

BENGA MEETS OHANGLA: AN ANALYSIS OF ANIMAL METAPHORS USED IN SELECTED DHOLUO POLITICAL SONGS

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Abstract

Music, a vehicle through which communication takes place, reaches a wider audience as compared to other channels of oral communication. The artist, who is the conveyer of the message, may employ various devices to ensure that effective communication takes place. Because of the ethnic division that characterizes the Kenyan political field, musicians who out of their own volition or as mouthpieces of certain political outfits and by extension politicians, may express challenges (social, political, economic, moral or otherwise), views or ideologies through their music. When this is done, music fulfills a dual purpose: that of entertainment and that of disseminating crucial information that may direct an ethnic block towards a certain political direction. Thus, Luo Nationalism has been conceived, nurtured and developed by some Luo musicians through their music. In such songs the musicians express their frustrations at ethnic exclusion in matters development; they vent their anger towards real and perceived enemies thereby passing judgements; they make political declarations and eventually rally their audience to a common cause that is geared towards charting a path politically. To achieve such milestones, persuasive devices are employed and metaphors, the subject of interest in this study, are such a device. A metaphor not only enables an individual to look at an unfamiliar entity through the lens of a familiar one but it also aids in comprehension and interpretation of the entity in question. Through metaphors, an ideology that may seem complex is simplified hence achieving the purpose of communication. This paper seeks to explore animal metaphors used in selected Dholuo songs with the intention of interpreting them and unmasking the political undertones and hidden meanings contained therein. The analysis will be guided by Critical Discourse Analysis of Fairclough & Wodak (1997). The study wishes to reiterate the fact that

language is a powerful tool that can be used to manipulate a populace either positively or negatively.

Key words: Metaphor, Language, Critical Discourse Analysis.

INTRODUCTION

To comprehend and interpret the animal metaphors used by selected Dholuo musicians, it is important to understand the genesis of the politics of ethnicity that led to the marginalization of the Luo nation. Opondo (2014) postulates that ethnicity is an aspect of social relationship between agents who consider themselves as being culturally distinctive from members of other groups with whom they have a minimum of regular interaction. It is a belief in common historical evolution and it provides commonality on inheritance of symbols, heroes, football teams, values, identity, which leads to a situation of ‘us’ verses the ‘other.’

According to Mboya (2009) the politics of the post colonial state of Kenya is ethnicized. The control of state resources is fought over by (alliances of) ‘tribes.’ This practice has very deep roots. It was planted in the colonial era, when ‘tribal’ royalties and suspicions were engineered in a divide-and-rule strategy designed to manage the colonial subject’s challenge to oppressive colonial authority. The successive governments of independent Kenya have nurtured the idea as presidents have used ethnicity as a criterion for resource allocation, favouring their ethnic groups and excluding those they perceive to be their enemies.

According to Githinji & Holmquist (2009), ethnicity is often invoked to explain many of the problems of African nations. It 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 is that ethnicity is socially constructed and a moving target. 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. This study therefore adopts this second view of ethnicity in order to give a clearer picture to the reader how musicians in these selected songs appeal to their followers most of whom are members of their ethnic bloc to rally behind a certain individual, or course or ideology in their quest for political emancipation.

Mboya (ibid) notes that since independence, the Luo, who are today reckoned to be the third largest ethnic group in Kenya, have been losers in the ethnic competition for the political power to control state resources. Consequently, they have had to endure economic marginalization. The political marginalization of the Luo began when the first president of Kenya, Jomo Kenyatta, who was Kikuyu, fell out with his- and Kenya’s- first vice president, Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, who was Luo in 1965. The assassination in 1969 of Tom Mboya, an important Kenyan statesman who was also Luo, further distanced the Luo from the government and political mainstream, and turned them into disenfranchised citizens.

Luo disenchantment with the government continued into the presidency of the country's second president, Daniel Arap Moi, who is ethnically Kalenjin. Little wonder, then, that most of the junior Air Force officers who were at the heart of the attempted coup against Moi in 1982 were Luo. Taking into consideration the murder, in 1990, of the articulate Foreign Minister, Robert Ouko, who was Luo, and adding it to the collapsed infrastructure and the lack of new development projects in 'Luo Nyanza' (even the much trumpeted government Nyayo hospital wards of the Moi era skirted the area) aggravated the situation (Mboya, 2009). To crown this maltreatment of a 'nation' that has been considered a 'thorn in the flesh' of the two ethnic groups that have had their share of the presidency, is the 2013 general elections in which the Luo political icon Raila Odinga, controversially lost the presidential election to Uhuru Kenyatta, the son of the founding president of Kenya. From these strings of misfortunes Mboya (2009) concludes that it is not difficult to be sympathetic to the perception that the poverty of 'Luo Nyanza' in the 1990s and beyond has been politically manufactured.

Music is at the heart of the Luo community, a people stereotyped to be ardent believers in lifestyles fused with alcohol, music and sex. To support the claim of their love for music, Wenje et al (2011) postulates that the Luo, like other African communities are renowned for their love of music. Osadebey (as cited in Wenje et al, 2011) states that the Luo sing when they fight; they sing when they work; they sing when they make love, they sing when they hate; they sing when a child is born and when death takes toll.

Why metaphors?

1. Metaphors generally and cognitive ones specifically are not just used to add flavour to a given discourse but they are crucial in helping the interactants understand and interpret realities in the social as well as political realms. Lakoff (1980) argues that through metaphors individuals are able to understand a new domain in the light of another with which they are familiar.
2. Ling (2010) posits that 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.
3. Mio (1997) notes that metaphors and other forms of symbolic language are effective persuasive devices. Such linguistic devices are important tools for political discourse because political events are abstract and too numerous for public consumption. Moreover, metaphors allow the general public to grasp the meanings and political events and feel a part of the process.
4. Beard (as cited in Vestermark, 2007) notes that metaphor is a skill used to appeal to the emotions of the listener in a way that feels natural to the audience.

It is important pointing out that the use of animal metaphors is culture specific. One animal may have positive connotations in one culture but negative ones in another based on the interpretations accorded to it. Moreover, one animal may be use metaphorically in one culture and not in another because it may not be available in the habitat of that particular community.

STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

Political discourses have exposed a myriad of issues bedeviling African states generally and Kenya in particular. This has brought about political awakening in different corners of the country. Sometimes the messages are conveyed in plain and direct ways and at other times the communication is done in an indirect manner by the source. The latter is normally used in cases where the author of such information wants to exclude an audience that he/she feels is an out- group. From time immemorial, animals have been used metaphorically to help explain various notions that on the surface may seem complicated for human understanding. Several scholars have explained the reason for the use of such metaphors. Muhammad & Rashid (2014) posit that the animal kingdom provides rich metaphorical expressions perhaps due to the close relationship between people and animals, the reason why it is common to see people being likened to animals. The animal metaphors used may have either positive or negative connotations moreover, Lakoff & Turner (as cited in Muhammad & Rashid, 2014) explain that in many cultures animal metaphors are often used to connote negative meanings because of the higher order form relegated to human beings compared to that of animals as reflected in the Great Chain of Being. It is however worthy to point out that there are also animals that are used to convey positive connotations. Several studies have been done on the use on animal metaphors in different discourses (Olateju, 2005; Abdulla 2010; Muhammad & Rashid 2014; Kobia, 2016) however, there is dearth research on the use of animal metaphors in popular songs that are politically ‘engineered.’ It is on this standpoint that this paper seeks to identify such metaphors in selected Dholuo songs, explain and interpret them; describe the roles that they play and explain how they work to help achieve effective communication.

OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

1. To identify and explain the animal metaphors used in the selected songs
2. To describe the roles of these animal metaphors in political communication.
3. To explain how the metaphors work in achieving effective communication.

RATIONALE AND JUSTIFICATION OF THE STUDY

- (i) Political discourse is an area that is of concern to any citizen. Therefore, this study is significant as it acts as a source of reference for scholars interested in investigating the role of language and especially metaphors in conveying political ideologies that affect the citizenry in one way or the other and how such ideologies influence their perceptions, opinions and thought processes.
- (ii) The study is significant to different stakeholders as it exposes the politics of exclusion that is rampant in the country, a factor that partly fueled the post election violence that rocked the country after the 2007 general elections. Therefore it is a wakeup call to those whose mandate is to provide services to the citizens to do so irrespective of the citizens’ political affiliations in the spirit of ensuring that there is

love, harmony and peaceful coexistence among different ethnic blocs.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This study employs the Critical Discourse Analysis theory by Fairclough and Wodak (1997) to analyze the animal metaphors in selected Dholuo songs. According to Van Dijk (1998). Critical Discourse Analysis hence, CDA is a type of discourse analytical research that primarily studies the way social power, abuse, dominance and inequality are enacted, reproduced and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context. He further postulates that what is crucial for critical discourse analysts is the explicit awareness of their role in society. Fairclough (1993) further elucidates this by noting that critical discourse analysts go beyond the immediate, serious or pressing issues of the day. Their structural understanding presupposes more general insights and sometimes indirect and long term analyses of fundamental causes, conditions and consequences of such issues. CDA seeks to explain the complex relationships between the structure of texts and their social functions especially when they are used to create and maintain differential power relations and structures. Therefore, there is a dialectal relationship between discourse and the social context in as much as it also shapes that social context (Michira, 2014).

Tenets of CDA

1. It focuses primarily on social problems and political issues.
2. It tries to explain discourse structures in terms of properties of social interaction and especially social structure.
3. It focuses on the way discourse structures enact, confirm, legitimate, reproduce or challenge relations of power and dominance in society.
4. It states that power relations are discursive.
5. It focuses on power, dominance and inequality and how these are reproduced or resisted by various social groups in their ethnic discourses.
6. It seeks to reveal hidden or implied social structures of dominance of one social group upon another as well as their underlying ideologies.
7. It offers critical approaches or methods of studying spoken or written discourse.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Michira (2014) posits that politics is essentially concerned with power and authority: how to obtain and appropriate it, how to make decisions and control resources within a jurisdiction, how to control and manipulate the perceptions, behaviour and values of those who are governed. As a result, complex relationships between the governed and those who govern them are enacted and mediated through language. While this study looks at the language of politics in the Kenyan 2013 presidential campaign, the current study is interested in the animal metaphors used in selected Dholuo songs that have political undertones.

Obeng (as cited in Cheng, 2009) argues that political discourse structure is heavily impacted by the intended functions of the message. For example, if the message is to criticize an out-group and call for an action against the group then the discourse is often structured in such a way as to first present the out- group's action or message as problematic and then to suggest the right course of action the target addressees must take. This study generally looks at political discourse while the current is interested in song as a text in politically motivated discourses. The point of convergence is that in both there is call for action against an out-group by members of an in group because of challenges that are purported to be engineered by the out-group. Therefore the artists in these songs call for their listeners to take action against the out group for the injustices that the members of the in-group have gone through as a result of the actions of the out group and lack of goodwill from them.

Kövecses (as cited in Wang & Dawker 2008) note that animal metaphors are used ubiquitously across languages to refer to human behaviour. Cowards are represented as chickens, lions denote the brave and crowd followers are sheep. While this study supports the fact that animal metaphors are widely used, the present study is in agreement that different cultures make use of animal metaphors however, the latter looks at the use of such matters in music as a text. It is also interested in finding out whether attributes given to animals like the sheep, lion and chickens are the same or whether they are different since metaphor is culture specific.

The language of politics sets itself apart as the language of governance and its study in linguistic scholarship is important because it is a strategy by means of which we can infer how language is applied in social and political discourse to persuade people to support party or individual ideologies. Politics involves the struggle for power and its language proves significant because it is structured primarily with the aim of convincing the audience to buy into the speaker's ideology. More importantly, political communication demonstrates an audience's ability to establish meanings for ideas in contexts of their use. Political metaphors require listeners to correlate correspondences of experiences with the relation that holds between frames deployed by speakers (Kamalu & Iniworikabo, 2016). While this study looks at various metaphors in political discourse, the current one is specifically interested in the use of animal metaphors in songs whose main theme is politics. The contexts for the two studies are also different in the sense that the former deals with political discourse in the Nigerian context while the latter in the Kenyan context and amongst the Luo specifically. The current study also wishes to find out whether the use of the animal metaphor is instrumental in persuading people to support party or individual ideologies.

METHODOLOGY

The study employed qualitative analysis of animal metaphors used in selected Dholuo songs that have political bearings. The qualitative approach was used to expose the asymmetrical power relations that exist between the oppressed and the oppressors or the governors and the governed.

It adopted a descriptive design in which the researchers identified, explained and interpreted the animal metaphors used by artists in their songs with the intention of not only unveiling the

concealed meanings but also illustrating the role that metaphors play in achieving effective communication.

Through purposive sampling, a sample of six songs sung by the artists the late D.O. Misiani, Onyi Papa Jay and Emma Jalamo were chosen not only because they were rich in animal metaphors bordering on politics but also because most listeners made requests to presenters in Dholuo FM stations (Ramogi FM and Radio Lake Victoria) that such songs be played, this being an election year.

The study centered on song texts whose sources are audio and audio visual CD's and DVD's which were obtained from music stores. After listening to the songs, they were transcribed and later translated from Dholuo to English which is the language of study. Where the researchers were uncertain in regard to the meanings conveyed in the animal metaphors, they consulted the Luo dictionary as well as competent native speakers of Dholuo to aid in the interpretation of particular images presented in the metaphors.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

BIM EN BIM BY OWINO MISIANI

Aloso ne joka lee, joka winy, kod joka
rech Gik malak gi bund igi, kanyisou
niya

Gima olos gi lwet dhano obed meli, obed ndege, obed ot, obed piki
piki Gikone nyaka okethre makata nade

To gima Jehova Nyasaye oloso mokete e piny mawantiereni

Obed gima fuyo, gima mol gibund iye, obed gima ni e pii, obed dhano, obed lee

Gikone ni nyaka otho

To nitiere kit joka lee ma ochwe kaka dhano to ok gin

jii Mokwongo gin joka bimbe, joka on'geche, kod

sokwe mtu

Bim en bim

Obed mopidhi, obed man e

bungu To bim en bim

Itedone ma imiye

Ikawo rabolo mochiek kod

paipai Mochiek mayom ma

imiye

To seche mapod itedoneni okawo kaka ng'at

mamayi To bende ong'iyo wang'i mondo opand

moko

To ka oneno ni imiyo ng'ato machielo ma ok en

To oyie kata mondo onegi

Omiyo bim en bim

To be onge saa ma gir ng'ato nyalo bedone maber at all makata idhi kure

To moko bende wasekonyo ka olewo e od ang'ech, to moko e od thieth

To ka bim ne owuok kama ne entieno

E kindwa kode guok gi rombo

Ong'er bende ne wakonyo ka joka bimbe nego bende onjawowa

Tinde ka gineno wa to iwinjo ka ong'er luongo chiege ni 'Akelo, Akelo, an bi kaw okapuni.' 'Ok akaw okapu.'

Chieng' moro ne awuotho e bungu to ne ayudo bim moro

Ka joka ong'eche ogoyo, oturo bembene, ng'ute, tiendene

Kendo oseromo gi ng'at mosetho

To an kaka msamaria mwema akawo bim ma atero e od thieth

Mathiedho bim ma amiye kar dak mondo orit na dala

Mana ka pod onape gi ang'uola ema olosore

Ochalo nyathi matin yawa

Bim ne oomo jogegi mane ni e thim te

Mane onge kata duol ema tinde yako olembe mane wapidho e dalaka

An tinde ka bimbe onena to en mana lweny

Iwinjo ka ochogo nyawadgi ni ooh!

Joka bimbe gin joka bimbe

Gikawo piny chal pinygi tinde gin gi ouru

Ginyalo wuoyo awuoya kaka gin ema gidwaro yawa

Ndalo mane waringo ka wadwaro olembegi jogi ne gin kanye?

To gima mondo anyiswe, Ni

rech nywolo mana rech

Ing'eyo ni lee en lee,

Onywolo mana lee

To pok ne awinjo ni dhiang' otimo arus gi punda

Bende pok ne awinjo ni diel otimo arus gi rombo

Bende pok ne awinjo ni guok otimo arus gi nguruwe

Pok ne awinjo ni jowi oriwo arus gi omuga

Bim en bim

Bim nyuolo mana bim,

Ok onywol ong'er
 Magwar ok nyuol riwo to gin joka lee duto man e bungu
 Kamongo ok nyuol mbuta
 Ngege ok nyuol okoko wuon pala
 Arum tidi ok nyuol tula
 Budho ok nyuol ongo wang'
 To awendo ok we yiere...

TRANSLATION

I am talking to those who belong to the animal species and fish species.
 Things that move on their bellies, I am telling you that things made by the hands of a human being be it a ship, aeroplane, house or motorcycle
 In the end it has to be destroyed whether one likes it or not
 But what Jehova God has made and put in this world where we are
 Be it something that flies, one that crawls on its belly, be it something in the water, be it a human being, be it an animal, in the end it must die.
 But there is a species of animals that is created like a human being, though they are not people First are the baboon species, the monkey species and *sokwe mtu*

A baboon is a baboon
 Be it one that is domesticated or wild But a baboon is a baboon
 You cook for it and give it
 You take ripe bananas and pawpaw Ripe and soft and you give it
 But when you are still cooking for it, it takes like one snatching you And it looks at you straight in the eye
 So that it can hide some, but when it sees you giving something to someone Else other than it, then the baboon can even go to the extent of killing you
 Therefore a baboon is a baboon. In fact there is no time when someone else's property can be good to a baboon at all regardless of where you go.

There are others we have also helped when they were stranded in prisons, others stranded in hospitals, but when the baboon left where it was, it created enmity between me and him. The relationship between us is that one witnessed between a dog and a sheep. The monkey that we also helped when being killed by the baboon family has also brought shame to us. Nowadays when they see us, you will hear the monkey calling his wife 'Akelo, Akelo,' and the wife responds, 'It is me.' Then the monkey tells his wife, 'come and take this basket,' and the wife

responds, 'I will not take the basket.'

One day I was walking in the forest and I got another baboon when the monkey family had beaten him. He had broken his hips, neck, legs and he was as good as a dead person.

But as a Good Samaritan I took the injured baboon to the hospital but once it was treated and became well, I took the baboon to my house to take care of my house when it was still an invalid and was even excreting in its diapers just like a small child.

However, the baboon turned against me and sent me away from the house that I had secured.

It brought its kinsmen from the forest, people who didn't even have a voice are the ones who nowadays loot the fruits that we have planted in our homestead. Nowadays when the baboons see me it is just war, you just hear the baboon cautioning the other to be careful because the enemy is within.

The baboon family is the baboon family They have taken the world like it is theirs

Nowadays they are free they can talk the way they want.

Surely, the days when we used to run looking for these fruits where were they?

What I want to tell you is that fish brings forth fish

You know an animal is an animal

I have never heard that a bull has wedded a donkey

I have also never heard that a goat has wedded a sheep

Moreover, I have never heard that a dog has wedded a

pig I have also not heard that a buffalo has wedded a

rhino.

A baboon is a baboon....

In the song above, Daniel Owino Misiani has used animal metaphors to refer to help his audience understand ideas that would otherwise seem complex. Before analyzing these metaphors it's important to give a brief history of this benga artist. According to Douglas (2010), D.O. Misiani (1940-2006) hailed from the Tanzanian village of Shirati near the Keyan border on the shores of Lake Victoria. Misiani began his career in the 1950s as an itinerant guitarist performing at funerals, homestead social gatherings and bars in the Luo homeland of Kenya's Nyanza province. Inspired by the success of Nairobi musicians like Daudi Kabaka, Misiani made his first electric guitar recordings in 1965 and soon after formed his own recording band, Shirati Luo voice (later to become orchestra D.O.7 Shirati jazz in 1975). Misiani talked about the challenges that the ordinary citizens go through in his music. Not one to shy away from controversy, he used many of his songs to satirize the leadership of different regimes something that on certain occasions landed him in trouble. At one time he was jailed for rubbing the powers that be the wrong way through one of his songs but such threats did not make him shy off from addressing issues that he felt were not being treated in the right way, a factor that endeared him to his fans.

A baboon has been used extensively in this song. Baboons primarily live in dry savannah woodlands. They are the largest and the most terrestrial or ground dwelling of the cheek pouch monkeys (cercopithecines). Feeding is a popular enrichment activity for baboons, who are very motivated by food. Due to their strict dominance hierarchy, only the most dominant male and female may eat food items provided to a group. Each baboon has a social ranking somewhere in the group, depending on its dominance. Female dominance is hereditary, with daughters having nearly the same rank as their mothers and adult female forming the core of the social system. Female relatives form their own subgroups in the troop (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/olive_baboon).

A female usually forms a long lasting social relationship with a male in her troop, known as 'friendship.' These non sexual affiliative friendships benefit both the male and female. For the males, such relationships help them integrate to the group more easily. He could also potentially end up mating with his female friend in the future. Females on the other hand gain protection from threats to themselves and their infants (if they have any). Males occasionally 'baby sit' for their female friends, so she can feed and forage freely without the burden of having to carry or watch the infant (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/olive_baboon).

Males establish their dominance more forcefully than the females. Adult males are very competitive with each other and fight for the females. Higher dominance means better access to mating and earlier access to food. So there is a great deal of fighting over rank which occurs with younger males constantly trying to rise in position. Because females stay with their groups their entire lives and males emigrate to others, often a new male challenges an older one for dominance. Frequently, when older baboons drop in the social hierarchy, they move to another tribe. The younger males who pushed them down often bully and harass them (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/olive_baboon). According to Sluijter & Noë (1995), baboons make politics. Hierarchy is established by power, size and sharpness of fangs, weight, muscle mass but also by aggressiveness, the ability to form alliances or to know when to stab a companion from behind. They are very intelligent and most adaptable as well.

Baboons are very shrewd and cunning in their undertakings. Misiani uses this animal to represent past regimes that have marginalized the Luo nation from independence. This is well illustrated in Jaramogi Oginga Odinga's 'Not yet Uhuru,' where Roberts (1968) in his review notes that during the Mau Mau guerilla uprising, Kenyatta and the entire Kikuyu leadership were imprisoned during the British sponsored 'Emergency,' rule, from 1952 to 1961, Odinga was free to remain active in the liberation struggle. For nine years Odinga played the leading role in the independence fight. He was **primarily** responsible for the release of Kenyatta. Odinga founded KANU in 1960, a national alliance of the political groupings dedicated to the freeing of Kenyatta and the Independence of Kenya. Kwatamba (2008) posits that the reasoning why Odinga and other nationalists refused to enter into negotiations with the British government till Kenyatta was released was that to enter into negotiations while Kenyatta and others were still in detention would be tantamount to betraying the collective cause that was supposed to bind all freedom fighters irrespective of their ethnic origin. When the musician talks about helping the baboon that

was in prison only for it to come out of prison and turn against its 'saviour,' he is alluding at this incident for when Kenyatta was released and having been given the mandate to carry the presidential mantle, Throup & Hornsby (as cited in Kwatamba 2008) state that the founding president used his ethnic cabal to consolidate power in the office of the president and marginalised his erstwhile liberation colleagues such as Odinga.

During the time that Kenyatta and his Kikuyu coterie were in prison they were not able to propel the fight for liberation any longer and this activity was left in the hands of Odinga and other liberation colleagues who were not behind bars therefore the latter were the owners of the house in the sense that they knew the challenges as well as intrigues that characterized this struggle for independence and so when Kenyatta sidelined them and gave positions to his Kikuyu brothers when he took over power, the musician equates this to the baboon taking over the running of the home from the original owner and inviting its kin from the forest to help in the running of the affairs of the home yet they were not 'present' or active when the struggle for freedom that bore the fruits of independence (in the sense the establishment of the home), was being fought.

Examined from a different perspective is a fact that the political big wigs most of whom were from one community used their positions to amass wealth at the expense of the ordinary citizen. They grabbed vast pieces of land in the highlands and other areas leaving the original owners of these tracts of land landless hence becoming squatters on their own pieces of lands. This was the genesis of land injustices that have on several occasions brought conflicts between the political class and the masses especially in the Coast region. These politicians can be likened to the baboon who was welcomed by the owner of the house after suffering in the hands of the monkeys in this case the colonialists only to turn against the owner of the house in this case the ordinary citizen and chase him way from his home in this sense, their pieces of land that were taken away from them by the imperial masters during the colonial era.

Misiani talks about the baboon chasing the owner of the home and taking over ownership. He implies that KANU as a party was formed by the late Jaramogi Oginga Odinga, but when Kenyatta ascended to the presidency, he took over the running of the affairs of this political outfit and when he fell out with his deputy the late Odinga, the latter formed an opposition party KADU, leaving his brainchild to the government of the day. When the musician talks about the selfishness of the baboon that makes it to even want to kill the owner of the house that feeds it he alludes to the assassinations that characterized the first regime. Some of the politicians that fell out with the powers that be or who were viewed as threat to the government of the day were brutally murdered. A case in point is the assassination in 1969 of Tom Mboya who is described as a trade unionist, educationist, Pan Africanist, author, independence activist, cabinet minister who laid the foundation for Kenya's capitalist and mixed economy policies at the height of the cold war and set up several of the country's key labour institutions. He is famous for the education opportunities (He did this in partnership with John F, Kennedy who later became one of the presidents of America and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr) for African students that resulted

in the African airlifts of the 1950s and 1960s, which enabled African students to study in colleges in the United States. Some of the beneficiaries of this programme were: the late Barrack Obama senior, the father of America's 44th president and the late noble laureate Wangari Maathai (https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tom_mboya). Another prominent politician who was also considered a voice of the weak and the oppressed and who was also assassinated in 1975 was J.M. Kariuki. These politicians fought for the emancipation of the ordinary citizens regardless of the latter's ethnic background as is evidenced in the tribal affiliations of the beneficiaries of Mboya's airlifts to the US colleges.

When the second regime took power nothing changed for the better. The artist refers to it as the monkey family. Monkeys, being primates just like baboons share attributes with their baboon cousins. This government just like its predecessor treated the Luo community with contempt. It had perfected the art of divide and rule having learnt the tricks from the first regime. It is believed that the 'pedestrian' treatment of a community that offered the crown on a silver platter to the founding president is what may have led to the 1982 attempted coup by junior officers most of whom were Luo as a way of registering their displeasure at the way they were being treated and by extension the harsh treatment accorded to the Luo community. It is worthy to point out that Luo Nyanza has lagged behind in terms of development as compared to other communities a fact attributed to its leaders' opposition to different regimes among other issues.

A monkey is also perspicacious. It makes use of others to get what it wants and once this is done it dumps the brains behind its success. This is a trait that the second regime had learnt from its predecessor and perfected. This can be better understood in the context of the then Foreign affairs minister, Dr. Robert Ouko, who served both in the government of Jomo Kenyatta as well as that of Daniel arap Moi. He was one of Kenya's most articulate and astute cabinet ministers and a key driver of foreign policy. He was also a gifted conciliator and this, it is believed by the Luos, is what led to his murder in 1990. A theory that the community has held to since his death was that their son was killed after saving the country off the hook at a period when there was bad blood between the Kenyan and the US governments because of certain issues that the American government was not happy about only to return home and instead of being celebrated was killed after fulfilling an important obligation to his country. This helps to support the musician's description of the monkey-baboon species as one that is ungrateful. An individual is only useful when he/she fulfills the desires of the masters and once that is done he/she is dispensed with.

This claim is further supported by Hornsby (2012) who asserts that one of the theories that were advanced about Ouko's death was that he died because he had become a threat to Moi. He, Moi, and others had recently returned from a trip to the US, whose purpose was to lobby against the threatened suspension of US military assistance to Kenya. Relations soured between Moi and Ouko during the trip for it was speculated that the US government showed itself too friendly to Ouko or indicated that that it considered him suitable presidential material. Because of what transpired in the US, Moi was so furious with Ouko and the events that followed after their return to the country were a clear indicator that the minister had been sacked. Months later his

mutilated body was found at *Got Alila*. Within two years of Ouko's death several people who were involved in the case either as witnesses or as conspirators in the heinous act were dead, another factor illustrating the contemptuous nature of the baboon towards its real or otherwise perceived adversaries.

A baboon is also oppressive. The artist mentions that when the baboon was wounded by the monkey family, the musician nursed it and ensured that it healed but soon afterwards it forgot this good gesture that was extended to it and it started exhibiting its tyrannical tendencies. This is corroborated by Kadima & Owuor (2006) who note that the period between 1982 and 1991 was marked by, among other things, the institutionalization of a monolithic system of government as well as the curtailment of fundamental freedoms, including the freedoms of association and assembly. Allegiance to KANU was required as a precondition for participating in the electoral process as a candidate with the KANU disciplinary committee ensuring compliance with the party's policies by using its power to expel members from the party.

It was during this period that the doyen of Kenyan's opposition politics, his son Raila Odinga and other liberators found themselves on the wrong side of the law. The older Odinga was in most cases under house arrests while his supple son, a frequent visitor to the infamous Nyayo torture chambers. It is during this period that the 'hunter' became the hunted. The artist Owino Misiani, was not spared either since it was believed that some of his songs were targeting the head of state and he was also thrown into jail for sometime without the option of a fine a fact that he captures in this song when he says that 'nowadays when the baboon family see me you hear them warning each other to be cautious for the enemy is around.

Under the leadership of notables like Oginga Odinga, Martin Shikuku, Paul Muite, Reverend Njoya, James Orengo, Raila Odinga and others under the umbrella of FORD mounted pressure on the government and 1991 marked the rebirth of Multiparty democracy in the country. Sensing danger, the baboon regime employed its sagacious attributes to split the FORD coalition. As Kadima & Owuor (2006) point out there was a deliberate propaganda campaign that sowed suspicion between the leaders of FORD, contributing to its split in June 1992. This split resulted in the formation of two parties namely FORD-Kenya led by Jaramogi Oginga Odinga and FORD- Asili, led by Kenneth Matiba. The unusual speed with which the registrar of societies moved to register the FORD factions added to the suspicion that the split had been orchestrated by the Moi regime. This period was also characterized by the mushrooming of political parties with reports indicating that in some cases, KANU sponsored the registration of opposition parties, leading to further fragmentation. The split in FORD and the fragmentation of the opposition meant that KANU's victory was almost assured.

From these happenings during the rebirth of multiparty politics, the baboon's trait of dominance and brutality towards its enemies was displayed. The regime of the time used divisionary tactics to remain in power. This further illustrates the musician's view that baboons are egocentric, a

fact that makes them envious when something is given to another person and this may even lead them to killing someone. The intrigues that followed during this time can attest to this for prominent persons in the opposition camp suffered brutality in the hands of police and hired goons. Some were detained, tribal animosity fuelled to greater heights and chaos characterized the politics of the day. The government used the machinery at its disposal to cause confusion and mayhem in the enemy's camp.

Owino's ideology of the baboon was again witnessed in 2002 after Raila declared his support for Kibaki endorsing his candidature in the famous 'Kibaki Tosha' slogan. He rallied opposition political groups behind Mwai Kibaki and through their efforts KANU's twenty four year rule came to an end. During the campaign period, Kibaki was involved in an accident and Raila took over the running of the affairs of the National Rainbow Coalition henceforth NARC till the time that the captain was fit to resume duties. When NARC eventually took over leadership from the incumbent, a memorandum of understanding henceforth, MOU had been signed but sooner the 'baboonic' tendencies resurfaced and there were emerging cracks in the coalition.

On assuming office, president Kibaki did not appoint Raila Odinga as the Prime minister in the new government contrary to a pre election MOU; neither did he give Liberal Democratic party (Raila's faction) half of the cabinet positions as per the deal. He instead sought to increase his own National Alliance party of Kenya's faction position by appointing members of parliament from the opposition parties (KANU and FORD People) to the cabinet. The 'perceived' betrayal led to an open rebellion and a split within the cabinet, which culminated in disagreements over a proposed new constitution for the country and when the proposed document was put to a referendum, the government suffered a humiliating defeat (<https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Raila-odinga>). D.O. Misiyani therefore uses the song, "Bim en Bim" to satirize excess egocentrism that has characterized various political leadership. Like a baboon, they depend on others for political pinnacle and once they get to power they forget everyone who helped them to ascend to such political offices. The metaphor 'baboon' has been used by the musician to persuade the message recipient to adopt a negative attitude towards the past as well as the present political leadership that have been in office in different periods of time in the Kenyan history.

Danesi & Perron (as cited in Cacciguidi & Cumingham, 2007) argue that a conceptual metaphor is the product of cultural group think. It produces a process of cumulative cultural model of ideas and provides the 'conceptual glue' that keeps a system of culture together. The Luo community whose mouthpiece is D.O. Misiyani uses the animal baboon to caution members of his community to be wary of deceptive individuals out to ride on their support in order to gain political mileage only to dump them when they have achieved their goal. This ideology propagated by the musician is the 'conceptual glue' meant to keep the Luo together so that they can fight as a united front in their pursuit for political enfranchisement.

Landau & Keefer (2012) argue that metaphor might promote selective processing that leads the message recipient to ignore important information. When this is the case, metaphor might

produce a one sided and over simplified view of a political issue. This is actually what happens when Misiani uses the baboon to represent the different political set ups that have taken center stage since independence and which have excluded the Luo in the distribution of national resources despite the instrumental roles that the community's sons and daughters have played. His audiences most of whom are the victims as a result, turn a blind eye to the achievements that have been realized during the reigns of such regimes. A case in point is during the period of the third government when free primary and free day secondary education were rolled out. To the Luo the ills outweigh the gains the reason why they focus on the former.

RAILA BY EMMA JALAMO

Kaw okumba gi tong' piny nigi
geno Waol gi nduru miwa plan B

X2

Waol gi uwi Agwambo miwa plan B X2

Nyithindo matindo dong' kiye miwa plan B
Mon matindo dong' mond liete miwa plan B

Jodongo odong' e mier miwa plan B mmm

Mano yamb piny tinga wuo nyalego nyundo

Piny nigi geno chung' malo wa

Kaw okumba gi tong' chung' malo X2

Kaw okumba gi tong' telne ogandawa X2

Raila seche oromo aaa malo X2

Geno pok orumo e piny Kenya wa kapod ingima baba

Chok mana paro koth joka Oneya piny ogeni.....

Adwani uwinja maber joluo Raila

kodinga en e rwadhwa Mano e

Musa wa mwadong' go

Ng'ama otemo pingo Raila chalo mana ng'ama pingo dongruok ma thurwa

Omiyo dheri dheri makata ogore piny to ichunge idhi mama kode

Pak mana dheri kar nyaloni

Temo mokwongo, mar ariyo, mar adek ok onyiso ni wa fail

We wachak wachung' wang'ni mondo wane ka Ruoth nyalo miyowa gi ma wadwaro...

.... Telo wadhi kawo mana ka wanyumo ombulu.

Translation

Take the shield and the spear the world has hope

We are tired of screaming give us plan B
We are tired of wailing Agwambo Give us plan B
Young children are remaining orphans give us plan B
Young women are remaining widows give us plan B mmm
The old men have remained in the homesteads give us plan B
That is the wind of the world 'Tractor' son of the daughter of Alego hammer
The world has hope stand up then
Take the shield and spear stand up
x2
Take the shield and the spear and lead our
masses Raila time is now, get up x2
Take the shield and the spear and lead our masses
X2 Raila time is now, get up x2
There is still hope in Kenya when you are still alive father
Gather ideas the descendant of the people of Oneya the world has hope in
you I want you to listen to me with attention you Luos
Raila son of Odinga is our bull
He is the 'Moses' that we are left with
Anyone who tries to go against Raila is just like one who is against the development of our
region
Therefore your bull is your bull even if it falls you just assist it get up and you continue with the
journey. Just praise your bull to the best of your ability.
Trying once, twice and the third time doesn't mean that we have failed
Let us offer ourselves during elections so that we see if the Lord can fulfill the desires of our
heart
... We can only take up leadership positions if we cast our votes.

This song was sung by Ohangla sensation Emma Jalamo in honour of Raila. Emma Jalamo whose full name is Emmanuel Odhiambo hails from Ugenya, Siaya County, He started his music as a choir member in Legio Maria, a religious organization whose cradle is God Kwer, Migori County and whose members ascribe messianic status to its late founder, Melkio 'Papa' Ondeto Obingo. The group whose rich liturgy fuses modern day Catholicism with elements of Luo traditional religion is heavy on spiritualism. Legio Maria influence is evident in Emma's music, which incorporates a lot of chanting and indentations, which is normally employed in

dirges. Emma formed the young turks band after leaving Lady Maureen's and it is in this band that some of his compositions like *Simba Ja Uriri*, *gololi* and *mapenzi* catapulted him to fame (<https://softkenya.com/kenyans/emma-jalamo>).

This is a song that doesn't contain a lot of political discourse but the artist, like Misiani, also uses animal metaphors to address political issues like leadership, voting, disillusionment among others. In the song he talks about the suffering that the Luo community has undergone as well as the several stabs that one of their own (Raila Odinga) has made at the presidency. In the song he pleads with Raila to give the community an alternative plan, the main one apparently having failed. The reason for this alternative is that the community has suffered a lot in the hands of different political outfits. For instance children have been orphaned, young women have been widowed and the aged have been left unattended. The musician seems to be alluding to the post election violence that erupted after the 2007 disputed presidential elections. He gives hope to his listeners that all is well and encourages them to be optimistic despite the community's several failed attempts to clinch the country's presidency. In order to help their 'son' clinch this post, the musician encourages his audience to register as voters and then cast their votes when the right time comes. He warns his community against bickering yet they don't register as voters only to cry foul later when another community carries the presidential onus.

In the song Jalamo refers to Raila metaphorically as 'our bull.' The roles that are played by a bull are vast. It can be used in ploughing, in some instances it is used in pulling a cart on different errands. Moreover, it can be used for reproductive purposes. Any bull owner is proud of his/her bull the reason why the musician appeals to the Luo community to proud of their son. Just like a bull that is multipurpose, Raila is also versatile in the sense that he has been in the forefront in the fight against corruption, marginalization and oppression of the poor. To the Luo he is seen as a 'saviour' because of fighting for their rights and protecting their interests. The subsequent governments have marginalized the Luo both politically and economically. As a nation they have suffered in the hands of these regimes. Some of their sons who had found favour with these political outfits have been murdered (Tom Mboya and Dr. Robert Ouko) others have been thrown into political oblivion after falling out with the powers that be (Hezekiah Oyugi among others).

Because of his unpredictable nature, the reason why he is christened Agwambo, Raila has been able to unearth certain government under dealings that would have had dire consequences to the country as a whole and specifically to the common citizen in one way or the other. A case in point is the incident of the Artur brothers, who Odinga alleged were mercenaries hired by the government of the time to assassinate political dissidents. He has on several occasions put different governments on the spot to own up to corruption deals that have ripped the country of millions of shillings (The National Youth Service saga under the watch of the Jubilee administration as well as the alleged loss of five billion shillings in the Health ministry). Recently, together with the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy luminaries they put pressure

on Independent Electoral and Boundaries Commission (IEBC) commissioners to resign from office because of integrity issues after the disputed 2013 general elections as well as the 'Chickengate' scandal. The Luo feel that it is because of Raila's boldness that the dirty secrets of various governments' operatives are brought to light.

The Luo also look up to him because he has been credited together with others for moving the country towards political maturity. He has also helped open in roads to democracy, as well as freedom of expression. To crown it all, he is also regarded as the driving force behind devolution. Because of his sagacious attribute and the contributions that he has made in the Kenyan political scene, his followers majority of whom are Luo give him undivided attention anytime he decides to address them. Because of these qualities, Raila has an almost fanatical following among the Luo youth who refer to him as *baba* (Kiswahili word for father) and anyone who says something that is negative about Raila in the presence of such youth is likely to be beaten up. From these contributions it can be concluded that Raila is as multifaceted just as the bull that he is likened to. This study thus is in agreement with Ottati et al (2012) that metaphorical image influences the message, recipient's cognitive processing style en route to deriving a political opinion or attitude.

Metaphors in political texts are often used to inspire the electorate. When Jalamo refers to Raila as 'our bull' he implores the Luo to support Raila and own his candidacy and to crown this ownership by ensuring that they cast their votes in his favour in the forthcoming general elections. Riding on Raila's achievements gives them the impetus to support his candidature in the hope that this time round the Lord may answer their prayers. The metaphor 'bull' has been used by the musician to persuade the message recipient to adopt a positive attitude towards the target in this case, Raila.

CONCLUSION

Animal metaphors are effective in conveying the writer's message to the audience. The fact that the animals act as a source domain to help the audience understand the target domain which may at times be abstract or complex shows the close relationship that has existed between human beings and animals from time immemorial. Conveying information indirectly through the use of metaphors is key especially if it is a message that may generate a lot of heat because of its sensitive nature were it to be relayed directly.

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