



**A COGNITIVE APPROACH TO THE FUNCTIONS OF FIGURATIVE
LANGUAGE IN THE CIRCUMCISION SONGS OF THE ACHUKA PEOPLE
OF KENYA**

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**A RESEARCH PROJECT SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF
THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF MASTER OF ARTS
DEGREE IN LINGUISTICS, DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS AND
LANGUAGES, UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI**

2016

DECLARATION

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

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This project has been submitted for examination with my approval as the university supervisor.

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DEDICATION

To my loving husband Kizito Yaola, and my lovely daughters, Mariam Anjao, Michelle Acima and sons, Ancel Yaola and Aaron Munene. You gave me your time when you needed me most. May the Lord grant you wisdom and favour.

To my late father, Kiraithe Kibungi and mother Janerose Muthoni for giving me a good foundation in education and encouragement to venture ahead.

To my maternal uncle Ndeke Mukurah, for being there as a pillar and parent figure.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I register my gratitude to the Almighty God for enabling me to come this far. His grace has been sufficient in my life, may His name be praised forever.

The great ideas in this work are as a result of great contribution and intellectual influence of my lecturers, colleagues and friends. I am indebted to many people whom I cannot all acknowledge. I appreciate all but I can list only a few and hope that the rest will also feel honored. The following are among the solicitors and supporters of my general ideas, professional work and guidance.

I would like to acknowledge the tremendous support of my supervisor, Prof. Kithaka wa Mberia who has been very supportive. Your professional support, your ideas and positive criticism have shaped my work and for this I am grateful.

I am also greatly indebted to my lecturer Dr. Helga Schroeder whose Pragmatics and Semantics unit has given me an insight to choose a topic in Semantics and apply it as a platform for my study as the key to my theoretical framework on my project.

A lot of knowledge from Dr. Alfred Buregeya's research methods has helped in writing, organizing and overall presentation of the work. The other lecturers who have shaped my life in imparting knowledge whom I also sincerely acknowledge are: Prof. Lucia Omondi, Prof. Okoth Okombo, Dr. Jane Oduor, and Dr. Nyachae Michira. May the Almighty God bless your professional work.

Special thanks to my classmates who offered me their unreserved attention and support, coupled with unconditional love during the good and difficult times. Together we stood a united team which made us all sail through. Thanks to Rose, Innocent, Kithaka, Shem, Caroline, Jenniffer, Eunice, Veilon, Rael, Change and Liu. May the Lord sustain you with his abundant love. I would also like to appreciate my siblings Jefferson Mutwiri, Purity Karimi and Eva Kanini for their support.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

<i>Kibici</i>	Uncircumcised boy
<i>Muthera</i>	Uncircumcised girl
Conceptual Metaphor Theory	A linguistic theory by Lakoff (1980) used in analysis of figurative language, for example a metaphor, whereby there is mapping of the source to the target domains.
Cognitive Linguistics	Field of linguistic study which studies relationship between the mind and the environment (cultural background).
Figurative language	Creative use of appealing language which involves strategies such as: metaphors, similes and personifications to pass messages.
A conceptual domain	Is a set of ideas which are characteristic of a concept either target or source.
A mapping(s)	A set of fixed correspondences between a source and a target domain.
Source domain	The conceptual domain from which we draw Metaphorical expressions to understand another conceptual domain.
Target domain	The conceptual domain which characteristics of Source domain are mapped to.
Conceptual metaphor	A metaphor whereby an idea or conceptual domain is understood in terms of another.
Domain	A specific area of knowledge on cultural emphasis for example, circumcision.
Construal	The process by which a person's experience in the world is seen in a variety of ways.
Autonomy	Ability of a unit to behave independently of other units that might be construed in the same context.

ABSTRACT

This study analyses the figurative language used in the Gichuka circumcision songs and its functions. The study adopts a Cognitive approach. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory provides a window into the Gichuka figurative language. The classification of the figurative language is given and the figures of speech which are presented as conceptual metaphors, are classified according to their conventionality and unconventionality. Conventionality gives rise to the cognitive functions of these metaphors, which are ontological, structural and orientational. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory is used to bring out source to target mappings, which present a rich cultural background of a Muchuka. Physical and cultural environment is used as a source domain for the target, circumcision process, where the functions of the figures of speech are brought out. This helps to reveal that our system is metaphorically structured. The mappings also reveal the functions which are elaborately explained and figures of speech such as: personification, symbolism, euphemism, and synecdoche are brought out effortlessly via construal. The findings are presented in line with the recommendations and conclusions.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.0 Introduction

This chapter gives an overview of the study. The background to the study is given with an indepth introduction to the topic of study. The circumcision songs of the Achuka people which contain figurative language are discussed in details. The language used in the study which is Gichuka is discussed with a short history given on the origin of the Achuka people. The Statement of the problem is given whereby the need to study the figurative language in the Gichuka circumcision songs is shown with various reasons advanced. The hypotheses, objectives and Scope and Limitations are stated. The Theoretical Framework is discussed in details in terms of the field of Linguistics covered which is Cognitive Linguistics and the theory which is the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The tenets of the theory are advanced with elaborations from the language of study. The Literature review on Gichuka language is given together with Literature on Cognitive Linguistics. The Research Methodology is also discussed with the procedure for collecting data and approaches to analyzing it given. The chapter ends with significance of study and conclusion.

1.1 Background to the Study

Language is a very important part of any human culture especially in Kenya, which is made up of many language communities. Each likes to be identified or known through their culture especially through aspects like songs, poetry among others. For language to be rich and preserved and not *die* the culture should stand out.

This study on the Achuka circumcision songs and the figures of speech involved, shows that they are not dormant, but they are very lively and have specific functions in this community the researcher, being a native speaker. The study is carried out in the framework of Cognitive Linguistics to show how language is linked to the human mind. It shows how the various selected

figures of speech fit into the theory as the functions are brought out, through the Conceptual Metaphor Theory where mapping of the target and source domains is involved. This study dives into the circumcision songs of the Achuka people of the larger Meru District. It aims at analyzing the figures of speech in these songs and their functions in the language.

Circumcision songs are very vital and central reference in this community. They are accompanied by a lot of noise (productive and unproductive) in the form of ululations, screams and chants. They are very precious as they go beyond the entertainment function to perform different roles. Briefly, they help prepare boys and girls to undergo initiation and prepare them for marriage and becoming responsible parents.

Earlier on up to the 1980's, girls were being circumcised in this community and hence the circumcision songs carry messages for both genders through the figures of speech contained in them. These messages range from educating the initiates on various issues in the community such as: respecting their elders, parents, becoming responsible parents, importance of their culture, herbal treatment, and importance of the rite among others. Since not much has been written on the grammar and specifically in this area (circumcision), this study begins with a section on linguistic and historical background.

1.2 Introduction to the Language of Study

Gichuka is a language spoken by the Chuka people or simply *Achuka* people who live in Tharaka Nithi County of central Kenya on the Eastern slopes of Mt. Kenya.

Gichuka is a very distinct language which is related to Meru, but very closely related to Kitharaka and Kikamba, especially in its phonological aspects, but it is related to Kimeru in structure and some lexical forms. I quite agree with wa Mberia (1979), who argues that Kitharaka is a distinct language from Kimeru but similar to it both structurally and lexically. According to the Achuka oral tradition, Atharaka and Achuka, were daughters of the same father. The daughters were, Ciambandi, and Ciangoi, with the Chuka's resulting from Ciambandi, and the Tharaka, Ciangoi. There is a huge similarity and resemblances in the cultures of Tharaka and Chuka as compared to the other Meru and its dialects which are: Kiimenti, Kimwimbi, Kiigoji and Kitigania.

It is always disputable as to whether Gichuka is a dialect of Kimeru or a language on its own. Infact, Gichuka bible is being written, thanks to the Bible Society of Kenya.

The Achuka oral history states that, the Achuka were the first to settle on the Mt. Kenya Slopes in the 1350 century. They met the Dorobo's who were very short people hence forcing them to migrate to their present land. The Embu settled in the 14th century, the Meru 15th and the Gikuyu much later. The Achuka claim to have relatives in Kirinyaga and Nyeri, parts of Gikuyu where the natives were from Chuka. Infact, the name Kirinyaga has originated in Gichuka to mean "ki nyaa", the place of clouds, (Manyaga). The Gikuyu nativize the name, to Kerinyaga.

1.3 Statement of the Problem

A song is an organized piece of artwork which has a tune, beats and can be accompanied by instruments among others. According to Kipury (1983), songs reflect a people's philosophy, beliefs and sometimes their political development and social values. She further notes that since the Maasai are

pastoral, their imagery will be drawn from the pastoral setting,(behavior of their cattle, sizes, colours, shapes of their horns) as their ideas are based around their immediate surroundings.

Circumcision songs are songs that are sang during the circumcision period. Many African communities, Kenya not being an exception, perform this rite and every community does it in its own way even though there are some similarities in some communities. In Bantu communities, like the Agikuyu, there are similarities like in the way seclusion was carried out. In the Chuka community, songs are part of this rite. It takes time from when an initiate declares they are ready to be circumcised, to the day of the actual circumcision. This time is classified into three. The pre-circumcision period, during circumcision and after circumcision. The songs follow the same order and are known as *Thauthi*.

Pre-circumcision songs are sung to prepare the initiates *ibici* and *mithera* for the rite of passage. During the process of circumcision, special songs are sung while after the ceremony other songs are sang to signify the end. Circumcision in Chuka is taken very seriously and all other things stop. It is done every December. Girls used to be circumcised until the mid 70's when it was stopped, under the Female Genital Mutilation campaign.

Messages in the community contained in circumcision songs are hidden in figures of speech and are passed poetically or indirectly. This is because, through a song, one can pass messages that bear serious issues such as: parenthood, sex, marriage and taboo words like names of sexual organs. This is through: metaphors, similes, personification, euphemisms and symbolism very easily as the messages are disguised, do not hurt or criticize harshly or hurt directly, and are presented in a humorous way.

Figures of speech like the ones mentioned above, including onomatopoeia are the heartbeat in circumcision songs. They are the salt in the songs, without them the song is not grounded and it loses its aesthetic value. This study seeks to explore the different types of figurative language brought out in the

circumcision songs and their functions in the Gichuka community, since it is a dying traditional culture with an aim to preserve it and appreciate its aesthetics.

Various studies have been carried out in circumcision songs to do with the cultural aspects, but no studies have been carried out in the Achuka circumcision songs and none in the figures of speech in the Achuka circumcision songs and their functions, in the field of Cognitive Linguistics, where the Conceptual Metaphor Theory is applied. There is need to fill in this huge gap, in linguistics study. Note also that many of these songs are no longer sang, as circumcision takes place in hospitals and the traditional culture is also threatened by the HIV phenomenon.

Also to help in preserving the rich traditional culture, (images in circumcision songs) of these people to the current and future generations. ‘These’ are not just songs, bearing in mind that they are not regarded as seriously and importantly as they should, even by scholars, but they are the seats that the Achuka people sit on and carry the community.

1.4 Hypotheses

- i) That the Achuka, circumcision songs contain figures of speech (concepts).
- ii) That the figures of speech in these circumcision songs have got different cognitive functions, which are conceptualized in different ways.
- iii) Cultural context plays a significant role in interpretation of the figurative language used in these songs.

1.5 Specific Objectives

- i) To identify the figures of speech used in the Achuka circumcision songs.
- ii) To establish the cognitive functions of the figures of speech in the Achuka circumcision songs and how they are conceptualized.

- iii) To establish the role of cultural context in the interpretation of the figurative language.

1.6 Rationale

No one has studied figures of speech and their functions in the Achuka circumcision songs, this shows the need to carry out the study. These figures of speech are important in that they serve an important function in this community. They educate on many aspects and entertain, which goes beyond to preserve this traditional culture which is dying out. No study using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory has been used in study of figurative language in circumcision songs, yet they are being phased out in many Kenyan communities.

Circumcision is currently performed in hospitals, hence the traditional rituals of singing and dancing are no longer there. This has left no place where the initiates can learn their traditions and values from. This study serves as a future reference to other scholars to study other figures of speech not handled and contributes to the study of oral-literature in Kenya. Since these circumcision songs have a lot of figures of speech, this study embarks on their explanation and functions in this community.

1.7 Scope and Limitations

This study ventures into the circumcision songs of the Achuka people. It majors on studying the figures of speech such as (metaphors, onomatopoeia, symbolism, similes, euphemism and personification). It further looks at the functions of these figures in the community. Cultural background plays a major role in the interpretation of these figures as they serve the functions of educating, based on the community's values, advising and instilling discipline among others.

Data is collected from Tharaka- Nithi County, from a group of cultural dancers known as Mutube Traditional Group, made up of around 20 members, aged between 65 and 90 years. This group engages in dancing, during important cultural functions like; public celebrations, and planting of trees.

The specific area is from the furthest point, near the Mt. Kenya forest which is the Kiang'onde area, this being said to be the original (standard) Chuka dialect. The songs under study are fifteen in number. They link and blend into each other, as the messages in the songs are passed and continue to the other song to cover a full traditional circumcision ceremony. There are those that are sang in the evening, before the circumcision day, during the actual circumcision and after the rite of passage to celebrate. Each song contains at least an image, if not more.

The Cognitive Linguistics approach is used and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory is applied in the analysis and the interpretation of the figures of speech. This study only covers the figures of speech that will be possible to analyse using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory from the fifteen songs and the functions of these figures, and no other areas.

1.8 Theoretical Framework

1.8.1 Cognitive Linguistics

This section discusses the framework in Cognitive Linguistics. Cognitive linguistics is the relationship between human language and the mind. Cognitive linguistics which uses a new approach to the study of language emerged in the 1970's. The main proponents are Fillmore 1975, Lakoff and Thompson (1975) and Rosch 1975. This is different compared to the earlier approaches to language where it was claimed that language faculty was autonomous.

Cognitive linguistics has two subfields namely, Cognitive semantics and Cognitive approaches to grammar. Cognitive semantics is the relationship between experience, embodied cognition and language, Evans and Green (2006). Cognitive approaches to grammar assume a cognitive semantic approach and build a model of linguistics knowledge (grammar) which is consistent with the assumptions and findings in the work of cognitive semantics. It concentrates on the construction field of grammar. There is a

very thin line between the two fields, as both of them cover the same functions, the conventionality and cognitive functions.

Cognitive Semantics goes ahead to investigate the relationship between experience, conceptual system and semantic structure encoded by language. To elaborate; conceptual structure simply refers to how knowledge is represented, for example; knowledge in traditional circumcision songs. Meaning is digested in the figures of speech and their significance. Conceptualization has to come from our background knowledge which is cultural. Circumcision as a rite represents encyclopedic knowledge, which is triggered by the figures of speech. The concepts in the songs maybe semantic words like mention of circumcision knife, *Kabiu ka mutani* among others. Some of the theories advanced in cognitive semantics are: Conceptual metaphor theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), and Conceptual blending theory of Fauconnier and Turner, (2002).

Lackoff and Johnson, (1980), note that, human processes are largely metaphorical. For example, linguistic expressions such as ‘time is money’ time is a moving object, ideas are food, or theories are buildings’ are not literal. These expressions are figurative. Since it is figurative language being explored, and from a cultural background, the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lackoff, will best fit this study. Note also that most figures for example, metaphors are conventional.

1.8.2 The Conceptual Metaphor Theory

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory was a creation by Lackoff and Johnson (1980). This theory is used in the analysis of figurative language. It is used to analyse the correspondences from the source domain to a target domain. The Achuka have various objects, things that are used figuratively as the source which are also mapped figuratively to the target, which may stand for emotions, feelings and even situations or events.

Common source domains in Chuka culture are:

Human body- body acting as a pillar/support.

Natural features	water bodies like: rivers and ponds, hills. To signify life. <i>Nthambo</i> , a river numbs the body during circumcision.
Plants/forest.	Mugumo tree, Mt Kenya forest . <i>Kithaka</i> stands for all vegetation Types such as: forest, bush, and shrub. Rituals were carried out in the forest.
Tools.	Farm tools, for example, knives to show richness. ' <i>Kabiu ka mutani</i> ' to show transition

Common target domains

Emotions.	Happiness. <i>Gikeno</i> .
Cultural events.	Circumcision. <i>Ntano; Thauthi</i> .

According to Anderson and Stage, (1975; 419) Figures of speech occur frequently in your everyday conversation... in poetry, prose writing or ordinary speech – it is an integral and vital part, it is not decorative but functional. I quite agree with him. This can be seen using the Gichuka example, when you say a person, Karimi, is “*gachina ga itũra*”, in English, will be Karimi is a firebrand, that can spark (cause fire to) a whole village. (Literal meaning).

Karimi is a backbiter (rumour monger) metaphorical meaning. The (source) here, is the burning and scalding qualities of a firebrand, which are mapped to the (target) *gachina ga itura*. That she is dangerous and a rumour monger, Karimi. Here, the metaphor structures our thinking and knowledge.

The mapping between source and target domains involves two sets of correspondences, epistemic and ontological. The ontological correspondences hold between elements of one domain and of the other domain; epistemic correspondences are correspondences between relations holding between elements in one domain and relations between elements in the other domain

(this includes, for instance, encyclopedic knowledge about the domain). Croft and Cruse (2004:196)

Ontological correspondences

Source	target
<i>Kubibia</i> one who burns the village	rumour monger.
<i>Guchina</i> to scald	to backbite
<i>niarugaga antu</i> to cook people	fabricates false stories
<i>muruthia</i>	makes people fight
<i>wa kanyua</i>	One who is mouthy. Spreads rumours

Epistemic correspondences

When there is fire in a village, many people lose property; and the damage is immense regardless of the cause of fire.	rumours are hurting and damaging and it is hard to salvage a reputation, and relations are lost.
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Scalding, which is a property of burning Causes pain and is also dangerous depending on the place where one has been scalded and is still painful.	backbiting causes hatred and in some cases revenge.
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To cook people in this culture, means to make people hate one another and fight as they to look for the source of the stories.	fabrication of false stories makes people disagree and fight.
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From this culture, all the above source concepts for the target rumour monger are acceptable as they are drawn from aspects of fire. From the firebrand, we are made aware of the dangers of rumour mongering or backbiting. Even a small fire causes stings which sting slowly and eventually lead to massive

destruction through making people to fight after being burnt, cooked, through words and the entire village can be burnt even causing war. All the other metaphorical concepts provide a rich background to draw the concepts but the most specific one that brings out the whole system of rumour mongering, is picked.

From this explanation, even though the Gichuka metaphor, *gachina ga itura*, is realized linguistically it is a conceptual structure, as Cruse & Croft put it (2004:197), metaphors are conceptual structures, and are not merely linguistic in nature, although, of course, they are normally realized linguistically.

This study deals with conventional metaphors, for example, as stated '*kabiu ka mutani*' knife of the circumciser (literal) metaphorical meaning, the circumciser or the one who makes one whole. The conceptual metaphor theory dominates the blending theory and others as the metaphors are conventional, in this study. The conceptual model, since it can also support and analyze other figures of speech, using the mappings from source to target, best fits this study.

Personification, onomatopoeia, metonym, symbolism will also be analysed using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as they also have associations of the source to target mapping, characteristics and their interpretations. The functions are then explained using the mappings from source, physical and cultural environment, *circumcision concepts*, figures of speech in the circumcision songs to the targets, the functions of the figures of speech in (the Gichuka culture) as will be shown and their place in this society.

1.9 Literature Review

1.9.1 Literature on Gichuka language

This section reviews previous studies that have been carried out related to the areas of study on circumcision songs. They include: Mberia K. has analysed and described various consonants in Kitharaka. He has also written on morphophonemic in Kitharaka which is very close to Gichuka, at the

morphology and lexical levels. We also have Marete (1981) among others who have written in Kimeru.

No one has written on Gichuka circumcision songs, but songs like wedding have been studied by Kathuru I. (2012) who uses the same theory, the Conceptual Metaphor as this study.

From other communities, there are many who have written on circumcision like Gikuyu, by Jenks (internet). Njiru E. (1981), has also studied circumcision in the larger Ameru people in details in his unpublished 1981 M.A. Koech K, (2012) has studied figurative language in selected Kipsigis songs, which is related to this study in narrowing on figurative language in songs. He uses a Lexical Pragmatics approach, where he uses narrowing and widening to analyse the figures of speech.

Kangutu (2014), has carried out a study on how the interpretation of figurative language is realized in Kamba dowry negotiation. He further goes to discuss how the participants overcome the constraints related to figurative language.

Timmamy (2002), carried a study on a stylistic analysis of the Mombasa Swahili women's wedding songs. She focused on linguistic features based on phonology, lexis, syntax, semantics and paralinguistic levels of language using Leech's approach. At the semantic level, her study featured similes, metaphors, symbolism, personification, proverbs and irony, where some such as: similes, metaphors, symbolism and personification are also featured in this study.

Kariuki (2012), in her M.A thesis has studied how women are portrayed in Gikuyu metaphorical proverbs. This study is of particular interest because, she has employed use of a Cognitive Theory in studying conceptual metaphors in proverbs; where we have the mappings from source to target, also employed in current study.

1.9.2 Literature on Cognitive Linguistics

We use cognitive models in trying to understand the world. In particular, we use them in theorizing about the world, in the construction of scientific theories as well as in theories of the sort we all make up. It is common for such theories not to be consistent with one another. The cognitive status of such models permits this Lakoff (1987:118).

According to Lee (2001), one of the most attractive features of Cognitive Linguistics is its focus on meaning. The relatively impoverished treatment of meaning in some theories of language must be puzzlement to many non-linguists. He goes further to add that, in emphasizing the role of construal, cognitive linguists have moved away from earlier treatments of semantics in linguistics, based on the assumption that meaning is independent of human perceptions and human cognition and that it can therefore be objectified and potentially formalised.

1.10 Research Methodology

Data will be collected from Chuka area of Kiang'onde in Meru South. Data is elicited from an elderly cultural group which performs, songs, poetry and is based at the Kiang'onde forest. Their ages range between 65 and 90 hence competence in the language, and grounded in the foundations of this culture. There are fifteen circumcision songs which contain figures of speech.

1.10.1 Data collection procedure

The procedure for data collection is listening and watching this elderly group perform and video-taping them in the forest. Actually one area where the actual performance used to be carried out. After the performance of all the songs, they are transcribed as the researcher writes them, and goes through to ensure thoroughness, being also competent in the language. Also, listening to them explains on the culture and their experiences since they are considered an authority in the language and they also educate on the same during public functions or cultural events. Research is also carried out through the interview method to clarify and elaborate on the meanings and functions of vocabulary,

some figures of speech and their uses. Also through the internet, relevant books and consultation.

1.10.2 Data Analysis Approaches

The qualitative research design is applied in picking out the figures of speech from the 15 transcribed songs. The researcher identifies and picks out the figures of speech which are later tabulated and interpreted and analysed using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and their functions given, through the source to target mappings with information gathered earlier from the cultural group and resource material.

1.11. Significance of the Study

The findings of the study will provide a new perspective to the study of Gichuka and other languages especially in the area of metaphor. The findings of the research will add to the body of knowledge of the Achuka linguists as they will have information on traditional culture which can be used for future reference by future researchers.

1.12 Conclusion

The chapter provides background information to the study which includes: The background of the language (Gichuka), the background to the study, the statement of the problem, the objectives of the researcher and the hypotheses that were tested. Other parts included are: the rationale, scope and limitations of the research, theoretical framework, literature review, research methods, data analysis and significance of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

CLASSIFICATION OF DATA

2.0 Introduction

In the Chuka community, circumcision was a very important ritual. Circumcision was not complete without the circumcision songs which were part and parcel of the process. The songs were presented in form of vigorous dances, with soloists leading, and sometimes chanting powerfully, and the rest would join. Ululations and screams rent the air as the performers jumped, gyrated and danced to the rhythm. There were accompaniments like the drum, leg jingles and the *coro*. These were not just songs, they contained powerful images laden with language rich in messages which were intended to teach and pass moral values among others.

2.1 The Characteristics

This Chapter deals with the classification of the figurative language contained in the songs according to Cognitive Linguistics. In Cognitive Linguistics, the view that our thoughts are shaped by metaphors is advanced. The language we express ourselves in is a result of metaphorical concepts which can be traced to the human conceptual system in the brain. The circumcision message is passed to the hearers indirectly through use of conceptual metaphors, which can only be interpreted through accessing the encyclopedic cultural background of a Muchuka.

2.2 Classification of Metaphors

Conceptual metaphors are classified according to conventionality and cognitive functions.

Conventionality

These are general ways of thinking about or trying to envisualize an abstract domain.

Cognitive functions.

These are the cognitive functions brought out through use of the ontological, structural and orientational metaphors.

2.2.1 Conventionality

A conventional metaphor is a metaphor that is commonly used in everyday life in a culture to give structure to some portion of that culture's conceptual system (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). The LOVE IS A JOURNEY metaphor by Lakoff is an example. These are general ways of thinking about or trying to envision an abstract domain. It is also brought out using general ways or linguistic expressions. This will depend on existing views of a particular society and what is generally accepted in that culture. This means we have live metaphors which are widely used in a community. There can be dead or live metaphors. Dead metaphors are those that have been used for long, until they are no longer in use. Live metaphors are the ones that are used frequently in a society or culture. An example of a Gichuka live metaphor.

Ugaca ngionkya

You will come when am breastfeeding.

You will visit when am having a good time

This is a metaphor widely used by the Achuka people. The context is especially used in cases where someone is suffering or needs help from one they know or a close person, and they decline to help them. This can be in a form of a job, money or other types of offers. The selfish person is cautioned using this metaphor as the Gichuka culture condones selfishness. The abstract domain here can be envisioned through the following metaphorical concepts.

Source (concrete)	target (abstract)
Breast milk, which is full of milk	no problems
Presence of babies	time of plenty amount

It is the metaphorical concepts, no problems, good life which help us to envision the abstract or target domain as being a time of plenty in terms of a

good harvest or success in terms of a job and others. Most metaphors fall under this category, as they utilize the metaphorical concepts drawn from the source domain to envisualize the abstract, in this case the target domain.

2.2.2 Unconventional Conceptual Metaphors

These are shown using unconventional conceptual metaphors which are not easy to predict and interpret unless you know how they are created. They are also known as novel metaphors. They come about as a result of new things for example, technology and new culture. These are not very common in the Gichuka culture. They are normally used by the youth or the educated in the society.

Example from the Gichuka culture, in the day to day discourses of the youth among the males, it is common to come across the unconventional metaphor.

Gotwikire rikavari?

Have you become recovery?

Have you become a pimp?

This is used by a male or a female to a male. *Recovery* is the name of towing vehicles, especially the lorries which tow away vehicles which have broken down on the roads or have had accidents. The source domain here is the towing vehicle, which is concrete and the abstract will be a wayward man who likes picking girls regardless of their HIV status, or marital so long as they are available, he will sleep with them. There is no linguistic connection between the source, English word and the target, the wayward man. It is very difficult to see the connection between the source and target. One can only make predictions based on how they understand and view the source, which is recovery. This new blend of a metaphor must be a creative work by a mechanic in the garage at work.

Example 2. In song (6) Mweretho we have the figure;

Ruraya mbebo ii ui Ruraya

England is cold ii ui England

At the circumcision, things are tough

Ndege iremeere Mwambaca Ruraya

The plane is stuck Mombasa England

The boy is still at the circumcision place.

This novel metaphor was initially used in the context of harvest but was creatively brought to circumcision where it fitted perfectly well. The boy is referred to as the plane which has got stuck at Mombasa, metaphorically meaning outside the parent's home where he has gone to be circumcised. It was conceptualized as a place where this boy had gone to be taught about how to live and behave as a *nthaka new ways*, which was comparable to a white man going to England and according to the Achuka, Mombasa was their access point.

The cognitive Function of Metaphors

This is brought out by use of three types of conceptual metaphors.

- Ontological metaphors
- Structural metaphors
- Orientational metaphors

2.3 Ontological metaphors

An ontological metaphor is a metaphor in which an abstraction such as an activity, emotion or idea is represented as something concrete, such as object, substance, container or person (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Ontological metaphors give physical characteristics to concepts that are vague or abstract. They are then viewed as things or substances after which we can make reference by specifying them depending on culture and context. This means that they can be counted, measured, personified and be given many qualities and vary from culture to culture. Ontological metaphors can also be enriched in the source and be classified into structural metaphors. Ontological metaphors can be further classified into: container, entity and substance ontological metaphors.

2.3.1 Container metaphors.

In these conceptual metaphors, events and activities are presented as having enclosed areas because of having a beginning point and finishing points.

An example from the Gichuka culture, when one uses the phrase;

ndathyi ntononi..

I have gone to the circumcision.

Ntononi, to the circumcision is viewed as a concrete thing. More elaborately it is treated like being in a container that one is going to enter in an enclosed place. In normal conversation, a Muchuka cannot refer to the circumcision area as a place, the way one would for example, refer to *thokoni*, a market place.

Ntononi is from *ntano*, which stands for circumcision. When the suffix ***ni*** is added to ***ntano***, it shows the place where circumcision takes place but one is referring to participating in the event. This place is viewed as a container where people go not necessarily to witness the ceremony only, but to partake of all the rites that have to do with circumcision, the cutting, singing and dancing among others.

Example in song (1) ***Uraukire kwa mau?***

Whom did you visit early in the morning?

In this song, the title is metaphoric in that the visit that is made by the *muici* boy to the place of the *nthaka* is very significant. This activity of making a journey from his parent's home to the circumcised male's hut *garu*, can be construed as a container. Every activity has got a beginning and an end. The end point of this visit is getting circumcised so that one can become whole. The boy is being asked if he really knows the people he had visited already ringing a bell that they are living in different worlds. The container aspect can be summarized as follows;

The visit to the *garu* as a container.

The boy entered the *garu*.

The boy went out of his parent's home.

The boy is seeking to enter the circumcision container.

2 Onakaimba ukaimbura

Even if you thatch, you cannot undo the thatching

You cannot change your mind, have to be circumcised

In this metaphor, the *muici* is told that giving consent to be circumcised is like putting final touches in a house container. This container is made of ontological correspondences which are common in the African culture, roofing of houses with grass, showing that one was actually completing the construction.

In this culture, circumcision was like entering in a container, where one went in as a boy, and he left as a *nthaka* circumcised male. In this container, circumcision would take place in the *kigiri* and *kagau* respectively.

6 Akuna itogi na gatogo

Jumped the fireplace with smoke (diminutive) shown by (ga).

He has been fully circumcised

Itogi, refers to the place in the farms, where fire was lit and remained throughout the time when crops were in the farm. Beginning from the time of planting, weeding to harvesting. The fire kept out wild animals and rodents at night. Farmers would also roast tubers such as: *ikwa* yams, *ngwaci* sweet potatoes, *mianga* cassava and *mbembe ciagwokia na mati* roast maize. This fire was fierce as firewood was supplied throughout.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) point out that activities are construed as containers. This is so because activities have a beginning and an end. The two end points (beginning and end) define a bounded region.

Kuna itogi na gatogo, which literally means to jump into the fire place with a small smoke is conceptualized as going through circumcision event and emerging unscathed by fire.

In this metaphor, the boy is said to enter in this container full of intense fire, where he is given a severe treatment of fire, through the knife where he also leaves with traces of smoke (diminutive). He gains a mysterious bout of energy and strength *gatogo* amidst the pain.

This metaphor shows that one has been fully circumcised.

19 *Kukaba uthaka*

Covering the wounds

Maintaining manhood

Kukaba, literally means to cover. If something heavy falls on you like a tree, it will press on you and prevent you from moving until you are rescued. The *nthaka* is being advised figuratively to take care of his wounds in the same way. Only the wearer of the shoe knows where it hurts. When one is hurting or has wounds, they do not go announcing to the world that they are hurting but keep it to themselves in this human container. One was supposed to keep the whole process of circumcision a secret. This human container was supposed to remain covered during the whole circumcision process and also in their life time.

Song 11. *Muici akunjuga ndia*

Boy has stirred the deep waters

This song was sung after circumcision. Process of circumcision was compared to being in a big water container.

20 *Muici akunjuga ndia*

Boy has stirred the deep waters.

The boy is ready to be circumcised

Circumcision is a water body which has its own dangers. ***Ndia*** is deep water mass which was considered dangerous to swim in unless one was a good swimmer, as one risked drowning. This is a special water mass full of not only water but also blood, that is why the boy is told not to ***stir the deep water*** to make it dirty *dare it* unless he is fully prepared to (swim) face the pain.

21 *Menya unkeeria ugikeerwa*

Do not delay me as you delay yourself

In the same song (11) *Muici akunjuga ndia*, the circumciser is warned by the initiate not to delay him even as he the circumciser, delays himself. Circumcision was seen as a very important activity whereby one had to be circumcised at the agreed time, any delays by the circumciser on arrival would signify unpreparedness resulting to a poorly done job. This activity would also be perceived as a container with circumcision starting very early and ending before noon and every initiate was supposed to fit in that span of time. Initiates' chances of losing organs or being maimed increased with delays resulting from circumcisers who arrived late and did a shoddy job by hurrying up initiates, which was unprofessional.

2.3.2 Entity metaphors

An entity metaphor is a type of ontological metaphor in which something abstract is brought out as a physical object. Personification is an ontological metaphor in which a thing is represented as a person.

Examples of entity metaphors;

In the song, *Kirimara nwa makengi*

Kirimara is just snow.

The ontological metaphor,

Kabiu kathwire, mwambia na murigia nako.

Knife hates the beginner and last with it.

The knife here is given the cognitive function of a person. That it has emotions, it can hate. It hates the first people it circumcises and the last. The first people to be circumcised face the knife when it is very sharp and the wrath of an eager and impatient circumciser, any mistake can be lethal as anything can go wrong. The initiate is supposed to be very steady so as not lose more than is required. The last one faces the same predicament as the knife becomes blunt from cutting many *mithera* uncircumcised females and

ibici uncircumcised males and tired circumcisers who may cause mutilation or a bad job.

Another similar example where an organ is given human characteristics is in the same song,

Nkundikwa kabiu, nkoro ikundike

You will be tied the knife, the heart will tie itself.

You will be thrust with the knife you will feel pain.

The heart assumes the human ability of handling objects using hands to take a rope and going ahead to tie itself. This means, when one looks at the heart as a person, we can talk about it as an entity which stands for the much pain that one undergoes as the knife sinks into the body. Some of those who have undergone it, traditional circumcision describe the feeling like being *pierced in the heart*.

2.3.3 A Substance Metaphors

A substance metaphor is a type of ontological metaphor in which something abstract such as an event, activity or idea is represented as material.

In song (6)*Mweretho*, we have the figure,

Ngacioka ciakethwa

I will return after harvest.

I shall return after circumcision.

Concept of circumcision is portrayed as harvest. The life of the boy was likened to a plant which when ripe or mature was ready for harvest. Harvesting becomes the transition point for a *muici*. The harvesting would take part in different places; the *garu* and *kigiri* with the circumciser as the farmer until he was taken home, to his hut *kiagau*. The journey was a tough one and challenging for this crop *muici* which would take years to reach harvest time where he would go back as a *nthaka* and start a new life. He would celebrate with his family and join in the dances and singing. Presenting circumcision as harvest time is not literally paraphrasable but functionally the

message is sent home, as harvest time is the time a boy transits to manhood. This is as supported by;

Metaphors(‘true metaphors’), in general, are not literally paraphrasable: they have a character that no literal expression has. At the same time, although metaphorical meaning has a special character that distinguishes it from any literal meaning, it has the same range of basic functions as literal meaning. Evans and Green (2006:194).

In the same song (6) *Mweretho*, there is the figure,

12. *Kirinyaga nwa makengi*

Kirinyaga is just snow

The circumcision place is full of blood

Kirinyaga stands for Mount Kenya which was known as the place of god. The snow on the mountain was seen as patches, *makengi*. These patches were conceptualized as the blood which was shed during circumcision and so circumcision itself was visualized as a substance *makengi*, which formed when blood clotted. The circumcision ground was *makengi*-like, full of blood clots from the many initiates. Sometimes *mutanwa* would bleed to death and it was believed that this happened if the initiate had not been given blessings, *gwikirwa mata* or *kurathimwa* by the uncles. He would be given tokens like, a goat or a sheep as a present for accepting to undergo this rite.

In song (13) *Waurua ni abai*

You have been asked by father

In the song, the father asks his circumcised son questions after he *son* returns home. The father proudly enquires from him whether he knows the type of circumcision he has gone through and his status in the society. It has the figure,

27 *Kuthugura ndigi*

To look out for ndigi

To get circumcised the right way

The term *kuthugura*, was used to refer to the aspect of going out to look for food during famine, while *ndigi* refers to the method of circumcision which was used by the neighboring communities, different from Gichuka which is being presented as a substance. The *muici* boy is the one who would venture out of his parent's home with permission and blessings to look for the right food *ndigi* circumcision. After consuming this food it would nourish him to become a *nthaka* circumcised male. It had to be done the right way and by the right circumciser. The Achuka circumcision alluded to the biblical circumcision and the Achuka guard it with all honour, the way one would take care of a possession. This is circumcision without *ndigi*, known in Gichuka as *karinga kathige*.

28 *Kuthugura mwari*

To go out to look for a woman.

To engage in courtship

Mwari is said to be a substance, a tool to be used by men. This was a patriarchal society where men had a say to everything. Men controlled all the activities from child-naming to dictating all the roles in the home. Women were seen as objects and their roles such as: child rearing, giving birth, cooking, looking for firewood and serving men were in the homes.

Song (15) *Mugono* Narrating. This song was sung during the naming process. *Nthaka* were relaxed, seated and narrated as they bit on two sticks.

31 *Agwitikirwa ni nthakame*

Has been dripped by blood

Has been circumcised

Blood, which is a symbol of life in the African culture, is conceptualized as a substance. This showed that the boy had crossed to manhood and had

established a link through him and the ancestors ensuring multiplication of his seed.

2.4. Structural metaphors

Their cognitive function is to make the target to be understood in terms of the structure of the source. This is through the conceptual mapping of the source characteristic to the target domain. The structure of the source domain presents knowledge which is very rich in culture and related to the target. The other classes of metaphors especially the ontological will automatically fit in this class as they present a rich source structure. The sub-categories of structural metaphors is only for the purpose of this study.

2.4.1 Source as animals.

In this category animals and plants are used as the concepts in the source domain.

In song 2 *Kinduku*, *kinduka nyukwe akwigwe*, the *nthaka* are singing at the initiate's home to remind him that they have come to pick him up for circumcision.

Nyomba ya nyukwe ikuruma nduu

Your mother's house has roared a leopard

Circumcised males have come to pick you

Source domain

target domain

Kururuma (roar)

Kuthegema

Nduu (leopard)

Fierce

Swift

In looking at the structure of the source we have the *nduu* leopard, which is a very fierce animal. In this culture it is associated with qualities such as: fierceness, a tough animal, fearless and is swift and knows the right time to go

for its prey. This can only stand for the *nthaka* who is feared by the *muici* boy and is a tough warrior who protects the community in times of war.

Song (9). *Uu Nyange*.

Uu egrets.

17. Uu Nyange *ciamaria meeru*

Uu egrets of the white ponds

Uu boy being circumcised

Source structure

target

Nyange a type of bird cattle egret

boy

Eats insects on trees, bushes.

Eats frogs in the ponds, during the rainy season.

Flies from place to another.

Meeru white

Nyange is a type of bird known as the cattle egret which lives near ponds and eats insects and frogs. This bird is small and flies away at the slightest noise. The boy is compared to this bird because he is not circumcised and like this bird he talks a lot meaning, he cannot keep secrets just like the women and cannot be trusted. He needs to fly from dry land into the white ponds in preparation for circumcision. After a swim in the white ponds he will start a new life as a *ntaane* circumcised male.

2.4.2 Source as plants

Song (12) *Nthaka ni kithaka*

Circumcised males are bush.

This is the song that used to usher in the *kibici* boy, for circumcision. He was being taken to the bush, where he would be made a *nthaka*. It was sung at dawn as the uncircumcised males were escorted to the river to be numbed in readiness for the circumcision ritual.

23. *Nthaka ni kithaka*

Circumcised males are bush

Circumcised males are secretive

Circumcised males are a bush

Source	target
<i>Kithaka</i> bush.	secretive
<i>Muthitu</i> forest	wild defender
<i>Nkando</i> dense forest.	protector
<i>Rugundu</i> thicket	

With this rich structure in the source domain, one can effectively envision the target. These many forest types provide a rich cultural knowledge on the type of vegetation found in Chuka. The natural environment provides food, fruits, animals and insects. It is a natural habitat for animals, has its beauty, it acts as a place of refuge during war or attacks and acts as a water source for rivers. All these provide a rich range for the target.

The Achuka have beliefs associated with the forest which are believed to be true up to today. For example, if one quarreled with his wife on the day he was going to hunt in the forest, he would either get lost or fail to hunt. One was not expected to call loudly or shout but talk in whispers. Sacrifices were also offered in the *iiri*, sacred place in the *ithaka* bushes and some were revered places.

2.4.3 Source as substance/material.

These metaphors are presented as objects, tools, or materials which are enriched with details from the encyclopedic cultural background of a Muchuka that is important in highlighting the target domain.

4 *Kinduku, kinduka nyukwe akwigwe*

Wail aloud for your mother to hear you.

Source	target
<i>Kinduka</i>	attention, intention
Wail aloud	alert
Deep authoritative voice	

In the structure of the source, *kinduka* to wail aloud in this culture is done by men. A circumcised male was supposed to announce his presence in the home through some productive noise. This would be in the form of a deep cough or calling aloud. Places like the kitchen were out of bounds to a circumcised male and the only way he could get even food or signify intention to be served in his parent's home was through calling.

In song (3), *Nyaga wa Ngai*

Nyaga of Ngai.

In this song, the uncircumcised male is being prepared for circumcision now that he has accepted and is eager to undergo the process.

7. *M'twarunguma* and *kurunguma*

One who cuts bits

One who circumcises

Source	target
<i>M'twarunguma</i> one who cuts small bits. circumcision	final process of the trimmer
<i>Kurunguma</i>	to cut bits
To trim	

In the source structure, we have *M'twarunguma* circumciser who cuts bits and bits and *kurunguma* to cut in bits. These present a rich knowledge from this culture because without the encyclopedic knowledge of a Muchuka, one cannot tell that a circumciser is the one being talked about and circumcision.

This is because after the removal of the foreskin it is later trimmed with the knife *kurungumwa*.

8. *Ng'athi na Karereu*

Skin-dress and loin cloth

Circumcised girl and uncircumcised girl

In the Chuka community, boys were given more privileges than girls. Women were seen as wives and homemakers whose role was to: bear children, bring them up and assist in the farms.

Structure of a *ng'athi*

Covers fully

Decent

Can be bought

Structure of a *karereu*

Exposes body parts

Not decent

The portrayal of women as pieces of cloth shows the chauvinistic nature of Chuka men. It is through use of this synecdoche, where the qualities of decency are brought out. A *karereu* was a piece of skin tied around the waist to cover only the private parts. It was not decent in this society as it exposed some parts of the body, thighs and breasts. This could only represent *muthera* who was seen as unclean and could not get married and if she got married she was returned back to her parents to be circumcised. A *karereu* was a skin dress covering from the waist, the breasts, up to slightly above the knees.

This background information about the dress types and origin gives us rich information and details which we use to map and visualize the target domain. A skin-dress which is decent and covers fully representing circumcised girl is the best to buy according to the song even though the boy can still go ahead and buy a loin cloth which stands for the uncircumcised girl.

In song, (4) *Karabacha*, there is only one figure;

9. *Ruu ruu rukundiga*

This one has puzzled me

Circumcision has puzzled me

Source

target

Kuriga to puzzle

culture

Hard to solve

To stun

Appreciate

Causes one to think hard

Something that puzzles depends on the individual and it makes one to have a burden on their shoulders. Something that puzzles needs first to be appreciated and examined carefully. In the Gichuka traditional circumcision culture, there are things that would make one to wonder. What is this culture? All these will help one to be able to effectively identify the target. The singers, the *Mutube* group use this song as an appreciation in a figurative way to welcome and thank those who are patient to learn about culture. Apart from learning a few things, one is able to appreciate and agree with it.

Song, (5) *Iui mbuge mbuu, Iui*

I will scream, has one image.

(10) *Iui mbuge mbuu*

I will scream

Source

target

Mbuu scream

cowardice

Call for help

Call for attention

Screaming in the Gichuka culture was associated with women and children. A scream from a man would be treated with contempt and one would not get help. Moreover, if the scream was from an uncircumcised boy he would be ridiculed by his age mates as one was not supposed to scream during

circumcision. Screaming was a sign of showing cowardice and it would make one to risk losing his male organ or mutilation, as it would affect the circumciser negatively and derail him.

Song No (7) *Buria ukaurwa utigakane*

What you will be asked do not deny.

In this song, the *mutanwa* is still being prepared on what lies ahead of him, what is expected of him and how to carry himself. There were confessions which were supposed to be made before one was circumcised about sexual offences which one had committed and confession was like a way of cleansing oneself. It contains the figure;

14 Warigariga urengwe bionthe

If you shake shake you will be cut all

If you show fear you lose all

Source

Rigariga shake uncontrollably

Shiver

Move about

Not still

Bionthe all

In the source, the concept of *kuriga riga* to (shake shake) is brought out culturally. This means not being in control and one can even fall and fail to continue with what they were doing.

Song (10) Muici reria mbui

Boy shake your feather

In this song, which is sung after song (9) now in the river, the *muici* is being told to cleanse himself in preparation for circumcision.

This song is sang very early by the *nthaka* to the *kibici* as they escort him to the river to be numbed in readiness for the cutting process.

18. Muici reria mbui

Boy shake your feather

Boy shake your penis

Source	target
<i>Reria</i> to shake vigorously to remove dirt	clean
<i>Mbui</i> feather	
Hole in the feather	

In the traditional Gichuka community, feathers were common and they were used to clean the ears and make or decorate ceremonial hats. A feather which was important and delicate is compared to the male reproductive organ, the penis. The feather and penis are similar in that they both have a tiny hole. With this background information one can go ahead and effectively establish a correspondence between the feather and the target the penis.

26. **Bai!** This is a name meaning (son of) given to the *nthaka* who had just been circumcised. This name was used by the circumcised males when addressing their father's age mates or those younger than them. It portrayed respect and one was supposed to respect all in the society even children.

Bai!

Hi!

Song (14) *Nthaka niirumwe gantu*

Circumcised males be given something.

In this song, the *nthaka* are asking for a token metaphorically referring to it as a thing, because there is a celebration in this home. They have played a very big role of helping a boy to cross from childhood to adulthood. It is a risky affair but they have stood with this boy as they accompanied him to the river, to the circumcision furnace and now they are bringing him back safely amidst celebration as a man. Hence they do not deserve a thing but a token for their good work. They have sacrificed themselves and cannot be fully paid.

29. Niirumue gantu.

Let them be given something

Circumcised males be given a token

30 Nthaka ni gantu kega

A circumcised male is a good thing

Circumcised males are important

Source	target
<i>Niirumue gantu</i> something	token
<i>Nthaka ni gantu kega</i> something good	

Important

Precious

Useful

Manageable

Reward

Source structure helps to conceptualize the target domain in terms of enrichment. Something important is precious, useful and can be managed or contained. So in the song, when they are asking to be given something it is in the positive, they deserve what they are asking for. The *nthaka* can only celebrate after a well done job.

2. 5 Orientational metaphors

The orientational metaphors bring out the cognitive function by making the characteristics of selected target concepts clear and to flow in our conceptual system from the related cultural background. They are based on human spatial characteristics which have to do with space such as: up, down, center and the side. This makes us to have a flow of the target domain concepts being made more detailed and can now not only be viewed and seen in terms of space but we can begin to have their details.

2. 5.1 Up

In song (2) *Kinduku Kinduka*, there is the figure,

4 *Ndwa ruguru ndaragira mbombo*

I belong to the upperzones I feed on soft sugarcane for supper.

I have a high status

As Lee (2001:6) puts it, the source domain is the vertical dimension of physical space and the target domain is social status. Belonging to the upperzones in Gichuka also denotes a high status which in this case is given to the *nthaka* who have undergone circumcision while the boy, uncircumcised male is down in status. *Ruguru* means upperzones in terms of a place metaphorically. This means, fertile places preserved for the best or high in status. One's status goes up after circumcision through the challenges that a *nthaka* endures that harden him to an extent where even feeding on sugarcane snack, is normal for him as he is a warrior and does not depend entirely on his parents.

In the song, *Nthaka ni kithaka*,

Nthaka igendaga mbere ya riua

Circumcised males go ahead of the sun

Circumcised males go before dawn

Circumcision raises the status as it makes one go upwards. Becoming a warrior already raises one's status as through circumcision, one is promoted from being a *muici* an uncircumcised male to a *nthaka* warrior. A bush *kithaka*, is dense, hard to penetrate and can be dangerous with thorn trees or even wild animals. Warriors going ahead of the sun show that they are ahead as they wake up very early before dawn and even defeat the sun.

2.5.2. Centre.

The center or central place comes second after the high status. The centre place is considered very important by the Achuka people. It is always

preserved for children, women and the vulnerable who need protection or guidance.

In song 6, *Mweretho*.

This song used to be sang when people were relaxing after the harvest. It was introduced to circumcision songs, because it was a relaxing song, and was sang to the initiates at midnight, when they were relaxing seated in a circle. The sitting position is meant to show the closely knit Achuka community and to prepare the initiates for the high status.

In the *Mugono*, Narrative or naming song.

As the *nthaka* are seated in a circle, they narrate as they are given names.

Ba kathiiiri batari wa ndugu kana wa mwiriga

Within that circle there was no relative or of clan

At the circumcision place there was no relation

This circle metaphorically stands for the places where circumcision was being done. This was in the special huts, the *kigiri* and *kiagau*. Things were very hot here and one was expected to endure all the pain without calling for any help and there was no issue of relation. Even if there was a brother, he could not assist in any way it was the issue of one and the knife. One was still very vulnerable after circumcision and had to be protected and cared for, hence the central place.

2.5.3 Periphery

16. *Ntuire rutere*

I have lived at the periphery

I have been a boy

Source

target

Rutere periphery

childhood

No specific place to call home

Under parents

No boundaries

No privileges

Not important

Looking at the structure of the source, one can tell that being at the periphery was not a good place in this society. People living at the periphery like the uncircumcised male were not considered important. Childhood was considered to be a peripheral state and one did not have any privileges in the society as he was still under his parent's care. This was a place of darkness and only circumcision could bring him into the light.

2.5.4 Down.

22 *Maumu uri nthi*

Dirt you are down

Circumcision is over

Maumu is a word associated with obscene meanings. When a gourd is harvested and cleaned for the first time with a stick, that inner layer, *meگو ma nthengu* and particles that come out are referred to as *maumu* because they smell bad. *Maumu* metaphorically represents the foreskin which is said to be (down) because it has been cut out through circumcision, falls down and is not important anymore. Being down is generally associated with weaknesses, illness and even death in many cultures. When the foreskin is cut off circumcision has taken place.

2.6 Characteristics of the metaphorical mappings

The mappings from the source to target have entailments which result from conceptual metaphors. These mappings are metaphorical in nature and have entailments which are drawn from our encyclopedic background. These help to make the concepts in the source domain clearer and help to narrow down to the most appropriate that fit and describe the target domain.

For example, in the political arena in the larger Meru region, one is likely to hear of Kiraitu Murungi a famous Meru politician. The conceptual metaphor,

KIRAITU IS THE DRIVER OF THE MBAS, can generate a network of entailments, leading to primary metaphors. These are:

Primary Metaphors	Concepts
Assistant drivers required,	the bus will be working for long, no laziness efficiency
New routes required	the bus will serve everyone, foreigners, all infrastructure, connect regions
New passengers required	those with new ideas, ready for change young tucks, development minded
New garage, mechanics	Wanjiku's views are welcome, criticism no corruption, room for dialogue

This metaphor with its many entailments provides an insight into: the kind of political party this politician is forming, the way forward for the members, how he is willing to shun corruption, develop regions through infrastructure and work for the common mwananchi without discrimination.

2. 7 Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the characteristics of the images in the Gichuka circumcision songs from a Cognitive Linguistics perspective. One can already see that, these conceptual metaphors are rich in messages which are figuratively brought out such as: jumping the fire place with a small smoke, the heart tying itself, the boy being referred to as a bird and the circumcised male being called a leopard are all figurative. These figures act as access points which serve to open our encyclopedic knowledge in the domains from the cultural background of a Muchuka. These conceptual metaphors have also been classified, into the three conventional metaphors, according to (Lakoff 1980). Gichuka circumcision concepts have been classified into all the three classes productively: Orientational, Structural and Ontological.

Classification according to Conventionality and Unconventionality is also discussed. The cognitive functions are brought out through the three metaphor types, Ontological, Orientational and Structural where the functions also overlap. The overlapping is seen particularly in the ontological; where we have the entity, containment and substance metaphors which are conventional in nature and also structural.

CHAPTER THREE

A COGNITIVE ANALYSIS OF THE FIGURATIVE LANGUAGE USED IN THE ACHUKA CIRCUMCISION SONGS.

3.0 Introduction

This Chapter analyses the data on figurative language in the Achuka circumcision songs. The Data is as shown in Chapter Two with the images highlighted and in bold. As explained in section 1.8, on theoretical framework, this study will adopt a Cognitive Approach in use of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

In the cognitive linguistics view, a conceptual metaphor is such a set of correspondences that obtains between a source domain and a target domain, where metaphorical linguistic expressions (i.e. linguistic metaphors) commonly make the conceptual metaphors (i.e. metaphors in the mind) manifest (though there may be conceptual metaphors that have no linguistic metaphors to express them) Kovesces (2002).

This analysis will be done following the classification in Chapter Two; that is correspondences will be shown in their groupings in line with the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The classes are the: Ontological, Structural and Orientational metaphors.

The circumcision songs as earlier said are full of conceptual metaphors. Gichuka circumcision concepts, the figurative language are mapped to the target which is the abstract domain of circumcision which is cultural. As the mappings are explained note that some functions will come out automatically while in some cases they will have to be explained.

3.1. Ontological Metaphors

3.1.1 Container

In song, 1 There is use of synecdoche where *mau* whom stands for a part.

This *mau* stands for the *nthaka* circumcised males.

Uraukire kwa mau?

Whom did you visit early in the morning?

Source domain

target domain

Mau? Whom,

circumcision where?

Garu the circumcised male's hut

Nthaka circumcised males

Uraukire

The visit very early

transition period

Implies the one seeking for
circumcision

intention, request to be circumcised

muici

The literal meaning is that, he is being asked by the *nthaka* whom he has visited in their *garu* hut very early in the morning, to state the reason for his visit. In the source domain, we have the characteristics of the *muici* who is a visitor *uraukire*, being mapped to the abstract target domain, in this case, an event that is transition period through circumcision. This visit by *muici* (visitor) was meant to announce his intention to be circumcised as he was now of age. In the song, the uncircumcised male is being castigated and reminded by the *mau*, circumcised males in the (source) that he is not yet circumcised nor can he run away now until he is circumcised target.

The function of this image was supposed to prepare the initiate for his future roles such as: as a *ntaane*, he would be taught on moral responsibilities and behaviour, respecting the elders, father's and mother's agemates and respecting the younger people. As a *nthaka* warrior, he would be required to

learn roles such as: to protect the community, protecting the women while working in the shambas, during times of war to fight the *maitha* enemies, and raiding other tribes in revenge or to save their captured kinsmen.

In the same song, we have the conceptual metaphor,

2 *onakaimba ukaimbura*

Even if you thatch you cannot undo the thatching

You cannot change your mind, have to be circumcised

Source domain	target domain
Thatch <i>kwimba</i>	ready to be circumcised
<i>ithanje</i> papyrus reeds	
Tough materials	preparedness
Different types of grass <i>Nyaki</i>	
Undo <i>kwimbura</i>	to refuse to be circumcised
Destruction	
Loss	

In this culture, the target domain willingness to be circumcised conceptualized as entering this lifetime container was shown using the image of thatch *kwimba*, in the source domain. In Gichuka, thatching symbolizes the act of final construction of a hut or a house. The opposite, removal of the thatch in source domain indicated refusal to enter in the container in the target domain. It was unusual to find men unthatching leading to demolition unless the owner had died. Refusal to be circumcised was unheard of and one would be termed a coward if they did not want space in this **circumcision is life container** left with no option other than run away.

As asserted by Croft and Cruse (2004:197), another consequence of the conceptual nature of metaphor is that certain patterns of reasoning may carry over from the source domain to the target domain.

This seems to be the case with this conceptual metaphor where the container aspect that highlights the rich source domain of thatching, carries over and

forms the foundation in the complex conceptual metaphor, CIRCUMCISION IS LIFE CONTAINER.

This was an important figure as it taught those circumcised that they were entering a stage where they would stop depending on their parents on some issues such as: being bought clothes, sleeping in their mother's houses and build their *garu, kwiimbira nyomba*. One would depend on parents for advice or issues beyond their scope. They were supposed to shun away activities associated with *kwimbura*, equivalent to deviating from the moral values and responsibilities of the big *container* (society). These were such as: stealing, killing, lacking of good manners and respect *gitio*.

6 *Akuna itogi na gatogo*

Jumped the fireplace with smoke (diminutive) shown by (ga).

He has been circumcised

In this metaphor, the boy is said to enter in this container full of intense fire, where he is given a severe treatment of fire through the knife where he also leaves with traces of smoke (diminutive) He gains a mysterious bout of energy and strength *gatogo* amidst the pain.

Source	target
Container	
<i>Itogi</i> , fire-place	circumcision place
Burning	<i>kigirini</i>
<i>Gatogo</i> , smoke (diminutive) <i>ga</i>	
Tribulation of circumcision	
Chokes	
<i>Kurunguma</i>	trimming the
organ in the	<i>Kagauni</i>

Conceptual metaphors feature mappings (and domains) stored in long-term memory. These mappings hold between domains which are highly stable knowledge structures Evans and Green (2006). The aspect of fire in the farms

is a phenomenon that has been associated with farmers for a long time and the fire acting as a source domain is natural.

The fierceness of the *itogi* is mapped to the (target) where circumcision is envisioned like a big container of fire; in the actual containers *kigiri* precisely the cutting process, removal of the foreskin. Things were really hot in this container *kigiri* place of circumcision, like a furnace. After removal of the foreskin, there was *gukandwa muraga*. This means, the pulling back of the remaining foreskin to where it had been before circumcision. It was held together with thorns from the Muraga tree, equivalent of stitching. This was a painful process likened to passing through fire. Undergoing and enduring this process bravely was the same as passing through this fire, *kuna itogi*.

Gatogo, which is smoke in diminutive, comes from the big fire *itogi*, which emits *ntogo*, smoke. A well fueled fire does not emit a lot of smoke *ntogo*. Here it is said to emit *gatogo*, which corresponds to the target domain of the pain and tribulation one undergoes during circumcision in the actual container *kagau* and place of trimming *kurungumwa*. The process of traditional circumcision apart from the removal of the foreskin, involved trimming of the penis to remove the remaining foreskin which was held in place using the Muraga thorns *gukandwa muraga*. In the *kagau* the Muraga thorns were removed and the *mutani* came in to do the trimming, to end the painful process in the path of becoming a *nthaka*. The whole process needed one who had a heart of steel.

Kuna itogi na gatogo, which is an aspect of **hyperbole**; implies that one had undergone the full process of circumcision. This was: *gutanwa*, *gukandwa muraga* and *kurungumwa*. What remained was taking care of the wound by the initiate *mutanwa* and *mumutindia* the caretaker. The circumcised were taught qualities such as: they should be strong hearted, courageous, enduring, careful in doing everything and ready to face and overcome challenges as a *nthaka* and in the future.

19 *Kukaba uthaka*

Covering the wounds

Maintaining manhood

Source target

Container mind

Kukaba

Maintain the wounds, pain to defend manhood

From the source, characteristics of *kukaba* are mapped to the target, maintaining manhood. One was not expected to walk around lest they be seen by boys or women. This was the reason why they were secluded to heal as this was a special wound, a bridge to manhood.

The function of *kukaba uthaka* was to teach the *nthaka* to maintain all the secrets which he was taught while in the *garu* special hut for sleeping at night and he was only supposed to reveal them to the other *nthaka* to be, during *kwatha kirira* giving advice. These were special lessons given during the day in the *gitindo*, bush *nkando* or outside the home.

Song 11. *Muici akunjuga ndia*

Boy has stirred the deep waters

This song was sang after circumcision. Process of circumcision was compared to being in a big water container.

20 *Muici akunjuga ndia*

Boy has stirred the deep waters

The boy is ready to be circumcised

Source target

Container circumcision

Kunjuga to stir to accept to be circumcised

Ndia deep water body circumcision process

Dangerous animals mutani circumciser

From the source, the characteristics of *kunjuga ndia* to trouble or disturb the water body (container) by entering in, are mapped to the target, to accept to be circumcised and the circumcision process respectively.

We understand metaphors in terms of experiences (Lakoff and Johnson 1980); that is the experience we have in this container, waterbody is mapped to that of circumcision. By accepting to undergo circumcision it is like asking for trouble. The boy was prepared fully for this process by not only his parents, but also the circumcised males who had also undergone this process. Circumcision was also a link to the ancestors and through the water, a link was also established. The function was to remind the boy of the importance of following instructions to the latter, as disobedience or ignorance would cost one mistakes or lead to loss of life. For example; cowardice would lead to mutilation of the sexual organ if one did not listen to his *mutiri* caretaker.

Menya unkeeria ugikeerwa

Do not delay me as you delay

Source	target
<i>Unkeeria</i> to delay me	more pain
<i>Ugikeerwa</i> as you delay yourself	fail to circumcise

In the source domain, the circumciser is warned about the act of delaying the process of circumcision by arriving late which will in turn delay the initiate. These are mapped to the target; circumciser failing to circumcise at the right time making the initiate to be circumcised when the sun was up subjecting him to more pain. This is a motion metaphor, where time is seen to be very precious.

Time was a very important factor. The initiates were taught on importance of keeping time and being punctual in all activities at the farms like, *kurora miatu* harvesting honey and joining in the dances.

3.1.2 Entity ontological metaphors

In these metaphors concepts are introduced as human beings capable of performing activities related to circumcision like, using a knife to circumcise.

13 *Kabiu kathuire mwambia na murigia nako*

The knife hates the beginner and last with it

Source	target
<i>Kabiu kathuire</i> , knife hates	circumciser
Not an easy process	
<i>Mwambia</i> beginner first initiate	
Sharp knife	eager circumciser
<i>Murigia</i> last initiate	
Blunt knife	tired circumciser

The qualities of a knife (object) are mapped through personification to *mutani* circumciser. The knife like a human being is said to have feelings and emotions that it can hate.

The knife hating the beginner figuratively stands for the first initiate source, which is mapped to the target, an eager circumciser who can cause damage by cutting more than is required or injuring the penis or clitoris sometimes leading to mutilation. The knife hating the last *mutanwa*, source is mapped to the target a tired circumciser who has worked on many initiates. He would cause mutilation through use of a blunt knife and end up causing a lot of pain to the initiate. Other times the *atani* would cause mutilation through competing to determine who was first in cutting or whose *mithega* witchcraft was stronger. Parents were supposed to choose *atani* for their sons to avoid competition amongst circumcisers which made them perform shoddy work even leading to mutilations.

11. *Kiki ni gikuuri ndakuthaitha, kikanturukania ii*

This is a remover I beseech you, it will sommersault me

This is a knife I beseech you it will hurt me

Source	target
<i>Gikuuri</i>	
Remover	circumcision
Pulls out	knife
Cuts off	
<i>Kikanturukania</i>	
<i>It will somersault me</i>	unbearable pain
<i>It will hurt me</i>	

Characteristic of a *gikuuri* remover, in the source is mapped to its target, which in this case is the circumciser's knife during circumcision; specifically the trimming *kurungumwa*. The knife is likened to a human being who is capable of hurting as he gets rid of the remaining pieces of foreskin to trim it to the required size.

Kikanturukania, which literally means to make the mind to run berserk because of the unbearable pain from *kurungumwa*, is mapped to the emotional state of the *nthaka* circumcised male which we can describe as full of fulfillment because one has defeated this inevitable monster but though healing, the emotional and physical scars are still fresh.

The intensity of pain endured hardened the *nthaka* for his future life. A *nthaka*, was supposed to remain cool and composed even when provoked. He was taught to talk when necessary and avoids quarrels and fights, remain quiet, when another person was talking and in this way there was a lot of respect, among the Chuka and this has enabled them to remain a peaceful community.

15. *Nukundikwa kabiu, nkoro ikundike*

You will be tied the knife heart will tie itself

You will be thrust the knife you will feel a lot of pain

Source	target
<i>Kukundika</i> to tie	to circumcise
<i>Kundika</i>	much pain

Kukundika to tie, in the source domain does not stand for the normal tying with a rope. As we know a knife is not a rope nor can it be used to tie. It figuratively means to circumcise using a knife target, usually accompanied by a lot of pain. *Nkoro ikundike* source has been personified and the heart is given capabilities of using limbs to tie itself. The heart is said to tie itself, experience bouts of pain (target) after the *mutanwa* has been circumcised *gukundikwa kabiu*.

35. *Ciobo cia kabiu*

Terms of the knife

Bound by circumcision

Source

<i>Ciobo</i> terms	circumcision rite
<i>Kabiu</i> knife,	
Blood	
Cutting	circumcision rite

The knife is personified as having ability to dictate and sentence the circumcised males to the preferred no of years they are to serve and the conditions. The knife assumes the role of a judge which is mapped to the target, circumcision through the knife to make one a *nthaka* circumcised male. This taught the circumcised male the importance of the rite, that he was bound to the society and Gichuka culture through the cutting process, via the blood and was supposed to respect and protect it.

3.1.3 Substance ontological metaphors

11 Ngacioka *Ciakethwa*

I will return after harvest

I will return after circumcision

Source	target
<i>Maketha</i>	harvest
Circumcision	
Mature crops	<i>nthaka</i>
Farmer	circumciser

Concept of circumcision in the target is portrayed as harvest. The life of the boy was likened to a plant which when ripe or mature, is ready for harvest. Harvesting becomes the transition point to a *nthaka*. The harvesting would take part in different places; the *garu* and *kigiri* with the circumciser as the farmer. *Kagau* where he stayed, *gitindo* until he was taken home to his hut *kiagau*. The journey was a tough one and challenging for this crop which would take years to reach harvest time where he would go back, as a *nthaka* and start a new life. He would celebrate with his family and join in the dances and singing.

12. *Kirinyaga nwa makengi*

Kirinyaga is just snow

The circumcision place is full of blood

Source	target
<i>Makengi</i> snow	challenges
Scattered	difficulties
Associated with cold	
Patches	blood

In the source domain, there is *makengi* snow, and its characteristics which are mapped to the challenges, difficulties and problems associated with circumcision. Circumcision is conceptualized as a substance which is snow. *Makengi* snow stands for blood which is shed after circumcision. When it clots it forms *makengi* like patches. Sometimes *mutanwa* would bleed to death and it was believed that this happened if the initiate had not been blessed. The patches formed a link between the circumcised males and the ancestors.

This showed the importance of respect in this community. One had to maintain good relations with all as one would need their help at one time. Selfishness was condoned and *mutanwa* just circumcised and even the *nthaka* were taught to be generous and kind.

27 *kuthugura ndigi*

To look out for ndigi

To be circumcised

The term *kuthugura*, was used to refer to the aspect of going out to look for food during famine while *ndigi*, refers to the method of circumcision which was used by the neighboring communities, different from Gichuka.

Source	target
<i>Kuthugura</i> go out in search of	circumcision
<i>Ndigi</i> different method of circumcision	Gichuka circumcision

From the source, we have characteristics of *kuthugura* and *ndigi* to mean figuratively going out to look for *ndigi* circumcision being presented as a material thing. This is ironical because a Muchuka was not circumcised the *ndigi* way. This is mapped to the target a *nthaka* going to seek for the right circumcision.

One needed background knowledge even in the presence of the metaphorical concepts, to grasp on the message that even when one went out to look for this circumcision they had to know it was the right one and not the *ndigi* one. The *nthaka* were educated on the importance of the ritual that they had.

28 *Kuthugura mwari*.

To go out look for a woman

To engage in courtship

This means to go out to look for a woman which is mapped to the target of courtship and eventually marriage because one was circumcised. Marriage was respected in the Chuka community. Weddings were upheld and were important events in the community. One could only get a wife after he was

circumcised. If a *muici* and a *muthera* got married, they were crucified and put at cross-roads until they died.

Song 15 *Mugono* narrating. This song was sung during the naming process. *Nthaka* were relaxed, seated and narrated as they bit on two sticks.

31 *Agwitikirwa ni nthakame*

Has been dripped by blood

Has been circumcised

Source	target
<i>Gwitikirwa</i> to be dripped	circumcision
<i>Nthakame</i> blood	life fertility

Gwitikirwa ni nthakame to be dripped by blood, is mapped to the target the circumcision event. Blood, a symbol of life is an ingredient that one needed to be a participant in the journey to adulthood. To have one's own blood trickle on them was a sign of fertility.

3.2 Structural Metaphors

3.2.1 Animals

3. *Nyomba ya nyukwe ikuruma nduu*

Your mother's house has roared a leopard

Circumcised males have come to pick you

Source domain	target domain
<i>Kururuma</i> roar	to show their capability might
<i>Kuthegema</i>	to alert of their presence
<i>Nduu</i> leopard	<i>nthaka</i> (circumcised males)
Fierce	warriors

In this Gichuka metaphor in the source domain we have characteristics of *nduu* the leopard, which is roaring *kururuma* in the house of the boy's mother corresponding to the target *nthaka* circumcised males. They have come to pick the boy who had earlier on announced his intention to be

initiated through a visit to their *garu*. They are roaring because they are producing sounds similar to roaring to bring out their excitement and joy. They are coming to pick a lost cub to join them.

Song (9) Uu Nyange

Uu egret

This song is sang very early by the *nthaka* to the *kibici* as they escort him to the river, to be numbed in readiness for the cutting process.

17. Nyange ciamaria meeru

Egrets of the white ponds

Boys being circumcised

Source	target
<i>Nyange</i> egret	<i>kibici</i>
White in colour	newness
Flies from place to another	child-hood
<i>Meeru</i> , white	new life

Nyange the cattle egret is mapped to the target *kibici* boy. He is seen as a bird because he is being prepared to fly from childhood to manhood through circumcision. The *nyange* is said to belong to the white pond and so is *kibici* who is linked to the river through cleansing to become white or new. *Meeru* whiteness is mapped to the new life this *nyange* bird, *kibici* is being prepared for. After the visit to the river, the *nthaka* will take the boy to the *kigiri* where he will be made new through circumcision. He now becomes a *nyange* of *ciamaria meeru* white pond.

This image of the white *nyange* was symbolically used to teach behavior and instill moral values. One was supposed to change their wayward ways that they had as children and blend into mature behaviour. For example; alcohol was for the elders to be taken during special functions such as: like dowry negotiations, weddings, and other special meetings. The *nthaka* are very important in this community as they serve as the community defenders and

also run errands, like here, they are seen answering the call of the *muici* boy immediately.

3.2.2 Plants

Song (12) *Nthaka ni kithaka*.

Circumcised males are bush.

23. *Nthaka ni kithaka*

Circumcised males are bush.

Circumcised males are secretive

Source	target
<i>Kithaka</i> bush.	secretive
<i>Muthitu</i> forest	wild defender
<i>Nkando</i> dense forest	protector
<i>Rugundu</i> thicket	

The bush in Gichuka has got many meanings as shown. These enrich the source domains which are mapped to the abstract domains of secretive nature of the *nthaka* protector and defender. These rich vegetation types help us to envisualize the target domain.

The function of the image of *nthaka ni kithaka* a circumcised male being a bush, is that he was supposed to be always prepared because he automatically became a warrior who would protect the Achuka at all times. He was expected to be as secretive as the bush that had made him. He had slept in the bush, ate and bonded with it and he had sealed a covenant with the bush through his blood.

In song (2) Kinduku, *kinduka nyukwe akwigwe*.

The nthaka, are singing at the initiates home to remind him that they have come to pick him up for circumcision.

4 *Kinduku, kinduka nyukwe akwigwe*

Wail aloud for your mother to hear you

Announce intention to be circumcised

Source	target
Kinduka	attention, intention
Wail aloud	alert

The target which is, intention to be circumcised is from the source, *kinduka* wail aloud. The term *kinduka* which has no equivalent in English means to produce a sound similar to a loud wail .This would be produced by the *muici* boy. It was to make the mother aware of the presence of her *muici* boy who was on the path of becoming a *nthaka*. From then onwards he would announce his presence in the home or arrival through *kuthegema* a deep cough. He would no longer be treated like a *muici* boy by the parents or relatives like doing house chores, cooking in his mother’s house or behave like one.

In song 3, **Nyaga wa Ngai**

Nyaga of Ngai

In this song, the uncircumcised male is being prepared for circumcision now that he has accepted and is eager to undergo the process.

7. *M'twarunguma* and *kurunguma*

One who cuts bits and trims

One who circumcises

Source	target
<i>M'twarunguma</i> one who cuts small bits	circumciser
The trimmer	
<i>Kurunguma</i> to cut bits	final circumcision process
To trim	in the <i>kagau</i>

In the source, *M'twarunguma* one who cuts small bits of flesh and *kurunguma* to cut small bits are mapped to the final processes of circumcision in the *kagau*. The *mutani* in Gichuka, was an expert. After removal of the foreskin in the *kigiri*, he later proceeded to the *kagau* where he expertly did the trimming job until he was satisfied it was a clean job.

8. *Ng'athi na Karereu*

A skin-dress and a loin cloth

A circumcised girl and an uncircumcised girl

Source	target
<i>Ng'athi</i> skin dress	circumcised girl
Decent.	well behaved
	mature of a marriageable age
<i>Karereu</i> , loin cloth	uncircumcised girl <i>muthera</i>
indecent.	underage
	not of a marriageable age.

Women are classified into two; the circumcised and the uncircumcised *mithera* in the target domains respectively. A *nthaka* circumcised male was supposed to marry a circumcised woman who was clean and had been prepared for marriage. The *muici* boy is told straightaway *wona ng'athi ikwendwa*, to go for the decent skin-dress in the source domain mapped to the circumcised woman target. He is further told that he can still make his choice, that a *karereu* indecent loin cloth is also in the market, source, mapped to the target *muthera* uncircumcised girl.

Circumcision held everything in place. Having children out of wedlock was unheard of. Those who refused to be circumcised could not get spouses and were ridiculed by their peers and seen as useless people in the society.

In song (4) *Karabacha*, there is only one figure;

9 *Ruu ruu rukundiga*

This one has puzzled me

Circumcision has puzzled me

Source	target
<i>Kuriga</i> to puzzle	culture
Hard to solve	full of puzzles

To stun	full of wonder/puzzles
To amaze	beautiful

In this song, Chuka culture which is the target domain is figuratively mapped from the source characteristics of, to puzzle *kuriga*. Something that puzzles is like a puzzle. A puzzle is hard to solve, it is amazing, one has to immerse himself in it to look for clues, to get answers, or solve given problems, it is time consuming, but at the end it is worth the effort. In Gichuka, becoming a *nthaka* is actually stunning. A *muici* making a visit *kurauka* to *garu ya nthaka*, to inform them of his intention to be circumcised is mesmerizing. The *nthaka* retaliating by making a visit to his mother's home to pick him is interesting. What of the scenes at the *kigiri* and *kagau* with the *mutani*, the thorns and trimming, the fact that a foreigner cannot comprehend anything. To some extent, this traditional circumcision literature is not familiar to all Chukas, yet it is so beautiful and so rich.

Song (5) *Iui mbuge mbuu, Iui*

I will scream, has one image.

10 *Iui mbuge mbuu*

I will scream

Source	target
<i>Mbuu scream</i>	cowardice
Call for help	own decision

Screaming *kuga mbuu* source, during circumcision was unheard of. It stood for cowardice target, and one was ridiculed and despised by his age mates. This song was meant to encourage and remind the initiate of the important decision that he was making and the way he was supposed to carry himself. There was no screaming and no one would come to his aid, he had to face the circumciser *mutani* bravely, if he wanted to become a *nthaka*.

14 *Warigariga urengwe bionthe*

If you shake shake you will be cut all

If you show fear you lose all

Source	target
<i>Rigariga</i> shake	coward
Shiver	fear
Move about	not composed
Not still	
<i>Bionthe</i> all foreskin	testis, penis,

From the source we have the characteristics of *kuriga riga* to shake or move about, which are mapped to the target domain of cowardice. This effectively complements the image *kurengwa bionthe* source, which is mapped to the sexual organs.

The term ‘metonymy’ is sometimes interpreted very broadly, to include, for instance, the relation between form and meaning with a sign, the relation between a linguistic sign and its inherent, the relation between, for instance, an acronym and its full form and the special relation between a prototype and the category it presents. (Evans and Green 2006:216). This is the case here where *bionthe*; stands for the testicles, penis and foreskin. If one displayed cowardice they would risk losing their penis or testis as this was a delicate process. It required sobriety. This emphasized on the importance of patience, endurance and courage. Use of *bionthe* (euphemism) helps the singer to bring out the message effectively without mentioning the penis, testis and foreskin which seem to be offensive.

In this song, which is sang after song 9, now in the river the *muici* is being told to cleanse his penis in preparation for circumcision.

Song 10 *Muici reria mbui*

Boy shake your feather

18. *Muici reria mbui*

Boy shake your feather

Boy clean yourself

Source	target
<i>Reria</i> to remove	clean
To remove dirt	
<i>Mbui</i> feather	the penis
Hole in the feather	hole in the penis

Reria which means to remove dirt using a tool like a stick, for example to separate cream from milk, is mapped to the act of cleaning to remove impurities from the *mbui*, the hole in the penis and the foreskin in preparation for circumcision. One has to hold the foreskin in place to be able to access the *mbui*.

The *mbui* source which means feather is mapped to the hole in the penis target effectively. Note that a feather has got a hole which is compared to the hole in the penis. This community rears chicken and feathers were used to decorate a special hat which was prepared for the initiate after circumcision, hence the correspondences between the feather and penis. This image of *reria mbui* taught on the area of cleanliness and taking care of one's reputation and image.

26. *Bai*.

They were not referred to using their names as they would be given new circumcision names. This is mapped from the source where many onomatopoeic phrases would be used to refer to *kibici*. These were names such as: *hii! kibici! Wee!*

These were names that demeaned the *kibici* boy who was despised by the *nthaka*. No wonder a *kibici* would keep off any place where the *nthaka* were unless they called him, or he was sent by the parents to take food. The *nthaka* was taught about good moral behavior. To be patient: to wait for the right time to talk, not to interrupt another speaker, use the right names to refer to people, like his mother's or father's age mates. In the farms they were not supposed to work while behind their mothers or women.

Song 14. *Nthaka niirumwe gantu*

Circumcised males be given something

Circumcised males be given a token

In this song, the *nthaka* are asking for a token because there is a celebration in this home. The circumcised males have performed a good job. They have returned with a *nthaka* whom they had left with as a boy. This is one of their own whom they are proud of. They have supported him throughout this tough journey and he has emerged victorious. This is **metonymy** where use of the term *something* stands for circumcised males.

29. *Niirumue gantu*

Let them be given something

Let them be given a token

30 *Nthaka ni gantu kega*

A circumcised male is a good thing

A circumcised male is important

Source	target
<i>Gantu</i> something	token
<i>Gantu kega</i> something good	

In this conventional metaphor, *gantu* something, is mapped to the target, token. A token is an important thing and the *nthaka* deserve to be appreciated for the service they have given. The generosity they have shown to *muici* shows that they are people who deserve to be honoured. As said above, the life of *muici* was in their hands, it can only be respectable, if they are said to be *kega* good. *Gantu* therefore does not mean useless or demeaning, but shows the importance of *nthaka* in the society. Are referred to as good because they belong to everyone in the society.

3.3 Orientational

3.3.1 Up

24 *Igendaga mbere ya riua*

They go ahead of the sun

They go before dawn

25 *Igendaga na rukororima.*

They go with the morning darkness

They go before dawn

Rukororima mist,

Source	target
Ahead of the darkness	before dawn

The term *rukororima* which has no equivalent in English means very early in the morning; when it is very cold with mist present and poor visibility. This description about time is mapped to its target before dawn. Very early, before dawn is also mapped from the term *mbere ya riua* ahead of the sun. Figuratively, the circumcised males are said to go ahead of the sun like the sun is following them from behind which is not the case. This conceptual metaphor means that the circumcised males wake up before dawn to go about their various duties. This was meant to instill a culture of hard work because the Achuka were farmers and not nomadic. The *nthaka* had to wake up before dawn to go to the farms to keep watch. The women came to the farms later to work.

5 *Ndwa ruguru ndaragira mbombo*

I belong to the upperzones, I feed on soft sugarcane for supper.

I have a high social status

Source	target
<i>Ruguru</i> upperzones	high social status
Food	challenges and problems
<i>Mbombo</i> , soft sugarcane	hardships, sleeping hungry

easily available/ready
edible, sweet
Does not need cooking.

going to war, rescuing
domestic animals from wild animals

Ruguru, source which implies upper zones, does not mean the place but metaphorically implies high social status, target. As put by Lakoff, (1987:276), to function as a source domain for a metaphor, a domain must be understood independent of the metaphor. VERTICALITY is directly understood, since the UP-DOWN schema structures all of our functioning relative to gravity.

Mbombo, in the source, which stands for soft sweet sugarcane is the food that the *nthaka* circumcised males are said to take for their supper. This is food taken as a snack or to pass time, so it is not satisfying and is never taken as a meal in this community. *Mbombo*, by being mapped to the target can only stand for the challenges that are faced by a *nthaka* which make him to be a tough and strong man. For one to attain this high social status they had to endure many hardships such as: sleeping hungry, facing attacks from wild animals, during grazing or hunting.

3.3.2 Center

Ba kathiiiri batari wa ndugu kana wa mwiriga

Within that circle there was no relative or of clan

Within the circumcision place there was no relation

Source

Kathiiiri circle

process

Angush, pain

trimming

Kigiri

Garu

Mutiri

target

circumcision

kurungumwa

blood

caretaker

This circle metaphorically stands for the important places where circumcision used to take place. These were the special huts: the *Kigiri* and *Kiagau* in the source domain which are mapped to the target, the circumcision process. Circumcision was considered special and it occupied a central place in this culture hence the reference *kathiiriri*. Special circumcision names were given and people were identified according to age sets.

3.3.3 Periphery

16. *Ntuire rutere*

I live at the periphery

I have been a boy

Source	target
<i>Rutere</i> periphery	childhood
No specific place to call home.	under parents
No boundaries	no priviledges
Not important	

In the source domain, *rutere* periphery is mapped to the target childhood. *Kibici* is said to be *rutere* at the periphery implying that he is in darkness and not important in this society. This **symbolically** stands for childhood. *Kibici* can only leave darkness and cross to the world of *nthaka* importance through circumcision. A boy was ridiculed by the *nthaka* circumcised males who despised him and the interaction was minimal. The boy always knew of his place and sought refuge in his parents and female relatives, as he waited for this important time when he would become a man.

3.3.4 Down

22 *Maumu uri nthi*

Dirt you are down

Circumcision is over

Source	target
<i>Maumu</i> something useless	foreskin
<i>Nthi</i> down	not important

Dirt

The target is the cut piece of foreskin which is considered as something that makes a boy unclean. It is being addressed as though it is hearing, that now it is down. This means that, it is useless because it is the one that was giving the *muici* boy his identity in childhood but now he has been circumcised and is an *nthaka*. This is use of **apostrophe**, where something abstract is addressed as though it is alive or present.

3.4 Conclusion

In this Chapter, the mappings have been shown from the source to the target using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. In the source domains, physical and natural concepts from the Gichuka culture are shown and are construed in the target domain of the circumcision, where the functions are also brought and explained in details. The physical and natural concepts used as source domains are summarized as follows:

Water bodies.

A pond has been used to stand for the circumcision process. This has been brought out metaphorically where water represents the challenges one endures when they accept to undergo circumcision.

Animals.

The leopard which is a wild animal has been effectively used to map its fierce and swift nature to the circumcised male. He is important in the Gichuka culture because, he defends the community during attacks from enemies and he plays other roles.

The bird has been used to stand for the boy who is still a child and his behaviour has been likened to that of women. The uncircumcised male has been portrayed as one who cannot keep secrets just like women and is jumpy.

These are from the behaviour of a bird of flying from one place to another and being noisy.

Plants.

The rich vegetation types of *kithaka*. The combination of the forest, bush, and shrubs have been used to envisualize the qualities of a circumcised male as tough and secretive just like the source.

Other features used are tools, like the knife to stand for the circumciser. Seasons, like harvest time to stand for circumcision. There is also use of cloth. Full cloth to stand for the circumcised girl and loin cloth to stand for the uncircumcised girl. All these have been enriched and provide a big range for the target, circumcision rite of passage. This process is elaborately presented using the above source concepts from the rich Gichuka cultural background in a figurative way with the functions of the figures being fully explained.

A speaker uses an expression figuratively, when he feels that no literal use will produce the same effect. The figurative use may simply be more attention grabbing or it might conjure up a complex image not attainable any other way or it may permit the conveyance of new concepts. Cruse and Croft (2004). This explains the use of euphemism where the message is brought out without being offensive.

CHAPTER FOUR

DISCUSSION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 Introduction

This Chapter discusses observations made from Chapter Two and Three. In Chapter Two, classification of the metaphors is generally advanced into the conventional and unconventional metaphors. The cognitive function of the metaphors is classified into the Ontological, Structural and Orientational metaphors. The functions are further discussed in details with examples given for each function. Characteristics of the nature of the metaphorical mappings are also discussed with an appropriate example. The chapter ends with a conclusion detailing what was discussed and brings out the aspect of overlapping in the cognitive classes of the metaphors.

In Chapter Three, analysis of the figures of speech is brought out using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. It is done following the classification in Chapter Two with the metaphorical concepts well explained and the functions of each figure of speech is explained in line with the background of a *Muchuka*. It ends in a detailed conclusion with the source domains and target domains from the Gichuka background being explained. The Chapter is divided into, 4.1, 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5.

The divisions are, Classification of the Gichuka figures of speech, Application of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Figures of speech in conceptual metaphor, the Types of metaphor and a conclusion.

4.1 The Classification of Gichuka Figures of Speech

In the classification in Chapter two, the first research objective there are figures of speech in Gichuka circumcision songs is realized. These figures are classified into the conventional metaphors and the cognitive classes. The conventional metaphors are discussed in terms of their structure and cultural aspects. The conventionality aspect gives rise to the three cognitive classes,

where the Gichuka metaphors have also proved to be productive in all these categories. These are the ontological, structural and orientational metaphors.

The second objective is also realized in the classification where we have the various cognitive functions. These are: use of the container as having an inside and outside, personification, structural use and the spatial orientation; where we have the up, down center and periphery functions. It is only in the novel metaphors, where only one metaphor was classified and this can be understood since the cultural background is taken into consideration in this study. The novel metaphor is also not in the scope of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory which deals with conventional metaphors.

In Chapter Three, the ontological, structural and orientational metaphors classification is followed in the analysis using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The mappings are shown and the functions brought out as the ontological and epistemological correspondences are explained.

The third objective is realized in the correspondences as the mappings to the target are explained. The target is traditional circumcision where the cultural domain of Gichuka culture is brought out which also acts as the context.

4.2. Application of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory

4.2.1 The Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

This theory has proved very effective in the analysis of the figures of speech in the Gichuka circumcision songs. Through the mappings, the ontological and epistemological correspondences have been used to bring out the cognitive functions of the figures of speech from the encyclopedic background of a Muchuka in the domain of traditional circumcision. It can be seen that the concepts used in the figures are cultural, that is the ones in the source domains which are mapped to the target traditional circumcision. Comparing Gichuka metaphors and the examples given from American culture like Lakoff's, LOVE IS A JOURNEY (1980), conceptual metaphor, these are two different cultural worlds, but people still live and make journeys. In the Gichuka

example as concerns this study, it still presents a journey but a different one, the circumcision journey.

According to Kovecses (2002:184), two languages may share the same conceptual metaphor but the metaphor will be elaborated differently in the two languages. Broader cultural context, the governing principles and the key concepts in a given culture may bring about cultural variation. Natural and physical environment, the environment in which a culture is located can bring about cultural variation. For example, Gichuka source domains are mainly natural and physical as discussed in Chapter Two.

CIRCUMCISION IS A JOURNEY. This is made of:

Travellers who are the circumcised males and the boy. They make various trips to the river to make sure that the boy has bathed and numbed and is ready for circumcision.

There are different **stages** of this journey. It involves the boy asking for blessings from his parents and uncles and informing them of his intention to be circumcised. He also informs the circumcised males who pick him from his parent's home. This journey has got a **starting point** when the boy announces his intention to be circumcised. The **endpoint** is when the circumcised male is taken back to his parent's home after circumcision and the circumcised males are asking for a token, after accomplishing a feat.

The **challenges** are many such as: the boy can bleed to death, he risks losing his reproductive organ and he can even run mad due to pain.

No theory would have done it better than the Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

4.3. Figures of Speech in Conceptual Metaphor.

According to Cuddon (1979), figurative language is use of speech which includes metaphors, metonymy, synecdoche, idioms and irony. Language therefore can be conveniently classified as either literal or figurative. When we speak literally we mean exactly what the word conveys; when we use figurative language we mean something other than the actual meaning of

words. Gichuka circumcision songs have got figures of speech which have been realized as, metaphors, metonymy, synecdoche, symbolism and use of apostrophe. A figure of speech in the Conceptual Metaphor Theory is one where there will be a mapping from the source domain which is concrete in nature, to the target domain which is abstract. These mappings are unidirectional in nature. The mapping is done in one direction from source to target and not target to source.

4.4 Types of Metaphors

This study narrows to the conceptual metaphor. As used in this study the conceptual metaphor is classified into the: Ontological, Structural and Orientational metaphors, which are conventional in nature.

4.5 Conclusion

This study on the functions of the figures of speech and their functions in the Gichuka circumcision songs using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory has proved effective. The classification into the three cognitive classes: ontological, structural and orientational has proved very productive in the Gichuka conceptual metaphors as has been shown in Chapter Two in the classification.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study was concerned with a cognitive approach using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, in the analysis of the figurative language in the Gichuka circumcision songs and their functions.

The objectives were:

- i) To identify the figures of speech used in the Gichuka circumcision songs.
- ii) To establish the functions of the figures of speech in the Gichuka circumcision songs.
- iii) To show that cultural background plays a significant role in their interpretation.

The hypothesis were:

- i) That Gichuka circumcision songs contain figures of speech (concepts).
- ii) That the figures of speech in these circumcision songs have got different cognitive functions which are conceptualized in different ways.
- iii) Cultural background plays a significant role in interpretation of the figurative language used in these songs.

5.2 Conclusion

In relation to the Gichuka figures of speech used in the circumcision songs and their functions, the study set out to fulfill the stated objectives and hypothesis in 5.1. Chapter Two demonstrated that these figures of speech can be classified into the conventional conceptual metaphors which are cultural. They were further classified according to the cognitive function of metaphors which are ontological, structural and orientational.

In Chapter Three, the analysis which included identifying the metaphorical concepts in the source to target mappings revealed a rich cultural background

where the concepts were drawn from. Key observations were that: Gichuka circumcision songs contain figures of speech which are conceptual in nature. These are the conceptual metaphors which have got a source to target mapping. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory can effectively analyse the Gichuka figures of speech.

5.3 Recommendation

Other figures of speech such as: use of irony, humour, satire, and, sarcasm can be studied in the Gichuka circumcision songs. It is recommended that similar studies be done on circumcision songs from other communities as they present a rich cultural background in the source domains.

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APPENDIX

Appendix: Data Collection Songs

1 URAUKIRE KWA MAU?

Iui ui mwici, **uraukire kwa mau?**

Iui ui mwici **uraukire kwa mau?**

Iui ui mwici **onakaimba ukaimbura**

Iui ui mwici **onakaimba ukaimbura**

Iui ui mwici, nyomba ya nyukwe **ikuruma nduu**

2 KINDUKU, KINDUKA!

Iui ui Kinduku, **kinduka** nyukwe akwigwe

iui ui Kinduku, **kinduka** nyukwe akwigwe

Iui ui ndwa ruguru, ndaragira **mbombo ii**

Iui ui ndwa ruguru, ndaragira **mbombo ii.**

3 NYAGA WA NGAI

Iui ui Nyaga wa Njiri akuna **itogi** iu i
Iui na **gatogo** mwici

Iui ui Nyaga wa Ngai akuna **itogi**
na **gatogo** mwici

Enda atanwe atanwe

Nyaga Nyaga **akaruiru** ku mwici?

Iui ui nikuu kuri **muntwarunguma** mwici
urungumaga ciana na kabiu mwici

Iui ui wona **ng'athi** ikwendwa
ukagure mwici
Kuri **ng'athi** na **karereu** mwici

4 KARABACHA

Ii uri karabacha, ruru ruu **kundiga**,
karabacha, ii uri karabacha

WHOM DID YOU VISIT EARLY IN THE MORNING?

Iui ui boy, whom did you visit early in the morning?

Iui ui boy, whom did you visit early in the morning?

Iui ui boy even if you thatch and undo

ui ui boy even if you thatch and undo

Iui ui boy, the house your mother has roared a leopard

KINDUKU ROAR!

Iui ui Kinduku, roar for your mother to hear you

iui ui Kinduku, roar for your mother to hear you

Iui ui, I come from the upperzone, I feed on sugarcane

Iui ui I come from the upperzone, I feed on sugarcane

NYAGA OF NGAI

Nyaga of Njiri has crossed the fire-place iu i
Iui with small smoke (diminutive) boy

Iui ui Nyaga of Ngai has crossed the fire-place with smoke boy

If he wants to be circumcised let him be circumcised

Nyaga Nyaga will be circumcised where boy?

Iui ui that is where the circumciser is who circumcises children with a knife boy

Iui when you see a skin dress being sold go and buy boy
There is a decent skin dress and a loin cloth boy

KARABACHA

ii uri karabacha, this one has mesmerized me
karabacha, ii uri karabacha

ii uri karabacha.
Mukurah niukwigwa, karabacha,
ii uri karabacha
Kubiiya kubiiya karabacha,
ii uri karabacha
Ino ni Mutube karabacha,
ii uri karabacha

Ii uri karabacha, mukire na mama,
karabacha
ii uri karabacha.
Thoma utamaduni, karabacha,
ii uri. karabacha
Kaguna nukwigwa, karabacha,
ii uri karabacha.

5 MBUGE MBUU

Iui niuga mbuu, iui niuga mbuu,
ya **mutani ititikagwa**, niuga mbuu.
Iui niuga mbuu, iui niuga mbuu,
ya **mutani, ititikagwa** niuga mbuu.
Iui Cieruku, iui Cieruku ni mutani
wa Kibingo Cieruku.

6 MWERETHO

Ruraya mbebo ii ui Ruraya,
ndege iremeere Mwambaca Ruraya
Ruraya mbebo ii ui Ruraya,
ndege iremeere Mwambaca Ruraya
Kiki ni **gikuuri** ndakuthaitha,
Kikanturukania, ii
Ruraya mbebo ii uiruraya
ndege iremeere Mwambaca Ruraya.
Ninkuthie ninkuthie ndakuthaitha,
ngacioka ciakethwa ii,
Ruraya mbebo ii ui Ruraya
ndege iremeere, Mwambaca Ruraya
Ninkuthie ninkuthie, ndakuthaitha,
ngacioka ciakethwa ii,
Ruraya mbebo ii ui Ruraya
ndege iremeere Mwambaca Ruraya
Cianjoka Karume, ndakuthaitha,

ii uri karabacha
Mukurah have you heard, karabacha,
ii uri karabacha
quickly quickly karabacha,
ii uri karabacha
This is Mutube karabacha,
ii uri karabacha

Ii uri karabacha, you came with mama,
karabacha
ii uri karabacha.
To study culture, karabacha,
ii uri karabacha
Kaguna have you heard karabacha,
ii uri karabacha.

I SCREAM

Iui you scream, iui you scream, of the
circumciser is never answered, you scream.
Iui you scream, iui you scream, of the
Circumciser, is never answered, you scream.
Iui Cieruku, iui Cieruku is a circumciser
from Kibingo Cieruku.

MWERETHO

England is cold ii ui England,
aeroplane has delayed in Mombasa England
England, is cold ii ui England,
aeroplane has delayed in Mombasa England
This is a remover I beseech you
it will sommersault me, ii
England is cold ii ui England
aeroplane has delayed at Mombasa England.
I will go I will go I beseech you,
I will return after harvest ii,
England is cold ii ui England
aeroplane has delayed at Mombasa England
I will go I will go, I beseech you,
I will return after harvest ii,
England is cold ii ui England
aeroplane has delayed at Mombasa England
Cianjoka Karume, I beseech you,

riria werundagia, ii
Ruraya mbebo ii ui Ruraya,
ndege iremeere mwambaca Ruraya.
Cianjoka Karume, ndakuthaitha,
riria werundagia ii,
Ruraya mbebo ii ui Ruraya,
ndege iremeere Mwambaca Ruraya.

7 KIRIMARA NWA MAKENGI

Ii ui **Kirinyaga** nwa **makengi**
Kirimara nwa **makengi**
Ii ui **Kirinyaga** nwa **makengi**
Kirimara nwa **Makengi**

Ndakwira **kabiu kathuire**
mwambia na **murigia** nako, aa
warigariga urengwe **bionthe**
warigariga urengwe **bionthe**
buria ukaurwa utigakane ii
buria ukaurwa utigakane ii

Nukundikwa kabiu,
nkoro **ikundike**
Kabiu kathwire mwambia
na **murigia** nako
Buria ukaurwa utigakane
Buria ukaurwa utigakane

8 NTUIRE RUTERE

Ii ui ntuire **rutere**
Ii ui ntuire **rutere**
mbakanirwe mubaka na **rutere**
periphery
Ii ui wona **ngathi** ikwendwa,
uthii ukagure mwici
Kuri **ng'athi** na **karereu** mwici
Ii ui kuri **muntwarunguma** mwici
urungumaga ciana na kabiu mwici

9 UU NYANGE

Uu **nyange ciamaria** ui u
Uu **nyange ciamaria** ui u

when you used to be shy, ii
England is cold ii ui England,
aeroplane has delayed at Mombasa
Cianjoka Karume I beseech you
when you used to be shy ii,
England is cold ii ui, England,
aeroplane has delayed at Mombasa England.

KIRIMARA IS JUST SNOW

Ii ui Kirinyaga is just snow
Kirimara is just snow
Ii ui Kirinyaga is just snow
Kirimara is just snow

I tell you the knife hates
the beginner and the last with it, aa
if you shake shake you will be cut all
if you shake shake you will be cut all
what you will be asked do not deny ii
what you will be asked do not deny ii

You will be thrust by the knife
the heart will tie itself
The knife hates the beginner
and the last with it
What you will be asked do not deny
what you will be asked do not deny

I LIVE AT THE PERIPHERY

Ii ui I live at the periphery
Ii ui I live at the periphery
separate for me the boundary and the
periphery
Ii ui when you see a skin-dress being sold
go and buy boy
There is a skin-dress and a loin cloth boy
Ii ui there is a circumciser boy
who circumcises children with a knife boy

UU EGRETS

Uu egrets of the pond ui
Uu egrets of the pond ui

Uu nyange **ciamaria ui u**
Ii **ciamaria meeru ii**
Uu nyange **ciamariameeruui u**
Uu nyange **ciamaria meeru uiu**
ii **ciamaria meeru ii**

10 MWICI RERIA MBUI

Mwici **reria mbui** uu mwici
Mwici **reria mbui** uu mwici
Kutanwa ti muno,
ii mwici **reria mbui ii**
ta **kukaba uthaka,**
Ii mwici **reria mbui ii**
Mwici **reria mbui** uu mwici
Mwici **reria mbui** uu mwici
Kutanwa ti muno ii mwici **reria mbui**
ta **kukaba uthakaii** mwici **reria mbui**

11 KUNJUGA NDIA

Mwici **akunjuga ndia,**
ii ui ndia ya Rukunduku, ndia
ii ui ndia ya Rukunduku.
Ii ui mutani,
menya **unkeeria ugikeerwa**
ii ui mutani,
menya **unkeeria ugikeerwa**
Maumu uri nthi,ii uri nthi,
maumu uri nthi,ii uri nthi.

12 NTHAKA NI KITHAKA

Nthaka ni kithaka nthaka,
igendaga **mbere ya riua,**
nthaka igendaga, na **rukororima.**
Irumagirua **nkanya** nthaka,

Igendaga **mbere ya riua,**
nthaka igendaga, na **rukororima.**
Ino nicio nthaka,nthaka,

Igendaga **mbere ya riua,** nthaka
Igendaga na **rukororima.**

Uu egrets of the pond ui u
Ii pond that is white
Uu egrets of the pond that is white ui u
Uu egrets of the pond that is white ui u
ii of the pond that is white ii

BOY SHAKE YOUR FEATHER

Boy shake your feather uu boy
Boy shake your feather uu boy
To be circumcised is not very important,
ii boy shake your feather ii
like maintaining the gentlemanship,
ii boy shake your feather ii
Boy shake your feather uu boy.
Boy shake your feather uu boy
To be circumcised is not very important
like maintaining the gentle manship

TROUBLING THE DEEP WATER

Boy has troubled the deep water,
ii ui the water of Rukunduku water,
ii ui water of Rukunduku .
Ii ui circumciser,
know, do not delay me as you delay
ii ui circumciser,
know, do not delay me as you delay
Dirt you are down, ii you are down,
dirt you are down, ii you are down.

A CIRCUMCISED MALE(S) IS A BUSH

A circumcised male(s)
they go before the sun,
Circumcised male(s) go at dawn.
They are served because of respect
circumcised
(males)
They go before the sun
Circumcised male(s) go at dawn.
These are the circumcised
male(s),circumcised male(s),
They go before the sun, circumcised male(s)
They go before dawn.

13 WAURUA NI ABAI

Bai wa M'twairia waurua
ni abai wauma kuu?
Bai wa M'twairia waurua
ni abai wauma kuu?
wauma kuu? **Wauma Kiria!**
Iriyu riyu wauma kuu **ndigi**
iriyu riyu wauma kuu **ndigi**
wauma kuu, kuthugura **ndigi**
kuthugura
Ndigi akuthogora ndigi,
mwari akuthogora.

14 NIIRUMUE GINTU

Nthaka ii, niirumue **gantu**,
nthaka ii, ni **gintu kiega**
Nthaka ii, niirumue **gantu**
nthaka ii, ni **gintu kiega**
Nthaka ii, niirumue **gantu**,
mwana wetu,
agwitikirwa ni nthakame.

15 MUGONO

Irua ii, ni **ndugu**, ni muntu muka,
utici ni ndugu .
Ba kathiiriri batari wa ndugu,
ni twii na bai, tweeroragirwa aa.
Irua ii, ni **ndugu**, ni muntu muka,
utici ni **ndugu**
Bakathiiriri batari wandugu,
kana wa mwiriga,
ni twii na bai, tweeroragirwa aa.
Irua ii, ni **ndugu** ni muntu muka,
utici ni **ndugu**.
Ino ni nthaka, nthaka
ciobirwe
ciobo cia **kabiu** aa,
Ino ni nthaka **tucarucanie**,
nthaka **ciobirwe**, **ciobo** cia **kabiu** aa.

YOU HAVE BEEN ASKED BY FATHER

Son of M'twairia you have been asked
by your father where you are from?
Son of M'twairia you have been asked
by your father where you are from?
where are you from? From Kiria!
Iriyu riyu where are you from ndigi
iriyu riyu where are you from ndigi
where are you from, **searching** for ndigi
searching
Ndigi has searched for ndigi,
a girl he has searched.

LET THEM BE GIVEN SOMETHING

Circumcised males ii, let them be given something
circumcised males ii, are a good thing
Circumcised males ii, let them be given something
circumcised males ii, are a good thing
Circumcised males ii, let them be given something
our son,
has been dripped by blood.

NARRATING NAMING SONG

Age-group ii, is brotherhood, it is a woman,
who does not know it is brotherhood
Within that circle, there was no relative
It is us and father, who were being observed aa
age-group ii, is brotherhood, it is a woman,
who does not it is brotherhood
Within that circle, there was no relative
or of the clan
It is us and father who were being observed
Age-group ii, is brotherhood, it is a woman
Who does not know it is brotherhood
These are circumcised males, circumcised males,
were tied
terms of the knife aa,
These are circumcised males, whisper secretly,
circumcised males, were tied, terms of the knife aa.