

**THE USE OF METAPHORS IN KENYAN BUSINESS MEDIA  
DISCOURSE: A CMT ANALYSIS**

**OMOLO, KANDI BARBARA**

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OF THE REQUIREMENT FOR THE AWARD OF DEGREE OF  
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## DECLARATION

I declare that this research project is original, fruit of my creativity and thought, and has not been presented for examination in any other institution.

Candidate:



.....  
OMOLO KANDI BARBARA  
C50/15701/2018

DATE: 05 /11/ 2021

This research study has been submitted for examination with our approval as University Supervisors:

SIGNATURE   
PROFESSOR HELGA SCHROEDER

DATE: 09 /11/ 2021

SIGNATURE   
Ms. ELIZABETH OCHOLA

DATE: 09 /11/ 2021

## **DEDICATION**

This research project is in a special way dedicated to my family: In the first place to my parents Winnie and Julius, and then to my siblings, Jeff, Lilian and Ted. Thank you very much for the invaluable support that I have received from each one of you from my earliest years.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

AfCTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
bn	Billion
CBK	Central Bank of Kenya
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CL	Cognitive Linguistics
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
DN	Daily Nation
EAC	East African Community
EPA	Economic Partnership Agreement
KCB	Kenya Commercial Bank
KRA	Kenya Revenue Authority
KRC	Kenya Railways Corporation
NBK	National Bank of Kenya
m	Million
NCPD	National Cereals and Produce Board
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SGR	Standard Gauge Railway
Sh	(Kenya) Shilling
SME	Small and Medium Enterprise
SN	Sunday Nation
TSC	Teachers Service Commission
UK	United Kingdom

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## **ABSTRACT**

This research project discusses and describes conceptual metaphors found in Kenyan business media discourse. The theory that has guided this study is the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) that argues that people think in terms of metaphors, and that metaphors are so pervasive in the human conceptual system that people would hardly be able to communicate if they did not have recourse to metaphors. Metaphorical concepts and expressions found in business media discourse were analyzed, taking the CMT point of departure, which talks of one thing being understood in terms of another. Thus, an encyclopedic entry of a source domain is mapped onto the target domain and the result is that the target domain is understood in terms of the source domain. The data used was collected from the *Daily Nation*, the *Saturday Nation* and the *Sunday Nation* spanning a period of five months (November 2020 – March 2021). This research found that there is a variety of conceptual metaphors used in Kenyan business media discourse. Apart from encountering some like TIME IS MONEY, GOOD IS UP and BAD IS DOWN that are universally used conceptual metaphors, this research found that there are a number of typically Kenyan conceptual metaphors. The conceptual metaphor BUSINESS IS CONSTRUCTION is rooted in the fact that Kenya is a developing country that is experiencing a lot of growth in infrastructure. Most Kenyans find it hard to make ends meet and therefore CHEAPER IS BETTER and EXPENSIVE IS BAD is an attribute of the way of acting and thinking of a majority of Kenyans who are always seeking cheaper options, because they have to be careful with how much they spend. BUSINESS IS NATURE/FARMING is another conceptual metaphor that was abundantly used, probably because Kenya is largely an agricultural country, along with the fact that most of the Kenyan population is rural and thus lives very close to nature. FIGHT METAPHORS featured prominently. This was found to be because Kenyans have an intense spirit of competition in all spheres, and this has greatly influenced the way they perceive seeking success in any aspect of life. All the typically Kenyan conceptual metaphors have been used because they are particularly relevant to the Kenyan context and would therefore be easily accessible to any Kenyan sharing the same cultural encyclopedic entries. Another reason for their use is that some of the conceptual metaphors found are universally accepted and Kenyans are quite familiar with them and will find it easy to derive the intended meanings without much effort.



# CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

Media discourse and metaphors are two worlds that are very fascinating. At first glance, they seem to be totally unrelated, as media discourse tends to give reports on matter of fact events that have taken place or are set to take place in the foreseeable future. Metaphors on the other hand have for a long time been relegated to the world of literature. Yet we find a close link between the two, because media discourse exploits the use of metaphors with such naturalness that it virtually passes unnoticed to the untrained eye.

Like many other things that seem to belong to different disciplines, delving a little deeper into their core areas will generally lead to a convergence in at least one aspect or another. This advances the acceptance of the saying that all forms of human knowledge eventually lead to the same point: knowledge about the human person - because all forms of human knowledge are geared to the service and development of human beings and their interests.

Biber et al (1999) have pointed out that the language used in newspapers goes to form one part of the four registers that have been identified in English, the other registers being creative writing, spoken language and that of academic writing. This points to the importance that needs to be accorded to media discourse, which is the focus of this paper.

Linguists have frequently viewed the information contained in newspapers with a certain level of distrust because they have seen that sometimes the means of mass communication manipulate language with an aim of giving a biased image of reality, which has led to the development of critical discourse analysis (CDA).

CDA has given rise to a proliferation of literature on media discourse and this is what has guided and led to the development and interest in carrying out this research.

## 1.1 Background to the study

This paper analyzes the metaphors that are typically found in business columns in the local dailies. It analyzes and categorizes what these metaphors are, how and why they are used in a field that is predominantly governed by facts, while metaphors are typically used in literary works to yes, transmit a message, but over and above that, to do so in a decorative and ornamental manner. When one reaches out to read a business column or any news item that discusses business, one does not expect to find figures of speech. Rather, one goes seeking quantifiable facts presented in an orderly, matter of fact way.

However, on reading business columns, one actually does come across some metaphors within these business columns, which led the present researcher to want to analyze the reason why these writers resort to the use of metaphors. Another motivation for this study was to find out what difference it made when a business writer used plain, factual language, and when the writer weaved some metaphors into his writing.

The current researcher has queried how prevalent the use of metaphors is in business writings, and how aware the writers are of the fact that they are using ‘ornamental’ language in transmitting the facts that they propose to present in their columns. Do these metaphors have any influence in adding readability and comprehension to these writings? And if they do, are there some metaphors that are more frequently used in the Kenyan context? If there are, which ones are they?

This project aimed at discovering why business media discourse used metaphors as this goes against expectation since business deals with facts. The paper tried to identify and describe the most typical and frequently occurring metaphors as found in the print media, with a focus on the *Business* columns in Kenyan Newspapers motivated by the desire of identifying the reason why writers of business columns resort to the use of metaphors.

Part of the findings of this study will therefore be to try to establish if what Lakoff and Johnson (1980) say that metaphors are rooted in human cognition and are for that reason pervasive, holds true for business media discourse. In their book, Lakoff and Johnson talk about how metaphors are found in all manners of speech events. They speak of metaphors as being used with specific implications, e.g. ‘MORE IS UP’ and ‘LESS IS DOWN’ which can be used in a sentence like ‘The cases of Covid are climbing’ which means that the number of people getting infected with Covid-19 is increasing. A sentence like ‘The number of people with health insurance is declining every year’ can be used to demonstrate that ‘LESS IS DOWN’. They also talk of the experiential nature of metaphors, and that metaphors are grounded, they are not just random amorphous structures that are used arbitrarily.

## 1.2 Problem Statement

Metaphors are tools that creative writers use to enhance their work by making the work more interesting. They use them as stylistic devices. The use of metaphors is widely accepted as the mere exploitation of poetic license by creative writers. However, metaphors are a much richer reality that find their basis, according to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), in human cognition, and are therefore co-natural to the human

person. Metaphors, according to them, work on the basis of the transfer of qualities that are identifiable with one object to another which in itself is not identified with that object: the source domain transferring some of its qualities to the target domain.

Metaphors, typically understood as tools of creative writers, seem to have no place in business media discourse. Yet business media discourse, it is interesting to discover, uses a fair amount of metaphors, which goes against prevailing assumptions and expectations because business deals with quantifiable facts and figures, not figurative language.

Considering the concepts of basic media discourse which deal with hard facts, this research looked into the reasons how and why metaphors are used in Kenyan business media discourse.

Therefore, this research project tried to answer the following questions:

### 1.3 Research Questions

1. What types of metaphors are used in Kenyan business media discourse?
2. What meanings do these metaphors convey within the Kenyan cultural context?
3. Why is it necessary to use metaphors rather than just ordinary language when writing business columns?

### 1.4 Research Objectives

1. To classify and categorize the kinds of metaphors (in terms of nature, time, health, etc.) as used in Kenyan business media discourse.
2. To find out what these metaphors communicate, given the Kenyan cultural context.
3. To find out the reason for their use in Kenyan business media discourse.

### 1.5 Justification for the study

There have been a number of studies using the CMT, which shows that metaphors form an important part of research, as they seem to be of notable influence in human life. There have been studies on the use of metaphorical euphemisms (Ochieng, 2016), metaphors in business strategy (Etzold and Buswick, 2008), conceptual metaphors in poetry (Rasse et al. 2019) among others, but none of the papers read contained a study on conceptual metaphors in business media discourse in Kenya.

Radyuk and Guralnik (2019) have stated: “Business media discourse performs one of the most important functions of communication as it is far reaching and it shapes how people view the world, the opinions they form and the attitudes they adopt to the changing world circumstances”. They say that there has been a lot of scholarship on how the world is shaped

by media discourse in many sub-branches of linguistics, including “stylistics, rhetoric and semantics”, but there has not been a corresponding amount of scholarship in the area of business media discourse, and they thus encourage further research in this field.

It is our hope that this paper will contribute to the study of conceptual metaphors from the point of view of explaining why metaphors find their place in the business world in general, and particularly in journalistic business writing within the Kenyan context.

### 1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study

This study has limited itself to the use of metaphors in business media discourse as found in the business columns of Kenyan dailies. It has looked at the kinds of metaphors frequently used and why they are prevalent, and has tried to assess the extent to which the Kenyan cultural context influences the choice of metaphors used. It has employed the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and also taken into account the later modifications that have been proposed. This study also outlines some of the criticisms that have been levelled against this theory and developments that other linguists, especially Kovecses, have added to the original theory.

The study focuses only on print media. It did not look at metaphors as found in radio and television broadcasts, not because these are not areas of interest, but simply due to a lack of resources, especially time. It did not focus on media discourse that relates to politics, religion, art, etc. It also limited itself and did not touch upon metaphors as found in other forms of print media e.g. books and journals, except for the purposes of comparison as and when it seemed necessary for the research process.

### 1.7 Definition of Concepts

- Cognitive Linguistics

This is an approach to the study of language that combines knowledge from a variety of disciplines such as linguistics, cognitive psychology and neuropsychology. It is not a specific theory but its chief thrust is founded on the assumption that knowledge of a language is based on cognition.

- Metaphor

This is when a word or a phrase is applied to something, yet cannot be applied to it in a literal sense. Metaphors call upon a direct similarity between two things that are not, in fact, exactly the same.

- Conceptual Metaphor

This can be defined as when one understands a usually abstract domain of experience in terms of another domain of experience that is usually more concrete.

- Mapping

This is when new word meanings are generated by transferring an existing sense of a word from its source domain to a target domain.

- Domain

An area of specific cognitive knowledge.

- Media discourse

Media discourse can be defined as interaction through any platform of broadcast which could either be spoken or written and is mostly directed towards an audience or reader that is not present at the time of the delivery of the discourse. In most cases, the recipients are not able to give immediate feedback to the ones communicating with them because the recipients are absent.

- Business media discourse

This refers to interaction through some broadcast platform on matters of business.

- Critical Discourse Analysis

As media discourse is prepared in advance to be delivered en masse to many people, it could have the possibility of being ideologically biased in one way or another. Critical Discourse Analysis is when one takes a stance and decides to assess the information that is given to the public through media discourse for any bias.

## 1.8 Literature review

What follows below is literature from scholars that have been relevant to this topic and the contribution these writings have made to the current study. For ease of reference, this section has been divided into four parts according to the broad areas that were deemed to be of primary importance.

### 1.8.1 Literature on Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The most important contribution to this study has been the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) who propose that metaphors are so prevalent in human discourse to the point that human beings conceptualize language in terms of metaphors. This work sparked an interest in the value and pervasiveness of conceptual metaphors in human language and the fact that most people indeed use metaphors without the knowledge, nor even the intention, that they are using them. It was interesting to put this theory to the test simply by listening to how people were speaking.

Lakoff and Johnson go on to talk about the cultural significance of metaphors and metaphorical expressions. The value system of a society will dictate the use of metaphors and will determine which metaphor will be given priority within a certain culture and which will not. This section of the theoretical development of Lakoff and Johnson's CMT was of great interest in analyzing the metaphors used in business media discourse in the Kenyan context.

Kovecses' (2005 and 2015) works on metaphors, were especially helpful in the study of metaphors in general, and specifically how some metaphors seem to be universal, i.e. they are used in basically the same way across several different cultures, but others are culture specific.

Kovecses (2005) focuses on the variation of metaphors both within the same culture, and also across cultural boundaries. This work is crucial in the identification of why some metaphors can have different interpretations depending on the culture within which they are used. His other works on CMT (e.g. Kovecses 2017) also served to clarify the definition and scope that this study would take.

Kovecses (2015) discusses the origins of metaphors, and he talks about the fact that bodily experience has been known to give rise to many metaphors. This work was important in this research as it guided the understanding and interpretation of the body metaphors that the researcher came across in the process of data collection.

Kovecses (2017) continues, and says that CMT could be improved by enhancing the contextual characteristics within which the metaphors are found. He says that the theory as it stands, even though it put in the foreground the superabundance of metaphors in language, has some aspects that can be sharpened in the manner described above, among several other aspects that other linguists have pointed out. But it is this aspect of enriching the contextual occurrence of metaphors that was of interest to this paper. Kovecses (2017) gave the most concise definition of the CMT, and a breakdown, along with a practical explanation of the tenets and presuppositions of CMT.

### 1.8.2 Literature on Metaphors

Ochieng (2016) contributed to this work with his discussion on metaphors as used within the Kenyan culture. He opines that these metaphors actually have different connotations depending on the context. This work gave some pointers that acted as a starting point in the analysis of typically Kenyan metaphors and how they have been used in advertisements, calendars, radio shows, etc. It was clear from his work that the metaphors that are used in Dholuo communicated effectively chiefly because the Dholuo speakers of Migori had a lot of cultural context which contributed to the understanding, interpretation and acceptability of the metaphors.

Mooij (1993) on his part posits that “metaphors have a cognitive, emotive and a persuasive function... The cognitive function is manifested when the metaphor is used as a means of communicating cognitive insights. It has an emotive function because the metaphor serves as a vehicle for transferring emotional attitudes. Metaphors serve the persuasive function by the fact that they are used to persuade an audience or reader of a way of doing or seeing things” that perhaps they had not thought of.

The website [www.negotiations.com](http://www.negotiations.com) gives details of common metaphors employed in business, and it says, “Metaphors provide clues to how business people are viewing their issues, opportunities and negotiations.” The website gives a list of common metaphors used in business and also gives an interpretation of some of them. It further talks of some of the over-used metaphors and how they are used in business and it provides some alternatives. This acted as a good reference point in the study of business metaphors as found in the Kenyan dailies.

Imre (2010) studies what the metaphor is in cognitive linguistics. He gives a historical overview of the term which goes back to Aristotle, and he gives some characteristics of the metaphor as discussed by Aristotle that says that “metaphors must include in themselves facility, clarity, elegance and appropriateness”.

Imre continues by distinguishing cognitive linguistics from Chomsky’s Generative Grammar, and he says that cognitive linguistics does not study deep structure and transformations, but rather concerns itself with language as being made up of concepts that are interrelated, one to another. This interrelatedness in itself already leads us to the world of metaphors, because metaphors in cognitive semantics find their place in relatedness: one thing being understood in terms of another.

He further opines that “Metaphors do not describe reality, but they create one where strange elements intermingle with more familiar ones, thus revealing a part of how we see our

surrounding world and ourselves” (Imre 2010: 73). This assertion is of interest in this paper because it turned out to be in fact, the case when the conceptual metaphors typically found in Kenyan business media discourse were analyzed.

He discusses how metaphors act as carriers to discuss sentiments, ideas, ambitions, etc. that are part and parcel of culture. They thus seem to be essential in society, which confirms the view of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) that metaphors are a fruit of human cognition and are therefore entrenched in all people because they think in terms of metaphors.

### 1.8.3 Literature on media discourse

In Koller (2003), we find the following quotation from White, (1997): ““there is an imperious necessity for newspaper language to display clarity and facilitate [...] the readability of its text” (White 1997:242)’. This quotation served as a good starting point to assume that media discourse ought to take into serious account the necessity of actually communicating effectively, so even in their choice of metaphors, they of necessity have to look for those metaphors that will most readily connect with their target audience. Koller speaks of the prevalence of the WAR metaphor in business media, even though many other metaphors are used. She argues that in a large variety of cases, business discourse reports are centered on a win or lose struggle and that is why metaphors and the language used as a whole seem to revolve round this kind of metaphor.

Talbot (2007), on writing on media discourse and describing its characteristics, talks about how for many people, the media seems to be their sole source of information, having replaced other so-called traditional sources of information and moral criteria like churches and Labour Unions. She says the influence of the media is so prevalent that studying how it works and how it influences people’s thinking is very important. Not to pay attention to media discourse in studying society would be to the disadvantage of society. Talbot goes on to show the distinction between text and discourse, where she says that text is the actual material of the end result that can be observed, while discourse is the means that conveys what is written to the listener or the one who reads. This distinction proved interesting in analyzing the use of metaphors in business media discourse.

Talbot further talks about the three functions of language and how the three relate to one another and transmit their messages. She talks about the “ideational function of language”, which means that language is used to convey “ideas”. Then she talks about “the interpersonal function”, which means language is a means to build relations and for social interaction. She



then talks of the third function of language, “the text creating function”, which in other words just means how the text is held together. The present researcher found this insightful as this contributed to the study of metaphors in isolation and then also as vehicles for creating interpersonal relationships and how they help in creating text cohesion.

Talbot continues and explains how sometimes in media discourse whether print or audiovisual, journalists can suggest that they are treating each one of their readers/each member of their audience as individuals while actually they are treating them as a group. She calls this “the compensatory tendency” (Talbot, 2007: 48). This was interesting to this study because it shows how metaphors used in media tend to exploit this, by suggesting to people that they are being treated as individuals, yet the whole mass of readers/listeners and viewers are being targeted.

Kort (2017) was pivotal in beginning to put together this paper. In it, the author goes to great lengths to show how the media can influence public opinion and society’s view in general of different cultures or peoples without appearing to have this as their target through the kind of metaphors they use. Moreover, the author also shows how metaphors can be context specific. What they reveal about what they are addressing can therefore be more or less easily understood, depending on how well contextualized the audience/reader is. As this paper addresses business discourse in Kenya, the context of the metaphors used was of great interest in interpreting the meanings of the metaphors.

Scherbak (2018) writes on media discourse and the history of its study. The author gives an outline of what he considers important in the study of media discourse. What is of particular interest to this study is his advice that the best way to study media discourse is through the use of Critical Discourse Analysis.

Fairclough (1995) discusses how media discourse has changed over time, and the importance that mass media now has as a key means of communication. He discusses the properties of mass communication and the economics of the media and how these interplay in the delivery of information to the audience and readers. Fairclough talks about media discourse as having the capacity to give form to social structure and thereby shape how people think, but at the same time, the same mass media platforms are shaped by, and are therefore a reflection of how that society thinks about itself.

#### 1.8.4 Literature on Business Media Discourse

Skorczyńska (2012) was also of relevance to this paper as therein was found an interesting perspective as to how metaphors are viewed in business management circles. The fact that there

are specific metaphors that are associated with business management and the reason why some seem to fit the business environment better than others because of the qualities that are associated with the business world was aptly dealt with.

Koller (2004) analyzes in detail different kinds of metaphors. The author writes specifically on metaphors that are commonly used in business media discourse. This work was fundamental in putting together ideas that came to form a foundation for the discussion of metaphors in media in general, and specifically in business media. Koller gives an interesting perspective and analysis of metaphors from the point of view of business media discourse. The book analyzes metaphors from the point of view of how they are employed by the media and it gives some specific highlights of how metaphors ought to be interpreted in this perspective. It was of great help in guiding the unfolding of this paper.

Arrese and Vara-Miguel (2016) specifically look at how metaphors have been used in business media to report the so-called “Euro-crisis” of the beginning of the twenty-first century, and it looks at how newspapers have reported the crisis in specific countries by making use of commonplace and sometimes not so common metaphors. Because of their being so commonplace, some of the metaphors are able to highlight and provoke just the right sentiments in the audience. They say that sometimes the media has allowed certain groups, for instance the “elitist groups”, to influence how journalists report the opinions of these “elitist groups”. It classifies the economic metaphor in terms of “health and disease, war and clashes, sports and games”, etc.

Power et al. (2020) talk about how women are represented in business media, and they complain about the stereotypical treatment women receive in the press. Their discussion highlights that rather than focusing on the business acumen of the women, their successes, their speedy rise in the last decade of the twentieth century in the business world etc., media discourse seems to focus on the women’s age, dressing, beauty, etc., which in some way downplays their achievements and removes the competitive edge off their work. This paper sought stereotypical metaphors in Kenyan business media discourse and found that indeed, sometimes, metaphors referring to women come with some negative connotations.

Docherty (2015) opines that, in agreement with Orwell (1945), media houses are owned by rich and powerful individuals who own large businesses and whose aim is to protect them using the powerful means that media discourse offers them. So, even though the ‘freedom of the press’ is a frequently demanded phenomenon amongst media houses, in truth, the media does

not always report freely. What is broadcasted is always aimed at protecting the vast enterprises of the media house owners. For this reason, the language and persuasive style that is used in broadcasts will directly either camouflage or in some way be sympathetic to the interests of the investors. When studying metaphors in business media discourse, this paper sought to interpret the metaphors found within the backdrop of the claims made by Docherty.

Docherty further says that in order to do this, media houses use “frames”, which could be said to be the addition and/or leaving out of unwanted features of a given reality to make the chosen features stand out when transmitting information. This can lead to the manipulation process that is frequently evidenced in the means of mass communication.

Koller (2006) further develops the idea that primary metaphors and the objects that give rise to them vary from culture to culture, such that a metaphor that is interpreted in one way in a given culture could be interpreted quite differently in another culture. Koller continues that what gives rise to metaphors of a higher level can be influenced by principles which mark the focus that the analysis and comprehension of such a metaphor can give rise to. Metaphors then act as a way of transporting meanings that have been associated with the “source domain” to the “target domain”, and this is based on the way the metaphor has been conceptualized. The use and interpretation of the metaphor will be influenced by the social group and community within which that discourse is set. Koller quotes Hodge and Kress who say that “the minimal unit for analysis [be] not a single form or text in isolation, but a reading of a sequence in context, containing prior or later forms in [the] text” (1993: 181). The study of metaphors cannot be done by merely studying the metaphor itself in isolation. It has to be studied in the setting within which that metaphor is found. This explains why the focus of this paper is the cultural context of Kenya.

Koller adds that media discourse by its very nature tends to be argumentative. In this work therefore, media articles were studied from the point of view of being in the first place ideational which is to say, aimed at passing on ideas to the audience, readers or listeners, while at the same time fostering and highlighting the values of the Kenyan culture.

### 1.9 Theoretical Framework

The theory that was used in this paper is the Conceptual Metaphor Theory that has its origin in Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Even though this work can be traced as the beginning of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, CMT actually dates back some years before with the work of

many scholars who have studied Cognitive Linguistics where the CMT can be said to be embedded.

Ever since this theory was developed, a lot of scholarship has gone into it and it has a large corpus of written work. Therefore, this theory is not wholly contained in the above-mentioned work. The CMT, even though relatively young, has undergone a lot of modification by both proponents and critics of the theory. It is noteworthy to mention that some of the people who have made modifications to the CMT are Lakoff and Johnson themselves.

### 1.9.1 Cognitive Linguistics

It originated in the seventies and the early eighties from the writings of several scholars, including Ron Langacker, George Lakoff and Leonard Talmy. More than a theory as such, it is a manner of looking at natural language that has its focus on viewing language as a system that organizes and conveys information. As earlier said, it is an enterprise that brings together a number of in some way similar approaches to the study of language.

Three fundamental characteristics of CL can be identified:

- i) Whenever one has to make an analysis that has linguistics as its core, meaning has to be given pride of place. In other words, in any type of language study, semantics is of the most fundamental importance because language seeks in the first place, to convey meaning. Therefore, the basic role of language is to categorize, to give meaning.
- ii) Linguistic knowledge is encyclopedic. As language is a system which categorizes the world, awareness of the world is associated with linguistic units, and these linguistic units will depend on the individual person's worldview, such that one's experiences and cultural setting have a great influence on how one understands and interprets the different linguistic units (words or lexical items).
- iii) Linguistic meaning comes with perspective. This means that the categorizing function of language gives a certain shape to the world: it does not simply copy the world. Language systematizes one's treasury of ideas to suit his/her needs, interests and concerns.

The main tenets of cognitive linguistics (CL) are the following:

- i) CL says that language is actually not an inborn aptitude of the cognition. This directly goes against the claim of Generative Grammar that says that language is an

inborn aptitude that is separated from the other faculties of the cognition because it works independently of them. CL proposes that there is a close relationship between how linguistic knowledge and other kinds of knowledge are systematized and used by the human mind. This therefore implies that language is not autonomous and does not function in isolation.

- ii) CL understands grammar from the perspective of conceptualization. For CL, the truth conditional relationship between words and an object out there in the world is what gives meaning; meaning is not contained in the mind.
- iii) CL affirms that one knows a language as a result of using it: one learns a language by using it. Language is here understood as being experiential. It has to do with the whole person. In essence, this refers to the mind and the body, and how one interacts with the world. Language is contained within a body, the body of the person who 'has' that language. It is not abstract, as if with a 'life' of its own.

### 1.9.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The discussion on conceptual metaphors that started with Lakoff and Johnson (1980) focuses on some broad features as will be discussed below. Lakoff and Johnson begin their discussion on the CMT by saying that metaphors do not simply exist in words (language), but rather that they also exist in one's action and thought. They present the theory as a contradiction to the commonly held belief that metaphors only have a place in literature and rhetoric. According to them, people use metaphors in everyday speech and many more times than they realize. People would not even be able to speak unless they had recourse to metaphors and metaphorical expressions. Metaphors allow them to focus on more specific aspects of a reality rather than focusing on the whole of that reality. The metaphor draws attention to only that aspect that one wants to highlight in that reality.

On speaking about the experiential nature of metaphors, they say that metaphors are generally grounded on experience, such that the metaphors would not be understandable if one did not revert to experience in order to interpret the metaphors correctly.

Additionally, for them, the fundamental value system of a culture will be reflected in the metaphors that the culture chooses to use – metaphors are a reflection of the cultural context of the language, and by studying the metaphors of a culture, one can have an inkling of the value system of that society.

Some of the main features of the CMT as outlined by Kovecses (2017) are the following:

- (i) “Metaphors are pervasive”: Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that metaphors are found in all areas of speech, not only in literature. Even in ordinary speech amongst persons who have neither the intention, nor the knowledge that they are using them, metaphors seem to find their way there and are used extensively.
- (ii) “Systematic mapping between two conceptual domains”: “A conceptual metaphor is a systematic set of correspondences between two domains of experience”. (Kovecses, 2017). This means that one domain is understood in terms of another: the target domain is understood in terms of the source domain. CMT sees a distinction between these two domains. The qualities that are easily identifiable with the source domain are mapped onto the qualities of the target domain, which tend to be more abstract.
- (iii) CMT speaks of “the concrete and the abstract domains”. The source domain as mentioned above is identifiable with the concrete domain while the target domain is identifiable with the abstract domain. CMT says that typically, characteristics of the source domain are usually physical and they are mapped onto the target domain, which usually has more abstract features.
- (iv) “Metaphors principally occur in thought”. CMT proposes that metaphors are not only found in language, but rather, they also exist in thought, because we not only use them to speak, but also to think about how certain things exist in the world.
- (v) “Conceptual metaphors are grounded”. This is what explains why certain things are usually paired together as happens when we look at the source and target domains and why certain things cannot be paired. When two things can be paired, it is because between the two things, there is a similarity. There must be some shared qualities between the two things that are mapped one onto another in the formation of a conceptual metaphor. Metaphors are therefore not just an amorphous and arbitrary putting together of two things that have no similarity. If the two things have no similarity between them, then a metaphor cannot be formed using them.

### Criticism of CMT

Even though this theory has enjoyed a fair amount of enthusiastic reception and scholarship especially by scholars like Kovecses since it was proposed in 1980, it has also generated a lot of criticism. Some, for example, claim that conceptual metaphors do not exist because they argue that this theory did not develop the concept of ‘conceptual metaphor’ adequately.

Another criticism has been about the concept of ‘domain’ as proposed by Johnson and Lakoff. Critics claim that this is not a well-defined concept, but Kovecses (2017) says that the domain in CMT is clearly defined because “a domain is a coherent organization of human experience”.

Yet another criticism is that in CMT, linguistic and conceptual metaphors depend on each other. In other words, linguistic metaphors count on conceptual metaphors for their interpretation, and in a similar manner, conceptual metaphors rely on linguistic metaphors for their interpretation. This shows their mutual reliance and critics therefore say they are not two distinct concepts but are rather two dimensions of the same reality. Nevertheless, this criticism was laid to rest with the experiment of Gibbs in the early years of the 1990s when he conclusively proved the existence of conceptual metaphors from a psycholinguistic point of view. If the existence of conceptual metaphors can be proved conclusively in one discipline, cognitive semantics cannot claim their non-existence.

One criticism that has been repeated over and over again is the fact that CMT as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) does not have a clear methodology for identifying conceptual metaphors in discourse. However, this criticism can be understood as part of the development of the theory which was very much at the initial stages by the time *Metaphors We Live By* was written. This suggests then that this criticism is a part of improving the theory.

## 1.10 Methodology

### 1.10.1 Research Design

This paper is a qualitative research paper as it is a study based on Cognitive Linguistics, which falls under the umbrella of social sciences. It is a qualitative research because it does not focus on numerical data as done in the positive sciences. It focuses on an analysis of data from columns on economic and business articles in Kenyan newspapers.

This research has been carried out by the researcher personally collecting data from newspapers and not through the use of questionnaires or interviews.

The steps followed in this qualitative research include obtaining data primarily from newspapers, though the researcher also observed social interaction on topics related to the field of study in order to help answer the research questions and achieve the research objectives.

The primary source of data were the newspaper articles that directly dealt with the topic of interest. It involved the studying of newspaper articles in search of metaphors that are commonly used within the Kenyan business context. For purposes of comparison, the

researcher also listened to people speaking to see if they too use the metaphors found in media discourse in the same way, and this aided the task of formulating generalizations even though this did not form the basic aim of this study.

#### 1.10.2 Data Collection

The research was carried out through the study of newspaper articles. It sought to identify the metaphors found in the business columns of the *Daily Nation*, the *Saturday Nation*, and the *Sunday Nation*.

These newspapers were selected because according to the Geopoll website, they have the widest readership in Kenya, and thus dominate the market. They have a 40% readership, while their closest competitors, *The Standard*, has only a 20% readership. Geopoll is a reputable multinational survey and data collection agency that uses modern technology, specifically mobile phones, to gather data on a very diverse range of subjects.

Another reason for selecting this source of data was that the *Nation*, consistently features articles under various categories that carry a wide variety of business columns. For example, it features business people who have succeeded after starting with very little capital, young people who have dared to venture into business after not having found jobs, or who did jobs that they felt were unfulfilling, among many other reasons. The *Nation* also features advice given by professionals to people who are just setting up their business, or who are trying to move their businesses to the next level, etc. For this reason, the researcher saw that the selected source of data collection would give a good spectrum of metaphors as used in business media discourse within the Kenyan cultural context.

The data was collected from samples of the *Daily Nation*, *Saturday Nation* and *Sunday Nation* newspapers over the period between the months of November 2020 to March 2021. This time period was selected simply because of its proximity to the dates when the research was to be carried out. This made the results of the study as up to date as possible. This period has been characterized by attempts to revive the Kenyan economy after having suffered a slump period of seven months since the outbreak of the Covid-19 pandemic that had a negative impact on the economy. The study sought to discover whether the then current economic situation had metaphors that reflect the desire to revamp the economy.

The samples collected are from a variety of authors to get the general tone and prevalence of metaphors in business media discourse. A sample size of more than fifty articles written by several different authors was used in this study. By the end of period of data collection, and



after applying the sufficiency principle for qualitative research, the researcher had enough data to make general conclusions as to the types and meaning of metaphors that are used in Kenyan business media discourse.

The newspaper articles were sourced from the collection the researcher has in the library at the workplace. When any of the newspapers were missing from that collection, the researcher visited the online 'Nation Newspapers' archives to source the material.

The selection of columns was based on the type of business articles: Those dealing with small and medium enterprises (SMEs) which were the most plentiful, and then those dealing with larger, more established businesses and multinationals. Some op-eds (columns with comments based on personal opinions in dailies) with a leaning on business also provided some of the data used in this study. This paper looked for the possible reasons why some metaphors were so prevalent during the period of study, and what possible factors could be responsible for that trend. Some of the reasons that the research came up with will be sampled in Chapter 4.

### 1.10.3 Data Analysis

After collecting the data that was deemed sufficient using the criteria outlined above, the researcher studied it for patterns that emerged, e.g. seeing if there are certain types of metaphors that are more frequently used, and why. Afterwards, the study established a set of codes to help classify the data according to the patterns that were found. The study then classified them according to these patterns and identified what the main features of conceptualization of metaphors in the context of study are.

To analyze the data, a table was designed with the types of metaphors, context of the metaphors, what the metaphors meant, why that metaphor had been used in that context and the target group of the metaphor used.

Also used to guide the analysis of the business metaphors was literature on metaphors as used in other parts of the world with a view of establishing if the Kenyan context contributes different perspectives in the interpretation of business metaphors. This literature only served as a reference for comparison but was not included as primary data for the study.

For the interpretation of data, the study relied on the notion of encyclopedic entries found in the domains, where it is found that the context within which an utterance is made could greatly influence the intended meaning. This is because each person's thought process and understanding of the world is characterized by a specific way of looking at things. One's

culture, social status, social setting, past experiences, educational background, etc. influence the way that person draws inferences relating to events and how that person thinks. This fact was influential in the interpretation of metaphors within the Kenyan context because Kenya's history, work ethic, social context definitely have an implication on the way metaphors are interpreted.

## 1. 11 Conclusion

This first chapter of the study serves as an introduction to the whole research work that has been carried out in this paper. It states the research problem, the research questions and objectives, the theoretical framework, the methodology and the scope and limitation of the study. It also gives the literature that has informed and guided the work that has been carried out. Special mention is made of the CMT which formed the basis of the analysis of the metaphors in this research work.

## **CHAPTER TWO: CATEGORIZATION AND MEANINGS OF METAPHORS I**

### **2.1 Introduction**

This chapter and the next make an analysis of some of the metaphors that have been used in Kenyan business media discourse and they also give an explanation of their meanings. The analysis will have its foundation in the Conceptual Metaphor Theory of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and it will be based on an interpretation within the Kenyan cultural context. Frequent reference will be made to the ‘source’ and ‘target’ domains as outlined by CMT, as this will guide the interpretation of all the metaphors being analyzed in this paper.

The fact that these metaphors and metaphorical expressions are used to convey the idea of a business could be indicative of a certain mindset that prevails amongst people who operate businesses and those who write about businesses in the Kenyan context, which ultimately could show that this is the way Kenyans perceive business. As Kovecses (2005) said, the metaphors used within a certain society give a glimpse of the value system of that society.

After a brief section on business media discourse, this chapter will have four other sections and will be focused on conceptual metaphors. In the first section, the discussion will revolve around metaphors that have to do with buildings and construction. The next section will deal with metaphors that have to do with nature and farming. The third section will outline life, health and body metaphors. The chapter will end with a discussion on fight and sport/games metaphors, followed by a brief conclusion.

### **2.2. Business Media Discourse and Metaphors**

Kenyan business media discourse uses a variety of metaphors, metaphorical expressions and metaphorical concepts to communicate and transmit the meanings of the writers. These metaphorical expressions and concepts are so well blended in the texts that one hardly even notices them, because in a large number of cases, at first glance, one does not realize that what one is encountering are metaphorical expressions or concepts. In the course of the current study, it was found that there is a wide variety of metaphors used, both linguistic and conceptual.

Linguistic metaphors are words used to talk about something in terms of another, such that if one says e.g.

(1) Edward is a lion

the person is talking about Edward in terms of a lion which has the implication that Edward is strong, brave and commands respect, in much the same way that a lion does, but Edward is not identified with the lion because among other reasons, Edward is human, while the lion is a wild animal.

A conceptual metaphor on the other hand is an instance where a people tend to perceive things in a given systematic way, such that a people's whole thought process is influenced by the manner in which they perceive that reality. The following quotation could exemplify this:

“All *upcoming* events are listed in the paper. What's coming *up* this week? I'm afraid of what's *up ahead* of us”.

“FORESEEABLE FUTURE EVENTS ARE UP (and AHEAD)”

(Lakoff and Johnson 1980: 16).

Future events are conceptualized, according to Lakoff and Johnson, as if they are 'up' and they are 'ahead'. Lakoff and Johnson give the physical basis for this: When moving, one generally faces the direction of movement. As one nears an object, what looked very small at a distance begins to look bigger. It is common for humans to see the earth on which an object is resting as fixed. The object's top seems to move upwards from the point of view of the person looking at it and walking towards it. This is why people perceive future events as 'up' and 'ahead'.

Therefore, unlike linguistic metaphors where the metaphor is 'contained' so to speak 'within' the word, conceptual metaphors are 'contained' in people's thinking processes, in the words that people use, and in the way they act. The way people speak is highly influenced by the metaphorical concepts that are in their subconscious. In conversation, it is not uncommon to hear someone say: “He is a beast!” This is a metaphorical concept that has found deep roots in the thinking of people such that if this were said within a culture that typically uses animal metaphors to describe people, anyone in that cultural context would not need to have the statement clarified. However, somebody who comes from a community that does not use animal metaphors might, at best, find the expression perplexing.

### 2.3 Conceptual Metaphors (I)

This research into the Kenyan business media discourse came across some conceptual metaphors that may be seen as typically Kenyan. They were considered typically Kenyan because other cultures may not necessarily conceive them in exactly the same way as they are conceived in Kenya.

Kenya is a country that boasts of a lot of racial, cultural and linguistic variety that is evidenced as soon as one visits any of the major towns of the country. Despite this diversity, there are certain ways of doing and saying things that could actually be seen to cut across many of the different areas of diversity, except of course, in cases where one is dealing with people who have just recently come into the country and have therefore not been enculturated.

The conceptual metaphors that follow are manifestations of ways in which Kenyans perceive certain concepts or events.

### 2.3.1 BUSINESS IS CONSTRUCTION

Many of the metaphors used employed different features of constructing houses to express the aspects that the writers wanted to highlight in the process of their writing. Some of the typical expressions that the writers employed included talking about business in terms of ‘windows’, ‘taps’, ‘ramps’, ‘doors’, etc. All these are different components of ‘house’ and they served the writers as means of transmitting their ideas on business.

In the *Daily Nation* (DN) of 8/2/2021, Andae talks about enabling Small and Medium Enterprises (SMEs)

(2) “...to take part in the trading *window* brought about by the regional body”.

This statement was written within the larger context of helping people who run SMEs be able to take part in the African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCTA). The metaphor to be analyzed is ‘window’.

The encyclopedic entries for ‘window’ include an opening in the wall of a house or a building; and a transparent section of an envelope or the front cover of a book that allows the writer to put the name of the owner or an address. For the interpretation of this metaphor in this context, this research has taken the meaning of a window as a subdomain of ‘house’. A window serves an important function because it allows light and fresh air to enter the house when the door is closed. A window is also often used for aesthetic purposes because depending on the design of the house, it can help create symmetry and enhance its beauty.

When the source domain (window of a house) is mapped onto the target domain (trading window), one could say that just as a window offers the house the possibility of receiving light and fresh air, and in some cases even adding aesthetic beauty, the ‘window’ offered to the SMEs will likewise offer them some ‘fresh’ benefits. These benefits could include opportunities that before were beyond the reach of the SMEs and that have the capacity to

enhance their operations and scope. The benefits could even allow them to be more like other companies which have a wider scope, in much the same way that the light and air that are outside come into a house through the window, making the house to now have some of the good things that were previously beyond its reach. The house would not have had this air and light coming in without the open window. In like manner, the SMEs would perhaps not have had the opportunities to extend their scope and perhaps diversify their possibilities if that ‘window’ had not been opened by AfCTA.

With the ‘window’ metaphor, we read the meaning that AfCTA has offered the SMEs the possibility of trading in a way that they would not have been able to trade had this possibility not been offered them. If the mapping is extended further through the analogy of the ‘window’ serving an aesthetic function, one could even say that the opportunity that the financing granted to the SMEs by AfCTA not only enhances their trading possibilities – it even adds them prestige.

Otieno gives an article written in the DN of 19/2/2021 the following title:

(3) “KPA opens *door* wide for awards.”

The article talks about the fact that Kenya Ports Authority (KPA) is encouraging both individuals and firms that use the port of Mombasa to submit their applications so as to make themselves eligible for some maritime awards.

A door, just as was the case with the ‘window’ above, is a subdomain of house. The encyclopedic entry for ‘door’ is a barrier that can open and close, whose primary purpose is to limit entrance and exit from an enclosed place. ‘Door’ in this case is the source domain that is mapped onto the target domain, the access to the maritime awards that KPA is granting the eligible parties.

Following the encyclopedic entry for door as an access that can open and close to provide entry or exit, a wide open door of a house, especially within the cultural context of Kenya, is seen as an invitation to get into the house and take part in some desirable things, (shelter, rest, comfort, etc.). KPA is thus seen to be offering a generous invitation to interested individuals to take part in something the individuals consider desirable. The ones who apply will have an opportunity to win some awards that both KPA and the interested parties deem valuable for one reason or another.

The DN of 3/1/2021 carries an article by Wambugu that has the following title:

(4) “*Ramp up* the use of these tech tools”

A ‘ramp’ is a structure that slopes in order to connect parts of a building that has different levels. It too is a subdomain of the domain ‘house’. Another encyclopedic entry for ‘ramp’ is the part where a staircase curves in order to change direction. It has a surface that is gently inclining in order to make access to the higher or the lower level of a house or building easier. To enable people with disabilities or elderly people with decreased mobility to find it easier to go in and out, many buildings are nowadays built with a ramp.

In this article, Wambugu is encouraging the use of the new information technologies in business if entrepreneurs hope to keep up with the changing times and thus make their businesses continuously relevant and up to date.

The source domain of this metaphorical expression is the ‘ramp’ understood as a sloping surface connecting two different levels, while the target domain is the function of the tech tools in business. When a mapping of these two domains is done, Wambugu is comparing the role of technology in business with a ramp. In just the same way that the ramp connects two different levels of a building by making it easier for people at a lower level to reach a higher level, technology, by giving leverage to a business, can help a business reach the next, higher level of productivity. A ramp facilitates entry and exit from a building: through making technology and technological advancements available to entrepreneurs, stakeholders can take businesses a few notches higher by raising their productivity.

### 2.3.2 BUSINESS IS NATURE/FARMING

In a large number of cases, words associated with farming are used to describe businesses and the processes that are involved in carrying out business. The word ‘growth’ is used in a great variety of the articles that were studied. Other words associated with farming include ‘nurture’ and ‘plant seeds’.

Alushula, in an article written on 19/3/2021 says:

(5) “The tier I bank posted *growth* in both interest and non-interest income....”

The source domain ‘growth’ provides the following encyclopedic information: an increase in the size of something, or the process of something’s development. Only plants or animals grow, and as a general way of looking at things, growth is considered a quality of animate beings because inanimate beings do not have in themselves the principle of growth.

When one makes an investment, the person wishes to see an increment in the amount of money he has. He spends some money in making the investment, and he expects that money to generate even more money. This is like a farmer who plants a kilogramme of maize, and expects to harvest hundreds of kilogrammes of maize in return.

With the metaphorical expression ‘growth’ acting as the source domain, the multiplication of returns on investments expected by the investor is acting as the target domain. The fact that a farmer puts seeds into the ground and expects much more in return is mapped onto what the investor does and he too expects his money to ‘grow’ and give him much more than he put in.

In the example (5) above, the “tier I” bank is described as having received good returns on the investment it made in the two aspects: “interest and also non-interest”.

Kiruthu gives the following title to her column that appears in the DN of 30/3/2021:

(6) “Measuring business performance crucial to managing *growth*”

We find another instance of ‘grow’ being used to see if a business is yielding the expected returns. Once again, the source domain is farming. The target domain is also the same as given in No. (5) above: returns on investments. However, in this instance, the article is not talking about actual returns on investments that have been obtained, but rather, Kiruthu, a management consultant and trainer, is explaining to people who run businesses that the returns they receive from their investments will help them assess how successful their businesses are. If the returns they receive on their investments are many, then the business is ‘growing’ by expanding its scope, and if the returns are less, it means the business has stagnated or is going badly.

In No. (5), we can see that the actual returns have been quantified because there has been a tangible increment of ‘interest’. This increment in interest has been seen to be a sign of ‘growth’. In No. (6) people are encouraged to study what income they receive from their investments. More income will be a sign of ‘growth’ as it will mean that the business is expanding, while reduced income will be a sign that the business has stagnated, or is even likely to collapse.

Another word that evokes domains of farming and nature that has been used in the articles that were studied is the word ‘nurture’. Below is a quotation from the DN of 23/3/21 where Ambani writes:



(7) “Kenya should create an SME ministry whose mandate would be to *nurture* small businesses to *grow* into the next multinationals.”

Encyclopedic entries for ‘nurture’ include to care for tenderly, to lavish attention in the development of something. Nurturing is frequently used in the context of upbringing of children, in the context of grooming people to fill certain positions, in the context of greenhouse plants and seedbeds, because these require more than just passing, perfunctory care. ‘Nurture’ is part of the source domain ‘growth’ because when something is well nurtured, it grows well. If it is not, its growth could be stunted, and it could even die.

In this quotation, the source domain is ‘nurture’, and selecting from the encyclopedic entries, nurture could mean to care for a seedbed. The target domain are the SMEs. The seedbed has been selected because the SMEs being discussed within the context of the entire article are start-ups, just starting out like seedbeds that contain the first shoots of a nascent plant. The idea of the newly planted seedlings found in a seedbed is then mapped onto the target domain of the newly started SMEs.

Ambani is asking the government to start a department that could carefully and skillfully oversee the start, development and sustainability of the SMEs and bring them to the next level by giving them the support to become the future ‘multi-nationals’. This is taken from the source domain concept of ‘nurture as in the case of a seedbed’ and how the farmer carefully prepares the ground, adds manure, plants seeds in a seedbed, waters the seedbed, protects it from pests, ensures it has the right amount of sunshine, etc. When the farmer sees that the shoots have reached the right size and are therefore ready to be transplanted, the farmer does so and does not necessarily have to pay so much attention to the transplanted seedlings as they are now mature enough to fight for their own survival. On doing a mapping of the two domains, by ‘nurturing’ the SMEs through tax reliefs, creating a favourable environment for their survival, etc. the government will be helping the SMEs to ‘grow’. This way the SMEs can be ‘transplanted’ and moved from the seedbed (from being SMEs) to somewhere where they can continue to grow in size until they become the next multinationals, or at least move to the next level of success.

Another set of nature metaphors that reflect the Kenyan metaphorical concept of BUSINESS IS NATURE are those that have to do with ‘water’. These were quite plentifully employed in the business media discourse. These ‘water’ metaphors do not necessarily use the word ‘water’ but rather, they use words that embrace in themselves the underlying concept of water.

Themes of water to a large degree characterized the kind of metaphorical expressions that are used in the business media discourse. Words such as ‘sunk’, ‘dip’, ‘plunged’, ‘rainy day’ and ‘watered down’ featured in these articles, and they all have the connotation of the concept of water in one way or another. In some cases, water seems to have a positive effect, while in some other cases water seems to have a negative effect. The context is what guides the interpretation of the metaphors used. In this paper, the negative effects of WATER metaphors are discussed.

(8) “The post-Brexit trade deal with Britain will, however open the window for UK companies to *flood* the local market with finished and unfinished goods...”

This statement (8) appeared in the DN of 22/2/21 in an article written by Mutai. Focus is on the word ‘flood’ as used in the quotation. A flood is an overflow, an over-abundance of water that is usually considered a disaster. While water is essential for life, it is certainly never considered beneficial to have a situation of excessive amounts of water because this could lead to the loss of lives and property, and even the destruction of infrastructure like roads and bridges.

In this quotation, the information from the source domain points to excessive rainfall that could be disastrous. The target domain is the post-Brexit trade deal between Kenya and Britain.

Water is definitely a much-needed resource and without water, there can be no life. However, too much of anything is destructive. What in the beginning was of benefit (water for life) has reached the stage where it causes harm to the very people it seemed to be benefitting. By using the term ‘flood’, Mutai is expecting the reader to map these destructive characteristics of excessive amounts of rainwater to the supply of goods from the UK. The supply is seen to have surpassed its initial benefit because it is now killing local industries, as there is now an oversupply of cheaper imports that do not create a favourable environment for local industries to grow. The oversupply of imports from the UK has now become a source of harm rather than of benefit.

Ambani, in a column that appeared in the DN of 19/2/21 says in another example of a water metaphor:

(9) “A deal between the Agriculture ministry and the National Cereals and Produce Board (NCPD) that involved acquiring and selling subsidized fertilizer has *plunged* the board into a 7 million debt”.

Ambani uses the word ‘plunge’ and it has several encyclopedic entries. The one that suits the purpose of this context is a thrust, a forceful push into water or any other liquid. In this instance, the source domain is the act of being pushed forcefully into water to the point of being submerged, while the target domain is the debt that NCPD has found itself in.

By doing a mapping of the two domains, one can interpret the meaning of this metaphor within this context as talking about the Ministry of Agriculture having forcedly made the NCPD get into debt. Just as someone who is plunged into water might find it hard to breathe and would have to struggle to survive, NCPD will find it hard to survive given this debt that it finds itself in. It will have to mount a spirited struggle for it to come out of the debt (water) and thereby continue its operations. It will not be an easy affair. The force that the Ministry of Agriculture has exerted on the NCPD is obviously not physical, but could perhaps be through the imposition of policies that were unfavourable to NCPD.

The DN of 26/3/21, in an article written by Guguyu, one finds the following quotation:

(10) “Sanlam *sinks* to Sh 78m net loss”

Encyclopedic entries for ‘sink’ include submerging something in water or any other liquid to a point where it reaches the very bottom of the liquid. The source domain in this instance is the fact of finding oneself in the bottom of the sea or a deep lake. The target domain is the ‘loss’, of previously invested income. Sinking is being mapped onto ‘loss’ and is being compared to something finding itself at the bottom of a water body. In the above example (10), loss has almost ruined Sanlam, because anything that sinks, like a ship that sinks at sea, is definitely ruined.

### 2.3.3 BUSINESS IS HEALTH/BODY/LIFE

Many of the metaphors used have to do with ‘life and health’. While health is something usually applied to living organisms – plants or animals, Kenyan business media discourse routinely uses this concept or others associated with it to talk about how businesses are performing. It is frequent to come across words like ‘survive’, ‘stifle the growth’, ‘choking’, ‘alive’, ‘die’, ‘inject’ ‘migraine’ ‘headache’, ‘hurt’ etc. Ordinarily speaking, these words should have no place in this kind of writing, yet they are interlaced within the whole context of writing so smoothly that one has to ‘step back’ to actually realize that these are metaphors being employed.

Business, or the activity of carrying out business, is also variously described in terms of body parts. The whole system of business is seen as a whole ‘body’ that works in tandem in order to achieve the purpose of the organism. This research came across words like ‘eye’, ‘back’, ‘body’, ‘heart’ and ‘backbone’. All these words denote different parts of e.g. a human body and the writers of these articles seem to find that they transmit their messages effectively and thus chose to use them.

Health and body metaphors have been grouped together in this study because one can only talk of health if one has a body. They have also been placed under the conceptual metaphor BUSINESS IS NATURE because both health and body are concepts that are found in nature – they occur naturally.

Kiruthu, in an article published in the DN of 23/3/21 uses a number of health/body related metaphors to talk about businesses. Following below are a selection of some of the ones found in this article:

(11) “Low *survival* rate of small businesses in Kenya remains worrying”

This was the title of the article.

(12) “How many of these are still *alive*?”

(13) “I do not know anyone who tracks the *survival* rate of businesses in Kenya”

(14) “Many small businesses *die* because they are unable to find a market....”

In all of these quotations (Nos. 11 – 14), businesses are described as being alive, in need of survival, and as having the capacity to die. In these cases, the source domain is animate life as we know it, which can be alive, can survive and can die. The target domain is the sustainability of the business. The lifecycle of a person or a plant is mapped onto the sustainability of a business. The words used to describe a plant’s/person’s continued existence, perhaps in adverse conditions (especially with reference to the word ‘survival’) are applied in approximately similar terms to the sustained existence of a business.

Terms usually associated with health were also used in the creation of metaphors. In the DN of 30/3/221, Aloo gives the following title to his article:

(15) “Wealthy households add to Kenya Power theft *migraine*”

In addition, in the DN magazine of 23/3/2021, Alushula writes that:

(16) “Co-operative societies’ liquidity *headache* to ease with billions to be shelled out even as the coronavirus refuses to give the world a break”

A migraine and a headache are health conditions that can affect a person, making it difficult for the person to think and work in a productive manner. The two conditions can be very severe and might require that the one suffering cut back on his/her normal schedule of activities.

The metaphor source domain in (15) is the ‘migraine’ while its target domain is Kenya Power’s loss of income. On mapping the two domains, it can be said that just as the migraine weakens the operations and productivity of the person suffering from it, the theft of electricity by the “wealthy households” is making Kenya Power unable to realize its full operating capacity as it has to struggle with rising costs and dwindling income.

Similarly, the ‘headache’ in (16) is the source domain and the liquidity of the co-operative societies is the target domain. On doing a mapping of the two domains, one can see that just as a headache debilitates, the lack of liquid cash has affected the co-operative societies in ways that make it difficult for them to carry out their usual operations. In the context of this quotation, the debilitating effects of the ‘headache’ are set to reduce because the co-operative societies are due to receive some income that will lessen their disturbing problems of solvency (headaches).

Ambani writes an article in the DN of on 23/3/21:

(17) “Small traders seek tax cuts for Covid *recovery*”

A person recovers from an illness, becoming stronger, healthier, and better capable of working. Businesses as such do not have the possibility of recovering their health, as they do not literally speaking have health; because health is a quality that properly speaking only belongs to living beings. Within the context of use, SME owners are complaining about increased taxes and levies that are making it difficult for them to make profits, especially during the Covid-19 pandemic. They are therefore asking the government to reduce taxes. That way they can again start making profits and begin ‘recovering’.

The source domain is ‘recovery’ of bodily or mental health, and the target domain, the SMEs. When doing the mapping, one sees that the traders think that they could be able to make higher profits and be more successful (more ‘healthy’) if the government lowered taxes and other levies. The writer is taking advantage of the fact that Kenyans culturally view businesses as

health and is transferring that meaning to viewing improved business performance as a sort of ‘recovery’.

On 19/3/2021, Kivuva gives the following title to her article in the DN:

(18) “KCB to inject Sh 3bn into NBK”

Typically, the word ‘inject’ is associated with the medical field, where the doctor or nurse administers some medicine directly into the bloodstream so that it has immediate effect on the person/animal being injected, without the possibility of it being rejected as would happen with an oral drug that takes longer to have a lasting effect.

The source domain is the injection given at a health facility and its health restoring, life preserving effect on a person. The target domain is the revival of the National Bank of Kenya (NBK) that was ‘ailing’ through lack of funds, which hampered its efficient operations. In the same way that a drug injected into the bloodstream has an almost immediate effect in restoring health, this concept is mapped to the ‘injection’ (cash bailout) that Kenya Commercial Bank (KCB) is set to give which will immediately begin the revival process of NBK and restore its ‘health’, i.e. its profitability.

The DN of 3/2/2021, in an article by Mutua says:

(19) “The price of sugar has fallen by up to Sh15 per kilogramme packet at leading supermarkets, offering relief to households *choking* under the Covid-19 Pandemic.”

To choke is to be deprived of air through an obstruction in the respiratory tract such that one breathes with difficulty, gasping for air. Difficulty in breathing, gasping for breath are some of the encyclopedic entries for ‘choke’. Choking could be life threatening and has in fact been a significant cause of death especially among children and elderly persons.

In the sentence quoted as No. (19) above, the source domain of the metaphorical expression is the obstructed air passage, while the target domain is the effect of the increased cost of living in Kenya triggered by the Covid-19 pandemic. When a mapping of these two domains is done, one finds that an obstruction of the air passage in the life of an individual can cause discomfort, difficulty in breathing and eventually death if not dealt with as a matter of urgency. Similarly, the increased cost of living was making the lives of Kenyans quite difficult, almost unbearable. However, the fall in the price of sugar was a step in the right direction as it removed to some

extent the ‘obstruction in the air passage of Kenyans’ giving them relief to ‘breathe’ more freely. This relief led to an improvement in their quality of life during the difficult pandemic.

The discussion will now turn to metaphors that use body parts as found in Kenyan business media discourse.

Rotich, in the title of an article written on 19/2/2021 in the DN writes:

(20) “Seven investors *eye* Naivasha SEZ”

An ‘eye’ is an important body part. Through it, we see what is coming, helping us to make assessments as to the opportunities we can take advantage of or the dangers that we need to avoid. In this instance, the body part has been used as a metaphor event because it is being used as a verb that brings in the aspect of to observe, survey, see, which are all encyclopedic entries for ‘to eye’. The body part has given rise to the verb. Here, to ‘eye’ is the source domain that is being mapped onto the target domain which is the opportunities of the Naivasha Special Economic Zone (SEZ). The seven investors are observing the SEZ, courting the possibility of investing in it, but before making a firm decision on whether or not to invest, they are making a ‘visual’ assessment/ a reconnaissance. This is comparable to how on entering a room, one looks at the different chairs available before making a decision about which one to sit on.

Another body metaphor can be found in the column written by Rithaa on 18/3/2021 in the DN:

(21) “SMEs are the *backbone* of Kenya’s economy, employing more than 83% of the working population”

The backbone is what protects the spine, which ultimately is what makes it possible for a person to keep upright and be able to carry out many activities like sitting, working, walking, etc. When it is damaged, one can get paralyzed and the scope of his activity becomes very limited. In (21), the source domain is the body part ‘backbone’, while the target domain is the role of SMEs in Kenya’s economy. The encyclopedic entries for the backbone include its usefulness for the posture of a person, the support that it gives, the need to protect it, etc. and these are mapped onto function that SMEs play in Kenya’s economy. On mapping the source domain to the target domain, one can see that the SMEs are of superlative importance to Kenya’s economy. They are actually the mainstay, the firm support of the country’s economy. Without them, the Kenyan economy would get paralyzed and even collapse in the same way that someone with an injured or fragile backbone has his capacities greatly compromised.

Andae in DN of 18/2/2021 writes:

(22) “The *body* creates the single largest trade bloc in the world”

A body is what makes up the material aspect of a living being, human or animal. Another encyclopedic entry for ‘body’ is the main part of something, e.g. the main part of a machine, etc. This paper would like to base the analysis of this metaphorical expression on the human body.

The human body is the source domain of No. (22). The target domain is the union of African nations that form this bloc. When mapped, one can see that just as the human body is made up of very many parts (arms, legs, skin, eyes, head, etc.) this bloc is made up of many, diverse nations. In a way, the bloc is similar to the human body which is made up of a diverse set of organs yet functions as a unified whole. This can be seen to be the interpretation that Andae perceived to be most accessible to Kenyans when choosing to use this body part metaphor. The trading bloc gives a united front and it benefits the whole body, i.e. all the countries that form part of this bloc are poised to gain.

#### 2.3.4 BUSINESS IS FIGHT/SPORT

This research frequently came across words such as ‘rivals’, ‘hit’, ‘empower’, ‘firefighting’, ‘lose battle’, ‘defense’, ‘hostile environment’ etc., words that are more commonly associated with fights, battles and wars. As it is rather unexpected that such metaphors are used to describe businesses, this paper attempts to analyze some of them.

Fight and sport metaphors have been grouped together because both evoke images of physical contact, energy, competition and a desire to overcome the other party and to win.

Ambani, in an article written in the DN of 24/2/2021 says:

(23) “Requisite capacity and trade *defence* measures have been anticipated in the EAC-UK EPA for use to mitigate any negative effects to local industries producing similar intermediate products”

To defend is to have a strategy that aims at shielding something from attack. One only feels the need to defend oneself in a situation where one feels that what rightly belongs to him is being taken away forcefully. By using the word ‘defence’ here, Ambani has taken the source domain of defending oneself in a fight, and applied the tactics or skills that are employed in that effort to the target domain, i.e. the effort to mitigate against competition, that would not be favourable



for the East African Community (EAC) member countries. Tactics to defend oneself as happens in a fight have been mapped to the efforts to protect the EAC countries against this kind of competition that has been brought about by the Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA) with the United Kingdom (UK). Ambani suggests that there is need to stage a defence and protect oneself from the negative effects of that partnership.

In another article published in the DN of 2/2/2021 Ambani, gives this title:

(24) “Tea pickers *lose battle* to machines”

Battles are won or lost in a situation where there is a struggle over something. Within the context of this article, we see that the tea-pickers had taken their employer to court to stop the employer from using tea-plucking machines. The source domain is the battlefield, and the target domain is the court process that Ambani views in terms of a ‘battle’. As the two opposing parties give reasons in a court of law for the positions that each party upholds, the ensuing tussle is similar to what happens in the battlefield.

Wafula and Guguyu write in the DN on 23/3/2021:

(25) “In 2015 Kenya exported ... but last year it exported... to its biggest neighbourhood *rival*”

A rival is one who has, and is competing for, the same goal as another. In the above quotation, the source domain is ‘a rival’, while the target domain is the competition between the two countries. Each country wants to be the one that exports more of its products to the other. In just the same way that in a competition two people/teams aim at attaining the same goal by trying to outdo the other, this spirit of competition has been mapped onto the struggle of the two neighbours (Kenya and Tanzania) with each country trying to be the one that exports more to the other country. The use of the term ‘rival’ brings out clearly the idea that each country is competing to have dominance over the other, something that in reading the whole article, would not have been so clearly manifest had the word ‘rival’ not been used.

Koller (2003) speaks of the prevalence of WAR metaphors in business media discourse. It was interesting to note that in Kenya, the corresponding metaphors that were used to describe businesses were FIGHT metaphors, with only one article, out of all the articles that were studied in this paper, choosing to use a WAR metaphor (No. 24).

A number of the writers also used elements more readily associated with sports to talk about businesses. On several occasions, writers used terms like ‘...in the sidelines...’ ‘...running my own business...’ ‘...players in this field...’ ‘... in the arena...’, etc. The fact that a number of the articles that were found in the process of this study focused on sports activities is of great interest in this paper and the possible reasons why they are used will be tackled in Chapter 4.

Rithaa, in the DN of 18/3/2021, writes in the same article already quoted above as (21):

(26) “...it is important to steer broad dialogue that involves all *players* in the SME *arena* to deliberate on the challenges...”

‘Players’ are typically found in games and sports, in much the same way that an ‘arena’ is associated with some games or performances. The source domain is players, members of a team, and the target domain are all those people who are stakeholders in SMEs. Just as all the players in a team contribute to the success or failure of a team, all the stakeholders, including government, policy makers, owners of SMEs and employees of SMEs, are expected to give their input in the deliberation process. The role of players in a sport has been mapped to the role that all the stakeholders in business have: each one’s contribution is key if success is to be achieved.

‘Running a/my business’ is a very common feature of how business writers express their ideas in the articles that were studied. Njeru, in an article that was published by the *Saturday Nation* on 27/3/2021 writes:

(27) “My friend introduced me to his business, now I *run* my own”

This is the title given to an article about a young woman entrepreneur. To run is to advance rapidly by lifting one foot in front of another. It is something that almost all participants in any sport do. It demands energy and can be very taxing. ‘Run’ here, a subdomain of sports, is the source domain, while the target domain is the business. The fact that running involves effort, alacrity, agility, endurance, etc. is mapped onto what engaging in business involves. In a race, the one who runs fastest wins. In business, the one who tries to be flexible, demanding on self, focused, is tenacious, etc. is the one who will succeed.

### 3.3 Conclusion

With all the conceptual metaphors discussed above, this research found that there were multiple examples in each class of metaphors used. These gave insights into the way Kenyans perceive businesses and how they think and talk about them. Kenyans use specific words or concepts

that express nature, fight, health, body, etc. to talk about businesses because they see and conceive businesses in those terms.

If there were just one or two examples of the metaphors of fight, health, etc., one would not be justified in calling them conceptual metaphors. They would simply be ways in which one person or another perceives that reality but it would not qualify to act as a reflection of the common perception of Kenyans.

## CHAPTER THREE: CATEGORIZATION AND MEANINGS OF METAPHORS II

### 3.1 Introduction

Continuing the discussion on categorization and meanings of metaphors used in Kenyan business media discourse that was begun in chapter two, this chapter will be divided into three sections. The first section will deal with what we could term as typically Kenyan conceptual metaphors, the next section will look at a few universally used conceptual metaphors, then the discussion will turn to metaphors that did not fit into any of the categories so far described as conceptual metaphors. For this latter category, the data collected yielded scanty results. These will be discussed under the sub-topic of linguistic metaphors.

### 3.2. Conceptual Metaphors (II)

This first section will deal with the following conceptual metaphors that are quite typical in Kenyan business media discourse: BUSINESS IS A JOURNEY, CHEAPER IS BETTER, EXPENSIVE IS BAD. The discussion will then move onto to metaphors that are universal and are used frequently in Kenyan business media discourse. These are TIME IS MONEY, FIRM IS FAVOURABLE, SHAKY IS UNFAVOURABLE, and GOOD IS UP, DOWN IS BAD.

#### 3.2.1 BUSINESS IS A JOURNEY

Kenyan Business media discourse seems to perceive business as a journey that begins and ends at a certain point, and that business requires a certain “means of transport”. It is fairly common to come across words like ‘start’, ‘cart away’, ‘drive’ ‘path to success’ and ‘navigate’ to describe business performance, its inception, development and rate of expansion. In a recent radio interview, the one being interviewed said: “When I started this *journey*, I did not know that I would *reach* where I am now...” She was speaking about a cosmetic company that she had started as a hobby and has now become her source of livelihood. This is a very typical way of speaking about business among Kenyans.

The foundation of this conceptual metaphor lies in the common experience of businesses: it begins and ends at a specific geographical place and point in time, just like a journey.

In the DN of 19/3/21, Wangari writes that:

(28) “It was a *bumpy ride* as she soon found out with no starting capital after her bank refused to give her a loan”

The source domain of ‘bumpy ride’ is a journey that is uncomfortable either because of the terrain or because of the means of transport used. The target domain is the start of the business. On mapping the two domains, the writer suggests that for the person who was starting her business, it was not a smooth and easy exercise. There were many obstacles, e.g. lack of capital, that had to be overcome before she could arrive at the goal that she had set on, i.e. success in her business. The start of the business is compared to a ‘ride’, i.e. a trip to some place or a journey. Before she reached that ‘destination’, she had to go through many trials.

The DN of 19/3/2021 has an article written by Mburu, which says:

(29) “SMEs have to... embrace technology in order to *navigate* the economic shocks that are inevitable”

The encyclopedic entries for ‘to navigate’ include to direct, steer or control a ship or plane in the course of a journey. The source domain of ‘navigate’ is the control of a ship or plane, guiding it to its destination. The target domain are the SMEs. When a mapping of the two domains is done, Mburu is advising SME owners to adopt the use of technology if they purpose to successfully overcome or avoid the obstacles that they will inevitably find along their path as they conduct their businesses. Just as a captain in a ship steers the ship by avoiding icebergs, strong currents, pirates, etc. a business could be similarly steered and guided to a safe harbour by the use of technology. Mburu suggests that doing business is ‘a journey with twists and turns that have to be skillfully negotiated’, and technology can be an ally for people involved in business.

Kiruthu in the DN of 16/3/2021 writes:

(30) “Worldwide, women consumers *drive* the beauty, fitness, clothing, food, health and financial services industries”

To ‘drive’ is to direct a vehicle, to steer it, and this is the source domain. The target domain are the industries being referred to. When one is driving, that person is in control, any passengers in the vehicle are in the driver’s hands. By using this term, Kiruthu is suggesting that women steer the ‘vehicle’ of businesses in the areas that she has outlined. It means that women take the lead in the ‘journey’ that is the development and advancement of business in health, fashion, etc. Another way of looking at it could be that women are at the frontline and actually dominate, in the writer’s opinion, all aspects related to these sectors. There is, of course, male presence

in these fields of business and finance, but the steering role of women is unmistakable and cannot be overlooked.

Rithaa, in an article written in the DN of 18/3/2021 says:

(31) ... different players should speak in one voice and show their efforts in helping SMEs to become resilient and sustainable as they (SMEs) *walk through the rough journey towards recovery*”

In this quotation, we have the most representative of the conceptual metaphors that depict that for Kenyans, BUSINESS IS A JOURNEY. This is because Rithaa in this article uses words that make one think of a journey, and he indeed actually uses the word ‘journey’: SMEs are on a journey. He uses words like ‘walk’ which calls to mind the process of going somewhere, ‘towards’, meaning, one is walking with the aim of reaching somewhere, he is focused. Finally, he gives the destination that one is walking towards: ‘recovery’ On doing a mapping of the target and source domains, the SMEs, are encouraged to begin carrying out their businesses (walk through) even though there are many obstacles (rough journey), focused on reaching their goals, i.e. success in their businesses (recovery, because the SMEs are not performing optimally).

### 3.2.2 CHEAPER IS BETTER, EXPENSIVE IS BAD

Kenyan business media discourse frequently uses words that show that what is cheaper is of greater benefit, of more interest to Kenyans. To describe this, words and phrases like ‘competition from cheaper brands’, ‘lower tax rates’, ‘farmers encouraged to take cheaper advances’ etc. are used. This manifests that for the business media article writers, they perceive that for the average Kenyan consumer, given that Kenya has only recently attained the status of a low middle income economy, one is more likely to be attracted to ‘cheaper’ options and will avoid anything that seems more expensive. Below are some quotations that exemplify this.

Andae writes in the DN of 2/2/2021:

(32) “...supermarkets maintained the cost of in-house baked bread at Sh 50, with budget-sensitive consumers *opting of the cheaper option*”

We find a case here where people make a choice to buy the cheaper brands of bread because they find the cheapness an attractive option.

(33) “In 2016, Yana Tyres closed its factory in Nairobi over increased competition from *cheaper* imports...”

In this instance, for the tyre manufacturers, cheaper imports were not good for their business. However, for the ordinary Kenyans who were the ones purchasing the tyres, the cheaper brands were more attractive and this is evidenced by the fact that these cheaper imported brands sold much more than the more expensive ones that Yana was manufacturing in their factory in Nairobi.

Ndung’u, in an opinion article that appeared in the DN of 24/2/2021 writes:

(34) “KRA should *lower the individual and corporation tax rates* to entice people to pay taxes”

Ndungu here argues that if the tax rates were lower, more people would be willing to pay tax. He says in the article that of the 19 million registered voters in Kenya, only 4.4 million people pay tax. He suggests that if taxes and other levies were lowered, Kenyans would find it easier to pay them. This gives the impression that Kenyans are attracted to things that cost less; they find them easier to accept. When taxes are higher, they are punitive and are therefore viewed as ‘bad’ and individuals will do whatever they can to avoid paying them.

The DN of 3/3/2021 carries an article by Muchui, where he says:

(35) “... Mr. Munya urged farmers to take up the government advance as it was *cheaper*”

Mr. Munya, the Kenyan Agriculture Cabinet Secretary was advising farmers to take up the ‘coffee cherry advance’ that the government was offering because this ‘advance’ was cheaper than that offered by private millers. He said this taking into account that farmers, like most people who produce goods and offer services, are constantly seeking ways to reduce their production costs and thus maximize their profits. With this, he was offering the farmers an option that the government felt the farmers would find more attractive because it would cost them less: it was cheaper.

Having discussed these typically Kenyan conceptual metaphors, the discussion now turns to metaphors that are universally used and are also used abundantly in Kenyan business media discourse.

### 3.3 Universally Used Conceptual Metaphors

The discussion will now focus on some conceptual metaphors that have been used in Kenyan business media discourse and are also universally used. These are TIME IS MONEY, FIRM IS FAVOURABLE, SHAKY IS UNFAVOURABLE and GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN.

#### 3.3.1 TIME IS MONEY

According to the articles read in the process of collecting data for this study, the aspect of time being a valuable resource came out quite clearly. To describe this, words and phrases like ‘precious time’, ‘best spent hours’, ‘we have very little of it (time)’, ‘time is scarce’ are used in speaking to business people. This shows that time is conceived as something of immense value and that it needs to be used wisely. The fact that time is referred to as capable of being ‘spent’ makes one think of money, which is valuable, scarce and precious. This aspect comes out clearly in support of what Mooij (2003) says: “Metaphors have a persuasive function”. Using these metaphors in the articles studied and also in general speech events in Kenya, students are encouraged to make good use of their time while at school, employers expect their employees to use their time in the office well, and not waste it on social media or idle conversation etc. This is because the employer is paying the employees for the period that they spend at the workplace. The employer does not expect any of the time he is paying for to be wasted.

The ontological foundation of this metaphorical expression lies in the fact that if one has time, one can make money: one needs time in order to make money. Money does not just come out of nowhere. It requires that one dedicate time to get it.

The conceptual metaphor TIME IS MONEY is a common way of conceiving time in many cultures. The near universality of this conceptual metaphor is in agreement with what Lakoff and Johnson (1980) say: some metaphorical concepts are universal, while others are specific to certain cultures.

In an article that appeared in the SN of 1/3/2021, Bindra writes:

(36) “Time, we can all agree, is *really precious*”

(37) “...*we have very little of it, and we don’t know how much.*”

Quoting Peter Ducker, he says,

(38) “Time is the *scarcest resource*”



(39) “May I suggest *a good use of your time* this Sunday? *Spend* an hour gazing at your calendar...”

(40) “*Time must not be treated as endless*; it must be *rationed* and *focused* on essentials”

From the wording of the quotations (36-40), we can tell that the writer of the article really perceives time in terms of money: It is ‘precious’, it is ‘little’ (scarce), it can be ‘spent’ in just the same way that money can be spent, it is ‘limited’ and can be ‘rationed’ (given in small doses).

Kenyan are known throughout the East African region as being very enterprising. A manifestation of this is found in the fact that they work long hours each day. This is especially evident among people in the SMEs who are struggling to make ends meet. They start long before dawn and leave work late. A dawn visit to ‘Wakulima Market’ the largest fruit and vegetable market in Nairobi, will convince anyone of this. Young people who are just starting out in the job market also work extensively long hours in the hope that they will get promotions, which will give them higher salaries. All this is because Kenyans view time in terms of money and the amount of time spent on an activity should in some ways be reflected in the amount of money received.

It is because of this that when people have waited in a queue, or waited for some other service for a long time they start complaining saying ‘You are wasting our time! Or, Time is money: I don’t have the whole day!’

### 3.3.2 FIRM IS FAVOURABLE, SHAKY IS UNFAVOURABLE

Kenyan business media discourse seems to portray this as the case. Whenever a word that denotes unsteadiness is mentioned, one gets the idea that there is uncertainty, and not only uncertainty, but also apprehension and foreseen negative effects are depicted. With a fair amount of frequency, journalists writing business articles used words like ‘jitters’, ‘shakes up’ ‘greatly shaken’ and ‘stagger’ and all these words give rise to the interpretation that the circumstances are not in favour of the ones who ‘stagger’, have ‘jitters’, or are ‘greatly shaken’.

The ontological foundation of this conceptual metaphor is the following: If something is firm, steady, well grounded, it gives greater support and a sense of security, e.g. a concrete bridge that one can use to cross a river as opposed to a bridge made of thick ropes that swings as one walks on it. Being on firm ground as opposed to being on a ship being tossed about by a violent storm gives one a sense of safety and certainty about the future. One feels more secure, more

sure of oneself on firm land and that much more insecure when the ground under one's feet is marshy or swampy.

In the DN of 3/2/2021, Mutua writes:

(41) “The *jitters*, which have forced millers to sell at low prices lest they remain with huge stocks offer relief to households *reeling* from depressed earnings...”

‘Jitters’ are involuntary movements caused by nervousness that prevent one from being calm and composed. To ‘reel’ is to speedily walk or move in an unsteady manner. These two words used in the above quotation give the impression of a lack of firmness, and within the context of use, one can also read that these ‘jitters’ and the ‘reeling’ are definitely not positive aspects of the situation. In (41), by the use of the word ‘forced’, the reader can see that these ‘jitters’ have compelled millers to lower their prices, something that they would not voluntarily have done. It seems they would have preferred to maintain their prices at what they were before the uncertainty brought by the ‘jitters’ came along, pushing them to sell off their goods at lower prices.

The second part of the quotation speaks of how households have been ‘reeling’, i.e. ‘barely managing to walk steadily’ because they have reduced income due to the Covid-19 pandemic. The fact that the reduced income has made household to ‘reel’ i.e. to lack stability, is definitely a disadvantage to Kenyans.

The systematic use of the words ‘jitters’ and ‘reeling’ to show the negative impact of external factors give the idea that Kenyans perceive shakiness as being unfavourable and they then choose to use words that denote shakiness to show unfavourable events or outcomes.

Later on in this same article, we read:

(42) “... the Agriculture ministry banned the imports in July, but reversed the decision under *stiffer* regulations to guard against dumping of the sweetener in the country”

The word ‘stiff’, denotes steadiness, something that can be depended upon. This can be understood from the context because it says that the ‘stiff regulations’ will not allow dumping. ‘To dump’ is when something is exported to another country at a price that is lower than normal so as to get rid of it because it is no longer useful in the source country. It is always injurious to have goods ‘dumped’ in a country. The ‘stiff’ penalties that the ministry has imposed are aimed at preventing this from happening, and in that way protect sugarcane farmers and

processors. ‘Stiff’ here is perceived as something that is good for Kenyans, and is therefore favourable.

Ambani, in the DN of 3/3/2021 gives his article the following title:

(43) “Hoteliers, bars *stagger* under the weight of levies”

To ‘stagger’ is to walk unsteadily, as though drunk. The source domain of stagger is a drunk person who is not able to walk with confidence and focus. The target domain are the owners of hotels and bars. When one watches a drunk person ‘stagger’, one always wonders whether the drunkard will ever reach his destination. When a mapping of the two domains is done, the interpretation of ‘stagger’ in this context is that for the hoteliers and bar owners, the many levies that they have to pay to the national treasury as well as the county government make it very hard for them to operate their businesses as they would wish. They cannot focus and advance steadily towards their goal. They feel like the levies are heavy burdens that have been placed on their shoulders and this prevents them from advancing fast, confidently and purposefully in order to maximize their profitability. To stagger is therefore seen as unfavourable.

Mureithi and Kinogu in the SN of 21/2/2021 write in their article:

(44) “The property market has been *greatly shaken* in the months following the Covid-19 outbreak”

To shake is to move alternately and rapidly in opposing directions. A building can shake as a result of an earthquake. If the earthquake is strong or the building is weak, the building could even collapse and crumble. A person can shake when scared or is feeling sick or very cold and is not warmly clad. In (44), the source domain is the unsteadiness that is as a result of external factors, which give an impression of a lack of stability and a possible consequent collapse. The target domain is the property market. On mapping, it can be interpreted that the Covid-19 is an external force that has destabilized the property market, making it lose the firm footing that it had acquired in recent years.

The property market in Kenya has seen rapid growth and billions of shillings have been spent in property development over the last two decades. The economic slump that Covid-19 has triggered has upset the market to the extent that there is uncertainty over the ability to continue funding these ventures, and the ability to buy property is no longer certain: it could go one way or the other, and it could even lead to the collapse of the property market.

This gives the impression that the use of the verb ‘shaken’ shows that for all investors in the property market, this lack of steadiness is disadvantageous, and could even be detrimental to the Kenyan economy at large given the number of people who are employed in this field.

Once again, we see that any word that denotes a lack of steadiness is seen to have the connotation of unfavourable.

### 3.3.3 GOOD IS UP, BAD IS DOWN

In a very large number of the articles studied, words that denote upward movement were used to refer to an improvement in the situations being described. Likewise, words that denoted a movement downwards were employed to depict situations where there was a deterioration of the situation. To show an improvement, words such as ‘rise’, ‘gone up’, ‘lift’, etc. are used. To show that the situation worsened, words like ‘sink’, ‘fall’, ‘drop’, ‘plunge’ etc. were used. Given that the period selected for data collection was when Kenya was just trying to come out of the economic slump caused by the Covid-19 pandemic, it is not surprising that so many of such words were employed in business media discourse because businesses had suffered during the pandemic and they were all struggling to regain their footing.

In the DN of 18/3/2021 we find an article by Rithaa already quoted in the previous chapter:

(45) “As part of the strategy to help SMEs *rise* from the harsh effects of Covid-19, it is important to steer broad dialogue...”

The writer is speaking within the context of a conference to help SMEs improve their performance. He uses the word ‘rise’ to express the idea that to ‘rise’ means to come from a place where they were not performing well to reach levels that are considered better in terms of profitability.

In the DN of 9/3/2021, in an article by Otieno, one finds the following title:

(46) “SGR cargo rise 28 pc”

This statement is found in an article that talked of increased usage of the Standard Gauge Railway (SGR) to transport cargo from the port of Mombasa. This rise in transported cargo is hailed as an improvement in the performance of the Kenya Railways Corporation (KRC) because it translates into more income for the KRC and by extension, increased revenue for the government. This in the end signifies an improvement in the Kenyan economy.

On the same page as the quotation of (46), we find the following title of a one paragraph news item written by Kivuva:

(47) “SBG Securities profit *falls* by 71 pc”

The article talks of the profits of the Stanbic bank-owned SBG Securities as having fallen sharply in 2020 due to the negative effects the Covid-19 pandemic has had on the economy. A reduction in profits is never considered desirable. This could be the conclusion the writer of the article intended that the reader reach given that the article does not say anything about whether or not to ‘fall’ is a positive outcome. From this we could deduce that the writer, knowing that Kenyan’s perceive negative outcomes as going down, just by using the word ‘falls’ feels that she has effectively communicated this fact.

Also on this same page as no. (46) and (47), Mwaniki gives his one paragraph article the following title:

(48) “Forex reserves *drop* Sh 27bn”

This brief article speaks of the poor performance of the Forex reserves held by the CBK during the previous year dating from the onset of the Covid-19 pandemic. The performance of the Kenya Shilling against other currencies has been so bad that Kenya lost a significant amount of money. Once again, it can be noted that the word denoting downward movement reflects poor performance.

### 3.4 Linguistic Metaphors

In this final section of this chapter, the discussion will revolve around some other metaphors found in Kenyan business media discourse. As the study had its focus on conceptual metaphors, the data collected on linguistic metaphors was not plentiful and only a few examples in each of the categories are discussed in this paper.

#### 3.4.1 Graft Metaphors

There are cases when one comes across metaphors related to graft that use expressions that in themselves could mean other things but within the Kenyan context imply corruption. The words that were found in the course of this research include words like ‘favours’ and ‘ghost’ tutors.

An article in the DN of 1/3/2021 written by Wanzala has the following title:

(49) “Biometric audit planned in bid to weed out ‘*ghost*’ tutors”

This article talks about the Teachers' Service Commission (TSC) planning to ascertain exactly who should legitimately be on the payroll of the Commission. This is after it emerged that there were people still receiving salaries from the TSC yet they had already left employment. A 'ghost' is a spirit without a body, something that is intangible, as it does not have matter. The source domain of this metaphor is a disembodied spirit. The target domain is the 'tutor'. When a mapping of the two domains is done, we find that the qualities of lack of concreteness, elusiveness, being unreal, which is typical of ghosts is mapped onto the tutor (teacher), whose identity, work station, specific role, etc. is not clearly known by the employer, and therefore might not even exist. This is comparable to the way that many people do not believe in the existence of ghosts.

The purpose of the biometric audit is to remove any such people that thanks to the collusion of some members of staff, are fraudulently earning salaries from the TSC. This is an example of corruption: taking advantage of the loopholes in the system for personal gain. The biometric audit will seal such loopholes by ensuring that only those who are legitimately employed are in the payroll.

Njeru, in the DN of 12/3/2021 gives the following title to her article:

(50) "I've lost several lucrative contracts for refusing to extend '*favours*'"

A 'favour' is an act carried out because of kindness. It implies giving a helping hand without expecting anything in return. However, the favour that is being talked about in this article is not of this kind. Typically in Kenya, when one mentions these kinds of favours, what one is talking about is giving or receiving kickbacks or a percentage of the profits that will be made. Someone will facilitate that another gets a contract on condition that he will get a percentage of the profits. When a mapping of these two versions of favours is done, we see that in the same way that a favour is done out of kindness, just because one wants to help, these other 'favours' are offered out of kindness. They are however done out of kindness only apparently. The real reason why they are done is that one expects to receive a percentage of the profits in return. In this case, the woman entrepreneur who was being interviewed in the column says that she had a number of her contracts terminated because she refused to give 'favours' (bribes). Consequently, the people to whom she was offering her professional services edged her out.

Given that this is a woman entrepreneur, such 'favours' have been known to take not only the form of money, but also sexual nuances, such that a woman is only given certain contracts if she allows the men she is supplying with goods or services to make sexual advances.

These are instances of graft and moral degradation that have been talked about using the metaphors of ‘ghost tutors’ and ‘favours’.

### 3.4.2 Animal Metaphors

An article appeared in one of the dailies that talked about ‘roaring’. This is an animal metaphor that is associated with the roaring of a lion. It projects in a forceful manner what the writer of the business media article wanted to portray because it brings out certain characteristics that may not have been so clear had it been expressed using words that are not metaphorical.

The DN of 18/3/2021 has an article by Maina. She writes:

(51) “Despite their *roaring* success, the duo has faced some challenges”

The lion is commonly known as the King of the Jungle. When a lion roars, the sound is very loud and terrifying and it is a well-known fact that many animals, especially those that can be its prey, scamper for safety. When a lion roars, it is more or less demarcating its territory, warning other animals, even other lions that should they come close, they could be asking for trouble. Only the foolhardy will attempt to challenge a roaring lion. The sound not only scares animals, but human beings visiting a game park which has lions are have also been known to tremble at the sound of the roar, even when they know they are safely enclosed within the confines of their tour van.

The source domain of this metaphor is the roar of the lion. The target domain is the success of the business that the duo is running. When a mapping of the two domains is done, the writer is saying that the success of the ones running that business is self-evident, in the same way that the roar of a lion cannot be mistaken for anything else. Apart from this, the success they have achieved is threatening any competitors to the extent that one will have to be very daring to attempt to challenge them. With the expression ‘roaring success’, the writer suggests that the pair has definitively stamped their authority as the leaders in that field, and this is evidenced by the title Maina gives to the article: *Meet the new kings of taxi-hailing business in Rift Valley region*. By calling them ‘kings’, the writer is confirming that the word ‘roaring’ was not accidentally chosen. It was purposeful and meant to communicate the dominance of that business venture.

The SN of 22/11/2020 has an article written by Wambugu that has the following title:

(52) “Three reasons the Bitcoin is so *bullish*”

‘Bullish’ is an adjective formed from the noun ‘bull’. A bull is a fully-grown male bovine. Bulls are well known for being strong, powerful and aggressive. All the encyclopedic entries for ‘bull’ include these aspects of strength and power. The source domain for this metaphorical expression is the strong, adult male bovine, while the target domain is the Bitcoin.

In the context of this article, Wambugu is mapping the strength, power, roughness that is sometimes typical of a charging bull or buffalo to how the Bitcoin is behaving in the financial sector. The Bitcoin crypto currency has mercilessly overrun the other digital currencies, with its price more than doubling in the year 2020 alone. It has launched an aggressive attack on all the other forms of digital currencies and left in its wake ‘a trail of destruction’ in the financial status of those who have lost income as a result of the Bitcoin onslaught. This is comparable to a charging bull with its massive head on a downward inclination rushing powerfully forward in pursuit of its enemy, trampling anything that comes on its path without any mercy. Wambugu compares the brute power of the bull to the Bitcoin.

In both of these cases where animal metaphors have been used, the writers could only agree with Imre (2010) who said that metaphors ‘do not talk about reality but rather create a new reality...’ If one were to insist on understanding these two animal metaphors literally without transferring the qualities from the source domain to the target domain, the meanings in both instances would surely be lost.

### 3.4.3 Music Metaphors

This research came across a metaphor that is based on music. It talks of a ‘chorus of calls’ and this expression was actually very unexpected in a business media article, yet made a lot of sense within the context of use. The possible reasons why this unexpected metaphor was used could include the love Kenyans have for music.

The DN of 30/3/2021 contains an article by Maundu. He writes:

(53) “Coming against a *chorus* of calls for the government to protect Kenyans...”

The encyclopedic entries for ‘chorus’ include a group of singers who recite something together, a section of a song or poem that is repeated after given intervals, the noise made by a collection of people uttering sounds together, etc. For the interpretation of this metaphor, the meaning of a section of a song or poem that is repeated was taken. The source domain is this frequent repetition of the same call. The target domain is the repeated request being made to the government. On mapping the two domains, a section of Kenyans has been repeating over and



over again at different intervals that the government needs to step up its efforts to protect Kenyans from the ever-rising cost of living.

### 3.5 Conclusion

Kenyan business media discourse uses a large variety of metaphors, both conceptual and linguistic. In the conceptual metaphors BUSINESS IS A JOURNEY, CHEAPER IS BETTER, EXPENSIVE IS BAD, TIME IS MONEY, FIRM IS FAVOURABLE, SHAKY IS UNFAVOURABLE, and GOOD IS UP, DOWN IS BAD, the meanings are very easy to arrive at for anyone immersed in the Kenyan context, even though in some cases, the metaphors are also universally used. This is because some of the metaphorical expressions cut across cultures and are not specific to Kenya, which makes their meanings accessible even to people outside the Kenyan cultural context. This research also found that unexpected though they are, linguistic metaphors seem to also have a place in Kenyan business media discourse.

## **CHAPTER FOUR: REASONS FOR USING METAPHORS**

### **4.1 Introduction**

This research has examined a cross section of conceptual metaphors that have been used in Kenyan business media discourse by categorizing and classifying them according to their types. It has also explored the different meanings that these metaphors have. This chapter goes one step further and attempts to give possible reasons why these metaphors have been selected for use by the business media discourse writers.

The chapter will discuss two main reasons why these metaphors have been used, and this approach will divide the chapter into two sections. The first section will discuss the use of conceptual metaphors because of their relevance to the Kenyan context. Under this broad heading, a discussion on how the Kenyan cultural context shapes how people perceive given realities will take place. The second section will look at other conceptual metaphors that are not specific to Kenya, but are rather more universal in scope. In this section, apart from mentioning the universal scope of the metaphors, how the Kenyan cultural context enhances their perception and interpretation will also be addressed.

### **4.2 Metaphors Used due to their Relevance to the Kenyan Context**

Kenya is a developing country which in recent years has undertaken massive projects to boost its infrastructure: ports, rail and road networks. Apart from this, many private developers have undertaken big projects to build skyscrapers and residential estates. To add on, it is a well-known fact that each ordinary Kenyan would like to own the house they live in. Kenyans are therefore constantly thinking of, and building their own houses – mansions, bungalows or even just mud houses. To a large extent, the greater the magnitude of construction one is capable of carrying out, the more ‘successful’ that person is deemed to be. Due to all these reasons, building and construction are concepts that Kenyans live with daily.

The ideas discussed in the paragraph above form part of the cultural encyclopedic entries of construction for Kenyans, which make them easily accessible to them all. This could explain why many metaphors that have to do with building and construction are so pervasive in Kenyan business media discourse. It tells us why for Kenyans, BUSINESS IS CONSTRUCTION. To start a business, most Kenyans will start SMEs with very little capital compared to the size of business they hope to have. This is then mapped to the construction of a house, where one starts from the ground going up. In the beginning of a business, there is little to show for it, just like

a house that is being built seems to make little progress when the foundations are being laid. Businesses for most Kenyans start small and grow slowly.

As Kenyans grow up, they think of how they will construct a house if they hope to attain a certain level of prestige and independence. This is why construction metaphors are very relevant. Kenyans will find such metaphors as being accessible, which could provide an explanation as to why business writers make use of them, following Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3): “Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature” - Kenyans perceive business in terms of construction. This makes it easy for Kenyans to transfer the qualities of a house to the business: a successful business enterprise is like a house that has been constructed and completed.

In other words, the way Kenyans think about business is influenced by the amount of construction that they see going on around them to an extent that they map the qualities of the construction phenomenon onto business and eventually end up seeing business in terms of construction.

Kenyans perceive that BUSINESS IS NATURE/FARMING because being a largely agricultural country, most of the Kenyan population is rural, and vast numbers of Kenyans depend on agriculture as their means of livelihood. For a large percentage of the urban population, those with the luxury of owning houses that have gardens will spare a portion of it for a kitchen garden. To add on to this, many Kenyans who dwell in the city will have a farm upcountry or in the outskirts of the major towns where they do some farming.

Kenyans are very close to nature and identify with it. The conceptual system of Kenyans is profoundly influenced by nature and the farming around them, such that in speaking, and by extension in writing, they constantly make reference to nature and farming and compare businesses to them. By using metaphors that talk of nature and farming, the business media discourse writers appeal to this closeness to nature and farming that is deeply entrenched in the perception of Kenyans, because they know that this will resonate with their readers.

BUSINESS IS WATER is another metaphor that specially appeals to Kenyans. As said above, Kenyans give farming pride of place. As part of their encyclopedic entries for farming, for there to be successful farming, a steady supply of water is indispensable. At the same time, an excess of water through flooding can be detrimental to human, animal and plant life. The importance of the rain patterns (rainy/dry seasons) and predictions about exactly when the rains will come, concerns over delayed or decreased rains is a constant topic of conversation. Water for

irrigation, water for sustenance of human and animal life is of interest and concern to all Kenyans as all this forms part of their cultural conceptions for water. Because water is such a relevant topic, these writers exploit its employment in the creation of water metaphors as they know that this is a theme that will capture the imagination of all Kenyans. No Kenyan will read about water and be left indifferent, or will be incapable of perceiving the other encyclopedic entries for water that have been discussed in this research paper, as water has many cultural connotations that stem from this wealth of encyclopedic entries, something which they are perhaps not even aware of.

Another conceptual metaphor that the writers probably used because of its relevance to the Kenyans' context is CHEAPER IS BETTER, EXPENSIVE IS BAD. As previously mentioned, many Kenyans have to struggle to make ends meet, and by constantly making reference to the fact that CHEAPER IS BETTER, these writers are appealing directly to what is relevant to the Kenyan population, and this will capture their attention. The average Kenyan will go for what is cheaper in the market, many times even at the expense of quality. This is because for Kenyans, part of the encyclopedic entries for purchasing power is the fact that money is a scarce commodity and should be spent sparingly, it should not be wasted, looking for cheaper alternatives ensures that your money lasts longer, etc. Kenyans map these qualities of money to any commodity they have to pay for, and thus the cheaper option (target domain) is often deemed the better option.

This research came across several sports metaphors. Kenyan athletes have firmly placed Kenya on the world map by their outstanding performances over the years. Even locally, Kenyans have a keen interest in sporting events and it is usual for Kenyans to participate in and watch sporting events including football, boxing, rugby, etc. in large numbers. It is therefore not surprising that business media discourse writers have frequent recourse to sports metaphors, as they know that people will on one hand identify with these metaphors quickly, and on the other hand, will read articles with such metaphors with keener interest as they are using terminology that Kenyans find attractive and appeals to them. When these writers talk of 'run', 'on the sidelines', 'play a role', etc. they capture the attention of their readers immediately because sports and all the activity that surrounds sports is of interest to Kenyans and are therefore very relevant.

Encyclopedic entries for sports for Kenyans include winning and losing, choosing which team to support, endurance, perseverance, favourite players, agility and speed. This can make it easy

for them to map these characteristics to any of the sports metaphors selected by the writers and to access deeper meanings with much less processing efforts and apply them to businesses than if metaphors that had to do with for example, shipping, were used. This is because shipping is not a dominant part of the Kenyan culture except for people who live at the coast or work in the maritime industry.

Another type of metaphor that is probably used because large sectors of the Kenyan population seem to have a liking and attraction for it, are the fight metaphors. Without any doubt, these kinds of metaphors were the most abundant in the articles that were studied for this paper.

It is very frequent to see crowds milling around people who are having a heated argument or are exchanging blows. Within no time, a crowd will gather around such people, with most people just enjoying being spectators. Only on rare occasions, or if there is real danger that one might be seriously injured do the onlookers step in to 'spoil' the fight.

By using such words as 'hit', 'rival', 'lose battle', 'trade defense', etc. the writers of business articles know they will catch the attention of the Kenyans who are always ready to hear 'who has what against who?'. To add on to this, Kenyans have a fierce spirit of competition and this is manifested in almost all areas of life e.g. in education, business and sports. For this reason, Kenyans have a rich cultural understanding of fight and competition, with many encyclopedic entries for fight, which goes beyond the simple meaning of 'fight' as "contending in physical conflict" which is the first, most easily accessible encyclopedic entry for fight and competition. They are likely to take keener interest in articles with these metaphors, as they would like to learn from others just how one party outdid the other and came out top of the game.

Health and body metaphors appear frequently in business media discourse in Kenya. This is because, if one does not have life or if one does not have a body, then everything else is of no consequence. Also featuring prominently were health metaphors which led the researcher to the conclusion that for Kenyans, BUSINESS IS HEALTH. The health system in Kenya is still quite fragile and a large majority of Kenyans do not have access to adequate medical attention. For this reason, any issues of health are attentively dealt with by families because if the illness has a certain level of seriousness, it could quickly end up in death.

The cultural encyclopedic entries of Kenyans lead them to perceive health, life and the body as precious yet fragile. Businesses too seem to have the same cultural content as many have been started and not all have been successful. Businesses are then conceived in terms of health, life and body because they too suffer the fragility that is proper to the human person who can easily

die due to environmental factors like floods, negligence on the part of medical personnel, not taking decisive measures to prevent infection through lack of hygiene, etc. The parallelism is thus created by taking the encyclopedic entries for health and body, and mapping them onto business. Thus, the reader is expected to make the transfer of some of the health risk factors and to map them onto businesses. This serves as a warning to any of the stakeholders in business so that they realize that should one not take proper precautions, their businesses too could collapse in the way that a person who does not take care of his own health could die. Conversely, a business that is well looked after and run diligently while being protected from neglect and unnecessary risks is likely to succeed. This makes the conception of BUSINESS IS HEALTH highly relevant and is thus widely exploited by the business writers.

It can be said that the use of these metaphors serves the purpose of alerting Kenyans that for a business to succeed, it has to be looked after and cared for in much the same way that the human body, human life ought to be cared for.

BUSINESS IS A JOURNEY also largely depends on the common cultural experience of Kenyans, who are constantly traversing the country and for the more affluent ones, apart from visiting friends and relatives in other countries, travel frequently to shop in Dubai and China. Many Kenyans travel upcountry to visit their relatives over Christmas and Easter. The transport industry in Kenya is a multibillion enterprise that employs thousands of people. Road accidents are, unfortunately, also a more or less common affair. All these ideas form part of the encyclopedic entries for Kenyans who therefore perceive journeys as being uncertain, yet indispensable, because sooner or later one has to visit relatives upcountry. Journeys involve the investment of time and money, etc. With all these encyclopedic entries for 'journey' in Kenya, it is easy to understand why Kenyans perceive businesses as journeys. When one starts a journey, one knows that he/she is not assured of reaching the foreseen destination, one needs to invest time and money, one needs to plan, taking into account the risks involved, and should an accident occur or any other calamity, all that planning and investment will be seen as having gone to waste.

For Kenyans, BUSINESS IS A JOURNEY because when one starts a journey, one is not assured of a safe arrival. The same applies to business. Business is risky. Any number of setbacks could cause the business to collapse or to make fewer profits than foreseen. Just like in a journey, there could be delays due to an accident, road construction, a faulty car, etc. so too in business many unforeseen challenges could come up and delay the full realization of the

business plan, or even cause the total failure of that business venture. This accounts for why writers tend to use metaphors that imply that BUSINESS IS A JOURNEY. They know that Kenyans will, almost without being aware of it, map the characteristics of the encyclopedic entries that they have for journeys onto business.

#### 4. 3 Universally Used Metaphors

Some of the metaphors used in the Kenyan business media discourse are universally accepted and used as tools to transmit ideas. This ties in closely with the CMT that says that some metaphors are universally accepted, even though there could be variations in the application of these metaphors from the source to the target domain depending on the cultural context. The fact that Kenyan business media discourse uses universally accepted metaphorical concepts is not at all surprising. It is, rather, actually expected given that Kenya is not an island, and is influenced by the mindsets and approaches to life that people of other cultures have, and these approaches to life have come to form part of the Kenyan cultural experience, in some cases with nuances that are different from those of the source cultures.

Metaphors, conceptual or linguistic, have been universally used to make reading or speech more attractive and captivating. In some of the cases studied, the metaphors used were striking which make them both interesting and memorable. To achieve this purpose, writers use them to imprint their words in the minds of the readers and awaken their interest. Under the metaphors FIRM IS FAVOURABLE, SHAKY IS UNFAVOURABLE, all the metaphorical expressions used were exceptionally captivating as one does not expect to find the use of such words in business media discourse. When the writers talk about ‘reeling’, ‘jitters’, ‘stagger’ these words have a way of arousing one’s curiosity with a desire to want to read more, because these words are more frequently used in literary writings and almost always with the aim of sparking humour. This conceptual metaphor is universally used but it is here interpreted with specifically Kenyan connotations. Encyclopedic entries for jitters in Kenya include e.g. a student who sat for an exam that he had not prepared well for, and is waiting apprehensively for the results to be released, or someone who has been caught red-handed in the act of committing a crime and is fearful of the consequences. For stagger, the Kenyan mind will directly go a drunkard who is unable to maintain his balance and is walking unsteadily, a sight that unfortunately is not so rare in some parts of Kenya. The encyclopedic entries for stagger, jitters, and reel, apart from arousing interest, also have in themselves the capacity to arouse pity. The writers of these articles use these terms as they expect them to create a certain impact

in the readers' minds. As they are unexpected in business media discourse, not only do they make interesting reading, but the writers also use them to make their texts more memorable.

Under the animal metaphors, this paper discussed a business that was 'roaring'. This is also very striking because in a business article one does not expect to meet such a word. The encyclopedic entries for roar in the Kenyan's conceptual sphere include a lion which is brave, strong, majestic and aggressive, roaring with the aim of demarcating its territory, etc. These encyclopedic entries which act as the source domain are then mapped onto the context of business prowess of the taxi hailing business that is being referred to in the previously quoted article by Maina where she writes,

(54) "Despite their *roaring* success, the duo has faced some challenges"

The use of the word 'roaring' catches one's attention and transports the person to the wild and to the lion that is being alluded to, which makes the article very memorable. This explains the choice of that metaphorical expression. Kenyans find animal metaphors very accessible as they are used abundantly in speech and writing, and to map the qualities of an animal to a given context correctly is a task that is easily carried out. There could, perhaps, be a culture, different from the Kenyan culture, where to describe someone or a business as 'roaring' like a lion could mean that the person is a bully and arrogant because these are the encyclopedic entries that that culture has for the animal 'lion'.

A case to illustrate how a metaphor can be universal (e.g. an animal metaphors) yet could be interpreted differently in different cultures, is 'donkey' being used as an animal metaphor. In Kenya, if one is compared to a donkey, it could mean that the person is hardworking, while in Germany, anyone described as a donkey is considered a fool.

Another set of the universally accepted metaphors that Kenyan business media discourse writers use are body metaphors. Human bodies allow people to experience and interact with their environment. Anything that affects a person's body affects that person directly. People are very aware of their bodies through their sensory perceptions. These encyclopedic entries for the human body form the source domain of these body metaphors, and they thus supply the background that explains the use of body metaphors. Body metaphors can be quickly related to what people perceive according to what that part of the body represents for them. It becomes easy to map the metaphor to the specific body part depending on the specific encyclopedic entries that exist in the given context for that body part. E.g. the article by Rithaa in the DN of 18/3/21 that says:



(55) “SMEs are the *backbone* of Kenya’s economy”

Everyone knows the importance of the backbone in the human body, and any injury or pain in the backbone greatly diminishes mobility and ability to work. Stability, good posture, resilience, etc. are part of the encyclopedic entries that Kenyans have for the ‘backbone’. Other cultures using this same human body metaphor might have similar or different encyclopedic entries for the backbone. Kenyans will find it easily accessible to transfer those qualities to the role that SMEs play in Kenya’s economy. The same could be said about the other body part metaphors that were found in the reading done in the course of this study. The writers perceive that as Kenyans have specific characteristics that they apply to specific body parts that transcend the physical body part, it will be easy for Kenyans to transfer those characteristics that act as source domains and map them onto the target domains, arousing the right cognitive effects in each case.

Universally, metaphors are used to provide concision. Even though Kenyans are generally not famous for being concise in their speech or writing, in a number of the articles studied, business media discourse writers used conceptual metaphors as part of the titles that they gave to their articles to make them concise. On analyzing the titles, they were found to be much shorter because the metaphorical expressions condensed within themselves a lot more information using fewer words than if the same idea had been expressed using a non-metaphorical concept. E.g., the very brief article by Ngugi in the DN of 11/2/2021 has the following title:

(56) “14% *drop* in business rent”

This brief article is made up of less than fifty words. The use of the conceptual metaphor UP IS GOOD, DOWN IS BAD allows the writer to minimize the words in the title. Had the writer not used the said conceptual metaphor, he would have been obliged to explain that the rental income from businesses “had reduced”. Apart from the fact that this increases the word count, ‘reduced’ is also a much longer word and the title of the brief article would seem to be out of proportion to the article itself. There are several other instances, not only related to headings, where the metaphorical concept gives conciseness to an article. Seeking concision then, seems to be another reason why conceptual metaphors have been used in the articles.

#### 4.8 Conclusion

Business media discourse writers have good reasons for using metaphors and metaphorical expressions as they all serve a purpose and help to put across their ideas in a more succinct yet

attractive way, because the use of metaphorical expressions allows the use of a variety of words which prevents monotony through frequent repetition.

The use of metaphors makes the articles attractive and they appeal directly to the sensibility and cognition of Kenyans because they find the encyclopedic entries of each of the metaphors easily accessible. They then can easily identify themselves with them. In all of the metaphorical expressions used, the cultural background of the Kenyans play an important part because this culture is what has shaped the selection of the metaphorical concepts, and it has guided the characteristics that are mapped from the source domain to the target domain.

## CHAPTER FIVE: SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

### 5.1 Introduction

This Chapter will concern itself with giving a summary of the findings of this research, basing it on the research objectives. It will then proceed to give the conclusions that have been reached as a result of the analysis of the data that was collected, then will end with a brief recommendation of an area of further research.

### 5.2 Summary

This research paper found that in Kenyan business media discourse, writers use many conceptual metaphors. The study found several conceptual metaphors that were prevalent in business media discourse, which adequately tackled the first and second research questions and thus attained the first and second research objectives of the study. The metaphors used were discussed in chapters two and three of this paper. Kenyans perceive that BUSINESS IS CONSTRUCTION, BUSINESS IS NATURE/FARMING, BUSINESS IS HEALTH/BODY/LIFE, BUSINESS IS FIGHT/SPORT, BUSINESS IS A JOURNEY and that CHEAPER IS BETTER, EXPENSIVE IS BAD. All these turn out to be typically Kenyan conceptual metaphors.

Other conceptual metaphors were also found to be abundant in Kenyan business media discourse. These were FIRM IS FAVOURABLE, SHAKY IS UNFAVOURABLE, TIME IS MONEY and GOOD IS UP, DOWN IS BAD. Even though the researcher did not seek to establish whether these conceptual metaphors hold true for other cultures, common experience of having interacted with both English and Spanish reveal that these concepts are perceived in more or less the same ways in these other cultures. This led the researcher to conclude that these conceptual metaphors are actually universally used in broadly the same way in these different cultures, and this confirmed the CMT position that suggests that some conceptual metaphors are universal while others are culture specific.

Linguistic metaphors were also found to be used in Kenyan business media discourse. Their occurrence was much less frequent than the occurrence of conceptual metaphors, but it was interesting to note that, unexpected as they were, they too have a role to play in business media discourse. The linguistic metaphors that were discussed are graft, animal and music metaphors. Given the fact that the theory that guided this study is the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, this paper did not seek to collect plenty of data on linguistic metaphors but rather tried to focus on conceptual metaphors.

To answer the third research question, this study achieved the research objective that was to discover the reasons why metaphors are used. These reasons were discussed in Chapter 4, and they include the fact that the metaphors touch on matters that are very relevant to Kenyans, and this makes their meanings easily accessible to any Kenyan. Some of the metaphors found are universally used, and their meanings are quite easily accessible to Kenyans who are also immersed within the wider universal context and some of the universally accepted conceptual metaphors have come to form part of the Kenyan conceptual context.

### 5.3 Conclusions

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980:3), “If we are right in saying that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor”. They also say that “metaphors are pervasive in everyday life”.

As a matter of fact, this paper agrees with these assertions, because on choosing to focus the research on business media discourse, it was expected that some metaphors would be found, but not that they would be so abundant in an area that would traditionally have no interest in them.

Indeed, metaphors were found to be pervasive in Kenyan business media discourse, and Kenyans’ way of conceiving reality leads them to think constantly of some realities in terms of others, transferring the qualities of the source domain to the target domain. This is done quite effortlessly and unconsciously in such a way that it can truly be said that people do think in terms of metaphors.

The fact that there were so many metaphors that talk of ‘build’, ‘journey’ ‘fight’, etc. could all be ways that the business media writers are using to encourage Kenyans to rise up to the challenge and ‘rebuild’ the economy of Kenya that has been ravaged by the Covid-19 pandemic.

### 5.4 Recommendations for Further Research

Even though this study extensively looked at conceptual metaphors in business media discourse, it was not able to ascertain the claims made by Arrese and Vara-Miguel (2016) who said that the media could be a tool for manipulation of the masses to make people start viewing reality through the prism of the media discourse writers. The metaphors collected and studied in the course of this research work could be used as data to look into manipulation and

persuasion that Arrese and Vara-Miguel talked about through the addition of the CDA framework.

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