni got into this war prepared (He sent the Ugandan troops to reclaim Migingo thereby replacing the Kenya administration police who had been permanently stationed at the island and ordering the Kenyan fishers to pay fish levies to the Ugandan government) his counterpart Kibaki never was. Instead

it was the legislators from the Orange Democratic Movement that took issue with the Ugandan government. The musician uses a stone to metaphorically conceptualize the efforts that the likes of Orendo made to show how grave this matter was and the consequences that it had for the country's hegemony. The fact that the owl may not move even after it is pelted with stones and just blinks shows the 'I-don't-care-attitude' that the head of the state developed. He seemed unmoved by the issue and no amount of prodding from whichever quarters would make him see the urgency and seriousness of the matter.

Different theories were propagated by the Luo about the President's behaviour and two of these seemed credible-the first was that the members of his inner circle from the Mount Kenya region who had surrounded him and who were his think tanks may have advised him to use this opportunity to discipline a friend turned foe in the person of Raila Odinga. The second was that the head of state wanted to use this opportunity to remind the Luo that that he was the one in charge and to portray the Luo's de facto leader as a helpless individual who would not come to their aid in their hour of need.

When youths from Kibera uprooted the Railway line to protest the injustice extended towards the Luo specifically and Kenya's generally, the Gĩkũyũ narrative of the Luo instability as posited by Muga (2012) was used to explain this behaviour by the members of the President's inner circle from Mount Kenya region who saw an opportunity to further castigate their real and perceived enemies. The musician goes ahead to remind the people from the lake not to start war because the taking away of Migingo was an issue that had been planned by the people who belong to the animal kingdom. Wild animals in this context is specifically used to metaphorically refer to the Gĩkũyũs.

Animals are creatures that forget too soon, they are unappreciative and they only value one if they feel that they can gain from the individual for instance, in getting their prey or protection against their predators. Once their mission is accomplished, the animals may turn against those that helped them become successful. The animals in this context are the Gĩkũyũs. Raila assisted

them get into power after the authoritarian rule of the second President and once in leadership they refused to honour the agreement that they entered into with Raila (Memorandum of Understanding) creating frosty relations between the general and his once trusted lieutenant who steered the campaigns successfully when the general was hospitalized in London.

2. *Njao Par Ng'ato* – (Interfering with Someone's Home by D.O Misiani)

This is a song with hidden political undertones. The musician states that one should not interfere with another person's home. Political parties are in competition against each other, and regional support or ethnic block are considered "homes." Therefore there is need to respect each other. In this case reference is made to Raila Odinga, the opposition leader whom the singer feels is being treated unfairly, together with his ethnic group the Luo who form his political base. The singer laments at the atrocities meted on Raila and his people by the government.

ST: Loch jokawiny tek

TT: It's not easy to be governed by birds

ST: Simba mor e thim, to otoyoy biro ringo godhiambo, bimbe biro ringo go n'geche, to kwach biro tieko diek wa gi

TT: The lion has roared in the wilderness, the hyena will run in the evening, baboons and monkeys will run, but the leopard will destroy our goats.

ST: Ong'erni idonje piny Pharaoh iduwo, ichakori gi Musa be iduwo, iniyud alama mak yudi

TT: This monkey you come to destroy Pharaoh's kingdom, you provoke Moses, you will face the music.

ST: Nyungu oyie choro ikete gi misigo koyuayo to inibedo nyuma ibudho, to punda biro bedo gi nyiego

TT: The mule has agreed to run with the load, as you sit back and enjoy, but the donkey will get jealous.

ST: Iketori gi thuol kilamo, ndalo tobiro gi mage

TT: You worship the snake, days come with events.

The singer has used a variety of enemy metaphors in reference to the government of the day and those allied to it whose intention is to destroy the leader of the opposition and scare away those who support him. A number of animal metaphors have been used to express the musician's opinion of the government of the day and how it runs its affairs especially in regard to the opposition. In the first instance the musician uses the bird metaphor when he says. "It is not easy to be governed by the birds".

Unlike human and animal characters, birds have the ability to fly and so can transcend the spatial limits by which other creatures are bound. This means that birds are associated with freedom and they seem to have no limits (Gora, 2009). The fact that they have no limits is an aspect that may bring out the instability trait of the birds the reason why the musician notes that the governance of birds is bad. The birds are also portrayed by the musician as unreliable to allude to the fact that there is a certain crop of leaders who can't be depended upon since they exhibit traits that should not be emulated. As leaders, such individuals oppress their subjects and deny them the freedom of speech and even association. Birds are also troublesome in the sense that they are bound to scratch and peck. These attributes imply that a leader who is likened to a bird may lack fairness in dealing with his/her subjects.

Raila Odinga is metaphorically referred to as a lion. When the lion roars other animals in the jungle feel scared and may scamper for safety. In the dawn of multi-party politics in Kenya, Raila Odinga rubbed the then incumbent the wrong way and this led to several of his detentions in the hope that such torture would make him abandon his quest for democracy. The artist D.O Misiani also uses a snake to metaphorically refer to a certain crop of individuals. According to

Haines (1999), snake is a reptile that is known to possess ‘silent power.’ It slithers towards its target, waits, coiled, energy stored and ready to spring. A snake is also known to be a defensive and an offensive animal. This is so because when confronted it assumes the defensive role and when seeking conflict, it assumes the offensive position. Moreover, it exudes personal confidence. In its confrontation with its enemies, a snake employs a combative strategy. Haines opines that there are two distinct types of snakes: constrictors and vipers. The constrictor utilizes his strong, contoured body to immobilize his prey, crushing its bones. It is tremendously skilled in grappling and can hold, lock, dislocate and choke its victim. The viper snake on the other hand, relies upon his venom and sharp fangs to inject the victim striking the pressure points, nerve centers and vital areas of the body (Haines, 1999).

In his use of this snake metaphor, the artist tactfully describes the type of presidents that Kenya has had since she gained her independence from the colonial masters. Kenya has been ruled by four presidents namely: The late Jomo Kenyatta, Daniel Arap Moi, Emilio Kibaki and the incumbent Uhuru Kenyatta. (The latter came to power after the demise of D.O.Misiani). Out of these four, there are those who like the snake, possess ‘silent power.’ Such leaders are not vocal nonetheless they allow their operatives to take charge of situations while they take a back seat. All these presidents have had to employ the defensive-offensive tact when need arises. In dealing with matters corruption, they have used the defensive approach to safeguard their government’s performance especially when corruption is propagated by members of their own administration. Some of them have had to defend these allegations that are leveled against their governments by themselves while others have relegated this duty to their lieutenants. At times, when matters get out of hand they seek protection from their ethnic blocks to wade off such averments in the guise that their community is being targeted by what they normally call baseless and malicious accusations that border on witch-hunting.

In matters security for example, all the four presidents have employed the offensive tact in order to protect the sovereignty of the nation as enshrined in the constitution. Different strategies have been employed on matters to do with power especially if the powers that be feel threatened. One

common strategy put in place is silencing the perpetrator through arrests, torture, detention and at times the perceived or real enemy is even killed. In silencing or cracking the whip on those who have fallen out with the government of the day, some of these presidents have utilized the game plan used by the snakes referred to as constrictors while others have adopted the ones used by the vipers.

The ‘constrictor’ presidents may make use of the power of their handlers for instance police officers to discipline their critics. This could be done by way of employing excessive force or extra judicial killings (like the murder of anti-corruption crusader, Jacob Juma who it is alleged was killed by hired assassins due to his knowledge about the Eurobond saga) among other means to discipline those seen as undermining the presidency. The ‘viper’ presidents on the other hand, punish their enemies in different ways for instance, they may decide to exclude or even turn a blind eye to the regions perceived as the strongholds of such dissidents so that they lag behind in terms of development or bar such communities from partaking of the national cake.

3. Translation of *Mwaka wa Hiti (The Year of the Hyena, by John De Mathew)*

As De Mathew I prophesize and let stones hear me if men won’t.

It is now the year of the **hyena**. Who will teach you and your ears are blocked?

When a man is seated he sees further than a boy on top of the tree.

You follow him till he boards the train and the arm still doesn’t drop.

You are like a **greedy hyena** seeing a man walk and following hoping that that his arm will drop off. You follow him till he boards the train and the arm does not drop and you never eat...

In-law things are not going well for you now....

You are clueless and your matters are now being discussed by women in the market. But I still remember how you saved me when the **leopards** attacked in the market.

From this song, one can sense the political undertones that lie in it. Ethnic hostility is brewing and is manifested in the choice of words used by the musician. Raila Odinga, the Kenyan opposition leader is the one who is metaphorically referred to as the greedy hyena. Hyenas are not only very greedy creatures but they also portray sadistic tendencies. Raila is portrayed as a greedy individual who wants leadership at all costs. According to the musician, his selfish ambitions drive him into doing everything in his capacity to clinch the presidency. No amount of human suffering will stop him from his quest for the top job.

When the musician talks about the year of the hyena he alludes to the electioneering season where Raila, metaphorically referred to as the hyena will employ all the antics at his disposal to fight for the top seat regardless of the suffering and bloodshed that will be caused. From the musician's perspective, Raila is as deaf as the hyena and he has never reconciled himself to the fact that despite the efforts and machinery that he puts in place, he will never clinch the presidency. To the musician, Raila enjoys the pains that he afflicts on the common citizen as a result of the violence that breaks out when he loses the elections for instance the 2007/8 post election violence.

When the musician says that a hyena follows a man in the hope that his arm will drop so that he can feast on it, he indirectly refers to Raila Odinga, who after losing elections, runs to the courts in the hope that that the elections will either be nullified or that a ruling will be made in his favour. The musician takes into account the fact that every time the opposition leader loses he cries foul and accuses his opponent of stealing his victory and instead of bowing out of politics since he has made several unsuccessful stabs at the presidency, he still clings to the hope that one day victory (metaphorically referred to as the arm in this song) will be his.

The musician also talks about an in-law in this case Kalonzo Musyoka, the former Vice-president of the Republic of Kenya during the Kibaki administration who, in the 2013 general elections jumped ship and refused to support a Gikũyũ presidential candidate after falling out with Uhuru Kenyatta instead opting for Raila Odinga who named him his running mate. Teaming up with Raila Odinga meant that Kalonzo had lost direction as alleged by the musician

who further claims that such an action lowered the political status of Kalonzo and trivialized his ideologies, the reason why Kalonzo's issues were being discussed by women in the market. Musyoka's downgraded status is made explicit when the musician says that his issues are being discussed by the market women (women are demeaned in patriarchal societies. So by using women the implication is that Kalonzo has been degraded) a fact that makes the musician to pity Kalonzo. He is baffled that Kalonzo, a man respected by the society, should associate with a loser such as Raila.

Despite the drop in Kalonzo's rating from the musician's point of view, it is not lost to him how Musyoka saved Kibaki and by extension the Gĩkũyũ nation after the disputed 2007/8 polls by teaming with him to form the government when the leopards (which is metaphorically used to refer to the Luo and the Kalenjin) ganged up to protest the results of that election. The two ethnic communities are metaphorically referred to as the leopards because they caused havoc in their political strongholds when the results were announced and just like the leopard that devours its prey without showing mercy, many victims especially Gĩkũyũs who resided in the towns majorly inhabited by these two groups lost both property and lives. A case in point is the burning to death of the Gĩkũyũs who had sought refuge in Kiambaa church in Eldoret when the election violence broke out.

The attributes of the leopard on the other hand are also given to Raila. However, not all encyclopedic entries were adopted. The leopard is shrewd just like Raila who is also a shrewd politician. The impression that people have of Raila is that it is not easy to bring him down politically because he has been a force to reckon with. He is a human rights crusader, a liberator and the mouth piece of the underprivileged. The kind of politics that he engages in reveals an individual who has a self drive. Raila is able to find out the goings on some of which are considered secrets and which may in one way or another affect the common citizenry. It is also through his sagacious nature that dubious deals that have led to the loss of millions of shillings are detected albeit too late in some cases.

Leopards are solitary and they go out of their way to avoid each other. Because of the fact that Raila exposes the dubious deals that the political class engages in, many a politician, who subscribes to the ideologies of the powers that be would not wish to be associated with him since he/she may be branded an ‘enemy of progress’ (members of the ruling class alleging that Raila is against every project that the government initiates with the aim of improving the lives of the ordinary citizenry). Leopards camouflage thereby concealing themselves from their prey. This is a trait that the musician attributes to the opposition doyen who lies low (camouflages) when he is gathering information about a scandal and then opens the Pandora box leaving both friends and foe appalled about the facts that he presents on the scandal and the details that he gives to support such allegations. From such information, the corruption that bedevils the ruling class is exposed and those concerned having been caught unawares try to save face by coming up with a counter attack on the person of this politician. The musician uses the arm to metaphorically refer to the presidency. Raila has tried severally during different elections to become the president of the republic of Kenya to no avail. The ‘arm’ as the musician alleges has refused to fall.

4. *Uhuru ni Witu* (Uhuru is Ours by Kamande wa Kioi)

ST: Muici na kihii

TT: The one who steals with an uncircumcised boy

ST: Muhonokia ruriri

TT: A saviour of the Gikuyu community

ST: Aria matumire mbara yumire...

TT: Those who ignited the post election violence of 2007/8

ST: Mufilisti wa karia ka ihii...

TT: A Philistine from the uncircumcised boy’s lake

ST: Gutheka ta Hiti wamutiri..

TT: Laughing in a way that can be equated to the sound/ noise made by the hyena when it is in a jovial mood.

ST: Hiti muru..

TT: A bad hyena.

In this song, Raila Odinga is referred to as a thief. It is common knowledge that a thief's mission is to steal, destroy and devour. The musician who is a Gĩkũyũ likens the Luos to thieves who steal from them. From independence, there has been bad blood between these two ethnic communities. During the 2007/8 general elections, the Gĩkũyũ believed that it was their own son that won the elections. Therefore when Raila and the pentagon members protested the results claiming that their victory was stolen this allegation did not go down well with the Gĩkũyũ who cried foul blaming the Luo for wanting to steal their hard earned victory. Raila is derogatively referred to as an uncircumcised boy (culturally, Luos do not circumcise their boys). From the perspective of the Gĩkũyũ, one who is not circumcised is considered a boy who has not come of age and is therefore not allowed to partake in the conversation of the elders.

In addition, Raila is likened to a laughing hyena in this song to imply that he celebrated when Uhuru was summoned to the International Criminal Court to answer to charges against humanity on allegations that he was one of the masterminds of the post election violence of 2007/8 in which many Kenyans lost their lives and property. By referring to him as a laughing hyena, Raila is portrayed as an individual with perverted propensity, one who rejoices in the afflictions of others. The musician also metaphorically refers to Raila Odinga as a bad hyena. It is common knowledge that hyenas have more negative traits than the positive ones if any and therefore to refer to Raila as a bad hyena therefore, shows that according to the musician his wickedness is not only uncontrollable but also beyond any possible human imagination. He is blinded by rapacity and egocentric aspirations. From the metaphorical expressions used in reference to the hyena a conceptual metaphor AN ENEMY IS A GREEDY ANIMAL can be deduced.

7.2 Vital Relations

Gathigia (2014) notes that there are many detailed cognitive operations that influence the understanding of abstract phenomena and meaning construction during the blending process. The vital relations are one such process that links the input spaces and establishes the outer space relations as Fauconnier and Turner claim. There are several types of vital relations namely: Change, Identity, Time, Analogy, Disanalogy, Space and Cause and Effect, among others.

In the sampled songs above there are Cause-Effect vital relations. This is exhibited in the conceptual metaphors WAR IS DEATH and WAR IS BONDAGE in relation to Kamande wa Kioi's '*Uhuru ni witu*' and Onyi Papa Jey's song '*Migingo dhi*.' In the first conceptual metaphor, when opponents fight, injuries are sustained and this could culminate in death. For instance during the 2007/8 elections, post-election violence erupted ethnic antagonism was rife and many people lost their lives as a result of this. In this conceptual metaphor therefore, the cause of war is conflict and the effect is death. In the second conceptual metaphor, the movement of the Kenyan fishers inhabiting Migingo island is restricted. This is because of the conflict that has existed between the Kenyan and the Ugandan government about the ownership of the island. Because of this dispute, the Kenyan fishermen who reside on this island are frustrated by Ugandan soldiers, their freedom of movement and association have been curtailed and they are also forced to pay hefty levies to the Ugandan authorities. With respect to this conceptual metaphor, the consequence of war is oppression. In the same song, Onyi Papa Jey refers to Kibaki as an owl. From the metaphorical expressions (in reference to the owl) used we can conceptualize the conceptual metaphor AN ENEMY IS AN UGLY BIRD.

From Onyi Papa Jey's song *Migingo dhi*, the conceptual metaphor WAR IS ECONOMIC EXCHANGE is brought to perspective. As a result of the conflict, the Ugandan administration reaps colossal benefits from this island. This is because the water around this island is breeding ground for large quantities of fish especially Tilapia as well as other valuable species. This has not only created employment opportunities for the Ugandans but also earned their government revenue.

From the songs of D.O. Misiyani as well as those of John De Mathew and Kamande wa Kioi, there are several metaphorical expressions that they use to lambaste the leaders from the enemy communities for instance, in one of De Mathew's songs the hyena is used metaphorically to refer to Raila Odinga, while Misiyani uses other animals like baboon and monkey to refer to Kibaki and some other leaders from the Gĩkũyũ and Kalenjin communities. In these instances we get the conceptual metaphor AN ENEMY IS A WILD ANIMAL. In Kamande's song '*Uhuru ni witu*,' he refers to Raila, a leader from the enemy tribe (Luo), as a thief. From this metaphorical expression we can infer the conceptual metaphor AN ENEMY IS A THIEF. A thief comes to steal, destroy and kill. The members of this musician's society believe that the doyen of opposition politics in Kenya is a trouble maker, a person who believes that violence is the only way to solve an issue. From one of Misiyani's songs, he uses a snake to refer to some leaders from the enemy community and through this we can conceptualize the metaphor AN ENEMY IS A VICIOUS REPTILE. To this end, the conceptual metaphors AN ENEMY IS AN UGLY BIRD, AN ENEMY IS A WILD ANIMAL, WAR IS DEATH, WAR IS BONDAGE AND ARGUMENT IS WAR could be further classified as negative Analogy vital relations while the conceptual metaphor WAR IS ECONOMIC EXCHANGE could be classified as a positive Analogy vital relation.

8. Conclusion

Animosity has been rife with the Luo feeling that they have been marginalized for a long time as the Gĩkũyũ 'eat' the national cake during the reigns of three presidents from that ethnic block that is Jomo Kenyatta, Mwai Kibaki and Uhuru Kenyatta. This fact that has led to enmity that has known no boundaries between these two ethnic groups. In sum, ethnocentrism has contributed to the lack of goodwill in fighting corruption in the country. This is because when an individual is incriminated in a corruption scandal, rather than annihilate the dragon that has almost brought the economy to its knees, members of his/her own inner-group come to his/her defense purporting that their community is being targeted. The case normally gets out of hand especially when it involves the two enemy communities: the Luo and the Gĩkũyũ.

9. References

- Atsiaya, P. (2009, March 24) Declare stand on Migingo, MPs tell Kibaki. *The Standard*.
- Retrieved from <https://www.standardmedia.co.ke/business/article/1144009657> declare-stand-on-migingo-mps-tell-kibaki
- Chapanga, E. (2004). An Analysis of the War Metaphors used in spoken commentaries of the 2004 Edition of the premier Soccer League (PSL) Matches in Zimbabwe- *Zambezia XXXI (i/ii)*.
- Corrigall, K.A. & Schellenberg, E.G. (2013). 'Music the Language of Emotion.' In C. Mohiyeddini, M. Eysenck & S. Bauer (Eds.). *Handbook of Psychology of Emotions*.
- Dervent, F. & Inan, M. (2015). Metaphorical Conceptualizations of Football Coach through Social Cognitive Theory. *Journal of Education and Training Studies*, vol 3(4).
- Deeks, S.G (2012). Shock and Kill. *Nature*, 439-440.
- Fauconnier, G. and Turner, M. (2002). *The way we think: Conceptual blending and the mind's hidden complexities*. New York: Basic Books
- Gathigia, M.G. (2014). Metaphors of Love in Gikũyũ: Conceptual Mappings, Vital Relations and Image Schemas. Unpublished PhD thesis: Kenyatta University.
- Godwin, R.M. (2012). Ethnic divisions in Kenya. *African studies*, vol 80 (2).
- Haines, T. (1999). Attributes of the Five Animals: The Snake. Retrieved from <http://www.fiveanimalkenpo.com/10-snake-attributes-five-animal-kenpo.html>.
- Holmquist, F. & Githinji, M. (2009). The Default of Politics of Ethnicity in Kenya. *The Brown Journal of World Affairs*, vol 15 (1), 101-117.
- Holmquist, F. (2005). Kenya's antipolitics. *The Brown journal of World Affairs*. Retrieved from https://www.researchgate.net/publication/293781062_kenya%27s_antipolitics
- Isabelle, N.D. (2016). Interpreting Metaphor: Perspectives from Pragmatics and Psychotherapy. Unpublished thesis: University College London.
- Kwatamba, S.W. (2008). Ethnicity and Political Pluralism in Kenya. *Journal of African Elections*, vol 7 (2), 77-112.

- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (2003). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lule, J. (2004). War and its Metaphors: news language and the prelude to war in Iraq, 2003. *Journalism Studies*, 5 (2), 179-190.
- Määttä, H. (2006). *A Phantom Enemy: Metaphors of Terrorism in Mainstream and Alternative News Media*. Unpublished thesis: University of Jyväskylä
- Mboya, T.M. (2009). 'My voice is nowadays known,' Okatch Biggy, Benga and Luo Identity in the 1990s, *Muziki*, 6 (1), 14-25.
- Moreno, M.A. (2008). *Metaphors in Hugo Chávez's Political Discourse: Conceptualizing Nation, Revolution and Opposition*. Unpublished PhD thesis: The City University of New York, New York.
- Mussolf, A. & Zinken, J. (2009). A Discourse- Centered Perspective on Metaphorical Meaning and Understanding. In A. Mussolf & J. Zinken (Eds.), *Metaphor and Discourse* (pp1-8). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Muga, W. (2012, September 29). Genesis of the Luo- Kikūyū political rivalry- and how the Coastal 'swing vote' landed in ODM. *The Star newspaper*.
- Nangulu, A. (2007). The State, ethnicity and resource allocation for socio-economic development in Kenya. *Maarifa: A Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, vol 2 (2).
- Njoroge, M.W. & Kirori, G.N. (2014). Ethnocentrism: Significance and Effects on Kenyan Society. *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations*, vol 8 (9), 356-367.
- Nie, J.B., Gilbertson, A., Roubaix, M., Staunton, C., Nierkerk, A., Tucker, J.D. & Rennie, S. (2016). Healing Without Waging War: Beyond Military Metaphors in Medicine and HIV Cure Research. *The American Journal of Bio Ethics*, vol 16(10), 3-11.
- Njogu, K. & Maupeu, H. (Eds.). (2007). *Songs and Politics in Eastern Africa*. Tanzania: Mkuki & Nyota Publishers.
- Ogretir, A.D. & Ozcelik, S. (2008). The Study of Ethnocentrism, Stereotype and Prejudice: Psycho- analytical and Psycho- dynamic Theories. *Journal of Qafqaz University*.
- Opondo, P.A. (2014). Ethnic Politics and Post Election Violence of 2007/8 in Kenya. *African Journal of History and Culture* vol 6 (4), 59-67.

Sanfeliu, A. (2008). Music and Peace. *Journal of Applied Ethnomusicology*.

Schmit, R. (2005). Systematic Metaphor Analysis as a Method of Qualitative Research. *The Qualitative Report*, 10 (2), 358-394. Retrieved from http://nsuworks.nova.edu/tqr/vol_10/iss_2/10.

Schumann, A. (2008). The Beat that Beat Apartheid: The Role of Music in the FResistance against Apartheid in South Africa. *Stichproben. Wiener Zeitschrift für kritische Afrikastudien* Nr. 14,8. Jg, 17-39.

Spenser, A. (2012). The Social Construction of Terrorism: Media, Metaphors and Policy Implications. *Journal of International Relations and Development*, vol 15(3), 393-419.

Stoessinger, J.G. (2010). Why Nations go to War. *South African Journal of Military Studies*, vol 38(2), 152-158.

Stoian, V. (2014). Property Owning Democracy, Socialism and Justice: Rawlsian and Marxist Perspectives on the Content of Social Justice. (Unpublished PhD thesis). Central European University.

Trčkova, D. (2011). Multi- Functionality of Metaphor in Newspaper Discourse. *Brno studies in English*, vol 37(1), 140-151.

Wekesa, P.W. (2010). Old Issues and new challenges: the Migingo Island controversy and the Kenya- Uganda borderland. *Journal of Eastern African Studies*, vol 4 (2), 331-340.