The Manifestation of Ideology in the Metaphors used by Kenyan Politician Raila Odinga

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Abstract

Ideologies are shared via language. Language on the other hand, forms the raw material for dispensing ideology since it is invested by ideology, (Fairclough, 1995:73). According to Wodak (2021), the manifestation of ideology in language is evident in metaphors as well as other forms of linguistic features like lexical meanings, presuppositions, implicatures and coherence. Ideological discourses could be political, religious, economic or social. CMT with reference to Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003), advanced by Kovecses (2002, 2009, 2010, 2020) have been used for analysis. This paper analyses metaphors that depict the ideology of the popular Kenyan Politician Raila Odinga. His political discourse especially during general elections is characterized by metaphoric language. The key argument in this paper is that, metaphors could manifest ideologies in discourse. Findings indicate that Raila Odinga uses varied metaphors presented in four ideological concepts namely: the socio-democratic ideology; the ideology of conflicts; the savior ideology and the ideology of fear. The socio-democratic ideology projects Raila's organization of all leaders from various political parties under one coalition that front him as the presidential candidate. The philosophy of solidarity is that all political parties and their leaders have an equal chance to proof themselves as suited for the top seat. Also, Raila projects Kenya in a socio-economic crises and he presents himself as the savior. He therefore calls himself the savior via the biblical Joshua Metaphor who successfully led the children of Israel to the land flowing with milk and honey. He also spells fear to his opponents once elected in office and he projects the ideology of fear via weather pattern metaphor. He talks of dark clouds, heavy rains and a cyclone that would spell doom for opponents. This paper is a single case study, which is extracting practical data in solving human made phenomena. It is acceptable in the social science and science disciplines. In depth verbatim data has been analyzed both at the surface and deep level to explain how metaphors manifest ideology in the contemporary Kenyan political context, (Zainal 2007; Schoch 2020).

Keywords

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Introduction

Raila Odinga is perceived as the most popular politician in Kenya and has been in opposition from the 1980s to date. He recently attempted to vie for the presidency but he lost the bid to Dr. William Samoe Ruto who is now the current president. He is known as the father of opposition, christened as Baba, and also thought to be a replica of the biblical Joshua who led the Children of Israel to the Promised Land successfully.

Raila's ideology is quite abstract and only concretized via metaphors. His discourse centers on socio-political issues like democracy, social injustices, political competitors, the savior and his ability to perform better as a president compared to opponents.

Raila Odinga, uses metaphors to optimize coherence for his audience. According to Fairclough (1995:74), coherence is a major element in construction and reconstitution of ideology in discourse. He uses metaphors for ideological positioning with the ordinary citizens to come out as the dominant representative capable of offering practical solutions to the socio-economic problems citizens face. This enables him to narrow down the emotional distance between himself and the audience by deploying metaphors that enable him to access power and control through ideological concepts.

Kress (1979:15) postulates that the ideological position of an individual determines how issues are portrayed and presented. What is portrayed every day is deployed discourse that eventually influences the social reality. Van Djik, (1998) asserts that social actors always incorporate and implement ideologies in their discourse.

This paper discusses Raila Odinga's use of metaphors in projecting his ideology in four categories: Section 3.1 discusses the socio-democratic ideology as seen in the concepts of solidarity of leaders and the philosophy of solidarity. Section 3.2 discusses the ideology of conflicts as manifested in the concepts election is a battle and the ideology of the enemy (the enemy has repulsive traits, political critics are dogs and opponents are murderers). In section 3.3 the paper discusses the savior metaphor projected in the biblical Joshua metaphor, and lastly the ideology of fear.

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1. Theoretical Orientation

This paper analyses metaphor to deduce the manifestation of ideology in Raila Odinga's discourse. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) by Lakoff and Johnson has been used for analysis with extension of Kovecses (2002, 2010) to include the cognitive consideration of the metaphor analysis

According to Kovecses (2002, 2010, 2020), CMT encompasses both the social and cognitive aspect of metaphoric analysis. There three tenets of CMT: The conceptual domain, the source domain and the target domain, argues that concrete concepts are the same as abstract ones and partially figurative enhanced by ontological content and they can be used as used as source domains in conceptual metaphors; there is a metonymic level of the metaphorization process that forms primary metaphors which are not necessarily direct, or primary; it is preceded by a metonymic stage; there are different conceptual structures us as domains, frames, image schemas, or mental spaces. Kovecses uses schematic conceptual structure; mental spaces are strong in local discourse settings, context is key in metaphorical analysis. The conceptual and the contextual aspects of metaphor mutually complement each other; and we need offline structures that are made up of image schemas, domains and frames and online conceptual structures that consist of mental spaces.

1.1 The Conceptual Domain of Metaphors

According to CMT, a metaphor has two domains namely: the concrete or familiar or reference used to refer to the target experience known as the Source Domain (SD) and the experience or complex or abstract aspect that is being referred to as the Target Domain (TD), (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003) and Steen (2011). The two domains constitute what is referred to as the Conceptual Domain (CD). The metaphors are comprehended through a process of cross-mapping where the experience of the Source Domain is cross-mapped to the Target Domain. The comprehension between the source items and the target items is processed through the cross-mappings which are unidirectional. Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By*, metaphor is viewed as a tool for structuring and restructuring reality (Ortnony 1979/1993) which is more of ornamental or aesthetic. Metaphor also carries conceptual content. Recent studies by Kovecses, Charteris Black, have metamorphosed CMT to what is referred to as the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory, to encompass other aspects of analysis as domains within a Conceptual Domain of the metaphor as captured above. Understanding one domain experience abstract seen in terms of another concrete domain. Kovecses emphasizes that the crossmapping process of the two is cognitive. There is a systematic correspondence between the source domain (abstract) information and the target domain (concrete) information. The crossmapping is unidirectional, the metaphors occur in language and thought because we use them to speak certain aspects of life. Burgers et al (2016), states that metaphor and other figurative features shape public discourse, because metaphor has both the linguistic and conceptual content included in cognition. They are framed in terms of reasoning.

1.2 The Source Domain, the Target Domain and Cross mapping

In this case, the experience from the SD is cross mapped onto the TD, making the abstract TD more pronounced or noticeable (Kovecses 2002) in Xu (2010:3). The cross-mapping begins from the SD to the TD and not any other way. The mapping can be complete or partial. It is complete if the entire SD is cross mapped to the TD and partial if only part of the SD is cross mapped onto the TD. The similarity between the SD and the TD is what facilitates the mapping in terms of relation, properties and knowledge. Mapping also occurs only within the similar conceptual structures. This entails a cognitive process that involves understanding a particular domain of a metaphor and how it results into a conceptual pattern as the product (Kovecses, 2010). The cross mapping between the two domains is quite systematic, and metaphors are primarily considered as cognitive (found in our thoughts) sharing common ground in terms of meaning. I.e. the SD and the TD share resemblance, and the abstractness of the TD is based on the redundant experience of the social reality. Cognitively, the speaker and the audience need to have a mutual understanding in a given cultural domain shared by the two. Any cultural disparity between the two is a blockage towards comprehension of the metaphor.

2. Manifestation of Raila Odinga's Ideology in Metaphors

Raila's use of metaphors is conceptualized in terms of: the Socio-Democratic Ideology; the Ideology of Conflicts, the savior ideology and the ideology of fear.

2.1 The Socio-Democratic Ideology

Kastning (2013) Pateman (1970) states that socio-democracy ideology can be seen through solidary as a quality of public participation and decision making. Albert & Hahnel (1981) emphasize on collective decision making for social groups in the Argentinian reformations in

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2001 and 2002. The rich and the poor have an opportunity to state their view over socio-political issues and people either criticizing or challenging regimes or its power on their relevance or legitimacy (Barkins and Lemus, 2014).

Raila's discourse, manifests solidarity as a collective way of achieving change and reforms through the electoral process. It is a "We", "Us" and "Our" collective reference to his audience in a bid to launch an identity of togetherness in resolving or criticizing issues bedeviling the nation. Opponents are regarded as "Others" or "Them". Boundaries are set on how far opponents can be tolerated in the political circle, and opponents are also alienated from his social group. Illustrated here are two conceptual metaphors 2.1.1 and 2.1.2.

2.1.1   Solidarity of Leaders

One of the pillars of his socio-Democratic ideology is that he unified the leaders of different parties to run for a common goal, which is the presidency under him. This is captured in the metaphor of 'the beautiful girl'.

Kenya is portrayed as an attractive girl that is being wooed by several suitors. In the election period of 2017, Raila's political party was a coalition of several parties consisting of Raila Odinga, and Co-principals Kalonzo Musyoka, Moses Wetangula and Musalia Mudavadi. All of them had the interests of being the presidential flag bearers of the coalition party. Raila uses a metaphor to emphasize the attractiveness of presidential seat and need to allow the citizens to choose their preferred candidate for the position.

(1) Kama kuna msichana mrembo hapa uwanjani si kila mwanaume ata mtamani? Ati kila mwanaume anasema nataka hii. Weta anasema anataka. Musalia amesema anataka. Kalonzo nasema nataka. Hiyo ni makosa? Si mwishoe mtu mmoja ndio atapata sio? Sivyo? Mimi natamani vilevile, nataka kuakikisha nyinyi tutaelewana.

When there is a beautiful girl in the arena, every man will admire here? Every man will say I want her. Weta says he wants. Musalia says he wants. Kalonzo says he wants. Is that a problem? In the end only want person will get. What do you think? I also admire her too and I want to assure you we shall reach an agreement.

NASA Rally, Mathare Nairobi, 2017

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The conceptual domain that the presidency is a beautiful girl is analyzed as a beautiful girls is the Source Domain and the presidency the target domain. The electoral process, can only allow one person to be the candidate that shall be the flag bearer for the presidential seat. Raila offers an equal ground of the co-principals in his party to settle on one presidential candidate and that shall be the man suitable to marry the girl. The Source Domain indicates that the seat of power is attractive, it has responsibilities, and it is likened to a beautiful girl who has reached the age of marriage. Therefore the suitable candidate shall marry/get *the presidency* on a free and fair electoral process. The conceptual domain has been illustrated in the table 1 below:

Table 1.

SD: A beautiful girl	TD: Presidency
Attractive	Competitive
Only one man can marry her	Monopolized
Laws and cultural practices of marriage must be fulfilled	Has a constitution
Should be wooed	Can be negotiated via campaigns

The characteristics of a beautiful girl (SD) are cross mapped to the characteristic of the presidency (TD), who has reached the age of marriage. In this case the ground is open for free and fair elections and anyone can contest for the public office, however the people shall decide.

2.1.2 Philosophy of Solidary and Fairness Play

Raila Odinga's use of the football depicts the socio-democratic ideology that is socialistic. One of the characteristic of a socialistic attitude is that everybody has an equal and fair chance among fierce competition. He is using a football match to illustrate that his social group is in a fair competition against opponents on the level of the political field. The football game is played with fair rules guarded by referees. The fierce competition between opponents determines the winner of the elections. In the football match there are winners and losers. In this case the TD is *the elections* and the SD *is the football match. Below is the football metaphor:*

(2) Raila: Naona referee anaangalia saa. Firimbi imepigwa na mpira imeanza.Uhuru Kenyatta na mpira, anapatia Ruto

I can see the referee looking at his watch. The whistle has been blown and the match has begun. Uhuru Kenyatta passes the ball to Ruto.

Crowd: Eeeh

Raila: Ruto anapatia Duale

Ruto gives Duale

Crowd*: Eeeh*

Raila: *Dwale na mpira, amekatia bwana, bwana, bwana Kazungu Kambi*

Duale with the ball, he has passed it to Mr... Mr... Mr..… Kazungu Kambi

Crowd: *Eeeh*

Raila: *Ooh anateleza anaanguka chini*

Ohh he as tripped and fallen down

(Laughter)

Raila: *Bwana Kazungu Kambi inaonekana alikimbia kwa kasi sana akaanguka inaonekana ameteguka.*

Mr. Kazungu Kambi I think ran too fast and fell down and it like he has sprained

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(Laughter)

Raila: *Naona kama amebebwa anatolewa kwa kiwanja apate huduma ya kwanza.*

I can see he has been carried out of the field to get first aid

Crowd: Eeeh

Raila: *Haiya mpira inaendelea, mpira inarudi pande hii ingine.*

The ball continues, the ball is returned this other side.

Wanampa Dwale tena, Dwale anarudi na mpira, wana Jubilee wana mpira.

They give Duale again, Duale with the ball, the people guys with the ball.

Amerudi pande ile ingine anampa Shaban.

He has gone the other side and given Shaban.

Shaban na mpira anampatia Mong'aru, Mong'aru na mpira anapatia Uhuru Kenyatta. Uhuru na mpira , anapeana shot! Aaaah lakini goalkeeper Aisha Jumwa…

Shaban with the ball, she gives Mong'aru, Mong'aru with the ball he give Uhuru Kenyatta, Uhuru with the ball, he gives out shoot! Aaaah but he goalkeeper Aisha Jumwa……

(Crowd laughs and applauds)

Raila: *anadaka mpira hiyo bila wasi wasi yoyote.*

She catches the ball without any problem

Anaweka mpira pale chini, anapiga mpira kwenda mbele kwa Mboko, Mboko na mpira, anapatia Kamoti, Kamoti na mpira, amechenga Kazungu, amechenga Mustafa Idi, amepatia Mazayo, Mazayo na mpira, mazayo na Mpira, anampatia Kingi.

She put the ball down, she kicks th ball forward to Mboko, Mboko with the ball, she give Kamoti, Kamoti with the ball, she ducks Kazung, she ducks Mustafa Idi, she gives Mazayo. Mazayou with the ball. Mazayo gives Kingi.

Amason Kingi na mpira , amechenga William Ruto, amechenga tena ,amekatioa mpira kwa Hassan Joho.

Amason Kingi takes the ball, he ducks William Ruto, he ducks again, he gives Hassan Joho.

(Crowd applauds)

Raila: Joho na mpira, anakwenda Joho, anampatia Kalonzo

Joho with the ball, Joho moves forward, he gives Kalonzo.

Crowd: Eeeh

Raila: Kalonzo anampatia Raila, Raila na mpira, Te! Te! Te! Te!Te!Te! goooooooal!

Kalonzo gives Raila, Raila with the ball, Te!Te!Te!Te!Te!Te! gooooooooal!

(Crowd applauds)

Translation

I can see the referee looking at his watch. The whistle has been blown and the match has begun. Uhuru Kenyatta passes the ball to Ruto.

Crowd: Eeeh

Ruto gives Duale

Crowd*: Eeeh*

Raila: Duale with the ball, he has passed it to Mr, Mr, Mr. Kazungu Kambi

Crowd: *Eeeh*

Raila: Ohh he as tripped and fallen down

 (Laughter)

Raila: Mr. Kazungu Kambi I think ran too fast and fell down and it like he has sprained

(Laughter)

Raila: I can see he has been carried out of the field to get first aid

Crowd: Eeeh

Raila: The ball continues, the ball is returned this other side.

They give Duale again, Duale with the ball, the people guys with the ball.

He has gone the other side and given Shaban.

Shaban with the ball, she gives Mong'aru, Mong'aru with the ball he give Uhuru Kenyatta, Uhuru with the ball, he gives out shoot! Aaaah but he goalkeeper Aisha Jumwa……

(Crowd laughs and applauds)

Raila: She catches the ball without any problem

She put the ball down, she kicks the ball forward to Mboko, Mboko with the ball, she give Kamoti, Kamoti with the ball, she ducks Kazung, she ducks Mustafa Idi, she gives Mazayo. Mazayou with the ball. Mazayo gives Kingi.

Amason Kingi takes the ball, he ducks William Ruto, he ducks again, he gives Hassan Joho.

(Crowd applauds)

Raila: Joho with the ball, Joho moves forward, he gives Kalonzo.

Crowd: Eeeh

Raila: Kalonzo anampatia Raila, Raila na mpira, Te! Te! Te! Te!Te!Te! goooooooal!

Kalonzo gives Raila, Raila with the ball, Te!Te!Te!Te!Te!Te! gooooooooal!

(Crowd applauds)

Rabai NASA Campaign Rally 2017

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The Conceptual Domain of Elections is a football game is tabulated below:

Table 2.

SD: Football Game	TD: Elections
Play field/football pitch	Political space/political ground

Teams (We versus them)	Opponents ("we" versus "others")
Referee determines the winner	Electoral body (IEBC) decides the winner
Rules and regulations of the match: red card, yellow card, foul, kick, foul, fair, extra time, tackle, penalty, offside, sidekick, score, level playing field	Elections Act, policies and strategies
Fierce physical competition and effort: skill, stamina, endurance, tact and discipline	Electoral competition: Strategies, debates, rallies, mobilization of resources, parties and people
Players	Politicians
Football team	Political party

Conceptually, *Elections is a football game.* The relationship between the SD and the TD is logical and it could be interpreted using a cross-mapping mechanism based on the conceptual domain: elections is a football match. The characteristics of the football match (SD) are crossmapped on the TD (Elections).All the characteristics of solidarity and fair play are reflected in a football match. There are teams, teamwork, scores, winners and losers, those with the sports acumen to score goals and so on. In this case the collaborative effort of his team make him to win the match. In this case he scores the winning score. Kovecses (2010) in Lopez (2018) emphasizes that games and sports have traits that are common to metaphorical purposes. The similarity between elections and football is common. Politicians use strategies to campaign, they need political parties to contest and they have to be supported by the party members. Each party members has a role to play just like in the football match. IEBC is the Kenyan electoral body that oversee the process and declares winners. On the other hand in the football match, the referee oversees the game and declares the winning team.

In elections there is intense competition that is sometimes malicious and manipulative. In the football match the players play intensely physically and both operate under rules and regulations. Football requires skill, stamina, endurance, tact, discipline and mental alertness and elections require resources, mobilization, consistency, and strategic moves to win.

In a match there is still competition that leads to winners and losers. Top scores determine the winner and in elections voting trends determine the winner. The one with the most votes wins against opponents. Sport metaphors are driven by both competition between teams and solidarity between teammates in a football match.

Raila projects a level playing field, where there is a flat field for both contenders have an equal chance within a set of rules that are explicit and formal.

2.2 The Ideology of Conflicts

Some of Raila's metaphors reflect the ideology of conflict. The ideology of conflict reflects the ideas that a war situation takes place between a nation, here the people of Kenya have an enemy that threatens the peace, development and prosperity of the nation. The people of Kenya a represented by Raila and his party and the enemies are the opponents.

Election campaigns are executed with political strategies that are both persuasive and manipulative. Four concepts on the ideology of conflict have been analyzed using various metaphoric illustrations in Raila Odinga's discourse.

The following CMT's have been analyzed in the ideology of conflict: elections is a battle; political enemies (opponents) have repulsive traits; enemies (Opponents are animals); and enemies. Opponents are murders. These concepts appeal to the emotional sense of the audience by posing rhetorical questions, use of riddles and narratives. Sperber and Wilson (1986, 1995) in Mang'eni (2008) state that manipulation is purely a matter of how an individual

communicates and how he or she can make the hearer trust them and thus belief in what they say. Fowler and Kress (1979: 186) states that: X *manipulates Y through language" And "X pulls the wool over Y's eyes through language."* In this case "X" is the speaker and "Y" is the audience. According to the Mang'eni (2022), this is an unconscious process. Raila Odinga's persuasive and manipulative strategies are encoded in the metaphoric concepts he deploys to defend his position as the most suitable for the presidential seat. He actualizes the positive self and negative other strategy.

2.2.1 Election is a Battle

Raila Odinga's discourse depicts elections as a battlefield where politicians strategize, fight, attack, bomb and they have soldiers and an army which defeats the opponents.
In the war metaphor below as used by Mang'eni and Habwe (2022), Raila conceptualizes how he will tackle socio-economic issues once elected.
(3) Tunataka kupigana na yale maadui matatu makumbwa ya wakenya: ugonjwa, ujinga, umaskini na utawala wa kimabavu.
We want to fight three big enemies of the people of Kenya: disease, ignorance, poverty and tyranny.

Narok County in 2017 Elections Campaign

The conceptual domain of the fighting metaphor, *election is a battle,* can be analyzed as follows:
Table 3.

SD: Battle	TD: Elections
Battle Field	Political space/ground/rallies/vote tallying centers
An Army Battalion	Political Party
Generals, lieutenants, colonels, admirals, captains and civilians	Political Party leader and members
War rules	Elections Act, policies and strategies
Fierce physical aggression and attacks (battle, attack, bomb/bombard, strategy, fight).	Electoral competition: Strategies, debates, rallies, mobilization of resources, parties and people
Consistent attacks on the enemy till they are defeated.	Political arguments (using words) and strategies
Civilians	Voters
Defeating the enemy or being killed by the enemy	Winning or losing

In this campaign context, Raila persuades the audience that he will fight diseases, ignorance, poverty and tyranny since they are a threat to the country. The SD concept of fighting has been cross-mapped on the political strategies of dealing with diseases, ignorance, poverty and tyranny. Flusberg, Matlock and Thibodeau (2018), postulate that the conceptual domain of a war involves two opposing factions of as the in group (the good, us) against the out group (the enemy, them). The above metaphor can be perceived cognitively as Borcic, Kanizaj and Krsul (2016) in Mang'eni and Habwe (2022) state that metaphors are the evidence of the human thought process. The conceptual domain *Election is a battle*, and the impression of fighting to eliminate diseases, ignorance, poverty and tyranny activate mental images. This metaphor shapes the direction of thought and the audience is persuaded to believe the speaker.

2.3 The Ideology of the Enemy

The enemy concepts in the ideology of conflict is manifested in three conceptual metaphors, the enemies are repulsive, the enemies are animals and the enemy are murderers.

2.3.1 The Enemy has Repulsive Traits

Raila uses the *positive self and negative other ideology* to confront and shame opponents on matters of vote rigging. The 2017 elections has just been concluded and he has lost to Uhuru Kenyatta. In the metaphor below, he labels the opponent as a night runner. He targets his opponents with metaphors that condemn evil or a negative trait that he purports they possess to disadvantage them as qualified for the public office. In the same context he portrays himself as the good leader (Wodak, 2021). Raila accuses them of rigging elections, but their dark actions had been found out.

(4) *Raila: Kitendawili*
Riddle!
Crowd: Tega
Riddle come!
Raila: Alikimbia uchi usiku, akachoka, akalala. Mwishowe akashtuliwa na jua. Ni nani huyo?
He ran naked the whole night, he got tired, slept. In the end she was awakened abruptly by the sun, who is that?
Crowd: Kenyatta
Raila: Ni nani?
Who?
Crowd: Uhuru

Raila: mji basi. Yeye alikua mchawi. Sikia hadithi ya mchawi. Mchawi unajua venye anakimbia usiku?
Give me city. He was a night runner, listen to the narrative of the night runner. Do you know how the night runner, runs?
Crowd: Eeeeh!
Raila: si anakimbia uchi? Si anatoa nguo yote? Kwa hivyo alikimbia alikimbia usiku yote mpaka akachoka. Akaenda kando ya barabara akasema apumzike kidogo. Akaketi chini hapo. Akashikwa na usingizi, akalala mpaka asubuhi. Alipoamka, jua ilikua iko juu. Watu wanatembea kila mahali. sasa watu wanashtuka huyu jamaa alikuja hapa namna gani?
Doesn't he run naked? Doesn't he remove all his clothes? So he ran and ran the whole night till he was tired. He went beside the road and said he told himself he should rest for a while. He sat down there. The slept caught him, and he slept till morning. When he woke up, the sun was already up. The crowd was milling around him and wondering how did this fellow come to that place?
(Crowd Applauds)
Raila: walikimbia usiku, si walikimbia usiku? Wakaiba ushindi wetu usiku, lakini sasa jua imetoka wameonekana wako uchi.
They ran at night, didn't they run at night? They stole our victory, but now the sun is risen and they have been exposed.
Translation:
Raila: Riddle!
Crowd: Riddle come!
Raila: He ran naked the whole night, he got tired, slept. In the end she was awakened abruptly by the sun, who is that?

Crowd: Kenyatta
Raila: Who?
Crowd: Uhuru
Raila: Give me city. He was a night runner, listen to the narrative of the night runner. Do you know how the night runner, runs?
Crowd: Eeeeh!
Raila: Doesn't he run naked? Doesn't he remove all his clothes? So he ran and ran the whole night till he was tired. He went beside the road and said he told himself he should rest for a while. He sat down there. The slept caught him, and he slept till morning. When he woke up, the sun was already up. The crowd was milling around him and wondering how did this fellow come to that place?
(Crowd Applauds)
Raila: They ran at night, didn't they run at night? They stole our victory, but now the sun is risen and they have been exposed.

Kibera Rally, Nairobi, 2013
KTN

The table 4 below elaborates the conceptual domain: *The opponent is a night runner.*
Table 4.

SD: Night runner	TD: Opponent (Jubilee party who engaged in election malpractice)
Wizard	Rigging elections
Dancing naked in the dark	Vote rigging plans
Removing clothes	Working secretly to do evil
Caught naked in broad daylight by the crowd	Raila and in group exposes opponents' evil

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In the Night runner metaphor, Raila presents it as a riddle that extends to a narrative that carries metaphoric meaning. Raila calls his opponents (Jubilee party) night runners, whose evils schemes have been exposed. Night running is a social trait that is abominable in the African traditional culture. Night runners if discovered are ridiculed, isolated and punished. When young girls who intend to get marry are guarded against young men with backgrounds of repulsive traits such as night running, theft, madness, epilepsy and witchcraft. Night runners are known to disturb people at the wee hours of the night. Some throw sand on the roof, they play with wild animals and they are known to scare people at night. Nobody likes to associate with nightrunners. The negative labelling of an opponent as a night runner is discrediting.. The metaphor portrays his opponents as liars, fake, bad fellows and Raila present himself as upright fellow (Wodak, 2021).

2.3.2 Political Critics are Dogs

Raila Odinga's main objective is to secure grass-root support by using dehumanizing metaphors on the enemies the opponents to discredit them. The dog metaphor below, is dehumanizing to Raila's opponents. In the Kenyan social culture, a dog is considered the lowest of the animals because it is associated with immorality, shame and spite. A dog has no face, or moral authority to associate with others until when their master calls them. Raila places himself on the pedestal of nobility, showing himself to be above those "low level" politicians talking about him. Raila says:
(5) Nikasema siwezi ongea na Duale na Murkomen, mbwa kama anabweka huendi kwa mbwa-unaenda kwa mwenye mbwa sivyo?
I said I cannot negotiate with Duale and Murkomen, when a dog barks, you do not go to the dog but you go to its owner isn't it?

From the above metaphor the dog metaphor's conceptual domain is: *political critics are dogs*. This has been illustrated below:

Table 5.

SD: Dog	TD: Opponents (Duale and Murkomen of Jubilee Party)
Uncultured and Immoral	Shameless behavior i.e. public criticism of opponents
Barking	Talking aimlessly/verbal attack aimed at Raila

In the conception domain *Political critics are dogs* the characters of the SD dog, are mapped on opponents who criticize him i.e Duale and Murkomen. Raila uses the metaphor to discredit his opponent's deterrent behavior of criticizing him and yet they have no moral authority to do so. In the African traditional homesteads, mongrels are the type of dogs that are not tamable. They are held in low esteem because they exude bad manners: loitering from place to place, eating left over from bins, barking aimlessly even when they are not supposed to. The dog metaphor denies and lowers the esteem of his opponents, portraying them as "no bodies", (Boeynaems et al, 2017) in Mang'eni (2022).

2.3.3 Opponent are Murderers

Another facet of the enemy concept is that the enemies are murderers. Raila presents opponents as murders of innocent people. The supposed murder is laced with lies and tricks to hoodwink citizens of the ill plans he has to finish them. A murderer is callous and dangerous. Raila paints his opponent as dangerous to the security of the "our" nation/people and this creates a scenario of fear (Wodak, 2021). Fear appeals to negative emotions of resentment, intuition, commonsense and anti-intellectualism. This causes the audience to demonize the opponents, while disregarding any fact-based evidence. The negative "other" presentation in the metaphor causes the audience to fear the opponent (Uhuru Kenyatta). In this case he is labelled as deceitful, fake, bad, and without a conscience, because he is murdering them while pretending to help them, (Wodak, 2021).

(6) Ni kama mtu ambaye anataka kuchinja kuku.
It is like a person who wants to slaughter a chicken
Anachukua mahindi, anaita kuku kutkutkutkut.
He takes some maize, and calls the chicken kutkutkutkut.
Kuku inakuja anarushiwa mahindi.
The chicken comes and he throws the maize.
Kuku inafikiria huyu jamaa leo amenikumbuka.
The chicken thinks this fellow has remembered me.
Amekua mkarimu. Kumbe anajua haja yake sikumlisha, haja yake ni kitoweo. Akija karibu namna hii ananaswa. Kwekwekwekewe.
He has become so generous. However he knows his plan is not to feed the chicken. His plan is to slaughter it. When it comes closer like this, he catches it. *Kwekwekwekwe*
Kisu tiyari na maji imetokota. Sasa ile Uhuru anatafuta ni kura yenu. Akifungua mradi hapa na pale. Sasa juzi anaenda Kisii ati anapeana pesa ya IDPs.
The knife is ready and the water is boiling. So what Uhuru is looking for is your vote. He is flagging projects here and there. Recently, he went to Kisii, to give money to IDPs.
Baada ya miaka nne na nnusu bado hajakumbuka ati IDPs wako hapa. Walikua wamesema mambo ya IDPs imekwisha. Imefunga.
After four and a half years, he did not recall that there are IDPs there

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Sasa baadaye anasikia ati iko IDPs Kisii alfu sita. Sasa anaenda patia hao kitu kidogo. Kitu kidogo. Lakini kile anataka ni nini?
So later he hears there are 6,000 IDPs in Kisii. So he goes there and gives them something small. Something small. But what does he want?
Kuku anataka kuchinja. Anafikiri wakisii ni wajinga sana. Anaenda eneo zingine anapeana title deeds. Hiyo yote ni hongo. Ni rushwa.
The chicken is to be slaughtered. He thinks Kisiis are so foolish. He goes to other areas to issue title deeds. All that is bribery.

Translation
It is like a person who wants to slaughter a chicken. He takes some maize, and calls the chicken kutkutkutkut. The chicken comes and he throws the maize. The chicken thinks this fellow has remembered me. He has become so generous. However he knows his plan is not to feed the chicken. His plan is to slaughter it. When it comes closer like this, he catches it. Kwekwekwekwe. The knife is ready and the water is boiling. So what Uhuru is looking for is your vote. He is flagging projects here and there. Recently, he went to Kisii, to give money to IDPs. After four and a half years, he did not recall that there are IDPs there. They had warned that the issues of IDPs are over. Case closed. So later he hears there are 6,000 IDPs in Kisii. So he goes there and gives them something small. Something small. But what does he want? The chicken is to be slaughtered. He thinks Kisiis are so foolish. He goes to other areas to issue title deeds. All that is bribery.

NASA Campaign Rally, Ukambani, 2017

The table 6 below illustrates the conceptual domain: *opponents are murderers*.

Table 6.

SD: Murderer	TD: Opponent (Uhuru)
Criminal, evil, ruthless, sinister, deceitful, without a conscience	Liar
Throws maize to lure the chickens	Corrupt
Catches and Slaughters the chicken	Uses shortcuts for his benefit: gives people fake title deeds and extends help to Internally Displaced People, but with a heinous motive

In the Conception Domain *Opponent are Murderers* the traits of the SD *Murderer*, are crossmapped onto the opponent (Uhuru) who disburses help to internally displace people after the lapse of time, because he want to compromise them to vote for him in the upcoming general elections. Raila uses the murder metaphor to criminalize the opponent as fake, ruthless, merciless, evil and deceitful. The metaphor portrays the opponent as dangerous, thus causing fear.

2.4 The Ideology of the Saviour

The political context of Kenya is largely Christian, approximated at 85.5 per cent (Statista 2022). This makes it the most predominant religion in the country. Raila uses the religious card to present himself as the saviour in the conflict as "good, true, upright and victim of the opponent, (Wodak, 2021. In the 2017 and 2022 presidential elections, he uses the biblical Joshua Metaphor to conceptualize the idea of leading Kenyans to a better country. The whole concept of leading people to Canaan explains his political activity as a journey with positive outcomes (Mang'eni, 2022). Raila paints two scenarios: the current Kenya that is bleak, broken and hopeless after years of social, economic and political struggle since independence, and the

Kenya that is to come which is bright, comfortable and promising as the Promised Land that Joshua is led the children of Israel to.

The Joshua metaphor is both persuasive and manipulative since religion gives him a platform to come out as the "savior". The metaphor is instrumentalized to popularize him as the savior (Wodak, 2021). Below is the metaphor:

(7) Raila: Sasa mimi nimeombea wakenya, sio? Si niliombea wakenya? Nikasema mimi nitakua Joshua, sio? Lakini Joshua hakua peke yake, si alikua na Caleb? Si alikua na Caleb? Caleb niko naye hapa.

Now I prayed for Kenyans, ok? Didn't I pray for Kenya? I said I will be Joshua, ok? But Joshua was not alone, he was with Caleb. Wasn't he with Caleb? I have Caleb here.

(Crowd applauds)

Raila: Tuko pamoja, tumesimama katika genge ya mto Yordani. Canaan ninng'ambo ile. Mara ile ingine tulijaribu lakini kulikua na mamba pale. Mamba pale, sio?

We are together, standing at the banks of River Jordan. Canaan is the yonder. The other time we tried but there are crocodiles there. Ok?

Crowd: Eeeh

Raila: Mara hii tunavuka, mwingine apende asipende, sawa sawa? Tarehe nane, mwezi wa nane, tunaenda wapi? Wanajubilee wanataka kurudisha sisi Misri, mnakubali?

This time round, we shall cross over whether someone likes it or not, is that ok? On eighth, of April where shall we go? Those in Jubilee want us to go back to Egypt, ok? Do you agree?

Crowd: Hapana!

Nooo!

Raila: Mnakubali kurudi Misri?

Do you agree to go back to Egypt?

Crowd: Hapana!

Nooo!

Translation

Raila: now I prayed for Kenyans, ok? Didn't I pray for Kenya? I said I will be Joshua, ok? But Joshua was not alone, he was with Caleb. Wasn't he with Caleb? I have Caleb.

(Crowd applauds)

Raila: we are together, standing at the banks of River Jordan. Canaan is the yonder. The other time we tried but there are crocodiles there. Ok?

Crowd: Eeeh

Raila: this time round, we shall cross over whether someone likes it or not, is that ok? On eighth, of April where shall we go? Those in Jubilee want us to go back to Egypt, ok? Do you agree? Crowd: Nooo!

Raila: do you agree to go back to Egypt?

Crowd: Nooo!

NASA Rally Kisii Stadium-KTN NEWS, 2017

The conceptual domain of the Joshua metaphor is: *Raila is Joshua*. All that Joshua did to lead the children of Israel to the Promised Land is what Raila promises to do for Kenyans to deliver them from supposed socio-economic ills.

The table 7 below explains the conceptual domain:

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Table 7.

SD: Joshua	TD: Raila Odinga
Leader of the Children of Israel to the Promised Land	Party leader of his political party
Savior/Deliverer of the Children of Israel after Moses passed away	Savior of Kenyans
Good, truthful, dutiful i.e. completed the task	"Credible", "good", "honest" "charismatic" enough to deliver Kenyans
Worked in collaboration with Caleb and elders	Team player and has a running mate
Joshua took over from Moses who delivered the children of Israel from slavery in Egypt, and he (Joshua) crossed the River Jordan and brought them to Caanan to the promised land	Will deliver Kenya from socio-economic ills (Egypt) if voted in.
Let the Israelites to Canaan (the land flowing with milk and honey)	His new government shall have all the needed resources for the nation
Interceded for Israelites to God	Prayed for Kenyans

The conceptual domain is based on the assumption that the audience has experienced the history of the politician, his party, his experiences, abilities, strengths and weaknesses, and also according to the history they (Kenyans) are willing to travail the hardships and challenges to overcome the obstacle (opponent) or (situations) which may come their way in order to save, (Charteris-Black, 2005).

The traits of the SD *Joshua* are crossmapped on the TD *Raila*, who presents himself as Joshua of the bible. The metaphor enhances his persuasive strategy to convince his audience of the "new" Kenya he shall create after elections. The biblical success of Joshua and his assistant Caleb, of leading the children of Israel to the Promised Land is projected on the expected success of Raila and his running mate Kalonzo Musyoka leading Kenyans to liberation once they clinch the presidency. Also, Raila portrays himself as the only "Saviour" for Kenyans. He promises to lead them to a better socio-economic and political system, comparable to Joshua and Caleb's Promised Land in the bible.

2.5 The Ideology of Fear

Bauman (2006:2) in Wodak (2021: page) states that fear is the creation of an atmosphere of uncertainty that threatens to stop what should be done and what ought to be done, yet stopping is beyond "the victim's" power. Raila Odinga spells doom for his opponent by using weather metaphors. In the metaphor below he talks of clouds, rain and a cyclone that will carry the opponent's dirt to the ocean.

(8) *Nimeona mawingu. Naona kama tarehe nane, mwezi wa nane kutanyesha*.
I have seen clouds. I see like on eighth, the eighth month it will rain
Kuna upepo wa tufani, unatoka upande wa mashariki kuenda magharibi, kaskazini kwenda kusini.
There is a cyclone, from the side of the East going West, going North to South.
Unachukua taka taka yote ya Jubilee kupeleka baharini.
Taking all the dirt of Jubilee to the ocean

Translation:
I have seen clouds. I am seeing the 8th of August it shall rain. There is a cyclone from the east to the west, north to south. It will sweep all the dirt by Jubilee to the ocean.
The conceptual domain of the above metaphor is: *weather patterns spell doom for opponents*.

The TD and the SD crossmapping is projected in table 8 below:

Table 8:

SD: Bad Weather i.e. clouds, rain, cyclones	TD: Doom that causes fear on Opponents
Cloud	Fear
Rain	Fear on opponents, voting power of Raila's supporters
Cyclone	Fear and defeat for opponents, taking over and cleaning the system
Dirt	Socio-political ills

The characteristics of the SD weather (clouds, rain, cyclones) are crossmapped on the TD opponents. The sign of clouds, rain and cyclone cause uncertainty and fear on opponents. Raila was addressing a big crowd, and he is anticipating a landslide victor in the presidential elections. The rains and the cyclones signify his political dominance that would sweep away any political misdeeds of the opponents who are the Jubilee Party.

Conclusion

This paper ascertains that metaphors manifest ideologies in discourse. Findings indicate four ideological concepts namely: the socio-democratic ideology; the ideology of conflicts; the savior ideology and the ideology of fear, are manifested in the metaphors used by Raila Odinga in his political discourse. The socio-democratic ideology is portrayed by two conceptual domains: the solidarity of leaders and the philosophy of solidarity. The beautiful girl metaphor and the football metaphor indicate that Raila advocates for solidary as a quality of public participation and decision making, as well as the solidarity of leaders where he units other leaders who front him to vie for presidency. In the football game metaphor, there is team work between members of the team and competition between the two teams. Secondly, the ideology of conflicts is portrayed by the conceptual domains: elections is a battle, the ideology of the enemy, and opponents are murderers. In the battle metaphor, night runner, dog and murder metaphors, Raila uses persuasion and manipulation to woe voters to his side and at the same time discrediting opponents as "bad". Thirdly, Raila also portrays the savior ideology presented by the biblical Joshua metaphor as the concept Raila is the biblical metaphor. He presents himself as the only 'savior' that can redeem Kenya from her supposed socio-political challenges. And lastly we have analyzed the ideology of fear manifested by the concept weather patterns spell doom for opponents' metaphor. In the fear metaphor, Raila presents himself as bigger than the others and he will "finish" them once elected.

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