'Jamaa wa Vitendawili': Discursive Construction of Opponents in Political Campaign Discourse in Kenya Using Metaphors

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Abstract

Kenya National Super Alliance (NASA) co-principal, Hon. Raila Amollo Odinga has been consistently derided as only being 'jamaa wa vitendawili', (the fellow of riddles) more so by the Deputy President of Kenya, Hon William Ruto. In this paper, we examine this representation of Raila Amollo Odinga (RAO) to establish if indeed he is merely a man of riddles; we nuance and answer the questions: Does RAO widely use riddles in his speech? What objects and phenomena of the reality get their expression by means of metaphors in his speeches? And, how do the metaphors help RAO to attain his aims? We randomly selected five of his 2017 campaign speeches from You-tube and using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson. We analysed the use of riddles to assess whether they were effective in conveying his probably intended messages as seen in their contexts. The findings show that though RAO indeed uses some riddles in his speeches, there are many other metaphors in his language than merely riddles. He uses metaphors to discuss serious issues and to construct his political opponents in negative light by comparing them to sundry unpleasant entities and situations. His language appears to be rhetorically persuasive to his audience and can be of interest to literature enthusiasts, who ought to reverence riddles as a serious genre of Oral Literature.

Key words: Anthropomorphism, conceptual metaphor, persuasion, political discourse, riddles.

Introduction

Raila Amollo Odinga (RAO) is perceived as one of the most popular opposition leaders in Kenya. He is regarded by many as the father of opposition politics in Kenya. In fact, some refer to him as 'Baba' (Father) and liken him to the Biblical 'Joshua' who is to lead suffering Kenyans to 'Canaan'. RAO is not a man any Kenyan can easily ignore. He is a political figure to love dearly or dislike passionately. In an interview with a national television station [NTV] when asked about how he thinks Kenyans perceive him, Raila said many Kenyans have either 'Railamania' or 'Railaphobia' with the former overwhelming the latter. [This had first been noted by the late Wamalwa Kijana who was the first deputy president in the era of multi-party politics more than ten years ago and still holds]. Any meeting he calls for draws huge crowds, mostly from Nairobi slums. Raila Odinga was the flag-bearer of the National Super Alliance (NASA) in the 2017 general elections. In his campaigns, he drew massive crowds and apart from merely selling his policies which centred on delivering the suffering and marginalised Kenyans from 'Egypt' to 'Canaan', it is his flamboyant use of language that also draws reactions from many. His witty pithy words and phrases remain memorable long after they are spoken and in fact get into the vocabulary of even his opponents. In particular, his use of metaphoric language has led to his opponents deriding him as '*jamaa wa vitendawili*' (fellow of riddles). According to them, RAO has nothing to offer to Kenyans but simply entertains them with riddles which cannot help them progress economically and socially.

In this paper, we examine metaphoric language in RAO's campaign speeches to establish whether indeed his opponents are justified to refer to him as 'fellow of riddles'. We

analyse if definitely RAO is simply 'the fellow of riddles'. The following questions guide our study: Does RAO widely use riddles in his speech? What objects and phenomena of the reality get their expression by means of metaphors in RAO's campaign speeches? How do the riddles help RAO to attain his aims? We use the Conceptual Metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (2003, 1980) as a theoretical framework.

Method

We randomly selected five speeches of RAO during the busy election period of February 2017 to September 2017 from the Nation Media group (NTV) and Kenya Television Network [KTN] online. Not finding 'enough' riddles in the five random speeches, we purposively selected three more speeches. These are all available on YouTube. We listened and transcribed them, then analysed them for instances of riddle usage and their purposes using the Conceptual Metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003[1980]). These extracts are labelled R1 to R8 for easy reference.

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The Conceptual Metaphor theory (CMT) by Lakoff and Johnson (2003[1980]) is viewed as perceiving metaphors significantly different from the traditional metaphor view that can be traced all the way back to ancient classical scholars such as Aristotle. It claims that metaphors belong to the mental domain and not to the linguistic domain though they are expressed using metaphorical expressions which are of necessity linguistic. Lakoff and Johnson (1980: 79-81) aver that when we perceive of metaphors in this way, then our experiences can be structured into a coherent whole.

Traditionally, metaphors are perceived as the use of language in a figurative way whereby something is referred to as something else. This means the characteristics of one entity are attributed to another for the purposes of comparison to make it clearer by the image formed in our minds. Metaphors are considered part of language. However, Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as propounded by Lakoff and Johnson (2003[1980]) sees things from a different perspective. In this theory, metaphors are conceived as belonging to the cognitive space and not just as a linguistic device, thus the popularity of CMT in Cognitive Linguistics. In the mind, something that is concrete is taken as a source domain to help us understand something more abstract. For example, when we talk of LIFE AS A JOURNEY it is easier to conceptualise a journey as we try to understand the abstract notion of life. With this in mind, we can transfer our understanding of a journey to life and think of life as being travelled on using certain vehicles, encountering challenges or obstacles along the way, and having a certain destination. Thus we map our concept of a journey (source domain) to the abstract concept of life (target domain). Kövecses (1992:1-2) explains it thus:

> A conceptual metaphor is a systematic set of correspondences between two domains of experience. This is what "understanding one domain in terms of another" means. Another term that is frequently used in the literature for "correspondence" is "mapping". This is because certain elements and the relations between them are said to be mapped from one domain, the "source domain", onto the other domain, the "target domain…The word *metaphor* has come to mean *a cross-domain mapping in the conceptual system.* The term *metaphorical expression* refers to a linguistic expression (a word, phrase, or sentence) that is the surface realization of such a cross-domain mapping (this is what the word *metaphor* referred to in the old theory).

CMT appears to capture the trend we find in many metaphors world over that have certain similarities, for example, common ones like LIFE is a JOURNEY or ANGER is FIRE. In Bukusu community in Kenya, for instance, the expression *'lukendo lwamwanguyile'* (literally, the journey has become light for him) is used for someone who has passed on. Expressions like '*amewaka moto'* (he is on fire) in Swahili also show that anger is largely conceived of as a burning fire. CMT as a theory has attracted the attention of diverse disciplines and has been applied to explain concepts in diverse subject areas such as Cognitive Linguistics and Semantics. Since metaphors are conceived as belonging to the domain of thought and not limited to language, it has been applied even in mathematics modelling. Like many radical theories, it has also received some criticisms but these do not affect our application of CMT to riddles.

Oswald and Rihs (2014) have used CMT in their study of extended metaphors. They argue that the use of extended metaphors have the advantage of producing rhetorical and epistemic advantages. These 'extended metaphors carry self-validating claims that increase the chances of their content being accepted… extended metaphors may fulfil the requirements of epistemic vigilance and lead to the stabilisation of a belief'(p.133). This is particularly successful in political discourse as can be evidenced in the argument of the extended metaphor whereby the USA is seen by many as an empire that is conquering the world such as through its policies, and wielding its economic power.

Another study that utilised CMT was that by Yu, Wang and He (2016:197-198). These authors followed Cognitive Semantic studies which have demonstrated that our perception of morality is highly influenced by metaphors; that is why we talk of people as having 'high morals', 'low morals', and of 'straight' and 'crooked people' among others. They selected five pairs of moral metaphors in Chinese involving the spatial source concepts of HIGH and LOW, STRAIGHT and CROOKED, UPRIGHT and TILTED among others and compared them with similar ones in American English. Their findings clearly show that metaphors have a lot to do with our conceptualisations of target domains as influenced by our source domains and these are largely universal as seen both in Chinese and English.

Structure and Use of Riddles in Discourse

Before we proceed to the construction of opponents, we examine how we conceptualise riddles in this paper. According to Okpewho (1992: 239), a riddle is a 'verbal puzzle in which a statement is posed in challenge and another statement is offered in response either to the hidden meaning or form of the challenge'. Usually there is an attempt to match the 'answer' with the 'question' or proposition in terms of content or meaning, for instance, a tendency towards a semantic fit between the problem posed and the solution offered, like in the Luo riddle '*a lake with reeds all around'* - the eye (Liyong, 1972: 155, as cited in Okpewho, 1992: 240). Usually two parties are involved in riddling. Riddles often involve metaphorical or poetic content as pointed out by Aristotle when he remarked on the close relation of riddles to metaphorical expression: 'Good riddles do…provide us with satisfactory metaphors: for metaphors imply riddles, and therefore a good riddle can furnish a good metaphor' (Aristotle, 1405b iii, as cited in Finnegan, 1970: 426).

CMT is thus a suitable theoretical framework to discuss riddles as they contain many metaphors. Riddles are generally distinguished by their question and answer form, but as Okpewho points out, the 'question' may just be a statement and listeners are faced with an allusive sentence referring analogously to something else which they must then try to identify. An example is the Venda statement; 'a mountain here and a mountain there and in between there is ululation' whose response is 'the buttocks' (Blackburn, 1961: 26, as cited in Okpewho 1992: 240). The point is normally in some play of images, visual, acoustic, or situational, for example, the Luhya Kabras riddle *'Kufule, Kumotole'* whose answer is 'a

potato roasting in the fire' is based on the onomatopoetic sound of the potato as it gets roasted rather than on any meaning *per se* and can be considered part of tone riddles since our interest is more on phonoaesthetics than on meaning. The common Kenyan riddle 'My father's little hill which is easily destroyed-*Ugali*' (thick porridge; see also Finnegan, 2012: 428) on the other hand, is based on the analogy of a hill being flattened by hungry eaters.

Riddles derive their sources from diverse physical structures and beings. A clever analysis of aspects of human life and the environment produces most riddles, as indeed do many metaphors for example, 'Water standing up - sugarcane' (Harries, 1942b: 282, as cited in Okpewho, 1992: 240). Skilful contraction of existing proverbs also produces a variety of riddles. Okpewho further points out that transmutation from proverbs is also a good source of riddles. This is made possible 'because riddles like proverbs are mostly a concise representation of an observable phenomenon or a transcendent truth through the medium of metaphor' (p 241); for instance, 'the house in which one does not turn around - the grave'. In fact he avers that some scholars refer to 'proverb-riddles' …Even though riddles are time-honoured expressions but every individual performance is a recreation and is in many ways unique (Okpewho, 1992: 241).

Is RAO a Fellow of Riddles?

Due to the association of riddles with children, RAO's opponents take advantage and try to minimize his influence by representing him as childish with speeches that have no serious content. Thus he is construed as having nothing to offer to the country as an aspiring president. Is he derided as merely '*jamaa*…' or indeed '*mzee* wa vitendawili? ('Fellow' or 'old man of riddles'?). In this section, we now examine the actual usage of riddles in RAO's speeches. From the collected data, it was established that though the speeches were full of colourful imagery, there were only three uses of actual riddles that followed traditional riddling patterns. Does this then qualify RAO as a 'fellow of riddles'? And if not, why do his opponents constantly construct him thus?

In Africa, riddles are commonly associated with children while proverbs construe wisdom and are considered befitting of the elderly and wise. Perhaps it is for this reason that RAO's constant use of riddles gives his critics fodder. Finnegan (2012: 426) points out that 'in Africa, riddles have regularly been considered a type of art form, albeit often of minor and childish interest'. Okpewho (1992: 242) also seems to agree that riddling contests constitute entertainment mostly by children (but with some contribution from adults after meals). Nevertheless, Okpewho points out that riddles may also form part of the prelude to a story telling session. It would appear RAO's riddles are actually preludes to stories he wants to tell. In all the three instances found in the sampled speeches in this paper, for instance, though RAO tells some riddles, he follows them with extensive stories of serious political discourse highlighting issues of immense political concern affecting citizens. Thus, though the riddles *per se* may appear childish, they are mostly preludes to stories that are adult and serious in nature. Indeed, the riddles serve to capture and sustain the audience attention in preparation for the main stories. Their interactive nature that requires audience participation captures people's attention and allows him to raise his serious concerns with some humour as in political satire.

In order to establish whether his speeches are merely childish, as we analyse the riddles we also briefly examine the content of his speeches. We evaluate the objects and phenomena of the reality that get their expression by means of riddles in his speeches as propounded in the CMT theory. The first speech analysed was given in Bomet on the launch of the National Super Alliance (NASA) coalition, whereby Isaac Ruto the then governor of Bomet County had invited the NASA brigade to sell their agenda to the Bomet citizens on February 4, 2017. The National Super Alliance was a political alliance initially made up of

three main opposition parties. The leaders of these parties, RAO (Orange Democratic Movement), Musalia Mudavadi (Amani National Congress) and Moses Wetangula (Ford Kenya) came together to form a strong alliance that could challenge the incumbent ruling Jubilee party and rout it from power, since individually they were small but together they were stronger. The former Governor, Mr. Isaac Ruto also joined his Mashinani Party to the coalition to make it Four-strong; his party being added to RAO's, Mudavadi's and Kalonzo's. In this speech, extract R1, we find one riddle that follows actual traditional riddle patterns.

Riddle: 1: The Selfish Camel

RAO: *Kitendawili?*
UMATI: *Tega* (repeated three times)
RAO: *Alibisha akafunguliwe mlango alipoingia akanyakua nyumba kuwa yake - nani?*
UMATI: *Nyoka?*
RAO: *Mmeshindwa. Nipeni mji basi*
UMATI: BOMET!
RAO: *Jibu lake ni ngamia.*

Translation

RAO: A riddle?
Crowd: Let it come (Repeated three times)
RAO: He knocked to be allowed in but when he entered he took over the house. Who is it?
Crowd: A snake?
RAO: You have been defeated. Give me a city then.
Crowd: BOMET!
RAO: The answer is the camel.

RAO then goes on to explain what the riddle means in Kiswahili:

Mnajua hadithi ya ngamia. Mtu mmoja alijenga hema kwenye jangwa. Ngamia akalalamika kwamba jua ni kali sana. Niruhusu niingize tu kichwa changu. Alipoingiza akasema 'wacha niingize tu nundu yangu', halafu 'matako yangu'. Mwishowe akamfukuza mwenye hema. Hii nyumba tulijenga na Kibaki na Kalonzo tukatupwa nje. Mnataka tuwatoe nje tena?

Translation

You know the story of the camel. A man built a tent in the desert. His camel complained that the sun was too hot. Please allow me to shade only my head. After sheltering his head he said 'let me shelter my hump only'. Then 'my buttocks'. Eventually, he kicked out the owner of the tent. This house we built together with Kibaki and Kalonzo and now we have been kicked out. Do you want us to remove them again?

According to CMT, the source domain here is an animal and the target domain is human relationships as well as politics. The camel personifies his opponents' leadership, which he alleges betrayed him. In the previous election, RAO gave up his ambition for the presidency by supporting his fellow opposition aspirant Mr. Mwai Kibaki, and declaring *'Kibaki tosha'* (Kibaki is up to the task) ('so I rescind my candidature to support Kibaki'). At that time he gave up his ambitions for presidency and supported his rival Mwai Kibaki in order to form a strong, united opposition to remove the strong ruling party, KANU from office. He expected to be supported by Kibaki and other opponents five years later but they

soon fell out with each other as is common in the political world where mostly everyone serves his/her personal interests. He is now out in the cold which fits in the conceptual metaphor 'LIFE IS A CONTAINER':

> Each of us is a container, with a bounding surface and an in-out orientation. We project our own in-out …[even] where there is no natural physical boundary that can be viewed as defining a container, we impose boundaries-marking off territory so that it has an inside and a bounding surface whether a wall, a fence, or an abstract line or plane. There are few human instincts more basic than territoriality. And such defining of a territory, putting a boundary around it, is an act of quantification (Johnson & Lakoff 1980: 30).

RAO pleads to be returned in on 8/8/2017 during the scheduled general elections. '*Hii nyumba tulijenga na Kibaki na Kalonzo tukatupwa nje. Mnataka tuwatoe nje tena?'* (This house we built together with Kibaki and Kalonzo and now we have been kicked out. Do you want us to remove them again? This riddle appears effective in stirring up emotions in the crowd as well as ridiculing his opponents in a deceptively 'light' way. RAO uses anthropomorphism (attributing human characteristics to animals) to disparage his opponents' unbecoming behaviour.

The interactive nature of the riddle format makes the crowd to respond enthusiastically in trying to unravel the riddle. Even though the speech is forty five minutes long, RAO also uses lots of metaphors and other figurative language to describe and discus issues of political concern and sustains full audience attention and participation. Maybe his constant calling on the audience to complete his sentences in a typical interactive way that riddles use to engage the audience also contributes to him being referred to as *jamaa wa vitendawili.* In that one speech, he kept asking for audience response in repetition, for example, *ubaguzi si ubaguzi*? (x2) (Is that discrimination or not?), when pointing out some of the perceived failures of the ruling party. The proverb '*Waswahili husema mkuki kwa nguruwe kwa mwanadamu mchungu'* [Literally, an arrow is used to shoot pigs but is painful for a human being] is also used. This is equivalent to 'what is good for the goose is good for the gander'. In this text, he complains about alleged looting of taxpayers' funds in the National Youth Service saga and insists the allegedly protected looters must be brought to justice as happens to other thieves.

RAO also derides his opponents in Jubilee Party for the Eurobond millions that simply disappeared and have never been convincingly accounted for. The ruling party borrowed millions of Euros ostensibly for development purposes but questions have been raised as to what they were used for. No clear development project has ever been shown to account for the borrowed millions that Kenyans will have to pay for. When some of the perceived foot soldiers of the ruling coalition responded to him, RAO declined to engage in arguments with them, again using the animal imagery:

> *Nikasema siwezi ongea na Duale na Murkomen 'Mbwa kama anabweka huendi kwa mbwa - unaenda kwa mwenye mbwa sivyo? (Crowd cheers)Eurobond 283,000, 215 not seen; hiyo pesa ni nyingi sana...hiyo pesa ikiingia kwa nchi tutatasikia harufu yake- harufu mmeisikia?*
> I said I cannot talk to Duale (Leader of the Majority in Parliament) and Murkomen (A Senator). When a dog barks you go for the owner of the dog, don't you? (Crowd cheers) Eurobond 283,000, 215 has not been seen. That is a lot of money…if that money enters the country we can smell it - have you smelt it?

RAO code switches and code mixes a lot, switching mainly from English to broken Kiswahili. Still, he takes a jibe at the government on this apparent lack of accountability as far as development funds are concerned. Following up on CMT on animal sources, he also refers to his rivals as hyenas: *'Ile mbolea inaletwa na wale nyang'au inaleta ugonjwa wa mahindi…'* (That fertilizer brought in by those hyenas is bringing diseases to maize).

> *Upepo umevuma kuchukua takataka yote ya Jubilee na kupeleka nyumbani*
> The wind [of change] has blown to take all the Jubilee rubbish and take them home

Here, RAO uses the conceptual metaphor that refers to Jubilee as rubbish so light it can be easily blown away by wind.

> *Tumekuja kupiga mbiu ya mgambo; mbiu ya mgambo ikilia kuna jambo'*
> We have come to blow the warning horn. When the warning horn is sounded, there is an issue.

He uses the Swahili proverb that is equivalent to 'Where there is smoke there is fire'. RAO then goes on to explain the various failings of Jubilee including unfulfilled promises. He derides Jubilee's promises as *'Ahadi ya Jubilee ni kama kunyamba ya punda'* (Jubilee's promises are like the farting of a donkey). Nothing but smelly air that has no substance in it.

> *Wakulima wanameza mate tu. Wako ndani wanakula nyama na nyinyi mnameza mate,* (Farmers are merely swallowing saliva - a reference to the president's earlier boast that those in the opposition are out in the cold while those in government are inside enjoying eating meat).

This metaphoric expression is actually from President Uhuru himself who showed that being in the government allowed Jubilee party certain goodies that those outside were salivating for but were out of their reach. His opponents picked it up to deride the government for being selfish and discriminatory. RAO implies that farmers should reject such leaders who eat alone.

Riddle 2: Kitendawili cha Mbwa (The Riddle of the Dog)
The second extract, R2 contains the riddle *Kitendawili ya umbwa* (the riddle of the dog) spoken in broken Swahili during a campaign tour in Kisii County. This riddle is a transmutation from a proverb (see Okpewho, 1992: 241) about a dog that saw its reflection in a river and thought the dog in the river had a bigger bone. He fell into the crocodile infested river. Okpewho says 'This transmutation is possible because riddles are like proverbs, mostly a concise representation of an observable phenomenon or a transcendent truth through the medium of metaphor' (p. 241).

Extract R2
> RAO*: Kitendawili*
> UMATI: *Tega (x2)*
> RAO*: Alitaka yote mwisho akaanguka majini. Nani huyo?*
> UMATI*: 'Obure'*
> RAO*: Siyo Obure. Mmeanguka. Nipeni mji basi. Huyo ni umbwa* [sic].

Translation
> RAO: A riddle!
> AUDIENCE: Let it come!
> RAO: He wanted it all; in the end he fell in the water. Who is it?
> AUDIENCE: Obure!
> RAO: No, it's not Obure. You've got it wrong. Give me a city then.
> AUDIENCE: Kisii
> RAO: It is the dog.

Here, in extract R2, RAO was addressing campaign crowds in Kisii and was referring to the defection of the lawyer, politician, Ababu Namwamba from the opposition ODM party to the ruling Jubilee party. Before that, Namwamba from Western Kenya, had been one of the harshest and most vocal critics of Jubilee, but ostensibly due to the 'politics of the stomach' was persuaded to join Jubilee to gain favours for personal enrichment. In fact the Jubilee party commonly used bribery to silence its critics by giving them huge sums of money and promising them perks if they won the elections, such as promising to appoint them Cabinet Secretaries. Since RAO was speaking in Kisii, his audience thought he was referring to Chris Obure, one of their own leaders who had also fallen out with his peers in the opposition and was getting allied to the ruling party, Jubilee. In essence, the riddle could also apply to Mr. Obure.

Once again the CMT source domain is an animal. The target domains are politics and morality. We are called upon to map the dog's greed and folly to the defecting politicians who practise *'maendeleo ya tumbo peke* yake' ('development of the stomach'). This means though that when they defect, they claim to do so in order to work closely with the government and bring 'development' to their constituents. Most people regard them as defecting in order to enrich themselves and do not represent the interest of their voters. No wonder many end up losing their electoral offices when they defect.

Riddle 3: *Mchawi Uchi* (The Naked Witch)
The third and final riddle we examine is found in extract R3 and is that of a naked witch. This riddle was used by RAO while campaigning on 28/7/2017 in a town called Runyenjes which is located in a perceived Jubilee stronghold.

Extract R3
> RAO: *Kitendawili!*
> AUD: *Tega! X3*
> RAO: '*Alikimbia uchi, akalala akamuka asubuhi akapata aibu kubwa'. Nani huyo?*
> *(*Inaudible answer).*
> *RAO: Mmeshindwa. Nipeeni mji basi*
> AUD: *Runyenjes!*
> RAO: *Jibu ni Jubilee.*

Translation
> RAO: A riddle!
> CROWD: Bring it on! (x3)
> RAO: He ran naked, he fell asleep; he woke up and was greatly shamed. Who is it?
> CROWD: (*Inaudible answer due to loud attempts)
> RAO: You are unable [to unravel it]. Give me a city then.
> CROWD: Runyenjes!
> RAO: Who is it? It is Jubilee! (Crowd roars with laughter)

RAO humoured the audience when he narrated how a fellow went night running which is a nocturnal activity associated with people of ill intent such as witches. The fellow thought he had plenty of time as the night was still young and decided to take a rest under a tree. Unfortunately for him, he fell into a deep sleep and did not wake up until the sun well was up in the horizon. When he woke up, he was surrounded by curious onlookers, staring at his nakedness, much to his embarrassment.

In this riddle, RAO once again conceptualises the Jubilee party in negative light, painting them as night runners who have run out of time and have been caught napping on the job. He explains how Jubilee have found themselves in an embarrassing position as the five years they were given have run out but they have not achieved tangible development. To cover up, they are running from place to place 'launching projects' when they had all the time to actually implement them.

This riddle of the witch is actually extracted from a story which RAO narrated to the crowd. Okpewho (1992) explains that many riddles are derived from observation of nature as well as from narratives, as in this case. According to CMT, the source domain is the human body-here it is the state of human nakedness, while the Target domain is, once again, politics and morality. RAO uses humour to discursively construct them as animals or unpleasant fellows like night runners (witches).

How do the riddles help RAO to attain his aims?

In a television interview with KTN's Betty Kyalo, a news anchor who runs a popular programme called *Friday Briefing,* when he was asked about his apparent love for riddles, RAO had this to say, 'These things come naturally. I used to listen to the elders-one way of bringing a point home-you look at a real life situation then you liken it to what you want to explain'. Like satire, RAO uses humour to address serious political issues affecting the country and human relationships such as betrayal due to greed. He chides and discursively constructs his opponents and political foes negatively like animals indirectly by use of figurative language.

RAO also uses riddles for more intense audience interaction. His wife Ida commented that: 'Every time you say "*kitendawil*i", people pay attention; they want to hear what is coming next. But if you are just giving lectures and warning people…that is not leadership. People get scared of you. Look at the lighter side of life' (Ida Odinga in an interview with KTN). Thus, we can conclude that the purpose of using riddles appears successful since they are very interactive and entertaining to his supporting crowds and very annoying and offensive to his opponents They are also useful for brevity - 'economy of expression'; the riddles help him summarise concepts in a few crisp words and for entertaining the crowds to capture their attention and enable him sell his agenda and critique as well as caution his rivals. The hidden meanings to be unravelled by the recipients also sustain audience participation.

Conclusion

In conclusion, RAO may be referred to as *'jamaa wa vitendawili'* by some, especially by his opponents who delight in ridiculing him to appear childish and not a serious leader. Nevertheless, considering there were only three *vitendawili* (riddles*)* in eight speeches, perhaps this may not quite be justified. The riddles appear to be remembered more for their intense impact than for their numerous quantities. Notwithstanding, as Kipury (1983: 124) points out, 'Despite [this] light-heartedness… riddles in their own unique way teach lessons in the same way as other oral literature genres'. Thus, riddles should not be looked down upon as simply for children, but the serious messages in them extracted and the requisite

lessons taken on board. In fact, it is the metaphors in the riddles that cleverly conceptualise phenomena that leave lasting memories and make it appear as if RAO is always using riddles. The numerous rhetorical devices and the creativity of the metaphors such as '*vifaranga vya computer*' (computer generated chicks - referring to the rigging of election by Jubilee by use of computers, which produced not duly elected, but 'computer-generated' leaders) and his favourite football conceptualisations, for instance, leave lasting impacts. According to CMT, most of RAO's source domains are animals and target domains which include morality, politics and human relationships such as loyalty and betrayal. He commonly uses anthropomorphism to map out animal qualities and failings onto the leaders who are human beings.

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