

**A LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS OF THE METAPHORICAL EUPHEMISMS  
USED IN DHOLUO HIV/AIDS DISCOURSE**

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**2016**

**DECLARATION**

I declare that this research project originally springs from my thought and idea and has not been presented for examination in another institution.

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## **DEDICATION**

In memory of my great friend the late Pastor Ernest Were Otondi.

And

To my all time favorite friend (now wife) Carolina.

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In a special way I appreciate people who contributed in one way or another to the success of this project, my utmost gratitude goes to God Almighty whose guidance has been sufficient. He is my source of courage during life's lowest moments.

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

1SG	First Person Singular
2SG	Second person singular
3PL	Third Person Plural
3SG	Third Person Singular
AIDS	Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome
BU	Boro-Ukwala
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
KAIS	Kenya AIDS Indicator Survey
KSN	Kisumu South Nyanza
NACC	National AIDS control council
NASCOP	National AIDS & STI Control Programme
NEG	Negation
PERF	Perfective verb
PLWHA	People Living with HIV and AIDS
POSS	Possession
PST	Past Tense
SN	South Nyanza
TY	Trans Yala

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## DEFINITION OF TERMS

This section gives the definition of some of the concepts used in the project.

No	Term/Concept	Definition
1.	Metaphor	An expression in which an idea or notion is described in terms associated with other ideas or notions.
2.	Cognitive Linguistics	A conceptual approach to linguistic analysis based on the idea that linguistic structures are fundamentally the same as other cognitive structures.
3.	Domain	A specific area of knowledge on cultural emphasis.
4.	Source Domain	What the hearer has sufficient and clear information about.
5.	Target Domain	Conceptual domain that the hearer tries to understand.
6.	Mapping	A transfer of the qualities of the source domain onto the target domain.
7.	Seropositives	These are people infected with the HIV/AIDS disease.
8.	Relevance	Relating or connecting to each other. A property of inputs to cognitive systems
9.	Context	Situation in which an utterance is made, it is also the mental assumptions of the hearer during conversations.
10.	Metaphorical euphemisms	Metaphorical expressions used euphemisms

## ABSTRACT

This research study attempts a linguistic analysis of the metaphorical euphemisms used in Dholuo HIV/AIDS discourse, using the Conceptual Metaphor theory, which analyzes metaphors in terms of target and source domains. Relevance Theory is also used mainly when metaphors used present us with ambiguities. Relevance theory's comprehension heuristic is used in the disambiguation of such metaphorical expressions. For purposes of this study, metaphorical expressions are regarded as conceptual strategy for structuring linguistic expression to construe meaning. The data was collected from conversations, radio broadcasts, health facilities, newspapers Dholuo music and other social gatherings. Chapter one is an introduction which comprises a brief description of the language of the study, problem statement, objectives and hypotheses. It also provides the rationale, the scope and limitations of the study, theoretical frameworks, review of literature and the research methodology. Chapter two gives a typology of Dholuo conceptual metaphors used to euphemise HIV/AIDS. The typology includes conceptualization of HIV/AIDS as: accident, calamity, animals, risky business, insect/pests, war, familiar illness, food, and journey. There is also a typology which is unclear in terms of conceptualization. Chapter three gives the analysis of metaphors used to euphemise HIV/AIDS discourse in Dholuo. First, there is the conceptual metaphor analysis and then the Relevant Theoretic analysis of the metaphors. Chapter four discusses the findings based on the analysis of data in chapter three. The last chapter provides a summary and the findings of the study. It also gives recommendation for further research.

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 Background

This section gives a general overview of the research topic; it introduces the language of the study, the background to the study, problem statement and the research questions. It also includes research study objectives, justification, scope of the study and its limitations.

#### 1.1.1 Background to the Study

This study analyzes and discusses how speakers use metaphorical expressions to euphemize HIV/AIDS discourse in Dholuo.

HIV/AIDS as precisely referred to in this study is in full Human Immunodeficiency Virus/Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome. It presents a great challenge in public health of the world today. Here in Kenya its first victim was identified in the year 1984. Agencies like NACC and NASCOP in the year 2012 showed that as of December 2011 1.6 million people, in Kenya, were people living with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA). Further study by NASCOP in 2013 approximated that 5.6% of the adult population in the country suffered from the disease. However, according to (NACC and NASCOP, 2012), with an increase in medical treatment access by the seropositives, the agency projects that infections by the disease will continue to go up. Of the national prevalence of 5.6%, Nyanza region registers the highest prevalence at 15.1% going by KAIS in NASCOP, 2013. Being a social issue it has found its way into the languages that are used by different communities. Since Dholuo speakers have also been affected by this pandemic and it has influenced the way they use their language in relation to the disease. Scientific research has shown that HIV/AIDS in Africa is mainly transmitted through sexual intercourse and to date no cure has been

found for it. Most people thus view infection by HIV/AIDS as an equivalent of death and the infection presents one as immoral and unclean. This has made the disease to be tabooed and has consequently necessitated its euphemization.

### **1.1.2 Background to the Language of Study**

The language Luo, as referred to by many, is actually Dholuo. Dho- is a prefix for noun class just like in languages of the Bantu which have Ki- in Kikamba, Gi- as in Gikuyu and Eke- in EkeGusii. The prefix means ‘the language spoken by the Luo people.’

Dholuo is a Nilotic language spoken by the Luo people; it traces its roots to the Southern Sudan. The language is among the languages of the nilotic branch and specifically the nilotic sub-branch belonging to the eastern Sudanic family according to Greenberg (1966:85) as quoted by Otieno (2014, unpublished Masters Project). According to Cohen (1974), as quoted by Okombo (1986), the Luo began to settle in Western Kenya between 1500 and 1550 A.D, this is still their present region. Presently, most Dholuo speakers live in Migori, Homa-Bay, Kisumu and Siaya counties (Nyanza province under the old constitution) in the Western region Kenya. ‘They live specifically around the north-east shores of Lake Victoria in Kenya and Tanzania’ Stafford (1967: vii). Dholuo is thus a language being spoken in Kenya and Tanzania. However, Population of Dholuo speakers have moved to other parts of the country. There are those who have moved to who have moved to urban centers and towns in search of employment opportunities. Some have moved to other parts of Kenya because of social factors as intermarriage. The national population census (2009) shows the total number of Luo people in Kenya as being slightly over four million, excluding those in the Diaspora. Stafford (1967), Okombo (1986) and Oduol (1990) in their studies indicate that Dholuo language has two mutually intelligible

dialects. Stafford refers to the two dialects as Trans-Yala (TY) dialect, spoken in parts of Gem, Alego, Imbo and Ugenya (making part of today Siaya County) and South Nyanza (SN) dialect spoken in today Kisumu, Homa Bay and Migori Counties. Oduol (1990) refers to Stafford's (1967) Trans Yala (TY) dialect as Boro-Ukwala (BU) and the South Nyanza (SN) dialect as Kisumu South-Nyanza (KSN) dialect. In the view of Oduol (1990:292) it is KSN dialect that is used by a majority of the Luo population and considered "socially prestigious". It is used in radio broadcasts and in Dholuo literature including the Bible. However, Okombo (1986:2) notes that;

“...although these dialects have a high degree of mutual intelligibility, they are distinct enough in their lexical and phonological features to enable one to tell which dialectal zone a speaker comes from merely by the way one speaks”

In this research, the researcher used the KSN dialect not only because of the scope of the study but also because the dialect is considered the standard dialect in Dholuo (Okoth, 1997:2), used in radio stations, and other print media. The researcher is also a native speaker using the dialect.

### **1.1.3 The Study of Metaphors**

Metaphor is one of the concepts of cognitive linguistics. Most scholars' view of the metaphor is that it is a figure of speech which is mainly used to achieve some artistic or aesthetic purpose. In this view metaphors are thus presented as having one function, which is that of linguistic ornamentation meant to give freshness to expressions. This however seems not to be the case according to linguists such as Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 2003:4) who state that;

Primarily on the basis of linguistic evidence, we have found most of our ordinary conceptual system is metaphorical in nature. And we have found a

way to begin to identify in detail just what the metaphors are that structure how we perceive, how we think, and what we do.

Metaphors therefore aid our understanding and conceptualization of the world as most of the things in the world are metaphorically conceptualized. The idea of cross domain mapping developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) aids our understanding of these ideas metaphorically presented. This understanding springs from the source domain which are ideas or things that hearers understand and these ideas or things are used to understand the target domain, an idea the hearer seeks to understand.

#### **1.1.4 The Study of Euphemisms**

The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms (1976) defines euphemism as;

‘the substitution of a mild and pleasant expression for a harsh and blunt one.’

Webster’s collegiate dictionary, (2003) describes the use of euphemism as the substitution of an agreeable or inoffensive expression for one that is offending or suggesting something that is not pleasant or a taboo. According to the Longman Dictionary of Language Teaching and Applied Linguistics 2010, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition by Richard, J. and Schmidt, R, as ‘the use of a word which is thought to be less offensive or unpleasant than other words’

Njoroge (2014, masters project) opines that, as phrases become euphemistic, their literal meanings are always shoved aside and their references become euphemistic. Euphemistic expressions are thus expressions that speakers use to make bearable statements that are otherwise taboo or offensive. Euphemisms thus help speakers to talk about things, which are found taboo or obscene, in polite manner. Things like nakedness, body effluvia, and certain aspects of ill health, death and sex ought to be

euphemized because of their taboo nature. Euphemisms present these issues that are considered taboo in a polite way, which both the speaker and the listener agree with.

In the views of above scholars' euphemistic expressions are thus meant for words considered taboo which according to the American dictionary of English Language (2000) defines taboo words as 'a sanction or restriction on both institutional and individual level under the assumption that some harm will occur if a taboo word is spoken'. Evan et al (2000:2) states that 'taboos have control over our everyday lives and set social boundaries for what is acceptable or unacceptable, appropriate or inappropriate social behavior'. Linguistic taboos are therefore phrases that when spoken in public may embarrass or cause a feeling of shame.

This study aimed at the analysis of how Dholuo speakers use metaphorical expressions euphemise HIV/AIDS and the discourse that is related to it.

## **1.2 Statement of the Problem**

Among the speakers of Dholuo, the tabooing of HIV/AIDS infection has influenced how the speakers make reference to the disease, its acquisition and medication. The tabooing has necessitated euphemization to present the disease in a politer light so as to avoid stigmatization of those infected. Metaphors have therefore been employed to conceal elements in HIV/AIDS discourse that are considered unpleasant, embarrassing, harsh, or in some other way offensive. For instance one may hear Dholuo speakers say:

(1) *Ochamo dher yamo*

3SG-PST eat cow-POSS wind

'He/she has eaten a sick cow'

to mean one has been infected with HIV/AIDS.

A number of studies have been done on the relationship between HIV/AIDS and language. Nyakoe (2014) looked at metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV/AIDS discourse in Kisii County, Kenya; Oloo (2012) looked at Representation of HIV and AIDS Discourse in Nyanza Province, Kenya. Nyakoe; Ongarora; Oloo (2014) analyzed the food metaphor in EkeGusii HIV/AIDS Discourse; Magonya, L; Oloo, P.(2015) analyzed What Gets Mapped onto What in the Sex is a Football Game Metaphor in Kenyan HIV/AIDS Campaign Posters? AndNjeri (2007) looked at a pragmatic analysis of Gĩkũyũ lexical euphemism in HIV/AIDS discourse.

However, to the best of the researcher's awareness, none of the studies has addressed the issue of how metaphorical expressions are used in Dholuo to euphemize HIV/AIDS. It is this research gap that this study, using Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Relevance Theory, sought to address.

Some of the questions arising from this research gap are outlined in 1.3 below:

### **1.3 Research Questions**

- a. How has HIV/AIDS influenced lexical innovations in Dholuo?
- b. How are metaphorical expressions used in Dholuo to euphemise HIV/AIDS discourse?
- c. To what extent can the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Relevance Theory provide an adequate account of the euphemisms used in Dholuo?

### **1.4 Research Objectives**

The research objectives include:

- a. To investigate how HIV/AIDS has influenced lexical innovations in Dholuo.
- b. To establish how Metaphors are used to euphemize HIV/AIDS in Dholuo discourse.



- c. To investigate the extent to which the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Relevance Theory can provide an adequate account of the euphemisms used in Dholuo HIV/AIDS discourse.

### **1.5 Rationale/Justification**

This research looked at how speakers of Dholuo language use metaphorical words and phrases to euphemize HIV/AIDS and its related discourse. HIV/AIDS has continued to be a social problem infecting and affecting millions of people nationally and internationally, because of its effects it has found its way into the language as people talk about it frequently. The nature of its acquisition, which is in most cases through sexual intercourse, and the fact that it ultimately leads to death has made it tabooed hence necessitating need for euphemistic reference.

This research therefore shows how Dholuo speakers metaphorically euphemize HIV/AIDS discourse in their language. Its findings will make a contribution to sociolinguistics providing an insight to future researchers who intend to research on language and HIV/AIDS.

This study therefore provides a source of reference to scholars who may be interested in finding out how speakers of other languages refer to the discourse surrounding HIV/AIDS.

The study may also contribute to the effort by government and other organizations and agencies in fighting the HIV/AIDS scourge especially among Dholuo speakers as it shows how reference is made to the illness, this may help produce advertisements, posters and other publications since it shows how to mask the taboo.

## **1.6 Scope and Limitation of the Study**

The research was based on Dholuo speakers' use of metaphorical expressions to euphemize HIV/AIDS discourse. The study focused on how human experience is conceptualized and presented through language. It does an analysis on how metaphors are used in spoken discourse to conceptualize the world.

The study used Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Sperber and Wilson's Relevance Theory. The researcher used South Nyanza dialect since it is what is considered standard Dholuo dialect.

Owing to time and constraints of financial resources and the magnitude of the subject, the study was carried out in Migori County especially areas around Lake Victoria since HIV/AIDS prevalence is believed to be high in this region.

## **1.7 Literature Review**

This section looks at the relevant contributions made by other scholars and their importance to this study.

### **1.7.1 The Literature on Dholuo**

A number of studies have been undertaken in Dholuo language in the past. Oduol (1990) and Oduor (2002) categorize these studies into two. The first category consists of initial publications on Dholuo that provided basic grammar to people who were beginning to learn the language. This category benefited missionaries who needed to know the language in order to interact with Dholuo speaking people. Okombo (1986:12), as quoted by Otieno (2014), posit that such books 'were written for the non-native speaker who wants to acquire working knowledge of the language'. Such publications included; 'Dholuo without Tears', (Malo, 1952), 'An Elementary Luo Grammar with vocabularies', (Stafford, 1967), 'A Grammar of Kenyan Luo',

(Tucker, 1994). Mentioned for completeness' sake as they make no significant contribution to the study

The second category, according to Otieno Mboya (2014) included works which provided theoretical analyses of different aspects of the language. This category is made up of studies whose focus was to give descriptive analyses of specific aspects of Dholuo language. Such studies included; The Major Syntactic Structures of Dholuo, (Omondi, 1982), Dholuo Morphophonemics in a Generative Grammar, (Okombo, 1982), The Functional Paradigm and Dholuo Constituent order, (Okombo, 1986), Dholuo Dialects, (Oduol, 1990). Although these studies are not based on Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), they provided insights into the language of study in this research as they provided a clear distinction between the varieties of Dholuo; the KSN and the TY dialects, KSN being the one that is used in this study.

Atoh (2001) researched on Dholuo nouns using Semantic Field Theory, whose basic thesis is that it is only as a part of the whole that a word has sense; it is only in the field that there is meaning. This is related to the encyclopedic aspect of cognitive semantics. The only difference is that in cognitive semantics, this "field" is in the mind and it depends on human bodily experiences. Ocholla (2011) looked at Dholuo spatial prepositions using Image Schema Theory. She observed that Dholuo spatial prepositions can be given a non-spatial use through metaphorical extension. This reveals that our everyday speech events are filled with conceptual metaphors which not only shape our communication, but they also shape our thinking and the way we act. These are mentioned for completeness sake since they may not have a significant contribution to this study.

Adoyo (2013) did a research on a semantic analysis of Dholuo verbs as used in metaphors using Conceptual Metaphor Theory. He concluded that there are systems

and constrained mappings in Dholuo metaphor. This corroborates this study in terms of understanding mapping process from target to source domain. From these studies it is evident that no research, to the best of the researches knowledge, has been done on Dholuo euphemisms on HIV/AIDS especially through the use of metaphors. Although Adoyo (2013) used conceptual metaphor theory, the same theory used in this study, he (Adoyo) focused on Dholuo verbs as used in metaphors. This research study, however, focused on analysis of how Dholuo speakers use metaphors to euphemise HIV/AIDS discourse.

### **1.7.2The Literature on Conceptual Metaphor Theory**

Conceptual metaphor theory is proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and developed in their subsequent works in (1987), (1989) and (1992).Lakoff (2003:203) says;

‘a metaphor can be defined as cross domain mapping in the conceptual system’

In other words it is a set of conceptual correspondences from source domain which is the realm of the physical or more concrete reality to target domain which is in this case HIV/AIDS discourse. A metaphorical mapping presents sub mappings or ontological correspondences between source and target domains as a result of reasoning about the latter using the knowledge we have about the former. (Fernandez, 2003)

Metaphors are thus devices which structure our conception of things by providing an understanding of the world and deriving sense from our experiences. Metaphors are figures of speech with aesthetic value; they are a way of thinking apart from being linguistic expressions.

The commonly used conceptual metaphor; LOVE IS A JOURNEY Lakoff and Jonson (1980), Lakoff (1987) for example has a projection from source domain 'journey' onto a target domain 'love' and the associations that constitute this metaphor map our perceptions about 'journey' onto our perceptions about 'love'. The source domain thus aids the understanding of the target domain.

In the example Barcelona (2003:3) says the domain journey, itself a sub domain in the domain of movement is mapped, that is superimposed onto the domain of love, itself a sub domain of emotions. We can thus have;

- a. Look at how far we've come.
- b. Our relationship is off the track.
- c. We're spinning our wheels

In the mapping like in the example above, a number of aspects, attributes, propositions and entities from the experimental (also source) domain of journeys to the target domain in this case emotions and especially to the domain of love. Lakoff (1993:206-209) says among the number of aspects the following correspondences can be singled out.

- Lovers correspond to travelers
- The love relationship corresponds to the vehicle in the journey.
- The lovers' common goal corresponds to their common destinations in the journey.
- Difficulties in the relationship correspond to impediments to travel.

Lakoff and Turner (1989:106-110), Barcelona (1997 a) points out that a vital aspect of metaphorical expressions is their open-ended elaborations and the fact that they can be exploited creatively in conversations.

Barcelona (2003b:214) talks about the principle of unidirectionality according to which he says the associative process goes on from the more abstract concept to the more concrete reality.

Lakoff and Johnson (1987:271-278) opine that as conceptual and metonymic metaphors are grounded in our bodily and social experiences there exists kinesthetic image schemas into which our experience is organized, that is, recurring structures coming from our perception of the things around us and bodily functioning. Most of our actions in appoint of time and space which provides a metaphorical basis for their linguistic expression. Thus, apart from conceptual mappings there are also image mappings which aid our understanding of abstract concepts. Looked at like this, our daily experiences can be understood in terms of experimental blocks consisting of structural elements allows us in dealing with concepts that are abstract in particular terms.

According to Croft and Cruse (2004:193), metaphor in cognitive semantics is treated as a construal operation, and it involves judgment or comparisons. It involves a vehicle and a target. Metaphor involves an interaction between two domains construed from two regions of purport, and the content of the vehicle domain is an ingredient of the construed target through processes of correspondences (ibid 193). Nyakoe (2012) used Conceptual Metaphor Theory to Analyze Conceptualization of ‘Death Is a Journey’ and ‘Death as Rest’ in EkeGusii Euphemism.

Adoyo (2013) did a semantic analysis of Dholuo verbs as used in metaphors using Conceptual Metaphor Theory. He arrived at a conclusion that there are systems and constrained mappings in Dholuo metaphor.

### **1.7.3 The Literature on Euphemism**

Euphemism is a concept in linguistics where words, phrases and expressions that are deemed offensive are substituted by ones that are considered less offending and bearable.

Qadi (2009) says that the concept of euphemism originated from a Greek word which means sounding good. Qadi(ibid) quotes scholars such as Wilson (1993) who consider euphemistic expressions as those with meaning or sounds considered somehow nicer, cleaner or more elevated and so used as substitute for words deemed unpleasant, crude or ugly in sound or sense. In English for example, the euphemistic expression 'pass on' is used in place of die.

Euphemisms, according to Qadi (ibid), are regarded as vital aspect of every speech community and a language lacking euphemism can thus be considered a faulty instrument of everyday communication.

Nguti (2013) did a comparative study of Kikamba and Kiswahili on the use of euphemism in home place. Njoroge (2014) did a study on euphemisms of kikuyu taboo words. These studies have been motivated by Stockwell's (2008) observation that every society strives to instill morals and moral values to its members by use of euphemisms at home or in the society.

Mbaya (2002) did a descriptive study focusing on custom and culture of Ethiopia's Oromo people in which names of people who are relatives by marriage is prohibited culturally. In the study it is shown that due to linguistic taboo, wives, husbands and in-laws avoid using their respective names substituting them with other forms most of which are coinages. The study presented an analysis of taboo words and provided

mechanisms for finding their substitutes. It showed that Oromo people address their relatives, by marriage, using euphemistic terms.

## **1.8 Theoretical Framework**

In this section, the basic assumptions of Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Relevance Theory, the theories on which the study will be based, are explained.

### **1.8.1 Conceptual Metaphor Theory**

As already noted in section 1.3, this study will use the Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as brought out by Croft and Cruise (2004). Croft and Cruse (2004:195) say;

The central characteristic of Lakoff and Johnson's theory of (conventional) metaphor is that the metaphor is not a property of individual linguistic expressions and their meanings, but of whole conceptual domains. In principle, any concept from the **source domain** – the domain supporting the literal meaning of the expression– can be used to describe a concept in the **target domain** – the domain the sentence is actually about.

George Lakoff (1987:208) says, metaphorical expressions are phenomena involving both conceptual mapping and ones linguistic expression. By mapping attributes of one concept (concrete) onto another (abstract) it is believed that the concrete aspect provides a clear avenue for understanding the concept which is abstract. Croft and Cruse (2004:196-197) quote Lakoff's example of ANGER IS THE HEAT OF THE FLUID where the ontological correspondences are presented as:

**Source: HEAT OF FLUID**

**Target: ANGER**

Container

Body

Heat of fluid

Anger



Heat scale	Anger scale
Pressure in container	Experienced pressure
Agitation of boiling fluid	Experienced agitation
Limit of container resistance	Limit of persons ability to suppress anger
Explosion	Loss of control

And epistemic correspondences are presented as:

**Source: HEAT OF FLUID**

When fluid in a container is heated beyond a certain limit, pressure increases to point at which container explodes.

An explosion is damaging to container and dangerous to bystanders.

Explosion can be prevented by applying sufficient force and counterpressure.

Controlled release of pressure may occur, which reduces danger of explosion.

*Adapted from Croft and cruse (2004:197)*

Croft and cruse (2004:196) say:

The mapping between source and target domains involves two sorts of correspondences, epistemic and ontological. The ontological correspondences hold between elements of one domain and elements of the other domain;

**Target: ANGER**

When anger increases beyond a certain limit, 'pressure' increases to point at which person loses control.

Loss of control is damaging to person and dangerous to others.

Anger can be suppressed by force of will.

Anger can be released in a controlled way or vented harmlessly, thus reducing level.

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).

Conceptual Metaphor Theory was developed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980, 1999); Lakoff (1993). Lakoff and Johnson first came up with the theory in their publication *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). In this publication Lakoff and Johnson define metaphor as understanding and experiencing one aspect in terms of another or as a tightly structured mapping between two domains which are referred to as: the source domain and the target domain, these domains are conceptual. In this case what is concrete and more clearly related to the physical and bodily experience and which is easily understandable constitutes the source domain while that which is abstract and less clearly structured and understandable constitutes the target domain.

The theory focuses on explaining the underlying conceptual scenarios involved in conventional metaphors (Lakoff 1993:206). An important principle in this theory is the Mapping Principle in which there is the cross domain mapping involving two domains: **source domain** and **target domain**. It is the mapping of target domain onto the source domain that aids our conceptualization and understanding of aspects of target domain that we need to understand.

For example, Dholuo speakers refer to HIV/AIDS as;

(2) *Jakom*

Chairman

Thus, in a conversation a Dholuo speaker would say:

(3) *Onyango nigi Jakom*

Onyango has got Chairman

‘Onyango is suffering from HIV/AIDS’

In this case *Jakom* or chairman is the source domain used to understand the target domain in this case HIV/AIDS. Dholuo speakers having conceptualized what being a chairman entails, transfer their understanding and conceptualization of a chairman to HIV/AIDS for instance;

SOURCE DOMAIN: CHAIRMAN	TARGET DOMAIN: HIV/AIDS
Powerful	most dangerous of diseases
Supreme	incomparable to other diseases
Final	ultimately leads to death
Controller	controls other complications

Domains are vital in defining a metaphor since the cross domain mapping aids and understanding of one concept in terms of another.

### 1.8.2 Relevance Theory

Relevance theory as proposed by Sperber and Wilson (1986) is anchored on the **cognitive principle** and **communicative principle**. Cognitive principle says that human cognition is geared towards maximization of relevance. Communicative principle on the other hand says utterances create expectation of optimal relevance. This study therefore benefits from these two principles in cases where disambiguation

is required in the metaphorical expressions used to euphemize Dholuo HIV/AIDS discourse. Langaker (1968:80) illustrates that any kind of language is not always appropriate in all situations. Thus, when one uses metaphor, they focus on the culture, context and the target audience. This therefore shows that one fact about metaphors is that they are culture and context based. Use of metaphors therefore focuses on the culture, context and the target audience.

This theory is used to show how metaphors function in a context to bring about the meaning the speaker wants to convey, Sperber and Wilson (1995) give an explanation on how hearers infer meaning for figurative language. They suggest that utterance interpretation is a process guided by consideration of relevance. Utterances are relevant to a hearer when it is connecting with contextual assumptions that are available to yield cognitive effects that are positive, Sperber and Wilson (1995).

According to Cruse (2000:205) metaphors are necessary component of human cognition which are naturally conceptual and are a way in which intangible experiences and abstract ideas are conceptualized in terms of concrete and tangible concepts. Metaphors in Relevance Theory are utterances which are implicatures that require contextual effect to be understood, analyzed, interpreted and processed. The **ad hoc** concept which stresses the need for taking into account the context is also important in Relevant Theoretic analysis.

Assimakopoulos (2008:198) as quoted by Onyango 2014 (unpublished Masters Project) points out that:

‘During utterance interpretation an encoded concept might get pragmatically adjusted requiring us to construct an ad hoc concept in its place. In this case,

what will be communicated to the hearer at the lexical level might not be the literal meaning of a word, but a contextually derived ad hoc concept.’

The concepts of broadening and narrowing are also vital in the relevant theoretic analysis.

### **1.9 Research Hypotheses**

- a. HIV/AIDS has influenced lexical innovations Dholuo.
- b. Metaphors are used in Dholuo to euphemize HIV/AIDS and the discourse related to it.
- c. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Relevance Theory provide an adequate account of the euphemisms used in Dholuo HIV/AIDS discourse.

### **1.10 Research Methodology**

This section deals mainly with the methods used to collect data and data analysis in order to answer the specific research study questions.

#### **1.10.1 Data Collection**

In this research data consists of metaphorical euphemisms used by Dholuo speakers in HIV/AIDS discourse. This data was collected from both primary sources and secondary sources.

Primary sources included researcher’s knowledge of the language. Being a native speaker, the researcher was already familiar with some metaphorical euphemisms in Dholuo HIV/AIDS discourse. Participant observation was also employed, where, the researcher engaged in casual conversation while interacting with people in their natural and social settings, he identified and noted down metaphorical euphemisms of HIV/AIDS used. Participants in these conversations were from different settings which included church services, funeral services, homes, learning institutions,

markets, bars, sport meetings and other social gatherings where Dholuo language was spoken. The interactions cut across age, gender, occupation and social class. There were instances where the expressions were noted down during the interactions while in other instances they were noted down after the interactions.

Informal interviews were also used to collect data. Here, the researcher talked informally with people, in the field, without using any kind of structured interview guides. The researcher conveniently sampled six health facilities from where eight health workers were interviewed these eight interviewees were chosen purposively because they work in the HIV Testing and Counseling (HTC) sections of these health facilities. Informal interviews were preferred since the method fosters 'low pressure' interactions where respondents to give more freely and openly. Again, this was a preferred mode of interview for this study given the taboo nature of the HIV/AIDS among speakers of Dholuo language. It was hoped that using it therefore helped ease pressure that respondents may have talking about the subject.

Programs aired by Dholuo radio stations, radio Ramogi and Mayienga FM, discussing HIV/AIDS also provided data for this research, while listening to these programs the researcher noted down metaphorical euphemisms used especially by other listeners who called these stations to contribute to the topic of discussion. There were also recorded songs, some played during such programs, in which metaphorical euphemisms were used.

Secondary sources of data mainly consisted of past research where other scholars have attempted research on euphemism and HIV/AIDS discourse. A form for data collection was designed which had columns for **Metaphorical Expression, Speaker, Setting** and **Conceptualization**. It is in this form that the researcher entered the metaphorical euphemisms whenever he came across them for analysis later. These

data collection methods helped collect sixty metaphorical euphemisms for HIV/AIDS in Dholuo.

### **1.10.2 Data Presentation**

After collecting data on metaphorical expressions Dholuo speakers use to euphemise HIV/AIDS discourse, their nearest English equivalents were given. A typology was then formed according to the conceptualization and the images presented by these metaphorical euphemisms. The typology included the metaphorical euphemisms conceptualized as; accident, calamity, journey, wild animals, insects/pests, risky business, food, familiar illnesses and war.(See chapter 2)

### **1.10.3 Data Analysis.**

In data analysis, the researcher explained the various conceptualizations of the metaphorical euphemisms (images) within the tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory as postulated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Relevance Theory as postulated by Sperber and Wilson (1995). Each metaphorical expression was analyzed with a view to revealing the conceptual mapping relationships entailed by it. In cases where the metaphorical expression seemed to be ambiguous, the researcher subjected the expressions to a Relevance Theoretic analysis and particularly used the Relevant Theoretic Comprehension Procedure in order to determine how they were understood by participants in the relevant discourses.

## CHAPTER TWO

### A TYPOLOGY OF METAPHORICAL EUPHEMISMS USED IN DHOLUO HIV/AIDS DISCOURSE.

#### 2.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the data to be analyzed in this study in terms of a typology of metaphorical euphemisms used in Dholuo HIV/AIDS discourse. The metaphors are conceptualized in terms of: accident, calamity, journey, wild animals, insects/pests, risky business, food, familiar illnesses and war. There is also a conceptual basis which is unclear in terms of conceptualization. More categories can be realized but only the above mentioned categories were selected for the purposes of this study. This selection made in considering the frequency of occurrence under each typology drawn from the data collected as presented in frequency of occurrence Table below

**Table 2.1: Frequency of occurrence**

Type	Tally	Frequency of occurrence	% Frequency
Accident	### ## //	12	20%
Calamity	### ## /	11	18%
Animals	### //	07	12%
Food	### /	06	10%
Insects/Pests	###	05	08%
Journey	###	05	08%
Familiar Illness	###	05	08%
Risky business	////	04	07%
War	///	03	05%
Unclear Conceptualization	//	02	03%



## 2.2 HIV/AIDS conceptualized as accident

Accidents happen unfortunately and unexpectedly without any apparent and intentional cause. Accidents are viewed by many people as unpleasant, abrupt and often unplanned for occurrences. Accidents cause damage, injury and even loss of life. However, accidents can also be avoided or prevented when care is taken.

Speakers of Dholuo language use a number of expressions that metaphorically euphemise HIV/AIDS discourse in Dholuo as accidents. For example a Dholuo speaker will say:

### (4) Omwonyo manila

3SG swallow-PERF manila

‘He/she has swallowed manila (plastic bag)’

### (5) KudhoOchwoye

Thorn 3SG-PERF prick

‘He/she has been pricked by a thorn’

### (6) NyieniAwang’i owang’o

Fellow this *awang’i* PERF-burn

‘This fellow has been burnt by *awang’i* (that which burns)’

### (7) Onyono wach sitima

3SG-PERF step wire-POSS electricity

‘He/she has stepped on live electric wire’

### (8) Oromo gi Masira

3SG meet-PERF with accident

‘He/she has been infected accidentally.’

**(9) Otieno ochwanyore**

Otieno has hit leg-POSS on stone

‘Otieno has hit his leg on stone’

**(10) Ng’ano onyono musmwal**

3SG person PERF-step nail

‘That person has stepped on a nail’

**(11) Orado gi wii pii**

3SG meet-PERF head water

‘He/she has been swept by moving water’

**(12) Miyono nigi slo pancha**

Woman that has got slow puncture

‘That woman has a slow puncture’

### **2.3 HIV/AIDS Conceptualized as Calamity**

Calamity causes great and often sudden damage or distress to people that it befalls due to its grievous affliction, adversity and cause of misery.

A good number of metaphorical expressions in Dholuo used as euphemize HIV/AIDS look at it as tragedy, catastrophe or calamity. The source domains are thus calamitous happenings like lightening, storms, whirlwind and others which are used for target domain.

**(13) Gino Yamo marach**

That thing be wind which is bad

‘That is a dangerous Strong wind/storm’

- (14) **Dalano kalausi oyweyo ji tee.**  
 Home that whirlwind PERF-sweep people all.  
 ‘Whirlwind has swept everybody in that home’
- (15) **Polo ogoyo dhakono**  
 Lightning 3SG-PERF beat woman that  
 ‘That woman has been struck by lightning’
- (16) **Pee Ogoye**  
 Hail stones 3SG-PERF strike  
 ‘He/she has been struck by hail stones’
- (17) **Matieka ema otieke**  
*Matieka* is what 3SG-PERF finish  
 ‘He/she has died of *matieka*(that which finishes people)’
- (18) **Onyango nigijakom**  
 Onyango has got *Jakom*(chairman)  
 ‘Onyango is having *Jakom*(chairman)’
- (19) **Ng’ato ang’ata nyalo yudo ayaki**  
 Anybody can get-PERF *Ayaki* (that which loots)  
 ‘Anybody can contract *Ayaki* (that which loots)’
- (20) **Oyudo tuo maduong’**  
 3sg-PERF get disease which is big  
 ‘He/she has contracted the big disease’
- (21) **Mang’uana omake**  
*Mang’uana* (that which grabs) PERF-catch 3SG  
 ‘*Mang’uana* (that which grabs) has caught him/her’

**(22) Jane oyudo silim**

Jane PERF-get silim

‘Jane has got silim’

**(23) Gimarach omake**

Something bad PERF-catch 3SG

‘Something bad has caught him/her’

**(24) Mgongo wasi, okawo ring’o to oweyo choke**

*Mgongo wasi*, it takes meat but it leaves bones

‘*Mgongo wasi* which takes meat and leaves only bones’

In example 24 HIV/AIDS is referred to as *Mgongo Wasi* which in Dholuo is a delicacy of fish whose flesh has been removed for canning, what remains is the bones and the head. Example 21 refers to the disease as *Mang’uana* which can loosely be translated in Dholuo as ‘that which grabs’ it is derived from the verb *Ng’uano* which means ‘to grab.’

#### **2.4 HIV/AIDS conceptualized as animals**

Having practiced hunting and having had experiences with animals, both wild and domestic, speakers of Dholuo have derived a number of metaphorical expressions from animals which they use to euphemise HIV/AIDS. Wild animals have been used as they are dreaded and because of their lethal and brutal nature. In this conceptualization the animals that the speakers of Dholuo chose are those that are feared by the human beings.

Domestic animals used are those that are strong and which are used for vigorous and tough domestic chores. For example Dholuo speakers say;

- (25) **Ruath omake**  
 A bull 3SG-PERF catch  
 ‘He/she has been caught by a bull’
- (26) **Otieno oromo gi Sibuur**  
 Otieno 3SG-PERF meet with lion  
 ‘Otieno has met a lion’
- (27) **Ka ok ilokori to ibiro romo gi Kwach**  
 If not 2SG-change then 2SG-come meet with leopard  
 ‘If you don’t change your ways you will meet a leopard’
- (28) **OndiekMarach**  
 Hyena which is dangerous  
 ‘A dangerous hyena’
- (29) **Bed ma otang’ Nyang’ ni kamoro amora**  
 Sit with caution crocodile be everywhere  
 ‘Be cautious crocodile is everywhere’
- (30) **Thuon omake**  
 Cock PERF-catch 3SG  
 He/she has been caught by a cock
- (31) **Jowi omonjo John**  
 Buffalo PERF-attack John  
 Buffalo has attacked John

## **2.5 HIV/AIDS Discourse Conceptualized in Terms of Food**

Conceptualization of Dholuo HIV/AIDS discourse in terms of food has mainly been brought about by the advent of antiretroviral drugs popularly known as ARVs.

Speakers of Dholuo language have used some foods to refer to the drugs and they have also referred to it uptake as eating food.

**(32) Wang'e ler to kare omwonyo**

3SG-POSS-eye clean yet 3SG-PERF swallow

'She has bright face yet she is on drugs (ARVs)'

**(33) Ka weche tek to many njugu**

If words hard then search groundnuts

'If things turn to be hard then look for groundnuts (ARV drugs)'

**(34) Tinde in ja amwonya?**

These days 2SG be one who swallows.

'Are you swallowing (drugs) these days?'

**(35) Aya omo nyoch sirikal**

1SG- come from POSS-Githeri Government

'I am from taking government's Githeri'

**(36) Nyakono ndilo**

Girl that swallows one by one

'That girl swallows'

**(37) We amuodi njugu abed mangima**

Leave 1SG-eat groundnuts 1SG-be alive

'Let me take eat groundnuts to get life'

## **2.6 HIV/AIDS conceptualized as insects/pests**

Farming and livestock keeping are some of the economic activities of the Luo people; they grow food crops like vegetables, maize, millet, sorghum among others and also

cash crops like sugarcane, tobacco and cotton and also keep livestock. In this activity they have had an encounter with Insects and pests that cause harm to the crops and livestock which they have used metaphorically to euphemise HIV/AIDS. Speakers of the language thus say;

**(38) Thuth ochwoye**

Weevils 3SG-PERF prick

‘Weevils have attacked him/her’

**(39) Kundi Ochwowe**

Stalk borer 3SG-PERF prick

‘Stalk borer has attacked him/her’

**(40) Kudni/kute odonjo e dende**

Worm/worms 3SG-PERF enter in 3SG-POSS body

‘Worm/worms have entered his/her body’

**(41) Onyumo tiende e bur thomorni**

3SG-PERF deep POSS-leg in POSS-hole red ants

‘He/she has deep his/her leg in a red ant-infested hole’

**(42) Otugo kich koro kich kaye**

3SG PERF-disturb bees now bees bite 3SG

He/she has disturbed bees now they are stinging him

## **2.7 HIV/AIDS conceptualized as a Journey**

To journey is to move from a place to another; people who set out for a journey clearly know their destination and the means they will be using. There are metaphorical expressions in Dholuo language that euphemise HIV/AIDS as a journey. This conceptualization presents the disease as a journey that sets off from infection to the destination which is the ultimate death.

- (43) **Ong'ado otiko**  
 SG-cut ticket  
 'He/she has acquired a ticket'
- (44) **En e yo**  
 SG-is on way  
 'He/she is on the way'
- (45) **En jawuoth**  
 3SG-is a traveler  
 'He/she is a traveler'
- (46) **Ochiegni goyonwa oriti**  
 3SG-almost 1SG-beat goodbye  
 He/she is about to bid us goodbye
- (47) **Ochieng oidho rairi gach polo**  
 Ochieng PERF-climb big vehicle-POSS heaven  
 Ochieng has bordered a big vehicle taking people to heaven

## 2.8 HIV/AIDS Conceptualized as Familiar Illness

In bid to euphemise the disease Dholuo speakers conceptualize HIV/AIDS as familiar illnesses. These are illnesses that they live with and which they consider not so severe. They have thus metaphorically used the familiar illnesses to refer to HIV/AIDS; they have also used the names of drugs used to treat these familiar illnesses as those that can treat the HIV/AIDS.

- (48) **Gini mana Malaria**  
 This thing just be Malaria  
 'This disease is just Malaria'



**(49) Tuo ni komaki to kawne manyasi**

Disease this when it 2SG-catches POSS-take *Manyasi*

‘If you catch this disease look for *Manyasi*(traditional medicinal brew)’

**(50) Dendi okethore, be iseomo yien**

2SG-POSS body PERF-spoil, have you gone to bring medicine

‘Your body has wasted away have you gone for medicine’

**(51) Okoth en jayath**

Okoth be a person of medicine

‘Okoth takes medicine’

**(52) Oyudo chira**

3SG-PERF get*chira*

‘He/she has got *chira*’

In example 52 *Chira* is used to euphemise HIV/AIDS. *Chira* in Dholuo is a mythical belief that one is affected by bad omen often leading to poor health and in some cases even leading to death. In example 49 the ARV is referred to as *Manyasi* which in Dholuo is a traditional medicinal brew.

## **2.9 HIV/AIDS Conceptualized as Risky Business.**

Dholuo speakers have conceptualized HIV/AIDS as risky business especially in terms of how it is contracted. From this they have derived a number of metaphors. These include;

**(53) Ogoyo mipira gi tiende nono.**

3SG-beat ball with foot-POSS bare

‘He/she has played football barefoot’

**(54) Ochamo dher yamo**

3SG-eat cow-POSS wind

He/she has eaten an infected cow

**(55) Otugo kich, koro kich kaye**

3SG- disturb bees now bees bite-3SG

‘He/she went disturbing bees now bees are stinging him/her.’

**(56) Ogoyo abal aora Nyando duk**

3SG- PERF beat swimming river Nyando naked

‘He/she has swam naked in river Nyando’

In example 56 river *Nyando* is used as a dangerous river where people should not swim naked. River Nyando is a big river in Nyanza (Kisumu County) which is believed to be crocodile infested.

## **2.10 HIV/AIDS Conceptualized as War**

War is where there is conflict between different people, countries and groups. It does also mean sustained campaign against something undesirable. Speakers of Dholuo have derived a number of metaphorical expressions to euphemise HIV/AIDS in which the disease is conceptualized as war.

**(57) Osiepa ni jalueny**

Friend-POSS this be a fighter

‘This friend of mine is a fighter’

**(58) Yath sani e Okumbani**

Drugs now be 3SG-POSS shield

‘Let drugs be your shield now’

**(59) Agoyi odonjo kuome**

*Agoyi* PERF-enter in him

*Agoyi* has attacked him

In example 59 the disease has been referred to as *agoyi*, speakers of Dholuo language refer to illnesses that attack people suddenly and severely as *agoyi*.

## **2.11 Unclear Conceptualization of HIV/AIDS**

There are metaphorical expressions that Dholuo speakers use to conceptualize HIV/AIDS whose conceptualization is unclear this is because the images presented by the metaphorical expressions used are not clearly showing a relationship with the disease.

**(60) Asemanyone gagi**

1SG looked for POSS-it gagi

‘I’ve got gagi to cure it’

**(61) Kiny ne adhi amany Ombalo**

Tomorrow be 1SG go 1SG search *Ombalo*

‘I will be going to look for *Ombalo* tomorrow’

In example 60 *gagi* is used to refer to medicine for HIV/AIDS, in Dholuo *gagi* is the paraphernalia used by witchdoctors when attending to their clients. In example 61 *ombalo* is used to refer to medicine for the disease, *ombalo* is Dholuo word for small pieces of stones that children especially girls use to play.

## **2.12 Conclusion**

In this chapter we have presented a typology of Dholuo Conceptual Metaphors. The data has been categorized in terms of different conceptualization of metaphors, this includes conceptualization as; accident, calamity, journey, wild animals, insects/pests, risky business, food, familiar illnesses and war. In chapter 3 we are going to analyze Metaphors in each of these conceptualizations.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **ANALYSIS OF METAPHORICAL EUPHEMISMS USED IN DHOLUO HIV/AIDS DISCOURSE**

#### **3.1 Introduction**

This chapter deals with the analysis of data on metaphorical phrases used as euphemisms for HIV/AIDS is done. This data is presented in chapter 2 above.

As already explained in chapter 1 the theoretical frameworks employed in this research study are Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Relevance Theory. Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1988) is used here as expounded by Croft and Cruse (2004). Relevance theory is by Wilson and Sperber (1995).

#### **3.2 Conceptual Metaphor Theoretic Analysis**

According to Conceptual Metaphor Theory metaphors present a relationship between source and target domains. Source domain being what the hearer has clear information about and the target domain being what the hearer seeks to understand

In the study we analyze various metaphorical expressions that provide source domain to aid our conceptualization of HIV/AIDS in Dholuo, our target domain. The metaphorical expressions analyzed in this chapter involves identifying of relevant source domains and target domains which capture the community's conceptual mapping in the words and expressions. Starting from 3.2.1 the data is discussed according to the typology in which they are presented in chapter 2.

##### **3.2.1 HIV/AIDS conceptualized as accident**

Accidents are viewed by many people as unpleasant, abrupt and unplanned for occurrences which cause damage, injury and even loss of life. Speakers of Dholuo language use a number of metaphors that present HIV/AIDSs as accidents in bid to euphemize it. Our discussion on the conceptualization of HIV/AIDS as accident are

based on examples (4), (5), (7) and (8) repeated here as (1), (2), (3) and (4), respectively

**(1) Omwonyo manila**

3SG- PERF swallow manila

‘He/she has swallowed manila (plastic bag)’

In the view of Dholuo speakers, being farmers keeping livestock, one of the causes of death among livestock is swallowing plastic bag. This, they believe causes a deterioration of the health of the livestock which eventually leads to its death. Dholuo speakers have equated HIV/AIDS infection to swallowing a plastic bag because it clogs the livestock’s intestines thus interfering with digestion, causing deterioration of the infected person’s health and in some cases eventually leading to death. In this case the conceptual source domain is swallowing manila (a plastic material) and the target domain is HIV/AIDS infection. The mapping of features from the source to target domain are outlined as follows:

<b>Source Domain: Swallowing Manila(plastic material)</b>	<b>Target domain: HIV/AIDS Infection</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Enters the body and interferes with the internal organs of the livestock like the intestines and stomach.</li> <li>○ Causes poor feeding habit in livestock</li> <li>○ Livestock’s body wastes away</li> <li>○ Causes death in livestock</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ The virus enters the body and fights the blood cells meant for immunity.</li> <li>○ At certain stages causes loss of appetite leading to poor eating habit</li> <li>○ The infected person loses weight</li> <li>○ In most cases, the infected person ultimately dies.</li> </ul>

The above mapping shows the infection by HIV/AIDS being conceptualized as swallowing manila in livestock, a plastic material, where the features of the source domain (swallowing manila in livestock) are mapped onto the target domain (infection by HIV/AIDS).

The metaphor explains the understanding of HIV/AIDS infection as livestock swallowing manila which is quite harmful to the livestock and that which leads to deteriorations in health and eventual death. HIV/AIDS also enters the bodies of the infected persons causing their death ultimately.

## (2) Kudho Ochwoye

Thorn 3SG-PERF prick

‘He/she has been pricked by a thorn’

This metaphor is used in Dholuo to refer to HIV/AIDS infection. When one walks in a thorn field, without any protection he/she is likely to get infected by the disease when they indulge in sexual activities with numerous people that could be considered a thorny field. In this case the conceptual source domain is a thorn prick and the target domain is HIV/AIDS infection. The characteristics of the source domain could be mapped onto the target domain are outlined as follows:

### **Source Domain: a thorn prick**

- Thorns are in the field
- When one walks in the fields barefoot they are pricked

### **Target domain: HIV/AIDS**

#### **Infection**

- Infected people are out in the public
- When one has unprotected sexual intercourse they are infected

- Shoes protect from thorn pricks
- Protective, like condom, protects from HIV/AIDS infection

This mapping presents HIV/AIDS as a dangerous disease that attacks painfully just as a thorn painfully pricks. The conceptualization shows that those who are less cautious in their sexual life risk infection just as one who walks carelessly barefoot would risk a thorn prick. This mapping also presents the disease as one that can be prevented if precaution is taken.

### (3) **Onyono wach sitima**

3SG-PERF step wire-POSS electricity

‘He/she has stepped on live electric wire’

An exposed live wire or electric wire is dangerous. If somebody steps or catches them they get electrocuted and that causes injury and may even lead to death. Using electric or live wire metaphorically to euphemize HIV/AIDS in Dholuo language is an indication of the speakers’ perception of the disease. This representation shows HIV/AIDS as being dangerous as exposing oneself to it could be posing risks of ‘electrocution’ in this case infection.

It also shows that live wire could be an attractive person but who infected with HIV/AIDS and just by getting into unsafe sexual contact with them is like touching or stepping on a live wire which could lead to infection, if protection is not used. The characteristics of the source domain could be mapped onto the target domain are outlined as follows:



**Source Domain: Stepping on an****Target domain: HIV/AIDS Infection****Electric Wire**

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Electric wires are dangerous</li> <li>○ Live wire</li> <li>○ Electrocutes when touched bare hand or when stepped on stepped on bare foot.</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Infected people are dangerous</li> <li>○ Infected person</li> <li>○ Infects when one has sexual intercourse with them without protection.</li> </ul> |
|---|---|

Electricity, though useful for peoples well being, is dangerous. Exposed live wires have caused deaths of human beings and livestock who unsuspectingly and accidentally tread on them.

Conceptualization of HIV/AIDS infection as stepping on live electric wire presents the disease as fatal. It presents an infected person as a live wire and having an unprotected sexual encounter with them is an equivalent of touching a live wire.

**3.2.2 HIV/AIDS conceptualized as a calamity**

A good number of metaphorical expressions in Dholuo used as euphemize HIV/AIDS look at it as a calamity tragedy or catastrophe. These metaphors conceptualize the disease as one which causes massive damage and destruction, it also causes a great deal of personal distress to those infected and affected. The conceptualization presents the source domains are the calamities like lightening, storms, whirlwind and others which are used for target domain. The discussion on the conceptualization of HIV/AIDS as accident are based on examples (10), (11), and (12) repeated here as (1), (2) and (3) respectively

**(1) Dalano Kalausi oyweyo ji tee**

Home that whirlwind PERF-sweep people all.

‘Whirlwind has swept everybody in that home’

This is a strong wind which causes massive destruction indiscriminately and Dholuo speakers use it as a source domain to understand HIV/AIDS which can come without notice and within a short while cause massive destruction. It also shows how fast HIV/AIDS spread in its infection which quite rapid. The mapping could be outlined as follows:

**Source Domain: Kalausi  
(whirlwind)**

- Rapid in its movement
- Very energetic and tumultuous
- Comes unexpectedly
  
- Dangerous and causes destruction

**Target domain: HIV/AIDS**

- Spreads rapidly
- Very fierce
- In most cases infects people unexpectedly
  
- Fatal and causes death

This conceptualization brings out HIV/AIDS as very rapid; this brings an understanding of how the disease spreads which is quite rapidly. The mapping brings out the destructive nature of the disease which is likened to the destruction on property caused by whirlwind. Lakoff and Johnson (2003:14) as quoted by Wachira (2014) state that these metaphorical extensions have their basis in our physical and cultural experience. Dholuo speakers have thus conceptualized the disease based on the experience they have had with whirlwinds.

**(2) Polo ogoye**

Lightning 3SG-PERF beat woman that

‘He/she has been struck by lightning’

Dholuo speakers use climate conditions that surround them for example their proximity to Lake Victoria exposes them to thunderstorm, and rainfall, lightning most

periods annually. This has influenced the choice of metaphors they use to emphasize HIV/AIDS.

This metaphorical expression of HIV/AIDS as lightning presents it as dangerous and as that which can strike like lightening, which, when happens leaves one seriously injured and which can sometimes even be fatal. This metaphor also shows that just as there are prevention measures for lightening HIV/AIDS also has preventive measures.

The mapping could be outlined as follows:

**Source Domain: Lightning**

- Dangerous when it strikes
- Strikes suddenly
- Causes serious body harms like burns

**Target Domain: HIV/AIDS**

- Fatal when it infects
- Could infect suddenly
- Causes loss of body weight

When lightning strikes destruction is caused, sometimes even resulting to death.

When it strikes it leaves victims with serious injuries.

By conceptualizing the infection as lightning (source domain) they equate lightning to infection by the disease presenting the infection as a damaging experience with serious consequences.

**(3) Pee Ogoye**

Hail stones 3SG-PERF strike

‘He/she has been struck by hail stones’

Hailstorm is very destructive, it damages crops in the fields and could even kill livestock especially the young ones. One of the economic activities of Luo people is farming; they grow food crops like vegetables, maize, millet, sorghum among others and also cash crops like sugarcane, tobacco and cotton. When hailstorms strike the farms crops are severely affected and some damaged completely. Dholuo speakers are

thus using this phenomenon to emphasize infection by HIV/AIDS. Those that have been infected by the disease always have their health deteriorate, loss of hair and massive loss of weight. Dholuo speakers thus liken the infected with crops in the field that have been struck by lightning. The metaphorical mapping across conceptual domains is:

**Source Domain: Lightning**

- Causes damage on crops
- Strikes suddenly
- Could lead to death

**Target Domain: HIV/AIDS**

- Causes damage on humanity
- Could infect suddenly
- Could lead to death

The conceptual source domain hail stones have its features mapped on to the target domain HIV/AIDS. Hail stones can be destructive on both crops and livestock. This conceptualization thus presents HIV/AIDS as a destructive disease; it shows that the disease caused destruction on the infected just like hail stones do to crops

**3.2.3 HIV/AIDS conceptualized as animals**

A part from farming speakers of Dholuo are also livestock keepers. To this they have derived a number of metaphors related to animals and pests to euphemize HIV/AIDS. The discussion on the conceptualization of HIV/AIDS as animals are based on examples (18), (19), and (20) repeated here as (1), (2) and (3) respectively

**(1) Otieno oromo gi Sibuur**

Otieno 3SG-PERF meet with lion

‘Otieno has met a lion’

A lion is considered generally the king of the jungle. In the conceptualization of Dholuo speakers it is one of the fiercest animals and head of the animal kingdom.

Dholuo speakers are thus using the animal lion as a metaphorical euphemization for HIV/AIDS which they consider one of the deadliest diseases in the disease kingdom.

**Source Domain: Lion**

**Target Domain: HIV/AIDS**

- |                                  |                               |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------|
| ○ Feared among the animals       | ○ Dreaded among the diseases  |
| ○ Dangerous and feared by humans | ○ Deadly and feared by humans |

As already mentioned, traditionally lions have been known to be the kings of the jungle. Onyango (2014:32, unpublished Masters Project) notes that in Dholuo Oral Literature the lion in most cases is depicted as “the king of the bush” this shows that lions symbolize strength and power.

The conceptualization of HIV/AIDS as a lion thus euphemistically presents it as the king of the ‘disease kingdom’. This conceptualization presents as the most dreaded and no other illness equals it in ‘strength and power’

**(2) Ondiek Marach omake**

Hyena which is dangerous 3SG PERF-caught

‘She/he has been caught by dangerous hyena’

Hyena is an animal considered dangerous by Dholuo speakers as it preys on their livestock, killing them thus causing massive losses. The disease is also considered destructive as it affects and infects millions of people worldwide. Hyenas walk at night attacking their targets. HIV/AIDS is transmitted mainly through sexual intercourse a practice mostly performed at night and just like hyena attacks its preys at night.

**Source Domain: Hyena**

- Dangerous
- Nocturnal
- Greedily eats

**Target Domain: HIV/AIDS**

- Dreaded among diseases
- In most cases acquired at night; this is the time for most sexual activities, people most likely to be infected like prostitutes operate at night.
- ‘Eats’ the body of the infected people rapidly

The conceptual structures shown here, present HIV/AIDS as dangerous, just as hyenas are. Hyenas are animals that are known to hunt for their preys at night thus mostly nocturnal. They are greedy flesh eaters who devour their victims after killing them the mapping of features of hyena on HIV/AIDS presents the disease as dangerous and that which greedily consumes the human flesh.

In the Dholuo conceptualization *Ondiek* hyena is also viewed as a brave and a mighty animal and thus they approvingly refer to one another as *Ondiek* to approve of one’s bravery. This conceptualization presents the disease as ‘brave’ compared to other diseases.

**(16) Ka ok ilokori to ibiro Romo gi Kwach**

If not 2SG-change then 2SG-come meet with leopard

‘If you don’t change your ways you will meet a leopard’

In Dholuo a leopard is a very deadly animal whose attack on humans or even domestic animals is considered fatal. Dholuo speakers being hunters believe that leopards when found in the fields should not be disturbed and when it is disturbed then it becomes fierce and can kill. Dholuo speakers have thus use leopard as a source domain used to conceptualize HIV/AIDS which is lethal and attacks the infected and which can lead to death.

**Source Domain: Leopard**

- Fierce
- Attacks their preys  
furiously
- In most cases attacks  
fatally
- A Fast runner

**Target Domain: HIV/AIDS**

- Dreaded
- Attacks the infected severely
- Eventually leads to death
- Spreads fast

This mapping attributes of attributes of leopard mapped onto HIV/AIDS presents the disease as a dangerous disease. Among the Luo leopards are conceptualized as fast, fierce, brave and very powerful animals. They also feed on flesh. Mapping the attributes of leopard on HIV/AIDS presents the disease as dreaded by the Luo people just as they dread leopards. The nature of leopards being fast also presents the disease as that which spreads fast.

**3.2.4 HIV/AIDS Discourse Conceptualized in Terms of Food**

The advent of antiretroviral drugs popularly known as ARVs has brought about in a number of food related metaphorical expressions in to HIV/AIDS discourse in Dholuo language. Food is consumed by humans in order to replenish their bodies; this is because foods have essential nutrients the human body requires. Food also provides

the human body with the energy required for everyday's activities. There are conceptual metaphors that Dholuo speakers use in HIV/AIDS euphemisms which are related to food. These conceptualizations present ARV drugs as food to the infected people. And, just as food is used replenish the human body the drugs are used to 'replenish' the bodies of those infected by the illness.

**(1) Aya omo nyoch sirikal**

1SG- come from POSS-*Githeri* Government

'I am from taking government's *Githeri*(relief food)'

Relief foods, in most cases provided by governments and humanitarian agencies, bring hope to the hunger stricken people at a time they are desperate for food. It is given for free a factor which also makes it favorable. Dholuo speakers have conceptualized the ARV drugs as relief food because apart from being provided free of charge they are also dear to the Seropositives who need them to prolong their lives. The mapping from source to target can thus be presented as;

**Source Domain: governments**

**Target Domain: ARV drugs**

***githeri* (Relief Food)**

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Freely provided by government to hunger stricken</li> <li>○ Depended upon by the hunger stricken</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Freely provided by government to the infected</li> <li>○ Depended upon by the infected</li> </ul> |
|--|--|

The metaphorical euphemization of ARV drugs as relief food is mainly informed by the fact that they are not sold just like relief food is not sold. This mapping also present the seropositive as those who depend on the drug for their survival just like those faced with hunger need relief food.



## (2) We amuodi njugu abed mangima

Leave 1SG-eat groundnuts 1SG-be alive

‘Let me eat groundnuts to get life’

The uptake of ARV drugs is tabooed among Dholuo speakers. Those who use the drugs do not openly talk about them; very few people come out in the open to talk about taking the drugs (mainly because doing so reveals one HIV/AIDS status). A majority of people feel that to talk about taking the drugs would be to indirectly reveal that they are infected by HIV/AIDS. Some Dholuo speakers have euphemistically referred to the drugs as *Njugu* (groundnuts). Groundnuts are taken as any other food often as snacks and thus this reference make the uptake of the drugs less harsh.

**Source Domain: *Njugu* (Ground Nuts)**

**Target Domain: uptake of ARVs**

- |   |                              |
|---|------------------------------|
| ○ <i>Njugu</i> (ground nuts)                  | ○ ARV drugs                  |
| ○ one who eats the nuts, often as just snacks | ○ One infected with HIV/AIDS |
| ○ Round in shape just like tablets            | ○ Round in shape             |

This mapping presents the attributes of groundnuts, the source domain, mapped onto the ARV drugs. This euphemism presents the drugs as just an ordinary snack for those infected thus reducing the harshness of referring to the drugs with its actual name.

### 3.2.4 HIV/AIDS Conceptualized as Insects and Pests

As mentioned earlier, farming and livestock keeping are some of the economic activities of the Luo people; they grow food crops like vegetables, maize, millet, sorghum among others and also cash crops like sugarcane, tobacco and cotton and also keep livestock. In this activity they have had an encounter with Insects and pests

especially those that cause harm to the crops and livestock. They have thus have used these pests and insects as metaphorical euphemization for HIV/AIDS. The discussion on the conceptualization of HIV/AIDS as pests/insects are based on examples (22), and (23) repeated here as (1) and (2) respectively;

**(1) Thuth ochwowe**

Weevils 3SG-PERF prick

‘Weevils have attacked him/her’

Having experienced corn farming speakers of Dholuo language know how weevils attack corn especially maize and beans. Weevils attack maize they eat the inside of the maize leaving it empty. They have thus used the attack as a source domain to understand how HIV/AIDS attacks and eats people from inside leaving them empty.

**Source Domain: *Thuth* (weevils)**

- *Thuth* (weevils)
- Grains
- Attacks grains and eats them from inside leaving the grains hollow

**Target Domain: HIV/AIDS**

- HIV/AIDS disease
- Human body
- Attack the human immunity system of humans leaving it weak

This mapping presents the disease as one that damages the bodies of the infected persons from inside. It presents the disease as one that consumes the flesh and blood of the infected person leaving them thin. Weevils in their attack on crops spread fast and this is the same way HIV/AIDS spread fast in its infection.

**(2) Kundi Ochwowe**

Stalk borer 3SG-PERF prick

‘Stalk borer has attacked him/her’

*Kundi*(stalk borer) is a pest that attacks crops especially maize. When it attacks maize boring it stalk the maize crop wastes away loses its vibrancy and ends up bearing no cob. Dholuo speakers use it as a metaphor to understand HIV/AIDS attack and how the virus leaves the seropositive with poor health which in some cases leading to death.

**Source Domain: *Kundi* (Stalk Borer)**

**Target Domain: HIV/AIDS**

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Attacks and bores stalks of crops</li> <li>○ Crops attacked do not bear healthy cobs (in the case of maize)</li> <li>○ Crops attacked may die</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Attacks the human body</li> <li>○ People attacked do not bear healthy children.</li> <li>○ Could lead to the death of the infected</li> </ul> |
|---|--|

Here stalk borer is the conceptual source domain and HIV/AIDS is the target domain. The attributes of stalk borer mapped on the disease presents it as that which attacks the human body causing damage on it just like stalk borers cause damage on corn in the field.

### **3.2.5 HIV/AIDS Conceptualized as a Journey**

There are also metaphorical expressions in Dholuo that conceptualize HIV/AIDS in terms of a journey. People who set out for a journey clearly know their destination and the means they will be using. There are metaphors in Dholuo that portray HIV/AIDS as a journey.

**(1) Ongado otiko**

3SG-cut ticket

‘He/she has acquired a travelling ticket’

Some Dholuo speakers metaphorically euphemise HIV/AIDS acquisition as acquiring a travelling ticket. Since HIV/AIDS has no cure yet, acquiring it has been conceptualized as a means to death. Dholuo speakers thus use the metaphorical expression to show that those that have acquired the disease have acquired a ticket for a journey whose destination is death.

**Source Domain: Acquiring A**

**Target Domain: HIV/AIDS**

**Ticket**

**infection**

- |                      |                            |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| ○ Acquiring A Ticket | ○ Contracting HIV/AIDS     |
| ○ Vehicle            | ○ HIV/AIDS                 |
| ○ Traveler           | ○ One infected by HIV/AIDS |
| ○ Destination        | ○ Death                    |

In this conceptualization HIV/AIDS patients are conceptualized as people in a journey. By acquiring the virus they are deemed to have acquired a ticket for a journey whose destination is death. While everyone is also considered to be on this ‘journey’ towards death, the HIV/AIDS patients are considered to be ‘sure’ travelers whose actual journey starts at the acquisition of the disease and also as have acquired an actual vehicle in this case the disease which leads them to their destination which is death.

## (2) En e yo

3SG-is on way

‘He/she is on the way’

Dholuo speakers consider persons infected with HIV/AIDS to be on a journey. This journey starts from the moment the person gets infected by the disease. That the disease has no cure, at least yet, one who gets infected is on a journey whose ultimate destination is death.

**Source Domain: Being on the road**

- Traveler
- Road
  
- Destination

**Target Domain: Having HIV/AIDS**

- One infected by HIV/AIDS
- Challenges that those infected by HIV/AIDS go through
  
- Death

This conceptualization presents the people infected by the disease as being on the way, on a journey whose ultimate destination is death. The conceptualization presents the HIV/AIDS patients facing challenges on their way just like actual travelers on the road face challenges.

### 3.2.7 HIV/AIDS Conceptualized as Familiar Illness

In bid to euphemise HIV/AIDS, Dholuo speakers have conceptualized and metaphorically made reference to it in terms of familiar illnesses. These are illnesses that Dholuo speakers have experienced and which they consider not so severe. This

conceptualization looks at the disease in terms of other diseases whose cures are available making HIV/AIDS mild. A Dholuo speaker would thus say;

**(1) Tuoni mana Malaria**

This disease just be Malaria

‘This disease is just Malaria’

Malaria is a disease caused by a parasite which gets into the human blood through mosquito bites. It is a treatable disease which, by taking a doctor’s prescribed drugs one gets well and the parasite is completely wiped out of the blood. Dholuo speakers use malaria, a familiar illness, to metaphorically euphemise HIV/AIDS, this is because among some Luo people malaria is conceptualized as a not so serious disease that they live with. It is a manageable disease which they do not consider as chronic as other illnesses. Therefore by referring to HIV/AIDS as malaria is to make the disease less harsh and mild.

**Source Domain: Malaria**

- Treatable and a manageable disease
- Preventable i.e. by using mosquito nets
- Viewed as Not a serious illness by Dholuo people

**Target Domain: HIV/AIDS**

- Manageable by use of drugs
- Preventable i.e. by following preventive measures like use abstinence and use of protection.
- Should not really be a serious illness once one takes drugs as advised by doctors

In Dholuo conceptualization of malaria, it is considered a not so serious disease that is treated just by taking doctors prescriptions. Some people even believed that malaria is a disease which can disappear itself without actual treatment. Dholuo speakers euphemise HIV/AIDS by referring to it as mere malaria this conceptualization makes the disease less severe and when the infected people use drugs (ARVs) as instructed by doctors they can lead a normal healthy life.

## (2) Oyudo chira

3SG-PERF get chira

‘He/she has got chira’

*Chira* in Dholuo is a mythical belief that one is affected by bad omen often leading to poor health and in some cases even leading to death. It is believed in Luo that *chira* attacks one when they when they do something that the society considers a taboo. These taboo deed includes; incest, seeing the nakedness of one’s parents, building on the wrong side etc. *Chira* is treatable and by taking prescribed herbs from an herbalist one would be cured of the complication.

### Source Domain: Chira

- Treatable and a manageable complication

### Target Domain: HIV/AIDS

- Manageable by use of herbs

This conceptualization euphemizes the disease as that which is treatable. By mapping attributes of *Chira* onto HIV/AIDS Dholuo speakers conceptualize the disease as that which is manageable with the use of prescribed medicine.

### 3.2.8 HIV/AIDS Conceptualized as Risky Business.

A risky business is that which highly expose one to imminent danger. Risky business can be a situation where one involves themselves in activities which are harmful with

potential damage and that which can have adverse effects on somebody. Luo people conceptualize HIV/AIDS infection in terms of risky business in which case they liken the disease to certain activities which pose potential health risk to human. From this they have derived a number of metaphors like;

**(1) Ogoyo mipira gi tiende nono.**

3SG-beat ball with foot-POSS bare

‘He/she has played football barefoot’

The above metaphorical phrase is used in reference in Dholuo to equate HIV/AIDS infection to playing football barefoot in which case it is highly likely that one would get injured either by the opponents or the rough ground in which they are playing. This metaphorical expression prevents HIV/AIDS infection as accidental as a player who goes to play football barefoot where he/she will as is likely to get multiple injuries compared to players who put on shoes. The metaphorical expression also shows that HIV/AIDS infection could be prevented by preventive measures like using condoms just like a football player can prevent injuries from the playing field by wearing shoes.

**Source Domain: playing barefoot**

- Playing barefoot
- Risk of injuries in the field
- Playing Shoes
- Not playing

**Target Domain: risk of HIV/AIDS infection**

- Having unprotected sexual activities
- Risk of HIV/AIDS infection
- Protection like condom
- Abstaining from sexual activities



This conceptualization presents one who is involved in an activity that exposes them to the risk of acquiring HIV/AIDS as one who goes playing football in the field barefoot. The potential threat to injury for one playing barefoot is conceptualized as the potential risk of acquiring the disease for those exposed to risks. In this conceptualization a player who gets an injury as a result of playing barefoot is the one who gets infected as a result of being exposed to risks of infection.

This conceptualization also shows that HIV/AIDS can be prevented just like injuries in the field can be prevented. The mapping reveals that shoes equates to preventive measures that can be use by people to avoid the risk of infection by the disease.

## (2) **Ochamo dher yamo**

3SG-eat cow-POSS wind

‘He/she has eaten an infected cow’

Cows infected by certain diseases are harmful to human health when eaten. Such food may cause serious health problem and or even lead to death. Speakers of Dholuo language have thus equated infection by HIV/AIDS to eating such a cow. Since they keep cattle and know what happens to people when they eat such a cow, they have used it as source domain to understand the source domain which is HIV/AIDS infection.

### **Source Domain: eating a sick cow**

- *Dher yamo* (sick cow)
- Eating
- Health risk as a result of eating such a meal

### **Target Domain: HIV/AIDS**

#### **infection**

- One infected by HIV/AIDS
- Having a sexual encounter
- Risk of contracting HIV/AIDS from having a

- Disease or health complication as a result of eating such meat.
- HIV/AIDS infection

The metaphor presents eating meat from a sick cow equated to the risk acquiring HIV/AIDS disease. Attributes of the act of eating a sick cow have been mapped onto HIV/AIDS. It presents eating as having a sexual encounter and the sick cow as one who is infected by the disease. This is a risky business. The possible disease or complication as a result of eating a sick cow is equated to acquisition of the disease.

### **3.2.9 HIV/AIDS Conceptualized as War**

War is where there is conflict between different people, countries and groups. It does also mean sustained campaign against something undesirable. Speakers of Dholuo have derived a number of metaphors in which HIV/AIDS is conceptualized as war.

Conceptualizing HIV/AIDS as war depicts the illness as being in conflict with the human race and thus being and thus is fought and strategies are sought for winning the war against it. In conceptualizing the illness as war, various aspects of the war are mapped onto the disease. The infected people are the fighters, drugs are the weaponry and death is losing the war. A brave fighter is that person who braves the disease and bears it longer.

#### **(1) Osiepa ni jalueny**

Friend-POSS this be a fighter

‘This friend of mine is a fighter’

This metaphorical expression presents the Seropositives as the fighters. This means that they are in war with the disease. So, as the disease attacks, they are supposed to defend themselves by fighting back and employing all the strategies they can use in

the war. The infected are thus supposed to get proper weaponry which in this case are drugs and use strategies which in this case could include healthy eating. This conceptualization also presents death as losing the war. The domain mapping in this case can be presented as;

**Source Domain: Jalueny (fighter)**

**Target Domain: HIV/AIDS infected person**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ Fighter</li> <li>○ Enemy</li> <li>○ The fight</li> <li>○ Weapons</li> <li>○ Losing war</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>○ HIV/AIDS infected person</li> <li>○ HIV/AIDS</li> <li>○ Taking ARV drugs to manage HIV/AIDS</li> <li>○ ARV drugs</li> <li>○ Dying of HIV/AIDS</li> </ul> |
|--|---|

This conceptualization presents HIV/AIDS as an enemy of the people. It presents a state of conflict where there is defense and readiness to spiritedly fight it. The mapping presents the disease as that which is in conflict with human beings and those infected are fighting it. The Seropositives are portrayed as fighters and the drugs as their weapons they use for their defense.

One who succumbs to the disease is thus considered to have lost the war.

**(2) Yath sani e Okumbani**

Drugs now be 3SG-POSS shield

‘Let drugs be your shield now’

Someone or something that provides protection against a particular danger is a shield. A shield is a personal armor that should protect the one bearing it by stopping or intercepting attacks projected at the shield bearer. This conceptualization presents

shield bearer, the seropositive in this case, as using the ARV drugs as their shield against many attacks the HIV/AIDS infection come with.

**Source Domain: *Okumba* (Shield)**

- Shield bearer
- *Okumba* (Shield)
- Going to war unprotected
- Projectiles and attacks

**Target Domain: ARV drugs**

- HIV/AIDS infected person
- ARV drugs
- Defaulting in the use of ARVs
- Opportunistic diseases

This mapping presents the drugs as the shields the Seropositives from the constant attack from opportunistic diseases that the infection comes with. Reference made to them as shield presents their users as those in war and the drugs as the shield from the attacks of the enemy, in this case HIV/AIDS.

**3.3 Relevant Theoretic Analysis**

As already noted in 1.9.2 this study also uses Relevance Theory to tackle ambiguities that could arise from the use of certain metaphors. The aspect of the theory used is the Relevant Theoretic Comprehension Procedure. Wilson in his lecture notes (PLIN 2000) asserts that Relevance theory was developed for cognitive linguistics to psychologically account for human communication in a realistic way.

Wilson and Sperber (2012:16) as quoted by Onyango 2014 (unpublished Masters Project) argue that meaning conveyed by metaphorical phrases extend past the sense linguistically encoded. They say that speakers use metaphors with an intention of achieving some extra effects. These extra effects may not be achieved if the speaker simply uses the plain language or literal utterance.

Wilson (2009:394) claims that;

‘The central claim of Relevance Theory is that it is as a result of dedicated (innate acquired) mental mechanisms or biases which tend to allocate attention to inputs with the greatest expected relevance and process them in the most relevance enhancing way’

Proponents of this Theory, Wilson and Sperber, opine that hearers use the comprehension heuristic to solve the pragmatic problem that they encounter in bridging the gap between sentence and speaker meaning. They say the procedure might be used to disambiguate and assign reference and assemble appropriate context. It can also be used to derive implicatures as part of the overall process of constructing an interpretation that satisfies his expectation of relevance.

As already noted this study this study uses the Relevant Theoretic Comprehension procedure to account for instances where lexical ambiguities could arise from the use of metaphors used in HIV/AIDS euphemisms in Dholuo.

This procedure according to, Wilson and Sperber (2009), states that listeners should;

Follow the path of the least effort in deriving cognitive effects:

- i. Consider interpretations in order of accessibility,
- ii. Stop when expected relevance is satisfied.

This procedure also relies greatly on the context; Wilson argues that two aspects traditionally mentioned in writings on pragmatics include:

- The physical environment or situation in which the utterance takes place
- The preceding (and sometimes following) text or discourse (PLIN 2002)

Schroeder, (2005:8), quoted by Onyango (2014), points out that context is like an encyclopedia of the world; it contains the values and norms of a society. It entails all

the knowledge that the communicators have stored in their minds at the time they enter a conversation.

In the case of example 5 of chapter 2 here presented as 1 Dholuo speakers say:

**(1) Kudho Ochwoye**

Thorn 3SG-PERF prick

‘He/she has been pricked by a thorn’

In the example HIV/AIDS infection is euphemistically presented as an accident, being pricked by a thorn. In the metaphor the attributes of a thorn are transferred to the disease. The interpretation of the metaphor will depend on the encyclopedic entries of thorn in the hearers mind. The hearers will then broaden the image of thorn to include the ad hoc concept \*THORN. It is the ad hoc concept that will make the hearer get the appropriate interpretation of the metaphor. The encyclopaedic entry could include:

- a) Thorns grow from plants
- b) Thorns are sharp
- c) Thorns are painful when they prick
- d) Some thorns are poisonous
- e) To avoid being pricked by thorns one needs to wear shoes

In interpreting the metaphor the hearers then pick the relevant entries depending on the context. From the above entries the hearer will thus be able to conclude that HIV/AIDS is dangerous, it attacks painfully and can be prevented when appropriate measures like protection are put in place.

From the data given in this study the disease has been presented as calamitous.

Example 14 of chapter 2 here presented as 2 says:

## (2) Onyango nigi jakom

Onyango has got jakom

‘Onyango is having jakom’

In this example HIV/AIDS has been presented as *Jakom*(chairman). To interpret this metaphor the hearers use their encyclopaedic entries of Dholuo conceptualisation of *Jakom* (chairman). These entries could include:

- a) *Jakom* is human
- b) *Jakom* is powerful
- c) *Jakom* is respected
- d) *Jakom* is supreme and none supersedes the
- e) *Jakom* gives directives
- f) *Jakom* has a following
- g) *Jakom* is never contradicted

As the comprehension procedure according to Wilson and Sperber states, the hearers using the comprehension procedure will consider and interpret entries of *Jakom* in their order of accessibility. They will eventually stop after satisfying their expectation of relevance. Following this procedure they can thus conceptualize the disease as very fierce and that no other disease equals HIV/AIDS. Since *Jakom* is respected in the Luo set up. HIV/AIDS conceptualize as *Jakom* is the most feared.

In example 18 of chapter 2 here presented as 3 the disease is conceptualised as an animal.

## (3) Otieno oromo gi Sibuur

Otieno 3SG-PERF meet with lion

‘Otieno has met a lion’

The ad hoc concept \*LION will probably have the following as the encyclopaedic entries of lions.

- a) Lions are wild animals
- b) Lions are fierce animals
- c) Lions belong to the cat family
- d) Lions are brave and powerful
- e) Lions are very fast
- f) Lions are dangerous
- g) Lions are skilled hunters
- h) Lions feed on fresh flesh

The hearer of the metaphor in conceptualising HIV/AIDS will pick the appropriate attributes of lion from the entries and then map them on the disease. In this they could thus conceptualise the disease as strong, dangerous and the most feared. As already mentioned lions in Dholuo oral literature are presented as kings of the animal kingdom, the disease can also be conceptualised as the king of the disease 'kingdom'. In the conceptualisation of HIV/ADS in terms of war the Seropositives have been presented as fighters as in example 33 of chapter 2 here presented as 4.

**(4) Osiepa ni jalueny**

Friend-POSS this be a fighter

'This friend of mine is a fighter'

In the metaphor one infected by the disease is presented as a fighter. The hearer's interpretation will depend on their encyclopedic entries of fighters. They will thus broaden the metaphor to include the ad hoc concept \*FIGHTER. The encyclopedic entries for fighters could include:

- a) Fighters are human



- b) Fighters are brave
- c) Fighters are facing imminent threat from an enemy
- d) Fighters use powerful weapons
- e) Some fighters die fighting

These entries refer to fighters in general as stored in the hearer's mind, however only a few depending on how they are accessed and how they satisfy relevance can be chosen to refer to the seropositive. In making the choice the hearer is guided by the context in which the utterance is made since metaphors in Relevant Theory are context-dependent. The hearer can thus conceptualize people infected by the disease as those who are faced by the opportunistic diseases the infections come with and as those that use drugs as their weapons to fight the disease. Dying of the disease can also be conceptualized as dying in war.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

In this chapter, analysis of metaphors selected from chapter 2 has been done. This account for Dholuo conceptualization of HIV/AIDS in terms of metaphors as presented in the following conceptualization typology: accident, calamity, journey, wild animals, insects/pests, risky business, food, familiar illnesses and war. The chapter gives a Conceptual Metaphor Theoretic account on selected metaphors under each conceptualization. It also gives a Relevant Theoretic account of a sample of metaphors. Relevant theoretic comprehension procedure is used to account for lexical ambiguities that could arise when certain metaphors are used. The next chapter discusses the findings of the work done in chapter 2 and especially the analysis in chapter 3.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

#### 4.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings from the analysis of data in chapters 2 and 3. The discussion takes into consideration the objectives and the hypothesis of this research.

#### 4.2 HIV/AIDS has influenced lexical innovation in Dholuo

From the discussion it is evident the HIV/AIDS has influenced lexical innovation in Dholuo. The taboo nature of the disease has made Dholuo speakers to strive for its euphemization. This has been done to make the disease less harsh and to fight the discrimination that its acquisition comes with. Metaphorical expressions have been used in this bid of euphemization and it has led to lexical innovation bringing in a number of words and idiomatic expressions into the language to be used to euphemise the illness. In language, lexical items often undergo shift in meaning which could be by broadening and narrowing. Some candidates for such lexical innovations are words that can now be used in HIV/AIDS discourse in Dholuo.

The analysis has presented words that are innovatively used by Dholuo speakers in the euphemization of HIV/AIDS discourse some of these words include;

#### (1) **Kundi** (n)

‘Stalk borer’

as in the sentence,

#### (1. a) **kundi ochwoye**

Stalk borer PERF-prick 3SG

Stalk borer has entered his/her body (he/ she has contracted HIV virus)

**(2) omuga (n)**

**rhinoceros**

as can be said in sentences;

**(2 a) omuga ema onege**

Rhinoceros is-what PERF-kill 3SG

‘Rhinoceros has killed him/her (HIV/AIDS has killed him/her)’

**(2 b) oromo gi omuga**

3SG PERF-meet with rhinoceros

He/she has met a rhinoceros (he/she has been infected by HIV/AIDS)

**(3) jalueny (n)**

a fighter

this can be seen in;

**(3 a) osiepani jalueny**

poss-friend this be a fighter

this friend of mine is a fighter (this friend of mine is living with HIV/AIDS)

**(4) njugu (n)**

ground nuts

as can be used in;

**(4 a) njugu ema okonye**

ground nuts is-what PERF-help 3SG

its ground nuts that have helped him/her (it’s the ARVs that have helped him/her)

**(5) ndilo (v)**

eating one by one

as can be seen in sentences;

**(5 a) wang'e ler to kare ondilo**

3SG POSS-eyes clean yet 3SG-eats one by one

She has an attractive face yet she takes drugs (she is attractive but she's on ARVs)

**(5 b) jogi ndilo tee**

People-these eat one by one all

All these people are taking drugs (all these people are on ARVS)

These examples show the lexical innovation in Dholuo that is as a result of speakers striving to find euphemistic references for HIV/AIDS discourse in the language. In the examples *Kundi* and *Omuga* both nouns refer to HIV/AIDS disease, *Jalueny* noun refers to one who is infected, *Njugua* noun refers to ARV drugs and *Ndilo* verb refers to the uptake of the ARV drugs.

This lexical innovation brought by HIV/AIDS into Dholuo has also brought in new idiomatic expressions into the language. Such idiomatic expressions include

**(1) nyono wach sitima**

step-on wire-of electricity

'to step on an electric wire' (to contract the HIV virus)

as in the sentence;

**(1 a) Onyono wach sitima**

3SG-PERF step wire-POSS electricity

'He/she has stepped on live electric wire' (he/she has contracted HIV/AIDS)

**(2) mwonyo manila**

to-swallow manila

‘to swallow manila or plastic material’ (to contract HIV/AIDS)

as in the example;

**(2 a) Onyango omwonyo manila**

Onyango perf-swallow manila

‘Onyango has swallowed manila’ (Onyango has contracted HIV/AIDS)

**(3) mwodo njugu**

to-eat ground nuts

to eat ground nuts (to take ARVs)

for example

**(3 a) John tinde mwodo njugu**

John these-days eat ground nuts

John eats groundnuts these days ( John is on ARVs)

**(4) tugo kich**

to-disturb bees

to disturb bees (to contract HIV/AIDS)

as in the example;

**(4 a) otugo kich koro kich kaye**

3SG PERF-disturb bees now bees sting 3SG

He/she has disturbed bees now they are stinging him/her

(he/she has acquired HIV/AIDS)

**(5) ng'ado otiko**

to-cut ticket

to acquire a ticket (to contract HIV/AIDS)

as in the sentence;

**(5 a) Otieno ong'ado otiko**

Otieno PERF-cut ticket

Otieno has acquired a ticket (Otieno has contracted HIV/AIDS)

These example show that from the metaphorical euphemisms used idiomatic expressions can be derived, in the examples *nyono wach sitima*, *mwonyo manila*, *tugo kich*, and *ng'ado otiko* are thus idiomatic expressions meaning to contract the HIV/AIDS virus. *Mwodo njuguon* the other hand is an idiomatic expression meaning to take ARV drugs.

#### **4.3 Metaphors Euphemise HIV/AIDS discourse in Dholuo**

Another observation that can be made from the analysis of data in chapter three is that metaphorical expressions euphemise HIV/AIDS discourse in Dholuo.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) opine that ordinarily human conceptual system is metaphorical in nature. Therefore so as to euphemise HIV/AIDS that they consider a taboo, speakers of Dholuo language have found a tool in metaphorical expressions for this euphemization.

The discussion in chapter 3 has shown that metaphorical expressions adequately euphemise HIV/AIDS discourse in Dholuo. It has shown that to avoid using taboo expressions in reference to the disease, Dholuo speakers adequately use metaphorical euphemization when making reference to the disease, for example;

**(1) Otieno oromo gi Sibuur**

Otieno 3SG-PERF meet with lion

‘Otieno has met a lion’

In this case HIV/AIDS has been conceptualized as a lion. This reference hides the taboo in the disease and thus making it mild. This reference can therefore be used to communicate about the danger of the disease as it is likened to a lion which is a dreaded animal by humans but the harshness that the mention of the disease comes with is reduced thus it is euphemized.

**(2) Yath sani e Okumbani**

Drugs now be 3SG-POSS shield

‘Let drugs be your shield now’

There is stigmatization that comes with the association and use of ARV drugs. This has therefore necessitated that it be euphemized. The conceptualization of ARV as *Okumba* (shield) in the above example presents the disease in a polite way. In this case the usefulness of the drugs as a shield is brought out and the harshness that could come in mentioning the drug by name is also reduced.

**4.4 Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Relevance Theory adequately account for metaphorical euphemisms used in Dholuo HIV/AIDS discourse**

The conceptual metaphor theory and relevant theory have been used to analyze data in this research study. This is in line with the third objective of the study which sought to investigate the extent to which these two theories could be used to provide an adequate account of the euphemisms used in Dholuo HIV/AIDS discourse.

#### **4.4.1 Application of Conceptual Metaphor Theory**

The study revealed that domain mapping in conceptual metaphor theory adequately accounted for the conceptualization of HIV/AIDS discourse in Dholuo. The conceptualization of HIV/AIDS in terms of: accident, calamity, journey, wild animals, insects/pests, risky business, food, familiar illnesses and war showed that Dholuo speakers' conceptualization of the disease is both cultural and cognitive.

Culture influences the conceptualization of the disease as certain cultural beliefs have been used to conceptualize the disease.

##### **(1) Oyudo chira**

3SG-PERF get chira

'He/she has got chira'

*Chira*, a mythical belief of the Luo people is cultural. The Luo believe that when one does certain things which the society consider taboo they encounter bad omen which brings ill health, it could even lead to death if not attended to in good time. This conceptualization is cultural.

##### **(2) Onyono wach sitima**

3SG-PERF step wire-POSS electricity

'He/she has stepped on live electric wire'

In this example speakers of Dholuo have euphemized the disease while at the same time showed that the disease is dangerous. By likening its acquisition to stepping on or touching live electric wire speakers of Dholuo language have shown how dangerous the disease is. Just like one who touches or steps on an electric wire risks electrocution, one who engages in unsafe sexual activities risks being infected.



Experiences from day to day activities like farming also provided a number of metaphorical euphemisms for HIV/AIDS discourse in Dholuo. For example;

**(3) kundi ochwoye**

Stalk borer PERF-prick 3SG

Stalk borer has entered his/her body (he/ she has contracted HIV virus)

Dholuo speakers have experienced stalk borers in their farms and have therefore conceptualized the disease as the pest. In this conceptualization the attributes of stalk borers and the effects they have of crops in the fields have been transferred on to the disease. Conceptual metaphor theory has adequately explained this transfer of attributes.

**4.4.2 Application of Relevance Theory**

In instances where the researcher felt that metaphorical euphemisms presented ambiguities, data was analyzed using Relevance Theory, in particular the relevance-theoretic comprehension procedure. The analysis has shown that this aspect of comprehension procedure also accounts for the metaphorical euphemisms used by Dholuo speakers to refer to HIV/AIDS. Given that the euphemisms are picked from the surrounding of the Luo people, the context. They have enough entries from which to pick appropriate interpretations.

This finding is also supported by the fact that the researcher subjected twenty five, metaphorical euphemisms, which constitutes about half of the data collected, to an analysis by the two theories in which case the expressions were all adequately accounted for.

## **4.5 Conclusion**

In this chapter, the researcher has discussed the findings of the research based on the observations in chapter 2 and 3. In particular, the discussion highlights the following:

- That HIV/AIDS has influenced lexical innovation in Dholuo
- That through metaphors Dholuo speakers have found a way to euphemise HIV/AIDS discourse
- Conceptual Metaphor and Relevance Theories can adequately account for euphemisms in Dholuo.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### SUMMARY, CONCLUSION, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

#### 5.1 Introduction

In this concluding chapter we give a summary of the findings of the study, recommendations for further research on the topic of a linguistic analysis of the metaphorical euphemisms used in Dholuo HIV/AIDS discourse and a general conclusion.

#### 5.2 Summary

This study was concerned with the conceptual metaphor analysis of the metaphors used in HIV/AIDS euphemisms in Dholuo. This chapter summarizes the research findings which are in line with the objectives and the hypotheses which were tested.

The objectives were:

- i. To investigate how HIV/AIDS has influenced lexical innovations in Dholuo.
- ii. To establish how Metaphors are used to euphemize HIV/AIDS in Dholuo discourse.
- iii. To investigate the extent to which the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Relevance Theory can provide an adequate account of the euphemisms used in Dholuo HIV/AIDS discourse.

The following were the hypotheses:

- i. HIV/AIDS has influenced lexical innovations Dholuo.
- ii. Metaphors are used in Dholuo to euphemize HIV/AIDS and the discourse related to it.
- iii. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) and Relevance Theory provide an adequate account of the euphemisms used in Dholuo.

This chapter will also make some recommendations on gaps for further research.

### **5.3 Conclusions**

This study set out to test the objectives and hypotheses with regard to analysis of the metaphors used in HIV/AIDS euphemisms in Dholuo. Chapter two gave a typology of metaphors used to euphemise HIV/AIDS discourse in Dholuo language.

The analysis of the data was done in chapter three. The source domain (vehicle) and the target domain were identified in each example. It was also demonstrated that attributes of one experiential domain is mapped onto another experiential domain. This domain mapping process helped understand the target domain, in our case HIV/AIDS and its discourse, from the various metaphors in Dholuo language.

In chapter four the key observations made were discussed, the observation included the following: that HIV/AIDS has influenced lexical innovations Dholuo, and that Dholuo speakers have found a means in metaphors to euphemise HIV/AIDS discourse.

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory was applied, which in the cross domain mapping showed that there is a transfer of features from the source domain to the target domain in the conceptual system. The metaphor involves understanding of one thing in terms of another. The conceptual metaphor theory was tested and was found adequate in the analysis of the metaphors used in HIV/AIDS euphemisms in Dholuo.

#### **5.4 Recommendations**

This study aimed at analyzing the metaphors used in HIV/AIDS euphemisms in Dholuo using the conceptual metaphor theory and the relevant theory. We therefore recommend that similar study be done in other languages in Africa; HIV/AIDS prevalence is higher in Africa. This is also because conceptualizations of various ideas are culture based and in most cases depend on what different people experience around them. It is also necessary to carry out the same study using other theories like Cognitive Semantic Theory and Critical Metaphor Theory.

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**Appendix I: Data collection form**

Metaphorical Euphemism	Speaker	Setting	Conceptualization