Metaphors Used To Portray Masculinity And Feminity In Dholuo Benga Music: A Cognitive Linguistic Approach.

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Abstract*: So powerful is language that it has the ability to not only annihilate but also restore relationships. Through it power relations are instituted. In Patriarchal societies of which the Luo nation is part, power relations have the ability to conceive and nourish a sexist culture and a sexist language by extension. In sexist cultures, negative representations of women are common place in varied discourses. In such conversations, women are degraded, subjugated, demeaned and adulterated. They are also subjected to hostility especially in social discourse. The other gender on the other hand, is portrayed as superior, dominant, powerful and is therefore elevated. It is on this stand point that this paper seeks to explore the language used to portray masculinity and feminity with the aim of unveiling the existing biases in the language used to refer to women as opposed to the one used to refer to men since such a language has grave implications on the young generation especially the girl child whose self-esteem and general world view is likely to be affected by such discourse. The study sought to address the following objectives: to explain the metaphors used to refer to men and women in Dholuo Benga music and to illustrate the cognitive processes in the creation of metaphors in Dholuo Benga music. The study adopted a Cognitive Linguistic approach in analyzing these metaphors. The study employed data in the form of words and expressions downloaded from You tube. A sample of ten Benga songs was selected using purposive sampling and they were subjected to analysis based on the tenets of Conceptual Integration Theory. The findings of the study indicate that depiction of both men and women in Benga music is largely done through the use of figurative language and the Luo society prejudices women while it dignifies men.*

Key words: gender, sexist language, feminity, masculinity, connotations.

1. INTRODUCTION

Language is a powerful tool that has a great impact on those who use it. It defines who is male or female and through it, power relations are established in societies. (Fairclough, 1995). We live in a patriarchal society that looks at men, their actions and speech, from a different lens that is elevated and revered according to the set societal standards as compared to the degraded lens in which the women's actions and speech are viewed (Okeke, 2012). This notion is clearly illustrated by Fromkin, Rodman and Hyams (as cited in Okeke, 2012) typified discrimination against women in which they quote Graham's funny analogy:

> *If a woman is swept off a ship into the water, the cry is man overboard. If she is killed by a hit- and-run driver, the charge is manslaughter. If she is injured on the job, the coverage is workmen's compensation. But if she arrives on the threshold marked 'Men Only,' she knows the admonition is not intended to bar animals or plants or inanimate objects. It is meant for her (p.447)*

From this analogy, it is evident that women's traits are reflected through those of the men. The latter's' traits act as the standard measure of what the society expects. The former's actions are also evaluated using those of the men because the patriarchal society regards the latter as a yardstick. The natural differences between men and women have led men to take advantage of women and to create oppression and dominance which is heavily reflected in their speech.

In patriarchal societies of which the Luo nation is part, power relations have the ability to create and sustain a sexist culture and by extension a sexist language. It is on this premise that this paper seeks to explore the metaphors used to portray men and women in Dholuo Benga music with the aim of unveiling the biases that exist in the language used to refer to women as opposed to that used to refer to men.

The Luo according to Ochieng' (1985) are Nilotes whose native land is traced around Wau, along the rivers of Sue and Jur in the grassland plains of Bahr-el-Ghazal province of Sudan. Diefenbach (as cited in Alemu, 2006) posits that gender ideology plays an effective role in legitimizing inequality and perpetuating the unjust power structure of patriarchy that has constructed culture-specific justifications for the subordination of women. By co-opting women and making them instruments of their own subordination, patriarchy has penetrated virtually every society and survived largely unchallenged for thousands of years.

Among the Luo, the boy child is held in high esteem as compared to the girl child. This is evident in the community's customs. For example, the proverb *wuoyi siro* (a boy is a pole) glorifies masculinity; it means that a boy is a defender, provider and protector and any mother who gives birth to one is considered blessed and is the envy of other women who give birth to only girls.

This proverb shows how a boy child is revered in the Luo nation as opposed to the disdain with which the girl child is treated. A girl is metaphorically referred to as a mongoose (*nyako en ogwang'*). A mongoose is a worthless and destructive creature in the sense that it preys on chickens and disappears in the forest. It also doesn't have a permanent habitation and this is comparable to a girl who doesn't belong to where she is born.

Upon reaching a marriageable age, she has to move from her maiden home to her husband's. In addition, when a mother gave birth to a boy child, he remained in the house for four days before being taken outside while if it was a girl child she was taken outside after three days. Similarly, a boy's umbilical cord was tied four times using a string from the mother's public dress and the after birth, buried on the right hand side of the verandah while a girl's was tired three times and the after birth buried on the left side of the verandah.

The number of days that the male child stayed in the house before being taken outside and the side of the house on which its afterbirth was buried symbolized the value to which the Luo society attaches to the masculine gender.

Such practices may sound mundane to a stranger but to the members of the community in which they are observed they are crucial in determining the value that the society annexes to masculinity as opposed to feminity. Alemu (2006) boldly describes such a situation as an indication of the outcome of the brainwashing of the multifarious cultural mechanisms that communicate the 'proper' place and the 'inferior' nature of women in the society.

Benga, a genre of music, is an avenue through which such gender stereotypes can be observed. According to Garfias (2004), music which grows out of a people's culture is passed on from one generation to the next along with the modifications that would have taken place over the years. It is a powerful means of communication since it not only affects our lives but also the lives of others.

Otwack (2015) argues that traditionally music was the most practiced art in the Luo community. It was used for ceremonial, religious, political or incidental purposes. It was performed during funerals in *Tero Buru*, to praise the departed, to console the bereaved, to keep people awake at night, to express pain and agony and also used during cleansing and chasing away spirits. Benga, a genre of music on which this study is based, has a huge following which is evidenced by the fact that it is played on national radio as well as television stations in Kenya.

2. Statement of the problem

Women play vital roles in the society but cultural ideologies encourage the use of sexist terms and images that marginalize and subjugate them thereby reinforcing their subordinate position in the society. Moreover, these sexist terms have grave implications on the self esteem of the girl child. Men, on the contrary, are elevated and their exploitative and oppressive tendencies are hailed. Thus masculinity is glorified even in situations that require societal reprove. Such overt discrimination has the ability to completely destroy the social relations between men and women since the former use such stereotypes as grounds on which to authenticate their control over the latter.

It is from this perspective that the paper investigates the sexist discourse used in Dholuo Benga music as an avenue through which patriarchy advances its sexist ideologies of male dominance and female subordination with the intention of maintaining the status quo. We therefore argue that there is need to create awareness on the essence of using language that is non sexist in order to promote harmony and peaceful coexistence.

3. Objectives of the research
1. To explain the metaphors used to refer to men and women in Dholuo Benga music
2. To illustrate the cognitive processes in the creation of metaphors in Dholuo Benga music

4. Rationale and justification of the study

Most studies done on sexist language have focused on the female gender (Lakoff, 1975; Luvuno, 2004; Ndungo, 1998; Okereke, 1998; Omenugha, 2007; Yusuf, 1994; 1995) while a few on the male gender (Kramarae, 1981; Wodak, 1997; Mbilinyi, 1994). As such, there is need of carrying out a comparative study to bring to light the blatant differences that emanate from the language used to refer to masculinity and feminity with the aim of unveiling the biases that exist in the language used to refer to women as opposed to that used to refer to men. Exposure of these gender disparities is crucial as it serves as a wakeup call for language users on

the importance of trying to achieve the elusive gender parity in language. This is because linguistic sexism and gender stereotyping have far reaching effects on both genders.

This study is significant as it acts as a source of reference to linguistic scholars interested in investigating the effects of language used in society. Secondly, this study will enrich literature in Cognitive Linguistics and in particular, Cognitive Pragmatics as it aims at bringing into perspective how meaning is generated, conduced and interpreted in different environments.

Thirdly, this study is important to musicians who may be interested in finding out how the language they use in their songs impact on their listeners' perceptions and thought processes. Finally, it will be useful to any researcher who may be interested in carrying out a diachronic study of the language used to portray the male and female gender in different linguistic environments.

5. Theoretical framework

Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT).

This is a theory that was initiated by Fauconnier and Turner in 2002. It is part of a major framework concerning cognition and language in the sense that it combines explanations of linguistic creativity with an explanation of other language behaviour, as well as various products of human imagination. It further explains the integration of knowledge coming from distinct sources into a single, independent and coherent unit, the blend. Conceptual integration enables one to make meaning from differing concepts that, on the surface, have no readily apparent connection or commonality.

The basic units of cognitive organization in this theory are the mental spaces. They are often used to divide and organize incoming pieces of information within the referential representation. The mental spaces are four namely: two input spaces, a generic and a blended space. These spaces contain different information on the same elements, but each space contains a representation that is logically organized (Coulson & Oakley, 2002). Because of these spaces, the Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT, hereafter) is referred to as the many-space approach.

The input spaces give rise to selective projection and they are linked by means of a generic space. This space provides information that is abstract enough to be common to both the inputs. It facilitates the identification of counterparts in the input spaces by serving as a "template'' for shared structure. It is these counterparts that are projected to the blended space. The blended space on the other hand, contains matched information from the input spaces as well as new pieces of information

(emergent structure) that is not contained in either of the inputs.

6. Literature review

Gender has been given varied definitions by different scholars. This study will adopt the definition of gender as illustrated by Ostergaard (1992). She notes:

Gender relations are constructed in terms of the relations of power and dominance that structure the life chances of women and men. In other words, gender divisions are not fixed in biology, but constitute an aspect of the wider social divisions of labour, which in turn are rooted in the conditions of production and reproduction and reinforced by the cultural, religious and ideological systems prevailing in society (p.6).

Kabaji (2005) thus argues that the social construction of gender in terms of 'maleness' or 'femaleness,' 'masculinity and feminity,' sublimates the biological construct in the sense that the production and consumption of culture seems to be dependent upon the effective control of one social class over another or one sex over another; in this case the biological male controls the female in power relations. Therefore the interpretation of the gender classifications 'masculinity and feminity' seems to have more to do with the socialization process of the individual rather than the biological endowment of nature.

There are gender differences in language use. According to Wardhaugh (1998, society has hierarchical set of power relations in which language behaviour reflects male social dominance; women and men have learned to act in certain ways and follow different rules of language use. Several studies done show how language is used to belittle women (Luvuno, 2004; Okereke, 1998; Weitzer & Kubrin, 2009) and elevate men (Hamid et. al 2008; Kramarae, 1981; Mbilinyi, 1994; Wodak, 1997).

Luvuno (2004) notes that in Zulu culture, language favours males and not females and tends to place the latter in inferior positions. For example, in Isizulu a woman is called *Uyindoda* (a man) if she has done something that people view as good. This illustration suggests that only men can be achievers of heroic deeds, not women. On the other hand, if a man has a tendency of doing the wrong things all the time or misbehaves, he will be reduced to the level of a woman and be called *Umfazi*.

This illustration reveals that women belong to the lower ranks than men. While this study shares the same notion of women subordination in patriarchal societies with the current study, the point of departure is that while it uses data from Zulu

culture, the current study utilizes data from the Luo culture specifically Benga, a genre of music.

Society, on the other hand, has been constructed with an inclination that shows beneficence towards men as is illustrated by Hamid et. al (2008) who note that the Malaysian community upholds the traditional gender roles assigned to both males and females. They argue that fathers are the ones given more acknowledgements lexically. For instance they are assigned a wide range of occupations, are depicted to interact in the wider community, earning, possessing more, are involved in decision making and are problem solvers. They are moreover projected as successful and powerful in the social domain and occupy higher positions in society. This study is similar to the current in the sense that both show how masculinity is revered in different cultures but current study current one uses data from the Luo community.

The English Language also provides an avenue for the glorification of the males and degradation of women. This is exemplified in Okeke's (2012) study where she notes that plenty of words should have denotation and connotation to the same degree whereas only the words used for female bear the derogatory sense. For example, 'bachelor and spinster' all designate an unmarried adult. 'Spinster' marked for females seem to have acquired the insulting meaning of 'old maid' referring to someone who is unable to find a husband; by implication they are too ugly or too fussy.

'Bachelor' marked for males, by contrast, has the positive connotations of freedom and independence and still having the choice of marrying or not. The current study also wishes to unravel the glaring differences in the metaphors used to portray men and women in which the former are glorified while the latter are degraded in Dholuo Benga music.

In the music arena the story is no different. Weitzer and Kubrin (2009) posit that misogyny in rap music is propelled by the use of misogynistic themes such as derogatory naming and shaming of women, sexual objectification of women, legitimation of violence against women and vice versa. The lyrics essentialize women by portraying them as inherently 'other' and different from men by nature. This study looks at misogyny in rap music with close reference to portrayal of women but the present study compares the way both men and women are depicted in Dholuo Benga music.

7. Methodology

This study is a qualitative analysis of metaphors used to refer to men and women in Dholuo Benga music. The qualitative approach was used to probe the asymmetrical power relations that exist between males and females. It adopted a descriptive design in which the researchers explained and illustrated the metaphors used to refer to men and women in Dholuo Benga music in order to expose gender discrimination that is prevalent in this genre of music.

Purposive sampling was used to get a sample of ten Dholuo Benga songs sung by celebrated Benga maestro D.O Misiani. These songs were chosen because they were rich in metaphors and also because most listeners of the main Dholuo FM stations (Lake Victoria FM and Ramogi FM) requested the presenters to play for them the songs.

The data which was utilized was in the form of words and expressions downloaded from You Tube. This data was then transcribed and coded and this encompassed two stages: categorization and processing. The data was then translated into English which is the language of study. The aim of translating the songs into the language of study was to enable readers who do not understand the base language in which the songs were collected to get the precise meaning of the messages conveyed in them.

The songs were finally subjected to analysis based on the tenets of the CIT theory where the images that that the metaphors depicted were explained and the researchers proceeded to show how these words and phrases were viewed in the Luo society. For each metaphor four mental spaces were created that is two input spaces, generic and blended space.

Input one which is the source domain represents the metaphoric term while input two which is the target domain represents the individual being described. The attributes of the metaphor are also illustrated in the source domain just the way those of the individual are represented in the target domain. The traits of the two (The individual and the animal or object that it is likened to) is referred to as shared information and is projected to the generic space. The blended space which is the last contains all the information in the generic space as well as the emergent structure which is the meaning of the metaphor.

8. Discussion

The following two songs were examined with the goal of explaining and illustrating the cognitive processes in the creation of metaphors as this was the core of the paper.

ADUMA OKIL- D.O. MISIANI

*Jossy kochako thume…*Jossy when he starts his song *Omin Amolo jakamanindi…* The brother of Amolo son of the people of Kamanindi

Okil mara osomo tije... My advocate has read his job
*Okil safi Aduma ikonyo pinywa...*A clean advocate Aduma you have helped our land
Ka kes omaki ine Aduma...- If you have a case see Aduma
*Kineno Aduma to mano ikwanyo **sulwe** mapek.* If you see Aduma then you have picked a heavy star
*osiep Amolo **tinga**…-* The friend of Amolo tractor
ogwang' moro ne otugo koda- Some mongoose was playing with me
omula gi chilo ma anindo e buru…- He touched me with dirt and I slept on dust
polise ne oringo duto...- All the police officers ran away
*sano **magunga** oko polis ndani…-* At that time Magunga out and the police officers in
*Ouma **apuoyo** bende paki….-*Ouma the hare also praises you

The song above is in praise of lawyer Joshua Aduma Owuor who together with Raila Odinga helped secure the release of D.O. Misiani from police custody when he was arrested for 'insulting the president' in a previous song.

8.1 Explaining the metaphors used to portray masculinity and feminity in Dholuo Benga music

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) metaphors are devices that allow us understand one domain of experience in terms of another. The artist uses a number of metaphors to refer to Aduma and other characters in the song. For instance he refers to Aduma as a **star**, to Raila as a **tractor**, to himself as *Magunga* and to Ouma as a **hare.**

When Aduma is referred to as a star this means that the attributes of Aduma are comparable to those of a star. However, not all the traits of a star are passed on to Aduma rather the listeners select those that apply to him in the context in which the singer uses them. A star is a luminous celestial body that is associated with beauty. Stars are classified on the basis of their colour, temperature and even composition.

In the Traditional Luo society, stars were essential in giving directions to travelers and depending on the strength of their illumination, they were given various names for example *oluoro mudho* (one that fears darkness) is the star that sets before ten o'clock in the night while *ratego* (the strong one) lights till dawn. Aduma just like the star also gives directions in cases he handles on behalf of his clients. Being a lawyer, he studies the cases at hand before deciding on how best to tackle them. Like the star, Aduma shines and the musician says

that he is excellent at his trade a fact that makes him triumph in the cases that he handles.

Aduma is dependable just the way night travelers rely on the star to light their paths. The musician also relies on Aduma to solve all his legal issues and even recommends the lawyer to others who may have court cases that they wish settled. The musician says that Aduma is a force to reckon with in legal circles and fellow lawyers like Olago Aluoch are full of praise for him because they know his ability.

Just as the star is bright so is Aduma in the sense that by fighting for his release Aduma 'removed' the dark cloud that had been hovering over the musician's head.

The lawyer handled the case so meticulously that he was exonerated. This was a tricky and sensitive case in the sense that it had something to do with the leader of the nation and it also came to light during the dawn of multi-party politics. The advocate's brightness is further evidenced when the musician alludes to the fact that he is well read and understands the laws of the land. As such, he can handle all cases with ease regardless of their magnitude.

The musician refers to an unnamed individual as a mongoose this means that the attributes of this person are comparable to those of a mongoose. However, not all the traits of a mongoose are passed on to the individual rather, the listeners select those that apply to him in the context in which the singer uses them. Mongooses fight and kill venomous snakes since they are immune to the snake venom due to their specialized acetylcholine, they are active during the day, they have thick coats, they are very destructive, their agility makes them adept at tasks, they have problems fighting vipers that attack swiftly and forcefully and as such they lose such battles.

The unnamed individual is destructive and this is evidenced by the fact that he influenced the jailing of the musician thus interfering with his career. When he was behind bars, those who depended on him suffered. This included his family and band members whose source of livelihood was nipped in the bud. The musician also underwent physical and psychological torture during this period. Even though the identity of the man is hidden in this song to save face, those privy to the details of this case know that the musician's arrest was a presidential directive. Leaders of dictatorial regimes just like the mongoose, who is immune to snake venom are immune to criticisms that come from different quarters since they formulate laws that favour their

operations and generate gag orders that restrain their subjects from discussing certain matters. The gag orders are therefore comparable to the specialized acetylcholine that makes the mongoose immune to snake venoms. A mongoose also has a thick coat and this could be comparable to the 'thick skin' that leaders must have because they handle issues some of which are thorny and could lead to heated debates which may get out of hand leading to mass demonstrations by the affected parties.

Just like the mongoose, the leader in question is agile and this is seen in the swift way in which the musician was arrested and arraigned in court even without due process being followed. All this was done in order to silence the artist who is known for using figurative language to satirize poor leadership. The musician on the other hand, is comparable to a viper.

While vipers emit poisonous venom, the musician produces songs which are 'poisonous' to totalitarian leadership. Therefore, his lyrics are comparable to the venom produced by vipers. The musician was eventually released due to extreme pressure from the masses and human rights organizations. In the end, the dictatorial regime lost in the same way mongooses lose battles with vipers that are swift and forceful.

Ouma is referred to as the hare in this song. This means that the attributes of Ouma are comparable to those of a hare. However, not all the traits of a hare are passed on to Ouma rather the listeners select those that apply to him in the context in which the singer uses them. In the traditional narratives of the Luo, hares are portrayed as having the following attributes: they are fast, intelligent, tricksters, confident, conceited and hasty. In most narratives they trick their competitors who fall into their traps because of their gullibility. They are also portrayed as being confident and conceited, attributes that make them lose in competitions. Because masculinity is regarded superior and in most cases only positive connotations are used to refer to men, then Ouma just like the hare is intelligent, tricky and confident.

Positive connotations are mostly used to refer to the men in this song and the musician has an inclination towards his male subjects. The males receive positive stereotypes that bring them out as dignified individuals and in this way, the artist is reinforcing the superiority of the males as enshrined in the patrilineal Luo society thereby promoting language that propels dominance.

8.2 Illustrating the cognitive processes in the creation of metaphors in Dholuo Benga music

The metaphor **Aduma is a star** is explainable in terms of direct projection from the source domain of star onto the target domain of man (Aduma) guided by a series of fixed counterpart mappings 'Aduma onto star,' 'heavenly body onto human being,' 'guiding travelers onto representing clients,' 'glows on things onto triumphs in cases' and 'illuminates the way onto solves clients' cases.' These fixed counterpart mappings can be summarized as follows:
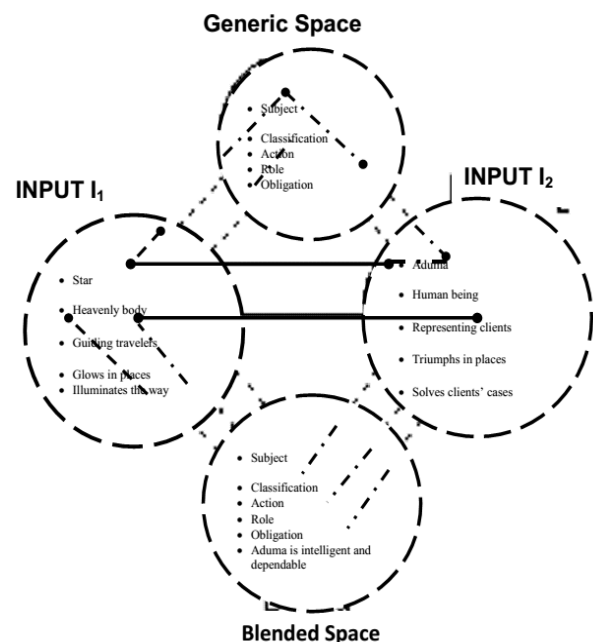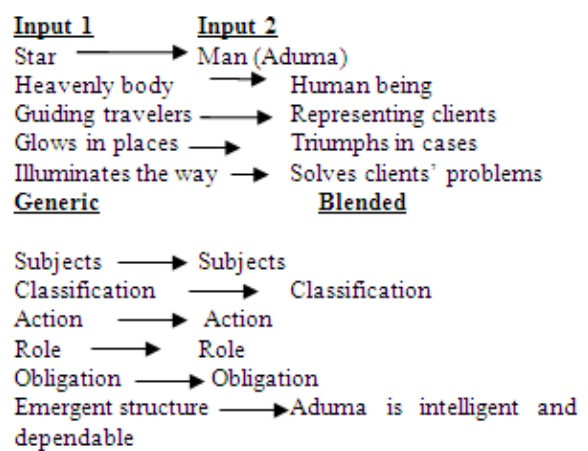

Figure 1: Mapping of the metaphor Aduma is a star

ISABELLA MUGA – D.O MISIANI

Janawi ma dhako Isabella ma nyar Asego- Female magician Isabella daughter of Asego

Kiti otamo ji ng'eyo- Your traits are unknown to people

Isabella **nego** *to* **chiero**- Isabella kills and resurrects

Gino nene Ruoth ochano chon- That thing the Lord had planned early

Mama Bella to wasungo- Mother Bella we are proud of

Kendo Bella wawero…- Again we sing about Bella

*Kiti otamo ji ng'eyo..-*Your traits are unknown to people

Ng'ato okinga gi bilo yo buore- Someone cast a spell on me in Nairobi

To Gilly nene achiko yo Suna- Gilly I was on my way to SunaMigori

Ji oyuaga ni Owino waiko- People cried that they will bury Owino

Gita wakano e dero- We will keep the guitar in the granary

Belly nene ochango ja ngoma- Belly helped the musician

Isabella **bim** *nya juola-* Isabella **baboon** the ugly frightening one

The song above is in praise of a dreaded female magician known as Isabella, daughter of the people of Homabay. The musician is grateful to this lady for having saved his life when an enemy bewitched him by placing a cantrip on his way as he left Nairobi for Migori. This made him so ill that people thought he would die. The Luos believe that someone can cast a spell on you regardless of where he/she is and if it traps you then you can die if immediate cleansing is not done by a medicine person who possesses greater power than the one who has cast the spell.

8.3 Explaining the metaphors used to portray masculinity and feminity in Dholuo Benga music

When the musician says that Isabella is a baboon it means that Isabella's attributes are comparable to those of a baboon. Therefore, in interpreting this song the listener will look for the encyclopedic entries in his/her mind about baboons. Some of the entries that will come into the listener's mind include the following: baboons are primates, they live in a wide range of habitats, they are very adaptable, they are omnivorous, they are intelligent, they are shrewd, they are active during the day, they are homely, they are destructive, they have a social behaviour that is matrilineal and they communicate using gestures, vocalizations and facial expressions.

The features above can help the listener of the song expound the specific information conveyed by the musician based on the context in which the words are used. The listener will therefore select those attributes of the baboon that are applicable to Isabella. Just like the baboon, Isabella is intelligent and this is seen in the way she unravels the mystery behind the sickness of the musician and cures him after pessimists had already concluded that his disease was incurable and he would die.

Isabella's intelligence is also evidenced by the fact she is skilled in her trade and this is illustrated in the well planned and rigorous treatment procedures that she undertakes. The fact that she is able to treat whites and Asians who are believed to be intelligent and that she is able to treat all manner of illnesses also alludes to her being knowledgeable.

Baboons live in a variety of habitats for example in plains, on rocky grounds and even on trees. This could be equated to Isabella's ability to treat people from different races who suffer from different types of ailments some mild and others severe. This also makes her very adaptable just the way baboons are. Baboons are shrewd creatures so is Isabella who is artfully cunning as is evidenced in the manner in which she deals with her patients. No one quite understands how she operates since her undertakings are surrounded in secrecy and people are awed by this mysterious woman.

Consequently, she has the power to kill and resurrect and this means that an individual's life lies in her hands. She makes choices on whether to kill or cure depending on the prevailing circumstances. Thus, she is brought out not only as dangerous but also as destructive because no human being has the moral authority to end another person's life. Her physical appearance may also be is displeasing to the eye the reason the artist refers to her as homely. By calling her *nyajuola,* the artist brings out her frightening appearance and demeanour that can easily send cold shivers down the spines of those who come into contact with her.
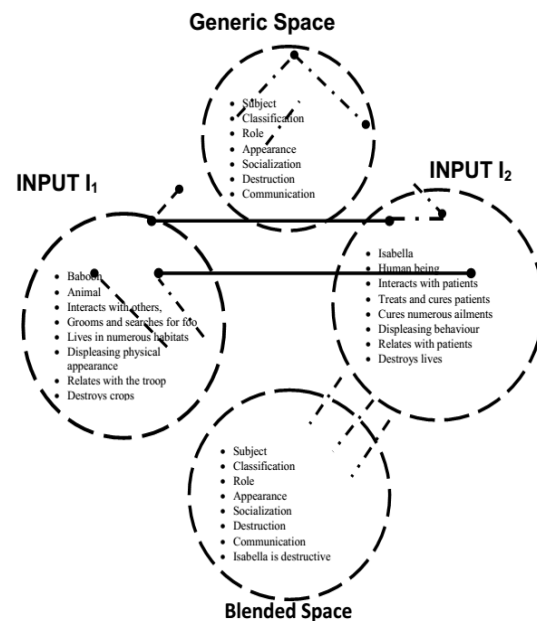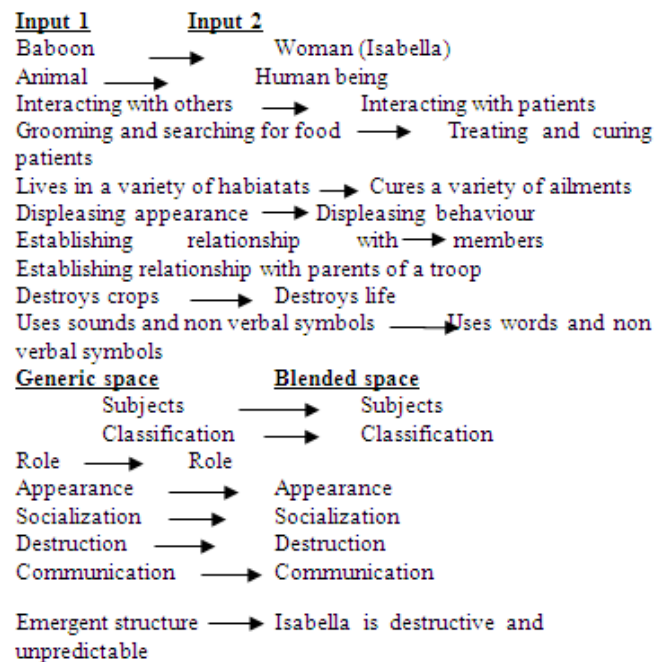
In this song the artist has portrayed Isabella using a variety of negative connotations. Otwack (2015) points out that in a discriminatory situation an individual woman does not receive the same consideration as an individual man. Where a man is judged on his actual interests and abilities, a woman's interest and abilities are assumed to be limited in certain ways because of her gender. This may be the reason why the artist describes Isabella using demeaning terms and judges her actions harshly because she is a female yet even male magicians kill.

By mentioning the fact that Isabella is a female magician, the musician wants the listeners to take note that the career path that Isabella has taken is purely a reserve of the males. The term *dhako* (woman) is regarded pejorative and it debases the one it is used to refer to. A more respectful term that could be used especially to a woman who has been of help as Isabella has been is *miyo* (mother, usually matronly in nature).The negative connotations that the artist has used in reference to Isabella overshadow her good deeds making the listener to concentrate more on her weaknesses than her strengths.

8.4 Illustrating the cognitive processes in the creation of metaphors in Dholuo Benga music

The metaphor Isabella is a baboon is explainable in terms of direct projection from the source domain of baboon to the target of woman (Isabella) guided by a series of fixed counterpart mappings. 'Isabella maps onto baboon,' 'human being onto animal,' 'interacting with patients onto interacting with others,' 'treating and curing patients onto grooming and searching for food,' 'cures a variety of ailments onto lives in a variety of habitats,' 'displeasing behaviour onto displeasing appearance,' 'establishing relationships with patients onto establishing relationships with members of a troop,' 'destroys life onto destroys crops' and uses verbal and non verbal symbols onto uses sounds and non verbal symbols.'

The fixed counterpart mappings could be presented in the following summary:

9. CONCLUSION

Women are socialized to depend on men not only for provision of necessities but also for protection. This socialization places them at a disadvantaged position because they are regarded as the weaker sex. Through *Isabella nyar Asego* (Isabella daughter of the people of Asego), women fight back the social injustices meted on them. They want to liberate themselves from the chains of subjugation and prove to the society that they can perform tasks that the society has bestowed upon the men better than the men themselves.

Since women are conservatively constructed in traditional ways by men, Isabella's ability to heal the musician after people had lost hope not only bewilders the musician and the male folk alike but also makes them fearful of her. To counteract her prowess, the male musician refers to her as a witch because he does not want to believe that a second class citizen has the ability to undertake what first class citizens cannot. Isabella is an example of how women fight to survive in a male dominated society moreover, she is a front runner in female liberation.

Linguistic sexism and gender stereotyping therefore have far reaching effects on both genders hence the need to change language from its discriminative status to an all inclusive one so that individuals are accorded equal opportunities and consideration regardless of their gender. This can be achieved by embracing social change and improving the status of women as dignified and respectable members of the society.

There are certain limitations to this study which require future exploration. The songs that provided data for this research are compositions of one Benga artist. Since there were no explorations of compositions by other artists, the generality of our findings are limited. It is therefore crucial that further studies are conducted to explore the portrayal of masculinity and feminity by other Luo Benga artists so that the conclusions are supported by more profound evidence from a variety of sources.

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