

**A PRAGMATIC ANALYSIS OF METAPHORS IN HIV/AIDS DISCOURSE
A CASE OF *EKEGUSHI***

BY

MANG'ERA KERUBO ELIZABETH

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DECLARATION

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

Mang'era Kerubo Elizabeth

C50/72315/2014

Sign: Liorn-----

Date: 13/11/2020-----

This project has been submitted for examination with our approval as the university supervisors.

Dr. Zipporah Otiso

Sign: Zipporah Otiso-----

Date: 13.11.2020-----

Dr. Alice Wachira

Sign: Alice WACHIRA-----

Date: 13/11/2020-----

DEDICATION

To my parents, Thomas Mang'era, his soul rest in peace and Ruth Bwari who jealously made sure that I came up to this level. Innocently, she could always ask me on how far I was from completing the course. Mum, indeed you are one in a million.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

GOK-	Government of Kenya
ELS-	<i>Ekegusii</i> Language Speakers
ELNS-	<i>Ekegusii</i> Language Native Speakers
PLWHA-	People Living With HIV/AIDS
UNSAIDS-	United Nations Programme on HIV/AIDS
NASCOP-	National AIDS and STD Control Programme
MOH-	Ministry of Health
HIV-	Human Immune deficiency Virus
AIDS-	Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome
NACC-	National Aids and Control Council
CMT-	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
RT-	Relevance Theory
ARV-	Antiretroviral

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ABSTRACT

This research is based on a Pragmatic Analysis of *Ekegusii* metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse. This follows the fact that among the *Abagusii* people, metaphors are ubiquitous. These metaphors are basically used to relay information on HIV/AIDS and related issues like sex and death. Since these metaphors use images, this research set out to find out whether the interpretation of these metaphors is uniform among all the hearers leading to their effectiveness in communication or there is a discrepancy in their interpretation leading to their ineffectiveness in communication. A descriptive design was adopted in this study. The target population was male and female *Ekegusii* speakers of between 15-60 years. The sampling procedure was purposive sampling. Data was collected through the use of questionnaires and informal interviews. The work was based on Relevance Theory by Wilson & Sperber (1995) and Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The researcher used two theories (Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Relevance Theory) because, each metaphorical expression was supposed to be analyzed with the aim of revealing its conceptual mapping relationship that are involved in it. When a particular metaphorical expression becomes ambiguous, the researcher subjected that metaphorical expression to the Relevance Theoretical analysis so as to determine how the involved participants understood it in relevant discourses. It was found that the interpretation of *Ekegusii* metaphors on HIV/AIDS largely depend on the context in which they are uttered. Secondly, there usually arise different interpretations of a particular metaphor depending on the cultural values that the hearer attributes the image in the metaphor. This thus leads to ineffectiveness in relaying HIV/AIDS information. Lastly, the research showed that the HIV/AIDS metaphor used reveal the attitude that the speakers have towards the disease which is HIV/AIDS and the people living with HIV/AIDS. The study recommends a further research on either a contrastive or comparative approach to the metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse across cultures.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background to the Language

In the world, every person is conversant with one or more than one language. In this study, the *Ekegusii* being one of the languages that is mostly spoken in Kenya, Nyanza region, the study was based on a Pragmatic Analysis of *Ekegusii* metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse. In this chapter, I will discuss about the background to the language, the background of the study, the statement of the problem, the objectives of the study, research questions, justification of the study, scope and limitations, definitions of terms, Literature review, the theoretical framework, methodology, and then conclude.

Ekegusii is one of the languages that belongs to the Bantu group of languages and is classified as E42 (Nyauncho, 1988:3), in accordance with Guthrie's System of classification. Based on statistics, the number of *Abagusii* speakers is estimated to be at least 2.6 million. In a state that its total population is estimated to be about 44 million citizens, the *Abagusii* are estimated to account for about 6 percent of the languages that are spoken in Kenya (Kenya Information Guide, 2015).

With regard to Nurse and Philpson (1980), *Ekegusii* is known to be one of the Lacustrine Bantu-Sub-group from eastern Nyanza/Suguti. The identity of *Ekegusii* in the Eastern Nyanza Sub-groups that include the Kuria, Zanaki, Ikizu, Nata, Shazi, and ngurimi confirm the fact that it has a good number of vocabulary borrowed from the neighboring non-Bantu languages which include Kipsigis, Maasai, and Dholuo (Nurse & Philpson, 1980).

The *Abagusii* are found in Nyamira South, Nyamira North, Gucha Central, Gucha South, Kisii Central, *Borabu*, *Kisii* South, Masaba, Masaba North, Nyamache, Sameta, Kenyenyia, Manga and Marani districts. Formerly the region was known as the larger Kisii District from Nyanza region in the Western part of Kenya. The *Abagusii*'s language is usually known as *Kisii* (Ochieng, 2003). Its proper name is */ekeYusii/*. It is spoken by the */αβαYusii/*, (Cammenga, 2002).

The *Ekegusii* language is among the major Bantu spoken languages in the Western part of Kenya (Nyakundi, 2010). *Abagusii*'s main occupation is agriculture whereby they practice both crop and animal production. *Abagusii* are bordered by the *Kipsigis*, the *Maasai*, and the *Luo* communities.

Ekegusii as a language has few dialectal variations. However, the language borrows a considerable number of words from *Luo*, Swahili and English (*ibid*). However, two main dialects have been identified: *Rogoro* and *Maate*. Scholars note that lexical and phonetics are the difference between the two dialects. The phonological dissimilarities are being the realization of the alveolar plosive /t/. The *Rogoro* dialect is spoken in the northern parts of Gusiiland while the *Maate* dialect is spoken in the southern part thus their names; *rogoro* means 'up' while *maate* means 'down'. The *Rogoro* dialect is considered to be the standard form. This dialect is extensively used at home, social places, and even at rural schools especially in lower primary as a medium of instructions.

1.2. Background to the Study

Scholars argue that, in terms of the post-cold war human security regime, HIV/AIDS poses a 'pervasive and non-violent threat to the existence of individuals. This is because the virus significantly shortens life expectancy, undermines quality of life and limits participation in income generating activities' (Fourie & Schönteich, 2018).

The total number of PLWHA globally increased within the last few years as a result of ongoing new infections and the deaths averted due to the use of antiretroviral therapy (ART). In 2007, there were an estimated 33million people living with HIV/AIDS worldwide. Sub-Saharan Africa was most affected, accounting for 67% of people living with HIV/AIDS and 72% of AIDS related deaths (UNAIDS, 2007). In Kenya, the HIV prevalence rate was 7.1%, translating to 1.4 million Kenyans living with HIV/AIDS (Ministry of Health, Kenya, 2008).

Therefore, in Kenya, HIV/AIDS is one of the biggest healthcare challenges. However, in the recent years, Kenya has made considerable steps forward in the fight against the disease (HIV/AIDS). For instance in *Gusii* which includes Nyamira County and Kisii

County, cases of HIV/AIDS are very high and more investigations, creation of awareness, and proper prevention skills are needed. *Ekegusii* speakers are among the Bantu speakers from Nyanza region. The national rate of HIV stands at 6.2%, whereby Nyanza region has the highest number of HIV cases of about 13.9% of the national rate (NACC & NASCOP, 2012). According to the reports from the National Aids and Control Council, HIV prevalence or cases stands at 14.8%, 26.1%, 26% and 25.6% in Nyamira, Kisii Central, Borabu, and Manga Districts respectively. The current study will investigate HIV/AIDS communication in *Ekegusii* (Nyakoe, Ongarora, & Oloo, 2014).

In Kenya HIV/AIDS pandemic is 35 years old. The first HIV/AIDS infection occurred in 1978, in communities living around the shores of Lake Victoria (Kawewa, 2018:1). In 1984, six years later the first case was officially reported by the Kenyan Ministry of Health. The news of this pandemic was received differently by different people including with shock, indifference, denial, fear, pessimism and silence.

HIV is an issue of social concern and therefore language stands at a central position as people try to speak or write about the disease. Language use in HIV/AIDS discourse has been one major challenge especially in counseling and behavior change. This is because the discourse includes issues of sex and sexual behavior, bodily functions, private parts and death all which are taboo topics in most African societies. Research findings show that people regard matters relating to misfortunes, sex, and illness as unspeakable and taboo. Thus it is typical of all societies to come up with their own labels or names for any phenomenon that may befall them in the course of their life time (Chinyanganya, 2013:48). HIV/AIDS has been no exception to this practice. This research investigates the different metaphors used to refer to HIV/AIDS and the pertinent matters. Use of metaphors to refer to what is taboo in the society makes the HIV/AIDS discourse socially friendly. The current study attempts to provide an insight into perceptions of HIV/AIDS by the *Abagusii* people since sexually transmitted diseases like gonorrhoea, syphilis, herpes and now HIV/AIDS cohabit with the implicatures: perversion, immorality, unfaithfulness and moral decadence. This is the perception that the *Abagusii* speakers also have towards the PLWHA. The metaphors used by the *Abagusii* speakers are

influenced by different attitudes towards HIV/AIDS, some of which are self-perpetuating and continue to be a hindrance to the fight against the disease.

Sontag was among the first people to assess and record the role of metaphor in framing HIV/AIDS discourses (1988:111). She particularly noted the use of military metaphors like ‘invasion’, ‘combat’, ‘villain’ and ‘victim’. Her metaphorical representation depicts HIV/AIDS as an invasion that must be fought against. Those carrying the disease carry within them the enemy; this in itself is stigmatizing. Among the terms used to refer to HIV/AIDS in *Ekegusii*, one of them is *enyamoreo* which is translated as *that which makes one thin*. This automatically brings out the attitude of the speaker towards the disease as being negative.

1.3. Statement of the Problem

Among the *Ekegusii* speakers, HIV/AIDS infection tabooing has influenced the way various *Ekegusii* speakers are making references to the acquisition or infection, and the medication of this disease. The tabooing of HIV/AIDS has necessitated the use of metaphors to present the disease’s infection and medication in a politer manner so as to evade stigmatization of the infected people. Therefore, metaphors have been or are being used to conceal HIV/AIDS discourse elements that are likely to be harsh, embarrassing, offensive, or unpleasant to the infected or the affected people.

Most *Ekegusii* HIV and AIDS metaphors portray the PLWHA (People Living with HIV/AIDSs) as people having received an automatic death sentence. When a person has HIV, there is a virus within his or her body. That diagnosis does not mean that the person is now defined by the virus that he or she is carrying. But for many years, the language of HIV and AIDS has intentionally or unintentionally marginalized groups of PLWHA, as well as those in communities with high rates of HIV infection. For example, one on seeing a seropositive person, he or she can tell another one “*oyio ne ’risasi*” translated as “That one is a bullet”. The attributes of a bullet which is the source domain here include being metallic, used in wars and kills. These attributes are mapped to a seropositive person who is the target domain in this case. This person is seen as dangerous to socialize with the healthy ones and he/she can infect others and therefore he/she is avoided. Wars

are very rare among the *Abagusii* people and therefore they rarely see a bullet and just by mentioning the word 'bullet' sends a chill down their spines. This makes them to fear people living with HIV/AIDS thus leading to stigmatization of the people living with HIV and AIDS because nobody will want to be associated with them. The time has now come to reframe the language around HIV and AIDS among the *Abagusii* people in order to empower rather than alienate the PLWHA, and educate the general public. Waitiki (2010) argues that the best way of fighting HIV/AIDS is through communication of relevant, honest and complete information

However, the research problem addressed in this study was that, despite there being previous studies on HIV/AIDS among the *Abagusii* community, it is clear that the malady has not been curbed since there are still new infections. This shows that there is a problem with the language that is used in the HIV/AIDS discourse. Therefore, this research went out to look at how effective the use of metaphors is in communicating HIV/AIDS messages in *Ekegusii*.

1.4. Objectives of the Study

- i. To establish to what extent metaphors can effectively communicate HIV and AIDS messages in *Ekegusii*.
- ii. To find out the attitude towards the patients and the disease that is revealed by the users of metaphors in *Ekegusii* HIV and AIDS discourse.
- iii. To examine the role of culture and context in interpreting and understanding *Ekegusii* metaphors in relation to HIV/AIDS.

1.5. Research Questions

- i. To what extent is the use of metaphors effective in communicating HIV and AIDS messages in *Ekegusii*?
- ii. What is the attitude revealed by the users of metaphors in *Ekegusii* HIV and AIDS discourse towards the PLWHA?
- iii. What role do culture and context play in the understanding and interpretation of the *Ekegusii* metaphors on HIV/AIDS?

1.7. Justification of the Study

Early studies on metaphors in *Ekegusii* language have not generally looked at the use of metaphors in *Ekegusii* HIV and AIDS discourse but rather have focused on metaphors referring to death in general but not the ones used in HIV and AIDS discourse. Nyakoe (2012) analyzes the metaphors “DEATH IS A JOURNEY” and “DEATH AS REST”. This current study is mainly concerned with those *Ekegusii* metaphors used in HIV and AIDS discourse only. Later, the research does the analysis of various metaphors in *Ekegusii* HIV and AIDS discourse (Nyakoe 2014). This study will therefore attempt to investigate how these metaphors lead to the (in) effectiveness in communicating HIV and AIDS issues in *Gusii* land and the attitude that is revealed by the speakers towards the disease and the infected person and the disease itself.

The current study is worthwhile because although there is substantial literature on conceptualization of HIV and AIDS and death (Arrese, 1996; Sexton, 1997; Bultric, 1998), the scholarly materials available so far on *Ekegusii* metaphors indicate that there is still need for an in-depth study of the same in relation to contextualization. An investigation into these metaphors is also necessary because of the high prevalence rate of HIV/AIDS in the region.

1.8. Scope and Limitation

The metaphors used in this particular study are those ones which are related to or which are in reference to HIV and AIDS. These metaphors were collected from the *Abagusii* of Nyamira County. The *Abagusii* of Nyamira County speaks the *Rogoro* dialect which is usually used in lower primary learning institutions and in the radio broadcasting stations. Therefore, it has been considered to be the superior dialect. In this regard, Nyamira County was the preferred area of this study.

The theories that have been used in describing and analyzing various metaphors include the Social Theory, the Critical Metaphor Theory, the Lexical Pragmatic Approach, the Critical Discourse Analysis, the Relevance Theory and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. This research analysis was carried out within the Relevance Theory and the Conceptual

Metaphor Theory. Moreover, this research explored various categories and roles of metaphors and the role of cultural and contextual information in understanding and interpreting *Ekegusii* metaphors relating to HIV/AIDS issues. Therefore, when one uses a metaphor, he/she focuses on the culture, context and the target audience.

1.9. Definition of Terms

Cognitive effects: Mental changes that take place after an input.

Context: The set of mentally-represented assumptions used in interpreting any given utterance.

Cultural context: the society and its culture.

Encyclopedic entry: An individual's knowledge associated with a certain object.

Explicit: when something is stated in a clearly and open way.

Implicit: Expressing in an indirect way.

Literal: The surface interpretation of an utterance.

Mapping: The systematic set of correspondences that exist between constituent elements of the source domain and target domain.

Metaphor: A figure of speech which makes an implicit, implied or hidden comparison of two unrelated things, but share common characteristics.

Processing effort: Mental effort required in processing an utterance

Relevance: Relating or connecting to each other.

1.10. Literature Review

This section observes the relevant contributions that have been made by various scholars and also it looks at the importance of this study.

Metaphor is a term that was found in the old Greece as *Metaphora* which is derived from two words:

Meta- which means *beyond*

Phora- was gotten from *pherein* which means “*to carry*”.

Met-phor is therefore a movement from one thing to another, in original etymological sense. In various subsequent theories, the idea that two elements are involved in any kind of a metaphor has always remained significant, and is often clearly created in terms of a ‘from.....to...’ expression.

A metaphor has inevitably ‘two elements or aspects’. According to Richards, the word ‘expression’ means a metaphor or is employed with a metaphorical definition, **the vehicle** whereas the fundamental idea is termed the metaphor’s **topic** (Richards,1936:121).

From the above illustration, ‘*sweep out*’ is the expression that is used metaphorically. The vehicle is the metaphorical sense whereas the meaning of *dismissal* as represented literary by the vehicle *sweeps out* shows the topic of the metaphor.

As discussed earlier, Sontag was among the first people to assess and record the role of metaphor in framing HIV/AIDS discourses (1988:111). She particularly noted the use of military metaphors like ‘invasion’, ‘combat’, ‘villain’ and ‘victim’. Her metaphorical representation depicts HIV/AIDS as an invasion that must be fought against. Those carrying the disease carry within them the enemy; this in itself is stigmatizing. Her work is a direct support to this work in the sense that the images used in the Ekegusii metaphors used in the HIV/AIDS discourse reflect the disease as an enemy.

According to the research carried out by Nayakoe, *Ekegusii* language users use metaphors in this discourse since sex is a prohibited topic in the African culture and this virus is mainly spread through having penetrated sexual intercourse with an infected person. Speakers may also use metaphors since they “may communicate something which is difficult to express in literal speech because literal words are lacking” (D.G. Nyakoe 2014:222). Basically, her work shares in methodology with this work.

Black (1962:43), developed Richard's ideas. He further stressed on the conceptual relationship between the *topic* and *vehicle*. Black also explained this relationship as a projection of the *vehicle* towards the *topic*, whereas the topic comes to be 'seen through' a mirror formed by the *vehicle* thus, creating a similarity between *topic* and *vehicle*. Therefore we can simply conclude that metaphors are ideas about ideas. Moreover, metaphors are treated as an elucidation operation in cognitive semantic, and it also involves comparisons or judgment (Cruse & Croft, 2004). It is comprised of a vehicle and the target. In this study *source domain* and *target domain* are used instead of *vehicle* and *topic* respectively.

1.10.1. Literature on Metaphors

Abagusii speakers largely employ the use of metaphors when talking about HIV and AIDS issues. The meaning expressed in the use of metaphors goes beyond linguistically encoded sense (Wilson & Sperber, 2012:16).

A metaphor's main purpose is to describe an event, an entity, or quality more in a few words, in complex way, and comprehensively than when using the literal language (Newmark, 1988:111) According to Lakoff (2003:3) a metaphor can also be referred to as 'cross domain mapping in the conceptual system' which essentially could mean a set of conceptual connection from source domain with the realm of physical or more concrete reality to target domain which one intends to understand.'

Studies suggest that metaphorical verbal communication use is persistent in the natural language. According to Lakoff & Johnson (1980:3), a metaphor is persistent in everyday life, not just in language but also in thought and action. They say that writers and speakers use metaphors to express abstract, difficult-to-talk-about concepts in terms of concrete entities which are easier to understand.

Additionally, metaphors are seen as "means of understanding something in terms of something else by 'mapping' one conceptual domain to another" (Muller, 2005:55). Metaphor in other words opens an avenue for understanding one concept in terms of another'. Metaphor can also be defined as a set of mapping or correspondences between

two conceptual fields, following the central tenet of CMT (Conceptual Metaphor Theory) (CHUK, 2013:21).

A metaphor has got two domains namely source domain (SD) as well as target domain (TD), which even though not identical, need to operate evenly. Metaphor being a verbal exchange discourse invokes effective pictures that form public comprehension, opinion, interpretation, and perception of a certain issue. According to Kobia (2008:48) ‘metaphors create a notion through which events as well as data or information is viewed.’ Through the use of metaphors, this information or data appears to the hearer in a more effective, influential, as well as fascinating way. For example when one says “*igo atacha omorero*” (He stepped on fire) to mean he contracted HIV/AIDS. The use of the word FIRE to refer to HIV and AIDS brings about the picture of RUIN or INJURY thus cautioning one to be very vigilant in matters to do with penetrated sex.

According to Trudgil (1995:107), meaning usually is not deciphered from the linguistic units but it is interpreted in the minds of the language users. The construction of meaning is guided by cognitive principles which include meaning construction by means of metonymy and metaphor and meaning construction by means of mental spaces and conceptual blending. Trudgil, further, points out that the society’s attitudes, values and world view may be reflected in its language. He goes on further to explain that attitude can determine the choice of one lexical item over another. This view was very important to the current study since the attitude of a speaker can determine the choice of a given metaphor over another.

Yule (2010: 129) says that we must use the meaning of words, the context in which they occur, and some pre-existing knowledge of what would be a likely message as we work towards the reasonable interpretation of what the producer of the sign intended to convey. This gave an insight to this study since the hearer of a given metaphor is expected to interpret the metaphor by modifying the words used in order to come up with the intended meaning of the speaker.

Schroeder (2005:8) also emphasize on the importance of context in the interpretation of an utterance. This was also very important to this study since a metaphor is a crucially-context dependent phenomenon during the interpretation.

1.10.2. Literature on Theories

In the field of linguistic, various scholars have worked on the application, foundation, and development of CMT (Conceptual Metaphor Theory) and the Theory of Relevance on which this research is based. The researcher used two theories (Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Relevance Theory) because, each metaphorical expression was supposed to be analyzed with the aim of revealing its conceptual mapping relationship that are involved in it. When a particular metaphorical expression becomes ambiguous, the researcher subjected that metaphorical expression to the Relevance Theoretical analysis so as to determine how the involved participants understood it in relevant discourses.

The Cognitive Metaphor or the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT); is an influential theory which has proposed that metaphorical language indicates underlying figurative ideas which are assumed to correspond and to be systematic to natural processes of thought (Lakoff , 1993).

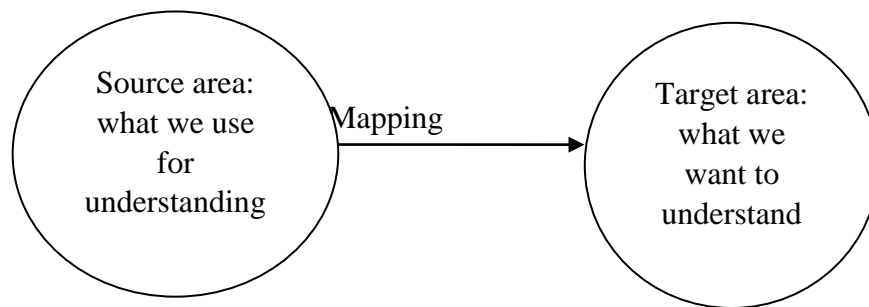
The idea of metaphor used in this study is the one proposed by Lakoff & Johnson (1980:3), with metaphor defined as a set of correspondences between two conceptual fields which is expressed in quite a number of linguistic forms in natural discourse.

Metaphorical mappings regularly have source domains that are more structured or concrete than the target domains based on the conceptual metaphor research. A “relatively abstract or inherently unstructured situation matter; is normally understood in terms of a highly structured or more concrete subject matter” (Lakoff , 1993:245).

The essential tenet of CMT is that metaphor functions at the degree of thinking. Metaphors connect two conceptual domains; the “target” domain and the “source” domain. The source area or domain consists of a group of attributes, processes, literal entities, techniques, and relationships linked interestingly and semantically stored or saved together in a person’s mind. On the other hand, target domains are believed to have

connections between processes, entities, and attributes which reflect those that are in the source domain. For instance, in the metaphor usually known as TIME IS MONEY, we recognize the intangible and abstract “time” which involves the target domain or goal area with recourse to the tangible and concrete “money” that is the source domain. Therefore, this metaphor can be realized in the various expressions like “She invested a lot of time getting to know English” “Hurry-up, we’re wasting time”, “We will take a cab to keep time”. Even though there are no similarities between MONEY and TIME, the two are relatively interconnected in the day to day life. Bank interests, conversation fees and wages are normally paid against time. In this regard, we can pick out the similarities that exist between money and time: both could be spent, saved, wasted etc.

The following is an illustration of the relationship between the two conceptual areas; source area and target area:



The source and target domain work together in a systematic way, which can be portrayed as mappings (Kovescs, 2002:6).

Nyakoe (2014: 74-85) analyses the use of metaphors in *Ekegusii* conversations as a way of mentioning the unmentionables. Nyakoe’s study shows that *Ekegusii* speakers usually use some special words to converse some ideas which may be difficult to express. This is because some words are missing or are embarrassing to speak publically. For one to recognize the meaning, he/she has to conceptualize the idea in terms of another. She analyses the metaphors “DEATH AS REST” and “DEATH IS A JOURNEY”. She further notes that it is from the source domain, that the metaphors can be recognized or understood as a mapping from the source domain (in this case *rest* and *journey*) to the target domain (which is *death* in this case). These metaphors map the element of journey

onto that of death. Therefore, metaphors are not just a matter of verbal communication but of reason and thought. The verbal communication is secondary. The mapping is essential and primary in that it permits the use of source domain verbal communication and suggests patterns for goal or target domain concepts. Nyakoe's study uses the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor as propounded in the study that was carried out by Lakoff and Johnson which gives an insight for this study (Nyakoe, Ongarora, & Oloo, 2014).

The study also takes on the cognitive processes of lexical pragmatics. Since the meanings of lexical objects are customized in use (Blutner, 1998:115), this means that every utterance has many linguistically possible interpretations all which are agreeable with the decoded sentence meaning. Relevance Theory by Wilson and Sperber (2006) was very handy in analyzing and elaboration on how lexical units acquire meaning in use.

This theory was used to find out how metaphors function in a context to bring about meaning that the speaker intends to convey to the hearer. Sperber and Wilson (1995:119) give an explanation on how hearers infer meanings for figurative language. They developed suggestion that considerations of relevance guide the process of utterance interpretation. The hearers are equipped with a criterion for evaluating interpretations as they occur to them and accepting or rejecting them depending on the hypothesis about the speaker's meaning

Clark, (2013:77) says that an utterance or expression is important to a hearer when it joins with available contextual statements to yield positive and helpful cognitive effects. Usually when an utterance is uttered, the hearer will look for implications which would make the utterance relevant. Therefore understanding metaphors that were used by speakers entirely depended on the context.

A study by the Stanford Center for the Study of Language and Information argues that context is like an encyclopedia of the world; it contains the norms, values, and principles of the general public. It entails all the knowledge of the participants in a discourse have stored in their minds at the time they enter a conversation (CSLI, 2011). Therefore, relevance occurs in a context, that is, information is relevant in a context when it interacts with the context to yield cognitive effects. This study therefore, benefits from the two

principles i.e. the cognitive principle and the communicative principle in a case where the speaker's intended meaning is to be reached at.

Langacker (1968:80) illustrates that any kind of language is not always appropriate in all situations. So, when one uses a metaphor, they focus on the culture, context and target audience. Therefore, metaphors are culture and context based.

1.11 Theoretical Framework

According to Lakoff (1992) metaphor can be defined as experiencing and understanding a particular thing in terms of another or a set of correspondences between two domains which are known as the target domain and source domain.

Additionally, according to Barcelona (2000:8) a metaphor can be defined as the cognitive mechanism. In this case, one target or source domain is partially 'mapped'. This means that target or source domain is projected onto a various experiential domains, and therefore second domain is in some measure recognized or understood in terms of the first domain.

When one is using a metaphor, it means that he is trying to understand one thing in terms of another one by 'mapping' one conceptual domain to another' (Muller 2005:55). *Ekegusii* language users use metaphors in this discourse since sex is a prohibited topic in the African culture and this virus is mainly spread through having penetrated sexual intercourse with an infected person. Speakers may also use metaphors since they "may communicate something which is difficult to express in literal speech because literal words are lacking" (Nyakoe, 2014:222)

The theoretical assumptions on which this study is based are derived from the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Relevance Theory by Wilson & Sperber (2006).

The Conceptual Metaphor Theory presents a cognitive assumption which revolves around the existence of metaphorical concepts in terms of which human beings conceptualize the world. The metaphorical concept relates the target and source domain of the metaphor in

the equation TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE DOMAIN. Thus, if a person uses the metaphor of a journey to describe his/her life, then the concept is LIFE IS A JOURNEY. In this example 'life' is the target domain and 'journey' is the source domain since 'life' is the subject of investigation and 'journey' is the domain to which it is linked by the metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 2003). For example when referring to a person living with HIV and AIDS, one can say; "*oyio ne'rioki*" translated as "that one is *smoke*". In this case, a seropositive person is the subject of investigation and *smoke* is the domain to which the seropositive person is linked by the metaphor.

Most metaphorical expressions are not to be treated in isolation, but as linguistic realizations of conceptual metaphors (Onchoke, 2017:352). Domains play a crucial role in the definition of metaphor as mapping from one domain that is from one concept or idea to another.

According to Dennis (2014:371) it is noted that source concepts are experientially concrete and they often possess some elements of 'bodily basis' in the embodiment argument of the Conceptual Metaphor theory foundation arguments. Moreover, target domain concepts are usually abstracts and cannot be directly perceived or experienced. This study of bodily basis of cognition is generally known as **embodiment cognition** (Dennis, 2014).

For example "THE SPREAD OF HIV/AIDS IS A JOURNEY" can be captured in the metaphor *eraini are* (he/she is on the queue). Here an individual's seropositive status is socially conceptualized as the start of one's journey towards death. Prior to the beginning of this journey one must acquire a ticket which is captured in the metaphor *nanyora etigiti* (he/she got a ticket). A person obtains a ticket before beginning any journey. Therefore, being HIV positive is like obtaining a ticket for the journey to death.

Relevance Theory is based on a definition of relevance on two principles of relevance: a Cognitive Principle (human cognition is geared towards maximization of relevance), and Communicative Principle (that utterances create expectations of optimal relevance) (Sperber & Wilson 2006:608-611). Anchored also on Relevance Theory, the current study explores into the categories of metaphors and the role of context and cultural

information in interpreting *Ekegusii* metaphors. Langacker (1968:80) illustrates that any kind of language is not always appropriate in all situations. Therefore, when one uses a metaphor, he focuses on the culture, context and the target audience. This thus brings out one of the characteristics of the metaphors as being culture-specific. This lays a basis for me to conclude on how a hearer of a metaphor is able to arrive at the intended meaning of the speaker. For example if a speaker says *nigo anywa amabere amagundo* (he/she took spoiled milk), the hearer requires prior information and the context in order to come up with the intended meaning of the speaker (Magachi, 2015).

Researchers give an explanation on how hearers infer meanings for figurative language. They further came up with a suggestion that considerations of relevance guide the process of utterance interpretation (Clark, 2013:77). An utterance is relevant to the hearer when it connects with the available contextual assumptions to yield positive cognitive effects. Usually when an utterance is uttered, the hearer will look for implications which would make the utterance relevant. Therefore, understanding metaphors that are used by speakers entirely depend on context. Schroeder (2005:8) argues that context is like an encyclopedia of the world; it contains the norms, and the values of the society. It entails all the knowledge that the participants in a discourse have stored in their minds at the time they enter a conversation.

According to Sperber and Wilson (1995:3), the principle of relevance is based on human recognition which is geared towards achieving the greatest possible cognitive effects for the smallest possible processing effort. Therefore, cognitive effect yield from a more relevant input, more mental effort is needed when relevant input is less. Therefore, the crucial feature of human communication is the recognition and expression of intentions. They also argue that an utterance automatically generates prospect in terms of cooperation doctrine and maxims of quantity (informative), quality (truthfulness), manner (Clarity), and relation (relevance) which a speaker is expected to observe.

The relevance principle is based on two principles as Cruse and Croft (2004:383) emphasize. It includes the communicative principle and cognitive principle. In the communicative principle, it is not only the message that a speaker wants to convey, but it

is the message of the speaker's intention to convey to the audience of his/her intention. On the cognitive principle, a person's cognition is facilitated towards relevance maximization.

Language is embedded in some context hence meaning is understood based on context. Further, language is a rule-governed behavior in interactive context. The communicative competencies of native speakers include the ability to vary their usage according to situation in which they find themselves in (Obwoye, 2014).

Therefore, in interpreting a metaphor, the interpretation involves bringing together the encyclopedic entries of the source and target domain and in this case implied meaning is important than literal meaning. Usually in the event of an utterance, all the entries of a particular source domain are available in the minds of both the speaker and the hearer. However, since human cognition is relevance-oriented, the hearer will pick the information that is relevant to him according to the context. In this research, Relevance Theory will therefore help the hearer in choosing the encyclopedic entries of a given image in a given metaphor that are relevant in that given context and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory will do the mapping of these attributes from the source domain onto the target domain in order to come up with the speaker's intended meaning.

1.12 Methodology

1.12.1 Research Design

The research method that was employed in this research was the descriptive/ survey whose major purpose was the description of the state of affairs as they are and involves classification, analysis and interpretation of data. Information or data is collected without altering the environment in a descriptive study. This design involves gathering information through interviews or administering questionnaires to a sampled group of respondents. This method can be as well be used when gathering information on people's attitudes, views, and habits. A descriptive pattern illustrates the present status of a phenomenon, determining the nature of the prevailing attitudes, practices, and conditions and seeking perfect descriptions (Kothari, 2004:1-2).

1.12.2 Data Collection

Metaphors for the analysis were collected through:

Semi-structured interviews: ten males and ten females of the age of 15-60 will be interviewed.

Questionnaires: questionnaires with the questions about the metaphors used in relation to HIV and AIDS will be administered to fifty respondents requiring them to give information on how they refer to matters relating to HIV and AIDS.

The questionnaires and interview schedules had open-ended questions. The questions permitted a detailed response which could provide the researcher with an insight into the background, intuitions, feelings, hidden motivation, decisions, and interests of the respondents. The researcher required the respondents to name phrases or words that were used to describe HIV/AIDS and the people who are infected by the disease and give the meaning of those phrases and words. Further the respondents were required to name the contexts and values in which those phrases were being used and the reasons as to why they were being used.

Very important also was the researcher's knowledge of the language being a native speaker of the language. The researcher has intuitive knowledge of the language and therefore can produce metaphorical words and phrases used in HIV/AIDS discourse in *Ekegusii*. Davies, (1998:122) supports the native speaker intuition as a method of data collection. The study by Davies shows that a speaker of a particular language should have internalized and mastered its generative grammar that reflects his knowledge about that particular language.

Programs aired by the *Ekegusii* radio stations including *Egesa* FM and *Minto* FM, discussing HIV/AIDS was another source of data. The researcher noted down metaphorical expressions used by the radio presenters and listeners who were making calls to contribute on the topic of discussion while listening to the HIV/AIDS programs. Also recorded songs containing metaphorical euphemisms of HIV/AIDS played by those radio stations contributed to the researchers data.

The information and data that was obtained from the respondents and other sources were critically examined so as to acquire detailed information regarding to how HIV/AIDS is being perceived. Then, the data obtained were glossily translated into English after being presented in the *Ekegusii* orthography.

1.12.3. Sampling

The sample for the study consisted of the *Ekegusii* speakers of the linguistic expressions that refer to HIV and AIDS issues. Purposive sampling was used. In purposive sampling, the researcher has sufficient knowledge of the topic as well as the culture so as to select sample experts. I purposefully and intentionally selected respondents that best helped me to understand their central phenomenon.

Age is a significant variable in linguistic studies (Yule 2006).

Table 1.1: The age of respondents

Age range (yrs)	Frequency	% Frequency
15-19	1	2
20-24	3	6
25-29	5	10
30-34	7	14
35-39	9	18
40-44	12	24
45-49	7	14
50-54	4	8
55-60	2	4
Total	50	100

The questionnaires were distributed in a way to cover, in the sample, the males and females aged between 15 and 60 years. Therefore, the table 1.0 above shows the age ranges between those who responded and their respective percentages. The table above shows that the highest percentage of respondents consisted people of between 40-44 yrs.

1.12.4. Data Analysis

The collected data was first translated to English since it is the language of study. Then Relevance Theory and Conceptual Metaphor were used to analyze the various metaphors. The researcher used two theories (Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Relevance Theory) because, each metaphorical expression was supposed to be analyzed with the aim of revealing its conceptual mapping relationship that are involved in it. When a particular metaphorical expression becomes ambiguous, the researcher subjected that metaphorical expression to the Relevance Theoretical analysis so as to determine how the involved participants understood it in relevant discourses. The study targeted to analyze twenty-one different conceptual metaphors used by *Abagusii* in HIV/AIDS discourse. The questionnaires in this study served as the primary tool for collecting data for analysis. The questionnaires contained well developed questions to gather substantial information for analysis. Simple questions to analyze and interpret were centered on the objectives of the research for the purpose of obtaining accurate results. Therefore, the study's qualitative data for analysis was produced from the completed study questionnaires. The data was analyzed using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) and Relevance Theory by Wilson and Sperber (1995).

This study takes a qualitative nature and therefore, it adopts a thematic analysis in describing the data. Among the *Ekegusii* speakers, metaphors happen to be ubiquitous in nature and since the *Abagusii* people are so much into their culture, context plays a very important role in the classification, description and interpretation of HIV/AIDS metaphors

1.12.5. Conclusion

In this chapter, the motivation of the study has been established. The background to the study has been discussed; statement of the problem, justification and significance of the study has been presented. The objectives and questions that guided in this study, as well as theoretical framework and literature review with regard to the *Ekegusii* metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse are discussed. The methodology that was used in data collection has been discussed with regard to the sample, sampling areas and data analysis.

CHAPTER TWO

METAPHORS

2.1. Introduction

In most of African cultures and societies, *Abagusii* culture or society being no exception, direct mentioning of taboo words is prohibited. Therefore, they find metaphors handy in such a case for they enable them to mention the unmentionables which include deadly diseases like HIV/AIDS. These metaphors adequately communicate HIV and AIDS messages in *Ekegusii*. Also, they usually reveal the attitude and reaction that the *Abagusii* people have towards the disease and the people who are carrying it. In this chapter, I will discuss the general information about metaphors, definition of metaphors, types of metaphors, features of metaphors, a comparison of metaphors with other analogies, the role of metaphors in ordinary language and then conclude.

2.2. General Information about Metaphors

From the literature review information, *Metaphor* is a movement from one thing to another, in original etymological sense. In various subsequent theories, the idea that two elements are involved in any kind of a metaphor has always remained significant, and is often clearly created in terms of a ‘from.....to...’ expression.

Therefore, one can define a metaphor in a very broad terms as a way in which one ‘thing’ or ‘meaning’ is looked upon or explained in terms of another ‘thing’ or ‘meaning’. For example, the dismissal of workers from an organization can be described as ‘*sweeping them out*’:

All the incompetent workers were swept out.

Using the conceptual theory, here the word “*dismissal*” is being conceptualized as cleaning, with the implication that the work place is full of unwanted materials (workers).

A metaphor has inevitably ‘two elements or aspects’, as it is indicated in this chapter’s introduction. According to Richards, the word ‘expression’ means a metaphor or is

employed with a metaphorical definition, **the vehicle** whereas the fundamental idea is termed the metaphor's **topic** (Richards, 1936: 121).

From the above illustration, '*sweep out*' is the expression that is used metaphorically. The vehicle is the metaphorical sense whereas the meaning of *dismissal* as represented literary by the vehicle *sweeps out* shows the topic of the metaphor.

Black (1962:43), developed Richard's ideas. He further stressed on the conceptual relationship between the *topic* and *vehicle*. Black also explained this relationship as a projection of the *vehicle* towards the *topic*, whereas the topic comes to be 'seen through' a mirror formed by the *vehicle* thus, creating a similarity between *topic* and *vehicle*. Therefore we can simply conclude that metaphors are ideas about ideas. In this study *source domain* and *target domain* are used instead of *vehicle* and *topic* respectively.

2.3. Definitions of Metaphors

According to Richards, a metaphor is expressed as "a shift carrying over a word from its normal use to a new one" (Richards, 1965:89). Scholars define a metaphor as a figure of verbal communication in which a word is applied to an object, and individual, or idea to which it is not literally applicable. A metaphor is an indirect analogy or correspondence which imaginatively or creatively identifies one thing with the other. A metaphor is a device through which an author or a speaker twists or turn the meaning of a word (Fadaee, 2011). Additionally, a metaphor is a rhetoric figure whose essence is experiencing, expressing, and understanding one kind of a thing in terms of another.

A metaphor's main purpose is to describe an event, an entity, or quality more in a few words, in complex way, and comprehensively than when using the literal language (Newmark, 1988:111) According to Lakoff (2003:3) a metaphor can also be referred to as 'cross domain mapping in the conceptual system' which essentially could mean a set of conceptual connection from source domain with the realm of physical or more concrete reality to target domain which one intends to understand.' Therefore, when a metaphor is uttered, it requires the hearer to conceive of one thing as actually being another (unlike) kind of thing.

In this study, the researcher analyzed the metaphors as used in the *Ekegusii* context. The researcher established how the *Ekegusii* metaphors have been used in describing various events, entities, or quality more in a few words, in complex way, and comprehensively than when using the literal language. This helps in adequately communicating an HIV and AIDS messages in *Ekegusii*, in revealing the attitudes of the users of the Ekegusii metaphors in HIV and AIDS discourse, and protecting the people's culture.

2.4. Characteristics of Metaphors

In the study, the researcher established that metaphors are made useful by various characteristics and they include; compactness, vividness, ability to convey otherwise or unnamed qualities, obliqueness, indeterminacy, and collaboration. This was also supported by Ortony's study. According to Ortony (1975), he noted in his study that metaphors are made useful by six characteristics. The researchers ascertained the following;

2.4.1. Compactness

Ekegusii metaphors can be used to describe an unknown concept to someone that otherwise would have needed long time to describe or explain. In other words, it is more economical to use metaphors in expressing a concept. Additionally, a larger portion of meaning or understanding is able to be transferred by the speaker to the listener in a fewer words through the use of metaphors.

2.4.2. Vividness

Usually the source of an idea or an expression comes from a direct sensory experience; therefore, it can be more dramatic, vibrant, and colorful if the speaker captures the listeners' attention more so than the idea or abstraction developed from recombined separate or discrete events.

2.4.3. Ability to Convey Otherwise or Unnamed Qualities

Ekegusii metaphors can provide rationalization and descriptions that could be unattainable. This is because a listener or a speaker may not be conversant with the inner

workings or literal qualities of a subject (because of the lack of appropriate words or lack of enough experience in their language).

2.4.4. Obliqueness

Through the use of *Ekegusii* metaphors, attention can be displaced to another domain; thus *Ekegusii* metaphors assist in discussing about difficult matters fearlessly, less threateningly, and indirectly. This is because one the speaker is able to discuss or speak about something sensitive by using the logic and language of something different.

2.4.5. Indeterminacy

This means that when a metaphor is used it involves talking of one thing in terms of another but never knowing exactly the extent to which and precisely the manner in which the parallelism holds; this may invite a search for more implications and make meanings more salient; or take advantage of the deceiving, yet wooly metaphors to transfer ideological inferences.

2.4.6. Collaboration

The collaboration between the speaker and the listener results to the meaning of any metaphor. Lakoff talks about negotiation of meaning and metaphors. That for one to be able to come up with the intended meaning of the speaker, the two must collaborate. According to lakoff and Johnson (1998), ideas are not just pointed out by metaphors, but they are ideas about ideas.

2.5. Types of Metaphors

From the researcher's field study, it was established that there are a number of different types of metaphors. This was supported by Goatly's (1997:253) study. In re-interpreting, summarizing and understanding the various metaphoric classifications, he categorized the discrepancy metaphors from various metaphorical characteristics. They include conventionality, similarity, contradictoriness, explicitness and marking.

2.5.1. Type of donor-recipient semantic relationship

There are five types of donor-recipient relationships:

2.5.1.1. Contradiction

The types of metaphors based on a relationship of contradiction between donor and recipient are paradox and oxymoron.

2.5.1.2. Paradox

In this type of metaphor, the source and target domains are opposite lexemes from the same semantic field. E.g. *Jesus the child of God is the father of man.*

2.5.1.3. Oxymoron

This is a special type of paradox in which two opposite ideas are joined to create an effect. The paradoxical meaning can be expressed in two contrastive adjectives modifying the same noun or in an adjective which contrasts with the lexical semantics of the noun it modifies. Consider the following examples:

Same difference

A bitter sweet experience

Organized chaos

The Abagusii people also use oxymoron in the metaphors that they use in HIV/AIDS discourse. This depends on the cultural value attached to the image used. For example when sex is referred to as ‘ugali’ (*obokima*) and is expected to nourish one but finally ends up making the person ‘eating it’ infected.

2.5.2. Classification according to donor/recipient

Generally, metaphors are classified or categorized according to their donor or recipient domain. A definite metaphor under this category is referred to as **personification**; in this regard notions associated with human beings come to take to mean non-human things. In particular, these kinds of metaphors are well spread in conventionalized expressions.

Examples are given below:

The face of a watch

The mountain's foot

The department's head

Some Ekegusii metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse employ personification. For example where the HIV/AIDS disease is given human characteristics and being referred to as '*Omomura omonene*' (Big brother).

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter has given the definitions of metaphor by various scholars, looked at the characteristics of metaphors that mark them from the ordinary language utterances. The chapter has also looked into the types of metaphors based on five dimensions; degree of conventionality, degree of tension and contradictoriness, type of semantic connection between the speaker and the recipient, type of construction and degree of marking. The final part of the chapter has made a brief comparison between metaphors and other analogies as well as reasons why metaphors are used.

CHAPTER THREE

DATA PRESENTATION ON *EKEGUSII* METAPHORS USED IN HIV/AIDS DISCOURSE

3.1. Introduction

This section presents the data that is to be analyzed later in this study in terms of classification of the Ekegusii metaphors used in HIV/AIDS related conversations.

HIV and AIDS is a forbidden subject matter amongst most speech tribes or societies in Kenya. The *Abagusii* community is consequently now not an exception. Barton and Tusting (2005) view a speech tribe as a tribe sharing the understanding of policies and concepts, interpretation and conduct of speech. When talking about HIV/AIDS, related topics like sex, private body parts and death cannot be avoided. This is because HIV/AIDS is transmitted majorly through heterosexual intercourse and it leads to death.

Conceptual metaphors permit language speakers and hearers to communicate and understand with reference to abstract and complex abstract ideas in relation to ordinary experiences and are imperative in decoding human's notions or commonplace feel. When the first incident of HIV/AIDS was reported in 1984 in the country, various kind and forms of expressions have been developed as well as utilized by numerous different speech communities or tribes to convey the information concerning the epidemic.

Metaphors figuratively capture image schemas by which man conceptualizes his embodied experiences as attested in the works of numerous scholars (Lakoff & Turner 1987:20). For the purpose of this study, the *Ekegusii* native speakers provided the utterances that are used here in this study in their original and natural setting. The metaphors used adequately help in communicating HIV and AIDS messages in *Ekegusii*.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1999:5), the key concept in Conceptual Metaphor Theory is that the mind of a participant in any communication is inherently embodied, and the explanation or rationale is formed by his/her body. This means that people find things that they can taste, smell, feel, see as well as hear easier to interpret, categorize, or

even understand than the phenomena they cannot. Therefore, people systematically comprehend abstract concepts through the understanding of concrete concepts.

In identifying conceptual metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse among the *Abagusii* people, the Invariance Hypothesis had to be used in order to determine those that are credible and logical. Invariance Hypothesis is integrated based on the assumption that metaphoric mapping safeguard the source domain's cognitive topology (Lakoff 1990). That is, Invariance Hypothesis not only explains the consistency of linguistic connections or correspondences, but it also highlights the metaphoric cognitive nature. The analysis has been done at word, phrase, clause, and even sentence level levels respectively.

3.2. Metaphors with the Attributes of Sharp Objects

From the respondents, it came out that *Ekegusii* speakers use a number of metaphors with the attributes of sharp objects when talking about HIV/AIDS and related issues. It emerged though that the different age groups had different meanings for these metaphors. The disparity came out as a result of these different age groups attaching different cultural values to these sharp objects. The young hold these objects with esteem while the elderly hold them with despise. These metaphors included:

1) *Onyancha natacha rigwa*

‘*Onyancha* stepped on a thorn’

‘*Onyancha* contracted HIV/AIDS’

Onyancha who is a man has acquired the seropositive status is being conceptualized as having stepped on a thorn. A thorn in this case is the seropositive person who infected *Onyancha*; and this person this case is a woman.

2) *Kerebi no'nchore*

‘*Kerebi* is a sword’

‘*Kerebi* is seropositive’

“*Kerebi no ’nchore*” in this case, *kerebi* who is a woman is referred to as a sword. A sword is a sharp object that is being used during wars. This means that she is dangerous to the healthy people since she could infect them if anyone has unprotected sex with her.

3) *Mogaka no ’rwembe*

‘*Mogaka* is a razorblade’

‘*Mogaka* is infected with HIV/AIDS’

“*Mogaka no ’rwembe*” *Mogaka* a man and the razorblade is a sharp object that cuts. Therefore he is being understood as a dangerous person who one needs to be careful with in order not to be ‘cut’ (infected with HIV/AIDS).

4) *Orendane ne ’ritimo erio*

‘Be careful with that sword’

‘Be careful on how you relate with a seropositive person in order to avoid being infected’

3.3. Metaphors with the Attributes of Farming

The largest percentage of the respondents were found using metaphors with the attribute of farming. This comprised 64% of the total population. When they were asked why they were using those images, they said that they spend most of their time farming and therefore have understood much on how different plants behave as well as the whole process of farming. Thus they could easily attribute some of these behaviors to people more especially in relation to sex and sexual organs.

The following were examples of such metaphors:

5) *Obokombe bw’ Onyancha mbwayiete*

‘*Onyancha*’s jembe got burnt’

‘*Onyancha* got infected with HIV/AIDS’

Here the speaker of the above metaphor indirectly informs and warns healthy women against accepting sexual advances from *Onyancha* because his '*jembe*' is unsafe (he got infected with HIV/AIDS').

6) *Omogondo oyio nore ne'bitugi*

'That field has stumps'

'That woman is infected'

The speaker refers a field as a woman who is infected with HIV/AIDS and therefore men should be careful not to be infected.

7) *Oyio no'moseboko*

'That is replenishment.'

'That is a seropositive person but who looks healthy'

"*Oyio no'moseboko*", this metaphor warns the recipient that the person he/she is referring to looks healthy but that person is infected with HIV/AIDS

8) *Orosana erwayia bobe*

'The bush got burnt badly'

A virgin got infected with HIV/AIDS'

The speaker informs the recipient that a particular lady had sex and got contracted with HIV/AIDS

9) *Nonyare korema chimboba?*

'Can you cultivate the wimbi stalks?'

'Can you play sex with an infected woman?'

Here the speaker asks the recipient whether he/she can have sexual intercourse with an infected person.

3.4. Metaphors with the Attributes of Animals/ Insects

These metaphors were used comfortably by the respondents from across all the age groups. There was a difference though in their interpretation whereby the interpretation

of the male respondents differed from that of the female respondents as analyzed later in the next chapter. While the female respondents gave a negative meaning to these metaphors because they referred to them (female) in a negative way, the male gave a positive meaning because they referred to them (male) in a positive way i.e they elevate them.

The following were the examples of the metaphors with the attributes of animals/insects.

10) *Kerebi ne 'ngoko.*

'*Kerebi* is a hen.'

'*Kerebi* is promiscuous.'

Some hens usually tend to bend for a cock even before that cock shows any interest. This metaphor implies that *Kerebi* is a promiscuous woman who tends to make sexual advances to men before men do it.

11) *Onyancha ne 'twoni*

'*Onyancha* is a cock'

'*Onyancha* sleeps with many women'

This man (*Onyancha*) is positively brought out as a very energetic person who can sleep with several women.

12) *Nyabagasa*

'A butterfly that roams in the forest'

'A prostitute'

The metaphor refers to a girl who is beautiful and wants the men to notice her. She keeps passing aimlessly where there are men who can see her and perhaps seduce her.

3.5. Metaphors with the Attributes of Games/Sports

Most of the respondents who gave these metaphors were the youth. Even the elderly who said that they rarely use metaphors with the games images were quite at home with the meanings of the metaphors. The metaphors included the following:

13) *Nigo achiesete bobo*

‘He played foully’

‘He contracted HIV/AIDS’

Here the partner in this metaphor just had sex with an infected partner without taking any precautionary measures hence got infected.

14) *Namonyoka mono*

‘He/she ran so fast’

‘He/she was so actively involved in bad sexual behavior’ and therefore got infected with HIV/AIDS’

15) *Orende tonyosiwa*

‘Take care not to be scored’

‘Take care not to be infected’

The metaphor warns the recipient to take precautions to avoid being infected with HIV/AIDS.

3.6. Metaphors with the Attributes of Food

All the respondents were quite at home with the metaphors with the attributes of food. They said since food is a basic need, most *Ekegusii* speakers cannot miss a metaphor with the image of food. Most metaphors in this category were in relation to sex. The youths more especially were the best users of these metaphors.

The following were the metaphors that were given:

16) *Nigo atiga koragera*

‘He quit eating’

‘He died’

Food is a direct source of life, so if one stops eating it means that he/she is dead.

17) *Onyancha nanywa amabere amagundo korwa ekerandi kia’ bande*

‘Onyancha took stale milk from another person’s guard’

‘Onyancha had sex with somebody’s wife and got infected’. Therefore, *Onyancha* got infected after having unprotected sex with somebody’s wife (*ekerandi kia ’bande*) who was infected’

18) *Oyio ne ’ritunda rigundo*

‘That one is a rotten fruit’

‘That one is seropositive’

With the introduction of ARVs, it is hard to recognize a person living with HIV/AIDS. They all look good; like fruits but once infected now this person is referred to as *ritunda rigundo* (a rotten fruit). Therefore the youths are advised not to be deceived by the outward appearance of a person.

3.7. Metaphors with the Attributes of Journey

The researcher also wanted to establish how often the Ekegusii speakers use the metaphors with the attributes of journey. Those who used them accounted for 54% with the majority being male Ekegusii speakers with 49% and then the female speakers with 5%. The female speakers said that they rarely use these metaphors because the topic of HIV/AIDS and other related issue is a taboo to them hence unmentionable.

The following were the examples of the metaphors that were collected:

19) *Orogendo are*

‘He/she is on a journey’

‘He/she is infected with HIV/AIDS’

This journey “*Orogendo*” can mean the beginning of using ARVs which will have to be used for the rest of the infected person’s life. Therefore, it will come to an end when this person dies.

20) *Etigiti mobuko ere*

‘The ticket is in the pocket’

‘He/she has the AIDS virus’

The youths are told through this metaphor that one goes to look for a ticket himself/herself. This means that one can decide to stay free from the virus by being careful in his/ her sexual life.

The ‘pocket’ in this case means the body.

21) *Oikire bwoye*

‘He/she reached her home’

‘He/she died’

Reaching home means like somebody was on a journey to his home. Therefore, for an HIV/AIDS patient, death comes as rest after a long journey of battling with the disease.

3.8. Metaphorical References of HIV/AIDS in Ekegusii

The elderly respondents most of whom were there when the first cases of the disease were reported in *Gusiiland* were the ones who gave the names that they use to refer to HIV/AIDS. They said that due to lack of an equivalent term for HIV/AIDS, they coined names depending on how the disease behaved and the characteristics exhibited by the patients. These names are *Enyamoreo*, *Omomura omnene* and *enyamong’ento*. These names are analyzed in the following chapter.

3.9. Conclusion

In conclusion, the researcher found out that these metaphors are used by the male more than the female. **Table 3.1** illustrates this point:

Table 3.1: Frequency of Metaphor Users

Gender	Frequency	% frequency
Male	44	88%
Female	6	12%

Source: Field data (2019)

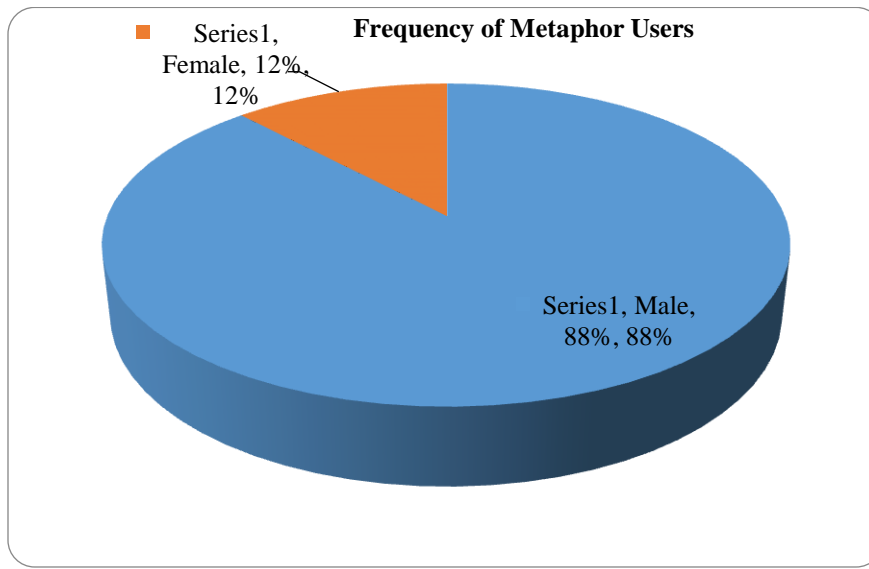


Figure 3.1: Frequency of Metaphor Users

Source: Field data (2019)

The above table and figure shows that, from the respondents, men tend to use metaphors more than the women. In this case men were 88%, and women were 12%. This implies that more men find it appropriate and confidential when using metaphors while passing their message to the recipients than women. It also emerged that few women in Gusiiland are comfortable with HIV/AIDS topics because the disease is referred commonly to as “*oborwaire bwa’bakungu*” (women’s disease) thus, stigmatizing them.

In this chapter the classification of the *Ekegusii* metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse has been done. The data has been categorized based on the attributes of the images of the various metaphors. This will make the analysis easy as it is necessary to map the attributes of the image of the source domain to those of the target domain in order to come up with the speaker’s intended meaning.

CHAPTER FOUR

AN ANALYSIS OF *EKEGUSII* METAPHORS USED IN HIV/AIDS DISCOURSE

4.1. Introduction

In this section a discussion covering the data as well as the dismantling of the metaphors that the *Abagusii* people use in HIV/AIDS discourse is done.

For the purpose of this study, the *Ekegusii* native speakers, in their ordinary and original setting gave the metaphors analyzed in this research. Therefore, the definition in each utterance is examined depending on the social, cultural as well as the environmental surroundings in which the metaphors were created. The arguments as well as and discussions provided in this chapter are based on the various study findings and principles of Lakoff and Johnson's (1993) Conceptual Metaphor Theory and Wilson and Sperber's (2006) Relevance Theory.

Basically, the *Abagusii* people are farmers who practice both crop and livestock farming majorly in small scale due to land fragmentation. As a result, the *Abagusii* people have categorized the metaphors that they use in HIV/AIDS discourse based on their daily activities like farming and what surrounds them. These categories include:

- i. Metaphors with the attributes of sharp objects
- ii. Metaphors with the attributes of farming
- iii. Metaphors with the attributes of animals/insects
- iv. Metaphors with the attributes of food
- v. Metaphors with the attributes of games/sports
- vi. Metaphors with the attribute of a journey

4.2. Metaphors with the Attributes of Sharp Objects

In this part, the analysis, interpretation and processing of the *Ekegusii* metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse with the attributes of sharp objects is done. The *Abagusii* people like other people consider sharp objects dangerous to work or deal with and therefore

utmost care is needed when handling them. If one is not careful then there will be injury. Below is the analysis of metaphors with the attributes of sharp objects:

- 1) *Onyancha natacha rigwa*
‘*Onyancha* stepped on a thorn’
‘*Onyancha* contracted HIV/AIDS

A metaphor in Conceptual Metaphor Theory is mainly conventional, conceptual and an element of the everyday structure of thinking (Lakoff, 1992:206).

The encyclopedic entries of *rigwa* (thorn) give the following information:

Thorn: - Sharp

- Pricks
- Instill pain
- Requires protective gears

All the above entries for *rigwa* are available in the mind of both the speaker and the hearer. However, since human cognition is relevance-oriented, the hearer will use the concept of RIGWA with its associated encyclopaedic knowledge to form a beginning point for constructing a hypothesis about the concept the speaker wanted to express and the implications he intended it to convey. After deriving enough implications to satisfy his expectations of relevance depending on the context, he stops. Therefore, not all the encyclopaedic entries are used in arriving at the speaker’s meaning but only those which are relevant are picked.

In the above example, *Onyancha* who has acquired the seropositive status is being conceptualized as having stepped on a thorn. A thorn in this case is the seropositive person, who infected *Onyancha*; who in this case is a woman. The respondents said that women are the ones who are considered to be the carriers of the disease and infect the men. It actually came out that sometimes HIV/AIDS among the *Abagusii* people is known as *oborwaire bwa ‘bakungu* (women’s disease). Men here are therefore warned to

use protective gears like condoms when indulging in sex with such a woman otherwise they will be pricked (infected)

The image of *rigwa* is used because in Gusii land thorns are almost everywhere used as a deterrent for animals from eating plant materials. Therefore, this metaphor was easily used and understood across ages.

2) *Kerebi no 'nchore*

'*Kerebi* is a dagger'

'*Kerebi* is seropoaitive'

The encyclopedic entries for a dagger include:

Dagger - Sharp double-edged

- Used in war
- Can kill
- It is metallic

The metaphor (2) is also used to refer to a person who is living with HIV/AIDS. Literally, a dagger is a dangerous weapon and is feared by many people.

Since human cognition is relevance-oriented, the hearer of the above metaphor will pick those entries which are relevant according to the context. This is because the mapping involves the transfer of only those traits that apply from the source domain to the target domain who is *Kerebi* in this case. So, since a person cannot be metallic, neither can she be double-edged nor used in war like an object; all these entries are dismissed as strong implicatures. Therefore, *kerebi* as a 'dagger' in this metaphor means that she is dangerous to the healthy people since she could infect them if anyone has unprotected sex with her. This sounds a warning to the healthy people who should be cautious or avoid her altogether.

This metaphor and its interpretation were given by the elderly people. When it was given to the youths for interpretation, there was a discrepancy. The cultural values that the youth attach to a dagger are witty and clever. Therefore, to them "*Kerebi*" is a person of

impeccable qualities and should be emulated. So, when this metaphor was used, there arose a miscommunication between the elderly and the youths.

3) *Mogaka no 'rwembe*

'*Mogaka* is a razorblade'

'*Mogaka* is infected with HIV/AIDS'

To arrive at the intended meaning of the speaker of the above metaphor, the hearer has to look at the attributes of a razorblade which is the source domain here and map them onto *Mogaka* who is the target domain in this case.

The attributes of a razorblade include:

Razorblade - Double-edged

- Sharp
- Used for cutting and sharpening
- Can injure one if mishandled
- Thin and flat
- Metallic

The word 'razorblade' encodes the concept RAZORBLADE with the above encyclopedic entries. From the above list, only those entries which make the utterance worth processing are picked. When these traits are mapped onto *Mogaka* in the HIV/AIDS context, then *Mogaka* is understood as a dangerous person who one needs to be careful when socializing with in order not to be 'cut' (infected with HIV/AIDS). This interpretation should satisfy his expectations of relevance.

The respondents of this metaphor said that the use of the sharp objects has an impact since it makes the hearer of the metaphor to be very cautious when socializing with these people. But on the other hand it brings about stigmatization since the PLWHA feel that they are not fit to mix with the healthy people hence the reason why people who contract HIV/AIDS do not live long even with the introduction of ARVs.

However, the respondents of the age bracket 15-29 years had a different interpretation since the cultural value that they associated the concept 'RAZOR' with was clever and witty. To them therefore, this person being referred to as 'orwembe' is clever and witty and therefore should be emulated.

4) *Orendane ne'ritimo erio*

'Be careful with that spear'

'Be careful with that person living with HIV/AIDS'

This particular metaphor is interpreted like the one in number three (3).

4.3. Metaphors with the Attributes of Farming

Culturally, the *Abagusii* people are farmers who cultivate different crops and keep livestock too. Therefore, they find the farming images handy when using metaphors in the HIV/AIDS discourse. The images of the farm tools and equipments as well as the act of digging itself are used to derive metaphors which are used during the HIV and AIDS discourse among the *Abagusii* people.

The following metaphors were given under this category:

5) *Obokombe bw'Onyancha mbwayiete*

'*Onyancha's jembe* got burnt'

'*Onyancha* got infected with HIV/AIDS'

A *jembe* is a farm tool that is usually used for digging. It emerged that among the *Abagusii* people, the act of playing sex is euphemistically referred to as 'digging'. Due to the patriarchal nature of the *Abagusii* society, it is usually the man who 'digs' and the woman is 'dug'. When such a sentence is uttered, it does not refer to the literal *jembe* but the '*jembe*' that is used for 'digging a woman' (playing sex).

The mapping of the above metaphor is done in the following way:

<u>Source domain</u>	<u>Mappings</u>	<u>Target domain</u>
<i>Jembe</i>	—————→	male reproductive organ
Burn	—————→	get infected
Dig	—————→	play sex
<i>Shamba</i> /field	—————→	a woman

For Wilson and Sperber in the Relevance Theory, the speaker does not intend to speak about a literal ‘jembe’ literally getting burnt. Therefore, the hearer has to draw some information from the encyclopedic entries of a jembe in order to achieve cognitive effects and relevance.

The speaker of the above metaphor indirectly informs and warns healthy women against accepting sexual advances from *Onyancha* because his ‘jembe’ is unsafe. The metaphor again suggests that *Onyancha* got infected by a woman and therefore this means that it is the women who get the disease first and infect it to men. It came out that most marriages have broken because men cannot trust their wives and therefore know that every couple that is infected, it was the wife who ‘brought’ the disease.

It actually emerged clearly that among the *Abagusii* people, women are the ones who are considered as the carriers of HIV/AIDS and therefore from the above metaphor, the fault is not on *Onyancha* for his ‘jembe’ to be ‘burnt’ but on the woman who ‘burnt’ *Onyancha*’s ‘jembe’.

6) *Omogondo oyio nore ne’bitugi*

‘That field has stumps’

‘That woman is infected’

The *Abagusii* people practice farming as their economic activity and therefore this metaphor is quite handy and all the respondents used it comfortably.

The respondents said that this metaphor is used by the *Abagusii* people in the HIV/AIDS discourse to sound a serious warning to men against having sex (digging) a particular lady who is suspected to be a PLWHA. A woman is compared to a field because just like a field, a woman brings forth a new life after being ‘dug’ and something planted. Therefore, this metaphor is said in reference to women only since the men do the ‘digging’ on this field.

The mappings of the above metaphor are done as follows:

<u>Source domain</u>	<u>Mappings</u>	<u>Target domain</u>
Field	—————→	a woman
Stumps	—————→	infection (HIV/AIDS)
Farmer	—————→	a man
<i>Jembe</i>	—————→	male reproductive organ

In literal terms a field with stumps is carefully dug with a special hoe or a fork *jembe* or sometimes avoided.

The following encyclopaedic entries of the ‘field’ lead to the following mapping:

Field - always dug using a *jembe*

- Planting is done when the season comes
- Needs nutrients from time to time
- Gives different types of produce

All the above encyclopedic entries are available in the mind of both the speaker and the hearer. However, since human cognition is relevance-oriented, the hearer will pick the information that is relevant to him/her depending on the context. Hence the above entries according to Sperber and Wilson can be mapped onto a woman, who just like a field, is ‘dug’ (a man plays sex with her), impregnated, gives birth to young ones, needs nourishment and good care from the husband. If this woman ‘has’ HIV/AIDS (the way the respondents put it), then she is compared to a field that has stumps and which can

spoil a *'jembe'*. This metaphor is used to warn men against having sex with such a woman because they might be infected hence spoiling their *'jembes'*.

7) *Oyio no 'mosebeko*

'That is replenishment'

'That is a seropositive person on ARVs

The mapping for the above metaphor is as follows:

<u>Source domain</u>	<u>Mappings</u>	<u>Target domain</u>
Replenishment	—————→	eropositive person on ARVs
Depleted before	—————→	health deteriorated before
Regains the former shape	—————→	PLWHA looks healthy

Usually in figurative language, the aim of the speaker is to suggest an array of interpretations instead of being specific. The interpretation is done by combining context, explicit content and implicit content. Therefore, the hearer of the above metaphor will pick those entries that are relevant according to the context. This is because mapping involves the transfer of only those traits that apply from the source domain to the target domain.

Among the *Abagusii* people, the obvious and 'sure' way of telling a person who is infected with HIV/AIDS is through weight loss. But now with the introduction of antiretroviral drugs, it has become hard to tell an infected person from the healthy ones. This poses a lot of danger more especially to those who are very active sexually. Therefore, if one is suspected to be under ARVs, this metaphor can be used to inform others that a particular person is infected but only looks healthy because of the effects of ARVs. Because of this, the *Abagusii* people are just suspicious of each other as having HIV/AIDS because they cannot tell a healthy person from an infected one.

The *Abagusii* people being farmers, they are aware of how plants replenish after being depleted. A replenished plant is not regarded so much as the real plant. This has led to

stigmatization of the PLWHA and thus most of them take the drugs secretly leading to rampant spread of the disease hence the high prevalence rate in Gusii land.

8) *Orosana rwayiete bobe*

‘The bush got burnt badly’

‘The person contracted HIV/AIDS’

This metaphor was majorly used by the youths. The following encyclopaedic entries enabled us to interpret the meaning of ‘bush’.

Bush- care is needed when walking through it

- Needs to be cleared at some point
- Makes the field to regain its fertility
- Prevents the field from loss of excessive moisture

The above encyclopaedic entries led to the following mappings:

<u>Source domain (bush)</u>	<u>Mappings</u>	<u>Target domain (pubic hair)</u>
Grows naturally	—————→	needs little attention
Covers the soil	—————→	covers the reproductive organ
Cut occasionally	—————→	needs to be trimmed occasionally

According to Wilson and Sperber’s Relevance Theory, utterances raise expectations which are not of literal truthfulness but of optimal relevance; a search for relevance is involved in every utterance. This is done based on mutual adjustment of context, explicit content and implicatures.

This metaphor was used among the male respondents of age bracket 20-24 and 25-29. They said that this ‘bush’ is used to refer to the pubic hair for the female only. The reason they gave was that when a man wants to have sex with a lady, he has to find his way through that ‘bush’ into the vagina. Some male respondents said that when they are among themselves and one wants to tell the others that he had sex with a certain lady, he

could use the metaphor “*namomanete orosana*”(I entered her bush) which literary means ‘I had sex with her’.

The image of the bush here brings in the image of the soil also. When a farmer is digging, he/she is mostly interested with the soil and not the bush. But to get to the soil, one has to pass through this bush first. The same case applies to the act of having sex. The man is interested with the vagina and not the ‘bush’ (*orosana*) around it.

If this particular lady had sex and got contracted with HIV/AIDS, then it is said that the ‘bush’ got ‘burnt.’

9) *Nonyare korema chimboba?*

‘Can you cultivate the *wimbi* stalks?’

‘Can you have sex with an infected woman?’

This was another metaphor which was found to be commonly used by the youths. The following are the encyclopaedic entries for *wimbi* stalks (*chimboba*):

Wimbi stalks - remain after *wimbi* has been harvested.

- They usually prick
- Hard to cultivate

Lakoff and Johnson used the conceptual metaphor theory to come up with following mappings:

Source domain (*wimbi* stalks) **Mapping** **Target domain (infected woman)**

Remain after harvesting \longrightarrow becomes after sex with a male PLWHA

Hard to cultivate \longrightarrow dangerous to have sex with

Even with the creation of awareness on HIV/AIDS, it was clear that there is still stigmatization against PLWHA among the *Abagusii* people. From the above metaphor (9), a PLWHA is considered a threat to the healthy people. Just like *wimbi* stalks, PLWHA are really feared and in most cases avoided.

Since human cognition is relevance-oriented, the hearer of this metaphor has to assign relevance to it in a certain way. He/she has to enrich the explicit content up to the point where cognitive effects can yield enough implicatures to satisfy his/her expectations of relevance. When cultivating a field with *wimbi* stalks one has to be careful. Unlike other fields, this field is dug from the side rather than from straight above. Same case applies when having sex with a female who is suffering from HIV/AIDS. In such a case, the man has to do it cautiously like by using a condom otherwise the man will be ‘pricked’.

4.4. Metaphors with the Attributes of Animals/ Insects

Animals; wild or domestic are part of the *Abagusii* physical environment. Some characteristics of human beings are therefore comprehended in terms of (assumed) properties of animals. The use of these insects/animals attributes metaphors is meant to cover up meaning to untargeted listeners like children, and equally conveying the message in a more influential, efficient, and powerful way to the youth and the adults as the target audience.

For example, among the *Abagusii* people the conventional feature of *engoko* (hen) is promiscuity. So this feature can be used metaphorically to understand the abstract behavior of the person in question. Consider the following metaphor:

10) *Kerebi ne 'ngoko*

‘*Kerebi* is a hen’

‘*Kerebi* is promiscuous’

The attributes of a hen include:

- It is a bird
- Has two legs
- It is female
- Lays eggs
- Allows any cock to ‘climb it’

Not all the encyclopedic entries for a hen above are mapped to those ones of a promiscuous woman but the relevant ones only as follows:

<u>Source domain (hen)</u>	<u>Mappings</u>	<u>Target domain (loose woman)</u>
Female bird	—————→	a woman
Fertilized by any cock	—————→	sleeps with any man

Some hens usually tend to bend for a cock even before that cock shows any interest. This applies to promiscuous women who tend to make sexual advances to men before men do it. The hearer considers the features of the source domain in the metaphor in his/her encyclopedic entry and starts associating them with a similar object. From the background knowledge of knowing that hens have sex with any cock, the hearer achieves cognitive effects which will lead him/her to a promiscuous woman as the speaker's intended meaning.

11) *Oyio ne'twoni*

'That is a cock'

'He can sleep with many women'

The encyclopaedic entries for *etwoni* (cock) are as follows:

- Is a bird
- Is male
- Has power over hens
- Fertilizes indiscriminately

When this metaphor is used, all the above entries are available at the back of the mind of the speaker and the hearer. But since human cognition is relevance oriented, the hearer's perception, memory and inference only picks the information that is potentially relevant depending on the context. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory suggests the following mappings for the relevant attributes:

<u>Source domain (cock)</u>	<u>Mappings</u>	<u>Target domain (man)</u>
A male bird	—————→	a male human being
Fertilizes eggs	—————→	makes women pregnant
Has power over hens	—————→	has power over women

Therefore, with the above mappings, following a path of least effort, the hearer sees the relationship what is encoded in the metaphor and a morally decayed man. With the help of the context and cultural knowledge on the values attached to a cock, the hearer begins selecting the features of the source domain in the metaphor and associates them with those of the target domain which is a morally decayed man. According to the Abagusii people, this man is positively brought out as a very energetic person who can sleep with several women. If such men are seropositive, they will infect a great number of women.

12) *Nyabagasa*

‘A beautiful, roaming butterfly’

‘A beautiful, roaming girl’

A metaphor is a variety of lexical broadening. For the hearer of the above metaphor, the concept NYABAGASA suggests an array of encyclopedic assumptions. These assumptions are activated from the background information and context of the utterance. This makes the hearer create a certain expectation of relevance depending on the cognitive effects raised. Following the path of least effort in looking for a satisfying level of cognitive effects by combining assumptions from his/her encyclopedic entries for NYABAGASA to the context, the hearer adjusts the explicit content, context and cognitive effects until his/her expectation of relevance is satisfied. The result is the interpretation that *Nyabagasa* is a person of certain character similar to that of a butterfly with a direct meaning or contradicting meaning.

This kind of butterfly is usually spotted roaming where there is vegetation like trees. Most probably the reason for their roaming is to look for nectar. When their beauty fades, these butterflies are not seen again. This is similar to a girl who is beautiful and wants the

men to notice her. She keeps passing aimlessly where there are men who can see her and perhaps seduce her. When her beauty fades and perhaps she has contracted HIV/AIDS, she stops the roaming.

This metaphor usually refers to teenage girls whose sexual hormones are very active.

4.5. Metaphors with the Attributes of Games/Sports

Games and sports have certain properties which are utilized in *Ekegusii* HIV/AIDS conversation metaphorical expressions. The most common of the games among the *Abagusii* people are football and athletics. The metaphorical expressions include the following:

13) *Nigo achiesete bobe*

‘He played foully’

‘He contracted HIV/AIDS’

Abagusii people compare sex to a game with the two partners seen as opponents.

We are in a position to conceive of one scenario towards the conditions afforded of another. When speaking of metaphors, the source domain serves as a heritage for structuring and appreciating and understanding the target domain (Langacker 1999:208). Therefore, the above metaphor is understood from the point of view of a football game. The partner in the above metaphor just had sex with an infected partner without taking any precautionary measures hence got infected.

Relevance Theory argues that the speakers are not expected to tell the strict literal truth. They are expected to be optimally relevant. On this account, the concept encoded is merely a clue to the speaker’s meaning, which must be inferred as always by pragmatic means.

The following are the mappings for the metaphor above (13):

<u>Source domain (game)</u>	<u>Mappings</u>	<u>Target domain (sex)</u>
Players	—————→	sex partners
Playing	—————→	having sex
The ball	—————→	sex
Football pitch	—————→	bed
Sustained injuries	—————→	infections (HIV/AIDS)

The hearer in interpreting the meaning of the above metaphor considers a scenario where a football game is being played with two opponents who when playing use some attires like special shoes for protection. With the help of context and background cultural knowledge of knowing that in football there is winning through scoring and losing through being scored, the hearer arrives at the speaker’s intended meaning. Thus, from the above mappings, this person (partner) played sex recklessly, for example, without using protective measures like a condom. Finally he/she got infected

14) *Kerebi namonyoka mono*

‘*Kerebi* ran so fast’

‘*Kerebi* was so actively involved in bad sexual behaviour’

Literal understanding of the language used in a conversation determines the comprehension of any metaphoric verbal communication (Imre, 2010). This literal understanding of the words used is then mapped onto the target domain to arrive at the speaker’s intended meaning. The mappings for metaphor (14) are as follows:

<u>Source domain (race)</u>	<u>Mapping</u>	<u>Target domain (bad sexual behavior)</u>
Uses speed	—————→	one indulges with partners
Has a starting point	—————→	starts with one sexual partner
Has a finishing point	—————→	one stops after falling in trouble
One gets a medal	—————→	one gets infected
Leaves one exhausted	—————→	one becomes weak after infection

In the above example, the concept RAN is derived from the word ‘ran’. In interpreting this metaphor, the hearer will use the encyclopedic entries for the concept as a starting point for constructing a hypothesis about it and the implications the speaker intended to convey. After deriving enough implications that satisfy his/her expectations of relevance, the hearer stops. Hence, the metaphor is interpreted as a person who was warned against sexual immorality and could not heed and finally got infected.

Usually when one runs or drives at a very high speed, there are consequences. This applies also to a person who has sex with multiple partners one after another. Finally when she gets infected, people will use this metaphor to talk about it because it was predictable from the beginning. People with such a behavior are warned by the metaphor ‘*genda ng’ora*’ loosely translated as ‘go slowly’.

15) *Orende tonyosiwa.*

‘Take care not to be scored’

‘Take care not to be infected’

This metaphor originates from the football game. Here, the entities in the source domain (football) are mapped onto the target domain (infect) so as to understand the speaker’s intended meaning. This is because the fundamental nature of a metaphor is that an expression or language undergoes extension or a change of meaning or interpretation (MacCormac 1985:37).

Mappings for metaphor (15) are as follows:

<u>Source domain (football)</u>	<u>Mappings</u>	<u>Target domain (infection)</u>
Football	—————→	sex
Playing	—————→	sexual intercourse
Pitch	—————→	bed
Score	—————→	infect

From the mapping above it is clear that the target domain is understood with reference to another concrete source domain. The hearer takes the path of least effort by activating the

metaphor in his/her encyclopedic entry the scenario of football and how it is played. Depending on the context and background information, the hearer starts selecting those encyclopedic entries which help him/her achieve optimal relevance. This metaphor therefore, is used to warn one to be careful on matters to do with sex or else he/she will be infected. However, this metaphor has a different interpretation from the youths who attach a different cultural value to the source domain 'score'. To them this metaphor sends a warning to the female sexual partners more especially young girls against being impregnated.

4.6. Metaphors with the Attributes of Food

In the African continent, HIV/AIDS is mostly transmitted through heterosexual intercourse; in this regard, matter concerning with the fight on HIV/AIDS cannot be ignored by putting more concern on sexual habits. Additionally, sexuality and HIV/AIDS can be understood ordinarily through the use of food and eating experiences.

Moto (2001) did a research in Malawi in which he examines the type of language and linguistic expressions used in describing sex and sexual behavior in predominantly conservative and male dominated society. Moto observes that the physiological and psychological want to have intercourse has been assumed to be related to the body's obligation to be replenished with meals all throughout. Therefore, Moto's scenario is not different from that of the *Abagusii* culture. The speakers for example use the metaphor *koria* (eating) in reference to sex. Furthermore, according to *Ekegusii* speakers sex can be understood as *koriana*. *Koriana* means 'eat each other' being the loose translation in English. Therefore, the food metaphor is replicated according to this scenario to the sex partners. The sex partners are assumed to be eaten by one another as food.

The following are examples:

16) Nigo atiga obokima

'He quit eating'

'He died'

The mappings for the above metaphor are as follows:

<u>Source domain (quit eating)</u>	<u>Mappings</u>	<u>Target domain (die)</u>
Stop eating	—————→	stop breathing
Involves food	—————→	involves life

From the above metaphor after looking at the attributes of the source domain, it becomes easy to come up with the intended meaning of the speaker by following the path of least effort in interpreting the metaphor. Food is a direct source of life, so if one stops eating it means that he/she is dead.

HIV/AIDS causes death. Death is one of the topics that the *Abagusii* people treat as euphemistic and therefore they use the above metaphor to talk about it.

A few youths misinterpreted this metaphor. Since the act of having sex is euphemistically referred to as ‘eating’, they interpreted the metaphor as ‘the person stopped having sex.’

17) *Onyancha nanywa amabere amagundo korwa ekerandi kia ’bande*

‘*Onyancha* took stale milk from another person’s guard’

‘*Onyancha* had sex with somebody’s wife and got infected’

The source domain in this metaphor is *amabere amagundo* ‘stale milk’ and the target domain is HIV/AIDS infection. Below are the mappings for the above metaphor:

<u>Source domain (stale milk)</u>	<u>Mappings</u>	<u>Target domain (an infected person)</u>
A drink	—————→	a human being
Taken with <i>ugali</i>	—————→	can have sex with healthy people
Causes illness when stale	—————→	infects those who are not careful
Unfit for consumption	—————→	needs to be poured

This a complex metaphor which requires more processing effort to arrive at the speaker’s intended meaning. According to the context and cultural background, the hearer activates

the encyclopedic entries of each of the images in the above metaphor. These images are; *nanywa* (drunk), *amabere amagundo* (stale milk) and *ekerandi kia'bande* (somebody's gourd). Usually when milk has gone stale, it is not supposed to be drunk because it will get one sick. Similarly, one is not supposed to take milk from somebody's gourd.

From metaphor (17), it is clear that *Onyancha* got infected after having unprotected sex with somebody's wife (*ekerandi kia'bande*) who was infected. This metaphor captures a commanding picture in *Ekegusii* as far as sex and HIV/AIDS is concerned. That it is necessary to enjoy foods such as milk but caution should not be thrown to the wind. Every man should drink milk exclusively from his own guard.

This metaphor brings out contradiction in taking food which results to being infected. Kovesces points out that, when an image of food is used and talks about an appetizing food, positive results are expected (Kovesces, 2006). This metaphor therefore, is classified under the category of the relationship of disagreement between recipient and donor; it is a paradox.

18) *Oyio ne'ritunda rigundo*

'That one is a rotten fruit'

'That one is seropositive'

This metaphor is used to warn healthy people against interacting sexually with seropositive people who look healthy. In the early 80s when the first cases of HIV/AIDS were reported in Kenya, it was easier for one to identify a person with the virus because the disease made its victim to lose a lot of weight. With the introduction of ARVs, somebody can look healthy but infected. A fruit can look good and appetizing but some fruits could be rotten, hence dangerous.

The following are the mappings for the above metaphor:

<u>Source domain (rotten fruit)</u>	<u>Mappings</u>	<u>Target domain (seropositive person)</u>
Unfit for human consumption	—————→	Unsafe to have sex with
Has a bad smell	—————→	Unhealthy inside
Can cause contamination	—————→	can infect healthy persons
Usually thrown away	—————→	usually avoided

In interpreting the above metaphor, the hearer needs to take into consideration the context of the utterance. Then the hearers will from his/her encyclopedic entries of a rotten fruit pick the ones which enable him satisfy optimal relevance since human cognition is relevance-oriented.

According to Lakoff (1980:215), that metaphorical mappings conserve the cognitive topology (that is the image –schema structure) of the source domain in a way that is consistent with the inherent structure of the target domain. Image (18) is a paradox because when we consider the image of a fruit, we expect it to nourish whoever who consumes it. Now when the fruit is rotten it infects whoever who consumes it.

With the introduction of ARVs, it is hard to recognize a person living with HIV/AIDS. They all look good; like fruits but once infected now this person is referred to as *ritunda rigundo* (a rotten fruit). Therefore the youths are advised not to be deceived by the outward appearance of a person.

4.7. Metaphors with the Attributes of Journey

Travelling is one of the basic human experiences whether it is by road, air, water or on foot. Travelling has unique experiences like being hectic, tiring, long or short, requires patience and in most cases a ticket is paramount before one embarks on this voyage. A close look at the metaphors in *Ekegusii* discloses that the beginning, propagation and the way HIV/AIDS infects actually can be expressed in terms of a journey. The concept of a journey can be referred to as a process or an act travelling from one destination to another.

One should note that any journey has a starting point and a destination. This is applicable to HIV/AIDS. The time someone contracts the disease, he/she has begun a long journey and the destination is when he will die of the malady. A portion of the metaphors on the malady that express the notion of journey are discussed below:

19) *Orogendo are*

‘He/she is on a journey’

‘He/she is infected with HIV/AIDS’

The mappings for this metaphor are as follows:

<u>Source (journey)</u>	<u>Mappings</u>	<u>Target (HIV/AIDS)</u>
Has a starting point	—————→	Begins when one gets infected
A ticket is paramount	—————→	One must have the virus
Covers a period of time	—————→	Takes time before one dies
Has a destination	—————→	Ends when one dies of the disease.

A mapping technique can be regarded as a procedure of analytical of the source domain towards the target domain, in which method context plays an important part, for it can on the one hand furnish relevant historical past knowledge and alternatively can help to put off inappropriate features. Just as when one is on a journey and finds it tiring, when one gets infected and begins an ultimate journey to his/her maker, the person sometimes becomes tired and could not predict exactly when he/she will get there. This journey can also mean the beginning of using ARVs which will have to be used for the rest of the person’s life. Therefore, both journeys will come to an end when this person dies.

The fact that sometimes a journey can be enjoyable is irrelevant of this metaphor. This is because nobody can enjoy the status of having the virus. Therefore, context helps to eliminate such irrelevant features and then finally the hearer is able to come up with the speaker’s intended meaning.

This metaphor is used to caution more especially the youth against irresponsible sexual behavior because the ultimate result is becoming infected.

20) *Etigiti mobuko ere*

‘The ticket is in the pocket’

‘He/she has the HIV virus’

Kovecses (2010) says that a metaphor is based on resemblance between the two entities that are compared and identified. In interpreting the above metaphor therefore, the following mappings are done:

<u>Source domain (ticket)</u>	<u>Mappings</u>	<u>Target domain (HIV virus)</u>
All travelers must have it	—————→	all seropositive people have it
Not transferrable	—————→	cannot be reversed
Enables one to travel	—————→	makes one to start dying slowly

At the time of utterance, all the encyclopedic entries of the concept TICKET are available at the back of the minds of both the speaker and the hearer. The hearer following the path of least processing effort will pick those entries that are relevant according to the context. This is due to the fact that mapping involves the transfer of only those traits which apply from the source domain in this case which is the ‘ticket’.

This metaphor was common among the elderly people. It is used to warn the youths about the ultimate end of the people who contract HIV/AIDS. The youths are told through this metaphor that one goes to look for a ticket himself/herself. This therefore, means that one can decide to stay free from the virus by being careful in his/ her sexual life.

The ‘pocket’ in this case means the body.

21) *Kerebi naika bwoye*

‘*Kerebi* arrived home’

‘*Kerebi* died’

Death among the *Abagusii* people is among the topics treated with a lot of fear. This makes it necessary thus to look for a way of talking about it indirectly, hence use of the above metaphor. For the *Abagusii* people, for death to sound a bit mild, they refer to a dead person as ‘*nyagosira*’ (the one who got lost). This temporarily gives them solace since their mind will be made to think that this ‘*nyagosira*’ will be ‘found’ one day.

For the above metaphor to be correctly interpreted both the speaker and the hearer must know who this *Kerebi* is and that she had been suffering from HIV/AIDS. The image of ‘home’ evokes entries like final destination after a journey, warm welcome, place of rest, peaceful and familiar environment.

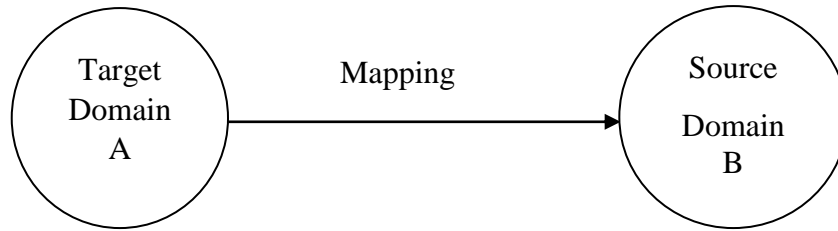
In the course of interpreting the above metaphor, the entries get further specified. Therefore, if *Kerebi* was known to be suffering from HIV/AIDS and had not gone for any journey, then entries like warm welcome, peaceful and familiar environment are eliminated. For an HIV/AIDS patient, death comes as rest after a long journey of battling with the disease through the use of ARVs.

4.8. Meaning of the Metaphorical References to HIV/AIDS In Ekegusii

The *Abagusii* people have come up with different names to metaphorically refer to HIV/AIDS. This was seen partly to be due to fear and partly because of uncertainty. The following are examples of such references:

22) *Enyamoreo* (that which makes thin)

In the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, connotation is hooked up or developed via a number of mappings. According to Contin-Morava & Kirsner (2004), mental spaces are linked and build using these mappings. They are partial constructions that multiply when we speak and assume allowing a fine-grained division of our dialogue and expertise structures. In this Theory the regularly used notation is an aide-memoire that is written in capital letters for the set of connections with the target domain coming first and connected to the source domain through the “copula” or “as” (Lakoff, G 1993). The relationship between the Source Domain (SD) and the Target Domain (TD) is highlighted in the below diagrammatic model.



The first sign that is obvious and clear to the *Abagusii* people of a seropositive person is loss of weight by that person. Therefore, because the disease makes one to lose weight (*korea*), the disease was given the metaphorical reference “*enyamoreo*”. Some of the responses that came following this name that people feared looking thin because they did not want to be suspected to have contracted HIV/AIDS.

With the introduction of ARVs, this name is fading away. These drugs make a seropositive person to look just as healthy as the rest of the population. Therefore the name has become redundant but not without replacements.

23) *Omomura omonene* (big brother)

The encyclopedic entries for *omomura omonene* (big brother) are as follows:

Big brother - Human

- Big
- Energetic
- Bully
- Feared
- Can't be defeated
- Authoritative
- Commands respect from siblings

Sperber and Wilson in Relevance Theory state that in such an example like the above, the speaker of the utterance in the HIV/AIDS discourse does not intend the hearer to literally look at the “big brother” but take some of the attributes of the “big brother” which is a tangible entity and map them onto HIV/AIDS which is an abstract entity.

All the above entries refer to the “big brother” in general and are stored in the minds of both the speaker and the hearer. However, only a few traits are chosen by the hearer so that he/she is able to come up with the speaker’s intended meaning. Therefore, due to the fact that HIV/AIDS cannot be treated (defeated) just like the “big brother”, the disease earned the name *omomura omonene*.

It clearly came out that among the *Abagusii* people a big brother is feared very much. Therefore, any person infected with HIV/AIDS is feared and avoided like a plague.

24) *Enyamong’ento* (cobra)

This the most recent of the names put forward to refer to HIV/AIDS. The encyclopedic entries for *enyamong’ento* ‘cobra’ provide the following information:

Cobra -large

- venomous
- hisses
- has a hood
- feared
- kills

In the above metaphorical reference, for Sperber and Wilson in Relevance Theory, the hearer has to draw some information from the encyclopedic entries of cobra in order cognitive effects and relevance from the utterance. Therefore, the hearer uses entries like it kills and feared to arrive at the speaker’s meaning.

This metaphor was used by the elderly of age group 50-54 and 55-60 because they are the ones who know and understand a cobra well. Most of the youths said that they had never seen a cobra and therefore found it hard to relate it to HIV/AIDS. This is because in Kisii-land most forests have been cleared to pave way for agriculture and settlement due to overpopulation.

4.9. Summary on *Ekegusii* Metaphors.

From the analysis above, it is clear that the metaphors which are utilized in reference to HIV/AIDS conversation among the *Ekegusii* speakers reveal the magnitude of the malady as well as their perception towards it.

The researchers' first objective was to establish the extent to which metaphors can adequately communicate HIV and AIDS messages in *Ekegusii*. As shown in the above findings and discussion, it is clear that the restrictions of the *Abagusii* culture expressions on direct communication in issues relating to sexuality and HIV/AIDS is taken seriously. This is because direct communication of some words are considered to cause stigma or instill fear to hearer and therefore considered to be taboo. Through the use of metaphors, people are able to adequately communicate every aspect or elements relating to HIV/AIDS without any fear.

For easier understanding and interpretation of metaphors, they are usually drawn from linguistic collections of *Ekegusii* speakers. The research establishes the connection between culture and language.

This research offers in-depth insight regarding to people's attitudes towards sexuality and HIV/AIDS. Disease relating metaphors contribute to stigmatizing both the ill and the disease. Therefore the *Abagusii* cultural myths associated to HIV/AIDS create a negative impact to the patients. People perceive the patients living with the disease to be careless or to have associated themselves with unsafe habits that made them to contract the disease.

HIV/AIDS is perceived to as a judgment or as a plague to the persons suffering from it (Sontag, 1989). HIV/AIDS is still seen as a punishment or consequence of decadence for those who usually engage themselves in unsafe sexual habits despite the fact that the disease is a global issue and it is a heterosexual disease.

Among the *Abagusii* people, it clearly came out that there is a negative attitude towards the disease and the people suffering from it. This is because of the kind of images that are used in the expressions that are used in the HIV/AIDS conversation; mostly those

perceived to pose danger to human life. From the metaphors discussed above most of them have bad and scaring images like those attributed to war, those attributed to sharp objects all which instill fear to the hearers who in turn fear the people living with HIV/AIDS and develop a negative attitude towards them.

From the data collected, it is clear that although HIV/AIDS affects both men and women, it is the women who bear its blunt of stigmatization most. This is deduced from the images that are used in these metaphors. Those that are used in reference to women belittle them so much while those used in reference to men bring them out as heroes to some extent.

Consider the following metaphors discussed earlier:

Onyancha ne'twoni (*Onyancha* is a cock).

This metaphor elevates the men and shows them as heroes since a cock for example can command several hens.

Kerebi ne'ritunda rigundo (*Kerebi* is a rotten fruit)

This metaphor implies that the women are the ones who carry HIV/AIDS and infect the men with it. As discussed earlier, the act of playing sex is metaphorically referred to as *koriana* (eating each other) but it is the men who 'eat' while the women are 'eaten'.

This research has brought out the *Abagusii* community as a patriarchal one. When a man is known to be having extra-marital affairs it is taken to be normal. When a woman is even suspected to be having extra-marital affairs, she is given such derogatory names as '*riraya*' (prostitute), '*rikembi*' (husband snatcher) and '*nyabagasa*' (a roaming butterfly).

Such names strictly refer to women only but not men even when they practice prostitution. On the other hand, there are no equivalent names for men who practice prostitution.

4.10. Cultural Background and Its Effect on Metaphor Interpretation

Restrictions of the *Abagusii* culture expressions on directly communicating issues relating to sexuality and HIV/AIDS is taken seriously. This is because direct communication of some words is considered to cause stigma or instill fear to the hearers and therefore considered to be taboo. Through the use of metaphors, people are able to adequately communicate every aspect or elements relating to HIV/AIDS without fearing. Therefore it is clear that there is a direct relationship between culture and the use of metaphors. Metaphors enable people to speak out their minds on issues relating to HIV/AIDS which could have been difficult if they were to use their primary language. The cultural assumption that one takes concerning the source domain affect the way one interprets a given metaphor. **Table 4** illustrates this point:

Table 4: Disparity in value attached to the image of the metaphor

Metaphorical expression	Respondents	Value attached to the image
<i>Oyio no 'rwembe</i> 'That person is a razorblade'	Youths	Clever / Witty
	Elderly	Infected / Dangerous
<i>Onyancha ne 'twoni</i> 'Onyancha is a cock'	Males	Power / Authority
	Females	Promiscuity
<i>Orende tonyosigwa</i> 'Be careful not to be scored'	Youths	Pregnancy
	Elderly	Infection (HIV/AIDS)

Source: Field data (2019)

From the above table, metaphors have been shown to be a stumbling block for the passage of HIV/AIDS information from one age group to another or even from one gender to another among the *Ekegusii* speakers. This happens more especially from the elderly people to the youth and vice versa. An inability to understand the metaphors used by one age group or one gender leads to misinterpretation not only of the message conveyed but also the attitude of the speaker towards HIV/AIDS as a disease. (Nyaboke, 2017).

It also emerged that different age groups used metaphors with different images sometimes to refer to the same thing. This led to miscommunication more especially between or among different age groups. According to D'Andrade (1987:125), it has been realized that there exist various variability through which communities share their cultural knowledge. However confusion is particularly expected when, the hearer and the speaker attach unlike connotations to the source domains, for cultural reasons. The cultural background of hearer of a particular metaphor can affect the ways that he /she could be able to use hints in the surrounding context to help him/her in the understanding and interpret metaphors. Consider the following metaphor which is attached different meanings by different age groups:

Oyio no 'rwembe (That one is a razorblade)

This metaphor was given as an example commonly by the elderly people of between 45-60 years. They used the image of *orwembe* (razorblade) in the sense that it can cut one and therefore should be handled with care since it can harm one. In this case, using the Conceptual Theory, a person living with the disease (HIV/AIDS) is conceptualized as *Orwembe* (razorblade). This was in reference to a person living with HIV/AIDS who is seen as being dangerous to the healthy people if they are not cautious.

When high school students were given this metaphor for interpretation, its meaning was altered extremely. To them the image of *orwembe* evoked entries like sharp, clever and witty in a person. So to them this is an admirable person who everybody emulates and aspires to be like.

The findings from this research analysis recommend that various age groups interpret the metaphors in different ways that could support their social value and systems rather than contradict them.

4.11. Why they qualify to be Metaphors

According to this study finding, the *Abagusii* community was found to be using various metaphors while putting messages relating to HIV/AIDS. Some of the metaphors have the attributes of the sharp objects, farming, animals/insects, games/sports, food, and journey. According to this study, the discourse includes issues of sex and sexual behavior, bodily functions, private parts and death all which are taboo topics in most African societies. Research findings show that people regard matters relating to misfortunes, sex, and illness as unspeakable and taboo. Thus it is typical of all societies to come up with their own labels or names for any phenomenon that may befall them in the course of their life time (Chinyanganya, 2013:48). Additionally, *Ekegusii* language users use metaphors with various attributes in this discourse since sex is a prohibited topic in the African culture and this virus is mainly spread through having penetrated through sexual intercourse with an infected person. Speakers also use metaphors since they “may communicate something which is difficult to express in literal speech because literal words are lacking”. Therefore, they qualify to be referred to as metaphors. To decipher the meaning of these *Ekegusii* metaphor used in HIV/AIDS discourse, the speaker and the listener must collaborate. This is due to the indeterminate nature of the metaphors.

4.12. Conclusion

The principal goal of this chapter was the pragmatic analysis of the *Ekegusii* metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse using the CMT and Relevance Theory. Due to the ubiquitous nature of the metaphors, it came out that the *Abagusii* people use metaphors with different attributes in HIV/AIDS discourse since it is a topic that is handled with utmost care and caution. These attributes are readily available from the environment for ease of interpretation.

The study also established that for the hearer to be able to interpret the metaphor correctly, he/she must share the cultural background and values with the producer of the metaphor. If the speaker and the hearer do not share the cultural background and values, then there will be a misinterpretation of the metaphor.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Summary of Research Findings

Based on the research objectives, this study was set out to analyze the *Ekegusii* metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse. The Relevance Theory and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory were used to carry out this analysis. The following was established from this study;

In regard to analyzing the extent to which metaphors can adequately communicate HIV/AIDS messages in *Ekegusii*, the study has confirmed that metaphors hinder effective communication of HIV/AIDS messages in *Ekegusii*. This is due to the fact that metaphors use images and different age groups attach different cultural values to these images. This results to different interpretations of the same metaphor.

To analyze the attitude revealed by the users of these metaphors, the study has also reaffirmed that in using metaphors, the speaker's attitude is revealed. Different metaphors use different images. For example, there are those metaphors with the attributes of farming, sharp objects, animals/insects, and others. Certain images are held with esteem while others are despised. It came out that the ones held with esteem are used in reference to the male while those which are despised are used in reference to the female. Most metaphors therefore, reveal a negative attitude towards the disease and the patients more especially to the females. Even from the way the disease is described using metaphors as a 'deadly incurable disease' creates fear.

In examining the role of culture and context in interpreting metaphors, the study also revealed that context is very important for the hearer of a metaphor to decipher its meaning. This is because without the context, then the hearer of a metaphor would not come up with the attributes of the image for interpretation since meaning does not reside in lexical units. Context also enables to hearer to come up with certain expectations of relevance that he/she seeks to satisfy as the mapping is done. Therefore, this determines how far the mapping goes. Cultural background also has a very important role to play in

the conceptualization and interpretation of metaphors. This is because any attributes associated with a particular image in a given metaphor depends on the culture of the given group of people and even their age.

5.2 Conclusion

Metaphors are pervasive in nature in everyday life. People use metaphors when speaking and even their thoughts are constructed in terms of metaphors. From the research it is evident that there is miscommunication of the HIV/AIDS related information. This is due to the fact that different age groups attach different cultural values to different images.

5.3 Recommendations

The findings from this research evidently show that metaphors are normally culturally-loaded expressions. The topic of the ‘*Ekegusii* metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse’ has a bearing to the present society because HIV/AIDS is still a menace that pose a very big challenge not only to the *Abagusii* people but to the whole of Africa as reports reveal (UNAIDS 2014). The study therefore, recommends that a further research on the language use in HIV/AIDS discourse and other related issues be done. It specifically recommends a research on metaphors of love in *Ekegusii*. Further, by comparing the images of the metaphors used, a research can be done on how the use of metaphors in HIV/AIDS discourse brings about gender disparity among the *Abagusii* people.

Further, the SFL (Systemic Functional Linguistic Theory) can be used in the study and analysis on ‘The *Ekegusii* Metaphors as they are used in HIV/AIDS conversation.

Lastly, since metaphors vary not only cross-culturally but also within a culture as already established, another area for future research may involve a cross-cultural focus which may concern either a contrastive or comparative approach to the metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse.

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APPENDICES

Appendix I: Introduction Letter

UNIVERSITY OF NAIROBI

SCHOOL OF EDUCATION

DEPARTMENT OF LINGUISTICS

P.O BOX

DATE...

THE PRINCIPAL

.....PRIMARY/SECONDARY SCHOOL

Dear sir/madam,

RE: REQUEST TO CARRY OUT A RESEARCH IN YOUR SCHOOL

I am a post graduate student from the University of Nairobi pursuing a Masters degree in Linguistics. I am carrying out a research on the Analysis of *Ekegusii* Metaphors in HIV/AIDS Discourse. I will appreciate if you allow me to carry the study in your school. I promise to treat respondent's identity and responses with utmost confidentiality. Your assistance will be highly appreciated.

Thank you in advance.

Yours faithfully,

.....

Elizabeth Kerubo Mang'era.

Appendix II: Questionnaire for Students/ Pupils

This questionnaire is designed to collect data on the *Ekegusii* metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse in Nyamira District. Kindly complete this questionnaire indicating your response by placing a tick () against your option and fill in the blanks. Your response will only be used for survey purposes. Do not write your name or the name of your school.

SECTION A: Demographic Data

1. Age_____
2. Gender_____
3. Which class are you in?
 - Form [1]
 - [2]
 - [3]
 - [4]
 - Class [6]
 - [7]
 - [8]

SECTION B: Information on HIV/AIDS

4. Do you have a lesson on HIV/AIDS?
Yes [] No []
If yes, how many lessons in a week? _____
5. Are you sexually active?
Yes [] No []

6. If yes, to what extent?

Extremely active [] Very active []

Active [] Fairly active []

7. Whom are free to discuss your sexual life with? _____

SECTION C: The Language of HIV/AIDS

8. What name do you use to refer to HIV/AIDS in your mother tongue? Why?

9. Give any three metaphors in *Ekegusii* that are used in the HIV/AIDS discourse. Give a brief explanation on the meaning of each

10. How free are you to discuss HIV/AIDS matters?

Not free [] Fairly free []

Very free [] Extremely free []

11. With whom do you frequently discuss HIV/AIDS related matters with? Why?

12. Rate the effectiveness of the use of metaphors in HIV/AIDS discourse.

Extremely ineffective [] Very ineffective []

Ineffective [] Fairly effective []

Very effective [] Extremely effective []

13. What suggestion would you give that you think will enrich the HIV/AIDS discourse.

Thank you for your cooperation.

Appendix III: Questionnaire for the Elderly People

This questionnaire is designed to collect data on the *Ekegusii* metaphors used in HIV/AIDS discourse in Nyamira District. Kindly complete this questionnaire indicating your response by placing a tick () against your option and fill in the blanks. Your response will only be used for survey purposes. Do not write your name or that of your village.

SECTION A: Demographic Data

1. Age _____

2. Gender _____

3. What is your level of education?

Standard eight []

Form four []

Graduate []

4. What is your occupation?

SECTION B: Information on HIV/AIDS

5. Do you discuss HIV/AIDS related issues with the youths?

Yes [] No []

6. If yes, how often? _____

7. What are the challenges that you get in trying to discuss HIV/AIDS related issues with the youths? _____

8. Is the discussion of HIV/AIDS related issues to a large extent direct or indirect? Why? _____

SECTION C: The Language of HIV/AIDS

9. Which name do you use to refer to HIV/AIDS in your mother tongue? Why?

10. Give any three metaphors that are used in the HIV/AIDS discourse. Interpret the **metaphors**.

11. How free are you when discussing HIV/AIDS matters with the youths?

Not free	<input type="checkbox"/>	Fairly free	<input type="checkbox"/>
Very free	<input type="checkbox"/>	Extremely free	<input type="checkbox"/>

12. What is the effectiveness of the use of metaphors in HIV/AIDS discourse?

Extremely ineffective	<input type="checkbox"/>	Very ineffective	<input type="checkbox"/>
Ineffective	<input type="checkbox"/>	Fairly effective	<input type="checkbox"/>
Very effective	<input type="checkbox"/>	Extremely effective	<input type="checkbox"/>

13. Give any suggestion on what you feel should be done to improve the HIV/AIDS discourse.

Thank you for your cooperation

Appendix IV: The Extent of Metaphor Misinterpretation

Metaphor	Gloss	Meaning	Extent of Misinterpretation
<i>Omosunte omonene</i>	Great darkness.	HIV/AIDS is a mysterious disease whose cure cannot be found.	Eleven teenagers misinterpreted this metaphor.
<i>Onyancha ne,twoni.</i>	<i>Onyancha</i> is a cock.	<i>Onyancha</i> is so promiscuous that he goes round sleeping with any woman.	Eight teenagers misinterpreted this metaphor.
<i>Moraa nanyosiwa egori.</i>	<i>Moraa</i> was scored.	<i>Moraa</i> got infected with HIV/AIDS.	Ten teenagers misinterpreted this metaphor.
<i>Kerebi no'rogendo are.</i>	<i>Kerebi</i> is on a journey.	<i>Kerebi</i> is seropositive and therefore she will die soon.	Three teenagers misinterpreted this metaphor.
<i>Kerebi ne'ritunda rigundo.</i>	<i>Kerebi</i> is a rotten fruit.	<i>Kerebi</i> is seropositive and therefore dangerous to the healthy people.	All the interviewed people understood this metaphor.
<i>Obokombe bw' Onyancha mwayiete.</i>	<i>Onyancha's jembe</i> got burnt.	<i>Onyancha</i> got infected with HIV/AIDS.	All the interviewed people understood it.
<i>Oyio no'mokebe.</i>	That one is an empty tin.	That person is considered to be less important since he is positive.	Seven teenagers misinterpreted this metaphor.
<i>Oyio ne'choo ya'magoma.</i>	That one is a toilet made of banana fibres.	That person is loose and accepts sexual advances from anybody.	All the interviewed people understood it.

Appendix V: Work Plan

The research's work plan for this study project will be as follows;

1. Week 1-4 Project Proposal
2. Week 5-7 Questionnaires distribution and collection of data
3. Week 8 Editing and summarizing of the collected data
4. Week 9 Data analysis
5. Week 10 Preparation of the final project report