

**A LEXICAL PRAGMATIC APPROACH TO OHANGLA
MUSIC: A CASE OF METAPHORS**

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DECLARATION

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

Sign.....

Date.....

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C50/75274/2012

This project has been submitted for examination with our approval as the candidate's Supervisor.

Sign.....

Date.....

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Sign.....

Date.....

Mr. Atoh, F.O

DEDICATION

To God Almighty- thank you for the knowledge, wisdom and strength. I thank you for the guidance and providence throughout the course. Without you I would be wandering in the wilderness.

To my late Dad and Mum; William Omolo & Mary Obare Omolo- thank you for the strong academic foundation and inspiration upon which this achievement is based. I can still hear your voice Dad: “Read and find out what lies beyond the horizon.” This has started making sense to me. Thank you.

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ABSTRACT

This study presents the results of a linguistic study on the use of metaphors in selected Ohangla lyrics. The study seeks to find out the intention of Ohangla singers in their use of the different metaphors. The main stylistic use of Ohangla music is figurative language- especially the use of metaphors. The study uses the lexical pragmatic approach rounded in the Relevance Theory in the analysis of the various metaphors used in the selected Ohangla lyrics, that is, using the lexical pragmatic approach, the study attempts to determine the intention of the singer (speaker) in using the various metaphors. For the hearer to understand the meaning of the metaphors used in Ohangla lyrics, he/she must know the context in which they are used. Context plays a major role in determining the intention of the singer. The study sought to find out whether ad hoc concepts of broadening bring out the intention of the singer in Ohangla lyrics. The ad hoc concepts are considered the essence of lexical pragmatics. They can only be accessed in a given context through the process of pragmatic inference. The study found out that singers in Ohangla lyrics use animal metaphors, war-like metaphors, instruments / machines and football images. Each of this is used depending on the context and intention of the singer. The singers use animal metaphors to either praise or ridicule individuals or a group of people. They reveal the singer's attitude towards the individuals or group of people. Football images are used to emphasis on the unity of a group or to show the political skill, experience and prowess of a leader.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This chapter begins by giving a brief background to Dholuo language. It then gives a brief background to the study and introduces the statement of the problem. The research questions and objectives that guided this study have been highlighted in this chapter. The rationale, scope and limitation of the study have been pointed out. This chapter also discusses the theoretical framework of the study. The chapter gives a brief discussion on the lexical pragmatic approach used in the study. The chapter discusses the literature review on the study, research methodology, data collection and analysis.

1.1 Background to the language

Dholuo is a language spoken by the Luo of Kenya and parts of Uganda and Tanzania, around the shores of Lake Victoria. Dholuo is a Nilotic language. The speakers of Dholuo (Luos) migrated from their cradle in Sudan. They are referred to as the river lake Nilotes. This is because, as they migrated from their cradle, they moved along the rivers and the Great Lakes region in East Africa. They settled in Kenya, Uganda and the Northern parts of Tanzania.

According to Cohan (1974) quoted by Okombo (1982), the Luo began to settle in Nyanza area of Kenya between 1500-1550 AD. The degree of variation of Dholuo language depends on where one group settled in what was formerly referred to as Nyanza Province. Although these regional varieties are mutually intelligible, they are distinct enough to enable one tell where a speaker comes from (Okombo, 1982: 12). Accent and vocabulary can be used to distinguish these groups. For example, in the Siaya variety of Dholuo (especially Gem and Ugenya variety), “maize” is referred to as “oduma” while the South Nyanza variety refers to maize as “bando”.

Odawa (2004) says in his M.A dissertation: “Dholuo belongs to the Nilo-Saharan family of languages. The Nilo-Saharan family is divided into six branches, one of which is the Chari- Nile. The Eastern Sudanic is one of the divisions of the Chari-Nile and consists of ten groups. The Nilotic group is one of the ten and is divided into Western, Eastern and Southern branches. Dholuo belongs to the Western Nilotic branch.” Languages related to Dholuo include, Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk (in Sudan) and Acholi, Lang’o, Alur, in Uganda (Okombo, 1982:11-12).

This study focused on the speakers of Dholuo who live in what was formerly referred to as Nyanza Province in the Western part of Kenya along the eastern shores of Lake Victoria. A number of Dholuo speakers are scattered in different parts of Kenya. The Abasuba, originally a Bantu speaking community, have also adopted Dholuo language. A good number of Ohangla singers such as Benard Onyango Ranginya, popularly known as Onyi Papa Jay, are from the Abasuba and they use Dholuo as the base language in their music. According to the Kenya Population and Housing Census-Kenya Bureau of Statistics 2010, there are about 4.6 million Luos spread out in different parts of Kenya.

1.2 Background to the study

Ohangla is a musical genre among the Luo community. In this type of music, sets of tuned drums, metal rings, reed flutes, gourd shakers and mouth organs are used. Traditionally, Ohangla was sung to praise bulls. Singers sang in praise of the bulls as they ploughed the farm.

Although Ohangla uses Dholuo as the base language, it has attracted interest from people who do not speak or understand Dholuo language. In Kenya, English and Kiswahili have become the medium of connecting people across the country. Most speakers of Dholuo are also fluent in English and Kiswahili. As a result of this most Ohangla singers use code-mixing as a communicative strategy for entertainment. Ohangla music now uses English and Swahili words mixed with the base language (Dholuo) to appeal to a wider audience and for aesthetic purpose. Most Ohangla songs address issues about norms and conventions of the community. The songs express different thoughts and ideas. The focus is mainly on social life. Contemporary issues such as HIV/AIDS, marital issues, politics, love, etc are addressed in the songs.

Technological development has influenced the type of metaphors used in this genre. Traditionally, Ohangla used war-like metaphors from the Luo culture. This included use of animal images such as elephant, hyena, hare, the lion etc. Use of weapons as images show the war-like nature of the metaphors used. Body parts were also used as metaphors. These are common even today. Images that are now used as metaphors as a result of technological development include the use of instruments such as mobile phone, hammer.

1.3 Statement of the problem

The main stylistic means of Ohangla music is figurative language - especially the use of metaphors. Among the Luos, oral narratives (such as legends and myths), riddles and proverbs are an important part of the Luo culture. It is because of their importance in the culture of the Luo community that oral narratives, proverbs, sayings and idioms form part of Ohangla message. Ohangla music draws images from the Luo culture. The singers pass their messages directly or indirectly. This study sought to find out the intention of the use of metaphors in selected Ohangla music, that is, the intention of the singer in his/her use of metaphors. This study focused on the metaphors used in proverbs, sayings and utterances in selected Ohangla music. This study used the lexical pragmatics theory, rounded in the Relevance Theory.

This study was guided by the following questions:

1. Why do Ohangla singers use war-like metaphors?
2. Why do Ohangla singers use animal metaphors?
3. How does the use of instruments as metaphors in Ohangla music criticise, praise or correct social behaviour?

1.4 Objectives of the study

1. To identify the intention of the use of war-like metaphors.
2. To determine the intention of the use of animal metaphors in Ohangla music.
3. To identify the intention of the use of instruments as metaphors in Ohangla music.

1.5 Rationale and significance of the study

This study is important as it provides an insight in examining the singer's intention of using metaphors in selected Ohangla music using the lexical pragmatic approach. Ohangla is a traditional music genre. The study therefore provides a source of reference to scholars of linguistics who may be interested in finding out the effect of technological development on the choice of metaphors used in Ohangla music as analysed using the lexical pragmatic theory. The study is also important to artists who may be interested in finding out more about the metaphors used in their music as analysed by the theory. The study is of significance to the field of linguistics and in particular to pragmatics and sociolinguistics. This is because the study analysed the selected Ohangla songs focusing on the cognitive effect of the metaphors used. The study looked at the use of metaphors as a form of language use in context. The study provides insights to researchers who may be

interested in finding out how metaphors contribute to effective communication not only in Ohangla music, but also in other music genres.

1.6 Scope and limitation of the study

Most Ohangla artists use figurative language as a means of communicating their message. Various figures of speech are used in Ohangla music. This study limited itself to the study of metaphors in selected Ohangla songs. The study focused on what is implicated in the metaphors rather than “what is said.” The study used the lexical pragmatic analysis rounded in the Relevance Theory. Lexical pragmatics is concerned with the study of words in context. The study took on the two major processes of lexical pragmatics – narrowing and broadening. Code mixing, which has been embraced by most Ohangla singers was referred to only for clarity purposes especially where the meaning of a particular metaphor was tied to it. Particular artists have been influenced by their religious beliefs, especially Christianity and have come up with what is now referred to as ‘Gospel Ohangla’. This study concerned itself with secular Ohangla music. Most of the images and figurative language used in ‘Gospel Ohangla’ are from the Christian Bible. This study did not focus on ‘Gospel Ohangla’ music.

1.7 Theoretical framework

Ohangla music greatly employs the use of metaphors. In the use of metaphors, the meaning conveyed by the use of a word goes beyond the linguistically encoded sense (Wilson and Sperber, 2012:16).

As already mentioned, this study used the lexical pragmatic approach, rounded in the Relevance Theory. It takes on the cognitive processes of lexical pragmatics, that is, lexical broadening and lexical narrowing. This theory was chosen because of its capability to explain constructions based on information readily accessible from encyclopaedic entries of the encoded concepts. This theory was used to find out how metaphors function in a context to bring about meaning that the speaker intends to convey to the hearer. The theory is also constrained by the search (or expectation) of relevance.

The lexical pragmatics theory advances the view that context plays a major role in the interpretation of the encoded concepts. In this theory, the lexical processes of broadening and narrowing are triggered by the search for relevance. This involves the derivation of cognitive effects. The lexical items from selected Ohangla songs were subjected to the

concepts and processes of the lexical pragmatic theory. The theory helped to analyse and interpret the metaphors used in the selected Ohangla songs.

1.7.1 The Lexical Pragmatic approach

Lexical pragmatics investigates the mechanisms by which linguistically-specified word meanings are modified in use (Blutner, 1998:115). The goal of lexical pragmatics is to explain how lexical meanings are adjusted in the course of communication. This is important because in communication, words are often used in ways that depart from their “literal” meanings, that is, the meaning assigned them by the grammar. Wilson (2003), one of the proponents of lexical pragmatics argues in one of her lectures that, “the more the communicated concept can depart from the encoded concept, the harder it should be for speakers and hearers to co-ordinate their understanding. The central goal of lexical-pragmatics is to explain how this coordination is achieved, by showing what triggers lexical-pragmatic processes, what direction they take, and when they stop.”

Sperber & Wilson (1995) offer explanations of how hearers infer meanings for figurative language. They developed the suggestion that considerations of relevance guide the process of utterance interpretation (Clark, 2013: 77). An utterance is relevant to a hearer when it connects with available contextual assumptions to yield positive cognitive effects.

In lexical pragmatics, the context in which an utterance is uttered is important for the utterance to be understood, analysed and interpreted. When an utterance is uttered, the hearer will look for implications which would make the utterance relevant. Understanding the metaphors used by artists in their songs therefore depended on context. Schroeder, (2005:8), points out that context is like an encyclopaedia of the world; it contains the values and norms of a society. It entails all the knowledge that the communicators have stored in their minds at the time they enter a conversation. Context was important in this study since the selected Ohangla songs relied on contextual clues in order to infer meaning from the metaphors used. The term for context in relevance theory is cognitive environment. To understand the interpretation of the difference between the encoded concepts and the communicated concept, one must understand what ad hoc concepts are.

1.7.2 Ad hoc Concept

Ad hoc concepts are considered as the essence of lexical pragmatics. They cannot be understood without a relevance theoretic account. Ad hoc concepts refer to a communicated concept that can only be accessed in a given context through the process of pragmatic inference. Context is paramount in the interpretation of an utterance. Ad hoc concepts can only be interpreted outside the lexical meaning of words in an utterance i.e. the concept communicated by the use of a word typically differs from the lexical meaning of the word. Assimakopoulos (2008:198) points out that:

During utterance interpretation an encoded concept might get pragmatically adjusted forcing us to construct an ad hoc concept in its place. In this case, what will be communicated to the hearer at the lexical level might not be the literal meaning of a word, but a contextually derived ad hoc concept.

An ad hoc concept is an occasion-specific concept sense, based on interaction among encoded concepts, contextual information and pragmatic expectations or principles (Wilson & Carston 2007:1). This was important in the analysis and interpretation of metaphors used in Ohangla lyrics. The construction of ad hoc concepts offered an explanation on how hearers arrived at the relevant interpretation of the singer's message. The concept of context was important in this study since the selected Ohangla songs relied on contextual clues in order to infer meaning from the non-literal language. The goal of pragmatics is to explain how hearers infer the speaker's intended meaning from clues provided by the utterance and the context. Lexical concepts provide access to an ordered array of encyclopaedic information about items falling under the concept. This encyclopaedic information is not seen as part of the semantic content of the concept, but as providing a reservoir of potential contextual assumptions which, when added to the context, can contribute to relevance by yielding contextual implications.

In Relevance Theory, ad hoc concepts are presented in capital letters with an asterisk. For example, consider the following utterance using animal metaphors:

1) My husband is a hyena.

From the above example, the hearer will look for implications which would make the utterance relevant. The concept communicated by the word 'hyena' is different from the lexical meaning of the word. The concept HYENA will be loosened to the ad hoc concept

HYENA*. The hearer will therefore look for encyclopaedic entries about hyenas. This will help the hearer understand the utterance. For example, the encyclopaedic information about hyenas includes the following information:

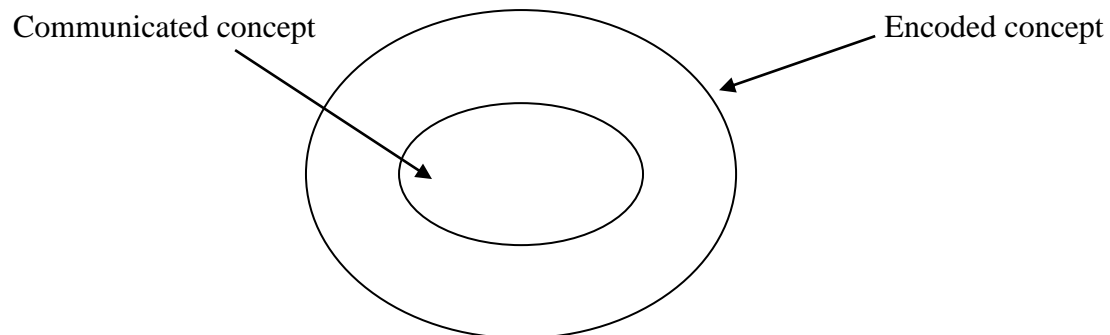
- a. They are wild animals.
- b. They live in the forest.
- c. They feed on flesh (both fresh and rotten).
- d. They are seen as gluttonous.
- e. They are said to be cowardly/fearful.

The hearer is able to infer the speaker's intended meaning from clues provided by the utterance and the context. Depending on the context of the utterance above, the hearer may rule out (a-c). The husband will be said to be either gluttonous or cowardly. Such cognitive effects contribute to the relevance of the utterance, that is, the contextual assumptions help in the search for relevance. The greater the cognitive effect achieved by the processing of a given piece of information, the greater its relevance for the individual who processes it. On the other hand, the greater the effort involved in the processing of a given piece of information, the smaller its relevance for the individual who processes it. In this study, the lexical pragmatic approach helped in understanding how context influences the use and understanding of the coded meaning of the lexical terms used in metaphors in the selected Ohangla songs. Liu (2006:66) believes that context has its straightforward effect on the interpretation of an utterance, that is, context determines the right choice of the interpretation of the utterance. It is now important at this point to briefly discuss the two lexical pragmatic processes that adjust the original concept expressed to the ad hoc concept.

1.7.3 Lexical narrowing

Lexical narrowing refers to a situation in which a word is used in a more specific sense than the encoded one. Lexical narrowing is driven by the search for relevance. This involves the derivation of cognitive effects (Wilson & Sperber 2004). Lexical narrowing triggers implications and the hearer is entitled to narrow the interpretation until it has an interpretation that satisfies his/her expectation of relevance. According to Wilson (2003:284), a hearer who follows the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure is entitled to narrow the thoughts in his mind to the point that enough implications appear to satisfy the general expectations of relevance raised by an utterance. Narrowing the

implications on how to understand the ad hoc concept would reduce the cognitive effect and the hearer would arrive at the intended interpretation. The diagram below adapted from Wilson (2006-07:2) illustrates the process of lexical narrowing:



From the diagram above, what is communicated is the specific concept. It changes its meaning depending on context. For example, in one of her lecture notes, Schroeder uses the polysemous word “run”.

2. He runs a shop.
3. He runs to town.
4. The colour runs.
5. He has a running stomach.

The effect of narrowing according to Wilson (2006-07) is to highlight a particular subpart of the linguistically-specified denotation. She gives the following examples of lexical narrowing:

6. All doctors drink.
7. I have a temperature.
8. Mary is a working mother.

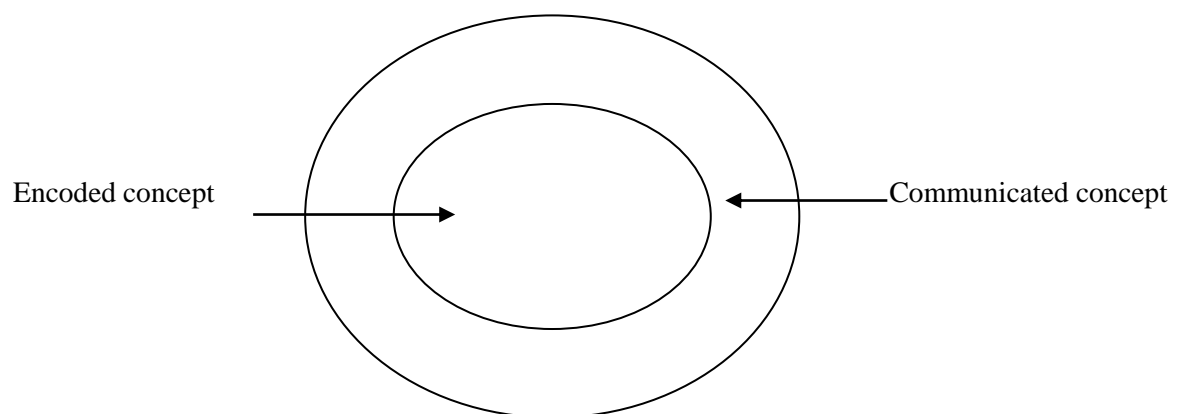
In (6), drink might convey not the encoded sense “drink liquid” but, more specifically, “drink alcohol”, or “drink significant amounts of alcohol.” In (7), the utterance would convey not the truism that the speaker has some temperature or other, but that the temperature is high enough to be worth remarking on. Utterance (8) would indicate not just that Mary satisfies the definition ‘female parent who works’, but that she is a stereotypical working mother, bringing up young children while working for money

outside the home (Wilson 2006-07). As illustrated above, lexical narrowing is quite a flexible process since the encoded meaning may be narrowed to a different degree and in different directions depending on the context of use or on the particular occasion of use. As Wilson (2006-2007) puts it, “the central task of lexical pragmatics is to explain what triggers the narrowing process, what direction it takes, and when it stops.”

1.7.4 Lexical broadening

In lexical broadening, a word is used to convey a more general sense than the encoded one with consequent widening of the linguistically-specified denotation, that is, in broadening the more general sense of a word is conveyed according to context. Broadening, according to Wilson (2003:274) refers to the concept ‘extension’. There are various processes that fall under lexical broadening. They include approximation, category extensions, hyperbole, neologism and metaphorical extension.

The diagram below adapted from Wilson D. (2006-2007:3) illustrates lexical broadening.



In the diagram above, the meaning communicated by the use of a particular word differs from the linguistically encoded meaning assigned by the grammar, that is, the meaning communicated is far from the literal meaning assigned by the grammar.

Koech (2013: 15) gives the following example of lexical broadening:

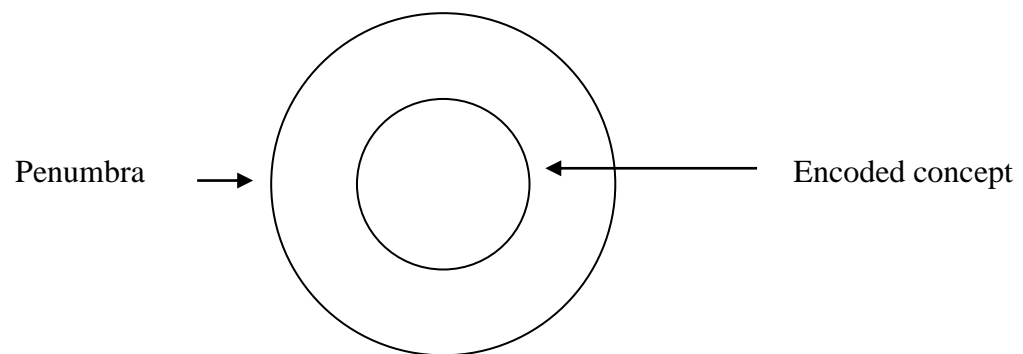
9. Kenya Airways has bought a big bird.

The word ‘bird’ conveys more than the encoded sense. Assumptions about the concept bird (such as ‘they fly’) may be transferred to a set of flying things that relate to Kenya Airways. The meaning of the word ‘bird’ has therefore been broadened to Aeroplane.

Types of lexical broadening

i) Approximation

In this type of lexical broadening there is a loose use of round numbers, geometric terms and negatively-defined terms. Approximation is a minimal type of broadening that involves the use of a word with a relatively strict sense to apply to a penumbra of cases that strictly speaking fall outside its linguistically specified denotation. This is illustrated below in this diagram adapted from Wilson (2006-07:4).

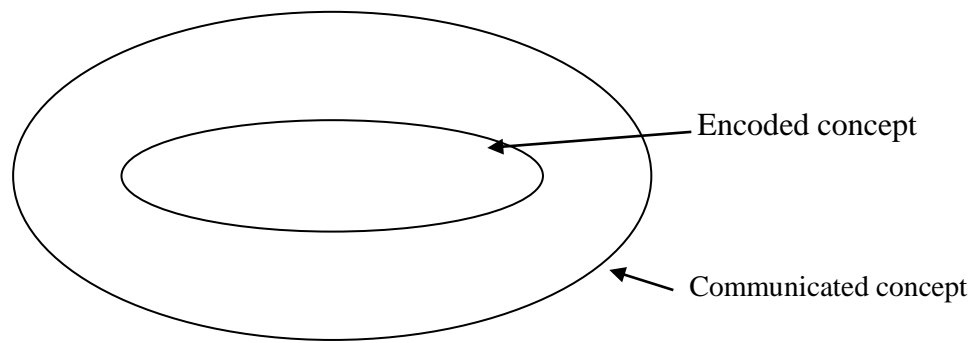


10. My wife has an oval face. (approximately oval).

11. This car cost me 1.2 Million Kenya shillings. (approximately 1.2 Million).

ii) Hyperbole

It is a type of lexical broadening in which people speak in exaggeration. Hyperbole allows the communicated concept to depart much further from the encoded concept. The following diagram adapted from Wilson (2006-07:5) illustrates hyperbole:



Examples of hyperbole include:

12. I am dying of thirst. (to mean that the speaker is very thirsty.)
13. When will lunch be ready? I can swallow an elephant. (the speaker is very hungry.)

iii) Category Extension

Words which start as names of a particular brand of item may end up being used to apply to a whole category. Examples:

14. I must fry the vegetables. Get me Kimbo from the shop. (referring to any solid fat).
15. I will be washing this evening. I need a sachet of OMO.(powder –not bar soap).

Under category extension, the name of a salient category member is extended to apply to the whole broader category to which it belongs. Category extension can also be seen in social context where a Kenyan can welcome someone with this kind of invitation:

16. I invite you for tea this evening.
17. Tea-break will be at 10 o'clock.

“Tea” might not necessarily refer to the beverage tea. It might mean any kind of beverage with some accompanying snacks. It might be tea, coffee, cocoa. The category “tea” has been extended to include other kinds of beverages.

The following example of category extension is also common in the Kenyan context:

18. Tell the pilot to drop all the students to town before he goes home.

19. When the students sneaked from school, the soldier was not at the gate.

In (18), the word pilot has been extended to refer to the school driver. In (19), the word soldier has been extended to politely refer to a watchman or security guard.

iv) Neologism

These are newly coined words. Examples:

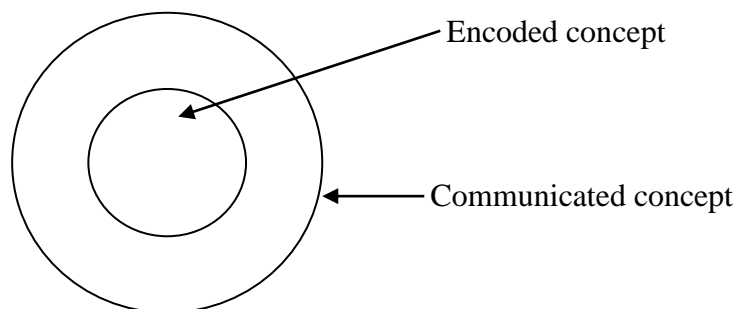
20. I will sms you the date for the next meeting. (the speaker means that he/she will send a text message).

21. Please M-pesa me the balance. (the speaker expects to be send some money).

22. Most students spend a lot of time face-booking (Interacting through the internet using the face book social network site).

v) Metaphorical extension

From a pragmatic point of view, the meaning communicated by a particular word or phrase differs from the linguistically encoded or literal meaning assigned by the grammar. Cuddon (1979:391) points out that a metaphor is a figure of speech in which one thing is described in terms of another. A metaphor is therefore a form of broadening in which the meaning communicated is far from the literal meaning. This is illustrated in the diagram below, adapted from Wilson (2006:5-6).



23. Onyango is a pig.

In example (23), Onyango falls outside the normal denotation of a pig. For the utterance to be understood context is important. The hearer will be expected to look for encyclopaedic entries as explained earlier.

As indicated earlier, this study used the lexical pragmatic approach rounded in the relevance theory to explain what triggers the processes (broadening and narrowing), the

direction they take and when they stop. The lexical pragmatic processes are triggered by the search for relevance. To explain this, the study used the relevance – theoretic comprehension heuristic, quoted from Wilson lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08 which is as follows:

Follow a path of least effort in deriving cognitive effects:

a) Consider interpretations in order of accessibility. This means that the hearer follows a path of least effort in computing cognitive effects, that is, the hearer takes the linguistically encoded sentence meaning; following a path of least effort in the accessing of contextual information.

b) Stop when your expectation of relevance is satisfied. (Wilson 2007-2008)

The hearer will stop at the first interpretation that satisfies his/her expectation of relevance. The hearer enriches the linguistically encoded sentence meaning at the explicit level and complements it at the implicit level until the resulting interpretation meets his expectation of relevance, at which point he stops.

The relevance- theoretic comprehension heuristic helps the hearer solve the pragmatic problems he encounters in bridging the gap between sentence meaning and speaker's meaning, Wilson lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08. In constructing a hypothesis about the speakers meaning, the hearer has to answer three questions:

- i. What was the speaker's explicit meaning?
- ii. What was the speaker's implicit meaning?
- iii. What was the intended context? (i.e. set of contextual assumptions)

Wilson lecture notes (PLIN 2002) 2007-08

1.8 Literature Review

In this section, I picked on literature works based on the lexical pragmatic theory and literature on general language use related to the levels of analysis on linguistic devices. I also made use of theoretical literature books based on the development of the lexical pragmatic theory

Trudgill (1995:15) points out that the society's attitudes, values, world view, etc may be reflected in its language. This is in the structure of its lexicon. He goes on further to

explain that attitude can determine choice of a lexical item over another. This view was useful to the study since attitude can determine the choice of a given metaphor over another. The metaphor that a singer might decide to use depends on the attitude that he wants to portray.

Yule (2010:129) explains that we must use the meanings of words, the context in which they occur, and some pre-existing knowledge of what would be a likely message as we work toward a reasonable interpretation of what the producer of the sign intended to convey. The interpretation of the 'meaning' of the sign is not based solely on the words, but on what we think the writer intended to communicate. This was important to the study since the hearer of Ohangla music is expected to interpret the metaphors used in order to get what the singer intended to communicate.

Onishi and Murphy (1993:115) observe that non-literal language is not understood as easily as literal expressions. This is because non-literal language does not necessarily lead to one single interpretation across a given subject, but requires encyclopaedic entries to disambiguate them. This study leaned on this view as I studied the metaphors used in Ohangla music. Encyclopaedic entries were important in the interpretation of the metaphors used. This observation is in line with Assimakopoulos (2008:198). He also observes that during utterance interpretation, an encoded concept might get pragmatically adjusted forcing one to construct ad hoc concept in its place. This observation was important in this study since the interpretation of metaphors using the lexical pragmatic approach involves the construction of ad hoc concepts. An ad hoc concept, as Wilson & Carston (2007:1) point out, is an occasion specific concept that is based on interaction among encoded concepts, contextual information and pragmatic expectations or principles.

Blutner (1998:115) points out that lexical pragmatics investigate the mechanisms by which linguistically-specified word meanings are modified in use. In this study, the metaphors used in Ohangla lyrics were analysed and interpreted according to the context of use.

Works by other scholars such as Liu (2006) and Schroeder (2005) were of significance to the study. Their works emphasis on the importance of context in the interpretation of utterances.

Lexical pragmatic processes are driven by the search for relevance (Wilson & Sperber, 2004). This observation guided the study in the interpretation of metaphors in Ohangla lyrics.

Trudgill (1995) points out that the choice of a lexical item can reveal the speaker's attitude. His view was important in this study since Ohangla artists make a deliberate choice of lexical items in their songs.

Factors such as lexical borrowing and code switching influence the lexical choices that the speaker makes. (Myers-Scotton, 1993) points out that speakers use code switching to keep someone out of what they are discussing. This study benefited from this observation since a number of Ohangla singers employ code switching in their lyrics.

Yule (2010:13) points out that we can use names associated with things to refer to people, and use names of people to refer to things. For example, the sentence below:

Have you read Chomsky?

This sentence will be interpreted to mean having read Chomsky's books. Yule's view was important to the study since it points out to lexical pragmatic processes of broadening and narrowing.

For works based on the lexical pragmatic theory I used M.A dissertations such as Moraa (2010), Anyim (2010), Ogola (2006), Migwi (2009), Koech (2013), and Njuguna (2010). Their works greatly contributed to the study especially in the area of lexical pragmatic processes of broadening and narrowing of the concepts.

Koech (2013) focused on the lexical pragmatic analysis of figurative language in selected Kipsigis songs. His approach especially in the analysis of metaphors was of great value to this study. According to him, lexical items in reference to love and sexual acts in the selected Kipsigis songs are widely used metaphorically. The artists use metaphors in place of taboo words. His work points out to the singer's intention in using metaphors which is part of this study.

Moraa (2010) focused on the misunderstanding and constraints on figurative language use in selected Kenyan Hip Hop lyrics. From her study, it is evident that the Hip Hop language makes extensive use of metaphors, which are typical instances of broadening.

This study benefited greatly from her research as she provides a basis for the interpretation of metaphors using the lexical pragmatic approach.

The study by Anyim (2010) on - Sense relations in Dholuo investigated the role of context in understanding sense relations and the extent to which meaning is measured through lexical pragmatic processes. In her work, she focuses on the analysis of meaning through context. This study benefited from her work in analysing the relationship between meaning and context.

Migwi (2009) identified and analysed the figurative language used in selected Joseph Kamaru's songs- a Gikuyu singer. In his research, Migwi uses the Neo-Gricean theory of conversational implicature. His work was useful to this study as it gives an insight into the analysis of metaphors in songs.

Njuguna (2010) used the lexical pragmatic theory in her study. Her study focused on how hearers interpret the speakers intended meaning. The hearer is expected to get meaning out of the speaker's use of figurative language. Her work contributed to the study since she explains how the human cognitive faculty operates in order to arrive at the speaker's intended meaning. The hearer in this study is also expected to get meaning out of the metaphors used in selected Ohangla songs.

1.9 Research Methodology

This section deals with a description of data collection instruments and the procedure of administering such instruments.

1.9.1 Data collection

In this study, I collected fifteen songs. Most of these songs were downloaded from the Internet. I used search engines – mostly Google to download songs from artists who have a large following especially among speakers of Dholuo. To gauge their popularity, I focused on requests made by listeners of Dholuo Radio Stations such as Radio Ramogi, Mayienga Radio and Radio Lake Victoria. Several requests are made by listeners for the presenters to play particular Ohangla songs. Particular artists are very popular. Such artist formed part of the corpus for this study.

To get a good representation from Dholuo speakers in Kenya, I selected Ohangla songs composed by artists from Siaya and Kisumu Counties (Central Nyanza) and 'Luo Nyanza'- Migori, Homabay Counties (South Nyanza). It is interesting to note that most

popular singers from 'Luo Nyanza'- South Nyanza, are from the Abasuba community who has adopted Dholuo language. Since the focus of the study was on the lyrics used in Ohangla songs, I did not go out to record any live performance of Ohangla music. I downloaded the songs from the internet and also used compact discs.

The selection of the songs was based on the use of metaphors by the artists. Particular artists use more metaphors (or other figures of speech) than others. Among the Luo community, certain metaphors are developed from the oral literature of the community while others have emerged as a result of technological development. This was also put into consideration in the selection of the Ohangla songs.

All the fifteen selected Ohangla songs were examined with the aim of identifying the metaphors which are the objects of this study.

1.9.2 Data analysis

The songs selected were in the base language - Dholuo. Each song was then transcribed into English, the language of the study. As a native speaker of the language – Dholuo, I tried to make the translation of the song into English as close as possible to the original meaning of what was meant by the singer. When in doubt I consulted competent native speakers of the language. This was necessary especially for the cultural-based metaphors where the competent elder members' guidance was needed. Such speakers were of help in the interpretation, use and meaning of particular images in the metaphors used.

The study used the qualitative method which relies on text and image data. I collected the lyrics of the fifteen songs. This study did not confine itself to songs of a particular period of time. I transcribed the songs in the original language (Dholuo) and then translated them into the language of study (English). The aim of translating the songs into the language of study was to enable readers who do not understand Dholuo get the exact meaning of the songs.

After collecting the songs, the first step was to categorise them according to the images they employ. The categorised images (metaphors) were then subjected to methods of data analysis proposed by lexical pragmatics in the Relevance Theory to arrive at a conclusion. This was based on the encyclopaedic entries of the images that are in the mind of the hearer.

1.10 Conclusion

The aim of this study was to analyse the hearer's interpretation of metaphors in selected Ohangla music. In this analysis, the objective was to identify the intention of the singer in the use of the metaphors used in Ohangla lyrics. This chapter has given a brief background to Dholuo language. It has explained the background to the study and highlighted the statement of the problem. The objectives of the study have also been stated in this chapter. A brief explanation on the rationale and justification of the study has been given. The chapter has also given the scope and limitation of the study. It has been pointed out in this chapter that the study limits itself to the lexical pragmatic theory and focuses only on metaphors in secular Ohangla songs. The chapter has also given a brief explanation of the Lexical Pragmatic approach. A review on the literature works based on the lexical pragmatic theory and on general language use has been given. The chapter concludes with the methodology used in the study. It is my hope that this study will contribute greatly to the field of linguistics.

CHAPTER 2:

Lexical choices and characteristics of the selected Ohangla songs

2.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the choice of lexical items and the characteristics of the selected Ohangla lyrics. The chapter will explore the motivation behind the choice of particular lexical items over others. The matrix language of Ohangla music is Dholuo. The lexical items in the selected Ohangla lyrics are from the Luo community.

The selected Ohangla songs use the various lexical items in a unique way. The use of the lexical items depend on the intention of the singer. The social setting of the Luo community provides a base for the choice of lexical items to be used in the Ohangla lyrics, that is, the lexical items are derived from the background of the culture of the Luo community. In their bid to communicate, the Ohangla artists are influenced by the norms of the community, that is, they communicate the values that are acceptable and do not go against the norms of the community. The songs have an impact on the behaviour of various members of the community. The lexical items are therefore carefully chosen to avoid being offensive to the hearer.

The chapter begins with a brief discussion on the choice of lexical items in Ohangla lyrics. Lexical borrowing and code-switching are also briefly discussed as aspects that influence the choice of lexical items in Ohangla lyrics. These two aspects (lexical borrowing and code-switching) will enhance our analysis of the use of metaphors in Ohangla lyrics. Figures of speech that are related to metaphors are discussed in the subsequent sections. These are proverbs, the use of idiomatic expressions, personification and symbolism. The chapter finalises with a brief discussion on metaphors. The types of metaphors used in Ohangla lyrics are given.

2.2 Lexical items in Ohangla lyrics

This study explores the fact that the subject matter, social and contextual variables determine the lexical choices that a particular artist chooses. Issues such as love, conflict (war), politics, marriage, praise, etc are addressed in Ohangla songs. These issues determine the lexical choice that the artist makes.

As already stated, Ohangla songs use Dholuo as the matrix (base) language. In Kenya, English as the official language and Kiswahili as the National language have become the medium of connecting people across the country. These two languages have had a great

contribution to the choice of lexical items in Ohangla lyrics. The two main factors that have greatly contributed to the choice of lexical items in Ohangla lyrics are lexical borrowing and code-switching/ code-mixing.

2.2.1 Lexical borrowing

Lexical borrowing refers to the process of adoption of individual words or sets of vocabulary items from another language. Fromkin (1993:292) explains that lexical borrowing is a process by which one language or dialect takes and incorporates some linguistic element from another.

Yule (1996:65) asserts that borrowing is the taking over of words from other languages. The borrowed item has to adopt the morphophonological structure of the borrowing language. In the selected Ohangla songs, borrowing is mainly from Kiswahili. Very few words are borrowed from English. The borrowed words are dealt with as if they are part of the lexicon of the borrowing language.

Lexical borrowing is necessitated by among other things, changes in technological development. The need to find new words for new objects leads to lexical borrowing. It is easier to borrow an existing item in another language than to come up with a new word for that particular item. Most of the words that are borrowed are nouns. In this study, there is evidence of borrowed words in a good number of the selected songs. Certain words have no equivalence in Dholuo. The artists resort to borrowing from either English or Kiswahili. Lexical borrowing is of significance in this study since certain metaphors have developed as a result of technological innovations. The development of machines and advancement in telecommunication technology has given rise to new concepts some of which are being used as metaphors in Dholuo. As already mentioned, the words borrowed are mostly from Kiswahili. Very few words are borrowed from English. Where English words are used, it is mostly an element of code-switching/code-mixing but not borrowing.

The borrowed item has to adopt the morphological structure of the borrowing language. Poplack & Sankoff (1984) and Muysken (1990) provide characteristics of borrowing. They both state that borrowing is added to the lexicon of the borrowing language, it often exhibit phonological, morphological and syntactic adaptation, it is used frequently in natural speech and other forms of language use, it at times replaces a language's own

words, it is recognized by speakers as words of their own language and in some cases it exhibits semantic changes.

This study will not focus on these characteristics. The focus will be on the metaphors which have been adopted in the language as a result of borrowing.

2.2.2 Code-switching

Code-switching is a product of bilingualism and multilingualism. This is because when languages are in contact they influence one another. Milroy and Muysken (1995:7) view code-switching as “the alternative use by bilinguals of two or more languages in the same conversation. Code-switching can be described as a means of communication which involves a speaker alternating between one language and the other in communicating events.”

The use of code-switching in Ohangla music has a great effect. Davies and Bentahila (2008:2) note that:

Code-switching, in addition to being a useful resource for the bilingual in everyday interaction with other bilinguals, may also serve a poetic function, contributing to the aesthetic and rhetoric effects of discourse that is not spontaneous, but carefully constructed.

Some scholars argue that code-switching in naturally occurring conversation is different from code-switching in music. They note that in music it is a deliberate style used creatively by artists. The artist in this case is aware that his/her lyrics may be received by people outside his/her native language.

Code-switching in song lyrics is by no means a recent phenomenon, motivated by the expansion of mass media that provides unprecedented opportunities for people all over the world to be exposed to music originating in cultures other than their own (Davies and Bentahila, 2006:368).

Code-switching is also skilfully exploited to produce rhetorical and aesthetic effects (Davies & Bentahila, 2008). Why do singers use code-switching in their songs? Myers (1993:30-32) points out that speakers resort to code-switching for a number of reasons, chief among them being, when the speaker wants to keep someone out of what they are discussing.

In some situations, code-switching is employed to avoid “hurting” the “outsiders”. In relevance-theoretical terms, the “outsider” refers to anyone who does not share the same background knowledge with the speaker. Code-switching is therefore a means of conveying a message by barring those who do not share the same background knowledge. This is common in Ohangla songs especially where issues such as politics are concerned. Where the singer is making a particular call of action from members of the community, he/she will lock out the “outsider”.

2.3 Use of figurative language in Ohangla songs

Language can be classified as either literal or figurative. The words used in literal language mean exactly what the word conveys i.e. the meaning of the word as assigned by the grammar of the language. In Relevance Theory, the meaning of figurative language is arrived at through encyclopaedic entries i.e. the word does not convey the meaning assigned to it by the grammar of the language.

Myers and Simms (1985:112) define figurative language as the creative manipulation of the semantic structure of language. Wales (1989:176) points out that figurative language embrace all kinds of features which are semantically or grammatically marked or unusual in some way.

Ohangla singers employ figurative language to achieve particular effects. The figurative linguistic devices that are related to this study are discussed below. The focus will be on the metaphorical elements in the devices.

2.3.1 The use of proverbs

Proverbs enshrine much of the cultural heritage of the people, their traditions, history, wisdom and ethics. They are viable means for transmission of culture from generation to generation; otherwise norms, values and beliefs would have died (Pachocinski, 1996:1). As part of tradition, proverbs transmit human culture. They connect the past with the present.

Proverbs express a people’s principles and concepts about God and how people should behave towards friends, neighbours and in all situations in daily life. This point is important in this study since Ohangla singers are at times concerned with the correction of behaviour in the society. Any behaviour that goes against the norms of the society is

criticised or condemned in Ohangla music. Proverbs are effectively used to achieve this effect.

Proverbs can be metaphorical. They reflect the environment in which people live. They are traditional items of folklore. Proverbs are used to comment on social conflict, to criticise people or events in an indirect metaphorical way, to counsel when a situation requires it, to criticise unacceptable behaviour. All these are issues that Ohangla songs address.

Proverbs can be used to make people's opinion and feelings known to others. This can be seen from the metaphors used in the proverbs. Proverbs are generally brief and pithy, wise and witty, rhetorically forceful but discreetly indirect statements. The singers of Ohangla make their opinion and feelings known through proverbs.

Sperber and Wilson (1996:70) assert that proverbs are short utterances that people quote with the purpose of addressing some aspects of human nature, life, behaviour and experiment.

The following two definitions are important in this study since they exemplify some of the roles of metaphors in Ohangla lyrics. As mentioned earlier the focus is on the metaphorical proverbs.

- i. Proverbs are propositions loaded with hidden feelings, wishes and the intentions of the speaker. They can serve as tools to cover individual opinions in public interactive situations (Lauhakangas, 2007:5). Proverbs may maintain solidified attitudes or traditional modes of thought of a certain culture. They can be considered as pieces of advice concerning a recommended direction of action.
- ii. A proverb is a statement which conceals the clear in the unclear, or which through concrete images indicates the truth in furtive fashion. And further in this fashion, a proverb is...a trite phrase constantly used in popular speech...or a saying that has become thoroughly habitual in our daily customs and life. (Apostolius, quoted in Whiting, 1994:65).

The wording of proverbs is at times in a metaphorical form. The use of symbols and other imagery in proverbs help communicate the message indirectly but clearly without causing unnecessary offence (Chesaina, 1991:13). A number of proverbs are evident in the

selected Ohangla songs. The singers are able to criticise, ridicule and condemn without causing offence. Examples of proverbs include:

24. Ong'er ne odwaro ip mabor (Dholuo)
The monkey solicited for its long tail. (English)

This proverb (24) is in reference to the fact that everyone is answerable to his/her own action i.e. each person should bear the burden of his/her own action.

2.3.2 The use of idiomatic expressions

The main feature that characterises idiomatic expressions is that the words are used metaphorically. The surface structure of the expression therefore has a little role to play in understanding the meaning of the words.

An idiom is a kind of lexical unit in which the whole meaning of the expression is not apparent from the meaning of its components (Bell, 1991:3). The meanings of words are arbitrarily stipulated in memory (Moreno, 2007:304).

According to Moreno, the meaning of idioms cannot be derived compositionally by the morpho-syntactic rules of a language. For example, the meaning of the following idiomatic expression (25) cannot be derived from the meaning of the words as assigned to them by the grammar of the language:

25. This project will cost you an arm and a leg.

The meaning of (25) cannot be derived from the individual words- cost, arm, leg. The linguistic forms of idioms are said to bear no relation with their meanings (Moreno, 2007:305). The meaning of the idiomatic expression (25) is not related to the words. The speaker of the utterance means that the project will cost a large sum of money i.e. it will be very costly. Relevance Theory assumes that idioms are processed like any other linguistic expression where listeners seek to find relevant interpretations following a path of least effort (Moreno, 2007).

Idiomatic expressions are closely related to metaphors. They too need to achieve the activation of the encyclopaedic entries and work on weak implicatures as suggested in Relevance Theory.

Fromkin et al (2011:151-152), states that idioms start out as metaphors that 'catch on' and are repeated so often that they become fixtures in the language. Idioms must be entered

into the lexicon or mental dictionary as single items with their meanings specified, and speakers must learn the special restrictions on their use in sentences. One learns idioms in just the same way that one learns vocabulary.

2.3.3 Use of personification

Personification is the practice of showing a particular quality in the form of a person. It usually describes inanimate objects or abstract concepts as being endowed with human attributes, power or feelings (Crystal, 1987).

Personification is closely associated with allusion where one alludes to actual people, events or social beliefs yet people can easily interpret the meaning in their culture, see the following example:

26. The hyena laughed as she ran into the forest.

The animal-hyena has been given a human ability (laughter). The reference of the hyena as “she”, is also an aspect of personification. Personification is also evident in certain proverbs, for example:

27. Ondiek ok nyier nono. (Dholuo) Adapted from Luo Proverbs and Sayings (1995:86)
A hyena doesn't laugh without a cause. (English)

This is in reference to the fact that nothing takes place without a cause. Personification is a common feature found in Ohangla lyrics, for example:

28. In ye omuga marito piny. (Dholuo)
You are the rhinoceros that watches over the land. (English)

In this example (28), the rhinoceros has been personified as a being able to watch over the “human” land.

2.3.4 Use of symbolism

Symbolism refers to the use of a sign which stands for something else within a speech community. A symbol is a device that stands for representation i.e. it represents thoughts and ideas (Kitsao, 1975:129).

Robert (1994:419) states that the meaning of any symbol is controlled by its context. According to him, a symbol is any object that represents something beyond itself. The interpretation of symbols also depends on the cultural background of the community in

question. At times different symbols may mean different things to different groups of people.

Concepts that can cause embarrassment are always presented using symbolism. When a speaker does not want to offend his/her listeners he might decide to use symbolism. For example, in most Kenyan communities, sexual organs and sexual acts are often referred to by use of symbols. In most of these communities sex issues are regarded as “taboo” subjects in public debates. Symbols are therefore used to avoid being offensive to the listener. Artists use different symbols to communicate various aspects affecting the community. Most Ohangla artists use symbolism to conceal certain concepts from a particular group. Certain issues or plans of action may be “hidden” from the “enemy”, see the following example:

29. Gol newaloyo to bimbe omayowa (Dholuo)

We scored a goal but the baboons snatched it from us (English).

In the above example (29), ‘bimbe’ (baboons) symbolically refers to a group of people. This symbol may also be used to mock or pour scorn on the particular group of people. To Luos, baboons are seen as ugly, destructive creatures.

Animal characters are used to symbolise certain aspects. For example the hyena in most African communities symbolises greed and cowardice. The tortoise symbolises wisdom. Other animals that are used as symbols include the elephant, lion, buffalo, monkey. Birds like the dove are seen as symbols of peace.

2.3.5 The use of metaphors

Various types of metaphors are used in Ohangla lyrics. Relevance Theory views metaphor as a normal linguistic mechanism. A metaphor is a form of broadening whereby the meaning communicated is far from the literal meaning i.e. the meaning communicated by the use of a particular word differs from the linguistically encoded or literal meaning assigned by the grammar, for example:

30. The leader of the gang is a devil.

The literal meaning of the above utterance is not what the speaker intends to communicate. The metaphor ‘devil’ encodes the concept DEVIL. The hearer’s encyclopaedic knowledge of devils includes information that they are evil, unholy, destructive, cruel, murderous and that they operate from hell. In order to correctly

interpret this utterance (30), the hearer uses the concept DEVIL with its associated encyclopaedic knowledge as a starting point for constructing a hypothesis about the concept the speaker wants to express and the implications the speaker intends to convey. Any interpretation should satisfy the hearer's expectation of relevance i.e. lexical meanings are adjusted in order to satisfy expectations of relevance. The concept communicated goes beyond the literal meaning of the word.

Cuddon (1979:391) states that a metaphor is a figure of speech in which one thing is described in terms of another. A metaphor requires the hearer to conceive of one thing as actually being another kind of thing. Leech (1965) states that in a metaphor, two or more things not normally thought of as being connected with each other are brought together and fused in the imagination of the other. Example (31) can be used to illustrate the definition given by Cuddon and Leech.

31. I hate politicians. They are chameleons.

In the above example (31), the hearer is expected to conceive politicians as actually being chameleons. On the other hand, the two (politicians and chameleons) are not normally thought of as being connected with each other. As mentioned in chapter 1, metaphors involve the construction of an ad hoc concept from an encoded concept. Ad hoc concept construction is a process that is typical of metaphorical interpretations. In the interpretation of (31), the hearer will be required to expand from the category CHAMELEON to the category CHAMELEON*, which includes the actual chameleons and people who share with chameleons the encyclopaedic property. Some of the encyclopaedic entries that the hearer will work on include:

- i. Chameleons are animals of a particular kind.
- ii. Chameleons change appearance to blend with the surrounding.
- iii. Chameleons are slow in movement.
- iv. When in a particular environment chameleons remain unnoticed by enemies.

Metaphors work on weak implicatures. From the above encyclopaedic entries, the hearer will be able to interpret the speaker's statement. Relevance Theory offers meaningful explanation of how hearers infer meanings for figurative language use. Metaphors can be interpreted in various ways depending on the context. The hearer only finds one possible interpretation that is relevant to the present situation. The aim of a pragmatic account of

metaphor is to explain how hearers recognise the intended meaning of a metaphorical utterance in context. From the above encyclopaedic entries, the utterance (31) can be interpreted as:

- a) Politicians are unreliable (change appearance to blend with the surrounding i.e. they cannot be trusted).
- b) Politicians do not act fast when requested to assist someone in need (they are slow in movement).
- c) Politicians always think they have enemies wherever they go (when in a particular environment they remain unnoticed by enemies).

The hearer's relevant interpretation will depend on the context in which the statement was made i.e. the goal of pragmatics is to explain how hearers infer the speaker's intended meaning from clues provided by the utterance and the context. Sperber and Wilson argue that the search for the interpretation on which an utterance will be most relevant involves a search for the context which will make this interpretation possible (Sperber & Wilson, 1982:76). A metaphor is the speaker's meaning, although interpreting it is the hearer's task. Although a metaphor can make the hearer spend more processing effort than a normal literal expression, metaphors are used because the cognitive effect that the hearer gets from them are bigger than the processing effort for treating them.

Cruse (2000:205) points out that metaphor is an essential component of human cognition which is conceptual in nature and is a means whereby the abstract and intangible areas of experience can be conceptualized in terms of the familiar and concrete. Metaphors in Relevance Theory are utterances which are implicatures that require contextual effect to be understood, analysed, interpreted and processed.

Most singers in the selected Ohangla songs make use of metaphors in their songs. The metaphors take different forms. There are those that are used in proverbs, idiomatic expressions, they are used in symbolism and in personification. The metaphors used in the selected songs have a particular effect. Some of the effects have been mentioned under proverbs in this chapter. The singer's intention of using metaphors in the selected Ohangla songs will be discussed in details in chapter 3.

The metaphors used in selected Ohangla songs take different forms. This section will briefly explain the forms that the metaphors take. These forms will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

2.4. Types of metaphors in Ohanga lyrics

As mentioned earlier, these metaphors are derived from the cultural background of the Luo people. They are mental representations within their cultural environment. The people can identify with these metaphors. The choice of the metaphor to use is important because of the intention of the singer in using it.

2.4.1 War-like metaphors

These metaphors are confrontational. They portray a conflict. The use of the metaphor calls for violence or it is a call on the hearer(s) to defend a particular course of action. Most of these metaphors make use of weapons as metaphors. There is the use of traditional weapons such as the spear and shield. For example a call for action can be expressed using the following utterance:

32. Ting' tongi lweny ochopo (Dholuo)
Carry your spear it's time for battle (English)

2.4.2 Animal metaphors

Most of these metaphors describe human characters using animal attributes. The use of animal metaphors to describe human characters reveals the attitude of the speaker towards what he/she is talking about. Different animals are used to portray different qualities. Particular animals are reserved for people in leadership positions. Most of these are animals that portray power and strength. Birds are also included in this group of animal metaphors, for example:

33. Opija oyo ng'wen. (Dholuo) Adapted from Luo Proverbs and Sayings (1995:88).
A swallow entices flying white ants.

The analysis and interpretation of these metaphors depend on the encyclopaedic entries of the animal in the mind of the hearer. The animal attributes in the mind of the speaker are transferred to persons. This will be discussed in detail during data analysis in the next chapter.

2.4.3 Instruments and machines

Most of these metaphors emerged as a result of technological development. Some of the instruments used are traditional while others are as a result of technological development e.g. the use of vehicles and machines as metaphors. Some of the physical characteristics of the machines are transferred to persons.

2.4.4 Football images

Dholuo speakers are known for their love of football. There is even a football team that is associated with the community in Kenya- Gor Mahia Football Club. Most members of the community are therefore conversant with football register. Ohangla singers exploit this and use it to pass a message to the members of the community. Football as a metaphor is also believed to have a war-like nature. This is because it involves two opposing sides. A conflict arises since in this contest the outcome should give results. Both teams “fight” to be declared the winner. The football pitch is portrayed as the battle- field. Ohangla artists use this metaphor effectively since it captures the attention of a community that loves the game- football.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has examined the lexical choices that Ohangla singers have to make in order to pass their message effectively. The intention of the singer determines the lexical choices that he/she makes. The chapter began by giving a brief discussion on lexical borrowing and code-switching which also influence the lexical choices that Ohangla singers have to make. The chapter gave an overview of the figures of speech that are related to metaphors. Examples of the images used in proverbs, idiomatic expressions, personification and symbolism have been discussed briefly. The images used portray the singer’s intention in different ways as shall be discussed in the next chapter.

The final part of this chapter discussed the use of metaphors. The types of metaphors used in Ohangla lyrics have been discussed. The context in which these figures of speech have been used helps in understanding the singer’s message. Context will therefore be of great importance in the analysis of the selected Ohangla lyrics.

CHAPTER THREE: ANIMAL METAPHORS, METAPHORS BASED ON INSTRUMENTS AND MACHINES

3.1 Introduction

This chapter and the next one analyses the metaphors used by artists in selected Ohangla lyrics. The chapter is divided into three parts. It begins with a discussion on the analysis of animal metaphors in the selected Ohangla lyrics. The second part will discuss the analysis of the metaphors based on instruments and machines. The intention of the singer in the selection of the metaphors in the selected Ohangla lyrics is also discussed in each part. The chapter finalises with a conclusion on the analysis of metaphors based on animals and instruments/machines.

3.2 Metaphors with animal attributes

These are metaphors that describe persons using animal attributes. The animal attributes in the mind of the speaker are transferred to the person. Most Ohangla artists use animal metaphors to pass on their message. The artists use these animal metaphors for various intentions. The analysis and interpretation of these metaphors depend on the encyclopaedic entries of the animal in the mind of the hearer.

A good number of Ohangla artists use animal metaphors in their lyrics. The examples given below show the use of animal metaphors in Ohangla lyrics. The examples used only identify the parts of the song that has the animal metaphors. The song “Raila Jakom” (Raila the chairman) by Lady Moureen has a good example of the use of animal metaphors.

1. RAILA JAKOM (BY LADY MOUREEN) – DHOLUO

Raila awer wendi wuo Nyalego Agwambo omin Akinyi....**simba**
Raila awer wendi wuo Nyalego baba wuod Odinga
Awer wendi wuo Nyalego baba omin Akinyi
Awer wendi baba omin Oburu
Awer wendi baba tinga omin Adhiambo....**simba**

RAILA THE CHAIRMAN (BY LADY MOUREEN)- ENGLISH

Raila I sing your song son of Nyalego Agwambo Akinyi’s brother....the **lion**
Raila I sing your song son of Nyalego son of Odinga
I sing your song son of Nyalego Akinyi’s brother
I sing your song Oburu’s brother
I sing your song the tractor Adhiambo’s brother....the **lion**

The song above (“Raila Jakom”) is in praise of Raila Odinga, a political leader. He is a respected leader in the Luo community. In this stanza, Raila is being referred to as the lion. The interpretation of this metaphor will depend on the encyclopaedic entries of the lion in the mind of the hearer i.e. metaphor in Relevance Theory requires the activation of encyclopaedic entries. In this example, Raila is not literally a lion, but certain characteristics that are found in the encyclopaedic entries of lions in the mind of the hearer are activated to transfer them on Raila. In interpreting this song, the hearer broadens the metaphor lion to include the ad hoc concept *LION. This gives the interpretation of the metaphor according to the context in which it is used. The encyclopaedic entries for lion provide information such as:

- a) Lions are wild animals
- b) They are fierce animals
- c) They belong to the cat family
- d) They are brave and powerful
- e) They are very fast
- f) Lions are dangerous
- g) Lions are skilled hunters
- h) Lions feed on fresh flesh

All these entries (a-h) refer to lions in general. They are stored in the mind of speakers/hearers. From the given encyclopaedic entries, only a few can be chosen to refer to Raila. As already mentioned, metaphors in Relevance Theory are context-dependent. The mind of the hearer will only select characteristics which fit the context of utterance. From the entries given, the hearer will understand Raila as brave and powerful.

In Dholuo oral literature, the lion is in most cases depicted as “the king of the bush”. The lion as a metaphor is used to refer to leaders. It symbolises authority, strength and power. As a leader among Dholuo speakers, Raila is seen as the person who provides political direction for the community. Just as the lion provides leadership for the pride, Raila is seen as a person who provides leadership for the community. He is seen as a “king”. Members of his community view him as brave, powerful and in control of the politics of Luo land. He addresses issues without fear. He is therefore the “lion” of the region. He is held in high esteem.

Through this metaphor, the intention of the singer is to portray Raila as the undisputed leader in Luo land. The singer wants to inform the hearer that Raila is courageous and has

authority over the people of Luo Nyanza. The hearer is able to get this interpretation from his/her encyclopaedic entries about lions.

Among the Luos, particular animal metaphors are used to refer to leaders. These are animals that portray strength, power and authority. The animals are seen to command authority over other animals. Such animals include the buffalo, rhinoceros, hippopotamus and elephant. Ohangla artists make effective use of these animal metaphors. Lady Moureen in the song above (“Raila Jakom”) has used all these animal metaphors to refer to Raila Odinga. Consider the following lines from the song:

2. Raila kituo to Kenya tuo
Raila kituo to Kenya tuo
Omiyo ayie gi tinga wuod Nyalego
Amolo wuod oganda mano **simba**
Omin Akinyi analuongi ni **jowi**
Omin Akinyi anadendi ni **omuga**
Omin Akinyi omiyo anwoyi ni **simba** marito piny te

Raila when you are sick Kenya is sick
Raila when you are sick Kenya is sick
That’s why I agree with the tractor son of Nyalego
Amolo son of the community that’s the **lion**
Akinyi’s brother, I refer to you as the **buffalo**
Akinyi’s brother, I praise you the **rhinoceros**
Akinyi’s brother I repeat that you are the **lion** that protects the land

In the data above, Raila is referred to as the buffalo. Just like in the interpretation of the earlier metaphor (lion), the hearer’s interpretation will depend on the encyclopaedic entries of buffalo. The singer does not want to communicate that Raila is a buffalo. The hearer broadens the image buffalo to include the ad hoc concept *BUFFALO. *BUFFALO is context dependent and the hearer will look for entries in his/her mind that will give the correct interpretation of what the singer means. The encyclopaedic entries about buffalo in the mind of the hearer include:

- a) The buffalo is a wild animal
- b) It feeds on grass
- c) It has hooves
- d) Has strong horns for defence
- e) It has a tough skin
- f) It is strong and daring

As already mentioned, the interpretation of metaphors using the lexical pragmatic approach is context-dependent. In the data above, the artist is praising an individual

(Raila). The hearer will therefore pick on the relevant attributes of the buffalo and transfer them on Raila. The attributes of the buffalo that might be relevant in this context are (d-f). The hearer will therefore conclude that the speaker is passing a particular message about Raila. He will conclude that just like the buffalo, Raila is strong, daring and tough. It is this information that will provide sufficient positive cognitive effects in order to reach an interpretation. In the traditional Luo society, the buffalo skin was used to make shields. Warriors used the shields to protect themselves during wars. Referring to Raila as the buffalo might also imply that he is the shield of the community. The hearer is able to interpret the singer's message. Raila is viewed as a person who is out to defend and protect his people. He is tough and strong just like the buffalo.

Raila in this song is also referred to as the rhinoceros. Using the lexical pragmatic approach, the hearer will broaden the image rhino to include the ad hoc concept *RHINO. The hearer will then look for entries about rhinos in his/her mind that are relevant to the context of the utterance. From the encyclopaedic entries of the rhinoceros, the hearer is able to identify the rhinoceros as a strong animal. It is huge and has a powerful horn that it uses for defence against the enemy. The rhino is a dangerous animal when provoked. It fights to defend its territory. In this song the artist says:

3. Wuod Nyalego to in **omuga makedo**
Wuod Nyalego to in **omuga makedo**
To in **eliech moriwo**

Son of Nyalego you are the **battling rhino**
Son of Nyalego you are the **battling rhino**
You are the **elephant that unites.**

These attributes of the rhino can be transferred on Raila. The intention of the singer is to portray Raila as a strong leader and a fighter. Just like the rhinoceros, he is stable/firm. The rhino rarely falls down. It fights to the end. It rarely gives up. Referring to Raila as the battling rhino can be interpreted to mean that he does not give up. The hearer is able to transfer these attributes in order to interpret the speaker's message.

Raila has also been referred to as the elephant. The hearer will still broaden the metaphor-elephant to include the ad hoc concept *ELEPHANT. From his/her encyclopaedic entries, the hearer will try to interpret the message the singer is trying to pass across. The elephant is a strong animal. It is also seen as the leader of all the other animals in the forest. Its body size makes it domineering. It signifies authority and strength.

“You are the **elephant that unites**”. This line shows that the elephant is wise. He unites where there is disunity. This is what is expected of a leader. Through this metaphor the singer portrays Raila as a leader capable of uniting his people. Rarely do other animals challenge the elephant. The metaphor therefore can be interpreted to mean that Raila, just like the elephant does not accept to be challenged. This is true because in the politics of Luo Nyanza, nobody has ever challenged him and succeeded. When it comes to the politics of Luo Nyanza, he gives direction on the trend it should take. He is known to influence even the voting pattern of the community. He is the “elephant”. The metaphor of the battling rhino is relevant to the hearer because among the Luos, leaders were traditionally expected to lead their people in battle. A leader who takes the forefront in battle is respected. Other leaders of the community are also likened to these animals. For example, in Onyi Papa Jay’s song –“Hon. Omondi Anyanga”, the Member of Parliament for Nyatike is referred to as the rhino (omuk lela. i.e. the rhino of the plain field).

Apart from praising leaders, Ohangla artists use animal metaphors to praise the people they love. Love songs also make good use of animal metaphors. Lady Moureen sings praising her love. She portrays the lovers’ positive attributes using animal metaphors. The following data shows the use of animal metaphors in Ohangla love songs:

4. ODHIS CHUNYA (LADY MOUREEN) – DHOLUO

Achal penja wuod Awendo kunena bebina
 An aluongi ni **simba** maritoyaa
 Athuol penja Nyajoseme kunena wuod Ugenya
 An aluongi ni **rwath** mapurona

ODHIS MY HEART (LADY MOUREEN) – ENGLISH

Achal son of Awendo is asking me have you seen my baby
 I refer to you as **the lion** that protects me
 Athuol is asking me lady from Seme have you seen the man from Ugenya
 I refer to you as **the bull** that ploughs for me

In this song, the singer refers to her lover as the lion and the bull. The hearer will broaden the two images into the ad hoc concepts *LION and *BULL respectively. The hearer is able to draw from his/her encyclopaedic entries that the lion is a fierce wild animal, it is dangerous, it belongs to the cat family; it can move very fast, it is a strong and powerful animal. The singer refers to her lover as “the lion that protects me.” The hearer is able to interpret this based on the context. The intention of the singer is to portray the man as strong and powerful. He is fierce and therefore nobody can interfere with the speaker (the

lady he loves). The use of the metaphor, lion, shows that the lady feels secure in the presence of the man. This is because the lion is a strong animal. The lady's lover is therefore portrayed as protective. He is the *LION.

The singer has also referred to the man she loves as, "the bull that ploughs my land." The hearer interprets the image bull through the pragmatic process of broadening. The metaphor is broadened to include the ad hoc concept *BULL. The hearer will then draw entries in his/her mind about bulls. The Luo are known to use bulls to plough their farms. Bulls are strong animals. They are capable of ploughing even very dry lands. The singer is appreciating her lover's strength. No lady wants to be married to a lazy man. Every person who owns a bull is proud of the bull. Among the Luo community, there were bulls set aside specifically for ploughing. The singer is therefore pointing out to the hardworking nature of her lover.

The use of the bull as a metaphor in this song also has sexual connotations. The act of ploughing can refer to the sexual act. In this interpretation the image plough is broadened to include the ad hoc concept *PLOUGH. The context in which this metaphor has been used points to this kind of interpretation. The metaphor is related to what the singer utters later in the song. The metaphor is not analysed in isolation. Looking at the context of the whole song, the hearer arrives at this interpretation i.e. that "the bull that ploughs for me" has a sexual implication. The following lines from the same song can lead the hearer to this kind of interpretation:

5. An aluongi ni rwath mapurona
Bebina mamiya hera maduog aol
Bebina mamiya hera maduog asim

I refer to you as the bull that ploughs for me
My baby that shows me love until I become tired
My baby that shows me love until I pass out.

In the following example, drawn from the same song ("Odhis Chunya"), the singer is singing while the lover is away from her. She praises him and wants him to come back. As she sings, she uses a metaphor on animals to allude to the fact that the lover has gotten lost. In this metaphor she refers to the lover as a calf. She says:

6. Bebina bebina nyaroya olal
Bebina bebina nyaroya ochodo

My baby my baby **the calf** is lost
My baby my baby **the calf** has broken loose

In interpreting this metaphor, the hearer will depend on the encyclopaedic entries of a calf available in his/her mind. As mentioned earlier, an utterance is relevant to an individual if it connects up with the background information he has available to yield conclusions that matter to him (Sperber 2003:3). The following are some of the encyclopaedic entries that the hearer will have before arriving at an appropriate interpretation:

- i. A calf is the young one of a cow
- ii. The calf depends on the cow for proper development
- iii. The calf depends on milk for survival
- iv. The calf can easily get lost if left alone in the open
- v. The calf is delicate
- vi. The calf has to be tethered to ensure it's safe
- vii. A calf is playful and can break loose even when tethered

To get the correct interpretation of the singer's message, the hearer will broaden the metaphor calf to include the ad hoc concept *CALF. From the encyclopaedic entries above, the hearer will be able to conclude that the singer (speaker) has a feeling that her lover is not safe when he is away from her. As a calf her lover needs to be taken care of. That if he is not with her (the speaker) he can get lost or be stolen by somebody else. The intention of the singer is to show the vulnerability of her lover. She has to take care of him. She feels that the lover is delicate and needs to be handled with care. According to the singer, the calf has broken loose because of its playful nature. It can still be found and brought back home. A calf cannot just leave, it can only stray away from where it was stationed, see the next metaphor that asserts this fact:

7. Bebina bebina nyaroya olal
 (My baby my baby the calf is lost)
 Bebina bebina nyaroya ochodo
 (My baby my baby the calf has broken loose)

Animal metaphors are not only used to praise and talk of good values in an individual. Ohangla artists also use animal metaphors to ridicule or mock. Certain animal metaphors are used in particular contexts to derogatively refer to people. The hearer is able to correctly interpret this negative portrayal based on the context of use and the background knowledge that he/she has in the mind about the animal. Certain animals also have a negative portrayal because of the cultural beliefs of the community. Animals that are commonly portrayed negatively include monkeys, baboons (the ape family), frogs, snakes and birds such as the owl.

The song “Raila Jakom” by Lady Moureen uses animal metaphors to derogatively refer to Raila’s opponents.

8. RAILA JAKOM (LADY MOUREEN)

Raila **ong’eché** manigolo ebungu
Ong’eché tinde othiro yiwgi
Ong’eché manigolo ebungu
Ong’eché tinde othiro yiwgi
Bimbe manigolo ekite
Bimbe tinde othiro yiwgi

RAILA THE CHAIRMAN (LADY MOUREEN)

Raila the **monkeys** that you got out of the forest
The **monkeys** these days raise up their tails
The **monkeys** that you got out of the forest
The **monkeys** these days raise up their tails
The **baboons** that you got out of the stones
The **baboons** these days raise their tails

To correctly interpret this song, the hearer must have background knowledge of the politics of Kenya. He/she must have background knowledge of the relationship between Raila and the “monkeys” and “baboons”. The encyclopaedic knowledge about the animals will also help in understanding the song. Baboons and monkeys belong to the ape family. The two animals share a number of characteristics. The hearer will develop the following encyclopaedic entries about these animals:

- i. They are not human
- ii. They are said to be tricky
- iii. They live on trees
- iv. They are jumpy. They can move from one tree to another within a very short period of time
- v. They are ugly creatures
- vi. They have a tail
- vii. They are destructive. They mostly destroy crops in human farms.

To correctly interpret the song, the hearer must understand the metaphors in question (Monkeys and baboons). The two images will be broadened to include the ad hoc concept *MONKEY and *BABOON. The song is political in nature and the interpretation must have a political angle. Ohangla artists use these animal metaphors to derogatorily refer to the Kikuyu. In the above example, according to the singer, the Kikuyu are seen as tricky and jumpy. They cannot be trusted. One cannot make a deal with them and expect them to honour their part of the deal. Most of these songs are full of hate for the Kikuyu. This is

because the Luo and the Kikuyu have been political rivals for a long period of time. To express their hate, some of the Ohangla artists portray the Kikuyu as “ugly” people. This can be interpreted by the hearer based on his/her encyclopaedic entries about monkeys. This interpretation will only be possible if the hearer has a common background information on the hatred that exists between the Luo and the Kikuyu, especially in political matters.

Consider the song “Raila Jakom” by Lady Moureen

9. Raila ong’eche manigolo ebungu
Ong’eche tinde othiro yiwgi

Raila the monkeys that you got out of the forest
The monkeys these days raise up their tails

For the hearer to correctly interpret this song, he/she must have background information of the political events that took place in Kenya prior to the 2002 General Elections. During this period, Raila Odinga had declared that Mwai Kibaki should be the only presidential candidate from the NARC coalition to vie against the then ruling party’s (KANU) candidate Uhuru Kenyatta. Raila’s declaration, popularly referred to as the “Kibaki Tosha” (Kibaki is enough) declaration came as a surprise to many. This was because of the political rivalry that existed between the Luos and the Kikuyu. Before the “Kibaki Tosha” declaration, no Luo could think of voting in a Kikuyu. After Raila’s declaration, almost all Luo voters voted for Kibaki, a Kikuyu. As a result of this, Kibaki was able to defeat his main opponent Uhuru Kenyatta, a fellow Kikuyu. Kibaki’s victory was realised because the Luos voted as a block for him. It is as a result of this that most people said that Raila helped Kibaki ascend to power.

After ascending to power, Kibaki turned his back on Raila. The memorandum of understanding that the two signed was not honoured. This formed the basis of the song. According to the Ohangla artist, Raila got Kibaki from a position where he could not “see” the presidency (from the forest). The utterance by the artist, “The monkeys these days raise up their tails,” can be interpreted to mean that they have shown Raila their backs. The fact that they now “raise their tails” is an indicator that when they came to look for support from Raila, their tails were coiled i.e. they went to Raila in humility. The metaphor of monkeys with raised tails shows the excitement after getting what they wanted (the presidency). They do not need Raila anymore and are now walking away in excitement. This can be interpreted from the encyclopaedic entries pointing to the fact

that the monkeys are tricky and jumpy. They cannot be trusted. One cannot make a deal with them. According to the Ohangla artist, the “monkeys” did not honour the memorandum of understanding. The animal metaphor in this song (monkey) has been used to derogatively refer to the Kikuyu. This metaphor reveals the singer’s attitude towards the Kikuyu as contemptuous and spiteful.

The artist refers to the Kikuyu in another part of the same song as baboons. She says:

10. Bimbe manigolo ekite
Bimbe tinde othiro yiwgi

The baboons that you got out of the stones
The baboons these days raise their tails.

Just like the use of the animal metaphor, monkeys, the use of baboons is also derogatory. Most Ohangla artists use the ape family to refer to the Kikuyu. The Kikuyu have been the main political rivals of the Luo since independence. The hearer of the song will have the same encyclopaedic entries of the ape family (monkeys and baboons). According to the singer, Raila got the baboons from the stones. This refers to a rocky place. A rocky ground is not productive. It is useless ground. This emphasises the fact that Raila rescued the Kikuyu politically. The metaphor shows the ungrateful nature of the Kikuyu. The animal metaphor conceals the singer’s intention. She cannot be accused of hate speech. The singer passes her message indirectly. The message of the song will only be interpreted correctly by the people who understand the intention of the singer.

Derogatory reference of people through the use of animal metaphors can also be seen in the song “Mapatano” by Onyi Papa Jay. In this song, the Ohangla artist refers to the Kikuyu as ‘frogs’, and ‘wild animals’. Consider the following data:

11. MAPATANO (BY ONYI PAPA JAY)

Nyithiwa towe awachnue
Onagi koro awachonu
Joluya koro awachonu
Jakisii koro akonu kama
An omin Atieno,
Opira manewaloyo nokelo jemo
Epiny Kenya
Ogwal nang’o umawa hapwa
Ni joka **le** nang’o umawa hapwa

RECONCILIATION (BY ONYI PAPA JAY)

Our children let me tell you
The Luos let me now tell you
Luhyas let me now tell you
The Kisii let me now tell you this
I, Atieno's brother
The goal we scored brought conflict
In the land of Kenya
Frogs why have you snatched our luck
Wild animals why have you snatched our luck from us

This song is in reference to the events that took place in Kenya after the 2007 General Elections. In interpreting this song, the hearer must have this background information. The song addresses the reconciliation process after the post election violence in Kenya in the year 2008. During the 2007 elections, the supporters of Raila Odinga, mostly from the Luo community, believed that he emerged victorious. According to Raila's supporters, the victory was "stolen" from them. To them Raila won the 2007 General Elections. The victory was given to the then president Mwai Kibaki. Kibaki's victory heightened the tension and hatred that existed between the Kikuyu and the Luo.

In interpreting this song, the hearer will look for the encyclopaedic entries in his mind about frogs and wild animals. He/she will try to get some relevance from what the speaker says. From his/her background knowledge of frogs, the hearer will draw entries such as:

- a) Frogs are amphibians.
- b) Frogs can survive on land or in water
- c) Frogs have webbed feet
- d) Frogs feed on insects
- e) Frogs are jumpy.
- f) Frogs are ugly looking

These entries can help the hearer get the relevant interpretation of what the speaker says based on the context. To achieve this, the hearer loosens the image frogs to include the ad hoc concept *FROGS. The hearer will have in mind the hatred that the two communities have of each other, and the violence that erupted after the election results were announced in 2007. The hearer will then conclude that since frogs can survive both on land and in water, they cannot be trusted. The fact that they are also jumpy is a clear indicator that they do not have a firm stand. They shift goal posts. They will only stop jumping when they feel they are out of danger. The singer feels that the Luo were snatched their victory

by the Kikuyu. The Kikuyu are portrayed as jumpy and untrustworthy. The singer refers to the Kikuyu as wild animals. In analysing this metaphor, the hearer is able to look for encyclopaedic entries about wild animals. From this, he/she will be able to understand that the speaker is portraying the beastly nature of the Kikuyu. To the singer, the Kikuyu are not human. They are cruel. As already mentioned, the use of such animal metaphors conceals the singer's intention from those who do not share common background information with him/her.

Frogs why have you snatched our luck
Wild animals why have you snatched our luck

From this song, the Luo (Raila) feel that their victory was snatched from them and given to the Kikuyu (Kibaki).

Onyi Papa Jay uses frogs and wild animals as metaphors to refer to the Kikuyu in most of his songs that are political in nature. In his song "Obama," he sings in praise of the president of the United States of America whose origin can be traced back to Luo land in Kenya. In this song, the singer sings about Obama's visit to Kenya when he was a Senator. In his visit to Kenya, Obama visited his ancestral home in K'ogelo in Siaya County. In his visit to Siaya he was accompanied by Raila Odinga. Onyi Papa Jay's song is based on this visit. Consider part of the song in which he refers to the Kikuyu as frogs and wild animals.

12. OBAMA (BY ONYI PAPA JAY)

Wuod Alego oduogo Kenya
Oduogo manyo gweth
Obama wuod Alego oduogo Kenya
Oduogo manyo gweth
Odonjo gi Langata othiyo moso Agwambo
Joka **le** nene chich a chichi
Ogwal nene chich a chichi
Ogwal oduogo chich
Ni Jaluo ngama nade
OBAMA (BY ONYI PAPA JAY)

The son of Alego came back to Kenya
He came back to look for blessings
Obama son of Alego came back to Kenya
He came back to look for blessings
He came through Langata to greet Agwambo
The **wild animals** were just restless
Frog was restless
That what kind of a person the Luo was

In interpreting this song, the hearer must understand its context. The song focuses on Obama's visit when Kibaki (a Kikuyu) was the president of Kenya. When Obama came to Kenya, Kibaki had declared that he would seek re-election as president contrary to the 2002 memorandum of understanding that he would support Raila (a Luo) in his bid to be elected president. Obama came to visit Kenya when there was a fall out between Kibaki and Raila. When Obama went to visit his ancestral home with Raila, President Kibaki and his people (the Kikuyu) became restless and suspicious. Obama was seen as supporting Raila. The encyclopaedic entries about the frog and wild animals discussed earlier apply in this song.

Onyi Papa Jay uses the two animal metaphors (frog and wild animals) again in his song, "Migingi Dhi". This is a song about Migingo Island. This is the island in Kenya that Uganda claims ownership. The singer feels that the Kenyan government wants to hand over the island to Uganda in order to kill the economic base of the Luo. The island is known for fish production. There is a lot of code-mixing in this song. The singer mixes Dholuo and Kiswahili. Consider part of the song:

13. MIGINGO DHI (BY ONYI PAPA JAY)

Mkoa wa Nyanza wametegemea uvuvi
Muhuru kisiwani wametegemea uvuvi
Akonu Joka nyanam
Kik utug dhao
Owete ni maplan
Mopangi kod Joka **le**

MIGINGO IS GOING (BY ONYI PAPA JAY)

Nyanza Province depends on fishing
Muhuru Island depends on fishing
Let me tell you people of the daughter of the lake
Do not start a fight
Brothers this is a plan
It is planned by the **wild animals**

In the song above the interpretation of the metaphor above can be carried out as discussed earlier. The wild animals still refer to the Kikuyu. The interpretation is based on the fact that at that time the government of Kenya was under the leadership of Kibaki (a Kikuyu). The greatest threat to his leadership was Raila (a Luo). Planning to hand over Migingo to Uganda was enough to destroy the economic base of the Luo. The ad hoc concept *FROG

and *WILD ANIMAL reveal the intention of the singer. Through this metaphor the Kikuyu are portrayed as tricky, inhuman and untrustworthy.

3.3 Metaphors Based on Instruments and Machines

This section discusses the instruments and machines that are used as metaphors in Ohangla lyrics. People are described using instruments and machines. The attributes of the instruments and machines in the mind of the speaker are transferred to people. The analysis and interpretation of the metaphor will depend on the encyclopaedic entries of the instrument or machine in the mind of the hearer. Most of these metaphors developed as a result of technological development while some of them are cultural items in the Luo culture. These metaphors are used for various purposes as shall be discussed using various Ohangla lyrics. The part of the song with the metaphor will be highlighted and discussed in the context of the song.

In most Ohangla lyrics, certain personalities are given the attributes of a machine. Raila Odinga has been praised by almost all Ohangla singers. Raila is referred to as “tinga” (tractor) in most Ohangla lyrics. Tony Nyadundo in his song “Raila Igalagala” says the following about Raila:

14. Tinga wuod Nyalego igalagala. (Dholuo)

The tractor son of Nyalego you are unique. (English)

Tinga is a word borrowed from Kiswahili. It refers to a tractor. In this song, the attributes of a tractor in the mind of the speaker are transferred to a person- Raila. The interpretation of this metaphor will depend on the encyclopaedic entries of the tractor in the mind of the hearer. The hearer will broaden the image tractor to include the ad hoc concept *TRACTOR. It is the ad hoc concepts that will help the hearer get the correct interpretation of the song. The encyclopaedic entries of the tractor will include the following information:

- a) A tractor is a machine
- b) A tractor is a heavy vehicle
- c) A tractor is meant to carry out heavy tasks
- d) A tractor can pass through rough terrains
- e) A tractor can be used to break hard grounds
- f) A tractor can overcome obstacles

In the interpretation of this metaphor, the hearer will pick on the relevant entries depending on the context and transfer them on Raila. From the above entries, the hearer will be able to conclude that Raila is powerful. He is capable of overcoming obstacles that come his way. He can do a lot of work within a short time. The use of tractor as a metaphor signifies strength and power. Raila is therefore seen as a political heavy weight. He can overcome all the political obstacles that are placed on his way by his opponents. As a tractor he can break hard grounds that other politicians fear. He even goes to his opponents territories without fear.

In his song, “Raila Jakom,” Asamm Jakosoko refers to Raila as “chuma” (iron-metal). This metaphor is borrowed from Kiswahili. “Chuma” cannot be bent easily. It can also be used as a weapon for defence. The singer utters the following line:

15. Eee waparie wuod Nyalego Tinga, Agwambo chuma liet kimak gi lwedo.(Dholuo)
Eee let’s remember son of Nyalego the tractor, Agwambo hot iron metal
that can’t be held with bare hands. (English)

Among his people, Raila is also known as Agwambo. Agwambo means miraculous or mysterious. He is seen as a unique person not easily understood by the people. In the political field, nobody can match him. He has no equal. It is for this reason that the singer refers to him as “hot iron metal that can’t be held with bare hands”.

Onyi Papa Jay in his song “Raila” also uses this metaphor-‘chuma’. He says:

16. Agwambo wuod Nyalego chuma liet okwanyal mako gi lwetwa. (Dholuo)
Agwambo son of Nyalego hot-iron we cannot handle with our hands. (English)

This metaphor can be interpreted to mean that Raila (referred to here as Agwambo) should be handled with care. When iron is hot, nobody can hold it with bare hands. The metaphor is broadened to include the ad hoc concept *HOT IRON. Through this metaphor, the Ohangla artist passes the message that nobody should interfere with Raila. He should be left alone to do his work. Anybody who interferes with what he does gets hurt. This is what hot iron can do to an individual who handles it without care. Most politicians in Luo Nyanza who have attempted to “handle” Raila by opposing him have ended up suffering politically. Such politicians end up being rejected by the community.

Lady Moureen uses a number of instruments in her song “Odhis Chunya.” In this song, she sings about her love. She uses various metaphors to refer to her lover. She says:

17. To in e **wuor** maasiko arwako
In e **law** maumo duga
To in **ongeda** mamiya hera

You are the **shoe** that I put on
You are the **dress** that covers my nakedness
And you are the **blanket** that gives me love

In this song, the singer uses instruments to refer to her lover. She says that the lover is the shoe she puts on, the dress that covers her nakedness and the blanket that gives her love. In the interpretation of the song above, the hearer will realize that the lover is not literally any of the instruments mentioned. He is not a shoe, dress or blanket. Certain characteristics that are found in the encyclopaedic entries of these instruments in the mind of the hearer are activated and transferred onto the lover. The images are broadened to include the ad hoc concept *SHOE, *DRESS, *BLANKET. For example, the entries of shoes provide the following information:

- i. Shoes are worn on the feet
- ii. Shoes protect feet from being hurt
- iii. Shoes keep the feet warm
- iv. Shoes prevent the feet from being dirty

The hearer will only select the characteristics that fit the context of the utterance. From these entries, the hearer will access the immediately accessible context in the utterance interpretation. The hearer will therefore realize that the lover is protective. His love also provides warmth to her. The entries of dress provide the following interpretation:

- i. Dress is worn on the body
- ii. Dress provides warmth to the body
- iii. Dress covers ones nakedness

The entries of blanket provide the following interpretation:

- i. Blankets cover one when sleeping
- ii. Blankets provide warmth to a person

All these instruments provide a common interpretation. All the instruments in one way or the other provide warmth. There is a protective aspect in them. The hearer will then interpret the song based on the context. The love that the man has for the singer provides warmth to her. She feels protected because of the man's love. The hearer's knowledge of the instruments helps in the interpretation of the utterance. The instruments are broadened to make the encyclopaedic entries available.

Onyi Papa Jay's song "Dhako Ndiga," uses an instrument to refer to a woman. In this song, the woman is referred to as a bicycle. In the same song a woman is referred to as a phone. The first lines of the song are in Kiswahili.

18. DHAKO NDIGA (BY ONYI PAPA JAY)

Mwanamke baiskeli
Ukiegeza pabaya
Utapata hayuko tena
Mke anataka utunzaji

A WOMAN IS A BICYCLE (BY ONYI PAPA JAY)

A woman is a bicycle
If you park it wrongly
You will find it missing
A woman needs care

In the song above, the hearer will understand that the singer is not communicating the fact that a woman is a bicycle. The hearer will loosen the image bicycle to include the ad hoc concept *BICYCLE. Certain encyclopaedic entries of bicycles in the mind of the hearer are activated and transferred onto the woman. These entries include:

- i. A bicycle is metallic
- ii. A bicycle is more economical
- iii. A bicycle is easier to maintain
- iv. A bicycle needs care and maintenance

The context in which the song is sang helps the hearer in the interpretation. In this song, the singer addresses the value of a woman. He points out that a woman needs care and protection. The care and protection that a woman needs is compared to the care one provides to a bicycle. If the bicycle is carelessly parked, somebody else can steal it. A bicycle should be locked to prevent it from being stolen. A woman should also be taken care of to prevent her from being taken over by another man. If a man neglects a woman, another man might take care of her. The singer asserts this fact in the following part of the song:

19. Dhako ndiga makiyiengo marach
To ng'ato nyalo kwalo
Dhako ndiga makiyiengo marach
To ng'ato nyalo semo

A woman is a bicycle if parked wrongly
Somebody can steal it
A woman is a bicycle if parked wrongly
Somebody can entice it away from you

The singer later gives ways in which a woman can be taken care of. He says one should buy clothes for the woman, buy oil for her to take care of her body.

20. Dhako ber kirito gi nanga
Dhako ber kinyieo ne mo

A woman is good if you buy her a dress
A woman is good if you buy her body oil.

From the song, the hearer will be able to conclude that a man should take care of his woman the way he takes care of his bicycle. In the same song, the singer also refers to a woman as a phone. A man should be careful with the woman the way he is careful with his mobile phone. She needs care and protection. If a phone is kept carelessly somebody else will steal it.

21. To yawa dhako simo
Makiketo marach
To ng'ato nyalo kwalo

A woman is a phone
If not well kept
Somebody can steal it.

A phone is precious, valuable to the owner and has to be taken care of. The reference of a woman as a phone is therefore relevant. Most people love their phones and take good care of them. The lexical pragmatic process of broadening greatly assists in the interpretation of the images in the songs. The concept phone in the song above is broadened to include the ad hoc concept *PHONE. It is from this that the hearer will be able to interpret the song correctly based on the context of the utterance.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter focused on metaphors with animal attributes and metaphors based on instruments and machines in selected Ohangla lyrics. The intention of the speaker in the use of these metaphors has also been addressed. Artists have an intention in their choice of metaphors. Animal metaphors can be used to praise individuals. They can also be used to ridicule or pour scorn on an individual or a group of people. The intention of the speaker is concealed especially when he/she is referring to a group in a derogatory way. The speaker's intention influences the choice of metaphors in selected Ohangla lyrics. The interpretation of the metaphor depends on the context of the utterance.

CHAPTER FOUR: FOOTBALL IMAGES AND WAR-LIKE METAPHORS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of the football images and war-like metaphors used in Ohangla lyrics. These metaphors are confrontational in nature. They call for war or violence. Most Ohangla artists who use these metaphors call on the hearer to take a particular course of action. The war-like metaphors ignite and evoke feelings of anger and hatred towards a particular group that is portrayed as the opponent. Most of the images used in war-like metaphors are weapons.

This chapter is divided into three parts. The first part focuses on the football images used in Ohangla lyrics. The second part discusses the analysis and interpretation of war-like metaphors in selected Ohangla lyrics. The final part of this chapter is a conclusion on the analysis and interpretation of the football images and war-like metaphors used in selected Ohangla lyrics.

4.2 Football Images

Most members of the Luo community are known for their love of football. The community identifies with a particular football club in the country. This club-Gor Mahia, is named after a respected Luo warrior. The fact that a football club is named after a warrior is an indicator that Dholuo speakers view football as a form of warfare. Dholuo speakers are therefore conversant with the football register. Ohangla artists make good use of football images to pass their message. Most of the messages passed through football images are political.

Football as a metaphor is believed to have a war-like nature. It is seen as a contest between two opposing teams i.e. football is seen as a contest between two opponents. In Ohangla lyrics, the two contesting teams represent two main political parties in the country. Most Ohangla artists will bring together a team supported by the Luo against a team supported by the Kikuyu. These two communities are known political rivals in the country.

In a football match, each team consists of eleven players. Each player has a particular position in which he has to play. There is always a referee who ensures that the rules of the game are observed. The football pitch is portrayed as the battle field. Ohangla artists

effectively use football images since it captures the attention of a community that loves the game.

The song “Mapatano,” by Onyi Papa Jay is a good example of the use of football images in Ohangla lyrics.

22. MAPATANO (ONYI PAPA JAY)

PNU gi ODM orome pap
Ji gweyo opera
Orengo to namba tano
Ruto namba nne
Kajwang namba sita
Nyaga namba mbili
Mama Ngilu namba nane

RECONCILIATION (BY ONYI PAPA JAY)

PNU and ODM have met on the pitch
People are kicking the ball
Orengo is number five
Ruto number four
Kajwang’ number six
Nyaga number two
Mama Ngilu number eight

The singer above begins by mentioning the fact that PNU and ODM have met on the pitch. The pitch here refers to the field of play. This is the area within which the match has to be played. The ball must be played within the field. In the interpretation of the song, the hearer will be expected to infer the meaning of the field of play. “PNU and ODM have met on the pitch.” This is where the contest takes place. The hearer will interpret this to mean that the two parties have presented themselves in readiness for ‘battle’. Any team that presents itself in the field of play is prepared. The singer in this song is alluding to the fact that the two parties are prepared for the contest.

In the song above, the singer gives the various members of a team positions. Just like in a football match, the singer begins by giving the line up of the team. The teams in this song (“Mapambano”) are the Party of National Unity (PNU) and the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM). These were the two main political parties prior to the 2007 General Elections in Kenya. A majority of the PNU supporters were from the Kikuyu community while ODM supporters were mostly from the Luo community. As mentioned in the previous chapter, these two communities are political rivals. Kibaki (a Kikuyu) was the presidential candidate of PNU while Raila (a Luo) was ODM’s presidential candidate.

For the hearer to correctly interpret the football metaphor in this song, he/she must have this background information.

The singer in “Mapambano” only gives the positions played by the members of the team he supports (ODM). In a football match, every player has a role to play. The players are assigned positions to take on the field of play. The singer’s intention of giving the members of a team positions is to portray the organisation found in the team. The positions reveal that for a team to emerge victorious, there must be unity. No player can win as an individual. The leader of the team is also portrayed as a team player. He is seen as a person who is ready to work with other people. According to the singer, ODM , scored a goal which was disallowed by the referee. The singer mentions the referee in part of the song. He says:

23. Akonwe osiepna we akonwe
Mpira chakore, dakika kumi na tana zimepita
Kalonzo wuod jokamba oba tienda
Manyono mpira
Otima kama, refa iye wang’
Kivuitu chungo mpira
Kalonzo wuod jokamba oneno kogolo red

Let me tell you my friend, let me tell you
The match kicks off, fifteen minutes have passed
Kalonzo son of the Kamba throws his leg
And steps on the ball
He does like this, and the referee becomes annoyed
Kivuitu stops the play
Kalonzo son of the Kamba sees the referee show him the red card

In interpreting this song, the hearer must understand the concept referee. The referee is the match official who ensures that every player in a football match plays according to the rules of the game. In interpreting the song therefore, the hearer broadens the football image- referee to include the ad hoc concept *REFEREE. This gives the interpretation of the image according to the context in which it is used. In the song above, the referee has been identified as Kivuitu (“Kivuitu stops the play”). Kivuitu was the then chairman of the Electoral Commission of Kenya (ECK). ECK was charged with the responsibility of overseeing the 2007 General Elections in Kenya. From the data above, the singer points out that Kalonzo, a member of ODM is shown the red card by Kivuitu. In a football match, when a player is shown the red card, he is not allowed to continue playing. He is send off the playing field. The red card is shown to a player when he tackles his opponent

dangerously or when he seriously violates the rules of the game. The hearer needs background information in order to interpret this song. Before the 2007 election, there was a fall out between Kalonzo and Raila the ODM leader. Kalonzo left the party. The hearer's interpretation of the red card will be broadened to the ad hoc concept *RED CARD. This will show that Kalonzo does not deserve to be in the ODM team. He has played dangerously and has to be sent off the field of play by the referee. The fact that it is the referee who sends Kalonzo off the field of play shows that it is not the party that send him off. Raila as a party leader had nothing to do with his leaving of the party. The ECK saw that he didn't deserve to be in the team hence the red card by the referee.

The singer in the same song "Mapambano" points out that ODM scored a goal which was disallowed by the referee. This can be interpreted to mean that ODM's victory was snatched from them. To ODM as a party the referee was not fair. ODM supporters believed that they won the 2007 Presidential Elections. This led to the post election violence that was experienced in Kenya in 2007-2008. Consider the following data:

24. Opira mane waloyo nokelo jemo
E piny Kenya
Opira mane waloyo emokelo jemo
E piny Kenya
Ogwal nang'o umawa apwa

The goal we scored brought conflict
In the land of Kenya
It is the goal that we scored that brought conflict
In the land of Kenya
Frogs why have you snatched our luck from us

In interpreting this data, the hearer must understand what a score ("goal") signifies in a football match. The team that scores more goals against the other is declared the winner by the referee. The goal in a football match can be broadened to the ad hoc concept *GOAL, which is a metaphor for victory. If football teams score the winning goal they get the victory. The goal that ODM scored signified the victory that ODM felt they won but was snatched from them. According to the ODM supporters, PNU was given the victory they never deserved. According to the singer, the then ECK was manipulated by the Kikuyu (referred to in the song as "frogs") to award PNU the victory. The image "frog" brings to the mind of the hearer the encyclopaedic entries in his /her mind about frogs. He/she will try to get some relevance from what the speaker says. Human cognition

is geared to the maximization of relevance (Sperber & Wilson, 1995). From his/her background knowledge of frogs, the hearer will draw entries such as:

- a) Frogs are amphibians
- b) Frogs can survive on land and in water
- c) Frogs have webbed feet
- d) Frogs feed on insects
- e) Frogs are jumpy
- f) Frogs are ugly looking

These entries help the hearer get the relevant interpretation of what the speaker says based on the context. The hearer will have in mind the hatred that the two communities (Luos and Kikuyus) have of each other, and the violence that erupted after the election results were announced in 2007. The Kikuyu cannot be trusted (they are jumpy), they do not have a firm stand.

It is interesting to note that the singer complains about the victory that was ‘snatched’ from ODM when he is singing in Dholuo. It is in Dholuo that he also derogatorily refers to the Kikuyu. When the singer code- switches to Kiswahili he speaks positively about all the communities in the country. This is in line with what Myers (1993: 30) points out about the reasons for code-switching. He says that speakers resort to code-switching when they want to keep someone out of what they are discussing. His call for unity and reconciliation is made in the national language-Kiswahili. Consider the following data from the same song “Mapambano”:

25. Wanakenya mutulie
Tuwe kitu kimoja
Muwache vita

Kenyan’s lets calm down
Let’s be united
And stop the war

The hearer will be able to interpret the speaker’s intention based on the code- switching. The football image in this song, mostly in Dholuo, is meant for hearers who share a common background with the singer. Other people, the non Luo speakers, are locked out. The “secret” is shared with Dholuo speakers only. The line “Frogs why have you snatched our luck from us” is in Dholuo so that the non Luo speakers are locked out. The code-switching here is to avoid ‘hurting’ the ‘outsiders’ (anyone who does not share the same background knowledge with the speaker).

Onyi Papa Jay uses the football image in another song, “Raila.” In this song, the singer identifies the main players in both teams (PNU and ODM). He starts by giving the ODM line-up. As the singer starts using the football image he says:

26. Yawa chieng moro achiel
 Chuo oramo dhi mupira
 Oganda majo NARC orwarkore gidonje mpira
 Kendo oganda ODM orwakore jogi nyono mpira
 Mpira chakoree wana ODM
 Goalkeeper Ken Nyagudi
 Balala namba saba
 Mudavadi namba tano
 Kajwang namba sita
 Kalonzo namba nne
 Ruto namba nane

One day
 Men resolved to play football
 The NARC community dressed ready for the match
 ODM community dressed ready to play football
 The match started; ODM players
 Goalkeeper Ken Nyagudi
 Balala position seven
 Mudavadi position five
 Kajwang position six
 Kalonzo position four
 Ruto position eight.

The use of the football metaphor in Ohangla lyrics is of significance to both the politicians and their supporters. The hearer will use his/her background knowledge of football to interpret the image. The football pitch is seen as the political battle field. In each part of the football pitch, there is a player in charge. The players take position one to eleven. A team is assured of victory if each player in a particular position plays his role well. The pattern of play is interfered with if a player gets ‘lost’ i.e. a player leaves his position to go to another part of the field. In this song, the singer has assigned positions to the ODM team. Each player (politician) has a role to play in the (political) field. The field refers to the whole country. This can be seen in part by looking at part of the data in the ODM line-up.

27. Goalkeeper (Ken Nyagudi) – **from Nyanza**
 Number 7 position (Balala)- **from the Coast**
 Number 5 position (Mudavadi)- **from Western**
 Number 6 position (Kajwang)- **from Nyanza**
 Number 4 position (Kalonzo)- **from Eastern**
 Number 8 position (Ruto)- **from Rift Valley**
 Number 9 position (Raila)-**from Nairobi**
 Nyagudi **from Eastern** is also mentioned.

During the 2007 General Elections, the country was still divided into eight provinces. From the data above, ODM's line-up covers almost the whole country. Raila (a Luo) had his political base in Nairobi- Langata Constituency.

In a football match, the unity and co-ordination of the players will lead to victory. The hearer's interpretation of the song will be based on this- that no political victory will ever be brought by an individual. Members of a political party must work in unity. In a football match, no individual can score alone. A presidential candidate needs other players on the pitch. For a goal to be scored i.e. for victory to be got, the players must work together as a team. In this song, Raila, the ODM presidential candidate is portrayed as a team player. His line-up covers almost the whole country. He knows that he cannot win the presidential elections alone. He depends on other members of the team. The singer portrays Raila as a person who acknowledges the role played by other members of the team.

In this song, "Raila," by Onyi Papa Jay, Raila is given the position of a striker (Number 9). A team depends on the striker to score goals. The co-ordination starts from the back to the mid-field and ends with the striker scoring after receiving passes from the back. The hearer interprets this to mean that the party (ODM) has given Raila the mandate of delivering the victory. He has to score against the opponent (PNU). The role of a striker signifies the presidential role assigned to Raila by the party. In this song, he is the one who scores the goal. Consider the following data:

28. Oganda ODM osegaramo koro wadhi
Ochilo wuod Ayako nyono mpira
Omiyo Mudavadi
Mudavadi miyo Ruto
Negi gamo mpira diere
Yudo Nyaga
Nyaga nyono mpira
Ogamo mpira e namba abiriyo
Oyudo Balala
Balala anakata tena anachenga
Ya tano anapasa
Balala gamo mpira ni namba ochiko
To oyudo tinga
Raila dhiro mpira

The ODM fraternity has resolved to move on
 Ochilo son of Ayako gets the ball
 He passes it to Mudavadi
 Mudavadi gives it to Ruto
 They brought the ball to the mid-field
 Nyaga got it
 Nyaga moves with the ball
 He passes it to namba seven
 He finds Balala
 Balala dodges
 The fifth time he passes the ball
 He passes the ball to namba nine
 And finds the tractor
 Raila moves with the ball

The hearer is able to interpret the various passes of the ball by different players as the team-work that is evident in ODM. For Raila to score, the other players must have played their roles well. The football image in Ohangla lyrics can be interpreted to mean that politics just as the game of football is not a one man's show; victory comes as a result of team work. The football image therefore portrays Raila as a team player. Before he scores, the ball has come from different players. In the use of football image in this song, the climax is arrived at when Raila scores. He displays skills that show his prowess in football. He totally outplays his opponents before scoring. Consider the following data:

29. Raila dhiro mpiro koda wiye
 Tokete chest kaneno lware leg
 Raila ng'ado Tuju
 Agwambo ng'ado Saitoti
 To kendo ong'ado Nyachaye
 Ni yawa Awuori nende ong'ado molwar kucha
 Tinga mwomo
 Agwambo wuod Nyalego ogolo ojuzi matamo wanga
 Raila loyo mpira

Raila plays the ball with the head
 He puts the ball on his chest then brings it on his leg
 Raila dodges past Tuju
 Agwambo dodges past Saitoti
 He again dodges past Nyachaye
 He dodges past Awuori who is lest falling on the ground
 Agwambo son of Nyalego displays tactics
 Raila scores

In the song above, Raila is also referred to as "Agwambo". This can be interpreted to mean the 'mysterious one'. Raila dodges his opponents in a 'mysterious' way. The

dodges and the skills he displays can be interpreted by the hearer to mean his skill and experience in politics. He is portrayed as a politician whose class is above others. The dodging skills show his political prowess. The fact that he scores signifies the victory that he brings to his party. His strategy in politics surpasses that of other politicians. He demonstrates this through the dodges in the field of play.

4.3 War-like metaphors

Apart from football image, Ohangla artists use war-like metaphors in their lyrics. Most of the images used are items of war or confrontation. The metaphors do not appeal for peace. They portray a conflict and a readiness to defend or fight for a course.

In the song “Raila Igalagala” by Tony Nyadundo, the singer calls on the Luo to carry his spear for the time of battle has come. The song was sung as Kenyans were preparing for the 2007 General Elections. The singer says:

30. Jaluo ting’ mana tongi lweny ochopo (Dholuo)
Luos carry your spear it’s time for battle (English)

The hearer’s interpretation of this metaphor is based on the context of use. In this song, the singer portrays an election as a battle. It is a contest between two opposing sides. The rivalry between the two teams is so intense that it is more of a battle. The spear i.e. the weapon of war is interpreted as the voter’s card. In this song, the concept spear is broadened to include the ad hoc concept *SPEAR. The spear was traditionally used for war. Anybody who carries a spear is ready for war. A spear can make one emerge victorious over the enemy. The voter’s card can serve as a weapon. It can lead to an election victory. The spear in this song can be interpreted to mean the voter’s card. This interpretation of election and voter’s card is guided by the prelude to the song. In this prelude, the singer mimics Raila. He says:

31. Joka Nyanam uwinja...I Raila Amolo Odinga, I hereby submit my application to the Presidency which will fall vacant later this year.

The phrase “Joka nyanam uwinja” can be interpreted to mean-“People of the daughter of the lake, can you hear me.” This is an appeal to the Luo to prepare to vote since Raila will be presenting himself for election to contest the presidency. This mimic by the singer can be interpreted to mean that Raila is assuring his supporters that he is ready to battle it out with other contestants for the presidency.

Onyi Papa Jay also uses the image of the spear in a love song- “Dhako Ndiga”. In this song, the singer points out that anybody who tries to come between him and his lover, he will draw his spear or his knife. The singer in part of the song says:

32. Ekinda kodi ka ngato odonje
Tagolo tong
Ekinda kodi ka ngato odonje
Tagolo pala

If anyone comes between you and me
I will draw the spear
If anyone comes between you and me
I will draw the knife

In this song, the singer is ready for war just to protect his love. Both the spear and the knife can be used to kill. The hearer will interpret this to mean that the speaker is ready to kill in order to protect his love. This will make listeners keep away from the singer’s love. Unlike in the previous song, the spear can be interpreted to mean a weapon that can hurt or destroy an opponent. The two images are broadened to the ad hoc concept *SPEAR and *KNIFE.

Ohangla singers are known to praise themselves or the members of their band. Some of these praises are war-like in nature. For example, Osogo Winyo in his song “Ageng’o” says it is not good to pick a quarrel with the owner of a knife. Consider the data below:

33. Mosna Onyango japala dhao go rach
Idhao mana kichung gi chien
Nikech onyalo chwoyoi

Pass my greetings to Onyango you can’t fight the owner of the knife
You fight while standing far away from him
Because he can pierce you with the knife

The hearer will interpret this song to mean that one cannot fight a person who is already prepared with a weapon. He/she can use that weapon because it is already in his/her hand. Such a person who has a knife in his hand is fought from a distance so that he/she is not given the chance to use the weapon.

Certain characters are described in a war-like nature. For example in the song “Raila Jakom” by Asamm Jakosoko, one of the Luo politicians is described using the fruit of a thorny shrub.

Consider the following data:

34. Okeu gi Oloo Aringo
Okeu gi ochok wang'e dongo

Oloo Aringo's nephew
Nephew to the big eyed sodom's apple

The interpretation of this song will depend on the hearer's knowledge of sodom's apple (Ochok). The fruit of this shrub is large and round. In the Luo community, it is believed that a person who addresses issues without fear dilates his/her eye balls. This is a person who is ready to confront issues without fear. The eye balls look enlarged and are compared to the fruit of this thorny shrub. This metaphor was for long used to refer to Oloo Aringo one of the most respected Luo politicians. He could address sensitive issues affecting the community without fear. He was a confrontational politician. In whatever he said, he was ready to face anybody head-on. He faced people like president Moi without fear.

Hail stones can be destructive. Onyi Papa Jay uses the image of the rain and hail stones in one of his songs "Raila". This song focuses on the 2007 General Elections. The singer refers to the Raila's 'pending' victory as hail stone. This can be interpreted by the hearer as the destruction of Raila's opponents in the General Election. The image of the hail stone can also be interpreted to mean that Raila's victory will be unstoppable. Hail stones cannot be prevented. The singer says:

35. Koth moro biro moting'o pe
Amolo wuod oganda

There is a particular rain full of hail stones that is coming
Amolo son of the multitude

Most Ohangla songs that are based on the 2007 General Elections have images that are war-like in nature. One of the singer's, Bobby, popularly known as 'A boy Landlord' sang about the post election violence. In his song, he mentions that after the results were announced, he could not travel because there was chaos all over the country. He says:

36. Duoko nogo wuod Ugenya we apimnue
Opange oting marunge oting achom kanye Bobby

The results song of Ugenya let me tell you
People carried machetes and clubs where will I go Bobby

In this song, the hearer will be able to realize that the machetes (pangas) and clubs (rungus) were meant for war. That's why the singer asks where he would go. Roads were blocked and transport system disrupted in the country. Pangas and rungus are broadened to include the ad hoc concept *PANGA and *RUNGU. They are weapons of war used in this song to signify the presence of violence or lack of peace. These images can be interpreted as aspects of metonymy. They stand for war or violence. The fact that people were carrying 'pangas' and 'rungus' show that they were not out for peace. They were prepared to injure, maim or even kill.

In some Ohangla songs Raila is referred to as a saviour. From these songs, the hearer is able to interpret the metaphor "saviour" based on his/her background knowledge of a saviour. A saviour is a person who rescues or saves somebody from danger. In some of these songs, Raila is called upon to come and save the land. Tony Nyadundo pleads with Raila to come and save the land in his song "Raila Igalagala".

37. Tinga wuod Nyalego yawa iyie ikony piny
Agwambo wuod Nyalego wuoi ikony piny

Tractor son of Nyalego please rescue the land
Agwambo son of Nyalego rescue the land

In this song, the hearer sees Raila as a saviour. He rescues the land from oppression. The speaker in this song is campaigning for Raila's election as president. To the hearer therefore, if Raila is elected, then he will rescue the people from oppression. In this song, the concept rescue has been broadened to the ad hoc concept *RESCUE. It goes beyond the literal meaning of the word. In this context, the singer implies that the current leadership is oppressive. He calls upon Raila to take over the leadership and fight oppression especially of his people the Luo. Raila's role as a saviour is compared to the role of Jesus Christ. Some Ohangla singers "worship" Raila. The comparison of Raila to Jesus Christ can be seen as war-like since Jesus came into the world to fight the 'forces of darkness' and liberate mankind. Consider the following data by Lady Moureen in part of the song "Raila Jakom":

38. Oginga kanedhi nenoweyo Amolo Tinga
Nyasaye kanedhi nenoweyonwa jopwonj
Yesu japwonj mapwonjo piny te.

When Oginga was leaving he left us Amolo the tractor
When God was leaving he left us teachers
Jesus the teacher who teaches the whole world

In the above data, the hearer will be able to interpret that Raila's role in the politics of Luo Nyanza is that of a saviour. He will liberate his people from oppression. The concept saviour is broadened to the ad hoc concept *SAVIOUR. To most people from Luo Nyanza, their land has been neglected by the different governments since independence. Luo Nyanza is undeveloped and the poverty levels are high. Raila's role as a saviour can be interpreted to mean that he will bring this to an end.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter focused on football images and war-like metaphors in Ohangla lyrics. The intention of the singer in the use of these metaphors has been pointed out. Football images point out the fact that in politics unity is paramount. The call for the concerned to work as a team is emphasised through the football image. War-like metaphors are used to call for action on the part of the hearer. They are confrontational and they work on the emotions of the hearer. The interpretation of the metaphor depends on the context in which it has been used.

CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Research Findings

The study set out to analyse the metaphors used in selected Ohangla lyrics. The study was conducted using the lexical pragmatic approach rounded in the Relevance Theory. In this chapter, the conclusion for the study shall be inferred.

It has been established that the metaphors used in the selected Ohangla lyrics reveal the intention of the singer. For example, in the use of animal metaphors, the animal selected and the context of use determine the singer's intention. Certain animals are held in high esteem while others are despised. There are animal images that are used to portray positive attributes. Most of these are reserved for respected leaders in the community or for people who are admired by the singer. They are therefore used by the singers to praise the leaders or their lovers. Such animals portray strength and power. Animals such as lion, hippo, rhino, buffalo, elephant and the domestic bull are used in reference to the people admired by the singers. The singers 'look up to' them. Most praise songs have these animal metaphors.

Apart from praise, the study has also revealed that animal metaphors can be used to ridicule certain characters or behaviour in the society. Ohangla singers do these using particular animals that have certain negative aspects that are not admired in the society. The animals are looked down upon as either ugly or destructive. Such animals include monkeys, baboons and frogs. These animals are seen as jumpy (cannot be trusted), tricky and destructive (monkeys destroy human crops). The Luo community views these animals as ugly creatures. The study has therefore established that animal metaphors reveal the singer's attitude towards a person or a group of people. The use of these animals is also a source of humour since Ohangla music is also meant to entertain the listener.

The study has also revealed that Ohangla artists use metaphors to conceal their intention. This intention is concealed from the people who do not share common background knowledge with the singer. The study found out that most political songs employ this strategy. Particular opponents are referred to negatively using animals that are considered useless.

The study has established that most metaphors based on instruments and machines emerged as a result of technological development. Machines such as tractors, bicycles and mobile phones are not cultural-based. The use of these machines and instruments reveal the singer's value of the subject in question. Strength and power is portrayed through the use of machines such as the tractor. Such machines are portrayed as being able to overcome obstacles. They are powerful in nature. Phones and bicycles are portrayed as instruments that require proper care and handling. These metaphors are used by the singers as an appeal to people to take care of the people they love.

The study has also established that war-like metaphors and football images are used in a confrontational manner. The singer calls for action in using these metaphors. This is common in political songs where the singer calls upon a group to take a particular political action. It may be a call for a group to vote in a particular manner or a call for the people to reject a particular candidate during an election. For victory to be achieved, unity is paramount. Football images are used to emphasis on the unity of a group and to show the political prowess of a leader.

5.2 Conclusion

The study has established that Ohangla artists have an intention in their choice of metaphors. The lexical pragmatic approach can be used to reveal this intention. Context of an utterance helps to reveal the intention of the singer. The metaphor should not be looked at in isolation. Shared knowledge background between the singer and the hearer also help in revealing the intention of the singer. It is the hearer's background information that helps him/her to make correct inferences of the message.

5.3 Recommendation for Further Research

It will be of linguistic interest to carry out such a study using the cognitive linguistic approach. A comparative study can be carried out on the parallelism that exists between the two approaches in revealing the singer's intention in the use of metaphors in Ohangla music.

The study focussed on the lexical items in Ohangla lyrics. The intention of the singer was based on the choice of lexical items. The study left out the contribution of performance in revealing the singer's intention. Further research can be carried out on the contribution of performance-dance, body movement, use of gestures and facial expressions in revealing the intention of the singer.

Dholuo has metaphors based on body parts. Researchers can also carry out a study on the use of body parts in Ohangla music to reveal meaning and the intention of the singer.

It will be of great significance if research was carried out on the use of irony in Ohangla music. This will offer valuable linguistic contribution to the study of Ohangla music.

Code-mixing/code-switching has become a common feature in Ohangla music. Further research can also be carried out to identify the factors that influence code-mixing/code-switching in Ohangla music.

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APPENDIX: TWO SELECTED SONGS

SONG CODE 1

RAILA JAKOM (BY Lady Moureen)

Raila awer wendi wuod Nyalego Agwambo okegoneya (x2)
Raila awer wendi wuod Nyalego Agwambo omin Akinyi...Simba
Raila awer wendi wuod Nyalego baba wuod Odinga
Awer wendi wuod Nyalego baba omin Akinyi
Awer wendi wuod Nyalego baba omin Oburu
Awer wendi baba Tinga Omin Adhiambo...Simba
Sama wero wendi Amolo wuod Nyalego Tinga
Sama wero wendi Amolo wuod Nyalego jakom
Sama wero wendi Amolo wuod Nyalego wuod oganda
Piny dum buru kiongee (x2)
Ji opong endara wuod Nyalego emawadwaro (x2)
Raila kituo to Kenya tuo baba...(x2)
Omiyo ayie gi tinga wuod Nyalego (x2)
Amolo wuod oganda mano simba
Omin Akinyi an alwongi ni jowi
Omin Akinyi an adendi ni omuga
Omin Akinyi omiyo anwoyi ni simba marito piny te
Marito piny te
Kitalo Raila...to yawa kutalo Raila towaduoki dala
Kiyanyo Raila towakowi dala
Kiyanyo tinga towakowi dala
Ng'amo yanyo Raila towakowo dala
Ng'amo yanyo tinga towadwoko dala
Ruto koyanyo Raila towakowo dala (x2)
Makwere koyanyo Raila towanyono gi tiendwa.

Raila aweri Amolo tinga babaa...
Aweri Amolo tingaa...
To gimomiyo adendo Amolo tinga wuod oganda
Gimomiyo adendo Amolo tinga wuod oganda
Jomoko awinjo luonge ni jakom wuod Nyalego
Jomoko awinjo luongi ni tinga omin Akinyi
Jomoko dendi ni Agwambo wuod Nyalego
Omiyo awer wendi babaa kapod angima
Okeo jokoneya wuod Nyalego ng'ama riek
Okeo jokoneya nene onywol gi siasa
Ohingo chwo omin Akinyi simbaa
Raila wendi manawero mokwongo Agwambo wuod Nyalego anyisie
Wendi na wero Amolo wuod Nyalego apimni
An ni nyiri odonje tinde giwero tinga
Chwo odonje tinde giwero tinga
We apimnu kakiwero Amolo tingani
We apimnu kakidendo omin Oburu
We apimnu kakidendo omin Adhis
Wuon Fidel wendi chanda loso tinga (x2)

Wuod Nyalego wendi omiyo aidho ndege (x2)
Jakom wuod oganda okweyo piny
Jakom wuod Nyalego to ng'ama muol
Jakom omin Akinyi jowi jowi baba..

Raila ong'eche manigolo ebungu
Ong'eche tinde othiro yiwgi
Ong'eche manigolo ebungu
Ong'eche tinde othiro yiwgi
Bimbe manigole kite,
Bimbe tinde othiro yiwgi
Bimbe manigole kite bimbe tinde orega rega
Bimbe manigole kite bimbe tinde onindalen'ga
Be iparo mano
Raila be iparo mano
An ayie gi tinga omin Akinyi
An ayie gi tinga wuod Nyalego
Odinga kanedhi nenoweyo Amolo tinga (x2)
Nyasaye kanedhi nenoweyonwa jopwonj
Nyasaye kanedhi nenoweyonwa jopwonj, Yesu japwonj
Mapwonjo piny be uneno
Yesu japwonj mapuonjo piny be uneno (x2)
Wuod oganda an ayie ga Amolo tinga omin Okinyo
Mano ng'amariek simba
Yawa kiyanyo Raila towateri ekot (x2)
Yawa kiyanyo Raila towayali Kibira (x2)
Kotamo jokibira towateri Kisumo Kondelee...
To kata jo Dandora ogoyo simo, ng'ama yanyo tinga eng'aa
Dandora ogoyo simo, ng'ama yanyo tinga eng'aa
Mathare ogoyo simo ngama yanyo Agwambo eng'aa
Kibira ogolo oda ng'ama yanyo tinga eng'aa
Kisumo ogolo wach, ng'ama yanyo Agwambo eng'aa
Ayie gi tinga wuod Nyalego

Raila onge kabila omin Akinyi
Agwambo onge kabila wuod Nyalego
Kata wakikuyu orwako wuod Nyalego
Jolang'o bende orwako wuod Nyalego
Wakamba bende oriwo wuod Nyalego
Kabila te Amolo wuod Nyalego orwako
Raila oko kwedo ng'ato baba

To gimomiyo awero Amolo tinga
Gimomiyo awer simba
Oganda jokenya reno kaya nikech ang'o
Wuod Alego mano simba miwuoro
Wuod Nyalego to in omuga makedo (x2)
Wuod Nyalego to in e liech moriwo
Wuod Nyalego ng'ama tali en ng'aa
Wuod Nyalego mano Amolo tinga

Moi wuod Odongo newadwoko dala (x2)
Muskari Kombo newadwoko dala
Nyachae newadwoko dala
Kalembe Ndile newadwoko dala
Tuju wuod Asembo newadwoko dala
Julia Ojiambo newadwoko dala
Moody Awuori newadwoko dala
Ng'amo talo Raila towadwoko dala kuneno.

To gimomiyo awero Amolo tinga
Agwambo wuod Nyalego seche oromo
Omiyo aweri wendi Amolo wuod Nyalego ruoth
Omiyo awero wendi Agwambo ne onywol gi remo
Mar siasa wuod Nyalego
Raila ohero oganda te wuod Nyalego
Ukabila donge ionge go omin Akinyi
Ukabila donge ionge gon wuod Nyalego
Omiyo ayie kodi omin Akinyi
Tinga tohero ji, Amolo wuo Nyalego ohero ji
Joma nimiyo loch, bimbe tinde onindo aleng'a
Ong'eche manigole bungu ong'eche tinde othiro yiwgi
Bimbe manigolo kanindo, bimbe tinde onindaleng'a
Ong'eche manigole bungu ong'eche tinde othiro yiwgi
Bimbe manigolo kanindo, bimbe tinde onindaleng'a
Be uparo mano, jokenya be uparo mano
Wananchi be uparo mano
Omiyo ayie gi tinga wuod Nyalego moriwo chunje
Ayie gi tinga wuo Nyalego to lemo ni piny.

SONG CODE 1

RAILA THE CHAIRMAN

Raila I sing your song son of Nyalego, Agwambo Oneya's nephew
Raila I sing your song son of Nyalego Agwambo Akinyi's brother the lion
Raila I sing your song son of Nyalego son of Odinga
I sing your song son of Nyalego Akinyi's brother
I sing your song son of Nyalego Oburu's brother
I sing your song the tractor Adhiambo's brother the lion
When I'm singing your song, Amolo son of Nyalego the tractor
When I'm singing your song Amolo son of Nyalego the chairman
When I'm singing your song, Amolo son of Nyalego son of the community
Dust doesn't settle in your absence
The roads are packed with people saying they want the son of Nyalego
Raila when you are unwell Kenya is unwell
That's why I'm in agreement with the tractor son of Nyalego
Amolo son of the community is the lion
Akinyi's brother I refer to you as the buffalo
Akinyi's brother I praise you the rhino

Akinyi's brother I repeat that you are the lion that protects the land
If you criticise Raila we will send you back home
If you insult Raila we will escort you back home
We will escort back home anyone who insults Raila
Anyone who insults the tractor will be send bach home
Should Ruto insult Raila we will escort him back home
If Makwere insults Raila we will step on him with our feet

Raila I praise you Amolo the tractor
I praise you Amolo the tractor
The reason I praise Amolo the tractor son of the community
I have heard some people refer to him as chairman son of Nyalego
Some people refer to him as the tractor Akinyi's brother
Some people praise him as Agwambo son of Nyalego
That's why I sing for you while I'm still alive
Nephew to the Oneya's son of Nyalego, you are a bright person
Nephew to the Oneya you were born in politics
You are not comparable to any man son of Akinyi the lion
Raila the song I first sang in your praise Agwambo son of Nyalego
Let me tell you
Ladies have picked it up and are now singing about the tractor
Let me show you how to praise Amolo the tractor
Let me show you how to praise Oburu's brother
Let me show you how to praise Adhis' brother
Fidel's father I don't know how to praise you the tractor
I have travelled by plane as a result of singing your praises
Chairman son of the community has brought peace in the land
Chairman son of Nyalego is a gentle man
Chairman Akinyi's brother is the buffalo.

Raila the monkeys that you got out of the forest
The monkeys raise their tails
The monkeys you got out of the forest
The monkeys raise their tails
The baboons that you got out of the rocky place
The baboons now raise their tails
Amolo can you remember
Raila can you remember that
You got the monkeys out of the forest
The monkeys now raise their tails
The baboons that you got out of the forest
The baboons are now jumpy
Can you remember that
Raila can you remember that
I'm in agreement with the tractor Akinyi's brother
I'm in agreement with the tractor son of Nyalego
When Odinga was leaving, he left us Amolo the tractor
When God was leaving He left us teachers
When God was leaving He left us teachers-Jesus the teacher
Who teaches the world can't you see

I'm in agreement with Amolo the tractor Okinyo's brother
That's a bright person...the lion
If you insult Raila we will take you to court
If you insult Raila we will judge you from Kibira
Should the people of Kibira fail we will take you to Kisumu...Kondele
The people of Dandora have called to find out who is insulting the tractor
Mathare has called to find out who is insulting Raila
Kibira has ordered to find out who is insulting the tractor
Kisumu has send word to find out who is insulting Raila
I am in agreement with the tractor son of Akinyi who unites people

Raila isn't tribalistic
Agwambo isn't tribalistic son of Nyalego
He has invited even the Kikuyu
He has also invited the Kalenjin
He has united the Kamba
He has invited all tribes raila has not disowned anybody

The reason why I'm praising Amolo the tractor
Why I'm praising the lion
Son of Nyalego is the lion
Son of Nyalego you are the battling rhino
You are the elephant that unites
Son of Nyalego is there anyone to criticise you
We send Moi son of Odongo back home
We send Muskari Kombo back home
We send Nyachae back home
We send Kalembe Ndile back home
We send Tuju son of Asembo back home
We send Julia Ojiambo back home
We send Moody Awuori back home
We will send home anyone who criticises Raila

Let me tell you why I'm praising Amolo the tractor
Agwambo son of Nyalego it'd already time
I therefore praise you Amolo son of Nyalego the king
Raila loves all communities
You are not a tribalist Akinyi's brother
The tractor loves all people
Amolo son of Nyalego loves people
The monkeys that you got out of the forest
The monkeys now raise their tail
The baboons that you got sleeping
The baboons are now jumpy
Kenyans can you remember that
Citizens can you remember that
That's why Im in agreement with the tractor wh unites hearts
I'm in agreement with the tractor son of Nyalego who prays for the land.

SONG CODE 2

MIGINGO DHI (By Onyi Papa Jay)

Ni wololo min Aoko
Onyango wuod josuba
Min jo bunde piny thiera nono
Oganda Luo Migingo dhi
Onyango wuod josuba
Ochuna ni koro akoni Luo
Oganda Migingo dhi

Maoni kule bungeni
Amilo nyajosuba chung malo
E od bura koni Marende
Yawa Migingo dhi
Mbadi chung malo e od bura
Okoni Marende yawa Migingo dhi
Mbadi chung malo e od bura
Kwero Saitoti ka ng'ato otimo kosa
Wang'e nyaka to siem
Kawuono agoyo ng'ero moro
Ngama riek owinja
Tula en winyo, winyo man gi bwombe
To wang'e chalo nyambura
Winyo man gi bwombe
To wiye chalo nyambura
Pache riek sana
Oneno ka Migingo dhi

Ajimmy ja Ugenya kabaye gi kidi
To wang'e emo diema diema
Orengo baye gi kidi
To wang'e emo diema diema

Tula en winyo
Winyo man gi bwombe
Wiye chalo nyambura

Mkoa wa Nyanza wametegemea uvuvi
Muhuru kisiwani wametegemea uvuvi

Akonu jokanyanam kik utug dhawo
Owete ni ma plan
Mopangi kod joka le

Agoyo ngero moro uyie uwinja
Tula en winyo
Winyo man gi bwombe
To wiye chalo nyambura

Pache riek sana
Ong'iyō ka Migingo dhi
Migingo ni yetu
Hata maji ni yetu
Ziwa ni yetu

Ayiecho wuod Olweny
Bende ochung golo maoni
E od bura
Joma keyo oseti
Onego ritaya wuoi mang'ongo
Migingo dhi.

CODE 2

MIGINGO IS GOING (By Onyi Papa Jay)

Onyango son of the Suba
Mother of the owner of the drums
I'm amazed at the world
The Luo community migingo is going

Opinions are given in parliament
Millicent the lady from Suba stood
In parliament and told Marende
Migingo is going

Mbadi stood up in parliament
Told Saitoti that if a person makes a mistake
He must be cautioned
Today I have a parable
Let the intelligent listen to me

The owl is a bird
The bird has wings
Its eyes look like a cat
The bird has wings
But its head looks like a cat
It is very bright
It can see Migingo going
James from Ugenya throws a stone towards it
But it just blinks its eyes
Orengo tries to hit it with a stone
But it just blinks its eyes

The owl is a bird
The bird has wings
But its head looks like a cat

Nyanza province depends on fishing
Muhuru Island depends on fishing
Let me tell you Luos
Don't start a fight
My people this is a plan
The plan has been organised
By the wild animals

I have a parable
Please listen to me
The owl is a bird
A bird with wings
But its head looks like a cat
The bird is very intelligent
It watches as Migingo is going

Migingo ni yetu
Hata maji ni yetu
Ziwa ni yetu

Ayiecho son of Olweny
Also stood up to give his opinion
In Parliament
The people harvesting are already old
They should retire respectable son
Migingo is going.