

IMAGE SCHEMAS IN POLITICAL DISCOURSE IN KENYA

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ABSTRACT

The study of conceptual interaction has attracted the attention of many scholars in Cognitive Linguistics. Primarily, the analysis has focused on the role of image-schemas in the construction of metaphors. This study explores the PATH image-schema and the role it plays in conceptual formation of metaphors in political discourse in Kenya. It presents the PATH image-schema and the subsidiary image schemas it activates in metaphors of politics in Kenya. The study's aim is to contribute to the field of metaphor in political discourse by examining the politicians' conceptualization of politics as a journey. The analysis reveals that the PATH image-schema structures the relationship between the source domain (journey) and the target domain (politics) mapping. The study has used the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as a tool to establish conceptual metaphors used during the 2005 Draft Constitution referendum in Kenya.

Keywords: Image-schema, political discourse, conceptual metaphor, invariance principle.

INTRODUCTION

Image-schemas, which are conceptual constructs, are one of the preferred mechanisms for the construction of metaphors, the study of which formed the core of my study. Since different scholars classify image-schemas using different parameters, there is no unanimity as to what constitutes an image-schema. This paper however adopts the basic tenets of the Image Schema Theory (IST), which are largely in tune with proposals from different cognitive linguists such as Peña, 2000; Deane, 1992; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Johnson, 1987; Cienki, 1997; Mandler, 2004, 2005). The POLITICS IS A JOURNEY conceptual metaphor, for instance, treats politics as a journey, whose idea entails movement through a path. The PATH is therefore viewed as a basic image-schema which activates the VERTICALITY image subsidiary schema, the PROCESS image subsidiary schema and the FORCE – MOTION image subsidiary schemas in metaphors of politics. The paper therefore discusses the PATH image-schema as a basic image-schema in political discourse in Kenya.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Proponents of cognitive linguistics such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Lakoff (1978; 1982) proposed that conceiving or thinking is a matter of manipulating unconscious mental imagery so as to let concretely pictured physical objects and situations stand in for the more abstract objects and situations we are endeavoring to understand. Lakoff et al.(1980; 1978; 1982) hold that a metaphor is a conceptual matter. In other words, a metaphor is a matter of thinking of one thing in terms of another.

Human beings structure their knowledge about the world in terms of idealized cognitive models (ICMs). An ICM is an organized cognitive structure which serves to represent reality from a certain perspective. One type of structuring principle for this kind of construct is the image-schematic principle. Image schemas are preconceptual abstract knowledge structures based on recurrent patterns of experience (Lakoff, 1987). They are characterized by a number

of structural elements and a basic logic which can be expressed proportionally. The internal logic is employed in abstract thinking (Lakoff, 1990).

Image-schemas are also regarded as non-propositional, generic 'gestalts' whose function is to provide coherence and order to certain conceptual structures (Lakoff 1987, 1989). Scholars have noted the relevance of image-schemas as structural patterns which are used as source domains for numerous metaphors (Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Lakoff 1990, 1993).

At the basis of numerous metaphorical constructions lie image-schemas (Lakoff and Johnson 1980, 1999; Lakoff, 1987; Ruiz de Mendoza, 1998; Pena 2000). In this connection, Lakoff (1990) has put forward the Invariance Principle which states that the image-schematic structure of the source domain of a metaphor has to be preserved so as to be consistent with the structure of the target domain. Whenever there is an image-schema involved in a metaphoric expression, it serves to provide the basic blueprint for its interpretation.

Lakoff's (1990) Invariance Principle has however been made more comprehensive by Ruiz de Mendoza (1998) by formulating the Extended Invariance Principle in which he argues for the consistency between the domains involved in a metaphor even when there is no image-schematic structure. This refined principle argues that the generic structure of the source domain of a metaphor should be consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain.

THE STRUCTURING FUNCTION OF IMAGE SCHEMAS

One form of structuring principle for idealized cognitive models with a significant role in interactional patterns is the image-schema. Understanding one concept in terms of another using a metaphor means there is structuring of the target domain based on selection of certain elements and relations in the metaphorical process. This then limits and orients our understanding of the concept in a particular direction. During structuring, only certain elements of the source and target domain are selected for mapping while other elements are downplayed. Selection of only some elements of the implicative complex is partly determined by the context and cultural conventions.

Different parameters have been used by different scholars to classify image-schemas. However, the Image Schema theory has basic tenets as outlined by different cognitive linguists such as Lakoff and Johnson, (1980); Johnson, (1987) and Cienki, (1997) among others. The basic image schema found in political discourse in Kenya was the PATH image schema.

METHODOLOGY

Data for this study was collected from two mainstream Kenyan newspapers with nationwide circulation, the *Daily Nation* and *The Standard* of October and November, 2005 using the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP). The metaphors collected were grouped based on themes. From the thematic groups of linguistic metaphors, conceptual metaphor models were constructed using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). Among the conceptual metaphors found was that of POLITICS IS A JOURNEY, which treats politics as a journey, and therefore focuses on the PATH image schema. The study has used tables to capture the linguistic metaphors depicting the various aspects of the PATH image schema.

THE PATH IMAGE SCHEMA

One of the most common schemas that emerge from our basic body experience is the PATH schema (Yu, 1998). Hampe (2005) places this schema in the core of the standard inventory of image schemas. Expressions like ‘I think we are on the right track, her accident was an enormous setback to her career’ and ‘we are going nowhere’ are metaphors that focus on the PATH schema.

The PATH schema, which has been studied by Johnson (1987) and Lakoff (1987) consists of four structural elements: a SOURCE (a starting point) a DESTINATION (end point), a number of contiguous locations which connect the source and the destination (PATH) and a DIRECTION. According to Lakoff (1989), the schema’s basic logic entails (a) a movement from a source to a destination along a path through intermediate points on the path and (b) the further along the path a person is, the more time has gone by since he started. The basic structure of this schema therefore includes the SOURCE of motion (JOURNEY), the PATH travelled and a GOAL (DESTINATION). ‘Being on the right track,’ for instance means acting in a manner that enables one to reach the intended destination.

The schematic structure of the Source – Path – Goal Schema can be represented schematically as shown below:

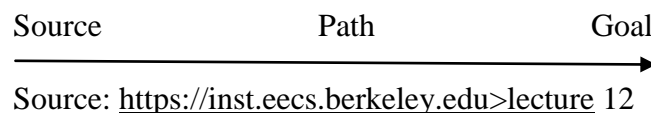


Figure 1: Schematic Structure of the PATH Image Schema

The arrow shows the direction of movement. There is thus a forward movement towards a particular direction by the traveller along the PATH.

The PATH schema as a basic schema provides the blue print for the orderly activation and projection onto it of other mental spaces (Peña, 1998). Many metaphorical expressions have image-schematic components. According to Lakoff (1989:15) image schemas are “grounded in our conceptual system and arise out of the regular interactions in our everyday environments.” There is therefore a natural consequence of the strong experiential grounding of image-schemas.

There is a vast number of “path metaphors” in which the everyday experience of movement along a path serves to conceptualize many other more abstract experiences. The current study identified forty (40) PATH metaphors in political discourse in Kenya some of which are listed on the table below.

Table 1: Some Metaphors of Politics Conceptualizing the PATH Image Schema

S. No.	Metaphor
1	We have <i>moved along way</i> in fighting for democracy in this country and we cannot allow one or two bad elements to derail our dream.
2	If they beat us on November, 21, it will be impossible for the ... government to <i>continue</i> operating smoothly.
3	Physically resist <i>encroachment</i> by the orange team into Nyandarua.
4	We shall <i>continue fighting</i> for a better Kenya even if we are sacked...
5	The Wako draft would provide Kenyans with chance to <i>move to</i> The Promised Land with no detention without trial, no more land grabbing
6	...if he <i>turns back</i> public perception will be that ...has been bought.
7	The train of change is <i>unstoppable</i> and he could be left behind.
8	We want a peaceful <i>path</i> to the achievement of a new Constitution.
9	...it should be clear to them; they are treading on a very dangerous <i>path</i> .

In all the metaphors on the table above, the structural elements in the PATH schema are included: a starting point (source), an end point (destination) and some direction. According to Lakoff (1989: 119) the basic logic of the PATH schema is that if you travelled from a source to a destination along a path, you pass through each intermediate point on the path and that the further you have travelled along the path, the more time has passed since starting. This is consistent with Lakoff's (1993) conceptual metaphor TIME PASSING IS MOTION. The metaphorical expression below found in political discourse in Kenya confirms Lakoff's assertion of time:

- (1) We have *moved along way* in fighting for democracy in this country and we cannot allow one or two bad elements to derail our dream.

Mapping occurs at the super-ordinate level. The source domain in the metaphorical expression (1) above is represented by a path which involves the following mappings:

- The travellers are the politicians.
- The path leads the subjects to a democracy.
- The destination is a democratic state.

Force, which could either be internal (self-driven) or external (push by the electorate) moves the travellers. Therefore, whether internal or external, the force involves movement, which is the desire to attain a democratic state.

Many of the image-schemas proposed by Johnson (1987:26) are only subsidiary to a few broad image-schematic categories among which the PATH and CONTAINER schemas feature prominently (Peña, 1997). The schemas of FORCE, NEAR-FAR and LINK depend on the PATH schema. Even though Peña (2000) argues that the directionality of the PATH schema consists of three different configurations:

horizontal, vertical, and circular paths, this study only focused on the vertical path which includes *up-down* orientations. The study postulates that the VERTICALITY image-schema is dependent on the PATH schema. As Lakoff (1987) postulates, the UP-DOWN orientation stated above implies a vertical path which has the same basic logic and structural elements as the PATH image-schema (Lakoff, 1987).

The VERTICALITY Image Subsidiary Schema

Human physiology ensures that our vertical axis gives rise to the VERTICALITY image subsidiary schema as a result of how we interact with our environment (Johnson, 1987). The VERTICALITY is as a result of the asymmetry of the human vertical axis which interacts with gravity. Due to human vertical orientation, humans have to stoop to pick up fallen objects, to look downwards for fallen objects and upwards for rising objects (Lakoff, 1987). Figure 2 below shows the representation of the VERTICALITY image subsidiary schema.

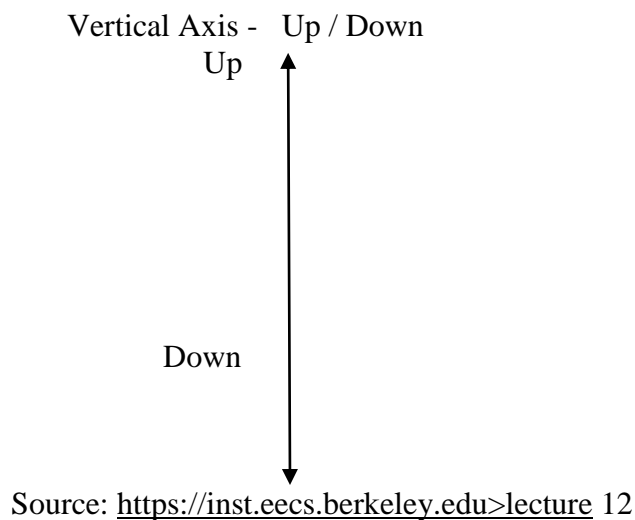


Figure 2: Schematic Structure of the VERTICALITY Image Subsidiary Schema.

The VERTICALITY image subsidiary schema was instantiated by ten (10) metaphors shown below.

Table 2: Metaphors of Politics Conceptualizing the VERTICALITY Image Subsidiary Schema

S/No	Metaphor
10	I said it is going to be a tsunami. The only way to avoid it is to <i>go to higher ground</i> .
11	Our wave is so strong and no turn coat or reject will be left <i>standing</i> in the path of the leadership of this county.
12	I warned them (yes team) to <i>move to higher grounds</i> , but those who fail to heed my advice will be swept into the ocean by the strong waves.
13	Why should we fight over this referendum? If you <i>fail</i> , wait for another chance.
14	This is a battle that I am confident the Yes team will <i>win</i> with ease...
15	There are two arch-enemies in Kenya today: Raila and Kalonzo. Then he led the crowd in exorcising the two: 'Raila Ashindwe' (<i>Down with Raila</i>), 'Kalonzo Ashindwe' (<i>Down With Kalonzo</i>)
16	Voting for it is to <i>kill</i> democracy.
17	Raila the monster should be hit on the head and <i>killed</i> so as not to destabilize the Kibaki government.
18	...is like a dog which <i>drops</i> its piece of meat thinking that its image in the water is another dog with a bigger piece.
19	Although I wrestled with president ... for the <i>top seat</i> , he called me into his government to neutralize and quash the plan to remove him from power.

The ten metaphors on the table above encode the UP /DOWN orientation which is one of the configurations of directionality of the PATH schema. Five of the above ten metaphors: “...go to higher ground ...standing ...move to higher ground, ...win, ...top seat” denote the ‘UP’ side of the orientation while the other five:“...fail ...down...kill...killed...drops” denote the ‘DOWN’ side of the orientation. The metaphors therefore perfectly fit the vertical orientation of the VERTICALITY image subsidiary schema.

The study notes that image schemas are affected either positively or negatively. All image schemas share the plus-minus parameter (Kreszowski, 1993). In other words, all image schemas exhibit a bipolar property of conferring positive or negative associations. He posits that it is this axiological parameter that is “responsible for the dynamism of the metaphorization process inherent in the formation of concepts based on the relevant schemata” (Kreszowski, 1993: 310). In this study, the five instances that denote the ‘DOWN’ side of the orientation affect the schema negatively. For instance, exorcising a politician like we do to the devil as appears in example (15) has a negative connotation as it is meant to bring the person down both emotionally and politically. Equally, ‘killing’ as brought out in example (16) and (17) brings a person down. On the contrary, a ‘win’ in example (14) makes a person happy and therefore ‘high.’ This is consistent with Lakoff’s (1993) assertion that:

The MORE IS UP metaphor is grounded in experience – in the

experience of pouring more fluid into a container and seeing the level go up or adding more things to a pile and seeing the pile get higher. These are thoroughly pervasive experiences; we experience them every day of our lives. These are experiences with a structure correspondence between the domain of quantity and the conceptual domain of verticality: MORE corresponds in such experiences to UP and LESS corresponds to DOWN (Lakoff 1992:34).

In politics, the aim of the politician is to ascend to a position of power and each side of the political divide, therefore, presents its position as the one that deserves the power. Due to this, both sides present a positive self-presentation and the negative other-presentation. These presentations correspond to the VERTICALITY image subsidiary schema's UP and DOWN orientations respectively.

The PROCESS Image Subsidiary Schema

A process is a series of actions or operations performed in order to do, make or achieve something (Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary, 1992: 991). The actions or operations performed occur in stages which include a beginning and an end. Mapped onto the PATH schema, a process has three stages: a SOURCE (beginning), a PATH and a GOAL (end-point). A PROCESS schema can be schematically shown as follows:

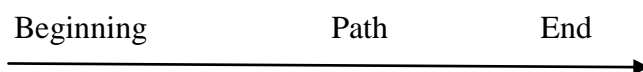


Figure 3: Schematic Structure of the PROCESS Image subsidiary Schema

The PROCESS image subsidiary schema in this study was instantiated by eight metaphors of politics.

Table 3: Metaphors of Politics Conceptualizing the PROCESS Image Subsidiary Schema

S. No.	Metaphor
20	We have <i>moved along way</i> in fighting for democracy in this country and we cannot allow one or two bad elements to derail our dream.
21	If they beat us on November, 21, it will be impossible for the Kibaki government to <i>continue</i> operating smoothly.
22	We shall <i>continue fighting</i> for a better Kenya even if we are sacked...
23	The Wako draft would provide Kenyans with chance to <i>move to</i> The Promised Land with no detention without trial, no more land grabbing and government sponsored political assassinations and tribal clashes
24	...if he <i>turns back</i> public perception will be that ...has been bought.
25	The train of change is <i>unstoppable</i> and he could be left behind.
26	We want a peaceful <i>path</i> to the achievement of a new Constitution
27	...it should be clear to them; they are treading on a very dangerous <i>path</i> .

The metaphors on the table above invoke the PATH image schema cognitive construct by preserving the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL structural elements of the schema. They however also suggest the PROCESS subsidiary schema since they involve a series of actions aimed at achieving a goal. Many of the metaphors above which cue the PROCESS image schema are political journey metaphors since politics itself is cued as a journey to a position of power.

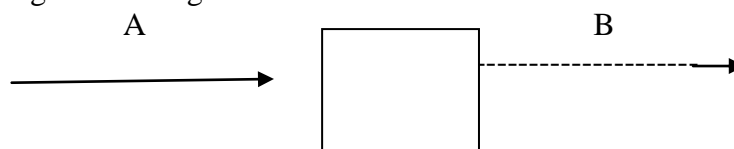
The FORCE – MOTION Image Subsidiary Schema

Scholars such as Johnson (1987), Lakoff, (1987) and Talmy, (1988) have identified FORCE as one of the basic image schemas underlying conceptual metaphors. According to Talmy (1988) force dynamics, the interaction of entities with respect to force includes “the exertion of force, resistance to force, overcoming resistance, blockage of force and removal blockage.” Descriptions of force-dynamic schemas (gestalts) by Johnson (1987) and Talmy (2000) prove that both authors, in most cases, have used the term ‘force’ metonymically to refer to motion. More specifically however, they have used the term to refer to a moving object, its velocity or trajectory (Wozny, 2013). What Johnson (1987) calls *gestalts of force* and Talmy (2000) describes as *force dynamic schemas* is a key concept of cognitive linguistics. Both authors often use the term *force* metonymically to refer to various other entities like a moving object, motion, velocity and trajectory.

While Peña (1999) treats FORCE schema as a subsidiary to the PATH schema, Santibáñez (2002) treats it as an independent schema. Like Peña who contends that the FORCE schema is a conceptual dependency of the PATH image-schema, this study treats the FORCE-MOTION schema as a subsidiary of the PATH image schema since the schemas of FORCE, NEAR – FAR and LINK depend on the PATH schema. Further, this study takes the view that the term ‘force’ is used metonymically to refer to a moving object, its velocity or trajectory and that no object moves along a path on its own without some force being exerted either internally or externally. The FORCE image subsidiary schema and its descriptions of force gestalts from Johnson (1987) is discussed below.

Compulsion. [...]

This is a situation where the force comes from somewhere, has a given magnitude, moves along a path and has a direction. This schematic gestalt can be represented with the following visual image:



Source: Woźny 2013

Figure 4: Schematic Structure of Compulsion in the FORCE –MOTION Image Subsidiary Schema

The arrow (A) represents an actual force vector and the broken arrow (B) denotes a potential force vector or trajectory (Johnson 1987:45). The force “moves along a path.” Johnson described an object moving along a straight line trajectory and used the word *force* metonymically since force cannot “move” by itself, but an object on which a

force acts moves (Woźny 2013). Compulsion was instantiated by the metaphors on the table below.

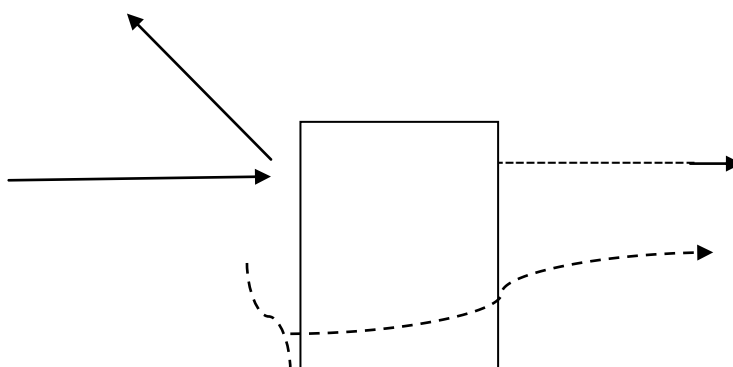
Table 4: Metaphors of Politics instantiating the Compulsion gestalt

28	We are aware that <i>money has been poured to woo voters.</i>
29	You may have defeated us in parliament under <i>streams of money...</i>
30	We, the orange supporters, being Kenyan patriots do hereby <i>swear</i> to ensure we have achieved a new democratic Constitution and end dictatorship. Help us, oh God
31	She is welcome to the home of orange campaigners and she has taken a clever step of decamping before the political <i>tsunami makes a sweep.</i>

The metaphors on the table above invoke compulsion in the FORCE-MOTION image subsidiary schema of the PATH schema. In columns 28 and 29, which have a cognitive construct of POLITICS IS BUSINESS/FINANCIAL TRANSACTIONS, money is the force that drives politicians. This is particularly true in Kenya where politicians are bound to disagree on any other matter except when it has to do with their salary raise. The compulsion is so strong that politicians cannot resist it. On the other hand, columns 30 and 31 contain such a strong compulsion that in column 30, a semblance of an oath is taken. Invoking God's name is an indication of how serious the matter is. The force in column 31 is indicated by the tsunami, a powerful wind that leaves behind it massive destruction. The compulsion in politics is ascension to a position of power where one is able to control massive public resources for personal aggrandizement.

Blockage. [...]

The gestalt can be represented as a force vector encountering a barrier and then taking any number of possible directions (Johnson, 1987). This schematic gestalt can be represented with the following image:



Source: Woźny 2013

Figure 5: Schematic Structure of the Blockage gestalt in the FORCE– MOTION Image Subsidiary Schema

The word force is used here to denote the moving object which encounters a barrier. This view is consistent with Peña (2003) who states that BLOCKAGE occurs when we

encounter some obstacles that prevent a moving entity from reaching a destination. The barrier exerts a force on the moving object, causing it to change its trajectory as shown in the above figure. This phenomenon is encountered in the metaphorical expressions used by Kenyan politicians in 2005 during the Draft Constitution referendum period as exemplified by the statements on the table below.

Table 5: Metaphors of Politics instantiating the Blockage gestalt

S. No.	Metaphor
32	<i>Physically resist encroachment</i> by the orange team into Nyandarua.
33	The train of change is <i>unstoppable</i> and he could be left behind.
34	Our wave is so strong and <i>no turn coat or reject will be left standing</i> in the path of the leadership of this county.
35	I warned them (yes team) to move to higher grounds, but those who fail to heed my advice will be <i>swept into the ocean by the strong waves</i> .

One of the entities reacting to force is overcoming of resistance (Talmy, 1988). In all the metaphors on the table above, there is an allusion to resistance. The notion of resistance is clearer in the metaphor in column 32 than in all the four cases when the pro draft supporters are asked to physically resist any attempts by their opponents to enter the region. In expressions in columns 33 to 35, the ‘movement’ is such that any obstacle on the way is crashed. The insinuation in the above metaphors is that politicians do not allow for opposition in politics. The politicians do not allow dissenting views and therefore divergent opinion is treated with cruelty as expressed in column 32 or forcefully knocked down and swept away as expressed in columns 34 and 35. No one politician ascends to a position of power without resistance whether shown overtly or covertly. Politicians therefore survive by issuing threats and causing fear to the ‘blockage.’

Counterforce. [...]

A third cluster of gestalts focuses on the head-on meetings of forces. Football linemen are most familiar with this force gestalt. Here, two equally strong, nasty and determined force centres collide face-to-face (Johnson 1987:46). This gestalt can be represented with the following schematic image:



Source: Woźny 2013

Figure 6: Schematic Structure of Counterforce gestalt in the FORCE – MOTION Image Subsidiary Schema

The schematic representation indicates that the objects on which the forces act meet and collide. Five (5) metaphors of politics instantiated the counterforce gestalt.

Table 6: Metaphors of Politics instantiating the Counterforce gestalt

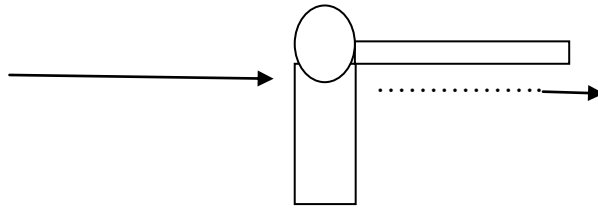
S. No.	Metaphor
36	<i>physically resist encroachment</i> by the orange team into Nyandarua
37	“Kama ni wanaume na wanajaribu tutawaonyesha” (<i>If they are real men let them try; we will show them</i> - a translation from Kiswahili to English).
38	In November 23 rd , 2005, the results of the referendum were compared to the <i>Biblical David and Goliath War</i> , saying the Orange team had used fewer resources than the Banana team to win the people’s vote.
39	I tell...to bring those councilors who look like street children to Kapenguria and <i>he will understand why donkeys have no horns</i> .
40	I urge you all to maintain peace. We are in the Super League and <i>we do not want any division, violence and chaos....</i>

The metaphorical expressions on the table cue confrontation. Metaphor in column 36: “*physically resist encroachment* by the Orange team into Nyandarua,” for instance, portrays a situation where the Orange team would have met resistance had they gone to Nyandarua, a region considered the opponents’ zone during the 2005 referendum campaigns. The metaphor in column 37 dares the opponent to carry out their ‘threat’ ‘if they are real men.’ This expression is used to indicate to the opponent that they stand to meet resistance. The same resistance is brought out in column 39: ‘bring those councilors who look like street children to Kapenguria and he will understand why donkeys have no horns.’ The metaphor of the Biblical David and Goliath war in column 38 brings out the resistance that Goliath got from David, a minnow with respect to physical outlook. The ‘Super League’ metaphor in column 40 is consistent with Johnson’s (1987) postulation of “two strong, nasty and determined force centres collide face-to-face” since we watch this in sport as opponents collide fighting for the same ball.

These metaphorical expressions reflect a common feature of Kenyan politics where politicians zone off certain areas considered their strongholds and whenever a perceived opponent visits those areas, chaos erupt as those opposed to them resist their visit. In the COUNTERFORCE gestalt, therefore, politics is seen as war. Metaphors of POLITICS IS WAR portray the counterforce aspect of the FORCE – MOTION image subsidiary schema quite clearly. The ‘Mapambano’ song in Kiswahili, a Kenyan national language (“Vijana msilale bado mapambano”) by the Orange team led by the Orange luminary in Bomet stadium, translated as ‘the youth do not relax; the fight is still on’ summarizes the Counterforce aspect appropriately. The ‘Counterforce’ that is witnessed between supporters of various politicians in Kenya where politics is ethnicity based has led to several deaths.

Removal of Restraint. [...]

The Removal of Restraint gestalt is one that suggests an open way or path, which makes possible an exertion of force. [...] the diagram is meant to suggest that either because some actual barrier is removed by another force or because the potential barrier is not actually present, the force F1 can be exerted (i.e. there is nothing blocking it) (Johnson 1987: 46). The gestalt can be represented by the diagram below:



Source: Woźny 2013

Figure 7: Schematic Representation of Removal of Restraint gestalt in the FORCE – MOTION Image Subsidiary Schema

The Removal of Restraint schema is a subsidiary image schema that involves the physical or metaphorical removal of a barrier to the action of a force, or the absence of a barrier that is potentially present (Hurienne and Blessing, 2007). The Removal of Restraint phenomenon is exemplified by the metaphorical expressions on the table below.

Table 7: Metaphors of Politics instantiating Removal of Restraint gestalt

41	We shall continue <i>fighting</i> for a better Kenya even if we are sacked...
42	We have moved along way in <i>fighting</i> for democracy in this country and we cannot allow one or two bad elements to derail our dream.
43	Do not expect any easy <i>battle</i> ; real men and women capable of putting up a <i>brave fight for the presidency</i> come 2007 were still taking it easy.
44	I will continue <i>fighting</i> for the silent majority to ensure that their interests are catered for all the time
45	Otieno Kajwang's song "Vijana msilale bado mapambano" (The youth do not relax, <i>the struggle continues</i>).
46	There are two arch-enemies in Kenya today: Raila and Kalonzo. Then he led the crowd in exorcising the two: Raila 'ashindwe' (<i>Down with Raila</i>), Kalonzo 'ashindwe' (<i>Down with Kalonzo</i>)
47	We warned them that a political <i>tsunami</i> will come if they do not give people a good Constitution. It has now <i>swept them</i>
48	I said it is going to be with <i>tsunami</i> ; <i>the only way to avoid it is to go higher ground</i> .
49	She is welcome to the home of orange campaigners and she has taken a clever step of decamping before the <i>political tsunami makes a sweep</i> .
50	Our wave is so strong and <i>no turn coat or reject will be left standing in the path</i> of the leadership of this county.
51	I warned them (yes team) to move to higher grounds, but those who fail to heed my advice will <i>be swept into the ocean by the strong waves</i> .
52	The train of change is <i>unstoppable</i> and he could be left behind.

Metaphorical expressions in columns 41-44 paint a picture of a 'war' situation by the repeated use of the expressions 'fighting' and 'battle.' All of these expressions cue the removal of a restraint since we fight to overpower an opponent who we perceive as a barrier to our mission and vision. In the context of politics, there is always 'war' between opposing camps. This was the situation during the 2005 referendum campaigns in Kenya where each camp fought to beat the opponent who was considered a barrier to the achievement of their goals.

The song “bado mapambano” (the struggle continues) in column 45 portrays a situation where the barrier has not been removed and so the struggle to remove it continues. The same applies to the metaphor in column 46 where the two leaders were considered a barrier by their opponents. The speaker was more blatant to call them enemies. The word ‘enemy’ captures the mood appropriately as actually a barrier to one’s achievement is one’s enemy.

Metaphorical expressions 47-51 are even more forceful in the expression of removal of a barrier. The use of ‘a tsunami to make a sweep’ is repeated as a way to force the barrier out of the way. “Exertion of force” means motion which can only be made possible by removing the barrier (Johnson, 1987: 46). The metaphor in column 52 sums it all by indicating that the match to the removal of the barrier(those opposed to change) is unstoppable and anybody who does not wish to be swept away (left behind) has to come on board the ‘Biblical Noah’s Ark.’ The force (tsunami) is therefore the moving object (the campaigners) and their motion. Johnson (1987:43) states that “our experience of force usually involves the movement of some object (mass) through space in some direction.” Talmy (2000) suggests that the difference between conceptual force dynamics and physics lies in the privileged status of one of the participants of forceful interaction (Agonist) over another (Antagonist).

CONCLUSION

The study has shown that politics is conceptualized as a journey in political discourse in Kenya. The study has therefore explored the PATH image- schema and the role it plays in conceptual formation of metaphors in political discourse in Kenya. The study has also shown that the PATH image-schema structures the relationship between the source domain (journey) and the target domain (politics). It has presented the PATH image-schema and its subsidiary image schemas of Verticality, Process and the Force-Motion and how the various gestalts of the FORCE-MOTION image subsidiary schema are integrated into PATH image schema in political discourse in Kenya.

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