THE POWER OF METAPHORS IN POLITICS: A COGNITIVE ANALYSIS OF METAPHORS IN KISWAHILI NEWSPAPERS IN TANZANIA

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ABSTRACT

This paper explores the power of metaphor in politics by employing a cognitive analysis of metaphorical statement used in Kiswahili newspapers. The paper explores the meanings and messages embodied in political metaphors and its influence in the society in Tanzania. Fundamentally, this paper aims at identifying types of metaphors which are mostly used in political discourse, the role of such metaphors in politics and meanings embodied in them. Consequently, the paper critically analyses and discusses the power of metaphors in politics by using a cognitive theory of metaphor. The collection of data began with the gathering of metaphors from newspapers. Then further data was gathered through interviews, documentary reviews and questionnaire methods. The paper finds that, metaphors used in politics are simple, complex and extended metaphors. Furthermore, the paper argues that metaphors are dominant in the transmission of meanings; intentionally, metaphorical statements are symbolically used to transfer messages in a metaphorical way and with great impact to the intended society. Therefore, it is argued in this paper that a use of metaphorical language is an immediate and effective device for behaviour change of the society and the choice of metaphor for a particular message is done consciously.

Keywords: Metaphor, Politics, Power, Metaphorical Language, Cognitive Analysis.

INTRODUCTION

Language has various stylistic devices which people of a particular society employ in day to day communication. These devices include metaphor, metonym, allegory, simile, synecdoche, irony, personification, hyperbole, parallelism and parenthesis. The choice and use of these devices depends on specific content. In order to understand the meaning and message of a text, we must analyse language through its devices. it is advisable to study the linguistic features constituting the code of a particular language and how they are used as resources to convey message and feelings. Therefore, to understand the meaning of a particular text one needs to have knowledge and experience of the language. Knowledge of language helps a reader to analyse the structure of the text in relation to meaning being communicated (Mlacha, 1991).

An understanding of meaning or a message of a particular text is based on the language of the speech community. Morgan (2006: 1) holds that, the study of the speech community is central to the understanding of human language and meaning-making. This is because it is the product of prolonged interaction among those who operate within shared belief and value systems regarding their own culture, society, and history as well as their communication with others. Polzenhagen (2007) says, the cognitive-linguistic movement has emphasized the cultural embeddedness of language and hence the need to consider cultural aspects in the study of language but it is only recently that a greater number of cognitive linguists have devoted their work to the study of the socio-cultural dimension of language. Cultural

cognition is usually the basis of many aspects of our actions and behaviours Therefore, intelligence lies less in the individual brain, than the more dynamic interaction of brains in the wider world (Sharifian 2008: 114). This paper focuses on metaphors as language devices used by journalist to convey political message to the society. Metaphors are a linguistic device used in people's everyday language to convey meanings and messages to consider the use of their respective audience. The ultimate goal of this paper is to identify types of metaphors used in political discourse, to explore the role of metaphors in politics and meanings embodied in used metaphors, the paper also see how the audience (the readers) grasps what are presented through metaphorical expressions. Consequently, the paper analyses and discusses the power of metaphors in politics.

METAPHORS

The understanding of metaphor in this paper is based on the cognitive and conceptual view of metaphor outlined by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). This theory of conceptualisation of metaphor is a means of understanding something in terms of something else by "mapping" one conceptual domain to another domain. The theory was useful for this investigation, since it makes plausible assumption on a theory level (Cameron 1999) about what expressions may potentially be understood metaphorically. This conceptual view also implies that metaphors are pervasive in every day discourse. Therefore metaphors cannot generally be regarded as something literary or creative. As a result, a procedure of metaphor identification has to differentiate between rather conventional metaphor and creative metaphors which occasionally exploit the principles of conceptual mappings. People understand metaphors according to their respective environment, context and culture. Wee (2006:111) explains that, metaphors are viewed primarily from cognitive perspective as well as their cultural understanding. On the other hands, Neil Bermel (2007: 262) explicitly claims that the field of metaphor studies has grown tremendously in recent years, and now has at least two clear branches. One branch: continues the traditional view of metaphor within the context of philosophy of language or of literary studies, in which it primarily viewed as a rhetorical device. The other view in line with cognitive perspective, considers metaphors in language as a reflection of the world around us. The present study on political metaphors in Swahili newspapers hinges from the second branch. Using Bermel's (*Ibid*: 263) words, it concerns with what metaphors tell us about the mind of the speaker/writer.

For the theoretical orientations, the theory of conceptual metaphor proposes that metaphors are ordered hierarchically such that the lower level mappings inherit features of higher level mappings (Wee 2006: 113). Furthermore, Neil Bermel (2007) citing Lakoff and Johnson (1980) elucidate that conceptual metaphors often cluster around various themes. They can be connected around the source, the target or the common path of the metaphor. By linking metaphors via shared sources, shared targets and higher-order metaphors we can identify larger groups of metaphors called networks. And more recent research has shown that distinct differences exist among the metaphoric networks of individual languages. Through cognitive understanding of metaphor, the paper identifies types of metaphors used in political discourse, the meanings and messages embodied in political metaphors and its influence in the society and hence it discusses the power of metaphors in politics and its influence in the society. The following section discusses the structure of metaphor in order to build the ground understanding of what is and what is not a metaphor.

STRUCTURE OF THE METAPHOR

Meaning transference from one domain to another basically involves three notional elements of metaphor which are tenor, vehicle and ground (Hester, 1967; Leech, 1969; Crosman, 1978; Hedley, 1988; Kahigi, 1995). The corresponding terms to "tenor" and "vehicle" in Layoff's terminology are "target" and "source." The tenor of the metaphor is the literal part of expression which is reconstructed in the literal context. The vehicle which is the figurative part of the expression together with its reconstructed context is the image or analogue in terms of which the tenor is presented. Ground is the likeness perceived between tenor and vehicle. Therefore, every metaphor is in the form of "X is like Y in respect of Z where X is the tenor, Y the vehicle and Z the ground". For illustration, the following statement will be used: *"Hamisa is gold",* the tenor is Hamisa, the vehicle is gold and the ground is the characteristics of gold (expensive, attractive and highly valued) which are attributed to Hamisa. The tenor, vehicle, and ground of metaphor are considered as important elements in the understanding of metaphors, in the interpretation of their meaning and the theme they construct in a specific context. Therefore, these characteristics which are perceived to be shared by items of different semantic fields enable the hearer or reader to find the probable meaning by making a plausible comparison between the tenor, vehicle and the ground.

TYPES OF METAPHORS

Metaphors have been classified in Leech (1969) categorizes metaphors into concretive, animistic, humanizing and synaesthetic. He also explains other types such as extended, compound and mixed metaphors. His categorisation is based on function, structure and meaning of metaphors. Mulokozi and Kahigi (1979) reduce the number of metaphors classified by Leech (1969); they discuss three types of metaphors which are simple, complex and extended. Their categorisation is based on the structure of the metaphor. Furthermore, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) define three types of metaphors: "orientational" (in which we use our experience with spatial orientation), "ontological" (in which we use our experience with physical objects), and "structural" (in which natural types are used to define other concepts). They also reduce each metaphor to more primitive metaphors for example, as extended or conceit, mixed, an epic or Homeric, smile, synecdoche, complex, and compound, absolute, dead and conceptual metaphors. In addition to the categorisation of meaning, function and structure, Bertoncini (1992) categorises metaphors into concretive, animistic and extended. She also mentions types of hybrid metaphor, metaphor in absentia and metaphor in presentia. However, following Leech above, Kahigi (1995) discusses three types of metaphors as they did in the early work with Mulokozi.

The categorisation of metaphors based on meaning and structure may lead to other figurative expressions to be regarded as metaphors, for example a humanising metaphor has characteristics of personification. Therefore, this categorisation may lead to the confusion of identification of metaphors from other figurative expressions. This paper analyses three types of metaphors by adapting the proposed categorization by Mulokozi and Kahigi (1979), Kahigi (1995), Leech (1969) and Jilala (2008). These are simple, complex and extended metaphors. The reason for choosing this classification is that, it is a structural based classification which helps the study to avoid confusion in understanding what a metaphor is, and what it is not, in the analysis. Furthermore, other types of metaphors classified by other scholars appear to be embodied in these three types. Furthermore within those metaphors it is still possible to distinguish between concrete, animistic and humanising metaphors.

THE COGNITIVE VIEW OF METAPHOR

The cognitive perception of metaphor began from the belief that metaphors are fundamental to our way of thinking and understanding and housed hierarchically in the natural comprehensible elements, namely location, movement, the human body, items in the physical world, time, emotions and values (Bermel 2007: 264). For example, Sharifian *et al*. (2008: 3-5) maintain that cultural models of the mind and more scientific approaches in philosophy and/or medicine have in different cultures invoked central parts of the human body as the locus of the mind. And the major locus has been the abdomen region, the heart region and the head region or, more particularly, the heart region. For instance in China, Japan and Korea, the traditional medicine studies have a locus on the mind which is interpreted as both the heart and the brain as the centre of thinking (Sharifaian et al. (2008).

STUDIES ON METAPHOR

Metaphor has acquired a cognitive status. Today, under the aegis of metaphor; the power of figurative language has newly become an object of research and general theoretical speculation (Franke, 2000). This is particularly true of policy-making, wherein we know that the style of the rhetoric is one of the most important aspects of conveying the message to the public at large. What we have learned that metaphors are very effective in the communication of policy because they provide cognitively accessible ways of communicating political policy. They provide proofs of warrants that support arguments and have particular entailments (Charteris-Black, 2009). The following subsections will discuss some studies done on metaphors and political metaphor to build general overview of what other researchers on metaphor in its generality and metaphor in politics as a specific aspect have proposed.

STUDIES ON KISWAHILI METAPHORS IN TANZANIA

My observation of studies within a decade and a half in Tanzania has found that metaphors have been the subject of analysis by people interested only in literary works, i.e. plays, poetry, and novels. Khamis (2000: 17) observes that, generally the genres of literary works thrive on mutual oppositions. Specifically contractions and extensions, cognition(s) and emotion(s), rhythm and music, personal and public metaphors and metonyms, symbols and allusions. To him, metaphor and simile are treated as part and parcel of language and style in the analysis of Swahili literary works in East Africa. On the other hand Ligembe (1995) has analyzed the uses of metaphor in Penina Muhando's play *Lina Ubani* and identifies concretive, humanistic, animistic and synaesthetic as types of metaphors used in the play. His focus is on the structure of metaphor and its contribution to the understanding of the play.

Ramadhani (2005) makes a comparative study of the uses of metaphor in two Swahili plays, Ibrahim Hussein's *Mashetani (1971)* and Emmanuel Mbogo's *Ngoma ya Ng'wanamalundi (1987)*. the study concludes that, synaesthetic metaphor has a high frequency in both plays, and that the metaphors are used to construct different themes in both texts. This study has a lot of cultural conceptualization as it examines the way meanings and messages being onstructed through metaphors. It goes further to discuss metaphors as a driving force behind the interpretations done by listeners of oral literary works. Of recent, Bertoncini-Zúbková (2007: 158-159) reports that Ken Walibora employs a number of similes and metaphors, some common and some rather un-usual or original in his work *Kufa kufaana* 'A friend in need is a friend indeed'. Bertoncini-Zúbková mentions a metaphor like: *Nilidhani mambo ni*

ya **mkono** *kumbe ni ya* **upembo** 'I thought that my bare hands were enough to get what I wanted, but then I realised I needed a hook', i.e. it was more difficult to get than expected. Jilala (2008) focused on how artists of the new generation songs use metaphors as a stylistic device in their works of art. The study also examines how listeners interpret metaphors and explain why certain types of metaphors are selected to convey messages, meanings and the themes they address. She finds that, the extended metaphors appear more frequently than complex and simple metaphors. The study by Jilala (2008) underlines the fact that metaphors cannot be used in isolation; as artists employ other figures of speech such as metonyms, allegory, synecdoche, similes, proverbs, and symbols and various features of language such as slang, code mixing, alliteration to construct meanings and messages. Lastly, her study focuses on the way metaphors are used to address various issues in the society. She is of the view that, metaphors are commonly used to address themes such as AIDS, love and sexuality, gender inequality, the role of women and socio-economic issues.

Furthermore, Jilala (2012) investigates on the conceptualization of metaphors in Bongo Flava. The study observes that, the interpretation of metaphors differs depending on the age of the listener and the familiarity of the metaphors to such listeners. Furthermore, the study observes that, youths have more knowledge and understanding of meanings of metaphors used than adults. The other focus was on the stylistic features of metaphors, social-cultural context and embodied knowledge and experience of the physical world. Jilala shows that the comprehension of metaphors has a relationship with the context of use, peoples' embodied experience, time and social cultural interactions.

STUDIES ON POLITICAL METAPHORS

One of the cognitive views of metaphor found in West Africa is housed in the kinship relationship that exist in tight links – from the family level through the closely related family members to distant clansmen living in urban centres as well as rural areas (Polzenhagen 2007). Metaphors exemplified by 'our Igbo brothers are saying' to mean: everyone who is Igbo has a brotherly relation to the speaker even if they don't come from one family as it could be in Europe (*Ibid*: 122-125). Secondly, Polzenhagen found that eating in West Africa is highly associated with political leadership and bureaucratic positions. Polzenhagen cites an example of 'They have taken food off his plate' to mean they have demoted or fired an employee (*Ibid*: 155-157). Lastly, in his analysis he found that many words are used metaphorically to mean bribe for rexample words like; kola, soya and egunje. The study concludes that such items are used metaphorically but are highly lexicalised and conceptualised in the entire West African society.

On the other hands, Andreas Musolff reports that the human body is put into politics through metaphors in English and Germanic languages and he terms it embodiment (2008: 302). He states that embodiment entails abstract concepts from the sphere of politics explicated by way of translating them into concepts of body parts/organs and their physiological functions (*Ibid*: 302-303). In illustrating how metaphors work to derive ideas home, he draws examples like 'German is the heart of Europe' to mean Germany is both geographically at the centre of Europe and functionally very important as far as the making of decisions revolving around the European Union is concerned. On the other hands, the functioning of Germany as the heart of Europe is highly questioned as in another human body metaphor 'The rotten heart of Europe'.

METHODOLOGY

The data of this study were collected in Dar es Salaam region. The choice of this area basically was based on time and cost. It was possible to conduct a research in Dar es salaam because there is availability of library, where the researcher was able to find collected Swahili newspaper

Methodological Principles

Following Bermel (2007: 268), the analysis of the Swahili metaphors is based on the following suppositions:

- Metaphors have a cognitive basis
- They shape the way we handle abstractions, events, and concepts
- Metaphorical structures allow us to impose complex entailments and conclusions from one

  sphere of reference onto another

- Commonly accepted cultural scripts or myth about community's origin and history affect how metaphors are used, and either contribute to or hinder their prosperity and popularity.

Methodological Procedures

In this paper two methodological procedures were specifically involved in data collection. These includes; identification of metaphors in Swahili newspaper and the use of questionnaire to Swahili speakers, guided interview and small group focus discussions were carried with Swahili speakers in Dar es Salaam (20 Swahili speakers were involved in focus group discussion). Questionnaires were provided to 20 respondents from The Open University of Tanzania (students studying Kiswahili as a course). Respondents were required to provide the meaning of metaphor provided in a questionnaire. The interview was done to Swahili speaker in Dar es salaam.

Identification of Metaphors in Swahili

Through documentary methods of data collection, the researcher was able to identify 83 metaphors in Kiswahili newspaper. In Tanzania there is a number of newspapers such as: Uhuru, Mwanahalisi, Ijumaa, Uwazi, mwananchi, Daily news, Alasiri just to mention the few. This study deals with only three newspapers because it was not possible to deal with all newspaper. The first criterion for a particular newspaper to be a sample of the study was the language of communication. That means the newspaper should use Kiswahili as its medium of communication. Consequently, each newspaper written in Kiswahili language has a chance and opportunity of being selected as a sample of this study. Therefore, the study employs random sampling techniques to get the sample of Kiswahili newspaper for the research. Hence, the following Kiswahili newspaper were selected as the source of data of this paper, these are:

(i)   Nipashe newspaper, The Guradian Limited, Dar es Salaam.
(ii)   Mtanzania newspaper, New Habari Cooperation Limited, Dar es Salaam.
(iii)   Mwananchi newspaper, Mwananchi Communications Ltd, Dar es Salaam.

The metaphors on the mentioned Kiswahili newspaper were identified basing on cognitive understanding of metaphor. It was observed that, the studied newspapers contained

metaphorical expressions relating to politics specifically the conceptualisation of the political movements, political parties' campaigns and slogans, corruption revolving around political leaders and all economic, social and cultural issues associated with political issues in the society. Therefore, the researcher identified all metaphorical expressions in Kiswahili newspapers. The researcher identified 87 metaphorical statement from Nipashe, Mwananchi and Mtanzania newspapers. Consequently, identified metaphors were analysed and grouped in categories thus is; metaphors with the same structure were categories in a specific type of metaphor as: simple, complex or extended metaphor

Interview, Questionnaire and Discussion with Swahili Speakers

After the practice of collecting and analysing metaphors from Swahili newspapers, questionnaire with a list of 87 metaphors which were provided to 20 respondents so as to explore their understanding of meanings embedded in metaphors, the power and their influence on the society. Furthermore, the researcher employed guided interview and small group focus discussions were carried with Swahili speakers in Dar es Salaam. The purpose was to get insights of the readers of Swahili newspapers and to explore their feelings, ideas, views and understanding on the use of metaphor and their embedded political meaning.

The Data and Data Analysis

In this study metaphor of politics had been collected, analysed and reported in this work to meet specific objectives of the study. In analysing the gathered data content analysis techniques were used to analyse data. The following are examples of metaphors collected from Tanzanian Swahili newspapers.

Table number 1: Simple Metaphors

S/N	Expression	Newspaper	Date
1.	Kuunda serikali tatu ni mzigo	Nipashe	4.7.2012
2.	Ukweli ni uhuru	Nipashe	4.7.2012
3.	Bob Makani mshumaa wa mageuzi uliozimika	Mwananchi	13.6.2012
4.	Edward Moringe Sokoine nyota iliyozimika Tanzania miaka 28 iliyopita	Mwananchi	11.4.2012
5.	Sakata la meli za Irani ni ngoma nzito	Nipashe	5.7.2012
6.	Mnyika, nchemba kivumbi bungeni	Nipashe	4.7.2012
7.	Dk Ulimboka alikuwa kiungo muhimu katika mazungumzo baina ya serikali na madaktari	Mwananchi	2.7.2012

Source: Data from selected newspaper April, June, July, 2012

Table number 2: Complex Metaphors

S/n	Expression	Newspaper	Date
1.	Wabunge mnajenga nyumba moja msigombanie fito	Nipashe	5.7.2012
2.	Siasa alizoziita ni maji taka na za kupakana matope	Nipashe	1.6.2012
3.	Mkapa afananisha wapinzani na vifaranga na CCM ni kuku	Mtanzania	2.4.2012

Source: Data from selected newspaper April, June, July, 2012

Table number 3: Extended Metaphors

S/N	Expression	Newspaper	Date
1.	*Lissu awasha moto akiongelea sakata la meli za Iran*	*Nipashe*	*5. 7. 2012*
2.	Sabodo azidi kumwaga neema CHADEMA	*Nipashe*	*5. 7. 2012*
3.	Moses machali ambaye aliambiwa anadandia hoja	Nipashe	4.7.2012
4.	Wabunge wasiowajibika wang'olewe kabla ya mwaka 2015	Nipashe	4.7.201
5.	Jinamizi la mageuzi nchi za Kiarabu latua Togo	Nipashe	4.7.2012
6.	Moto huo baada ya kubabua nchi za Kiarabu unaendelea kuwaka nchini Togo ambapo wananchi wanapinga mpango wa serikali wa kufanyia marekebisho katiba	Nipashe	4.7.2012
7.	Hospitali za majeshi ambazo kila mgomo unapotokea serikali ndio jicho lake la kujidai	Nipashe	4.7.2012
8.	Mwisho wa hii filamu hii ni nini	Nipashe	4.7.2012
9.	Wenje alipuka bungeni amewashambulia wakuu wa mikoa ....wamekuja kula kiyoyozi Bungeni	Nipashe	27.6.2012
10.	RC Meck Sadiki alipuliwa bungeni	Nipashe	28.6.2012
11.	Mbunge CCM Kichwa ngumu	Nipashe	21.6.212
12.	Shibuda akalia kaa la moto chadema	Nipashe	21.6.212
13.	Waziri Membe atema cheche kuhusu ndoa za jinsia moja	Nipashe	21.6.212
14.	Mkulo akabwa koo	Nipashe	14. 6. 2012
15.	CCM watafunana makombora yageuzwa kwa Maige	Nipashe	1.6.2012
16.	Hawawezi kubebeshwa msalaba bali kuunganisha nguvu na CHADEMA	Nipashe	1.6.2012
17.	"...tukapanda mbegu kwenye mikoa ya kusini na baadaye wenzetu CUF wakawekeza huko, tuliamini kwmaba mbug ile ingezaa ...mbegu ziliota na kuzaa wabunge na madiwani"	Nipashe	1.6.2012
18.	Kuna wimbi kubwa la CCM kukimbiwa na wanachama	Nipashe	1.6.2012

19.	Nape ni vyema sasa akajiona mwenyewe kwamba yeye ni gamba akajivua badala ya kusubiri wana CCM kumvua gamba lake	Nipashe	1.6.2012
20.	Kurushiana kwa makombora kwa viongozi, makada na wanachama wa kawaida wa CCM	Nipashe	1.6.2012
21.	Makundi yanayokimbiza chama hicho ni mbio za uraisi mwaka 2015	Nipashe	1.6.2012
22.	Chadema yaivimbia	Nipashe	1.6.2012
23.	Hongera Kagasheki ila isiwe nguvu ya soda	Nipashe	1.6.2012
24.	Mnyika mashine kubwa dar yalipuka abebwa juu juu	Mwananchi	25. 5. 2012
25.	Tukio hilo la kinyama lina mkono wa serikali	Mwananchi	29.6.2012
26.	Mbunge Mtemvu adai jiji la dar lin chuma ulete	Mwananchi	29.6.2012
27.	Bilioni 300 za vigogo Uswis zatikisa nchi	Mwananchi	27.6. 2012
28.	Bungeni patachimbika bila sepetu	Mwananchi	27.6. 2012
29.	Je ni wakati wa kuvifuta vyama vya mifukoni	Mwananchi	27.6. 2012
30.	Kwani kuna sababu gani ya kung'ang'ania siasa bila kuonyesha matunda	Mwananchi	27.6. 2012
31.	Walimu wanawasha indiketa kwamba wako mbioni kugoma	Mwananchi	27.6. 2012
32.	Wawe wakali kwa mchwa wanaotafuna mali za umma	Mwananchi	27.6. 2012
33.	Wanasiasa uchwara hawana hesabu nzuri pungufu kamili	Mwananchi	27.6. 2012
34.	Kikwete asema madaktari wasiokubali mshahara wa serikali wafungashe virago	Mwananchi	2.7.2012
35.	Ningependa ukweli huo ujulikane mapema ili tuondoe wingu baya la kutiliana shaka na kulaumiana	Mwananchi	2.7.2012
36.	Mgodi kiwira watafuna mabilioni	Mwananchi	23.6.2012
37.	Mambo yalipoiva na kila kitu kikawa hadharani kwamba jumuiya imevunjika	Mwananchi	23.6.2012
38.	Mkono alipua ufisadi	Mwanancni	22.6.2012)

39.	Ndoto ya maisha bora kwa kila Mtanzania imeyeyuka	Mwananchi	20.6.2012
40.	Bajeti ya kuchumia tumbo	Mwananchi	16.6.2012
41.	Chadema yavuna vigogo CCM	Mwananchi	18.6.2012
42.	Ukiwa na gari lako ukaamua kumwaga oili yake kwa sababu imechafuka mwingine akaja kuikinga una sababu gani kumlilia? Mambo yanaomwendea kombo hawana sababu ya kukabana koo	Mwananchi	18.6.2012
43.	Zito aichana bajeti wasomi nao waiponda	Mwananchi	19.6.2012
44.	Wabunge kumukaanga tena Mkulo	Mwananchi	13.6.2012
45.	Misamaha ya kodi isifumbiwe macho	Mwananchi	13.6.2012
46.	CCM: waache wachonge sisi tunapiga kazi pamoja na mikakati yao ni kuanika udhaifu wa CCM na serikali yake	Mwananchi	13.6.2012
47.	Kuhusu mikakati ya serikali kuondoa ukali wa maisha	Mwananchi	11.5.2012
48.	Moto wa CHADEMA watisha mawaziri, Mkuchika, Ghasia, Chikawa na Membe waenda kuuzima	Mwananchi	11.5.2012
49.	Bajeti ya ulinzi yagonga kisiki	Mwananchi	8.6.2012
50.	Kiwanja kilichomng'oa Mkulo chaundiwa tume	Mwananchi	7.6.2012
51.	CCM wamkaanga Maige	Mwananchi	2.6.2012
52.	Mnyika afunika ambwaga tena mgombea CCM	Mwananchi	2.6.2012
53.	Moto wa kuwepo mgombea binafsi walipuka tena	Mwananchi	2.6.2012
54.	Ngeleja, Maige wajipalia makaa	Mwananchi	2.6.2012
55.	Dhana ya U-CCM B inavyoitafuna NCCR-	Mwananchi	6.6.2012
56.	Zito afyatuka	Mtanzania	14.5.2012
57.	Waziri Kagasheki awasha moto	Mtanzania	11.5.2012

58.	Vigogo CCM tumbo joto, Pinda sasa ageuka mbogo	Mtanzania	10.5.2012
59.	Nchi kuingia gizani	Mtanzania	10.5.2012
60.	Dkt. Ndugulile amlima barua waziri mkuu	Mtanzania	3.5.2012
61.	Waandishi msiwabebe viongozi	Mtanzania	4.5.2012
62.	Askofu Malasusa alipuka asema wananchi lazima wawachukie viongozi	Mtanzania	30.4.2012
63.	UVCCM yazidi kubomoka Arusha	Mtanzania	28.4.2012
64.	Kamati kuu yampa rungu Kikwete yamruhusu awang'oe mawaziri wazembe	Mtanzania	28.4.2012
65.	Chadema yakoreza moto wa maandamano	Mtanzania	26.4.2012
66.	Wabunge sasa wautema mpango wa serikali	Mtanzania	25.4.2012
67.	Pinda mawaziri ngoma droo...hatima yao mikononi mwa Rais	Mtanzania	24.4 2012
68.	Pinda kupasua jipu kesho	Mtanzania	22.4.2012
69.	Wabunge wa CCM waichana serikali	Mtanzania	19.4. 2012
70.	CCM haitakufa kamwe	Mtanzania	4.4.2012
71.	Mahakama kuu yamvua ubunge Godbless Lema	Mtanzania	6.4 2012
72.	Maaskari watema cheche wawanyooshea vidole wanasiasa	Mtanzania	9.4.2012
73.	Chadema CCM wakabana koo	Mtanzania	2.4.2012
74.	*Wenje alipuka bungeni, awashambulia wakuu wa mikoa wamekuja kula kiyoyozi bungeni.*	Mtanzania	2.4.2012
75.	*Ukiwa na gari lako ukaamua kumwaga oili yake kwa sababu imechafuka mwingine akaja kuikinga una sababu gani kumlilia? Mambo yanapomwendea kombo hawana sababu ya kukabana koo*	Mtanzania	2.4.2012
76.	*Tukapanda mbegu kwenye mikoa ya Kusini na baadaye wenzetu CFU wakawekeza huko, tuliamini kwamba mbegu zile zingezaa baadaye mbegu hizo ziliota na kuzaa matunda ya wabunge na madiwani*	Mtanzania	2.4.2012
77.	Bajeti ya kuchumia tumbo	Mwananchi	2.4.2012

Source: Data from selected newspaper April, June, July, 2012

As we can notice in the metaphors above, most metaphors in Kiswahili newspapers are political in nature. Some of them are quoted from Tanzanian politicians while others are from journalists. All these were considered as prominent data of the current paper. In Kiswahili newspapers it was observed that, journalists use metaphorical expressions to convey political issues in the society. Issues related to corruption, economic, social services and culture were associated with politics in Tanzanian society. Therefore metaphors which express the mentioned issues were identified as political metaphors.

TYPES OF METAPHOR MOSTLY USED TO SYMBOLISE POLITICAL ISSUES IN KISWAHILI NEWSPAPERS
Categorisation of Metaphors According to Cognitive Theory

In this paper metaphorical statements in the Kiswahili newspaper texts were categorised by resorting to the cognitive theory of metaphors. The theory considers metaphors as a conceptual domain. Thus metaphorical expressions are cross-domain conceptual mapping. The theory maintains that metaphors have two essential aspects which include an aspect of experience or phenomenon being talked about, and the terms are used to express the target experience. Following this theory, the study analyses metaphors using three elements which are tenor, vehicle and ground (Leech, 1969). From the analysis, it was able to categorise metaphors into three types which are; simple, complex and extended based on the structural classification of metaphors as opposed to semantic and function classification. Furthermore, the metaphors were categorised based on their occurrence in a context, features of language, and their characteristics in the context of use. Through cognitive understanding, the paper identified three types of metaphor used to refer to political issues in Kiswahili newspaper these are: simple, complex and extended metaphors. The subsections below discuss the types of metaphors with examples from Kiswahili newspapers.

Simple Metaphor

A simple metaphor is a type of metaphor in which there is one point of resemblance between the tenor and the vehicle. Therefore, an expression displaying one tenor and one vehicle is regarded as a simple metaphor. For example;
(i)   *"...ukweli ni **uhuru**..."*
(ii)   "...hospitali za majeshi ambazo kila mgomo unapotokea serikali ndilo **jicho** lake la kujidaia".
(iii)   "Kuunda serikali tatu ni **mzigo**".

The example number (i) above it is a simple metaphor because it has one tenor (ukweli) and one vehicle (uhuru). The ground is the characteristic of uhuru 'freedom' being free in all aspects of life is transferred to truth. Therefore in this metaphor the truth in politics is associated with freedom. The metaphor *uhuru* is used here to make people grasp and compare the truth with freedom where one cognitively associates the truth and liberation. On the other hands, in number (ii) the tenor is *hospitali*, the vehicle is *jicho* and the ground is the characteristics of *jicho* which in this context are associated with *hospitali*. This is; to see. The eye is an important organ in human being that one cannot see without an eye, therefore, military hospitals are metaphorically described as the eye of the government. This metaphor is trying to make people grasp and map the importance of hospital and eye in this context. In number (iii), the tenor is *kuunda* and the vehicle is *mzigo* where by the ground is represented by the characteristics of *mzigo* luggage which is hardness and difficulty to carry. Therefore, during discussion with respondents it was said that, people can conceptually map the ground

and the tenor through cognitive understanding of the metaphor employed. That is in this case to make them believe that it is not possible to handle the process of making three governments in Tanzania.

Complex Metaphor

This is the type of metaphor which possesses more than one vehicle which give different concepts about the tenor (Kahigi, 1995). Although this type of metaphor was identified in Kiswahili newspaper as one of the metaphors referring to politics but there were only three. Therefore, this study conclude that, the uses of complex metaphor in daily use is very rare, it is also very rare in literal text as compared to simple and extended metaphors (Jilala, 2008). The following examples illustrate complex metaphors observed in investigated Kiswahili newspapers.

(i)   Siasa alizoziita ni **maji taka** na za **kupakana matope**
(ii)   Wabunge mnajenga nyumba moja msigombanie fito
(iii)   Mkapa afananisha wapinzani na vifaranga na CCM ni kuku

The above example of metaphor is complex metaphors employed in Kiswahili newspaper**.** The tenor of this metaphor has more than one vehicle with different ground which characterise the same tenor. In this context, siasa is the tenor with two vehicles: *maji taka* and *kupakana matope*.

Extended Metaphor

An extended metaphor refers to a metaphor that is developed by a number of different figurative expressions perhaps over several lines of poetry. It is one where we have a single main subject to which additional subjects and metaphors are applied. It may act as a central theme for example where it is used as the primary vehicle of a text and is in different forms. This kind of metaphor comprises figures of speech such as personification, allegory, image, icon, coinage, similes, proverb, synecdoche and symbolism. It also embodies other types of metaphors. Examples of extended metaphor are as following:

(i)   Wenje alipuka bungeni, awashambulia wakuu wa mikoa wamekuja kula kiyoyozi bungeni.
(ii)   Tukapanda mbegu kwenye mikoa ya Kusini na baadaye wenzetu CFU wakawekeza huko, tuliamini kwamba mbegu zile zingezaa baadaye mbegu hizo ziliota na kuzaa matunda ya wabunge na madiwani.
(iii)   Ukiwa na gari lako ukaamua kumwaga oili yake kwa sababu imechafuka mwingine akaja kuikinga una sababu gani kumlilia? Mambo yanapomwendea kombo hawana sababu ya kukabana koo.

The examples above are some of the extended metaphors identified in Kiswahili newspaper. Number 1 above is built up with simple metaphor where by a person is symbolised as fire a metaphorical expression *alipuka* is behaviour of fire which is attached to a human being who appear dangerous and strong. On the other hand in this line there is the use of icon *kula kiyoozi bungeni*. In air condition cannot be eaten, it is not food. But its characteristic of cooling effect is associated with luxurious life. 20 respondents during focus group discussion noted that, this characteristic denotes the presence of regional commissioners in the parliament as they appear to be inactive. The extended metaphors employed, cognitively

explore the corruption and misuse of public resources of the government. It makes the audience grasp the message of corruption practices done by the government. In number 2 above, the use of allegory (tukapanda mbegu, mbegu zilioota), simple metaphor (matunda) are both combined to build an extended metaphor. The respondents pointed out that, *Mbegu* are metaphorically used to refer to policy and struggle of political opposition part to conscioutise people and give awareness. On the other hand an expression *matunda* refers to Member of Parliament who are the product political seeds grown by opposition part in a particular area. Therefore, in this context it is the accomplishment of the policy. In the third example, it was pointed by respondent that, the word *Gari* is symbolically used to refer to political party, the allegory *kumwaga oili,* is associated with the process of chasing out dissident member from the political parties and *akaja kuikinga* is symbolically referring to the action of other parties to welcome the chased members to their political party. Whereas *kukabana koo* refers to misunderstanding antagonisms that follow between the strange member and the party. Such action between the parties involved and or the party and deviant member who decide to deject. Therefore, in this context, the metaphor is used to provide people with an understanding of conflict and the movement of politician and political part. Therefore, the following table shows structural categorisation of types of metaphor based on political arena and their frequency of appearance in the three investigated Kiswahili newspapers.
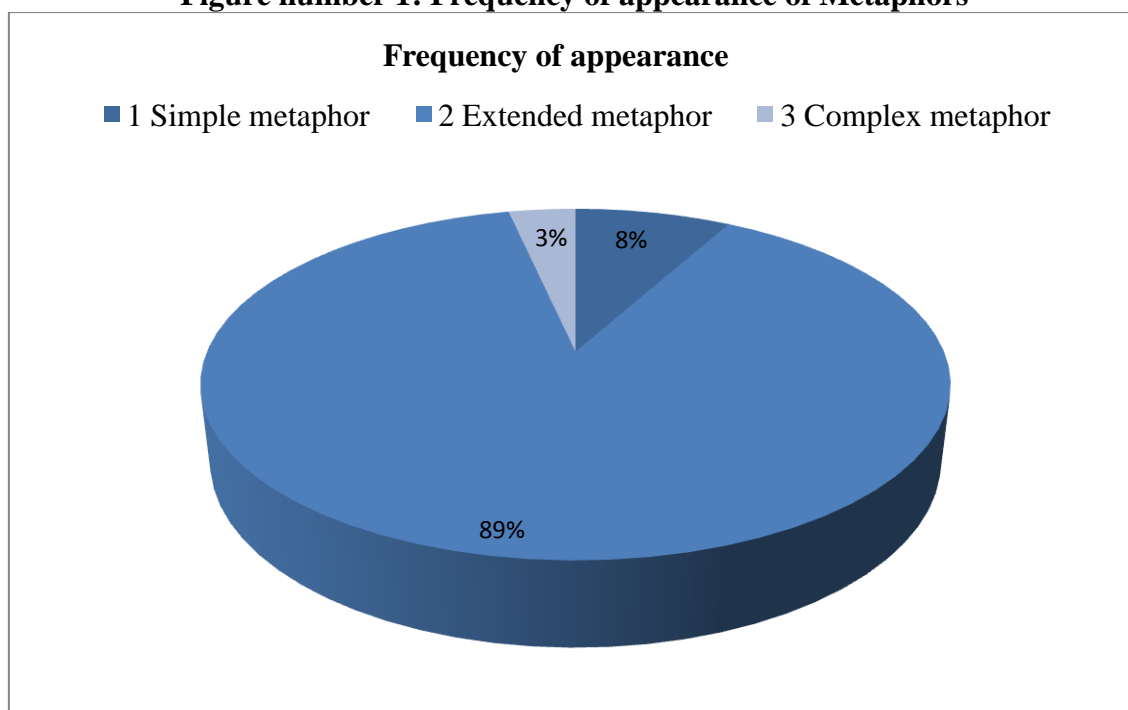
Table number 4: Categorisation of Metaphors According to Types

S/N	Type of metaphor	Frequency of appearance
1.	Simple metaphor	7
2.	Extended metaphor	77
3.	Complex metaphor	3

Source: Data from selected newspaper April, June, July, 2012

These data can also be well summarised and presented in the following figure:

Figure number 1: Frequency of appearance of Metaphors

Source: Data from selected newspaper April, June, July, 2012

The data reveals that among the identified metaphors in the selected Kiswahili newspaper 77 metaphors are extended, 3 metaphors are complex and 7 metaphors are simple. From this observation therefore, extended metaphors have higher frequency 77 (89%) than simple metaphor 7 (8%) and complex 3 (3%). From the observation, it may be concluded, that extended metaphor is the most frequently used metaphor in everyday communication. Furthermore the choice of extended metaphors allows deepening and expansion of meanings and messages as it combines with other types of figurative expressions in the same context. Therefore, by using extended metaphors, it is easy to explain one subject using different vehicles and symbolic idea. This observation is congruent to Jilala (2008)'s observation in new generation songs in Tanzania. She observed that extended metaphor is of high frequency compared to simple and complex metaphors in new generation songs. From the observation it appears that, the choice of metaphors depends on the structure and characteristics of a particular situation. It also depends generally on the ability and metaphorical force of a particular metaphor to convey meanings and messages in depth and expansion. This can be illustrated by;

1.   *"*Kamati kuu yampa **rungu** Kikwete yamruhusu **awang'oe** mawaziri wazembe*"*
2.   *"vigogo ccm **tumbo joto** Pinda   sasa ageuka **mbogo**"*

The examples above are extended metaphors which exhibit a rich combination of various metaphors: simple, complex and the use of figures of speech. It can now be concluded that journalists uses metaphorical expression to convey political issues and provide in the society. They also employ metaphors as the mode to communicate about corruption, economic, social services and so forth.

The role and Power of Metaphors in Politics

Political metaphor employed in Kiswahili newspapers have great role and very powerfully in the society. Metaphors give people time to think and act compared to ordinary language. The journalists use metaphor to bring aesthetic of the language and influence others to find the meaning of a metaphor in question. The audience is given an opportunity to think as to why a particular word is used to express a specific message. It also influences the search for meaning by associating with real environment and surroundings. In the investigation of selected Kiswahili newspapers it was observed that the choice of metaphorical expressions to express a certain political issue is intended to capture audience's conscious than the use of ordinary words. It was further observed that, metaphor have the power of encouraging self awareness and understanding, transforming society's attitude, expressing complex reality, power for promoting democratic practices, tolerance and solidarity. The following subsections below are detailed functions of the political metaphor used in Tanzanian Kiswahili newspaper as provided by respondents during interview, group discussion and questionnaires.

Promoting Self Awareness and Understanding

Metaphors employed by journalists to convey political message have the power of promoting self consciousness, self awareness and understanding. Through metaphor people understand what is going on within the society and become conscious of trends of events in society. For example the following metaphors were found to foster self awareness and understanding;

1.   Tukio hilo la kinyama lina **mkono** wa serikali

2.   Bungeni **patachimbika** bila sepetu
3.   Mgodi Kiwira **watafuna** mabilioni

The above examples reveal that metaphors are symbolically constructed to conscientise the audience with the ongoing social, economic and political movement in the society. , the metaphor *'mkono'* in item 1 above was used to show the power and capability of the government. That, the government has been given human physical attribute, a human hand to show its capability and arrogance it has in doing something being an accomplice in avoiding a criminal act. The metaphor *'patachimbika bila sepetu'* in item 2 above is symbolically used to provide awareness on the conflict which is going to happen in the parliament between the members of opposition parties and the government on the issue of budget and the future development of the country. On the other hand the metaphor used in item 3, *'watafuna mabilion'* is humanistic extended metaphor where by Kiwira mines have been given human being characteristics of eating so this metaphorical expression builds the understanding of the magnitude of corruption in the mine industry.

Transforming Society's Attitude

Metaphors in Kiswahili newspaper are used as a tool to transform negative attitude of the society on political, social, cultural and economic issues. For illustration see the following examples;

1.   Waziri Membe atema **cheche** kuhusu ndoa za jinsia moja
2.   Ukweli ni **uhuru**
3.   Wabunge wasiowajibika **wang'olewe**
4.   Kamati kuu yampa **rungu** Kikwete yamruhusu **awang'oe** mawaziri wazembe

Expressing Complex Reality

Metaphor is used as a medium for expressing reality since the meanings embodied in metaphor are hidden meaning which needs thinking and rethinking through the understanding of tenor and vehicle of the metaphor. Metaphors are efficient means of communicating a complex reality in commonly accepted terms that provide the basis for acceptable action. As Lakoff (1992) observes, they limit what we notice, highlight what we do, see and provide part of the inferential structure that we reason with. The following examples justify the power of metaphor in expressing reality;

(i)   Askofu Malasusa **alipuka** asema wananchi lazima wawachukie viongozi
(ii)   Bajeti ya kuchumia tumbo
(iii)   Zito **aichana** bajeti wasomi nao **waiponda**

Power for Democracy and Unity

Metaphors used in Kiswahili newspapers have the power to provide positive challenge on democratic practice and unity in the country. For influential purpose on democracy and unity, metaphors are imaginary employed to educate on political power and the role of people on the development plan and political engagement.
(i)   CCM **watafunana makombora** yageuzwa kwa Maige
(ii)   Shibuda akalia **kaa la moto** CHADEMA
(iii)   Chadema **yavuna** vigogo CCM.

(iv)   Waandishi **msiwabebe** viongozi
(v)   **Moto** wa kuwepo mgombea binafsi **walipuka** tena

Social and Economic Development

Metaphors have power to articulate economic, social, cultural and political issues effectively and hence it leads to development. Metaphors are used as a tool for social development as illustrated in the following examples;

(i)   Misamaha ya kodi **isifumbiwe macho**
(ii)   Ndoto ya maisha bora kwa kila Mtanzania **imeyeyuka**
(iii)   Wabunge mnajenga **nyumba** moja msigomabanie **fito**

Political Revolution and Agitation

Metaphors are used for political movement and attention. Through metaphor people are provided with an understanding of their right on political issues and their role in the political arena as illustrated in the following examples;

(i)   *Moto* wa CHADEMA watisha mawaziri Mkuchika, Ghasia, Chikawaa na Membe waenda *kuuzima*
(ii)   Dhana ya U-CCM B **inavyo** *itafuna* NCCR- Mageuzi
(iii)   CCM *watafunana*, *makombora* yageuzwa kwa Maige
(iv)   Mkapa afananisha wapinzani na **vifaranga** na CCM ni **kuku**

The Embodiment of Meaning in Political Metaphors

This study has observed that, metaphors referring to political issues employed in Kiswahili newspaper are embedded with different kinds of meaning. The results show that, meanings are complex and hidden that the understanding of meaning is understood by people who share the same culture and experience. It was argued by Gibbs (1998) that, it is difficult to explain the richness of these metaphorical inferences without appealing to people's embodied experiences. To emphasise on this, Lakoff and Turner (1989) argue that the basic conceptual metaphors are part of the conceptual apparatus shared by members of a culture. In addition, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) put forward the idea that individuals are coupled to the world through embodied interaction with the environment on which their sense of what is real is based. Coming back in Kiswahili newspapers the study observed that, the understanding of metaphor is culturally oriented. Normally journalist employs metaphors which are well known to the audience. Therefore, conceptual mapping of the metaphor is done through cognitive experience, background, time, history and context of use. That one can associate the tenor and vehicle with the things already known in the society.

CONCLUSION

Metaphors are powerful vehicles of persuasion. Used as a bridge between the familiar and the literal, they transfer meaning from what is easily understood to more complex concepts that are harder to grasp. Careful and attentive the use of metaphor is a valuable weapon to any politician. It establish ethical credentials, shaping and communicating political arguments, heightening emotive response and above all, creating potent political myths around the recognizable context. In terms of myth-making, metaphor provides the link between the

unconsciously implicit understandings of people (be it historical, cultural, physical, etc.) and the explicit ideology and policies of a politician. Therefore it is the real strength of metaphorical association. The main argument is that, the creation of political myth, or 'telling the right story', is particularly effective in persuasion: 'By drawing on deeply rooted cultural schemata politicians are able to represent their beliefs and their policies as heroic tasks and themselves as epic heroes.' Likewise, they are able to demonize their enemies and depict opposing policies as villainous. For example the expression *Mkapa awafananisha wapinzani na vifaranga na CCM ni kuku*. Moreover, complex and nuanced political platforms can be communicated simply and effectively using metaphoric association. Through analyzing the corpuses of the chosen leaders, readers are provided an insight into the vital role metaphor and political myth play in persuasion. To conclude, in politics, we can argue that metaphors have been used as a crucial medium to communicate with the audience. Metaphors which are mostly used in Kiswahili newspaper are simple metaphor, complex metaphor and extended metaphors. The paper concludes that, metaphors are powerful device in expressing political issues. It has the power of expressing complex reality, encourage self awareness and understanding, transforming society's attitude, development domination, express complex reality, power of democracy and unity and political revolution and attention. In general, it was argued in this paper, that the meanings embedded on metaphor are cognitively understood through experience, background, context of use and time.

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