**Thesis**

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# GĨKŨYŨ METAPHORS OF MARRIAGE NEGOTIATIONS: A COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS PERSPECTIVE

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**A COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS PERSPECTIVE**

**MWANGI GACHARA, MA**

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**A DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY THESIS SUBMITTED TO THE SCHOOL OF HUMANITIES AND SOCIAL SCIENCES IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY OF KENYATTA UNIVERSITY**

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## DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university

_____                                    _____

Mwangi Gachara, MA                                                    Date

C82/12024/07

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as University supervisors.

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# DEDICATION

## *METAPHOR*

*Hail metaphor, the way we think and act,*

*And shape our destiny. The generativist and philosophers*

*Have jeered, and trashed, and labelled you Babel*

> *– all given your mystery.*

*But you've survived the onslaught because you are real*

*Like the coming of the sun after a dark night*

*The Cognitivists embrace you, for you shed light*

> *on the ideas we own but mask.*

*Metaphor, your definition many eludes – simply branded*

*" . . the art of comparing the unlike things", Yet alike they are!*

*You extend and distend, you are conventional and novel,*

*You are alive and dead, healthy and sick, rich and poor*

> *– the paradox of the unconquered classical soul.*

*I will research you dear; in conversation and in thought, in silence and in laughter*

*In light and in darkness*

> *– like a warrior carefully weighs the acres of the fight in the foe!*

*I will redefine you – " . . the lens of viewing the unconceivable, she who labours to align attributes of what we know, to the unfamiliar domain, so desperate to be understood*

> *– Or cloths the too ugly to walk nude.*

*Gather the in-laws for I am sending two Elders; Dr Mwangi and Dr Njiri*

> *– to negotiate the bride price!*

*I will take thee to grace my thesis compound as a legally married wife,*

*And pray you bear my clan many children; in journals, chapters, and in books.*

*Then Leave me an old metaphor wizard, with a warm academic hearth.*

# ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

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# DEFINITION OF KEY TERMS

**Base, Source, Target, Topic,** and **Vehicle:**

In traditional terminology, the term *topic* refers to the item whose interpretation is mapped onto another thing. For example, in the metaphor, *Life is a journey*; *Life* is the **topic** while *journey* is the **source**. Conceptual metaphor theorists use the terms **target** and source domains. The Career of Metaphor theorists use the terms **base** (for Source) and *Target* for conventional metaphors. They use the terms *topic*, *subordinate* and *superordinate* vehicle concepts for novel metaphors. In this study, the terms *base* and *target* will be used when dealing with conventional metaphors while all the four terms will be used while dealing with the novel metaphors. This is because conventional metaphors have two domains while novel metaphors have four.

**Classic Metaphor**:

- Refers to a class of metaphors that involve direct categorisation, or in conceptual metaphor theory, direct comparison. Ordinarily these are metaphors such as *Arũme nĩ hũngũ* (men are hawks) that do not use such metaphor signal such as 'like' 'as' 'as if' and so on. In classic metaphors, the metaphorically used word(s) is/are the base term from which attributes are mapped onto the target domain.

**Conceptual structures of metaphor:**

- Refer to how a metaphor is perceived, whether it is new (novel) or (old) conventional.

**Conventional metaphors**:

They are used to refer to those types of metaphors whose use is so common and subtle that they may go unnoticed, e.g. *time is money, in September* and therefore form part of our 'commonsense' inventory.

**Deliberate metaphor:**

This applies when a metaphor is expressly meant to change the addressee's perspective on the referent or topic that is the target of the metaphor. This is done by making the addressee look at it from a different conceptual domain or space, which functions as a conceptual source. In other words, they are those cross-domain mappings that involve the express use, in production or reception, of another domain for *re-viewing* the target domain. The speaker deliberately invites the addressee to see the issue in question from the speaker's point of view.

**Distended metaphor**:

In this study it refers to the metaphors that involve an indirect comparison, in literary theory called simile. An example is, *airĩte ta nduma* (he/she is as black as darkness). The use of the term *simile* would have inevitably involved the use of the term *metaphor*, which in this study is the superordinate term for all the data under investigation. The traditional 'metaphor' is just a subordinate category. In distended metaphors as in classic metaphors, the metaphorically used term is the base since the target still means what it basically denotes and attributes are only transferred onto it from the base.

**Extended Metaphor**:

- Refers to instances of giving non-living things qualities of living organisms, elsewhere called personification. To illustrate, in *mũthenya nĩ wakinya* (the day has arrived), the day here is conceived as an animate object capable of travelling and therefore, arriving. In personification, metaphor does not rest on the personified term but the term that captures this personification by conveying, not its basic meaning, but the contextual meaning. For example, in the sentence, *The University said it will review lecturers' salaries*; the term personified is University since it is given human qualities of 'saying' but University means just *university*. The metaphorically used term is *said* which has a contextual meaning, different from its basic meaning.

**Linguistic forms of metaphor:**

- Refer to how a metaphor is realised linguistically; whether it is a simile, personification, analogy, metaphor, the rhetorical form or linguistic completeness. Metaphor in language does not necessarily mean metaphor in the mind. Metaphor in language comprises of the linguistic form while metaphor in thought involves the conceptual structure.

**Metaphor:**

From a cognitive perspective, metaphor is briefly defined as thinking, talking or perceiving of one thing (A) as though it were another thing (B). In linguistics this yields an item of vocabulary or a larger stretch of text being applied in an unusual or new way. As a non-count term, metaphor in this research is used to refer to a particular way of using and processing language. As a count term, 'metaphors' is used to refer to metaphorical expressions.

**Metophor:**

This is a blend between a metonymy and metaphor. It refers to a concept that is partly metaphorical, and partly metonymic. A linguistic item may be metonymous at the level of linguistic form but metaphorical at the level of conceptual analysis. In such a case, the item is neither a metonymy nor a metaphor. it is a blend between the two.

**Novel metaphors**:

- Refer to new metaphors in the language whose use is consciously noticeable, e.g. *political Tsunami*. However, there is a thin line that distinguishes novel from conventional metaphors, a line usually difficult to locate (Steen et al., 2010: 47).

**Osmo-metaphoric attribution:**

An instance where a target domain of a metaphor has accepted all the possible features from a base concept such that taking any more features would render it uncommunicative, (e.g. Shakespeare's the world is a stage . . . ).

# ABBREVIATIONS

AI: Artificial Intelligence

BBC: British Broadcasting Corporation

CL:  Cognitive Linguistics

CMT: Conceptual Metaphor Theory

EU: European Union

Fig.: figure

Interpret.: Interpretation

MIP: Metaphor Identification Procedure

MIPVU: Metaphor Identification Procedure Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam

MRW(s): Metaphorically Related Word(s)

Mflag: Metaphor flag; signals an incoming metaphor

NBS: National Bureau of Statistics

NP: Noun Phrase

PM: Prime Minister

ssp: several species

WIDLII: When In Doubt Leave It In

WMD: Weapons of Mass Destruction

WTC: World Trade Centre

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# ABSTRACT

This study identifies, describes, and analyses the metaphors used in the Gĩkũyũ marriage negotiations from a cognitive linguistics perspective.

We audio-recorded discourse from two marriage negotiation gatherings followed by transcription of data and then identification of metaphorically used items. This meant that we subjected all the lexical items collected to the MIPVU to find out which were metaphorical in nature. These metaphors were then analysed in terms of their linguistic form and conceptual structure. The linguistic form looked at which ones were incomplete, rhetorical, shortened or even lengthened, classic, distended or extended. The conceptual structure looked at whether the metaphorical item is novel (new), conventional (old) or even borderline. This was determined by the respondents' interpretation, researcher's intuition *vs.* the research assistant's yardstick.

The respondents are varied in the social variables of age, sex, and educational level. Lastly, we wanted to find out the extent to which these metaphors can be accounted for within the Career of Metaphor Theory. For each of the three social variables under investigation, we had three respondents, meaning that our population sample had a total 24 respondents.

From the metaphors we collected from the context of marriage negotiations we sampled 20 metaphorical items from each negotiation. It is these 40 metaphorical items that we presented to the twenty four (24) respondents to collect further data through a questionnaire that sought their interpretation and their level of familiarity with the given metaphors.

In the analysis of the metaphors so collected, we also investigated which ones were understood as comparisons and which ones were understood as categorisations so as to account for the evolution of metaphors, for this is a key tenet in the Career of Metaphor Theory, our objective number four.

The Career of Metaphor Theory helped us in identifying the base and target domains for conventional metaphors and the topic, superordinate and subordinate vehicle concepts for novel metaphors. We then determined the extent to which the theory accounts for Gĩkũyũ metaphors of marriage.

Using the chi square test, the variance in linguistic form, conceptual structure and metaphor interpretation using the variables of age, sex, and level of education were analysed.

We found that metaphors used in marriage negotiations largely treat women as objects and organisms which commodify women. Men on the other hand are treated like weapons of war in turn informing the concept SEX IS WAR. We also found that love is rarely talked about.

We recommend the replacement of negative metaphors with positive one that draw from the PATH and FAMILY domains to give both women and men an equal footing.

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter one covers the introduction; chapter two, literature review and theoretical framework; chapter three, research methodology; chapter four, data analysis and data presentation; and chapter five has findings, recommendations and conclusion.

## CHAPTER ONE

### 1.0    Introduction

### 1.1    Background to the Study

This study seeks to analyse the Gĩkũyũ metaphors of marriage negotiations within a cognitive linguistics framework. *Gĩkũyũ* or *Kikuyu*, a language in the Central Bantu branch of the Niger-Congo family, is spoken primarily by the Agĩkũyũ people of Kenya. They number about 6.8 million which is 17% of Kenya's population (NBS, 2009). They are the largest ethnic community in Kenya. Gĩkũyũ is predominantly spoken in the area stretching from Nairobi on the south to Nakuru on the west down to Laikipia east, the Aberdares to the areas around mount Kenya and neighbouring the Meru and Kamba to the east. It is one of the five languages of the Thagichũ sub-group of the Bantu languages, stretching from Kenya to Tanzania. Guthrie's classification of Gĩkũyũ places it in zone E, language code number 51 (Guthrie, 1971).

The Gĩkũyũ people usually identify their lands by the surrounding mountain ranges in Central Kenya which they call *Kĩrĩnyaga* and the Aberdares ranges (Guthrie, 1971). Mwea Division, which is the lower part of Kĩrĩnyaga County, was settled in the late 1960s, soon after independence by people from upper Kirinyaga and Nyeri. These comprised of squatters who had been displaced after their land was taken by the colonialists. Due partly to colonial factors the Agĩkũyũ nowadays stretch as far as Kajiado, Narok, Nakuru, Uasi Gishu and Laikipia Counties in the Rift Valley as well as Machakos County in Eastern.

As we mentioned earlier, this study is in cognitive linguistics. Cognitive linguistics refers to the school of linguistics that considers language creation, learning and use as part of human intellect. It claims that knowledge of language arises from language use. It understands grammar in terms of conceptualisation. Further it negates the Chomskyan proposition that there is an autonomous linguistic faculty in our minds (Steen, 2007). As such, cognitive linguistics is a departure from Generative Grammar. Although cognitive linguists accept that language learning is innate, they however deny that it is separate from the rest of cognition. They argue that knowledge of linguistic phenomena – phonemes, morphemes, and syntax is kept in our minds as concepts. Storage and retrieval of linguistic data is not very different from storage and

retrieval of other knowledge. The use of language in understanding what is being talked about employs similar abilities to those used in other non-linguistic tasks such as accounting and drawing (Lakoff, 2003).

Departing from the tradition of truth-conditional semantics, cognitive linguists view meaning in terms of mental concepts. Instead of viewing meaning as models of the world, they view it as mental spaces (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002). In what is considered as an offshoot of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis in which language and cognition mutually influence each other, cognitive linguists argue that language is both embodied and situated in a specific environment. By "embodied" it is meant that almost all human cognition, up through the most abstract reasoning, depends on and makes use of such low level facilities as the sensorimotor and emotions.

Of central importance in cognitive linguistics (CL) is the construct of the metaphor. Since research has established that metaphor is not typically deviant, novel, and erratic, but is instead natural, conventional, and systematic (Gibbs, 1994). This realisation has generated a lot of interest in the area. This revolution in metaphor studies was accelerated by Lakoff and Johnson (2003; cf 1999), whose most important claim is that metaphor in language is based on conventional mappings between conceptual domains.

Before this recent interest in metaphor, traditional theories of language processing viewed metaphors as deviations from the linguistic norms governing literal language which needed to be avoided. The Chomskyan School, for example, treats metaphors as anomalous expressions that violate semantic and syntactic rules (e.g. Chomsky, 1961; Katz 1964; Kintsch, 1974). Further, the Gricean approach treats metaphors as literally false expressions which violate conversational maxims of communication (e.g. Grice, 1975, 1978; Searle, 1979).

In philosophy, Locke in Skinner (1996) feels that metaphor confuses thinking. Hobbes in (Skinner, 1996), too argues that metaphor is an abuse of language and believes that words have ordained meaning whose change or imprecision is a case of semantic rebellion.

Semino (2008) however does acknowledge that contemporary metaphor theory owes its origin to works of earlier scholars as far back as Aristotle, through Locke to Max

Black (1962) though their perspectives may have been different. Given this, earlier works should be seen as complements to current metaphor theories.

In literature, metaphor is studied as a figure of speech under the wider field of imagery. In this field, the term imagery itself is a metaphor because, arguably, words cannot draw images (Gibbs, 1994).

Although there has been metaphor research in such other fields as mathematics, business, education, and pure sciences, our concern is the linguistic metaphor in the conversational discourse.

Thus, upon the discovery that metaphoric meanings are often generated automatically and are parallel to literal meanings, a growing number of researchers have done some investigation in the area (Bowdle and Gentner, 2001, 2005; Gildea and Glucksberg, 1983; Glucksberg and McGlone, 1999; Goatly, 1997, 2007; Keyser, 1989; Lakoff and Johnson, 2003; Lakoff and Turner, 1989; Steen, 2007).

The interactions between the linguistic forms of metaphor in language and their conceptual structures reflect an important fact about metaphor in CL (Steen, 2007). The cognitive turn in metaphor research started by Ortony (1979/1993), Honeck and Hoffman (1980) and Lakoff and Johnson (2003) has led to tremendous research in metaphor. Metaphor, which in literary circles is seen and investigated as a figure of speech is in CL treated as a figure of thought (Lakoff, 1986a).

The argument is that the metaphors we use shape our actions and as such, how we relate with our world has a latent foundation that can be traced to the metaphors we use. For example, the U.S. senate debate on the Gulf Crisis was examined with respect to metaphor usage. Metaphors were classified according to tenor and the metaphor user's position in the debate. Numerous differences were found with respect to both factors. It is argued that metaphor was used to state and/or simplify the premises of a senator's argument and was also used to induce a sharing of premises with an audience.

Using international relations theory, metaphor use was interpreted in relation to the need to emphasize and reinforce an "ENEMY" image of Iraq, with an alternative being a possible "CHILD"-"IMPERIAL" image pattern to describe Iraqi-U.S. relations. This study on the metaphors of the Gulf Crisis discourse was concerned with the use of

metaphor by individuals who, presumably, were expert in the domain of political rhetoric. The contents of the January 1991 U.S. senatorial debate on the Gulf Crisis were examined, with the analysis focused on how metaphor was used in relation to political position and goals. In this context, senators were viewed as expert politicians and expert speakers, especially in relation to political rhetoric (Voss, 1992).

Further studies in metaphor on the Gulf crisis even suggest that the metaphors used by the Republicans differed from those used by the Democrats to the extent that if the Democrats were in power, the Gulf War would probably never have been fought, (Lakoff, 1999).

Most contemporary metaphor theorists hold that the typical function of metaphor, simile and related figures of thought is to map correspondences across two concepts or spaces or domains or categories.

Metaphor presents a fascinating case study of the way in which human language, cognition and communication are structured and work. Various schools of thought and even disciplines have attempted to reveal these properties in metaphor by means of respectable academic work. For example, in literary theory, the focus on metaphor has been on how it strengthens comparison. In psycholinguistics, Glucksberg and others have researched on how metaphor is understood. For example, a research has been done on the idea that we ought to wonder and worry about how we use language to frame policy. People will not support taxation if it is framed as theft of the fruits of one's labour, but will be supportive to taxation if it is framed as payment of membership dues to a club one wants to be part of. Cognitive science has discovered that different ways of framing such issues have a big effect on the way people think and vote.

Steen (2007) notes that metaphor is used for various communicative purposes in all areas of discourse: for example metaphor may be divertive in literature and communication, informative in news and science, persuasive in politics, advertising, and negotiating and instructive in education. This pervasion of metaphors in all spheres of human life makes them an essential tool in language.

Further, Goatly's (2007) claim that part of the blame for the way we have messed up our world politically, ecologically, economically, socially and biologically is on the deep-seated and largely unnoticeable metaphors that shape our thinking is worth investigating. We need to identify and interrogate by way of analysis the Gĩkũyũ metaphors used in marriage negotiations so that if they are negative then we can suggest their replacement with positive alternatives.

Metaphor plays a key role in thought, and is indispensable to both thought and language – language being the avenue through which thought is expressed. Metaphor is therefore arguably not to be seen as just a figure of speech, but of thought. From the idea that metaphor plays an important role in structuring our background conceptual systems is the notion that they also, by and large, structure existing and developing knowledge about the world. This follows the strong form of Sapir-Whorf's Hypothesis which states that the particular language we speak predisposes us to think and act in certain ways (Whorf, 1956: 213).

The difference between literary metaphors and linguistic metaphors can be seen in the sense that literary metaphors are a form of imagery, some type of figures of speech while linguistic metaphors are figures of thought. This means that linguistic metaphors are to be understood not only as comparisons but also as categories where one concept *A* is interpreted on the basis of another category *B* whose attributes are coded in the minds of the language users. In this regard, therefore, metaphors are cognitive filters of how the world is perceived and codified for expression, and different metaphors filter different particles of truth (Goatly, 2007: 25). This study set out to investigate the Gĩkũyũ metaphors against this conceptual background.

After collecting metaphors used in Gĩkũyũ marriage negotiations, we proposed to find out which linguistic metaphors are used in Agĩkũyũ marriage negotiations, which of these metaphors are novel and which ones are conventional among other things. For example, using the career of metaphor theory it could be established what are the base and target domains for conventional metaphors and the topic, sub/superordinate vehicle concepts for novel metaphors and how the various metaphorical micro-concepts inform established macro-domains in the context of marriage negotiations both for target as well as for base domains.

Further research may be carried out to investigate whether the metaphors we use shape the way we think of and treat others, or if the metaphors we use in marriage predispose us to seeing the world the way we do. For instance, Allbritton (1995) researched on the capability of metaphors in shaping our knowledge – and, therefore, our world – and observed:

> Metaphor has been shown to serve a number of important cognitive functions, including that of making new domains accessible through metaphorical 'scaffolds' imported from the better known domains such as in the case of metaphors in science, and providing a coherent framework or schema for understanding such everyday topics as time, arguments and emotions (p. 43).

The above quotation suggests two types of knowledge – the specialised, sometimes academic knowledge and our more widely shared knowledge touching on almost every human experience. This entails that, metaphors, like language within which they are exhibited, are part of man and to understand him, we need to understand his tools of self definition.

For example, in a past marriage negotiation sitting, a young man of about 26 introduced himself thus, *"Njĩtagwo Baragu na ndĩ mũmemba –* I am Baragu, and I am a member". This caused a lot of amusement. "I am a member" alluded to Equity Bank's Advert at the time, thus rendering the phrase metaphorical on the basis of the lexical item, 'member'. The question was; member to which of the two clubs represented since there were bachelors as well as married people? Was the club he belonged to fashionable and popular? This is important because if Baragu was a bachelor, then marriage was not worth it while the opposite is also possible.

According to Bowdle and Gentner (2001) people's directional preferences should reflect their desire for having a relatively systematic, well-structured domain base. They further suggest that systematicity imbalance explains the directional asymmetry of metaphor. This means that if our intentions are negative, even in the subconscious, the choice of metaphors will show this trend.

We have investigated how metaphors are used to denote the Gĩkũyũ thinking in relation to the area of marriage negotiations. When for example it is said that *"Nĩwakwa kũmba na gũte"* (she is mine in cohabitation and in divorce) does it reinforce the metaphorical representation of unmarried women as divorceable? Could

it be the genesis of the belief that marriage and divorce in Gĩkũyũ custom is the prerogative of man (Kenyatta, 1938)? This needed to be investigated to find out the nature of the structure and context of the usage of Gĩkũyũ metaphors of marriage negotiations.

## 1.2     Statement of the Problem

Many studies (Cameron, 2003 and 2007; Cameron, and Deignan, 2003; Cameron and Low, 1999; Chilton, 1996; Cienki and Müller, 2010; Müller, 2010; Steen, 2006, and 2007) have shown that metaphors as figures of thought do enhance communication, sometimes by identifying the target audience. Besides, the use of metaphors retains and passes a vast wealth of linguistic knowledge to consecutive generations.

 However, little has been done to investigate the nature of metaphors in Bantu languages. There is not much research done to evaluate the use of metaphors and their impact on listeners across a broad social spectrum and which conceptual structures are favoured by conversational contexts. Goatly (1997), for instance, notes that a metaphor can signal the emotional attitude of a speaker by means of metaphorical swearing, and can propagate intimacy with the listener by use of base domains familiar only to the particular audience. Our metaphors were collected away from our final respondents and presentation of these metaphors to these respondents sought to investigate if they could identify, irrespective of their age, sex, and educational level, with the metaphors.

The reason why people use metaphor in diverging ways within and between various domains of communication has only recently been placed on the agenda. Studies such as Koller and Davidson (2008), Kövecses (2007), Turner (2003), and Hogler, Gross, Hartman, and Cunliffe (2008) try to account for metaphors in terms of their conceptual and /or linguistic properties in Western cultures. There was need to investigate metaphors in non-Western languages to find out how the cultural practices of users are embedded in the language.

The distinction, and also the connection between linguistic forms of metaphor and the conceptual structures of metaphor, evidently has offered a productive map for the field of CL. This has generated new questions and insights that are improving the view on

metaphor. However, the gap created by this bi-dimensional approach to metaphor research has been neglected. This gap involves the communicative aspect of metaphor. That is, even after investigating the nature of metaphor itself, there is still need to find out what purpose the said metaphors serve in communication. This is because recent research on metaphor has focused on the nature of metaphor in terms of structure and form at the expense of its function in communication in a given context (see Lakoff and Johnson (2003), Turner (2003) and McGlone (1999)). We wanted to establish the connection between linguistic form and conceptual structure of metaphors in marriage negotiations context to fill the gap.

Our research sought to fill these gaps by identifying the metaphors in Gĩkũyũ marriage negotiations, and, against this context, describe and analyse them in relation to their linguistic forms and conceptual structures. The conversational discourse of language in marriage negotiations offers a reasonable framework within which a formal setting is required. This means that our sampled metaphors are not products of loose conversational exchange.

## 1.3    Objectives of the Study

This study focused on the following four objectives;

1. To identify and describe the different linguistic forms of Gĩkũyũ metaphors used in marriage negotiations.
2. To determine the conceptual structures of Gĩkũyũ metaphors in marriage negotiations.
3. To establish the relationship between the interpretation of Gĩkũyũ metaphors in marriage negotiations and the social variables of age, sex and educational level.
4. To determine the extent to which the Gĩkũyũ marriage negotiations metaphors can be accounted for within the Career of Metaphor Theory.

## 1.4    Research Questions

The following were the research questions that this study set out to answer;

1. What linguistic forms do Gĩkũyũ metaphors in marriage negotiations take?

2. What conceptual structures do Gĩkũyũ metaphors used in marriage negotiations adopt?

3. How does the interpretation of Gĩkũyũ metaphors in marriage negotiations relate to the social variables of age, sex, and educational level?

4. To what extent can Gĩkũyũ marriage negotiations metaphors be accounted for within the Career of Metaphor Theory?

## 1.5    Research Assumptions.

The following research assumptions were embraced in this study;

1. There are different linguistic forms of metaphors in Gĩkũyũ marriage negotiations.

2. There are Gĩkũyũ metaphors of various conceptual structures in marriage negotiations.

3. There is a relationship in the interpretation of Gĩkũyũ metaphors in marriage negotiations across the social variables of sex, age, and educational level.

4. Gĩkũyũ marriage negotiations metaphors, to some extent, can be accounted for within the Career of Metaphor Theory.

## 1.6    Significance and Justification of the Study

This research is an attempt to make a contribution to CL by analysing Gĩkũyũ metaphors as figures of thought. It could make a contribution to the wider Bantu linguistics and specifically show Gĩkũyũ speakers' choice and use of metaphors as far as marriage is concerned.

The communicative competence involved in figurative language is an important area of study because it is necessary to understand the factors involved in human interaction. As such, this research is an attempt to try and shed some light on the role of metaphors in marriage negotiations. This research could therefore be used as a springboard for related studies in this area that has not received adequate attention.

Moreover, communicative competence in African languages is considered as a tool that serves the speaker, not only in the first language, but also adds to their overall world knowledge and fostering of cultural sensitivity. If people were aware of the

Gĩkũyũ marriage negotiations metaphors, they would embrace cultural diversity in an informed manner.

Gĩkũyũ musicians composing songs on the topic of marriage negotiations and marriage negotiation experts (there are such people for hire) would find the study useful.

Further, given that language is a people's tool of self-definition, a conceptual analysis of figures of thought may shed light on just how effective these tools are. Our world is the product of our actions which in turn are shaped by the way we think. These thoughts are given shape by the way we articulate them and what these articulations are construed to mean. In our endeavours to continue reshaping and renewing our world, we need to determine if we effectively use figures of thought to articulate our feelings. Cognitive semantics argues that our minds are embodied in a way that allows them to draw largely upon the peculiarities of our bodies and the specifics of our cultural and physical environments (Gibbs, 1994, 2003; Lakoff, 1980, 1999). Lakoff (2003: 23) states that, 'every experience takes place within a vast background of cultural presuppositions'. This study may unmask these so called cultural presuppositions.

Thus, this study, by setting out to investigate the use of sampled Gĩkũyũ metaphors, tries to find out the impact these metaphors have on Gĩkũyũ cognitive habits, concerns, goals and worldview on marriage negotiations. It also makes a contribution to CL by analysing Gĩkũyũ metaphors within the Career of Metaphor Theory.

Marriage, especially in the traditional African setting, occupies a central part in people's lives. There are increasing cases of cross-cultural marriages and the 'in-laws' always feel a great need to 'do it right'. The establishment and subsequent rise in popularity of such centres as Kameme Language and Cultural Centre where the art of marriage negotiations is taught is testimony of the great need that this study seeks to satisfy. Since the beginning of this study, our research assistant, Mzee Simon Ngigĩ, the person in charge of language and culture programme at Kameme FM, has always had his diary full on Saturdays in the months of April, August and December. These are the months when most people visit their in-laws to negotiate and pay dowry.

## 1.7    Scope and limitations

The choice of metaphors of marriage negotiations was motivated by a number of factors. First, family starts at marriage and is regarded as the cradle of political units (Ozment, 1983). Although we could have studied metaphors in other conversational domains, we chose marriage since it is the most basic institution. Second, success in families, restores and promotes social co-existence while failure may result in violence, real or latent (Johnson and Johnson, 1995). Thirdly, marriage negotiations gatherings are considered make-or-break situations and call for careful choice of words. This therefore constrained us to focus on marriage negotiations metaphors.

Variations in the mapping and interpretation of metaphors may be due to cognitive differences in grammar. This is because individuals in any given language community vary in many cognitive, social and cultural respects. It would be truly surprising if they were absolutely identical in their acquisition, knowledge, and maintenance of grammar (Steen, 2009). Our study, therefore, did not investigate variation in interpretation of metaphors as a result of these cognitive differences.

Further, some scholars place metonymy under metaphors, but the current study only dealt with distended metaphors, extended metaphors, and basic metaphors for their linguistic completeness and rhetorical form. This is because it is still very controversial whether metonymous instances are cases of semantic broadening (Sandra, 1995) or lexical priming (Ungerer, 2000).

This study sampled Gĩkũyũ speakers who can read Gĩkũyũ even if answers in English were accepted. Although data could have been collected from anywhere, the study only investigated metaphors used in marriage negotiations sittings in the larger Kĩambũ and Nyeri districts. The choice of these areas was after random sampling the five counties of Central where Gĩkũyũ predominantly is spoken. This was to ensure geographical spread as far as the usage of metaphor was concerned. This meant that when we were testing whether a metaphor was novel or conventional, then the interpretation for conventional metaphor should have held throughout the regions.

The study did not sample respondents below 21 years of age because they typically do not participate in marriage negotiations, except as may be the bride or the groom, a likelihood that did not happen.

Having looked at the introduction, we now go to chapter two which deals with the review of related literature and the theoretical framework.

# CHAPTER TWO

## 2.0    LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

### 2.1    Introduction

This section covers review of related literature and the theoretical framework.   In reviewing related literature, we first define what counts as metaphor and then look at studies done on metaphors in general and in linguistics in particular. We also look at MIPVU as a tool of metaphor identification.We then review a few theories of metaphor before finally discussing our theory.

### 2.2.0    Literature Review

Metaphor has been briefly defined as thinking, talking and perceiving of one item *A* as if it were another item *B*. It invoves cross domain mappings where attributes of *A* are mapped on to *B* as a basis of comparison. Usually but not always, the thing *B* is more concrete than *A*. In metaphor theory, the concrete thing *B* is the base/source while *A* is the target.

Cognitive linguists have proposed that metaphors are not just a matter of language but of thought, and that metaphorical thought displays a high degree of conventionalism. Metaphors have therefore been defined as a functional mechanism of mind, one that allows us to use what we know about our physical and social experience to provide understanding of countless other aspects of life (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). They further state that, because such metaphors structure our most basic understanding of our experience, they are 'metaphors we live by' – metaphors that can shape our perceptions and actions without our ever noticing them.

Cameron (in Gibbs, 2008: 198) defines linguistic metaphors as expressions in language that have the potential to be understood metaphorically. She further explains that although context may offer evidence of speaker's intentions and interpretations, this evidence is not required for the identification of metaphors. This means that identification of linguistic metaphors is through the use of words or phrases that potentially link to a vehicle (base) domain which is distinct from the domain of the surrounding on-going talk (the target). Our study uses this broader definition of metaphors. This means that what is traditionally treated as similes, personification and analogy are embraced here as forms of linguistic metaphors.

## 2.2.1 Studies Related to Metaphors

Jackendoff (1983) investigated metaphors and found out that the languages we speak hand down to us ready-made categories which we regard as commonsense. These languages, he further notes, carry with them an ontology or ideology of which we may not be aware. In this regard, Goatly (2007) says that we may think, naively, that the information conveyed by language is about the real world, while in fact we have conscious access only to the projected world – the world as unconsciously organised by the mind: and we talk about things insofar as they have achieved mental representation through the processes of organisation. Does Gĩkũyũ language predispose us into seeing family in certain ways?

Thompson (1984) researched on Thai kinship categories and their metaphorical attributes. In Thai, the primary criterion for categorising siblings is by seniority, rather than by sex as is in English where we have sister/brother. This means that the ontology of siblinghood and accompanying metaphorical words used are different. The research found that this has ideological implications too. Thompson (1984) defines ideology as meaning in the service of power, and he found out that seniority in Thai culture carried rights and responsibilities, different from seniority in the West. Traditionally, Thais' elder siblings may take up the role of substitute parents and can give orders and make demands on younger siblings.

This means that the eldest child can act as a base term mapped on to the target domain who is the parent, especially when the parent is absent. Along with this goes the responsibility of welfare. He concludes that commonsense ontology transmitted culturally through language may have consequences for ideology, which demonstrates how ideology influences verbal and non-verbal behaviour. We also have this in Gĩkũyũ culture where it is said, *"Kĩhĩĩ gĩkũrũ no ta ithe"* (the eldest son is like the father).

Hall (2001: 73) reinforces the idea that our actions are a result of our thoughts by arguing that physical things and actions exist independently of discourse, but they only take on meaning and become objects of knowledge within discourse. He observes that madness, punishment, and sexuality only exist meaningfully as products of discourse. In such discourse, some things will be expressed explicitly, others will be implied.

Either way, metaphors from the speakers' cognition, subconsciously expressing his fears and longing, will be used.

Concerning whether the language of a bride's in laws predispose her to be submissive, Bourdieu (1991) talks of self-fulfilling prophecies which he calls "performative representations", borrowing the term from Austin (1962) and Searle (1969). The example given is that if someone in a society hears repeated in a discourse by use of euphemisms (which are a category of metaphors) and comes to believe that single parent families produce delinquent children, then legislators will try to discourage single parent families, by, say taking away tax allowances, and thereby producing poverty that will make this a self-fulfilling prophecy. Hall (2001) calls this a regime of truth.

In their book, *Philosophy in the Flesh*, Lakoff and Johnson (1999) argue that the philosophical systems of thought rest on a relatively small set of metaphors that users treat as ultimate truths. They further state that given that fundamental metaphors are used very often, their synoptic strengths get embedded in language and are resistant to change. This then makes them highly integrated and tightly connected, resulting in domination of thought, understanding and actions. These are category of conventional metaphors like TIME IS MONEY. They further observe that through these emerging systems, one will see the world, define it and plan the future. Granted, when we see time as money, we can spend it, save, waste, borrow, lend and so on. The system will make the experiences and facts consistent with this noticeable and important. On the other hand, it will make experiences and facts inconsistent with it invisible. This follows Sapir-Whorf hypothesis of linguistic relativity.

As we said earlier, the metaphors we use could be to blame for the mess that our world is in today. In the aftermath of September 11 bombing of the World Trade Centre, Lakoff (2001) investigated the metaphor of height as power and found that the symbolism of height as power is especially noticeable in the penchant for tall buildings. As far back as the biblical times when the Jews were building the Tower of Babel to reach heaven (Genesis 11: 1-9), building high has been interpreted as a statement of power. It is written in the story of Babel that God interpreted the building of the Tower as a threat to his own power. The World Trade Centre stood at 1353 feet, the tallest building in the world when built and the fifth tallest building at the

time of attack. This bespeaks of power and Lakoff (2001) notes that the twin towers made an excellent target for those wishing to exert their own power and symbolically reduce the power, success and importance of the US. The act of bombing the WTC, was an ideological statement, depending for its symbolism on the metaphors of height as power.

An Egyptian poet used the metaphor of height to account for 9/11 in terms of inferiority complex and humiliation of young Arab men: "dwarves are walking the streets looking for tall buildings, for towers to pull down" (Salem, 2002). The poet uses images of height; dwarves, tower, tall buildings and pull down.

Having suffered the humiliation, the US is still dwelling on the same metaphor of height to fight back. It is building, on the site of the old towers, one of the world's tallest buildings – whose colloquial name is Freedom Tower, at 1776 feet. This height has been touted as *imperial* measurements this being the year America declared independence (BBC World Service, 2009).

Köller (2008) has also researched on metaphors in the area of what she calls 'Corporate marriages', 'hostile takeovers' and 'the race for market domination'. She looks at the metaphors used in business magazines and discusses their impact on readers' cognition and business as a social practice. Koller gives particular attention to the gendered nature of such metaphors and what they could ultimately mean for women in business. In doing so, she uses a corpus of authentic data. Quantitative analysis of a large collection of articles and qualitative investigations into a number of sample texts present the reader with the cognitive and discursive underpinnings of business magazine texts. She finds that there are even masculinised metaphors among other things. In this connection, are the Gĩkũyũ metaphors of marriage masculinised or feminised? The current study sought to discover the nature of Gĩkũyũ marriage metaphors. When we talk say of *kwohithanio*, (to be tied together) does this predispose us into viewing marriage as some form of cultural inconvenience or some form of bonding that brings two families or people together? The interpretation of the metaphors by the respondents provided valuable insights.

Further, in Halliday (1994), the fundamental role played by units of analysis can also shed light on the interesting phenomenon called grammatical metaphor, which according to him, involves the 'incongruent' expression of what could be expressed

less metaphorically and more directly by more 'congruent' grammatical means. Consider,

1. (a) Moreno saw something strange.

   (b) Moreno came upon a strange sight.

   (c)  A strange sight met Moreno.

2. (a) They were probably going to The Hague.

   (b) I think they were going to The Hague.

According to Halliday's claim, (1a) and (2a) are the most straightforward, or 'congruent', codings of the meanings selected, whereas (1b and c) and (2b) are not. They involve a grammatical metaphor, with a mental process (1a) being expressed as a material process (1b and c) and a material process (2a) being expressed as a mental one (2b). The alternative forms of expression which Halliday calls 'agnates' do not simply involve a choice of vocabulary but also the use of different grammatical constructions; the latter are called grammatical metaphors.

Glucksberg and McGlone (2001) investigate metaphors seeking to interrogate Lakoff's (1993) proposition;

> The system of conventional conceptual metaphor is mostly unconscious, automatic, and is used with no noticeable effort, just like our linguistic system and the rest of our conceptual system (p. 227-228).

They tested the hypothesis by asking college students to provide interpretations to metaphors which, according to Lakoff, should be interpreted in terms of conventional conceptual metaphors. They used the metaphoric expressions LOVE IS A JOURNEY and LOVE IS A CONTAINER.

They found out that journey-specific references were not explicitly present in the interpretations, nor in such material being even implied. For the metaphor LOVE IS A JOURNEY, journey-love mappings were not required for interpretation. They concluded that there are instances WHEN LOVE IS NOT A JOURNEY, and titled their article in the *Journal of Pragmatics* as such.

For the metaphor LOVE IS A CONTAINER, they found that there was no evidence that people automatically and invariably draw upon fixed sets of domain-to-domain mappings in order to interpret metaphors whether such metaphors were novel or highly conventionalised.

Nayak and Gibbs (1990) had asked college students to judge the appropriateness of idioms in specific contexts. The students were given short narratives with metaphorically used words to find out if they could recognise analogical relations between idioms and their discourse contexts when given time to make reflective judgements. They found out that readers not only have relevant analogical information available, but that they also use this information to facilitate idiom comprehension.

Kreuz and Graesser (1991) however dismissed these findings as *simply an artefact of lexical priming.* They argued that whereas Nayak and Gibbs took the difference in appropriateness ratings to mean the relative difficulty their subjects had in interpreting idioms, competing idioms and so on, the appropriate ratings may well have been as a result of post-comprehension decision and judgement.

Given all these studies in the area of metaphor, the formalist view of metaphor as linguistic deviation can no longer be sustained (Semino and Steen, in Gibbs, 2008) but the idea that some expressions are more fore-grounded than others is highly plausible.

Semino (2008) investigates metaphor in discourse within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), albeit with additions from other contemporary theories of metaphor to cater for the weaknesses posed by CMT. For example, conceptual domains (Lakoff and Johnson 2003) and image schemata (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002) being unable to capture metaphorical phenomenon sufficiently. In this case Semino uses the *scenes* developed by Grady (1997) and *scenarios* attributed to Musolff (2004) that are less complex but capture richer image schemata.

She notes that metaphor is used to achieve specific goals in communication such as rhetoric, teaching and so on, with each discourse employing metaphor differently, either deliberately or non deliberately.

Further, it is observed that conceptual mappings are realizations of linguistic forms of metaphors. Although largely unacknowledged, Semino finds contemporary metaphor theory as owing its origin to works of earlier scholars as far back as Aristotle, through

Locke to Max Black (1962) though their perspective may have been different. Given this, earlier works should be seen as complements to CMT.

She highlights the difference between conventional and novel metaphor before introducing MIP as a way of streamlining metaphor research across researchers. Semino also hints that MIP adopts (silently) CMT as its step 3 talks of basic and contextual meanings, which correspond to the source and target domains respectively. She deals with contemporary not historical metaphor. Further, similes are explained as valid metaphorical entities. This is followed by the level of frequency in metaphor according to word class with verbs having the highest and adverbs the lowest.

The tension between the conceptual domains determine whether a metaphor will be noticeable to the conscious or not, and a metaphor with low tension can still be revitalized (Goatly, 1997). This low tension is what yields 'weak' metaphors such as *nĩwe thabuni wa ngoro yakwa* – you are the soap of my heart, discussed in chapter four. Semino also draws attention to the distinction between metaphor – a product of 'across' domain mappings based on similarity – and metonymy which is a contrast bridged by contiguity (Steen et al., 2010: 10).

Semino also explains multi-word metaphorical expressions as well as the way metaphor is patterned in discourse. In the patterning, repetition, recurrence, clustering, extension, combination and mixing, signalling, and inter-textual relations are explained. This is very important to our work since we find that one instance of metaphor use begets metaphorical reply which yields a combination of these patterns. For example a metaphor use may be followed by another metaphor by the next speaker resulting in clustering, extension or repetition (see appendix IV). Semino therefore places the role of metaphor in discourse on the agenda, highlighting that metaphors can be used to persuade, reason, evaluate etcetera depending on the agenda being advanced by the metaphor user.

In conclusion, Semino looks at the relationship between metaphor and ideology echoing Goatly's (2007) idea that negative metaphors should be replaced with alternative ones even when the use is so conventional as to be viewed as the 'commonsense' way of doing things.

Charteris (2006) investigates the use of immigration metaphors depicting Britain as a CONTAINER in the 2005 election campaign in Britain. These are SEA domain metaphors. The British are familiar with the sea and therefore identify with such metaphors. Charteris finds that in most of the instances, metaphor is used, just like in immigration in Britain in 2005, to legitimize what would otherwise have raised uproar if it were communicated in literal terms. The absence of fury is cultivated by masking the ideas in metaphor which have a characteristic way of accessing and arousing the emotions of the listener via the subconscious.

Charteris picks on several metaphorical items such as container, flood and tidal waves that are mapped onto the immigrants. These linguistic forms inform the conceptual structures of the listeners, in this case the British electorate, who then view the immigrants as a natural disaster that they would wish to be redeemed from. The metaphors are used to build a case in the communication of a political argument, cultivate an ideology founded on the arousing of fear and uncertainty, the desired effect of which is to impact on the electorate. This gives the party campaigners a mileage on the things they would promise to tackle once elected to office.

Since metaphor conceptualization involves across domain mapping (Lakoff and Johnson 1980/2003) from the source to the target, this allows the speaker to talk about *x* strictly in terms of *y*. If the use of *x* is prohibited or undesirable, as is the case of immigrant here, then one could talk of it in terms of *y* as is the case of immigration here. This ensures that the ethical integrity of the speaker is upheld as well as that the message is still put across. The use of the grammatical metaphor where **immigrant** is nominalised to the abstract term **immigration** by the right wing parties is to legitimize the discourse as immigrant is almost a taboo word.

The metaphors of container, floods and tidal waves, all too familiar domains in British life, are used to highlight the dangers of immigrants and the need to control them. Repatriation, like the receding of water in low tide is depicted as a natural, inevitable and honourable deed.

This shows that while metaphor use helps explain complex ideas in a simplified way, it can also be used negatively to advance the interests of a group, in our case here party politicians. They use metaphors here to paint a picture of **we** *vs* **they**, **the insiders** *vs* **the outsiders**.

This kind of metaphor usage for selfish gains cannot be wished away. In this regard, where does the metaphor theorist stand? Charteris proposes the use of positive metaphors from journey and family domains to enable us personify the immigrant as a fellow man. But Charteris' kind of metaphor analysis is not something the ordinary man on the street is able to see at a glance. On the other hand, politicians will still use such metaphors especially since they are in cognito vehicles in which their ideas travel.

It could be suggested that metaphor theorists of good will can act as whistle-blowers. In this case they would analyse discourse and clearly point out through social networks such as blogs, face-book and twitter as well as any other available platform of where choice metaphors fail us.

This is relevant to our study since as we shall see later in chapter four, the term *spear* is used when referring to the target domain of the groom while in fact this is masking the base domain penis, which cannot be used in polite company as it is a taboo word.

Holmgreen (2008) investigates how metaphor in media discourse impact on the view point of the society. The research has two parts: theoretical – showing the interface between conceptual metaphor model and discourse analysis, and an empirical part that analyses bio-tech metaphors in Dutch press.

Holmgreen identifies two groups with opposing views to biotechnology; those who point toward the danger of biotechnology as capable of "creating a monster", and those who generally accept biotechnology and believe it could offer solutions to food insecurity but also believe that doing so is like entering into a deal with the Devil. This group, therefore, believes that biotechnology should be banned.

Holmgreen reviews Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson (2003) and sees metaphor as a conceptual system by which we structure and understand abstract notions handed down through cultural filtration.

Holmgreen re-looks at the Conceptual Metaphor Theory and adds the insights envisaged by Chilton (1996) and Eubanks (2000) before settling on van Dijk's (2002) approach to metaphor. Van Dijk's approach lays emphasis on the relationship between discourse and cognition. This socio-cognitive addition to Conceptual Metaphor Theory yields important insights into the understanding of communication, cognition

and metaphor. This understanding of metaphor is then juxtaposed in the analysis of discourse in Danish newspaper articles of January, 2005 to January 2006 in considering whether the print press takes into account public attitudes in its choice of metaphors.

A sample of 86 articles was used in the research. In the corpus, metaphors based on images of CONTAINER/ORGANISM, OBJECT, SUBSTANCE and PATH are used. Metaphors such as to let the devil out of the bottle, are used, and they are meant to depict the work of biotechnologist as tampering with nature, something that may have devastating effects. Further, the metaphor of superweeds is used to show the bioscientist in light of a runaway train.

GMOs are further metaphoricised as persons allowing direct accessibility and understanding of the GMO concept. Subsequently, the person that is GMO is further seen as a cohabitant and perpetrator. This is achieved by use of such terms as co-existence, surveillance, release and so on. This use of positive and negative terms shows the two views held regarding GMOs, that they have their advantages but people still view them with suspicion.

Holmgreen notes that, all these notwithstanding, the meaning of a metaphorical item is also influenced, to a large extent, by the contextual features as well as ideological factors outside the text.

GMOs are also discussed in Danish press as PATHS, 'a possible road, the wrong direction'. Holmgreen concludes by noting that metaphors derive their meaning and functions from various sources. The conceptual mappings will continue to structure metaphor comprehension while cultural orientation will design how these concepts are built and used. This is important to our work since Gĩkũyũ metaphors of marriage negotiations, a cultural practice, are to a great extent embedded in the Gĩkũyũ culture. This means that their understanding will require knowledge of the Gĩkũyũ way of life.

In another study by Lionel Wee (2005), how a person can construct a source domain in the absence of one is investigated. Wee starts by first acknowledging that there are two main influential schools of thought in as far as metaphor theory is concerned.

There is the one advanced by Ortony (1979) and his followers who postulate that metaphor comprehension is processed online. A variant of this approach is Gentner et

al (1983) who argue that metaphor comprehension involves a connection between the base and the target domains by mapping objects and their purposes.

On the other hand, those of the likes of Lakoff and Johnson (1999) see metaphor comprehension as a result of long term semantic memory built over time as some form of mental dictionary upon which individuals draw metaphorical meanings in order to interpret metaphors.

This notwithstanding, Wee notes that there are situations in discourse that do not have adequate source domains that one would use in explaining or discussing some complex ideas. Such ideas, it happens, are either too technical or require a careful breaking down so that the message is packaged in a manner that the recipient will easily understand. The complexity of the topic, therefore, means that there is no "pre-given" entity to use as a source domain. For this reason, Wee finds it necessary to **reconstruct** a source domain that is used to map onto the target which is the complex topic that the writer or speaker sets out to address.

In this regard, Wee uses three examples:

One, he uses Kosslyn and Koenig's (1992) illustration in the book, *Wet Mind: The New Cognitive Neuroscience* (1992). In what Wee calls 'conceptual classification', Kosslyn and Koenig explain the neural network by reconstructing a source domain from an analogy of a fictional marine zoology. Their fiction starts with the work of a professor, who, in his lowly funded research accidentally discovers that the octopi has a recreational practice of lining in rows. They intertwine their tentacles and depending on how they squeeze members in the adjacent rows, either makes them squeeze those in the next row, or wave their other free tentacles out of the water. This squeezing and waving of tentacles on the part of the octopi communicates some message to one another. However, the stimuli behind the waving and squeezing of tentacles is a brushing of their tentacles, thus their waving of tentacles out of the water unknown to them sends a message to seagulls about the intensity of small fish in the water in terms of being low, medium or high.

This marine fictional narrative is a 'reconstruction' to act as a source domain in the explanation of the target that is **connectionism**. The octopi are supposed to correspond

to the computational units in a neural network. This reconstruction of a source eases the explanation of a rather complex discourse – how the neural system functions.

Two, Kosslyn and Koenig give the example of Searle (1996) in his quest to refute the strong Artificial Intelligence (AI) philosophical position. This is in Searle's article, "*Is Brain's Mind a Computer Program?*"

Searle reconstructs a source domain from the use of Chinese symbols in his endeavour to provide a "conceptual clarification". Searle wants to disapprove of the 'strong AI's' proposition that symbol manipulation constitutes thinking.

Searle gives the analogy of how one can manipulate the otherwise meaningless Chinese symbols by following rules in a book. For any symbol handed in to him, he arranges them in some order as per the rules and hands them back without caring much what they meant or what meaning new arrangements breed. Searle concludes that being able to manipulate these symbols as per the rules does not constitute knowledge, cognition, thinking, perception, understanding and so on. He then uses this reconstructed source domain to map onto the target **AI** with the rule book being the computer program, people who wrote the rule book being the 'programmers' and the person manipulating the symbols being the computer. The computers are, therefore, not intelligent in any way and simply manipulate data as per the designed programme.

Three, Kosslyn and Koenig use Dawkin's (1986) constructed source in the book, "*The Blind Watchmaker: Why the Evidence of Evolution Reveals a Universe Without Design*". Dawkin is trying to explain evolutionary biology. Dawkin constructs a source from the image of '20 billion typists' sitting in a row with each copying a page and handing it over to the next typist to copy and hand the copied copy to the next typist to copy and so on.

In the ensuing PATH schema, construction of a source is mapped onto the target which is histone H4 gene, which has not only been copied but has been subjected to natural selection seen in the attribute (in the source domain) of shooting to death any typist who makes an error. From this reconstruction, it is now possible to understand the complex issue of DNA copying mechanism. All these three scenarios utilize various cohesive devices such as repetition, synonymy and equative clauses to match with the verb to achieve a full reconstruction of the source domain.

The resultant metaphors after use of reconstructed source domain are novel but their kind of novelty is different from Lakoff and Johnson's novel metaphors in the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. This is because novelty here arises from the combination of reconstructed source and target domains and not in the newness of the source domain. We note that Wee uses the term reconstructed to mean coming up with a new source domain while building on our prior knowledge of the world, in this case of the octopi, Chinese symbols, and typists.

In conclusion, it is noted that within the divides of correspondence and class-inclusion theories, Wee's approach belongs to the correspondence model. He therefore proposes that in order for metaphor model to reflect discourse strategies, there is need to realign their psychological orientation as discourse types occurring to achieve a communicative goal.

This is relevant to our work because we are looking at the linguistic forms of our sampled metaphors in which case this is a semiotic approach corresponding to discourse strategies that Wee is talking about. Our conceptual structures correspond to the psychological orientation. The communicative goal relates to our use of metaphors within the context of marriage negotiations.

In doing our research, we are trying as metaphor theorist to make some advancement in shedding some light in the understanding of the metaphor jig saw puzzle that is part of the essence of man.

Further, in a rather interesting study that goes parallel to our study in respect to the evolutionary stages of a metaphor, Billig and MacMillan (2005) in their article – *Metaphor, idiom and ideology: the search for 'no smoking guns' across time,* explore the life of the idiom "smoking gun" across time from when it is conceived as a simile to when it becomes a "young bright metaphor" to the time "it dies and is buried in a graveyard marked idioms".

The study uses Glucksberg's 'property attribution' model as contrasted with Lakoff's theory of metaphor. This quite like the major tenets of The Career of Metaphor Theory talks about the stages a metaphor undergoes in its evolutionary career as a linguistic item. Put another way therefore, the idiom 'the smoking gun' starts its career as a simile, loses its vitality from wear and tear due to continued use and becomes a novel

metaphor; it then evolves to a conventional metaphor and eventually is worn down by use and dies, to become an idiom. Perhaps Billig's and MacMillan's term 'die' is rather cruel, we can say it retires and during its retirement it is contracted to work as an idiom. The smoking gun, in American politics is an accusatory rhetoric used to point wrong doing by presidents.

As pointed out in the study, it is also possible to reactivate a dying metaphor. Billig and Macmillan argue that this is done as a discursive act where since the metaphor carries implications of accusation, to resist these conventional implications, a speaker seeks metaphorical idea of gun smoke. In Iraq, the function of the smoking gun was not to discredit a leader caught being dishonest, it was to demonstrate that Hussein had WMD. The rhetorical move of denial is utilized with transposition being used as illusionary idea. The rhetoric moves from the object that is *the smoking gun* to rhetoric, "so called" and so on.

This is deliberate use of metaphor, p. 473 "well, the problem with guns that are hidden is you can't see their smoke" – this is trying to use rhetoric to escape the question at hand. Powell, the speaker here, has his rhetoric oscillating from metaphorical to literal meanings of the idiom, *the smoking gun*. In the *60 Minute* interview with Rather, Powell contests the appropriateness of the idiom by contesting its meaning, p. 475 his choice of words is careful – which points to deliberate metaphor use, to achieve a desired effect. In chapter four of our work on the glossary of related items discussed under the *ihenya* (hurry) metaphor, we will see how a target domain of a metaphor evolves to become the base domain of a subsequent novel metaphor.

In another study that is a shot in the arm for our theory, Giora (1999) talk of how familiar and less-familiar figurative language is understood. She discusses the Graded Salience Hypothesis (GSH) which assumes two different types of mechanism that run parallel: a modular, bottom up mechanism (e.g. lexical access) and a non-modular, top-down machinery (contextual processes). None of these two mechanisms is claimed to be superior to the other. In GSH, it is noted that even though context may be highly informative and specific, it will not suppress the salient responses even if contextually inappropriate. Giora says that salient meanings are privileged by being context resistant. To her, salience is determined not only by frequency, conventionality,

familiarity, and proto-typicality, but also by cultural or individual prominence of words and expressions.

Salient meanings are processed first before less salient meanings are activated. A linguistic unit is considered salient if it can be retrieved directly from mental lexicon (mental dictionary). Salient meaning is therefore the meaning encoded in the mental lexicon.

The retrieval of familiar metaphors involves activation of both the literal and the metaphorical meaning irrespective of context. Retrieval of less familiar metaphors, however, activates the literal meaning in both types of contexts, but in a literally biased context, it is only the literal meaning that is activated. Processing of novel metaphors in idiomatic contexts activates both literal and metaphorical meanings since both enjoy **similar salient status**. This was tested using word fragmentation completion test.

Subjects were presented with target sentences, (metaphors or idioms) at the end of which were either figuratively or literally biased contexts. They were to complete the fragmented words with the one that came to mind first. It was found that metaphor interpretation involves processing the literal meaning first and that metaphors and literal interpretations do not involve equivalent processes.

TEST= familiar metaphors are fast to process since both meanings are activated simultaneously then the appropriate meaning affixed accordingly, but less familiar metaphors take longer to process since they are first interpreted only literally, since they have only one meaning before importing inferences from context.

Word fragment completion test is considered an implicit memory test. Retention is indicated when performance on studied items exceeds that of new items, a situation referred to as **priming.** Some researchers consider this test as perceptual (data-driven) while others consider it conceptual-driven. Giora is interested in indirect priming, present talk and test class. In the research, a story is presented ending in a target sentence (metaphor) and test completion words either related to literal or metaphoric meaning of the target sentence.

EXPERIMENT I

Results: Familiar metaphors activated both the metaphoric and the literal meanings in the two types of context, a scenario that did not hold for the less familiar and the unfamiliar metaphors.

Remember that decision on the level of familiarity was based on Subjects responses on a scale of 1-7

<div style="text-align: right">

1-3 unfamiliar 8 items

4-5 less familiar 7 items

6-7 familiar 18 items

</div>

Less familiar metaphors hardly activated the incompatible meaning in the literally biased context. Although unfamiliar metaphors activated the metaphorical meaning in literal context, their pattern of activation was different from that of familiar metaphors.

EXPERIMENT II

Findings in experiment I could either have been due to context, or the target sentences themselves. To decide what factor was responsible, experiment II was conducted. The experiment was designed comprising of texts without the target sentences so as to gauge the effect of context on its own.

Results obtained involved subtraction of responses to each and every test word in experiment II from the same responses in experiment I.

Findings of experiment II ruled out the possibility that the patterns revealed by the results of experiment I were as a result of context rather than the target sentences.

EXPERIMENT III

The experiment was done using 24 Hebrew idioms and 60 participants who were primary school students who had been taught idioms for a year.

Experiment III was done to replicate the results of experiment II with idioms in order to raise the validity of the results.

Here, participants were asked to complete only one of the two incomplete words. This was to allow for examination of what came to the mind first.

Idioms were divided into familiar and less familiar. Familiar idioms were processed with high activation of both the idiomatic and the literal meanings of target sentences, but with differing patterns of activation.

For familiar idioms in idiomatically biased context, only the idiomatic meaning is highly activated. In literally biased context, both the idiomatic and literal meanings should be activated.

In idioms that were context biased, their interpretation hardly activated the less salient literal meaning while more salient literal meaning was highly activated.

The Career of Metaphor Theory follows this kind of reasoning with novel metaphors being understood as comparisons while conventional metaphors are understood as categorizations. Similes by Giora (1999) and Bowdle and Gentner (2005) are treated like novel metaphors and understood as comparisons. This illuminates the elegance of experimental psycholinguistics (Steen, 2011).

Moreover, Straehle et al (1999) have researched on metaphor use in discourse by European Union organs; the Speeches by EU Commissioners and Presidency Conclusions. The metaphor of struggle against unemployment is depicted as a problem and a fight.

Straehle and colleagues draw on the work of Lakoff and Johnson (1980). They note that war-like metaphors are used to frame the situation and the course of action needed. It is noted that job creation is the reverse of unemployment. Europe, EU, Brussels and European leaders are all depicted as a synonym in as far as solving the unemployment problem is concerned.

In the metaphor of unemployment is a problem; we see something similar to what Glucksberg (in Gibbs, 2008: 72) refers to as dual reference. This statement, if at all metaphorical, is picking one feature of the target domain and remapping it back to the source domain. This kind of recasting lays emphasis onto the attribute of unemployment that is 'problem'. If unemployment cannot be solved, then problem can.

In this casting of base and target, the reverse is also possible. We can aptly say Problem (Europe's) is unemployment as Unemployment is problem. But this change in syntax changes the discourse nature of the two statements with the former tending to be seen as some form of an answer to a question. Nonetheless, the discourse principle in operation here is somewhat similar to the conceptual principle in that either can be derived from the other. This means that at the attributive level, both unemployment and problem are almost similar concepts both in discourse and in the minds of the language users and therefore the source and target terms refer to concepts from similar ontological fields.

This then yields a rather problematic metaphor to deal with, especially because it borders on metonymy. This is because both unemployment and struggle are abstract terms whose presence is only measurable in the relative notions of rate and intensity. The metaphorical mapping from source to target domains fails to take off, at least on the surface, the way say Charteris-Black's metaphor of Britain as a container does. What the study has is more or less of the Hallidayan analysis of grammatical metaphor.

The issues raised by the term struggle are still evident in the wider view of unemployment. An unemployed population cannot be viewed as happy and some element of struggle in getting life move can be deduced. They are a "struggling" population. In our study, the residue metaphor of *mũndũ nĩ ũthiũ* discussed in chapter four is a typical example of this. We can only invoke its metaphorical attributes at the conceptual level but not the linguistic domain.

Finally, we review the work of Musolff (2006) who investigates metaphor scenarios in public discourse. In his study on EU discourse Musolff looks at the structural aspects of source domains in metaphorical mappings with regard to their manifestation in public discourse data. Specifically, it analyses the organization of source concepts into mini-narratives or "scenarios" that dominate the discourse manifestations of source domains. The material consists of examples from a bilingual corpus of British and German public debates about the "European Union." The data show that while the two national samples share some basic mappings between the source and target domains, they each are characterized further by specific scenarios that provide focal points for conceptualizing the target topic. The scenarios can also be shown to carry evaluative

and attitudinal biases that are related to particular political dispositions and preferences of the respective national discourse communities. In conclusion, it will be argued that the analysis of scenarios is a necessary complement to the study of source domains and of domain-mappings in metaphorical language use.

These scenarios in our work correspond to what in chapter four we refer to as micro concepts that inform the Scenario referred to as macro concept. All our sampled metaphors fall under five macro concepts in respect to their source domain, and four target domains. Individual metaphors are therefore scenarios, a term we use in our metaphor classification.

### 2.2.2 Methods of Identifying Metaphors

One of the major developments in the recent years has been the focus of identifying metaphors in real discourse. Although isolated experimental examples of metaphors used by some linguists and psychologists provide important material for studying metaphors' structure and function, investigating metaphors require that scholars explore "metaphors in the wild" as speakers and writers produce metaphors in different contexts (Steen, 2008).

Further, researchers often differ in their intuitions as regards what passes as a metaphorical word or phrase. Such researchers will often fail to provide criteria for specifying what is, and what is not, metaphorical. Naturally, they pursue varying aspects of metaphorical language depending on their theoretical orientation and purpose of study. This lack of criteria leads to a situation where the validation of data becomes difficult in comparing it for empirical analysis.

Further, the absence of agreed criteria for metaphor identification complicates any evaluation of theoretical claims about metaphor (Cameron, 2003; Semino, Heywood, and Short, 2004).

There, however, has been several metaphor identification methods proposed in the study of figurative language. Remarkable progress has been made in developing programmes for the automatic identification of metaphors but these methods are concerned with the manual analysis of linguistic data (Berber, 2006; Fass, 1991; Mason, 2004). These methods have remained the most flexible and widely used approach to metaphor identification (Steen et al., 2010). Perhaps the most popular of

these is Barlow, Kerlin, and Pollio's (1971). This is a training manual designed to guide those who identify figurative language in different contexts ranging from children's compositions to political speeches. The manual gives brief definitions for a wide range of tropes such as similes, personification, irony, and metonymy. The manual also offers several linguistic examples relevant to each type.

Over the last 35 years, figurative language scholars have used this manual in diverse areas of research with early work suggesting that training in the manual can produce reliable identification of figurative language (Pollio, Barlow, and Fine, 1977). In the identification of metaphor, the manual distinguishes between live and dead metaphors and personification by giving examples of each.

Although the manual has been popular amongst some researchers due to its empirical attempts to establish reliability of the procedure, Barlow et al.'s manual fails to provide an explicit criterion for judging whether a word or phrase is metaphorically used or otherwise (Steen et al., 2010). Offering prototypical examples as a basis for classification is not enough since we need to be aware of the inherent properties that make a metaphor be classified as *x* and not *y*.

Further, Barlow's distinction between live and dead metaphors casts many conventional words and phrases into the "dead" class (Cameron, 2003). The manual does not therefore provide the kind of instrument we need to identify metaphors in Gĩkũyũ contexts of marriage negotiations.

In this study, therefore, we have embraced MIPVU as our method of identifying metaphors in Gĩkũyũ marriage negotiations conversations. The method is fairly reliable and requires analysts to make a series of decisions of nominal type. It was developed by a group of metaphor researchers in Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam to solve the problems created by the methods earlier discussed. In this method, the unit of metaphorical analysis is the word. MIPVU is an improved version of MIP, and is able to cater for comparisons beyond the indirect expressions catered for by MIP. This means it includes direct forms of comparisons such as similes, analogy, personification and so on.

Still, MIPVU moves from just considering the linguistic forms of metaphors to include their conceptual structure. This is important since our objective two sought to determine the conceptual structures of metaphors used in marriage negotiations.

MIPVU further goes beyond the contemporary language user to look at the history of some metaphorical items when the basic meaning of a word is problematic. This helps us in analysing metaphors arising from folk tales.

It is noted that the rise in CL research on metaphors has given rise to a simple definition of metaphor that a number of researchers have used to identify instances of metaphorical language (Panther and Thornburg, 2003; Kintch and Bowles, 2002; and Gibbs, 2006).

Following Lakoff and Johnson (1980), many metaphor researchers have attempted to identify metaphors in natural discourse by simply noting cases in terms of "the understanding of one thing *A* as though it were another thing *B*" (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980: 3). Metaphors identified in this study are primarily lexical, with many being identified as arising from prominent conceptual metaphors discussed in the CL literature (Kormen, and Angus, 2000).

Recent developments in the study of metaphor have however established that some metaphors cannot be interpreted using the classical two domain (base and target) approach. An example is the metaphor "this surgeon is a butcher" discussed on pages 21 – 22.

Further, using the classical method of metaphor identification used by conceptual metaphor theorists is not tenable in this study. This is because there are aspects of metaphor that the conceptual metaphor theory cannot handle in our data. For example the conceptual metaphor theory fails to cater for the distinction between novel and conventional metaphors. It is for this reason that we have proposed to use the Career of Metaphor Theory.

Finally, a very recent proposal suggests that metaphor can be determined under the following conditions (Schmitt, 2005);

1. A word or phrase, strictly speaking, can be understood beyond the literal meaning of the context of what is being said.

2. The literal meaning arises from an area of physical or cultural experience (the base domain).

3. The literal meaning (base) is transferred to a second, often more abstract, target area.

In the view of the current study, simply having the intuition that a word's contextual meaning somehow differs from its literal (basic) meaning was not sufficient. This was so because what may hold as metaphorical given one researcher's intuition may differ from what will hold for another. This makes it difficult to do linguistic research on metaphor in an empirically responsible way where researchers can even share or compare findings.

Given these, we used MIPVU method which is an improvement of MIP. MIP stands for Metaphor Identification Procedure and was developed by the Pragglejaz Group in 2007. MIPVU is a 2010 improvement of MIP with the addition VU standing for Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam, the Dutch name of the place where the scholars – Steen et al. – who have improved on MIP are based.

MIPVU provides a procedure that starts from the actual discourse, and inductively builds the case for why a particular word is used metaphorically in context rather than starting with preconceived set of conceptual metaphors from which to base further identification of metaphorically used words (Steen et al., 2010). Steen and his colleagues continue to claim that the criterion of "understanding one thing in terms of another" is simply insufficient for reliable metaphor identification across a group of researchers. This was a good starting point in the analysis of some metaphors in our data that were used with some elements of the base term ellipted, such as *ta wa ngaara, andu aya* and so on.

MIPVU, on the other hand, can be used in a wide range of research areas addressing the question of metaphor. The method has been shown in a case study to be reliable in producing statistically proven metaphor identifications across a group of researchers, something that the Schmitt's proposal has not.

Cienki (2006) has used MIP as a means for selecting items for use in a pile sort to investigate reactions to political discourse.

Low (In Press), also uses MIP to generate baseline indexes of metaphoric density for study on metaphor.

Further, Steen and colleagues are currently using MIPVU in a series of texts in four different genres (Steen et al, In Press).

Lastly, metaphors are embedded in the culture of their users. Their generation, filtration and understanding are culturally governed. As such, metaphor use and preference will to a greater extent depend on an individual's cultural orientation. A metaphorical item may be interpreted differently by individuals from diverse cultural backgrounds. For example, a goat to a Gĩkũyũ goatherd from the semi-arid areas of Kieni and Laikipia districts may have different attributes than the same to a Gĩkũyũ young man who schooled in Nairobi, has say an economics degree and works for some multinational company in town. To get a better view of our sampled metaphors of Gĩkũyũ marriage negotiations, it is important to briefly explain here how marriage as a rite of passage is conducted.

From cradle to death, a Gĩkũyũ goes through several stages of rites of passage. When a child is born, traditionally the women in the birth home announce the arrival of the new born and gender by ululations. Five times women ululate for a boy (*mũndũ wa nyũmba*) a person of the house. Three times ululations are said for a girl (*mũndũ wa nja*) a person of the outside so called since she were destined to one day get married and leave for another home. Children are named after their immediate relatives, dead or living. The first born son is named after his paternal grandfather, the second son after the maternal grandmother. Then the same is done for the girls who are named after the couple's mothers. Subsequent children are named after the couples' siblings starting with the husband's side. Children named after the relatives on the mother's side are derogatorily referred to as *ithũmba* this means beggars. That they followed their daughter or sister to the in-laws to be fed, clothed and housed.

Up to about the age of 7, both boys and girls are brought up together. Thereafter, the boy runs errands for men while the girl works with women. Between the age of 13 to 19, the children are initiated into adulthood. Boys are circumcised, a practice involving the trimming of the genital organs. The same used to happen to girls but the practice has been outlawed and is fading. During circumcision period, each initiate has a *mũtiri* − sponsor who coach them on how to go about responsible adult life. Sex

education, spirituality, courage and cultural norms are taught. Traditionally, the period between circumcision and marriage was a delicate one and people were relieved when one married. For example one could run away from home, get killed in raids, become a thief (the second worst crime after being a witch in Gĩkũyũ land) and so on.

During this period, it may be possible for boys and girls to learn things that predispose them to understand and use metaphors differently. Scouting for a wife was and to some extent still is an artistic affair. It involved the young man's age-mates from his clan, both male and female. They would closely monitor the identified girl while working and socialising and report if she was sociable and hardworking.

Once positive reports were in, the man would make advances during inter clan dances and propose marriage. If the girl was not engaged to another man and accepted the proposal, the man informed his father. Given a go ahead by his father, the boy informed the girl who in return informed her mother.

Thereafter the prospective husband would send small boys with a virgin goat and sheep (*harika na mwatĩ*) in the evening to mix with the potential father in laws herd when entering the pen. The following morning the young animals would be looking for their mothers and their noise would attract the attention of the man of the house who immediately got the cue and asked his wife, "who is this?" pointing at the young animals upon which the wife would answer who among her daughters had confided in her and who the man who wanted to marry her was. If the man of the house was against such a marriage, the two animals were returned forthwith and the other side understood that their proposal was refused. No more courtship ensued because the reasons for such a refusal were irrevocable. Not to return the animals meant the proposal was accepted and arrangements were made to visit the in-laws to formally negotiate for and start paying dowry. During this period, no other man would propose to the girl.

The negotiation process was a delicate affair and although the relationship seldom collapsed every mistake on the groom's side was punished by a fine, the minimum of which was a goat. For example, before taking the girl, the groom could not eat food with greens (*irio cia nyeni*) at the girl's home. If he ever did that the fine was a goat for every such instance.

When negotiating for the bride price, which was paid by the man's family to the girl's parents, the chosen team, escorted by many other members of their clan met at the girl's home. They dance, eat and make merry before the selected teams, each with their spokesman got into the house for deliberations. It is at this stage that we audio-recorded data from which we got our metaphors.

Once inside, the hosts ask for introductions after which the man's people are told to table the agenda, "*mũki nĩwe ũkaga na ũhoro*" the one who comes is the one who has the message.

Negotiations have to end before sunset, darkness was a sign of bad omen. For two complete marriage negotiation discourses, see appendices III and IV.

## 2.2.0   Theoretical Framework

Since the publication of Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003) *Metaphors We Live By*, there have come up several metaphor models that we could work with in the current study. In this section, we turn to Metaphor models or approaches from the four main metaphor schools of thought before zeroing in on the theoretical framework which is the Career of Metaphor Theory.

First is the Conceptual Metaphor Theory which was first propagated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980/2003). There are two relations in the interpretation of a metaphor, which, according to Lakoff, are seen as a mapping between two structures – the **source** or *conceptual* domain and the **target** domain. The term source is explained as the concept (domain) which we would want to express and be understood or interpreted in terms of another concept which is called target domain.

Consider for example the concept of marriage in, *Marriage is a journey*. Marriage is said to be conceptualised in terms of deep conceptual metaphors that assimilate the abstract concept of marriage, to the more concrete concept of journey. Thus when we speak of *our marriage is going on smoothly, is on the rocks, our relationship is at crossroads*, and so on, it is because marriage can be conceptualised as a journey (Lakoff 1990; Lakoff and Turner 1989). The source domain here is journey while the target domain is the more abstract term marriage. Within each of these metaphoric domains are systematic mappings between the properties of the base domain, in this

case journey, and the target domain, in this case marriage. JOURNEY thus acts as a macro-concept informed by other micro-concepts that are the characteristics of a journey such as pathway, destination, obstacles and so on.

When we speak of,

*Nĩ wakwa matũ na hĩa,* (she is mine ears and horns), the Conceptual Metaphor Theory would say that we conceptualize *she* as an animate being, with long ears and horns, functioning as our source domain which informs and structures our view of the conceptual target domain that is this animate being that is *she*. It predicts that our conceptual structure of "she" will be that a woman and a goat are two hyponyms sharing the qualities such as long ears and horns of some superordinate term.

Another example would be *Kũhoya ũcũrũ*, (to ask for porridge).

Here, porridge alludes to the girl being sought for marriage and whose duties will include grinding millet, sorghum and maize for preparing porridge for the people where she will get married. The source domain is porridge and the target domain is the girl. The Conceptual Metaphor Theory would try to find out how this is mapped on the respondents' thinking and the context within which girls are "porridge".

This theory has been regarded as the Classic or Contemporary Theory of Metaphor, and as with all other theories, has been critiqued. One major weakness of the theory as observed by Glucksberg and McGlone (2001) is that, the theory's maximalist view posits that there are thousands of source/target domains mappings such as the ones cited above which is not the case in real life. Second, it assumes that most metaphoric interpretations are retrieved from semantic memory. Third, and perhaps of greater importance, novel metaphors can only be understood if there were relevant and accessible conceptual domains in semantic memory which is not the case. For example, during his 2009 Jamhuri day address, the Kenyan PM talked of *omena* (small fish) and *mbuta* (big fish) in reference to the Mau settlers whose interpretation required people to construct novel attributive categories (cf Barsalou, 1993). This is to say that listeners not only have relevant analogical information available, but that they also use this information to facilitate metaphor comprehension (Nayak and Gibbs, 1990). This means that the theory fails to adequately account for novel metaphors yet in conversations, novel metaphors are used all the time. Finally, conceptual domains

(Lakoff and Johnson, 2003) and image schemata are unable to capture metaphorical phenomenon sufficiently.

The second theory dealing with metaphor research is the Conceptual Integration Theory also called *Blending Theory* that is advanced by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) as an alternative to Lakoff and Johnson (2003) Conceptual Metaphor Theory. It replaces the two conceptual domains with at least four conceptual *spaces.* Two of the four spaces correspond to the source and target domains in the classic model while the remaining two other spaces capture the common ground between the two spaces – the generic space and the emerging structure deriving from the mapping in context – **the blended space**. Thus, in *This surgeon is a butcher* the metaphor may seem to be explainable in terms of direct projection from the source domain of butchery to the target domain of surgery, guided by a series of fixed counterpart mappings: *butcher* onto *surgeon*; *animal* onto *human being*; *carcase* onto *patient*; *cleaver* onto *scalpel; butchery onto theatre; medical fee onto beef prices*; and so on. This analysis of the cross-domain relationships, however, cannot on its own explain a crucial element of the statement's meaning: the surgeon is incompetent. A butcher, though in some way is less prestigious than a surgeon, is typically competent at what he does and may be highly respected. The notion of incompetence is not being projected from source to target. The interpretation of this metaphor to arrive at the meaning that the surgeon in question is incompetent is to be found in the blended space. The surgeon is blended with butcher where a surgeon treats his patients the way a butcher would treat a carcase.

This approach consequently deals with the emerging meaning in the blended space. It, however, still starts from a cross-domain mapping between the source and the target domain.

Although like the Blending Theory our study falls in cognitive linguistics, most of its tenets are attended to in the Career of Metaphor Theory; it was not therefore used as our conceptual framework. The theory has also been noted to have weaknesses such as most of the materials analysed are often novel and unique, thereby failing to adequately cater for conventional metaphors which forms the bulk of our data. Ninety nine percent of metaphors in any given discourse are conventional (Steen, 2007).

Further, the theory would analyse a statement like, *If Kibaki were Moi, his nominees to the Judiciary would have gone through.* This complicates comparison with the two-domain model because the comparison involves three categories namely; Kibaki, Moi, and the judicial nominees. Our data has some items that have two-dimensional comparison and a use of this approach would render them difficult to analyse.

Moreover, most of Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) data is imagined, not to mention that they fail to pay attention to the variety of functions of the diverging linguistic forms in discourse. Our data is collected from real life conversations where the kind of ideal situation envisaged by Fauconnier and Turner does not exist.

The third theory and which falls within cognitive science but outside cognitive linguistics approach, is the Class-Inclusion Theory. This theory is attributed to Glucksberg and McGlone (1999). They propose that the level of conceptual structures is based on the interplay between three conceptual categories. For example, in a statement such as, *Mũthuri nĩ ciĩko,* (a man is his deeds). The Class-Inclusion approach would hold that there is a conceptual target category for the topic term *mũthuri*, a conceptual source category for the vehicle term *ciĩko*, and a conceptual superordinate category 'of the things that the metaphor vehicle exemplifies' e.g., actions that are outstanding, enviable and considered as achievements. The source category is a relatively typical exemplar of the superordinate category, in the form of actual poverty (Glucksberg and McGlone (1999: 1542). The nature of conceptual structures involved in the metaphorical idea is indicated by the term 'categories' in contradistinction to the more general 'domains' used by Lakoff and Johnson (1993) and the more specific 'spaces' used by Fauconnier and Turner (1997). This theory did not fit in our research since it could not cater for novel metaphors yet all else it caters for is addressed by the Career of Metaphor Theory.

The fourth approach is the Career of Metaphor Theory. This model for metaphor has been suggested by the psychologists Gentner and Bowdle (2005) and it includes many aspects of the classic two domain approach at the conceptual level of analysis as well as the mental-space views proposed by Fauconnier andTurner (2002). However, unlike the Conceptual Integration Theory, the Career of Metaphor Theory considers the insights produced by Glucksberg's Class-Inclusion (1999) approach.

The Career of Metaphor Theory does allow for the possibility that conceptual metaphors are a valid entity. It also allows for having varying numbers of conceptual structures that are involved in different classes of metaphorical expressions. For conventional metaphor, only two conceptual structures are required. These two conceptual structures correspond to source (henceforth base) and target in the two domain model. Polysemy does play an important role in the identification of conventional metaphor, so that, by implication, a lack of polysemy may suggest metaphorical novelty. For novel metaphor, three concepts are required, corresponding to the topic concept and the subordinate and superordinate vehicle concepts in the Class-Inclusion Theory.

The Career of Metaphor Theory attempts to resolve the two fundamental controversies regarding how metaphors are processed. The first one is whether metaphoric mappings are more akin to literal (semantic) comparisons or to literal categorisations. The second controversy regards whether metaphor comprehension is direct or indirect and this is well addressed by Career of Metaphor Theory.

The proponents of the Career of Metaphor Theory (Bowdle, 1998a, 1998b; Bowdle and Gentner, 1995; 2005; Gentner and Wolff, 1997) consider how metaphors create new meanings.

Their claim is that structural alignment during metaphor comprehension allows for the induction of abstract relational schemas, which may in turn be lexicalised as secondary senses of metaphor base terms p. 231. They referred to this evolution of abstract schemas to lexical items as **the career of metaphor**, from which the theory gets its name. This means that when a metaphor has been used for the first time, it is novel and its continued use and wide acceptance puts it on an evolution path (career) where it moves until it becomes lexicalised as a new sense of the term in the language. This is to say that it is now a conventional metaphor. If the other original sense of the term that has become conventional falls out of use, then the metaphorical sense of the term is the lexical item's only surviving meaning. In this case, the term has no literal and literary meaning. It is therefore no longer metaphorical. It is a dead metaphor according to Bowdle and Gentner, but in line with the name of the theory, it is more apt to say the metaphor, after its career, has retired. In Gĩkũyũ, *kũguraria* no longer means to injure, it nowadays simply refers to a phase in dowry payment; this then is an

example of a retired metaphor. Another reason for use of the term retire is that the lexical item is still there, but not metaphorical anymore. It has retired from active service of metaphorical meaning.

According to Bowdle and Gentner, when a metaphor is first encountered, both the target *x* and the base *y* terms refer to specific concepts from different ontological domains. For example, the metaphor, *Andũ (x) nĩo indo(y)* – people are wealth *andũ(x)* refers to a different concept from *indo (y).*

When interpreting this metaphor using the Career of Metaphor Theory, we (a) align the two representations; and (b) import predicates from the base to the target i.e. from *y* to *x* – we look at *wealth* and map it onto the target domain *people*; which then count as further matches. This mapping means that alignable predicates will become more strongly activated, while nonalignable predicates will be suppressed (Gernsbacher, Keysar, and Robertson, 1995; Glucksberg, Newsome, and Goldvarg, 2001).

In this view, metaphoric categories are formed as a by-product of the comparison process and may be stored in our memories separately from the original target and base concepts. This means that if they are in continued use, they will lead to the creation of new sense of the term (polysemy) and if they are not put into continuous use their new-found sense becomes dormant.

Bowdle and Gentner (2005) however, note that not all metaphor lead to lexical extension of the base term. They elaborate that this is so because, one, alignments of the base and target concepts must be able to suggest a coherent category. Mappings focusing on relational structures are more likely to generate stabĩle abstractions than mappings that focus on less systematic object descriptions. And, two, if a metaphor is able to suggest a coherent category; the abstraction must not already be lexicalised. If a potential innovative use of term is synonymous with a well established term, then the innovative term will be pre-empted by the well established one and will as such be considered unacceptable. For example, in the metaphor, *Atherete ta ngwacĩ njũe* – (he is as clean as a peeled sweet potato), the meaning is already lexicalised in the metaphoric base term *mwanga mũũe* – (a peeled cassava), thus the secondary sense of the term fails to take off. This follows Clark's (1992) 'pre-emption by synonymy'. Pre-emption by synonymy streamlines Grice's maxims to account for such 'pragmatic divisions of labour' in which two semantically equivalent forms come to have two

different uses. For example, pink and light red are understood to refer to different colours because if the speaker meant pink, he would say pink (p. 163).

In our study, we used the Career of Metaphor Theory (Bowdle and Gentner, 2005). The motivation behind our choice of the theory was rooted in the fact it incorporates the Conceptual Metaphor Theory for the conventional metaphors, the insights borne by Class-Inclusion Theory as well as the many "spaces" in Fauconnier and Turner's Blending Theory. The relation between the factors of linguistic forms and conceptual structure in the Career of Metaphor Theory offers an illuminating two dimensional model of metaphor that affords examination of the interaction between metaphor in language and thought. It can account for some of the most important predictions and insights about metaphor processing of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999; 2003).

Steen (2008: 4) notes that the Career of Metaphor Theory has a lot going for it in terms of theoretical sophistication and empirical support. This is a claim that we agree with for the theory has addressed both the conventional metaphors accommodated within the Conceptual Metaphor Theory by Lakoff and Johnson as well as novel metaphors taken care of by Blending Theory.

This theory therefore has addressed both the linguistic form as well as the conceptual structures of our sampled metaphors. For linguistic forms we have metaphors, similes, analogy, as well as personification, animation and objectification and so on. As regards conceptual structures, Career of Metaphor Theory marks for conventional concepts, novel concepts and even a category of dead (we call them retired) metaphors as a stage during a metaphor's career or evolution.

As earlier elaborated, a metaphor is conventional when the non-literal sense of the term in the language is so well entrenched that it is accepted as 'the other' meaning of the term. It is novel when it is new in the language requiring context to interpret. On the other hand, a metaphor is retired if after being conventional; the original literal sense of the linguistic item is lost, leaving the lexical item with only the metaphorical meaning. There is normally a transition period between conventional and retired metaphor. This period is when it is still possible for language users to think vaguely of the fading sense of a term. At this stage, a highly conventional metaphorical

expression has the potential of getting consciously recognised as metaphorical. Goatly (1997: 276-7) calls this 'revitalisation' of metaphors.

Having reviewed the related literature and the conceptual framework, let us turn to methodology.

# CHAPTER THREE

## 3.0 METHODOLOGY

## 3.1 Introduction

This chapter highlights information on the research design, sampling procedures, data collection, presentation and analysis.

## 3.2 Research Design

This study uses both qualitative and quantitative data. It has selected a qualitative design because it provides a framework for detailed analysis of transcribed discourse. This came in handy in determining the metaphorically used linguistic items. The design describes different research approaches focusing on the particular quality of the metaphorical item being investigated rather than its frequency in occurrence. This is because a qualitative design has been found suitable in its precision in describing the uniqueness of a phenomenon (Atkinson, 2005). In CL, the evidence of much of the symbolically oriented analysis comes from qualitative research.

An important aspect about data analysis is the role of subjectivity. It was therefore imperative to look at the overall purpose of data collection and analysis. Here the purpose of the research was neither to test nor formulate a theory. Our research intended to identify and analyse Gĩkũyũ metaphors within the Career of Metaphor framework. Had it been done using the introspection or intuition of the researcher (who in any case are part of the scientific enterprise (Steen, 2007)) there would have been the possibility of error. This is because what may count as metaphorical to one researcher may not for the next analyst. The MIPVU was embraced to avoid this problem. Quantitative data was used in recording the frequencies in the interpretation of selected metaphorical items. It was also applicable method in the calculation of what linguistic form or conceptual structure of a metaphor had what number of frequencies.

## 3.3 Area of Study

The data was collected from native Gĩkũyũ speakers. This research had two categories of respondents. There was the group that was audio recorded in the marriage gatherings to get primary data. After transcribing it, we used the MIPVU to identify

metaphorically used linguistic items. On the other hand, there was a group of twenty four (24) respondents who were given the forty metaphorically used linguistic items sampled from the marriage negotiations data to give secondary data. For the marriage negotiations data, we random sampled the five counties of Central Province and picked Kĩambũ and Nyeri. Using the friend of a friend approach, we got information on where marriage negotiation ceremonies were to take place and for all placed requests to be allowed in. For all the ceremonies we were granted permission to participate, we balloted and picked on event from Kĩambũ and Nyeri. For Kĩambũ we got an event from Gĩthũngũri constituency and from Nyeri we sampled Tetũ constituency.

For the twenty four respondents who were presented with metaphorical items for interpretation, we first random sampled the five counties of central province and picked three counties through balloting; from these three counties, we random sampled their constituencies and picked one constituency from each, again by balloting. We ended up with Gatanga in Mũrang'a, Ol Kalou in Nyandarũa and Tetũ in Nyeri. This was done to give us varied data that could be generalised to all Gĩkũyũ speaking areas. In these 3 randomly sampled constituencies, we used the friend of a friend approach to sample eight (8) respondents from each. These eight respondents fitted in the social variables under investigation. Since we had 8 respondents in each of the three constituencies, our total number was 24 respondents.

In these regions, as has been argued elsewhere (Kimani, 2011), marriage negotiations still retain their traditional allure. This means that men *marry* and women *are married*. The distribution of respondents from Kĩambũ to the slopes of Mount Kenya and the Aberdares ranges was meant to give empirical credibility so that location would not be an intervening variable in the interpretation of metaphors.

## 3.4    Sample and Sampling Procedures

The researcher used the purposive sampling method for the three variables we investigated – educational level, age, and sex – which, given the two dichotomies in each, gave us a total of eight groups of respondents. Each batch of eight respondents was from one constituency of the three we had randomly sampled.

```
                           RESPONDENTS (8)


Lower Educational Level (4)                    Higher Educational Level (4)



      Youthful (2)        Elderly (2)          Youthful (2)      Elderly (2)



Male (1)  Female (1)  Male (1)   Female (1)  Male (1)  Female (1)  Male (1)  Female (1)
```
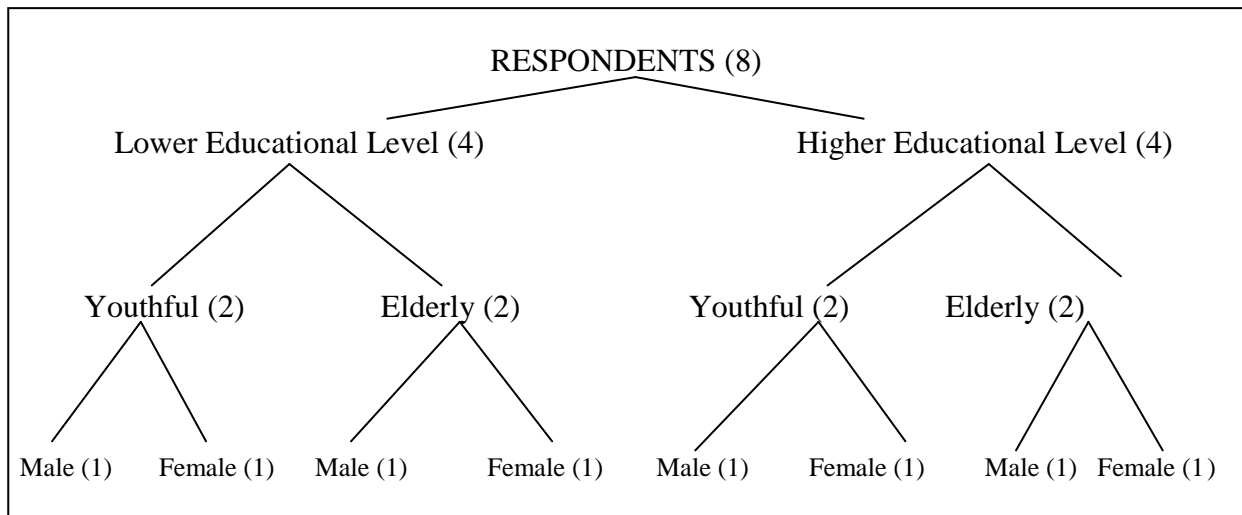
*Fig. 3.0 Characteristics of respondents from each constituency*

In marriage negotiations we had no variables and recorded conversations as they were.

For secondary data, however, we had the variables of sex, age and educational level. Sampled respondents had to be literate in Gĩkũyũ so that they could read the questionnaire (see appendix I), even though they were free to answer in English. The variable of age comprised those aged between 21 to 35 years for the youthful category, this being the group defined as the youth (NBS, 2009). The teens were left out since a majority of them are school children and are not very conversant with marriage discourse to give intelligible data. The elderly were those aged 60 years and above, people who are old enough to have married or marriageable children. This age bracket provided the bulk of the data from marriage negotiations conversations.

As for the variable of education, we had those with primary school level for lower educational level and those with post secondary level for higher educational level. This gap in educational level was enough to warrant a variation in the interpretation of metaphors.

Regarding the variable of sex, we had simply male and female respondents. Although we had planned to work with 24 respondents, we anticipated that some respondents might fail to turn up or produce unreliable data, so we added an extra group of eight respondents sampled from Gĩchũgũ constituency in Kĩrĩnyaga County to act as spare respondents. All the respondents were sampled using the friend of a friend approach (Milroy, 1992) since their characteristics required background knowledge.

Below we diagrammatically present the various categories of respondents.
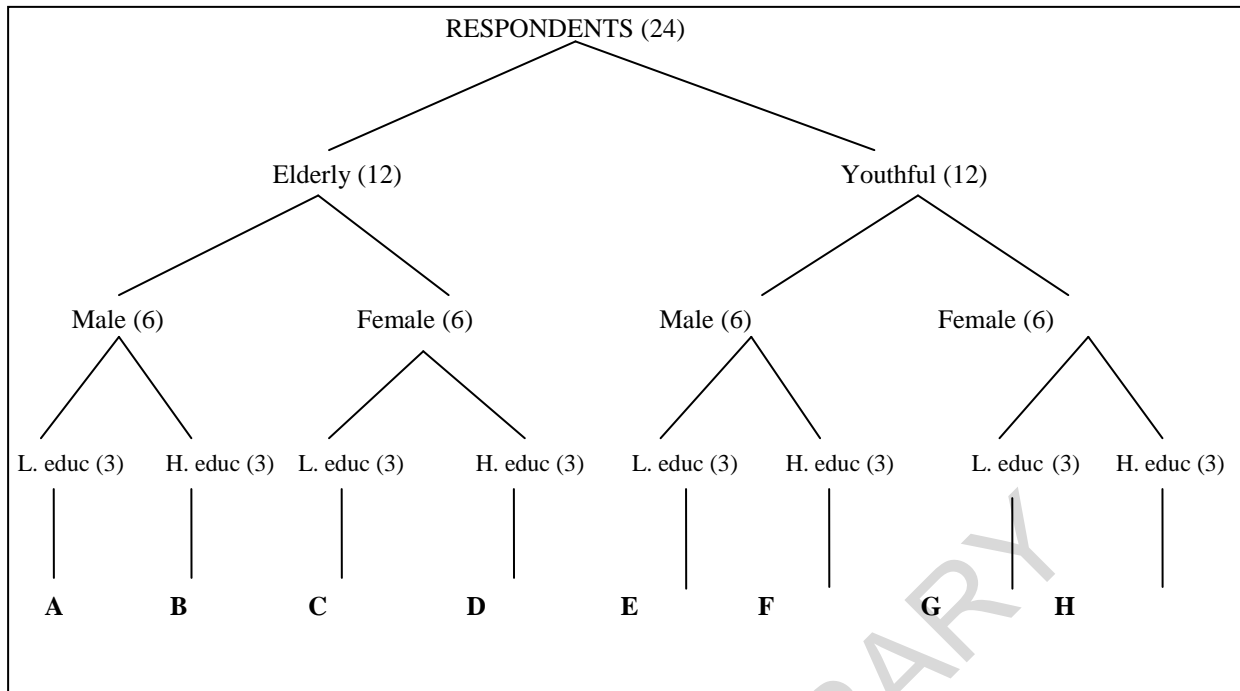
*Fig. 3.1: A Diagrammatic representation of Respondents*

## 3.5. Data Collection

Data was collected in two phases. For collection of data from marriage negotiations the researcher attended two meetings for marriage negotiations, one in Tetũ, Nyeri and the other in Gĩthũngũri, Kĩambũ. The only requirement was a reservation of a place at the negotiating table, and a properly constituted marriage negotiation gathering. This allowed for collection of a variety of metaphors. This phase involved tape-recording conversations in the entire proceedings in marriage negotiation meetings and then transcribing it. From the transcribed data, we extracted words and phrases which met the MIPVU criteria and therefore passed as metaphorical. From these metaphorical items, we sampled 40 items, 20 from each occasion.

Data collection instruments were therefore only designed after collecting data in phase I by audio-recording conversations in marriage negotiations.

Phase II involved presenting the data sampled from phase I to our 24 respondents, and using a questionnaire and/or an interview schedule. These data were to be used in our analysis of the same to determine their linguistic forms and conceptual structures. We

were also interested in the interpretations of metaphors across the social variables of age, sex and educational level as indicated in fig. 3.1 above.

From the 24 respondents we collected data using a questionnaire, but since some respondents could not fill it in satisfactorily, an interview schedule (see appendix II) was used to supplement the questionnaire. From these data we computed the extent to which metaphors are understood uniformly or otherwise across the sampled social variables. The distinction between the novel and the conventional metaphors and by implication, whether metaphors are processed as comparisons or categorisations, started to emerge here.

## 3.6    Data Analysis

Data analyses started after the first phase of data were collected. Upon transcription of the marriage negotiation conversations, all lexical items were subjected to MIPVU to find out which items were metaphorical. From the metaphors identified, a sample of metaphors that seemed to relate to marriage was taken for further analysis. From this sample, we expected variation in terms of the linguistic form such as completeness of metaphors used. Their rhetorical form varies as well as instances of personification, objectification and animation of the family, the institution of marriage, the bride and the groom as well as events surrounding marriage.

We further analysed what linguistic forms have which conceptual structures. We analysed data for variations in the choice of metaphors and in the sense (interpretation) made of other people's metaphors; variations resulting from gender, history or social position of the speakers (age, and educational level; and variation resulting from the purpose of discourse (Gachara, 2011)). This means we expected that metaphors used in marriage negotiations to show case unity in family life. In other words, Gĩkũyũ metaphors of *love* were expected to show case the Gĩkũyũ family life.

To identify metaphors, we used the MIPVU criteria of finding metaphorically used words in natural discourse.

The procedure focuses on the symbolic analysis of metaphorically used words or phrases in discourse and proceeds as below:

1. Read or listen to the entire talk to establish a general understanding of the meaning.

2. Determine the lexical units in the talk.

3. a.  For each lexical unit in the talk, establish its meaning in context.

   b.  For each lexical unit determine if it has a more basic contemporary meaning in other contexts other than the one given. Basic meanings tend to be more concrete; what they evoke is easier to imagine, see, hear, feel, smell and taste; related to bodily action are more precise and are historically older.

   c.  If the lexical unit has a more basic current/contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, decide whether the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning but can be understood in comparison with it.

4. If yes, mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

                                                    (Steen et al., 2010: 25-26).

However, this method has been designed with English and Dutch pilot projects. To accommodate Gĩkũyũ language, some adjustments were necessary. For one, Gĩkũyũ is an agglutinative language and one word may constitute more than the individual meaning of one lexical item. To cater for these, for all the metaphors occurring in such words where more than one concept is marked within the word, we took the root meaning of the word for our analysis. Two, Gĩkũyũ lacks a corpus dictionary, a vital tool in identifying novel from conventional metaphors. To solve this problem, we used a familiarity scale measurement in our questionnaire as well as getting glossaries of the meanings of the given words from our research assistant. In some of the metaphors, due to what Lakoff (2003) calls metaphor universality, the English equivalent was also metaphorical in some contexts.

Further, for our sampled metaphors, we looked at cases that are clearly metaphorical to avoid the pitfalls of WIDLII in our analysis.

Using this method, all metaphorically used items were listed and then 20 were purposively sampled from each of the two marriage negotiations proceedings. This yielded a total of 40 metaphors.

The simple rule of differentiating novel from conventional metaphors was determining if the metaphorical sense of a word was listed by the majority of the respondents as well as the researcher's intuition. If it was, then it was conventional; if it was not, it was novel (Steen et al., 2010). Instances of polysemy, as earlier mentioned, also played a vital role in the identification of novel metaphors, the tendency was that if a term was non-polysemous, then the metaphor was novel. The researcher's discretion was used in classifying metaphors according to their linguistic form; that is whether they were distended, extended, classic, and rhetoric.

Verbal data typically required some form of qualitative analysis in order to decide which expressions or processes and their products were metaphorical. However, the distinctions among the various linguistic forms and conceptual structures as well as the differences in the interpretations by the sampled respondents used quantitative approach. One of the reasons why our study falls within cognitive linguistics is that it draws attention to the omnipresence of metaphor in language, something that has remained hidden from linguistic research for so long (Steen, 2007). Our analysis has the Chi-Square Test to find the goodness of fit, show the level of significance and degree of freedom. We have used a 5% level of significance and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1. This is to get an error margin and avoid findings resulting from chance.

Thus:

$$Chisquare = \sum \frac{(fo - fe)^2}{fe}$$

*f* = observed frequency in a single category

*fe* = expected or theoretical frequency

degrees of freedom = *df* (*f*1) (*c*1)

Thus, $x^2 = N \frac{(AD-BC)^2}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$

N= total number of respondents = 24

*df* = 1

(number of column = 1) (number of rows = 1)

$(2 - 1) = 1$

Thus, the degree of freedom will be 1.

Below is a chi-square like the ones we have used. It should be noted that in the computation of a *chi-square* ($x^2$), the last column with the totals expected to and not to correctly interpret ($f_e$) are blank.

Variable of *x*

|  | *p* | *q* | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 11 | 22 |
| Expected to correctly interpret ($f_e$) | 11 | 11 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1 | 1 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Having looked at the methodology, let us now turn to chapter four where we have data presentation and analysis.

# CHAPTER FOUR

## 4.0    DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

## 4.1    INTRODUCTION

Chapter three describes the instruments, procedures and methods that were used in carrying out the present study. This chapter identifies and explains the Gĩkũyũ metaphors used in marriage negotiations. It also categorizes them into their linguistic forms and their conceptual structure. To do this, we first give a detailed analysis of our target domain macro concepts (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003).

Here we find that the business of marriage negotiations is basically concerned with four macro concepts, strictly governed by the context. The negotiation is about the BRIDE and her family, GROOM and his family, LOVE that brings the two families together, or the PROCESS itself which encompasses the event, talk and marriage ideology. In this case then, we used the deductive approach. Having identified the macro concepts that are allowed by context, we investigated what the base concepts targeted.

Second, we give a detailed analysis of our base domain macro concepts. Here we use the inductive approach to reach up to the macro concepts that our base domains inform. It is here that we do our cross-domain mappings showing what attributes of our base domains are potential candidates for mapping onto our target domains. We analyse our metaphors for their linguistic forms and conceptual structures. We also take stock of the Career of Metaphor Theory by accounting on its suitability in the treatment of Gĩkũyũ metaphors of marriage negotiations.

Lastly, we look at the variables of age, sex and educational level in the interpretation of the sampled metaphors.

## 4.2.0    TARGET DOMAINS MACRO CONCEPTS

### 4.2.1    Introduction

Our target domain macro concepts are clearly informed by the context of the discourse under analysis. We investigated metaphors used in conversations in the context of marriage negotiations. The macro concepts are: LOVE, BRIDE, GROOM, and NEGOTIATION PROCESS (we use the term negotiation to mean negotiation

process). The BRIDE macro concept includes anything that may be said about her, her people or friends. The GROOM macro concept likewise includes what is said about him, his friends and relatives. The LOVE macro concept includes what is said about love generally while the NEGOTIATION macro concepts are about the metaphors used to refer to the conversation itself in the context of negotiating for a wife. In Gĩkũyũ, this is called *ũthoni*.

However, marriage negotiation procedures are not cast on stone. Therefore, there were many instances when the metaphors used had nothing to do with our target domains. Great care was taken when sampling metaphors for presentation to respondents. But because, as necessitated by our research design, the presentation was done before any data analysis, five metaphors did not fit in any of our four target domains. They were therefore misplaced items and were discarded. However, five other metaphors of the thirty five that remained turned out to be compound metaphors which brought our number back to forty as each of the compound metaphors yielded another item.

### 4.2.1.1 NEGOTIATION

In a marriage negotiation, the most important part is the discourse event when selected elders get into the house (*thingira*) to negotiate the bride price (*kunanĩra mĩtĩ*). Here, there are two groups that sit facing each other, the groom's party that sits near the door and the bride's team that sits in the inner part of the room. Sitting close to the door means they could leave if things went awry as well as signalling that their stay would be short lived. It is worth noting here that this sitting arrangement by itself is metaphorical. The issue of facing each other signals opposition. Each side tries to *defend* their *position*. It is common to hear one side calling the other side of the room by the name of the place where those seated there come from.

The art of conversation is very vital and those able to say the most using the least words have an edge over the others. This is an event usually characterised by turn taking, with the groom's party expressing an intention to 'buy' while the bride's family expresses a desire to 'sell'. On some occasions, several girls the size of the bride are fully covered up using lessos or bed sheets and put together with the bride. The groom is then told to identify his fiancée. Each miss is met with a fine levied by the women, usually in the form of items for use by women.

The Gĩkũyũ language used in marriage negotiations is not sugar-coated. The bride is sold and bought "*kwendia mũirĩtu, na kũgũrana*". But aware that a person cannot be bought or sold, there is no haggling; rather the number of goats are negotiated briefly in a delicate affair involving the bride's family saying how many, the groom's family gives their offer and the bride's family tables their final offer. No more is said of that except negotiating the worth of one goat if they are to be paid in monetary terms. *Ũhoro mũingĩ nĩ wa ũthoni ũgĩkua* or *ndeto ithũkaga nĩ gũtenderio*. This two proverbs, the first translating as 'too much talk is a sign of breaking marriage negotiations' and the second translating as 'negotiations are spoilt by overdoing it', caution on the need to be brief.

From this the other items enumerated are the gifts the groom's family is expected to give, normally the things the father-in-law-to-be was asked to give to the bride's mother's family. These are called *indo cia maha*, and they range from such petty things as razor blades to overcoats and blankets. Those who are culturally enlightened and believe in curses simply give them there and then but say they shall not want the same from their daughters. Such items, when unpaid, are believed to haunt families and it is wise to avoid asking for them as upon one's demise, the living may not remember or even know what was needed.

In our research, we had seven metaphors whose target domain was NEGOTIATION/PROCESS. These are; KUUMA, KŨRŨGA, KŨHĨTIA, GŨTHĨA NJENGA, GŨTINIA KĨANDE, NGŨ NJIGŨ, and WERŨ wa MATHECO. The base domain macro concepts of these metaphors are discussed later, but we can mention here that the base domain in respect to NEGOTIATION is largely informed by the PATH metaphor with 5 items out of 7 metaphors. CONTAINER metaphor is subsumed under the PATH metaphor since getting out of a container involves taking a path, not forgetting that the NEGOTIATION may also be viewed like a track which speakers can get out of. The base domains macro concepts of OBJECT and ORGANISM have one metaphor each.

In conclusion, of these seven metaphors five are negative and are to be avoided. These are KUUMA, KŨRŨGA, KŨHĨTIA, GŨTHĨA NJENGA, and NGŨ NJIGŨ. The other two, GŨTINIA KĨANDE and WERŨ wa MATHECO, the former being the

sacrificial attributes of marriage while the latter is the scenic destination that marriage provides the young couple.

### 4.2.1.2 LOVE

Viewed in the context of marriage negotiations, love is not an emotional feeling of affection confined to the bride and the groom. It includes their families and friends and transcends feelings to include duties and responsibilities. In Gĩkũyũ culture, as in most African communities, marriage is driven more by a desire to have children than out of love between the partners. This is what concerns everyone when one is getting married or is marrying. From the view point of human psychology this is masking since humans have an emotional quotient (EQ) that qualify them a social beings. This kind of masking, coupled with male chauvinism, could partly explain the minimal use love metaphors. To a Gĩkũyũ man especially, love is not supposed to be talked about; rather, it is meant to be demonstrated physically by providing and caring for one's family.

Until recently, feminine happiness was rubbished. Marriage was founded on cultural norms with the man as the sole decision maker. Issues of companionship came with the bible and even sex in Gĩkũyũ culture the prerogative of the man. The woman was not meant to enjoy it, something well propagated by the ritual of female circumcision. This self serving culture where *mũndũ* (person) is the man is clearly demonstrated in this research where metaphors targeting the BRIDE from OBJECT base domains are tenfold.

In our research, we only had 3 metaphors whose target domain was love. These are RŨGENDO, GĨKWA NA MŨKŨNGŨGŨ and KĨGWA. Of these three metaphors, the first has PATH as the base domain macro concept while the other two are food items and therefore cases of OBJECTIFICATION in terms of base domain macro concepts. This means that the fabric that tied the two families together was beyond emotional attachment.

### 4.2.1.3 BRIDE

The bride is the single most important person in the event of a marriage negotiation. The event takes place in her father's home. She has been approached by the groom and not the other way round. Not long after the successful negotiations, she joins her husband in his home. This does not change for the groom who normally builds on his father's land. As such much of the talk and fun fare rotates around the bride. To have won the attention of the groom, she must be beautiful; beautiful because the groom's family is hopeful that she will bear many children and carry on the family name, and legacy. And because of all these, songs are composed in her praise. She is therefore the SUPER target domain in the event.

In our sampled metaphors, there were 12 whose target domain macro concept was BRIDE or her side of the negotiators. These are MBŨRI, NYANYA, WAGACIAIRĨ, RŨKONDA, MŨRIMŨ, IHŨA, THABUNI, ANDŨ AYA, ICUNGWA, MATIRAHEHA, NJATA and ŨCŨRŨ. Of these twelve items, a record eight are cases of OBJECTIFICATION while the other four are ORGANISM in terms of their base domain macro concept. Further, of these eight metaphors, four are food items, one of which, tomato (*nyanya*), is a compound metaphor. Its other part is a PATH metaphor. We can easily lump together the ORGANISM and OBJECT metaphors, and say Gĩkũyũ metaphors of marriage negotiations by and large COMMODIFY women.

This observation arises because we are using a theory grounded in English language which distinguishes between the animate ORGANISM and the inanimate OBJECT. Gĩkũyũ language on the other hand does not distinguish between animate and inanimate as all are *indo* (things). Any linguistic markings that differentiate the two only do so at the grammatical level to show concord. This study thus finds that WOMEN ARE COMMODITIES from a Gĩkũyũ point of view.

Our research assistant, Simon Ngigĩ, when told of this reality said "once upon a time when women were women and men were proud about it, this used to be conventional wisdom." The multidisciplinary nature of this research would reach out to sociologists and urge them to investigate this claim.

#### 4.2.1.4 GROOM

While the bride is admired for her beauty and elegance, the groom's value is on his ability to pay the bride price, marry a girl of his choice and raise a family. These are no mean achievements; it calls for hard work and strength of character as well as a rich moral and material heritage. He must be a man of means to be able to cater for his family. The groom is expected to sire children and defend his family and clan. This is his attraction, the features a girl looks at before accepting a proposal.

In our sampled metaphors 9 items relate to the groom or his team of negotiators one way or the other. These are ITIMŨ, KARĨITHI, NGAARA, MWANGA MŨŨE, RŨŨĨ, KĨENYŨ, HŨNGŨ, ŨTHIŨ, and NG'OMBE. Of these 9 metaphors, 5 have to do with the ORGANISM base domain, two with OBJECTS, and one with PATH. The remaining metaphor, ŨTHIŨ, was a residue metaphor in our base domain macro concept analysis (see table 4.1.1). Referring to the groom himself, the single most eloquent metaphor is the ABSTRACTION case of the innocently OBJECT metaphor SPEAR. This metaphor also easily links with the metaphor WAGACIAIRĨ that targets the BRIDE in the sense that those who have been away smithing come back with the SPEARS they have been fashioning.

#### 4.2.2 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, we have discussed our target macro concepts as contextually permitted in marriage negotiations discourse. We have seen that of the 40 metaphors under investigation, 30% target the BRIDE and are all cases of COMMODIFICATION of women, the metaphors macro domains being either ORGANISM or OBJECT. 22.5% of the metaphors target the GROOM. Two of these are important as one likens the groom to a weapon, spear, while the other likens him to a hawk, a predatory bird. 7.5% of our sampled metaphors target LOVE suggesting that love is rarely talked about. 22.5% of the metaphors have NEGOTIATION as the target domain. These NEGOTIATION metaphors largely (78%) signal the pitfalls to be avoided in a marriage negotiation and only 22% of the NEGOTIATION metaphors hint on what is involved in a married life.

Let us now look at our base domain macro concepts.

**4.3.0**     **BASE DOMAINS MACRO CONCEPTS**

**4.3.1**     **Introduction**

In metaphor usage, one thing *A* is thought of, talked about and understood as though it were another thing *B*. Usually, but not always, *B* is more concrete, physical, current, more precise and related to bodily action. This gives the motivation to explain *A* in terms of *B*. According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003), this concrete thing *B* that we use in explaining another is the source domain. The thing *A* that *B* is used to explain is referred to as the target domain.

In the Career of Metaphor Theory, the term used for *source* domain is *base* while *target* remains target. In the Class Inclusion Theory, the source is *topic* while the target is *vehicle*. For purposes of our work, we have used the terms *base* and *target* in line with our theoretical inclination.

We have said above "usually, but not always". This is because, in some instances, the reverse is the case. Instead of explaining an abstract concept in terms of a concrete one, a concrete concept is explained in terms of an abstract one. This is what is called abstraction. Cultural beliefs, social distance between the speaker and the listener, subject of discussion and even sex of participants, may bring about this kind of metaphor usage. Here, a concrete thing *A* is explained in terms of an abstract thing *B*. Giora (2003) and Semino (2008) call this scenario *distancing*. This allows people to address taboo topics without using taboo words. This yields the use of euphemisms.

The macro base concepts that we have identified from our sampled metaphors are categorised into five domains. These are; CONTAINER, OBJECTIFICATION, PATH, ORGANISM/SUBSTANCE, and ABSTRACTION. We also have two residue metaphors that do not fit in any of these five macro concepts and are, therefore, treated separately. At this level of analysis, we discuss the linguistic forms and conceptual structures of our metaphors.

In our study the five macro concepts are discussed below;

**4.3.1.0**     **CONTAINER**

In literal terms, this is a structure or contraption like a building, car or box which has an inner part that can hold persons or physical concrete objects within it. In English, we use the preposition 'in' to indicate that something is inside a container. When an

abstract noun is said to be *in,* for example *in January,* the usage of *in* is metaphorical according to the MIPVU procedure. This is because January is not a physical entity with "an inside", but it is being conceptualised as such. The equivalent of the preposition *in* in Gĩkũyũ is the suffix *inĩ*, as in *nyũngũinĩ*, to mean in the pot. The outside is *nja*. In our sampled metaphors, we have one metaphor, *kuuma*, falling under this source domain. It is discussed below.

### 4.3.1.1        KUUMA – TO GET OUT

The linguistic context of this item is '*kuuma nja ya uhoro'* (to go outside the topic under discussion). The basic meaning of *kuuma* (get or go out of) is getting out of a building, vehicle or container. Negotiation is neither of these and thus the use of *kuuma* here can only be understood contextually. Here, discussions are conceived of as a container where people engaged in a conversation exchange are seen to be getting '*out of'* when they fail to adhere to the topic under discussion. This failure to adhere to the topic in question follows a violation of the Gricean maxim of relevance (Grice, 1975). This maxim directs us to organize our utterances in such a way as to ensure their relevance to a given conversational exchange.

The metaphor conceptualises conversation as a physical object with physical dimensions like those of a container. The linguistic form of this metaphor is classic, Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 12) call these conduit metaphors and further argue that conduit metaphors do not need context for interpretation. For example, one could say, *kuuma nja,* whose literal meaning is to get out. However, when engaged in a conversation, this would mean digressing. People get out of things that have an inside like buildings and vehicle but not conversation.

It must be noted, however, that even if these kinds of metaphors do not need context for interpretation, cultivating a zero or null context is virtually impossible (Searle, 1979). Not to be confused with this is the metaphor, *kuuma nja*, meaning having extra-marital affair which requires context for interpretation. This too conceptualises marriage as a container.

The argument that conduit metaphors do not require context for interpretation engenders the metaphor, *kuuma nja ya ũhoro* as a conventional metaphor in respect to its conceptual structure. Indeed, we observed that the metaphor is so engraved in language that it is even difficult for a lay observer to notice its metaphoricity.

According to Bowdle and Gentner (in Gibbs, 2008), conventional metaphors are comprehended as categorisations rather than as comparisons. This, they argue, is because a metaphor undergoes a process of gradual change as it evolves from novel to conventional (Gibbs, 2008: 116). After conventionalisation, a metaphor becomes a conventional 'stock' metaphor, complete with its own secondary sense which can function as a category name. This means that when we conceptualise conversation as a container, then what is possible with a container, our base term, should also be possible with a discussion, the target. For example we can jump into or out of a container as we could of a conversation.

Further linguistic evidence for the metaphor of a conversation as a container includes;

*Kũrũgĩrĩra ndeto*, to jump onto a conversation,

*Kũrũga nja ya ndeto*, to jump out of a conversation,

*Gũikia ndeto ndahi*, to scoop a conversation,

*Kũrika kwaria,* to enter into a conversation,

*Ndeto ndiku,* a deep conversation, and so on.

These are what Musolff (2004) refer to as scenarios that help inform on the macro-Lakoffian concept CONVERSATION as container.

The relationship between 'a conversation' and 'container', however, remains metaphorical. A container can be seen, touched and have its dimensions measured but not so with a conversation.

To further argue for the conventionality of this metaphor, most cartoonists the world over draw lines to encircle someone's utterances or thoughts, lines which 'contain' within them what is said or thought (Kennedy, 2002).

Consider:

*Fig. 4.3.1.1a: A cartoon with speech metaphorically contained in a box.*
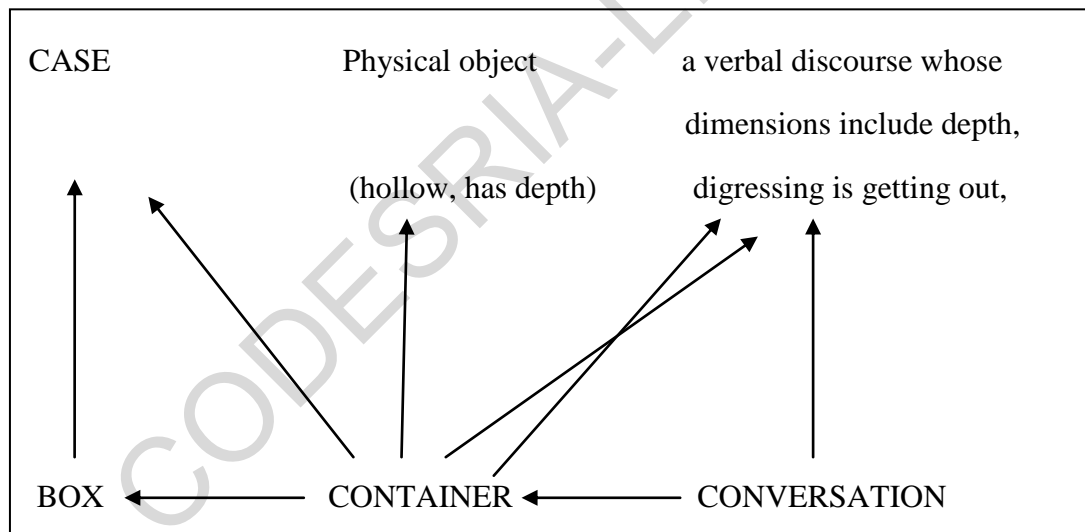


*Figure 4.3.1.1b: cross-categorisation of discussion as a container*

In the base domain of the physical object 'container', to get into something literally means to ease oneself in using moderate force. The semantics of *get in* does not entail the use of excess force that could be destructive. Similarly, *kuuma njâ ya ũhoro* varies conceptually from *kũringa ndeto*, or *kũrũga njâ ya ndeto*. This is because the meaning of *kuuma* does not entail the use of force but signals a gradual movement from the inside to the other end – outside. This means that a person who is digressing is not

seen to be doing so until they have done so completely and therefore evidently out of topic. When it is noticed that one is getting out of topic, they can be told, *nĩũrauma nja* (you are getting out of topic). This metaphor therefore contrasts with another one we collected, *kũhĩnda kwaria* (to hit the conversation), where participants are seen as engaging in the conversational exchange laboriously due to the use of force that is conceptualised. So the terms *kũrika kwaria* and *kũhĩnda kwaria* are gradable oppositions of the same primary conceptual structure. The basic meaning of the term *kũhĩnda* is to hit with a lot of force, sometimes with disastrous effects. We say, *Ngaari nĩ ĩrahĩndire thĩ,* the vehicle hit the ground. Applied to a person, it often means the person died, *nĩ arahĩndire thĩ,* (he/she died). In marriage negotiations, conversations involve use of bare knuckle bargaining. This is seen to be labourious and painful especially considering that use of words is minimal.

In marriage negotiations, adhering to the Cooperative Principle in a conversation is paramount as digressing will breed unwarranted talk, something that is undesirable. After all, it is said that *ũhoro mũingĩ nĩ wa ũthoni ũgĩkua* – too much negotiation signals a dying relationship.

The graph below shows the pattern of our sampled respondents in their interpretation of the metaphor of kuuma nja and the level of their interaction with the metaphorical item. The letters A to H represent the 8 categories of our respondents. For what each letter represents, see appendix V.
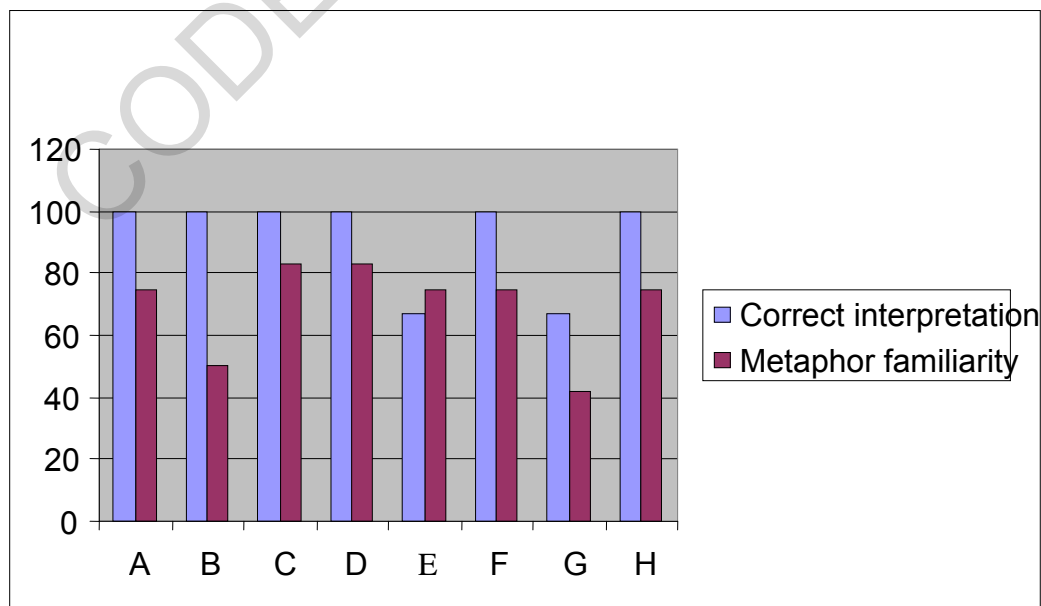


*Fig., 4.3.1.1c: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, CONTAINER

The interpretation of this metaphor across the social variables of sex, age and educational level was computed using the earlier given chi-square ($x^2$) formulae.

Since the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated $x^2$ that was used for comparison was uniform and was given as: $x^2$ (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places.

## a) Variable of Sex

| Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted  (*fo*) | 11 | 11 | 22 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11 | 11 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1 | 1 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

## Chi-square = 0

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor CONVERSATION IS A CONTAINER is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

## b) Variable of Age

| Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted  (*fo*) | 12 | 10 | 22 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11 | 11 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1 | 1 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

## Chi-square = 2.18

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor CONVERSATION IS A CONTAINER is not significantly different between the elderly and the young. This is because $x^2 = 2.18 < 3.84$.

**c) Variable of Educational Level**

| Education Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 10 | 22 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11 | 11 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1 | 1 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 2.18**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor CONVERSATION IS A CONTAINER is not significantly different between those with a higher level of education and those with a lower one. This is because $x^2 = 2.18 < 3.84$.

In conclusion, therefore, our three social variables of sex, age and education have no empirical evidence for the difference in interpretation as regards the above metaphor.

**4.3.2.0      PATH**

A path is literally a physical space with dimensions extending from points *x* to *y*. It is used in the movement of people, animals and objects. As a macro domain, it is informed by several micro concepts that indicate what an entity is doing, is happening to it, or where it is along the line between *x* and *y* that denotes the path. In our sampled metaphors, we have six metaphors falling under this macro concept category. These are; *kũrũga, rũũĩ, atenderete, gũthĩa, matheco* and *rũgendo*. They are discussed below.

**4.3.2.1      KŨRŨGA – TO JUMP**

This metaphor was used in the sentence, *ngwambĩte gũkira ndikerwo nĩ ndarũga*, I was hesitant so that I am not told I have jumped. In its full form, it is *kũrũga mbere ya ndarama*, (to jump before the drum). It means that the turn taking in a conversation is seen like a linear progression, a path where speakers wait at certain points in the conversation to speak. Speaking before one's turn then is jumping, like in a queue. The observance of turn taking in marriage negotiations is therefore crucial. Jumping before the drum imports attributes of a dance too. In a dance, people wait for the beat to be sounded before they can dance to it. But here individuals are compared to those who

dance before the beat and to no rhythm. The English equivalent is jumping before the gun.

The linguistic form of this metaphor is extended while its conceptual structure is novel but fast gaining ground to become conventionalised. A majority of respondents across the various social variables under investigation got the interpretation right but we still classify the metaphor as novel. This is because according to Coulson and Oakley, mappings in conventional metaphors are established via an automatic process of retrieval, while mappings in novel metaphors require analogical reasoning processes (2005: 1524). Accordingly, most of the elderly respondents clearly reasoned to arrive at the interpretation of the metaphor, given the kind of analogies they gave and their hesitations where answering questions.

The aptness of using this metaphor in a marriage negotiation ceremony is to be found in the fact that this occasion is always accompanied by pop and dance. Drums in Gĩkũyũ ceremonies used to be integral instruments. The metaphor therefore depicts talking before one's turn as a way of being a poor follower of procedures and programmes. It is tantamount to flouting Grice's maxim of manner which requires speakers to be orderly. The emerging cross-domains mappings show people dancing while no instruments are playing on the literal level, while at the metaphorical level, we find that speaking before ones turn in a conversation is totally out of order. The speaker may actually not be said to have jumped. In real life conversations an entry into a conversation also signals that the speaker on the floor gives way to the incoming one, but it is a clever way of passing the buck. The metaphor, being humorous, is also used to relax the tension that builds up in marriage negotiations.

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among male and female respondents, aged and young respondents, and among respondents with high education and low education.

Since all the sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was uniform and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places; *fo* is observed frequency while *fe* is expected frequency.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 7 | 6 | 13 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6.5 | 6.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 5 | 6 | 11 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 5.5 | 5.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.17**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor KŨRŨGA MBERE YA NDARAMA is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.17 < 3.84$.

b) **Variable of Age**

| c)  **Variable of Age** | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 3 | 10 | 13 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6.5 | 6.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 9 | 2 | 11 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 5.5 | 5.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 8.23**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor KŨRŨGA MBERE YA NDARAMA is significantly different between the elderly and the young. This is because $x^2 = 8.23 > 3.84$.

For one, this metaphor passes as novel. It is may be popular among the youth probably because it is used by John Mwangi (De Matthew), with whom young people identify. The older generation, though they may identify with the message, may not readily

identify with the musician. Instead they prefer musicians such as DK, Wagatonye, Wamaria, Kamarũ and Wanganangũ – musicians of "their time".

## c) Variable of Educational Level

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 5 | 8 | 13 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6.5 | 6.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 7 | 4 | 11 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 5.5 | 5.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 1.51**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor KŨRŨGA MBERE YA NDARAMA is not significantly different between those with higher educational level and those with lower educational level. This is because $x^2 = 1.51 < 3.84$.

We have tabulated our chi-square for the three variables under investigation and seen that only the variable of age is significant in the interpretation of the metaphor of *kũrũga*. We have hypothesised that since the youth are able to identify with the young musician, it is possible this could have predisposed them to have talked about this metaphor elsewhere and thus their ease in interpreting it.

Below we present a graphical view of how the metaphor was interpreted by our 8 groups of respondents and each group's level of familiarity with the metaphor.
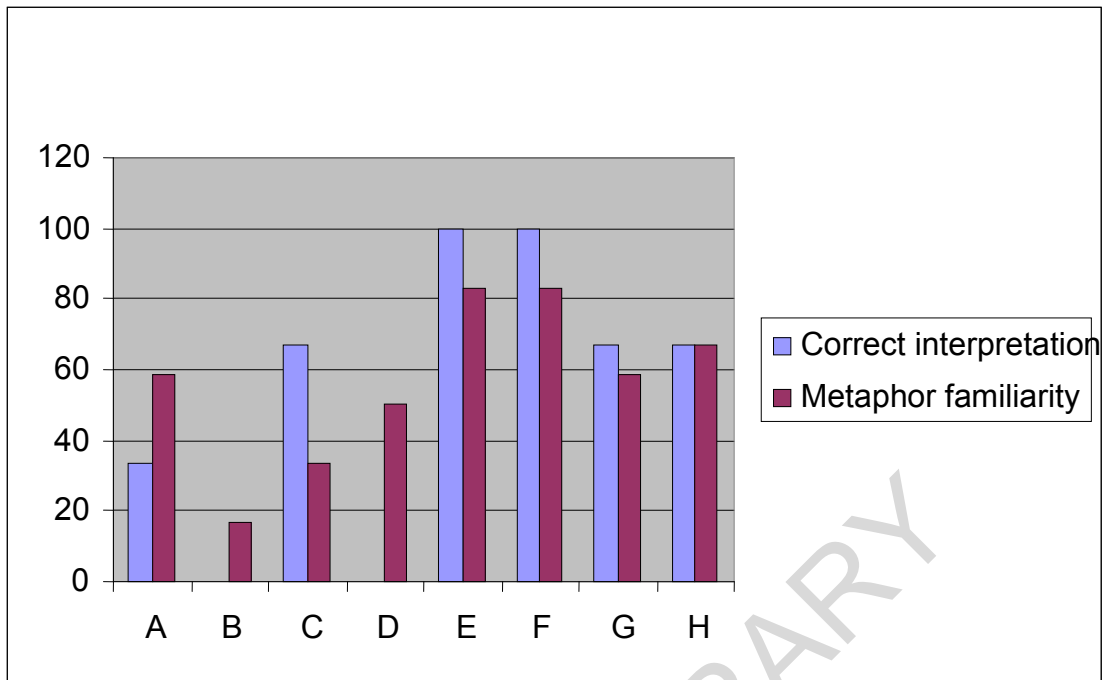
*Fig., 4.3.2.1a: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor,* KŨRŨGA MBERE YA NDARAMA

### 4.3.2.2 RŨŨĨ – RIVER

The full linguistic context of this metaphor in our data is the proverb, *mũgeni nĩ rũũĩ –* a visitor is a river. This is a PATH metaphor that equates a visitor, in this case the visiting in-laws to a river. A visitor is viewed via a path schema and the conventionality of these mappings is seen in the fact that a visitor, like a river, uses a path when going to visit. In this schema, one difference between a river and a visitor is that a river moves from point $x$ to $y$, the source to mouth, while a visitor moves from $x$, his home, to $y$, the place being visited, and then back to $x$. The logic of the water cycle that would take the river water back to $x$ is not attributes factored in this metaphorical expression.

In transport, a river is indeed a path in which we can demarcate points along the course. The water in the river flows from a higher point $x$ to a lower point $y$ using the force of gravity. This gravitational force is natural and water flow is solely dependent upon it for any movement downstream.

The linguistic form of this metaphor is classic metaphor that compares a visitor to a river in the general space of their similarity of being on the move, along some path. A

visitor is not someone who is permanent that will be found in the same place for long. He/she is like water in a river which flows downstream so that the water upstream replaces it, and so on. Further, the sentence is proverbial, which signals to the conventionality of the metaphor in terms of conceptual structure.

Other properties are are that of being a flowing liquid and its force. The force of a river is seen when it is swollen and becomes destructive to crops, erodes soil and sometimes sweeps away both livestock and human beings. This property is not activated in this categorization. Rivers also are a source of water for the consumption of both human and livestock and thus visitors may also bring something good to those they visit. However the use of this metaphor seeks to extol the virtue of hospitality to those being visited in that no matter how much a visitor imposes on the host, he is bound to leave one day, a property that compares to river that draws many things on its path.

In the East African coast, the Swahili people, another Bantu community, have a proverb *mgeni njoo mwenyeji apone* (visitor come so the local can heal). Like a visitor, another cross-domain mapping involved here is the purification effect that water has, which maps onto the relief bought by a visitor. They bring news from whence they come and break the routine that people are used to. While attending to visitors, people tend to be happy and relaxed.

From our base domain, river, we also map on the target the aspect of the river that of having green vegetation along its course; whenever visitors visit, they leave behind items of value. In Gĩkũyũ culture, visitors do not visit empty handed but carry baskets stuffed with gifts. When they arrive, the host takes the baskets, *kwaũra ageni*, and will put in those baskets what they have in plenty for the visitors to take back with them, *gũthũka ciondo*. In our context of marriage negotiations, the visiting in-laws will also leave a substantial number of goats among other items. And like erosion by a river, they will carry away the bride. This erosion and depositing of silt by a river is natural phenomena, an attribute that is mapped onto the target of visiting in-laws whose mission should also be viewed as natural,  an inescapable rite of passage.

```
MOVING WATER          TEMPORARY (gives and takes,

      ↑              ↗                    ↑

  RIVER   ←─────────   VISITOR
```
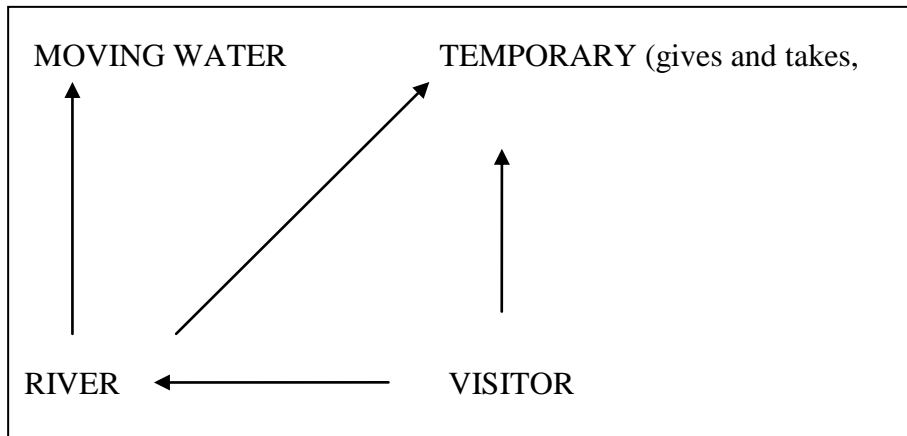
*Figure 4.3.2.2a: Cross-categorisation of the metaphor,* RŨŨĬ

The metaphor was analysed for the variables of sex, age and educational level for its correct interpretation. Below are our chi-square tabulations.

Given that the size of our population sample was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the same and was given as: $x^2$ (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

**d) Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor RŨŨĬ is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

**e) Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (df) of 1, interpretation of the metaphor RŨŨĨ is not significantly different between elderly and youthful respondents. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

**f) Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor RŨŨĨ is not significantly different between those with a higher level of education and those with lower level of education. This is because 0.00 is less than 3.84.

We have seen in our chi-square tabulation that none of our three variables had any impact on the interpretation of the metaphor RŨŨĬ, below is a graph showing how the various groups of respondents interpreted the metaphor as well as their level of interaction with the linguistic item.
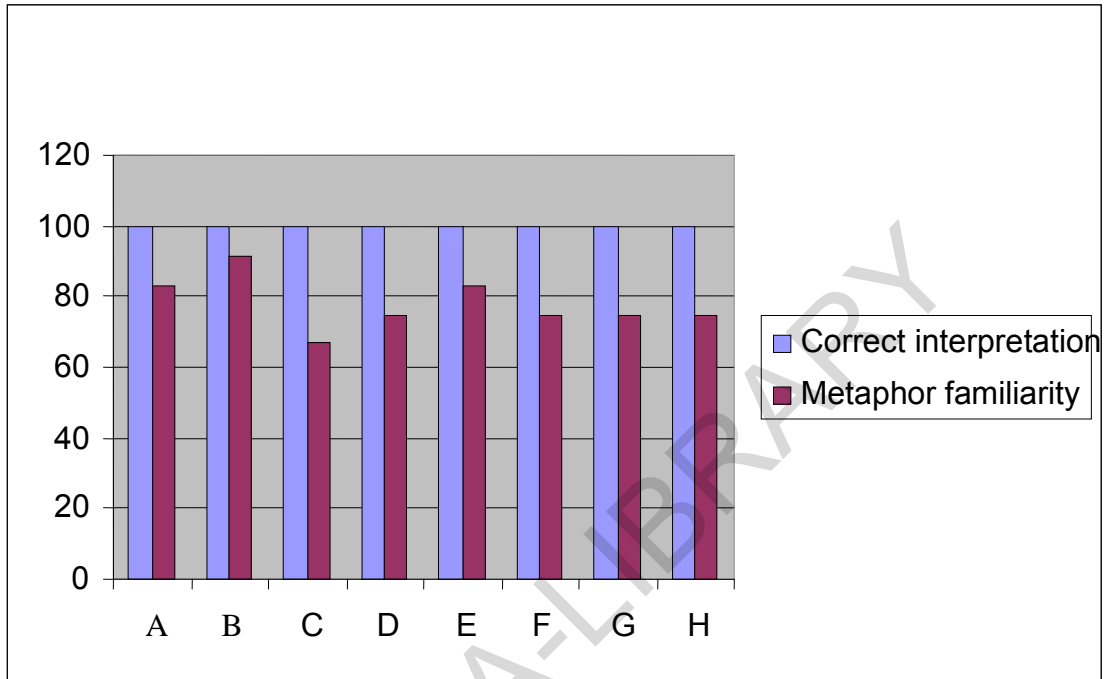


*Fig., 4.3.2.2b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, RŨŨĬ

In conclusion, the three social variables of sex, age, and education have not impacted on the interpretation of the metaphor, RŨŨĬ. The ease in the interpretation of this metaphor points to the nature of its conceptual structure which is highly conventional.

### 4.3.2.3    ATENDERETE – (SHE IS SLIPPERY)

This metaphor is a component of a compound metaphor – *atenderete ta nyanya* (she is as slippery as a tomato). In this metaphor, there is the classic metaphor *atenderete* and the distended metaphor accompanied by the preposition *ta*. A slippery surface is one that is wet or very smooth, and therefore, slipperiness can be a feature of a path, irrespective of the surface upon which the path is located.

If a surface is slippery because of wetness, it may mean that it is easy to drive objects such as sticks and spears into such ground since it is soft. Further, it is less cumbersome to pull items along slippery paths as the slipperiness reduces friction. No

wonder the Gĩkũyũ have a saying, '*cuma ĩtwaragwo nĩ ũtenderũ na hinya wa mwene*', (a metal rod is moved by slipperiness and the efforts of the person pushing it).

On the other hand, a slippery path is dangerous to walk on as there are risks of slipping and falling, thereby getting injured. This metaphor comes about because a tomato cannot be slippery, its surface can only be smooth.

In terms of its linguistic form, this metaphor is classic. The lexical item, *gũtendera* yields a metaphor because its use in our data meant something different from its basic meaning. *Gũtendera* means slippery, but the term here is used in the context of a tomato, which can only be smooth but not slippery. The meaning of slipperiness is therefore contextual. Looked at in isolation, the metaphor seems like a case of exaggeration. However, the conceptual domain of slipperiness becomes clear when we consider that fat cows, goats, sheep and pork are often times talked about as *itenderete* Non food animals such as cats and dogs are rarely, if ever, said to be slippery. This therefore leads us to one conclusion – that the attributes of slipperiness have to do with food items (that are easy to chew and swallow).

Girls, however, are not edible, but the entire compound metaphor *atenderete ta nyanya* (she is as slippery as a tomato) explicitly equates a girl to a food item. This then highlights the sexual undertones conveyed by this metaphor. The attribute of slipperiness articulates the ripeness for sex, and subsequently getting pregnant and boosting the clan's numbers.

The conceptual structure of this metaphor is highly conventional. In Gĩkũyũ, the term *gũtendera* is polysemous. While the basic meaning is slippery, the word also means smooth, especially in reference to food animals. Even in English, the semantic properties of slippery entails smooth in that it is difficult for a rough surface to be slippery.

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation across our three variables of sex, age and educational level.

We had a uniform sample size and as such, our tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was similar and was given as: chi-square (1 *df*, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places, *df* being the degree of freedom.

Below is our $x^2$ tabulation for the three variables.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor ATENDERETE is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$, where 0.00 is less than 3.84.

b) **Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor ATENDERETE is not significantly different between elderly and youthful respondents. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

c) **Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor ATENDERETE is not significantly different between respondents with a high level of education and those with a lower level of education. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

All our three $x^2$s are zero clearly signalling the conventionality of the metaphor atenderete. Below is a graph on the interpretation of the metaphor by our 8 group of respondents labelled A to H (see appendix V) as well as the respondents' level of familiarity with the linguistic item.
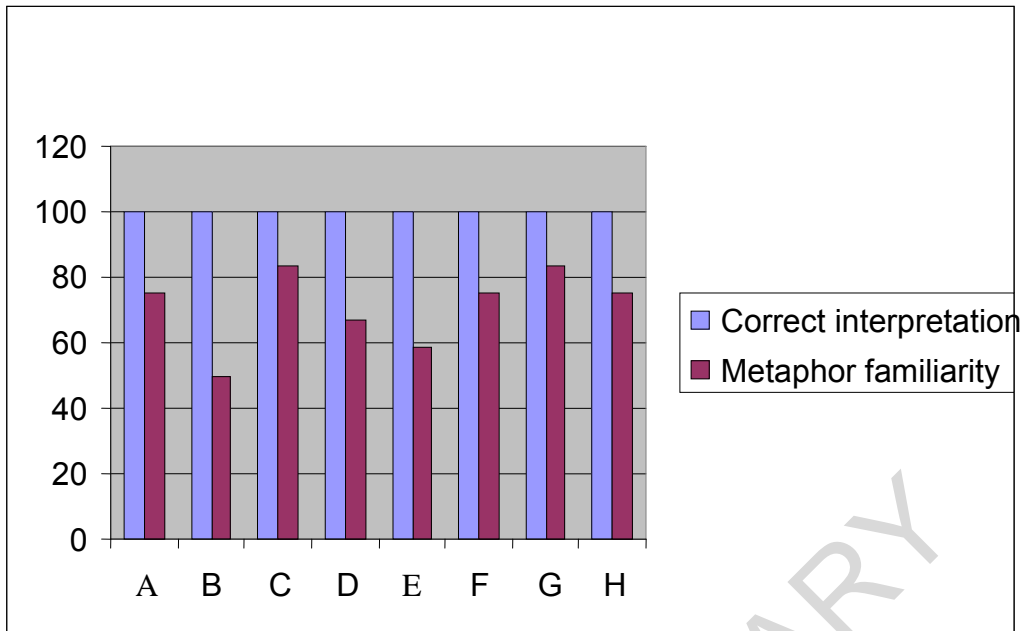
*Fig., 4.3.3.1b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor* ATENDERETE

In conclusion, at 5% level of significance, and a *df* of 1, interpretation of the metaphor ATENDERETE is not significantly different among all respondents across the three social variables under investigation. The metaphor is therefore conventional in its conceptual structure. The term is polysemously used to refer to slippery surfaces. When the skin is such a smooth surface, it could be talked of this way (as slippery) but as earlier said, the framing and use of the term to refer to people in tip top health is reserved to referring to women. *Nawe atenderete ĩ,* I tell you the person is 'fat'. If one were to ask people the sex of the person referred to by the morpheme *a* in the preceding sentence, the answer will be **woman**. It is highly unlikely that the term will be used to refer to a man.

Further, from our respondents, the other metaphor that uses the word *atenderete* is *atenderete ta itina rĩa thenge*, (as slippery as a he-goats buttocks). The fat behind of a goat is a delicacy and to use this metaphor in connection to the one describing women brings out the food attributes in both.

#### 4.3.2.4        GŨTHĨA – TO TREAD
This metaphor is part of a compound metaphor *gũthĩa njenga*, with the term *gũthĩa* – (tread) informing the PATH macro domain where events in a marriage negotiation, as

in life, are seen to move like a grinding stone. The metaphor was uttered by the visiting in-laws who said among themselves that there was need to move swiftly, *gĩtanathĩa njenga* (before things go wrong). Here the scenario of the grinding stone represents the natural sequence of events in the negotiation. There is movement on the PATH beginning with the commencement of the negotiations and ending with the conclusion of the same. The linguistic form of this metaphor is classic and is an example of what Lakoff (2003) calls ontological metaphors where an event is viewed as an entity or a substance. This metaphor of things going wrong being viewed as grains allows the users of the metaphor to refer to it, qualify it and identify the various aspects of it (it being the event). This, according to Lakoff (2003), enables us to believe that we can understand it. Lakoff further observes that ontological metaphors like this one are so natural and pervasive in language that they largely go unnoticed (2003: 28). In this case, the coarse maize grain is the base domain that is mapped onto the target domain 'things going wrong' to 'concretise', and thereby metaphorically viewing the activity as a substance. The responses we got from the respondents clearly show that this metaphor is conventional in respect to its conceptual structure.

Coarse maize, though edible too, is far less palatable than flour and the mechanics behind this unrefined product comes about as a result of a faulty posho mill. As an economic activity, the Gĩkũyũ, used to run, and still do, water driven posho mills. Sometimes the rope that regulated the distance between the two grinding stones can snap, or the water would increase and move the grinding stone faster. This can result in milling large particles of maize called *njenga*. It is this irregular movement of the grinding stone that forms our base term that we map onto life. Further, within the same metaphor, *njenga* acts as our base domain which we map onto the activity 'things going wrong' that is our target domain.

The fact that *njenga* is cooked and eaten, and given the context of use of this metaphor, then it means that marriage negotiations are not expected to suffer irreparable damage. There is a silver lining on the cloud that is disagreements in marriage negotiations.

Moreover, as we earlier noted, it is possible to recast a metaphor so that its target is a new, more attractive and readily available domain. In this respect, the attribute of *njenga* as food, can easily be recast on the bride whose duty will be to cook. The bride

is also conceptualised as food, in the basic metaphor WOMEN ARE FOOD. Thus, in this base-target mapping, the girl or even marriage itself is *njenga*, food which, though not ideal, is edible. This is similar to the relationships that people aspire for but which may not materialise. There may seem to be a contradiction in this kind of analysis, but only when we think of *njenga* in the recast metaphor as the unpalatable food of the original casting. However, in the recast metaphor, the attributes that are candidates for mapping are that *njenga* is used as a cover term for a feast. The feast in question may not necessarily have *njenga* on the menu. In the sentence – *twathiĩ njenga*, the message is, we are going to a feast.

Its linguistic form starts off as a linguistic rhetoric with things 'going wrong' being likened to the mis-grinding of a miller, but ends up being a compound metaphor when wrong things map onto coarse maize. The compound nature of this metaphor can be explained in the following way; to grind coarse maize means to go wrong. By this we imply that life is a mill which is meant to grind fine flour. At other times however, things go wrong and the product we get from life is coarse maize. This means that life here is a target domain which the base domain 'mill' aligns to. Further, the metaphor recruits course maize as a base domain to further map onto the target domain 'go wrong'. This projected mapping engenders the metaphor as compound. We therefore have two metaphors; LIFE IS A MACHINE and, BAD EVENTS ARE UNREFINED PRODUCTS.

In marriage negotiations, relationships are subcategories of the superordinate category 'LIFE' where a marriage negotiation going wrong could be explained as one of the many attributes of life where things go wrong. The metaphor of life here is therefore apt, except that we are dealing with specific aspects of the domain that the metaphor amplifies. In any case, marriage is a fundamental aspect of life, an institution within which life is perpetuated.

Below is a figure that captures the mappings of this compound metaphor showing at one level the attributes of a machine mapping onto life. At another level, the attributes of *njenga* map onto disaster when events do not progress as planned.
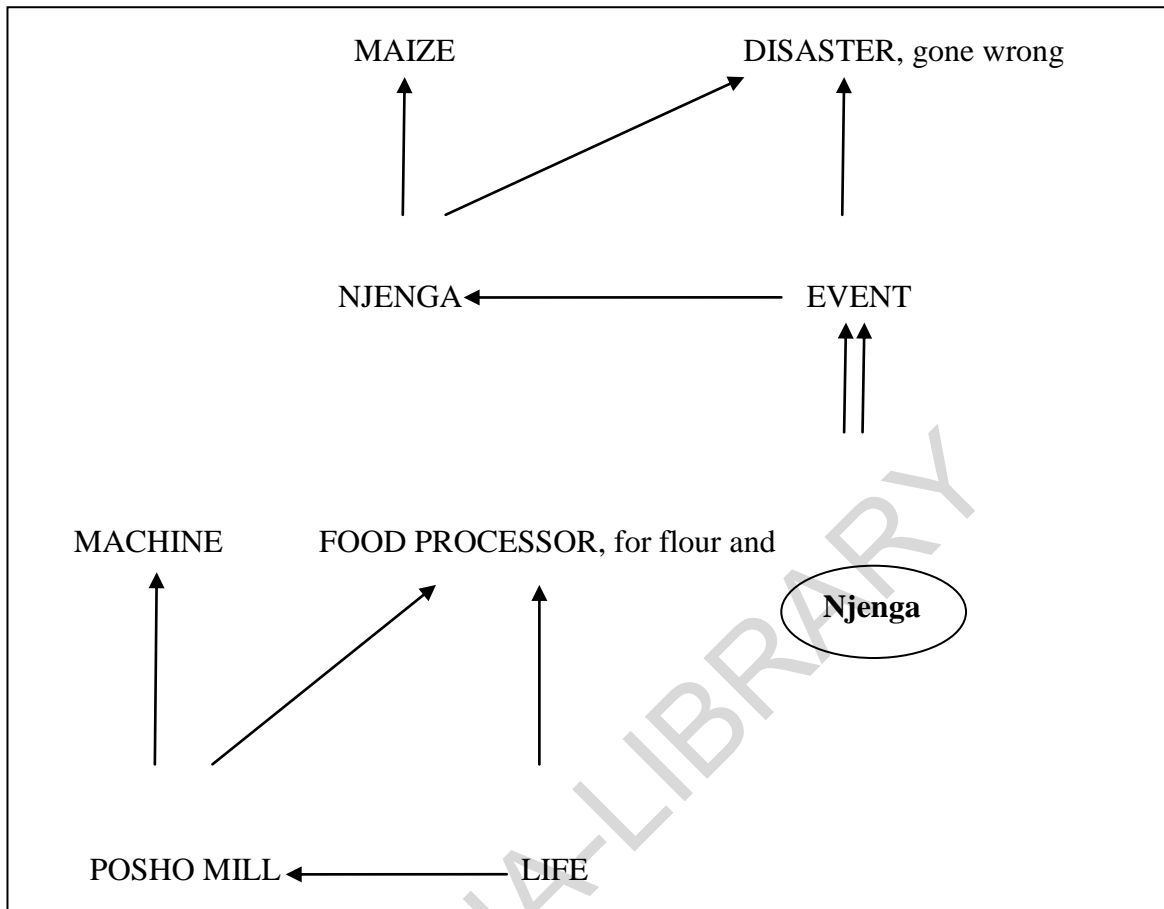
*Fig., 4.3.2.4a: Cross-categorization of the compound metaphor,* GŨTHĨA NJENGA

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation across the three variables of sex, age, and educational level. We had a uniform sample size and therefore our tabulated $x^2$ was similar and given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency while *fe* is expected frequency. Below is our tabulated $x^2$ for the three variables.

a)  **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 9 | 11 | 20 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 10 | 10 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 3 | 1 | 4 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 2 | 2 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 1.60**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (df) of 1, interpretation of the metaphor GŨTHĨA NJENGA is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 1.60 < 3.84$.

## b) Variable of Age

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 10 | 10 | 20 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 10 | 10 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 2 | 2 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (df) of 1, interpretation of the metaphor GŨTHĨA NJENGA is not significantly different between the elderly and the youth. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.840$.

## c) Variable of Educational Level

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 10 | 10 | 20 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 10 | 10 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 2 | 2 | 4 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 2 | 2 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor GŨTHĨA NJENGA is not significantly different between respondents with a higher level of education and those with a lower one. This is because
$x^2 = 0.00 < 3.840$.

We have presented our chi-square tabulations where we have seen that across the three variables and seen that there is no significant difference in the interpretation of the metaphor. Now let us now look at the graph below for a view of the respondents' interpretation of the metaphor and their familiarity with it.
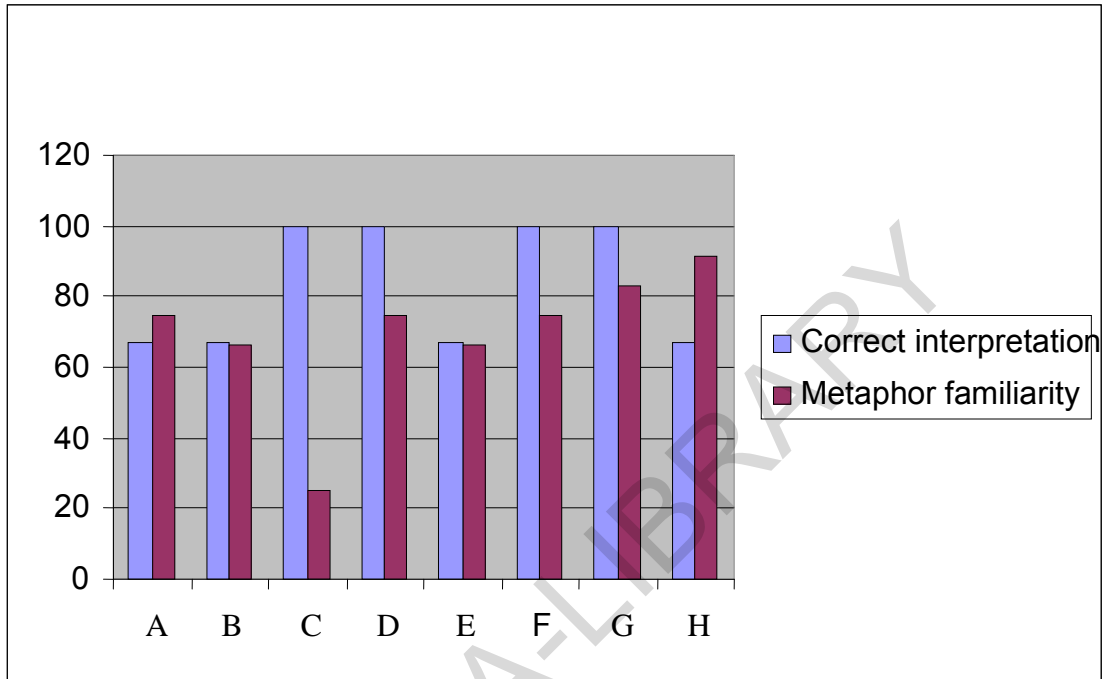


*Fig. 4.3.2.4b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, GŨTHĨA NJENGA

In conclusion, the three social variables of sex, age, and education have not impacted on the interpretation of the metaphor, GŨTHĨA NJENGA. This shows that the metaphorical item is conventional in terms of its conceptual structure.

### 4.3.2.5 MATHECO – LAND OF PLENTY

In literal terms, the word *matheco* loosely translates as a place where people pierce and comes from the verb *gũtheca* (to pierce). Used in the context of food, it means to pierce food using eating sticks – *njobe* – or teeth. It therefore means eating. *Matheco* therefore is a place where there is plenty to eat, a land of plenty.

The entire linguistic item for this metaphor was *werũ wa matheco*. Matheco is an illusionary land where people feast all through and the wonderful attributes of such a place are mapped onto life in marriage. The girl, this metaphor alludes, will have

plenty to eat. In fact, according to our research assistant, the word *mũirĩtu* (girl) means she who eats and eats. It is a coalescence of *mũirĩi tu*. In marriage negotiations, it is standard practice for the man seeking a wife to be asked whether he has enough to be eaten and wasted, to which he answers **yes**. Getting married, then, is a realization of a girl's lifelong dream of having somewhere to eat and waste.

In Gĩkũyũ culture, the girl being sought in marriage is jittery and her excited laughter at this time is actually a source domain for a metaphor targeting someone who is laughing too much; *gũtheka ta ũyũ ũkũrio* (laughing like one being proposed to).

Nonetheless, the term *matheco* has negative connotations too, but they are not the salient attributes being framed here. It is negated by the Gĩkũyũ folk tale where hyenas were invited to *werũ wa matheco* by a crow who was on a revenge mission. The hyenas had been tricked that the white clouds were heaps of fat piled by God. The narrative therefore yields the non salient negative attributes of the metaphor, thus the illusionary undertones. Viewed from the perspective of our target domain, MARRIAGE, is not a bed of roses. This is articulated by yet another proverbial metaphor, *mĩciĩ nĩ ndogo* (homes are smoke). This means that although all homes seem similar since we see smoke billowing from each house in the morning, each home has its own unique problems and challenges. In marriage, terms of engagement change and issues of marital responsibility and family obligations come in. All these, compounded by the arrival of children, make *matheco* a pipe dream just as it was to the hyenas in the folk tale. However, the bride, aware of these, still readily consents to marriage. The consequences of marriage, as earlier said, are a zero sum. This metaphor is a micro concept of the macro domain of PATH in which we see the bride moving from spinsterhood to being a wife. It is mapped onto a spatial domain where she moves from one place – a land of need – to another, the land of plenty.

In terms of linguistic form, this metaphor is classic. The conceptual structure parades a term – matheco – which is worn out to the extent that its novelty is as a result of revitalization.

According to our elderly respondents, the term used to be common in the fifties especially after the 1943 famine (*ng'aragu ya mianga*) which had seen people travel far in search for food. Today, the term *matheco* survives only where elderly people are transacting business, like in marriage negotiations.

According to Steen (2011), a metaphor which is tired in use (or sleepy in its career), can still be revitalized as is the case here. If the term begets continued use or is used by an influential individual, it is given a new lease of life. Worth noting too is that the term, like in English equivalent – greener pastures – is almost a satirical.
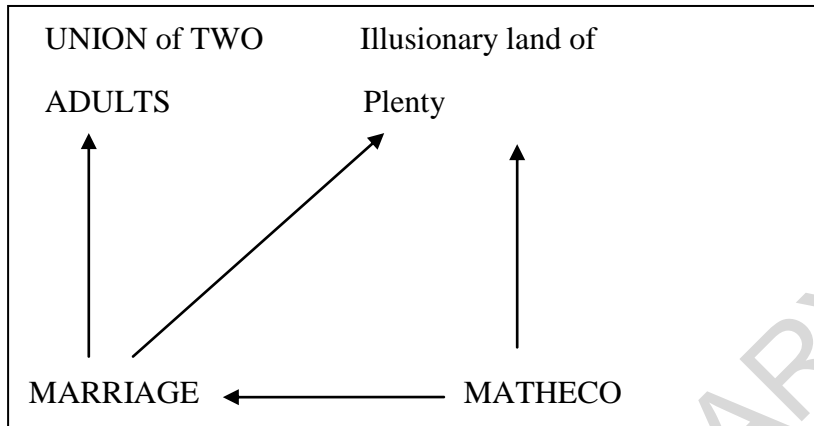


*Fig., 4.3.2.5a: Cross-categorization of the conventional metaphor,* MATHECO

The graph below shows how the metaphor of MATHECO was interpreted by our sampled respondents and their level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.
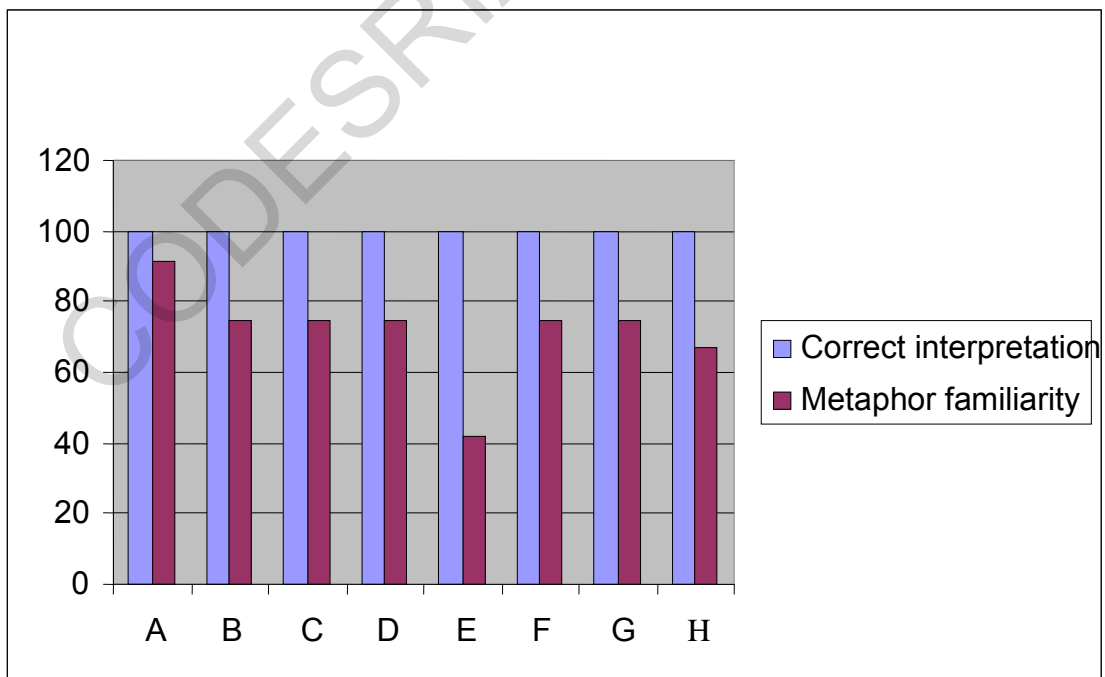


*Fig., 4.3.3.5b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, MATHECO

We analysed the metaphor according to its correct interpretation among our sampled respondents and used the $x^2$ to compute our data.

Given that the sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the same. It was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor MATHECO is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

b) **Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor MATHECO is not significantly different between elderly and youthful respondents. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

**c) Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor MATHECO is not significantly different between highly educated and lowly educated respondents. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

In conclusion, the ease in the interpretation of this metaphor gives empirical support to the conventionality of the linguistic item's conceptual structure.

### 4.3.2.6    KĨHONGE – BRANCH

This metaphor was used by the groom's uncle when asking the groom to confirm for certain that that was the girl of his choice. "*Twĩre biũ kana mũirĩtu nĩ ũyũ wĩrirĩte ndũkanauge atĩ nĩwahĩtirie kĩhonge*". Say for certain if this is the girl of your choice so that you shall never say you missed the branch. The act of choosing a spouse is compared to the delicate decision making process about which branch of a tree a boy or baboon needs to jump onto. The uncle here is using an all too familiar domain to the young man and his age-mates. He is speaking in a language that the young man can relate to, having been a boy only recently. This enables the groom to visualise things from his own point of view. Boys play on trees jumping up and down, just like baboons. A miss has obvious consequences. The metaphor is revitalised by John Mwangi's (De Matthew) 2011 song, *Kaĩ Wahĩtirie Ndama*? – Did you miss the checkmate? This makes the metaphorical inputs more eloquent and current.

Moving from a given position to hold onto a target branch involves a directional movement. This micro concept therefore informs the macro concept of LOVE IS A PATH.

Although the metaphorically used word is the noun *kĩhonge* (branch of a tree), the verb *kũhĩtia* (to miss) is a metaphor flag since it provides ample ground for invoking a metaphorical interpretation. *Kĩhonge* is the base term, while our target domain is girl. However, we are not doing our cross domain mapping from the branch onto the girl in understanding this metaphor. Rather, the act of deciding which branch to jump to is our base domain which we map onto the equally delicate decision of which girl to marry. In terms of linguistic form, this is a classic metaphor involving an entire scenario (Musolff, 2006) mapped onto another scenario of finding a girl, courtship and marriage. Going through glosses, a related item would be *kũhĩtia ikinya*, to miss a step, which is also a PATH metaphor.

This metaphor is a good example of deliberate metaphor use. In deliberate metaphor use, as is evident here, the speaker invites the addressee to view things from a different perspective – the point of view of the speaker. Thus, he moves from the domain of marriage, which the speaker is familiar with, but not the addressee, to the domain of jumping on trees which the addressee is a recent ex-member. With De Matthew's song a youth favourite at the time, the uncle is trying to make the nephew understand the implications of his choice in his (nephew's) own terms. The nephew's understanding of the deliberateness of the metaphor is evident in the answer he gives, '*nditerethete mama*', uncle I have not slipped. The word *slipped* is metaphorically used. This extended use of metaphorical interpretation indicates that the addressee understands the deliberateness of the metaphor use (Semino, 2008). He therefore appreciates the metaphor in keeping with Grice's maxim of relevance which states that one has to remain in topic of the newly introduced topic of discourse event.

On the surface, the metaphor sounds humorous and helps ease the tensions building up in the room as the negotiations progress. At a deeper level, however, the metaphor has serious implications. It is meant to jolt the groom back to his senses concerning the weighty responsibility that awaits him as a family man. The discourse is characterised by such questions as "are you sure this is the girl you have decided to live with for the rest of your life? Do you know one day she will age, get wrinkled and unattractive?"

All this probing is meant to underline the seriousness of the matter. Even the girl is asked by the elders from her clan, "*maitũ, wĩnama twanyua njohi ĩno tũtigatahĩkithio*?" (Mother, are you sure if we drink this brew we shall not be forced to

vomit it?) Being made to vomit is metaphorically referring to consequences of divorce.

From the metaphor of *kĩhonge,* we have an entire scenario unfolding. First we have the location of a suitable branch, then jumping onto it and holding firm. We also have in mind the goings on once on the chosen branch, which may include relaxing or using the branch to get onto another, or simply picking the fruits on the individual branch chosen.

In the cross domain mappings, branch will map on to the girl, identifying the branch to dating, jumping to courtship and being eventually marriage. Children will be getting to another branch, not possible to arrive at without first getting married. Missing the branch or jumping onto the wrong branch would be getting the wrong partner leading to a life of pain and suffering; one can climb down from the wrong branch meaning get a divorce. It is also possible for one to miss the branch all together and fall, for we have violent divorces or even murder by a spouse.

The above scenarios are the involved conceptual domain mappings. In terms of conceptual structure, the metaphor, having been used deliberately, is novel. According to Steen (2011), when metaphors are used deliberately, it may be expected that all of them are to be processed by comparison. "If they are not understood by forging correspondences between a source and a target domain, they misfire as parts of utterances." p. 38

Using the bottom up approach, we have categorised this metaphor under PATH because movement is involved in getting to the right branch. However, as we have said earlier, a metaphor may fall under more than one macro domain. In this case, this metaphor can also fit in the ABSTRACTION macro concept. The uncle moves from the all too familiar domain of marriage to the less familiar humorous domain of jumping on trees. He moves from the serious topic of getting his nephew a life companion to a near joke in order to identify with the young man. To all those present in this discourse event, the domain of marriage is abstracted, especially if they cannot relive their boyhood days.

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among male and female respondents, aged and young respondents, and among respondents with high education and low education.

We had a uniform sample size and therefore our tabulated similar and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency while *fe* is expected frequency.

**a) Variable of Sex**

| **Variable of Sex** | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 8 | 6 | 14 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 7 | 7 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 4 | 6 | 10 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 5 | 5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.74

**b) Variable of Age**

| **Variable of Age** | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 4 | 10 | 14 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 7 | 7 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 8 | 2 | 10 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 5 | 5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 6.17

c) **Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted  (*fo*) | 7 | 7 | 14 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 7 | 7 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 5 | 5 | 10 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 5 | 5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, both sex and education are not significant in the interpretation of this metaphor since their chi are $x^2 = 0.74 < 3.84$ and $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$ respectively. Age, however, is significant with $x^2 = 6.17 > 3.84$. This may be explained by the fact that the contemporary song *Kaĩ Wahĩtirie Ndama?,* by De Matthew*,* could be popular with the youth and some of the mappable attributes are retrievable from it. The song is about a girl who left his man to go to the land with honey and milk, but seem to have miscalculated as someone miscalculates in a chess game. This is actually what makes the metaphor humorous since the uncle seems to know the things that the youth know.

Having looked at the tabulated chi, let us look at the interpretation of the metaphor and the level of familiarity across the various respondents in the graph below.
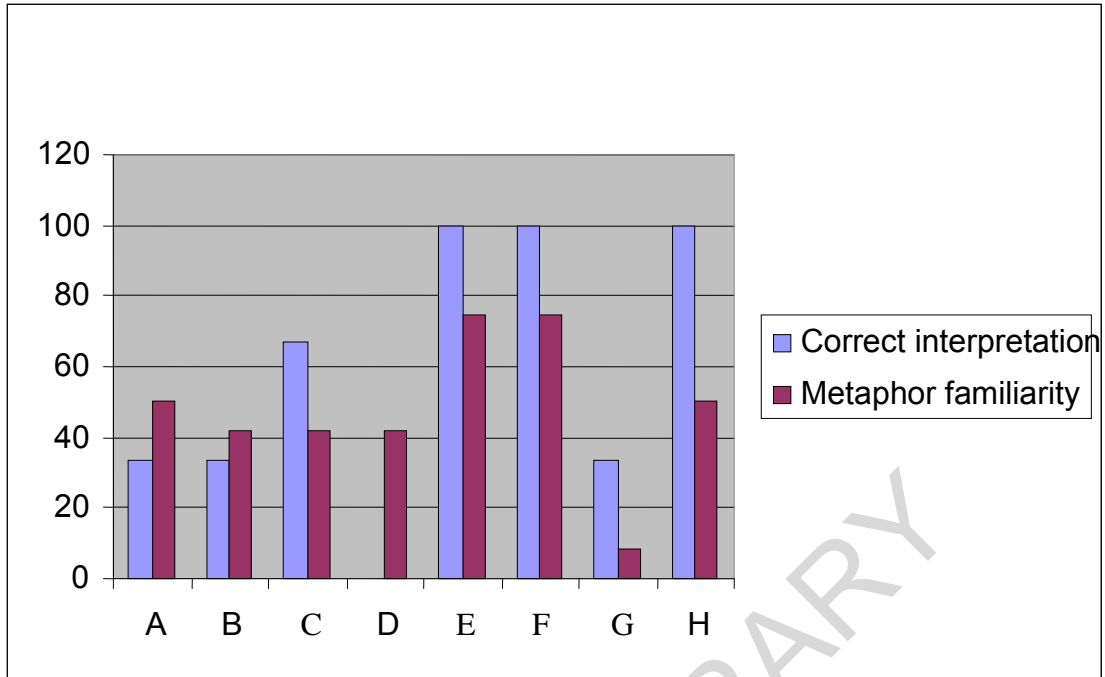
*Fig. 4.3.2.6: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, KŨHĨTIA
KĨHONGE

### 4.3.2.7    RŨGENDO – JOURNEY

This macro concept is pervasive in life/love discourse topics in many languages.
Lakoff and Johnson (2003) write of many English micro concepts that view love as a
journey. As a reaction to the tenets of Lakoff's Conceptual Metaphor Theory,
Glucksberg and McGlone (1999) talk of "When love is not a journey", while
developing the Class Inclusion Theory. They do not deny that there are instances when
love is viewed via the journey domain; rather, they offer instances when this is not the
case.

The emotions of love are viewed as a PATH. The metaphor was not collected in "love
is a journey" form, but *rũgendo rũrũ mwambĩrĩirie – this journey you started . . this
journey* representing the relationship from the start, up to this point when the couple
intends to marry.

The linguistic form of this nominal metaphor is classic metaphor. It invites
participants to conceptualise the abstract domain of love in terms of the more concrete
and familiar domain of a journey. As a journey, the spatial attributes of using a path to

move from point *x* to *y* through course *a* are put into focus. This is what makes the metaphor fall within the macro concept of PATH. Seen in the richness of micro concepts, this is evidently a conventional metaphor in terms of conceptual structure.

At close scrutiny, we find several scenarios (cf Musolff, 2006) that can be mapped from the journey domain, which is the base, to the target domain of love. In a journey, there is a point of departure that is both temporal and spatial. For example, a journey from Nairobi to Nakuru will have the physical point where the journey starts as well as the time when the event commences. In the complex system of cross domain mappings, and in the context of marriage, the spatial domain does not map onto the place where the man and the woman who marry meet. Rather, we import the ages, material wealth (normally lack of), their individual dreams, levels of attaining them as well as the promises they make to each other. This means that both the temporal and spatial domains are lumped together.

When a spouse tells their partner, "*ririkana harĩa tumĩte*", remember how far we have come, they do not mean to remind each other of where they met such as in college or a club. They mean to remind the partner how much they have struggled to conquer life together. This reminder is usually slanted to include promises made when the relationship was young, now being neglected.

The fact that emotions of love are experienced through life means that the two target domains are intertwined and the question of which is superordinate to the other is a philosophical headache whose answer largely depends on who is answering it.

A journey is characterised by ascents and descents, making new discoveries as well as tiring. People on a journey will also meet others and so on. Also relevant here is the metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING, since the future is unknown and thus harbours some quiet uncertainties. This can be equated to the eventualities of a journey as it unfolds.

Looking at this domain in view of the target domain of a relationship, it is common to hear things like;

> *Wendo ũyũ nĩ ũnogetie* – I am tired of this love

> *Nĩ maratiganire* – they have gone their separate ways

*Harĩa makinyanĩtie* – Where they have reached together

Using this metaphor in marriage negotiations is intended to make the young couple start conceptualising the relationship as a challenge that has to be met with dedication and courage. This tones down the pre-marriage jitters so that marriage is not seen as a bed of roses but a union requiring a sober reflection of the possibilities of the life ahead.

This PATH concept allows the user of this metaphor to see the phases in a relationship as stages along a path.

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the sampled respondents with the three variables of sex, age and educational level under investigation.

We had a sample size that was uniform and so the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was similar. The given chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) was 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency while *fe* is expected frequency.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| **Variable of Sex** | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 10 | 11 | 21 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 10.5 | 10.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1.5 | 1.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.53

**b) Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 10 | 21 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 10.5 | 10.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1.5 | 1.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.38

**c) Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 10 | 21 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 10.5 | 10.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1.5 | 1.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.38

At 5% level of significance, all social variables are insignificant in the interpretation of the metaphor, love is a journey as their entire $x^2 = 0.53, 0.38, 0.38 < 3.84$. This means the pervasive nature of the metaphor in various forms discussed earlier is understood well across various groups of language users.

Below is a graph showing how the various categories of respondents interpreted the metaphor, WENDO NĨ RŨGENDO and their level of familiarity with the metaphor.

*Fig. 4.3.2.7: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor,* WENDO NĨ
RŨGENDO

### 4.3.2.8 IHENYA – HURRY

This proverbial metaphor was collected in the sentence, *kwengea kwa athuri nĩrĩo ihenya rĩao.* The metaphor uses the image of movement to map onto the target domain of the slow speed with which elders make decisions. In marriage negotiations, important decisions about who will be able to marry who at what price are made. Elders in such situations are not in any hurry. The conceptualisation of the decision making process as some kind of movement yields such concepts as speed, distance and physical space. This will yield the analysis of the basic form of this metaphor which is LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The linguistic form of this metaphor is classic. As a PATH micro concept, it involves the speed at which distance from *x* to *y* is covered. Although high speed is glorified, hurry has attributes of messing things up. Hurry involves a disorganised way of doing things and in matters involving delicate decisions like marriage, it is to be avoided.

Physically, the elderly are not swift in movement and this metaphor, in conceptual reference to their cognition, alludes to the fact that they are slow in making decisions

as they weigh each option at a time. This seems to suggest that in old age, it is wisdom that weighs people down so that they walk slowly, facing the ground as though meditating. Linguistic evidence for this is the proverb, *mwanake endagorwo o ihenya* (a young man is valued only for his speed). This means that the elderly will make decisions and if there is a message to be relayed, the youth will do so, thus a distinction between physical and mental speed. Given that the elderly value physical speed but still glorify their slow walking, then the two are from different domains or otherwise the metaphor would *clash* since, according to Steen (2011), it would misfire. This is a proverbial metaphor meaning that its place in language is fixed and assured which subsequently point to its conventionality in terms of its conceptual structure. The full available glossary for this metaphorical item is as follows; *ahiũkĩte ta mũtego, ahiũkĩte ta mũgwĩ, arahiũka ta mũruithia* (as hurried as a trap, as hurried as an arrow, as hurried as a circumciser). All these contrast with the speed of the elderly, which is said to be *kwengea* (walking like a duck)

We will briefly discuss a few such other metaphorical items here even though they were not part of our collected items; they offer a clear elaboration of the conceptualisation of hurry. These are the metaphors mentioned in the glossary above. A trap snaps fast enough to catch its victim, an arrow moves swiftly towards its target, while a circumciser moves with speed and dexterity in his sacred duty of transforming boys (*ihĩĩ*) into men (*arũme*). The circumciser would also move menacingly from one end of the queue to the other just to see which boy was not courageous enough to face the knife.

Woman's hurried movement is elsewhere compared to *Rucia – ahiũkĩte ta Rucia* (as hurried as Rucia). The metaphor's meaning can only be derived if we are aware of the song which talks of a woman named *Rucia* – Gĩkũyũ for Lucy, who moved hurriedly to church to stop her husband from marrying another woman. In the 1971 song by Maranga Wagatonye with Wilfred Ndirangu, "*Ũmbani ũrĩ thĩĩna*", the metaphor compares Rucia's hurry to that of trap. But there has been an evolutionary migration from the base domain. It is taken by the metaphorical item in line with the postulations of the Career of Metaphor Theory. The expression "*Rucia ahiũkĩte ta mũtego*", has Rucia's hurry as the target that the base domain trap maps onto. After popularisation of the song, the base term *mũtego* undergoes cultural filtration to refer

to men's movements and the target term *Rucia* becomes the base term of the all novel metaphor "*kũhiũka ta Rucia*" in reference to women's hurry.

The metaphor of men's speed being compared to a trap, arrow or circumciser have positive connotations while that of a woman hurrying like *Rucia* is derogatory. Interestingly, all our respondents with communicative competence in Gĩkũyũ language confirmed that the metaphors of trap, arrow and circumciser were used by men about youthful males they admired. It is highly unlikely to compare a girl's hurry or speed to that of a trap. In any case, such hurry on the part of girls is discouraged. In another song, "*Wamaria wetwo ndũgetĩke, na wetĩka, tĩga gũteng'era mũndũ nĩetagĩrwo magambo*". This is a man advising his sister that should someone call out your name, do not answer and if you do, do not rush because one is sometimes called to be told bad news.

There is a proverb that says, *bata wa mwanake harĩ mũthuuri no ihenya* – the importance of a young man to an old man is only his speed. The respondents also agreed that the metaphor of Rucia was used to demean women. Gĩkũyũ men culturally would not see anything wrong with having more than one wife as the traditions allowed for polygamy and as such their use of the metaphor *ahiũkĩte ta Rucia* is derogatory to women but not to men. But the metaphor of the circumciser, trap, and arrow is not. Weapons of war, it would appear, are glorified. They helped the men in defending their territory against *ũkabi*, Maasai, and wild animals.

The question now remains: which one of these three metaphors; Rucia, circumciser and spear are sub-concepts and which one single individual metaphor is the basic domain.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 118) the most natural (basic) kinds of experience are products of human nature. They propose that basic concepts are those that correspond to natural kinds of experience. In this regard, the user of these metaphors may not have necessarily used a trap or an arrow or even seen them. The idea of *Rucia* is quite recent. As we have seen, it is a target domain that has evolved into a base term. Further, one may or may not have seen a circumciser's speed and precision.

Below is a graph showing how the various sampled respondents interpreted the metaphor IHENYA and their level of familiarity of the metaphorical item.
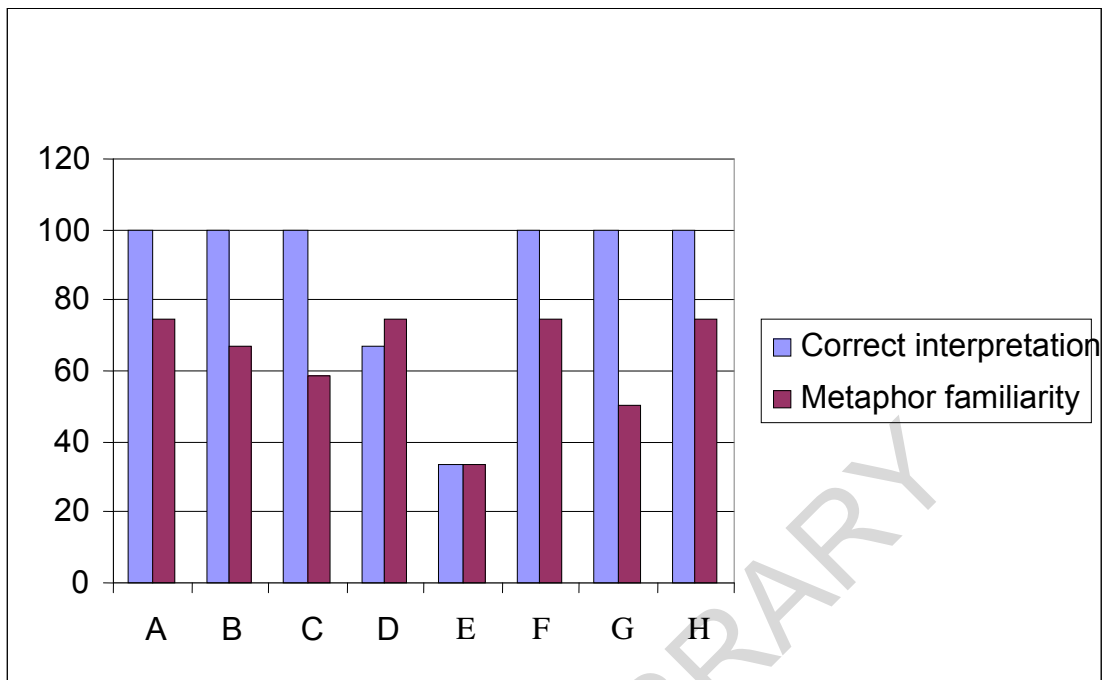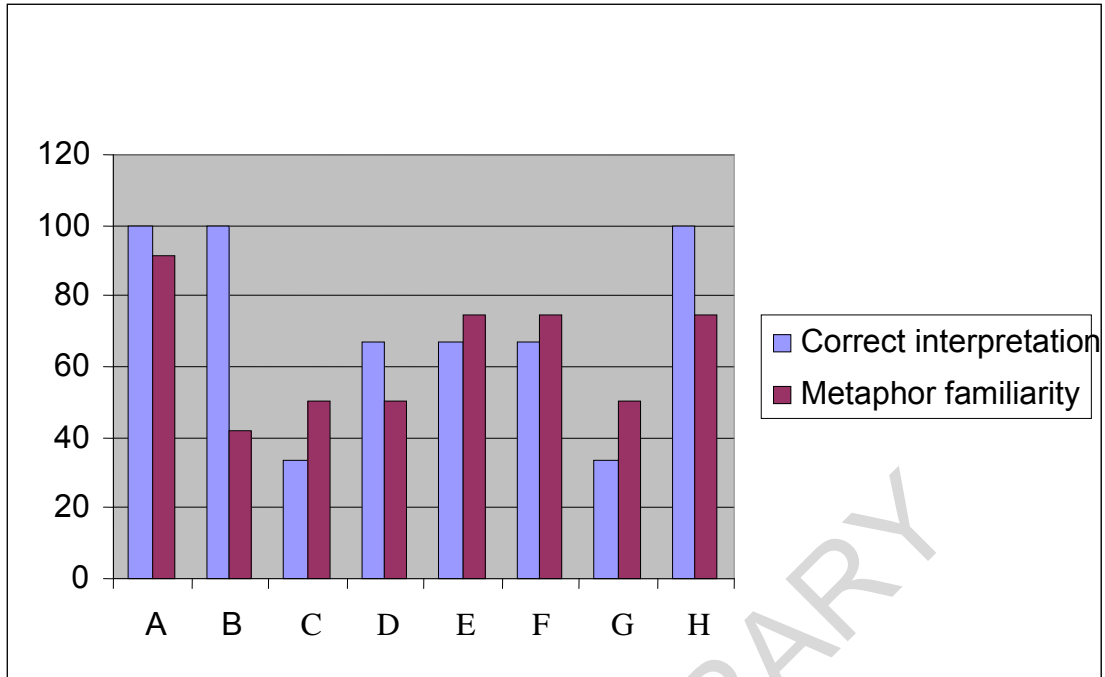
*Fig. 4.3.2.8: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, IHENYA

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the respondents varied in sex, age and educational level.

Given that the sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the same and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

**a) Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 10 | 7 | 17 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 8.5 | 8.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 3.5 | 3.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 2.20**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (df) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor IHENYA is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 2.20 < 3.84$.

## b) Variable of Age

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 9 | 8 | 17 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 8.5 | 8.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 3 | 4 | 7 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 3.5 | 3.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.20**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor IHENYA RĨA ATHURI NĨ KWENGEA is not significantly different between the elderly and the youth. This is because $x^2 = 0.20 < 3.84$.

## c) Variable of Educational Level

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 10 | 7 | 17 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 8.5 | 8.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 2 | 5 | 7 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 3.5 | 3.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 1.82**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (df) of 1, interpretation of the metaphor IHENYA RĨA ATHURI NĨ KWENGEA is not significantly different

between those with a higher level of education and those with a lower level. This is because 1.82 is less than 2.71.

It is interesting to note that, from our glossary of related items, the target domain of the less novel metaphor, '*Rucia ahiũkĩte ta mũtego*' (as hurried as a trap) used in Wagatonye's song subsequently becomes the base domain of a novel metaphor derived from it, *ahiũkĩte ta Rucia* (as hurried as Rucia). Further, from our respondents we find that there is a preference to use the metaphor 'trap' to refer to boys/men while Rucia is used to refer to girls/women. The metaphorically used name 'Rucia' has negative connotations. In this scenario these two metaphors indicate an evolving pragmatics division of labour earlier discussed.

In conclusion the uniform interpretation of the metaphor shows that it is conventional in conceptual structure and those who interpret the metaphor wrongly generally lack in metaphorical competence since this metaphor calls for a higher level of cognitive abilities than other metaphors because of its complexity. Its correct interpretation cannot be a matter of simple semantic recall but requires further synthesis.

### 4.3.3.0 OBJECTIFICATION

Objectification involves the use of a base domain whereby non-object items are treated like objects. An object is a non-human entity. In our sampled metaphors this domain is mostly informed by food items. In our sampled items, we have the following metaphors that fall under the macro concept of objects, in this research seen and referred to as cases of metaphorical OBJECTIFICATION; *nyanya, itimũ, omĩte, itiũragia, mwanga mũũe, rũkonda, kĩenyu, ihũa, thabuni, kĩgwa, gĩkwa, mũkũngũgũ, icungwa, ũcũrũ, njenga and matiraheha*. The last two are cases of SUBSTANCES, a sub category of OBJECTS.

### 4.3.3.1 NYANYA – TOMATO

The full glossary of this item as collected was *atenderete ta nyanya ya iganjo* meaning she is as slippery as a tomato from a deserted homestead.

As noted by Gathigia (2011), it is not by coincidence that most metaphors describe women as food. Fauconnier and Turner (2002: 28) point this out very clearly when

they say that the historical patterns of war, rape, suicide, and alliances which reflect our everyday reality are as a result of "exquisite sophistications of sexual mental fantasies." The area of sexuality as a source of data in cognitive science is nonetheless almost a taboo.

This metaphor is used to refer to the bride and reinforces our earlier claim that men conceptualise women as food. Even our metaphor number 2, "*women are goats*" has the attributive property of food. This metaphor, and others like *gacungwa* – diminutive for orange (meaning mistress) and *gĩtheremende kĩa ngoro* sweet (*n*) for the heart and so on, have deep seated sexual undertones. This metaphor structures our concept of sexual activity, within which the object of appetite (that is enhanced by use of tomatoes in food) is person, in this regard the bride. Given this then, HUMAN IS FOOD (Lakoff, 2003:409).

A tomato growing in a deserted homestead (*iganjo*) is big (given the fertility of the place), smooth and juicy. This suggests a mature fleshy girl who is ripe for sex (to be eaten or spice a man's life by giving birth) in marriage. In fact, the elderly female respondents saw the aptness of this metaphor in relation to *gũtuta* "near ripeness" so to use the term.

Its linguistic form is that of a distended metaphor. This is because the metaphor is designed as a simile. But there is the word *atenderete* which means slippery, not smooth. Smooth is denoted by the term *kũnyoroka*. In this case then, the use of *gũtendera* is metaphorical, which renders this linguistic item as a compound metaphor. But on entering the psycho-analysis of this metaphor, its conceptual structure filters in the sexual connotations of the term *gũtendera*. This then decontextualises the word and it yields the literal meaning of the word. This means that at the linguistic level the metaphor is not compounded, but is at the conceptual level. The distance from linguistic form to conceptual structure is relative. Linguistic form informs the conceptual structure and we cannot talk of language while distancing ourselves from it. The demarcation is purely for analysis and may not exist in real life.

According to the Career of Metaphor Theory, similes are always processed as comparison. This therefore means that the bride is being compared to an edible fruit – tomato. Bowdle and Gentner (2005) call distended metaphors class-inclusion statements. They argue that classic metaphors can be phrased as distended metaphors

and vice versa. The dominant view in the distinction between classic metaphors and distended metaphors in cognitive linguistics is that the latter are clearer than the former, clearly inviting a figurative comparison.

In cognitive linguistics, there are those who hold that distended metaphors are the root and classic metaphors are understood as implicit distended metaphors (e.g. Kintsch, 1974; Miller, 1979; Ortony, 1979; and Tirrel, 1991). But Glucksberg and Keysar (1990), in line with their Class-Inclusion Theory, have argued the opposite – that distended metaphors are understood as implicit metaphors.

Our study has, however, embraced an integrated approach to metaphor-simile distinction – namely "grammatical concordance" (Bowdle, 1998; Bowdle and Gentner, 1995, 1999, 2005; Gentner and Bowdle, 2001). The justification behind this grammatical concordance is that the linguistic form reveals something about function and similes function as comparisons.

It therefore follows that the conceptual structure of all distended metaphors, is novel since similes invite a comparison of the target to the literal base concept (Gentner and Bowdle, 2001).
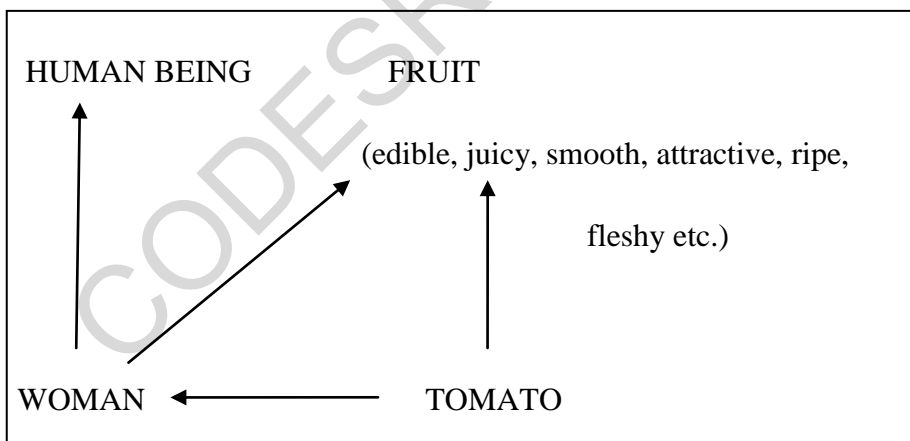


*Figure 4.3.3.1a: The novel metaphor, woman as tomato.*

When the metaphor of a tomato is used in marriage negotiations, its physical properties of being mature, ripe, juicy, smooth, and colourful, as well as its uses, are all mapped onto the bride. In this cross-domain mapping, we see the girl's physical maturity, her readiness for sex, and therefore reproduction, as well as the beauty to be added onto the groom's clan. The uses of a tomato as food and spice are mapped onto

the responsibilities of the young wife–to–be who will be food for the man as far as sex is concerned. She will also spice up his life and that of his people through her physical beauty not to mention the children she will soon bear. This metaphor usage is therefore a marketing strategy. Hidden within the metaphor though is the other feature of a tomato – its perishability which, sadly, compares to the temporality of youth. Marriage in Gĩkũyũ culture is a rite of passage and when one is ripe, one should embrace it before he or she is time-barred.

Below is a graph that shows how the respondents interpreted the metaphor and their level of interaction with it.
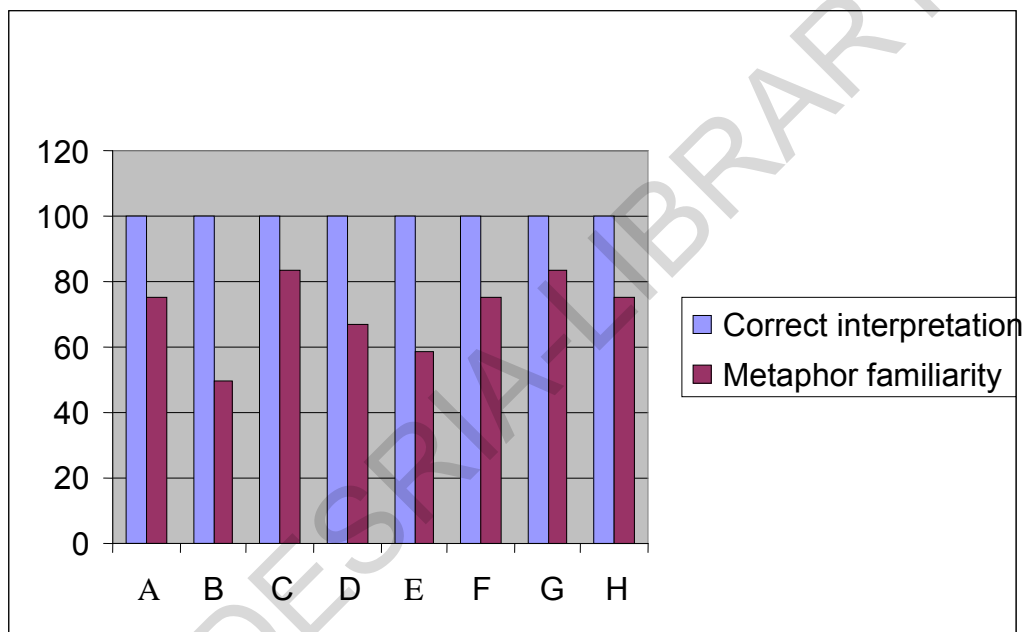


*Fig., 4.3.3.1b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor* NYANYA

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the various respondents.

Because the sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was similar and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor GIRL IS TOMATO is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

b) **Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor NYANYA is not significantly different between elderly and youthful respondents. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

**c)  Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---:|---:|---:|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor NYANYA is not significantly different between respondents with a high level of education and those with a lower level of education. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

In conclusion, at 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, interpretation of the metaphor NYANYA is not significantly different among all respondents across the three variables of sex, age and educational level. This, therefore, suggests the conventionality of the metaphor in its conceptual structure, but as earlier noted its novel. This is so because of its distended linguistic form. The linguistic form of a metaphor signals its conceptual structure (Bowdle and Gentner, 2002).

### 4.3.3.2      ITIMŨ - SPEAR

The base domain of this metaphor falls under two macro categories. It is a case of objectification when used to refer to the traditional weapon. When used to refer to male genitals, the metaphor is a case of metaphorical abstraction. We discuss both domains here for purposes of coherence and report this when discussing ABSTRACTION. Given this, the metaphor is compound since we have the distended form signalled by use of the preposition ta, and the classic form when spear means penis. The metaphor in the discourse occurred in the sentence; "*ona gũtuĩka kwerirwo kĩgoci kĩa mũndũ ti kĩa mũtĩ, tarũgama makwone **warũngara ta itimũ***" – Even though

it has been said that a bent person is not like a bent tree, stand up they see you are straight like a spear.

This metaphor compares a groom to a spear. So far we have noted that while women were being compared to edibles such as tomatoes, men were being compared to weapons of war.

The metaphors of men as weapons of war and the circumciser are closely related since it is men who go to war and it is the circumciser who turns boys into men. The circumciser was identified as the most basic form by the respondents. The strength of a spear is mapped onto the groom so that he is seen as a strong well built man, able to defend and fend for his family.

It is also noted that, the metaphor *arũngarĩte ta itimũ*, (he is as straight as a spear), is a sub-concept of the basic metaphor 'SEX IS WAR'. It is evidently clear that the properties of a groom whose straightness is likened to that of a spear have little or actually nothing to do with the man but his manhood. What is happening here is well within the career of metaphor theory. Bowdle and Gentner (2005) themselves agree that one of the strengths of the model is that it allows the extension of the named target and base concepts to be more global conceptual systems. This is especially possible because the metaphor is cast like a simile. ". . if a metaphor is paraphrased like a simile − that is, as a comparison − then a much richer analogy may be drawn. In essence, the simile form lays bare the original alignment from which the familiar expression was born (p. 213)."

Further, in Giora (2003), the salience of a given term sometimes makes it possible for the suppressed meaning of a word to come to mind. She says that salience is not just a function of experience. When individuals encounter a word like spear, which in this case has been mapped onto the groom, they think of its other more salient attributes. This is because meanings are also determined by the cultural or individual prominence of words and expressions. O'Halloran (2007) notes how a metaphorical source domain moves and gets attached onto an available target domain dictated by context. Here the metaphor source domain is chosen to distance the speaker from the taboo topic of sex. Giora notes that people can talk of things indirectly, but the metaphors that they use will always pick on the right domain whether that is explicit or not, simply because context is a major participant in a conversation. In this connection, Giora (2003: 175)

says: "when perceiving a stimulus in an actual context, that context need not 'collide' with the most salient response of that stimulus, because, in most cases, the most salient response is **the one invited by context**."

Further on distancing, Semino (in Gibbs, 2008) notes that since a metaphor carries not only the ideational elements of language but also the attitudes of users and their cultural beliefs, there is need to move away from source or target via metaphor choice. She says, "when a metaphor topic of talk is uncomfortable for speakers in some way, metaphor helps to distance and de-emphasise" p. 203.

Since classical times, phallus meant sword and the vagina meant sheath or scabbard. In Gĩkũyũ, the euphemistic words for penis are *mũthiĩ ita* (he that goes to war) coalescencing as *mũthita*, *rũhiũ* (sword) *mũtĩ* (stick) *njũgũma* (club) and so on, all weapons of war (Gathigia, 2011). The linguistic item *arũngarĩte ta itimũ,* though collected in this form, is actually supposed to be *arũngarĩte ta mũra wa itimũ* – he is as straight as a spear's shaft. This suggests that the use of this metaphor cross-maps the straightness of a spear onto the groom who is thus painted as a straight person in character, not a pervert. From a Freudian point of view, he is also capable of a hard erection like a spear and therefore can bear children, the dream of any traditional bride. Simply put, it is the erection of the groom that is in question in this metaphor. The properties of the base domain, spear move to another readily available target domain, male genitalia (see Giora, 1999).

The psychoanalyst, being familiar with the irrational concepts as they enter the psychological domain, will easily connect the metaphor 'MORE IS UP' (Lakoff, 1987), to fantasy development among which is the perception of the visible male genital being mapped onto the spear, with the rising motion of the erect penis, as "more of or a better genital" than the 'castrated' female one (Borbely, in Gibbs, 2008: 413). This implies that the metaphor of spear has a bodily source but the wider scope reeks of male dominance and chauvinism. These deep seated fears and fantasy sources cannot be wished away.

For us to map the domains, we need then to establish the properties and uses of the literal spear and then find out which of these properties and uses remain viable when we have the cross-domain mappings with our metaphorical spear.

For one, the spear has three parts, the head (*itimũ*) which is the sharp metallic end used for stabbing, the wooden shaft (*mũra*) which holds the head and tail (*nduthu*) together. A spear is a lethal weapon of war used for defence. The spear is also used as an ornament especially in traditional dances. We also established that a spear was never kept while lying; it was always rooted on the ground standing on its tail, head up. The spear among the Agĩkũyũ could also be 'planted' outside one's house by his age-mate (*wakinĩ*) to signal to the man of the house that his age-mate, whom he could identify by the spear since each spear was unique, was in the house for the night having sex with his wife (traditions allowed this and the practice is rampant among the Maasai to date). The spear was also, among the Gĩkũyũ, used for sporting activities for recreation a practice that is now done in schools in javeline throwing.

Looking at the literal spear we find that it too holds the ground on its base, is used for war that, recreation and, granted both the literal and literary levels of spear pierce flesh. One youthful female of 31, when asked to say what she knew of a spear said there is a proverb that says, *mwanjio mũru no wa itimũ*, then craftily added, *ona gũtuika onario rĩtheca o nyama.* Translates as: the only bad beginning is that of a spear, although it also stabs the flesh. The message lies in the subordinate clause not in the proverb.
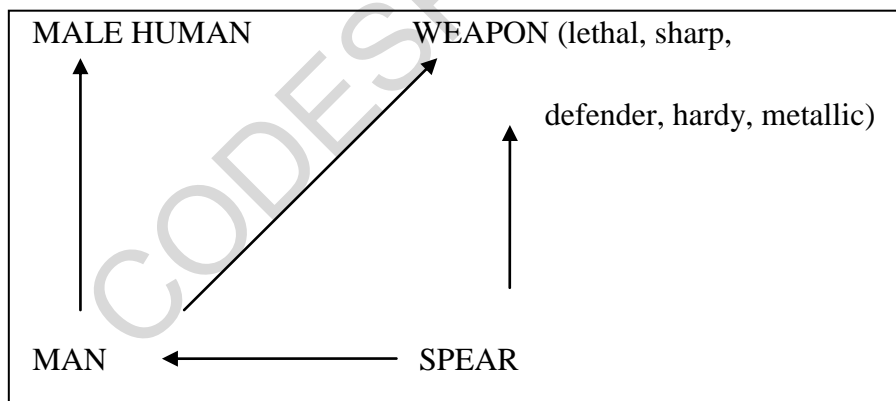


*Fig., 4.3.3.2a: Cross-categorisation of the metaphor,* MAN IS SPEAR

Like the metaphor of tomato above, this metaphor is used by the groom's people to try and 'sell' their man. The properties of the spear; straight, sharp, lethal, metallic, and its use in defence, are mapped onto the man. The straightness of his character and agility of youthfulness compare to the shape of the spear and how it moves when thrown. However, the underlying conceptual structure in this metaphor, as earlier noted however, does not at all refer to the man but his manhood. All elderly

respondents noted that a disabled man is still a man and several quoted the proverb, *kĩgoci kia mũndũ ti kia mũtĩ* – a bent man is not a bent tree. In marriage, what is being sought is a family. To be remembered here is that the bride is expected to be a virgin, and therefore, sharpness of the metaphorical spear will be important as a first step towards raising the family. The man will also be expected to defend his home thus the use of a spear is mapped onto this responsibility. Further, the fact that the spear is metallic is mapped onto the way the man will be expected to navigate the family through the challenges of life without breaking down.

The linguistic form of this metaphor is distended because it uses the preposition *ta* (like) to join the base and the target domains used. In terms of conceptual structure it is purely conventional – so conventional that the word *mũra* has since been ellipted from the metaphor. All the respondents could readily interpret this metaphor as seen from the graph below.



*Fig., 4.3.3.2b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor* MAN IS SPEAR

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the sampled respondents varied in sex, age and educational level.

Since the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparisons was uniform and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.5) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| **Variable of Sex** | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

b) **Variable of Age**

| **Variable of Age** | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

c) **Variable of Educational Level**

| **Variable of Educational Level** | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

Like 3 above, at 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor MANHOOD IS A SPEAR is not significantly different

among all respondents across the three variables of sex, age and educational level. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$ for all the three variables.

This nature of uniformity coupled with the metaphor's linguistic form points to its conventionality in terms of its conceptual structure. This, however, only holds for the classic metaphor that refers to the penis as a spear, but as a compound metaphor, the distended form is novel, in line with the Career of Metaphor hypothesis.

In conclusion, our sampled metaphor, *arũngarĩte ta itimũ*, uses the base term spear to map onto the target groom to distance it from the obvious target 'male genitals' which is a taboo topic.

### 4.3.3.3     OMĨTE – DRY

This metaphor is part of a compound metaphor *omĩte ta Karĩithi*. The word '*omĩte*' is metaphorically used. It literally means dry while the preposition '*ta*' flags a simile, a distended metaphor. For purposes of coherence, the entire compound metaphor will be discussed here under the OBJECTIFICATION macro base domain but will mentioned later under the macro concept of ORGANISM, since Karĩithi is a human being.

This metaphor was used in reference to an old man in the negotiating team who had turned up for the occasion exceptionally very smart. The statement has double metaphorised import.

First, the term *omĩte* has the root form of the verb as *-ũma* which in Gĩkũyũ literally means;

   a. Dry due to lack of moisture and
   b. Hard in texture.

Second, the other metaphor arises out of comparison between the old man and Karĩithi. Thus, visual looks take on the properties of physical objects that we can touch and feel, a case of extended metaphor in terms of linguistic form. In addition, there is the simile, a case of distended metaphor in regard to linguistic form. But even then, the total sum statement engenders itself as not only an extended and a distended metaphor, but as linguistic rhetoric. This is because, for people to understand the entire metaphorical item, there is need to first understand who/what the said Karĩithi was and how smart he/it was.

The explanation given by respondents of this Karĩithi varied with some saying Karĩithi refers to the cowbird, others talked about some man in the 40s who had dressed so

well on a trip from Nyeri to Nairobi while others thought he was the chief. The true Karĩithi was a colonial day paramount chief's askari from Ruguru location in Mathĩra, Nyeri. He would be sent by the chief to the European DC in Nyeri to deliver letters. The man would adorn his uniform, well pressed, full head gear, bangles and anklets and would walk to and from Nyeri to avoid creasing his garments instead of sitting on a donkey cart. Karĩithi was also an only son so his mother is said to have fed him so well that he was a figure to behold. This engendered him as someone very smart. Thus our metaphorical item is an incomplete reference and as such a compound linguistic rhetoric.

Its conceptual structure is novel, having lived its conventional stage. It is a case example of what Bowdle and Gentner (2002) call dead metaphor 1. This metaphor is now almost retiring for only 50% of our respondents, all of them elderly, knew its source. People who know the full metaphor say, *"omĩte ta Karĩithi akiuma Nyeri* (he is as smart as Karĩithi when coming from Nyeri). Below is a graph representing the respondents' interpretation of the metaphor and their level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.
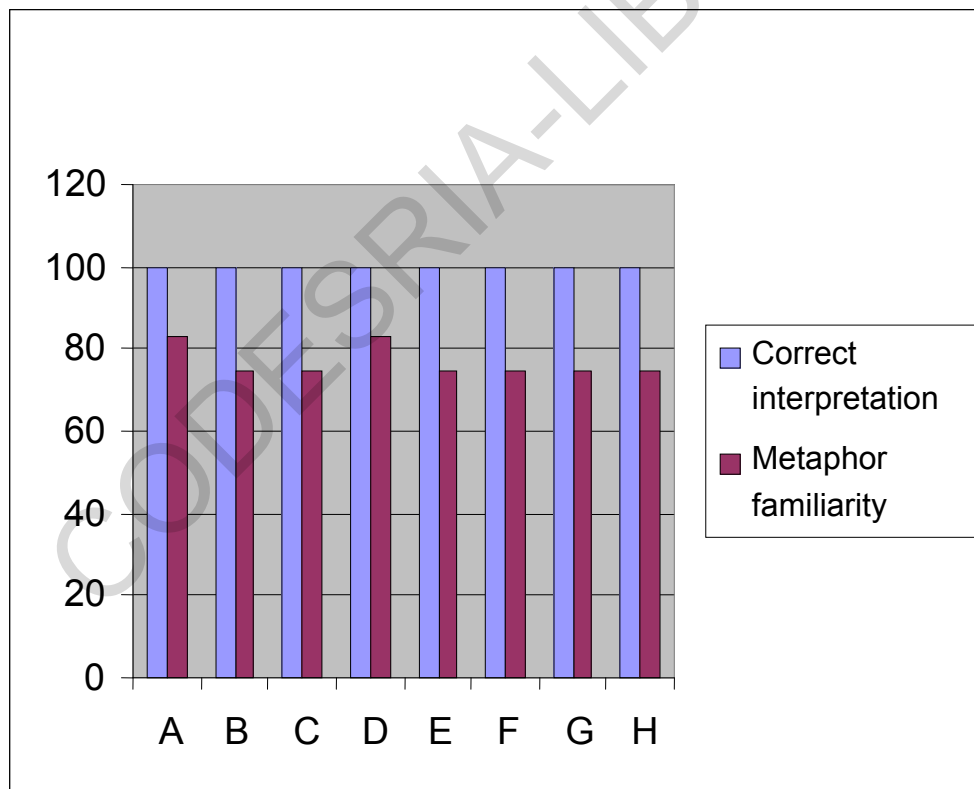


*Fig., 4.3.3.3a: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor* OMĨTE TA KARĨITHI

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the various respondents, varied in sex, age and educational level. Since the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the same. It was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places.

a)  **Variable of Sex**

| **Variable of Sex** | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 11 | 22 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11 | 11 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1 | 1 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

b)  **Variable of Age**

| **Variable of Age** | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 10 | 22 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11 | 11 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1 | 1 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 2.18**

c)  **Variable of Educational Level**

| **Variable of Educational Level** | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 10 | 12 | 22 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11 | 11 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 2 | 0 | 2 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1 | 1 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 2.18**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor OMĨTE TA KARĨITHI is not significantly different among our respondents across the three variables of sex, age, and educational level. This is because respective $x^2$ s = 0.00, 2.18, 2.18 < 3.84.

### 4.3.3.4    MWANGA MŨŨE – PEELED CASSAVA

Cassava, *manihot ssp* is a drought resistant tropical plant whose tuberous roots yield important food products. The tubers are brown black but brilliant white when peeled. In 1943, cassava became a very important food crop in Gĩkũyũland as there was a severe famine (*ng'aragu ya mĩanga*) and only cassava was available. Cassava is also popular as an aphrodisiac food and is slippery when freshly peeled. It is against this knowledge that we do our cross-domain mappings.

First, for the cassava to be this white, it has to be peeled. Our base domain, peeled cassava, maps onto the target domain, the man who is extremely clean. There is effort needed to get clean, just as in the peeling of cassava. The peeling suggests a tedious undertaking which, when aligned onto our target domain, means that attaining cleanliness is not at all a pleasant affair as it requires time and money. Sometimes, like in the case of shaving, it involves literal pain.

Then we have the bitter and the sweet varieties of cassava. Depending on the level of admiration, the cross-domain mappings may take on either of the two varieties. The cross-domain mappings involving the concepts of the sweet cassava map on to the property that the clean person is endearing and sweet for the eyes to feast on. The bitter variety will involve cross-domain mappings of something unpleasant to have around but which is very necessary. For example, during the great famine of 1943, it mattered less whether the cassava available was sweet or bitter. Incidentally, the bitter variety is usually bigger than the sweet one.

So here we have a clean person who may not have been very popular with the gathering but his presence was indispensable. In marriage negotiations, roles are assigned within the family and those who are masters of the art of negotiating are highly sought; normally, each family has one or two such persons. They may not be pleasant, like the bitter cassava, but their service will be needed. The property of

cassava as an aphrodisiac food, and given the context of marriage negotiation, has the hidden ideology of sexual prowess on the part of the groom. This is reinforced by the fact that a freshly peeled cassava is also slippery. These attributes are however not readily available for inferencing in the use of this metaphor.

Although women are compared quite often to food, worth noting here is the fact that cassava is a manly crop, cultivated by men. In the cross-domain mappings, the osmo-metaphoric equilibrium is achieved depending on the kind of clean person being referred to. The bitter variety of cassava has a lethal property. The pith of the tuber is poisonous and kills both man and livestock. Some clean persons too strain those that behold them. Looks can be deceptive, and attraction to one on the basis of cleanliness can be misleading. It is not a coincidence then that the inner most part of the tuber is the one that carries poison just as the human heart is assumed to be the storage organ of feelings.

Granted, the aphrodisiac properties of cassava, mapped onto the target 'clean man' imports the attributes of 'killer' of women, loosely connecting this to the basic metaphor 'SEX IS WAR'. This kind of implication is complex as different people will see cassava from different perspectives, but all these are relevant possibilities. The kind of conclusion one arrives at is reasonable pay-off for the processing effort involved in interpreting the metaphor and working out the various possible cross-domain mappings. This, according to Goatly (1997: 143) ensures that 'the presumption of optimum relevance is upheld.' This metaphor is distended in terms of linguistic form, while the conceptual structure is conventional.

The major distinction in the usage of this metaphor from the one of Karĩithi is that this compares a man to food while that of Karĩithi compares a man to another man in the past. According to the psychologist Abraham Maslow, the most basic level of needs must be met before the individual will strongly desire (or focus motivation upon) the secondary or higher level needs. Maslow coined the term 'metamotivation' to describe the motivation of people who go beyond the scope of the basic needs and strive for constant betterment (Maslow, 1954). A person using the metaphor of cassava is fixated at the basic needs, and sex is one such need, while the user of the metaphor of Karĩithi has moved higher in the hierarchy to seek other social needs.

HUMAN BEING                    FOOD CROP, (very clean, slippery,)

PERSON  ←————————  PEELED CASSAVA
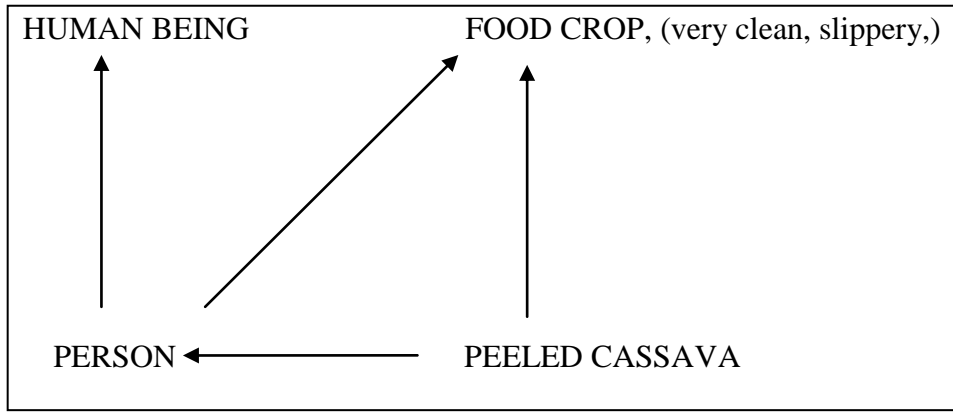
*Fig., 4.3.3.5a: Cross-categorisation of the metaphor,* MWANGA MŨŨE

Below is a graph showing how respondents in the various groups interpreted the metaphor MWANGA MŨŨE as well as their level of familiarity with it.
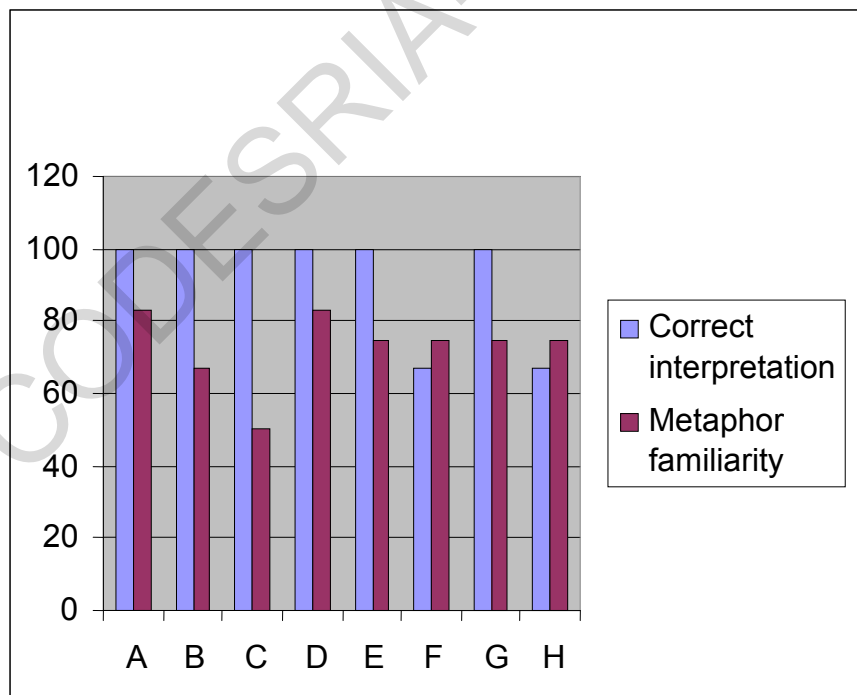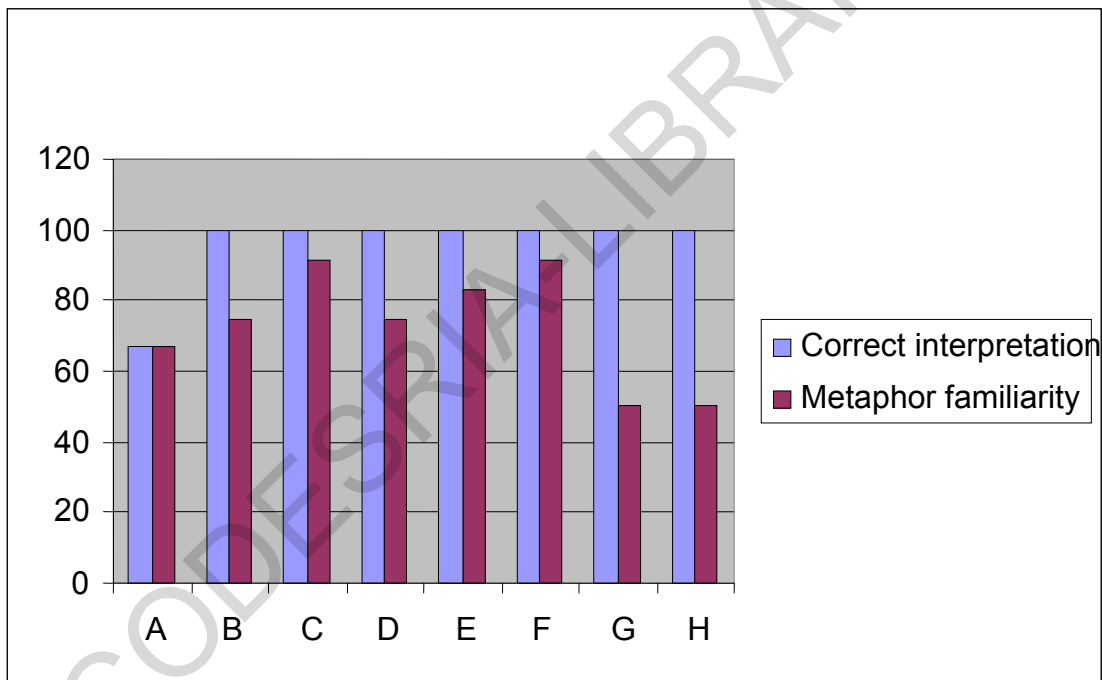


*Fig., 4.2.3.5b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, TA MWANGA MŨŨE

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among various categories of respondents investigated for the relationship in respect to variables of sex, age and educational level.

The entire sample size was the same in respected to the variables under investigation. This meant that the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was uniform

and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places; *fo* is observed frequency while *fe* is expected frequency.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 12 | 23 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11.5 | 11.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0.5 | 0.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 1.52**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor TA MWANGA MŨŨE is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 1.52 < 3.84$.

b) **Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 12 | 23 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11.5 | 11.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0.5 | 0.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square= 1.04**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor TA MWANGA MŨŨE is not significantly different between the elderly and the young. This is because $x^2 = 1.04 < 3.84$.

**c) Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 11 | 23 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11.5 | 11.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0.5 | 0.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 1.04**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor TA MWANGA MŨŨE is not significantly different between those with a higher educational level and those with a lower one. This is because $x^2 = 1.04 < 3.84$.

In conclusion, the three social variables of sex, age, and education have not impacted on the interpretation of the metaphor, TA MWANGA MŨŨE. This ease in the interpretation of this metaphor points to its conventionality.

### 4.3.3.6        RŨKONDA – NUT GRASS

Nut grass (*cyperus rotundus*) is defined by Random House Webster Unabridged Dictionary as '.. two sedges that have small nutlike tubers and are often troublesome weeds.' They are difficult to control as the nuts are always left in the soil and germinate with the coming of the rains, yet these weeds cannot be fed even to the livestock. They normally grow in already exhausted soils rendering farming even more expensive.

Against this background, it is possible to carry out cross-domain mappings from the base, nut grass to our target domain, the thin person. First would be the resources involved in feeding this person so as to have them add some flesh, which would be as enormous as the cost involved in controlling nut grass. There is also the risk of doing all these in vain. Another property in the cross-domain system is the fact that nut grass grows in infertile lands, suggesting that the thin person, our target domain, comes from a home with inadequate food.Therefore, their size cannot be blamed on them.

Asking the respondents about their uses of nut grass, over 50% responded that the blades are popular in removing specks from eyes while boys use the grass to make traps for small insects like flies. This means that despite being thin, the individual is no less human and is great company just like any other.

However, some 41.66% of the respondents said they were conversant with the metaphor but did not know what *rũkonda* (nut grass) is. To such population, the use of the metaphor imports a rather interesting property, as thin as the 'unknown'. In our cross-domain mappings therefore, the person's thinness, being compared to something unknown to the participants yields the attribute of mysterious thinness which may be positive or negative depending on the orientation of the speaker and what they imagine *rũkonda* to be. In this age of dietary concerns and figure consciousness, thin is fashionable and popular especially among the youth. It is associated with health and agility, two key tenets in modern day world that is ruthlessly competitive. The mystery of the unknown may be something good then. On the other hand, thin may be associated with sickness. This is especially so when we consider the semantics of the term *kũhinja* which happens to someone who was initially not thin, unlike *mũceke* (slender) which has connotations of natural thinness or one brought about by dieting. When this is the case, this metaphor may have the unknown attributes signalling the unpleasant, especially given this age and time of Aids.

This metaphor is distended in its linguistic form and conventional in conceptual structure. At least all the respondents agreed that *thin like nut grass* was quite thin even if they failed to agree on whether or not to be thin was good.

We hope that of the 41.66% of the respondents who said they were aware of the metaphor but did not know what *rũkonda* is, there are some who take the unknown to be something positive. Without this, this metaphor is out of context. It is only in the context of "figure **8**" craze that the metaphor would have been apt in a marriage negotiation gathering. Figure **8** means a girl who is shapely and propositional. Here, the thinness of nut grass is mapped onto the bride to yield a picture of a swift attractive girl. It is worth elaborating here that the original target domain of this metaphorical item was not the bride. But as noted in the Blending Theory, there need not be a single generic space, (in our case target) for a multiple blend network to take off. Rather, several inputs can be projected in parallel, or they are projected successfully into surrounding blends allowing them to serve as inputs for further blends (Fauconnier

and Turner, 2002: 279). In this respect, therefore, our metaphor is recast and directed to the bride, who is a more salient candidate for the attributes of *thin* to map onto. The following are other possible metaphors of thin;

*Kũhĩĩnja ta nyoni ĩna mwako* – to be thin like a bird that is building a nest.

*Kũhĩĩnja ta rũrigĩ* – to be thin like a string.

*Kũhĩĩnja ta ũyũ wameririe thambara* – to be thin like someone who had swallowed a water fluke.

These are all distended metaphors.
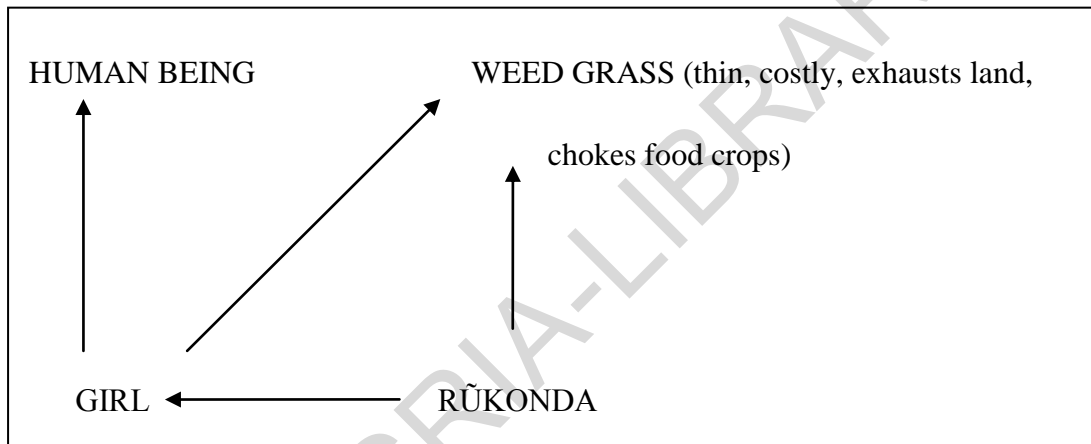


*Figure 4.3.3.6a: Cross-categorisation of the metaphor,* TA RŨKONDA

Below is a graphical representation of how the various respondents interpreted the metaphor of TA RŨKONDA as well as their level of familiarity with it.
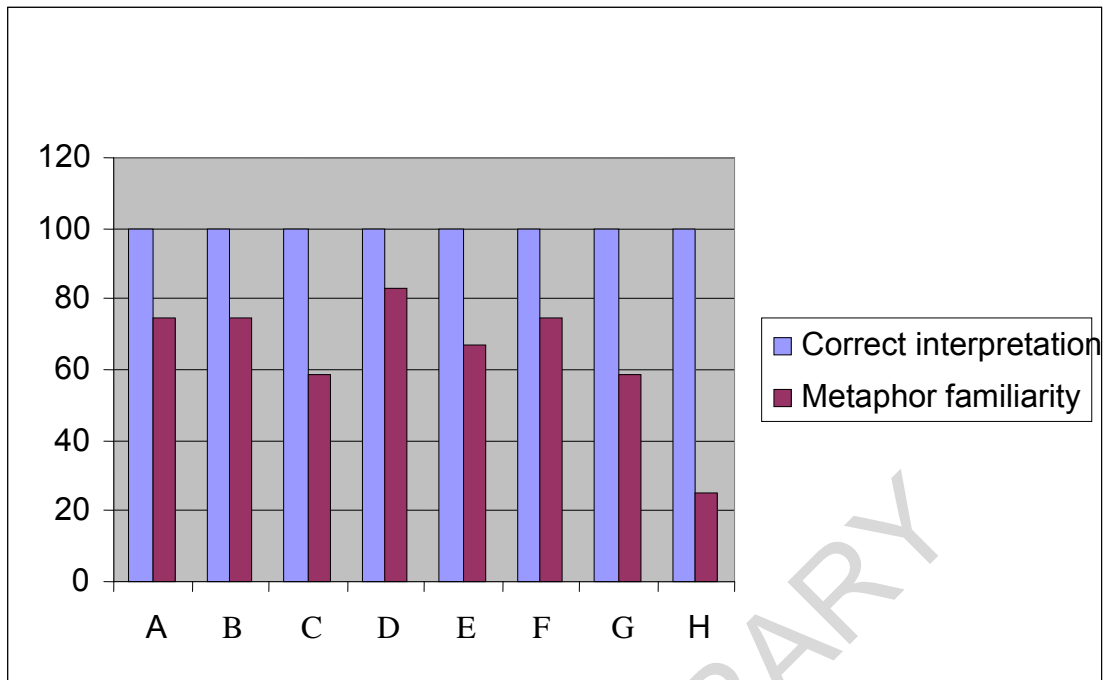
*Fig., 4.3.3.6b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, TA RŨKONDA

We analysed the metaphor for correct interpretation in relation to the three variables of sex, age and educational level. Because the entire the sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was similar and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| **Variable of Sex** | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor TA RŨKONDA is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

b) **Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor TA RŨKONDA is not significantly different between the elderly and the youth. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

c) **Variable of educational Level**

| Variable of educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor TA RŨKONDA is not significantly different between those with a higher education and those with a lower educational level. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

In conclusion, the three social variables of sex, age, and education have not impacted on the interpretation of the metaphor, TA RŨKONDA. This shows that the metaphorical item is conventional in terms of its conceptual structure.

### 4.3.3.7    KĨENYŨ – PIECE (of GOD)

This classic metaphor was used to praise the groom who, upon marriage, leaves the rather volatile stage of being *mwanake* (loosely translating as 'child take') to becoming a *mũndũ* (person). A majority of the respondents said that there is no age as vulnerable as that of *wanake* (state of being a young unmarried man). This is the stage when traditionally one was a warrior in the clan and had the duty of going to war. It is also during this stage that a young man risked impregnating someone's daughter or even daughters, thereby compromising their moral standing in the society. At this stage too, many joined their peers and run away from home, sometimes never to return. This, according to respondents, is the stage where young men lost direction or even died in war. There is nobody who can help them and as such are entirely left to God, thus their being a piece for God. The metaphor emerges here when a person is referred to as a *kĩenyũ*.

The piece is referring to the young man as being under the care of God. In modern living, especially in Gĩkũyũ land, the boy child has become endangered. The uncertainties of the past such as tribal wars, raids and running away from home have been replaced by AIDS, drugs, alcohol, jails and sect movements like *mũngĩkĩ*. Those that manage to evade these are most certainly in schools where there is also the danger of getting schooled without getting educated. In Gĩkũyũ culture, family is highly valued and a mature man without a wife is looked down upon. This is because it is one's cardinal responsibility to raise up a family. A man without a wife was disinherited and upon his death, his buttocks were smeared with ash as an insult since he was seen as a disgrace to his people.

The conceptual structure of this metaphor is conventional for it is so misunderstood that some people think it is used to refer to the youth as chips off God. The preposition *'kia'* could mean 'for' or 'of' and the monotony of 'of' in usage leads to confusion in understanding the metaphor since the more salient meaning of *'kia'* is 'of' which in

Gĩkũyũ could mean both belonging to where God is the owner of the piece, or God has chips off himself and a young man is one such chip. The latter is what most people erroneously take the preposition *'kia'* in this metaphor to mean but we have shown that it means the young man is viewed as a project under the care of God. Thus attributes being communicated here are those of vulnerability, very apt today than it was when the metaphor was conceived.

Below is a graph showing the respondents and how they interpreted the metaphor as well as their level of familiarity of the metaphorical item.
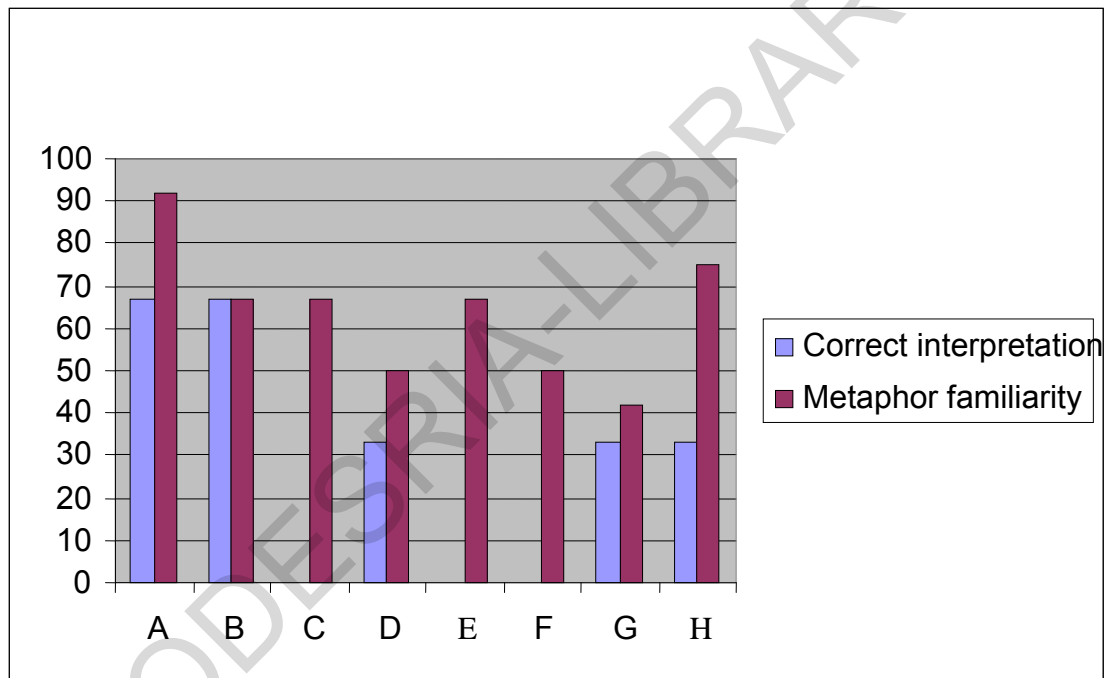


*Fig., 4.3.3.7: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor,* KĨENYŨ KĨA NGAI

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the various respondents. Given that the whole sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the same and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

### a) Variable of Sex

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 4 | 3 | 7 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 3.5 | 3.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 8 | 9 | 17 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 8.5 | 8.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.16**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor KĨENYŨ KĨA NGAI is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.16 < 3.84$.

### b) Variable of Age

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 5 | 2 | 7 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 3.5 | 3.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 7 | 10 | 17 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 8.5 | 8.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 1.82**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor KĨENYŨ KĨA NGAI is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 1.82 < 3.84$.

c) **Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 7 | 8 | 15 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 7.5 | 7.5 |  |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 4.5 | 4.5 |  |
| Total | 12 | 12 |  |

**Chi-square = 0.10**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor KĨENYŨ KĨA NGAI is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.10 < 3.84$.

In conclusion, the three social variables of sex, age, and education have not impacted on the interpretation of the metaphor, KĨENYŨ KĨA NGAI. This shows that the metaphorical item is conventional in terms of its conceptual structure.

### 4.3.3.8     IHŨA – FLOWER

This metaphor was used to directly describe the bride as the flower of the groom's heart. The comparison here, unlike the two domains model, uses three categories namely; the base – flower, the target – bride, and a topic concept – man's heart. This metaphor will involve the attributes of the base term, flower, being mapped across to the target domain bride. This is a classic metaphor in respect to linguistic form.

A flower is defined as a plant cultivated for its beauty. It is also the reproductive organ of a plant. Flowers are therefore beautiful. Some flowers have also very strong scent which means that even when they are out of sight, we can still perceive them through our sense of smell. Issues of the size, colour or even shape of a given flower are not at play in this metaphor. As Thiong'o (1998: 34) remarks, 'no flower becomes more of a flower on account of its colour, shape or size." The use of the third category, 'heart'

represents feelings. This means that the cross-domain mappings of the base to target will be transactions conducted on behalf of the man's heart.

First, the bride, like a flower, is a source of happiness to the man. Second, when we map the attribute of the flower being a plant's reproductive organ, onto the bride in the target domain, we find that she is expected to carry the seeds of tomorrow's generation. She will bear the man children.

Third, some species of flowers like the roses have thorns. When we map this property onto the bride, we expect that in the newly established relationship, the woman will bother the man's heart.

Fourth, another attribute of flowers is that they are sometimes given as gifts and gifts are not transferable. This attribute of flower as a gift is mapped onto the bride. It is considered that, once a girl becomes a 'wife' of the groom, she is past becoming someone else' flower, as long as the man is alive. And if this ever happened, she will not do so with the attributes of a 'flower'. This is to say that any other subsequent relationship will not be 'sung'. Traditionally, a widow was inherited by the late husband's kin in a silent ceremony and the man who inherited such a wife was derogatorily referred to as *mũthambania* (to mean the one who cleanses the widow off death). On the other hand, a divorced woman is derogatorily referred to as *gĩcokio* (to mean a big one who has been sent back to her people).

Fifth, flowers have temporary beauty and they eventually wither and die. Cross-mapping this domain onto the bride; it is the withering of flowers and their death that mark a new beginning with seeds maturing. When the bride ages and loses her physical attraction, she will have brought forth children.

All the elderly people in our sample pointed out that this item was not representative of their time, and therefore their view. It is for the youth. In the place of 'flower', they said that their time had '*ithaga*' – jewel. The jewel could have been an earring, bangle, necklace or even a garment made from monkey or leopard skin. Unlike flowers, jewels are long-lasting and one can even bequeath them to others or be buried with them.

This view of the difference between the use of the term flower by the youth and jewel by the elderly provides a watershed between the two generation's views of a 'wife'.

Firstly, a jewel, unlike a flower, has longer lasting beauty and attractiveness last forever, sometimes beyond beyond the life span of their owner. The physical beauty of a jewel is not all. Its source and the purpose for which it is given/obtained are paramount. Sometimes it is given to mark an achievement (medal) or as a gift of appreciation. The jewel in such cases is a permanent reminder of milestones in the history of an individual. When this attribute is cross-mapped onto the bride, we find that a woman may lose her physical beauty but like a jewel hung on the wall, the purpose for which she was married remains. A woman who has mothered children, like a weather beaten souvenir, becomes of greater relevance to her husband and clan for furthering the marriage agenda (see metaphor as sacrifice). In contrast, to the youthful generation, the colour, shape and size of a woman is today a multi-billion dollar industry. In other words, defying age is the in-thing. Through the lens of physical beauty, today's woman is divorceable. She depreciates (withers) with age and the number of children she has mothered. It is common nowadays to hear men say, "*nĩ mũringe nĩ ithaa"* – she is beaten by time and so on.

The elders' view of bequeathing a jewel is possible in our cross-domain mapping where in Gĩkũyũ culture a man could inherit a young wife from his father.

Secondly, there is a difference in comfort in the wearing of jewels and holding flowers. Jewels are designed to be worn without causing the person discomfort. Flowers, on the one hand, are held or put in the house in a flower vase. The very act of holding flowers can be tedious and monotonous not to mention that the very act of cutting them robs them off their freshness. Some, as earlier said, have thorns. When cross-mapped onto bride, it gives us a situation of a bothersome and nagging wife, a reality not uncommon with the current generation of young people.

Jewels, on the other hand, are treasures that are worn to fit an occasion. Viewed from this perspective, we map onto the bride woman contented in her traditional place as a woman. She only accompanied her husband when need arose and traditions allowed.

Although the metaphorical item passes as conventional given the respondents interpretation, the elderly respondents felt the need to substitute the base term 'flower' with the more durable base 'jewel'. Lastly, some jewels, especially the metallic ones, can be cold. Cross-domain mappings possible here show relationships that are cold

and devoid of love. This is an exact replica of a traditional Gĩkũyũ relationship that was wrought by male dominance and chauvinism.

The category **heart** is metaphorically used to represent the emotional quotient of the man which is acted upon by the attending base term of flower. In other words, the flower of ones heart does not entail a flower for the blood pumping organ called heart but that heart represents the feelings.

Given that this metaphor has three categories, it qualifies as compound linguistic rhetoric, but its manner of presentation leaves us with a classic metaphor.

Because of the emerging diverging perspective collected first from real life marriage negotiation, *ihũa* – flower, and then from the elderly respondents *ithaga* – jewel, we will have two cross-domain figures. There is a shift in base domain when we move up the age scale.
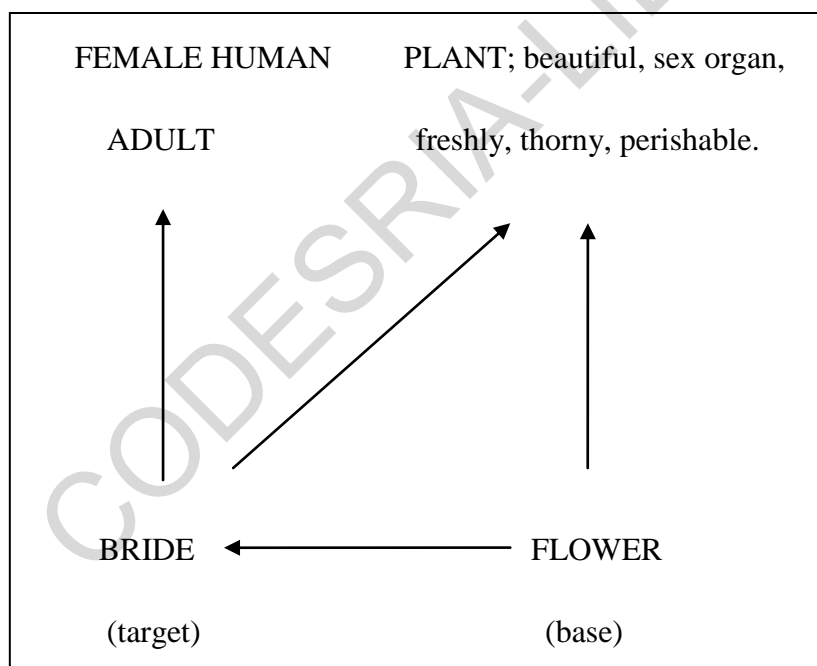


*Fig. 4.3.3.8a: cross-categorisation of the youth's metaphor,* BRIDE IS A FLOWER

FEMALE HUMAN      METAL/ANIMAL SKIN; beautiful, durable,

ADULT               ornamental, convenient, cold.

BRIDE           JEWEL

(target)          (base)
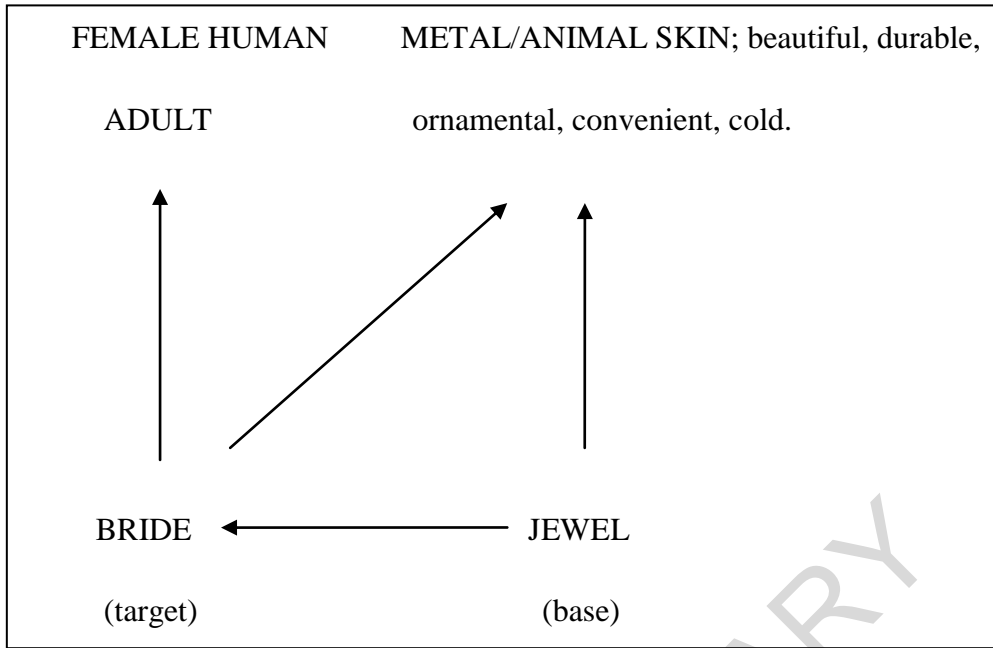
*Fig. 4.3.3.8b: Cross-categorisation of the elder's metaphor,* BRIDE IS A JEWEL

The graph below shows how the metaphor of flower was interpreted by our sampled respondents and their level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.
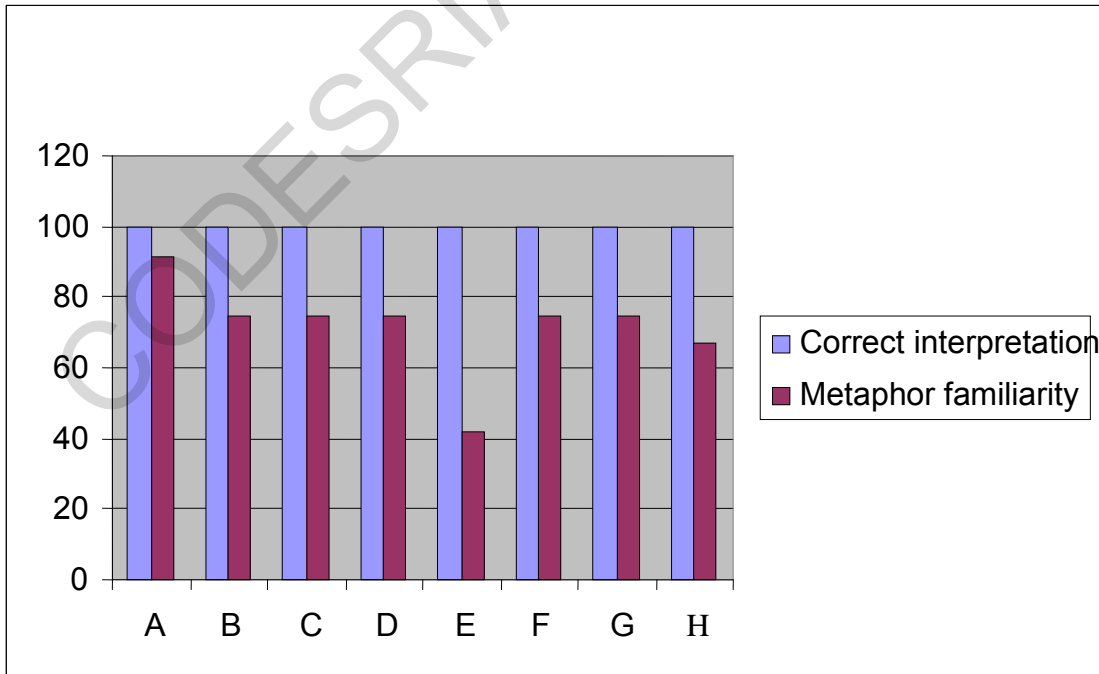


*Fig., 4.3.3.8c: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, BRIDE IS A JEWEL

We analysed the metaphor according to its correct interpretation among our sampled respondents and used the $x^2$ to compute our data.

Given that the sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the same. It was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

### a) Variable of Sex

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor BRIDE IS A JEWEL is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

### b) Variable of Age

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor BRIDE IS A JEWEL is not significantly different between elderly and youthful respondents. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

c) **Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor BRIDE IS A JEWEL is not significantly different between highly educated and lowly educated respondents. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

In conclusion, though the elderly respondents preferred the term 'JEWEL' to FLOWER, there was no other important feature emanating from the three social variables in regard to the metaphor. The preference of flower and jewel by the young and the old respectively is generated by what is familiar in their two 'worlds'. However, this choice of different metaphorical terms brings to light the kind of view both age groups have of brides and the subsequent wife, attributes we have discussed in our qualitative analysis.

### 4.3.3.9     THABUNI – SOAP

The linguistic form of this metaphor is classic for the girl is being referred to directly as the soap of the man's heart. This metaphorically means that the bad feelings, conceptualised to be harboured by the heart, are cleared by the girl. This is to say that the emotions of love act as soap. It cleans the other unwanted feelings, which can be seen as dirt.

This metaphor, we note, is weak because abstract attributes of the soap are mapped onto the abstract attributes of love which fails to generate enough tension to yield tangible comparison. A number of researchers (Cameron, 2003; Fauconnier & Turner, 2002 and Steen, 2002), have noted that the prominence of a metaphor differs due to

various factors such as grammatical category, semantics and context. Metaphoricity is therefore gradable which will influence whether a metaphor will be noticeable or not.

The novelty of this metaphor in terms of its conceptual structure suggests that the speaker is trying to construct a source domain that misfires (Steen 2011), thereby giving rise to a weak metaphorical item. Its inclusion in our analysis nonetheless adds weight to the infinite nature of metaphorical language where speakers are not bound by rules on what to say, when and where.

However, we also note here that no metaphor becomes more of a metaphor on account of the tension generated by the cross domain mappings. All metaphors are equal for as long as they post clear base and target domains for comparison. Indeed according to the Career of Metaphor Theory, different metaphors in language are at different careers (stages of development). Perhaps the career of this metaphor has just begun.

### 4.3.3.10 KĨGWA – SUGARCANE

The sentence within which this metaphor was used was *wendo ũrĩ mũrĩo ta kĩgwa kĩa mũirũ* – love that is as sweet as the black sugarcane variety. This metaphor, therefore, has the abstract term 'love' as the target domain while the more concrete term 'black sugarcane' is the base domain. In this metaphor, the emotions that we call love, abstract as they are, are given physical dimensions of colour, size, taste, and so on. To cross-map the attributes of the base term sugarcane, we need to first understand what the Gĩkũyũ people take sugarcane to be. During our interview schedule with the respondents, we had a question, "What is the importance of black sugarcane?" From the responses we got, the black sugarcane variety has several uses. According to Ngigĩ, our research assistant, the cane is the sweetest known to Agĩkũyũ. It is juicy and soft to chew.

Further, this sugarcane variety has a very attractive shiny black colour. As such, it was cultivated for prestige if nothing else. Its juice was used in the preparation of *'mũratina'* the Gĩkũyũ traditional brew used in ceremonies such as marriage, circumcision and offering of sacrifices to *Ngai* (God) from time to time. However, this variety of sugarcane is slow to mature and has almost completely been decultivated by other varieties and crops.

When we map the base domain 'black sugarcane' onto the target domain 'love', the emerging conceptual domain is one where we get the abstract love as a somewhat very sweet sensation, beautiful to behold. The one loved is privileged such that he holds a prestigious position in the society. This sincere and genuine type of love, just like the black sugarcane, has been 'decultivated' by other superficial kinds of relationships and therefore stands as rare.

Further, just as the cane sugar is used in brewing beer, the love so brewed by this metaphorical mapping can render one drunk. Like the brew prepared from the cane sugar, this love may lead to marriage, a form of sacrifice (see marriage as sacrifice).

Our target domain is love. Love cannot be 'tasted', it can only be perceived, and so its sweetness is metaphorical and is further compared to that of sugarcane. This makes the metaphor as compound in terms of its linguistic form. First it has the distended form signalled by the preposition 'ta' then the extended comparison signalled by personification of the taste of love. When we presented the metaphor to our sampled respondents for interpretation, a whopping 95.8% of the respondents interpreted it correctly. This suggests that the item is clearly a conventional metaphor in regard to its conceptual structure, but according to the Career of Metaphor Theory, distended metaphors invite comparison rather than categorisation and thus the item is novel. The conventional part of the metaphor, since the item is compound, lies in the extended linguistic form.
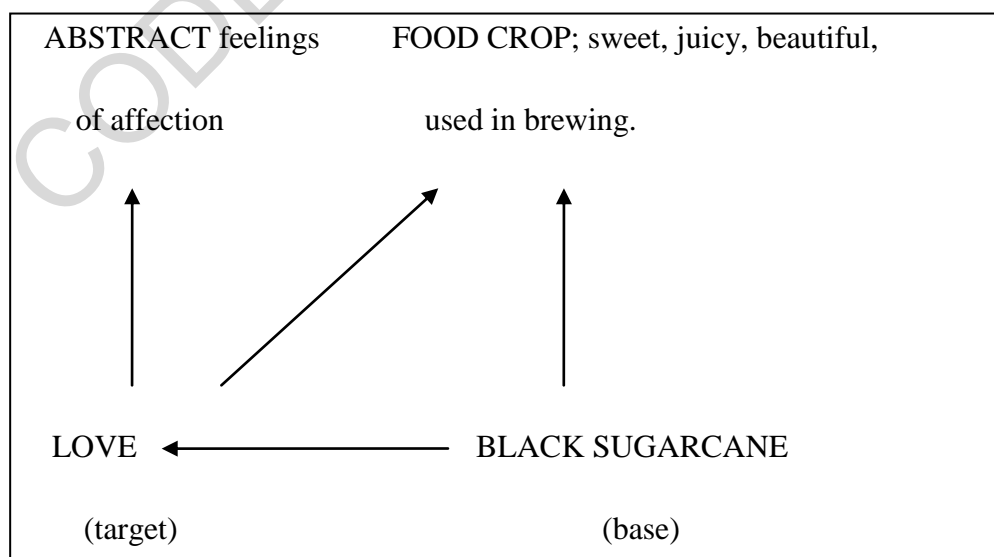


*Fig., 4.3.3.10a: cross-categorisation of the conventional metaphor,* LOVE'S SWEETNESS AS A BLACK SUGARCANE

The graph below shows how the sampled respondents interpreted the metaphor of black sugar cane and their level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.
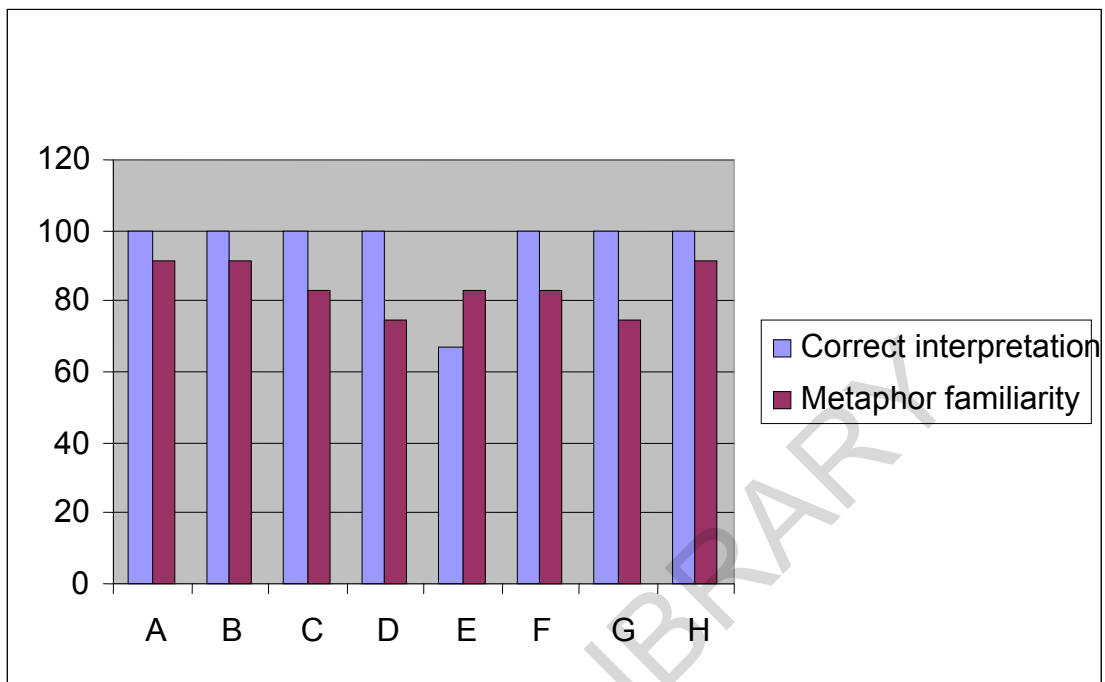


*Fig., 4.3.3.10b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, LOVE'S SWEETNESS AS A BLACK SUGARCANE

The metaphorical item was analysed according to its correct interpretation by the sampled respondents.

The sample size was uniform and the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was, therefore, the same. It was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.5) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| **Variable of Sex** | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 12 | 23 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11.5 | 11.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0.5 | 0.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 1.60

b) **Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 11 | 23 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11.5 | 11.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0.5 | 0.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 1.04

c) **Variable of educational Level**

| Variable of educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 11 | 23 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11.5 | 11.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0.5 | 0.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 1.04

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor TA KĨGWA KĨA MŨIRŨ is not significantly different among our three social variables of sex, age, and educational level. This is because their chi-squares are all less than 3.84. This scenario points to the conventionality of the metaphor in respect to its conceptual structure.

### 4.3.3.11   KĨANDE – SHOULDER

In Gĩkũyũ traditional practices, the art of marriage negotiations and dowry payment is divided into phases. Each phase involves a titled ceremony which varies according to the three regions where Gĩkũyũ is predominantly spoken namely; Nyeri, Mũrang'a, and Kĩambũ (Kimani, 2011). It would have been considered an insult for one to even attempt to pay all the goats at once let alone try to lump together the various phases. *Gũtinia kĩande*, also called *ngurario,* is a ceremony in the last phase in dowry payment. It involves counting (*kũguraria* – branding) all an individual has paid and paying any balances thereof. Normally, it is done when the man's own daughters are mature enough to get married. A woman to whom 'a shoulder has been cut' can never be divorced.

Literally, the words *gũtinia kĩande* mean to cut a shoulder, but the words are used metaphorically to refer to the entire ceremony. Again, the person who cuts the shoulder is the husband, using a knife while meat so cut metaphorically refers to the branding of the woman as the property, like the goat being slaughtered, of the man. In terms of linguistic form, this metaphor qualifies as linguistic rhetoric. The conceptual structure is purely conventional to the extent that the literal meaning of the words is almost lost.

Yu (in Gibbs, 2008) notes that metaphors are grounded in bodily experience but shaped by cultural understanding. It is therefore the culture of the Agĩkũyũ people, who branded their livestock for identity that has shaped this metaphor this way. This in return engenders this metaphor as what are called complex metaphors in that the metaphor is informed by conceptual blending (Grady, 1997a, 1997b, 1998; Grady, Taub and Morgan, 1996; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, 2003; Yu in Gibbs, 2008). This conventionality further helps explain the emerging synonymy in the naming of the ceremony across the same speech community. As a contrast to complex metaphors, primary metaphors have the 'most direct motivation, and the least arbitrary structure most common cross-linguistically' (Grady, Taub and Morgan, 1996: 186).

In our cross-domain mapping, the metaphor of 'a cutting shoulder' refers to an actual ceremony where a goat is slaughtered and a shoulder ritually extracted. This yields the base domain of a sacrifice that is mapped onto the target domain 'marriage'. Marriage in this context is to be seen in the lens of sacrifice. According to the Random House

Webster's dictionary, sacrifice is defined as the surrender or destruction of something prized or desirable for the sake of something else considered as having a higher value or mare pressing claim. In marriage the goat is killed as a sacrifice to solemnise the union. Using a minimalist view, the goat so sacrificed is a male, implying that the man has much to sacrifice in marriage.

First, he has to 'shoulder' the burden of the family materially, morally and spiritually. The responsibility of bringing success, prestige, and dignity to the entire family lies with him. In Gĩkũyũ culture, the wives and children will adopt the husband's father's name respectively for identity besides those of their own.

Second, the freedom of bachelorhood and the carefree nature are replaced by responsibilities for a married man has to account for his time and resources.

Third, when men were men and women were proud about it, a man getting into marriage lost his chastity in exchange for a woman who rendered him complete. As recently as 1950s, the death of a young unmarried man was an abomination. A witchdoctor had to be consulted about the cause of one dying incomplete. Such a person's buttocks were smeared with ash and disposed off.

Using a maximalist view, the attributes of the base term 'sacrifice' could also be mapped across the target domain 'marriage' on the part of the woman.

First, the girl sacrifices her freedom and has to submit to a man, her husband. Again, when girls were girls and men liked it, the woman who got married lost her laughter and virginity for the higher claim that is starting a family. This is because, as a married woman, she was expected to be serious and mature. The kind of carefree laughter was replaced with some level of restraint. In both cases, youth is seen as very desirable but is destroyed at the altar of marriage which the collective eye of the society sees as having a higher value. And, some things sacrificed in marriage are for good just as the goat dies.

Viewed along this line, however, and perhaps deliberately, this metaphor hides from us the zero-sum system of a human lifespan: that the 'more' the time we live, the 'less' the time we have left. Youth is not permanent and its loss is never dependent on whether one marries or not.
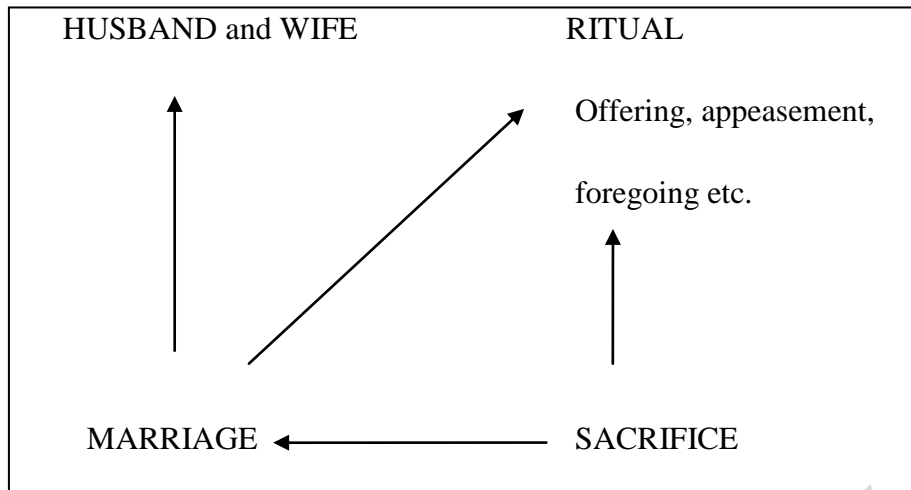
*Fig. 4.3.3.11a: Cross-categorisation of the conventional metaphor,* MARRIAGE IS SACRIFICE

The graph below shows the interpretation pattern of the metaphor by the sampled respondents and their level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.
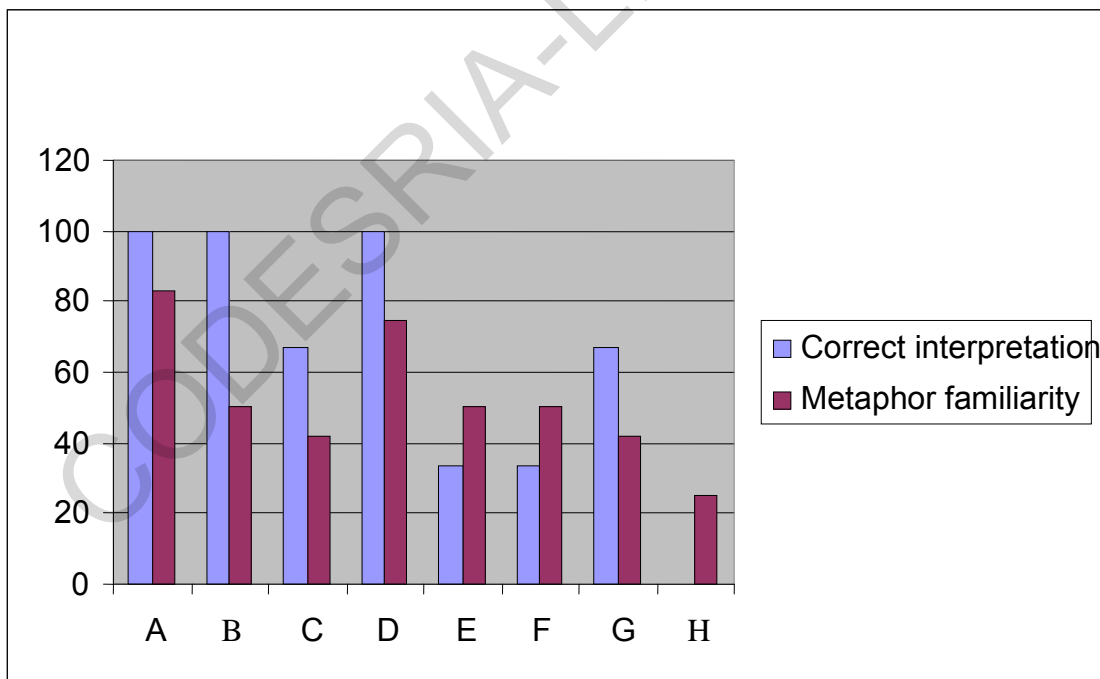


*Fig. 4.3.3.11b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, SACRIFICE

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the sampled respondents.

Since the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the same and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

**a)  Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 8 | 7 | 15 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 7.5 | 7.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 4 | 5 | 9 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 4.5 | 4.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.20**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor GŨTINIA KĨANDE is not significantly different between men and women.

**b)  Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 4 | 15 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 7.5 | 7.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 8 | 9 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 4.5 | 4.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 8.72**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor GŨTINIA KĨANDE is significantly different between elderly respondents and the youth. This is because $x^2 = 8.72 > 3.84$. The most likely explanation is that the field of marriage negotiations is for the elders. This then is their register and it is not surprising therefore to see them excel in the interpretation of the metaphor item.

c) **Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 7 | 8 | 15 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 7.5 | 7.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 5 | 4 | 9 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 4.5 | 4.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.18**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (df) of 1, interpretation of the metaphor GŨTINIA KĨANDE is not significantly different between those with a higher level of education and those with lower level. This is because $x^2 = 0.18 < 3.84$. This means that education is not so much a factor in negotiating for dowry. However, the selection of who attends on the part of the groom is largely determined on the basis of who can say or give what. The ability to 'give' and 'say' has a bearing on one's educational level.

In conclusion, the synonymic metaphor, GŨTINIA KĨANDE/KŨGURARIA has been identified as belonging to marriage negotiations. It is a case of a metaphor with a pre-determined context. The elders are the chief priests in marriage negotiations and this is evident in their ease in correctly interpreting the metaphor item.

## 4.3.3.12      GĨKWA NA MŨKŨNGŨGŨ – YAM AND COMMIPHORA *ssp*

The Gĩkũyũ cultivate crops, and from this field they have identified two plants that are always together come shine, come rain. These are the yam and the commiphora *ssp* tree. This scenario is developed onto a metaphor targeting man-woman relationship. Thus a symbiotic relationship of plants is our base domain mapped onto the target domain of human relationship.

When we went out to the respondents, we first sought to establish what they understood the commiphora tree and the yam to be. This was to help us identify the

attributes of the two plants that are to be used in the cross-domain mapping while using the metaphor.

First, the yam is a crop cultivated for its tubers that are rich in starch and they are eaten boiled or roasted. With the yams becoming rare due to changing farming practices, the crop is cultivated nowadays by traditionalist farmers largely for subsistence and prestige.

We also established that as is the case in Igbo (Achebe, 1958), yams are cultivated by men and it was almost a taboo for a woman to harvest yams. It was said that a woman would not harvest yams as she would squat badly while digging them out which would make them yield less and lose taste.

The commiphora tree on the other hand has several domestic uses; it is used to support the yam, to make fire lighting equipment called '*gĩke*', to make mole traps, to hang bee hives, hang leaves for goats, and also as firewood.

For purposes of qualitative analysis, we first identify which of these two plants in love is the man and which one is the woman.

As earlier established, women are likened to food items like tomatoes, oranges, goats, honey and so on. So women are food for men. The Gĩkũyũ term '*karĩgũ*' meaning young uncircumcised girl is derived from the noun '*rĩgu*' meaning food for future consumption, an investment, alluding to the dowry the father shall receive. Invalidated claim, and ground for further research, has it that even the less derogatory term '*mũirĩtu*' meaning girl, is a coalescence of the words '*mũirĩ tu*' loosely translating as 'she only who eats them'. This at some level seems to contradict the claim; women are food, since if they are food, then why do they themselves eat? However, some foods eat others, chicken for example eat millet, yet both are food.

Further, the fact that yam is a man's crop also point to its feminism. Here, yam being a man's crop does not mean it is manly itself, but feminine, attributes that persuade men to tend the crop with care. Thus, since same sex relationships were unheard of, this could explain the taboo in having a woman harvesting yams. It would metaphorically point to food crop woman relationship that would engender itself as a form of lesbianism. The simple answer given as to why women would not harvest yams was

'*nĩ egũturamira gĩkwa*' – she will squat (wearing a skirt) while digging out yams). This leaves no doubts about the genital view in this metaphor.

Further, when we consider the physiology of the two plants, yam tendril is a creeper and cannot support itself, the commiphora tree on the other hand is a tree capable of growing on its own. Looked from the patriarch view of the Gĩkũyũ, the woman is always depicted as dependent on man for support and protection. This too shows the yam as the female and the commiphora tree as the male.

Having argued that the yam is the woman and the commiphora is the man, we now turn to how the two plants relate so as to map the attributes to a man-woman relationship.

First, yam tendrils have thorns which our research assistant remarked 'never pierce the tree'. This attribute can be mapped onto tolerance in a relationship. These thorns are nonetheless very important in keeping the tree from harm's way. Under threat from enemies such as amorous women and harassing men, the woman will jealously guard against her man. In return, the commiphora tree was used to make traps for catching moles that would otherwise destroy the crop. It is the cardinal duty not only of man, but all male primates to protect their mates and young ones.

Finally, we use the metaphor of "sex is war" where woman is the 'victim' and man the aggressor. This then means that the attribute of commiphora tree to make 'gĩke' used in lighting fire and as a source of firewood will be used to light fire and roast the yam. The cross-domain mapping from the two plants to man-woman relationship will be that, the man will put the woman on fire and burn her. Within the framework of 'sex is war' metaphor, these attributes map onto the arousal and sexual relationship per se.

Second, a commiphora tree standing alone without yam appears discoloured and deserted. This is because its leaves are not as dark as those of a yam tendril. A matured man without a wife may well be like a commiphora tree, lonely and desolate.

In conclusion, people who love one another like yam and commiphora are always together no matter the prevailing circumstances so much so that the relationship is envied.

In terms of linguistic form, it is a distended metaphor because the linguistic item has the preposition *ta* to flag the metaphor. Looking at the conceptual structure of the item, it is appears as purely conventional given the high level of correct interpretations. However, being a distended metaphor in linguistic form signal that the metaphor is understood as a comparison in line with the tenets of the Career of Metaphor Theory. This, therefore, means that the metaphor is novel. It can be said that the ease of understanding the metaphor and its frequent usage is leading the metaphor's novelty to its sunset days. Soon, the preposition *ta* may be dropped thereby setting ground for the metaphor to advance in its career and become a classic metaphor.

ADULT HUMAN          PLANTS; always together in

BEINGS               a symbiotic.

MAN and WOMAN ←——— YAM and COMMIPHORA TREE

(target)                    (base)
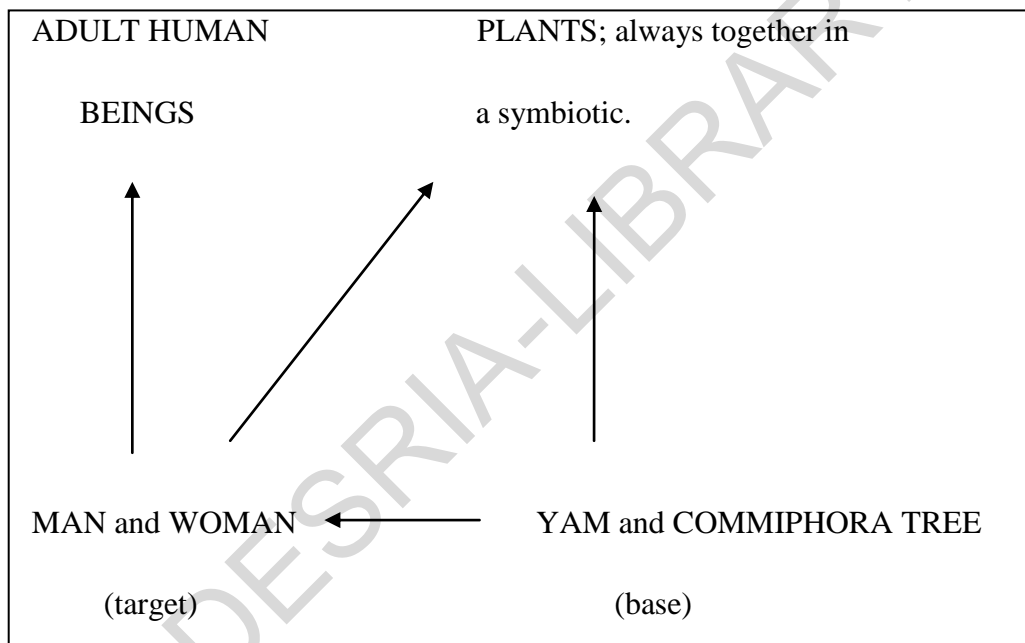
*Fig.4.3.3.12a*: *Cross-categorisation of the metaphor,* COUPLE IS PLANTS
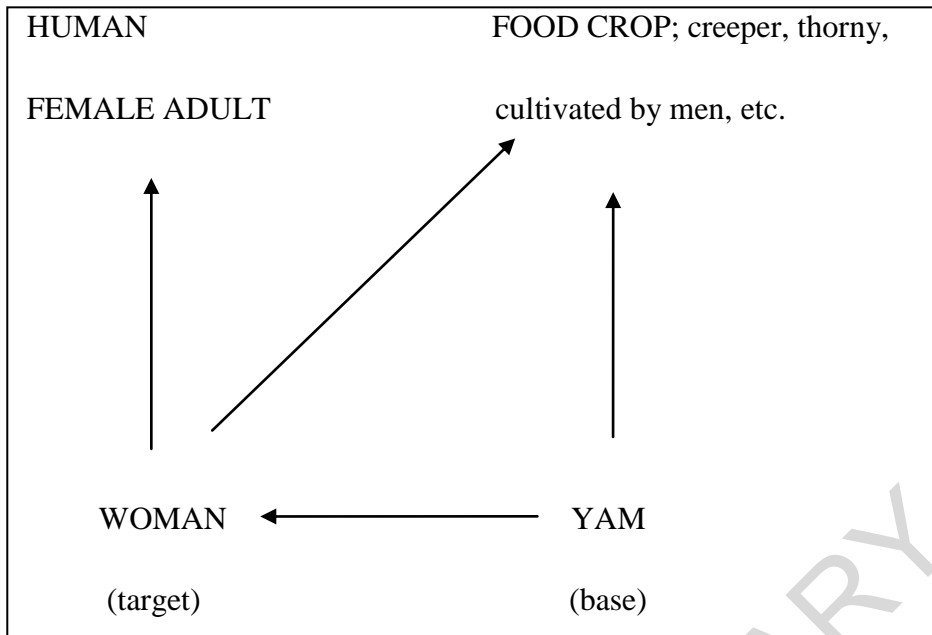
*Fig. 4.3.3.12b: Cross-categorisation of the metaphor,* WOMAN IS YAM
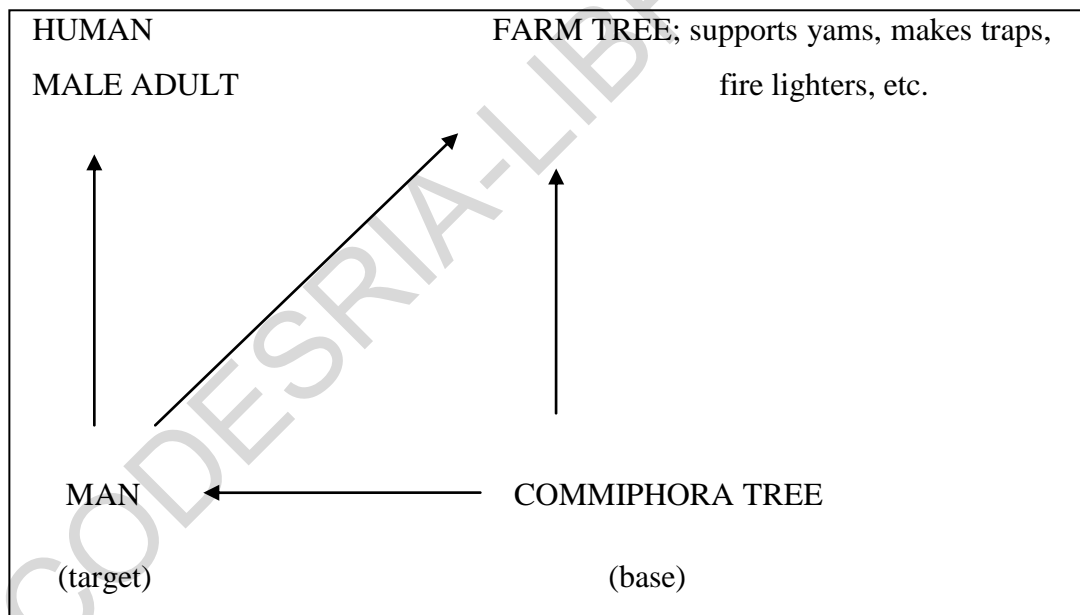


*Fig., 4.3.3.12c: Cross-categorisation of the metaphor,* MAN IS MŨKŨNGŨGŨ

Below is a graph showing the results of the interpretation of the metaphor by the respondents and their level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.

*Fig. 4.3.3.12d: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor,* GĨKWA NA MŨKŨNGŨGŨ

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the various groups of respondents. Because our entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the same and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (fe) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

**b) Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

**c) Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, the interpretation of the metaphor is not different across all our social variables because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$ for the three variables. This gives empirical credence that competence in metaphor interpretation is not overly affected by social variations of the interpreters.

### 4.3.3.13    ICUNGWA – ORANGE

The metaphor was collected in the sentence, *arahenia ta icungwa*, but variants of the metaphor gacungwa is common, especially after Dominic Gĩthingithia's comical song, *Gacungwa*. An orange is defined by Webster unabridged dictionary as a globose, reddish-yellow, bitter or sweet edible fruit. This metaphor is therefore one of the several others that equate women to food items. When unripe, oranges are dark to light

green but turn yellowish red when ripe especially if they are ripening in summer when there is plenty of sunlight.

Again, in summer, when it is hot and dry, the orange fruit comes in handy in quenching thirst and providing quality nutrition to those who eat it. Its juice is extracted by peeling and eating the fruit whole, or slicing it into pieces then squeezing the juice or sucking it. These modes of preparation are important in our analysis. In August 2011, a man was charged in Mombasa law courts with sending a girl an indecent text message about how oranges and bananas are eaten, "*machungwa kunyonya, ndizi kutoa maganda*", and then equating her to a fruit posed, "*je wewe dada*?" And you sister?

Reinforcing this argument is the Government of Kenya. In 2001, the Ministry of Health used an advert to campaign against HIV/AIDS with a picture of a fruit having a worm inside it (Gachara, 2011). The eating of the fruit is having sex; the worm is the HIV virus. This then was meant to warn people against deceptively very attractive fruits. Physically attractive and healthy looking people, just like the fruit, may be infected. So we find here the government propagating metaphors that objectify women. After all, governments exist in cultures, not in vacua.

The issue of the fruit as the woman is clear. In sex discourse, women are 'eaten'; they are the hapless victims for in African culture, it is men who make decisions about sex. Women have to wait for men to ask for it (Gachara, 2011).

In terms of linguistic form, this nominal metaphor is distended, inviting its interpretation via comparison. Given this, the metaphor is novel in respect to its conceptual structure. We further note that this novel distended metaphor, after Githingithia's song in 1994/95 about *gacungwa* evolved from a distended metaphor to a classic novel metaphor.

The term '*gacungwa*' is the diminutive form of orange and is used to refer to unmarried mistress, usually younger than the man. Used in the diminutive, it is a term of endearment and suggests 'little' and therefore both affordable and adorable. It also suggests less than enough to share and the need for another orange (the legally married wife).

This is objectification of women per excellence, where women are seen as fruits, in this case changing from big to small. In the events that relations sour, '*gacungwa*' – the sweet variety of oranges – becomes '*irimaũ*', the bitter citrus variety.

The different stages of an orange's growth map onto the various stages of a girl's growth. There is the green juiceless unattractive fruit that turns yellow, juicy and very attractive especially to one thirsty in the hot season. This scenario corresponds to a young, unnoticeable (just like the green unripe oranges are not easily discernible among the green leaves) to a mature girl attractive to the eyes of young men looking for girls to marry.

Mature fruits carry in them viable seeds from which the future crop germinates just as mature girls are capable of child bearing. The seemingly smooth orange skin maps onto the skin of the girl.

Asked to give another metaphor that girls are compared to, the respondents gave '*kagwaci*', a small sweet potato. Sweets were also given as metaphors used to refer to girls.

In our analysis, this shows that in the minds of the users of this metaphor, women are conceptualised as food items, especially sweet foods. This clear case of OBJECTIFICATION as a base domain informs our target domain BRIDE. From it we arrive at the macro metaphor, WOMEN ARE FOOD.



*Fig., 4.3.3.13a: Cross-categorisation of the metaphor,* GIRL IS AN ORANGE

The graph below shows the results of the interpretation of the metaphor by our sampled respondents as well as their level of interaction with the metaphorical item.
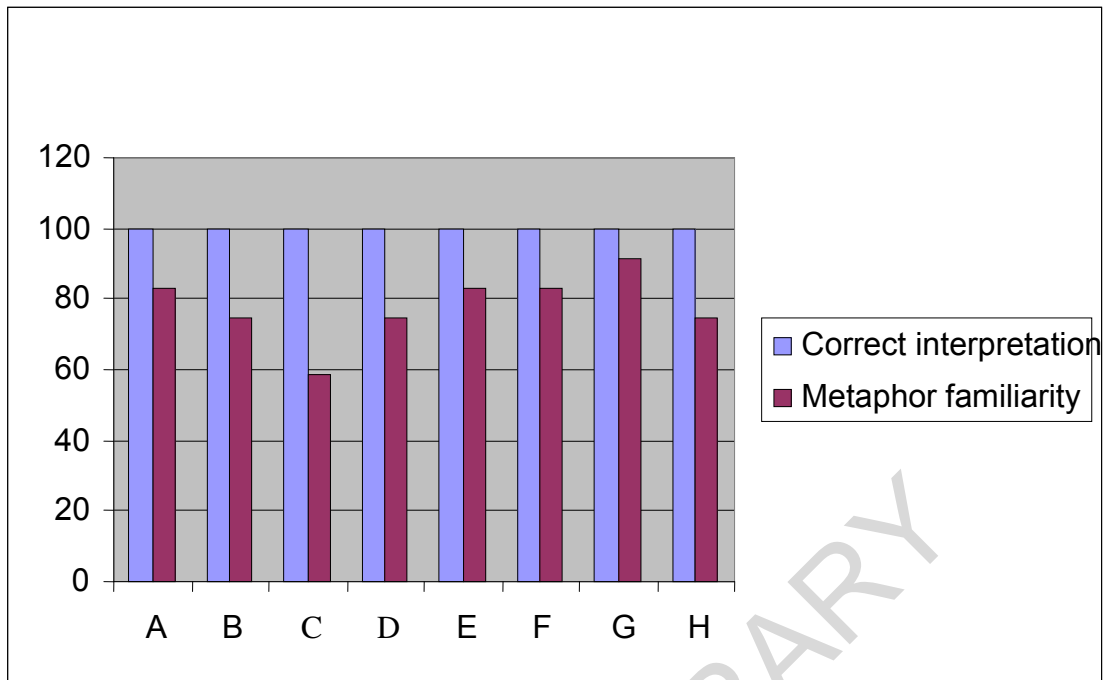


*Fig. 4.3.3.13b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, TA ICUNGWA MWERI-INĨ WA MŨGAA

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation by the sampled respondents. Given that the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was similar and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 8 | 11 | 19 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 9.5 | 9.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 2.5 | 2.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 2.94

**b) Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 12 | 7 | 19 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 9.5 | 9.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 5 | 5 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 2.5 | 2.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 6.31

**c) Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 8 | 11 | 19 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 9.5 | 9.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 4 | 1 | 5 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 2.5 | 2.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 2.27

Of the three social variables under investigation, only age is significant in the interpretation of the metaphor with $x^2 = 6.31 > 3.84$. This significance points to the advanced age of the novel metaphor. There was a popular song in the sixties about a lady shining like an orange which must have been popular with the youth then, now our elderly respondents. This could account for the significant impact in the interpretation of the metaphor.

In conclusion, it is worth noting here that this scenario is trans-cultural. Struss has been accused (Le Monde, Friday 30th March, 2012) of referring to girls as 'luggage', 'gifts', and 'equipments'.

### 4.3.3.14 ŨCŨRŨ – PORRIDGE

In marriage negotiations, when the man's family visits the bride's home for the first time, they say they have gone to look for porridge. In our data, the word *ũcũrũ* is used in the sentence *"twoka kũhoya ũcũrũ"*. *Ũcũrũ* (gruel) is traditionally prepared by women. It involves first treading cereals such as maize (first soaked in water), millet, sorghum and finger-millet. The flour is then fermented for about three days before it is then cooked into a thick liquid. It is served in the morning as breakfast or during ceremonies. The bride is seen through the eyes that are this drink. She is conceptualised as such since since, once married, she will be preparing porridge for her husband and clansmen.

Due to the fermentation process, *ũcũrũ* has some alcoholic content and taken in excess, it has the potential to render one excited. This attribute is well articulated by a renown Gĩkũyũ musician, Joseph Kamaru, who sang that "it is better to be drunk from love, so when I fall there will be someone to lift me up".

In its linguistic form, the metaphor is classic since it compares the base domain *ũcũrũ* to the target domain substance that is the BRIDE. In the context of marriage negotiations, the metaphor is highly conventional in its conceptual structure. This is because participants easily understand what ucuru means in this case. However, many factors currently affect the interpretation of this metaphor. First are the changing eating habits where people rarely cook porridge. Second, crops such as millet and finger-millet are sparingly cultivated and are therefore unfamiliar. Further, we have different husband/wife roles today where cooking is no longer a preserve of the women. Finally, the social fabric that was communal in every aspect has been replaced by the capitalist individual whose identity, at least in Gĩkũyũ land, has little to do with the clan.

As discussed elsewhere in this thesis, women are to a large extent objectified as food items. Metaphors such as tomato, orange, potato, sweet, goat, sugarcane and honey all depict women as food. In essence, these instances of OBJECTIFICATION all inform another violent concept, SEX IS WAR.

Looking for glosses within the domain of *ucuru*, we found the proverb, *ndĩrĩ njega ndĩtunganaga na mũthĩ mwega* – a good grinding stone is not paired with a good

pestle. In this proverb, the stone is the wife while the pestle is the husband. In our analysis, the connection between the proverb and the metaphor is loose and untenable.

In conceptual mappings, just as *ũcũrũ* nourishes people, a marriage will render the clan of the groom healthier, but this cross domain mapping would be so simplistic to be communicated in such a complex way. Using the cross-domain mapping formula; TARGET DOMAIN IS SOURCE/BASE DOMAIN, this is not it, though it fits well as a qualified candidate for inferencing. According to Black (1993), a conventional verbal metaphor is no longer a metaphor if it does not have a "pregnant metaphorical use" p25. Thus we see that a family with unmarried adult men as being conceptualised as unhealthy (sickly) and 'dying' as there are no children for posterity. The health gotten from porridge nourishment is therefore more than physical health. It involves the assurance of a future generation, guaranteed by marriages.

The alcohol attributes of fermented porridge maps onto the domain of love, which like a drug also makes those experiencing it drunk. As earlier said, the musician Joseph Kamaru puts it explicitly when he sings, *kaba kũrĩo nĩ wendo ndagwa ngona mwoi*, (it is better to be drunk from love so when I fall there is someone to pick me up). Like all the other metaphors using food as the base domain, it is not lost to the users of this metaphor that sex is food to the man. Viewed this way, the metaphor is distancing (Giora, 2003) a taboo topic, which is the centre of the agenda at hand. This we note is the way most abstraction metaphors operate especially in marriage negotiations. For example, in another marriage negotiation that was not part of our sampled negotiations, a whole scenario emerged where women were engaged in counselling the bride once the dowry was paid.

> "Ensure you cook the best food always for your husband so he never strays to eat elsewhere. Serve the food hot. Serve the food on time. Cook the food differently each <u>night</u>, we know you have <u>never</u> cooked for any man <u>before</u>, but ask him – he will tell you how he likes his food."

The clues are communicated by the words 'night' and 'never before' but this whole scenario is mapped onto sex, and therefore informs our *ucuru* domain. This metaphor is very well embedded in the Gĩkũyũ culture where refusing to eat the literal food from one's wife is seen as a sign of deep seated marital problems.
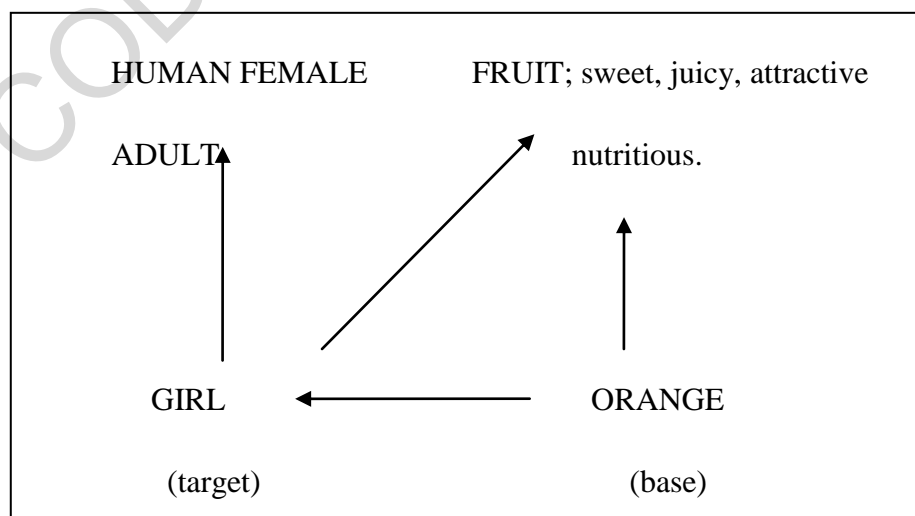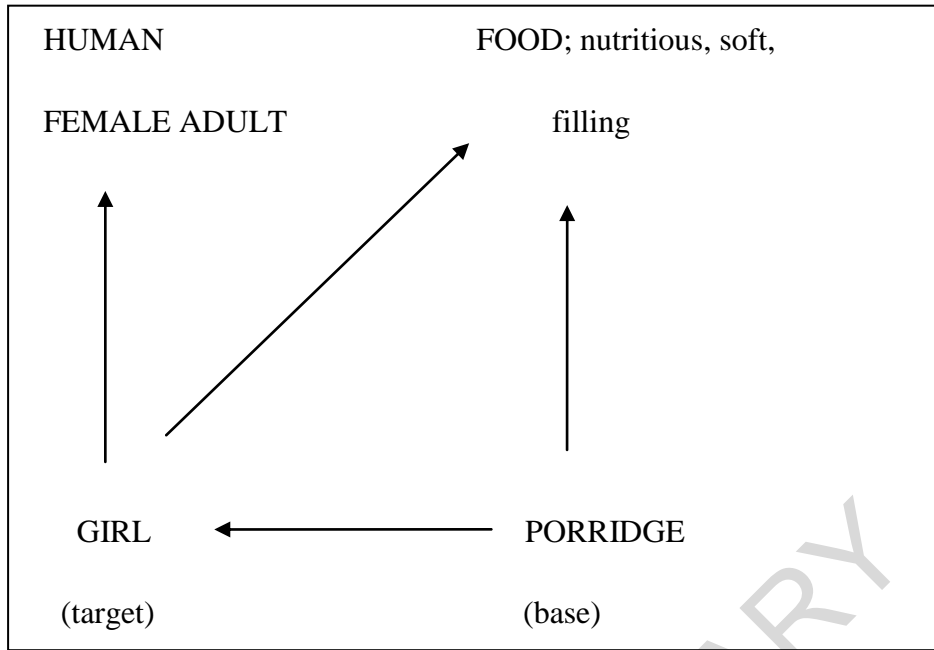
*Fig., 4.3.3.14a: Cross-categorisation of the metaphor,* GIRL IS PORRIDGE

The graph below shows the results of the interpretations of the metaphor by the
respondents as well as their level interaction with the metaphorical item.



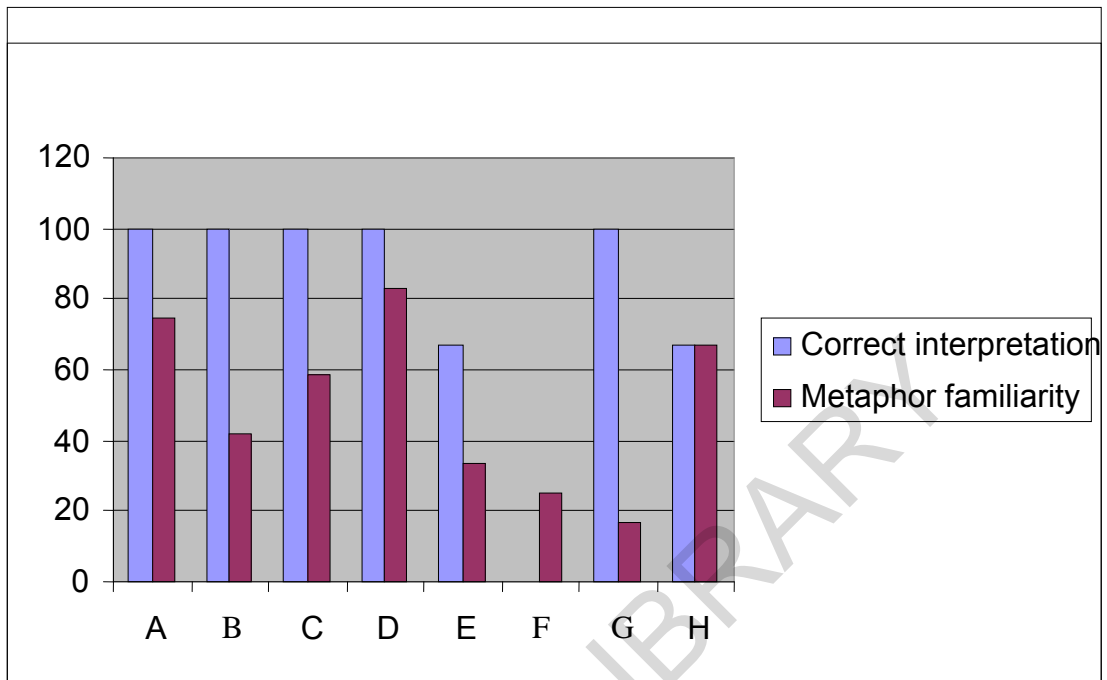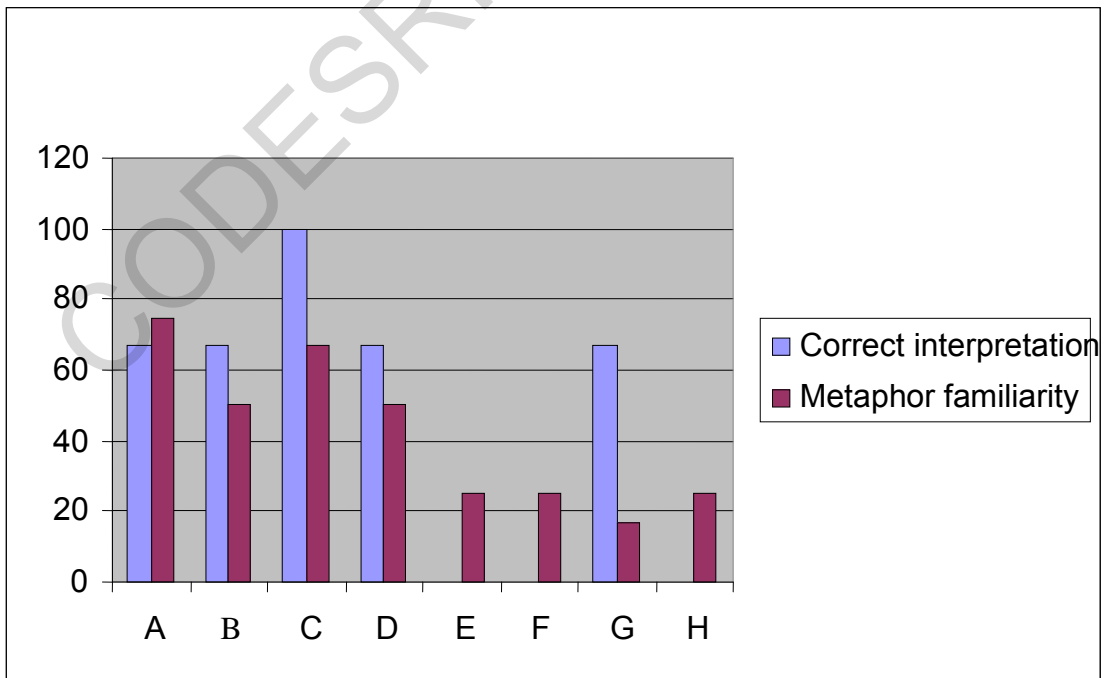*Fig. 4.3.3.14b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, ŨCŨRŨ

The metaphorical item was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the various sampled respondents. Because our entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that we used for comparison was similar. It was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 5.5 | 5.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 8 | 5 | 13 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6.5 | 6.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 1.45

b) **Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 9 | 2 | 11 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 5.5 | 5.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 3 | 10 | 15 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6.5 | 6.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 8.23

**c) Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted ($fo$) | 4 | 7 | 11 |
| Expected to correctly interpret ($fe$) | 5.5 | 5.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted ($fo$) | 8 | 5 | 15 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret ($fe$) | 6.5 | 6.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 1.51

At 5% level of significance, the interpretation of the metaphor ŨCŨRŨ has only a significant difference on the variable of age. This is $x^2 = 6.31 > 3.84$.

This may be explained by the fact that the metaphorical meaning of the word *ũcŭrũ* is highly context dependent and only respondents who may have participated in such events could give the metaphorical interpretation. In this case, these are the elderly respondents.

### 4.3.3.15 [sɪ:] TA NGŨ NJIGŨ – LIKE WET FIREWOOD

This is a somewhat interesting metaphor. It was used in a negated sentence, "*tŭtingĩenda cii ta ngũ njigũ*," we would not want [sɪ:] like wet firewood. The base domain *ngũ njigũ* is mapped onto a slow process that is the target which is implicit and only recoverable from context. What we have is the onomatopoeic sound [sɪ:], similar to the one made by wet firewood when burning. The metaphor therefore is partly phonologically motivated. In terms of linguistic form, the metaphor falls under the category of distended metaphor because of the use of preposition *ta*, but this system is having a sound as the base domain. The word *cii* is semantically empty but phonologically has the attributes of a maintainable stricture just like the sound made by wet firewood that gives only smoke without lighting up into flames.

Given this, the word *cii* is also metaphorically used, which as a base domain is mapping onto the target of a slow marriage negotiation process. This then yields a compound metaphor.

In the word class grouping, we have the noun *ngũ* but used together with the adjective *njigũ* which means we have to talk of the NP and not just the noun. This is because the adjective is the one that builds the desired tension for the generation of cross domain mappings (given that dry firewood is not slow). *Cii* on the other hand is a phonological unit whose articulatory features are basis of metaphorical attribution. The metaphorically used words, as earlier noted, are therefore *cii* and *ngũ njigũ*.

In terms of conceptual structure, the metaphor is novel, given that similes are understood as comparisons. The base domain has attributes of slow, disturbing and discomfort brought about by the bitter smoke from wet firewood. The same firewood cannot cook nor warm a hearth. Further, the absence of flames keeps the place dark and therefore creates a sinister atmosphere. These are attributes that map onto a slow marriage negotiation process. Such a slow process would deny those concerned the warmth that love gives. The lack of flames also means a lack of direction due to inadequate information on how to proceed with the negotiations. The ignorant would be like people in the dark, as in a home using wet firewood. Conceptually, the bitter smoke could map onto the anxiety in the yet to be finalised negotiations. It is worth noting here that the slower the marriage negotiation process, the more chances the bride's family has to remember fines to be imposed on the groom.

Further, in this cross domain mappings, we note that firewood is used primarily for cooking. Wet firewood would therefore mean that the food does not cook well or on time. In our cross domain mapping, this means the much longed for family does not materialise on time and is, to use another metaphor, stillborn.

In conceptual analysis, the use of *cii* could be seen as a case of distancing talked about by Semino (in Gibb, 2008: 203). Instead of using the outright rude word 'slow', the speaker finds politeness in a phonological unit. This avoids tensions in the delicate deliberations of marriage negotiations.

Other related metaphors would be, "*kahora ta nguru*" slow like a tortoise; and "*kwĩgucia ta mũkwa*", to pull oneself like a rope. Both of these metaphors would be rude. The tortoise, though seen as wise in narratives, is blamed for failure of the rains. Rope on is equally viewed superstitiously. It is considered a suicide weapon and the Gĩkũyũ would never throw a rope to a person, lest they used it to hang themselves.

The metaphor, due to its compound nature, informs the ABSTRACTION macro concept brought out by the *cii* phonological unit and the OBJECTIFICATION macro concept informed by *ngũ njigũ*.

Its conceptual structure is novel when we look at the distended bit of the metaphor within this compound but looking at [sɪ:], an onomatopoeic sound, that bit is highly conventional. After the combination, the most salient features of the metaphor give us a novel metaphor in conceptual structure. This is because the simile is so visible, it is even hard to think of the term *cii* as being used metaphorically.
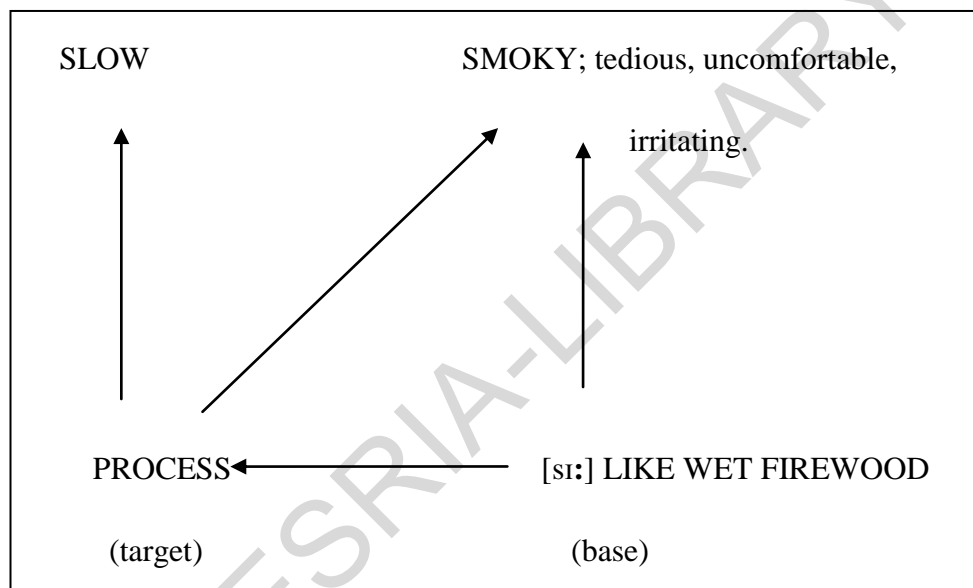


*Fig., 4.3.3.15a: Cross-categorisation of the metaphor,* [sɪ:] LIKE WET FIREWOOD

The graph below shows how the metaphor of [sɪ:] was interpreted by our sampled respondents and their level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.
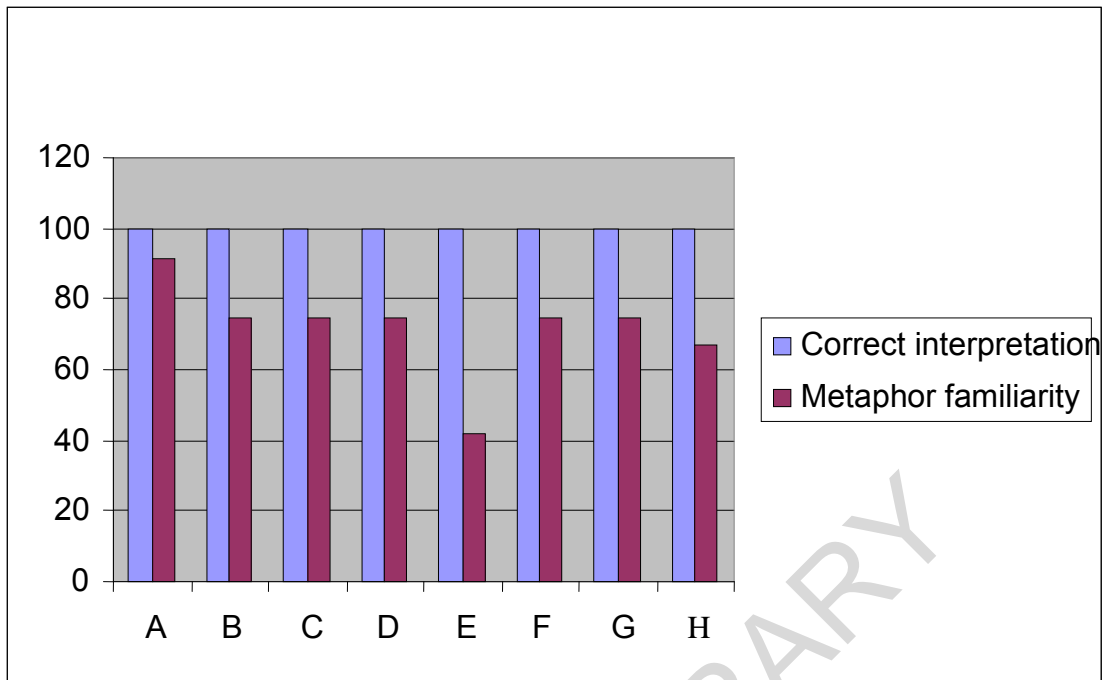
*Fig., 4.3.3.8c: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, [sɪ:] LIKE WET FIREWOOD

We analysed the metaphor according to its correct interpretation among our sampled respondents and used the $x^2$ to compute our data.

Because the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the similar. It was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor [sɪ**:**] LIKE WET FIREWOOD is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

## b)  Variable of Age

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor [sɪ**:**] LIKE WET FIREWOOD is not significantly different between elderly and youthful respondents. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

## c)  Variable of Educational Level

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, the entire chi for the three variables is insignificant in the interpretation of the metaphor [sɪ**:**] like wet firewood. This is because they are all

$x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$. This means all the respondents fairy managed to understand the metaphor in its novelty, again signalling that this is advanced novelty in the career of this metaphor.

### 4.3.3.16        MATIRAHEHA – THEY ARE NOT GETTING COLD

This metaphor has SUBSTANCE as the macro base concept, but as earlier said, we treat such metaphors together with those of OBJECTIFICATION because hot (or cold entities) need not necessarily be liquids. Looked at closely, the macro concept of CONTAINER is also evident in this metaphor since it would be difficult to have liquids without containers. However, we look at the liquid itself, divorced from its container in our analysis.

Here the in laws (people on the bride's family side) are compared to objects that are capable of having their temperatures come down. People too have temperatures but different from the reference of this metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson talk about temperatures being mapped onto people. According to them, the primary source of this metaphor is the metaphor "MORE IS UP." In a sentence like 'the temperature went up' quantity is understood in terms of verticality. However, heat itself is not vertical although a thermometer is oriented vertically; the mercury goes up physically as the temperature increases (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). Therefore, *matiraheha* metaphorically means that they are not yielding.

There is evidence for the prevalence of this emotion metaphor though we did not collect this in our data:

– *Matiragũagũa*, a case of phonological reduplication, means the same (they are not coming down even a notch).

Thus, people here are the target domain and objects that have temperatures the base domain. This metaphor, in terms of linguistic form, is classic. Looking at the available blends of this metaphor, it is clear that the metaphor is understood through the complex system of categorisation. This involves mapping the attributes of temperature that could be aligned with the in-laws activated for interpretation. This will involve heat and height because when something is hot, it is barely touchable and when high

up, it is unreachable. Indeed the property of untouchability is well articulated by yet another metaphor

– *matiratatĭka* – (they are not being approachable; possibly because they are hot).

This being the case then, the conceptual structure of this metaphor is conventional. It is clear that it does not need context for interpretation.
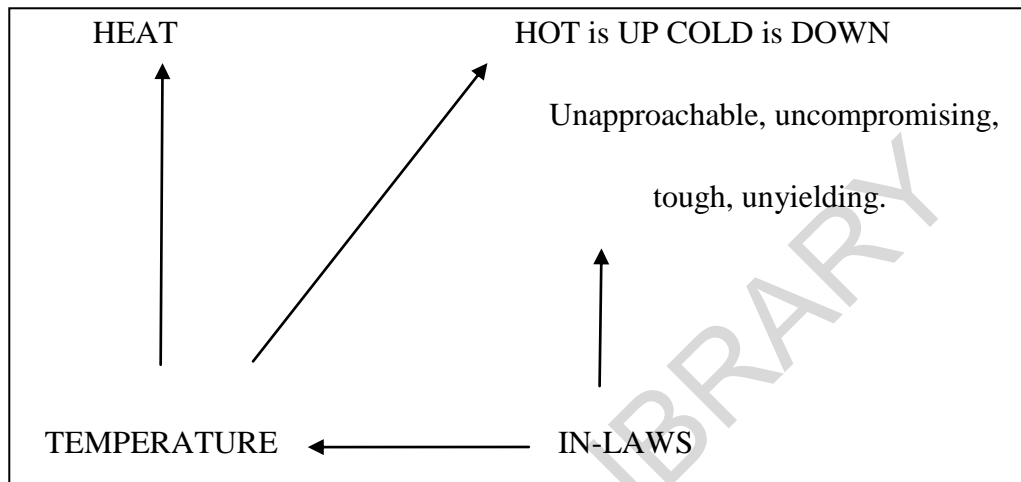


*Fig., 4.3.3.16a: cross-categorisation of the metaphor,* IN-LAWS ARE HOT OBJECTS.

In this metaphor, the attributes of the base domain, hot liquids in this case, are mapped onto the target domain, in-laws. According to Goatly (2007: 243), anger is heat or anger is hot liquid. Goatly notes that, the universal metaphor that anger is heat undergoes interesting cultural modifications. From a cognitive linguistics perspective, the obvious explanation for the metaphor theme 'anger is heat' would be the rise in body temperature, or the experience of feeling hot when angry, an English equivalent is "hot under the collar".

In agreement with Deignan, this metaphor refers to a group of people. She notes that heat metaphors are more often found in talk about the collective anger of a group of people and its impact, than in talk about the feelings of individuals (2008).

However, research by the psychologist Craig Anderson shows that aggression and violence increase during high temperatures. He observes, for example, that motorists without air-conditioning honk their horns more. Anderson even suggests that if global warming were to raise the temperatures by one degree centigrade in the US, there would be an additional 24,000 murders (Blumberg, 2002: 157). This kind of argument

escapes from the area of metaphor and despite the interest, and the heat it generates, does not have a literary interpretation. This is so because, in polysemous terms, when two senses are distinct, they display various properties.

For one, the two senses are not extended aspects of the same (one) sense. This property is labelled by Cruse as 'antagonism'. The term '*matiraheha*' has two readings that are difficult to unify – this antagonism is therefore a resistance to unification (Cruse, 2002: 32). The metaphor yields ambiguity in the sense that not 'getting cold' implies they are hot, yet if they are antonymously talked of as 'cold' the implications would be dead relations between the in-laws. This metaphorical use has no semantic relationship in respect to antonymy (Deignan, 2008: 283). The disambiguation of this is context dependent. This would yield a novel metaphor since they are the ones that require context for interpretation but given that 91.65% of our respondents interpreted the heat to mean anger when applied to people, the conceptual structure of the metaphor '*matiraheha*' clearly passes as conventional.

In marriage negotiations, in-laws are treated with utmost caution and are always seen as unpredictable and volatile and thus the need to keep away as much as possible. Indeed for one to refer to something as an in-law, it means "rarely found" or incompatible. For example, if one said "water in our place is an in-law" it would mean they rarely or never get water.

The graph below shows the results of the interpretations from the sampled respondents as well as their level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.

*Fig., 4.3.3.16b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*
MATIRAHEHA

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the various groups of respondents.

The entire sample size was uniform and therefore, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the same and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places.

**a) Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 11 | 22 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11 | 11 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1 | 1 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

**b) Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 11 | 22 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11 | 11 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1 | 1 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

**c) Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 10 | 22 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 11 | 11 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1 | 1 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 2.18**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor IN-LAWS ARE HOT LIQUIDS is not significantly different among our respondents across the three variables of sex, age, and educational level. This is because their chi-squares are less than 3.84s. The insignificant variation where the lowly educated misinterpret the metaphorical item may be attributed to general cognitive incompetence rather than metaphorical incompetence that would signal novelty on the part of the metaphor item. This is because both the two categories of respondents come from the same social background where they are bound to have encountered the metaphor but the semantic recall of those with a lower level of education seems grounded.

This gives the metaphorical item a clean pass as conventional in terms of its conceptual structure.

### 4.3.3.17   NJATA – STAR

This metaphor involved the groom's uncle asking the groom to show those gathered his 'star'. This then means that the attributes of the base term star that are mapped onto the bride are invited directly, something which yields a classic metaphor in terms of the linguistic form of this item. Here, the cosmos body star is compared to the bride. In the ensuing mappings, both the traditional knowledge about stars as well as the Western notion of the same are invited to activate the attributes that are candidates for mapping. This is because those in attendance include people with Western education as well as those with traditional knowledge passed down over generations through Orature.

First, the stars give light which, though minimal and only necessary in a dark night, illuminates the sky and makes it awesome. When one looks at stars at night, one notices that some are brighter than the others. This gives us a complex scenario where the universe has two worlds; the world of women and that of men. The world of women is the sky and women are the stars. Stars are uncountable and so are women. This notwithstanding, each man from the world below chooses one star and owns it. It illuminates his inner emotional world and keeps him company during the darkest of nights.

Second, stars are high up in the sky beyond the reach of men even with the current technological advancement. When this attribute is activated during the comprehension of this metaphor, women, and in specific the bride, are seen as individuals who are hard to understand. The psychologist Gray John (1992) notes that men and women mutually misunderstand each other. He argues that men and women come from different planets. While men are from Mars, women are from Venus. This is further elaborated by the psychologist Susan Pinker (2008) in *the Sexual Paradox*.

Further, the position of stars in the lunar system has long been held by astrologists to foretell the future. This brings forth the attributes of fate and destiny. This alludes to the notion that the man's attraction to the woman and the subsequent union is driven by some force that the man cannot define for himself in his own terms. Again, a man with a wife is viewed by the society as someone who has direction as opposed to one without who was traditionally seen as lost.

The conceptual structure of this metaphor is conventional. However, the song by John Mwangi (De Matthew), *Niwe Njata Yakwa* (You are my Star), no doubt revitalised this metaphor and its user, while invoking comparison based on the song is making

novel framing. This novel framing of thought invites comprehension of the metaphor by comparison, not categorisation.

Along the Career of Metaphor platform, this metaphor may have passed its conventional stage but instead of dying and becoming an idiom, it has been revitalised by De Matthew's song.
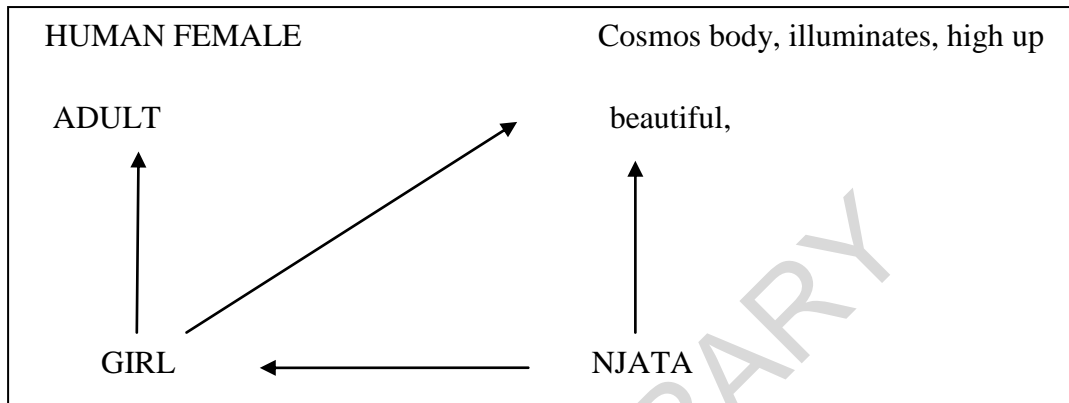


*Fig., 4.3.3.17a: cross-categorisation of the metaphor,* NJATA

The graph below shows how the metaphor of NJATA was interpreted by our sampled respondents and their level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.
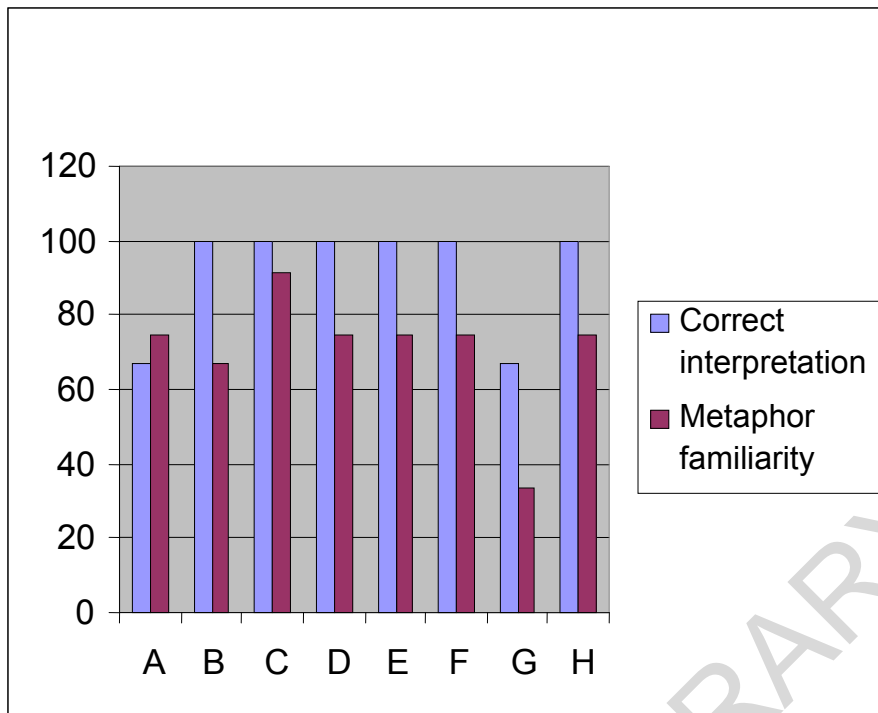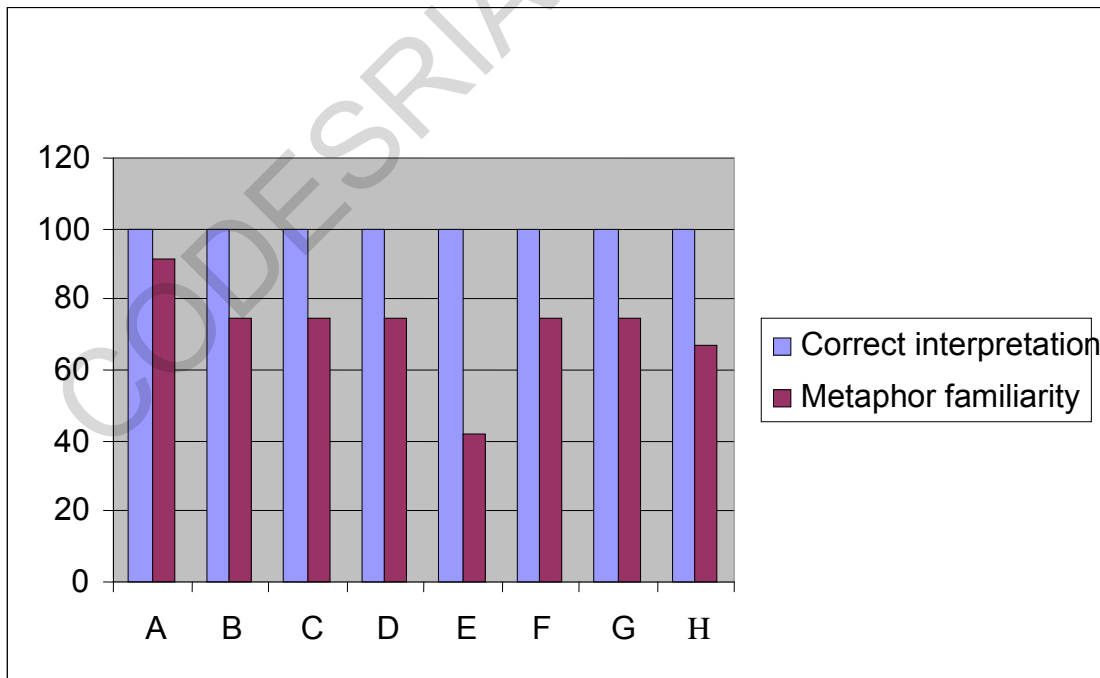


*Fig., 4.3.3.17: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, NJATA.

We analysed the metaphor according to its correct interpretation among our sampled respondents and used the $x^2$ to compute our data.

Because the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the same. It was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

## a) Variable of Sex

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor NJATA is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

## b) Variable of Age

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor NJATA is not significantly different between elderly and youthful respondents. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

### c) Variable of Educational Level

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, the entire chi for the three variables is insignificant in the interpretation of the metaphor NJATA. This is because they are all $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$. This means all the respondents fairy managed to understand the metaphor which shows that this is a revitalised novelty in the career of this metaphor.

In conclusion, although it is currently not possible to measure the degree of conventionality or novelty of a metaphor, it is easy to argue for levels in terms of simple high or low. However, given that this metaphor has been around for a long time, and listening to respondents excitedly talk about 'star', it is possible that they find it new given their past interaction with De Matthew's song. This clearly points to revitalisation of the metaphor. It has a new lease of life, courtesy of the musician.

**4.3.4.0 ORGANISM**

In this work an organism is understood as a living thing, and at least one capable of some movement and reproduction. It could be human, animal or even micro organism. In this thesis, some of our sampled metaphors have base domains that inform the macro concept of ORGANISM. Sub-concepts like sickness are treated within this category since illnesses are caused by organisms in our bodies. Under this category we have the following metaphors; *mbũri, Karĩithi, gũkamwo, mũrimũ, Wagaciairĩ, ngaara, hũngũ* and *nũgũ.* They are discussed below;

**4.3.4.1 MBŨRI – GOAT**

This metaphorical item is the base domain from which we transfer attributes to our target domain the bride whose hand is being sought in marriage. In terms of linguistic form this is a classic metaphor. Our definition of a classic metaphor is a metaphor that compares *x* to *y* on a one to one with the use of the words *like* and *as*, such that *x* is *y*. In literary theory, these are the metaphors par excellence.

It has sub-mappings of the base term 'goat' and the target term 'girl being sought in marriage'. The proponents of The Career of Metaphor Theory argue that "*a metaphor undergoes a process of gradual abstraction and conventionalisation as it evolves . . .*" (Bowdle and Gentner, 2005: 209). This means that since the first novel usage of the base term *goat*, it has been evolving. We support our argument by noting the fact that novel metaphors can take on radically different meanings in different contexts.

The term goat has evolved over time, but now the evolution is stagnant with its metaphoricity seemly losing its original allure. In the objectification of Gĩkũyũ women, goats are the base term as they were animals of prestige, now sadly lost. WOMEN ARE GOATS in Gĩkũyũ culture, a metaphor that developed when goats were popular and fashionable.

Available scenarios for the linguistic evidence WOMEN ARE GOATS include;

*She is mine ears and horns* (of a goat) means I have paid the bride price, *I have broken your goat's leg* means I have impregnated your daughter (before marriage), *These are my goats* means this is my wife, and so on.

The goat of today, however, is a mere domestic animal reared for milk, meat, and money when sold in the market for it has been stripped by changing times off its

traditional qualities. On the other hand, the goat of our fathers who embrace this metaphor was a sacred animal. It was slaughtered for sacrifices, cleansing rituals, ceremonies or for high ranking visitors. It was also a medium of exchange in great purchases like land or payment of dowry and fines. It was never sold to buy petty things, not even food, a present day common practice with Gĩkũyũ neighbours, the Maasai. To this old generation of Gĩkũyũ speakers then, breaking the leg of someone's goat was sacrilege. To the young generation of the Gĩkũyũ, who nonetheless still use this metaphor, the attributes of a base domain *goat* that they map onto the target domain woman are not those of his forefathers but the ones he knows as regards goat. It is in this mapping that the conventionality of the metaphor is lost. The metaphor still uses the same base term but the attributes mapped have changed. Indeed a debate on this kind of objectification for women is bound to be received with anger and outright hostility.

Thus, the base term 'goat' and its evolutionary retardation has gone full circle but instead of retiring, it has engenders itself as novel. Despite the rampant usage of the base term 'goat', this research has found out that the term is still a novel metaphor in respect of its conceptual structure, its career now sadly stuck. There are two possible explanations to this: first, the metaphor could at some time in its evolution gained conventional status when marrying and paying dowry in goats was the in thing. Then, the changing socio-economic dynamics eroded the traditional value bestowed on "goat", making it lose its allure, with its properties no longer automatically alignable to a bride. Secondly, the metaphor could have been used only by a section of the population namely the male Gĩkũyũ adults as codified language use, a possibility informed by the fact that all our elderly male respondents interpreted the metaphor appropriately with ease.

According to one of our research assistants, Ngigĩ of Kameme FM, goats were everything to a Gĩkũyũ man; they never had monetary value and their worth bordered on the sacred. A lazy person could not own goats and therefore could not marry. As in Jewish tradition, goats were used for sacrifices. They are also used in paying dowry and fines imposed by the council of elders, and buying a piece of land. They are seen as the highest valued movable gift. There is also a hidden ideology in this metaphor, namely WOMEN ARE GOATS; the only other thing that respondents equated a goat

to was a piece of land, simply given its production potential. A woman is equated to a goat because of her ability to reproduce.

Underlying this metaphor is not just the ability of a goat to reproduce, but its food value. The schema of food in this metaphor transfers to the schema for sex. This suggests that if we fail to eat food, we die just as lack of sex would mean failure to reproduce which in turn would mean the eventual extinction of the human race (Hiraga, 1991).

A woman was traditionally worth thirty goats. Indeed, if a man killed a woman, the standard fine was thirty goats. No other animal in the Gĩkũyũ world had a value surpassing that of a goat.

Today, if the interpretation of this metaphor by the youthful respondents is anything to go by, this heritage is being lost. Our young respondents saw goats in terms of economic prosperity only. This has led to the commodification of relationships (Goatly, 2007:89), and objectification of women. Could this partly explain why today's wife, "bought" using one's goats, is equated to a goat with modern day perception of what a goat beholds? Today's goat can be bought and sold, slaughtered for food with no cultural justification, tethered and starved and so on. Yet, the practice of paying dowry using goats is still rampant (Gachara and Ngigĩ, in press). This is further evident in issue of 23 June 2011, in the Daily Nation, a young Nairobi lawyer – Rita Muchiri – set her own bride price at Ksh 1 million.

What we have now are cross-domain mappings where, when the target domain (woman) remains *in situ,* the intended properties of the source domain have been recast by the emerging culture, making it strenuous for the young adult to map them. This means that the 'woman as goat' that our forefathers had in mind is different from our modern conceptualisation of 'woman as goat'.

HUMAN           ANIMAL Sacred, wealth,

reproduction, prestige, medium of

exchange.

WOMAN ⟵—— GOAT
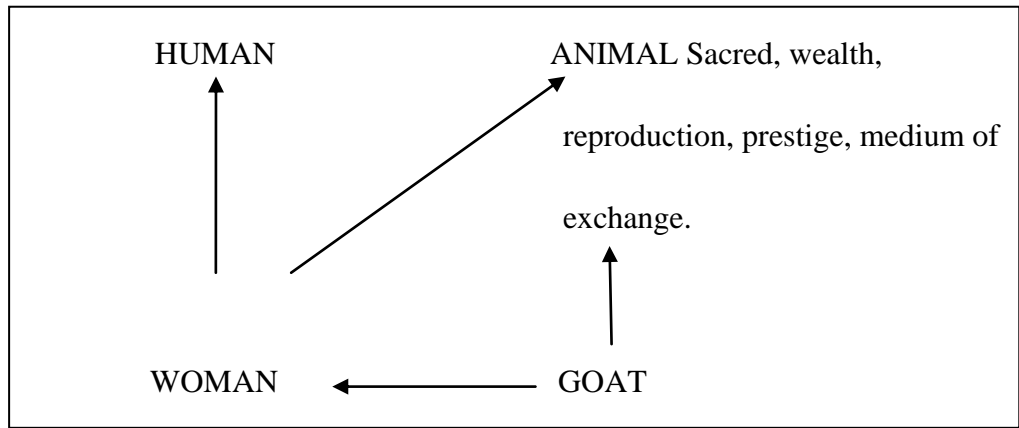
*Figure 4.3.4.1a: Cross categorization of a traditional woman as goat.*

HUMAN           ANIMAL

meat, milk, reproduction, money.

WOMAN ⟵—— GOAT
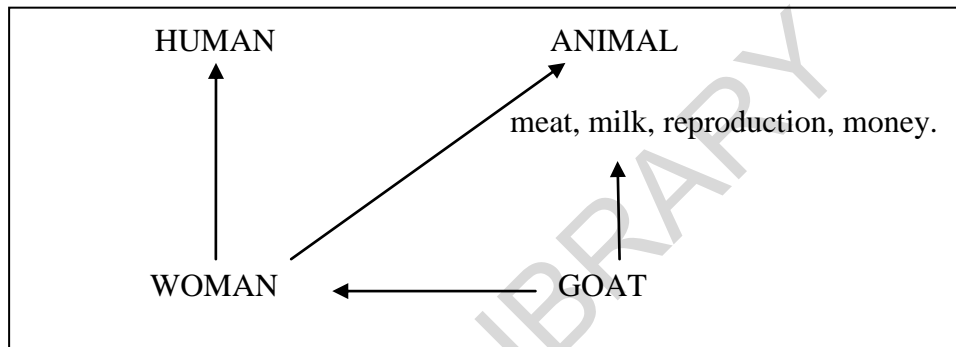
*Figure 4.3.4.1b: Cross categorization of modern woman as goat.*

The metaphor, *kuuna mbũri kũgũrũ* (to break a goat's leg) refers to impregnating someone's daughter.

GOATS used as metaphor vehicle refers to a category of things, but when used literally it refers to a specific member of that category.

LOST PRIDE           LIMPING GOAT

liability

                            Devalued, eye sore,

unproductive

UNMARRIED PREGNANT WOMAN ⟵—— LAME   GOAT
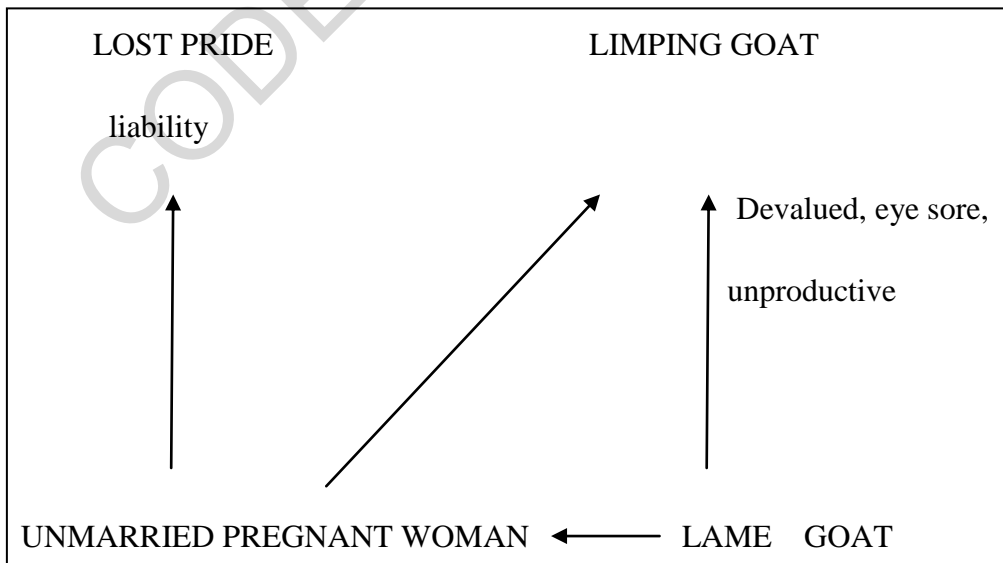
*Figure 4.3.4.1c: Cross-categorisation of the metaphor of pregnant 'girl' as a lame goat.*

What is emerging when we map the structures of this metaphor is that people do not import random facts from base to target in this case from goat to woman, but instead project inferences that complete the common system of relations (Bowdle and Gentner, 2008).

Bowdle and Gentner go on to argue that the selection of an alignment is guided by what they call **systematic principle**. This is matching a system of relations connected by higher order constraining relations. Whereas the metaphor '*kuuna mbũri yene kũgũrũ*' contains both object attributes of: it is domesticated, kept for food, skin, manure and horns and object relations of: it is a source of wealth, social prestige, personal pride and so on, the metaphor interpretation focuses mainly on relations. Although a goat with a broken leg can yield meat, horns and skin, it has been devalued and it is a loss to its owner as no one can buy it. A man who impregnated a girl before marriage was fined only one goat *gũthĩnjĩra ihũ,* (means slaughtering a goat as a fine if one is not to marry the girl) and was not necessarily required to marry her.

The following metaphorical categories in Gĩkũyũ language are lexical evidence for the prevalence of the metaphor of women as goats:

> *Wakwa wa mbũri* – mine of goats; refers to someone's legal wife.
> *Wakwa matũ na hĩa* – mine ears and horns (i.e. of goats) refers to a legally married women for whom dowry has been paid.
> *Ithaga rĩakwa rĩa ngoro* – the jewel of my heart; the word *ithaga* refers to the beauty of a multicoloured goat or a jewel.
> *Kũiya mbũri* – to steal a goat, meaning to elope.
> In Kamaru's song, *Mwega Akĩrĩ Ũrĩkũ*? (Who is a good wife?), we have, ". . *na ndarĩ arĩa mabebe... ndamũheaga mĩkengeria na mĩrĩo ya mwaro*" – I have never fed her on maize stalk, I have been feeding her on wandering jew and sweet potato vines. This shows that the girl is conceptualised as a goat.

All these metaphors point to only one thing – that women are conceptualised as goats. In other words when people speak of women as goats in marriage negotiations, they conceptualise them as such, with 'goat' functioning as the base domain which informs and structures their view of conceptual target domain of women.

But despite the pervasiveness of this metaphor – ***women are goats*** – all these metaphor variations are understood as comparisons and none emerges as a distinct category where goat would mean girl.

Consider,

*Kariũki nĩ mbũri* – Kariũki is a goat (stupid)

*Ndĩna mbũri* – I have goats (said in social place to mean money)

*Ngui yao nĩ mbũri* – their dog is a goat (docile)

This demonstrates that the base term 'goat' is not conventional for under different contexts it yields different meanings.

Why then has the metaphor 'women are goats' failed in its evolution to become a conventional metaphor? Part of, and perhaps the only answer to this question lies in the source of this metaphor. The newer version of Conceptual Metaphor Theory puts forth a 'decomposition' account of the sources of metaphor as body and culture (Grady, 1997, 1998; Grady,Taub, and Morgan, 1996; Gibbs, Lima, and Francozo, 2004; Kövecses, 2002, 2005; Lakoff and Johnson, 1999, 2003). This yields two distinct kinds of conceptual metaphor; *primary* and *complex* metaphors. Primary metaphors derive directly from our experience and quite often from our common bodily experience and are therefore universal, while complex metaphors originate from our cultural beliefs and practices and as such tend to be culture specific.

Thus Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 257) suggest:

> *Inevitably, many primary metaphors are universal because*
> *everybody has basically the same kinds of bodies and brains*
> *and lives in basically the same kinds of environment, so far as*
> *the features relevant to metaphor are concerned.*
> *The complex . . make use of culturally based conceptual frames.*
> *Because they make use of cultural information, they may differ*
> *significantly from culture to culture.*

Other cognitive linguists like Yu, in Gibbs (2008) argue that, for conceptual metaphors, body is a source, whereas culture is a filter. This means that while the body

is universal and the source of bodily-based metaphors, culture will only allow mappings with targets culturally permissible to it (culture).

Either way, the point is clear – that culture plays a pivotal role in the propagation of complex metaphors, such as 'women are goats'. As we have observed earlier, at some point in the genesis of this metaphor, the Gĩkũyũ were culturally engineered in such a way that they greatly valued the goat as an animal so much that a man of repute was one who had many goats which he used to acquire land, pay dowry, slaughter for his visitors and so on.

Today, the emerging social order has cast the modern Gĩkũyũ man as bi-cultural (Newsweek, 2006, August 12) with a bit of Western culture and a bit of the culture of his forefathers. Caught in the crossfire is the metaphor 'WOMEN ARE GOATS' whose evolution is stuck because the goat has since lost its past allure. Perhaps now a car would aptly replace the goat. This then, being a novel metaphor, has no cross-categorisation but we have the topic concept as well as the subordinate and superordinate vehicle concepts.

As noted by Glucksberg and McGlone (2007) the aptness of a metaphor is determined by how emblematic the vehicle concept is of its topic category. "Goat" is a prototypical member of the category of domestic animals associated with wealth and prestige. Cow, although more valuable than goat, is not a typical member of this category, at least in Gĩkũyũ culture. It could not be used in sacrifices and it was not until recently that it was used to pay dowry. So we cannot say *women are cows*. The discourse principle in operation here is different from conceptual principle, and can never be derived from it. It is not possible to derive a domain of discourse from the domain of thought (Brown, 1958; Glucksberg, 1988). We cannot therefore say *goats are women*. What is involved here is what Bowdle and Gentner call "situational alignment of metaphor." This involves a taxonomic relation between the target women and the base goats. In this metaphor, WOMEN ARE GOATS – the target representation (women) is subordinate to the base term representation women.

The issue of what properties of the base will be mapped onto the target depends on the links metaphors establish between conceptual systems in the target and base domains. There is evidence that relational correspondences are emphasized over

correspondences between isolated object attributes (Cabonell, 1981; Gentner, 1983; Turner, 1987).

According to the proponents of the Career of Metaphor Theory, the target and base terms refer to specific concepts from different ontological domains – goat is an animal while woman is a female human being. The metaphor is therefore interpreted by first aligning the two representations and then importing predicates from the goat to the woman which then count as further matches.

What is emerging here is that while the metaphor of goat to refer to women is novel, the metaphor of goat with a broken leg to refer to an unmarried pregnant girl is conventional. The element of broken leg contextualises the metaphor so much so that its interpretation is universal across Gĩkũyũ speakers. The novelty of the metaphor of 'women are goats' suggests a somewhat uncomfortable notion that different speakers of Gĩkũyũ subscribe to different cultures. This is not far from the truth; the age difference in our respondents saw the youth and the elderly exhibit diverging knowledge, suggesting varied cultural orientation. The youth and the elderly have different views on the goat.

The graph below shows the results of interpretation of the metaphor MBŨRI by the sampled respondents and their level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.
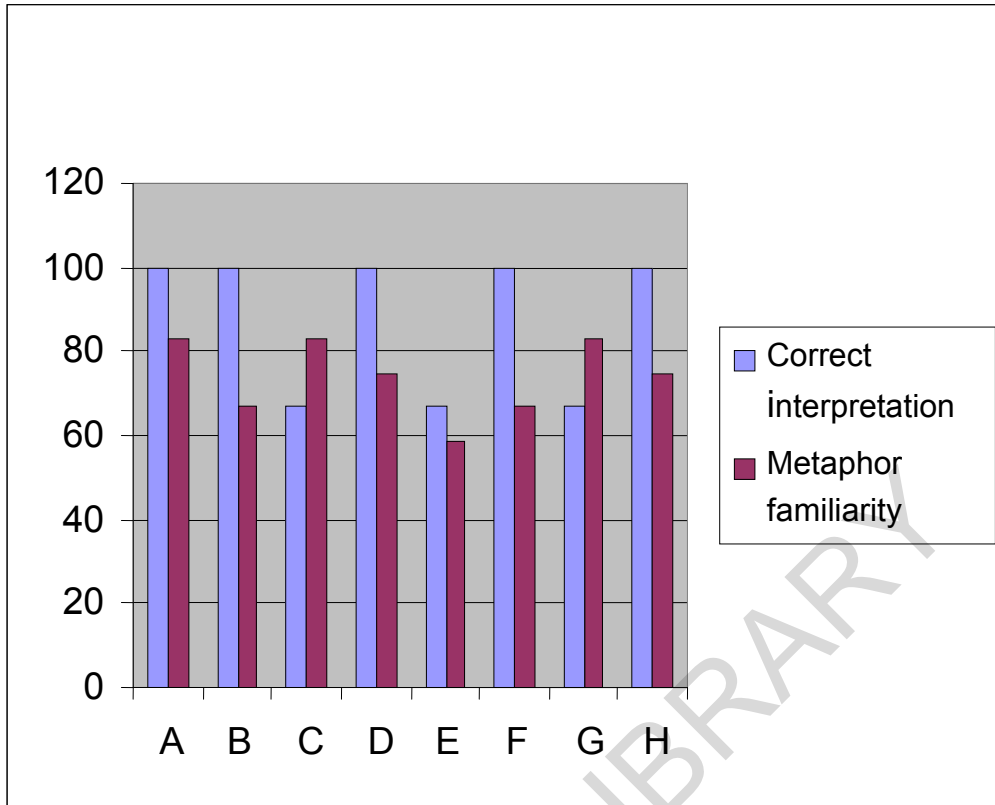
*Fig., 4.3.4.1d: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor,* WOMEN ARE GOATS

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the sampled respondents. Since the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the same. It was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 10 | 21 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 10.5 | 10.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1.5 | 1.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.52**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor WOMEN ARE GOATS is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.52 < 3.84$.

b) **Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 10 | 21 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 10.5 | 10.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1.5 | 1.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.38**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor WOMEN ARE GOATS is not significantly different between the elderly and the youth. This is because $x^2 = 0.38 < 3.840.38$.

c) **Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 9 | 21 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 10.5 | 10.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 3 | 2 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1.5 | 1.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 3.42**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor WOMEN ARE GOATS is not significantly different between people with a higher level of education and those with a lower level. This is because $x^2 = 3.42 < 3.84$.

## 4.3.4.2    KARĨITHI

This metaphor was collected within a compound item and for purposes of cohesion; attributes of Karĩithi have been discussed under 'omĩte', the other bit of the compound metaphor. Karĩithi though, is a name of a person and therefore this other bit of the metaphor informs the ORGANISM macro concept. That is why it is mentioned here to have all sampled metaphors are grouped in terms of macro concepts. The novelty of this item is evident when we note that the respondents gave varied referents aof Karĩithi. Some said it was a Permanent Secretary in Kenyatta's (Kenya's first president) government, others said it was the cowbird while only a few knew the real Karĩithi was a pre-independence askari from Ruguru location in Nyeri county.

## 4.3.4.3    NG'OMBE – CASH COW

The groom's team were being told by the bride's team that they would be milked into a bucket when negotiating for the bride price. This metaphor is informed by the subconcept, "*gũkamĩrwo ndoo*"(to be milked into a bucket). This leads us to seeing the groom and his family as a *cash cow* for the bride's family. The base domain is therefore cash-cow mapped onto the target domain which is the groom and his kinsmen.

From the semantic field of milking into a bucket, we find that the animal cow in this regard is kept and valued for its milk. The more milk it yields, the higher its value is to the farmer. We cross-map these attributes onto the target domain, the groom and we field that he is valued for the dowry he pays and the higher the price, the more valuable he is. This is a kind of commodification of the bride and bespeaks of what we have discussed earlier in the metaphor, WOMEN ARE GOATS. This metaphor suggests mapping of only one feature between the base and the target domain, that of yielding something of value. In the part of the base domain this is *a lot of milk* while in the part of the target this is bride price. This is an extended metaphor in linguistic form and its conceptual structure is novel.

Below is a graph that shows the results of the interpretation of the metaphor by the sampled respondents as well as their level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.

*Fig. 4.3.4.3: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, CASH COW

### a)  Variable of Sex

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 5 | 16 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 8 | 8 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 7 | 8 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 4 | 4 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

### Chi-square = 7.88

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor GŨKAMĨRWO NDOO is significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 7.88 > 3.84$.

Granted, to a very large extent the occupation of rearing livestock is a male activity and this means that men are better positioned to interpret the metaphor than their female counter parts. Further, the metaphor alludes to oppression of some kind. This kind of oppression is perpetrated by men more than women. The metaphor then falls squarely in their field of expertise. This field is what actually gives rise to the term domain.

**b) Variable of Age**

|  | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 9 | 7 | 16 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 8 | 8 |  |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 4 | 4 |  |
| Total | 12 | 12 |  |

**Chi-square = 0.75**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor GŨKAMĨRWO NDOO is not significantly different between the elderly and the youth. This is so since $x^2 = 0.75 < 3.84$.

**c) Variable of Educational Level**

| **Variable of Educational Level** | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 5 | 11 | 16 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 8 | 8 |  |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 7 | 1 | 8 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 4 | 4 |  |
| Total | 12 | 12 |  |

**Chi-square = 6.75**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (df) of 1, interpretation of the metaphor GŨKAMĨRWO NDOO is significantly different between those with higher level of education and the respondents with lower level of education. This is because $x^2 = 6.75 > 3.84$. Those with a lower level interpret the metaphor correctly 91.67%. For those with a higher level of education, only 41.67% manage correct interpretation. This suggests that measure excesses and oppression from a farming framework. They are livestock keepers with a low education having locked them from corporate investments or white collar employment. The 41.67% of the educated lot who interpret

the item correctly could be explained by the fact that a number of educated individuals still have farms where they rear livestock.

In conclusion, the metaphor has differing interpretation pattern across the three variables of sex, age, and educational level. This variation shows that the metaphorical item in question, GŨKAMĨRWO NDOO, is novel in terms of its conceptual structure.

### 4.3.4.4    MŨRIMŨ WA ŨTUKŨ – NIGHT SICKNESS

This metaphor was used by a man who declared that the bride had then had an owner, like night sickness. Concerning this particular bride –to-be, it was said, *"ena mwene ta mũrimũ wa ũtukũ"*, which translates loosely as, she has an owner like night sickness.

To begin with, this metaphorical item is a compound linguistic rhetoric in respect to its linguistic form. We have a distended metaphor signalled by the preposition 'ta' and the euphemistic meaning of 'night sickness'. The euphemism is so well used that of our 24 respondents, only (37.5%) could correctly get its metaphorical meaning. The other 62.5% gave only the literal interpretation saying it is a sickness that strikes at night when everyone is asleep so that only the one affected shoulders the pain.

Irrespective of the interpretation given about night sickness, all the respondents agreed that the person being talked of having *'mwene ta mũrimũ wa ũtukũ'*, had one owner. Those who gave the proper interpretation to the taboo metaphor are the elderly, *the who is who* in marriage negotiations. This captures the Gĩkũyũ view of marriage so aptly by the contextuality of this metaphor. People married, and largely still do, for procreation. Night sickness is metaphorically used to mean arousal, a need that can only be satisfied by ones partner.

The girl then matters as much as the sickness. This renders this metaphor seemingly very weak especially when we consider the context of use. The metaphor blends so well with the marriage negotiation gathering context that it could go unnoticed. It lacks enough tension to generate viable cross-domain mappings. Indeed we could argue that some metaphors are more metaphorical than others (Goatly, 1997: 30) and dismiss this one as less metaphorical. A metaphor becomes more of a metaphor on account of its metaphorical force in relation to that of its counterparts.

However, this is not the case, Bowdle and Gentner (2001) note that metaphoricity arises from the tension generated by juxtaposing concepts from unrelated but potentially relatable domains. The greater the semantic distance between the target and the base, the more metaphoric a statement will seem. In our metaphor, the tension is generated by temporal distance. What happens is that first the metaphor recasts its target anew from the lonely girl in the compound to the more attractive protagonist of the gathering; the bride, secondly the temporal space is projected from 'now' to 'then'. The emerging cross-domain mapping has the base as the night sickness after the ceremony and the target as the bride who will then be 'wife'. The aspect of time in this metaphor in this fresh dispensation is so subtle that it shifts the metaphor from being linguistically expressed rhetoric to a metaphor not at all linguistically expressed.

> It follows that psychoanalysis by definition relates past and present/future metaphorically to one another . . . For the psychoanalyst, metaphorical comprehension shifts from "seeing something in terms of something else" to "seeing something in terms of **another time**" (Borbely, in Gibbs, 2008: 413).

The unconscious choice of saying *'ta mŭrimŭ wa ŭtukŭ*, other than the girl being negotiated for, agrees with the fact that metaphor is a phenomenon of thought rather than merely of language.

Gibbs, (1994a, 1994b, 1999) recognises this difference between figurative expression of language and figurative thought using language. What this has done to our analysis is that it has collapsed the present and the future domains into a single functional (the mind is actively involved at the moment) pseudo-present domain. These domains of temporal space coalescence led the young men in the group discussion to experience or fantasise the future as belonging falsely to the present (see also Fauconnier and Turner, 2002: 39 – 50).

The novelty of this metaphor comes out when we consider the sum total interpretation. This allows us to get the base and target domains as well as the topic concept and the subordinate superordinate vehicle concepts. We have moved from the anonymous girl in the compound to the bride, from the present moment to the future. Black (1962) argued that a target domain "changes" in various ways depending on the base domain with which it is metaphorically coupled. This is one of the most subtle metaphors to be handled by our theory. It demonstrates that conceptual blending is a valid entity.

The graph below shows the results of the interpretation of the metaphor by the sampled respondents and their level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.
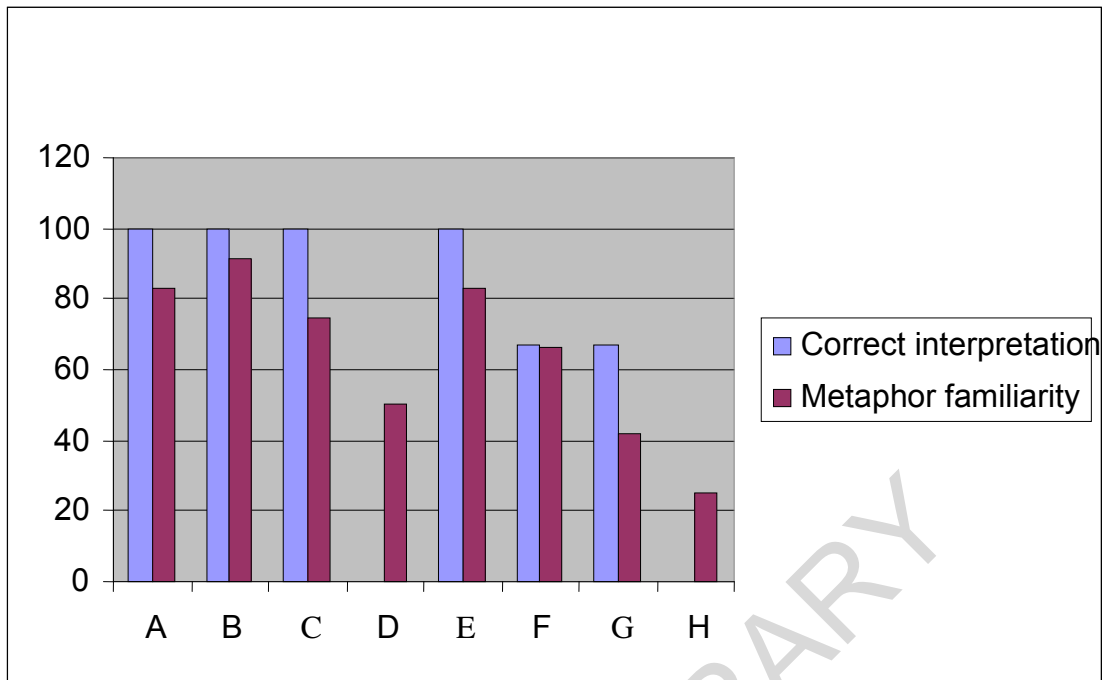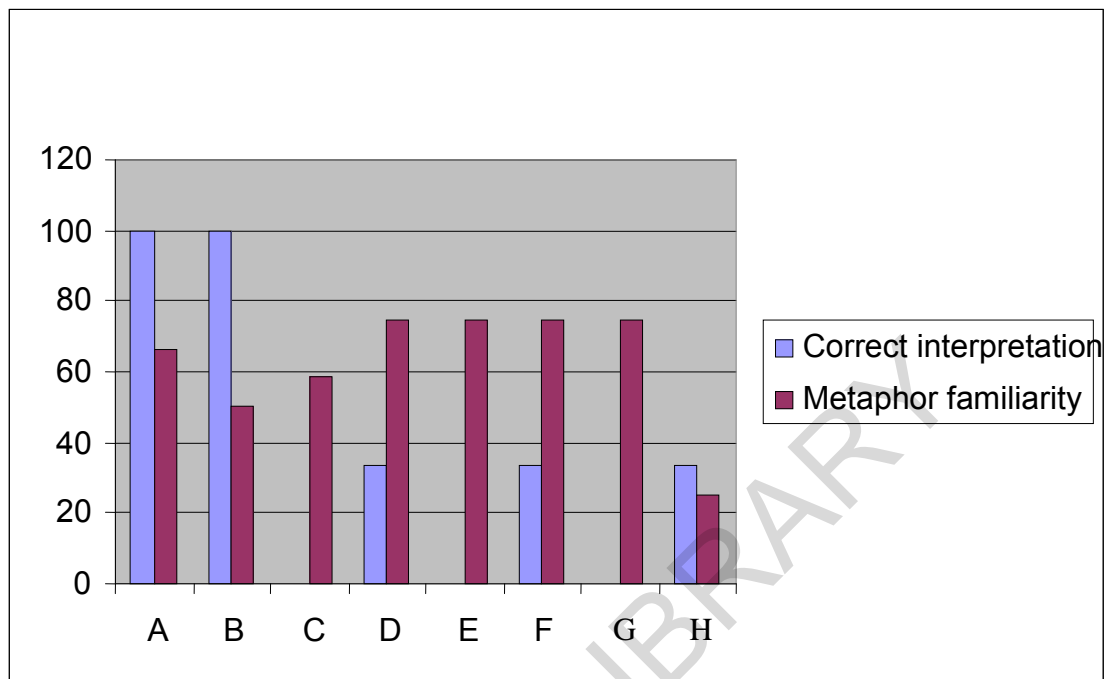


*Fig. 4.3.4.4: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor,* TA MŨRIMŨ WA ŨTUKŨ

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the various groups of the sampled respondents. Since the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was similar and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 7 | 2 | 9 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 3.5 | 3.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 5 | 10 | 15 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 7.5 | 7.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 3.89**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the variable of sex is significant in the interpretation of the metaphor ENA MWENE TA MŨRIMŨ WA ŨTUKŨ. The chi-square is $x^2 = 3.89 > 3.84$. The explanation to this lies in the Freudian thinking and Lakoff's basic metaphor, SEX IS WAR. The fact that men are seen as the aggressors and women as the victims of this aggression implies that when the sickness of the night strikes, women have to attend to it. As victims, they have no say over when the illness will strike. In other words, they cannot be conceived of having the 'illness' themselves. A traditional Gĩkũyũ woman was never expected to desire sex, let alone talk about it. The male dominated society treated and conceived of women as objects, a fact emerging from a number of metaphors we are analysing in this thesis that equate women to food items.

This being a compound metaphor, the use of sickness to refer to sexual arousal is a case of ABSTRACTION so well done that only a handful of respondents got the correct interpretation. In our cross domain mappings, we find the taboo topic of sex being treated like a disease. It is unwanted, but a natural occurrence to contend with once it strikes. In Gĩkũyũ culture, sex is not glorified and the desire for it was curtailed by the chauvinistic male society by perpetuating female circumcision. This meant (and largely still does) that issues of sex were decided by men and women were passive by-standers.

**b) Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 7 | 2 | 9 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 4.5 | 4.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 5 | 10 | 15 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 7.5 | 7.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 4.45**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the variable of age is significant in the interpretation of the metaphor ENA MWENE TA MŨRIMŨ WA

ŨTUKŨ. A chi-square of 4.45 is way above our 3.84 level of significance. This means that the metaphor with its entire euphemistic load exists in the domain of the elderly. Naturally, it is the elderly members of the society who have experience in marriage and man-woman nocturnal activities.

## c) Variable of Educational Level

| Variable of educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 6 | 3 | 9 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 4.5 | 4.5 | |
| Not correctly interpret (*fo*) | 6 | 9 | 15 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 7.5 | 7.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 1.60**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the variable of educational level is not significant in the interpretation of the metaphor ENA MWENE TA MŨRIMŨ WA ŨTUKŨ. This is because $x^2 = 1.60 < 3.84$.

In conclusion we can say that though this metaphorical item is not very familiar to the respondents since its compound nature robs it off its conventionality. Many can see the comparison bred by the distended base-target domains signalled by the preposition *ta* but cannot wake up to the metaphoricity of the euphemistic term 'night sickness'. A failure to realise this has led such respondents to create wrong cross-domain mappings.

## 4.3.4.5       WAGACIAIRĨ – (DIMINUTIVE FOR A WOMAN WHO HAS JUST GIVEN BIRTH)

A story is told of a woman whose husband had left her pregnant and gone to faraway lands to smith. When she gave birth, an ogre came by and offered to nurse the woman. However, he would pretend to serve her food, but before she would receive it, the ogre would take it back and eat it, saying: "*Wagaciairĩ ndũke tũhiũhio, warega ngarĩa*"

(Wagaciairĩ can't you take this food, to see you decline, let me eat it"). Presently a dove came to eat millet in her courtyard and agreed to assist the woman by looking for her husband and passing the news. This the dove did and the husband came home armed with spear, sword, machete and other assorted weapons. At the time, the ogre had gone to fetch firewood so the man hid in the raft (*itara*).

> "*Wagaciairĩ ũrĩ nyũmba ino ũrogwa na mũrurumo ũcio*" – you woman in this house may you fall with that thud. The ogre cursed as he dropped his load of firewood.

> "*O nawe ũrogwa naguo*" may you too fall with it, answered the woman.

> "*Ũrekinyĩra atĩa ta marĩ ũturi mokire*?" Why are you behaving as though those who have been away smithing are back? The ogre asked.

> "*Anga ndũĩ nomoke?*" Don't you think they can? The woman replied. This angered the ogre so much that he stormed into the house threatening to kill her, but he was speared to death by the man.

This forms the background of this metaphor, from which narrative it is derived. One cognitive aspect of a metaphor like this is its sense of surprise (Cohen, 1978; Stern, 2000) its interpretation requires metaphorical competence involving the knowledge of the oral narrative from which it is derived. This follows Stern's (2008) folk-psychological purposes of explaining behaviour. To see a member of a vulnerable group suddenly change and exude confidence not evidenced before calls to question the force behind the change.

Used in marriage negotiation gathering, this metaphor has multiple/paradoxical cross-domain mappings – weak is strong. The weakness exhibited by a woman who has just given birth is mapped onto the bride. In Gĩkũyũ culture, an unmarried girl owns nothing save for her bed and clothing. She is her clan's *rĩgu* (investment), a delicate position since a slight miscalculation would make her miss a suitor. Upon getting married, she would start a family and become beautiful in her tribe (Thiong'o, 1965). The suitor on the other hand has the cross-domain mappings of the blacksmith who returns. The suitor has been absent, but the absence of the man whose wife had just delivered, though brief, looks like eternity. The return of the blacksmith comes packaged with protection from undesirable people (ogres) not to forget that he returns

with a spear (see metaphor 4 for spear metaphorical analysis). For this reason the bride holds her ground since, more than any other time, those who have been away have come.

Further, there is cross-domain mapping where the bride's family is the Wagaciairĩ. They have been looking forward to the day their daughter shall give them dowry, friends and eventually grandchildren. That moment is here, so they hold their ground, having brought the girl up they can ask for anything they deem fit. Still, getting a son in-law would mean the continuity of their family name. Without this, the name would have died just as the ogre would have starved the woman and her child to death.

Whichever ideology is hidden in the use of this metaphor or the cross-domains activated depends on how highly the groom is sought and for what. Metaphorical interpretations are a function of all sorts of extra-linguistic presuppositions and salient features (Stern in Gibbs, 2008: 263). Stern has defined pragmatic presupposition as a species of propositional attitude, a set of propositions to which a speaker commits himself in that, in their absence, the metaphor is uninterpretable as it is. In the case of this metaphor, presuppositions are local to the actual context of utterance. In this sentence, the utterances being made have a direct relationship with the event that is taking place. The interpretation of metaphor draws on all sorts of properties but the most essential features are presupposed to be associated with the literal vehicle of the metaphor in context (Stern, 2008).

Associated with this metaphor, and evidenced from the data we collected from the field, is the *gwĩkinyĩra ta marĩ ũturi mokire* – to hold one's ground as though those who have been away blacksmithing are back.

*Marĩ ũturi* and *Wagaciairĩ* are cases of implicit metaphor (Steen et al., 2010) where we have linguistic rhetoric coming as a result of ellipsis. Asked if either of the two metaphors was championing male chauvinism or demeaning to women, an overwhelming 83.32% of the women respondents were of the opinion that they were demeaning. The male respondents only had issue with the fact that the terms "*Wagaciairĩ*" and "*marĩ ũturi*" are used by the ogre who was up to no good, suggesting that any subsequent user of the terms hints on both their folly and mercilessness.

Some 4.16% of the respondents even compared the suffering of Wagaciairĩ to childbirth.

In terms of linguistic form, this metaphor is, first, a linguistic rhetoric given its folk-tale origin. Second, the preposition *ta* yields a simile in our research referred to as distended metaphor. This combination results in what Goatly (1997) calls a compound metaphor. The conceptual structure is highly conventional despite the 50% of the female respondents who gave wrong interpretation. However, one can understand the content of a metaphor or fail to get it, just as we can fail to get the meaning of literal language (Moran, 1989; Stern, 2000). If the 43.4 of the total number of respondents or even a fraction of them represent a pure lack of metaphorical competence in regard to the said metaphor and not below average cognitive abilities, then this could partly be attributed to the fading tradition of storytelling, especially among women from where the metaphor originates. The compound nature of the linguistic form of this metaphor means that the part that is linguistic rhetoric *wagaciairĩ* is conventional while the distended part flagged by the preposition *ta* has a novel conceptual structure.

Below is a graph showing the results of the interpretation of the metaphor by the various groups of the sampled respondents. Also captured by the graph are the levels of familiarity the various groups have of the metaphorical item.



*Fig., 4.3.4.5: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor*, WAGACIAIRĨ

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the various groups of respondents. Given that the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the same. It was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

a)  **Variable of Sex**

| **Variable of Sex** | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 10 | 6 | 16 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 8 | 8 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 2 | 6 | 8 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 4 | 4 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 3.51**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor GWĨKINYĨRA TA WAGACIAIRĨ is not significantly different between men and women. However, of our male respondents, 83.33% interpreted the metaphor correctly compared to 50% of the female respondents. The chi-square of 3.51 is close to our 3.84 level of significance. This phenomenon is explained by the sad fact that the metaphor is derogatory to women (at least the young consider it so) and is used by men against women. This means that men are the chief users of the metaphor while women are its victim. The users are therefore more informed about this linguistic item than those upon whom it is used against.

b)  **Variable of Age**

| **Variable of Age** | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 9 | 7 | 16 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 8 | 8 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 3 | 5 | 8 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 4 | 4 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.75**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor GWĨKINYĨRA TA WAGACIAIRĨ is not significantly different between the elderly and the young. This is because $x^2 = 0.75 < 3.84$.

c) **Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 7 | 5 | 12 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Not correctly interpret (*fo*) | 5 | 7 | 12 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.51**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor GWĨKINYĨRA TA WAGACIAIRĨ is not significantly different between those with a higher level of education and those with lower educational level. This is because $x^2 = 0.51 < 3.84$.

In conclusion, the metaphor is conventional in conceptual structure but half of our female respondents failed to identify with it. This could either be due to the fact that it demeans them or that given the fading tradition of storytelling by the fireside outside the house.

### 4.2.4.6 NGAARA – MOUSE

This metaphor is implicit and was collected in the ellipted form '*ta wa ngaara*' – like that of the mouse'. The body part belonging to the mouse that is in question was only implied but easily recoverable from context. It is comparing the smartness of a man present in the marriage negotiation gathering to the hardness of a mouse' tail, but the tail is not mentioned. Initially this metaphor looked somewhat misplaced. It could indeed be used in a variety of other contexts, but when we presented it to the respondents, quite a number of them could identify with it. We therefore analysed it in

the perspective of marriage negotiations. Respondents observed that a mouse' tail is normally straight and hard, easily comparable to a smart person and the line left by ironing of the clothes that one is wearing, especially the trousers. It also emerged that many people among the Gĩkũyũ community associate mouse (*ngaara*) with good luck. If one is like a mouse, then seeing them portends fortune. Used within the framework of a marriage negotiation, this could structure the concepts of the good tidings the couple to be and their clans will begets, usually children which are the ultimate wealth.

The other conceptual domain we can map from the source to the target that is marriage is another feature associated with mice, their manner of reproducing very fast. The deep seated agenda behind a traditional marriage is a desire to have children. Looked at from this point of view, it is obvious that a mention of mouse informs the participants of the concept of reproduction, meant to increase the clan in numbers. Children, after all are the carriers of the clan's name and legacy.

This metaphor is grossly lacking an appropriate literal referent and is therefore markedly infelicitous. In linguistic form, therefore, it is classified as an implicit distended rhetoric. It is deliberately designed and used to carry a communicative function. Following this deliberateness, and the 'drama' surrounding its usage, the metaphor is novel in its conceptual structure.

The graph below shows the results of the interpretation of the metaphor by the sampled respondents as well as their level of familiarity with the item.
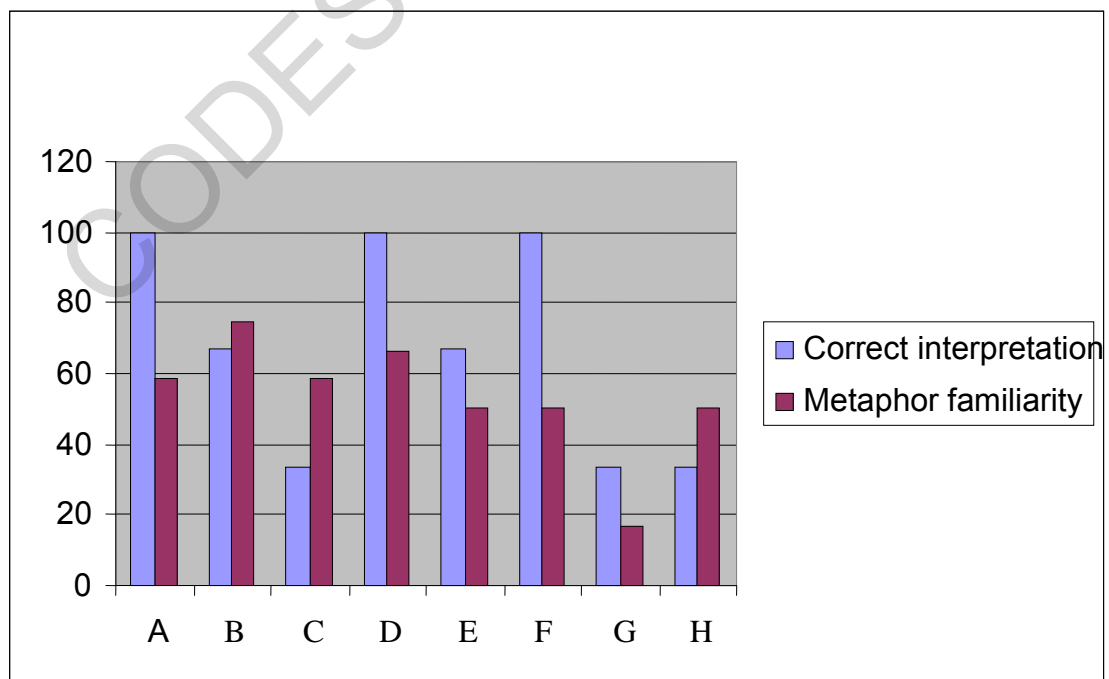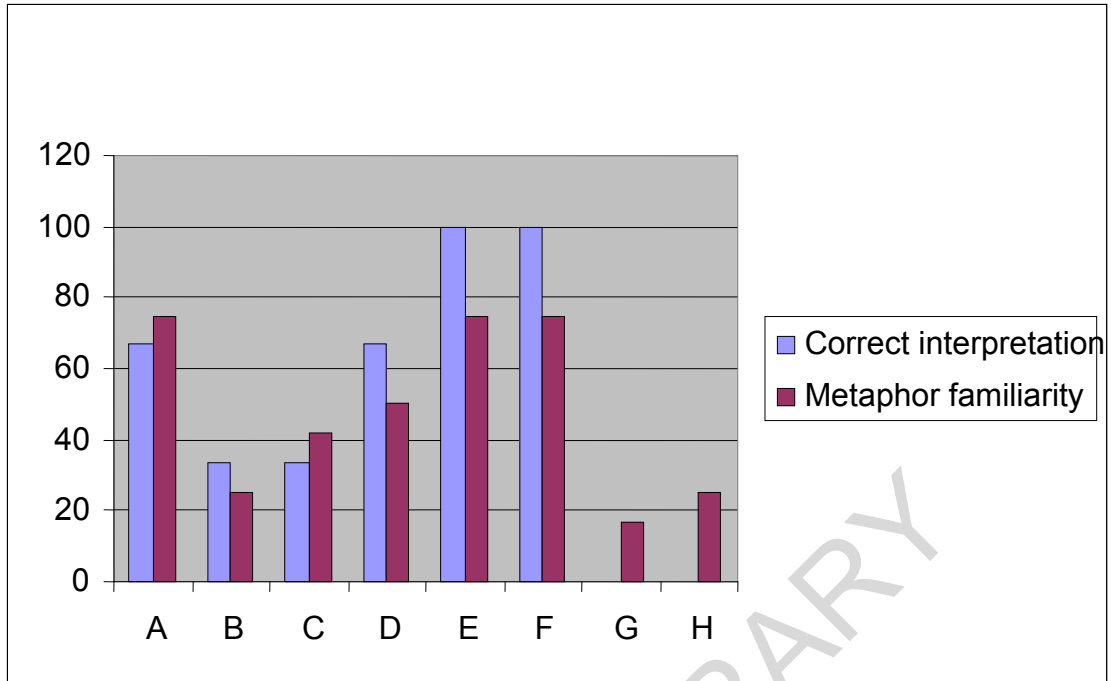
*Fig., 4.3.4.6: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor,* TA WA NGAARA

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the various groups of sampled respondents. Since the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for analysis was the same and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places.

**a)  Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 9 | 3 | 12 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 3 | 9 | 12 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 6.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the linguistic rhetoric TA WA NGAARA is significantly different between men and

women. This is because $x^2 = 6.00 > 3.84$. Not surprising, of all the respondents, only 50% got the interpretation of this metaphor correctly. Of these 50%, three quarters were men and the rest were women. This means that the metaphor was poorly interpreted, a situation that was brought about by the elision of the entire target domain and part of the base term. The complete metaphor would have been, *arũngarĩte ta mũtingoe wa ngaara* – he is straight like a tail of a mouse. This omission of basic parts of the metaphor item denied respondents key concepts to utilise in their cross-domain mappings.

Further, a mouse is a bush rodent but this does not explain why men managed a fair interpretation of the metaphor in comparison to women. This is because, while men venture into the fields when grazing animals and other outdoor activities, women too tend the farm, collect fodder and thus could also encounter the rodent. The metaphor *omĩte ta ngaara*, however, is used in reference to men. This may have better positioned them to acquainting themselves with such metaphor. This means they could easily retrieve the missing parts from their semantic memory. Thus, the term kũma in relation to being smart is used to refer to men and this may have predisposed to have encountered it before.

## b)  Variable of Age

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

## Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor TA WA NGAARA is not significantly different between the elderly and the youth. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

**c) Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted  (*fo*) | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square= 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor TA WA NGAARA is not significantly different between respondents with a higher level of education and those with a lower level of education. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

In conclusion, the failure to correctly interpret the metaphor item could be blamed, not on the respondents' metaphorical incompetence, but the absence of adequate field to account for connotations and pragmatic considerations (Forceville, 1999). This, according to Forceville, is what makes metaphors both suggestive and risky in communication. This is because the mappable features are not made explicit meaning different interpreters may have inferred different features as the interpretation process was open-ended (see also Sperber and Wilson, 1995).

## 4.3.4.7      HŨNGŨ – HAWK

This metaphor equates men to hawks. In the base domain we find the attributes which we map onto the target 'men'. This draws a parallel with the behaviour of men. Men do not fly but hawks do yet the principle attribute of sameness is their swooping habits.  Hawks swoop over chicken and carry away chicks. In a marriage negotiation context, what compares to the chick is the bride. The hawk is the groom or some other men with competitive interests such that the bride has to be wary of such people and the groom has to move fast enough before someone else takes his girl. The Darwinians and sociobiologists see human society as inexorably competitive. Some people see

animals like hawks as fiercely competitive, selfish and aggressive and that their evolution is based upon the struggle for existence (Goatly, 2007: 126).

Lorenz in Laland and Brown (2002: 60) observe that in the field of socio-biology, humans are simply sophisticated animals. From this premise we can conclude that if animals are competitive, jealous and aggressive, then humans are by nature competitive, jealous and aggressive in sophisticated ways. Applied to the metaphor MEN ARE HAWKS it means that the attributes of competetiveness, jealousy and aggression of a hawk are mapped onto the hawk's remote relative, man. This underpins Darwin's proposition that life is a struggle in which only the fittest survive.

According to Dawkins (1990), human behaviour has similarity to that of animals in the fact that both can be explained in the drive to pass genes, every living creature is designed to act in ways that boost the chances of their genes being reproduced.

However, pretending that human nature is simply about genetic constitution has the dangerous consequences of ignoring the enormous linguistic influences that make him a social being.

> "If you accept that evolution is all about selfish genes, then the group has no role play. Survival of the fittest means survival of the fittest DNA. There is no such thing as society. You and I are mere vehicles in which our genes are hitching a lift on the road to posterity" (Dicks in Ryan, 2002: 242).

This suggests that the use of this metaphor glorifies the hawk and its tendencies which in turn reinforce the idea that men should be like hawks. The only difference is that they swoop over women, not chicken. The similarity of the competitive selfishness and aggression between man and in this respect the hawk is pronounced in that the hawk preys on the young ones of other birds but jealously guards her own just as a man will protect his daughters with a hawk's eye.

Further, the selfish gene hypothesis endeavours to explain the psyche such as sense of beauty – men look for mates that are good looking, meaning they are healthy and fertile; thus capable of bringing forth and raising offspring.

The basic form of this metaphor is HUMAN IS ANIMAL and unfortunately, there is a tendency to subconsciously reverse the metaphorical equation so that animals are

viewed through the lens of human society. Blacks (1962), in his interactional theory claims that metaphor of this kind involves a two way transfer, not only from base to target but also from target to base: man is a hawk makes hawks become more like men and vice versa. Evidence for this can be found in our everyday conversations, for instance, *"Ngwĩciria ngui ciakwa nĩ ndwaru, gũkire mũgeni na gũtirĩ **mũndũ** ũkũgire* – I think my dogs are sick, there came a visitor and no one **person** barked. *Ndekĩrĩra ngũkũ irio o **mũndũ** hake* – I have given chicken feed, each **person** at their place. In the above two examples, dogs and chicken are referred to as human.

Goatly (2007: 132), notes that within the impositive metaphor HUMAN IS ANIMAL, traits of human societies are projected onto the animal groups to create a hyponymic if not synonymous relationship. In the debate of HUMAN IS ANIMAL, the comparison with symbiotic animals is rejected since men and hawks are at a competition for honour and dignity; and the hawk swooping for chicks when cross-domain mapped onto the groom going for the bride exactly suggests marrying for honour and dignity. The swiftness of the hawk, its accuracy and alertness are properties that are aligned onto the man to portray the timeliness of a man who comes just at the opportune moment and whisks the girl away into marriage.

This kind of analysis may seem inappropriate or even farfetched but as noted by Steen, 2000, 2008; Gibbs, 2008, Deignan, 2008; and Kövecses 2004), for us to understand the various features that a lexical item may express metaphorically, we have to include all its known properties about the referent item (base domain). This would entail every property of an individual item, including the presupposed or merely noticed in context features (Gibbs, 2008: 266). This means that the context within which an utterance is made, specifically the contribution of extra-linguistic presuppositions and beliefs will most likely uncover the latent ideology underlying used metaphorical items. The mind, notes psychologists Ell and Ashly (2006), is to a very large extent engineered by the prevailing circumstances at the time in question.

This metaphor is an impositive classic in its linguisticform. Its base domain is *hũngũ* (hawk) while the target is *arũme* (men). The conceptual structure is highly conventional.
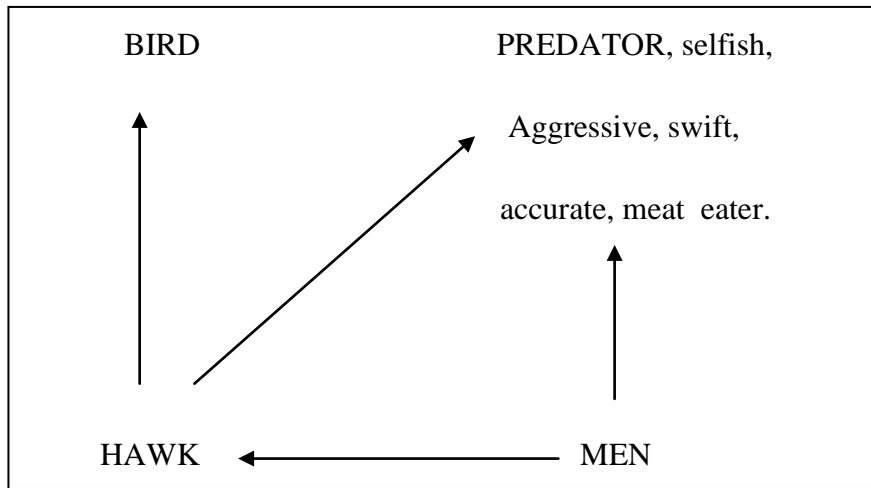
*Fig, 4.3.4.7a: Cross-categorization of the conventional metaphor,* HAWKS.

Below is a graph that shows how the metaphor was interpreted by the various groups of respondents and each group's level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.



 *Fig., 4.3.4.7b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor,* HAWKS

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation by the sampled respondents. Since the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for analysis was the same. It was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places; *fo* is observed frequency while *fe* is expected frequency.

### a) Variable of Sex

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   ($fo$) | 11 | 10 | 21 |
| Expected to correctly interpret ($fe$) | 10.5 | 10.5 | |
| Not correctly interpret ($fo$) | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret ($fe$) | 1.5 | 1.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.52**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom ($df$) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor MEN ARE HAWKS is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.52 < 3.84$.

### b) Variable of Age

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   ($fo$) | 10 | 11 | 21 |
| Expected to correctly interpret ($fe$) | 10.5 | 10.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted ($fo$) | 2 | 1 | 3 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret ($fe$) | 1.5 | 1.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.38**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom ($df$) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor MEN ARE HAWKS is not significantly different between elderly respondents and the youth. This is because $x^2 = 0.38 < 3.84$.

c) **Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 11 | 10 | 21 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 10.5 | 10.5 |  |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 1 | 2 | 3 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 1.5 | 1.5 |  |
| Total | 12 | 12 |  |

**Chi-square = 0.38**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor MEN ARE HAWKS is not significantly different between those with a higher level of education and those with lower level of education. This is because $x^2 = 0.38 < 3.84$.

In conclusion, the three social variables of sex, age, and education have not impacted on the interpretation of the metaphor, ARŨME NĨ HŨNGŨ. This shows that the metaphorical item is conventional in terms of its conceptual structure.

### 4.3.4.8        NŨGŨ – BABOON

The metaphor was in the sentence, "*mũndũ wĩ kanyamũ abatiĩ gũkinya ta nũgũ ya njamba*" – a person with something (wealth) should walk like a male baboon. The walking gait of a male baboon is being compared to that of a man. As a sentry the male baboon sits in a high point while the troop looks for food in farms and warns them of approaching danger. Its walk is, however, is very remarkable in that it walks with pride and in no hurry. Particularly, male baboons do not run away from women. Its posturing is therefore also aimed at intimidating both the enemy and other male baboons that may want to mate females in his troop.

The base domain macro concept informed by this metaphor is that of ORGANISM, baboon. The target domain is the GROOM. In terms of linguistic form, this NP – male baboon – is a distended metaphor, signalled by the metaphor flag *'ta'*. Given this linguistic form, its conceptual structure is novel.

The cross domain mappings invite scenarios where the man is expected to defend his wife and children against socio-economic uncertainties and also against physical enemies, including fellow man.

Glosses for this metaphor yielded related metaphors '*arakinya ta mũthigari*' he is walking like a soldier, and '*mũkinyĩre ũrĩ mũirĩtu ũcio, ona ngarĩ nĩ kũnyakwo*' the walking style of that girl, even a leopard cannot walk like that. The later is from a song by Musaimo wa Njeri "*Ũthoni wa Kanyenya inĩ*". In Musaimo's metaphor, the measured, very well coordinated walking gait of a leopard is compared to a girl's walking, not different from the metaphor cat-walk.

The centurion attributes of a male baboon bring out the aptness of this metaphor to cross domain map onto a man while the physical beauty of a leopard makes it apt to use on women. In pursuit to the genderisation of these metaphors, a Gĩkũyũ proverb, '*kaana ka ngarĩ gakunyaga ta nyina*' a leopards cub pinches like its mother, clearly shows that a leopard is conceptualised of as having female attributes. The scar on the baboon's bottom makes it ugly, robbing it off its feminism.

Finally, the warrior attributes of the baboon metaphor casts the linguistic item into male domain. Women were never expected to be warriors and the task of defending the clan, like the troop, was always vested upon men. It is interesting to note that, a baboon is a primate, evolutionary our ancestral cousins. In this light, baboon is like *mũndũ*, and though *mũndũ* means person, culturally it refers to a man not a woman.
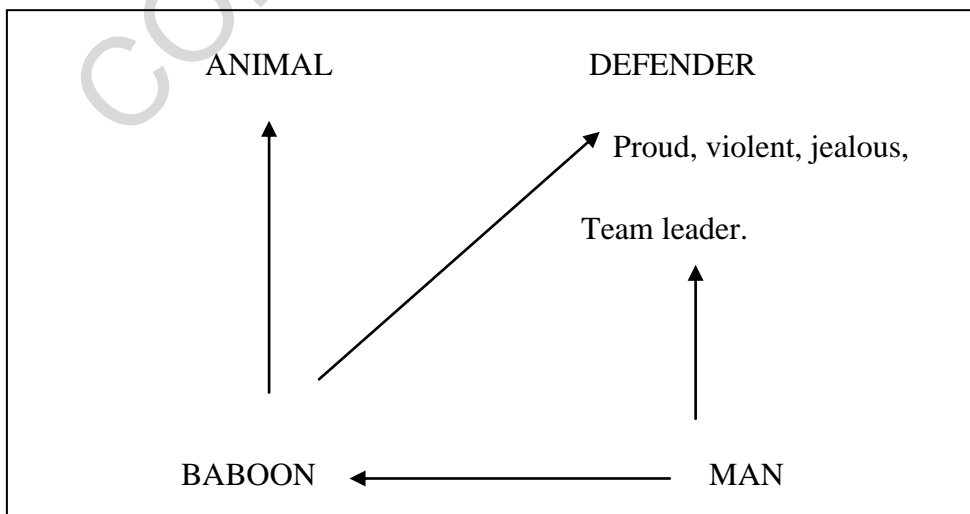


*Fig, 4.3.4.8a: Cross-categorization of the novel metaphor,* MALE BABOON

The graph below shows how the metaphor of MALE BABOON was interpreted by our sampled respondents and their level of familiarity with the metaphorical item.
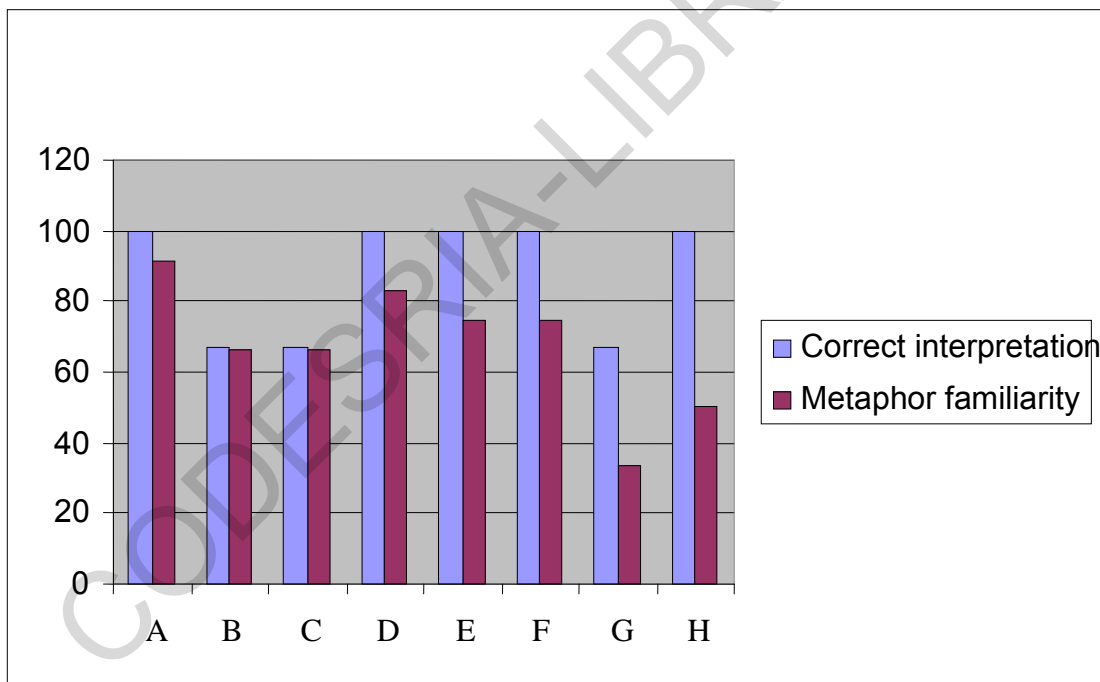


*Fig., 4.3.4.8b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor,* MALE BABOON

We analysed the metaphor according to its correct interpretation among our sampled respondents and used the $x^2$ to compute our data.

Because the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for comparison was the similar. It was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

### d) Variable of Sex

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor MALE BABOON is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

### e) Variable of Age

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor MALE BABOON is not significantly different between elderly and youthful respondents. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

### f) Variable of Educational Level

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 12 | 24 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 12 | 12 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 0 | 0 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 0 | 0 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.00

At 5% level of significance, the entire chi for the three variables is insignificant in the interpretation of the metaphor MALE BABOON. This is because they are all

$x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$. This means all the respondents fairy managed to understand the metaphor in its novelty, again signalling that this is advanced novelty in the career of this metaphor.

### 4.2.5.0       ABSTRACTION

As earlier said, metaphors are typically used to express abstract entities in terms of the more concrete others to ease understanding. For some metaphors however, a concrete domain is expressed in abstract terms; it is abstracted. In our sampled metaphors, we have two cases of abstraction. These are *andũ aya* and *itimũ*. They are explained below.

### 4.2.5.1       ANDŨ AYA – THESE PEOPLE

The interesting thing about this metaphor is that it refers to a single woman in plural. Many people are strong (unity is strength), warm, provide social security but are also noisy and difficult to control. In our marriage negotiation discourse, '*andũ*' is being used to refer to one woman. When we presented this metaphor to the respondents, 100% of the men interpreted it to mean woman singular or plural while only a mere 4.16% of the female respondents got the interpretation correct. Elsewhere, the plural form of people is used to refer to woman be it singular or plural and the attributes of 'people' that cross-map onto women is that she gives birth and therefore multiplies.

Interestingly, and quite against the spirit behind metaphor usage that is to concretise things, this metaphor abstracts what is already concrete. The phrase 'these people' is the base domain and it is an abstract term being mapped onto the target domain 'woman'. What is concrete and visible is obscured. This kind of abstraction maps onto the woman the attributes of the demonstrative (these) which come out as unknown as the demonstrative is not pointing at anything present. This base domain attribute of the unknown, mapped onto 'woman', gives a view a kind of individual who is not understood. The metaphor theme is reinforced by the facts regarding who were able to interpret it and who were not. Conceptually, this means that there is a grey area in women that men have not been able to conquer and define for themselves in their own terms. Evidence for this, besides the metaphor, is such common talk as *'Aka me kanyama, me gacigo, me handũ* and so on – (women have some piece of meat, a small piece of space, and a bit of somewhere suspect). The term 'aka' in present usage, is

derogatory of women and the use of some piece of meat, space and place point to something mysterious. This cross-domain mapping, innocent as it seems, bespeaks of the underlying mistreatment of women. In his PhD thesis, Brennan (online) investigates how in history, language has played a key role in the longstanding victimisation of women using such derogatory categories as inanimate objects.

The linguistic form of this metaphor is linguistic rhetoric. The conceptual structure, just as the metaphor of 'person is face' is age dependent for conventionality, is dependent on sex. To men, it is a conventional metaphor while 91.6% of the women respondents thought that this metaphor was a literal reference to some people being pointed at by the demonstrative 'these'.

HUMAN FEMALE     PEOPLE BEING POINTED AT

ADULT     mysterious, suspect,

unknown, abstract.

WOMAN     THESE PEOPLE

(target)     (base)
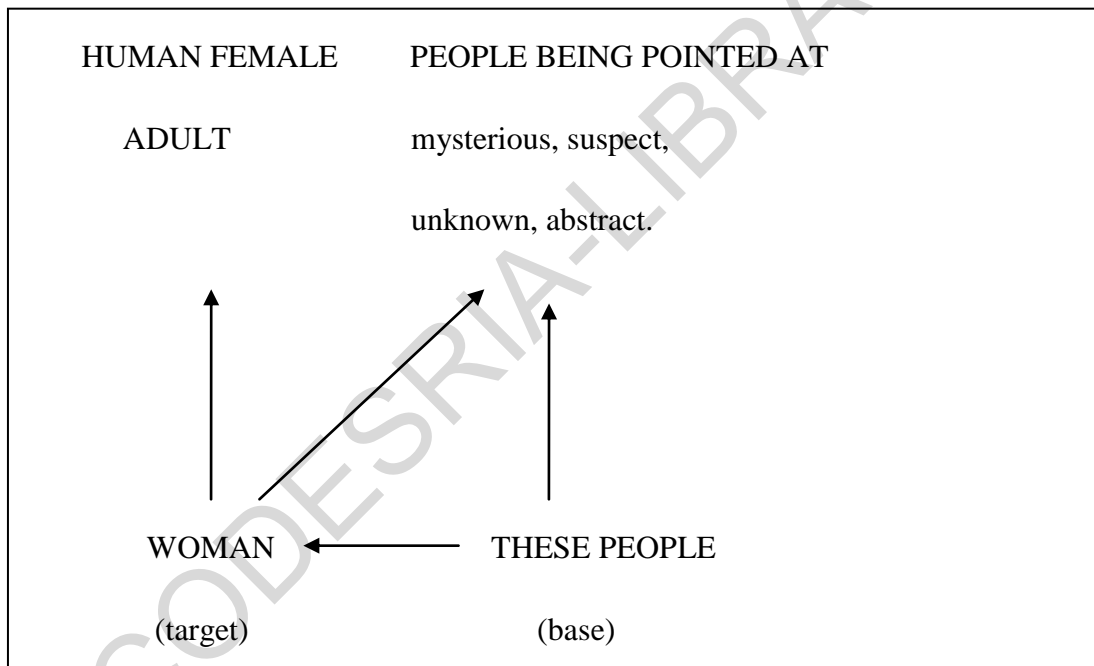
*Fig. 4.3.5.1a: Cross-categorisation of the metaphor* THESE PEOPLE AS WOMEN

The graph below shows the results of the interpretation of the metaphor by the various groups of sampled respondents and their level of familiarity with the linguistic item.
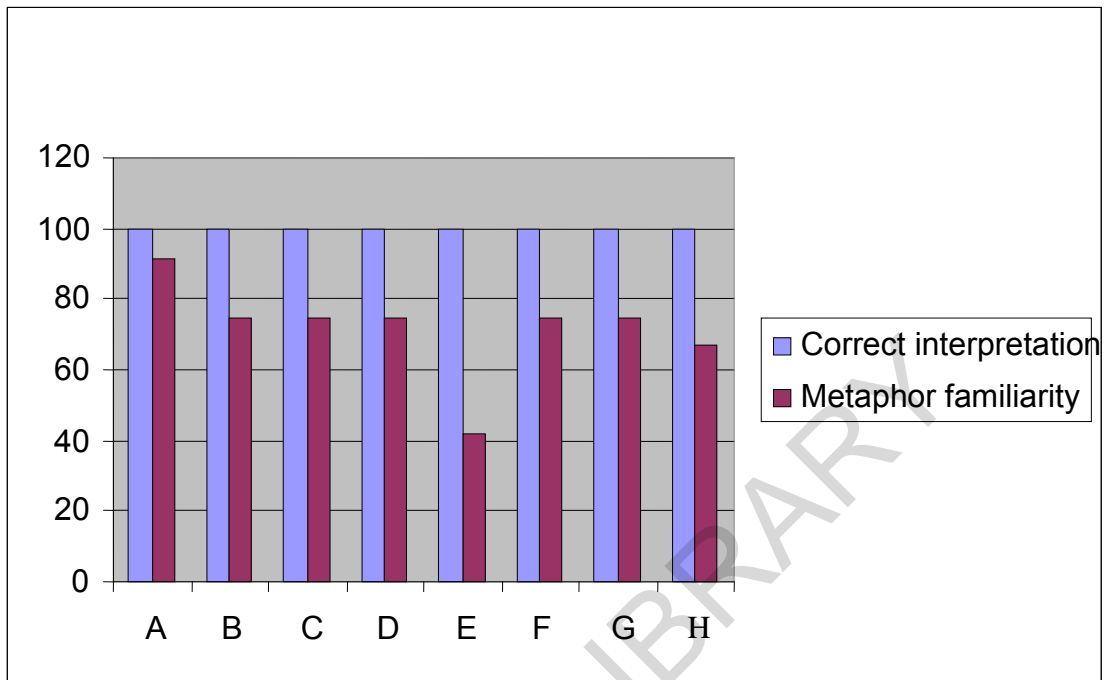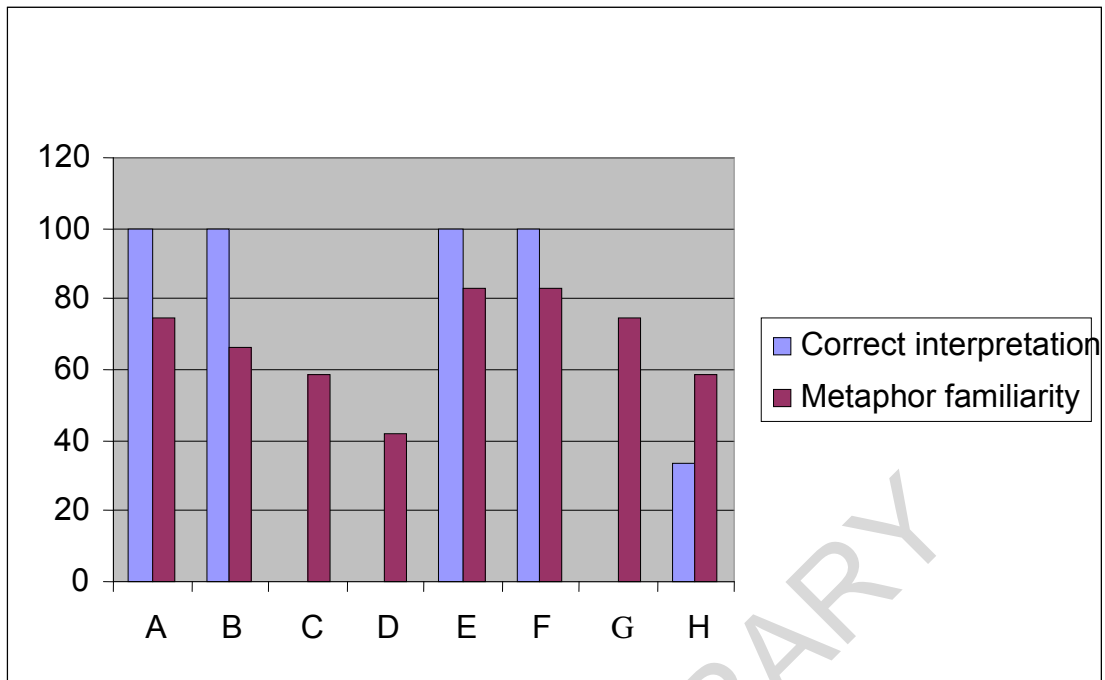
*Fig. 4.3.5.1b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metaphor,* ANDŨ AYA

The metaphor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the sampled respondents. Since the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for analysis was the same and was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 1 | 13 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6.5 | 6.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 11 | 11 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6.5 | 6.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 21.16

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor ANDŨ AYA is significantly different between men and women. This is

because $x^2 = 21.16 > 3.84$. It means that of the 12 sampled female respondents, only one interpreted the metaphor correctly. It works like some coded language used by men about women.  We also tend to think that this kind of results may be due to chance when collecting data.

**b)  Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 6 | 7 | 13 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6.5 | 6.5 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 6 | 5 | 11 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 5.5 | 5.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.17

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor ANDŨ AYA is not significantly different between the elderly and the youthful respondents. This is because $x^2 = 0.17 < 3.84$.

**c)  Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 7 | 6 | 13 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6.5 | 6.5 | |
| Not correctly interpret (*fo*) | 5 | 6 | 11 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 5.5 | 5.5 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

Chi-square = 0.17

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor ANDŨ AYA is not significantly different between those with a high level of education and those with a lower level of education. This is because $x^2 = 0.17 < 3.84$.

In conclusion, the interpretation of the metaphor is not impacted on by age nor the respondents' level of education. However, the variable of age seems to impact on the

interpretation of this metaphor. These could be because, women, being the referent persons in the metaphor find it negative and therefore fail to identify with it or that our results are as a product of chance.

## 4.3.5.2 ITIMŨ – SPEAR

As a compound metaphor, this item has been discussed under OBJECTIFICATION. It is, however, a sub concept of the macro domain of ABSTRACTION because it is used to refer to the male genitals (a concrete physical item). This thus masks to distance/abstract the taboo topic from being obvious. It is true that a few of our respondents took the spear to mean the spear but for all of them, upon further probing, it was evident that the taboo meaning was very salient. They however took the cue, that the term spear was being used to avoid talking about the penis, and thus avoided being explicit in their reference to it.

It is worth noting here that, culturally, every mature male had his own spear that was unique and identified with him. Whenever a man would visit his age-mates, he would erect (plant) it outside the wife's house while in. If the man of the house came, he would inspect the spear and know who was inside and move on. This practice is still common among the Masaai.

In this scenario, the spear erected outside is therefore metaphorical and is further evidence for the prevalence of this metaphor. In this case, the spear outside, though a concrete metallic weapon, here represents a pseudo-abstract symbolic representation of the man inside the house – at war using a different spear. It is an ABSTRACTION that partly also informs, like OBJECTIFICATION, the sex metaphor SEX IS WAR.

In this case, the metaphor is classic in linguistic form while its conceptual structure is conventional.

**4.3.6.0      RESIDUE**

From our sampled metaphors, we have two cases of base domains that do not fit in any of the five macro concepts we have discussed above. The two are the borderline case of the item *mũndũ nĩ ũthiũ* that is partially metonymous and partially metaphorical and the other is a borderline case of a gestural metaphor that we observed in action in marriage negotiations – the crossing of legs when speaking.

**4.3.6.1      ŨTHIŨ – FACE**

When looked at from the point of view of the linguistic form, this linguistic item is not metaphorical but a case of metonymy. But analysed in respect to its conceptual structure, the item is purely metaphorical. This is because at the conceptual level *mundu* does not refer to the human person but attitudes, character and action, on the other hand, face on the conceptual level does not refer to the organ of a human (or animal) but imports other varied attributes such as wellbeing, cooperation in a conversation, future and so on. Our research is not about linguistic form only, or else we would have had to drop this item. Neither is it about conceptual structure alone, in which case this item would be simply a metaphor. Rather, we are investigating both the linguistic form and the conceptual structure, which is informed partly by the linguistic form (Steen, 2011). This therefore makes this item a borderline case. Consequently, it does not fit in any of our base domains macro concepts. This makes it necessary to discuss it here under residue the category.

This metaphor uses the 'face' as our base domain that is then mapped onto 'person', the target domain. However, we observed that by the time the metaphor was presented to the respondents, it lost the bulk of its metaphorical attributes since it had been removed from its original context. This suggests that the metaphor is novel for its dependence on context for interpretation. Most of the youthful respondents simply mapped the base domain 'face' onto the target 'person' and ended up giving a literal interpretation. That it is face that is used to identify a person without which we may not know the particular individual. Nonetheless, all our elderly respondents understood that face was a representation of the inner person; character, attitudes, feelings, mood and relationships which are read on the face.

Forensic science has, for example, established that when a person is lying, he/she rarely make eye contact. The act of hiding the eyes is an attempt to hide oneself. Likewise, (a person) in love may look down to avoid having his face give him away. It is this element of love that the context of our metaphor belongs. A bride would not look at the groom in the eye but down. She would only steal glances at his face when he himself is not looking. This bespeaks of both the shy nature of women as well as the ideology of male dominance.

According to Cienki and Muller in Gibbs (2008), the gesture of looking straight metaphorically represents looking into the future. *Rora mbere* – look ahead, means to focus into the future. The future, according to our conceptual orientation, lies in any direction we may choose to focus our faces while the backs of our bodies faces/lies the past.

In cognitive linguistics, time has two conceptual orientations. One, time is conceptualised of as some static path along which we move. On that path, where we are now is the present, where we have come from the past and where we are headed is the future. As we move along this path, we face the future. Evidence for this comes from expressions like: *"twerekeire ng'aragu"* (we are about to famine), *"tũrorete thaa kenda"* (we are headed to 3 o'clock), and so on. Two, time is also conceptualised as some kind of conveyor belt that moves from the future to the past. Here, events come and meet us. Evidence for this is argument like; *thaa inya ciakinya* (when 10 o'clock arrives), *thigũkũ yakinya* (when the holiday comes), and so on. These two time conceptual orientations are fundamentally different (see Boroditsky, 2000: 8; Steen, 2007: 29), but they both point at one thing that is valid for our analysis here; that we **face** the future. This therefore means that when we have no face, we have no future.

Literally, a person without a face has no head and is therefore dead. At the metaphorical level, a person without a future is no person at all. Consider, for example, *haha hatirĩ mũndũ* – (there is no person here) used to refer to a person who has ruined their chances of a prosperous future..

In Imbuga's (1988) *Betrayal in the City*, when the Askari asks Mosese what he means by sitting showing them his back, he replies by saying, 'I have no front', to mean he has no future. In our metaphor analysis, when it is men who look straight, and women down, then the hidden ideology is that it is men who are able to face and meet the

future, on their own behalf and that of their women. This ideology is amplified by the fact that in Gĩkũyũ culture, it is men who marry while women get married. Indeed, although in Gĩkũyũ language *mũndũ* means person of either sex, it is used connotatively to refer to the male person. If, for example, one went home and is told, *"He mũndũ ũgũkũragia."* (There was someone looking for you). Automatically ne assumes it was a man. Face is also used to express confidence, defiance, courage, dignity and prestige. According to Yu (2001), the metaphoric understanding of face 'highlights the appearance and look; indicates emotion and character, focuses of interaction . .'. In Gĩkũyũ, face as an indicator of character is evidenced by the saying; *Kamau mwerũ nĩ airaga* – a light skinned Kamau becomes dark, means a good person can become bad. Here, the complexion is seen on ones face.

In some cultures however, the past is conceptualised as being ahead following the metaphor KNOWING IS SEEING. Here, the unseen is behind 'in the future' where our faces are not trained (Gibbs, 2008:492).

In terms of linguistic form, the metaphor takes off as metonymy where we have cross-domain mapping of face onto person. However, **face** is further used metaphorically to represent the many attributes we have discussed above. The complexity of this metaphorical item is evidenced by the fact that the linguistic form is metonymous but the conceptual structure it informs is metaphorical. We have coined the term **metophor** for this item since it is a blend between metonymy and metaphor.

The conceptual structure is novel to the young, conventional to the elderly. Goatly (1997: 107) and Yu (in Gibbs, 2008: 249) do acknowledge that the conventionality of a metaphor may be used as a scalar or relative one. In this case, the youth cannot see the metaphoric use of face while the elderly can.

The following diagram illustrates these mappings.
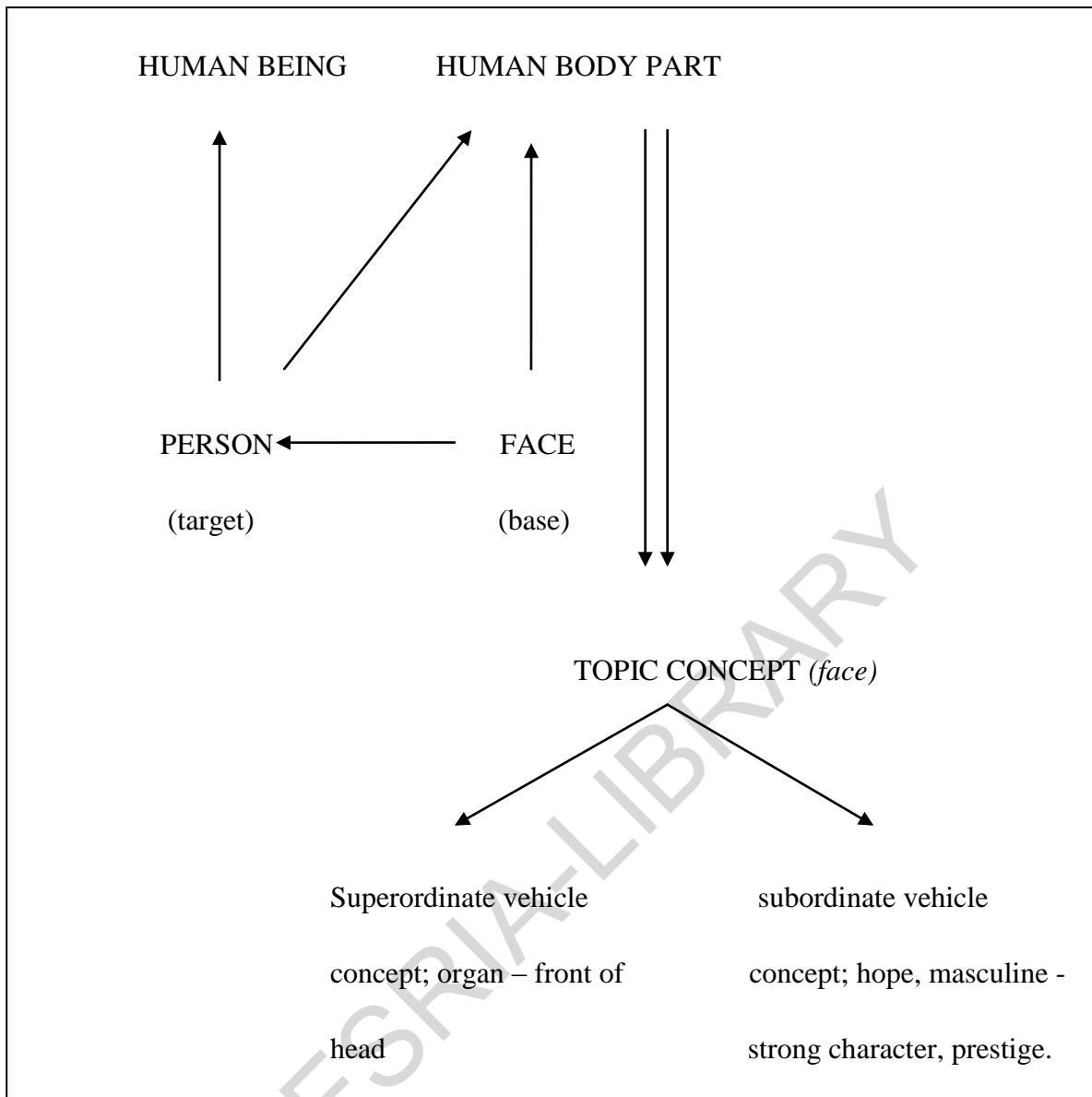
*Fig. 4.3.6.1a: Cross-categorisation of the borderline metophor,* PERSON IS FACE.

This metophor starts off with the two domains of base and target as seen in the diagram where face is cross mapped onto the person. But it ends up with further cross mapping of the body part face that is used to represent masculinity, strong character, prestige, attitude, and so on. The topic concept here is body part defined literally as the front part of the head from hairline to the chin; this is the superordinate vehicle concept. Metaphorically, face has the listed subordinate vehicle concepts; masculinity, character, prestige, attitude and so on.

The graph below shows the results of the metophor interpretation by the sampled respondents as well as their level of familiarity with the linguistic item.
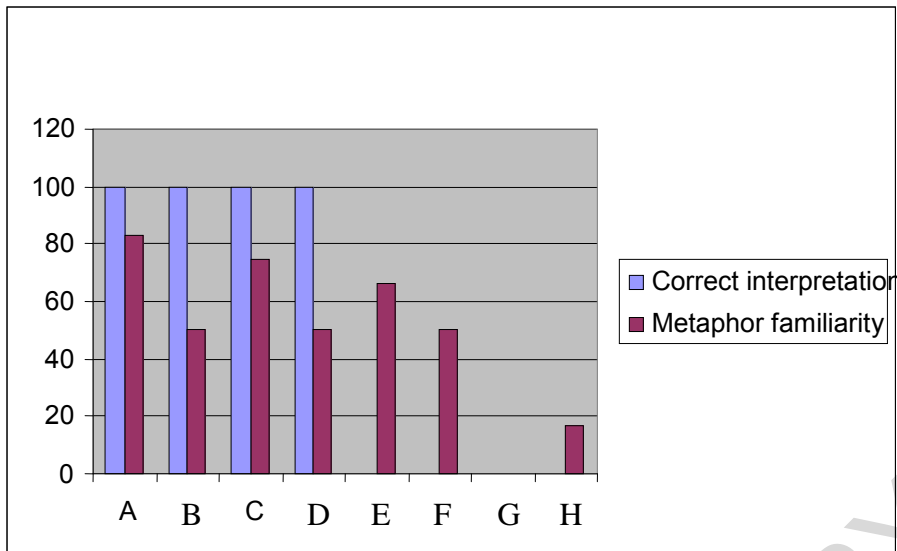
*Fig. 4.3.6.1b: A graphical view of the interpretation of the metophor*, PERSON IS FACE

The metophor was analysed according to its correct interpretation among the sampled respondents. Since the entire sample size was uniform, the tabulated chi-square that was used for analysis was similar. It was given as: chi-square (1 degree of freedom, 0.05) = 3.84 to 2 decimal places where *fo* is observed frequency and *fe* is expected frequency.

a) **Variable of Sex**

| Variable of Sex | Male | Female | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metophor MŨNDŨ NĨ ŨTHIŨ is not significantly different between men and women. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

b) **Variable of Age**

| Variable of Age | Elderly | Young | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 12 | 0 | 12 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 0 | 12 | 12 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 24.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metophor MŨNDŨ NĨ ŨTHIŨ is significantly different between the elderly and the young respondents. With $x^2 = 24.00 > 3.84$, it means all the elderly respondents got the metaphor interpretation correct while all the young respondents got it wrong. This could mean that attainment of complete metaphorical competence is age dependent or that the metophor is a code from a set of coded items that the elderly use to lock out the youthful hearer. Either way, the item MŨNDŨ NĨ ŨTHIŨ is novel to the youth and conventional to the elderly population. This then makes a borderline case.

This sort of findings can also be explained by the fact that the youth interpret the item from the point of view of the linguistic form, which is metonymous while the elderly interpret the item from a conceptual perspective which is metaphorical.

c) **Variable of Educational Level**

| Variable of Educational Level | High educ. | Low educ. | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Correctly interpreted   (*fo*) | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Expected to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Not correctly interpreted (*fo*) | 6 | 6 | 12 |
| Expected not to correctly interpret (*fe*) | 6 | 6 | |
| Total | 12 | 12 | |

**Chi-square = 0.00**

At 5% level of significance, and a degree of freedom (*df*) of 1, the interpretation of the metaphor MŨNDŨ NĨ ŨTHIŨ is not significantly different between those with higher level of education and those with lower level of education. This is because $x^2 = 0.00 < 3.84$.

In conclusion, here we have a metaphor whose ease to interpret is dependent on the social variable of age. Its conceptual structure is split in the middle with the youth conceptualising it as novel while the aged members of the society conceptualise it as conventional.

Lakoff (1987) envisioned this when he observed that the link between the base and the target is a network of categories. These categories are unstable, open, and subjective.

The link is a network embodying a wealth of related concepts, cultural values, attitudes, beliefs, potential actions, and the psychological mind set of individuals and so on.

### 4.3.6.2     GESTURE

A metaphoric gesture is defined as movements of the body limbs representing or indicating a source domain of a metaphor. The psychologist Wundt Wilhelm is credited as the first scholar to note that metaphors can be expressed in gesture. He called such metaphors 'symbolic gestures' Wundt, 1922 in (Gibbs, 2008).

In many languages, the future is gesticulated as being ahead. Pointing ahead in space therefore metaphorically represents the abstract notion of future, for example, in Fleischman, 1982 on Romance languages; Moore, 2000, on Wolof – a language of the Niger-Congo family.

A gesture presents an image of something invisible – an image of an abstraction Muller (1998). This means that a gesture is a silent (non verbal) representation of something not captured in words and where the metaphorical gesture is partly accompanied by words, it is a co verbal metaphor.

McNeil (1989 and 1992), however puts forward a radically different theory of language, gesture, and thought. He argues that gestures are verbal and not non verbal as implied by the concept of non verbal communication. ".. that the whole of gesture

and speech can be encompassed in a unified conception, with gesture as a part of the psychology of speaking, along with, and not [fundamentally] different from speech itself" (Mc Neil 1985: 351). Metaphoric gestures are therefore voluntary movements of the body which use a cross-domain mapping to express certain thoughts or feelings.

In several experiments, Beattie and Shovelton, (2001) do demonstrate that both gesture and speech share the burden of conveying information; yet, sometimes, the information passed on gesturally has a higher impact and is better and longer recalled than information that is conveyed verbally.

Our gesture, therefore, is a somewhat strange case of metaphor which due to its nature could not be collected by our data collecting tools except by observation, and could therefore not be presented to the respondents. We therefore for no chi calculations for the same nor a graphical view as such data were not collected. In our study, we include this metaphor for the interest it elicits and the insights it adds to the area of metaphor research within the framework of CL. In writing, the writer puts across the message in words reduced to alphabetical symbols. In a conversation, extra-linguistic features such as intonation, silence, facial expressions and gestures are very much part of the message.

When then is an extra-linguistic feature metaphorical? Given our definition of a metaphor, it is metaphorical when it means something different from what it basically means under ordinary circumstances. We can identify in this item the domains that undergo mappings to yield a metaphorical meaning. The crossing of legs is basically a sign of relaxation but in a marriage negotiation, this spatial domain means a halt in the conversational exchange. Crossing of legs shield the genitals – does the Freudian approach here then mean that the participants view conversation as a form of intercourse, social intercourse? We can easily arrive at this conclusion when we consider that, if one stood up during negotiations, talks would stop. This is because the standing person signals leaving, in English, it is being on one's heels.

The gesture we are discussing here is crossing ones legs while seated. Literally, this posture means that the individual is at ease, relaxed and paying attention to the conversational enterprise underway. However, in the context of marriage negotiations, crossing ones legs means that the opposite party should stop talking. Negotiations halt until the participant who has crossed his legs opens them.

The spatial base domain demarcated by the crossed legs is mapped onto the target domain of talk.

Another justification of including this gestural metaphor in our work is that cognitive linguistic research has been critiqued as suffering from circular reasoning. It starts with an analysis of language to infer something about the mind and body which in turn motivates different aspects of linguistic structure and behaviour (Cienki and Muller in Gibbs, 2008). Gestures such as this one involve different modality of expression beyond the speech and therefore provide another source of evidence for conceptual metaphors. Particularly, gesture data supports arguments for the employment of conceptual structuring in thought processes while speaking.

Further, gestures provide another avenue to understand how we formulate concepts and how we exploit those formulations while speaking. This is especially clear when the gesture in question does not require to be accompanied by speech for its delivery. This is because the interpretation of such gesture may be aided by the accompanying words. In *mũndũ nĩ ũthiũ* above, the words are used to ask the addressee to look up instead of down. It is an act of speech inviting a gesture. Like speech, similar gestures will mean different things across diverse cultures.

The following is a table of summary of metaphor classification, showing the linguistic forms, conceptual structures as well as the percentage in the frequency of micro concepts for each macro domain.

*Table 4.1.1: Summary of metaphor classification*

| Metaphor | % | Linguistic Form | Conceptual Structure |
|---|---|---|---|
| (a) CONTAINER | 02.5% | | |
| 1. Kuuma | | conduit/classic | conventional |
| (b) PATH | 20.0% | | |
| 1. Kũrũga | | extended | novel |
| 2. Rũũĩ | | classic | conventional |
| 3. Atenderete (compound) | | classic | conventional |
| 4. Gũthĩa (compound) | | classic/ontological | conventional |
| 5. Matheco | | classic | conventional |
| 6. Kĩhonge | | classic | novel |
| 7. Rũgendo | | classic | conventional |
| 8. Ihenya | | classic | conventional |
| (c) OBJECTIFICATION | 45% | | |
| 1. Nyanya | | distended | novel |
| 2. Itimũ | | distended | novel |
| 3. Omĩte (compound metaphor) | | extended | conventional |
| 4. Mwanga mũũe | | distended | novel |
| 5. Rũkonda | | distended | novel |
| 6. Kĩenyũ | | classic | conventional |
| 7. Ihũa | | classic | conventional |
| 8. Thabuni | | classic | novel |
| 9. Kĩgwa | | distended + extended | conventional |
| 10. Kĩande | | rhetoric/complex | conventional |
| 11. Gĩkwa na mũkũngũgũ | | distended (advanced stage) | novel |
| 12. Icungwa | | collected as distended but also lives as classic | conventional |
| 13. Ũcũrũ | | classic | conventional |
| 14. Ngũ njigũ (compound) | | extended [sɪ:] + distended | novel + novel |
| 15. [sɪ] | | extended (phonological) | conventional |
| 16. Matiraheha | | classic | conventional |
| 17. Njenga | | rhetoric | conventional |
| 18. Njata | | classic | conventional |
| (d) ORGANISM | 20% | | |
| 1. Mbũri | | classic | conventional |
| 2. Kariĩithi | | distended | novel |
| 3. Ng'ombe | | extended (animation) | novel |
| 4. Mũrimũ (compound) | | rhetoric/distended | novel |
| 5. Wagaciairĩ | | rhetoric/distended | novel |
| 6. Ngaara | | implicit distended rhetoric | novel |
| 7. Hũngũ | | impositive classic | conventional |
| 8. Nũgũ | | distended | novel |

| (e) ABSTRACTION | 7.5% | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Andũ aya | | rhetoric | borderline |
| 2. Itimũ | | classic | conventional |
| 3. Mũrimũ wa ũtukũ | | classic | conventional |
| | | | |
| (f) RESIDUE | 5% | | |
| 1. Ũthiũ | | metophor | borderline |
| 2. Gesture | | extra-linguistic | novel |

The table below shows the overall numbers (frequency) and percentages of linguistic forms and conceptual structures for the sampled items.

*Table: 4.1.2 Overall metaphor classes*

| Linguistic Form: | *Number* | *%* | Conceptual Structure: | *Number* | *%* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Classic | 18 | 41.86 | Conventional | 22 | 55.0 |
| Distended | 12 | 27.90 | Novel | 16 | 40.0 |
| Extended | 5 | 11.62 | Borderline | 02 | 05.0 |
| Rhetoric | 6 | 13.95 | | | |
| Others | 2 | 04.65 | | | |
| **TOTAL** | **43** | **99.98** | **TOTAL** | **40** | **100** |

It should be noted that there are more instances of linguistic forms than conceptual structures. This is because an item could bear more than one linguistic form but in terms of conceptual structure alternate between novel and conventional. In case an item was neither, it was considered borderline case. We however note that novelty or conventionality could be peculiar to an individual. We therefore peg our judgment on the general interpretations given by respondents.

Having presented and analysed our data, let us now turn to chapter five where we give a summary of our findings, conclusions and recommendations.

# CHAPTER FIVE

## 5.0    SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

### 5.1        Introduction

After presenting and analysing our data in the previous chapter, we now summarise the findings and recommendations together with emerging gaps for further related research. We used MIPVU to identify metaphors from marriage discourse. Of the identified metaphors, we sampled 40 which we then presented to respondents. From their responses, we were able to determine the linguistic forms and conceptual structures of the metaphors. Our respondents were varied in sex, age and educational level in order to cater for diverse interpretations. We also used the Career of Metaphor Theory to account for our data. Below is a summary of our findings.

### 5.1.1        FINDINGS

We had collected metaphors from two marriage negotiation gatherings. After identifying all the metaphorically related words (MRW) in the data, we sampled forty metaphors for presentation to our respondents for interpretation. We had 24 respondents who fell into cohorts of 3 across the social variables of sex, age and educational level. This yielded the chi $2\times2\times2=8$ distinct groups.

From our forty metaphorical items, 5 yielded unintelligible data and were therefore discarded. This left us with thirty five metaphors. However, four metaphors were compound with each yielding two metaphors. One metaphor took on board another one with a gestural aspect and this took us back to forty metaphors.

We have analysed these metaphors within the Career of Metaphor Theory, carefully looking at their linguistic forms which in turn inform their conceptual structure. The gestural metaphor in question is important in its uniqueness in conversational discourse (as opposed to written) as well as being a defence to the criticism directed at cognitive linguistic research that it is based on cyclic reasoning.

When the metaphors were presented to the respondents for interpretation, there was no significant difference in the interpretation of all except one item. This difference may

have been by chance although other possible explanations for the varied interpretations have been discussed in chapter four.

This uniform interpretation across the various social variables gives empirical credence that metaphor is indeed a valid linguistic entity but is obligatorily dependent upon language for its interpretation.

From our sampled metaphors, we have four macro concepts involved in the context of marriage negotiations. These are NEGOTIATION, LOVE, BRIDE and GROOM. Regarding the base domain, we found that there were five base domains macro concepts which are PATH, OBJECT, CONTAINER, ORGANISM and ABSTRACTION, but one item that is a blend between metaphor and metonymy. We have called it **metophor** and treated it as a residue. Under residue, we have also discussed a non verbal metaphor as a point of interest and support to CL.

Of the forty metaphors, 12 are about the bride, 11 about the groom, 3 about love while 14 are about the negotiation process. The metaphors about the BRIDE as the target domain are all either cases of OBJECTIFICATION (10 cases) or ORGANISM (2 cases). Of these objects, food items top the list with 4 items. One metaphor abstracts women by referring to them using a demonstrative.

Metaphors with love as the target domain have the macro concept of PATH as the base domain for one metaphor. Two others have food item objects just like bride metaphors. This suggests that love is a woman thing in Gĩkũyũ culture. Of the metaphors referring to the groom, the metaphor of the SPEAR emerges as the most important. It generates several weapon glosses from the respondents. It can be argued that the disharmony in marriages today in Gĩkũyũ-land could be as a result of viewing love and family ties in terms of incompatible conceptual metaphors. Goats and spears no longer count yet they largely remain the prisms through which relationships are viewed.

Further, the metaphor of SPEAR has two faces in regard to its base domain macro concept. It is both a distended and classic metaphor. As a distended metaphor, the **spear** is spear and yields a single metaphor analysed as the metallic weapon of war that we commonly know. As a classic metaphor, **spear** is male genitals and yields a compound metaphor analysed from a psychoanalytic view point. This way then, SPEAR is a case of ABSTRACTION distancing the spear from a taboo topic.

In our analysis, this metaphor links to the glosses of the WAGACIARĨ metaphor, giving rise to a whole scenario of the duties and responsibilities of a husband being the

same as those of a 'spear'. In the glosses of the metaphor of WAGACIAIRĨ, an interesting situation arises where we find the target domain of one metaphor becoming the base domain of a subsequent metaphor. Through 'cultural selection', the subsequent metaphor comes to be used on women while the original metaphor is a male preserve. This unmasks a rather unfortunate phenomenon where some metaphors are derogatory to women and those about men glorify violence.

We also found that some highly conventional metaphors like women are goats have been overtaken by time and the traditional value of goat is long lost. The metaphor then, still hanging onto the language and marriage discourse, has lost its allure and is accumulating negative connotations.

We further found that the language is brazen in talking about women as trade goods with men being the market players as buyers and sellers. In this respect, the modern Agĩkũyũ are not any farther from their ancestors of 300 years ago.

We also find that from the three ululations said to announce the birth of a girl (*mũndũ wa nja*) to the metaphors used in marriage negotiations, the woman is seen as a less prestigious being in comparison to man in the male dominated chauvinistic and patriarchal Gĩkũyũ society. This ideology is so deep rooted that even women accept it as normal. In Western societies, according to the MacMillan definition of bride price, it is the man and his family that receive the gifts from the woman's family. Moreover, we find that metaphors with the target domain of the groom glorify violence and demean women who are supposed to be seen as trade goods. On the other hand, metaphors used to refer to negotiations are very apt. They conceptualise deliberations as a container or path and speakers are expected to adhere to these parameters to avoid digressing. This also offers an escape route should tension build up, as is evident when speakers digress to avoid a distressing topic.

The metaphor of IHŨA does not use an apt base term in the description of women. **Flower** is not as apt as jewel and perhaps our view of women as objects of temporary beauty predispose us to treat them as such.

Finally, departing from the norm of metaphor in conversation are metaphors from marriage negotiations. Normally, in conversations, over 99% of metaphors are conventional while the rest are novel (Steen, 2011). However, here we see the percentage drop to 60%. Onto this we can add the metaphors with distended linguistic forms at 27.9% as these are similes only bound into novelty by the constraints of the theory but which may not hold in a Bantu language; this yields 87.9% which is still

less than the 99% Steen's research establishes. The possible explanation for this is that marriage negotiations are premeditated events where participants have time to think of what to say. Moreover, given its ritualistic nature, the conversations are necessarily decorated.

In conclusion, conversations in Gĩkũyũ marriage negotiations are rich in metaphor. These metaphors have varied linguistic form; in our sample we had classic, distended, extended, rhetoric and 4.65% of metaphors whose linguistic form we categorised as others. We also had conceptual structures in the various stages of their career. 55% were conventional, 40% novel and 5% were borderline cases. Lastly our eight groups of sampled respondents interpreted the presented metaphors fairly well.

### 5.1.2 RECOMMENDATIONS

Our women are treated unfairly as it emerges from the metaphors that we have analysed. We need to develop a culture where both the boy and the girl are conceptualised as equal. Maybe we can start by saying five ululations for the girl child, just like the boy. This is because most of the metaphors about women objectify them while men are glorified. This creates a situation where men are aggressors and women are victims. It could be argued that popular musicians and influential political figures generate favourable metaphors that refer to women from PATH and FAMILY domains to replace the OBJECT metaphors. This should change to achieve gender equity and equality. This is very possible when we consider the song by Wagatonye, '*Ũmbani ũrĩ Thĩĩna*', has the career of 'hurry' metaphor change its target domain to a source domain of a subsequent metaphor.

### 5.1.3 RELATED RESEARCH

This research is multi-disciplinary and recommends that, various studies on the domains of metaphor be carried out. The research focused on the linguistic nature of metaphor as evident in language. From a cognitive science point of view, metaphor is embedded in culture. And culture being defined as "a people's way of life", we need sociological evidence that the metaphors we use predispose us to behave the way we do. Directly coming from this would be a research on whether the metaphors that we use in marriage negotiations. They commodify women and glorify men by comparing

them to weapons of war; can these metaphors be used to explain why women are demeaned, beaten and raped?

So we need evidence about whether the way women are conceptualised has an effect on the way they are treated. This would be by looking at the values attached to women in *contrasdiction* to the metaphors used to describe them.

From a psychological perspective, we need to find out whether men and women conceptualise each other the same way. These would look at the cognitive frames that the two sexes have of themselves and one another. From these frames we could make conclusions of the misguided concepts individuals have and what could be done to replace them with positive concepts.

In linguistics, research could be done to investigate whether there is a difference between metaphors used in marriage negotiation conversations and metaphors in other contexts. This would give empirical validation to the claim made here that context aids in the interpretation of metaphors.

Again, from our data, one could do a research to find out the extent to which metaphors follow Semino's (2008) metaphor patterns. This would give linguistic evidence to the distinction between, say, deliberate and non deliberate metaphor use. Also word classes of the metaphorically used words to see which word class is dominant over others in given registers would be a fertile area of research.

We also recommend that the gestural metaphors in Gĩkũyũ rites of passage are investigated and documented so that the heritage is passed on to future generations.

The argument that gestures are remembered better and longer needs further grounding in empirical studies. The ground work laid by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) in metaphor research pointed towards the direction of sentential data as a particular kind of research methodology. In gesture research, we need to video record natural discourse occurrences so as to capture both the audio as well as the gestural performance. The physical setting of the place, and the contextual possible reasons for its choice could yield fascinating perspectives which would raise new questions as well as answer old ones in the study of metaphor.

One could consider the nature of gestural metaphors in various registers such as law, education, counselling sessions, and do all sorts of comparisons. The metaphors in resorts and retreat centres may bring in some elements from the adjacent physical environment that could add to the knowledge of metaphor.

Finally, metaphor research is only gaining ground. Steen (2011) has revised the Career of Metaphor Theory to add a communicative dimension. On this, one could do further research to find out how naming (linguistic form) framing (conceptual structure) and changing (communicative function) interact in metaphor usage. This could be in either testing the new contemporary theory of metaphor or using it as a research framework or both.

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# APPENDIX I

**QUESTIONNAIRE**

This questionnaire is intended for research only, read it and answer the questions therein as truthfully as you possibly can. Do not write your name.

1. Sex ....................................
2. Age ...................................
3. Educational level attained. . . . . . . . .

Read the words/sentence below and answer the questions that follow

*Ũtũro nĩ rũgendo*

1. *Ũtũro nĩ rũgendo nĩkĩ?* (Why is life a journey?)

   _____
   _____

2. *Ũtũro ũgerekanagio na kĩĩ kĩngĩ?* (What else is life compared to?)

   _____
   _____

3. *Nĩũiguaga ũtũro ũkĩrwo nĩ rũgendo?* Do you hear life being compared to a journey?

   *Cagũra icokia rĩrĩa rĩagĩrĩire* (Tick the correct answer)

   (a) *Nĩinjiguaga kaingĩ mũno* (I have heard very many times)
   (b) *Nĩnjiguaga kaingĩ* (I have heard many times)
   (c) *Nĩnjiguaga rĩmwe na rĩmwe* (I have heard sometimes)
   (d) *Ndanaigua o hanini* (I have heard but rarely)
   (e) *Ndirĩ ndaigua* (I have never heard)

_____
_____

# APPENDIX II

**INTERVIEW SCHEDULE**

*Ũtũro nĩ rũgendo*

Life is a journey

*Ciugo ici wanacigua?*

Have you ever heard these words before?

*Hihi nĩkĩ gĩtũmaga ũtũro ũhananio na rũgendo?*

Why do you think life is compared to a journey?

*Ũtũro ũhananagio na kĩĩ kĩngĩ?*

To what else is life compared?

## APPENDIX III

**MARRIAGE NEGOTIATION I**

**Location: Kangaita sub-location, Agũthi location, Nyeri County.**

Saturday, June 5, 2010 TIME: 2.45 PM.

Outside Mũraya's gate.

*People: men, women and children have been gathering outside the locked gate for over thirty minutes now. They are murmuring but suddenly break into a song.*

*"Hũndi karĩbu, nĩhingũrĩrũo ndonye ĩĩ, hũndi karibũ.*

*May we come in   welcome, open I get in yes, May we come in   welcome.*

Knock welcome, open for us

*Gũkũ kwa Mũraya ĩ, hũndi karibũ.*

*Here at Mũraya's yes, May we come in   welcome*

Mũraya's home, Knock welcome

*Nĩ mũĩ ndiũkaga ĩĩ, hũndi karibũ."*

*You know I don't come, yes, May we come in   welcome.*

I do not come always, so open for me.  . . .

*They change into a new song*

*"Ũngĩona[*] njũkite gũkũ mũthenya ũyũ nĩ   mũnene[1].*

*When you see I have come here day this is big.*

To see that I have come here this is a big day.

*Tũthiĩ na mbere, hanini, hanini, mũthenya ũyũ nĩ   mũnene.*

*We move forward, a bit a bit, day this is big.*

We move forward slightly, this is a big day.

*Tũcoke thũtha, hanini, hanini, mũthenya ũyũ nĩ mũnene."*

*We move back, a bit a bit, day this is big.*

We move back slightly, this is a big day.

**Participant 1**: *Andũ aya matiraheha[2], ona twahota gũikara haha tũkĩinaga kinya gũtuke na*

*tũtihingũrirwo.*

*People these are not getting cold; even we might stay here singing till it gets dark and we are not opened for.*

These people are not yielding ground; we might stay here singing in vain.

**Participant 2**: *Nĩku mũrĩ mwathiĩ ũthoni[3] mũgakora mũhirigo wĩmũhĩrĩgũre?*

Where have you ever gone to in-laws and found the gate open?

**Participant 1**: *Maũndũ nĩmagarũrukire rĩrĩ ti rĩrĩa rĩarĩ rĩa tene.*

Things have changed, they are not as they were long ago.

*Ndũrona ona Mighty Culture[4] ndũngiuga nĩwe ũragia nũũ wĩ nja oime, omĩte[5] ta karĩithi[6] kana ta wa ngaara[7].*

*Can't you see even Mighty Culture you can't say he is the one who asks who is out so he could get out?*

Can't you see even Mighty Culture looks young?

**Participant 2**: *Atumia nagithĩ ti mũine mwanĩrĩire tũmenywo nĩtũkire?*

*Women why not sing loudly we get to be known to have come?*

Why don't you women sing louder so that our presence can be felt?

*The women from inside break into a song. It's neither clear nor possible to record, the researcher is outside the closed gate. Boyswho had accompanied the groom's team climb over the gate to peep while others squat along the fence.*

**Participant 2**: *Kaĩ ihĩĩ no ihĩĩ[8] ĩĩ. Nagithĩ rĩu itigũtũconorithia?*

*My, my! Boys are boys, yes. Wont they embarrass us?*

Boys will always be boys. They will spoil our image.

**Participant 1**: *Ciĩragwo ititũmagwo ũthoni.*

*They are said they are not sent to in-laws.*

They should not be allowed to attend to delicate issues.

**Participant 2**: *Itiũragia kwa nyina kũrairwo nũũ[9], irũgaga mbere ya ndarama[10].*

*They do not ask at their mother's place slept who, they jump before the drum.*

They never care, but do things the wrong way.

*Nĩwonire ũthoni wa Kĩmani igũtwara[11] tũniũrũ harĩa athuri maragĩria?*

*Did you see negotiations of Kĩmani they took noses where elders were talking?*

Did you see that at Kĩmani's event they went where elders sat?

**Participant 3**: *Mwaragia mũkahĩtia[12], ũhiki wa mwarĩ wa maitũ mũbia oria kana kwĩ mũndũ*

*You talk you miss, wedding of my mother's daughter the priest asked if there was a person*

I tell you what, during my sister's wedding the priest asked if there was anyone

*wĩna ũndũ ũngĩgiria mohithanio,[13] kĩhĩĩ kĩmwe kĩoire guoko na igũrũ gĩkiuga ĩĩ,*

*who had something that could stop them being tied together, boy one lifted*
*hand up said yes,*

with anything that could stop the ceremony, and one boy raised his hand and said yes,

*kĩerwo kĩuge gĩkĩrega, wee! Ihĩĩ nĩ magerio[14]. Thutha ũcio hĩndĩ ya ndĩa ya kinya[15],*

*told to say he refused, you! Boys are trials. After that the moment arrived,*

When told to say what it was, he refused, boys are trials. Afterwards the feasting moment arrived and

*kĩhĩĩ kĩmwe nogĩikarire haria mũhiki aarĩ, gĩkĩringa[16] mũceere ta gĩkĩ*

*boy one sat where the bride was, he beat rice like one*

one boy sat next to the bride. He ate rice like one about to

*kĩrateng'ũrwo[17,18], kĩahũna no kĩrũgamire gĩkenogora, gĩgĩturia ndu ta gĩkĩ gĩ*

*being removed from the fire, satied he stood stretched, knelt as though in*

die, after which he stood up, stretched, knelt as if in

*kũhoya, ndore...nduuuuuuuuuu! Gĩgĩtheka na gĩgĩcekeha[19].*

*prayer, farted, bah! laughed and thinned.*

prayer, farted, ndu! laughed and left.

**Participant 1**: *Tũtihothanie nĩguo tũhingũrĩrwo mũrango, twĩgĩtũra o haha ta gũtũ?*

*Let's contribute so that we will be opened the door, will we stay here like an*

*ear?*

Let us contribute some money so that the door is opened for us; we cannot stay here like an ear.

*Ona Mũkabi kaĩ agĩtũraga riumĩrĩro? Cokai mondo[20] kamũingĩ koyaga ndĩrĩ!*

*Even a warrior does he live at the exit? Get back to your pockets the mass lifts a grinding stone!*

*Even a Maasai, does he live in one place? Contribute some money; unity is strength.*

*People raise two thousand shillings which is given to those at the gate. They then open it and we all enter. We are shown a place to sit – apart from the others.*

**MC**:   *Arata aitũ arĩa mumĩte Karura mũrĩ ega? Nĩĩ ndĩraria nainyuĩ njĩtagwo Theuri na*

*Friends ours who have come from Karura, are you good? I who is speaking am called Theuri and*

Our friends from Karura, how are you? My name is Theuri and

 *nĩnyenda Kristo wa Ngai nĩ kũhonokia na ona kũnduta mũtondo-inĩ wa mehia.*

*I love Christ of God for saving me and even removing me from the muck of sin*

I love Christ son of God for saving me from sin.

*Gwĩtũ nĩ gũkũ na ndĩ wa mũciĩ ũyũ kũna.*

*Our place is here and I belong to this home completely.*

I come from this place and I squarely belong to this home.

*Handũ-inĩ ha nyũmba nĩndamũnyita[21] inyuothe  ũgeni na ndamũria mũndũ o wothe gũkũ*

*On behalf of the house I hold all of you guest hood and I ask person every here*

On behalf of the clan, welcome all and feel at

*nĩ mũciĩ, eee [pause] about 30 seconds. Mũndũ angĩenda gwĩteithia,[22] arũme nĩ harĩa ngurumo . . .*

*is home, eee. Person wanting to help themselves, men there down*

home, eee. If anyone wants to relieve themselves, the gents are down there.

*He points at some make-shift urinal;*

*na andũ anja[23] nĩ harĩa rũgongo – points at the family latrine.*

*and women there up.*

and the ladies up there.

*Pause [about one minute] during this period, there is consultation with women from the kitchen.*

*Eeee na tondũ nĩndĩrona anake me haha maranjikia[24] maitho ta ndĩithĩtie mũgũnda[25] –*

*Eee and because I am seeing young men who are here are throwing me eyes like I have grazed in the farm*

Eee and since I can see the young men here looking at me as if I have done something wrong,

*Maitho matirĩaga (he jokes about the boys). Na tondũ nĩ mũĩ ng'aragu ndĩhoyagwo*

*eyes do not eat. And because you know hunger is not asked*

mercifully, eyes do not bite. Since hunger does not allow for

*ũhoro, andũ nĩ methambe moko mambe maikie[26] kanyamũ kanua kaira tũrike[27] kwaria.*

*stories, people can wash hands first throw something mouth before we enter into talk.*

communication, wash and eat before we start our deliberations.

**Participant 1**: *Ĩĩ tũkĩmenyaga kana nĩ mũĩ kũruga. He whispers to men in his group.*

*Yes as we get to know whether you know how to cook.*

As we evaluate your cooking prowess.

**Participant 3**: *Inyuĩ rĩanaga i matũ[28] hau niĩ rekei ngoe kĩrũma cia wamarirũ itanarirũka[29].*

*You be eating each other's ears there let me go take my eating before those of the blossoming blossom.*

Keep talking while I fetch my food before the mysterious becomes obvious.

**Participant 1**: *Wee amba ũikie[30] kanyamũ nda narĩ wone kana nĩũkumanũka[31] tondũ*

*You first throw something into the stomach perhaps you see if you will break even since*

Eat something to see if you will add on some weight since

*wahinyarire ta nyoni ĩna mwako[32], heeee! Kaĩ mũndũ ahĩnjaga ta rũrigi[33]?*

*you are as thin as a bird that is building, heeee! A person can be like a string?*

you are as thin as a nesting bird, oh! Thin like a string?

**Participant 2**: *Kũhinja nĩwe na andũ anyu, niĩ noreire thĩinĩ ta itumbĩ[34].*

*To be thin is you and your people, myself I am fat inside like an egg.*

Being thin is a matter of perception; I believe I am as fat as an egg.


*People move to various tables for food. Their conversations are not recorded.*

**MC**: **4:15 pm**: *Eee, ngwĩciria rĩu maũndũ ti moru andũ nĩmarĩkia gwĩkĩra ndua mĩratina.*

*Ee, I think now things are not bad people have finished putting gourds "mĩratina".*

Ee, things are not bad now as people have eaten.

*DJ. Kazi kwako! Ndĩrĩaga ngoma ba! a song plays; "ndĩrĩaga ngoma, ba."*

*D.J. Job at your place! I will be eating to dry/hard pa!*

Disc Joker, the ball is in your court, play the song I'll be eating to the full.

**MC**:   *Rĩu tũrona[35] nĩ wega athuri matonye thingira nĩgetha tũkĩnyukie ikinya rĩu rĩngĩ.*

*Now we are seeing it is good elders to enter the hut so that we move the next step.*

The elders can now get into the house to start the negotiations.

*As men go to the house, the rest of the people are left outside being entertained by the DJ as each group animatedly discusses various issues. The researcher gets to the house, he is a silent listener as he is not party to the selected negotiating team of six men, three from each of the two sides.*

**Participant 4**: Spokesman from the girl's side.

*Nĩtwarũmanĩra na tondũ nĩ mũĩ Gĩkũyũ oigire mũciĩ ũkuaga[36]  ngagũro . . .*

*We have eaten together and since you know Gĩkũyũ said a home dies the morning meal . . .*

We have eaten together since Gĩkũyũ said friendship can be broken by failing to welcome people with food . . .

 *[pause] no tũtĩrĩ tũrakundanĩra, no ndĩrehoka tũtirĩ haraya[37].*

*but we have not drank together, but I am hoping we are not far.*

Although we have not concluded things, we will.

*Kwerirwo mũki nĩwe ũkaga na ũhoro, kwoguo ageni twĩrei kĩrĩa kĩmũrehire.*

*It was said the one who comes is the one who comes with the news so visitors tell us what brought you.*

The saying goes that it is the messenger who bears the news; therefore tell us what you have.

**Participant 5**: The Suitor's spokesman.

*Ke njarie. Ha rĩtwa otangugĩte harĩa nja, njĩtagwo Ng'ethe, kuuma kũria itũra rĩa*

*Let me talk. For the name as I had said out there, I am called Ng'ethe, from there the village of*

Let me talk. My name, as I said earlier, is Ng'ethe from

*Karura – gwĩtagwo Kabete na niĩ mũrona haha ndĩ Mũmbete[38]!*

*Karura – it is called Kabete and myself you are seeing here am a Mumbete!*

Kabete, which means I am Mũkabete.

*He pauses to kind of make his statement have some intimidative effect. [The Gĩkũyũ of Nyeri stereotypically brand those of Kĩambu i.e. Kabete as very enterprisingly aggressive and sly.*

*Eee, ndaikia[39] maitho ndirona kĩndu kĩrĩa kĩngĩteithia haha no ndeto ciama.*

*Ee, throwing my eyes I see the thing that can help here is only true tidings.*

When I look at it, the only thing that can save the situation is nothing but the truth.

*Nayo ma ya ũhoro nĩatĩ, kuma o rĩrĩa tũkiri re, njũĩ tũringĩte, irĩma twambatĩte*

*And the truth of the matter is, from when we came, the rivers we've crossed, the hills we've climbed*

The truth is, coming all this way

*tũgĩũka gũkũ, irio twarĩa na rĩu haha tũikarĩte, ithuĩ Mbete tũrĩ andũ amaku mũno*

*coming here, food we've eaten and now here we are seated, we Mbete are people worried very*

we are very worried people

*tondũ mbũri*[40] *yanyu mwĩrĩga kũona ĩ nyune kũgũrũ*[41] *mũgĩcoka mũkĩmĩaga,*

*because goat yours you last saw had broken leg then you missed it*

because your daughter, who was pregnant then, and who went missing,

*nĩ ithuĩ twĩnayo – kwoguo tĩkire ituĩro nĩ amu ĩkũrũndwo ndĩregaga ruoro.*

*It is us who have it – so we came for judgment since once felled it cannot refuse the knife.*

is with us; so we came to report that we are guilty as charged.

**Participant 4**: *Kwa ũguo mũrĩ aici?*

*So  you are thieves?*

Are you thieves then?

**Participant 5**: *Aca, mũkoina mbũri yene kũgũrũ, mũkona ũguo ti kũiganu, mũkamĩiya?*

*No, you break goat of someone leg, see that is not enough, steal it?*

Not even that, you impregnate someone's daughter and as if that is not enough, you elope with her?

*Ooo nĩkĩo mũreĩta  Mbete?*

*Oh, that is why you are calling yourselves Mbete?*

Ok, then you say you are Mbete?

*Gũkũ nakuo nĩ Gaaki.*

*This then is Gaaki.*

This place is Gaaki.

*No tondũ mũici wa mũthenya ndahũragũo mũno rĩ, gũtirĩ mbaara*, [*a long pause*]

*But since a thief of daytime is not beaten much, there is no quarrel*

But since youhave come out in the open, you will be spared

*no harĩ ũndũ mũtaratheria[42],*

*but there is something you are not clearing,*

but there is something you are not saying –

*atĩ kuuma rĩrĩa mwayire mbũri, kinya ũmũthĩ mwerehe gwĩthitanga, mbũri no*

*that since when you stole the goat, upto today when you have brought yourselves to report, the goat is*

that ever since you eloped with the girl, till now,

*ithuĩ tũtũraga tũtuagira. Nĩguo?*

*still fed by us. Is that so?*

we have been paying for her upkeep. Isn't that so?

**The three men on the man's side**: *Ĩĩ, nĩguo.*

*Yes, that is true.*

It is true.

**Participant 6**: *Rĩu tondũ nĩmwetĩkĩra ĩ, kwanyu mũndũ ena thitango taĩno ekaguo atĩa?*

*Now because you have agreed, at your place someone with an accusation like this is done what?*

Now that we understand each other, what are the consequences of such transgression where you come from?

**Participant 5**: Andũ, (addressing his group) ndĩrona tũkĩgwĩrwo[43] nĩ ciira,

People, I am seeing ourselves being fallen by the case,

Comrades, I believe we will be found culpable,

*tanĩtwambe tuume  nja tũcokanie ndundu.*

*Let us first go out we discuss together.*

Let's us go out and sort ourselves out.

*They go out, I follow them.*

*Nĩmwona twĩna thitango ĩngĩ tũtekũĩ?*

*Have you seen we've another accusation we did not know of?*

Can you see they have another hold on us?

*Ĩ mũtiũĩ mũirĩtu ararĩ cukuru rĩrĩ ekũhirwo[44] ihũ,*

*You know the girl was in school when she was taken pregnancy*

You know the girl was in school when she was impregnated

*na ithe no ararĩhaga bithi na mbeca cia irio na nyũmba?*

*and her father was still paying fee, food and accommodation?*

and her father was still paying for her upkeep?

**Participant 3**: *Nĩ ndona ũgwati ũgĩũka[45]. Faini ya kuna mbũri yene kũgũrũ*

*I have seen danger coming. Fine for breaking goat of someone leg*

We are in for it. The fine for impregnating

*nĩ mbũri ĩmwe. Kũia nĩ mbũri ĩmwe, icio nĩ igĩrĩ, no kaĩ ndĩrĩ ndaigua cia*

*is goat one. Stealing is goat one, those are two, but my, never heard of*

is one goat. Eloping is one goat, those are two, but I have never heard

*gũtuagĩrĩrwo mbũri ũiyĩte ĩ, hau no Ngai.*

*Feeding goat stolen yes, there only God.*

about eloping while the father still foots the bill, God help us.

**Participant 3**: *Ona ithuĩ nĩtũmonie tũtiragũagũa[47] tondũ marekinyĩra ta Wagaciairĩ[48].*

*Let us also show them we are not coming down because they are holding their ground like Wagaciairĩ.*

Let us also be as stubborn as they are.

*Tũkũmera ona mwarĩ wao atenderete ũguo atenderete ta nyanya*

*We tell them even daughter theirs being slippery so slippery like a homestead*

We will tell them that even though their daughter is beautiful

*ya iganjo[49] ona ithuĩ mwanake witũ arũngarĩte ta itimũ[50]...*

*tomato even us young man our is straight like a spear . . .*

our son is also handsome.

**Participant 2**: *Wee niũrauma[51] nja ya ndeto rĩu, thĩĩna ti rũracio, thĩĩna nĩ haha mbũri*

*You are getting out of topic now, problem is not dowry, problem here is a goat*

You are digressing. We are talking about fines, not dowry.

*iracuragĩrio mĩrĩo ĩnjie.*

*that was being fed while stolen.*

**Participant 3**: *Ngai, nanĩmũkũona Mbũgua gĩikarĩte harĩa ta hatarĩ ũndũ gĩkĩte. God, can you see Mbũgua is seated there like there is nothing he has done.*

Goodness, and the man responsible is seated there with no worry at all.

*Kweri mũndũrũme nĩ kĩenyũ kĩa Ngai[52].*

True, a man is a piece of God.

*These people are stranded, it's getting dark, the crowd outside is getting impatient and some could be heard grumbling. I offer my opinion. [This will therefore not be analysed for metaphors.]*

**Researcher**: *Korwo nĩ kũracia githĩ tũtingĩatiga mbũri maturĩithagĩrie nginya tũgoka*

*If we were paying dowry couldn't we have left goats they be feeding them till we come back*

If we were paying dowry we could have left goats here for them to take care of till we return

*kũguraria na mĩaka na mĩaka? Twacoka mangĩgatũrĩhia kĩĩ?*

*to brand them and it would be years and years? When we come back they would charge us what?*

to perform the next rite which could take years. What would they ask for then?

*Mbũri ithatũ, ciaingĩha mũno ithano, nano mwaka ũmwe maratuirĩire tu.*

*Goats three, at most five. And it's year one they have fed it only.*

Three goats, at most five. And they have taken care of her for only one year.

**Participant 6**: *Nĩtũgĩcoke thĩinĩ na nĩwe ũkwaria.*

*Let us go back inside and it is you who will talk.*

Let us go back then and you are the one to talk now.

**Participant 3**: *Aca, tũgire Gachara ndekwaria nĩ koncotanti, akaria kĩmera twerekeire[53].*

*No, we said Gachara will not talk he is a consultant, he shall talk the season we are heading.*

No, we said this time round Gachara will only advice, he shall talk next time.

**Participant 5**: *Haya, mũthenya wake noũgakinya[54].*

It is alright, day his shall surely arrive.

It is ok, his day shall come.

*We all go back to the house.*

**Participant 4**: *Nĩmwekururia mũno ona tũkũranagia kaĩ mwĩtigĩrire na mugire mwĩ Mbete?*

*You have dragged yourselves a lot even we were asking if you feared and you said you are Mbete?*

You have taken too long – we were even wondering whether Mbete are cowards.

**Participant 6**: *Ti gwĩtigĩra, nĩ harĩa kwerirwo mũikia ndoĩ mwehereri. Tũtingĩenda gũkorwo na cii ta ngũ njigũ.*

*Not fear, it is where it was said the one who throws does not know the one who lets it pass. We would not want to have* [sɪ] *like wet firewood.*

Not fear, it is just that we knew what we would say but not what we were to be told. We would not wish to be slow like wet firewood.

**Participant 4**: *Mũtigakĩmake ndeto nĩtwamũhũthĩria[56], ũici nĩ mbũri ĩmwe,*

*Do not worry the story we have lightened it for you, stealing is goat one*

Take heart, we havbe simplified things for you, eloping is one goat

*kuna kũgũrũ nĩ mbũri ĩmwe, kũrĩithĩrio mbũri nĩ mbũri ithatũ na gũkira mbũri*

*breaking leg is goat one, being fed goat is goat three and silence goat*

impregnating is one goat, upkeep is three goats and silence is

*ithano. [pause]*

*five.*

five goats.

*O mbũri nĩ ngiri ikũmi.*

*Each goat is thousand ten.*

**Participant 2**: *Nĩ twetĩkĩra no tondũ Kabete no haraya ĩ,*

*We agree but since Kabete is far,*

We agree, but come from far,

*twehereriei ndoco ya gũkira nĩ mũthenya ũtarakinyĩte.*

*remove the fine for silence it is the day that had not come.*

drop the silence charges since it was not yet time to report.

**Participant 4**: [*After a lengthy pause*.]

*Mũrĩ ũndũ ũngi mũgũkĩte*[55]*?*

*Is there something else you had come?*

Do you have anything else to say?

**Participant 5**: *Nĩtũkũruta harika na mwatĩ, njohi ya athũrĩ na*

*We will remove a young goat and lamb, brew for men and*

We will pay a kid and a lamb, brew beer for men and

*ũcũrũ wa atũmia, tũcoke tũke mũtwĩre ũria mwendaga.*

*porridge for women, we back come you tell us what you want.*

porridge for women. When we come again, you shall tell us how much dowry you ask for.

*The fines are paid and the groom and his father- in-law counter-sign a written agreement.*

# APPENDIX IV

## MARRIAGE NEGOTIATION II

**7th August, 2010. Ndumberi, Kiambu County**

*Inside Mwangi's house. There are sixteen people in total. From the groom's side are four men and two women. From the bride's side are seven men and three women. The two parties sit facing each other. There is a table in the middle.*

PARTICIPANT ONE: *Rĩu ngwĩciria tondũ nĩ mwarĩkia kũria no tũkinyũkie* **ikinya** (MRW) *rĩu rĩngĩ* [ ] *Kamau wambere twĩre kĩrĩa kĩmũrehete gũkũ nĩguo tũtigakĩarie cia* **ngoi** (MRW) *mũgĩrĩte* **cuka** (MRW).

Now that everyone has finished eating, I think we can move to the next step. [ ] Kamau first tell us what has brought you here so we do not talk of the sheet instead of cot.

PARTICIPANT TWO: (this is Kamau's uncle). *Ke njũge ithuĩ tũkĩte gũkũ kũhoya* **ũcũrũ**. *Na rĩu tondũ mathaa namo* **nĩmathiangu** (MRW) *o rĩu* **gĩtanathĩa** (MRW) **njenga** (MRW) *twĩrwo tũinũke rĩ,* ••• *kaĩ atarĩ Njambi tũrenda.*

Let me say that we have come here to ask for porridge. And because it is late, before things go wrong (Gĩkũyũ culture does not allow for negotiations after sunset, it was considered a bad omen), let me simply say we want your daughter, Njambi.

PARTICIPANT SIX: *Ĩĩ thweri ciugaga ũngĩthiĩ kũhoya ndarama wambĩrĩrie na ũcio, gũtanoka mũndũ ũngĩ ũracienda* [ ].

The Swahili people say, if you go to borrow drums, start with that before there gets somebody who needs the same drums.

PARTICIPANT ONE: *Kamau atakĩrĩ araria kuma rĩrĩa niĩ ndĩmwonire*.

But Kamau has not said anything since I saw him.

PARTICIPANT TWO: *Kwerirwo mũndũ* **ndeyenjaga igoti** (MRW) *no* [  ] *Kamau rũgama* [  ] *onagũtuĩka kwerirwo kĩgoci kĩa mũndũ ti kĩgoci kĩa mũtĩ makũone warũngara ota* **itimũ** (MRW) *hau na ..........no gũkorwo titawe marenda.*

Kamau is silent because he is represented, but son stand up they see you. As straight as a spear, but maybe it is not a person like you they want.

Kamau stands.

PARTICIPANT ONE: *Ĩĩ mwanake ehumba ahana* **mwanga mũue** (MRW) *nĩ onania ena kĩũga.* There is laughter.

It is true, the young man is strong and looks like a peeled cassava.

PARTICIPANT THREE:  *Ke njarie bwana Kibe* **ngũtue na mĩario** (MRW) *njuge matukũ maya tũrĩ ti ũndũ wa kawaida mwanake enda mũirĩtu gũthiĩ kwao, andũ* **maroyana** (MRW) **magathiĩ** (MRW)  *aciari magacoka kũiguaga ũhoro. No Kamau nĩ* **onete** (MRW) *nĩwega akinye* **makinya ma agu**( MRW) *. Na tondũ tũtikwenda  kwĩrwo nĩ* **twarũga** (MRW) *rĩ, twĩrei ũrĩa mwendaga* [   ] *kwerirwo o mũbĩa na rũgambi rwake.*

Let me cut you short Mr. Kibe and say that these days it is hard to get a young man who finds it important to report to the girl's parents of his intentions. Kamau has found it wise to walk in the footsteps of our forefathers. And since we do not want to be seen to be rushing, tell us how you go about marriage negotiations.

PARTICIPANT ONE: *Mũkire nĩ inyuĩ mwĩna ũhoro. Mũge kana mũrenda kũracia, kũgeithania,* **kũhanda ithĩgĩ** (MRW)*,* **gũtinia kĩande** (MRW)*, ũhoro* **tũtikũmwĩkĩra** (MRW)  *kanua no ũrĩa mũkuga.*

To see that you came out of your own volition, you have something to say. You decide how you want to go about the bride price; whether to start in the middle or follow protocol. We won't put words into your mouth, whatever you tell us.

PARTICIPANT FOUR:  *Okũndũ kũrĩ mũtaratara wakuo, nĩkĩo tũrenda mũtwĩre* **mũthiaga**(MRW) *atĩa.*

Every home has its own procedure, which is why we want you to tell us how you go about it.

PARTICIPANT ONE: *Kamau ekwamba gũthiĩ harĩa he airĩtu arĩa atũonie* **kĩndũ wake**( MRWs) *nũũ, • • •  ndĩendagio ĩĩ gĩchegũ.*

Kamau will start by going to those girls (they are covered in bed sheets) and show us his fiancé.

*Kamau has to identify his fiancé among six covered girls – he makes two mistakes, each mistake is fined a crate of soda and two lessos.*

*Kamau ta hiũka na mũndũ wĩ kanyamũ ndathiaga enyitanĩirie akinyaga **ta** (Mflag) **nũgũ ya njamba** (MRW).*

Kamau move fast and show us the girl. And a person with means does not walk cowardly; he walks like a male baboon.

KAMAU: *Nĩ ũyũ **ihũa rĩa ngoro yakwa** (MRW) mama.*

Uncle this is the girl, the flower of my heart.

PARTICIPANT TWO: *Nĩ **ũtuĩte** (MRW) itua biu kana nĩ ũkaugaga atĩ onawe nĩ wahĩtirie **kĩhonge** (MRW)?*

Are you fully decided or it is today, tomorrow you say you missed direction?

KAMAU: *Harĩa **tũkinyanĩtie** (MRW) hatirĩ **gũcoka** (MRW) na thutha ũyũ nĩwe **ngoro** (MRW) yakwa icagũrĩte.*

The far we have come there is no going back. She is the choice of my heart.

PARTICIPANT FIVE: *Ndakwĩra arahenia **ta** (Mflag) **icungwa** (MRW) mweri-inĩ wa mũgaa. • • • Wĩna ciakũrĩa na ciagũitangwo kana nĩũthiĩ ũkahũtie mwana witũ?*[ ]

I am telling you she is a nice choice. She is shining like an orange in summer. Do you have enough to be eaten and wasted?

PARTICIPANT TWO: *Twĩna indo nairia tũ. • • • ooo iria tũtarĩ nĩ megwetha.*

We have, and what is not there, they will work for it.

PARTICIPANT ONE: *Indo mwĩnacio naithuĩ **tũkũmũkamĩra ndoo** (MRWs), ithe wa Njambi rehe kabuku karĩa ka nyina wa Njambi .Gũkũ mũirĩtu **twendagia** (MRW) ũrĩa nyina **agũrĩtwo** (MRW).*

It is good you have wealth, we will milk you into a bucket. Bring the notebook. Here a girl is sold the much her mother was bought.

*The note book is brought, Kamau's uncle has bent his head, waiting for the bombshell.*

*Wathiomo mũndũ nĩ **ũthiũ** (MRW) inamũka. • • • Kwerirwo thogora nĩ **mũrurumo** (MRW). Njambi ikara haha tũrenda gwĩtia athuri aya **njohi** (MRW). **Maitũ** (MRW) **njohi** (MRW) **ĩno** (MRW) **twanyua** (MRW) nĩ **tũgatahĩkithio** (MRW)?*

My friend face up, do not worry of the price, it is negotiable. Njambi sit here. We want to ask these people for beer. When we drink it, shall we be made to vomit?

NJAMBI: *Aca mama **mwanyua** (MRW) **mũtigatahĩkithio** (MRW).*

Uncle, ask for the beer. If you drink, you shall not be made to vomit.

PARTICIPANT ONE: *Nĩwega*[   ] *Nyina wa Njambi ikara haha.*

That is good. Njambi's mother, sit here.

*Rĩu mũrenda gũtuĩka athoni, kũrĩ harika na mwatĩ ĩyo • • • nĩyo njũrio ya Mũgĩkũyũ. Na tondũ nĩmũĩ arũme nĩ hũngũ icio mũtarutĩte mwaya gũcoka mũgakora nĩahuririo, icio mũkũruta ũmũthĩ.*

Now that you people want to be our in-laws, there is a virgin sheep and virgin; goat that is how a Gĩkũyũ man proposes. And since you know men are hawks without that you may come back to find the girl gone. So these you bring today.

PARTICIPANT SIX: *Na gĩtumbĩ* [   ]

And a gourd

PARTICIPANT ONE: *Kahora Kabirũ, kwĩragũo kwengea kwa athuri nĩrĩo ihenya rĩao. Nĩ tũgũkinya hau.*

Slowly Kabiru, elders do not rush, we will get there

*Harika na mwatĩ ithe wa mũirĩtu arenda ikĩania mee na anake agũtũma gĩathĩ mekuo.*

The virgin sheep and goat are needed live, and we have young men to send to the market.

PARTICIPANT TWO: • • • *Icio twĩnacio mee.*

We already came with them live.

*Haya , two, kũrĩ rũracio nicio mĩrongo na nĩ kũri maruta – kwanyũ mũmetaga indo cia maha.*

Then there is the dowry, goats, and gifts.

PARTICIPANT TWO: *Ĩĩ*

Yes.

PARTICIPANT ONE: *Rũracio nĩ mbũri mĩrongo ĩtatũ na ngoima ciacio.* [ ] *tũtiĩkinyagĩra.*

Dowry is thirty goats together with their lambs. We do not hike the price.

*Indo cia maha nĩ thenge igĩrĩ, ĩmwe kĩhĩĩ na ĩrĩa ĩngĩ nĩ thenge hakũre. Kuma hau he itangi rĩa maĩ – nĩ mũĩ Njambi athiĩ tũtikorwo* [   ] *na ngondu ĩna kagondu gatarĩ kagĩrime, na kĩhembe kĩa ũkĩ. Kuma hau he indo cia atumia nĩ me kwĩ ĩtĩria. • • • He njohi ya athuri nĩ megwĩtia.*

Then there are two he goats, one castrated one not. A water tank, you can see we are losing the one who has been drawing us water. A sheep with its young one and honey. From there we have women's items, they will ask for them, and the beer for the men.

PARTICIPANT TWO: *Ici indo twa itua mbeca?*

Can we convert all these into money?

PARTICIPANT ONE: *Inyuĩ tondũ nĩ inyuĩ mũĩ ũrĩa mũkire mwenda mee, ĩĩ, mwenda bari bari, no wega.*

Because you know how prepared you are, that decision is yours.

PARTICIPANT TWO: *Tacitue baribari.*

Convert that to money then.

PARTICIPANT ONE: *Thenge ĩmwe nĩ ngiri inyanya, ngondu nĩ ngiri ithano na o mbũri nĩ ngiri ithano. Ũkĩ na itangi mwĩrehe tũcione.*

One he goat is 8,000/=, the sheep is 5,000/= and each goat is 5,000/=. The honey and the tank are needed in kind.

PARTICIPANT TWO: *Kaĩ wakĩhĩngĩcania magũrũ ndũreke na ithuĩ tũgwete.*

Why then do you cross your legs, let us also give our offer.

PARTICIPANT ONE: (Spreading the legs) ugai.

Give.

PARTICIPANT TWO: *O thenge ngiri ithano, o mbũri ngiri ithatũ. Kamau, tanĩtwambei tũme nja tũcokanie ndundu.*

Each he goat 5,000/=, each goat 3,000/=. Let us go out and consult.

*This is standard procedure done to give each side a chance to deliberate.*

*They go out. Nothing is recorded during the separate deliberations. Once back.*

PARTICIPANT ONE: *Twatua o thenge ngiri ithathatũ, na o mbũri na ng'ondu ngiri inya ooo.*

We have decided each he goat is 6,000/= and each goat and the sheep 4,000/=

PARTICIPANT TWO: *Tũkũruta cierĩ, ngondu na kagondu na • • • tũracie mbũri ikũmi, mũracia ĩmwe ũtatĩra.*

We will pay the two he goats, the sheep and pay dowry of ten goats. He that pays few comes often.

PARTICIPANT THREE: *Ndirĩ ndĩraria, o mbũri ikũmi mũmenye cikoragwo na ngoima ĩmwe, na ngoima ĩna mwatĩ wa kũruga nyama. Icio mũkarehe mee tũirie.*

I have not spoken yet, every ten goats to be accompanied by a lamb, and a sheep to cook the meat. Those you shall bring in kind we eat them.

*Njambi nĩ waigua, ũgĩthiĩ werũ wa matheco ũmenye gĩtanda gĩaku gũkũ nĩ twatharia*?

Njambi have you heard, as you leave for the land of plenty, know we have destroyed your bed.

PARTICIPANT FIVE: *Njambi ndarĩ na thĩina • • • aranjĩrire mendaine na Kamau **ta*** (Mflag) ***gĩkwa na mũkũngũgũ* (MRWs)**.

Njambi has no problem, she told me they are in love like yam and commiphora tree.

PARTICIPANT ONE: *Nĩwega no gwaka mũcii nĩ **wĩra** (MRW). Ona ithuĩ wendo twaugaga ũhana **kĩgwa kĩa mũirũ** (MRW), ĩĩ ũkauga ũyũ nĩwe **njata** (MRW) yakwa, ona nyĩmbo ikainwo nyingĩ • • • No Kamau mũndũ ekwĩgeria mũciĩ nĩ atuĩka mũthuri.*
[   ]

It is well, but building a family is a task. We used to say love is sweeter than the juicy black sugar cane, that this is my star And songs would be composed and sang. But Kamau, if you attempt to start a family, know you have become a man.

Money changes hands, there is animated talk – a lot of new overlaps, not possible to transcribe

PARTICIPANT FIVE: [   ] *Njambi nĩ agĩa na mwene **ta*** (Mflag) ***mũrimũ wa ũtukũ*** **(MRW)** [   ] *nĩ kairĩtu tũrerete wega.*

Now Njambi has a man, like night sickness • • •

[   ] means overlap in the conversation, nothing could be transcribed

• • • means a lengthy pause.

Some material has been edited when it was not possible to tell who was speaking, or when it was out of topic completely.

**APPENDIX V**

**DATA TABULATION FOR METAPHOR INTERPRETATION**

**A tabular representation of the respondents' interpretation of the metaphor 1-40**

| Variable under investigation | A | B | C | D | E | F | G | H | MEAN |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| KUUMA | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 66 | 99 | 66 | 99 | 90.75 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 75 | 50 | 83.3 | 83.3 | 75 | 75 | 41.6 | 75 | |
| MBŨRI | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 66 | 99 | 66 | 99 | 66 | 99 | 86.625 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 83.3 | 66.6 | 83.3 | 75 | 58.3 | 66.6 | 83.3 | 75 | |
| ATENDERETE/NYANYA | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 75 | 50 | 83.3 | 66.6 | 58.3 | 75 | 66.6 | 83.3 | |
| ITIMŨ | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 83.3 | 75 | 83.3 | 83.3 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 75 | |
| MATIRAHEHA | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 66 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 66 | 99 | 90.75 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 75 | 66.6 | 91.6 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 33.3 | 75 | |
| OMITE/KARĨITHI | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 66 | 99 | 66 | 90.75 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 83.3 | 66.6 | 50 | 83.3 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 75 | |
| NGAARA | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 66 | 33 | 33 | 66 | 99 | 99 | 0 | 0 | 49.5 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 75 | 25 | 41.6 | 50 | 75 | 75 | 16.6 | 25 | |
| KŨRŨGA | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 33 | 0 | 66 | 0 | 99 | 99 | 66 | 66 | 53.625 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 58.3 | 16.6 | 33.3 | 50 | 83.3 | 83.3 | 58.3 | 66.6 | |
| MWANGA MŨŨE | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 66 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 94.875 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 66.6 | 75 | 91.6 | 75 | 83.3 | 91.6 | 50 | 50 | |
| RŨŨĨ | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 83.3 | 91.6 | 66.6 | 75 | 83.3 | 75 | 75 | 75 | |
| RŨKONDA | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 75 | 75 | 58.3 | 83.3 | 66.6 | 75 | 58.3 | 75 | |
| KĨENYŨ | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 66 | 66 | 0 | 33 | 0 | 0 | 33 | 33 | 28.875 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 91.6 | 66.6 | 66.6 | 50 | 66.6 | 50 | 41.6 | 75 | |
| WAGACIAIRĨ | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 66 | 33 | 99 | 66 | 99 | 33 | 33 | 66 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 58.3 | 75 | 58.3 | 66.6 | 50 | 50 | 16.6 | 50 | |
| HŨNGŨ | | | | | | | | | |

| | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 66 | 66 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 66 | 99 | 86.625 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 91.6 | 66.6 | 66.6 | 83.3 | 75 | 75 | 33.3 | 50 | |
| GŨTHĨA NJENGA | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 66 | 66 | 99 | 99 | 66 | 99 | 99 | 66 | 82.5 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 75 | 66.6 | 25 | 75 | 66.6 | 75 | 83.3 | 91.6 | |
| ŨTHIŨ | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 | 49.5 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 83.3 | 50 | 75 | 50 | 66.6 | 50 | 0 | 16.6 | |
| KĨANDE | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 66 | 99 | 33 | 33 | 66 | 0 | 61.875 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 83.3 | 50 | 41.6 | 75 | 50 | 50 | 41/6 | 25 | |
| GŨKAMĨRWO NDOO | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation /3 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 0 | 99 | 66 | 66 | 0 | 66 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 83.3 | 91.6 | 75 | 50 | 83.3 | 66.6 | 41.6 | 25 | |
| MŨRIMŨ WA ŨTUKŨ | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 0 | 33 | 0 | 33 | 0 | 33 | 37.125 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 66.6 | 50 | 58.3 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 25 | |
| IHENYA | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 33 | 66 | 66 | 66 | 33 | 99 | 90.125 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 91.6 | 41.6 | 50 | 50 | 75 | 75 | 50 | 75 | |
| IHŨA | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 91.6 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 41.6 | 75 | 75 | 66.6 | |
| THABUNI | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 66 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 66 | 66 | 86.625 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 75 | 50 | 66.6 | 75 | 75 | 83.3 | 25 | 50 | |
| KĨGWA KĨA MŨIRŨ | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 66 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 94.875 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 91.6 | 91.6 | 83.3 | 75 | 83.3 | 83.3 | 75 | 91.6 | |
| ANDŨ AYA | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 0 | 0 | 99 | 99 | 0 | 33 | 53.625 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 75 | 66.6 | 58.3 | 41.6 | 83.3 | 83.3 | 75 | 58.3 | |
| ICUNGWA | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 66 | 0 | 99 | 66 | 78.375 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 75 | 41.6 | 58.3 | 83.3 | 33.3 | 25 | 16.6 | 66.6 | |
| MATHECO | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 66 | 99 | 66 | 66 | 66 | 66 | 99 | 99 | 78.375 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 66.6 | 75 | 50 | 83.3 | 58.3 | 75 | 41.6 | 50 | |
| ŨCŨRŨ | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 66 | 66 | 66 | 66 | 0 | 0 | 66 | 0 | 41.25 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 75 | 50 | 66.6 | 50 | 25 | 25 | 16.6 | 25 | |
| RŨGENDO | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 99 | 66 | 33 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 86.625 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 75 | 66.6 | 58.3 | 75 | 33.3 | 75 | 50 | 75 | |
| KĨHONGE | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 33 | 33 | 66 | 0 | 99 | 99 | 33 | 99 | 57.75 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 50 | 41.6 | 41.6 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 8.3 | 50 | |

| GĨKWA NA MŨKŨNGŨGŨ | | | | | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 83.3 | 75 | 58.3 | 75 | 83.3 | 83.3 | 91.6 | 75 | |
| [sɪ:] NGŨ NJIGŨU | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 33 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 66 | 33 | 99 | 99 | 78.375 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 58.3 | 66.6 | 83.3 | 83.3 | 50 | 75 | 91.6 | 83.3 | |
| NŨGŨ | | | | | | | | | |
| Correct interpretation % | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 | 99 |
| Metaphor Familiarity % | 75 | 75 | 50 | 50 | 75 | 75 | 75 | 50 | |

KEY:

A = Lower Educ. elderly male respondent

B = Higher Educ. elderly male respondent

C = Lower Educ. elderly female respondent

D = Higher Educ. elderly female respondent

E = Lower Educ. youthful male respondent

F = Higher Educ. youthful male respondent

G = Lower Educ. youthful female respondent

H = Higher Educ. youthful female respondent

CI: Correct Metaphor Interpretation in %

MF: Metaphor Familiarity in %