

**A COGNITIVE SEMANTIC ANALYSIS OF METAPHORS AND METONYMS: A
CASE STUDY OF GIKUYU “NGURARIO” CEREMONY.**

**BY
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DECLARATION

This research project is my original work and has not been presented for examination in any other university

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DEDICATION

I dedicate this research to,

My beloved husband, Mr. Solomon Wachira. Thank you for your sincere prayers, support and encouragement.

My dear sons, Immanuel Wambugu and Solomon Waigi: thank you for always understanding when I was not always there for you. You are my greatest driving force.

My dear parents, Mr and Mrs Waigi and Mrs. Esther Wambugu: your prayers keep me going. May the Almighty God bless you with long life.

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ABSTRACT

This study looks at language used in the Ngurario ceremony and specifically looks at the two figures of speech that is, metaphors and metonyms in regard to cognitive semantics by use of frames theory. Metaphors involve a stand for or representation of one entity to another while metonyms are basically referential. The objectives of this study were: To identify metaphors and metonyms in the Gikuyu Ngurario ceremonies, to classify the metaphors and metonyms and to find out the cultural reasons for using metaphors and metonyms. Metaphors and metonyms are pervasive in everyday life and their meanings can be developed from the mind. There are reasons why communities decide to use them for examples, cultural reasons. The data for this study was collected from the Ngurario ceremonies in the Kiambu County. The process of data collection involved the researcher attending a Ngurario ceremony and also using media, that is watching a program in Kameme TV called “Thandi cia Wendo”. Metaphors and metonyms were identified and classified as follows: Characteristics of the bride and the bridegroom, symbolism, behavior, human characteristics e.t.c. Data was analyzed by use of frames which were being evoked from the utterances spoken and produced. The study also established that culture is a web that has been created by man so as to fit him on how he should act, behave and relate with others, thus identified the cultural reasons for using metaphors and metonyms in the Ngurario ceremonies. The cultural reasons identified were: Cultural attitudes towards gender names, religious cultural practice, farming culture and euphemism among others. The findings of the study show that the Ngurario ceremony is highly metonymical and metaphorical. They also show that the shared cultural practices among the Kikuyu community contributes highly in the usage of the two figures of speech and that there can never be a Ngurario ceremony without them. These findings are presented in the last chapter, chapter 5, together with recommendations for further study.

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CHAPTER ONE

1.1 Introduction

“*Ngurario*” ceremony among the Gikuyu community is an important part of marriage as it makes it legal and also it is through the ceremony that one is made a fully-fledged elder in the community. In a woman’s life the ceremony is only done once. It is because of this importance that the language used in such occasions is one that is thought of and well-reasoned. Not everyone contributes or talks in such ceremonies only the chosen few. They use proverbs, sayings, metaphors, metonyms e. t. c.

This study looks at the cognitive semantic analysis of metaphors and metonyms in “*Ngurario*” ceremonies. The central claim is that meaning of metaphors and metonyms are in the mind. It is only through our encyclopedic knowledge that we will be able to get the meaning.

This chapter is divided into: the introduction, background information, statement of research problem, research questions, objectives of study, justification, scope and limitation of the study, definition of concepts, theoretical framework, literature review, methodology and significance of the study.

1.2 Background to the Language of Study

According to encyclopedia Britannica, the Kikuyus are also called Gikuyu pronounced as Gekoyo. There are about 6.6 million people according to 2009 census who speak the language. The Gikuyu people originated from Niger in the Congo forest and it is because of this that their cultural background is the same and can be traced.

The Gikuyu people are mostly farmers and business people. It is not a wonder that when they migrated from Congo forest they settled in the highlands near Mt. Kenya. Kikuyu’s are found in most major cities of Kenya and the world as a whole.

Gikuyu’s have also intermarried with different communities and thus we can say Gikuyu’s are everywhere. However, they can all be traced back to the central part of Kenya. The central part of Kenya is divided into five counties, The Kenyan-Constitution (2010). They are Kiambu, Nyeri, Murang’a, Kirinyaga and Nyandarua. In these counties, several dialects are found. Ethnologue Thompson (2014) classifies the Gikuyu community into five major dialects they are: Southern Gikuyu, (Kiambu and southern (Murang’a); Ndia (Southern

Kirinyaga); Gichugu (Northern Kirinyaga); Mathira (Karatina) and Northern Gikuyu (Northern Murang'a and Nyeri)

Muhan (1983) has classified Gikuyu language under zone E (E-50) under the central Kenya bantu and assigns it the language code 51.

Other scholars who have tried to classify Gikuyu dialects include Karega (1977), Gitau (2012), Gathogo (2013) who classifies them into 5 dialects.

Ngure (2005:1) argues that it is a difficult phenomenon to try and classify Gikuyu language into dialects as linguistics has never come to a consensus. This is the view that has been supported by this research and thus for the sake of the current research. The researcher will use The Kenyan constitution of Kenya (2010) which classifies it into counties.

The current study will narrow down to wedding ceremonies in Kiambu County where the researcher hails from.

Another reason is that through the counties share the same language there is a subtle difference on how they carry on with the ceremony.

1.2.1 Background of the Study

The study looks at cognitive semantic analysis of metaphors and metonymy. It digs deeper into identification, classification and meaning of metaphors and metonyms. This however will be narrowed down to Kikuyu "*Ngurario*" ceremonies. The study also classifies metaphors and metonyms into various cultural themes so as to get the cultural reasons why we use metaphors and metonyms through encyclopedic knowledge. The study will apply the Fillmore Frame theory. There are many classifications of metaphors. Eckard (2005) categories them as follows: according to structure, according to pragmatics, according to meaning and according to cognitive functions. This research has been narrowed down to the last classification according to cognitive function also suggested by the scholars George Lakoff and Mark Johnson.

Lakoff (1993) and Johnson (1987) say "Metaphor is pervasive and essential in language and thought". To them metaphors are found everywhere; they are spread and most of our day to day activities and words used are metaphorical. It is not just about labeling but also a way of thinking. The importance of using metaphors is knowing and having experience of something in terms of another domain. The so used metaphors can reflect how members of a community think because of their way of life, their experiences and how they understand each other.

Both metaphors and metonyms are systematic. If one wants to get the meaning, it is because of this that there is the source domain and the target domains. The source domain is a domain from where humans get the expressions while the target domain is what is to be understood as people get the meanings of metaphors and metonyms.

Both metaphors and metonyms share characteristics and the only difference is that metaphors have external targets while metonymy have internal targets. They both help to understand an idea in terms of another idea. Deignan (2005:69) supports this fact by noting that metaphors and metonyms have a continuum, they flow into each other depending on the surroundings and sometimes it becomes hard to make a distinction between the two when analyzing.

Metaphors and metonyms construct human thinking, thus also determines how humans look at things, how they behave and how the humans view the world.

Metaphors and metonyms are culturally based. And because culture is the society's way of life it involves more than historical, geographical and social activities. It is more of manner of living what is important in life; how people view life, accepting what is true and what has been passed from one generation to the other.

The research will use the Fillmore frame theory which was propounded by Fillmore (1977). He says that the meaning of the word is made possible by the encyclopedic knowledge of the same.

In his theory Fillmore looked at the environment surrounding a word, its frames, prototypes and how a person's utterance affects another person's world view.

This study will also borrow from Kovecses work. In Kovecses (2002:4) he comments on Lakoff's issue of "conceptual domain A and conceptual domain B". Thus, source and target domain respectively. To him what cannot be seen or touched is the target domain while vice versa is the source domain. Example, in Gikuyu "*Ngurario*" ceremony the bride is referred to as "*mburi*" (goat). This is because of the characteristics of the goat that is meekness, can be sold, known to follow each other etc. The target is the bride who is believed to share similar characteristics with the goat. The statement that the bride is a goat is metaphorical. The goat is the source because it is used to understand bride.

To successfully carry out the research data will be collected. The study will use Gikuyu Language. It is for this reason that data collected should be in Kikuyu. Weddings are common and an integral part for Kikuyus and one who has not undergone the ceremony is deemed as missing a link and it is because of this that the research will cut across board all the dialects of

the Gikuyu people majority in Kiambu County. The research will not be based on a single dialect but several selected ones.

Three wedding ceremonies will be recorded, transcribed and translated into English. The researcher will also use participatory observation. This together with other methods like interviews, internet, journals and books will enable a successful research.

1.3 Statement of the Research Problem

Many studies have been done on identification, giving meaning of metaphors and metonyms used by Kikuyu speakers during their various ceremonies which include: weddings, burials and other social gatherings.

This study is based on the assumption that there are cultural reasons why speakers decide to use certain statements and words and how they contribute to society's activities and ensure the smooth running.

As such people have failed to put into account why we use metaphors and metonymy.

It is because of this that there is a need to identify different metaphors and metonyms in Gikuyu "*Ngurario*" ceremony, their meanings, their classifications, when and why they are used and why they are able to achieve their objectives.

1.4 Research Objectives

The following were the objectives of the study:

1. To identify metaphors and metonyms used in Gikuyu "*Ngurario*" ceremonies and give them their meanings.
2. To classify metaphors and metonyms in "*Ngurario*" ceremonies.
3. To find out the cultural reasons why metonyms and metaphors are used in kikuyu wedding ceremonies.

1.5 Research Questions

1. What metaphors and metonyms are used in "*Ngurario*" ceremonies and what are their meanings?
2. How are metaphors and metonyms in "*Ngurario*" ceremony classified?
3. What are the cultural reasons metaphors and metonyms as used during "*Ngurario*" ceremony?

1.6 Rationale of the Study/ Justification

The main reason for carrying out any research is to verify how true or false a theory is against data collected and to fill an existing gap. Okombo(1986:10) agrees with this notion .He says that when one studies a language using any theory ,the theory used can be said to be true or false. It is because of this that that the researcher has carried a research on metaphors and metonyms by using Frames theory so as to fill the gap that exists in the cognitive study of metaphors and metonyms in “*Ngurario*” ceremonies.

The study on metaphors and metonyms in Gikuyu “*Ngurario*” ceremony will be of great importance to scholars in future who decide to use either Gikuyu or any other language. Because metaphors and metonyms are part of life, found everywhere and those learning the language will be able to get the meaning of metaphors and metonyms. It will also act as a foundation for future studies.

1.7 Scope and Limitation of the Study

Ungerer and Smith (1997) have done a thorough investigation on metaphors and metonyms and concluded that the two terms are very crucial items in the understanding of what cannot be seen. It is because of this that metaphors are widely used in many Gikuyu ceremonies example burial, naming ceremonies, wedding ceremonies, initiation ceremonies e.t.c. This study has narrowed down to “*Ngurario*” ceremonies.

Many sense relations have been studied they include: hyponymy, antonyms, synonymy, metaphors, polysemy and others. For example, Mugu (2016) looked at antonyms by use of Fillmore frame theory, Njoroge(2017)studied synonyms of the Muranga dialect using cognitive semantics approach. However, this study analysis sense relation of metaphors and metonyms. Metaphors and metonyms are described within the Fillmore frame theory even though there are other theories available like relevance theory and conceptual metaphor theory. The researcher will use frames to identify the meaning of metaphors and metonyms.

For the purpose of this study, the researcher shall not consider dialects but the Gikuyu language as a whole specifically from Kiambu County. This is because culture is classified according to communities. Furthermore, it will help the researcher to get information easily without having to consider narrowing to dialects in collecting the data.

Data will be collected from three sampled wedding ceremonies from Kiambu County as representatives of the five counties of Gikuyu community. This is because each county does the ceremony with a slight difference.

1.8 Definition of Concepts

Metaphor: Products that are linguistic and can be “described, discussed and evaluated” as a way of exploring how people think about their world. Schon (1979).

Metonymy: Substitution of part or whole based on close association.

Cognition: A term related to thoughts or what is in the mind.

Frames: Part of what is in encyclopedic knowledge.

Coding: To organize data into categories for easy analysis.

Cognitive Semantics: Branch of cognitive linguistics, looks at what is in the mind to get the meaning.

Encyclopedic knowledge – information that is in the mind and is got from experiences and surroundings.

Native speaker: A person who speaks a certain language as his first language.

Domains: What is in the mind, what the mind goes through, represents concepts Langacker (1987)

1.9 Literature Review

In this section the researcher will cite studies that are closely related to the current study which is cognitive analysis of metaphors and metonyms. The literature review section is divided into two sub-sections namely: Literature review on the Gikuyu language and Literature review on metaphors and metonyms.

1.9.1 Literature Review Based on the Gikuyu Language

Different scholars have done various studies on Gikuyu language they include the following:

Kariuki (2017) looked at semantic analysis of Gikuyu metonyms and their meanings in the Gikuyu language. He uses the frame semantic approach. His study is very much related to the current study and so will provide in-depth understanding of metonyms and also the theoretical framework. However, he has not specified any social events like weddings and burial ceremonies thus paving a way for the current research.

Mugu (2016) did a study on antonyms in the Gikuyu language. He used a cognitive semantic approach which makes it related to the current study. He looks at various antonyms beyond the lexical level, their classification and the mind processes involved in the cognition of antonyms. In his research he found that using traditional analysis was not sufficient to explain the choices made by a speaker or hearer for using antonyms. He opted for cognitive approach which looked at context provided by culture, human's knowledge and experiences for using antonyms. Mugu's research will be important in the current study because it used Fillmore frame theory in explaining antonyms while the current study will use the same theoretical framework to explain metaphors and metonyms.

Njuguna (2010) examined how stereotyping is expressed through various figurative language in Gikuyu. She looks at how a speaker chooses a certain expression and not another and it is the work of the hearer to interpret the meaning. She uses a pragmatic approach using lexical pragmatic theory. This theory tries to explain how a person's mind operates in order to get the meaning intended by the speaker. Her study will be of help in this research since metaphors and metonyms are part of the figurative language and to interpret them we need cognitive processes together with our experiences. It will also provide an input into the language of research which is Gikuyu language.

Njeri (2007) explores language use of Gikuyu lexical euphemism in HIV/AIDs discourse. She uses Brown and Levinson (1987) politeness theory together with Grice (1979) theory of implicature. She tries to establish whether the language used to talk about HIV/ AIDs is politely communicated and whether it achieves its purpose. Though not directly related to the current study it gives an input into the use of the Gikuyu language being the language of use.

Njoroge (2017) studies synonyms of the Murang'a dialect in the Gikuyu language. She identifies various synonyms and how their meanings are identified. She analyses the data using the frame semantics theory and cognitive linguistics theory. This study is closely related to the current study which will use the frame theory for the analysis of the data. It is because of this that this study is very important as it offers a deep understanding of the theoretical framework and also of cognitive semantics.

Njoroge (2014) discussed the relationship between the formal interpretation of euphemism and taboo words. He also looked at the context in which these taboo words are used. He further explored the functions of euphemisms and taboo words in the Gikuyu language. In the study, the politeness theory by Brown and Levinson (1987) was used. The current work will

benefit from his work in that She has used the issue of context and meaning. Though not directly related, context is an important part in the current study because context is one of the basic tenets of the frame semantics.

Wachera (2015) analyzed proverbs used by women. She uses the cognitive semantic theory as expounded by Croft and Cruise (2004). She looked at the meaning of proverbs, how they form themes, classified them according to the physical attributes of women, their functions in society and how the society views them. This study will be of help because it uses the cognitive theory which is the core theory of the research. Though some subtle differences on the scholars in that it uses Croft and Cruise while the current theory uses the frame theory of Fillmore, it will offer enough background knowledge on the research.

Munyu (2016) investigated how idiomatic expressions are interpreted and how important they are in giving out the intended meaning. The research has used the conceptual metaphor theory. The research also used electronic media as a method of data collection. It is because of this that the research will be of immense help to the current study. The theory will also assist to understand metaphors better.

Other scholars have carried research on the Gikuyu language though none has looked at the Cognitive Semantic analysis of metaphors and metonyms especially in wedding ceremonies. These scholars include: Mainge (2009) who analyzed selected songs of Joseph Kimaru using the new Gricean theory by Laurence Horn, Njagi (2013) who investigated power relations of proverbs in Kiambu using the critical discourse analysis theory (CDA), Nguti (2013) who compared use of euphemism in Kikamba and Kiswahili.

1.9.2 Literature Review on Metaphors and Metonyms

Researches on metaphors and metonyms have been done since classical times of Aristotle up to the present day. The following are some of the scholars who have commented on metaphors. Though there are many, the selection has been done on those related to the current study.

Aristotle (1954) looked at metaphor .To him metaphor is “an enigma that reveals a likeness”. It needs to be unraveled by the mind and so the need for theories likes Fillmore Frame to assist in getting the meaning.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argued that metaphors are in the mind and not in the words we speak. They are based on ideas of mental concepts.

Lakoff (1993:203) brings into perspective the idea of cross domain mapping in the mind. This means that, we also view one domain in terms of another one. This study will be of great help when looking at metaphors and metonyms in Gikuyu wedding ceremonies. It will not just be looking at a layman's meaning of a word but will look at it in terms of conceptualized domain.

Kovesces (2002) looked at what is a conceptual metaphor. He came up with a formula in which "the conceptual domain (A) is the conceptual domain (B)". In his study he supported Lakoff's idea of the source and target domains. He says that the source domain is what assists us to get the meaning to the target domain. To him the whole concept is systematic meaning that the mapping is from source to target domains and not the other way round.

His study will be of great help in this work because it will assist in getting the meaning of metaphors in a well-coordinated way. It enables knowing which one is target and source domain and the reasons why one decides to use a certain metaphor and not any other.

Musolff (1993) examined how to comprehend a metaphor. In order to do this there has to be a relationship between a world of experience, culture, and the knowledge of the metaphor used.

Wei (2001) used the Cognitive approach by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1978, 1982). In his study he examined conceptual metaphors in relation to people's way of life and its worldwide usage. To get the meaning of metaphors will be based on people's experiences, and peoples' cultural orientation. Every community has its own unique way of life; it is because of this uniqueness that our view of the environmental dictates which metaphors to use.

Wei's study will be of importance to the researcher because it will offer a strong platform to the identification of cultural and linguistic reasons for the formation; and use of metaphors.

Langacker (1987) noted that one of the major tenets of meaning of thought is that our way of communication does not have a separate inborn section in the mind. However it is rooted in what humans go through either through our way of life or by contact. It involves the background information. This study will be of help to the researcher. It will be used when identifying metaphors and metonyms and why they are used.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) identified three classifications of metaphors:- they included (a) ontological metaphors, these are metaphors that look at non things as living things. Examples of non-things are abstract nouns like love and peace.

(b) Structural metaphors in this kind of metaphor a concept is built in terms of another, Chandler (2007) gives an example of “time is resource”. Time is taken as a resource. In structural metaphors a thing that cannot be seen is shown as one that can be touched and seen.

(c) Orientational metaphor

Chandler (2007) explained that these types of metaphors are related to space. Example up-down, near-far, shallow-deep etc. for example during a wedding ceremony a person may say “I have fallen in Love” – This is related to the up and down space.

The above classification will be of importance to this study as it will help in classifying metaphors.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:39) classified metonyms into three categories:-

a) According to one who uses something like” The chicken want to go home”

The chicken in this case can be used to represent a person who has eaten chicken, or one who rears them.

b) According to one who produces a product example, Judy owns the bread.

In this case Judy metonymically is seen as the one who bakes the bread.

c) According to one who controls an activity, example Kamau killed the economy.

In this case, Kamau is not the one who did it but he is the leader or advisor of a group of experts whom he gives orders to

The three categories involve substitution, it is important because it will assist the researcher in classifying the metonyms used in “*Ngurario*” ceremonies.

Crystal (2003; 291) looks at metonymy as a figure of speech in which name of a whole is used in place of a part. An example in “*Ngurario*” ceremonies among the Gikuyu the word “*Nyumba itu*” our house is used to refer to a family of either the two concerned parties.

Cameron (2003:12) defines metaphor as a ‘linguistic expression consisting of the focus placed within its immediate frame’. This definition will be important to the current study because we will be using frames to get the meaning of metaphors.

Goossens (2003) analyzed the interaction between metaphors and metonyms and called it metaphonymy. He identified two ways of interaction which he called metaphor from metonymy and metonymy within metaphor. This two ways of interaction will be important to our current study in that when classifying the metaphors and metonymy the researcher will use metaphonymy as a category.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) human beings are unique. They have physical characteristics. It is because of this that they see themselves as having an inside world and an outside world that is represented by the world around it. This uniqueness enables them to give characteristics to those abstract or inside world objects and give them boundaries. Example is, How did you get into teaching profession. In this case the teaching profession is viewed as a container. This observation is of help in the current study because it will assist in identifying metaphors and their meanings by what is inside the background knowledge.

1.10 Theoretical Framework

This section is divided into two: Cognitive semantic theory and Fillmore frame theory.

1.10.1 Cognitive Semantic Theory

Cognitive semantics is an approach that began in the 1970's. It looks at the mind and its connection with what humans go through and their ways of life. The pioneers include Leonard Talmy, Langacker, Lakoff and Johnson etc.

Cognitive semantics is concerned with our thoughts as well as how those thoughts become meaning. It is based on the connection between experiences, cognition and means of communication. Talmy (2004:4) looks at cognitive semantics as being based on ideas and how they are organized in language.

Lakoff and Johnson (1987) are cognitive semanticists who are going to form the foundation of this study. They have put a number of tenets forward which are:

Firstly, they post that knowledge and understanding that is developed in the mind is because of the bodily experiences. This is from the fact that human beings have a way of viewing the world different from other species.

Secondly to them the meaning of a concept is the same as the meaning of what is in the mind. Meaning is psychological and it involves thinking how life is viewed, and organization of knowledge into schemas Lakoff (1987).

Thirdly, meaning associated with words is based on the background information. Linguistic units do not have well packed meanings as those people are able to read in the dictionaries but acts as guides to human understanding because encyclopedic knowledge is related to certain domains.

Cognitive semantics concerns itself with how humans interact with their knowledge of world as a whole.

Evans et al (2006:2) view cognitive linguistics as a school of linguistics that “investigates the relationships between human language, the mind and social physical experiences”.

Koops (2000) mentions that cognitive linguistics has the function of explaining how our brains behave when it is fed with an expression which does not have a direct relationship with the world. To the linguists there is a connection of mental tools which get connected like internet networks. This connection categorizes the information into what is seen and unseen. This expressions include metaphors, metonyms, antonyms etc.

In conclusion cognitive researchers go far above looking at a mere word and look at meaning beyond the language. This can only be done if background information which is determined by frames is taken into account.

1.10.2 Fillmore Frame Theory

Various theories have been used on metaphors and metonyms and thus leading to more understanding of the terms metaphors and metonyms. Some of these theories include; Sperber and Wilson’s (1993, 1995) Relevance Theory who concentrated on mental processing of the target and source domains, Turner and Fauconniers (1994, 1995) theory of conceptual blending and Fillmore Frame Theory (1977).

This research is based on Fillmore Frame Theory (1977). It is based on the relationship between meanings of lexical items in relation to the encyclopedia knowledge. This theory is an improvement to his early works of assigning functions to verbs that is the subjective objective and genitive cases and also the participants like agent, theme, path and goal. In the theory he drew a line between a lexical item and the evoked cues by a word.

The theory will provide a background on how to find meaning of metaphors and metonyms through the use of frames, prototypes, context and influence from others way of thought. It will also guide the researcher to identify the reasons why metaphors and metonyms are used especially, the concern of this research being “*Ngurario*” ceremonies among the Gikuyu community.

Fillmore’s Frame Theory is a theory that is referred to mostly by cognitive linguistics in their studies. The most basic principle of Fillmore theory (1977) is that “Meanings are relativized to scenes”. This is to say that to know the meaning of a word one has to have the

encyclopedic knowledge which he will use to interpret the lexical item at hand. Meaning is well understood because of what is in the mind of both the speaker and the hearer.

Fillmore theory offers meaning of metaphors and metonyms in terms of frames, thus offer solution to meaning of metaphors like ‘*Mburi*’ (gloss) goat which means a bride, ‘*Athoni*’ (gloss) not to do a shameful thing which means in-laws.

A frame is “a system of concepts” that have a relation meaning to understand either of them will require being conversant with them all. Fillmore (1982:111)

A frame is a part of encyclopedic knowledge and it does the following, First, it is only interested with a certain and selected part of the world example if it is a “*Ngurario*” ceremony, our background knowledge will be “scanned” and will organize all the data associated with it for example bride, joy, bridegroom, celebrations etc.

Secondly, it will provide what to expect and infer the word that is to be communicated or the action to be done for example in a “*Ngurario*” ceremony among the Gikuyu, there is the part of “*Gutinia Kiande*” gloss means to cut a scapula. In such a case it is expected that part of the front leg will be available, a knife and the bride and groom who will take part in cutting.

Lastly, the frame will only be associated with the chosen words in such occasions.

Nida (1975:137) supports this view in that when assigning the meaning of a word, all the encyclopedic knowledge should not be included but only that which is related to the word.

Mathew (2008:16) people are able to know frames as they interact with other people. Frames are determined by a person being conversant with the world and those things that are in it.

Example;

Diagram 1

| Word | Frames |
|---------------------|--|
| a) School | Books, Teacher, Student, Uniform |
| b) Wedding ceremony | Bride, groom, flowers, foods, people |
| c) Hospital | Patient, nurse, doctor, medicines |
| d) Bandage | Wound, pain, injury |
| e) Burial | Coffin, Hearse, dark clothes, sad mood |

Relating this idea of frames to metaphors and metonyms a hearer will hear a metaphor or metonym; however, for him to understand it he must scan for the domains in which to understand it and all the related metaphors and metonyms. It is from this that the reason why the speaker will have used that metaphor or metonym will be understood. An example can come from “*Ngurario*” ceremony where the metaphor bride is being referred as a goat.

Elder A : *Kwi Mburi tuoka kugira*

Translation : We have come to take a goat.

In that case because of the context which is the real world situation, we are aware that it is a “*Ngurario*” ceremony and so the encyclopedic knowledge will be scanned and frame elements identified.

Thus, Diagram 2

| Word | Frames | Sub frames |
|-------------|---------------|------------------------------|
| Goat | Animal | Four legs, has fur, bleats |
| | Bride | Two legs, talks, has clothes |
| | Meek | Shy, ready to follow |

Elimination will be done, because the bride cannot be an animal in a wedding, and so bride remains. It is here that the two domains are identified with source domain being goat ‘*Mburi*’ and the target domain being the bride ‘*Muhiki*’.

Fillmore and Baker (2000) discussed an element of the frame as a recurring feature. Example in a wedding frame, which includes bride, bride groom, flowers and food. However the elements are not a must because it is possible to have a wedding ceremony without flowers or food. Frames can be replaced and leave gaps; frames can be adjusted, thus can be interpreted differently.

Minsky (1975) says a frame consists of elements whose importance changes under different contexts. The most important ones are prominently shown. He uses an example of a “cube” which can be rotated several times. This is done through profiling.

Langacker (1987) in order to understand a concept one has to scan the mental space. This is what is called profiling. To represent knowledge one uses profiling. Profiling is focusing

attention on a semantic word. What is not in focus is called the base. Example, the lexical word bride profiles a person involved in an activity in which the bride is to be married. The meaning of bride is understood in the surrounding of the marriage ceremony. The wedding ceremony is the base on which the involved, the bride, is profiled.

In order to understand a concept, it has to be thought as whole not a part. Both the whole and the part are put in a frame and the concept to be understood is interpreted with respect to the frame. However the whole and the part are said to profile different categories of the frames.

In a wedding ceremony one cannot imagine a wedding without a bride. The wedding and bride are part of the same frame, but they are profiled differently within the frames.

People sometimes may influence others way of thinking. This may be what a person believes in, what that person has gone through both in the present and in the past. A speaker may say something which will make the other person change his outlook of the world and the society at large.

When frames are put side by side with the issue of source and target domains, frames are used to capture the sub-domains so that a domain can have several sub-domains.

Diagram 3

| Main Domain | Sub-Domains |
|--------------------|------------------------------------|
| Marriage | Wedding, love, church, religion |
| Body | Digestion, exercise, co-ordination |

Evans and Tyler (2003:120) say the main reason for having frames is to act as a bridge between human beings thoughts and their experiences. This is because humans are able to reason and thus able to interpret these experiences.

Fillmore (1985) introduces the concepts ‘u semantics’ which is semantics of understanding. Its purpose is to identify what it involves for a hearer to interprets or know the meaning of uttered concept and the context that it fits. U- Semantics depends on how words are known for it to be interpreted.

In conclusion, using the Fillmore frame theoretical framework will assist the researcher in realizing the areas that need to be looked at. Secondly it is important in designing the research questions for the study. And finally it is important for analyzing the conclusions drawn from the research on cognitive semantic analysis of metaphors and metonyms.

1.11 Methodology

This section deals with data collection which includes the methods of data collection and data analysis.

1.11.1 Data Collection

The research is a case study of Gikuyu wedding ceremonies. Bearing this in mind, the Gikuyu community was the back bone of this study. According to the constitution of Kenya (2010) the Kenyan territory is divided into 47 counties. Of concern to this study is Central Kenya which is the ancestral home of the Kikuyus. Central Kenya is divided into five counties namely: Kiambu, Kirinyaga, Nyandarua, Nyeri and Murang'a.

However, data was limited to Kiambu County. Three wedding ceremonies were used representative of the Gikuyu community.

1.11.2 Methods of Data Collection

The researcher used participatory observation. She attended a "*Ngurario*" ceremony and with the permission from the bride and groom and all those concerned. The researcher video recorded the proceeding for later translation, transcription and analysis. This helped in identification of the metaphors and metonyms used. The advantage of this method is that the researcher was able to get firsthand information and also observe the non-verbal cues that the people involved used.

The researcher also used observation method. This involved watching a local TV station Kameme TV on a program called "*Thandi cia wendo*" three wedding ceremonies were recorded, for later translation and transcription so as to get metaphors and metonyms used. Bearing in mind the researcher is a native Kikuyu speaker it made it easier to translate.

Another method that was used by the researcher was use of interviews using purposive sampling. According to Marshall and Rossman (1999) in depth interviews assist to know the interviewees view on social activities of interests as he/she looks at it and not how the researcher looks at it. Eight people; four women and four men (to avoid gender bias) were chosen to assist the researcher in knowing the meaning of metaphors and metonyms and also the cultural reasons why they are used. The interviews involved oral-verbal questions and answers. Those identified were old men and women who had gone through the "*Ngurario*" ceremony thus had firsthand experience and also researcher was able to know their thoughts, how they feel and view the "*Ngurario*" ceremony. The interviewees were also native

speakers of Gikuyu language, born, raised and settled in Kikuyu Sub-County of Kiambu County. Thus their competency in Gikuyu language was high. The eight chosen for interviews also assisted the researcher in verifying the data collected.

1.11.3 Data Analysis

After identification of metaphors and metonyms, the researcher classified them into various themes bearing in mind Firth (1957:11-14) that the meaning of a lexical item is made possible by other words that surround it, that is the real situations in which it is used and it is because of this that background knowledge was useful .

The researcher also used intuitions bearing in mind that the researcher is a native Gikuyu speaker. This enabled getting first-hand information which was more natural. Later metaphors and metonyms were analyzed using the Fillmore frame theory where they were placed in their different frames. Answers from the eight interviewees were analyzed to come up with the meaning of metaphors and through the cultural themes the researcher was able to get the cultural reasons why they are used.

1.12 Conclusion

The above chapter looked at the background knowledge of the study and language. It also looked at the literature review in order to identify the gaps that have been left. Theoretical framework was also discussed so as to expound on the theory to be used for data analysis. Lastly data collection by use of participatory observation was stipulated together with data analysis by use of frames and researcher's intuitions. Scope and limitations were also highlighted.

CHAPTER 2

METAPHORS IN GIKUYU NGURARIO CEREMONY

2.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a brief definition of metaphors, different classifications of metaphors and their meanings. The chapter uses frames for in-depth interpretation of the metaphors, citing the different frame elements used.

This chapter will be divided into three sections as follows; section 2.2 will look at how to analyze metaphors by use of frames, section 2.3 will look at the different classifications of metaphors. Lastly, 2.4 will be the conclusion.

2.2 Metaphors and Frames

This research has the context of “*Ngurario*” ceremony. This will be analyzed according to the encyclopedic entries evoking a “*Ngurario*” frame as illustrated.

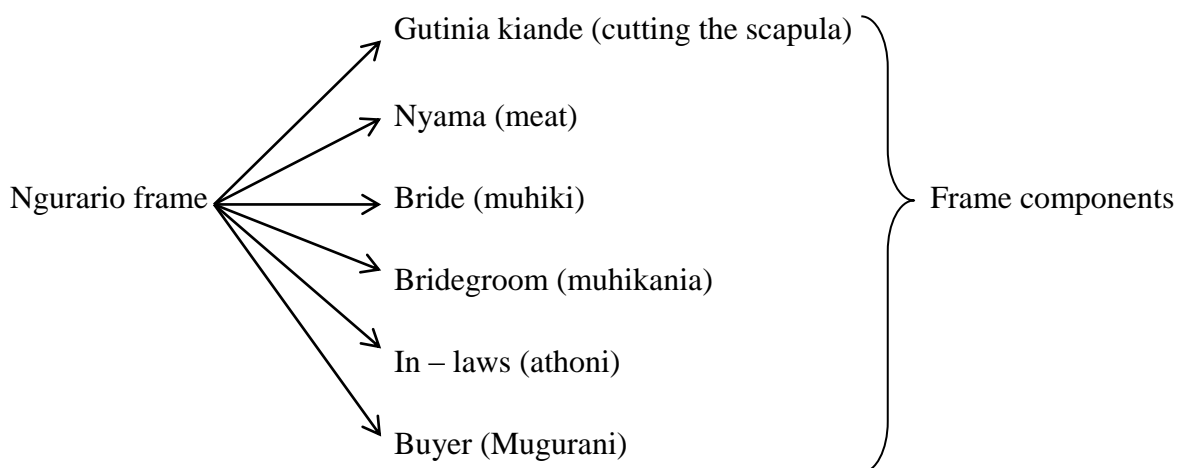


Figure 1: Ngurario frame

The frames evoked will open different frames that are triggered once a word is uttered and its possible frame elements identified. In frames certain members or elements are most representatives of the meaning thus what was referred in chapter one as profiling. This is supported by Cruise and Croft (2004:11) that a word can have more than one meaning however, the most appropriate one will depend on the context of usage, in this research it is the “*ngurario*” ceremony that is the overall frame. Each frame has sub-frames which can also become independent frames if analyzed further.

2.3 Classification of Metaphors

Metaphors have been studied for over 200 years as a discipline called rhetoric in ancient Greece. It was among one of the devices that was called tropes. Metaphors were given a lot of importance and it came to be known as master tropes.

The word metaphor is a coinage from the Greece word,

“*metaphora*” where “meta” means beyond

“phora” from “pheroin” means to carry.

Thus, it means to carry beyond. Etymologically it is a movement from one thing to another. Mcglone (2007; Palinka (2006)

In the frame of Ngunario ceremony the bride is characterized as follows;

1. *Mutumia niwe indo*

Wife is things

“Having a wife means having wealth”

In the above metaphor the bride is seen as an investment something that can bring gains to the family. It is a metaphor that puts monetary value as the most important thing and thus forms a base for guiding the society.

The wife is compared to wealth. The bride groom getting married is like getting wealthy. This is because the bride is supposed and expected to assist the husband in amassing a lot of wealth which is measured in terms of goats and herds of cattle. To a man getting married is seen as an investment. The groom acts as an adviser so that the bride or the wife can know and invest well. This leads to a successful marriage as well as a wealthy homestead.

Among the Gikuyu, children are valued as assets. Every married couple is expected to start having children immediately. A girl child is seen as an investment. She will get married and bring wealth to her family when she sires children. Getting married means getting children and so wealth this can happen if there is a wife to sire the children thus, the metaphor “*mutumia niwe indo*” wife is things.

Another characteristics of the bride is illustrated by the metaphor;

2. *Muhiki niatuika mutumia*

Bride has become a silent one

“The bride is expected to keep silent”

After marriage, the bridegroom and bride change their names to “*muthuri*” for bridegroom and “*mutumia*” for bride. The word “*mutumia*” means to keep silent; this will involve not telling or gossiping about marital problems that they may have in their marriage. The bride should always protect her family’s wellbeing, solve problems internally so that she becomes “*mutumia ngatha*” (beautiful and loving both inside and outside) .

Another metaphor which identifies characteristics of the bride is;

3. *Muhiki ni mweri*

The bride is the moon

“The bride is very beautiful”

In the above metaphor, the moon is seen only at night when it is dark. The moon shines. It is easily seen by the people because it is unique during that time. This is the same case with the bride during the “*Ngurario*” ceremony. She is shining and can be spotted easily among other women because she is adorned with beautiful traditional attire which is unique. Her beauty is like that of the moon.

The earth has only one moon; there is nothing or anything like it thus making it to have a unique characteristic. Sometimes it shines brightly at other times it is dull, crescent, half moon, full etc. the same case the bride is unique. The groom has chosen her among the many girls in the village. She has character traits that are unique and have pleased the bridegroom. The bride is conceptualized as the moon. The bride is also seen as something that can be worn. This is illustrated by;

4. *Muhikania riu niekira kiratu kiria gikumuigana*

The groom has put on a shoe that will fit him

The metaphorical expression in the sentence above is “*kiratu*” shoe, the bride is seen as a shoe that can be worn. The bridegroom is said to wear the right size of shoe that will not make him uncomfortable, not too big, and not too small. Metaphorically it means that the character traits of the bride that the bridegroom has chosen are accommodative. The groom and the bride can live and survive together like the feet and the shoe without the shoe without harming the feet and vice versa.

The bridegroom is advised that after the wedding ceremony, he should wear that shoe (the bride) without complaining because he is the one who choose it among many others that were available.

On hearing the word “muhiki” bride the immediate context, helps the hearer to open an appropriate frame. The word evokes frames from the encyclopedic knowledge across. For instance, when a hearer hears “muhiki” the hearer draws upon encyclopedic knowledge in relation to what “muhiki” means. The hearer then makes a meaning depending on the context of the utterance.

The following are possible frame components sub frame of the word bride which evokes the BRIDE FRAME.

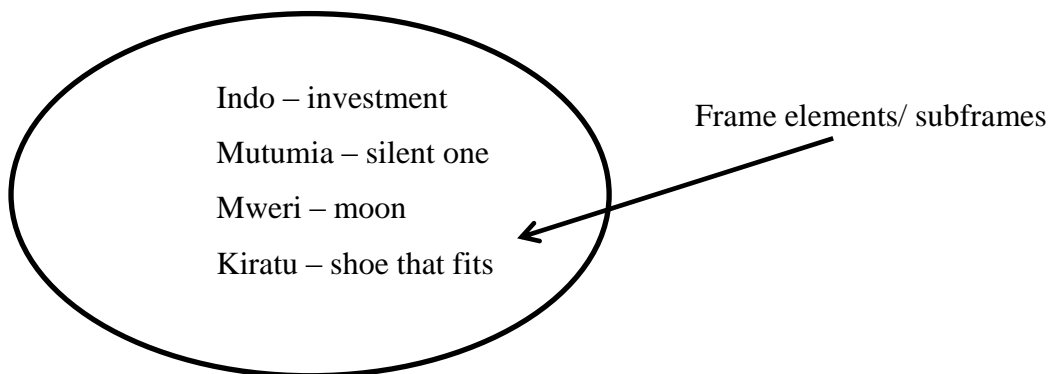


Figure 2: Bride frame

Metaphors can also be classified under real life experiences. These are metaphors that look at things generally as they occur in the society. Consider,

5. *Kihiko ni thabari*

Marriage is a journey

In this metaphor marriage is seen as a journey. In this journey there is a road to travel on. Sometimes the road will be rough, full of traffic and at other times it will be smooth. The travellers are the bride and the groom. The two have to begin this journey by having a first single step, when they find it rough they must persevere and when everything is smooth, they have to rejoice together.

The roughness and the obstacles they encounter will include; meddling relatives, villagers, lack of finances etc. the smoothness will include: children (they are considered very important in the Gikuyu community) lack of sickness etc.

In this journey they will have to win to having a successful marriage together, full of joy and happiness. When this metaphor is uttered the hearer will evoke the OBSTACLES FRAME so as to get the meaning. In this frame, there are sub-frames or components are illustrated;

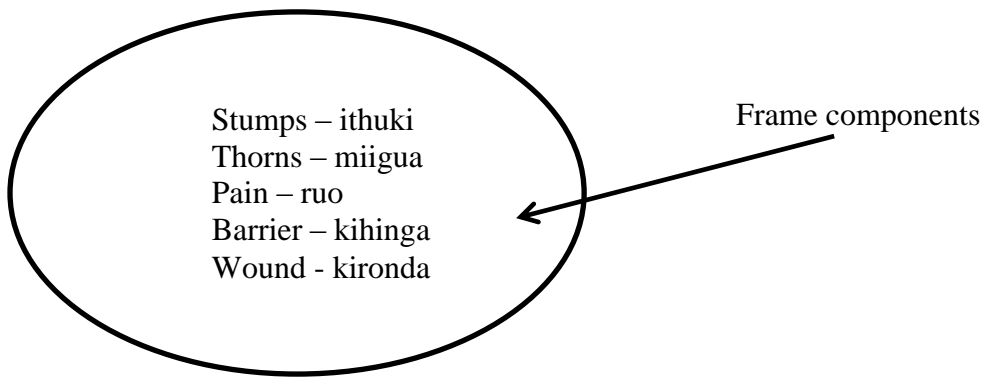


Figure 3: Obstacles Frame

6. *Mugucemania na miigua na ithuki kihiko-ini kianyu*

Meeting with horns and stumps in your marriage

“In marriage life both of you will encounter thorns and stumps”

This metaphor is said by the elders when giving speech to the bride and the bridegroom. In the layman’s language “*ithuki*” means the remains of a tree after it has been cut. When one is walking, he or she might stumble on them and fall, and sometimes get injured. Thorns on the other hand are sharp and painful when they prick and when someone steps on them there is pain and even blood coming out.

When a person wants to accomplish something in life or have same goal to accomplish that is to have a successful life after the wedding. They will encounter obstacles. These obstacles may be in form of arguments, different world views, influence from third parties etc.

However, the newlyweds are advised that all those are metaphorically called thorns and stumps and for them to have a successful marriage, they will have to overcome them. The above metaphor evokes in the hearers mind the JOURNEY FRAME as shown

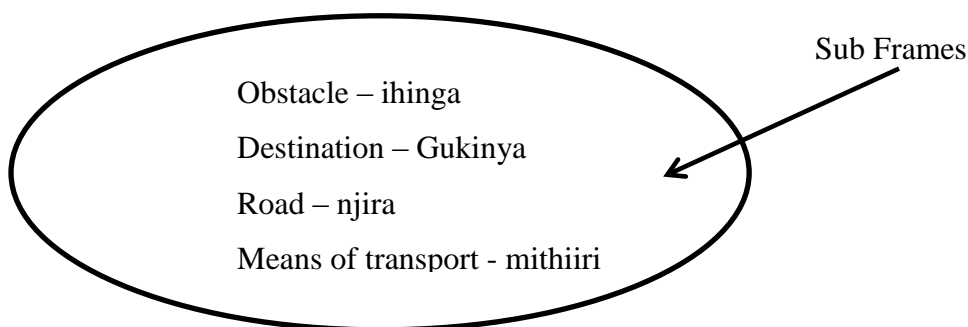


Figure 4: Journey Frame

Sometimes animal metaphors are used to refer to the bride as illustrated in the following metaphors;

7. *Muhiki ni mburi yake*

Bride is his goat

The Gikuyu are historically farmers; this is due to the fact that they settled in the highlands which are favorable for farming. They rear goats, sheep, cattle etc. Goats were animals which are treasured in the society and it is because of this that they are used as payment of bride price. The bride's worth is measured in terms of goats. Another reason for using goats during wedding ceremonies is because of the characteristics that are easily comparable to the bride. The above metaphor is based on resemblance; this resemblance is not physical but instead it is based on the people's way of life in knowing that the goat is humble, meek etc. by metaphorically saying the bride is a goat her qualities are associated with those of a goat which are meekness and humbleness.

When the metaphor is uttered the GOAT FRAME is evoked. This frame can only be evoked by someone who understands the culture of the Gikuyu community and the importance they place on goats.

Consider:-

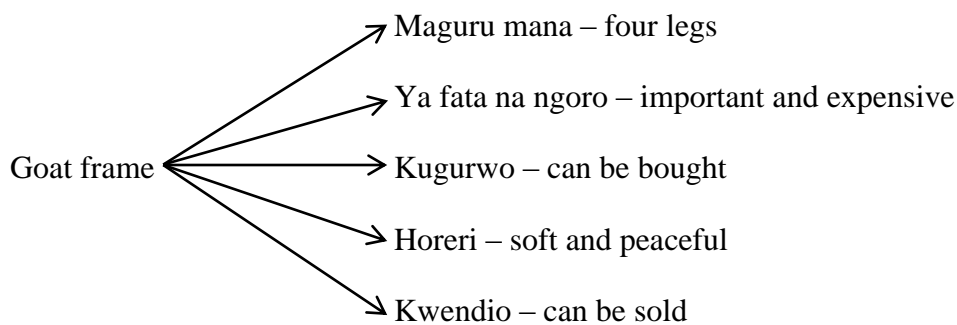


Figure 5: Goat Frame

When the word goat is mentioned in the context of a wedding ceremony, the hearer will open the encyclopedic entries of goat. It is from this entries that the hearer will realize that it is not the animal goat that is referred to but the bride.

Metaphors may also be classified as transactional. A transaction is an agreement between two parties on an item or a good to be sold. This category is supported by the following metaphors;

8. *Muhikania ni mugurani*

The bridegroom is the buyer.

In the above metaphor the bride is bought by payment of the bride price which is counted in form of goats. Among the Gikuyu community a woman was sold for 99 goats. This bride price is paid over a long period of time and it is during the “*ngurario*” that the groom is

given permission to own her .however, it should be noted that payment of bride price does not end. The bride becomes fully bought and is the property of the bridegroom.

9. Muhiki niagurwo

The bride has been bought

This shows a transaction where the bride is shown as an item that can be sold and the bridegroom is one who is in need of the item.

For a bride to qualify as bought, a ceremony has to take place, thus the “ *Ngurario* ” ceremony which is done in the open as the whole community is invited to witness that the bride has been fully bought. Bride price in form of goats is what is used as the value put on the bride.

When this transaction metaphors are uttered, “muhakania ni mugurani”, the bridegroom has bought and “muhiki niagurwo”. The bride has been bought. It evokes a TRANSACTION FRAME as shown below together with its sub-frames or elements.



Figure 6: Transaction Frame

During the *Ngurario* ceremony the bridegroom is characterized as follows;

10. Muthuri ngami

Husband Milker
 “Caretaker”

Among the Kikuyu community the husband is seen as a caretaker. He is supposed to take care of his family and ensure that the family lacks nothing. The husband is also expected to make sure that the cultural values in the home are well maintained for example: paying dowry for his wife, providing for his family etc.

Contextually, the bride is referred to as a goat and so the bridegroom becomes the caretaker of his goat. He is expected to know what is happening in his family from food that is eaten to clothes that are worn in that homestead. The man or bridegroom in the Kikuyu culture is representation of power, sign of continuity, security and a source of economic, political and social stability for the community.

When a hearer hears the word bridegroom “muhikania” several frames are opened which triggers the encyclopedic meaning of the word. One of the frames opened is the one that looks at the characteristics of the bride groom as illustrated below. It evokes THE BRIDEGROOM FRAME.

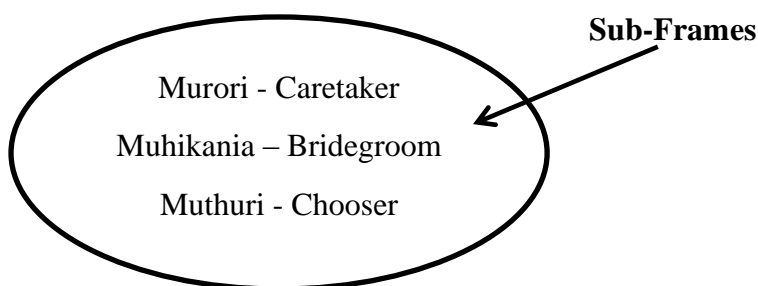


Figure 7: Bridegroom Frame

Metaphors can also be classified as behavioral metaphors. The Kikuyu community use metaphors in wedding ceremonies “*Ngurario*” in order to caution the wife on how she should behave in various situations. She is expected to be a role model and a mentor to others. The society judges her according to how she behaves thus behavioural metaphors. This is supported by the metaphors below.

11. *Muhiki ena smile njega*

The bride has a nice smile

Emotions of a person can be known by observing the facial expressions. A frowning face will show sadness, a sneering face will show disrespect and a smiling face will show happiness.

In the above metaphor, the bride is seen as having a nice smile; this is shown by the face specifically the mouth which smiles. This means that the bride is happy to be married. It is also an indication that it is the most important day in her life and so she has to be happy.

Culturally it is expected that the bride should smile to the visitors because she is –getting married and is also happy to see them all coming to witness. Her smile as also a reflection of how she will be welcoming visitors after she has settled in her new home.

12. Muhiki Niatuika Mutumia

Bride has become the silent one.

On this metaphor, we are guided by the Gikuyu traditions in that when one goes through “*Ngurario*”, the bride becomes a woman legally, she becomes a “*Mutumia*” someone who is to behave respectably, to listen to her family’s problems, try to solve them and do it amicably. For her to become a “*Mutumia*” it is shown by how she solves her problems within the family.

Her manner of talking, dressing also will be used to gauge her “*Utumia*” womanhood. A woman who has gone through the “*Ngurario*” ceremony is expected to talk and dress respectfully, not scantily dressed thus she becomes a “*mutumia*” woman. A woman in the Kikuyu society is judged by her character. Culture dictates how a woman is perceived by the society. Among the Kikuyus there is a belief that family issues about a home should not be disclosed, this is to protect a home from external factors which might lead to the destruction of the home.

When the above metaphors are uttered BEHAVIORAL FRAME is evoked by the behavior metaphors above. This frame has sub- frames as represented below:-

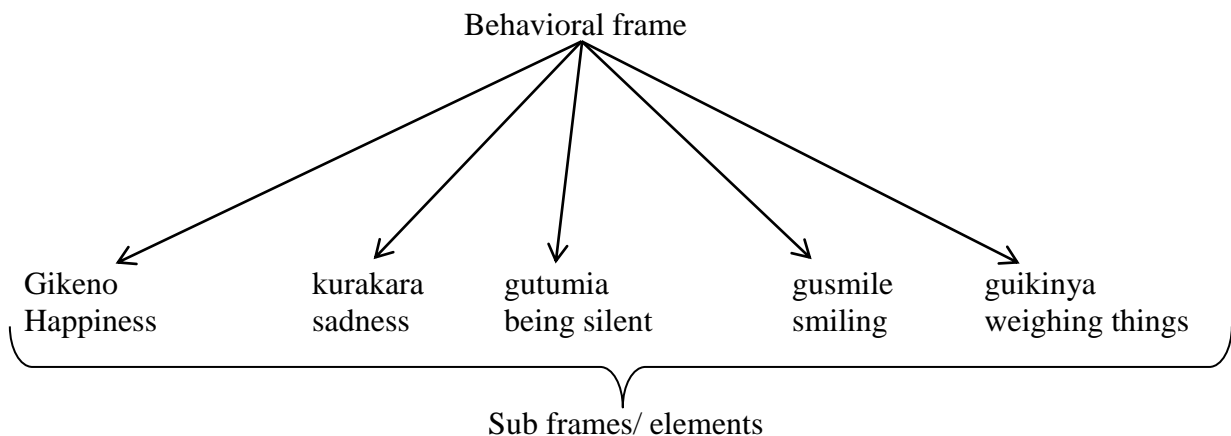


Figure 8: Behavioral Frame

Human body parts are close to people and so easily accessible to become source frames for understanding other things. It is because of this that they easily become frames for understanding other things making it an important category when classifying metaphors during *ngurario* ceremony as illustrated below;

13. *Muthuri ni nda*

Husband is stomach

The stomach is where most digestion takes place. Food is taken from the mouth to the stomach via the esophagus. Most of the nutrients are absorbed in the stomach and taken to the other parts of the other parts of the body for growth and other uses. For a human being to survive, he or she has to take food. A human being also needs to take food in order to be useful.

Metaphorically, stomach is compared to the husband in that for him to be productive, to act well as the head of the family. He has to be fed with physical, emotional and psychological food. This is equivalent to a balanced diet. When he is fed with those foods he is able to supply the required nutrients to other parts of the body that is the wife, children, and extended family thus creating a healthy and wealthy family that will be successful.

Some metaphors are ambiguous and can be interpreted using more than one meaning .An example is;

14. *Muhikania Riu Niekira Kiratu Kiria Gikimuigana*

The groom has put on a shoe that will fit him

As earlier noted this metaphor falls in to the category of the characteristics of bride evoking a BRIDE FRAME and also falls under the BODY PARTS FRAME as explained below;

Shoes are worn on the feet, for one to be able to walk without difficulties; he will have to wear a shoe that fits well. Not too big or too small. Depending on the shoe that one chooses will determine how comfortable the wearer will be. If he chooses a big shoe his feet will be small and not fit and if he chooses a small one, it will be too tight and even causes blisters and wounds.

Metaphorically the bride is compared to the shoe. She can be a good or a bad wife. She can be co-operative or not, submissive or a know it all. If she is of questionable character, the bridegroom is the one who will suffer because he chose her. When any body part is mentioned, different frames are opened in the hearer's encyclopedic knowledge.

In the above metaphors "*muthuri ni nda*", husband is stomach. *Muhikania riu niekira kiratu kiria gikumuigana*, the bridegroom has worn a shoe that fits. The BODY PART FRAME is evoked with its frame/sub frames as shown

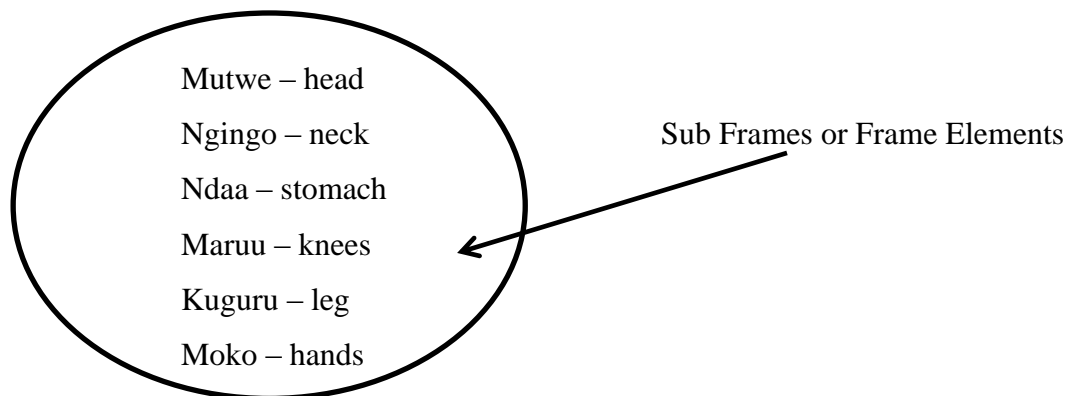


Figure 9: Body Part Frame

A good marriage is like a building that has been constructed. Building and construction involves soliciting for help from others. This help comes from friends, relatives’ etc. It also requires good planning by the parties involved. If what they plan to build is successful, they are happy in that their foundation was strong, and vice versa .During “Ngurario” ceremony the newlyweds are advised to have a marriage that has a strong foundation. This is done using the metaphors below;

15. *Gwaka ndugu*

Building friendship

In the above metaphor friendship is seen as a building. The two families i.e. the bride and the bridegroom, become the ones to build, they join their hands together so as to fulfill and satisfy the requirements of friendship. They build it block by block. Building metaphors involves a process of transference of conceptual domain of a building which is a physical entity to the conceptual domain of something that is abstract.

16. *Mwake mucii wina gikeno*

Build a home with happiness

Building a home involves using bricks, timber and iron sheets. What is built becomes a house. However, the above metaphor insinuates that a home can be built using happiness which is an emotion. This metaphor is uttered by an adviser when advising the newlyweds.

For one to build a building there has to be bricks, cement, water, tools and the person who is building. In the same case the two are advised that in order to build a happy home, the two have to be involved, love between them to cement the bricks, a role model to look up to, and where they feel their house is not strong. They should ask for reinforcement and in the end they will have a happy, successful marriage.

In the above metaphors CONSTRUCTION FRAME is evoked as illustrated below:

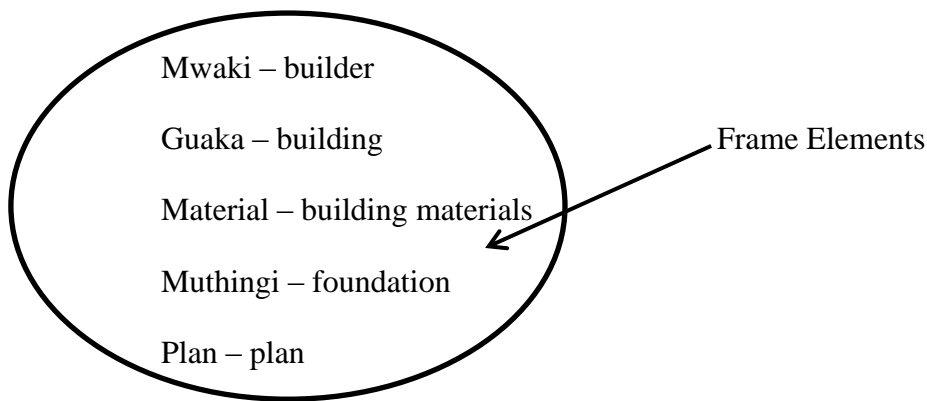


Figure 10: Building and Construction Frames

Another category of metaphors in ngurario ceremony is symbolic metaphors. This is where symbols are used to stand for something. Symbolic metaphors are also sometimes functional in nature. They have function that they play. The following are symbolic metaphors used in ngurario ceremony. This metaphors are mostly got from pieces of meat given to the bride and also the porridge given to the bridegroom to sip, Consider,

17. *Muhiki niaheywo Nyama ya ngegeto*

Give the bride meat immediately after the ribs

“*Nyama ya ngegeto*” is one of the many pieces of meat that are used during Ngurario ceremony. This part is given to the bride to eat. This is because it is believed that is the place the baby rests while in the mother’s womb.

18. *Nyama ya muhiki ni gichere kia higo*

Meat of the bride is part of the kidney

The kidney is an important part of the body. It removes waste products from the blood and regulates the water levels. When kidneys fail cleansing is necessary to save the victim by doing dialysis. This part is given to the bride as a representation of how the bride the bride should behave after getting married. She is expected to sieve what she hears and what she replies to. Just like the kidney the wife cleanses her family against external forces. These forces if not well cleansed lead to destruction of the family just like it will lead to failure of the kidneys.

If cleansing is not done regularly a lot of bad impurities will pile in the kidneys and even if cleansing is done later, it will not be efficient like before. Likewise if a woman is not able to correct and remedy problems in her family and marriage early enough, those affected will always remember what happened to them. For example if it is the children who misbehave in the society, the wife is informed but instead of correcting the child she keeps quiet, later on

the child might even rob and kill. Even when the woman tries to correct the child it will already be late.

19. Ndugatahie ucuru hen ihii, na wiinainie ihii/ makumburu

Do not serve porridge if there are uncircumcised boys; shake the mixture to make it smooth.

This small ceremony happens at the end of the whole ceremony, whereby the bride is supposed to give a sip of porridge “*ucuru wa ugimbi*” (sour millet and sorghum to the groom.) The porridge was made of millet and sorghum which according to the Gikuyu community was good and nutritious food. Porridge is also easy to swallow and does not require a lot of chewing. Metaphorically, the bride is symbolically urged to feed the husband nutritious, good, and easy to swallow food so that he does not choke.

When the groom is sipping the porridge there is a lot of persuasion and metaphorically it means the bride should always submit to the husband while offering him something to feed on and show respect and that the groom becomes the first born child in that family. He is to be treated and served like a child. When the bride is serving porridge, she is advised not to do it in the presence of young boys. This is because, every time she is serving she will be required to bend and young boys are not supposed to see the thighs of the bride which is considered a taboo.

Another meaning for “*ihii*” is the unsmoothed flour found in the porridge. When serving, the bride is expected to shake the gourd very well so that the unsmoothed flour will break and smoothen to have same consistency.. This symbolically means that the bridegroom should always be given soft, smooth food so as not to choke.

Various different frames are evoked when a hearer hears symbolic metaphors. The hearer will scan the encyclopedic knowledge so as to get the intended meaning considering the context.

In the metaphors “*Nyama ya ngegeto*” (Meat immediately after the ribs) And “*gichere kia higo*” Part of a kidney INTERNAL BODY PARTS FRAME is evoked when uttered

Below is the internal body parts frame together with its elements.

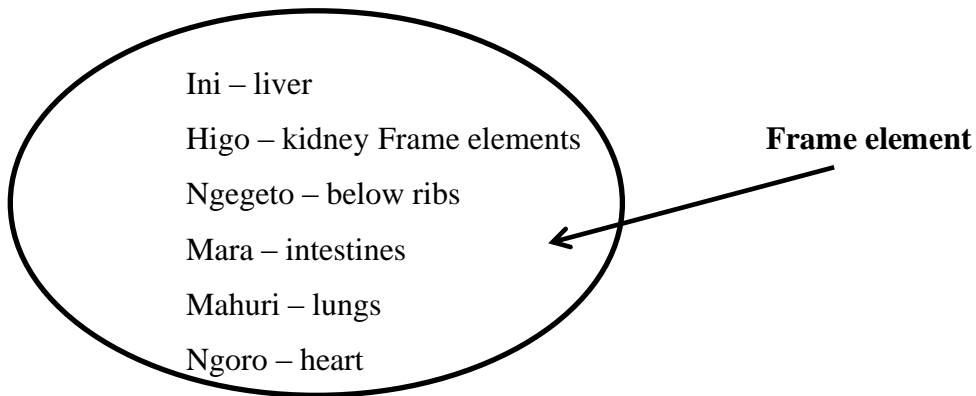


Figure 11: Internal Body Parts

The environment of a certain community dictates the kind of language to use. People will use language based on the climatic changes that happen in their community. The metaphors used in such situations will be based on natural phenomenon. During the night there is condensation of the air that accumulated in the atmosphere throughout the day. When it goes cold, it cools leading to the formation of fog. This fog leads in invisibility because it blocks light from reaching the earth’s surface. This is illustrated using the following metaphors;

20. Tuguite guku ta mbaa

We have fallen here like fog

During “Ngurario” ceremony, many people from all walks of life are invited so as to witness as the two became officially husband and wife. Those invited include those from brides home, bridegroom’s side and friends. They all come in numbers with their children. The metaphor is used in such cases where one observes and comments that they have fallen like the fog (in large numbers)

The environment may it be physical or naturally oriented helps to shape the language in its vocabulary, meanings and also its metaphors. Human beings living in a certain geographical area will subconsciously make use of that habitat so as to create and understand metaphors and thus are able to create their own universe.

When this metaphor is uttered, the ENVIRONMENT FRAME is evoked. It entails the following:

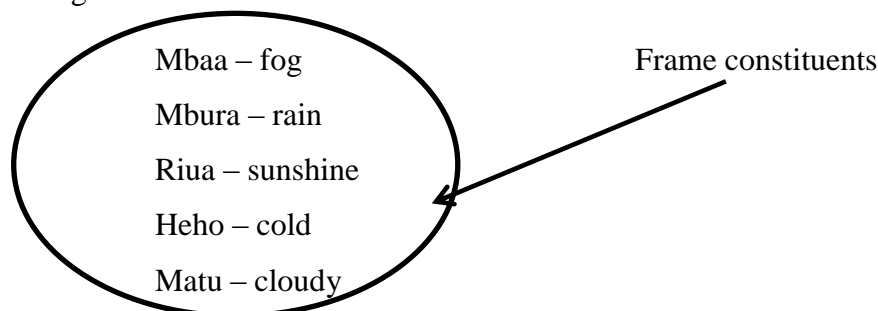


Figure 12: Environmental Frame

Human beings thrive in interactions; it is these interactions that shape their language thus creating relationship metaphors. Relationship metaphors are concerned with how one perceives or has experience about the universe. How one looks at the world involves the actions involved. In these metaphors two participants are involved. The one affected and what is affected. Below are relationship metaphors;

21. *Muhiki ni muici*

The bride is a thief

In the above metaphor the bride is seen as a thief she steals the heart (love) from the bridegroom. The metaphor shows the bride as the one who uses all her energy, character traits and strength to steal the bridegroom's heart and love. She is seen as a snatcher, someone with a lot of energy to break, get in and steal. There is a treasure that the bride is determined to steal. Relationship metaphors are also shown on brotherhood as shown;

22. *Ndugu ni makinya*

Brotherhood is footsteps

Brothers in our lives can be related by blood while others can be related by friendship. Brothers are people who can stand for each other through difficult situations. According to Gikuyu traditions marriage brings or breeds brotherhood. The brothers of the bride and of the bridegroom become brothers and sisters, uncles from either side also become brothers etc.

This brotherhood takes time to mature. It begins with knowing each other during the ceremony called "*Kumenya mucii*" (knowing home) and continues up to *Ngurario* ceremony. Brotherhood starts with a small step and continues until the parties involved know the character traits of the members. They become brothers. After the *Ngurario* ceremony the husband and wife are expected to have a cordial relationship as illustrated below;

23. *Muthuri ngami*

Husband is a milker

"Husband is the caretaker"

A caretaker is a person who takes care of something which is fragile and precious. In the "*Ngurario*" context the husband was a caretaker of the woman, children, all the animals in the homestead and also relatives from both sides. The bridegroom becomes a caretaker, providing for them and ensuring that they do not lack a thing. He is expected also to protect his family from external forces and the bridegroom secures his homestead.

According to the tradition a homestead without a husband is seen as vulnerable to attacks and is viewed as one which cannot make important decisions. In the relationship metaphors – RELATION FRAME is evoked as illustrated

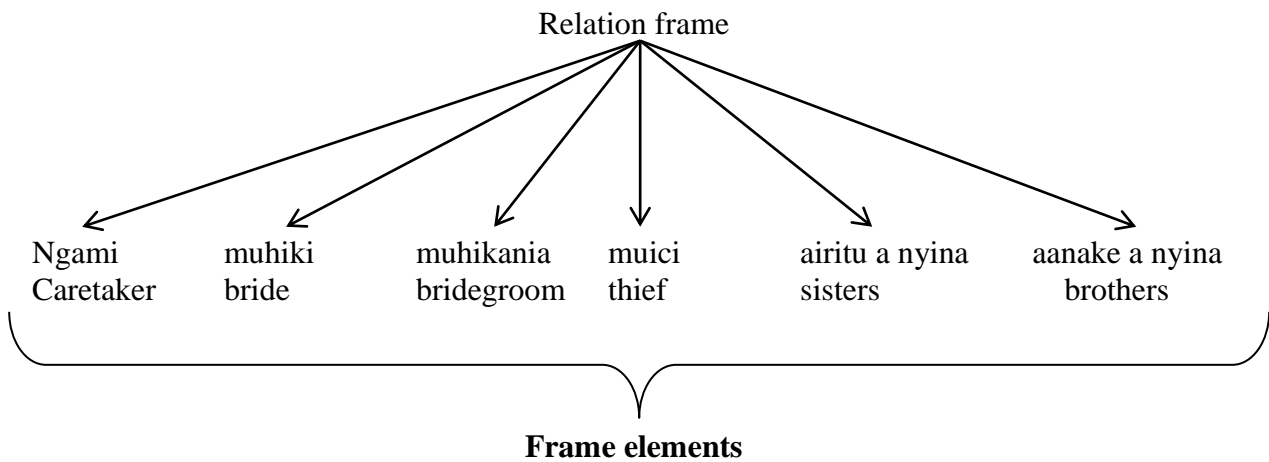


Figure 13: Relationship frame

2.4 CONCLUSION

In the above chapter, metaphors which were collected as data for this study have been classified according to the following categories: natural entities or phenomenon, relationships, domestic animals, transactions, characteristics of the bride, behavioral metaphors, symbolic metaphors, characteristics of the bridegroom, general ideas metaphors, construction metaphors, body parts metaphors and building metaphors. The classifications were also analyzed by use of the theoretical framework by Fillmore 1977. The metaphors were put in their various elements and sub frames.

CHAPTER 3

METONYMS CLASSIFICATION

3.1 Introduction

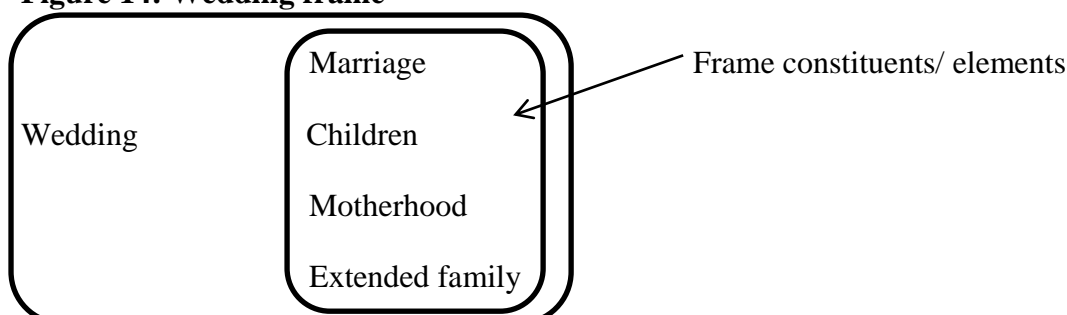
This chapter begins with a brief definition of metonyms. The chapter will also classify Gikuyu metonyms used during Ngurario ceremony. This chapter will also analyze them semantically by use of frames and its frame elements or sub elements. Chapter three is broken down into the following sections. Section 3.2 defines metonym , section 3.3 classifies metonyms according to characteristics of humans, section 3.4 according to body parts, section 3.5 abstract metonyms, section 3.6 behavioral metonyms, section 3.7 symbolic metonyms, section 3.8 possession metonyms, 3.9 according to part- whole relationship, section 3.11 will look at a continuum between metaphors and metonyms. The last section 3.12 is the conclusion.

3.2 Definition of Metonymy

Metonymy is referential in nature. It is through metonymy that attention is directed to a word, through another related to it. This means rather than mentioning the second word directly, mental access is provided to it through another word.

Metonyms are based on frames that are made up of conceptual entities. These entities are in a contiguous relationship. For example in the case of wedding ceremony it is expected that after the wedding, motherhood sets in, children are conceived and born, fatherhood becomes a reality, extended families are formed and family responsibilities sets in. All these elements are necessary in getting the meaning of the word at hand, however, depending on the culture of a certain community, profiling or giving prominent attention to the word is necessary for better understanding. It is because of the connection between the elements/constituents that a given word meaning an element in the frame may metonymically mean another element. Thus refer to

Figure 14: Wedding frame



In the above wedding frame,, for one to understand what is a wedding, there is need to know all the sub-frames surrounding a word. In hearing the word wedding, the hearer will open the encyclopedic entries of a wedding which will be marriage, children and motherhood which are its sub-frames. The hearer will know that if there is a wedding, there will be a union, the bride will become a mother and a new relationship of extended family will be formed.

In the larger frame of Ngurario ceremony, metonyms are characterized by human nature. Human nature is that for them to survive, they have to nourish their bodies regularly. This nourishment is in form of food. If humans do not eat or drink anything they become malnourished and ultimately may lead to death. It is for this reason that during ngurario ceremony there are metonyms about human characteristics as illustrated below.

24. Ngaragu ndihoyagwo uhoru

Hunger is not borrowed information

This metonym is uttered at the beginning of the *Ngurario* ceremony. After welcoming the visitors from the bridegroom’s side the visitors are taken into the homestead. It is expected that the visitors have traveled for a long distance and had woken up early so they did not have a good satisfying breakfast. It is because of this knowledge that the first thing they do after being welcomed is eating. The master of ceremony will then say that “*Ngaragu ndihoyagwo uhoru*”. Among the Gikuyu community, food is a basic need and so it has to be satisfied through eating and the person being satisfied

To be able to understand this expression the hearer will open and scan the encyclopedic entry activating the HUMAN FRAME as follows:

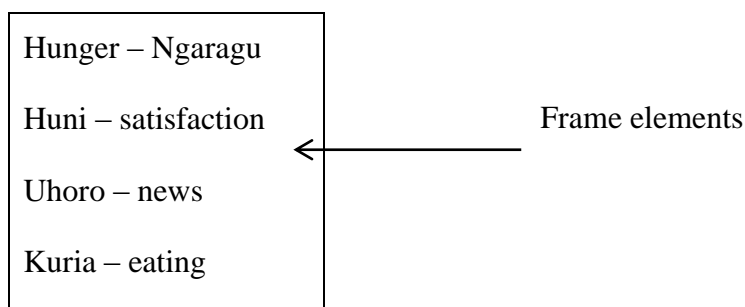


Figure 15: Human frame

Gikuyu’s are naturally hospitable and it is logic that when one attends a wedding ceremony before the celebrations start there is a need that the attendee eats to satisfaction and then celebrates because it is only after been satisfied that they can make the ceremony enjoyable

by dancing, singing and even welcoming the bride and bridegroom, thus opening a sub-frame of enjoyment as illustrated below.

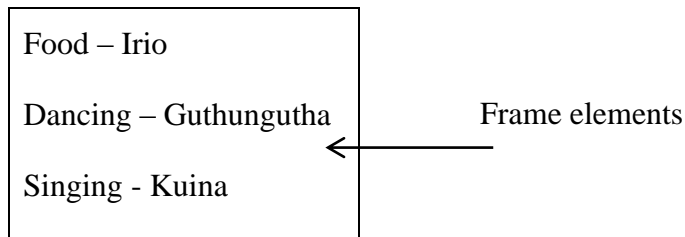


Figure 16: Enjoyment Frame

To be able to understand this metonym, the hearer will scan the encyclopedic entries of body frame which will then open the characteristics of human nature which needs to be satisfied. After eating those present are said to “guikia matatha” “get completely full” as illustrated in the metonym.

25. *Guikia matatha*

Throwing stomach (get completely full)

In normal usage one cannot take the stomach and throw it however, once the party begins everyone is expected to eat to the fullest until his stomach is completely full and can no longer take more he is completely full and satisfied. It refers to the human nature which is to get satisfied.

In the context of “*Ngurario*” ceremony those present are expected to be completely full because it is a celebration. This metonym refers to the function of the stomach which is to feel satisfied thus evoking SATISFACTION FRAME as shown which is a sub-frame of the larger human frame

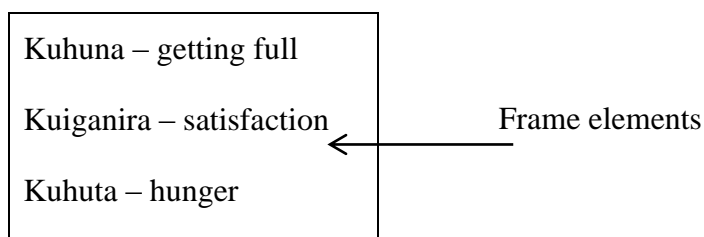


Figure 17: Satisfaction frame

For a hearer to understand the metonym, the word “matatha” has to be understood in connection with being satisfied in the sub-context of eating food in the wedding ceremony.

3.3 Body Parts Metonyms

The human body parts are productive in getting meanings, that is why they are commonly used. Kovecses (2010:18). Body parts are important in the understanding of our cultures. Human beings are only able to connect with the outside world using their bodies. Human body parts also assist in perceiving stimuli from the world.

The body parts are mostly used to refer to the work that they perform. It is because of this that the human body parts are crucial in forming metonyms which are used all over the world and in everyday use.

When any body part is uttered, the hearer will contact the encyclopedic entry and have a BODY PART FRAME as shown;

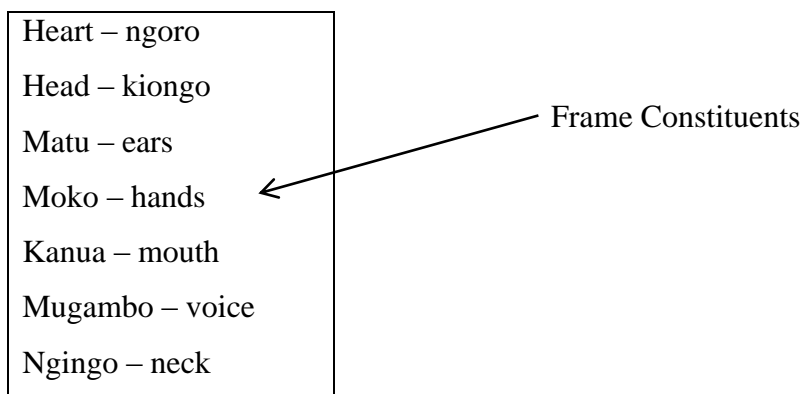


Figure 18: Body part frame

For one to understand any of the constituents that is the various body parts other elements should also be understood. For instance for one to understand “ngingo” (neck), one has to know that it is the one that supports “kiongo” the head and that it is below the head and lower in hierarchy.

The following metonyms in Ngurario ceremony use body parts.

26. *Ngoro cikenete niinyue guka*

Our hearts are happy for your coming

“We are happy you have come”

Among the Gikuyu community, when visitors come they are treated well, that is why when there are visitors the owners of the homestead will be happy to welcome them. Thus in this context the master of ceremony will use this metonym to welcome the visitors (bridegroom’s) to their home, because it is believed that visitors are like a river, they flow and are just passing.

In this metonym the heart “*Ngoro*” is conceptualized as a container. In this container, the contents are the feelings and emotions. These emotions can be happiness, sadness etc. as Pena (2000) comments.

In this metonym, the heart is seen as a container where emotions can be stuffed. In this case the contents of the heart are represented by the whole part that is the heart “*Ngoro*” which is metonymically connected to the feeling of the people who have been invited to the ceremony. Hearts are expressing the feeling of the people and because it is a wedding ceremony, the people are happy.

The metonym evokes a HEART FRAME. Its frame elements are shown below.

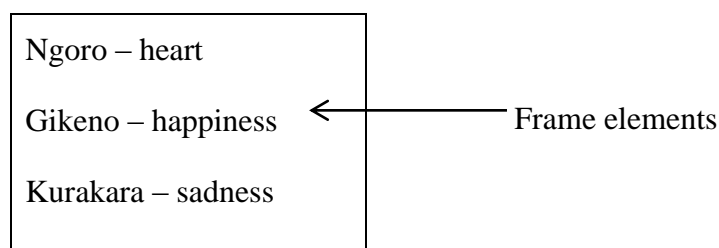


Figure 19: Heart frame

For one to understand the metonym, the hearer will open the encyclopedic entries of the heart. Example, find happiness, sadness etc. and using the context the hearer will be able to identify the emotion that is happiness because it is a wedding ceremony. Another metonym involving body parts is;

27. *Muhiki niarie matu*

Bride eat ears.

During the Ngurario ceremony, among the pieces of meat that were placed on the front table for the ceremony were roasted goat ears. The bridegroom was to give them to the bride, so that she can eat. Symbolically it was meant that when the bridegroom calls her she will be able to hear him even from a far and answer him with respect because he is the head of that homestead and is in authority.

The remains of the ears is shared by the bride’s age mates who are single (meaning they have not gone through the Ngurario ceremony) so that they will be reminded of the importance of listening to their husbands and also as a way of the bride bidding them goodbye as she will now be moving to her new home (husband’s home).

The above metonym evokes a BODY FRAME evokes a body frame first because ears are part of the body. Under the body frame we have the EAR FRAME. Ears are used for hearing and it is the sub-frame of the ears that evoke hearing.

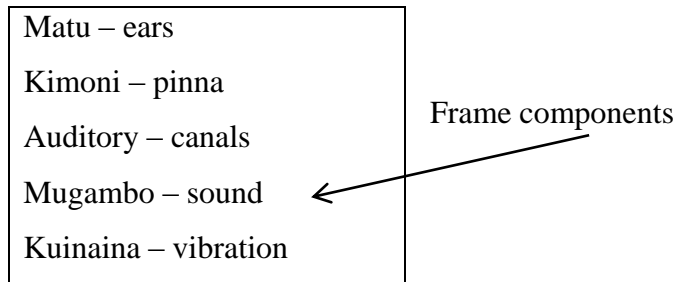


Figure 20: Ear Frame

For one to understand the metonym, the hearer has to open the encyclopedic entries of the human body frame. Human body frame has within it the ears which are used for hearing purposes and they stand for the person who is hearing, that is the bride. This will lead to opening a sub frame of hearing frame. The ears will represent the whole hearing faculty that the bride will use when the husband calls.

Another body part metonym is:

28. *Thikiriria mugambo wa muthuri*

Listen to the voice (sound) of the husband

The Kikuyu community believes that the husband is the head of the family and that everything in the homestead belongs to him that is the goats, cows, children and the wife. During the “*Ngurario*” ceremony the bride is advised that she should always listen to the husband when he talks, he is the decision maker and the bride is not allowed to argue with him. Metonymically, the voice of the husband stands for the husband who is talking.

This evokes a VOICE FRAME which has several components as illustrated below:

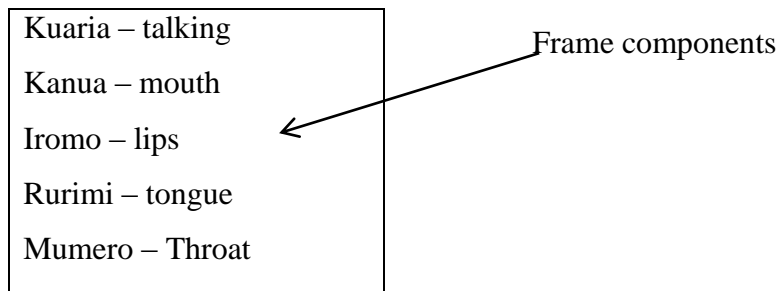


Figure 21: Talking frame

For instance, in order to understand the metonym the hearer will open the encyclopedic entries of voice. Voice can only be heard if the whole talking or speaking faculty is involved. This will prompt the opening of the different frames of talking that is mouth, lips (which assists in articulating of some sounds), tongue, vocal cords etc. the head is also used to form a metonym in Ngurario ceremony as illustrated.

29. *Muthuri ni kiongo kia mucii*

Husband is the head of the home

“The husband is the head of the family”.

Among the Gikuyu traditions the husband is the head of the family. He makes decisions, performs all the difficult and involving tasks such as solving disputes, attending community meetings etc. The head is the crucial part in a human’s body. In the head we have the brain which assists a person in making decisions. Without the head, which protects the brain a human being cannot make decisions. In our general understanding “*Kiongo*” also means “*Mutwe*” head. It is the top part of the body.

As discussed in chapter one, for one to understand a concept or a frame one must understand the whole structure in which it fits so that one can conceptualize any of them. When a hearer hears the word “*Kiongo*” various concepts or frames are activated, however the context which is the “*Ngurario*” ceremony assists the hearer to attach the appropriate meaning.

When the hearer hears the word head, the encyclopedic entries of human body parts will be evoked. The body part frame has the head which evokes the HEAD FRAME. In this context of Ngurario ceremony, the head of the husband refers to positions of authority which is culturally determined.

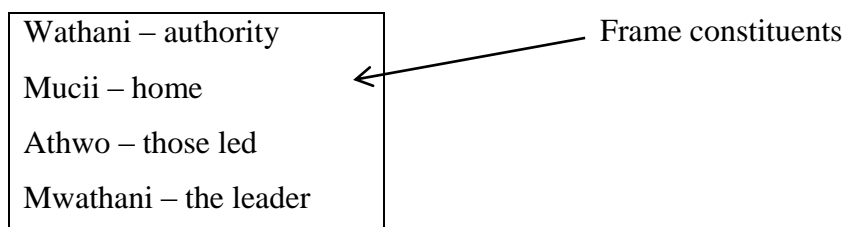


Figure 22: Head frame

To understand the metonym the hearer will have to open the different encyclopedic entries of authority in that there is the leader, those led, the leader also has to be given the mandate by the society to lead, and the place where he leads, that is the home. This is because a husband is the leader in his homestead he is highest in hierarchy.

3.4 Abstract Metonyms

Abstract metonyms are those that are in the mind. They are experienced in the mind and to be able to understand them human beings look for representation between what is in the mind and the one in reality. This representation then becomes metonymical.

Example,

30. *Riri ni igongona ria bata*

This is a ceremony of importance.

This expression talks of a “ceremony” which will stand for the whole “*Ngurario*” ceremony. It is uttered by the master of ceremony to urge those present to also plan their own “*Ngurario*” ceremony if they have not because it is of importance among the Gikuyu community. A person who has gone through it is said to be a chosen elder, in that he can be called at the ceremonies, to settle disputes etc. The ceremony is not just the instance of cutting the scapula but the whole wedding ceremony from welcoming visitors, eating and having refreshments. Cutting “*Kiande*” drinking porridge up to the departure.

The word “*Igongona*” is in the mind. It is abstract not something that is neither tangible nor seen. However, it represents or stands for “*Ngurario*” ceremony which can be seen and a person can take part in it. The relationship between “*Igongona*” and “*Ngurario*” ceremony is contagious. They belong to the same frame which is *Ngurario* frame. The frame evoked is the *NGURARIO FRAME* as illustrated below:

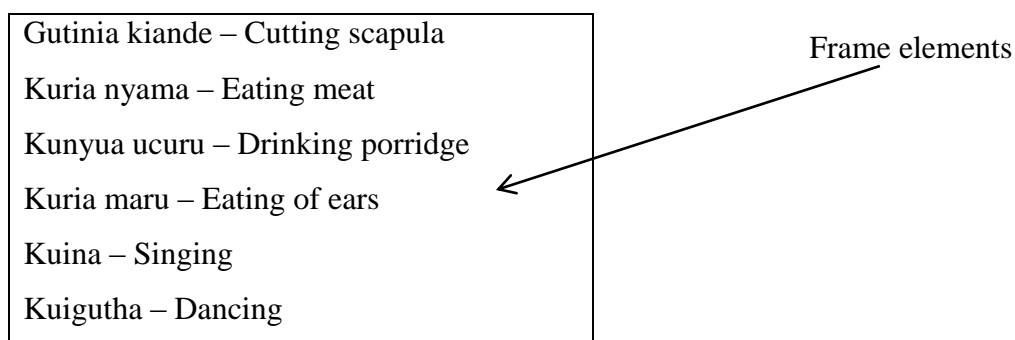


Figure 23: Celebration frame

In understanding the metonym one opens the encyclopedic entries of what is a *Ngurario* ceremony. The encyclopedic entries opened will entail what happens during the ceremony which will include eating a lot of food, singing, dancing, drinking porridge etc. The whole process is crowned by cutting the scapula.

3.5 Behavioral Metonyms

Human beings behave differently in different situations. These situations are determined culturally. For example giving thanks how to behave before the elderly, close associates and family members. The following metonyms are used in Ngurario ceremony to show how one should behave. They include:

31. *Nindacokia ngatho*

I have returned thanks

The above metonym is uttered by the master of ceremony as he/she is thanking all the clan members who attended the “*Ngurario*” ceremony and made it a success. It is an appreciation, which is an emotion it comes from within a person.

In the above case, thanks is presented as an entity or something that can be touched, picked and returned. It is an abstract entity.

In the metonymy “*Nindacokia ngatho*” I have returned thanks. It is seen as something that had been borrowed and is now being returned back to the owner. This is typical of human beings that when they are given something or favour is done. They either return to the owner or appreciate by giving thanks, this evokes the APPRECIATION FRAME. Consider,

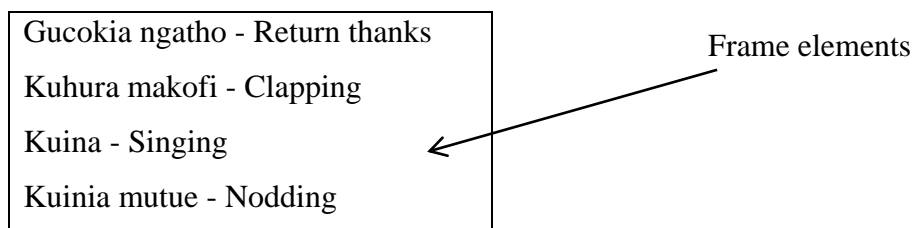


Figure 24: Appreciation frame

When the appreciation frame is evoked, one can either verbally give thanks, clap to show they are contented or nodding in agreement. However, in case of “*Ngurario*” ceremony thanks are given verbally by master of ceremony who has been mandated with such a task.

Another example of behavioral metonyms is:

32. *Aya ni athoni*

This are our in-laws

“Not to do a shameful thing”

“*Athoni*” mean in-laws. Members from either the bride or the bridegroom’s side address each other as such.

Being *athoni* means not to behave badly in the presence of the older and the respected members who through marriage “*Ngurario*” ceremony become related. This metonym shows a family relationship that is created by the two families during “*Ngurario*” ceremony which is called *uthoni*. The people who have such a relationship are expected to be respectful, carry themselves with a lot of decorum and not to be found doing something bad according to the values set by the society. The FAMILY FRAME is evoked as shown below, with its sub-frames.

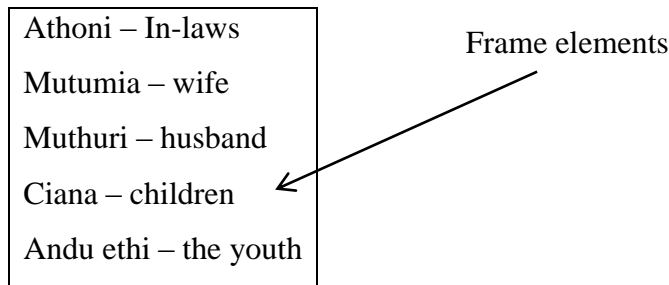


Figure 25: Family Frame

The encyclopedic entries of the metonymic expression “*aya ni athoni aitu*”, these are our in-laws, will evoke a family frame. In this frame several relations are identified. They include, husband and wife, parents and children, in-law and the youth.

3.6 Symbolic Metonyms

33. *Gutinia Kiande*

Cutting one of front limbs of a lamb.

This is the main ceremony or core of the “*Ngurario*”. It involves the bridegroom cutting the front leg of a goat that has been well roasted. The act symbolically means that the bride or the wife is belongs to her husband. The part that is cut contains only one joint and is cut once in a woman’s life, and even when there is divorce and she dies, she would be buried in the husbands homestead thus symbolizing permanence of the union between the bride and the groom.

The goat that was cut also signifies that any four legged animal in the man’s homestead belongs to the man. During the cutting, it is the man who cuts the meat as the woman holds using the left hand to show the hand of womanhood. This means that the woman cannot or does not have any authority to slaughter anything in the homestead. She has to wait to be given by the husband. After cutting the “*Kiande*” the bride is given to eat. This becomes a

symbolic sign they have become a husband and a wife and a symbol for their unity. Cutting the “*Kiande*” is a representation of the whole wedding ceremony.

For a hearer to understand the metonym “*gutinia kiande*” cutting front limb the encyclopedic entries are sought evoking a GOAT FRAME and because the cutting of the scapula is done once in a woman’s life, it signifies permanence of the marriage union and it cannot be reversed. It involves an agreement between the bride and the groom to seal their union as illustrated:-

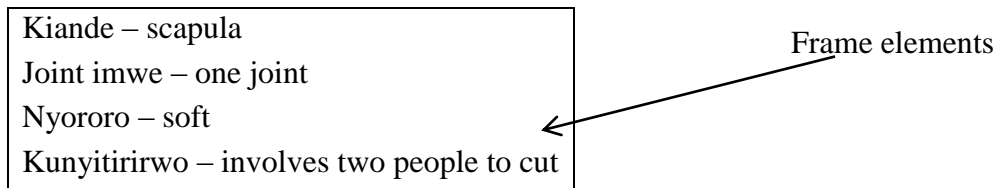


Figure 26: Goat frame

Another symbolic metonym is:-

34. *Menyerera ndukario mburi*

Be careful not to be eaten “fined” goats

This metonymy is uttered when the groom is asked to choose or recognize his bride among a group of women who are of the same height and size, dressed in the same clothes and covered in “*lesos*”. He is tasked with identification and when he makes a mistake and fails he is fined.

“Not to be eaten goats” is symbolic of the fine that the bridegroom will be fined on if he is not able to identify her. This will be in form of goats or money. The fine is 20 goats or equivalent of the same amount, depending on the current market value of the goats. It is because of this fine that the bridegroom will be keen and careful in identification. He has to take his time so as not to cause those in attendance embarrassment of not knowing his bride. When the metonym is uttered the GOAT FRAME is evoked, consider.

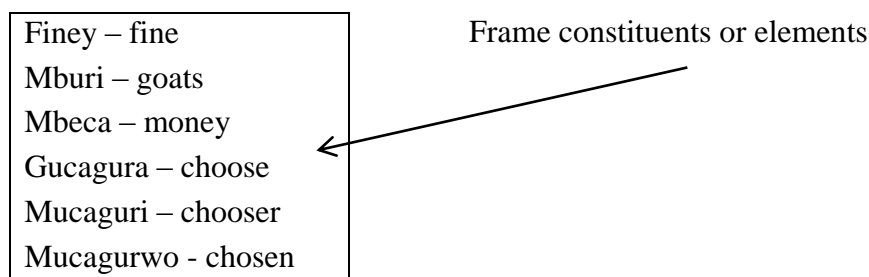


Figure 27: Goat frame

When the metonym is uttered the hearer will open the encyclopedic entries of the goat in the context of not being fined. This will include goats as animals, goats counted in monetary terms, the reason for being fined which is failure to identify the bride and the one to identify. This will lead to the understanding of the metonym that goats refer to fine.

During the “*Ngurario*” ceremony, the bridegroom is expected to identify his wife (bride) amongst several others covered with shukas. If he fails to identify her, he is fined some goats depending on clan specification, mostly 20 goats. To the bridegroom and his other extended family members it is a very tasking job. Those present will be urging the bridegroom to be careful so that he does not fail them. When he is choosing his bride, he is urged by those present to be cautious so as not to fail them when he is choosing his bride as this would be a sign that he does not know her well.

This is illustrated by the metonym;

35. *Ndugatuguithie*

Do not fail us

This statement is symbolic of being able to know her well. It symbolizes knowing. He is expected to know her not only physically but emotionally (because he loves her) and also spiritually (because they are connected in marriage) When the statement is uttered there are some frame constituents that are identified in the CELEBRATION FRAME.

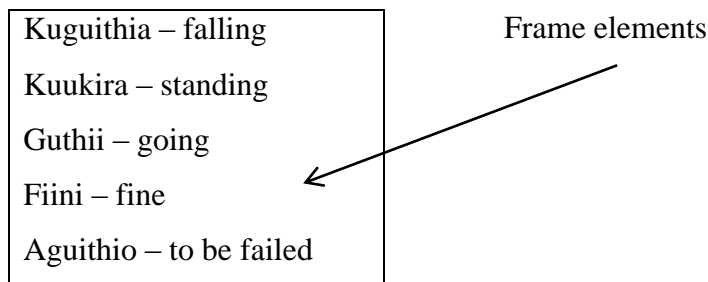


Figure 28: Celebration frame

On hearing the word, “*ndugatuguithie*” do not fail us; the hearer will scan the encyclopedic knowledge thus opening various frames elements in the understanding of the metonym. This will include; act of failing, those to be failed, what is to be failed and the consequences of failing. All this elements helps to assign the intended meaning by the speaker. The process of identification is part of the celebration in the *Ngurario* ceremony.

36. *Kuehubira hakagia urugari*

Covering and getting warmth

This is a symbolic metonym which is euphemistic. During the ceremony, a piece of meat that resembles a skin “*Murengeti*” is given to the bride and the bridegroom. The elderly adviser will use the piece of meat as a symbol of recreation. Traditionally it was expected that when a man gets married, he was expected to sire children for the continuation of the family name and also get an heir. When the action of covering oneself is mentioned in the context of “*Nguarario*” ceremony the following frames are evoked from the larger RECREATION FRAME

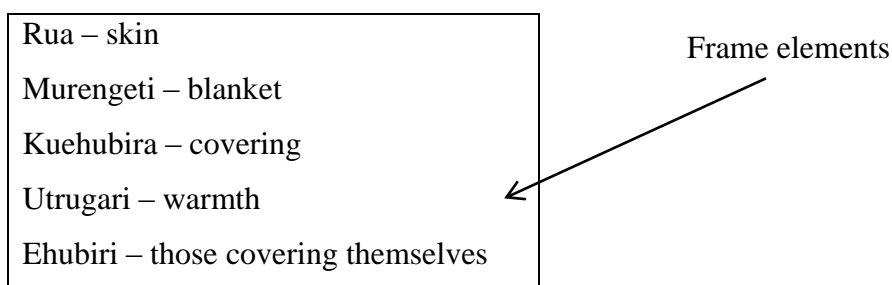


Figure 29: Recreation frame

In order to understand the metonymic expression the hearer will have to open encyclopedic entries on the importance of a blanket. In that it assists in creating warmth and euphemistically is the act of copulation.

37. *Airitu a nyukwa na thoguo*

Daughters of your mother and father

Among the Gikuyu society, relationship is not just by blood. A person can be related to another through clanship, marriage or by blood. Anyone who is related through either of them is seen as a relative and every woman who has reached a certain age is called mother or grandmother depending on her age by the young. Children born of those women refer to each other as brothers and sisters and when a child does an offence the whole community has the responsibility of punishing. It is for this case that during “*Nguarario*” ceremony the bride is given ears to eat and also share with other women who are age mates thus the adviser will say, daughters of your mother and father. This metonym symbolically means any woman, or young girls who are age mates and are related by virtue of using the same language and belonging to the same community.

The metonymy evokes the FAMILY FRAME as illustrated.

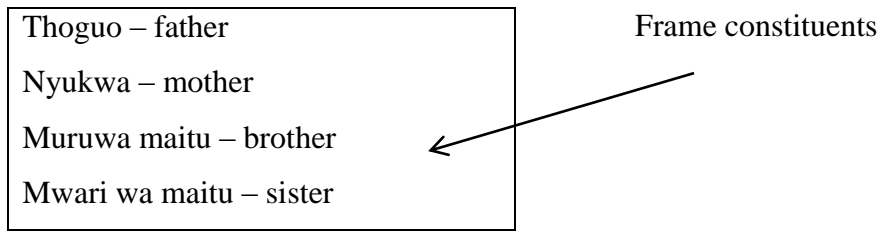


Figure 30: Family frame

To be able to understand the metonym the encyclopedic entries are scanned evoking a family frame. For one to understand the metonym, one has to know who is a sister, a brother, mother and father and the relationship they form which is a family. The family members can be related by blood, clans or share the same language. Another symbolic metonym is in reference to the hands as illustrated.

38. *Guoko kwa umotho*

The hand of the left

The culture among the Kikuyu's require that a man should always be on the right hand side as a symbol of security thus the right hand is called "*Guoko kwa mundurume*" hand of the man. A woman, on the other side is always on the left hand side and thus it is called "*Guoko kwa mutumia*" a woman's hand.

During the process of cutting the scapula "*Kiande*" the bride is supposed to hold it using the left hand side as a symbol that she has accepted to be protected by the bridegroom and she knows her place in the home, the left hand side. When a hearer hears the metonym, the encyclopedic entries of BODY FRAME will be evoked. This will be the different positions of the limbs, that is left hand, right hand, left leg and right leg respectively. In the context of Ngurario ceremony, the hand on the left refers to the side a woman should occupy always.

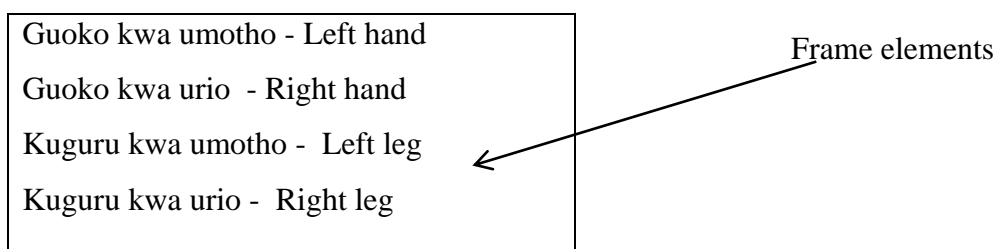


Figure 31: Body frame

39. *Kuria mburi*

Eating goat

The word goat “*mburi*” refers to goat (animals) which are slaughtered during “*Ngurario*” ceremony. Goats are a major type of food. There can be no ceremony without “*Ngoima’s*” being slaughtered (big healthy male goat).

Metonymically when a person is told of eating goat it does not mean eating a whole goat but it stands for the food that is eaten during the ceremony. During the ceremony goat meat is either roasted, boiled or fried and so there is a variety of goat meat available. When the metonym is it evokes a CELEBRATION FRAME.

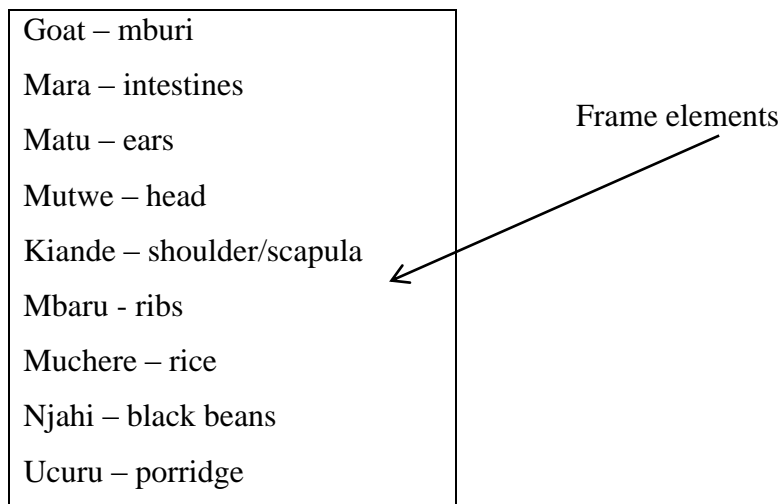


Figure 32: Celebration frame

To be able to understand the metonymic expression of eating goat, the hearer has to scan the encyclopedic entries of celebration frame in that during celebration, people eat food. The most important food offered during Ngurario ceremony, is goat meat because goats are highly valued in the kikuyu community. There can never be a Ngurario ceremony without goat meat. It is for this reason that goat meat will replace all the other food offered during the celebration. The replaced food will range from boiled meat, roasted meat, rice, black beans etc.

40. *Ndagacemanie na fangi*

Do not meet with bhang

“Do not encounter bad luck”

Bhang is a bad thing which impedes better performance of a human being. A person who uses it is taken as having brought bad luck in his life because he may not think properly and may do things against the culture. Example, raping which is a taboo. This metonym is said by the adviser while addressing “*wathiomo*” (young boy who has been taking care of the goats at the bride’s home which had been brought by the bridegroom’s family). He is the one who

gives permission for the “*Ngurario*” ceremony to take place. He has taken good care of the goats and they have even given birth thus multiplying. A prayer is given to “*mwene nyaga*” God on behalf of him that he should not meet with bhang.

Symbolically bhang refers to all bad things or luck which the “*wathiomu*” is bound to encounter “*mwene nyaga*” is requested to rid him of all the bad things in life and that when his time comes for having a *Ngurario* ceremony, favour will be appreciated and he will find a good “*wathiomu*” who will take care of his goats when it is his turn. When the metonym is uttered LUCK FRAME is evoked. Consider,

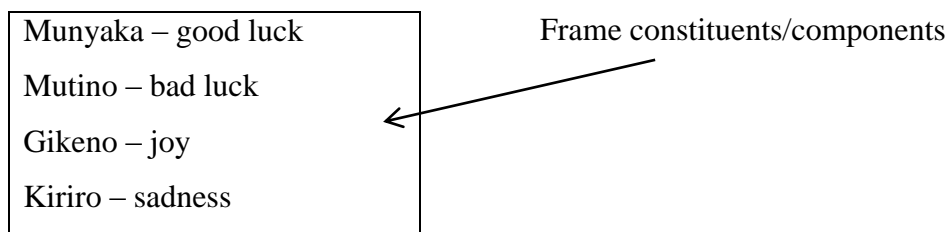


Figure 33: Luck frame

When the metonym is uttered, it evokes in the hearers mind, luck frame. The hearer will then open the encyclopedic entries of luck which will be either good luck or bad luck.

Bad luck will bring sadness, while good luck will yield joy and happiness for the young boy (*wathiomu*) who through his hard work has made the goats brought to the brides home to multiply and be of god health.

3.7 Possession/ Possessor Metonyms

These are metonyms that show ownership and owning something. They include:-

41. *Kindu ni mwene*

Thing is owner

The statement “*mwene*” refers to the bridegroom as the owner of the “thing” which is the bridegroom. This is uttered when the bridegroom is being coerced by the bride to drink porridge. It is said that the person who knows the husband well is the wife since they live in the same house. The owner “*mwene*” provides access to the possessed. In this case there has to be something that is to be owned. The thing “*kindu*” and the owner, “*mwene*” relate the bridegroom and the bride respectively whereby the bridegroom is the possessor while the bride is the possessed. If one owns something, he will know the behaviors and characteristics of what he owns. in a metonymic relationship when the metonym is uttered it evokes a POSSESSION FRAME.

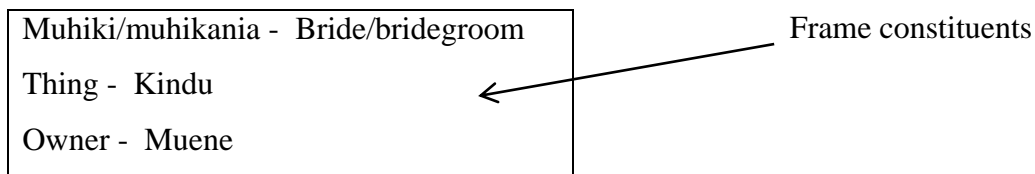


Figure 34: Possession frame

Another possessive metaphor is;

42. *Gukugurariria*

Owning forever

The word “*Gukugurariria*” refers to the whole “*Ngurario*” ceremony where the act performed is “*Kuguraria*”. In this case, the combination is cutting the front part of a limb which has been roasted and thus we say the bride has been owned by the bridegroom forever. She cannot marry again even after a divorce. Even after death, she can only be buried in her husband’s homestead. Ownership frame will be evoked in hearing the word “*Kuguraria*”

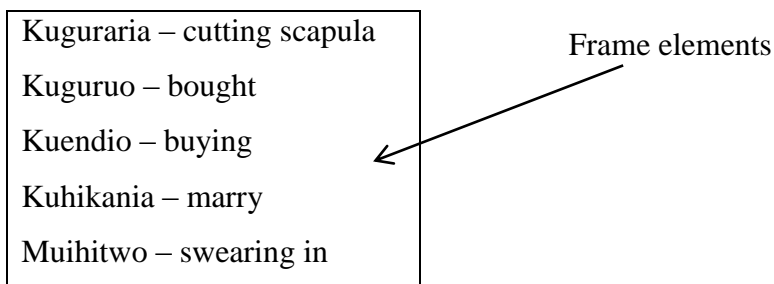


Figure 35: Ownership frame

In the above example, ‘kuguraria’ (cutting scapula) is used to stand for the “*Ngurario*” ceremony which involves cutting the scapula. For understanding of the metonym the hearer will open the encyclopedic entries of *Ngurario* ceremony and the activity involved which include cutting the scapula, slaughtering goats, giving ears to the bride. After all the activities have taken place the bride will be said to be owned by the bridegroom thus has been owned forever.

3.8 Part – Whole Classification

Part whole classification was initially called synecdoche Murphy (2014). The difference between the two; metonymy and synecdoche is subtle and thus synecdoche is seen as a “special metonymy”. It involves part standing for whole. This category is supported by the following examples.

43. *Ngai wa Kirinyaga*

God of Kirinyaga

Originally Gikuyu community is believed to have originated from Mt. Kirinyaga currently Mt. Kenya. This mountain means the mountain of brightness in which there are black and white colours at the top which resemble “*Nyaga*” an ostrich feathers.

It is from this mountain that the God of Kikuyu, Ngai reigned. Ngai was not only the God of the mountain but Gikuyu community as a whole. When the metonym is uttered it evokes a RELIGION FRAME.

44. *Ngai wa Kianjahi Amurathime*

God of Kianjahi to bless you

Due to environmental orientation, Gikuyu’s were farmers and they believed that everything they had come from “Ngai”, God. Kianjahi comes from “*Njahi*” black beans that they used to grow and which they always had a bountiful harvest.

45. *Ngai wa mtaburuko ya Nyandarua*

God of the plains of Nyandarua

Nyandarua is a County in Kenya according to the Kenyan Constitution (2010). This county is surrounded by mountains on all sides, that is Aberdare Mountains. It borders Nakuru and Nyeri counties found on the either sides of the hills.

The orientation of this county has made it to be plain and flat, it receives a lot of rainfall. The residents of Nyandarua are Kikuyus and so they believe in Ngai. By using the metonym “God of the plains of Nyandarua”. It refers to the God of all Kikuyu’s.

When the above metonyms 43, 44, and 45 are uttered, they will evoke RELIGION FRAME. This is illustrated below.

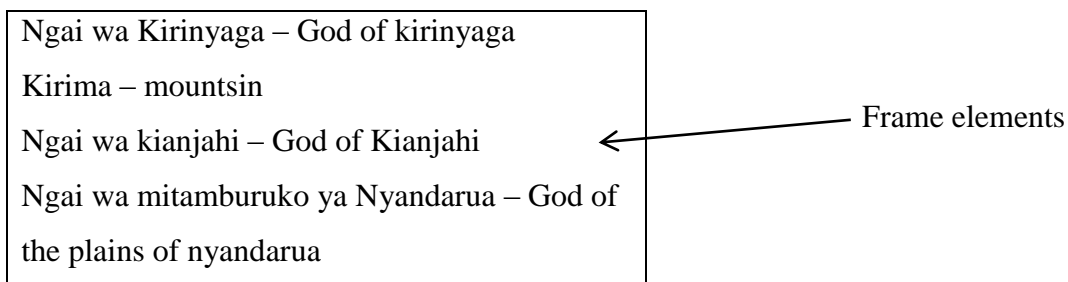


Figure 36: Religion frame.

The three metonym shows that the Gikuyus believe in God “Ngai”. The encyclopedic entries of religion will be evoked. Depending on the specific areas, where the person hearing the metonyms hails from will lead to uttering the metonyms. If the hearer is from Kirinyaga, he will easily be able to scan the encyclopedic entries and associate God with the place he stays. In 45, the hearer will open the encyclopedic entries of religion frame and from it he will associate bountiful harvest of “Njahi” black beans with God. In 46 above, the hearer will open the encyclopedic entries of the religion frame and through his knowledge that God is the creator of the plains, and whatever is in there, that is people, animals, plants etc. He will be able to understand the metonym that God is the God of the plains of Nyandarua.

46. *Nyumba ya Gikuyu na Mumbi*

House of Gikuyu and Mumbi

This is used when referring to a whole community rather than saying Gikuyu tribe. Gikuyu and Mumbi are believed to be the first parents of the Gikuyu community. Thus they are names of the people in the Gikuyu tribe, metonymically they are used to represent the whole tribe thus a part stands for a whole community. People think about Kikuyu community as one big house of Gikuyu and Mumbi. The nine clans came together in unity, peace and relations by blood and are given the name “House of Gikuyu and Mumbi”. The GIKUYU COMMUNITY FRAME is evoked as illustrated below. Consider,

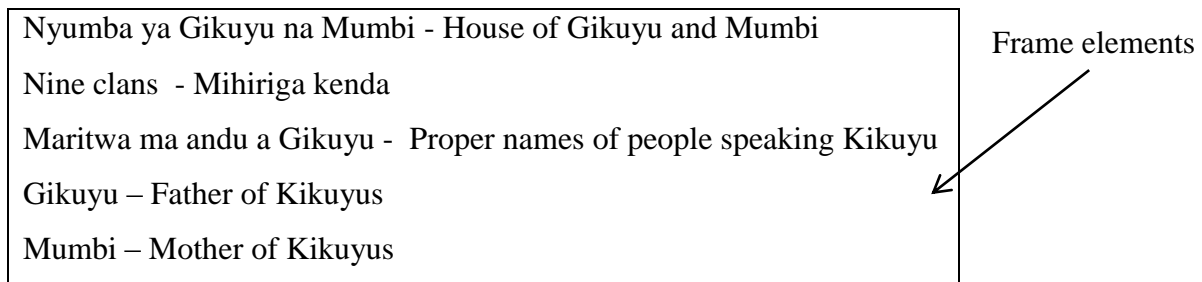


Figure 37: Gikuyu Community frame

In order to understand the metonym, the hearer will open the encyclopedic entries of Gikuyu frame and from the knowledge of Kikuyu community, Mumbi and Gikuyu will form part of the larger frame as the mother and father of kikuyu and that anybody using kikuyu language is a child of the two thus house of Gikuyu and Mumbi refers to all kikuyu people because they are of the same ancestral mother and father.

47. *Airitu a Nyukwa na Thoguo*

Daughters of your mother and father

The Gikuyu community is characterized by a strong unity among its members. The community was also divided into nine clans. These clans were important as they ensure that young people who belonged to the same clan never got married. The girls in the same clan were said to be “Airitu a nyukwa na thoguo” daughters of your mother and father. All people are related and are brothers and sisters. This metonym was uttered during “Ngurario” ceremony when the bridegroom was supposed to share roasted goat ears “matu” with other younger women, who are her sisters by clan or by blood, thus Kikuyu girls. The expression “Airitu a nyukwa na thoguo” is used metonymically to refer to the young women of the Kikuyu community, same age as the bride. When the metonymy is uttered the FAMILY FRAME is evoked with the following frame elements.

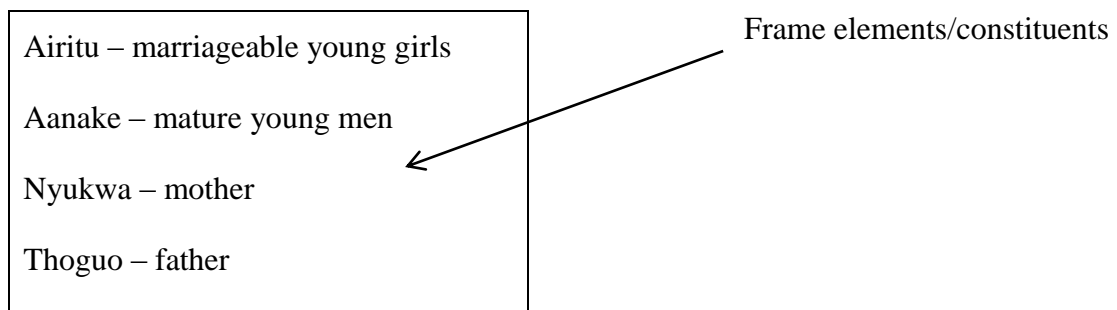


Figure 38: Family frame

For the hearer to understand the metonym, the encyclopedic entries of family frame are opened. Through the entries, one is able to understand that a family consist of father, mother, brothers and sisters and are related because they share the same ancestral mother and father.

3.19 Metaphonymy

This is a category that forms a continuum between a metaphor and a metonym.

Example.

48. *Muici wa Ngoro Yake.*

The thief of his heart

This can act as both a metaphor and a metonym as illustrated. As a metaphor. It can mean to steal someone`s heart. Thieves are known to steal something that is treasurable. Something that can be of importance if transferred into monetary value or can be of assist once in their lives. As a metonym, heart is representing love. It is because of this that love is seen as a precious thing, a treasure. It is described as something that can be stolen and it is also a precious thing. For love to qualify as a treasure, the bride is shown as having stolen and thus is a thief. This is shown by the very actions of the bridegroom accepting to take part in a

wedding ceremony. The context involves the bride breaking a door or a window or having a master key, getting in the house, looking and ransacking for what she wants to steal. By finding what she wants, she will go with it and thus a wedding will take place. In this metaphor hearer perceives it. The encyclopedic entries is opened which evokes STEALING FRAME. This frame has the following frame elements.

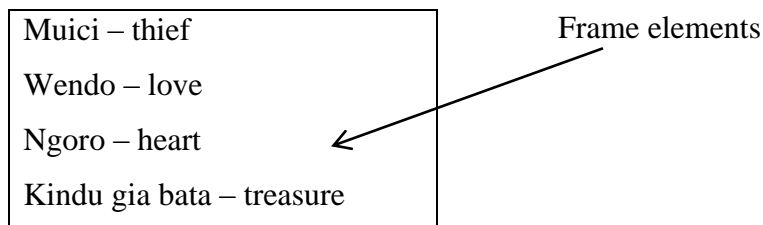


Figure 39: Stealing frame

For one to understand the metaphor above a hearer will open the encyclopedic entries of stealing frame and the interpretation would be based on who is stealing what is being stolen.

Metonymically, it involves a referring. The groom`s heart is seen as a kind of a container where feelings such as sadness, joy, love, hatred are contained. In the case of, The thief of my heart, “muici wa ngoro yakwa”, the heart is used to refer or represent the feeling of love because of the context, which is wedding and one cannot marry someone he doesn`t love or has not been able to steal his heart.

This metonym when uttered will evoke an EMOTION FRAME as illustrated

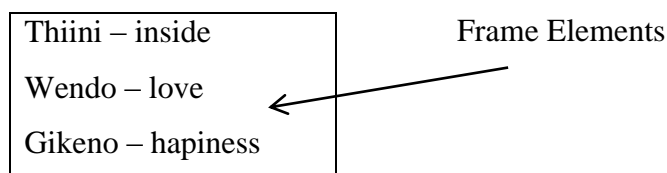


Figure 40: Emotion Frame

For one to be able to get the meaning of the metonym, there has to be an understanding that the heart is like a container where one can stuff things, but in this case emotions which can be love, hatred, joy, happiness etc. and because a Ngurario ceremony involves two people who love each other, the emotion in the heart is that of love.

3.10 Conclusion

The above chapter looked at classification of metonyms in Gikuyu Ngurario ceremony this is according to characteristics of humans, body parts, behavioral, possession and part whole relationship. The chapter also looked at metaphonymy. Metonyms are referential and thus highly used. Analysis of metonyms was done by use of frames.

CHAPTER 4

CULTURAL REASONS FOR USING METAPHORS AND METONYMS

4.1 Introduction

In chapter 2 and 3 there was classification of metaphors and metonyms and also analyzing them into frames. This categorization took us closer to the way of life among the Gikuyu community. In this chapter I will identify and illustrate the cultural reasons why the two figures of speech are highly used in Ngurario ceremony.

The chapter will be divided into three sections namely: section 4.2 gives a brief definition of culture, section 4.3 is the cultural reasons for using metaphors and metonyms and 4.4 is the conclusion.

4.2 Definition of Culture

“Man is an animal suspended in webs of significance he himself has spun. I take culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science in search of law but an interpretive one in search of meaning” Geertz (1973:5). In the above definition culture is seen as something that is interwoven and can be understood. One can only look for what words, actions mean. Culture is something that man has created to fit him and to make life run smoothly. To be able to understand culture, a person has to identify its various components for example what makes him to know what is right or wrong, be able to understand and take part in a conversation, what to say and when to say it etc. when a society has norms and values that it wants followed, with time this norms and values becomes embedded in the society. This leads to what is called cultural practices. Some cultural practices among the Gikuyu community, include, initiation ceremonies, burial ceremonies, wedding ceremonies etc. in all this ceremonies, the language used is well selected. It includes use of metaphors, metonyms etc.

4.3 Cultural Reasons

4.3.1 Cultural Attitudes towards Gender Names

Attitude towards women have significantly contributed to the metaphor and metonyms that have been used in “*Ngurario*” ceremony. Various titles used to refer to women change with each and every stage during the wedding. For example, she is referred to as, Mutumia in the metaphor.

49. *Muhiki niatuika mutumia*

The bride has become the silent one.

In this metaphor, the attitude of the community towards women is to always follow what she asked by the husband. She has to be submissive. The male gender is no exception at the beginning of the *Ngurario* ceremony the bridegroom is referred to as “*Mugurani*” the buyer as illustrated by the metaphor

50. *Muhikani ni Mugurani*

The bridegroom is the buyer

This title is used because the bridegroom is seen having paid the bride price which is inform of goats. Paying the bride price is like a business transaction. The bridegroom is honored and is seen as one who has authority over the woman. She is his property. The term “*Muhikania*” is also used to denote one who is marrying. The bridegroom is in this case said to have fulfilled all the cultural requirements to be called *Muhikania*. This cultural requirements include paying bride price and taking part in *Ngurario* ceremony. After cutting the scapula, the bridegroom acquires a new name which is “*Muthuri Ngami*” as shown in the metaphor. Thus the attitude towards the bridegroom is one of admiration because he has been able to pay the bride price to her family.

51. *Niatuka Muthuri Ngami*

He has become a caretaker

The society expects the bride groom to become a caretaker. To protect his family just like a shepherd taking care of his goats; provide for the wife and the children and ensure peace and stability in the homestead. The attitude is seen as that of being a caregiver and a protector. Attitudes are expressed by choosing of words carefully and using a unique language. This can be done by use of metaphors and metonyms. Metaphors and metonyms are used to show the expectations of a society in contextual situations.

4.3.2 Religious Cultural Practice.

The Gikuyu community believe in “*Ngai*” God coming from “*Mugai*” the divider whom they believe created Gikuyu, then blessed him with the most beautiful of all women *Mumbi*, later blessed them with nine daughters who later got married forming the nine clans of the Gikuyu community. When faced with problems, when giving thanks, the Gikuyus will always pray to

God in thanksgiving or asking for help. Thus the following metonyms shows the belief in the Supreme being consider.

52. *Ngai wa Kirinyaga*

God of Kirinyaga.

53. *Ngai wa kianjahi*

God of Kianjahi

54. *Ngai wa mitaburuko ya nyandarua.*

God of the plains of Nyandarua.

In example 52 above, God of Kirinyaga refers to God of people who live in one of Kenyan counties, that is Kirinyaga County, however, it is part whole representation and will refer to parts of Kenya dominated by Kikuyu. In 53 above, God of Kianjahi represents God who allows Gikuyus from a place where they grow “njahi” black beans to have a bountiful harvest thus referential. In 54 above, God of plains of Nyandarua refers to God of the people of Nyandarua. Reference to Supreme-being shows they are religious people.

4.3.3 Farming Culture

Kikuyus are involved in farming. This is because they live in the highlands. They rear animals and also do small scale farming. The economic activity of being farmers makes them use metaphors and metonyms that relate to those activities. They are also known to be very good business people. Therefore, there is no surprise why many businesses in Kenya are owned by Kikuyus. Consider the following examples.

55. *Muhiki Niagurwo*

The bride has been bought

This shows the communities knowledge in business transaction in that there is a buyer, seller and what is to be bought. In the Ngurario ceremony the bridegroom is the buyer, the bride is what is sold and the means of payment is by use of goats. The goats are among the most reared and treasured animals in Gikuyu tradition and are used in transaction and also as food during ceremonies thus the metonym;

56. *Kuria Mhuri*

Eating goats

The metonym refers to all the foods eaten during the ceremony. It can be goats slaughtered and either roasted, boiled or fried. Black beans rice etc. reference to goat shows that it's the most crucial and important food that must be eaten during Ngurario ceremony. There cannot be a Ngurario without goats. It is the only animal that is used in the ceremony of :

57. *Gutinia Kiande*

Cutting the scapula

The goat's roasted front limbs are the only ones that can be cut during the Ngurario ceremony and not any other domestic animal. All this shows the importance kikuyu place on farming especially goat farming.

58. *Muhiki ni mburi*

Bride is goat

The bride is compared to a goat because of the value attached to it. It is because of this that the characteristics of it are well known that is meak, important, able to follow direction etc. this are metaphorically transferred to that of the bride who is expected to have the same characteristics.

59. *Ndagacemanie na bhangi*

Do not encounter bad luck.

Bhang is a drug that is grown in the fields. Anyone found to be smoking it is seen as having put himself into bad luck. This is because it causes the person not to be efficient in his work. The metonym is used as a prayer to “*wathiomo*”, a young boy who takes care of goats in the brides homestead that he will not encounter any bad luck but be successful whenever he will go.

4.3.4 Cultural Respect for Other People

Respect is earned and cannot be forced during marriage ceremony in the Gikuyu community. A relationship is made through the whole marriage event. This leads to the members of both families; the bride and the bridegroom to refer to each other as ‘*athoni*’(in-law). This means that neither of the two families is to do something that will be shameful in front of the other or talk aimlessly. The two are now connected through marriage between their children and

are expected to show respect to each other and act with a lot of decorum and respect. This is illustrated by the metonymy;

60. *Aya ni athoni*

These are my inlaws

By the members of the two families calling each other athoni it ensures that respect is maintained at all times and it is a constant reminder of what is expected of them.

4.3.5 Euphemism

Euphemism is a word or phrase used by people to replace other words which are offensive to them or to those being addressed Leech and Rowson (1995:269) Euphemism phrases soften the reality of context. Euphemism is common in all communities as it assists people to speak about things or issues they find obscene in certain context. This includes issues like death, sex and body parts.

In the Gikuyu “Ngurario” ceremony, people from all walks of life attend the ceremony. This includes the young, middle aged, (youth) and the elderly. It is because of this that when the elderly man is explaining about the various pieces of meat given to the bride by the bridegroom, he uses euphemism. This is so as to save his face, avoid embarrassment and the face of the hearers.

Consider the following symbolic metonym.

61. *Kuehumbira hakagia urugari*

Covering and getting warmth

The above metonymy is symbolic of the copulation process. It is expected that when they get married, fruits of their marriage have to be visible and according to the Gikuyu customs, children are those fruits. It is because of this that during Ngurario ceremony they are presented with a part of a skin that resembles a blanket (rwangu) which symbolically mean that they are expected to have children. Another euphemistic metaphor is;

62. *Nyama ya Ngengeto*

Meat immediately after ribs

This is given to the bride. It is symbolic of where the baby rests in the mother’s womb. This acts as a blessing to the bride’s womb so that she can be able to carry the baby to term and also a healthy baby.

Another euphemistic metaphor is;

63. *Gichere kia Higo*

Part of the Kidney

This is given to the bride to eat as a representation of how she is to behave. She is not supposed to gossip around or expose her husband's weaknesses. It is also considered a taboo for young uncircumcised boys to see thighs of a woman and so during Ngurario ceremony one will hear the bride being advised by use of the following metaphor;

64. *Ndugatahie ucuru hena ihii, na wiinainie ihii/ makumburu*

Do not serve porridge if there are uncircumcised boys and shake the mixture well to make it smooth.

4.3.6 Togetherness and Unity

Among the Kikuyu's unity is a key thing in families, clans and the community as a whole. If two families are joined by marriage of their children, they have to practice solidarity, togetherness and unity. Metaphors and metonyms during Ngurario ceremonies bring out togetherness as illustrated.

65. *Aya nio athoni aitu*

These are our in-laws

This is a symbolic metonym. The word "uthoni" stands for the relationship that is made through marriage process and in this relationship neither of the two parties should do something of disrespect thus refer to each other as "muthoniwa" (male in-laws) and wamwami (female in-laws). Another metonym that shows togetherness is

66. *Gwaka ndugu*

Building friendship

Building something involves co-operation between two or more parties. During Ngurario ceremony, the bride and bridegroom are said to have built a relationship based on love. This love leads to togetherness and unity of the two families in that when either of the family needs assistance, example during burial the other family joins as a sign of solidarity because of marriage of their children leading us to the metonym:

67. *Tuguite guku ta mbaa*

We have fallen like fog/mist

This metaphor shows that when there is a ceremony in the community especially “Ngurario” ceremony. People always turn up in large numbers like fog so as to witness the important ceremony. This shows unity and togetherness. Imagine a “Ngurario” ceremony where people do not attend?

4.3.7 Cultural Stereotyping

Communities in the world are stereotyped differently. In some cultures the bride may be called a flower to show beauty, whereas in others like Gikuyu community the bride is called the goat.

This is brought in the metaphor,

68. *Muhiki ni mburi*

Bride is a goat

In some societies calling the bride a goat is offensive and abusing but in others it is a treasure. This will be due to the importance that is held to the goats. In the Gikuyu community, the goat is seen as a very important animal and so is the bride. Another illustration is,

69. *Muhiki niatukia mutumia*

Bride has become the silent one

In this metaphor, among the Kikuyu’s the bride is supposed to be submissive, not to question anything that the husband does or says. Some cultures will not agree to this cultural ways of life because a wife should be equal with a man in making decisions. The wedding, Ngurario ceremony is also stereotyped. For example the metaphonymy;

70. *Gikeno kianyu ki iguru*

Your happiness is up

It is assumed that everyone who is attending the Ngurario ceremony is happy. But that is not always the case. Some may be happy because of sunshine on that day, others may not be happy for the newlyweds for various reasons, like past disagreements etc.

4.3.8 Cultural Gikuyu Gender Roles

In every society gender roles are well stipulated. The men for example are expected to be decision makers, care takers etc. while the women are supposed to be beautiful in the way she wears, and how she behaves like being prudent, silent and not questioning her husband.

The following metaphors show the gender roles as expected by the society.

71. Muhiki niatukia mutumia

Bride has become the silent one

In the above metaphor the bride has to keep silent about things she will encounter in her marriage. She is to keep secrets.

72. Muhiki niwe indo

Wife is things

The wife's role is an investment. She should be able to work hard so that her husband's wealth can continue to grow.

73. Muhiki ni mugemu ta mweri

The bride is beautiful like the moon

Throughout her life, the bride will be expected to be neat, clean and ensure that her homestead, children and husband are taken care of. She should be beautiful inside and outside. The husband also has some gender roles which have been set by the society. They include;

74. Muthuri ngami

Caretaker husband

The husband should be able to take care of his family; financially, emotionally and spiritually. He is to work hard to ensure his family does not lack anything.

75. Muthuri ni ndaa

Husband is stomach

In this metaphor, the husband is supposed to be fed well, so that when he is physically healthy he can be able to provide for his family. Thus his role is to eat and be healthy so that he can take care of his family.

4.3.9 Cultural Behavioral Expectations

Human beings experience with their bodies. The experiences are shown by use of emotions. If they are happy, they either laugh or smile, which is shown by the facial expressions. When they are sad, they either cry, or frown. In the case of “Ngurario” ceremony, it is a happy occasion for the people attending and also for the bride and the bridegroom because it is a celebration of their union. This is illustrated by the following:

76. *Ngoro cikenete niinyue guka*

Our hearts are happy for your coming

77. *Gikeno kianyu ki iguru*

Yours happiness is up

In (76) above the master of ceremony is happy that people have attended the ceremony and that will be indicated by him smiling and having an appreciative gesture. In (77) it indicates that they are happy for attending the ceremony. During a wedding, it is expected that the bride should be happy, and smile to the visitors and also be happy because she is becoming legally married. Thus the metaphor,

78. *Muhiki ena smile njega.*

The bride has a nice smile.

All the examples help to know, how to express and how to behave in front of others and in certain situations.

4.3.16 Body Parts Specifications

The human body has different parts, with different functions. Specific cultural communities attach important functions to various parts. Gikuyu's are no exceptional. In the metonym,

79. *Guoko kwa umotho*

Hand on the left

The left hand is called hand of woman “guoko kwa mutumia”. This is because in all that the woman does she is supposed to be on the left hand side. For instance during “Gutinia kiande”, cutting scapula, she holds using the left hand side. Also when seated she sits on the left hand side of the bride groom. Another illustration is the metonym,

80. Muthuri niwe kiongo kia mucii

The husband is the head of the house.

The head is the top most part of the body and so the reference of the husband as the head shows that he is the highest in the hierarchy.

4.3.17 Belief in Physical – Cultural Environment.

Kikuyu's are farmers and agricultural farming goes hand in hand in knowing seasons. It is because of this knowledge that the community has to know how or when to plant, when to weed etc. throughout the year. At the beginning of the year, it is usually very hot, thus not an appropriate time for planting but land preparation. This is followed by planting and weeding respectively. This organization may sometimes be interrupted by falling of fog, which usually falls in large quantities. It is the same case with the wedding ceremony, it is a disruption of the normal routine, so as to celebrate. People will come in large numbers and will be heard commenting,

81. Tuguite guku ta mbaa

We have fallen like mist/fog

4.4 Conclusion

The chapter begins with a brief definition of culture. It is followed by the identification of the cultural reasons for using metaphors and metonyms in the Ngurario ceremonies. These reasons include: cultural attitudes towards gender names, religious cultural practice, farming culture of the kikuyu, Gikuyu gender roles, respect for other people and euphemism.

One cannot have a culture without metaphors and metonyms which are based on how the human mind works in connection to their environment and way of life. Different communities give different versions of interpretations on issues and so each community is unique.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary

This study was conducted so as to achieve three objectives and three research questions were answered. The objectives were: To identify metaphors and metonyms used in wedding ceremonies and interpret their meanings, to classify metaphors and metonyms used in the “*Ngurario*” ceremony and lastly to examine the cultural reasons why metaphors and metonyms are used in Kikuyu “*Ngurario*” ceremonies. The research sought to identify metaphors and metonyms and their meanings considering the context which is “*Ngurario*” ceremony.

Metaphors were identified and classified according to the following categories: relationships, domestic animal metaphors, transactional metaphors, characteristics of the bride, behavioral metaphors, symbolic metaphors, general ideas metaphors, characteristics of the bridegroom, construction metaphors, and body part metaphors. The metaphors were then put into their various frames and their constituents were identified based on the hearer’s encyclopedic knowledge.

Classification of metonyms followed using the following categories: human characteristics, body parts, symbolic features, part – whole understanding, the possession/ possessor relationship and behavioral patterns. There was also classification based on a continuum between metaphors and metonyms.

A discussion about the cultural reasons why metaphors and metonyms are used in “*Ngurario*” ceremony followed. The reasons include, farming culture of Gikuyu people, sign of respect, and the role of women in society, attitude towards others and factors of politeness among others.

5.2 Findings

The most prominent finding of this research on metaphors and metonymy in the “*Ngurario*” ceremony is that they are a way of life for the Gikuyu community and are widely used though the speakers may not actually know they are using them.

Metaphors and metonyms have been identified with the objective of classifying them using different classes. However the classifications are not exhaustive depending on the context of

usage. Framing can be done on metaphors and metonyms so as to understand the meaning of a concept, elements or constituents identified are profiled for easier understanding.

Identification of the data brought to the conclusion that during the “*Ngurario*” ceremony the language is both metonymic and metaphorical. Metaphors involve two conceptual representation of an entity to another while metonymy is referential. Cultural reasons such as attitudes, respect for the elders, role of women etc. contribute to the usage of metaphors and metonyms to communicate the intended meaning. It was found that some statements can act as both metaphors and metonyms, this were called metaphontonymy. From data analysis it is fair to say that encyclopedic knowledge contributes highly in the interpretation of both metaphors and metonyms which evokes unique frames and its sub-components. It is from the frames that one is able to get the interpretation and thus understand the figures of speech.

5.3 Recommendations

This research was solely based on cognitive semantic analysis of Gikuyu metaphors and metonyms in “*Ngurario*” ceremonies by use of Frames theory. It is of importance to carry out a study on other figures of speech like synonyms, antonyms and find out whether they are used during “*Ngurario*” ceremony among the Gikuyu community. It is also recommended that a study be carried out on how Gikuyu speakers use metaphors and metonyms in other social gatherings such as burials, dowry payment etc.

Due to changes in the cultural environment, the study recommends that a similar study be carried out on contemporary society’s bridal showers.

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