

**LANGUAGE IN CONFLICT: KISWAHILI METAPHORS IN THE INTERNATIONAL
CRIMINAL COURT INDICTMENT DISCOURSE IN KENYA**

BY

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DECLARATION

Declaration by the Candidate

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ABSTRACT

Metaphor is one of the most powerful linguistic devices that convey messages through expanding understanding by relating the unknown to the familiar. Through metaphors, complex issues and ideas can be simplified and therefore restructure concepts and opinions, create solidarity within a community and also be a vehicle to transmit/institutionalize ideology. Research has revealed that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical and what we do and experience every day are very much matters of metaphor. Metaphors shape the way we understand the world. Language is generally an important tool in conflict and conflict resolution. However, the role of metaphor in the same has not been given adequate attention in Kiswahili research. The indictment of some Kenyans at the International Criminal Court (ICC) generated conflicting debate on the role of the court in resolving disputes in Kenya. This study provides a comprehensive analysis of how Kiswahili metaphors have been used in the general debates about ICC in Kenya, and how issues of reconciliation and transitional justice have been addressed in such debates. The specific objectives are, first, to identify the types of Kiswahili linguistic metaphors used in the ICC discourse in Kenyan media. Second; to analyse the underlying conceptual metaphors that shape the thoughts and reasoning towards ICC discourse and, third, to discuss how usage of Kiswahili metaphor in ICC discourse has been harnessed for either conflict escalation or conflict resolution and peace building. The study is anchored on the integration of Cognitive Metaphor Theory developed by Lakoff and Johnson (2003), Critical Metaphor Analysis as defined by Charteris-Black (2004) and Communicative Action Theory (1984) by Jürgen Habermas. The study adopts an analytical research design. The study population includes texts on three genres of language use: political debates about ICC from public prayer meetings, political campaign rallies and post-election violence victim narrations. Purposive sampling technique is employed in the selection of texts from media houses archived from key events that involve ICC debates. The study limits its investigation to ICC discourse as exemplified in Kenyan media from January 2012 to March 2013. Content analysis and qualitative methods are employed to analyse the texts sampled for the study. The findings of the study reveal that metaphors are snapshots of the mental processes that are used to frame the ICC conflict in Kenya. The metaphors used in the discourse communicate bipolarized representations of ICC which is an impediment to peace and reconciliation. There emerged both positive and negative metaphor patterns regarding conflict. These results are expected to act as a point of reference on the general usage of Kiswahili metaphor as a major tool of conflict resolution within Kenya. In addition, it is hoped the results would assist language experts in developing Kiswahili as an appropriate language for sustainable peace in Kenya. The study recommends that if communication through metaphors is conceptualized as a process of negotiation about ICC based on the exchange of validity claims, coordination is ensured by the orientation towards mutual agreement.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

AU	:	African Union
CIPEV	:	Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence
CDA	:	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	:	Corpus Linguistics
CMA	:	Critical Metaphor Analysis
CMT	:	Cognitive Metaphor Theory
CORD	:	Coalition for Reforms and Democracy
G7	:	Group of Seven
ICC	:	International Criminal Court
IDPs	:	Internally Displaced Persons
JCRA	:	Jubilee Campaign Rally A
JCRB	:	Jubilee Campaign Rally B
CCRC	:	CORD Campaign Rally C
CCRD	:	CORD Campaign Rally D
KTN	:	Kenya Television Network
MIPVU	:	Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit
NCIC	:	National Cohesion and Integration Commission
NTV	:	Nation Television Network
ODM	:	Orange Democratic Movement
PMA	:	Prayer Meeting A
PMB	:	Prayer Meeting B
PMC	:	Prayer Meeting C
PMD	:	Prayer Meeting D

PME	:	Prayer Meeting E
PMF	:	Prayer Meeting F
PDA	:	Political Discourse Analysis
PEC	:	Post-Election Conflict
PEV	:	Post-Election Violence
PNU	:	Party of National Unity
RMS	:	Royal Media Services
SD	:	Source Domain
TJRC	:	Truth, Justice and Reconciliation Commission
TD	:	Target Domain
TNA	:	The National Alliance
URP	:	United Republican Party
VNA	:	Victim Narration A
VNB	:	Victim Narration B
VNC	:	Victim Narration C
VND	:	Victim Narration D

DEFINITION OF TERMS

In this study, the following terms are used as defined below:

- Conceptual metaphor:** This term is broader than a traditional metaphor and it encompasses all terms that reference a contextual domain outside the existing body or text in an effort to draw a visual for the audience.
- Genre:** Any conventionalized use of language that is linked to a particular activity.
- Ideology:** A system of beliefs and values consisting of the sets of mental representations shared by a particular group.
- Linguistic metaphor:** A linguistic metaphor is a linguistic expression that, in context, is used to mean something that contrasts with (one of) its more basic meaning(s)
- Metaphor:** The term metaphor refers to the understanding of one thing, idea or conceptual domain in terms of another.
- Metaphor key:** Metaphor key is a metaphorical expression that is found to be particularly frequent and important in a particular dataset.
- Mapping:** Mapping is the systematic set of correspondences that exist between constituent elements of the source and target domain.
- Source domain:** Source domain refers to the conceptual domain from which metaphorical expressions are drawn.

Target domain:	Target domain refers to the conceptual domain that is metaphorically thought and talked about in terms of another conceptual domain that we try to understand.
Text:	A text is any individual and relatively self-contained instance of language use, whether written or spoken.
Text excerpt:	Text excerpt refers to a portion of a full speech/text pulled out for contextual analysis.
Transition Justice	Transition justice is the way societies address legacies of past human rights abuses, mass atrocity or other forms of severe social trauma, including genocide or civil war, in order to build a more democratic, just and peaceful future.
Utterance:	Utterance refers to a speech being analyzed, in this case, recorded speech from prayer meetings, political rallies or victim narrations.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

This study focuses on the use of metaphor in the International Court Indictment (ICC) discourse in Kenya. The purpose of this chapter is to introduce the research and outline the general structure of the thesis. The first section of the chapter provides a general background to the study. It then presents the statement of the problem and the main arguments or the research questions that drive the analysis of the study. Furthermore, it highlights the relevance of the study and states its expected contributions to the field of Kiswahili and political discourse analysis. Lastly, the chapter contextualizes the research within the conceptual framework that guides in the analysis of the data.

1.1 Background to the Study

This study draws its inspiration from the 2007/08 post-election violence (PEV) in Kenya which led to the deaths of over 1000 people, thus warranting the intervention of the ICC due to the numerous crimes against humanity and other serious human rights violations which were perpetrated against Kenyans (Kanyinga, 2011). Since then, several mediation attempts have been made towards achieving peace, justice and reconciliation. The New Approach (Winslade & Monk, 2000) explores ways of managing and mediating a variety of conflicts in the field of conflict and conflict resolution. It recognizes the important role language plays in the constructing of who we are or how we engage or behave with others. This discursive process focuses on how complex social contexts shape the multiple facets of social conflict as they are played out and mediated in practice by examining how the words and language we use to describe and understand our conflicts are operative in constructing an image in our minds of the conflict itself. It is organized around the narrative mediation- the notion that how we talk about

ourselves and our conflicts shapes how we perceive and react to these conflicts.

The study analyses Kiswahili metaphors in the ICC indictment discourse, the parties involved in their creation and dissemination and their underlying assumptions or conceptualizations. The concern with metaphors in reference to ICC discourses arises out of the fact that the referral of the 2007/2008 post-election violence suspects for international judicial accountability at The Hague elicited conflicting reactions from Kenyans. Given that some voices supported The Hague while others disapproved of it; there arises a need to examine the metaphors used in order to assess their effectiveness in addressing reconciliation.

One reason for the interest in metaphor research in ICC discourse is that metaphor originates in human creativity. Metaphor reflects the ability of the human mind to perceive similarity relations and finding the similar within the dissimilar in a creative way. In other words, metaphors expand understanding by relating the unknown to the familiar. Metaphor is therefore very close to the nature of language itself, both as a socially accepted system for representing the world around us and as a personal code (Charteris-Black, 2004). Various studies have demonstrated that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action and it is central in political discourse (Chilton & Schaffner, 1997; Lakoff, 1990, 1992, 1993; Ngonyani, 2002; Cienki, 2005; Johansen, 2007; Moreno, 2008; Habwe, 2011). The main argument of these studies is that metaphor enhances understanding of complex and/or abstract phenomenon by using familiar concepts. Other scholars (Chateris-Black, 2004; Semino, 2008) have illustrated how metaphors have consistently been used in politics to provide particular representations of issues, situations and events and to achieve persuasive effects. Chateris-Black (2004:28) acknowledges this role by emphasizing that metaphors have the potential to construct representations of the world that impinge on human understanding of various aspects of social and political life and for

its vital role in forming and influencing human beliefs, attitudes and action.

A linguistic metaphor is defined as a linguistic expression that, in context, is used to mean something that contrasts with (one of) its more basic meaning(s). *Jazanda* as metaphor is referred to in Kiswahili falls into the broader category of figurative language *mafumbo* (symbolism) which achieve their effect through *taaswira* (imagery). Other forms of *mafumbo* (symbolism), like *tashbiha* (simile), *uhaishaji* (personification) and *vitendawili* (riddles) are all classified as metaphor save for their respective structure. This makes any scholarly study on metaphors quite wide. The available research deals with the literary attributes of the Kiswahili metaphor (Vierke, 2012; Simala, 2012; Habwe, 2010; Indede, 2009; Sharrif, 1983; Chacha, 1987). Their findings elucidate on the nature, role and interpretation of Kiswahili metaphor. In many cases, linguistic metaphors represent subconscious lexical choices on the part of the speaker. The choice of language is partly constrained by the conceptual structures shared by members of his or her community. This study approaches the Kiswahili metaphor with its related terminologies but restricted to political discourse on ICC.

It is hoped that a study of Kiswahili metaphors in ICC discourses may help to reveal how social reality and knowledge is constructed by the Swahili language users. Particular metaphor usages may therefore reflect and reinforce particular ideologies. Metaphors provide us with a deeper understanding of the message's intent and, therefore, the speaker's intent. Metaphors used in communication provide insight into the intentions that underlie them. These creative and often poetic forms of speech have the potential to assist the listener in understanding beyond the initial words (Kaminsky, 2000). This understanding goes beyond the listener. Knowledge of metaphor usage shines a light into bi-directional communication efforts as well. By acknowledging the unique metaphorical themes of a speaker, the reciprocating speaker can enhance communicative

connectivity (Srivastva & Barrett, 1988). These metaphors are then considered so deeply embedded in our way of thinking that they seem quite natural to us. Metaphorical analysis therefore entails the systematic and scientific study of the mental models expressed through language. Concepts can form patterns in how individuals talk about particular phenomena. Not only do metaphors structure perception, they also influence future action (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Metaphor allows us to talk about things in a descriptive or poetic way, and gives us a fresh way of thinking about something. For instance, the phrase "All the world's a stage, and all the men and women merely players" that begins a monologue from William Shakespeare's *As You Like It*, compares life to a play and could inspire many different interpretations, perhaps giving us a powerful impression of our place in the world, or the brevity of life. However, metaphors aren't merely a part of the language we use. They shape the very way in which we think. The 2007/2008 post-election crisis in Kenya is an experience that was characterized by unprecedented violence, death of innocent Kenyans, displacement of people, and loss of property (Kanyinga, 2011). This followed a highly charged campaign which pitted two main parties and their respective presidential candidates against each other: The Party of National Unity (PNU) led by the incumbent President Mwai Kibaki, and the largest opposition party, Orange Democratic Movement (ODM), led by Raila Odinga. Whereas PNU had an electoral base in the Kikuyu, Meru and Embu communities of the Mount Kenya region, ODM drew support from the Luhya and Luo in Western Kenya, Kalenjin in the Rift Valley and Mijikenda in Coast Province (Kanyinga, 2011). The crisis began as the results of the presidential elections were announced where Mwai Kibaki was declared the winner. The violent conflict involving PNU against ODM supporters in their various strongholds lasted almost two months and ended with a political

settlement between the two parties. The violence is estimated to have caused 1,133 deaths, 300,000-600,000 internally displaced persons (IDPs) and 12,000 refugees in Uganda (Harbeson, 2012: 15, Kanyinga, 2011: 86). The violence took the form of attacks, arson, murder, maiming, rape, forced circumcision, forced evictions, destruction of property, looting, rioting and blocking of roads. The violence was a form of political violence aimed at members of groups which were to be defined as “others” reproducing a pattern of ethnic animosity. The dilemma lies on the best way to structure a given society’s response to this past criminality as the Kenyan society seeks to rebuild itself and to secure just and lasting peace for its members.

The Panel of Eminent African Personalities, chaired by former UN Secretary-General, the late Kofi Annan, led the forty-one-day peace process, culminating in the Agreement on the Principles of Partnership of the Coalition Government. The Kofi Annan led mediation process also informed the formation of The Commission of Inquiry into the Post-Election Violence (CIPEV) popularly referred to as the Waki Commission (2008) – named after Justice Philip Waki, who chaired it. The Waki commission thus became the precursor to the ICC intervention in the Kenyan judicial process. Among other issues, the Waki Commission was to address agenda item 4 on long term issues and solutions that had been identified by the Koffi Annan mediation team. It concerned the principles and the modus operandi of the reforms that were meant to address the underlying causes of the conflict. Consequently, the inability of the Kenya government to constitute a local special tribunal to try the perpetrators of violence, address the culture of impunity relating to violence and redress to the victims through post conflict resettlement, support and peace building necessitated the intervention of ICC (Gissel, 2014). Members of Parliament drawn from both the then ruling party, Party of National Unity (PNU), and from the opposition party, Orange Democratic Party (ODM), overwhelmingly voted against the bill

seeking for the establishment of the special tribunal citing non-confidence in the local justice system. The famous rallying call towards this opposition was captured in their metaphor, 'Don't be vague, let's go to The Hague'. This expressed the lack of confidence in local mechanisms of redress, preferring criminal justice at the International Criminal Court. The ICC prosecutor then took over the cases involving prominent Kenyans who were generally referred to as the Ocampo 6 (six), viz: Uhuru Kenyatta, Francis Muthaura, Mohammed Hussein Ali, William Ruto, Henry Kosgey and Joshua Sang (Lynch, 2013). ICC thus became a central topic of discussion within Kenya, in media, in political rallies and in general conversations. The emergence of this study thus resonates with Gissel's question of what happens to the peace processes when their key actors are sought by the International Criminal Court: Does the court help or hinder the process of reconciliation? (Gissel, 2014: 306).

Despite the general peace prevailing in Kenya, the country continues to exhibit increasing signs of state fragility on account of the 2007 post-election violence (Kanyinga, 2011). As indicated earlier, this had primarily been compounded by the indictment of prominent Kenyans at ICC to face trial for crimes against humanity (the charges against all the six suspects had been dropped by March 2016 for various reasons ranging from lack of evidence, witness withdrawal, interference of witnesses and non-cooperation from the Kenya government.). During the period leading up to the 2013 general elections, ICC shifted from being a topic of marginal interest to become a central issue for parties in political communication in Kenya. The reason for this was that two of the indictees, Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, decided to vie for the presidency and deputy presidency in the 2013 elections. ICC consequently generated a lot of talk and controversy. Discussions revolved around the legibility of persons indicted at ICC vying for leadership positions and the legitimacy of ICC in resolving Kenya's internal disputes, a victim

oriented criminal process of dealing with the perpetrators of the post-election violence as opposed to internal or local mechanisms of reconciliation and justice. In contest was whether or not ICC justice should be pursued as a way of addressing the 2007 post-election violence in Kenya as a means to end impunity. What other forms of transitional justices emerged from the discourse that could be adopted for the Kenyan cases? The focus of this research is on the ICC process as a narrative of unfolding events that have both social and historical norms that link with the immediate empirical reality familiar to Kenyans. To borrow Iser's (1974) argument in *The Implied Reader*, ICC debate was looked at not only as telling a story or establishing its own pattern but also deliberately revealing the component parts of its own narrative techniques, separating the material to be presented from the forms that serve its presentation in order to provoke the reader into establishing for himself the connections between perception and thought (Iser, 1974: xiv).

Conflict is defined as “the process in which one party perceives that its interest are being opposed or negatively affected by another” (Timothy, 2016: 44) Language in conflict would, therefore, refer to conflict arising from or associated with a communication act. In other words, conflict is a discord between what was encoded and what is decoded. It is the dissonance between what an encoder intended in a message and what the decoder deciphered. Conflict is a basic condition of human life (Alexander, 2016). Conflicts are inevitably present in many interpersonal relationships; and their destructive/constructive character depends on the way they are handled. Conflicts can be expressed and handled in language between the conflicting parties. The concern here is the conflict between the message sent and the message received. This type of conflict can, of course, result in interpersonal conflict.

Language in conflict is a theme that looks at the potential contribution of linguistics to conflict

studies by examining the use of language in conflict situations and resolution at all levels (Cohen, 2001; Taylor, 2014). It also aims to bring together different genres of language use to enhance understanding on the various perceptions of a particular reality. Linguists and discourse analysts have always considered communication to involve a lot more than transferring a message from a sender to a receiver (Wierzbicka, 1997). The conduit model of communication (Reddy, 1979) underlies a widespread assumption- that one puts ideas into words and gets them across to a hearer's head, a hearer who simply receives a signal and unpacks the words. Much of what is meant when an utterance is realized either in text or talk is implicit, and hearers or readers have to make a certain amount of effort to interpret what might have been intended, using many contextual cues and mutually shared knowledge (Chilton & Schaffner, 2002). Language ultimately seeks to exchange cognitive representation of the world and also effect social transformation. Our focus in the study is on the language used to talk about ICC – specifically, Kiswahili metaphor uses and their implications to the reconciliation process. Do the Kiswahili metaphors used address ICC positively or do they escalate conflict among the people

The ICC indictment discourse refers to the various utterances of meaning from various players in the Kenyan scene on the general debate of the ICC judicial process. The discourse represents different viewpoints and understandings about the intervention of ICC in Kenyan affairs. The discourses intend to capture the divergent viewpoints of politicians, victims and other social analysts/commentators as exemplified in the Kenyan media. This is premised on the fact that when particular metaphors become the dominant way of talking about a particular aspect of reality within a particular discourse, they may be extremely difficult to perceive and challenge, since they come to represent the common sense or natural view of things (Semino, 2008: 33). This reinforces the view that our ways of talking do not naturally reflect our world, identities and

social relations, rather, they play an active role in creating and changing them (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2012: 1). In such instances metaphors are considered as part of the shared set of beliefs or ideology that characterizes a particular social group. Through a process of uncovering and questioning these biases and assumptions, the participants in a particular discourse emerge with a renewed sense of the origins of the conflict and a renewed sense of alternative approaches or solutions to the conflict. Such findings reveal the ways in which our interests, positions, and views of the conflict are shaped by discourses.

Because of the bi-focal positions adopted by various players in the emerging ICC debate there is an element that suggested a rational – purposive, rather than communicative action within the discourse. The discourse is predominantly portrayed as conflict. Conversely, language as a tool for expressing man’s social reality is an exceedingly powerful tool that encourages or inhibits conflict (Foucault, 1970; Boxer, 2010; Moghaddam & Harre, 2010). The question that this research addresses is how Kenyans talked about the ICC using metaphors and the potential impact of the said use in relation to conflict. In other words, the central question the research seeks answers to is: How have Kiswahili metaphors been used in debates around ICC in Kenya and how have the issues of reconciliation and transitional justice been addressed in such debate?

One of the reasons cited by the Report of the Commission of Inquiry into Post-Election Violence (2008) that led to the 2007 post-election violence was incitement and use of foul language by politicians. Among the conventional metaphors that were used included:

1. *Tuondoe madoadoa miongoni mwetu (CIPV 2008)*

(We should get rid of the dotted from our midst)

2. *Tung’oe kwekwe kutoka shambani (CIPV 2008)*

(We should uproot all the weeds (read unwanted people) from the farm)

In the two examples above, ethnic communities that were perceived to be outsiders were referred to as *madoadoa* (spots or dots) in 1 or *kwekwe* (weeds) in 2. Just like spots, stains or unwanted weeds on a farm, they were to be uprooted to leave a homogeneous or spotless community. After the post-election violence (PEV), how has metaphor in ICC discourse been used? The research therefore presents a comprehensive analysis of Kiswahili metaphor use in the ICC indictment discourse in Kenyan political debate. The research investigates the sorts of Kiswahili metaphors that are used in ICC discourse and examines how the Kiswahili metaphors address the ICC conflict in Kenya. The study is based on the assumption that one can deduce basic ways of thinking about and dealing with certain issues from how these issues are talked about, that is, one can get at the roots of how certain concepts are understood, even "thought", by looking at metaphorical expressions used in connection with them (Kaal, 2012). Metaphorical analysis has been used to understand the complex nature of phenomena, as in Finneran's (2006) study of metaphors used by students in their approaches to using computer software. The idea that metaphors have the potential to establish a sense of moral rightness, epistemic truth and human emotions aroused by the desire to protect that which is closest to self is potentially important in understanding ICC discourse.

1.2 Statement of Problem

The use of language in general and metaphor in particular has potential consequences to conflict, especially, in states that are emerging from a troubled or a violent past experience. As a consequence of the 2007 violently disputed elections in Kenya, the ICC judicial process generated a lot of debate and controversy. Discourse that emanated from this judicial process was highly emotive and was expressed as a conflict between the parties involved either in

support or against the ICC process. The role of metaphor as a cognitive heuristic is therefore likely to be important in relation to ICC because of the different conflicting representations in public discourse. This study, therefore, attempts to analyze the use of Kiswahili metaphors in ICC discourse in addressing conflict. Specifically, the study investigates how Kiswahili metaphors have been used in the general debates around ICC in Kenyan media and how issues of reconciliation and transitional justice have been addressed in such debates.

1.3 Research Questions

In order to focus the research and have a clear guideline for the investigation of the problematic stated above, three research questions were developed which served to direct the arguments and inquiry. The research questions are mutually dependent and one presupposes the other.

1. What kind of Kiswahili linguistic metaphors are used in the ICC discourse in Kenyan media?
2. Based on the linguistic metaphors employed, what are the underlying conceptual metaphors that shape the thoughts and reasoning towards ICC discourse?
3. How have Kiswahili metaphors use in ICC discourse been harnessed for either conflict escalation or conflict resolution and peace building?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of the study was to investigate the use of Kiswahili metaphors on ICC indictment discourse in Kenyan Media. Specifically, the study intended to:

1. Identify the types of Kiswahili linguistic metaphors used in ICC discourse in Kenyan media.
2. Analyse the underlying conceptual metaphors that shape the thoughts and reasoning

towards ICC discourse.

3. Discuss how the Kiswahili metaphor uses have been harnessed for either conflict escalation or conflict resolution and peace building.

1.5 Scope and Limitation

This study limits its investigation to ICC discourse as captured in the Kenyan media from January 2012 to March 2013; a period from when the charges against the 6 Kenyan indictees were confirmed by the ICC judges to the date of General Elections in 2013. The actual ICC process and its legal procedures are not the subject of study. Of interest to the study is the various viewpoints attached to ICC as a process of delivering justice in Kenya.

In total, six Kenyans were indicted at the ICC. Not all the six indictees participated in political rallies nor spoke publicly about ICC. The study considers recorded public utterances of three of the indictees (Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto and Joshua Sang). The other three indictees (Francis Muthaura, Mohammed Hussein Ali and Henry Kosgey) kept a low profile and did not publicly speak about ICC. Besides the narrations and accounts of Post-Election-Violence victims the study also considers utterances from supporters of the two main political parties: ODM and Jubilee.

Secondly, the research adopts and analyses the ICC discourse from two methodological perspectives that identify and analyze metaphor use: Critical Metaphor Analysis and Cognitive Metaphor and discussions are referenced within Habermas Social Theory.

Third, analysis and interpretation is inferenced from corpus (data-base) retrieved from three media houses in Kenya, namely, Nation Media Group (NTV), Royal Media Services (RMS) and

Kenya Television Network (KTN). Fourth, other methods in support are not used, for example reader response studies.

Fourth, discourse that does not have a bearing on ICC debate is only considered in relation to understanding the socio-cultural backgrounds of the metaphor use. In this study, the terms “utterance” or “speech” are used in reference to spoken discourse and text when the spoken discourse is written. These comprise the forms of discourses that were produced, distributed and consumed in a communicative event, within the specific linguistic context of ICC among Swahili speakers of Kenya. The research therefore corroborates Bauer’s (2000) views that texts just like talk are about people’s thoughts, feelings, memories, plans and arguments, and are sometimes more telling than their authors realize.

The last limitation related to translating the metaphors from Kiswahili to English language. A Kiswahili metaphor translated into English may lose its metaphoricity. 100% accurate translations are impossible because any given sentence could be translated in a number of ways, depending on the context, linguistic discourse as well as sociolinguistic competence (Lindlof and Taylor, 2010). Problematic issues included words that do not have equivalent translations or words that have no semantic equivalence but represent slightly different epistemological concepts. In this case, the translation was done to capture the same meaning in a way that resonates in a similar way with audiences of the English language. Thus, free or communicative translation was adapted for the study

1.6 Justification of the Study

Kiswahili is both the official and national language in Kenya. It is generally used to get the masses understand the main points in political speeches or during public gatherings (Habwe, 2009). Underscoring the role of Kiswahili in the politics of Kenya, Mutahi observes that...As a

political tool, Kiswahili is very useful. Apart from cutting across linguistic barriers it has the largest possible audience in the country. It is because of this reason that some political leaders in pursuit of national unity are forced to advocate for more use of Kiswahili in all sectors of life (1977:21).

Since this thesis focuses on mass rally speeches where Kiswahili is mostly used, it justifies our choice of Swahili language as a source of data. At an even broader level of discourse analysis, there has been interest in discourse analysis that goes beyond studying language as an end in itself. We believe, therefore, that an investigation on the rhetorical language and its organization in Kenya should lead to a higher level of consciousness and to more understanding of politics. It may not be entirely true that audiences do not follow what political speakers say. However, such a research would raise the level of consciousness about what goes on in political language. Some paradoxes of political language include skewed meanings, metaphor use, what constitutes truth and what does not and many others. Since discourse analysis is tilting itself toward a practical end by researching on problems that affect man in his day to day life, it is responding to practical problems, and therefore is an area worth of exploring.

Closely related to the above, the political conjuncture of Kenya at the time of study (elections 2013), calls for a comprehensive study of ways in which politicians use language especially metaphors. It is increasingly important in order to understand how speakers create and legitimize their political campaigns to obtain public support. Such knowledge can be quite invaluable in language policy on hate speech, and in providing a deeper understanding the dynamics of conflict escalation and mediation. By focusing on analyzing Kiswahili metaphor usage in the ICC discourse, the study aims at exploring the wider dimensions of language and possibly to delineate and understand better, central features of political culture in Kenya. The rationale for

this is that through a detailed analysis of the linguistic characteristics of a text using particular metaphors, it is possible to cast light on how discourses are activated textually and arrived at, and provide a backing for, a particular interpretation (Jorgenson & Phillips, 2012:83). The ICC discourse presents a unique field of study because ICC played a central role in the 2013 presidential elections in Kenya. Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, despite both being indictees at the ICC, contested for Presidency and Deputy Presidency respectively and ultimately won the elections. The research is therefore important and its findings will not only be relevant for Kenya but the entire world, more so the developing countries like Central Africa Republic, Mali, Libya, Uganda, Darfur, Sudan, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo where ICC has active cases. This fact is buttressed by the recent push from AU and some African Countries like Kenya, Sudan and South Africa to withdraw from ICC.

Third, corpus-based metaphor study is a relatively new area in Kiswahili research (De Pauw, de Schryver & Wagacha, 2006), especially on ICC discourse. This is because most African languages, Kiswahili included, are resource scarce, meaning that digital text resources are few (ibid, 2006). The study therefore, attempts to show how corpora can be exploited in Kiswahili language to test, and where appropriate refine, or challenge, claims made in theories such as Cognitive Metaphor Theory (CMT) on the basis of insufficient linguistic evidence and advance the study of Kiswahili metaphor generally. Interesting claims have been made by cognitive linguists concerning approaches of metaphor analysis. This research provides a means of testing those theoretical claims. In this way, we shall be making Swahili language bear with modern thinking in the area of discourse analysis.

Fourth, by adopting a corpus approach, the study puts to test the weakness of Cognitive Metaphor Theory that it was largely developed on the basis of relatively small sets of examples

that were either constructed by the researcher, or collected in a random fashion. A corpus methodology puts metaphor theory on a sound empirical footing in the extrapolation of conceptual metaphors from linguistic evidence (Charteris-Black, 2004: 31). This helps to identify the role of Kiswahili metaphors; in as far as conflict is concerned. This is so because metaphor has the potential to arouse emotions, and is very often used in persuasive language, and therefore very likely to influence our underlying political and social beliefs (Charteris-Black, 2006).

Fifth, the results of the study are expected to enrich Kiswahili research in as far as metaphor analysis is concerned. This is because corpus building studies on metaphors in Kiswahili applying computer analysis is a relatively new area. Most corpus analysis rely on computer assisted techniques/ software in order to handle large amount of data. There is not yet a well-established and reliable automatic method for identifying metaphorical expressions in large datasets nor is there corpora annotated for metaphor. The study therefore contributes substantially new insights and understanding to the current knowledge available about Kiswahili linguistics in general and discourse analysis in particular. Finally, identifying the cognitive and affective bases of metaphors in political discourses is important because they exploit the subliminal resources of language by arousing hidden associations that govern our systems of evaluations. Metaphor can either work to enforce established theoretical norms or it can be used to break down these norms and lead to new ways of understanding.

1.7 Conceptual Framework

The study employs a conceptual framework that is derived from an integration of Cognitive Metaphor Theory, Critical Metaphor Analysis and The Communicative Action Theory. Cognitive Metaphor Theory (CMT) which belongs to the field of cognitive linguistics tries to

explain the human conceptual system and language within the general study of the brain and the mind (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1993). It states that metaphors operate at the level of thinking and the metaphors we use in our daily lives reflect our way of understanding the world. Alternatively, in Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA), Charteris-Black (2004) states that besides metaphors operating at the level of thinking, they are linked to their contexts and reveal covert intentions and ideologies underlying language use. These two discourse theories are complimented by the Habermas' (1984) social theory of Communicative Action Theory (CAT) that explores other alternatives of reaching consensus through negotiation. This integrated approach is applied in the study, drawing on perspectives from various scholars in cognitive linguistics seeking explanations of social phenomenon in human behavior and relations in society. The following section introduces major concepts in the mentioned theories.

1.7.1 Cognitive Metaphor Theory

The study made use of the cognitive semantic approach towards metaphor to guide in the task of identifying an underlying way of thinking that determines lexical choices. Cognitive Metaphor Theory was originated by Lakoff & Johnson's (1980), and modified in their later work (e.g. Lakoff, 1987; 1993; 1999; Lakoff & Turner 1989; Johnson, 1987). Lakoff & Johnson suggest that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical in that most concepts are partially understood in terms of other concepts, that is, what we experience and what we do every day is much a matter of metaphor. Conceptual metaphor refers to the understanding of an idea or conceptual domain in terms of another.

The basic claim of this theory is that metaphorical expressions are systematically motivated by underlying (or conceptual) metaphors. Motivation here implies that there is a single idea that explains a number of metaphorical expressions. A conceptual metaphor takes the form *A is B*

(e.g. LIFE IS A JOURNEY). This means that there are many metaphorical expressions or vehicles (e.g. *to be at a crossroads, to stray from the path*) in which one domain of experience (e.g. LIFE) is systematically conceptualised in terms of another (e.g. JOURNEYS). The conceptual metaphor represents the conceptual basis, idea or image that underlies a set of metaphors. It does not mean that metaphors can *only* take this form (e.g. we can talk about life in terms of things other than journeys) or *predict* forms that will occur. But it suggests that it is more likely that we will talk about life in terms of journeys than, say, in terms of visits to the cinema or the theatre. As Johnson & Lakoff (2002) show, such an approach can be valuable in identifying the ideology that underlies belief systems.

The theory belongs to the field of cognitive linguistics, which aims at explaining conceptual systems and language within the general study of the brain and the mind. This field draws on cognitive psychology, cognitive neuroscience, and developmental psychology. Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 270), attempt to unify these disciplines to explain as many aspects of language as possible, including syntax, semantics, and discourse. Since 1980, after Lakoff & Johnson published their book and the subsequent edition in Lakoff & Johnson (2003), metaphor theory has been expanded in a series of articles published by them and some other cognitive linguists such as Lakoff (1987), Lakoff (1993), Lakoff & Johnson (1999), Gibbs (1994), Gibbs & Wilson (2002), Kövecses (2002, 2005), Evans & Green (2006), Cienki (2005), and Kaal (2012).

The fundamental tenet of CMT is that metaphor operates at the level of thinking. This means that the human conceptual system, relating to how we both think and act is base metaphorical. Metaphor is a tool so ordinary that we use it unconsciously and automatically and it is irreplaceable. Lakoff (1987:287) indicates that each metaphorical expression has a source

domain, a target domain and a source-to- target mapping that is a macro concept to link the two domains or semantic fields. The Source and Target Domains are sometimes referred to in the cognitive science literature as conceptual spaces or mental spaces. The Target Domain (TD) has also been called the tenor or the topic while the Source Domain (SD) has also been called the vehicle (Richards, 1936). Some researchers such as Fauconnier & Sweetser (1996) propose a conceptual integration network of four spaces -- Target, Source, Generic and Blended where the Target and Source spaces share common, low-level knowledge in the Generic space. The assumption is that metaphorical processing is structured by this macro concept and involves the pattern of inference from an instance of a metaphor to a macro-concept.

The source domain consists of a set of literal entities, attributes, processes and relationships, linked semantically and apparently stored together in the mind. These are expressed in language through related words and expressions, which can be seen as organized in groups resembling those sometimes described as 'lexical sets' or 'lexical fields' by linguists. The 'target' domain tends to be abstract, and takes its structure from the source domain, through the metaphorical link, or 'conceptual metaphor'. Target domains are therefore believed to have relationships between entities, attributes and processes which mirror those found in the source domain. At the level of language, entities, attributes and processes in the target domain are lexicalized using words and expressions from the source domain. These words and expressions are sometimes called 'linguistic metaphors' or 'metaphorical expressions' to distinguish them from conceptual metaphors. In many cases, linguistic metaphors represent subconscious choices on the part of the speaker whose choice of language is partly constrained by the conceptual structures shared by members of his or her community. A linguistic metaphor is a consequence of a conceptual metaphor and it makes conceptual metaphors explicit. Moreover, conceptual metaphors are not

used in everyday life; they are realized by metaphorical linguistic expressions. A good example of a conceptual metaphor, TIME IS MONEY, has among others the following linguistic expressions: “You are wasting my time”, “This gadget will save you hours”, “Is it worth your while”, “He is living on borrowed time”. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 7-8). These linguistic expressions elaborate on the concept of TIME IS MONEY; that time is a valuable commodity that can be wasted or saved, or even borrowed.

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory can be traced to Michael Reddy’s *The Conduit Metaphor* (1979), in which he demonstrated that ordinary everyday English is largely metaphorical as opposed to the traditional view that metaphor is primarily in the realm of poetic or figurative language. He showed that the locus of metaphor is thought, not language, that metaphor is a major and indispensable part of our ordinary conventional way of conceptualizing the world, that our everyday behavior reflects our metaphorical understanding of experience. According to this, ideas are conceptualized as objects, words are conceptualized as the containers where we put ideas, and communication is conceptualized as the process of sending them (Reddy, 1979: 284). Building on this idea, Lakoff (1993), expounds that the principle underlying conceptual system understands one domain of experience in terms of a very different domain of experience that is mapping from a source domain to a target domain. The study equally adopted the strategy for naming such mappings using mnemonic names which suggest the mapping: that is, TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN. The mnemonic is used for a set of ontological correspondences that characterize the mapping. Since it is the mappings that are primary in this research, the term metaphor is reserved for the mappings rather than the linguistic expressions. In the thesis, capitals are used as mnemonics to name the mappings like ICC NI SAFARI, (ICC IS A JOURNEY), while the linguistic realizations are italicized.

In the study therefore, some of the conceptual metaphors as were identified by Lakoff and Johnson are put to test with empirical evidence from Kiswahili ICC discourse. It is from the realization that metaphors can help people to talk about difficult, emotionally intense or uncommon experiences, and thus, according to Conceptual Metaphor Theory, to think about them. The following brief illustration from Lakoff (1993: 227) shows the relationship between the conceptual metaphor, A PURPOSEFUL LIFE IS A BUSINESS (conceptual metaphors are noted in the capital letters), and its linguistic realizations in the italicized words, He has a *rich* life, it is an *enriching* experience, it is time to take *stock* of my life. Therefore the source domain of BUSINESS is mapped into the target domain of LIFE. CMT was adopted in order to examine cognitive interpretation of metaphors or metaphor as part of the human thought. It therefore offered great insights in the relationship between patterns of metaphoric expressions in language and patterns of thought. CMT in the study was complemented with an analysis of pragmatic factors as metaphors are always used within a specific communication context that governs their role. Therefore, their cognitive characteristics could not be treated in isolation from their persuasive function in discourse. The value of the cognitive semantic approach is that adoption of a single unified set of criteria for the classification of metaphors permits accurate comparisons to be made of how metaphor is used in different discourse domains. In order to understand why one conceptual metaphor is preferred to another we need to consider the speaker's intentions within specific contexts: metaphors are not a requirement of the semantic system but are matters of speaker choice.

According to Lakoff & Johnson (1980), there are three types of conceptual metaphors: structural, ontological and orientational metaphors. Structural metaphors have more structural and functional correspondence between the source and target domains (Lakoff, 1993). This means

that people understand the target domain through the rich structural mapping from the source domain. Once the elements of the source domain are conceptually mapped into the elements of the target domain, metaphor realization is achieved. For example, TIME IS MOTION is a conceptual metaphor structured in terms of motion and space. Kövecses (2002:133) demonstrates the following mappings: times are things, the passing of time is motion, future time is in front of the observer, past times are behind the observer, and one thing is moving the other is stationary. The stationary thing is the deictic centre.

Ontological metaphors are based on our experience with the physical world around us. Things that are not concrete and do not have clear physical shape tend to be understood as entities or substances. Therefore the source domain of ontological metaphors is usually an object, substance or container in general rather than being exactly what kind of object it is, for instance ANGER IS A HOT FLUID.

Oriental metaphors are related to the basic spatial orientations of human beings such as up-down, or cool-hot. They work by cognitively relating a series of target concepts within the conceptual system for example MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN.

This study mainly focused on the structural metaphors. In line with Lakoff & Johnson (1980), the study conceptualized ICC in terms of something that is understood more readily such as religion, politics, or war within the context of the Kiswahili speaker.

A major weakness of CMT is that it was largely developed on the basis of relatively small sets of examples that were either constructed by the researcher, or collected in a random fashion. To address this weakness, critical metaphor analysis is adopted in the study. Through a corpus methodology cognitive metaphor theory is put on a sound empirical footing in the extrapolation

of conceptual metaphors from linguistic evidence (Charteris-Black, 2004: 31).

1.7.2 Critical Metaphor Analysis

Critical Metaphor Analysis (CMA) is a theory that accounts for particular metaphor choices in different types of discourses leading to a discourse model metaphor (Charteris-Black, 2004: 243). This theory supplements CMT in the interpretation of metaphors by providing an account of the social influence of ideology, culture and history of why particular metaphors are chosen in specific discourse contexts. It sees the interpretation of metaphors as unconscious and explains that the persuasive nature of metaphors arises from our inability to realize how they influence our emotional response to language (ibid: 243). The purpose of this theory is to identify the covert intentions (possibly unconscious) and ideologies underlying language use. Charteris-Black (2004) isolates three stages within CMA: identification, interpretation and explanation of metaphors. Metaphor identification deals with determining which metaphors are present in a text, and whether they show semantic tension between a literal source domain and a metaphorical target domain. Metaphor interpretation aims at determining the type of social relations that are constructed through the metaphors identified. Metaphor explanation deals with the way metaphors interact within the context in which they occur.

According to Charteris-Black (2004), the identification stage can be divided into two: the first part refers to the preliminary identification of metaphors while the second part deals with the confirmation of identified metaphors. The process involved in the first part is a close reading of the corpus with the aim of identifying its metaphors. The second part is where selection of the metaphors identified in the preliminary stage is to be included in the next step of the analysis. The basis for selecting a given metaphor is whether its use is generally, and not almost always,

metaphorical. Identifying metaphors this way enables us to determine the proportion of word's uses that are metaphorical and to exclude literal uses from quantification.

In the interpretation stage, Charteris-Black employs the Cognitive Linguistic Metaphor Theory developed by Lakoff & Johnson. This approach, described in section 1.8.1, is based on the idea that the human mind is inherently embodied, thought is mainly unconscious, and abstract concepts are fundamentally metaphorical. Interpretation consists of establishing a relationship between metaphors and their cognitive and pragmatic factors. It involves the identification of conceptual metaphors, and the consideration of their roles in constructing socially relevant representations.

The last stage of CMA is based on the explanation of ideological motivations of language use. When we identify, in a political speech, the words that come from the semantic field of conflict, we find that some of them are literal while others are metaphorical. Each of these conceptual metaphors reveals a different ideological motivation. Charteris-Black (2004), defines ideology as “a belief system through which a particular social group creates the meaning that justify its existence to itself.” For him, ideology is, therefore an exercise in self-legitimization and it incorporates not only the systems of beliefs that are linked to political practice, but also those that are linked to religious practice. Although Charteris-Black (2006) argues that metaphor is an essential linguistic and cognitive resource used by politicians to justify their existence and self-legitimization, he acknowledges that they are not the only way of articulating ideology. Nevertheless, given that they draw on two domains by relating abstract concepts with our experience of concrete realities, they constitute a highly effective way of making an abstract ideology accessible.

In addition, as metaphors tap into emotions, they make abstract concepts seem personal and connected to human nature. Hence, metaphors play a crucial social role in forming and communicating ideologies. This is an essential element in creating discourses of legitimization and delegitimization. Finally, Charteris-Black stresses that in CMA the cognitive semantic approach needs to be complemented by both a study of the social context in which the utterances are produced, and an analysis of the overall context of metaphor. This is part of the explanation stage. In addition, he argues that we cannot treat cognitive characteristics of metaphors in isolation from other persuasive rhetorical features in the context of the discourse. He states that in order to determine why one conceptual metaphor is preferred over another, we need to consider rhetorical issues such as the intentions of the political leader within specific speech-making contexts: Metaphors are not a requirement of the semantic system, but are matters of speakers' choice. Charteris-Black (2005), argues that Cognitive semantics and Critical Metaphor Analysis are therefore important linguistic contributions towards a theory of rhetoric for political communication which informs the rationale of our study.

Scholars in Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) look beyond the micro-descriptive level of linguistic analysis into institutional frameworks, ideologies and cultures. They give explanations and evaluations of how personal and social ideologies are tacitly encoded in, validated and reinforced by the institutionalization of certain mental models which stick to our memory and become truths or commonsensical and how our utterances are governed by our ideological inclinations. Advocates of CDA such as Fairclough (1995), Wodak (2005) and Watson & Hill (2006), believe that since language use can be instrumental to the institutionalization of asymmetries and dominance, it can also be used to subvert them. Since ICC got politicized and its reference in political meetings and commentaries became ubiquitous, it is necessary to

critically examine the strategies and ideologies within the language use. Metaphor as a rhetoric, linguistic and conceptual device has been noted to be quite strategic in expressing reality (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Charteris-Black, 2004).

In conclusion, CMA is illustrated in this study by applying the procedures and principles discussed above. The theory guided the study in the identification of the metaphors, interpretation of the metaphors and explanation of the ideological inclinations of the metaphors used in the ICC discourse. Whereas CMT generated its own data, this study relied on actual data retrieved from recorded proceedings of prayer meetings, political rallies and victim narrations. CMA thus guided the study in relating the metaphors to their contexts. Finally, by classifying metaphors into source domain, the analysis is improved as it allows for the determination of trends and a comparison of different genres of the discourses around ICC.

1.7.3 Theory of Communicative Action

The application of language in a social context is the essence of Habermas' Communicative Action Theory (1984). When language is analyzed and interpreted in terms of the speaker and the hearer's social environment, it is viewed as an instrument for effecting change and not just a vehicle for disclosing thought. In elaborating his ideas, Habermas builds on Speech Act Theory that originated with Austin (1962) and was further elaborated by Searle (1969). The central assumption in Speech Act Theory is that: to communicate is to perform an act. Speech acts are performed to make factual statements, to request someone to do something, to make promises and commitments, to effect change, and to express a personal feeling (Janson, Woo & Smith, 1993). The speaker commits to a future course of action, which in turn affects the hearer. Because the purpose of communicative interaction is uniquely goal oriented, a speech act accentuates performative aspects of language.

The application of Habermas' action types requires that three points must be borne in mind. First, the action types need to be seen as social action in an idealized form. Second, the agents or actors who perform organizational action may be either individuals or collectivities. Third, although actors can engage in different types of social action, one type is usually dominant (McCarthy, 1978). This can be established by probing the basic attitudes adopted by an actor during a specific activity.

Habermas uses Speech Act Theory to develop a communicative action typology that focuses primarily on the social aspects of communication. He outlines four primary social action types which an agent or actor might engage in during organizational activity: instrumental, strategic, communicative and discursive. Instrumental action is success oriented – what Habermas calls purposive-rational action. It is evaluated using technical criteria, which implies assessing the efficiency by which success is achieved. Successful instrumental action necessitates accepting the implied truth validity claim. Instrumental action is appropriate in a nonsocial setting and action is directed towards agents (objects) as though they were inanimate constraints, which can be manipulated in ways that will serve the actor's needs.

Strategic action is directed against rational opponents (actors) who engage in intelligent counteraction. Accordingly, an actor's chosen strategy must be measured by taking into account the effects of his actions on situations: What benefits one actor may be harmful to another. Thus an actor must cope with co-operative and conflicting interest situations and find the best strategy for pursuing his goals.

In pursuing communicative action, the success orientation is replaced by a desire to understand a communicating partner. Communicative action implies that individuals focus primarily on

reaching understanding or consensus, which defines mutual expectations about how the actors in a given situation should behave in terms of communication. Through the use of language, mutual understanding about the world is achieved. This, of course, presupposes the existence of a shared pool of background assumptions and beliefs.

When agreement between groups of actors about a shared background can no longer be taken for granted, the actors embark upon discursive action. In this case, various assumptions concerning communication background are carefully examined and clarified, and their validity tested. Discursive action is oriented towards the co-operative search for truth, the clarification of unclear message content, the analysis of the intended use of the messages, and so forth. Such action is initiated when doubts arise as to whether a message is sincerely produced, or whether it is understandable, true, correct, and appropriate to the situation. Discursive action tries to discover and weigh up the arguments proposed for or against a message, in terms of its clarity, truthfulness, correctness and appropriateness. These four criteria define the validity claims inherently attached to communication. Discursive action is aimed at justifying or redeeming any or all of these claims, should one become the subject of doubt. This requires that all actors respect certain ground rules which can be summarized as allowing the actors a chance to express their opinions, and honouring only the “force of the better and more rational argument” (Habermas, 1984; McCarthy, 1978). Discursive action can thus be said to possess a reflective character.

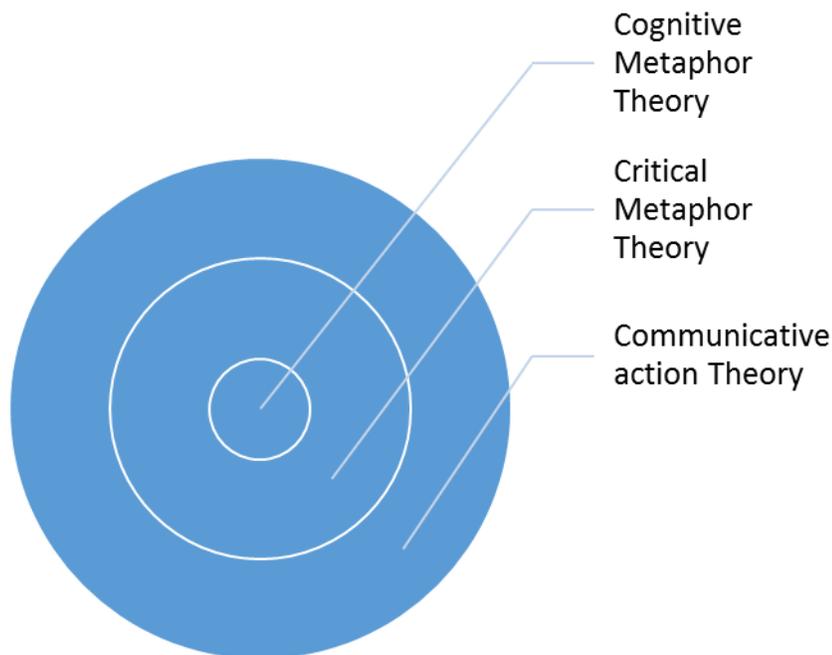
The redemption of validity claims makes discourse a vehicle for reflective learning and criticism. It helps to free participants from inner compulsions, unnecessary linguistic or conceptual bias, unwarranted prejudices, false beliefs, and so on. This learning can take several forms due to the varying nature of the validity claims, and it can range from increasing the efficiency of

intervention to the adoption of more generalized value orientations (Argyris & Schon, 1978). Moreover, the idea that certain ground rules must be honoured by those engaging in a discourse permits criticism of such organizational processes that do not conform to these ideal rules. In this way, Habermas theory implies a platform for criticizing any organizational arrangements that impose inequitable power-sharing or that maintains an unjustified status quo. Existing organizational orders can hinder access to an open rational debate between an organization's members, thus preventing the critical assessment of the validity of the knowledge, norms and values on which, some suggested, organizational action is based (Forester, 1985). By engaging in discourse, organizations can ultimately be impelled towards greater democracy and emancipation.

This study explores the implications of Habermas Communicative Action Theory for ICC discourse in three areas. First, the belief that his classification of the types of validity claims and the subsequent development of a taxonomy of discourses or discursive action types, suggests how different types of valid knowledge should be produced, modified and searched for within ICC debate. Second, his studies have shed light on the nature of discourses which can be applied to the understanding and evaluation of the rationality of communications in and around affecting change and bringing about consensus through negotiation. Finally, the concept of *communicative action* refers to the interaction of at least two subjects capable of speech and action who establish interpersonal relations whether by verbal or by extra verbal means. The actors seek to reach an understanding about the action situation and their plans of action in order to coordinate their actions by way of agreement. The central concept of *interpretation* refers, in the first instance, to negotiating definitions of the situation which admit of consensus. The ICC question is explored in terms of whether it is the ideal way of addressing criminal justice in Kenya as opposed to

politicizing international justice. Because metaphor use affect the users' social environment in important ways, the participants in this process use language to achieve multiple, often conflicting, objectives, including expressing information requirements, influencing one's opponent, and effecting change, for instance by bringing about consensus through negotiation.

The figure below shows the interrelationship between the three theories:



(Source: Researcher)

Figure 1.1: An integrated approach to metaphor analysis.

The integration of the three theories was complimentary. CMA was employed in the identification of the linguistic metaphors while CMT assisted in analysing the underlying conceptual metaphors. The identified metaphors and their conceptual realizations were discussed within the social theory of CAT. The interdisciplinary approach adapted to metaphor analysis explores the different areas related to metaphor use. It combines the work of Lakoff & Johnson

(1980), Charteris-Black (2004) and Habermas (1984). The theoretical perspectives of these scholars are relevant to the study in several ways. First, Charteris-Black in CMA proposes a systematic metaphor identification method of domain mapping. He argues for the provision of metaphor contexts through corpus analysis. This is quite useful in the achievement of the first objective in regard to the identification of the types of Kiswahili linguistic metaphors in the ICC discourse. This analysis aims to provide the missing parts of metaphor contexts through corpus analysis. Second, to assist in the task of identifying the way of thinking that determines the lexical choices, cognitive semantic approach towards metaphor is considered. Conceptual metaphors in CMT are used very often to understand theories and models. A conceptual metaphor uses one idea and links it to another to better understand something. A conceptual domain can be any coherent organization of human experience. The concept of SOURCE to TARGET domain mapping proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) is adopted in the study to illustrate the set of correspondences that exist between the constituent elements characteristic of the ICC discourse. The theory guides in the realisation of the second objective of the study in as far as analysing the underlying conceptual metaphors that shape the thoughts and reasoning towards ICC discourse. To know a conceptual metaphor is to know the set of mappings that applies to a given source –target pairing. In this regard attributes from the source domain which are readily available to the Kiswahili speaker are mapped to the more abstract target domain of ICC. Lastly, Habermas ideas on rationality and consensus building are quite relevant towards realizing the third objective that discusses how the metaphor usage has contributed to a reduction or escalation of conflict in Kenya in relation to ICC indictment. The theory considers the application of language in a social context and postulates that when language is analyzed and interpreted in terms of the speaker and the hearer’s social environment, it is viewed as an

instrument for effecting change and not just a vehicle for disclosing thought. A key feature of the study is the integrated approach that offers rich perspectives of linguistic (Charteris-Black 2004), pragmatic (Habermas 1984) and cognitive (Lakoff & Johnson 1980) concepts in metaphor interpretation.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has provided an elaborate account of the role of language in general and metaphor in particular to human communication. It has discussed how metaphors provide language users with a deep understanding of the message's intent and, therefore the speaker intent. It has shown how a study of the metaphors used in a particular discourse can reveal salient issues in a society. It has traced the 2007/2008 post-election violence in Kenya, the emergence of International Criminal Court and justified why a study of language use can be utilized to understand how Kenyans have used metaphors in debates around ICC indictment discourse and how issues of reconciliation and transition justice have been addressed in such debate or discussions. The chapter has also stated the research problem, outlined the research questions and objectives. It has further provided a justification and discussed the scope and limitations of the study. The conceptual framework that guided the analysis of study is presented as an integrated approach involving Cognitive Metaphor Theory, Critical Metaphor Analysis and Communicative Action Theory. It has discussed and illustrated the interplay of cognitive, pragmatic and social dimensions in the interpretation of metaphor. ICC debate not only presents a fertile ground to analyse language usage, it also offers a glimpse into the preferred ways of seeking justice and reconciliation in Kenya.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter looks in detail at the available literature. It is divided into four subsections. The first section provides a general overview of metaphors, history, and their characteristics. It later deals with the Kiswahili metaphor in particular. The second part shows conceptual metaphors and how they are realized in discourse. The third part defines political discourse and traces the theoretical and conceptual approaches employed in the analysis of political discourse. The last section surveys literature on studies conducted on conflict and language in conflict. The section critiques studies on political discourse in Kiswahili language that address other ideologies and how they relate to the current study.

2.1.1 Metaphors

Aristotle (in *Poetics*, Ross: 1952: 1457) defines a metaphor by giving it four distinct characteristics as “the application of an alien name by transference either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or by analogy, that is, proportion”. Implied in Aristotle’s definition is that all types of metaphors have a comparison element in their structure. In this view the role of metaphor in discourse is the rather superficial one of enhancing stylistic elegance through linguistic ornamentation (Charteris-Black, 2004). Aristotle similarly stresses the cognitive function of metaphors and how actual uses of metaphor bring about learning (*Rhet.* III.10, 1410). In order to understand a metaphor, the hearer has to find something common between the metaphor and the thing the metaphor refers to. Thus, a metaphor not only refers to a thing, but simultaneously describes the thing in a certain respect, and hence metaphor as learning experience.

Various scholars have taken up on Aristotle's ideas and generally agree that a metaphor can be described as a comparison that shows how two things that are not alike in most ways are similar in another important way (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kopp, 1995; Charteris-Black, 2004 and Schmitt, 2005). It is a figure of speech that constructs an analogy between two things or ideas; the analogy is conveyed by the use of a metaphorical word in place of some other word. For example:

3. *Macho yake ni vito vilivyong'ara* (Source: Researcher)

(Her eyes were glistening jewels)

4. *Kenya ni bahari ya amani* (Source: Researcher)

(Kenya is a sea of peace)

In example 3, eyes are compared to glistening jewels. This analogy draws a picture in the mind of the shiny attributes of a jewel in relation to the eyes. Example 4 draws the vastness of the sea and likens that to peace prevailing in Kenya. In both instances the two things that are not alike get some similarity in an important way.

Metaphor also denotes rhetorical figures of speech that achieve their effects via association, comparison or resemblance (Bethlehem, 1996). In this sense, a metaphor is quite forceful because it asserts that two things that are not alike in most ways are the similar in another important way. Apparent in this definition is that metaphor is part and parcel of figurative language. For example the six suspects facing trial at The Hague were referred to as *Wasita wa Ocampo* (The Ocampo six) where Ocampo, the then court prosecutor was synonymous with justice at the ICC (this will be argued alongside the Kapenguria six freedom fighters who were

incarcerated during the liberation struggle for independence). *Twende Hague* (let's go to the Hague) conjured in reference to trusted international justice as opposed to local trials within Kenya. The rallying English slogan was 'Don't be vague, let's go to The Hague'. This study goes beyond the figurative characteristic of metaphors and identifies lexical items that convey messages from one domain of usage to another.

Until this century, theoretical reflection on the nature of and function of metaphor has generally followed a single line of thought based on the conviction that metaphor is essentially a rhetorical device (Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian). Modern theorists, however tend to relegate this ornamental function of metaphor to the periphery insisting that at heart, metaphor is a powerful cognitive device and expresses ideas that cannot be restated in plain language without a loss of meaning (Locke, 1996; Richards, 1936; Black, 1954; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). There is an overwhelming interest in metaphors as portrayed by the abundance of research it has generated (Charteris-Black, 2004). One reason for this great interest is because Metaphor is an elusive concept to philosophers, linguists, anthropologists, literary critics and psychologists, among others. According to Zanker, (2016), its origin is from the Greek meta= 'with or after' and pherein= 'bear or carry' which basically translates to transfer of meanings. Inherent in this meaning is the notion of movement in which metaphors evoke emotional responses.

Use of metaphor in the resolution of disputes does not mean that parties in conflict who once thought in different ways will begin to think the same. It therefore does not necessarily mean that the resolution of conflict requires that disputants employ the same metaphors in their thinking. Metaphor exists at several levels. Different Kiswahili metaphors interpret cultural, social, individual, and situational dynamics and, organizationally, they draw attention to the direction of activity, strategies in carrying it out, and the actual performance of an activity. This

explains our choice of the different genre of ICC discourses with the intention of capturing all these aspects in metaphor explanation. Psychologically, metaphors structure one's identity, beliefs, values, skills and behaviours, which are quite significant in social interaction.

2.1.2 Metaphor in Kiswahili

A literature survey of Kiswahili reveals that in spite of the prevalence of Kiswahili metaphor in everyday life of the Swahili speakers little has been written on metaphor in political speeches as discussed below. Simala (2012) argues that the reason for this is the ambiguity the concept creates rather than the unwillingness of scholars to delve into it. This he adds is further complicated by a myriad of other terminologies related to metaphors like metonymy, simile and personification. Vierke (2012) broadly identified three common approaches to Swahili metaphorical discourse: politeness approach, the stylistic approach and the cognitive approach. She argues that though the Swahili metaphor is grounded in human cognition, cognitive linguistics cannot account for the qualitative difference between un-poetic metaphors and poetic metaphors that far from being purely ornamental, are powerful figures of thought and imagination. She concentrates on the poetic functions of metaphors in terms of its ambiguity. Though the typology identified by Vierke was literal in nature, our investigation sought to see how they manifest in the ICC discourse.

She further argues that the Swahili metaphors, far from being purely ornamental, are powerful figures of thought and imagination whose usage is linked to veiled speech- a politeness and face saving strategy: a strategy in managing sensitive topics, what Vierke (2012) refers to as 'not speaking while speaking' in which a message develops a particular force precisely because it is veiled.

She gives the example;

5. *Mtungi umepasuka* (Vierke 2012)

(The pot is broken)

Example 5 illustrates vividly how women will metaphorically speak of one who has lost virginity; the broken pot is seen in terms of a woman sex status. From the interactive point of view, metaphors are used in face-face interaction to lubricate the friction of contact between individuals. Vierke appears to have borrowed from the Brown–Levinson politeness model (1987) that metaphor is an off-record strategy, the goal of which is to manage the most threatening speech acts and to minimize accountability of the speaker. This is also consistent with Taran’s (2000) claim that metaphor is a key feature of political language used to obscure and clarify meaning, to personify political forces and to convey double meanings. This study intends to unravel these aspects of the Kiswahili metaphor as they are used to convey meaning within the ICC discourse.

Shariff (1983), Chacha (1987) and Simala (2012) all recognize the significance of culture in describing metaphors in Kiswahili language. They consider a culture to be providing among other things, a pool of available metaphors for making sense of reality. Many of the metaphors that people use are based on physical experiences through their culture. They emphasize that metaphor usage is as a result of socialization an aspect that requires a cultural contextualization in its interpretation. Besides, they recognize the significance of Kiswahili environmental realities in interpreting metaphor and the close relationship between metaphor usage and the cultural norms that have molded and equipped the language with rich ways of expressing thoughts and feelings on sensitive issues and subjects. This study went further to show that actually metaphors culturally are intended to conceal meaning in a sense and absolve the speaker from liability in the

event of double interpretation even though contextual reference is necessary.

Orwenjo (2009) suggests that in Africa, the transmission of the overwhelming complexity of the people's day-to-day experiences is deeply rooted in the continent's rich cultural artistry. He isolates proverbs as the most widely and commonly used sayings in the continent's long standing history of oral arts. Proverbs, just like metaphors, are regarded as repositories of the people's collective social, political and cultural wisdom and as analytic tools of thought. Metaphors can be used by different people to strengthen and further their respective positions and ideologies with regard to the ICC. As observed from the cognitive point of view, meaning is identified within the mind and partially shaped by culture. This observation is a nuanced view of CMT in three different ways. First, experiential structures depend on culturally and socially embodied processes. Second, experiential structures are resources for conceptualization, locally deployed in flexible ways, with the potential of evolving over time; and last, rigorous philosophical, empirical, and experimental research are all essential in developing CMT, while more theory-driven hypothesis testing, relying on corpora and experimental settings, is strongly needed

Closely related to this line of thought is Habwe (2010) who views metaphors through honorifics that help to define, redefine and sustain social strata that are used as a basis of expressing face-saving ideals and politeness in Kiswahili and hence contributing to less conflict in interaction and strengthening cohesion in society in question. He also reveals that Kiswahili honorifics often complement other politeness strategies in order to reinforce politeness values which are a major individual and social concern. Based on these properties, this research then focuses on how the Kiswahili metaphor informs on the dynamics of conflict within the ICC discourse.

Another interesting perspective to metaphor research is introduced by Sharraf (1983) through his

focus on the cultural significance of metaphors. He cautions that the Kiswahili metaphor seldom, if ever, allows one to limit meaning to a specific incident, providing it with only one interpretation. Among the reasons he mentions for the heavy use of metaphor in Kiswahili are the cultural norms that have enriched the language with ways and means of expressing thoughts. Sharif's views offer some insights on the uses of metaphors which are invaluable to this study in understanding how a sensitive issue like the ICC is framed and conceptualized metaphorically in Kiswahili.

Chacha (1987) goes further to explore the role played by the history of the Waswahili and their environmental realities in interpreting metaphor. In our minds, we have concepts about the world around us; those concepts guide the way we think and act. Chacha's ideas are a development of Lakoff & Johnson (1980), that communication is based on the same conceptual system that we use in thinking and acting, therefore language is an important source of evidence for what that system is like. This observation is articulated in Kobia (2001) who studied the metaphors that are used in relation to HIV/AIDS discourse among the Oluluyia speakers of Western Kenya. He noted the magnitude of the disease and their perception of the disease and that metaphors performed crucial roles like giving information, caution, persuasion, justification, comprehension and even threatening. Specifically, metaphors used by Oluluyia speakers communicate powerful images and messages by advocating abstinence, faithfulness in marriage and use of condoms as appropriate ways of combating the spread of HIV/AIDS.

From the foregoing, it can be noted that majority of literature available focus on studies of Kiswahili metaphor in relation to its cultural and social interpretation in literary studies while our focus is on political discourse. Most of the literature also deals with studies that were motivated by CMT and benefited this study in terms of theory and methodology. This rich literature on the

Kiswahili metaphor, offers a unique foundation on which to discuss metaphor usage in political discourse, an approach that had not been adopted before in the ICC indictment discourse. Besides, the findings of the current study are hoped to provide fresh interdisciplinary insights on Kiswahili metaphor as a tool in language in conflict. The study is richer and more diverse in terms of the selected genres of language use, methodology and theory involved.

2.2 Conceptual Metaphors

Lakoff & Johnson (2003) regard a conceptual metaphor as a broad term that allows the researcher to focus on the emergence of metaphorical themes rather than worrying about whether a specific term is used as a metaphor or some other literal device that has similar implications to the communicator and or audience. In this way, we agree with Steen's (2002) argument that conceptual metaphor analysis allows for the inclusion of similes or analogies so long as the concept maps across domains. Metaphors generally consist of the projection of one schema considered the source domain of the metaphor, onto another schema or the target domain. (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Gentner, 1983).

Metaphor in discourse arouses powerful images that shape perception, public opinion, and ultimately influence comprehension and interpretation of issues in society. As Ngonyani (2006: 15) elaborately notes, "metaphors provide a conceptual framework, or prism through which information and events are viewed". Besides, metaphors help to make complex and controversial issues understandable to public and also deconstruct myths and reveal the reality in an approachable way, without offending anyone in the speech community, (Todoli, 2007: 51). The message in a metaphor therefore reaches the audience in a more powerful and captivating manner. For example, when the metaphor '*kila mtu atabeba mzigo wake*' (everyone will carry his/her load) is used in reference to ICC, it literally means one taking responsibility and being

answerable/accountable, but in the religious sense it invokes images of suffering like Jesus did at the point of crucifixion. Examined in context, we realize that this metaphor influences the type of value judgments we make as a result of the interaction between the thoughts from the two domains of metaphor thereby leading to new understanding- the relationship between RELIGION and PAIN conceptually. This then explains the cognitive contribution of metaphor which enables the users to conceive the world.

There is a developing trend in research regarding how metaphor is employed persuasively to provide frames for perspectives on social issues. The most notable areas investigated by metaphor researchers include, security policy (Chilton, 1996), political rhetoric (Lakoff, 1993; 1999; Ngonyani, 2002; Cienki, 2005; Johansen, 2007; Moreno, 2008; Kaal, 2012), gender relations and sex (Beneke, 1982; Wolf, 1996; Simala, 2012). Mio (1997) identifies the major functions of metaphor in politics as to simplify and make issues intelligible, to resonate with underlying symbolic representations, to stir emotions and to bridge the gap between the logical and the emotional. According to Charteris-Black (2006), this socially cognitive research on political issues may be traced to Schon (1993) who saw a dynamic role of metaphor in communicating conflicting social policies through competing generative metaphors, an issue that will be explored in this research in the Kenyan context.

A study by Charteris-Black (2005) on political speeches traces cognitive and emotional rhetoric potential of metaphor to the classical concepts of logos (reasoned argument), pathos (appeal to emotions) and ethos (establishing the speaker's ethical credentials). He argues that all of these are related to the primary rhetoric purpose of establishing legitimacy and identifies the following roles of metaphor: communicating political arguments, communicating ideology by political myth, heightening emotional impact and establishing the ethical integrity of the speaker. These

roles for metaphors tend to overlap and he suggests that metaphor appeals to politicians because of being able to perform a multiplicity of these functions.

As can be deduced from the foregoing, our aim of analyzing metaphors in the ICC discourse is to bring out or portray the everyday experiences and realities of Kenyans and how they relate to each other in regard to the ICC judicial process. In the sphere of political discourse, metaphor aims at persuasion or convincing. It is intended to appeal to the emotions and feelings of the hearer. Therefore its interpretation in the ICC discourse is firmly grounded in the socio-cultural context of the hearer which forms the background of his/her beliefs and attitudes. This further supports the argument that metaphors in the ICC discourse could be a reflection of one's overview of the world. In this sense, metaphors then become central in relation to human meaning and creative thought.

Research since the 1980s shows increased use of metaphor in framing political discussion and therefore a major linguistic tool for politicians (Paine, 1981; Lakoff, 2001, 2003, 2005; Charteris-Black, 2004). Metaphors are capable of restructuring concepts and opinion (Kyratzis, 2001:64) and hence they are used for transmitting ideology and transferring useful information about life in society. Metaphors also offer a convenient and natural way through which people communicate their beliefs, identity and ideology (Charteris-Black, 2004). On the political front, the choice of metaphors used is an indirect strategy that allows one to talk about delicate issues at the time that gives him/her communicative immunity. This is corroborated by Jaworska & Krishnamurthy (2012) in a corpus-based analysis of the media representation of feminism in British and German press discourse. They show how public attitudes towards feminism are mostly based on stereotypical views linking feminism with leftist politics and lesbian orientation. Besides providing significant insights into the representation of feminism, the findings are also

based on the discourse of feminism in a large corpus of German and British newspaper data. Investigating the collocation profiles of the search term feminism, the researchers provide evidence of salient discourse patterns surrounding feminism in the two different cultural contexts. The same pattern is adopted in this research where metaphors from a corpus of ICC discourses are examined to uncover how conflict is addressed in discourse.

Another fascinating research on the exposition of metaphor in language is described by Lule (2004), quoting Sontag in *Illness as metaphor* and *AIDs and its metaphors* (1990:3) and states that illness is the night-side of life, a more onerous citizenship. Everyone who is born holds dual citizenship, in the kingdom of the well and in the kingdom of the sick. Although we all prefer to use only the good passport, sooner or later each of us is obliged, at least for a spell, to identify ourselves as citizens of that other place. This study, like Sontag, takes its starting point that metaphoric language shapes thoughts and that calling something by another name can have profound implications. In *Illness as Metaphor*, Sontag looked at metaphors surrounding cancer. She found language of invasion, violation and victimage. In *AIDS and its Metaphors*, Sontag also uncovered language of invasion, and violation as well as desolation and plague. She even argued that such language had significant, even mortal, consequences. Similarities in this study are observed where metaphors are presented as descriptions that have either positive or negative valences. They are symbolic meaning relationships that help individuals understand what they experience and thus express them in their utterances through metaphors.

Metaphors are significant in politics because they are used to frame political debate. People in society use frames when reporting political issues because frames simplify complex information in a way that it becomes more accessible to the general public. Lakoff (2004: xv) emphasizes this by stating that frames are mental structures that shape the way we see the world. The speaker by

use of particular metaphors transmits certain ideas that reflect his/her belief system or ideology. The ability to frame complex political/social issues such as ICC or International Justice is crucial in informing the perceptions and or justifications around it. Lakoff (1987, 2003, 2005) has demonstrated the importance of metaphorical reasoning in framing political events. In his analysis of the speech by the US president, George Bush, in justifying the Gulf war, Lakoff (2003) outlines what he refers to as the fairy tale structure frame as the underlying conceptual system. The fairy tale structure metaphorically portrays Kuwait as a helpless victim under attack from the aggressive Iraq (Sadaam Hussein) and the US the hero who comes in to rescue. By metaphorically painting a victim, aggressor and hero rescue scenario Bush offered a moral justification for attacking Iraq and hence sought acceptance from the American people (Lakoff, 2003). It is on this basis that our study explores how such information can benefit our understanding of ICC's intervention in Kenya after the Post-election violence to offer justice to the victims. Our study intends to explore the metaphorical perceptions that key players in the ICC discourse attach to this intervention; to understand how ICC steps in to offer judicial justice to helpless post-election violence victims against the powerful political players who instigated the violence. The gap that the study explores is how the failure of local (Kenyan) judicial mechanisms plays out in the ICC fairy tale structure.

Studies that have adopted a similar approach include Garcia (2009), who examined how President Jose Rodriguez Zapatero conceptualized terrorism via metaphors through the notion of fight and their conceptual implications in discourse. Based on a corpus comprising 58 speeches, she revealed that fight metaphors constitute the pivotal node that simultaneously performs various functions at several levels: cognitive, rhetorical and ideological in order to promote the presidents anti-terrorism political ideology. Closely related to Garcia's findings is Moreno

(2008) who analysed Hugo Chávez's choice of metaphors in his efforts to construct and legitimize his Bolivarian Revolution. He reported that behind an official discourse of inclusion, Chávez's choice of metaphors contributes to the construction of a polarizing discourse of exclusion in which his political opponents are represented as enemies of the nation. Our research draws similarities of polarization through metaphors in the ICC discourse where competing groups view each other as enemies. ICC discourse is characterised by claims of neo-colonialism and lack of patriotism. People who support the ICC process are considered as enemies to the people of Kenya. This study therefore draws heavily from Moreno's findings in the construction of a 'them' (those who support ICC) versus 'us' (the indictees and their supporters) narrative in the ICC discourse.

2.3 Political Discourse Analysis

It is clear that there is not one universally agreed upon definition of political discourse. It is possible though to classify some discourse as political depending on their generic characteristics such as content and form. Though context is primary in determining whether a discourse is political or not, other factors include social domain, the communicative event type, setting, participants, roles, functions and aims (Hymes, 1974; van Dijk, 1998). A political discourse could therefore include any text, uttered or written that may have implications or that may influence the outcome of a communicative procedure politically (Chilton, 1990; Obeng & Hartford, 2006).

Politics and its language is one important domain that has greatly attracted researchers of discourse. Scholars of discourse analysis seek to investigate and establish whether or not political language requires certain linguistic strategies unique to it (Fairclough 1989; Fowler 1985). Further, it has been argued that politics right from infancy has had an overwhelming importance

in people's lives and its investigation is therefore in order. Besides politics relates with people directly and it usually displays a complex language matrix on which politicians depend on in exercising their rhetoric power.

Blommaert (2005) focuses on analysing issues of power and social inequality in language and society under conditions of contemporary globalization, from a discourse analytical and ethnographic perspective. His main focus is the ethnographic study of *inequality in society*, and particularly how it relates to language usage. Blommaert argues that under globalized conditions, our basic understanding of language and society needs to be redefined, and the discipline of sociolinguistics to move in more materialist, semiotic, and ethnographic directions: all signs, whether written texts, shop inscriptions, internet memes, or bureaucratic interviews, are produced from and circulating within particular "orders of indexicality".

Leadership is a social act which requires two parties: individuals who are gifted in the arts of self-representation and others who are ready to follow when they are convinced by rhetoric. According to Charteris-Black (2004), the language of persuasion looks both outwards and inwards: it promises a better future-often based on what is wrong with the present, but communicates this vision by activating deep-seated ideas, values and feelings that are hidden within the audience. This reason explains the choice of politically motivated prayer meetings and campaign rallies for the study on how their use of language created credible and consistent stories about themselves and the social world they inhabit. The study explored their use of metaphors and how language analysis helps us to understand how politicians are able to articulate their viewpoints. Burns (1978:18) explains leadership over humans being exercised when the persons with certain motives and purposes mobilize in competition or conflict with

others, institutional, political, psychological, and other resources so as to arouse, engage, and satisfy motives of followers.

The spoken language has been primarily considered as a mode of communication in the gentle arts of persuasion and impression management because it projects shared social beliefs about what is right and wrong so that alliances can be formed around these beliefs. Among the spoken strategies include metaphor. The choice of metaphor is a matter of persuasiveness. Both the cognitive and affective appeal of metaphor exploits the subliminal resources that are aroused non-verbally and then developed through language.

Several approaches have been developed and used in analyzing power relations in general and political discourse in particular (Bourdieu, 1991; Chilton & Schäffner, 1997; Wodak, 2001; Chilton, 2004). Since the 1970s, an analysis of discourse and text that recognizes the role of language in structuring power relations in society has emerged. Accordingly, Bourdieu (1991) views language not only as a means of communication but also an instrument of symbolic power by which individuals pursue their interests. The same view is advanced by Chilton & Schaffner (1997) who argue that the expansion of print and electronic media coupled with the awareness of the close relationship between politics and language has contributed to the development of critical evaluations of discourses.

In furthering the debate, Wodak (2001) identifies Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as one form of analysis that recognizes the role of language in structuring power relations in society. The form of CDA that will be employed in this study is the one that deals with the analysis of content. It concentrates on the ways in which ideologies are reproduced in discourses with the goal of analysis being to uncover the underlying ideological systems and representations and

showing how they are related to the larger social order (Fairclough, 1989). In this analysis, an ideology is understood as the hidden views of certain social groups which they are able to promote as naturalized. By reproducing their ideology because of the power they hold in society they are able reproduce social relations of power.

Moreno, (2008) further asserts that CDA has established itself in the past thirty years as a strong discipline in the study of political discourse. In certain analyses, where there is little ambiguity about the political nature of a corpus such as in the analysis of political speeches, CDA tends to provide an appropriate and systematic theoretical framework for the analysis of such political discourse.

CMT (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980) and CMA (Charteris-Black, 2004) the key theories in this study, are two of the several approaches that derive from CDA to the analysis of metaphors in political discourse. Their purpose is to identify the intentions and ideologies underlying language use. The focus in this study will be on language in conflict.

Political Discourse Analysis (PDA) deals with the analysis of political discourse. As mentioned in the previous section, indeed, the term political discourse suggests many possibilities. Fairclough, (1992) identifies political actors to include politicians, political institutions, governments, political media, and political supporters operating in a political environment with political goals. This is the working definition that is adopted for the term political discourse in this research and is delimited to utterances produced by politicians and other individuals within the context of the ICC indictment in Kenya. These include speeches in political rallies, prayer meetings and post-election violence victim narrations as exemplified in media. This criterion is buttressed by Laclau & Mouffe (1985) who consider any type of discourse inherently political,

that is to say, during the process of discourse formation, antagonisms are constructed and power is exercised given that there are some ‘insiders’ who will be part of the system, and others, ‘outsiders’, who are completely excluded. The study therefore provides a more descriptive perspective where the main goal is to consider political language first as discourse, and then as political as suggested by Wilson (2001).

This view is well articulated by Harvey, Allen & Mendick (2015) in their study on the problem of inequality raised by the existence of a class of celebrities with high levels of wealth and status. They analyze how young people make sense of these inequalities in their talk about celebrity focusing on the rhetorical strategies that legitimize inequalities of money and power. They argue that in comparing their lives with those of the rich and famous, young people make sense of the massive disparity between the two, often replacing envy or anger with pleasure in being ‘ordinary’. Our study extends this approach by examining discourses that tend to create differences that border between ‘them’ and ‘us’ in understanding the various interpretation given to ICC. In so doing, we expand the categories of reference and bring out the relationship between the opposing sides in understanding ICC. The study examines the discourse surrounding ICC in Kenya by identifying the types of Kiswahili metaphors and the conceptual underpinnings.

Critical Linguistics has increasingly been used in critical discourse studies to examine various discourses in society including, the discourse of racism (Krishnamurthy, 1996), homosexuality (Baker, 2004), climate change (Grumman & Krishnamurthy, 2010), refugees (Baker & McEnery, 2005; Gabrielatos & Baker, 2006) and gender issues (Hunt, 2011). These studies have uncovered the existence of language patterns and messages otherwise unobserved. Alongside the methods of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), usually adopted in the investigation of discursive patterns and strategies, some scholars (van Dijk, 2001; Wodak, 2001) have argued that Critical

Linguistics regards language as a social practice and takes consideration of context of language use to be crucial. This has added a new quantitative dimension to the analysis of language. Normally, language users have a range of lexical items at their disposal. However, when referring to a certain phenomenon or a group of people, they may tend to prefer certain lexical choices over others and, in so doing, will propagate a certain version of reality. van Dijk (1995) highlights the fact that lexical choices (or ‘lexicalization’, as he calls it) are not only evaluative judgments, but also reflect the ideological stance of the user, or the group that she or he represents. A classic example is the use of the terms ‘terrorist’ (and its associations with extremism in one discourse context) and ‘freedom fighter’ (in another) (van Dijk, 1995: 259). Even words or phrases that on the surface seem to have a rather neutral or positive meaning can, in some discourse contexts and in occurrence with certain words, express negative value judgments and specific ideological stances. Stubbs (2001: 105) gives an example of ‘cosy’, whose meaning general tends to be positive, but in the phrase ‘cosy little relationship’ it expresses the negative meaning of ‘cliquey’.

This point goes back to Sinclair’s (1991) claim that the meaning of a word depends strongly on its relationship with other co-occurring words, and that some words have a tendency to occur with pleasant events, while others may be generally associated with negative situations. Louw (1993: 157) terms this phenomenon ‘semantic prosody’, and defines it as the ‘consistent aura of meaning with which a form is imbued by its collocates’. Stubbs (2001) prefers the term ‘discourse prosody’ to differentiate between lexical choices that express speaker attitudes in specific contexts, and meanings that are purely lexical and independent of speakers. Baker (2006: 86–87) offers a good example to illustrate the difference: the sequence of items ‘glass’ and ‘of’ normally attracts words denoting drinks. However, the combination of the word

‘refugees’ with the verb ‘to plot’ or ‘to arrest’ is more than just a lexical combination. It attaches particular attributive or evaluative meanings to the word ‘refugees’, which are, in this case, negative; that is, refugees are seen as criminals. The former combination is an example of semantic preference, while the latter is referred to as discourse prosody. The distinction is important as we should not think that phenomena such as ICC inherently attract certain meanings. Rather, certain meanings are attributed to them by language users who prefer particular lexical choices over others (Gabrielatos & Baker, 2006).

Frequent patterns of co-occurring choices, that is collocations, are especially interesting to investigate, as they can point to the salient ideas associated with a particular phenomenon. In doing so, they can provide indications as to how the phenomenon is frequently framed in discourse. As Stubbs (2001: 35) states, collocations are not simply lexical items, they ‘are also widely shared within a speech community’ and are often ‘nodes around which ideological battles are fought’ (2001: 188). This in turn can hint at the societal value judgments that the phenomenon in question evokes (Mautner, 2007). By investigating the usages and collocation profiles of the ICC in corpora, we provide attested evidence of salient discourse patterns, and consequently the discourse prosodies surrounding the ICC in the Kenyan contexts.

2.4 Conflicts, ICC and political discourse in Kenya

Literature on ICC has taken contrasting viewpoints in regard to ICCs involvement in Kenya. (http://www.icc-cpi.int/en_menus/icc/Pages/default.aspx). There is divided opinion concerning ICCs’ performance in Kenya and the actual rationale of its involvement (Moss & O’Hare, 2014; Jagero, 2012; Mueller, 2014; Jenkins, 2012; Mackie, 2012). The adoption of the Rome Statute by 120 countries in 1998 marked the institutionalisation of a permanent international court to try crimes against humanity and crimes of genocide. Since the ICC became operational in 2002,

sources at ICC suggest that there has been an unprecedented integration between peace and security and international justice (Bensouda, 2013). They quote the indictment and prosecution of prominent Kenyans at The Hague for the 2012 post-election violence related crimes as having contributed to the subsequent peaceful elections in 2013. In what United Nations (UN) Secretary General Ban ki-Moon calls ‘the shadow of the court’, justice could have had a positive impact on peace in its preventable role and its capacity to diffuse potentially tense situations that could lead to violence by setting a clear line of accountability.

Yet despite this, the current debate in African Union (AU) and Kenya in particular is whether the perpetrators of crimes against humanity, war crimes and genocide should always be prosecuted at The Hague. (AU Resolution October 2013). Some scholars have joined in the debate and argued that the ICC in its quest for international justice is diminishing Africa as a continent full of victims and perpetrators of crime who cannot function independently of ex-colonial powers (Mackie, 2012; Sagan, 2010). ICC is accused of being racist because, so far, all people indicted by the Court are from Africa (Sagan, 2010). The dialogue surrounding the ICC is indicative of the dynamic relationship between the various assumptions about what the character of the present social world is and how it should be changed. Sagan (2010), quoting Simpson, says the contestation of the extent of ICC’s jurisdiction suggests that this movement between ‘international space and local space’ is still important to the narrative of international law. This raises the question of whether the indictment and subsequent prosecution of some prominent Kenyans at the ICC is an obstacle/hindrance to peace or an apparatus for ending violence. Public discourse in Kenya for the past several years has revolved around the involvement of ICC in resolving the 2007 post-election conflict (PEC): a victim oriented criminal process of dealing with the perpetrators of PEV as opposed to internal or local mechanisms of peace and justice.

The analysis of contemporary political discourse in Kenya has generated a great deal of interest among researchers in recent years. Several factors have contributed to the restructuring of political discourse in the country key among them are the promulgation of the new constitution in 2010 and the 2007 post-election violence. Following is an examination of the studies that have been conducted on the two issues with varying perspectives.

To understand the electoral political culture of Kenya in the shadows of the ICC prosecution, Moss & O'Hare (2014) focussed their study on the two televised presidential debates of 2013 and argue that the debates were staged as part of the media's broader project of 'peace promotion'. Among the issues addressed in the debate was the ICC process. The study emphasises the theatrical nature of the performances and the deliberate way in which they were designed to present a portrait of Kenya's maturing democracy and thereby distracting the citizenry from the realities present then. This is a biased view of the significance of the debates that fails to appreciate the negotiated and collective forum that articulated ideologies that inform on peace and not merely as a media driven peace initiative.

Jagero (2012), in examining utterances by politicians in Kenya on International Criminal Court (ICC) debate, introduces the twin concepts of political language and national cohesion. The argument expounded is that the language that politicians used does not conform to the norms of the society and thus threatened national cohesion and perpetuated animosity among different ethnic groups. In addition, the findings showed clearly that the ICC debate had been politicized and beyond the politicians' utterances there were generally hidden meanings that could cause animosity among ethnic groups. Our study goes further to identify, analyse and discuss the Kiswahili metaphors, their conceptual realizations and how they either contribute to resolution or escalation of the ICC conflict in Kenya. These findings are corroborated by Mueller (2014), in

her research on Kenya and the ICC: *politics, the election and the law*. She argues that the key strategy for the two indictees to run for presidency and deputy presidency in a way deflected or deflated the court and insulated them from its power once they won the elections. The research ultimately questions the theories and the rationale for countries ratifying and complying with international treaties and hence its implications for the international criminal justice and democracy within Kenya. It is this observation that informs the rationale for studying the salient features of language use and how they impact on other spheres of social behaviour.

Contrastingly, researching on the violence that followed the 2007 general elections in Kenya, Jenkins (2012) demonstrates how bottom-up processes of identification and violence interacted with incitement from above. The discourses of belonging and exclusion engendered an understanding of ethnic others as ‘immigrants’ and ‘guests’, and these narratives of territorialized identity both reinforced elite manipulation and operated independently of it. In this context, Kenya's post-election violence can thus be understood as a bottom-up performance of narratives of ethnic territorial exclusion operating alongside more direct elite involvement, organization, and incitement. The durability of these narratives, as well as their inherent plasticity, has significant implications for the potential for further violence and the prospects for reconciliation. These are the areas that our current study sought answers to: how has the ICC debate addressed the conflict arising from the post violence election and how are issues of reconciliation addressed in the same debate. The study sought also to contextualise Habermas Social Justice Theory as an alternative means of justice and appreciating the importance of communicative action, which deals with understanding and coming to an agreement with others.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed in detail the available literature that anchors a study on metaphors; it has provided a brief history of metaphors and traced the development of metaphor studies. It then focuses on the identification and features of the Kiswahili metaphor. It goes further to elaborate conceptual metaphors and their realization in language. Last, the chapter contextualizes political discourse and the ICC conflict in Kenya.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The methodological design of this study is grounded in an elaborate understanding of research with metaphors. This section deals with the research design, study area, corpus building and sampling, data collection techniques, validity and reliability, ethical considerations, data presentation and analysis procedures.

3.2 Research Design

The study adopted an analytical research design. Analytical research is a specific type of research that involves critical thinking skills and the evaluation of facts and information relative to the research being conducted (Silverman, 2013). Analytical research is mostly used during studies to find the most relevant information. From analytical research, one finds out critical details to add new ideas to the material being produced. The analysis which is corpus based focused upon metaphor identification procedures or methods, for studying language (McEnery & Hardie, 2012). The corpus based method was ideally suited to investigate the use of metaphoric expressions, and particularly their frequencies, distribution, concordance or collocations (Semino, 2008: 199). The study involved collection of texts that arose from natural language use in a linguistic context as contrasted with other types of texts that are invented specifically for illustrating a point about language. Such an approach was appropriate for the study because data was not invented for the benefit of a model but rather that the model emerged from representative samples of language as emphasized by Charteris-Black (2004). The purpose of study is important in determining the corpus size and composition. On one hand, Stubbs(2001) stresses that a corpus could be a collection of a given text type...or it could be designed to sample

as wide a range of texts as possible, including written and spoken, formal and informal...and texts from different historical periods. The advantage of size therefore and the inclusion of a wide range of texts is that the corpus has a greater potential for making claims about language in general.

This methodology is contrasted with what some researchers have argued for in the utilization of a selected small corpus simply as a bank of examples to illustrate a theory in what is at times referred to as corpus informed research (Fairclough, 2000; Kova'cs & Wodak, 2003; Charteris-Black, 2004). The intention of this approach is to undertake a detailed analysis of a small amount of data taking into account not just the text itself, but also the social context in which it was produced and the social context in which it was interpreted, (McEnery & Hardie, 2012: 18). This corpus informed approach was adopted in this study where small amounts of data was worked with in detail rather than engaging with large corpora in establishing the metaphors in the ICC indictments discourse. As such, the analytical research design which falls within the qualitative research approach was found suitable for the study.

3.3 Study Area

The corpora for this study comprised different audio-visual texts restricted to data that fell within the domain of ICC debate sourced from the electronic media houses in Kenya: Royal Media Services (Citizen Television), Nation Media Group (NTV) and The Standard Group (KTN). It included texts from a specific genre or registers of ICC indictment discourse and was constructed in order to investigate metaphors in language in conflict. It was discovered that most metaphors used in reference to ICC occurred in the following genres: politically organized prayer rallies, political campaign meetings and victim narrations. ICC in this study was viewed as a context of discourse. It related to the meanings of ICC as conveyed through spoken utterances using

Kiswahili language. These were the utterances that were made by people in their daily conversation, also referred to as voice. Blommaert (2005: 4) defines voice as the way in which people manage to make themselves understood or fail to do so. In order for people to be understood, they make utterances in specific contexts using language or dialects known to their audience.

There were two primary reasons for drawing corpus data from media. The first reason had to do with the language (and metaphors) that was under investigation. The topic of study concerned language use in the ICC discourse. But in reality there was no such thing as ICC having its own language. It referred to utterances related to ICC as an International body, an abstract concept, and any reference to its language use was therefore figurative. The way a person decides to formulate his/her utterances is said to be the result of individual and shared understanding of the concept. Thus, it was important that the language samples used in this study were the result of such: individual or shared understanding of ICC as an entity. It was concerned with how ICC was defined and problematized in the broader concept of framing (Goffman, 1974; Fillmore, 1975; Lakoff, 2008).

The second reason was that Kenya had experienced a massive expansion of broadcast and electronic media implying that political messages reached a high number of people within the country and beyond. Besides, much of the topical and highly sensitive and emotional issues such as ICC had been receiving live coverage on television channels. Electronic media in Kenya played a very significant role in disseminating information about ICC. This means that a large population of Kenyans was being fed on political messages that needed to be interpreted and evaluated. Since the violently disputed 2007 general elections, Kenya had been undergoing a transition period of healing and reconciliation. The varied interpretations given to the ICC

process depending on one's position was an important area of study, either from the victims' point of view, the accused person's point of view or those deemed to be supporting the ICC process or by extension seen as beneficiaries of ICC. The varied voices presented the research rich instances of ICC debate. Based on the power relations in society (Foucault, 1970), it was considered that politicians influenced many people with their utterances. In addition to this, much of the information regarding ICC process was relayed to the public through media. It is such information that eventually shaped opinions and influenced views regarding ICC as a social reality. These conditions guided and focused the research in data collection. However, the actual corpus used in this research comprised extracts selected from prayer rallies, campaign meetings and victim narrations.

3.4 Study Population

'Population' is a collective term used to describe the total quantity of cases or instances of the type which are the subject of one's study (Silverman, 2013). Silverman goes on to say that this population can consist of objects, people or even events. The term population in this study was used to denote the notional space within which language was being sampled – ICC debate in Kenyan media from January 2012 to March 2013. The study employed sample corpora which represented a particular type of language over a specific span of time. The study population comprised utterances that made direct or indirect inferences to the ICC process in Kenya archived in audio-visual form. To investigate the representation of ICC in Kenyan Media, a corpus of utterances that were produced between January 2012 and March 2013 was constructed. All utterances were retrieved from media house resources in Kenya.

3.5 Sampling Procedures and Sample Size

Sampling is the act, process, or technique of selecting a suitable representative part of a population for the purpose of determining parameters or characteristics of the whole population (Webster, 1985). It is the process and criteria under which information and instances are selected as sources of data. Our sample population consisted of those instances that were selected from the population to provide the researcher with relevant data. The corpus of discourses that constituted the sample size was identified through purposive sampling. Silverman avers that purposive and theoretical sampling are often treated as synonyms; the only difference between the two procedures applies when the ‘purpose’ behind ‘purposive’ sampling is not theoretically defined (2013:150). Purposive sampling enabled the study to think critically about the parameters of the utterances that were chosen so as to illustrate the conceptual mappings in the discourses. These parameters included the actors, the venue of the event, the topic of discussion and the time of occurrence. Purposive sampling also meant selecting groups or categories to study on the basis of their relevance to the research questions, the theoretical position and most importantly the explanation or account which was being developed. This position supports what had been observed earlier by Bryman (1988:90) that the issue in qualitative research is couched in terms of the generalizability of the cases to the theoretical propositions rather than to populations or universes. These procedures were adopted because not all utterances by a speaker could be subjected to metaphor analysis to meet the objectives of the study.

The study sought to be balanced and representative within a sampling frame which defined the type of language as ‘the population’ that we intended to characterize, (McEnery & Hardie, 2012: 8). Following the principle of balance, ICC debates were characterized as prayer meetings, campaign rallies and individual narrations whose language was sampled and data collected

evenly. Guided by Biber (1993), representativeness was realized by measuring the internal variation within the corpus to ensure that it was fully representative by capturing the variability of language. The purposive sampling method adopted was designed to minimize the risk of either overrepresentation or underrepresentation of data as proposed by Wodak, de Cillia, Reisigh, Hirsch, Mitten & Unger (2009: 9). This was achieved through identifying the semantic fields that were used more frequently in periods when they were topical, and therefore it was possible to isolate the instances which ICC was topical. The periods that ICC recorded highest intensity of talk included the time the charges against the six Kenyans were confirmed in January 2012, the public rallies held by the indictees which were dubbed as ‘prayer rallies’, the official visit to the country by the ICC prosecutor Fatou Bensouda in October 2012 and the 2013 election campaign rallies.

The criterion for selecting utterances was that ICC was to be the primary topic of discussion, that is, it had to feature either by name or through reference. This was done with a view to including only instances in which ICC was discussed as the major topic. The research primarily focused on key participants including Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Joshua Sang, Raila Odinga, Kalonzo Musyoka and four violence victims. The actual events comprised prayer meetings, CORD and JUBILEE campaign rallies and victim narrations while the processes involved the indictment verdict by the ICC judges, the election campaign period and the visits to the country by the ICC prosecution office. Guided by Mason (1996:92), the instances identified were designed to provide a close-up, detailed or meticulous view of particular units which may constitute...instances which are relevant to or appear within the wider universe. The corpora study in Kiswahili provided an invaluable resource for the investigation of metaphorical patterns in language and for the extrapolation of conceptual metaphors from linguistic evidence. As

Charmaz (2006) argues, this kind of research directs you where to go when you need to make further generalizations or extrapolations from the selected instances.

The general implication was that the study sampled data in three phases; corpus collected in January – July 2012, July – October 2012 and November 2012 – March 2013. These phases are significant as they are framed by the key mentioned moments in the unfolding cases at the ICC. Corpus therefore include; utterances from 10 transcribed Kiswahili speeches in political rallies (prayer meetings and campaign rallies), and 4 victim narrations across the country. These instances were considered information rich cases for in depth study (Patton, 1990). Information rich cases are those from which one can learn a great deal about issues of central importance to the purpose of research.

The study set out a typology which established a matrix of ICC related genres or events as summarized in Table. 3.1 below.

Table 3.1: Typology and sources of corpus (data)

S/No.	Genre	Code	Venue	Date	Media source
1	Prayer Meeting A	PMA	64 Stadium, Eldoret	27/01/2012	CITIZEN
2	Prayer Meeting B	PMB	Afraha Stadium, Nakuru	29/01/2012	CITIZEN
3	Prayer Meeting C	PMC	Ruiru, Kiambu	30/01/2012	CITIZEN
4	Prayer Meeting D	PMD	Kinoru stadium, Meru	02/02/2012	CITIZEN
5	Prayer Meeting E	PME	Malindi.	04/02/2012	KTN
6	Prayer Meeting F	PMF	Machakos	15/02/2012	NTV
7	Jubilee Campaign Rally A	JCRA	Bomet	03/11/2012	CITIZEN
8	Jubilee Campaign Rally B	JCRB	Afraha Nakuru	01/12/2012	CITIZEN
9	Cord Campaign Rally C	CCRC	Uhuru Park, Nairobi	30/01/2013	NTV
10	Cord Campaign Rally D	CCRD	Bondo, Siaya	3/11/2012	KTN
11	Victim Narration A	VNA	Kiambaa, Eldoret	23/10/2012	KTN
12	Victim Narration B	VNB	Kiambaa, Eldoret	23/10/2012	CITIZEN
13	Victim Narration C	VNC	Mai Mahiu	24/10/2012	NTV
14	Victim Narration D	VND	Naivasha	24/10/2012	KTN

For ease of reference and consistency, the selected genres/texts for analysis were transcribed and coded as shown in Table 3.1 above. The typology yielded three genres or cases within the three peak periods of ICC coverage in media. The genres presented a detailed description of semantic fields that demonstrated framing of the ICC topic and hence the different discourses therein. Selection of the genres considered their richness in terms of the actors involved either as PEV victims or indicted victims at ICC, ICC as the content or topic of discussion, the actual time and location of event, and, lastly, the quality and relevance in ICC coverage. Consequently, focus was directed on language use within utterances in public prayer meetings that were conducted in various parts of the country by the ICC indictees, election campaign political rallies conducted

by the Coalition for Reforms and Democracy (CORD) and the JUBILEE alliance and, last, the post-election violence victim narrations.

The corpus included texts that were selected through saturation to include, 6 ‘prayer meetings’ (PMA-PMF). These meetings were purposively selected to represent ethnic based regions of the country that experienced the effects of the PEV: 2 in Rift Valley, 1 in Nairobi, 1 in Coast, 1 in Eastern, and 1 in Central. 4 Political campaign rallies: 2 by Jubilee alliance (JCRA & JCRB) and 2 by Cord Coalition (CCRC & CCRD), and 4 victim narrations to the ICC prosecutor (VNA-VND). The total size of the sample was approximately 14 texts which were captured during the periods that witnessed the highest intensity of ICC debate. The election campaign period in which two of the indictees: Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto were contesting for Presidency and Deputy Presidency presented a very rich instance for in-depth study. In sourcing the data, the study examined the political discourse of these two key players in the nation since the confirmation of the charges at The Hague. This presented quite a rich data from discourses of politicians and political commentators and their conceptual mappings of issues.

The main focus in the data was to identify the metaphors and how the discourses conceptually mapped the target domains in their metaphoric expressions in relation to conflict. Milroy (1987) affirms that purposive sampling involves the selection of sample members based on the judgment of the investigator using some criteria, in our case, discourse, on the ICC indictment. The selected sample was informed by Sankoff (1980), Bauer & Aarts (2000) and Bauer (2000) argument that even for quite complex linguistic communities, big samples tend to be redundant, bringing increasing data handling problems with diminishing analytic returns. In this study, the principle object of the investigation was to discover how metaphors have been used in the ICC discourse over time. This meant that time was ideally the only variable and all others (for

example, speaker, audience, duration and setting) were controlled. Goffman's Frame Analysis (1974), which explores the relational dimension of meaning significantly, influenced the study. For Goffman, a frame is defined by its use rather than by its content. Events are seen in terms of 'primary frameworks'. The particular frame used provided a means of interpreting the event to which it was applied. The study thus considered frames as both structural and flexible as they were susceptible to change by interacting participants hence they were highly vulnerable, being continually subject to dispute. The study hence used Goffman's concepts of frame to demonstrate how understandings emerged among the various participants in the ICC discourses.

3.6 Methods of Data Collection

The study used both primary and secondary sources in collecting data from media libraries and resource centers/archives in Kenya. The exercise was conducted for a period of four months, between March and July 2015. Data collection entailed procurement of relevant recordings of ICC events from media houses mentioned in 3.3. From these recordings, linguistic expressions in relation to ICC were extracted. These linguistic expressions were later categorized into different thematic areas which in turn guided in the formulation of the different conceptual mappings.

3.6.1 Primary Data

This is naturally occurring data without the intervention of a researcher (Silverman, 2013:112). This data was sourced from media houses/resource centers. It included live recorded proceedings of public political meetings (prayer meetings and election campaign rallies) and live recorded victim narrations. To ensure that only valid live recordings of the events were actually collected, data was crosschecked from the three media houses: CITIZEN TV, KTN and NTV.

3.6.2 Re-recording

The live recorded clips were accessed from media libraries and re-recorded on the researcher's personal external hard disk. The re-recording was done without any editing or alterations to retain the original version of the clips. With a personal hard disk, the researcher was accorded enough time to review and transcribe the recordings.

3.6.3 Transcription of the Recordings

Transcribing deals with the interpretive representation of audible and visual data into written form (Bailey, 2008). Transcribing appears to be a straightforward technical task, but in fact involved judgments about what level of detail to choose, data interpretation and data representation. Different levels of detail and a different representation of data was required for three genres. The speakers were marked unambiguously and an empty line entered between each speaker in turn. This helped the researcher to quickly recognize the different speakers and speaker units in a transcript. It also aided in automatically coding all speaker units by adding attribute codes which were used later in identifying quotations. Key content in the recordings that related directly to the ICC topic was later transcribed in readiness for content analysis on metaphor use. Stempel III & Wesley (1989) state that content analysis is a formal system for drawing conclusions from observations of content. They further observe that the place of content analysis in communication is indicated by effective correlation of content to communicator, audience and effects. Special attention was paid on the context of each recording to justify its selection.

3.6.4 Metaphor Extraction and Occurrence

The following section describes the methodological process adopted from Charteris-Black (2004: 35) on how linguistic metaphoric items were extracted from the excerpts. Example 6 below is

extracted from a prayer meeting that was held in Nakuru coded PMB. It illustrates the general process of prayer meeting as it unfolded.

6. “*Siku ya leo tumekuja hapa kwa **maombi**. Mmeona wakenya wote wako hapa kutoka Bara Hindi hadi ziwa Victoria, kutoka Ziwa Victoria hadi Ziwa Turkana. Tuko hapa kama viongozi **kuomba** pamoja kama wakenya. Bibilia inasema ya kwamba familia **inayoomba** pamoja hukaa pamoja” (PMB)*

(We are gathered here today for **prayers**. As you can see all Kenyans are here, from the Indian Ocean to Lake Victoria, from Lake Victoria to Lake Turkana. We are here as leaders to **pray** together. The bible says a family that **prays** together stays together.)

In this excerpt 6, three metaphoric terms: *maombi* (prayers), *kuomba* (to pray), *inayoomba* (one that prays), were identified as illustrated with bolding. Ordinarily, these lexical items derive from *omba* (pray) which literally refers to *sala* (prayers: to ask, beg, plead or pray for). It is commonly used in a religious context to denote divine intervention. Prayers, biblically, are a form of supplication. The said prayers were employed metaphorically to bring together the indictees, their communities and their supporters in the fight against ICC. Following the identification of metaphoric terms, the context necessary to understand the terms intent as well as the contextual domain the term mapped to was copied and placed in a spreadsheet for further analysis. Of the three terms listed above the texts pulled for analysis were:

7. “...*tumekuja hapa kwa maombi*”(PMB) (We are gathered here today for prayers)

8. “...*kama viongozi kuomba pamoja*” (PMB) (as leaders to pray together)
9. “...*familia inayoomba pamoja*” (PMB) (a family that prays together)

Classification of each context led to the labelling of the term using the letter code of the genre and the numeric sequence of the specific term relative to other terms identified within the specific recording. Table 3.2 below is an example of data from a prayer meeting PMB and the metaphoric terms.

Table 3.2: Coding style

Genre	Serial no.	Open code	Metaphoric term	Simple word
PMB	1	Tumekuja hapa kwa maombi	maombi	Omba
PMB	2	Kama viongozi kuomba pamoja	kuomba	Omba
PMB	3	Familia inayoomba pamoja	inayoomba	Omba

As seen in the example in Table 3.2 from prayer meeting PMB the metaphoric terms were then pulled and placed in a separate column labelled “metaphoric term”. The actual term or terms used were listed in this column followed by a column that listed the simple form of the word to aid in sorting like terms. In the example from speech PMB, the terms “*maombi*” prayers (PMB), “*kuomba*” to pray (PMB) and “*inayoomba*” one that prays (PMB) were reverted to its simplest form “*omba*”. This example above from one prayer meeting demonstrates three metaphoric terms that led to the simple word “*omba*”. It is argued here that any word can be a metaphor if its context makes it such and if the speaker intends it as such. There is a tension between encoding and decoding so that a metaphor use can never guarantee a metaphoric interpretation. Taken in

its literal sense, *'omba'* (pray) relates to speaking to God, especially give thanks or ask for help. It also relates to hoping very much for something to happen. In the ICC prayer meeting context, *'maombi'* (prayers) was a rallying call: to bring the indictees and their communities together to defeat the ICC process. The contextual domain of reference was then identified along with the metaphoric term's intent, followed by the identification of a contextual theme and then finally a broad metaphor theme. This can be viewed in the same argument advanced by Charteris-Black (2004) in regard to the use of the metaphor 'epicentre' by George Bush of the United States of America. He argues that by referring to Iraq as being at the epicentre of terrorism, George Bush assumes the metaphor **TERRORISM IS AN EARTHQUAKE** and implies that war is justified to eradicate it. In each case linguistic selection aims to evoke an emotional response and to use this response as the basis of an evaluation. Arousing the emotions by using metaphor to influence opinions is a central theme of this analysis.

3.7 Validity and Reliability

Validity refers to truth or credibility of our interpretations, interpreted as the extent to which an account accurately represents the social phenomenon to which it refers (Hammersley, 1990:57), whereas reliability refers to the degree of consistency with which instances are assigned to the same category by different observers or by the same observer on different occasions (Hammersley, 1990:67). To guard on anecdotalism, validity in the study was addressed through comprehensive data treatment where all cases of data were incorporated in the analysis (Mehan, 1979:21). This implies actively seeking out and addressing anomalies or deviant cases. Second, since the nature of this research is qualitative and interpretive in design, appropriate tabulations theoretically derived and ideally based on specific categories offered a means to survey the whole corpus data. Therefore where appropriate, qualitative measures were used (Koppel, Cohen

& Abaluck, 2003; Heritage, Robinson, Elliot, Beckett & Wilkes, 2007, as quoted in Silverman, 2013).

The research applied what Seale (1999) calls low-inference descriptors to test validity. This involved recording observations in terms that are as concrete as possible including long data extracts of verbatim accounts of what people said - data presentations that made minimal inferences. The research worked with video-recordings, which means the recordings and the transcriptions they gave rise to represent a source of data that was detailed, accurate and available for public scrutiny. Data was collected via digital recorders and transcripts were subjected to analysis and discussion. Validity was built through intrinsic factors in discourse analysis and through meticulous attention to issues of recording and transcriptions as proposed by Silverman, (2013). Further validation of the audio-visual recordings was done at kenyamoja.com, a news website in Kenya that keeps tracks of all the media broadcasts in Kenya. Last, a pilot study was conducted as a further measure of validity and reliability. The following section elaborates on how piloting was conducted.

3.7.1 Study Piloting

The pilot study was useful for testing the methodological and analytical tools. A pilot study enables the researcher to gain some systematic knowledge of the universe and its population on which the main principal study would be based (Saravanavel, 1992). The initial assumption of the researcher was that discourse on ICC indictment was readily available in media resources in Kenya. ICC had been a public topic attracting extensive live media coverage since 31 March 2010. This is after the Pre-Trial Chamber II granted the Prosecutor's request to open an investigation in the situation in Kenya, in relation to crimes against humanity within the jurisdiction of the Court committed between 1 June 2005 and 26 November 2009

(<https://www.icc-cpi.int/kenya>). Politicians, civil activists, victims, journalists, scholars and the general public were speaking directly and openly about ICC and more, specifically, on whether it was the best form of justice in relation to the 2007/2008 post-election violence and conflict. Opinion polls had been conducted by research consultancies (Synovate, Infotrak Research) and openly released their results on the ratings of ICC among Kenyans. The researcher had then assumed that recordings of ICC events were archived in national media libraries and readily available for research. Piloting carried out thus enabled the streaming of the research process and tools, a process that guided the sampling procedures and sample size.

The researcher personally visited Nairobi on 14th to 28th Nov 2014 to conduct a pilot study. Three media houses, Royal Media Service (CITIZEN) at Kilimani, Nation Television Network (NTV) and Standard Group (KTN) on Mombasa road in Nairobi were purposively sampled for piloting. The researcher got access to the visual archive sections of the media houses. The idea was to find out what kind of ICC recordings were in their records, the process of accessing the data and if the recording contained the relevant data. It was at this stage that the researcher realized the sensitive nature with which media material dealing with ICC especially the ones involving the President, Uhuru and Deputy, Ruto were concerned. The relevant academic research approval documents helped to sort out the issue. With the help of library staff, a search was conducted on the available coverage and recordings of ICC events. The recordings were coded under ICC timelines and main participants. The recordings only contained varied clips on ICC footage. It is at this stage that the researcher rethought the sampling frame and decided to use purposive sampling as a sampling criterion. It was discovered that the media houses had similar recordings and therefore data from any of the media house could suffice the research needs. Therefore the three media houses were chosen as the main sources of data for the

research.

Piloting thus helped streamline genres of language use; prayer meetings, campaign rallies and footage on ICC prosecutor's visit to Kenya. The earlier assumption that there would be full recordings for analysis was also abandoned and short relevant clips adopted as sources of ICC discourse data. Pilot study thus validated the kind of recordings to be collected.

3.8 Data Analysis

This section summarizes the method that was used to analyze metaphors in the ICC indictment discourse. The collected data was subjected to content analysis to determine the types of metaphors and their usage. Mugenda & Mugenda (1999) define content analysis as a technique for analyzing the content of a text. These can be words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, pictures or ideas. Content analysis was employed in making inferences by objectively and systematically identifying metaphorically used words in discourse as defined in the study, all words or phrases causing semantic tension and conceptualizing one thing in terms of another.

The recorded data was transcribed into written texts with analyzable sentence structures. It was found that the predominant language used in the recordings was Kiswahili, a code that cuts across the multi-ethnic compositions of the audiences. In other instances, code mixing and code switching of Kiswahili and English was observed for the enhancement of delivery of the messages to the listeners. The transcribed texts formed the corpus that was subjected to content analysis based on the Cognitive Metaphor Theory, Critical Metaphor Analysis and Communicative Action Theory. Critical Metaphor Analysis guided in metaphor identification while Cognitive Metaphor Theory assisted in determining the metaphoricity of the identified metaphors. Stacks & Hocking (1998) emphasize that content analysis is a systematic and rigorous way of analyzing messages in communication research.

Statistical measures were not used in the overall analysis. However, counting the number of times a particular lexical item was used in utterances threw new insights on conflict interpretative frame: either as conflict escalating or conflict resolving. Hammersley and Atkinson (1983) suggest that with the help of the discriminate use of numbers, quantification can be used as an aid to precision. In the study, counting was used to examine a hunch (Silverman, 2013). Analysis followed the three steps described by Charteris-Black (2004): identification, interpretation and explanation of metaphors. All words or phrases causing semantic tension and conceptualizing conflict were pre-selected for analysis.

At the identification stage, the procedures and criterion for isolating the metaphors were based on the linguistic, pragmatic and cognitive characteristics of metaphors (Charteris-Black, 2004: 21). The linguistic characteristic consider three criteria at semantic level: Reification which consists of referring to something that is abstract using a word or phrase that in other contexts is concrete, for instance comparing ICC to recolonization *wazungu wanarudi kututawala kupitia ICC* (recolonization through ICC); personification which consists of referring to something inanimate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is animate, *kura itaamua* (the vote will decide); and depersonification that consists of referring to something that is animate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something inanimate, *mwananchi mwenye roho ya mawe* (a citizen with a stone heart). These three criterion focus on the relationship between words and their common sense meanings- denotational and conotational meanings in a text, their themes and valuations. The linguistic characteristic also focuses on the syntactic structure of the metaphor by describing the means of expression and influence- how something is said or written. The frequency of metaphors and their ordering, grammatical and stylistic features are considered to be indicative of its source and its likely influence. The

pragmatic characteristics of metaphors are based on the fact that they are linguistic representations whose function is to influence opinions and judgments through persuasion. They describe the actual contexts and provided social and cultural evaluations. The cognitive characteristics are based on the fact that they are caused by a shift in the conceptual system.

The interpretation level involved finding out the conceptual metaphors that underlie the identified metaphors. This level of analysis is guided by theoretical framework provided in the Cognitive Metaphor Theory. At this level, analysis involves classifying metaphors by target and source domains. According to the theory, every metaphor is based on a single idea (called a conceptual metaphor) that links a bodily with a non-bodily experience. In the example of “to win an argument,” Lakoff & Johnson (2003) indicate that the corresponding conceptual metaphor is ARGUMENT IS WAR. The conceptual metaphor has two domains: the source domain (e.g. war) and the target domain (e.g. argument). The target domain represents the non-bodily concept that is being communicated, and it corresponds to the domain that we are trying to understand when using the metaphor. The source domain, on the other hand, corresponds to the bodily domain that is being used in the metaphor to understand the target domain. That is to say, the source domain is the domain from which the metaphorical expression is drawn.

Lastly, the explanation stage involved explanation of the findings. The explanation of the metaphors, took cognizance of the political, socioeconomic and cultural contexts of the texts under analysis with the main objective of determining the relationship between the findings and the contexts to account for their possible motivations. These procedures therefore focus on reconstruction of maps of knowledge as they were embodied in texts as will be illustrated in the analysis in the next section. People use language to represent the world as knowledge and self-knowledge. To construct this knowledge, content analysis was involved and it went beyond the

classification of text units and worked towards networking units of analysis. This involved looking at metaphors to represent knowledge not only by elements but also in their relationships to conflict. Content analysis also involved photograph interpretation. Though a photograph can be seen to be divorced from its original context, analysis went further to look at the original context in hopes of gaining a better understanding of the photograph. The messages read from the photographs were both denotational and conational. Based on the explanations, conclusions were made in consideration of Habermas (1984) ideas on reflective learning, understanding and evaluations of the rationality of communication in and around affecting change and bringing about consensus through negotiation.

3.8.1 Data Occurrence and Frequencies

Occurrence and frequency of metaphoric terms identified were measured based on total word count relative to words utilized as direct metaphoric terms and also those used to establish the context for the metaphor. In addition themes were identified and the frequencies of individual metaphoric terms and contexts were counted. Table 3.3 below shows the total number of genres and events of ICC discourses that comprised the data sets for the research.

Table 3.3: Individual data count and metaphoric term and term usage

Total genres of utterances	3
Total events analysed	14
Average metaphor occurrence per text	8

A corpus based method is ideally suited to investigate the use of metaphoric expressions, and particularly their frequencies, distribution, concordance or collocations (Semino, 2008: 199). As

an acceptable practice in cognitive linguistics, more so following the style conventions used by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), upper case was used in the thesis to indicate conceptual metaphors, while italics were used to denote the Kiswahili linguistic realization of the metaphors. The equivalent translations in English were indicated in the brackets. The research analysis necessarily moved recursively between metaphor theory and empirical data as intertextual and inter-discursive relationships unfolded, guided by Habermas Communicative Action Theory.

3.9 Ethical Considerations

Data collection procedures needed to be organized to effectively deal with the related issues of access and ethics. In the course of research, one may come across some ethical dilemmas. That is why there was need to protect the dignity and safety of the research participants and the general public. There are two perspectives from which ethical issues were viewed in this research. There were those issues that were concerned with research activities generally and the conduct of the researcher in particular.

3.9.1 Permission to Conduct Research

This largely involved assistance and permission to conduct research. The first approval was sought and got from the Maseno School of Graduate Studies. The researcher also sought and received approval to conduct the research from the Maseno University Review and Ethics Board.

3.9.2 Honesty and Reliability of Information

Honesty and reliability was essential and provided a straightforward, above board communication and credibility to promote debate and the development of debate. The work and ideas in the research were regarded as personal. Any other use of thoughts, ideas and works of others was acknowledged. Similarly, assistance from other sources and collaboration with others was acknowledged.

3.9.3 Protecting Anonymity and Confidentiality

The data for research involved recordings of live utterances, debates and speeches made by various participants. These recordings were in public domain and some were archived at media resource centers. These tapes and video recordings were thus considered as public records that were available to the scientific community in a way that field notes are not. Secondly, they could be replayed and transcriptions made out of them. They could also be improved and analyzed from any tack unlimited by the original transcript. In the acquisition of these data, the specific persons from the resource centers of the media houses were fully informed about the purpose of the research and the intended possible uses of the research. Plans were also made for the storage and access to the data for future reference. Due to the public nature of the research data, ultimately, the analysis and discussions were deemed not intrude into people's privacy.

3.9.4 Scientific Objectivity

Though it is difficult to be free from bias, scientific objectivity was maintained in the research. An attempt was made towards an objective analysis devoid of emotions. If for any reason the possibility of bias in an aspect was encountered, it was acknowledged and explained. Proper care was taken especially where material was sensitive or results could be misconstrued and subsequently used by third parties agents against the interests of the research itself. The basis for personal judgments and assessments in the study was provided.

3.10 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the general methodology adopted in the study. It has discussed the analytical research design that has been used. It has also delimited the study period to utterances that were captured between January 2012 and March 2013. Further the chapter has discussed the purposive sampling procedure and sample size. Moreover it has offered an explanation on how

the validity and reliability of the research was achieved. Last, ethical considerations and the type of data how the data was collected and analyzed have been discussed. The subsequent section introduces the findings and results of the research.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, FINDINGS AND DISCUSSIONS

4.1 Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of field data that was involved in this research. It is concerned with data presentation, analysis and discussion of the research findings. The actual context of the data is described in detail. An analysis of utterances produced by political actors and victims of post-election violence was conducted. The chapter therefore sequentially presents these findings in accordance to the three objectives of the study: to identify the type of Kiswahili linguistic metaphors used in ICC discourse in Kenyan media, to analyse the underlying conceptual metaphors that shape the thoughts and reasoning towards ICC discourse and to discuss how the Kiswahili metaphor uses have been harnessed for either conflict escalation or conflict resolution. To secure events delivered to similar audiences with similar intents, instances of various genres of ICC discourses were reviewed to generate the study corpus. Kiswahili illustrations used in the discussion are categorized into data sets and English translation is provided. The findings below provide an overview of occurrence of metaphor usage followed by examples of actual texts reviewed and the thematic categories of metaphor use identified.

4.1.1 Kiswahili Metaphors in the ICC Indictment Discourse

In this section a detailed discussion of the first objective of the study that sought to identify the kinds of Kiswahili linguistic metaphors used in the ICC indictment discourse in Kenya as exemplified in the media is provided. It is important to note that linguistic metaphors are realized in conceptual metaphors. They are realized in the vocabulary or the linguistic expressions of the source domain. Therefore, in the study, the linguistic expressions used in reference to ICC are referred to as metaphoric expressions while conceptual metaphors are referred to as metaphors.

The study was preceded by the initial identification of the metaphors used in the utterances. These metaphorical expressions were then organised according to their original or ‘literal’ sense, a consideration of the sense in which they are metaphors- inevitably requiring attention to the contexts in which they were used. As indicated in the previous chapter, the process of metaphor identification attributed to critical metaphor analysis by Charteris-Black (2004) was adopted in identifying metaphors in the data collected on ICC indictment discourse in Kenya. The procedure involved collecting instances of linguistic metaphors evident in the utterances through the processes of reification, personification and depersonification. This meant that the literal or extended meaning of the metaphorical expressions collected was classified under source domains. This was then followed by an illustration on how various attributes were projected to the target domain of ICC. For example the lexical term *safari* (journey) ordinarily is used to refer to planned purposeful movement from one place to another. In most of the prayer meetings, the indictees used *safari* (journey) to address the Hague process. Linguistic realizations of the journey metaphor were captured in examples 10, 11 and 12:

10. *Tutaenda* huko....(PMB)

(We shall go there...)

11. *Tutarudi na adui ataaibika*....(PMC)

(We shall come back and the enemy will be shamed...)

12. *Safari* imeanza...(JCRB)

(The journey has started...).

The italicized lexical terms *tutaenda*, *tutarudi* and *safari* were classified per the target domain of ICC.

The metaphorical mapping is better understood within the cognitive approach which identifies metaphors as linguistic and conceptual phenomenon (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). A metaphor essentially displays two aspects: the experience or phenomenon being discussed or talked about and the phenomenon whose terms are used to express the target experience (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:5). Terms from a very familiar domain are used to express another phenomenon in the target domain. It should be noted that metaphors are not restricted to one pair of words, several concepts and entities related in a lexical field or conceptual domain form similar correspondences in the source and target domains. To understand the metaphor, one needs to map from source domain to the target domain and perceive the relations between the source experiences as well as the target experiences.

4.1.2 Metaphoric Expressions of Prayer

Prayer meetings involving three of the indictees provided the contextual background for their interpretation as a mobility route for anti-ICC campaigns. This was evident in The Prayer Meeting A (PMA) at 64 Stadium, Eldoret on the 27th of January 2012 soon after the charges against the 4 Kenyans were confirmed at the ICC on January 23rd 2012. Eldoret is a cosmopolitan city (home to Kalenjin, with immigrant Kikuyu, Luhya, Kisii and Luo ethnic groups among others) and a political stronghold of Ruto in the Rift Valley Province. The prayer meeting attracted a huge attendance, including three ICC indictees, ten cabinet ministers and seventy Members of Parliament. According to The CIPEV (2008), Eldoret recorded high incidences of crime and violence including genocide at Kiambaa Church on the 1st January 2008 in which thirty five people died. This prayer meeting had been conceived prior to the indictment of the six suspects and had adopted the theme 'Preaching Peace'. In example 13, the bolded

metaphoric expression *msalaba* (cross) drawn from the image schema of religion is used to demonstrate perception towards ICC.

13. ...asiyekosa hatapewa *msalaba* usiokuwa wake (PMA)

(...he who did not commit any wrong should not be punished unfairly)

This metaphoric item is used by a religious leader in the prayer meeting to question whether the indictees are genuinely accused at the ICC or they had been framed. The lexicon *Msalaba* (cross) literally means a crucifix. It thus represents a linguistic metaphor. The extended meaning refers to one taking responsibility or being accountable. The metaphor choice draws from the lexical field of religion. The lexical item *msalaba* (cross) creates semantic tension in the context: transference of meaning from the semantic field of religion (source domain) to judicial accountability (target domain) – a conceptual understanding. The expression is used by the preacher and other speakers to emphasize false persecution. It reflects the religious motivation of the discourse. The cross is probably the most readily recognized of the Christian symbols, and there is significance to it. As a symbol, the cross is a reminder of the crucifixion of Jesus and according to McKinley (2017), crucifixion is a metaphor of sanctification. The cross itself does not affect one's salvation, but it was the shedding of blood on the cross that has made it so that one's sins could be forgiven. Thus, the emphasis must always be on the sacrifice of Christ, the ultimate event of significance, not on the cross itself. When *msalaba* (cross) is compared to indictment at the ICC one draws the picture of conviction and punishment for wrongdoing. ICC is conceived as sacrificing the innocent. Metaphor is important, then, both in constructing representations by, for example language that emerges from underlying conceptualizations, connecting different domains of human activity, in this case, the domains of religion and ICC.

This claim is further articulated by the following extract from PMA:

14. *Kila mtu ataubeba **mzigo** wake* (PMA)

(Each person will carry his/her own burden)

The metaphoric expression in 14, *mzigo* (load, burden) is realized through the concept of labor or work. It corresponds to having a cross is a burden. One experiences pressure and fatigue when subjected to a heavy load. In other words ICC is a heavy load in the lives of the indictees. It is a heavy load to be shared. It is a burden that can only be won collectively. In an attempt to resolve the unjustifiable burden imposed by the ICC, Uhuru and Ruto engage in Kiswahili metaphoric construction as shown in the following examples 15 and 16:

15. Uhuru: ...*sisi hatuna **hatia***... (...blameless, or innocence). PMA

16. Ruto: ...***kama wanaona** Uhuru ako na makosa, ama Ruto ako na **makosa***...

(...if they perceive Uhuru as guilty or Ruto as guilty...). PMA

In the above extracts, both Uhuru and Ruto state that they are innocent from all the accusations leveled against them in relation to the 2007/2008 post-election violence. Uhuru and Ruto at PMA repeatedly talked of their innocence. The linguistic expressions *hatia*-15 (blame) and *makosa*-16 (mistake) refer to a state of blame. Confirmation of the charges and indictment at ICC is also a state of blame. These expressions therefore point to an understanding in Kiswahili that the two indictees are seeking solidarity on their innocence. They attributed their plight at ICC to their enemies and political competitors, *kama wanaona Uhuru ana makosa, ama Ruto ako na makosa*... (...if **they** perceive Uhuru as guilty or Ruto as guilty...). The prefix *wa* (they) in *wanaona* shifts blame to their competitors. So the indictees painted a picture of victimhood,

suffering for sins not committed by them. In the source domain of religion it invokes strong images of suffering like Jesus being whipped as he carried the heavy cross towards his crucifixion.

During the prayer meeting Uhuru and Ruto pledged to stick together and ensure one of them captured the presidency in the 2013 Kenyan elections. The scenario presented can be understood in the patterns of the two major heroic epic and sad tragedy narrative metaphors proposed by Alker (1987). Alker claims that no matter how objective or scientific our stories tend to be, epic stories point to noble missions, decisive moments and great individuals in societal existence; tragedies help us understand and accept hardships, and pain. Both epic and tragic stories prepare the audience for upcoming destruction, either victory for the epic cause and defeat for the tragedy. This metaphor is interpreted in the ICC discourse where justice implies victory and noble missions whereas indictment implies punishment and pain.

It emerged that using religion and the support of religious leaders was a powerful political tool of mobilisation. This was clearly evident from the huge attendance of the meetings considering that they were conducted in the strongholds (Rift Valley and Central Kenya) of the Jubilee presidential candidates. Rift Valley is the home to the Kalenjin community of which Ruto and Sang belong while Central Kenya is home to the Kikuyu, Embu and Meru communities of Kenyatta and Muthaura. This study demonstrates the importance of metaphor because of its role in the development of ideology in an area such as politics where influencing judgements is a central discourse goal. It reveals that metaphor is active in both the development of a conceptual framework for representing new ideas and in providing new words to fill lexical gaps (or catachresis). The role can be a semantic one that is concerned with stretching the resources of the linguistic system to accommodate change in the conceptual system but it can also serve as a

stylistic resource for conveying authorial evaluation. This is a pragmatic role because it reflects the linguistic choices that realise particular rhetorical mobilization intentions within a particular context.

When structuring their prayer meetings, the indictees and their supporters resorted to the metaphor of the road or journey. The prayers were construed in the literal and symbolic sense. Prayer in itself is a message. They moved from one region to the other seeking divine intervention. They exuded confidence asserting their innocence despite the obstacles or difficulties they were facing. The following two examples extracted from PMB at Afraha stadium Nakuru illustrate the optimism the indictees had as a result of the prayer meetings.

17. *Si hii mumetuombea hapa tumepiga magoti hii...mambo ya Hague itashindwa. Kama vile ya Paulo na Sila ilifunguka korokoroni si hata hii itafunguka. Sasa tufanye mpango ya mwaka ujao kwa sababu waswahili husema, safari ya kesho inapagwa leo. (PMB)*

(You have prayed for us. Just like Paul and Silas were set free from prison we shall overcome The Hague. We should plan for next year. A good journey requires early preparation).

18. *Sisi twajua ya kwamba kule tunaenda, twaenda kwa sababu ya chuki ya hawa...lakini tutaenda na roho moja tukijua ya kwamba tumeenda. (PMB)*

(We are going to the Hague because of hatred and ill-feelings. We are going in the belief that we are innocent...)

In example 17, the analogy of biblical imprisonment of Paul and Sila causes semantic tension in the interpretation of ICC. It draws a comparison between faith, religion and justice. Paul and Sila

exhibited faith to God and through prayer they were set free. This leads to the conclusion that ICC is an obstacle in a religious journey. A road may be bumpy but it is a promise, an opportunity and a challenge and a way out (Lakoff & Johnson 1980; Kuusisto, 2009). *Safari* (a good journey requires early preparation) collaborates what Kuusisto (2009:283) calls the journey metaphor which carries with it the idea of destination. The same journey metaphor is identified in example 18 where obstacles – hatred/ill feelings, are encountered. ICC is therefore viewed as an obstacle erected in the paths of Uhuru and Ruto towards their political ambitions to leadership.

4.1.3 Metaphoric Expressions of Animate Characteristics

Charteris-Black (2004) identifies personification as a basis of identifying metaphors. Personification consists of referring to something inanimate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is animate. The syntactic structures used to express the animate nature of Kiswahili metaphoric expressions on ICC is realizable in the process that is perceived to be generated from within. Halliday (1985) uses the term middle ergativity to demonstrate a sentence structure that represent a process that is brought about from inside. He provides the example: *Mary sailed the boat/the boat sailed* (1985: 145). In the first structure, there is an external agent who functions as an external cause of the process of sailing whereas in the second the process is brought about from within without any external agent. Ergativity therefore explains the source of the process under study. For example Uhuru in PMC states his optimism in the court thus:

19. *Korti itatupilia mbali kesi inayotukabili na tutarudi nyumbani huru (PMC)*

(The court will dismiss our case and we shall be set free)

ICC is perceived to have its own internal power-generated from within. The prefix *i* (it) in the lexical item *itatupilia* (will dismiss) illustrates how the court has the ability to act from within without any external agent. ICC can be deduced from the example provided within the discourse as having its own force or energy and ability to act independently towards bringing change. The key to this Habermian notion of reaching understanding (*Verstiindigung*) is the possibility of using reasons or grounds to gain intersubjective recognition for criticisable validity claims.

ICC is thus ascribed animate characteristics, having life-like abilities: implying having the ability to perform or act. In describing the ICC process, some speakers use words whose meaning suggest that they are performed by a living creature – *ICC haiwezi kutuamulia mambo yetu hapa* (ICC cannot make decisions on our behalf). The lexical term *kutuamulia* (to decide) elevates ICC to human capabilities with potential to craft the destiny of particular individuals. It is conceived as a supreme authority with overwhelming powers. These descriptions portray ICC in a negative sense and hence it is personalized as an object of hate. This argument is supported by Trickova (2012:143), who explained the personalization of natural phenomenon (disasters) as ‘our mother’ and therefore a view that nature as our mother is capable of inflicting punishment on the people

In the prayer meetings, ICC is further personified by being referred to using several proper nouns. This according to Charteris-Black (2004) is a linguistic characteristic of metaphor identification that consists of referring to something that is abstract using a word or phrase that in other contexts is concrete. This in a way provides ICC with a unique identity. Instances of personification were sourced from individual testimonies of violence victim – Victim Narration A (VNA), Victim Narration B (VNB), (Victim Narration C (VNC) and Victim Narration D (VND). A brief description of the contexts of the narrations would suffice at this juncture. Victim testimonies and experiences were captured from the following recordings: VNA is

transcribed testimony of an internally displaced person (IDP) at Kiambaa, Eldoret on October 23, 2012. This was an IDP camp that hosted victims of violent evictions from their homes in the Rift Valley. The victim was narrating her experiences and expectations to the ICC Prosecutor who had visited to brief Kenyans on the ICC judicial process and the status of the Kenyan cases. The same context applied to VNB which formed a transcribed testimony of another IDP at Kiambaa, in Eldoret on October 23, 2012. VNC comprised transcribed experiences of victim 3. This IDP at Mai Mahiu in Rift Valley Province lost quite a substantive amount of money and property to arsonists and other looters. His testimony on October 24, 2012 was on justice and reparation. On the other hand VND was an IDP at Naivasha camp whose narration to Bensouda on October 24, 2012 exposed the atrocities that were committed against innocent people due to ethnicity and the need for quick justice. The following metaphors were captured in their utterances;

20. *Tuna imani na Hague* (We have confidence in The Hague) VNA

21. *Ocampo hakutuuliza sisi kama mashahidi* (Ocampo never heard our views as witnesses)

VNC

22. *Mama Bensouda, huko kuna haki?* (Mother Bensouda can justice be found there?) VNB

23. *Mzungu atuwache tujiamulie mambo yetu* (the white man should respect our independence)-VND

24. *Matatizo ya Kenya hayawezi tatuliwa na Hague, wala na Ocampo, wala na Muingereza ama Mwamerika.* (PMB).

(Kenya's problems will neither be solved by Hague, Ocampo, British or American).

The 'Hague', is referred to severally as 'Ocampo', 'Bensouda' and 'Mzungu' (Whiteman) which are examples of personification, where the abstract ICC is attributed personal or human characteristics. 'The Hague' in example 20 is used to denote the physical location of the court in

Netherlands while ‘Ocampo’ 21 and ‘Bensouda’ 23 are the Chief Prosecutors at the ICC court. The court is perceived to be foreign, in a distant country and an abstraction that can be easily understood through the physical presence of the prosecutors in Kenya. The Hague reminds Kenyans of the several trips the indictees accompanied by their supporters took. Pictures of the indictees with their supporters at The Hague reveal the reality of ICC to Kenyans. The ICC Prosecutor (Ocampo) pursued the indictees even warning to use the Kenyan case to serve as an example to the rest of the world. *Mzungu* (Whiteman) in examples 23 and 24 refer to people who are perceived to control and influence decisions at ICC. It is a veiled reference to neo-colonialism and demonstrates the ugly realities of imperialism as constructed in the current freedom and patriotism. The lexical item *mama* (mother) is also used in a metaphoric way. Bensouda is regarded as a mother bearing the mother nurturant qualities of protection, love and support. She is viewed as a person who will offer help and support to the PEV victims.

The next utterance 25 reveals the kind of perception some politicians had of the court in reference to Ocampo as the prosecutor.

25. Hiyo ni **korti ya wakora** (PMC)

(It is a court for thugs)

Wakora refers to thugs or crooked people who will go to any length to achieve their goals. This is a very negative human attribute that paints one as a crook. The indictees believed their opponents were employing crooked means to have them charged at the ICC. When ICC is linked to crooked animate abilities, it invokes fear and resentment among the people. The same negative valence of ICC is realized in utterance 26 at a prayer rally in support of the indictees.

26. Dawa ya Kenya sio Hague (PMC)

(Hague is not the best medicine for Kenya).

In extract 26, ICC which is more abstract, through reification is perceived as medicine or remedy. Drugs possess a curative attribute. In extract 26 above, this attribute is perceived in a negative sense in relation to ICC. Whereas ICC is an international judicial process that is hoped to solve Kenya's political problems, such sentiments portray it negatively. In the above context, ICC is an unwanted interference which creates resentment and animosity towards international justice.

4.1.4. Metaphoric Expressions on Elections and Justice

Another area where Kiswahili metaphors featured prominently in the ICC discourse was in the political campaign genre. At the time of confirmation of the charges at the ICC on 21st January 2012, Kenyans were getting ready for the general elections in March 2013. The declaration by Uhuru and Ruto to vie for the presidency and deputy presidency of Kenya provoked serious debate. Uhuru and Ruto had both faced political storms together with the hugest being indicted at the ICC in The Hague on accusations of crimes against humanity during the 2007 post-election violence. They both hailed from the two ethnic communities (Kikuyu and Kalenjin) that were heavily involved in the 2007 post-election violence. They merged their parties to form the Jubilee Alliance which brought together Uhuru's TNA party and Ruto's URP, among other parties, to contest the Presidency. Whether an indictee at ICC could contest for a leadership position became the big question. In the ensuing political campaign rallies, examples of metaphoric expressions were used in reference to ICC. In a prayer rally held at Afraha Stadium, in Nakuru (PMB) Uhuru and Ruto mobilized the attendance of over seventy Members of Parliament. This rally was referred to as G7 meaning an alliance of seven like-minded ethnic communities from the seven regions of Kenya who had pledged to unite and work together. In

essence the group included the leaders from Coast, Rift Valley, Central, Eastern, North Eastern, Western and Nairobi regions whose main objective was to defeat ICC.

The other context in the identification of Kiswahili metaphoric expressions was the campaign rally B (JCRB), a JUBILEE campaign rally at Afraha stadium in Nakuru on 1st December 2012. This was a joint campaign rally of The National Alliance Party (TNA) and the United Republican Party (URP). At the meeting the two parties publicly declared their pre-election deal of forming an alliance before their supporters. Uhuru and Ruto dismissed as intimidation and blackmail a statement by Western diplomats’ that “choices have consequences”, a cautionary statement against voting into office an indictee at the ICC.

Table 4.1 below provides examples of Kiswahili metaphoric expressions that were evident in the ICC indictment discourse.

Table 4.1: Metaphor identification of ICC as politics

Serial no	Genre/text	Key word	Source Domain	Target Domain	Conceptual key	Conceptual metaphor
1	PMB	Kura itaamua (The vote will decide)	Kura (elections)	ICC	ICC IS A POLITICAL CONTEST	ICC IS POLITICS
2	PMB	Kura itasema (The vote will have the final say)	Kura (elections)	ICC	ICC IS A POLITICAL CONTEST	ICC IS POLITICS
3	PMB	Tukutane kwa debe (We meet at the ballot)	Kura (Elections)	ICC	ICC IS A POLITICAL CONTEST	ICC IS POLITICS.

Example 1 in Table 4.1: *Kura itaamua* (PMB)

(The vote will decide)

Example 2 in Table 4.1: *Kura itasema* (PMB)

(The vote will have the final say)

Example 3 in Table 4.1: *Tukutane kwa debe* (PMB)

(We meet at the ballot)

In the above examples, the metaphorical linguistic representations *kura itaamua* (the vote will decide) and *kura itasema* (the vote will have the final say) cause semantic tension or incongruity as a result of a shift in the use of the phrases from their original context or domain of use to another context where they are not expected to occur. *Kura*, (elections) in the two instances is an inanimate object that is given animate abilities of action. It is people who vote. They have the capacity to cast their vote. As discussed in 4.1.3, Halliday (1985) uses the term middle ergativity to demonstrate a sentence structure that represents a process that is brought about from inside. The ballot therefore has the capacity to determine leadership. ICC is then seen as platform on which Kenyans will depend on in making a decision on leadership: leadership can be achieved irrespective of charges at ICC. Whereas indictment at ICC ordinarily meant inability to contest, the indictees used the prayer meetings to communicate to their supporters that it is only the elections that will determine Kenya's leadership and not ICC. ICC is seen as a POLITICAL CONTESTATION for leadership. The metaphoric expressions *kura itaamua* (the vote will decide) and *kura itasema* (the vote will have the final say) also carry animate abilities (Charteris-

Black, 2004). *Kuamua* (to decide) and *kusema* (to say) are actions attributed to human beings and not objects like votes. ICC is therefore being compared to POLITICAL CONTESTATION. *Tukutane kwa debe* (let's meet at the ballot) is a metaphoric challenge posed by Uhuru to his political competitors to imply that ICC should not be placed as an obstacle to his political aspirations. This is a metaphoric expression that puts ICC as a factor that could guide Kenyans in deciding a leader of their choice.

The bolded metaphoric expressions in the following extracts from JCRB (27) and PMB (28) illustrate how ICC was gradually turned into a campaign platform. In the run-up to the 2013 presidential elections, indictment at ICC featured as an impediment to Uhuru and Ruto's campaigns.

27. Uhuru K: *Mnaona kuna haki Mheshimiwa Ruto na mimi mwenyewe Uhuru Kenyatta tupatiwe nafasi ya kusimama Wakenya wachague kama wanatutaka ama hawatutaki...wafanye yale yote ambayo wanataka lakini mimi, ile kitu nitaheshimu ni uamuzi wa wananchi. Na mimi na mheshimiwa Ruto tutakuwa huko kwa **debe**.*
(JCRB)

(Don't you think Hon. Ruto and I Uhuru have a right to contest so that Kenyans can have their choice...let them (read those in support of ICC) do all they want, what I will respect is the common man's verdict. I and Hon. Ruto will go all along to the **ballot box**).

28. Ruto: ...*Kama ni watu wanaoamini demokrasia, wawache njama ya kutafuta **njia ya mkato** kuwaondoa wenzao eti ndio wao washinde...kama wanaona Uhuru ako na makosa, ama Ruto ako na makosa, wakuje wamweleze mwananchi: usipigie Ruto kura, ako na makosa fulani. Mwananchi ako na uwezo wa kujiamulia mwenyewe.* (PMB).

(If they (read ICC supporters) believe in democracy, they should avoid **shortcuts** by eliminating their competitors so that they can win easily...if they know that either Uhuru or Ruto committed a crime, they should come and convince people not to vote for Ruto because he committed the following crimes. Kenyans have the capacity to make their own decisions).

In extracts 27 and 28 above, it is quite evident that ICC was an obstacle to the presidential quest for Uhuru and Ruto. Their argument was that ICC was being used by their competitors to finish them politically. The choice of the semantic items *debe* (ballot box) and *njia za mkato* (shortcuts) to describe ICC as an impediment towards achieving their goals is evidence that ICC is POLITICS and elections. In this argument, the indictees view their opponents as people who stood to benefit politically if they were excluded from the electioneering process.

From the foregoing, two major reasons seem to be the most prompting for metaphor use. The first one relates to the fact that besides communicating referential information, speakers are more interested in conveying affective feelings. This could for instance explain the use of *mzigo* (burden), example 16, to refer to ICC. The expression *kuubeba mzigo* (carry ones' burden) is more figurative and seems quite an exciting way to express double culpability (ambiguity). The literal expression would be less appealing in comparison to the metaphor whose interpretation could have similar consequences either on the supporters of the ICC process or those opposed to it.

The second reason why speakers at prayer meetings and campaign rallies employ metaphoric expressions is that metaphor has a kind of duality that favours their double-edged character. A speaker can easily deny the use of metaphor if the meaning is misunderstood. This is true

because metaphors are cancellable in other situations. This is true since pragmatic inferences are probabilistic and not direct meanings (Leech 1983). One might argue that the use of *kuubebeba mzigu* (carry ones' burden) literary meant one carrying luggage. Metaphors therefore could provide an easy way for denial of the misunderstood meanings.

4.2 Metaphorical Conceptualization of ICC and Domain Mappings

This section provides a discussion on the second objective of the study that sought to analyse the underlying conceptual metaphors that shaped the thoughts and reasoning towards ICC indictment discourse in Kenya. Following Conceptual Metaphor Theory as proposed by Lakoff & Johnson (1980), patterns were looked for that accounted for the correspondences between the literal senses of words and how they were used as metaphors. In practice this meant looking for inferences from a group of metaphors an underlying or conceptual metaphor that explains what is systematic in the correspondences between the literal and metaphoric uses. A conceptual metaphor is one that identifies a pattern of thought from a number of actual instances of metaphor. According to Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) Cognitive Metaphor Theory, metaphor is a conceptual phenomenon that involves a mapping relation between two domains, namely the source domain (SD) and the target domain (TD). The SD is conceived as concrete concepts that are experienced or perceived directly while TD is more abstract, that is it concerns subjective experience. This assertion is vividly captured by Lakoff (1993:203) thus: '...the locus of metaphor is not in language at all but in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another. The general theory of metaphor is given by characterizing such cross domain mappings. And in the process, everyday abstract concepts like time states, causation and purpose also turn out to be metaphorical. Conceptual metaphors are therefore abstractions as they are found in people's minds'.

Put differently, people rely on concrete phenomenon (SD) which is their source or literal meaning of the metaphoric expression to conceptualize and understand an abstract phenomenon (TD). In line with Lakoff (1987), the study took a very strong view of metaphor: it viewed metaphor as systematic and pervasive in the sense that a whole conceptual structure may be transposed from one domain to another. This usually involves a relationship of elaboration and entailment so that metaphor had the potential for the creation of textual or even social relationships. Two main types of conceptual relationship for conflict were identified in the data: metaphors conceptually related to war and metaphors conceptually related to survival as will be seen in the discussion below. The following broad themes of conceptual metaphors were identified within the ICC discourses.

4.2.1 Conceptualizing ICC as Religious War

An analysis of metaphors in ICC discourse is provided in response to the key question: Based on the linguistic metaphors employed in the ICC indictment discourse, can we detect the underlying conceptual metaphors that shape the reasoning towards ICC? Much of the data employed in the analysis of this conceptualization was derived from the prayer meetings that the indictees carried out in several parts of the country. The prayer meetings were conducted in public venues and some were broadcast live on television. The prayer meetings would start with interdenominational prayers. Right after the religious prayers were said at the meeting, politics directed against ICC dominated the proceedings. A total of six prayer meetings were analysed.

The depiction of ICC as a RELIGIOUS WAR is realized by a number of lexical and syntactic means. ICC has been ascribed a life of its own as exemplified in the prayer rallies. The emergence of ICC is described in analogy with religious characteristics. The four suspects indicted at the ICC in seeking solidarity with their supporters conducted political rallies that

came to be known as prayer meetings in various parts of the country. The rallies would ordinarily start off as prayer meetings in which the clergy would conduct intercession prayers on behalf of the suspects. After the prayers, the suspects and other politicians would then address the people attending. It is from these speeches and utterances that metaphors were drawn in reference to ICC.

Metaphor is very well suited to religious contexts because it is a primary means by which the unknown can be conceptualised in terms of what is already known. Since very few people would claim to have direct personal knowledge of a divine being, metaphors are a natural means for exploring the possible forms that such a divinity might take and for expressing religious experiences (Charteris-Black, 2004:174). Uhuru in PMC says:

29. *Sisi hayo yote tumemwachia Mungu **baba** wetu.* (PMC)

(We have left all in the hands of God our father)

Using Cognitive Metaphor Theory, it can be argued that the expression *Mungu baba wetu* (God our father) is drawn from the source domain of religion to describe our dependence on God during moments of trouble. It is common for one experiencing difficult times to surrender his or her destiny to God. The context in which Uhuru utters the above is to confess his innocence. Even though he has been indicted at The Hague, allegedly through false testimony and witness fixing, he had surrendered his fate to God. From the example, we derive in Christianity a fundamental metaphor *Mungu baba wetu* ‘God our Father’ this though could mean that human beings are literally ‘the Children of God’, or it could also imply that the relationship between God and mankind is *as* that of a father to a child (Charteris-Black, 2004). The son–father relationship raises the same issue: Did the claim by Jesus to be the ‘Son of God’ imply a

biological fact or did it imply that he was as a son to a father? Interpretation requires that God will take on the prototypical attributes of a father – protection from danger, provision for material needs and moral guidance. Similarly, the son takes on the prototypical attributes of dependency, seeking protection, needing material and spiritual guidance. The metaphors constitute the beliefs among Christians and could also be taken as simply comparative. In fact, as noted earlier, metaphors are pervasive in everyday language use, but speakers are rarely aware of the many injections of metaphors in their speeches.

This interpretation closely derives from Lakoff (1996) who discusses the metaphorical understanding of NATION as FAMILY and how it directly informs our political worldview. The NATION as FAMILY metaphor structures entire worldviews precisely mapping between the nation and the family: the homeland as home, the citizens as siblings and the government as security. The primary role of the nurturant parent is to love their children and nurture them to be happy in their lives. Parents protect their children from external threats as natural expressions of their love and care. When the nurturant parent metaphor is applied to politics, a progressive moral and political philosophy which is based on empathy and responsibility is achieved. Empathy is the capability to connect with other people, to feel what others feel, to imagine oneself as another and hence feel a kinship with others. Responsibility means acting on that empathy (Lakoff 1996:146). Uhuru in extract 32 above achieves just that thereby mobilizing his supporters against ICC.

Metaphor is, therefore, the prime means of providing spiritual explanations since they can only be expressed by referring to what is experienced in the physical world. The topics that are dealt with by religion (the origins of life, suffering, the struggle between good and evil, life and death etc.) are also ones for which judgement and evaluation is often necessary. This metaphor creates

meaning by accessing subliminal experience; in religion it has a similar role because religion considers the possibilities of a sublime world beyond this world.

In addition, metaphors have an evangelical role in religion because they are easier to accept than literal truths (Charteris-Black 2004). This is because, like horoscopes, they are open to individual interpretation. The reader or hearer finds the meaning in the metaphor. Prayer rallies therefore play quite an important role in creating meaning of ICC and providing frameworks of evaluation.

Examined in context, we realize that this metaphoric expression influences the type of value judgments we make as a result of the interaction between the thoughts from the two domains of metaphor thereby leading to new understanding- the relationship between RELIGION and PAIN (SACRIFICE), conceptually.

The conceptualization of ICC in religious terms is further demonstrated in metaphors in Table 4.2.

The table shows the realization of conceptual metaphors through lexical or linguistic attributes.

Table 4.2: Metaphor identification of ICC as religious war

Serial no.	Genre/text	Key word	Source domain	Target domain	Conceptual key	Conceptual metaphor
1	PMA	Msalaba (cross)	Dini (religion)	Indictment at ICC	ICC IS EXTERNAL PERSECUTION	ICC IS RELIGIOUS WAR
2	PMA	Mzigo (burden)	Kazi (work)	Indictment at ICC	ICC IS SUBJECTION TO HARD LABOUR	ICC IS A HEAVY BURDEN

Msalaba (cross) and *Mzigo* (burden) occur in the lexical fields of religion and work respectively. The conceptual key ICC is EXTERNAL PERSECUTION is mapped in the target domain of ICC to compare the attributes of religious persecution to indictment at ICC. The mappings conceptualize ICC as RELIGIOUS CONTEST or WAR hence its detestation. The example 30 below demonstrates the biblical implications of culpability

30. *Kila mtu ataubeba mzigo wake* (PMA)

(Each person will carry his/her own burden or each person will be accountable)

The example above brings light to a very important point that has implications for metaphor in general: metaphor does not exist independently in words but is an aspect of our interpretation of their use in particular contexts. The semantic choice of *mzigo* (load) is to apportion blame and accountability. Under normal circumstances, one should be ready to account for ones actions. In example 2 in Table 3.5, the indictees were being reminded that in as much as they were going round the country with prayer meetings, the perpetrators of the 2007/2008 PEV and genocide had to be held accountable. The linguistic choice, *mzigo* (load/burden) in this context causes semantic tension in the sense of lifting normal load that is not synonymous with personal problems. Load is used in reference to work especially one that requires heavy effort. Its transference to personal responsibility and accountability in relation to the PEV invokes images of the indictees being accountable for personal actions in relation to the criminal charges at the ICC. The source domain of the metaphor also invokes images of the indictees struggling to overcome very difficult situations in life. This is quite evident in the response offered by Uhuru Kenyatta who was both an indictee at the ICC and a presidential candidate in the 2013 Kenya general elections.as illustrated in the following excerpt represented as 31 a and b:

31. a) Question: How are you going to govern at the same time facing charges at ICC?

b) Uhuru: Every man goes through difficult times in life. ICC to me is a personal challenge.

This excerpt then explains the cognitive contribution of metaphor which enables the users to conceive the worldview of ICC as sacrifice and persecution and hence the conceptual key, ICC IS RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION. This more or less explains why Uhuru and Ruto opted for prayer meetings to mobilize support from the general public against ICC. The prayer meetings present a powerful tool for mobilizing spiritual and religious support. They invoke divine intervention in the conflict and thus the conceptual metaphor, ICC IS RELIGIOUS WAR, which will be won or lost on faith grounds. Lakoff contends that the metaphorical mappings preserve the cognitive typology (that is, the image-schema structure) of the source domain in a way consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain (Lakoff, 1993:215). Here the indictees are seen as innocent victims suffering at the expense of other people who directly participated in the PEV or benefitted from it. The prayer discourse of ICC achieves just that and hence considers prayer meetings as discourses of mobilization; bringing together two communities (Kikuyu and Kalenjin) through the narrative that ICC is targeting their sons (Uhuru and Ruto) unfairly. Studies on metaphors have provided insights on how metaphor in discourse arouses powerful images that shape perception, public opinion, and ultimately influence comprehension and interpretation of issues in society. The message in a metaphor has the potential to reach the audience in a more powerful and captivating manner. As Ngonyani (2006: 15) elaborately notes, “metaphors provide a conceptual framework, or prism through which information and events are viewed”. By conceptualizing ICC as RELIGIOUS WAR, God’s intervention is sought in seeking prayers for the indictees against the criminal charges facing them. Religion world over has,

besides offering divine intervention, provided inspirational protection against insurmountable forces. Metaphors sourced from religious domains therefore help to make complex and controversial issues understandable to public and also deconstruct myths and reveal the reality in an approachable way, without offending anyone in the speech community, (Todoli, 2007: 51).

4.2.2 Conceptualizing ICC as an ANIMATE CREATURE

An animate creature is described as being alive or having life (often as a contrast with inanimate). Ordinarily, it is referred to as personification, a situation where something inanimate is given life abilities or human qualities (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980: 35-36). In such circumstances an inanimate entity assumes the role of an active agent or performer. Lakoff (1991) equates this to metonymy where Ocampo and Bensouda are used in reference to ICC. Metonymy is where one entity is used to refer to another that is related to it (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980:36). Thus by referring to ICC through individual persons and not just as an amorphous institution, the villain picture of ICC is portrayed. It is this metonymy that is invoked when a politician says at PMC, *Ocampo aache tujiamulie mambo yetu* (Ocampo should stop interfering in our affairs).

ICC is also portrayed as an animate creature through explicit linguistic choices. This is achieved through the use of lexical items and syntactic structures that ascribe life to ICC. The following example illustrates this point from a prayer Meeting E, (PME) that had brought together G7 alliance leaders at a rally at Malindi, Coast province on February 4, 2012. Leaders including Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto attended the rally cum prayer meeting in Malindi. The British Foreign Secretary William Hague who had earlier remarked that President Kibaki was under ICC investigation and that Uhuru and Sang should be arrested was severally castigated at the meeting. A politician in this prayer meeting expressed his dislike for the British foreign secretary's remarks in the following utterance:

32. *ICC haiwezi kutuamulia mambo yetu hapa. Tuko na uhuru wa kujichagulia hatima yetu.*

(PME)

(ICC cannot decide on our issues here. We have the independence to choose our fate)

Excerpt 32 exposes how ICC was being criticized for interfering in the domestic affairs of Kenya as a sovereign state. Linguistically, ICC does not have life and therefore cannot act on its own. It is the personnel within who can act. By elevating ICC to animate levels, the speaker deliberately isolates ICC for admonition. The irony of this conceptualization relates to the name of the British Foreign secretary which coincidentally was Hague. Hague besides being metaphorical was a metonymy. *Kutuamulia* (to decide) is a human act which ICC as an institution does not have the capacity to accomplish.

ICC is then seen as an obstacle, an impediment towards the achievement of set goals. This conceptualization can be expanded and viewed within Lakoff & Johnson's (1980) LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. Lakoff & Turner (1989) enumerate correspondences in the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor and among them is: difficulties in life are impediments to travel. Although the expression of travel in the conventionalized journey metaphor is understood in a similar way, Lakoff (1993) argues that the exact knowledge may vary from person to person as evident in the capitalized expressions representing entities in the ontology of travel.

TWO TRAVELERS are in a VEHICLE WITH COMMON DESTINATIONS. THE VEHICLE encounters some IMPEDEMENT and gets stuck, that is, makes it non-functional. If they do nothing, they will not REACH THEIR DESTINATIONS (Lakoff, 1993:5).

The target domain entities that are mapped by the correspondences are indicated in capital letters as illustrated. A clarification of the correspondence 'difficulties in life are impediments to travel'

can be demonstrated by other metaphorical expressions that are used in everyday life. Uhuru and Ruto facing a possible blockade from contesting elections due to ICC may be one of the impediments that one might encounter when travelling a political journey. The result is that ICC is isolated as an entity out to punish, the crimes committed notwithstanding. Examples of such conceptualization are in PMB where Uhuru Kenyatta does not view ICC as an obstacle in his journey to the Presidency of Kenya.

33. *Tukutane kwa debe* (JCRB)

(We meet at the ballot)

34. *Safari imeanza* (JCRB)

(The journey has started)

There are important links between this study and Caruso (2014) who investigated the metaphorical conceptualization of peace by former leaders George W. Bush (of the United States), Ariel Sharon (of Israel), and Mahmoud Abbas (of Palestine). Specifically, he examined how peace/the peace process is conceptualized via metaphors through the notion of JOURNEY and MOVEMENT. The corpus in this study comprised twenty speeches given by the three politicians over a four-year period (2002-2005). The analysis of the corpus data employed a combination of different tools that included Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson 1980), the Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit-MIPVU (Steen, Dorst, Herrmann, Kaal, Krennmayr & Pasma, 2010), and Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black 2004). The findings reveal that JOURNEY metaphors are a vital and common part of the three politicians' political discourse. Interestingly each of them conceptualizes peace in unique ways, different from each other. The main differences observed do not lie in which metaphors they

used, but in what aspects of peace or the peace process they are used to highlight. The JOURNEY metaphor thus illustrates the actual experiences in visualizing indictment at ICC.

Based on the foregoing, ICC indictment discourse is replete with personification examples. This is evident in the depiction of nonhuman entities in terms of human goals, actions and characteristics (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). What is significant is the positive or negative human features or characteristics are associated with the ICC discourse. When ICC is portrayed in a negative way it creates negative feelings and therefore decreases popular support and approval ratings. Metaphor is important, then, both in constructing representations by, for example, personification, and by language that emerges from underlying conceptualisations connecting different domains of human activity (Charteris-Black 2004:8). ICC portrayal negatively demonizes it which consequently impacts on people's attitude towards the kind of justice that can be achieved at the court.

The metaphoric theme of ICC as an ANIMATE CREATURE functions by mapping aspects from the source domain of an animate being to the target domain of ICC. This ultimately focuses our understanding of a complex and unfamiliar aspect of reality in terms of a more concrete, clear and familiar phenomenon (Lakoff & Johnson, 2004). This demystifies or elucidates a more vivid picture of ICC through concrete and readily understandable examples. As Ana (1999: 195) points out, 'metaphors are conceptual instruments that embody otherwise amorphous or remote concepts in ways that the public can readily understand'.

4.2.3 Conceptualizing ICC as a MONSTER (EVIL FORCES)

Another theme that is closely related to the perception of the ICC as an ANIMATE CREATURE is the MONSTER image. A monster is perceived to be a large, frightening and cruel creature usually of abnormal form or structure. It is equated to Satan, capable of bringing fear and

anxiety. ICC indictment discourse also employs a conceptual metaphor theme of a monster (*shetani*). This theme is evident in the use of explicit expressions or emotional lexis and hyperbole. With persistent calls from Kenyans for indictees at the ICC to step aside from presidential campaigns, Uhuru Kenyatta said the following in response:

35. *Na ndio vizuri tuambiane ukweli, **Shetani** ambaye hata hajui kazi hiyo tulianzisha namna gani, wanakuja wanasema sasa, sasa unajua sasa nyinyi mkienda hivyo **mumejitangaza, unajua sasa wazungu hawatatupatia pesa. Sasa moto wakati uliwaka namna hiyo, na ikasemekana sasa hapana wewe unajua oh unajua sasa wewe ambia ndugu yako aondoke kwa hiyo kiti wewe uchukue hiyo upatie mwingine ndio Kenya iendelee mbele...*** (18th dec. 2012 Uhuru Kenyatta at Multi Media University)

(Truth be told. Satan is at work. They claim we are exposing ourselves and therefore the donors will withhold their funding. They suggest that unless I step aside and let my brother contest the presidency the heat/fire will consume us).

The metaphorical expression *shetani* (evil force-Satan) being alluded to in this instance is ICC and the pressure from Western nations on the consequences Kenya (...*wazungu hawatatupatia pesa*-we shall not get donor funding) stood to face if an indictee at ICC was elected president. Uhuru compares being indicted at ICC with *Shetani*-evil beings or devilish forces. In this sense attributes of evil or satanic occurrences like calamities or disastrous happenings are understood in terms of ICC. Issues of betrayal and evil intentions in the source domain are used to illustrate the effects if ICC. Evil forces have some unexplained sources and cause mysterious damage. Lakoff & Johnson (1980) suggest that a concrete and clearly organised source domain, being closely related to physical and bodily experience, is used to understand and talk about a more

abstract and less clearly structured target domain. In this case, the source domain is clearly organised and related to physical and bodily experiences such as time, journeys and accidents. The mappings therefore are structured from the source domain to the target domain and not the other way round (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Reference to ICC as devilish maps the monster attributes that are readily experienced to the abstract concept of ICC.

The foregoing discussion reveals that metaphorical conceptualizations of basic concepts in life are not haphazard but are organised and systematic and therefore follow certain properties. Kövecses (2006) points out that the conceptualization of many basic concepts is culture dependent and social-culturally cultivated and therefore the choice of specific metaphors for defining realities varies culturally. Different cultures may have different value systems that may end up in different interpretations of experiences from other cultures. Nyakoe (2015), for instance argues in the HIV IS AN ANIMAL metaphor that Ekegusii speakers conceptualize HIV AS A HUGE AND DANGEROUS ANIMAL as realized in the linguistic metaphors that refer to a crocodile (e-mamba) or elephant (e-nchogu). This contrasts with Malawians who, according to Ogechi (2005), conceptualize HIV AS A SMALL BEAST realized in linguistic expressions a small insect (kamdudu) and small beast (kachilombo). In the same breath, ICC is conceived culturally as a huge, dangerous and mysterious creature like Satan or demon.

Further, the heat generated by ICC is discernible in the metaphor of fire (*sasa moto wakati uliwaka...when fire was lit*). ICC is seen as a source of trouble. Fire is both useful and destructive. The metaphorical expression (*sasa wakati moto uliwaka...when fire was lit...*) draws similarities between an indictee, Uhuru Kenyatta, vying for presidency and destructive fire that could engulf and burn Kenya. This meant that Uhuru contesting and winning the presidency of Kenya would be like burning Kenya, there would be no development as Western donors would

freeze all financial support. Just as fire is destructive, so would an indictee getting elected be destructive to the country. A comparison is made between the manner in which fire destroys property and the manner in which an indictee would affect the Kenyan society. The underlying metaphor here is ELECTING AN INDICTEE IS BURNING KENYA. These were the forces that were to determine the political destiny of Kenya. ICC is seen as cruel obstacle or hindrance to political leadership and not a form of justice to the perpetrators of the 2007/2008 post-election violence. The monster or evil forces metaphor draws upon themes from mythology and has the main effect of demonising ICC. This renders ICC more understandable to Kenyans by applying the framework of thinking about ICC in more concrete and easily imaginable terms which is readily available in their reality. The import of this metaphor is that it paints ICC negatively as illustrated in 36 below:

36. *Hii ni mahakama bandia* (PMF)

(This is a pedestrian or fake court)

The metaphoric expression ...*bandia* (fake) paints a picture of an untrustworthy and suspicious entity. The source domains of mistrust, non-reliability are compared to the operations of the court. By painting the court as fake, it evokes fear and generates negative attitude and even hostility towards ICC. Such attitudes do not allow people to cope with ICC in a rational way and hinder communicative action. This finding is strongly articulated by Ho (2016: 295) who examined metaphors used in the news reports on the global financial crisis of 2008, with a particular focus on the two negative emotions of fear and anxiety. She discusses how these metaphors described the various stages and intensities of negative emotions, and noted that they were tailored to increase negative feelings in the readers, which in turn increased the news value

of the articles in the newspapers

4.2.4 Conceptualizing ICC as POLITICAL WAR

The main aim of metaphor in discourse is to bring out or portray our everyday experiences and realities and how we relate to other people. In the spheres of political and public discourse metaphor aims at persuasion or bringing about conviction. It is intended to appeal to the emotions and feelings of the hearer. Therefore its interpretation is firmly grounded in the socio-cultural context of the hearer which forms the background of his/her beliefs and attitudes. This further supports the argument that metaphors are a reflection of one's overview of the world (Lakoff & Johnson 1980). Metaphors then become central in relation to human meaning and creative thought.

Uhuru, Ruto and their supporters look at ICC as a burden and an obstacle placed in their path to leadership while the group supporting the ICC process sees it as necessary judicial process hence the conceptual key ICC is A POLITICAL CONTEST. By implication the prayer meetings were staged to win elections and leadership as a metaphor to seeking peace and reconciliation, hence ICC is POLITICAL WAR. For example, PMD held at Meru Kinoru Stadium (Central Province) on February 2, 2012 illustrates this strategy. Kalonzo Musyoka who was then the vice President, the then Deputy Prime Minister Uhuru Kenyatta and Eldoret North Member of Parliament William Ruto pledged at the rally to remain together and to ensure that one of them won the presidency in the 2013 general election. The theme of a united leadership was a strategy to win the Presidency and hence directed efforts at peace and reconciliation.

The following extracts 37 and 38 from two politicians in a Jubilee campaign rally who supported Uhuru and Ruto further illustrate why indictment at ICC could not be used as an excuse to hinder any interested Kenyan from seeking elective leadership positions:

37. *Na mungu anajua kuwa hawana hatia. Na ndio **tunatafuta utawala** wa nchi hii, sio ati tulipize kisasi, lakini tungependa uraisi ambao utahakikisha **haki imetendwa** taifa hili.*
(JCRB)

(And God knows they are innocent. That is the reason we are seeking leadership, not to take revenge but to ensure justice is done in this country).

38. *Naomba kuwa **maridhiano na masikizano** ndio itakuwa mkondo wa Kenya. ...Sura ya Kenya iko hapa. Mimi naomba wakirudi, tunaunda chama kipya cha kuweza **kutawala** Kenya nzima.* (JCRB)

(I pray that reconciliation and understanding prevails in Kenya...This is the face of Kenya. When they come back (from The Hague) we shall form a new party to unite all Kenyans)

In extract 37 above, the utterance reveals that Uhuru and Ruto are innocent. The charges they face at ICC are framed up, *Mungu anajua kuwa hawana hatia* (God knows they are innocent). ICC should not be used as an excuse to stop them from vying for the Presidency and deputy presidency of Kenya. Contest should be on leadership that promotes justice. Extract 38 does not view ICC as capable of producing justice in Kenya. It sees ICC as a temporary obstacle towards leadership: *Naomba wakirudi, tunaunda chama kipya* (when they come back, we shall form a new party). Such views do not perceive ICC justice a legitimate process. ICC becomes a contest between the two antagonistic groups that either opposed the ICC process (as exemplified in the two extracts above) and the group that supported the process as a means to justice. ICC then stops being an alternative process of seeking judicial justice and reconciliation for the post-election victims but a means of winning public support. The prayer meetings were meant to

cover the unpredictability of the ICC process. It looked as if the suspects went to the ICC at The Hague, they would not come back to Kenya. So the prayer meetings were meant for the suspects, to confirm that they would be back and would still be interested in competing for the top leadership of Kenya by asking people to support them as seen in the following extract 39:

39. Uhuru: *Twajua ya kwamba tunatembea kwenda huko Hague. Mungu akiwa mbele, ukweli utajitokeza. Tutarudi hapa, hiyo ndege itawekwa parking hapo tu dakika chache wale ambao wanabeba the greatest responsibility wataingia, warudi huko sasa waende kaka, Sio! Tutafanya kazi pamoja kama jirani.* (PMD)

(We know as we head to The Hague, God is with us and the truth shall set us free. We shall come back and the same plane that will deliver us will take the real culprits back to face the long trial. Is it not so? For us, we shall work together as neighbours).

It can be argued that metaphor works by organizing and interpreting experience and by positioning one relative to the problem. Metaphor use in discourse makes it possible for one to reorganize, re-interpret and re-position thereby direct attention to where solutions may be more easily found. The metaphoric expression *Mungu akiwa mbele* (With God as our guide) in the above extract clearly illustrates how Uhuru positions himself in relation to the criminal charges at The Hague. As such, he focuses his predicament in the hands of God and seeks support from other Kenyans, *tufanye kazi pamoja kama majirani* (work together as neighbours). Through metaphor large amounts of information are automatically assimilated, abstract ideas conveyed, alternative perspectives and possibilities are unconsciously integrated, and new inferences become possible. By declaring his innocence, Uhuru shifts culpability to other culprits who in his opinion will ultimately stay longest at The Hague. Besides revealing hidden assumptions,

metaphor re-casts the logic of facts, emotions, needs, intuitions and behaviours, and brings them into a working whole. *Ndege* (The aeroplane) that will fly them back from ICC will be the same plane that will fly the actual perpetrators of violence and crime to ICC. Metaphors categorize information, assign probabilities, hide some things and fill in when information is missing. Uhuru manages to communicate a collective view of innocence and eventual freedom targeting ICC as unfair and discriminative. This affects how difficulties are thought about and how the meaning of things is created and communicated.

The following table 4.3 is used to illustrate the realization of metaphors that conceptualize ICC as POLITICAL WAR or CONTEST and POLITICAL RIVALRY.

Table 4.3: Analytical frames for metaphor identification in conceptualizing ICC as war

Serial no.	Genre	Key word	Source domain	Target domain	Conceptual key	Conceptual metaphor
1	JCRB	Tuko Pamoja (united force)	Unity	Forces against ICC	ICC IS A COMMON ENEMY	ICC is WAR
2	JCRB	Tutashinda vita (We shall win the war)	Battle	Contest between ICC Justice and alternative justice	ICC IS A CONTEST BETWEEN ACCOUNTABILITY AND IMPUNITY	ICC is WAR
3	JCRB	Piga vita (fight)	Battle	INDICTMENT AT ICC	ICC VERSUS OTHER FORMS OF JUSTICE	ICC is WAR

In examples 1, 2 and 3 in Table 4.3 above, ICC is conceived in terms of conflict or war. The conceptual metaphor is ICC is WAR. This metaphor is realised in the following lexical choices;

tuko pamoja (united force) *tutashinda vita* (we shall win the war) and *tutapiga vita maadui wetu* (we shall fight our enemies). The lexical choices in these examples derive from the source domain of war: winning, fighting, attacking, and united in attack. It is important to note that people do not just talk about arguments in terms of war. They can actually win or lose arguments (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). Those who support the ICC process see the person opposing ICC as an opponent. It is characteristic to attack their opponents' positions and be seen to defend their own, *tuko pamoja* (we are united). The conceptual key ICC is A CONTEST BETWEEN ACCOUNTABILITY AND IMPUNITY reflects what perceived justice for the violence victims is conceived. In unity, the indictees were going to work to defeat justice. They gain and lose ground. They plan and use strategies. If they find a position indefensible, they can abandon it and take a new line of attack. Many of the things they do in arguing are partially structured by the concept of war. Though there is no physical battle, there is a verbal battle, and the structure of an argument—attack, defence, counterattack, etc.—reflects this (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). It is in this sense that ICC is WAR metaphor is what is witnessed in the ICC discourse. It structures the actions that are performed by various participants as they engage in ICC debates.

The metaphoric theme that is used in the conceptualization of ICC and its representation as a political war or contest between competing political interests in Kenya is realized through the use of the following lexical terms as shown in example 2 and 3 in Table 4.3 represented here as examples 40 and 41:

40. *Tutashinda vita* (JCRB)

(We shall win the battle)

41. *Tutapiga vita*

(We shall fight)

The discourses are characterised by comparisons to war like situations where combatants are fighting to defeat their opponents. The major function of such representations is to compare ICC to war or a battle that people are more familiar with. This brings the ICC process closer to the people's experiences and therefore easily comprehensible. One side is represented by the indictees, Uhuru and Ruto, with their supporters while the other side comprised Odinga and other pro-ICC activists.

In JCRA where anti-ICC sentiments were expressed, one speaker uttered the following:

42. *Sote tunaelewa kuwa hiyo yote ilikuwa miereka ya kisiasa.* (JCRA)

(We all understand that it was a political wrestling game)

This loosely translates to a wrestling (*miereka*) contest. The lexical item *miereka* (wrestling) is from the source domain of sports. The target domain of ICC is understood as a contest between two rivals in a wrestling match; a test of strength. ODM had accused PNU of stealing an election while PNU accused ODM of instigating the violence that rocked the country after the poll results were declared. Each side viewed the other as a villain and hence ICC becomes the field to test their strength. The conceptual key ICC IS A POLITICAL GAME is therefore derived from this usage. The two political sides are seen to be using ICC to settle political scores so that, ultimately, the losers are locked out of political leadership. This gives rise to the conceptual metaphor ICC IS POLITICAL WAR. In this instance ICC is perceived in terms of its ability to offer criminal justice on a political platform to the party that is culpable. In the transitional justice discourse, the element of reconciliation is lacking in such a perception (Teitel 2000). Considered in this light, the conceptual metaphor ICC IS POLITICAL WAR does not promote

reconciliation among the political players as it furthers division.

During the 2007 election campaign period in Kenya, the two main political alliances set stage for a fierce political battle by adopting conventional metaphors in their rallies. As indicated earlier, two of the indictees at the ICC, Uhuru and Ruto, formed an alliance of parties that were against their indictment at ICC to face charges of crimes against humanity. Under the campaign name of UHURUTO (a blend that abridge then combine Uhuru and Ruto) they contested for the presidency and running mate position. The alliance went by the name Jubilee. This coincidentally was to mark Kenya's fiftieth (50th) anniversary of independence. The choice of Jubilee was symbolic and a reminder of Kenya's sovereignty. In a way it brought memories of pain, suffering and tribulations of Kenyans under colonial rule. A similarity was drawn between the six indictees at ICC (Uhuru Kenyatta, William Ruto, Joshua Sang, Henry Kosgey, Mohammed Hussein Ali, and Francis Muthaura) and the six Kenyan freedom fighters (Jomo Kenyatta, Ochieng Oneko, Paul Ngei, Bildad Kaggia, Kungu Karumba and Fred Kubai) who were incarcerated at Kapenguria during the struggle for independence. ICC as an international body is thus constructed negatively as an outsider or imperialist interfering with Kenya's sovereignty and internal affairs. As a result, Sagan (2010) raises the major criticisms leveled against ICC of racism as it only targets African victims. It is on this platform of resistance to neocolonialism that Jubilee launched their campaign.

Raila Odinga, the Orange Democratic Movement (ODM) party leader and Kalonzo Musyoka, the Wiper party leader, who were seen to be favoring ICC justice, campaigned for the presidency and running mate positions respectively by the name Coalition for Reform and Democracy (CORD). The acronym CORD semantically and symbolically denoted a twisted slender and flexible material used to tie, bind, connect or support. In a broader pragmatic sense CORD, a

homonym, constructed a thread that united all Kenyans irrespective of their ethnic backgrounds. The campaign strategy was to use CORD to unite Kenyans while JUBILEE was to unite Kenyans and glorify Kenya's sovereignty against foreign imposition. The JUBILEE campaign strategy fits into Mamdani's (2009) argument that the deployment of international criminal law by the Court too often appears to be more driven by the perpetuation of global power asymmetries and old patterns of subjugation...Its name notwithstanding, the ICC is rapidly turning into a Western court to try African crimes against humanity (ibid:61). This developed into a campaign discourse that was characterized by sharp differences in regard to the ICC process: US versus THEM. In the final campaign rally held at Nyayo Stadium on 2nd March 2013, Raila captured this state by referring to CORD as *nguvu za mabadiliko* (forces of change) whereas JUBILEE represented *nguvu za bezo* (forces of impunity) CCRC.

Metaphor is considered as an information-processing tool and Edelman (1971:65) suggests that metaphor and myths are devices for simplifying and giving meaning to complex and bewildering sets of observations that evoke concern. He further suggests that what makes metaphor effective is that it evokes a part-to-whole relationship. Mio (1997: 118) compliments this view by stating that a certain metaphor can become symbolic of a broader issue, and solving a metaphor at a much more local level addresses the issue at this broader level. Secondly, metaphors render complex issues understandable and make the issues relevant to the general population. This means that political metaphors can justify causes of action. The conceptualization of ICC as a POLITICAL contest thus became the focus of attention in campaign rallies, its judicial mandate notwithstanding.

Further conceptualization of ICC as POLITICS emerged in a campaign rally A (JCRA) on the 2nd November 2012. Despite indictment at ICC, Ruto, the running mate to Uhuru under Jubilee

alliance, conducted a huge campaign rally in Bomet and declared his resolve to contest in the elections. Ruto reiterated that they would honor the pre-trial chamber summons of the ICC and present their side of the story on the post poll chaos. In the following utterance (43) one can easily see how the Jubilee camp tailored its meaning especially in painting their opponents in CORD as having fixed them at ICC:

43. *Wale waliotupeleka huko wataaibika na shetani atashindwa.* (JCRA)

(Those who engineered our indictment at The Hague will be shamed and the devil shall loose)

Shetani (Satan) is depicted twofold: as an evil being capable of tormenting or as a wicked person who was behind the trial at The ICC. The durability of these narratives, as well as their inherent plasticity, had significant implications for the potential for further violence and the prospects for reconciliation. Ultimately instead of revealing ICC as an international judicial process that aimed at offering justice, fighting impunity and holding top leaders to accountability, the discourses portrayed ICC as having a desired goal to hurt the suspects. It was presented as a hostile enemy to be fought at all costs. This theme created animosity against ICC and drew a sharp division among people supporting ICC and those against it. Such a situation prevented people from establishing a harmonious approach to resolving a conflict. It widened the differences and created a 'them' versus 'us' scenario that prevented a rational approach to bring about understanding. What is more, Edelman (1964:125) candidly observes that the goal of political discourse is not to find novel metaphors that mobilize public opinion but to use simple metaphors that are repeated continuously. Metaphors like *shetani* (Satan), *miereka* (wrestling) in Jubilee campaign discourse in relation to ICC resonated with latent opinions thus became

symbolic or coded speech for political mobilization as evidenced in extract 44 below. At a political rally in Ruiru, Kiambu (PMC) on January 30, 2012 one of the Jubilee supporters, Mosses Kuria, owned up that witnesses were coached to give false evidence implicating their opponents by stating the following:

44. *Hiyo ilikuwa ni miera ya kisiasa.* (PMC)

It was a political wrestling match.

The key participants in the rally included the Deputy Prime Minister, Uhuru Kenyatta, the Eldoret North Member of Parliament, William Ruto, and over 50 Members of Parliament. This rally responded to calls that had been made for Uhuru Kenyatta to resign as Deputy Prime Minister in the wake of his indictment at ICC. Uhuru vowed at the rally that he would not resign from the position of Deputy Prime Minister which confirms the view held at ICC that leaders who are suspected of committing crimes against their citizen more often than not cling to power to avoid prosecution. (Okafor & Nguaba, 2015)

The conclusion we draw is that by associating ICC to a game of wrestling, Kuria introduced the notion of strength and competition, once more suggesting that ICC was used to settle political scores: whoever wields most power in a contest is bound to win. These views are summarized by Jensen & Sabo (1994: 1) who argue that during the period of war, sports-war metaphors are crucial rhetorical resources for mobilizing the patriarchal values that construct, mediate, maintain and when necessary, reform or repair hegemonic forms of masculinity. It is not surprising that during periods of conflict, the language used in ICC debates draws on familiar domains such as sport. This is partly because it both creates and reflects an appropriate emotional reaction of intense involvement, and also because metaphor distinguishes between good allies and bad

enemies. Kuria hopes to downplay the ICC conflict by associating it with a game of wrestling – an entertainment or amusement activity. Lakoff (1991) summarizes this interpretation thus...it has long been noted that we understand political war as a competitive game like chess, or as a sport, like football or boxing. It is a metaphor in which there is a clear winner and a loser, and a clear end to the game. A metaphor highlights strategic thinking, teamwork, preparedness, and the spectators in the world arena, the glory of winning and the shame of defeat (ibid: 65). Howe (1988) sums it up by noting that metaphors from sports are not merely figures to enliven or obfuscate political discourse; more treacherously, they can lock their users into inflexible and in appropriate frame of reference (ibid: 100). ICC trial was an example of a critical moment in the suspects' social and political life as exemplified in the debates in which the indictees were prevailed upon to resign from their public offices and not to contest in the 2007 presidential elections in Kenya. This was seen as a political tool to bar some people from contesting the elections. In the presidential debate, Uhuru Kenyatta in an answer to a question how he will govern the country and at the same time attend to the ICC court, he said that the ICC was a personal challenge.

The conceptual domain of war is mapped into ICC probably because the concept of war is more familiar and easily understood by people. This view is supported by Lakoff & Johnson (1980: 61) who contend that fighting is found everywhere in the animal kingdom and nowhere so much as among human animals.

4.2.5 Conceptualizing ICC as NEOCOLONIALISM/ IMPERIALISM

In the build up to the 2013 general election, the question of whether an individual indicted at the ICC could contest for the presidency was central in campaign rallies. Both Uhuru and Ruto who were running for Presidency and Deputy President respectively were indicted at the ICC to face

charges for crimes against humanity. The then United States of America ambassador to Kenya, Johnnie Carson stated that the general elections in Kenya on March 4 represented a wonderful opportunity to demonstrate to the world the vitality of Kenya's democracy. He added that 'choices have consequences'. This assertion was a veiled threat to Kenya that since we live in an interconnected world, people should be thoughtful about the impact that their choices have on their nation, on their region, on their economy, on the society and on the world in which they live (m.voanews.com/a.us).

This was taken to mean that the US was in fact warning Kenyans against voting for the indictees and hence the claim that the West was using ICC to install their preferred leadership in Kenya. Earlier, in response to remarks by the British Foreign Secretary that President Kibaki was under investigation and that Uhuru and Ruto should be arrested, the Jubilee Alliance saw a scheme to deny them leadership for a preferred Western candidate. The following bolded lexical items in 45, 46, 47, 48 and 49 were extracted from the anti-ICC discourse in conceiving ICC in terms of neo-colonialism.

- 45. *Korti ya **mzungu*** (it's the Whiteman's court) (PME)
- 46. *Tulijinyakulia **uhuru*** (we got our independence) (JCRA)
- 47. *Hatutaki **kutawaliwa tena*** (we do not need recolonization) (JCRA)
- 48. *Kenya ni nchi **huru*** (kenya is an independent state) (PME)
- 49. *Wale wengine ni **wasaliti*** (They are traitors) (JCRB)

In the above examples, the lexis *Mzungu* (Whiteman), *uhuru* (independence), *tawaliwa tena* (recolonize) and *huru* (independent) implicitly refer to foreign or imperialist forces. They invoke memories of the colonial era, and hence reinforce the neo-colonialism metaphor, building

resentment towards ICC. ICC is looked at as a tool to suppress, oppress and control African leaders. People in support of ICC were profiled as *wale wengine*, (others) and derogatively referenced as *wale wengine ni wasaliti* (They are traitors). This invokes negative images of the colonial home guards collaborating with the British colonisers to oppress Kenyans (Clayton, 1976). These powerful metaphors succeed in implying that support for ICC is a form of subordination and surrender to external authority - something that contradicts the principle of sovereignty or self-rule.

One major negative consequence of ICC's role in Kenya is somewhat conceptual and is connected to a deeply held and historically understandable aversion to imperialism, foreign subjugation and racially discriminatory conduct (Okafor, 2005: 50). Scholars have cited The African Union (AU) chair complaints that while the AU is not against international criminal justice, it seems Africa (has) become a laboratory to test the new international law (Lough, 2011). It should be noted that, due to the active and sometimes cynical mobilization of this perception by political agents and leaders on the continent, certain leaders targeted by the Court have paradoxically gained popularity because of their 'victimization' by or resistance to the ICC. Keen observers of the Kenyan political unfolding have noted this was precisely the case during the 2013 Kenyan presidential elections. (Lough, 2011: 50)

4.2.6 Conceptualizing ICC as JUSTICE

The 2007/2008 post-election violence was estimated to have caused 1133 deaths, rendered 300,000-600,000 as internally displaced persons and widespread destruction of property (Kanyinga, 2011). After the post-election violence, a debate emerged regarding the implications of transitional justice for Kenya's liberalizing prospects. The question of punishment or impunity or whether there is an obligation to punish in a democratic transition was the subject of debate.

Teitel (2000) suggests that, despite the moral argument for punishment in the abstract, various alternatives to punishment could express the normative message of political transformation and the rule of law with the aim of furthering democracy. The rule of law in periods of political change and transitions from times of conflicts and violence can be explored by looking at its various forms: punishment, historical inquiry, reparations, and purges.

ICC's involvement in Kenya was necessitated by the failure of the Kenyan parliament to establish a special tribunal to prosecute crimes committed during the PEV in order to overcome impunity and offer justice. The popular slogan, 'Don't be vague, let's go to The Hague', showed the level of mistrust Kenyans had for the local justice system, opting for international justice.

An opinion poll conducted by Ipsos Synovate in 2013 showed that support for the ICC cases had gone up to 51 percent. Of those who supported the ICC process, 40 percent said they did so because it is the best way for the victims of the post-election violence getting justice. Another 24 percent said they do not trust Kenyan courts and another 23 percent said the ICC process would end impunity. The remainder supported the ICC process because they believed it would prevent future violence, among other reasons (<http://www.ijmonitor.org/2013/11/>).

The support was evident among the internally displaced persons' own narrations/testimonies during their meetings with Fatou Bensouda, The ICC Prosecutor in Kenya. The IDPs expressed a lot of confidence in ICC and saw it as the only weapon the weak and the oppressed had in Kenya to seek justice and reparation. The following excerpt (50) was from an IDP in Eldoret:

50. *Victim: Kwa vile umetoka katika mahakama ya kitaifa, na sisi **kama waathiriwa** wa mahali hapa, **tuna imani** sana na wewe. Ni kwa sababu tunajua kwamba wewe tayari umeona na utaweza kutusikiliza kama waathiriwa...* (VNB)

(Coming from the international court, we as **victims** from this area have **confidence in you**. You have seen and listened to us victims...)

In the extract, the victim through reification – referring to something that is abstract using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is concrete (Charteris-Black 2004: 21), is able to articulate the aspirations of the victims. *Waathiriwa* (victims) are the people who were actually affected by the violence directly. By expressing confidence in the ICC process through the court prosecutor; *tuna imani* (we have confidence), the victim demystifies ICC by seeing it as an entity that can readily be accessible to people.

Another victim at Naivasha narrated the following:

51. Victim ...*tutamwambia tanataka tutimiziwe haki yetu, tulipwe ridhaa na tupewe makao.*

Hiyo kesi ikiwa mahakamani, tunaona haki ikitendeka. (VN4)

(...we are seeking justice. With the case in court (ICC) we are assured of justice.

The key word in the above extract 51 that is isolated as a metaphorical expression is *haki* (justice) which stands for the confidence victims of the post-election violence had in the court. This interpretation is grounded in the earlier call by politicians: ‘don’t be vague, let’s go to The Hague’. This call had demonstrated the mistrust and lack of confidence Kenyans had for the local judicial system. Most of the victims in the IDP camps therefore expressed confidence in the court and anticipated justice. ICC to the victims represents true justice free from external interference. It is a representation of hope to the helpless victims. The victim confirms the fact that the case in court is proof of justice and reparation. Teitel (2000) discusses the legal approaches societies in transition could adopt in responding to their legacies or repression and the significance of the said legal responses for the societies. She argues that what is deemed true

and just in transitional periods is politically contingent but not in an arbitrary sense, that it is a function of contemporary political circumstances and historical legacies of injustice. Justice seeking is situated in the political conditions of transition (2001: 224). To deal with the present and move forward into the future, societies learn from the past. Lessons from history reveal that there can never be everlasting peace without justice, accountability and reconciliation. Reconciliation is a process, not an event. It should let us tell our personal stories in order to achieve healing. To understand the alternative approaches to redressing injustices in juxtaposition with ICC, the next section introduces how metaphors can inform conflict resolution processes.

4.3 Interpretation of Kiswahili Metaphor in Conflict Situation

This section discusses the third objective of the study that explains how the use of the Kiswahili metaphor has either contributed to the escalation or resolution of conflict and peace building in Kenya. The social context and environment of the ICC discourses is discussed as an instrument for affecting change and not just for disclosing thought as proposed by Habermas (1984). Lakoff's (1987) ideas set the basis for exploring the implications of Habermas' Communicative Action Theory (1984) in regard to the discursive action types and the subsequent validity of the knowledge claims within the ICC debate. Habermas (1984) considers language as a means for coordinating actions. The six major metaphoric themes associated with The ICC as RELIGIOUS WAR, as POLITICAL WAR, as JUSTICE, as NEO-COLONIALIZATION, as a MONSTER, and as an ANIMATE BEING; offer conflicting conceptualizations of ICC in providing a coherent world view or framework for understanding language and its impact on conflict situations. These conceptualizations are viewed specifically within the prism of offering justice and genuine reconciliation. Though ICC is an international judicial system of justice, the above

mentioned themes suggest a conflicting view in which ICC is portrayed both as an enemy to the people of Kenya and as a saviour to the real violence victims in providing justice and retribution.

These themes demonstrate bipolarizing tendencies in ICC discourse. Bipolarizing is a term that is used to portray two extreme positions or standpoints which are completely different from each other. It is realized in the encoded concepts of *wale wengine* ('other')-JCRB and *tuko pamoja* (we are together)-JCRB. The discourses of belonging and exclusion typified in *wale wengine* (other) engender an understanding of ethnic identity. As it was noted earlier in section 1.8.2, Lakoff & Johnson (1980) observe that humans experience their environment through their bodies and also construe the world in terms of their bodily experiences. The manifestation of these experiences is language. Ordinarily people form a pictorial representation of an idea once they hear of it. With time, the image created over a concept influences the way such a concept is interpreted. The argument by Lakoff (1987) is that speakers of a particular language form an Idealized Cognitive Model over a concept and any time such a concept is mentioned, this model crops up in their minds. The concept of distinction and otherness is thus created.

Uhuru Kenyatta and Ruto used the refrain TUKO PAMOJA repeatedly in their utterances. The metaphoric expression *tuko pamoja* (we are together) is understood in the source domain to mean being together. It is a call to bring their supporters together to be sympathetic to their situation. It is a call for mobilising UNITY. It is a call to mobilise for collective action against ICC. This call was intended to paint the indictees as unfairly victimized and therefore needed to have support. It is a form of ethnic (Kikuyu, Kalenjin) balkanisation/mobilization against ICC. Because language is an instrument for effecting change and not just a vehicle for disclosing thought, it must be analyzed and interpreted in terms of the speaker and the hearer's social environment according to Habermas' Communicative Action Theory (1984). A central assumption is that to

communicate is to perform an act, such as stating facts, making requests, making promises, or issuing orders (Janson, Woo & Smith, 1993). The statement, “*Tuko pamoja*”, (we are in solidarity), commits the speaker to a future course of action, which in turn affects the hearer. Hence, by uttering the sentence the speaker says something, does something in saying the sentence, and affects the hearer by saying the sentence. Speech acts are performed to make factual statements, to request someone to do something, to make promises and commitments, to effect change, and to express a personal feeling (ibid). This brings us to the conclusion that ICC is an issue to be confronted collectively.

In order to understand an utterance in the paradigm case of a speech act oriented to reaching understanding, the interpreter has to be familiar with the conditions of its validity; he has to know under what conditions the validity claim linked with it is acceptable or would have to be acknowledged by a hearer (McCarthy, 1978 xiv-xv). The interpreter obtains this knowledge from the context of the observed communication or from comparable contexts. Thus the interpreter cannot become clear about the semantic content of the expression ‘*tuko pamoja*’ independent of the action contexts in which participants react to the expression with a "yes" or no" or an abstention. It ultimately builds an ‘us’ versus ‘them’ scenario of the pro ICC and anti ICC protagonists as was evidenced in the Jubilee versus Cord campaigns. Communicative action requires an interpretation that is rational in approach, which expands the truth-conditional approach to semantics into a general theory of the internal relationships between meaning and validity. This involves shifting the level of analysis from semantics to pragmatics, extending the concept of validity to include types of claims other than truth, identifying the validity conditions for the different types of claims, and establishing that, in these other cases as well, the meaning

of an utterance is inherently connected with the conditions for redeeming the validity claims raised by it.

Lakoff (1991), in an article on the metaphors of the Gulf war states boldly that metaphors can kill. He elaborated that he was not referring to mere poetic devices and matters of secondary importance, but to something that constituted a licence for military action against Iraq. ICC perceived in the negative valence as *shetani* (devil) and *vita* (war) is to be fought in equal measure. As noted earlier, the primary function of conceptual metaphoric representation is mapping the structure of our experience from a concrete and more familiar domain to an unknown concept of ICC with the aim of making it more understandable to people. As such human experiences are organized by means of prototypes and categories because treating every novel occurrence as a unique class, as separate from everything else, could exceed the comprehension and overwhelm man's ability to function in the world. As Charteris-Black (2004:2) points out, "Metaphors can only be explained by considering the interdependency of its semantic, pragmatic and cognitive dimensions. It is the gateway through which persuasive and emotive ways of thinking about the world are moulded by language use". Metaphor is therefore active in both the development of a conceptual framework for representing new ideas and in providing new words to fill lexical gaps. It fulfils the basic need of people to make sense of events in the world. ICC is therefore readily understood when it is related to familiar aspects like RELIGION, POLITICS OR MONSTERS within the Kenyan environment. When ICC is viewed within the prism of the political landscape of Kenya involving Jubilee Alliance and Cord Alliance it becomes easy to interpret the various discourses. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) maintain that people constantly look for coherence, resemblances and order by using various types of metaphors, and that metaphors are capable of uniting reason (categorization, entailment,

inference) and imagination (innovation association) in the formation of imaginative rationality.

The negative attributes ascribed to ICC, that is, ICC as A MONSTER, ICC as NEOCOLONIALISM/IMPERIALISM and ICC as POLITICAL WAR arouses fearful emotions rather than reason. This argument draws support from Oster, (2010: 752) who singled out fear as the most frequently found metaphor among other negative emotions. Scherer (1997) further observes that fear is an emotion that is unexpected, unpleasant, externally caused and uncontrollable which instead controls a person. ICC is thus constructed as punitive and cruel. A sharp boundary is drawn between people who support ICC and those against it in the context of victimhood. Who are the real victims of ICC process? Are they the post-election violence victims or the indictees at the ICC? Metaphors on ICC conceived in terms of suffering through the associated terms *msalaba* (cross) and *mzigo* (burden) do not envisage true justice or reconciliation. Alternatively, ICC is seen as more dividing, exclusive and alienating. After the post-elections violence of 2007 in Kenya, the debate that emerged regarded the implications of transitional justice for Kenya's liberalizing prospects. The Kenya National Dialogue and Reconciliation Report (2011) documents, among others, efforts undertaken by the government towards justice to include the CIPEV (2008) and The Truth Justice and Reconciliation Commission (TJRC). The question of punishment or impunity or whether there is an obligation to punish in a democratic transition is debatable. Teitel (2000) suggests that despite the moral argument for punishment in the abstract, various alternatives to punishment could express the normative message of political transformation and the rule of law with the aim of furthering democracy. Among the alternatives is Habermas' approach of Communicative Action which implies that individuals focus primarily on reaching understanding or consensus. Communicative Action differs from instrumental and strategic action because objectives are not imposed but,

rather, they are based on mutual acceptance. Reaching understanding takes priority over rational efficiency and efficacy. Successful communicative action implies veracity as the primary validity claim. Because the goal is reaching understanding, communicative action calls for candour, truthfulness, and sincerity.

The metaphoric theme of ICC as POLITICAL WAR provides alternative viewpoints of the constructed picture of the ICC unfolding events which become natural or commonsensical. This theme generates emotional responses which become hard-line stances or ideologies (Fairclough, 1989: 85). This is quite evident in the election campaign rallies conducted by both CORD and JUBILEE Alliance parties. Cord, represented by Raila Odinga and Kalonzo Musyoka (CCRC), championed itself as the force of unity and change and therefore supported ICC as a way of ending impunity in Kenya. Jubilee led by the two indictees; Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto, (JCRB), on the other hand sought to assert Kenya as an independent state, free from neo-colonial influences through ICC. As these ideologies develop, communication strains further and common understanding becomes difficult. ICC therefore ceases to be an alternative source of justice to the voices that oppose its adoption as a form of justice for the PEV victims.

Another important revelation in the study in relation to conflict is the role of metaphor as a tool for propaganda. Resistance to ICC in compromising retributive justice was achieved through propaganda. Metaphor has been acknowledged as a powerful tool for propaganda (Steuter, & Will, 2008). It is defined as the management of collective attitudes by the manipulation of significant symbols where attitude refers to a tendency to act according to certain patterns of valuation while significant symbols are those objects which have a standard meaning in a group at a given time and place (Lasswell, 1927:627). Collective attitudes are amenable to many modes of alteration – shifts in attitude or opinion. It is an aspect of social change and is connected with

the ideological rather than the technological aspects of social life. The ICC propaganda existed to consolidate an existing attitude of neo-colonialism and in the process was manned by the indictees who hoped to reap direct tangible and substantial political gains. Propaganda against ICC modified and crystallized attitude towards the prosecutor Ocampo and the ICC institution. Lumley (1933) talks of distortion, fabrication and diversion being the core elements of propaganda. Through prayer meetings, the indictees kept people from looking at ICC as a retributive form of justice but as a monster or a form of neo-colonialism, a view that was favourable to their cause. As Lasswell (1927:629) argues, propaganda intensifies the attitudes favourable to ones purpose reversing the attitudes hostile to it and attracting the indifferent or even preventing them from becoming hostile.

Every cultural group has its vested values. ICC was crafted as an institution towards which it was hoped to arouse hostility, it was presented as a menace to as many of these values as possible, for instance, *shetani* (demon) and *wakora* (thugs). Intrinsicly, the indictees had their ambitious hopes of increasing their political value, and ICC was made to appear as the stumbling block to their realization. Lasswell (1927) notes that there are patterns of right and wrong and the object or institution in question must be made to flout the good. It does not imply the acceptance of an idea without reflection; it refers to cultural material with recognizable meaning. An inspection of the life patterns of the Kenyan community reveals that prayer and political rallies comprised the web of mobility routes and congregating centres through which interested fact and opinion on ICC was disseminated.

Reflecting on Lakoff & Johnson's (1980, 2003) metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR with the linguistic realizations "to win an argument," "to attack a point" and "indefensible claims", the ICC judicial process is conceived in terms of war pitting the pro-ICC crusaders on one side

against the anti-ICC on the other side. This ultimately strains the reconciliation process in so far as the redressing of the atrocities committed in the PEV is concerned. This view that is critical of criminal justice is captured in the sentiment below:

52. *Umoja hujengwa na maridhiano wala sio adhabu. Adhabu hueneza utengano nchini.*

‘Unity comes from reconciliation not from punishment. Punishment will increase division in this country....’ (PMB)

Inherent in utterance 52 is the idea that indictment at ICC is a punishment. The assertion that The ICC is a punishment creates division in the country and defines the negative perception towards ICC. But the fundamental question still remains: whether peace can be achieved without justice. As noted earlier, when language is analyzed and interpreted in the context of speaker and hearer’s social environment it is viewed as an instrument for effecting change and not just a vehicle for disclosing thought. This interpretation closely relates to Habermas who draws his inspiration from the Speech Act Theory (Austin, 1962; Searle, 1969) that claims that to communicate is to perform an act. Because the purpose of communicative interaction is uniquely goal oriented, utterance 52 accentuates performative aspects of language; by requesting for reconciliation (*kujenga maridhiano*) among Kenyans, the speaker actually states and performs the act of building brotherhood in Kenya.

It has emerged that metaphor is at the root of essential concepts such as that of emotion, human relations and wants and needs. Based on Harbermas (1984), resolving the 2007/2008 PEV disputes may sometimes best be done by identifying the kinds of metaphors around which The ICC debates revolves and simply helping disputants understand both their semantic and pragmatic differences so as to reach *Sinnverstehen* or interpretive understanding. Because

metaphor is so influential in creating our subjective realities and what they mean to us, considered use of metaphor can take dispute resolution beyond the question of who is going to get what. It offers particular help when we are hoping not just to encourage compromise or impose settlement, but, to remedy underlying issues and resolve matters at a depth that brings more real satisfaction and everlasting peace. In the Habermian discursive action, by engaging in discourse, organizations can ultimately be impelled towards greater democracy and emancipation.

Conceptualization of The ICC as JUSTICE is a theme that expresses confidence in criminal process of accountability. The ICC is conceived in terms of *haki* (justice) VNA, *imani* (confidence) VNB. This institutionalized form of mediation has been criticized for fostering a less personal approach which can potentially dehumanize the process (Fiss, 1984). This is viewed alongside Habermas' (1984) account that is concerned with talking things out or coordinating people's behavior. In Habermas' view, whenever we speak to each other, we have always already accepted certain "presuppositions of argumentation.", that is, characteristics of speech oriented towards coordinating action. People are rational creatures. People, even in conflict, possess a human relationship that makes mediation possible – a fundamental recognition of the other, regardless of any external manifestations in language or actions or even internal recognition (Chilton & Cuzzo, 1999).

According to Habermas (1984), there is a common human need for effective ways of relating to each other. Communicative Action Theory can be used to justify mediation as an aid to those ways of relating as an alternative for people experiencing conflict in society. It can be used to provide criteria to evaluate ongoing debates within the field of mediation, such as the debate about transformative and transactional mediation practices. Viewed alongside the normative

criminal justice process at The ICC as a transactional practice, an understanding of the different meanings communicated in metaphors could be utilized in bringing about common understanding or change to society which is transformative. Central to Habermas philosophy is the distinction between strategic and communicative action. When involved in strategic action, the participants strive after their own private goals as evidenced in negative portrayal of ICC through demonization (*shetani*) and neo-colonial perspectives (*korti ya mzungu*). Such conceptualization of Kiswahili metaphors on ICC do not address the core justice and reconciliation process but seek condemnation. When involved in communicative action, the participants are oriented towards mutual agreement. The motivation for cooperation is therefore not, empirical but rather rational, that is ability to justify what one says. Thus the participants achieve a common definition of the situation in which they find themselves. This consensus is reached by negotiations about the validity claims raised within the metaphors used.

Habermas ultimately distinguishes three worlds of reference: the objective world, the social world and the subjective world. Therefore the claim to truth refers to the objective world, the claim to justice refers to the social world of the participants, and the claim to sincerity refers to the subjective world of the speaker. These three validity claims can be questioned and accounts provided resulting in a definite agreement or a definite disagreement or a decision to enter into a discussion about the presuppositions. A claim to truth entails that the speaker contends to represent the factual contents of the metaphor as they are. The claim to justice regards adequacy of the projected interpersonal relation between the speaker and hearer. The claim to sincerity entails that the speaker is genuine in the uttering of the metaphor. Language in these cases plays a very important role as a means for coordinating non-strategic action towards mutual agreement. Habermas proposes a new relationship between the field of mediation and the justice system that

would honor the power of relationship despite the conflict.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings to the three research questions the study set out to investigate. The discussions have been guided by the principles set out in the Cognitive Metaphor Theory, Critical Metaphor Analysis and Communicative Action Theory. It has come out clearly in the discussion that ICC discourse is replete with examples of conceptualization of ICC from embodied experiences of Kiswahili speakers. The cognitive models developed portray ICC in conflicting positions, either positively or negatively. An initial identification of Kiswahili linguistic metaphors reveals a variety of linguistic correspondences in relation to ICC. They depict religious, animate, journey, monster and justice attributes that guide in the understanding of ICC. The second objective is realized in the mapping of the attributes of the SD into the TD. ICC is conceptualized through diverse embodied experiences of the Kiswahili speakers over ICC. Lastly, a discussion on how the metaphors have been harnessed for either conflict escalation or resolution is provided through Habermas Communicative Action Theory.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

The ICC preoccupied Kenyans since it came to the fore in 2008 after the post-election violence and featured significantly in the media. The study set out to critically analyze how language had been used in addressing the ICC process in as far as resolving the post-election conflict was concerned. Specifically, the study intended to discuss how specific Kiswahili metaphors were used in the general debate on ICC and by extension how the usage had been harnessed for either an intensification of conflict development, or alternatively, for conflict resolution and peace building strategies in Kenya. It must be emphasized that ICC was not the subject of this study, but language about ICC (the uses and implications of ICC and its metaphors) was.

The study adopted an integrated theoretical and methodological approach that examined metaphor from linguistic, cognitive, pragmatic and sociological perspectives. It has contributed substantially new insights and understanding to the current knowledge available about Kiswahili linguistics in general and discourse analysis in particular. Such knowledge could be quite invaluable in language policy on hate speech, and in providing a deeper understanding of the dynamics of conflict escalation and mediation. Secondly, by focusing on analyzing Kiswahili metaphor use, the study has explored the wider dimensions of language, delineated and understood better, central features of political culture in Kenya. Politics of tribal mobilization stood out as a key characteristic of isolating ICC and building alliances.

This chapter summarizes the findings of the research in line with the three objectives that the study set out to achieve and makes recommendations on the use of Kiswahili metaphor in relation to the ICC indictment discourse in Kenya. The chapter also provides concluding remarks

and possible areas of further research.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

This section presents the study findings based on the analysis of discourse on ICC indictment as exemplified in the Kenyan media. The study revealed that there is a wide range of linguistic metaphors used in the conceptualization of ICC among Kenyans. These metaphors are spoken and are realized in conceptual metaphors. They are realized in the vocabulary or the linguistic expressions of the source domain.

5.2.1 Occurrence of Kiswahili Metaphors in the ICC Indictment Discourse

Basing on Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Theory the research identified Kiswahili linguistic metaphors used in the ICC discourse. The metaphors were isolated if their occurrence caused semantic tension either at a linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive level. Three main categories of linguistic metaphors were identified: expressions of prayer, expressions of elections and justice and expressions of animate characteristics. The expressions describe the understanding of the thought patterns which construct the embodiments and day to day experiences of people in life.

The identification of the linguistic expressions was premised on insights from Critical Metaphor Analysis (Charteris-Black). The linguistic expressions that were identified therefore revealed diverse mappings drawn from concrete and readily available concepts that the speakers are aware of. The metaphoric expressions of prayer drew their characteristics from the source domain of religion. Through the prayer meetings, the indictees were able to mobilize public opinion against ICC. The metaphors portray images of persecution and suffering thereby attracting empathy and sympathy. The indictees create a picture of innocence by repeatedly invoking God's intervention in their predicament. The prayer metaphors draw a very close parallel to the story of Jesus in the

Bible. The indictees played victim to false persecution and hoped going round the country would prove their innocence. Religion serves as a source domain for invoking spiritual aspirations into the political domain and links the indictees to a commitment with religious beliefs.

The metaphors for animate characteristics largely employed personification and reification in their usage. The historical reconstruction of colonialisation, independence, and neo-colonialism played a key role in conceptualizing ICC. Reference to *mzungu* (Whiteman), Hague and Ocampo metaphorically points at ICC as a form of neo-colonization. The greater picture reveals Western interference into local internal affairs hence mobilization against ICC.

The third set of metaphoric expressions was referenced on elections and justice. They were more common in election campaign rallies and in the testimonies of post-election violence victims. These metaphors were rhetorically important because the pragmatic aims of campaign rallies are to make intelligible utterances and to persuade people. They demonstrated a deep conflict between the indictees in Jubilee and Cord who supported ICC. The metaphors conceived politics as war front to be worn on the platform of ICC. On the other hand, victim testimonies and Cord campaign rallies employed positive metaphors towards ICC justice. In summary, these aforementioned three sets of metaphoric expressions characterized ICC discourse in the three genres of study.

5.2.2 Metaphorical Conceptualization of ICC and Domain Mappings

Lakoff & Johnson (1980) in Cognitive Metaphor Theory argue that a concrete and clearly defined source domain that is more readily related to the physical and bodily experiences is often used to understand and talk more about the more abstract and less clearly structured target domain. As a result, the conceptual mappings within the ICC discourse that were discussed in the findings in Chapter Four were primarily derived from metaphor domains and ubiquity tenets

proposed by the two scholars. The ubiquity tenet states that metaphors are as abundant in ordinary discourse as they are in specialized discourses. Therefore, several metaphorical expressions were realized within the ICC discourse and used to map the more abstract ICC into familiar source domain concepts occurring in every day ordinary language. The study isolated six conceptual mappings that were considered to shape the thoughts and reasoning towards ICC: ICC as RELIGIOUS WAR, ICC as POLITICAL WAR, ICC as ANIMATE BEING, ICC as A MONSTER, ICC as NEO-COLONIALISM and ICC as JUSTICE.

The conceptualization of ICC as RELIGIOUS WAR was realized through the prayer rallies conducted by the indictees in different parts of the country. Through the rallies, the indictees were seeking consensus and bringing their supporters together. Metaphor was shown to be quite suited to religious contexts because it is a primary means by which the unknown (ICC) was conceptualized in terms of what is already known (religion). Charteris-Black (2004:174) argues that since very few people would have direct personal knowledge of a divine being, metaphors are a natural means for exploring the possible forms that such a divinity might take and for expressing religious experiences.

Religious prayers were used as tools to mobilize their supporters into rejecting ICC. In such meetings ICC was portrayed as a MONSTER, a form of NEO-COLONIALISM and POLITICAL WAR. The metaphors generated within the ICC discourse were found to be uniformly negative and clustered around politics, religion, sports and creatures. These conceptualizations build resentment and view criminal justice as punitive and a form of condemnation. Criminal justice is seen as punishment which entrenches the conflict. On the other hand people who supported ICC felt happy about the conflict and were associated with metaphors that evoked positive feelings. The results have indicated that individuals involved in

the ICC conflict tended to blame their competitors. This development introduces the need to explore alternatives of delivering justice in times of conflict discussed in the next section.

5.2.3 Interpretation of Kiswahili Metaphor in Conflict Situation

Agreements depend both on people having an understanding of what they themselves want and also having shared understanding of what they are agreeing to. Resolution of conflicts goes beyond the parties' specific agreement, because true resolution can exist only against a background of mutual understanding. Lacking such a background encourages more rigid positions, lack of dialogue and more positional approaches to a dispute.

This study of metaphors on ICC reveals that people in conflict often feel that the other party does not have a clue about their position. They therefore resort to dehumanizing or even demonizing the other side to justify their own views of the conflict, preventing the kind of recognition that can produce meaningful breakthroughs. The findings of this study show that though Uhuru and Ruto formed a political alliance, the post election conflict is still unresolved. The question of justice and reconciliation as evidenced in the metaphors is open to conflicting interpretation. The metaphors have been talking against each other with no common understanding.

The effect then of examining conflict in Habermasian terms is to expand the scope of mediation and help people to preserve, fix and renew their underlying communicative relationship. ICC has emerged in the discussion as a legal system in dispute resolution whose outcome will be painful to some. The metaphors identified have shown how the parties in conflict have characterized themselves as opponents in a battle between right and wrong. However the anti-ICC metaphors dominated the discourse. This has divided the parties from one another, regardless of the issue, and bred continuing conflict. If the conflict and its resolution involve winners and losers, the outcome at the ICC is likely to negatively affect reconciliation process. Are the losers going to

believe it unjust? Are the winners going to believe it just? The import of this concern is articulated by Fiss (1984: 1073) who advances for a new direction in legal education which focuses on the gentler arts of reconciliation and accommodation rather than legal combat. This approach that turns attention from the courts to new voluntary mechanisms for resolving disputes reinforces Habermas' social theory on communication.

The dispute resolution debate makes settlement appear as a perfect substitute for judgment by reducing the social function of the ICC lawsuit to one of resolving conflicts. Courts are reactive institutions. They do not search out interpretive occasions, but instead wait for others to bring matters to their attention (Fiss, 1984: 1085). Parties may settle while leaving justice undone.

5.3 Conclusions

The study analyzed Kiswahili metaphors in the ICC indictment discourse in Kenya from January 2012 to March 2013. The approach that was taken in the study on the analysis of ICC metaphors borrowed from cognitive linguistics that considers utterance as the usual unit of metaphorical analysis. The findings indicate that the metaphors used by people in reference to ICC were realized from different source domains ranging from religion, politics, monsters, justice and neo-colonialism.

The study concludes that the metaphors people use in reference to ICC largely determines the perceptions that are created in others about the same. These metaphors expose the personal biases of the person using the metaphor and help to shape the perceptions towards ICC. The study has taken into account the wider contexts of statements and discourses around ICC and the circumstances through which they are produced. It has also revealed that social and political contexts play major roles on how metaphors are defined, how they function and what their meanings are. Since contexts are texts as well, the study has shown that they should not

be objectified, as if they had an ontological foundation prior to and independent of texts. Metaphors in this respect act as discursive hubs, developing meaning in the interplay of texts and contexts. Metaphors therefore also inform and structure thinking on discourses and contexts. In this way, they contribute to the working of discursive mechanisms as political and social phenomena in their own right, enabling or constraining the capabilities of actors.

Metaphors in relation to ICC are grounded in experience, have a structure regarding how the elements in the metaphor are compared, they show a relationship within the structure and are defined by natural or physical experiences like politics, sports, religion, elections and wars. They offer a prism through which to understand the world besides shaping the understanding of others. Metaphors on ICC have also shown ways in which individuals structure their experiences based on a number of roles metaphors play in language: a semantic role in creating new meanings of words; cognitive role in developing our understanding on the basis of analogy; and a pragmatic role that aims to provide evaluations. In fact, as noted earlier, metaphors are quite pervasive in everyday language use, but speakers are rarely aware of their occurrence in their speeches.

The relations of power within discourses have been shown to be typically condensed and expressed in authorised metaphors, and they are thus central to an understanding of the Kenyan political process itself. The Metaphors also act as discursive nodal points between those who support the ICC process and those who oppose it in a more or less bounded discourse. They thus represent a potential for creativity in language and politics. This ‘poetical’ function has also been shown to be closely connected to the transference of knowledge from one domain to the other. These transfers challenge and transform meanings across domains and are mediating knowledge’s between and within the ICC discourses. More importantly, these findings

suggest that an elaborate understanding of metaphors in the ICC discourse may assist in contextualizing the conflict and the possible ways of resolving them.

5.4 Recommendations

The study investigated Kiswahili metaphors used in the ICC indictment discourse in Kenya sourced from media resources. The following recommendations are suggested in line with the three objectives of the study. Objective one of the study involved identifying the Kiswahili linguistic metaphors used in the ICC discourse. The study recognizes the significant role played by Kiswahili both as a national and official language in Kenya. The use of Kiswahili in political discourse is equally important. It is recommended that to foster peace and reconciliation, a deliberate attempt and careful use of metaphoric expressions that avoid polarization should be encouraged. Such would eliminate the concept of ‘other’ in communication and establish a single approach to conflict resolution. National institutions that deal with security, peace, national reconciliation such as The National Cohesion and Integration Commission (NCIC) could utilize metaphoric knowledge to caution on and contain negative use of metaphors. NCIC exists to promote national unity in Kenya through facilitation of processes and policies that encourage elimination of all forms of ethnic discrimination irrespective of background, social circle, race and ideological belief(s), and by so doing, enhances the capacity for Kenyans to accept each other in appreciating the significance of diversity.

Objective two explored the underlying conceptual metaphors that shaped the thoughts and reasoning towards ICC discourse. It is recommended that since conceptual mappings are historical and culturally biased, then efforts geared at resolving conflicts be cognizant of the same.

Based on the third objective of the study, it is recommended that if communication through metaphors is conceptualized as a process of negotiation about ICC based on the exchange of validity claims, then coordination is ensured by the orientation towards mutual agreement. It means that motivation for cooperation is not empirical but rational, therefore communicative action requires participants to be oriented towards mutual agreement. If such an approach was adopted, metaphors would play a crucial role in bringing about common understanding. Metaphors could therefore help to investigate and put in place strategies that address conflicts and divisionary speech based on ethnic, religious, and political affiliation.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

Developments in the ICC case in Kenya imply an inevitable incompleteness of the research and the transitional justice debates. From the onset, the ICC question has presented a fluid case of study. It demonstrates an ever shifting and moving target scenario. Initially there were six suspects indicted at the ICC. The cases against all the accused collapsed and the charges facing the indictees were dropped due to what the ICC chief prosecutor attributed to lack of witnesses or witness interference. Second, Uhuru Kenyatta and William Ruto despite their indictment at the ICC launched quite a successful presidential campaign and won the Presidency and Deputy Presidency of Kenya in the 2013 elections. This fact attests to the subject's relevance and vitality and a source of inspiration in research. A plethora of ideas come to mind related to future research.

1. Since the first objective of the current research was limited to identification of the types of Kiswahili linguistic metaphors in the ICC indictment discourse in video recordings from media resources in Kenya, further research could examine the discourse by integrating firsthand accounts of victim responses. This would capture testimonies and

actual experiences and therefore reveal genuine perspectives from the victims' point of view. Such a study could go further to integrate other aspects of language besides metaphor.

2. Several African countries including Sudan, Uganda and Congo have active cases at the ICC. There has also been debate in the AU about African countries withdrawing from the ICC. Based on the second research objective that analysed the underlying conceptual metaphors that shape the thoughts and reasoning towards ICC discourse, it would be interesting to investigate how the citizens from these member states of ICC employ language and how they interact to convey conflicting opinions on ICC. This approach could involve a comparative determination of how these African countries have conceptualized ICC and responded to ICC interventions.
3. The third objective was to discuss how Kiswahili metaphor uses have been harnessed for either conflict escalation or conflict resolution. Uhuru and Ruto were among the six indictees at the ICC to face charges of crimes against humanity resulting from the 2007/2008 post-election violence. Despite the ethnic tensions between the Kikuyu and the Kalenjins, the duo managed to mobilize and galvanize the two communities into joining Jubilee Alliance. Interestingly, it is on the alliance that they contested for Presidency and Deputy Presidency respectively and won the election. Another area of possible research could be an investigation of the language strategies that Uhuru and Ruto employed in their campaign rallies towards winning the Presidency. Such a study could explore political rhetoric's and unravel the reconciliatory strategies that could be adopted in post conflict societies as a form of transitional justice.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: Corpus of data for analysis

1. *Tuondoe madoadoa miongoni mwetu (CIPV 2008)*

(We should get rid of the dotted from our midst)

2. *Tung'oe kwekwe kutoka shambani (CIPV 2008)*

3. *Macho yake ni vito vilivyong'ara (Source: Researcher)*

(Her eyes were glistening jewels)

4. *Kenya ni bahari ya amani (Source: Researcher)*

(Kenya is a sea of peace)

(We should uproot all the weeds (read unwanted people) from the farm)

5. *Mtungi umepasuka (Vierke 2012)*

(The pot is broken)

6. *"Siku ya leo tumekuja hapa kwa maombi. Mmeona wakenya wote wako*

hapa kutoka Bara Hindi hadi ziwa Victoria, kutoka Ziwa Victoria hadi Ziwa

Turkana. Tuko hapa kama viongozi kuomba pamoja kama wakenya. Bibilia

inasema ya kwamba familia inayoomba pamoja hukaa pamoja" (PMB)

(We are gathered here today for **prayers**. As you can see all Kenyans

are here, from the Indian Ocean to Lake Victoria, from Lake Victoria

to Lake Turkana. We are here as leaders to **pray** together. The bible

says a family that **prays** together stays together.)

7 “...*tumekuja hapa kwa maombi*”(PMB) (We are gathered here today for prayers)

8 “...*kama viongozi kuomba pamoja*” (PMB) (as leaders to pray together)

9 “...*familia inayoomba pamoja*” (PMB) (a family that prays together)

10 *Tutaenda huko....*(PMB)

(We shall go there...)

11 *Tutarudi na adui ataaibika....*(PMC)

(We shall come back and the enemy will be shamed...)

12 *Safari imeanza...*(JCRB)

(The journey has started...).

13 ...*asiyekosa hatapewa msalaba* usiokuwa wake (PMA)

(...he who did not commit any wrong should not be punished unfairly)

14 *Kila mtu ataubeba mzigo* wake (PMA)

(Each person will carry his/her own burden)

15 Uhuru: ...*sisi hatuna hatia*... (...blameless, or innocence). PMA

16 Ruto: ...*kama wanaona Uhuru ako na makosa, ama Ruto ako na makosa....*

(...if they perceive Uhuru as guilty or Ruto as guilty...). PMA

17 *Si hii mumetuomba hapa tumepiga magoti hii...mambo ya Hague itashindwa. Kama vile ya Paulo na Sila ilifunguka korokoroni si hata hii itafunguka. Sasa tufanye mpango ya mwaka ujao kwa sababu waswahili husema, safari ya kesho inapagwa leo.* (PMB)

(You have prayed for us. Just like Paul and Silas were set free from prison we shall

overcome The Hague. We should plan for next year. A good journey requires early preparation).

18 *Sisi twajua ya kwamba kule tunaenda, twaenda kwa sababu ya chuki ya hawa...lakini tutaenda na roho moja tukijua ya kwamba tumeenda.* (PMB)

(We are going to the Hague because of hatred and ill-feelings. We are going in the belief that we are innocent...)

19. *Korti itatupilia mbali kesi inayotukabili na tutarudi nyumbani huru* (PMC)

(The court will dismiss our case and we shall be set free)

20. *Tuna imani na Hague* (We have confidence in The Hague) VNA

21. *Ocampo hakutuuliza sisi kama mashahidi* (Ocampo never heard our views as witnesses)
VNC

22. *Mama Bensouda, huko kuna haki?* (Mother Bensouda can justice be found there?) VNB

23. *Mzungu atuwache tujiamulie mambo yetu* (the white man should respect our independence)-VND

24. *Matatizo ya Kenya hayawezi tatuliwa na Hague, wala na Ocampo, wala na Muingereza ama Mwamerika.* (PMB).

(Kenya's problems will neither be solved by Hague, Ocampo, British or American).

25. Hiyo ni **korti ya wakora** (PMC)

(It is a court for thugs)

26. *Dawa ya Kenya sio Hague* (PMC)

(Hague is not the best medicine for Kenya).

27. Uhuru K: *Mnaona kuna haki Mheshimiwa Ruto na mimi mwenyewe Uhuru Kenyatta tupatiwe nafasi ya kusimama Wakenya wachague kama wanatutaka ama hawatutaki...wafanye yale yote ambayo wanataka lakini mimi, ile kitu nitaheshimu ni uamuzi wa wananchi. Na mimi na mheshimiwa Ruto tutakuwa huko kwa **debe**.* (JCRB)

(Don't you think Hon. Ruto and I Uhuru have a right to contest so that Kenyans can have their choice...let them (read those in support of ICC) do all they want, what I will respect is the common man's verdict. I and Hon. Ruto will go all along to the **ballot box**).

28. Ruto: *...Kama ni watu wanaoamini demokrasia, wawache njama ya kutafuta **njia ya mkato** kuwaondoa wenzao eti ndio wao washinde...kama wanaona Uhuru ako na makosa, ama Ruto ako na makosa, wakuje wamweleze mwananchi: usipigie Ruto kura, ako na makosa fulani. Mwananchi ako na uwezo wa kujiamulia mwenyewe.* (PMB).

(If they (read ICC supporters) believe in democracy, they should avoid **shortcuts** by eliminating their competitors so that they can win easily...if they know that either Uhuru or Ruto committed a crime, they should come and convince people not to vote for Ruto because he committed the following crimes. Kenyans have the capacity to make their own decisions).

29. *Sisi hayo yote tumemwachia Mungu **baba** wetu.* (PMC)

(We have left all in the hands of God our father)

30. *Kila mtu ataubeba **mzigo** wake* (PMA)

(Each person will carry his/her own burden or each person will be accountable)

31. a) Question: How are you going to govern at the same time facing charges at ICC?

b) Uhuru: Every man goes through difficult times in life. ICC to me is a personal challenge.

32. *ICC haiwezi kutuamulia mambo yetu hapa. Tuko na uhuru wa kujichagulia hatima yetu.*

(PME)

(ICC cannot decide on our issues here. We have the independence to choose our fate)

33. *Tukutane kwa debe* (JCRB)

(We meet at the ballot)

34. *Safari imeanza* (JCRB)

(The journey has started)

35. *Na ndio vizuri tuambiane ukweli, **Shetani** ambaye hata hajui kazi hiyo tulianzisha namna gani, wanakuja wanasema sasa, sasa unajua sasa nyinyi mkienda hivyo **mumejitangaza, unajua sasa wazungu hawatatupatia pesa. Sasa moto wakati uliwaka namna hiyo, na ikasemekana sasa hapana wewe unajua oh unajua sasa wewe ambia ndugu yako aondoke kwa hiyo kiti wewe uchukue hiyo upatie mwingine ndio Kenya iendelee mbele...***(18th dec. 2012 Uhuru Kenyatta at Multi Media University)

(Truth be told. Satan is at work. They claim we are exposing ourselves and therefore the donors will withhold their funding. They suggest that unless I step aside and let my brother contest the presidency the heat/fire will consume us).

36. *Hii ni mahakama **bandia*** (PMF)

(This is a pedestrian or fake court)

37. *Na mungu anajua kuwa hawana hatia. Na ndio **tunatafuta utawala** wa nchi hii, sio ati tulipize kisasi, lakini tungependa uraisi ambao utahakikisha **haki imetendwa** taifa hili.*

(JCRB)

(And God knows they are innocent. That is the reason we are seeking leadership, not to take revenge but to ensure justice is done in this country).

38. *Naomba kuwa **maridhiano na masikizano** ndio itakuwa mkondo wa Kenya. ...Sura ya Kenya iko hapa. Mimi naomba wakirudi, tunaunda chama kipya cha kuweza **kutawala** Kenya nzima. *(JCRB)**

(I pray that reconciliation and understanding prevails in Kenya...This is the face of Kenya. When they come back (from The Hague) we shall form a new party to unite all Kenyans)

39. *Uhuru: Twajua ya kwamba **tunatembea** kwenda huko Hague. **Mungu akiwa mbele, ukweli utajitokeza. Tutarudi hapa, hiyo ndege itawekwa parking hapo tu dakika chache wale ambao wanabeba the greatest responsibility wataingia, warudi huko sasa waende kaka, Sio! Tutafanya kazi pamoja kama jirani.** (PMD)*

(We know as we head to The Hague, God is with us and the truth shall set us free. We shall come back and the same plane that will deliver us will take the real culprits back to face the long trial. Is it not so? For us, we shall work together as neighbours).

40. *Tutashinda vita* (JCRB)

(We shall win the battle)

41. *Tutapiga vita*

(We shall fight)

42. *Wale waliotupeleka huko wataaibika na **shetani** atashindwa.* (JCRA)

(Those who engineered our indictment at The Hague will be shamed and the devil shall loose)

43. *Sote tunaelewa kuwa hiyo yote ilikuwa miereka ya kisiasa.* (JCRA)

(We all understand that it was a political wrestling game)

44. *Hiyo ilikuwa ni **miereka** ya kisiasa.* (PMC)

It was a political wrestling match.

45. *Korti ya **mzungu*** (it's the Whiteman's court) (PME)

46. *Tulijinyakulia **uhuru*** (we got our independence) (JCRA)

47. *Hatutaki **kutawaliwa** tena* (we do not need recolonization) (JCRA)

48. *Kenya ni nchi **huru*** (kenya is an independent state) (PME)

49. *Wale wengine ni **wasaliti*** (They are traitors) (JCRB)

50. *Victim: Kwa vile umetoka katika mahakama ya kitaifa, na sisi **kama waathiriwa** wa mahali hapa, **tuna imani** sana na wewe. Ni kwa sababu tunajua kwamba wewe tayari umeona na utaweza kutusikiliza kama waathiriwa...* (VNB)

(Coming from the international court, we as **victims** from this area have **confidence in you**. You have seen and listened to us victims...)

51. *Victim ...tutamwambia tanataka tutimiziwe haki yetu, tulipwe ridhaa na tupewe makao. Hiyo kesi ikiwa mahakamani, tunaona haki ikitendeka.* (VN4)

(...we are seeking justice. With the case in court (ICC) we are assured of justice.

52. *Umoja hujengwa na maridhiano wala sio adhabu. Adhabu hueneza utengano nchini.*

‘Unity comes from reconciliation not from punishment. Punishment will increase division in this country....’ (PMB)

Appendix B: Authorization letter from Maseno University School of Graduate Studies



**MASENO UNIVERSITY
SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES**

Office of the Dean

Our Ref: PG/PHD/00018/2004

Private Bag, MASENO, KENYA
Tel: (057) 351 22/351008/351011
FAX: 254-057-351153/351221
Email: sgs@maseno.ac.ke

Date: 23rd May, 2014

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

**RE: PROPOSAL APPROVAL FOR PHILIP VISENDI LUMWAMU—
PG/PHD/00018/2004**

The above named is registered in the Doctor of Philosophy in Kiswahili Programme of the School of Arts and Social Sciences, Maseno University. This is to confirm that his research proposal titled "*Language in Conflict: Kiswahili Metaphors in the International Criminal Court Indictment Discourse in Kenya*" has been approved for conduct of research subject to obtaining all other permissions/clearances that may be required beforehand.

Prof. P.O. Owuor
DEAN, SCHOOL OF GRADUATE STUDIES



Maseno University

ISO 9001:2008 Certified



Appendix C: Maseno University Ethics Review Committee authorization letter



MASENO UNIVERSITY ETHICS REVIEW COMMITTEE

Tel: +254 057 351 622 Ext: 3050
Fax: +254 057 351 221

Private Bag – 40105, Maseno, Kenya
Email: muerc-secretariate@maseno.ac.ke

FROM: Secretary - MUERC

DATE: 21st January, 2016

TO: Phillip Visendi Lumwamu

REF: MSU/DRPI/MUERC/00221/15

PG/PHD/00018/2004

Department of Kiswahili and Other African Languages

School of Arts and Social Sciences, Maseno University

P.O. Private Bag, Maseno, Kenya

**RE: Language in Conflict: Kiswahili Metaphors in the International Criminal Court
Indictment Discourse in Kenya. Proposal Reference Number
MSU/DRPI/MUERC/00221/15**

This is to inform you that the Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (MUERC) determined that the ethics issues raised at the initial review were adequately addressed in the revised proposal. Consequently, the study is granted approval for implementation effective this 21st day of January, 2016 for a period of one (1) year.

Please note that authorization to conduct this study will automatically expire on 20th January, 2017. If you plan to continue with the study beyond this date, please submit an application for continuation approval to the MUERC Secretariat by 21st December, 2016.

Approval for continuation of the study will be subject to successful submission of an annual progress report that is to reach the MUERC Secretariat by 21st December, 2016.

Please note that any unanticipated problems resulting from the conduct of this study must be reported to MUERC. You are required to submit any proposed changes to this study to MUERC for review and approval prior to initiation. Please advise MUERC when the study is completed or discontinued.

Thank you.

Yours faithfully,

Dr. Bonuke Anyona,
Secretary,
Maseno University Ethics Review Committee.



Cc: Chairman,
Maseno University Ethics Review Committee.

MASENO UNIVERSITY IS ISO 9001:2008 CERTIFIED



Appendix D: Article Publication in Globe Journal

Globe: A Journal of Language, Culture and Communication

Current Archives Announcements About ▾

Home / Archives / Vol 6 (2018): Special Issue: Stability, Democracy and Rights in Post-Conflict Areas / Part VI: Inequality and human rights

Metaphoric conceptualization of International Criminal Court justice and peace building in Kenya

Philip Lumwamu
Maseno University

Florence Ngesa Indede
Maseno University

Peter Maina Matu
Technical University of Kenya

DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5278/ojs.globe.v6i0.2333>

Abstract

In this paper, the metaphoric conceptualization of the International Criminal Court (ICC) indictment discourse in Kenya is examined through a data-driven analysis. Much scholarly writing on the ICC intervention in Kenya has concentrated on the functionality of the Court as a transitional justice mechanism. Little has been said though about the role of language

PDF

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01-06-2018

Issue
[Vol 6 \(2018\): Special Issue: Stability, Democracy and Rights in Post-Conflict Areas](#)

Section
Part VI: Inequality and human rights

Articles published in *Globe: A Journal of Language, Culture and Communication* are following the license [Creative](#)

Appendix E: Article publication in SJHSS

OPEN ACCESS

Saudi Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences
Abbreviated Key Title: Saudi J Humanities Soc Sci
ISSN 2415-6256 (Print) | ISSN 2415-6248 (Online)
Scholars Middle East Publishers, Dubai, United Arab Emirates
Journal homepage: <http://scholarsmepub.com/sjhss/>

Original Research Article

Can Habermas' Theory of Communicative Action Provide a Framework of Inspiration for Practices of Discursive Mediation in Post-Election Kenya?

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Abstract

This article examines how Habermas's theory of communicative action provides insights for mediation processes and conflict resolution in general. It lays its assumptions that people in society are in relationship and that presuppositions of argumentation proposed by Habermas can assist direct focus on fundamental elements of conflict resolution. Kenya in the wake of the violently disputed presidential elections of 2007 is undergoing a transition period where both the perpetrators and the victims of the violence are seeking justice and reparation respectively. Inherent in the process is the emerging debate on reconciliation and retribution. The failure of International Criminal Court (ICC) to successfully prosecute the six suspects who had been indicted to face charges of criminal culpability in the post-election violence builds a case for alternative conflict resolution approaches. The paper adopts a methodology that discusses the mediation process through conceptual metaphors used in reference to ICC. A closer interpretation of the metaphors can assist the parties to prepare a resolution process that derives from Habermas ideas of the 'conditions of communication'. This paper proposes the use of these ideas to constrain abuses of their authority, and ultimately offer mediators a new opportunity to help re-establish positive relationships thereby contributing to the post-election violence transition debate in the post-election violent Kenyan society.

Key words: communicative action, post-election violence, reconciliation, justice, metaphor.

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