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A COGNITIVE LINGUISTICS ANALYSIS OF GĪKŪYŪ EUPHEMISMS

BY

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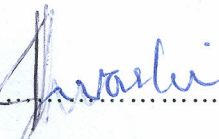
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DEDICATION

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my dear mother, Mary Gathigia Gatambūki, a citadel of hope and determination whose golden heart and indefatigable spirit still remain indelibly etched in my mind, but who never lived long enough to see the fruition of her son's dream. Rest in Peace, *Mum*.

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DEFINITION OF TERMS

Cognitive Linguistics: This is an approach on language that is based on people's experiences of the world and the way we perceive and conceptualize them.

Dysphemism: This is an expression with connotations that are offensive either about the denotatum or to the audience, or both. It is substituted for a neutral or euphemistic expression for just that reason.

Dysphemistic Euphemism: This is an expression whose locution is recognized as euphemistic even though the illocutionary act might be castigated as dysphemistic.

Empiricist Philosophy: This is the doctrine that knowledge derives from experience.

Euphemization Process: This is a linguistic pattern, technique, or device of forming euphemisms to achieve their purpose. The process could be phonetic, semantic, lexical, grammatical, morphological or pragmatic processes.

Gender: This is a socially constructed category based on sex. It is a term used in this study to refer to those differences between men and women that are socially constructed.

Sex: The biological physiological aspect of being male or female.

Lexicalized metaphor: When a metaphor or euphemism is lexicalized, it usually becomes a taboo term.

Lexicography: The applied study of the meaning, evolution, and function of the vocabulary units of a language for the purpose of compilation in book form – in short, the process of dictionary making.

Metaphor: A cross – domain mapping in the conceptual system.

Metonymy: A cognitive process in which one conceptual entity, the vehicle, provides mental access to another conceptual entity, the target, within the same idealized cognitive model.

Petit Mal: A term applied to refer to epileptic seizures in which loss of consciousness is the principal manifestation.

Trope: The use of a word or expression as changed from the original signification to another, for the sake of giving life or emphasis to an idea; a word used in its figurative sense.

ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

BOR	Borrowing
CC	Communicative Competence
CBT	Conceptual Blending Theory
CE	Conscious Euphemisms
CIR	Circumlocution
CL	Cognitive Linguistics
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
COE	Conventional Euphemisms
Cor.P	Correlation Principle
CP	Cooperative Principle
DP	Distance Principle
F	Female
HYP	Hyperbole
IDE	Ideophone
LF	Lexical Frequency
LP	Linguistic Process
M	Male
MET	Metaphor
MT	Metonymy Theory
MTN	Metonymy
NCE	Non- Conventional Euphemisms
NE	Negative Euphemisms

NOE	Nonce Euphemisms
PAR	Particularization
PE	Positive Euphemisms
PER	Personification
PP	Politeness Principle
SDP	Self Defending Principle
SE	Sustained Euphemisms
SYN	Synonymy
TEC	Technicisms / Technical terms
UE	Unconscious Euphemisms
UND	Understatement
USR	Use of stories from religion
VWE	Using vague words and expressions

ABSTRACT

Any natural language like Gĩkũyũ is the result of human cognition whose structure and function is based on people's experiences. Some experiences are too intimate and dysphemistic to be discussed without linguistic interdiction. Cognitive Linguistics is, therefore, an approach to language that is based on such experiences of the world and the way we perceive and conceptualize them. It is from this background that this study set out with three objectives: to identify the lexical and semantic processes involved in the creation of euphemisms in Gĩkũyũ; to discuss the influence of gender in the usage of euphemisms and to account for the interpretation of euphemisms using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT).

To achieve the objectives of the study, this research used qualitative and quantitative data research techniques. The research employed the services of two research assistants who were members of the local community in collecting data. The researcher purposively sampled 20 native Gĩkũyũ speakers for the study. 10 of the respondents were males and the other 10 were females. An interview schedule was used as the data collection instrument. The metaphors collected were mapped into different kinds of conceptual mappings and image – schemas and descriptive analyses of the sub mappings or ontological correspondences between the source and target domains discussed using the Cognitive Metaphor Theory. All euphemisms identified, together with their lexical frequencies, were then assigned to their corresponding linguistic level(s) according to their method of formation.

Pie charts, tables and statistical presentations (both descriptive and inferential) were also given to display the percentage of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes in each cognitive domain. The conceptual mappings were used to discuss the influence of gender on the usage of euphemisms in *Gikūyū*.

The findings of this study indicate that in spite of a few violations of the tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory, CMT gives us insights into the cognitive perspective of metaphorical euphemisms as a resource to attenuate the target domains of death; sexual intercourse; diseases; excretion and body effluvia and anatomy. We note that females generally use euphemisms more than males as indicated by their higher lexical frequencies in the conceptualization of the target domains. This study also identifies six dominant semantic processes namely: metaphor, metonymy, circumlocution / periphrasis, hyperbole, particularization and understatement / meiosis. The analysis of the lexical processes, on the other hand, reveals five major lexical devices namely: borrowing, substitution, the use of vague words and expressions, use of stories from religion and technicisms.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Gĩkũyũ is a language in the Central Bantu branch of the Niger – Congo family spoken primarily by the Agĩkũyũ of Kenya. Numbering about 6 million (22% of Kenya's population), the Agĩkũyũ constitute the largest ethnic group in Kenya (<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/gikuyulanguage>). Gĩkũyũ is spoken in Central Province, Nairobi and some parts of the Rift Valley. It is one of the five languages of the Thagichu subgroup of the Bantu languages which stretches from Kenya to Tanzania. The genetic mode of classifying languages places Gĩkũyũ in Zone E, group 50. It is language number 51 (Guthrie, 1967).

Euphemisms are a kind of linguistic amelioration specifically designed to be used in place of taboo words or socially unacceptable forms. Euphemisms, therefore, are linguistic and cultural phenomena. Rawson (1981) claims that euphemisms are outward and visible signs of our inward anxieties, conflicts, fears and shame. Therefore, the fear of causing psychic pain and the desire to be well thought of, guide us to use 'kind words'. The relation between language and euphemisms is so intrinsically close that it is impossible to study one without the analysis of the other. In other words, language is the vehicle of euphemisms.

Taboo words and euphemisms are two closely related cultural and linguistic phenomena of human society. We cannot talk about one without referring to the other. The word 'taboo' is of Polynesian origin, 'ta' meaning 'mark' and 'boo' meaning 'exceedingly'. Therefore, the term taboo refers to anything linguistic and non - linguistic, which is prohibited or forbidden. When a taboo is excluded from a language's lexicon, people find another word to fill up the vacancy. That is the way euphemisms are created (William, 1975).

Euphemisms as a form of language are also profoundly influenced by culture. The culture of a people has an effect on people's way of avoiding taboo words and their choices of euphemisms. Almost all cultures seem to have certain notions or things that people try to avoid mentioning directly, even when there are such terms in the language (William, 1975).

Euphemisms, therefore, play an important role in lubricating our communication, establishing a good relationship between human beings and even strengthening social stability. As Warren (1992) notes that a language without euphemisms would be a defective instrument of communication. The importance of euphemisms is also underscored by Pyles and Algeo (1982) who note that verbal humanitarianism and sentimental equalitarianism are also responsible for the influx of euphemisms in a language.

Many scholars and linguists in Europe have studied euphemisms under the scopes of rhetoric, lexicography, semantics, sociolinguistics, fuzzy theory, and pragmatics as pointed out by Fan (2006). However, few researches have been done within the framework of Cognitive Linguistics (henceforth CL). CL is an approach to language that is based on our experience of the world and the way we perceive and conceptualize it (Ungerer and Schmid, 1996). CL greatly differs from mainstream linguistics in terms of philosophical basis and working suppositions. The philosophical basis of Cognitive Linguistics is Empiricism which holds that human beings conceptualize the world by experiencing and interacting with it. To the best of our knowledge, previous studies have not fully unfolded the cognitive process when euphemisms are used. Accounting for the interpretation of Gikūyū euphemisms using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (henceforth CMT) is, therefore, the primary objective of our study.

Allan (1986) and William (1975) agree on the universality of euphemisms in our cultures. They also posit that for a society to create euphemisms, several linguistic processes are normally taken into cognizance. Therefore, a study on the mechanism of Gikūyū euphemisms would be important to a better understanding of the euphemization processes used to mitigate the target domains. This study also focusses on how gender influences the usage of Gikūyū euphemisms and why females and males have different conceptualizations of target domains.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Natural languages are the result of human cognition whose structure and function are based on people's experiences. Thoughts are imaginative. The conceptions which do not come from direct experiences are as a result of the implications of metaphors and metonymies. When people are asked to describe things, they will not only provide objective observations but they will also add more meaningful and natural attributes which include associations and impressions which are part of their experience. Our study, therefore, accounts for the cognitive interpretation of euphemisms in Gikūyū so that we can understand the different euphemisms and conceptualizations used to attenuate the target domains in Gikūyū using Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

Euphemisms, as linguistic and cultural phenomena, are also influenced by social factors. The social factors may vary from one society to the other in the way they influence different aspects of human life. Gender is one of the variables that may influence the usage of euphemisms. Since there has been a dearth of knowledge concerning gender differences in the usage of Gikūyū euphemisms, this study intended to fill this gap.

Despite the universality of euphemisms, comparative and contrastive studies have always shown that there exist different processes involved in the creation of euphemisms. An explicit understanding of the various semantic and lexical processes to the formation of euphemisms, which is lacking in Gikūyū, will help

us uncover how a speaker's imagination works in a cognitive context. Our study, therefore, identifies the semantic and lexical processes involved in the formation of euphemisms and how these processes blunt the impact of the language to omit specific implication that would unequivocally identify the referent.

1.3 Research Objectives

The objectives of the research are to:

1. Identify the semantic and lexical processes involved in the creation of Gīkūyū euphemisms.
2. Discuss the influence of gender in the usage of euphemisms in Gīkūyū.
3. Account for the interpretation of euphemisms using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

1.4 Research Questions

The research addresses the following questions:

1. Which semantic and lexical processes are used in the creation of euphemisms in Gīkūyū?
2. How does gender influence the usage of euphemisms in Gīkūyū?
3. How are euphemisms in Gīkūyū accounted for using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory?

1.5 Research Assumptions

The research is based on the following assumptions:

1. There are semantic and lexical processes involved in the creation of euphemisms.

2. Gender influences the usage of euphemisms in Gĩkũyũ.
3. Euphemisms in Gĩkũyũ can be accounted for using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

1.6 Rationale of the Study

Despite the fact that euphemisms have been extensively studied in Europe and America, to the best of my knowledge, hardly has any incisive study of euphemisms in Gĩkũyũ been done. Most of the available literature has focused on morphology, lexis and syntax, for example, Gathenji (1981), Mwangi (2001) Njoroge (1978) and Gĩchũhĩ (2009). Consequently, there has been a paucity of information concerning euphemisms in Gĩkũyũ. Therefore, this study intended to fill this gap.

The acquisition of communicative competence (henceforth CC) is an important part of linguistic socialization. CC involves not only knowing the language code as postulated by Chomskian linguistics but also what to say to whom, and how to say it appropriately in any given situation (Hymes, 1971). That means that CC deals with the social and cultural knowledge speakers are presumed to have to enable them to use and interpret linguistic forms (Gumperz, 1997). This study is, therefore, intended for students of Gĩkũyũ and people in different fields such as the media, the judiciary and counselors in sex education so that they can acquire the CC concerning their language, its features and uses (Hymes, 1971).

Publishers in Gĩkũyũ literature and Gĩkũyũ FM stations will also find this study invaluable as we have collected Gĩkũyũ euphemisms for death, sexual intercourse, excretion and body effluvia, diseases and anatomy. This will not only expand individual's repertoire, but will also contribute to the appropriateness and effectiveness of Gĩkũyũ. The euphemistic effect of using 'kind words' will, therefore, enable language communication to go smoothly and successfully and broaden people's vision of euphemisms as well as understanding of social cultural communication (Rawson, 1981). This knowledge is significant in the sense that it has also added to the already existing critical works in scholarship as far as language and euphemisms are concerned.

The findings of this study could also be useful to teachers in lower primary schools where Gĩkũyũ is the language of instruction. This is because our country's language policy calls for a system where the vernacular in a school's catchment area is taught in the lower primary. The vernacular is also used as the medium of instruction as a prerequisite to learning English and Kiswahili (Kenya Institute of Education, 1992). The euphemisms identified may help students communicate appropriately in different situations. This research, therefore, will help the learner of Gĩkũyũ develop command of the language and this will help in the achievement of social awareness and social identity. The findings of this study could, therefore, contribute towards the achievement of this pedagogic goal of the acquisition of a valuable instrument for cultural, technical and intellectual development. The findings could be useful for curriculum designers, students and teachers of Gĩkũyũ

(Kuria, 2005).

1.7 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study falls within the broad area of Cognitive Linguistics. Language is the result of human cognition whose structure and function are based on experience and interaction. Due to the broadness of the field, we have used CMT as posited by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) to discuss the different conceptual interpretations of death, sexual intercourse, excretion and body effluvia, anatomy and disease. The choice of these categories stems from the fact that they provide a fertile ground for the flowering of euphemisms (Fernández, 2006).

Despite the fact that there exists some lexical, grammatical, morphological, semantic, pragmatic and even non - linguistic means of expressing things euphemistically in almost every society (Warren, 1992), our study focussed on the semantic and lexical linguistic patterns of creating euphemisms. Our study focussed on words, phrases, sentences but not discourses and non - verbal expressions.

The choice of Gĩkũyũ as the language of study was due to the fact that this is an indigenous language which has not been extensively studied in the area of euphemisms. The choice of the language was also based on the researcher's first language intuition as well as the fact that all languages are equal with respect to their suitability for study (Sampson, 1985). The researcher was also of the view

that there was a need for a study that the respondents can culturally associate with.

1.8 Conclusion

This chapter has given background information that informs our research by placing the present study within the field of Cognitive Linguistics. The research has also introduced the statement of the study and presented the research questions, objectives and assumptions that guide the study. The chapter further outlines the justification of the study before moving on to present its scope and limitations. This chapter can, therefore, be seen as the basis for the issues and debates to be taken up in the subsequent chapters. The next chapter presents a review of related literature and the theoretical basis of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a review of related literature. To start with, a definition of euphemisms is given. This lays the point of focus in the area of this study. Secondly, a historical review of studies on euphemisms that inform the current study is presented. This chapter also gives a comprehensive review of different classifications of euphemisms, principles of creating euphemisms and formation of euphemisms. Such a review is important as it focuses on what forms the basis of our research in Chapter 4. Finally, a review of the theoretical framework that informs and explains the phenomena in this study is presented.

2.1 Definition of Euphemisms

Western linguists such as Allan and Burridge (1991) argue that the word “euphemism” comes from the Greek “eu” (meaning “good”) and “pheme” (meaning “speech” or “saying”) and thus it literally means “to speak with good words”. However, there is no unanimity as to the precise definition of the term. Having taken into cognizance Enright (1985), Allan and Burridge (1991) conceptualizations of euphemism, we have come up with the following definition: euphemism is the use of a pleasanter, prettified, less direct term or expression in order to avoid possible loss of one’s face or offending other people.

2.2 A Historical Review of Studies on Euphemisms

Much research has been done on euphemisms in Europe and America. However, to the best of my knowledge, not much has been done by scholars and linguists in Kenya about euphemisms.

In Europe, Rawson (1981) not only traces the history of euphemisms but he also accounts extensively for characteristics of euphemisms, definition, classification and scope of use. Enright (1985) goes a step further and publishes a collection of essays on euphemisms in which salient topics like euphemisms and the children, euphemisms and the media, and sex and euphemisms are put forward in relation to the different uses in the social field.

On the other hand, Allan and Burrige (1991) come up with an intriguing study on how the human psyche is to be gained from the study of euphemisms used as a protective shield against the anger or disapproval of natural or supernatural beings. This study is particularly useful in the pragmatic study of English Euphemisms. Allan and Burrige (1991) also point out that because of alternative points of view in different communities and at different times, a person's euphemism may be another person's dysphemism.

Zizheng (2005) undertakes a study on English euphemism teaching and introduces the Multiple Intelligence Theory (henceforth MIT) in her teaching practice. Based on student-centered conception, MIT emphasizes student's independent learning.

Practically, the author looks at teaching and learning of euphemisms as a dynamic and interactive process in which teachers are not policy-makers but organizers and participants.

2.3 Classification of Euphemisms

There is no standard way of classifying euphemisms, but the motives of the different categories are to discover and understand the characteristics of euphemisms from different perspectives (Rawson, 1981). The following are representative classifications of euphemisms.

2.3.1 Positive Euphemisms and Negative Euphemisms

Rawson (1981) categorizes euphemisms into positive and negative ones in terms of whether the things that are expressed are connected with the taboo items or not. Positive euphemisms (PE) can also be referred to as stylistic or exaggerating euphemisms. According to Rawson, PE inflate and magnify, making the euphemized items grander and more important than they really are. Rawson argues that British and American people prefer using the techniques of exaggeration to euphemize something unpleasant and humiliating. Rawson postulates that PE includes the many fancy occupational titles, which boost the egos of workers by elevating their job status. The linguist also posits that a number of PE are double speak and cosmetic words which usually appear in the political, military and commercial vocabulary such as, the term *tree surgeon* for *tree – trimmer*, *sanitation engineer* for *dustman*, *beautician* for *barber* or *professor* for a

magician. An example of positive euphemism in our study is “nyama njega” or *delicious meat for vagina*.

The negative euphemisms (NE), on the other hand, deflate and diminish. They are defensive in nature, offsetting the power of tabooed terms and otherwise eradicating from the language everything that people prefer not to deal with directly (Rawson, 1981). The NE can also be called traditional euphemisms or narrowing euphemisms as they are extremely ancient and closely connected with the taboos. An example in our study for negative euphemism is “gūtirima mūkūyū” or *to touch the fig tree for death*.

2.3.2 Conscious Euphemisms and Unconscious Euphemisms

Euphemisms, whether positive or negative can also be categorized as unconscious euphemisms (UE) or conscious euphemisms (CE) according to whether their original motivations are remembered or not. UE were developed so long ago that few people can remember their original motivations. They are used unconsciously without any intent to deceive or hide (Rawson, 1981). An example of unconscious euphemism in Gĩkũyũ is the technicism “*kūraga ikenye*” *menarche* for *menstruation*.

On the contrary, CE are widely employed and involve more complex categories. When people communicate with each other, speakers are conscious to say CE tactfully and the listeners understand their implied meanings. For example, the

expression, “*kūonana kīmwiri*” *seeing each other bodily / physically for sexual intercourse.*

2.3.3 Conventional Euphemisms and Non - Conventional Euphemisms

Levinson (2001) posits that pragmatically, euphemisms can be divided into conventional euphemisms (COE) and non - conventional euphemisms (NCE). COE are those whose implicature is established. Their styles of writing and pragmatic functions are already established by usage and only the signifying function is left. Since the implicature is comparatively stable, the metaphor can usually identify the signified and corresponding pragmatic meaning easily. An example of conventional euphemism is “*ngwati*” or *foreskin for penis.*

On the other hand, the NCE are casual, unstable and their implicature is usually subject to the context. Therefore, without proper background knowledge and contextual awareness, one may find it difficult to understand or find out the implicature of NCE. An example of non - conventional euphemism in our study is “*gwītwo*” or *to be called /summoned for death.*

2.3.4 Nonce Euphemisms and Sustained Euphemisms

Euphemisms may also be categorized in light of whether they last or not as nonce euphemisms (NOE) and sustained euphemisms (SE). (NOE) are those that are invented for a particular occasion. That is, for the present time only, while (SE) are those which remain in existence for a long period of time. An example of nonce

euphemism in this study is the borrowed word “*mnyesho*” for *menstruation* while “*gũtuĩkana*” *to be cut off from life* is a sustained euphemism for *death*.

2.3.5 Other Classifications of Euphemisms

According to Allan and Burridge (1991), euphemisms can also be divided into several categories according to general sensitivity about some subjects as discussed below.

Euphemisms of occupation or profession: In most countries, mental work is considered prestigious whereas physical labour is perceived as humble work. Besides, there is a great difference in the remuneration. So, lowly paid or indecent jobs elicit euphemisms just for saving face and expressing politeness. Examples in this categorization include the use of *sanitation engineer* for *garbage collector* and *meat technologist* for *butcher*.

Euphemisms of death and dying: In many societies, death is feared and people avoid mentioning it directly and talk about it euphemistically. Allan and Burridge (1991) claim that death has become a great taboo subject that is always smothered in prudery. Therefore, death has a plethora of decent and better sounding names, such as *fall asleep* and *to return to the dust*.

Euphemisms of sexual intercourse: Sexual activity is tabooed as a topic for public display and severely constrained as a topic for discussion. The language of

sexual pleasuring and copulation gives rise to a great deal of verbal play and figurative language. In most cultures, the strongest taboos have been used against non-procreative sex and sexual intercourse outside the family unit and lore or legislation (Allan and Burridge, 1991). Examples in this classification include *come* and *coming* for *orgasm*.

Euphemisms of disease: People express uneasiness when talking about diseases. Even the non - religious speak of diseases euphemistically perhaps because of the prospect of death or to avoid causing offence. People will use *long illness*, *tumour* or *growth* for *cancer*.

Euphemisms of body effluvia / excretion: Human bodies expel the by - products which are normally obnoxious to the public and this makes them a potential source of embarrassment to any person who talks about them directly. Because of its sexual specificity and significance to reproduction, menstruation is treated differently from urination and defecation – which no creature can avoid. The three effluvia give rise to many euphemisms based on perceptions and conceptions about, their denotata (Allan and Burridge, 1991). Examples of euphemisms of menstruation include *rain* and *period*.

Euphemisms of appearance: This normally goes with the way a person appears to be. These euphemisms do not evoke as much linguistic interdiction as those of death, sexual intercourse or body parts. People will normally talk of *slim* for *thin*

or *plump* for *fat*.

Euphemisms of anatomy: Not all body parts are tabooed in human language. The language associated with the body parts of sex is generally looked at with revulsion and this elicits the use of euphemisms. Gĩkũyũ speakers will talk of *source* for *vagina* and *gun* for *penis*.

Other classifications of euphemisms may include euphemisms of unemployment, disability, old age, politics and crime / criminality. These target domains, however, do not evoke as much linguistic mitigation as those discussed above.

2.4 Principles of Creating Euphemisms

All types of euphemisms are created in accordance with the following fundamental principles: the distance principle, the relation or correlation principle, the pleasantness principle and the self-defending principle (Zizheng, 2005). These principles are normally observed in coining euphemisms during the process of communication.

2.4.1 The Distance Principle (DP)

The Distance Principle refers to a situation in which compared with tabooed words, euphemisms can widen the distance between a linguistic form and its referent. This is after a euphemistic expression has been used many times and has gradually lost its euphemistic function. People will, therefore, link the euphemistic

expression directly with its referent. As a result, a new euphemism is created. The euphemistic effect of a linguistic form is usually in direct proportion to the distance between the linguistic sign and its referent (Zizheng, 2005).

2.4.2 The Correlation / Relation Principle (Cor.p)

The Correlation Principle restricts the distance between a euphemism and its referent. In some respects, the expression one chooses should be related to the linguistic sign it replaces or the tabooed topic. It should provide a clue about the referent for people (Zizheng, 2005).

2.4.3 The Politeness Principle (PP)

Brown and Levinson (1978) advanced the Politeness Principle (PP). They proposed an important theory on politeness which is known as the Face Theory. PP has its origins in the face notion (Goffman, 1959). According to Goffman "face" is a sacred thing for every human being and it is an essential factor interlocutors should pay attention to. Face wants are reciprocal, which means if one wants his face cared for, he should care for others' face. Further, euphemisms may decrease the emotional intensity of the topic under discussion (Tayler and Ogden, 2005).

2.4.4 The Self - Defending Principle

The Self-Defending Principle (SDP) is in mutual restriction and complementarity with the Cooperative Principle (Grice, 1975). When the SDP is in contradiction

with the PP, the latter will be subordinate to the former. The motivation behind SDP is that by using euphemisms, one can establish a positive image in communication and protect and elevate his status in the minds of other participants.

2.5 Formation of Euphemisms

Gómez (1986) and Warren (1992) come up with semantic, lexical, morphological, phonological and pragmatic devices that are responsible for the creation of euphemistic substitutes. Zizheng (2005) also points out that the formation of euphemisms is closely related to the use of euphemism. Therefore, many euphemisms are created in daily communication contexts and situations.

Enright (1985) points out that euphemism is not restricted to the lexicon as there are also grammatical ways of toning something down without actually changing the content of the message. On the other hand, Williams (1975:200-202) postulates the following five linguistic processes that create euphemisms: widening, semantic shift, borrowing, metaphorical shift and phonetic distortions. This study has identified and analysed the various semantic and lexical processes evident in Gīkūyū euphemisms (cf. Sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2).

2.6 Theoretical Framework

This study has employed the model of Cognitive Linguistics (CL) to interpret and analyze euphemisms. Cognitive semantics is a term used to describe the semantic

approach to linguistics that sees no separation between linguistic knowledge and general thinking or cognition. Cognitive semanticists tend to adopt a functional view of language as apposed to the more formal accounts favoured by Chomsky and similar generative linguistics (Finch, 2000).

The theoretical assumptions on which our study is based are derived from the Lakoff's and Johnson (1980) cognitive model of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT). CMT claims that metaphors go beyond pointing to the similarities between entities or embellishing a given object; rather they stand as a means of creating, organizing and interpreting reality. In order to reify abstract elements, one must relate them to our social and bodily experiences with the help of figurative language by means of which we are able to conceptualize those abstract concepts.

CMT is used to show how a metaphorical mapping presents sub mappings or ontological correspondences between the source and target domains as a result of reasoning about the latter using the knowledge we have about the former. Within the cognitive tradition, metaphor is thus understood as a device with the capacity to structure our conceptual system, providing at the same time, a particular understanding of the world and a way to make sense of our experience. Therefore, a metaphor is not only a linguistic expression or a figure of speech with an aesthetic value, but also a mode of thought and reason. In an update of his earlier interpretation of metaphor, Lakoff says:

The metaphor is not just a matter of language, but of thought and reason. The language is secondary. The mapping is primary, in that it sanctions the

use of source domain language and inference patterns for target domain concepts (Lakoff 1993: 208).

Many euphemisms are metaphor - based and the two main functions of metaphor are highlighting and hiding. In these metaphor based euphemisms, linguistic expressions in the source domain are used to replace the taboo expressions in the target domain. Using CMT, the source domain (euphemistic expression) is mapped systematically onto the target domain (taboo expression). Due to the CMT systematicity, some aspects of the target domain (the positive, favourable or neutral aspects) are highlighted while others (the negative, unpleasant, or embarrassing aspects) are hidden. For example, in the conceptual metaphor, *Death is rest*, the source domain is *rest* while the target domain is *death*. The *rest* domain is systematically mapped onto the *death* domain. Because of the systematic domain mapping, the notion of *rest* is highlighted, while other aspects of death such as sorrow and horror are hidden. The source domain is therefore used to understand, structure, and in some case, mitigate the target domain.

Another theory which is related to CMT is the Conceptual Blending Theory (henceforth CBT) which was proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (1998). CBT is also known as 'Conceptual Integration', 'Blending', and 'Conceptual Blending'. CBT seeks to explain much of the same linguistic data, and also to unify the analysis of metaphor with the analysis of a variety of other linguistic and conceptual phenomena. Both CMT and CBT involve systematic projection of language, imagery and inferential structure between conceptual domains. They

also propose constraints on this projection. However, while CMT posits projection between two mental representations, CBT emphasizes blending as an on-line process, which both instantiates entrenched metaphors and can yield short-lived and novel conceptualizations to complement them. These differences have led researchers to treat both CMT and CBT as competing theories (Coulson, 1996).

In this study, CMT addresses such questions as which concepts are conventionally associated with each other, how and why such conventional associations arise, and how cross-domain mappings are structured. Secondly, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) cognitive metaphors are of prime importance for understanding natural language. Therefore, CMT has been used to study *Gikūyū* which is a natural language. Our study has, therefore, conceptualized euphemisms of death, sexual intercourse, excretion and body effluvia, diseases and anatomy and analyzed them in terms of cognitive mappings (cf. Chapter 4).

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter has presented a review of related literature. To begin with, a brief overview of the definition of euphemism and some representative classifications of euphemisms has been given. The chapter has also highlighted the principles of using euphemisms and some of the processes that are commonly used in the formation of euphemisms. Such a review is important as it expounds on the general methodology that shapes the present study. The theoretical framework on which the present study is based as adopted from the cognitive model of the

Conceptual Metaphor Theory has also been discussed and explanation as to its appropriateness given. This has given insight into the way metaphors go beyond pointing to the similarities between entities or embellishing a given object, but standing as a means of creating, organizing and understanding reality. The methodology used in the study is discussed in the next chapter.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter focusses on the research design, area of study, target population, sampling procedure and sample size, research instrument, data elicitation and collection and the analysis and presentation of data.

3.1 Research Design

The study has adopted a qualitative and quantitative research design. The interview schedule (Appendix A) was used as an instrument to collect euphemisms for our study. Qualitatively, we describe the lexical and semantic processes used in the creation of euphemisms in *Gikūyū* and account for the interpretation of euphemisms of death, sexual intercourse, excretion and body effluvia, diseases and anatomy and analyze them in terms of their cognitive mappings. We also determine how gender influences the usage of euphemisms in *Gikūyū* by the use of lexical frequencies and percentages of conceptual mappings (cf. Chapter 4).

3.2 Area of Study

The study was conducted in Ngorano Location. Administratively, the location is in Mathira Division, Nyeri District in Central Province of Kenya (cf. Appendix C). The location is about fifteen kilometers from Karatina Town. The area of the study is rural and the main occupation of the people is small scale farming. The location was targeted especially because the majority of the rural elderly respondents aged

50years and above are to be found there. Secondly, the researcher is familiar with the area and more importantly, the area of study allowed for data homogeneity.

3.3 Target Population

The study targeted Gĩkũyũ speakers aged 50 years and above who could read and write in English and Gĩkũyũ. This study zeroed in on speakers of 50 years and above since they may not be under much influence from Sheng and in addition, they may have a variety of euphemistic alternatives to provide because of their advanced age. The targeted respondents were 20 Gĩkũyũ speakers: 10 males and 10 females. Research assistants helped the researcher to identify the respondents to use for the study (Mugenda and Mugenda, 1999).

3.4 Sampling Procedure and Sample Size

The researcher and two research assistants purposively sampled the respondents. The underlying principle behind purposive sampling is that it involves identifying in advance the cases that have the required characteristics (Milroy, 1987:26).

In view of the fact that the research deals with tabooed words and expressions and because of the age difference between the researcher and the respondents, the two research assistants assisted in the collection of the data. The research assistants, who were native Gĩkũyũ speakers, were carefully chosen so that only those who could read and write in English and Gĩkũyũ were selected. We considered a sample of 20 Gĩkũyũ speakers representative because Milroy (1987) says that large

samples tend to bring increasing data handling problems with diminishing analytical returns. The dichotomy of gender was factored in as one of the research assistants was a male above 50 years and above and who collected data from the 10 male respondents. The other research assistant was a female above 50 years and she collected data from the 10 female respondents. The two research assistants were trained by the researcher on how to collect the data and make the interview as natural as possible.

3.5 Research Instrument

The study used an interview schedule as the tool of data collection. Borg and Gall (1989) advance the view that interviews are more flexible because they are capable of producing data of great depth. The interview schedule (cf. Appendix A) consisted of 4 questions. Question 1, 2 and 3 helped us in getting the bio-data of the respondents viz name, sex and age. Question 4 comprised both the open ended and close ended questions for every category of euphemisms. That is, euphemisms of death, sexual intercourse, excretion and body effluvia, diseases and anatomy. Question 4, therefore, enabled us to get the following items for our data: Euphemisms of death, 5 items; sexual intercourse, 5 items. Since the other three categories, that is, excretion and body effluvia, diseases and anatomy are general classes of euphemisms; our study sampled 3 specific lexical items for these categories of euphemisms. That means for each of those categories, that is, excretion and body effluvia; we limited our study to menstruation, faeces and urine; diseases and anatomy, AIDS, mental illness, epilepsy; anatomy or body

parts, the penis, the vagina and the buttocks. The choice of these categories stems from the fact that they provide a fertile ground for the flowering of euphemisms (Fernández, 2006). Each of the above categories of euphemisms elicited 5 items or euphemisms. However, it should be noted that there are cases where some respondents were not able to give five responses hence, so, the research assistants either left a blank or indicated that “I don’t know”. Consequently, since our sample comprised 20 Gikūyū speakers, we analyzed 909 euphemisms.

3.6 Data Elicitation and Collection

An interview schedule (cf. Appendix A) was administered to the 20 Gikūyū speakers. The interview schedule helped us identify euphemisms, determine how gender influences the usage of euphemisms, describe the semantic and lexical processes used in the creation of euphemisms as well as get data for conceptual metaphorization of euphemisms.

That means for each euphemism provided, an explanation was provided as to why the euphemism is used. This helped the researcher to understand and structure the conceptual mappings for analyses (Lakoff, 1993). Oller (1979) argues that open ended questions are easy to administer as well as to answer while the close ended types of questions tend to produce a greater amount of reliability and flexibility as they provide an insight into certain phenomena.

3.7 Data Analysis and Presentation

The data elicited through the interview schedule was coded and analyzed qualitatively and quantitatively. The data was presented in terms of different kinds of conceptual mappings and image – schemas by the use of CMT. Accounting for the analyses of the submappings or ontological correspondences between the source and target domains was done. All euphemisms identified were then assigned to their corresponding linguistic level(s) according to their method of formation. Lexical frequencies and percentages of semantic and lexical processes employed in the creation of euphemisms in *Gikūyū* for the target domains are also displayed. For example:

Gikuo nī kūhurūka (*Gikūyū*).

Death is rest (English).

The above is a death euphemism which employs metaphor as a semantic process in the attenuation of the target domain (cf. Section 4.1.1.3). The source domain is the metaphor *rest* while the target domain is *death*. Using CMT the *rest* domain is systematically mapped onto the *death* domain. Pie charts are used to display statistically the percentage of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes in each cognitive domain. We have also used tables to display how gender influences the usage of euphemisms.

3.8 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the methodology that was used to enable the researcher account for the interpretation of *Gikūyū* euphemisms using the CMT. The chapter

has also highlighted how conceptual mappings have been used to discuss how gender influences the usage of euphemisms in *Gikūyū*. Giving an example, we have explained how lexical and semantic processes used in the creation of euphemisms have been identified. Specifically, the chapter has focussed on the research design, area of study and target population, sampling procedure and sample size, research instrument, data elicitation and collection and how data was analyzed and presented. The analyses of data as per the methodology presented in this chapter and interpretation of the data are presented in the following chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS

4.0 INTRODUCTION

This chapter focuses on the conceptual categorization of Gikūyū euphemistic metaphors within the framework of Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) as propounded by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Having collected euphemistic words and expressions, we then identify metaphors and analyze them in terms of their cognitive mappings since metaphorization constitutes a powerful source for euphemistic reference. We also employ the notion of conceptual mappings to discuss how gender influences the usage of euphemisms in Gikūyū and how euphemisms achieve their purpose by using semantic and lexical processes to mitigate the target domains.

This chapter also looks at the correspondence between the source and the target domains and how cognitive conceptualization fulfils its euphemistic function. Consequently, the source domain (the physical or more concrete reality) is used to comprehend structure and mitigate the target domain (the taboo word). Of profound importance to our interpretation of Gikūyū euphemisms is Barcelona's (2003) principle of unidirectionality to interpret CMT. The principle of unidirectionality posits that it is only the source domain that is projected onto the target domain and there is no way the principle of bidirectionality as far as metaphorical projections are concerned could exist in CMT.

4.1 NATURE OF EUPHEMISMS

This section focuses on euphemisms and their influence on gender in Gĩkũyũ. We have also identified conceptual mappings in line with Conceptual Metaphor Theory in the attenuation of the notions of death, sexual intercourse, excretion and body effluvia, diseases and anatomy.

4.1.1 Euphemisms of Death

Allan and Burridge (1991) and Sexton (1997) point out that our refusal to freely speak of human mortality is symptomatic of our discomfort or fear of death. This fear elicits psychological, social and religious interdictions in language so that we resort to stripping of a taboo word of its overtone by using euphemisms. Death has become a fecund domain in the flowering of euphemisms as many people smother it in prudery (cf. Table 4.1). We collected 47 metaphorical euphemisms that mitigate the target domain of death. The table below also displays the lexical frequencies (LF) and linguistic processes (LP) involved in the creation of euphemisms.

Table 4.1: Euphemisms of death, lexical frequencies and their respective linguistic processes

EUPHEMISMS		LF		LP
GĨKŪYŪ	GLOSS	M	F	
Kũhurũka	to rest	7	9	MET
Kwambata / gũthiĩ matu-inĩ	to go to heaven	7	9	MET
Kũrĩkia wĩra	to finish one's work	1	-	MET
Gwĩtwo	to be called	8	10	MET-VWE
Kũhenerio	to be beckoned	1	3	MET
Gũthiĩ gĩkeno-inĩ	to go a place of happiness	-	1	MET-USR

Gũthiĩ kwegu	to go to a good place	1	-	MET-USR
Gũthiĩ gũtarĩ na ruo kana thĩna	to go to where there is no pain or care.	-	1	MET-CIR
Gũtigana	separation	2	-	MTN
Gũthiĩ gatwe	going to the horizon	1	-	MET
Gũthiĩ ũthamakinĩ	to go to the kingdom	-	1	MET-HYP
Gũthiĩ kwa huko	to go to the mole's home	1	-	MET
Gũthiĩ kũndũ mũndũ atagacoka	to go to a place where one will never come back	1	-	MET-CIR
Gũtirima mũkũyũ	to touch the fig tree	1	-	MET
Kũhinga maitho	to close one's eyes	3	1	MET-UND
Gũthama	to shift to another place	2	1	MET
Ndagaikia koiga njara	the deceased will never again put his / her hand into the food calabash.	1	-	MET
Gũkũnja ndiira	to fold one's heel	2	-	MTN
Gũthang'ata / kũng'ata / kũng'ang'a	to be unconscious	2	-	TEC
Gũkoma	to sleep	2	8	MET
Gũthiĩ / kwehuta	to go	-	1	MET
Kũinũka	to go home	1	1	MET
Kwoyo nĩ Ngai	to be taken by God	-	1	MET-USR
Kwĩhitha	to hide	1	-	MET
Gũcekeha	to get thin	-	1	MET-UND
Gũte nyamũga	to get rid of one's sandal	-	1	MET
Gũikia thari	to kick involuntarily when in death throes	-	1	MTN
Gũthiĩ gwa baba	to go to the father	-	1	MET-USR
Kwehera	to leave / move	1	-	MET
Gũtuĩkana	to be cut off from life	-	1	MET
Gũthiĩ mucĩ urĩa ũthondeketwo nĩ Mwathani	to go to a place specially made for us by God	-	1	MET-USR
Ndarĩ ho	to be no more; to cease to be	-	1	MET
Kũng'ũrio	to be removed	1	-	MET
Kũhoria matawa	to put off lights	1	1	MET-UND
Gũthengio	to be moved	-	1	MET
Gũtherera	to disappear down a river when one drowns	-	1	MET
Gũthiĩ kũhanda mĩanga	to go and plant cassava	-	1	MET-UND
Kũhoha	to dry up / to wither	1	-	MET
Kerega ngima	to refuse to eat ugali	1	-	MET

Kuuga ūhorō	to say goodbye	-	1	MET
Kuuma	to move out	-	1	MET
Kūng'athīria / Kūrega mbembe	to refuse maize	1	-	MET
Kūrūma mbamba	to bite the cotton	1	-	MET
Gūthiī mūgūnda	to go to the land / garden	-	1	MET
Gūthiī gwa tūongo twerū	to go to the white skulls	-	1	MET
Gūthiī na mīri ya mīkongwe	to go with the sisal's roots	-	1	MET
Gūikia magūrū ngūnia	to put one's legs into a sack	1	-	MET

Using the principles of CMT, we identified four conceptual or cognitive mappings for death in Gikūyū as: death is a journey; the end; a rest and a summon. Table 4.2 displays the lexical frequencies and percentages of conceptual mappings in terms of gender.

Table 4.2: Gender variable in the interpretation of death

Conceptual mappings for death	Males		Females		Total (lexical frequency)
	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	
A journey	15	37.5%	25	62.5%	40
A rest	16	46%	19	54%	35
An end	13	72%	5	28%	18
A summon	9	39%	14	61%	23

We find that females are more likely to view death as a journey, a rest and a summon while males have higher lexical frequencies for death as an end.

Females and males conceptualize death differently. This may be due to their deep differences in fundamental approaches to death and religion in Gikūyū. Among females in Gikūyū, religion provides a reason for living and also for dying since

religion leads to salvation and future bliss in Heaven. Females, therefore, tend to conceptualize death in terms of a domain with positive connotations probably due to the influence of Christianity on them. On a different perspective, Arber and Jinn (1991) claim that religion is a means of enculturating women to their domestic maternal role, to acceptance of powerlessness and dependency on men. Therefore, religion somehow compensates for women's inferior social positions. On the other hand, Freud (1953) thinks that women are more religious than men. In his theory of masculinity and femininity, Freud argues that masculinity is the reality principle, "correspondence with the real, external world" in which the male is able to face unpleasant realities. Femininity, according to Freud, is the principle of wish-fulfillment, which causes women to view reality as ultimately promising a fulfillment of our infantile desires for love and safety. For males, the conceptualization of death as the end conveys a dysphemistic approach to the target domain. Males, therefore, tend to understand human death in terms of finality since they are perceived to be able to face unpleasant realities in life with equanimity.

From a quantitative point of view, the conceptual metaphor or cognitive mapping death as a journey or voyage accounts for 47% of the metaphorical euphemisms, death is the end (34%), death is a rest (13%), while death is a summon (6%) is the least frequent of the mappings of death. Figure 4.1 displays the percentage of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes in each cognitive domain.

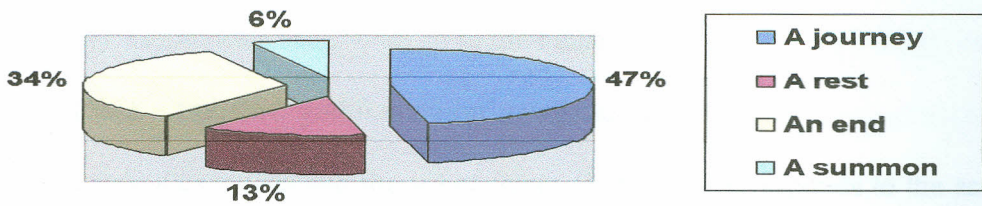


Figure 4.1: Conceptual domains for death

4.1.1.1 Death is a Journey

Among the Agĩkũyũ human mortality is conceptualized as a departure from this world and this provides the ground for the verbal mitigation of the taboo word. Our study identified 22 consolatory metaphors mitigating death which makes 47% of the total number of the metaphors of death collected (cf. Appendix B).

This conceptualization provides different sets of conceptual correspondences as a result of using the knowledge we have about journeys to understand death. The metaphors collected together with their variants focus on the journey rather than on its conclusion. It is the deceased who embarks on the journey and, for that reason, he / she is considered to be somehow alive. This is evidenced by the following ways in which the deceased is conceptualized and how the metaphors fulfill their euphemistic function. The metaphors in this mapping utilize the journey metaphor since it is believed that one has passed to another world (cf. Appendix B). For example:

- (1) 'Gũthiĩ' - to go,
- (2) 'Gũthiĩ kwega' - to go to a better place,

(3) 'Gũthiĩ gĩkeno-inĩ' - to go to a place of happiness,

(4) 'Gũthiĩ kwa baba' - to go to the Father,

(5) 'Kwambata / 'gũthiĩ matu-ini' - to go to heaven.

Fernández (2006) argues that the act of dying, therefore, corresponds to the act of leaving. The submappings mentioned above are used to target euphemistically the experiential domain of death. Fernández (2006) adds that the final destination of the journey, that is, encounter with God in Heaven, is based on the Christian belief of a joyful meeting with the Saviour as in (4) and (5). The Christian belief in meeting God in Heaven constitutes the source of reward. The metaphorical phrase expressed in (3) is a clear example of the metaphor death as eternal life (Marín, 1996). This is further expressed in (6) below:

(6) 'Gũthiĩ ũthamakinĩ' – going to the Kingdom.

In (6), a hyperbole with a metaphorical basis is used to attenuate death. This metaphor conceptualizes an ardent sense of religion as it has its origin in the belief of life beyond death where the deceased will live forever in eternal happiness in the Kingdom. What may be perceived as a contrast to (6) is explained in the following example:

(7) 'Gũthengio' - to be moved.

The metaphor (7) evokes death as an event that human beings cannot control, leaving them vulnerable in the face of the unavoidable event. Death is thus seen as a result of an action performed by some external agent or someone to help bring about departure (Lakoff 1993: 232).

A periphrastic metaphorical statement about death in which death is paradoxically viewed as an ideal state for the deceased as in (2) and (3) with the aim of providing some solace to those left alive, is discussed in (8) below. Since there is happiness in death, as stated in (2) and (3), this conceptualization is built on a metonymy as it comprehends death via one of its effects. From a Christian point of view, this metaphor also presents a positive overtone to mitigate the target domain of death:

(8) 'Gũthiĩ kũrĩa gũtarĩ ruo kana thĩna' - to go to where there is no pain or care.

The metaphors below also have a Christian bearing as people believe that God has prepared a home for them in heaven. For example:

(9) 'Gũthiĩ mũciĩ ũrĩa tũthondekeirwo nĩ Mwathani' - to go to the home specially made for us by God,

(10) 'Kũinũka' - to go home,

(11) 'Guthama' - to leave.

However, there is mystery in the conceptualization of death as in (12). This metaphor portrays the journey as inevitable and imputes that once the deceased reaches her / his destination, there is no chance of coming back to the physical world. Therefore, this metaphor may also help us understand human death in terms of finality (see Section 4.1.1.2):

(12) 'Gũthiĩ kũndũ mũndũ atagacoka' - go to a place where one will never come back.

What may be said to convey a dysphemistic approach to human mortality, rather than a euphemistic one, may be argued for as in example (13) below. However, our study agrees with Burridge (1996) that words are not mathematical symbols and for that case no term is intrinsically dysphemistic nor euphemistic as they entirely depend on context. Consider the following examples which evoke a richer scenario of metaphorization:

(13) 'Gũthĩĩ kwa huko' - going to the mole's place.

Metaphor (13) may be considered to be a relatively recent euphemism for death as compared to euphemism (20), since according the Agĩkũyũ customs; people would abandon the dead in the open to be devoured by wild animals. However, the basis of the metaphor (13) stems from the belief that since a mole stays underground and one is normally buried after death in recent times, therefore, when a person dies, one is flippantly said to have left for the mole's place.

Metaphor (14) may also be considered as a dysphemistic euphemism as discussed below:

(14) 'Gũtherera' - to disappear down a river when one drowns.

This is because despite being a journey metaphor used to conceptualize death; the metaphor conveys unfavourable connotations since it views death as a cruel enemy which can destroy us (Marín, 1996:43).

Another euphemism used in this cognitive network in which the deceased is conceptualized as undertaking a journey to a new world for a beginning, is the

well-worn metaphor:

(15) ‘Gũthiĩ gatwe’ - going to the horizon.

‘Gatwe’ or horizon is the place where the earth and the sky appear to meet, and in that connection, a place where one has never been before. This correspondence is also understood as a process with a starting, an end point and a time span by virtue of the Source-Path-Goal schema into which our everyday experience may be organized (Lakoff, 1987).

Let us also consider the euphemism below which is an understatement for death that has a Christian perspective:

(16) ‘Gũcekeha’ - to get thin.

It is believed that when one dies, the spirit which is smaller and thinner than the body goes to heaven and leaves the body.

4.1.1.2 Death is an End

In this cognitive mapping, human mortality is conceptualized as the final stage of human life. Lakoff (1987) postulates that complex events like death are normally understood in terms of the source (initial state), path (a sequence of intermediate stages) and destination (the final state). Our study identified 16 metaphors (34%) of the total metaphorical euphemisms which conceptualize death in terms of finality after an earthly existence (cf. Appendix B).

In (17) below, one's life or work in the world is conceptualized to have come to an end. This metaphor interprets death as the final stage of our lifespan by means of the image mapping death as the end. This is what provides the foundation of attenuating death:

(17) 'Kūrīkia wīra' - finishing one's work.

It is important to note that causation in (17) above is caused by the morpheme (-i-) which comes between the root word and the final vowel. Metaphor (17) just like (18) belongs to this cognitive network in the sense that it helps us understand human death in terms of finality (Bultnick, 1998). In this way, metonymic expressions related to the physiological effects of death like:

(18) 'Gūikia thari' - to kick involuntarily when in death throes,

can be considered to present the same metaphorical basis. This interaction between metaphor and metonymy is a reflection of how effective they are in the conceptualization of abstract concepts.

The deceased is also said to have left the living as in (19a-d) below. This conceptualization of death as a loss is classified under death as an end metaphor since bereavement may also be understood as such in this mapping. Therefore, one's life is understood as having come to an end as in the following correspondences:

(19a) 'Gūtūtiga' - to leave the living,

(b) 'Mūtiga-irī' - a woman or man, who has died and left children,

(c) 'Mwendwo nĩ - irī' - a man / woman has died and is loved by society,

(d) ‘Mūimwo nī irī’ - a man or a woman who has died and does not leave children behind.

In the above submapping (19a), the deceased is absent in the conceptualization, given the fact that the -ed participles in left and bereaved emphasize the role of the survivors rather than that of the deceased. According to Itotia (1937) a woman or man who has died and left children of good – standing in society is referred to as (19b), while a man or woman who has died and is loved by society because of his or her good behaviour but has not left children behind is referred to as (19c). However, when one is hated by society because of his or her unbecoming social behaviour and dies, and he or she does not leave children behind, one is derogatively referred to as (19d) above. The usage of (19d) is so because “mūimwo” comes from “kūimwo” which means to be denied something.

Further evidence of dysphemistic euphemisms in the cognitive network includes the following flippant expression:

(20) ‘Gūtirima mūkūyū’ - touching the fig tree.

This metaphor stems from the practice in traditional Gīkūyū customs that when a person died, the body would be transported to the forest at night and placed at the foot of a fig tree. Scavengers would have a field’s day devouring the body.

For (21) below, we agree with Bultnick (1998:44 -45), that the conceptual basis of such a mapping lies in that life is perceived as a valuable object and death is thus seen as the loss of this possession. This implies that the deceased will never get an

opportunity to put his hand into a container (a calabash) that contains food.

- (21) 'Ndagaikia koiga njara' - the deceased will never again put his hand into the food calabash.

In (22), the expression constitutes an instance of conceptual metonymy while (23) is a flippant euphemistic correspondence for death that perceives the deceased as having got rid of sandals.

- (22) 'Gūkūnja ndira' - to fold one's heels,

- (23) 'Gūte nyamūga' - to have got rid of sandals.

The metaphor (22) above is intended as a damning statement of the physiological effect of death. It is based on the belief that when one dies, the legs are said to fold up and no amount of force can straighten them. On the other hand, the basis of the metaphor (23) stems from the belief that the deceased gets rid of the sandals because he or she has no need for them ever again.

4.1.1.3 Death as a Rest

The domain of death in Gīkūyū is also conceptualized as a rest. Our study identified six occurrences in this cognitive network which is 13% of the metaphors mitigating death in Gīkūyū (cf. Appendix B). Within this conceptualization, we have also included death as sleep (a rest) conceptual correspondence. The underlying notion of the metaphors in this conceptual mapping stems from the fact that a rest, or sleep are temporary, and therefore, death is also conceptualized as a temporary event. For example:

(24) 'Kūhurūka' - to rest,

(25) 'Gūkoma' - to sleep.

The metaphors (24) and (25) imply that the cessation of bodily functions and speech are not automatically identified with the symptoms of physical death, as they are also present in peaceful sleep (Fernández, 2006). It may also be interpreted as a rest from the problems of the world. The conceptual mapping can also be interpreted from the perspective of Christianity. That is, one has only slept awaiting resurrection after Christ's second coming (Luke 8:52; 1Cor 15: 51; 1Thessalonians 4: 13). Wheeler (1994) argues that the mitigation of death is based on the Christian hope of the resurrection of the dead. Thus, there is a projection from a source domain (rest) onto a target domain (death) and the associations that constitute the metaphor map our feelings about sleep onto our perception about death. It is this correspondence between the source and the target domains where cognitive conceptualization fulfils its euphemistic function. This cognitive association adopts a diametrically opposed perspective from the death as a journey. The metaphors in (24) and (25) are based on the positive effects of death as a means of relief.

Another conceptual correspondence in this mapping is metaphor (26), which is an understatement to euphemize the target domain (death):

(26) 'Kūhinga maitho' - of the deceased having closed his or her eyes.

This metaphor stems from the fact that when one dies, the eyes are believed to have been closed for a moment awaiting resurrection. That is the idea of

temporariness evident in the metaphor.

The metaphor 'to hide' is another occurrence in this mapping which also employs understatement to attenuate death:

(27) 'Kwīhitha' - to hide.

This metaphor may also be interpreted as a temporary event just like we have conceptualized in (25) and (26) since the deceased has only hidden himself probably from the troubles of this world or as he waits for Christ's resurrection.

A metaphor that understates death as a state of unconsciousness is exemplified in (28) below:

(28) 'Kūng'ang'a', 'gūthang'ata' or 'Kung'ata' - a state akin to unconsciousness.

This is a situation like the one a person finds himself in when hypnotized. The word is an appropriate metaphorical substitute for death since it looks at death as a temporary event.

Another sub mapping in this conceptual metaphor is when the deceased is conceptualized as:

(29) 'Kūhoria matawa' - having put the lights off.

In this metaphor, understatement is used to perceive the target domain as a temporary event.

4.1.1.4 *Death as a Summon / Call*

In this conceptual mapping, it is the deceased who receives a summon. This mapping is founded on the Christian belief that when one dies, one is assumed to have been called by God to go and rest in heaven. Some Agĩkũyũ always maintain a close and vital relationship with spiritual beings. This conceptual mapping is the source to three occurrences which is 6% of the total metaphorical substitutes mitigating death (cf. Appendix B). For instance:

(30) 'Gwĩtwo' - to be called or summoned,

(31) 'Kũhenerio' - to be beckoned,

(32) 'Kwoyo nĩ Ngai' - to be taken by God.

These are correspondences which as stated earlier, imply that it is God who calls people to go and stay with him. The passive morpheme in (30) is realized by the addition of '-w-' to the verb immediately before the final vowel '-a'. It is the correspondence between the source domain and the target domain that euphemistic effect is created. The metaphor (30) has a high lexical frequency and as such, it has become lexicalized and acceptable by majority of Agĩkũyũ (cf. Table 4.1).

4.1.2 *Euphemisms of Sexual Intercourse*

The art of euphemization has also been seen at its most piquant in the realm of sexual intercourse. Allan and Burridge (1991) argue that sexual intercourse may be spoken of tenderly, lyrically or lasciviously, beautifully and sometimes even profanely. In Gĩkũyũ, the term sexual intercourse generally evokes squeamishness and that is why it is always accompanied by euphemisms as a form of linguistic

interdiction. Our study has shown that metaphors referring to sexual intercourse can be insightfully described in terms of Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) cognitive view of metaphor. We collected 44 euphemisms in our corpus to mitigate the target domain of sexual intercourse (see Table 4.3). Table 4.3 also displays the lexical frequencies and linguistic processes involved in the creation of euphemisms.

Table 4.3: Euphemisms of sexual intercourse, lexical frequencies and their respective linguistic processes

EUPHEMISMS		LF		LP
GĪKŪYŪ	GLOSS	M	F	
Kūonana kīmwĩrĩ	seeing each other bodily / physically	4	9	MET
Kūroora mūgūnda	inspecting the land	1	-	MET
Kūrĩa irio	to eat food	2	1	MET-USR
Kūhutania	touching each other	1	-	MET
Gūtwarithia mūithikiri	to ride a bicycle	-	1	MET
Nguĩko / ngwĩko	traditional mock sex activities for the unmarried	5	3	MET
Ndathano	shooting each other	2	1	MET
Nūndano	wrestling each other	2	-	MET
Mūkanyano	pecking each other	1	-	MET
Kūheana	giving each other	2	2	MET-VWE
Gūkomania	sleep with each other	6	8	MET
Gūthiĩ toro	to go to sleep; lie with	1	-	MET-UND
Gūthiĩ ũrĩrĩ	to go to bed	1	-	MET-UND
Kūmenyana	to know each other	1	1	MET-USR
Kūnogorana / kūnogora mwĩrĩ	to massage or relax each other / to relax the body	2	-	MET-MTN
Kūheana mbakĩ / gūkūndania mbakĩ	giving snuff to each other	1	1	MET
Gūthambania	washing each other	1	-	MET
Kūguĩkana / gwĩkana	to do each other	3	2	MET
Ngwatano / kūgwatana	holding each other	5	4	MET-UND
Kūigua wega	to feel good	1	-	VWE
Kūmaita	to pour	9	8	MET
Gwĩkenia	to make each oneself feel good	1	-	MET-VWE
Gwetha ciana	searching for children	1	2	MET-MTN
Kūigana thĩ	to put each other down	1	-	MET

Kūingĩrana	entering each other	-	1	MET
Kwendana	to love each other	1	1	MET
Gūcocera	to ride / peddle	1	-	MET
Gūkoma na mūdũ wa nja / mūtumia	to sleep with a woman	1	1	MET-CIR
Mūdũ mūrũme gūtonyia mũthiĩ ita harĩ kaindo ka mūtumia	of a man putting the one who goes to war (penis) into the lady's thing	1	-	MET-CIR
Kūgwatania ũrugari	giving warmth to each other	1	1	MET-UND
Gūkenania kwa mũthuri na mūtumia	of a man and a woman making each other happy	-	2	MET-CIR
Kūgwatithania	to fertilize each other	1	-	MET
Kūhinganĩria bata	to satisfy each other's needs	1	-	MET-VWE
Wira	work	1	-	MET-VWE
Irio	food	1	1	MET
Kūrĩana	to eat each other	1	1	MET
Kūhehio	to be made wet	-	1	MET-VWE
Kūrĩa kīgwa	to eat sugarcane	1	-	MET
Ita	a war	2	1	MET
Gūtũgũta	to slash	-	1	MET
Gũthecana	to pierce each other	1	1	MET
Gūcamithania	to taste each other	1	-	MET
Kūruta mbiro	to remove soot.	1	-	MET
Ūhoro wa mūdũrũme na mūdũ mũka	the things of a man and a woman	1	-	MET-CIR

Our study came up with six conceptual mappings for sexual intercourse in Gĩkũyũ (see Table 4.4) below. Table 4.4 also displays the lexical frequencies and percentages of conceptual mappings in terms of gender.

Table 4.4: Gender variable in the interpretation of sexual intercourse

Conceptual mappings for sexual intercourse.	Males		Females		Total lexical frequency
	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	
Companionship	19	46%	22	54%	41
Work	5	71%	2	29%	7
A game	12	67%	6	33%	18
A war	7	70%	3	30%	10
Food	5	62.5%	3	37.5%	8
Utility	13	52%	12	48%	25

Table 4.4 indicates that males tend to interpret the target domain of sexual intercourse more as work, a game, a war and food while females interpret sexual intercourse more as a form of companionship.

This gender difference implies that whereas females tend to conceptualize sexual intercourse as a form of companionship, males are likely to look at sexual intercourse from a different perspective. A plausible reason as to why males have higher lexical frequencies in five out of six conceptual mappings may be due to the fact that men affairs with women are about sex and feeling powerful in order to boost their egos, but for women it is more about being treated differently, loved and appreciated (Moore and Doreen, 1993). They also add that the traditional view of man is to be the 'hunter' and initiator of sexual activity and the one with the more powerful and demanding sex drive. Therefore, the conceptualization of sexual intercourse by males as war, a game, or food may be indicative of males' overall view of sex intercourse in terms of hostility, violence and dominance

against women (Beneke, 1982). Walker (1984), on the other hand, argues that men have always subjected women to physical, sexual, and psychological violence as a sign of dominance. From a Freudian psychoanalytic perspective, males' conceptualization of sexual intercourse in this study implicitly indicates that "pleasure principle" as well as desire to perpetuate dominance over females, guide males in the conceptualization of sexual intercourse.

Sexual intercourse as companionship makes up 28% of the total metaphors of sexual intercourse, sexual intercourse is the food (9%), sexual intercourse is work (14%), sexual intercourse is a game (18%), sexual intercourse is war (11%) and sexual intercourse is utility or function (20%). Figure 4.2, below, displays the percentage of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes in each cognitive domain.

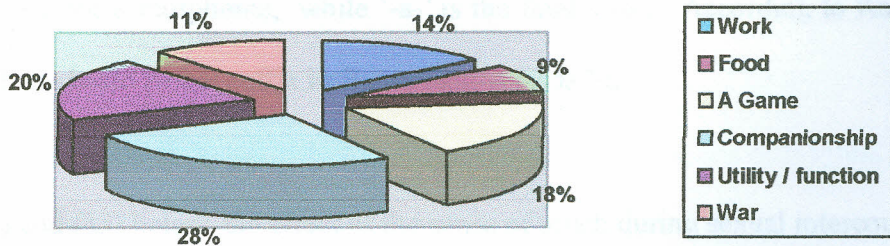


Figure 4.2: Conceptual domains for sexual intercourse

4.1.2.1 Sexual Intercourse is Companionship

This cognitive mapping conceptualizes sexual intercourse as a form of companionship or as a shared activity rather than a one - sided activity. Sexual intercourse as companionship is the most common mapping in quantitative terms

in *Gĩkũyũ* since we identified nine conceptual metaphors, which is 28% of the total metaphorical euphemisms attenuating sexual intercourse (cf. Appendix B). Although our study is not morpho-syntax in orientation, it is pertinent to highlight the presence of the reciprocal morpheme (-an-) that pervades this conceptual mapping.

One of the correspondences of sexual intercourse as we see in (33) below utilizes the physical interaction of both the male and female body parts during the exercise to conceptualize the target domain. For instance:

(33) 'Kũonana kĩmwĩrĩ' - seeing each other bodily / physically.

In (33) above, there is mutual reciprocity which is expressed by the usage of the reciprocal morpheme (-an-). An analysis of the the word 'kũonana' will give us the following morphemes: 'kũ-' is the infinitive marker, '-ona-' is the root word, '-an-' is the reciprocal morpheme, while '-a-' is the final vowel. According to Katamba (1989), the basic verbal suffix in Bantu languages is '-a'.

In (34) and (35) below, the effect of the sense of touch during sexual intercourse as the male and the female genitalia come into contact is underpinned. The allusions of sight in (33), taste in (36) and touch as in (34) and (35) indicate that sexual intercourse in the minds of the people ought to appeal to the senses:

(34) 'Kũhutania' - touching each other,

(35) 'Ngwatano' or 'kũgwatana' - to hold each other,

(36) 'Gũcamithania' - to taste each other.

The above metaphors emphasize the gratifying nature of sexual intercourse. They encapsulate the salience of pleasure in this conceptual framework. Sexual intercourse is conceptualized as (35) since the man and the woman normally hold each other during coitus. This implies that sexual intercourse is designed to be pleasurable and to bring people close together.

Another sub mapping of sexual intercourse whose basis is the feeling that the man and the woman should give themselves emotionally and physically during sexual intercourse is:

(37) 'Kūheana', 'kūheana mbakī' or 'gūkundania mbakī' - the act of giving to each other or giving snuff to each other.

Among the Agĩkũyũ, generosity was a virtue that was highly valued and praised. A husband and a wife were trained after circumcision, on the importance of gratifying one's sexual needs.

The use of 'know' as in (38) for sexual intercourse implies something about sexuality. Knowledge is not just cognitive, but always experiential and deeply personal. Sexual intercourse is also not only physical but it also involves mystery and touches the whole person. This metaphor has also been used in Genesis 4:1 when we are told that Abraham knew Sarah and as a result, she conceived. Since sexual intercourse normally takes root in an environment of love, it is also referred to as in (39) while the correspondence (40) underpins the importance of sexual intercourse to both men and women:

(38) 'Kūmenyana' - to know each other,

(39) 'Kwendana' - to love each other,

(40) 'Kūhinganĩria bata' - satisfying each other's needs.

In (40) above, the root word is '-hingi-', but when you add the reciprocal morpheme '-an-' which begins in a vowel, metathesis occurs pushing the '-i-' of the root further. Therefore, there is no causation. The '-ir-' in the word is the applicative morpheme. It is also important to know that since the root word starts with a voiced consonant /h/, the prefix will start with a voiced consonant as postulated by Dahl's Law (Guthrie, 1967).

Sexual intercourse is also a form of companionship as indicated in (41) below:

(41) 'Gwĩkana' - doing each other.

Whereas in English we say 'X had sex with Y' or 'X and Y had sex,' in Gĩkũyũ it is X and Y 'did' each other. The implied meaning lies in the conception that a man 'does' a woman and a woman is 'done' by the man. If a woman 'does' a man, it is assumed in Gĩkũyũ that the woman has manipulated or empowered him through sexual seduction. And if a man 'is done' this means he is under the influence of feminine seductive power.

4.1.2.2 Sexual Intercourse is War

Our study identified five metaphorical substitutes in this cognitive network replacing sexual intercourse in Gĩkũyũ which is 11% of the total metaphorical euphemisms mitigating the target domain (cf. Appendix B). This mapping presents

different sets of ontological correspondences to talk about the taboo of sexual intercourse in terms of war. Pejorative connotations arise when we consider sex as a violent act since many of the metaphorical alternatives in this cognitive association tend to acquire dysphemistic substitutes in this cognitive equation (Fernández, 2008). For example, sexual intercourse is:

(42) 'Gũthecana' – to pierce each other.

The metaphor (42) denotes reciprocity yet the woman has no piercing tool with which to pierce the man. This conceptual metaphor responds to an overall view of sex intercourse in terms of hostility, violence and dominance (Beneke, 1982). This cognitive association assumes the existence of a more specific conceptualization in which the penis is seen as a tool to attack, maim or kill an adversary (cf. Section 4.1.5.1). According to Fernández (2008), the lover is the enemy while the penis is the weapon. The conceptual metaphor (42), therefore, fulfills its attenuating function by mapping onto the target domain, and the associations that constitute this metaphor map our perception about war onto our perception about sexual intercourse.

Another metaphor which is internally inconsistent like (42) above, and which denotes reciprocity with violent connotations is discussed in (43) below:

(43) 'Kũingĩrana' - to enter each other

However, this metaphor may also be perceived as falling under the conceptualization of conjunction since it refers to the coming together or joining of both the male and female sexual organs.

4.1.2.3 *Sexual Intercourse as a Game*

In this cognitive mapping, we identified eight metaphorical euphemisms replacing sexual intercourse in *Gĩkũyũ*, which is 18% of the total metaphorical euphemisms (cf. Appendix B). The metaphorical terms in this conceptual equation relate sexual intercourse to a game or sport. Sexual intercourse is, therefore, an innocent pastime. This succinctly determines the perception of the receiver, who is forced to comprehend sexual intercourse in terms of conceptualization of a game, leaving aside other unacceptable semantic traits of the referent. Sexual intercourse is sanitized by referring to it as:

- (44) ‘*Kūnogorana mwĩrĩ*’ or ‘*kūnogorana*’ - to massage or relax each other / to relax the body.

This conceptualization is based on the metonymic expression that sexual intercourse leads to relaxation and bodily satisfaction.

Sexual intercourse is also mitigated by the usage of the term ‘*ngwĩko*’, which in traditional *Agĩkũyũ* community, was a sex sport that would take place during the full moon on a day set aside by the community as described in (45):

- (45) ‘*Ngwĩko*’ or its variant ‘*nguĩko*’ - mock sex activities for the unmarried.

According to Kenyatta (1938), the boys would be prepared by their uncles and grandfathers and the girls by their aunts and grandmothers on how to restrain themselves during the ceremony. ‘*Ngwĩko*’, a cultural practice, would be accompanied with ritual songs and dances at night. The initiates, stripped to the

waist, would get lost in intoxication of ecstasy and pleasure as they enacted scenes and words of love-making. It was, however, a social taboo to have sexual intercourse on such an occasion. Langacker (1997) argues that social - cultural activities play a crucial role in the formation of euphemisms. Fernández (2007) also posits that cognitive and cultural considerations are so closely connected that metaphor stands out as the main device in cultural construction.

Sexual intercourse as a game also imputes a jocular and mechanistic nature to the way sexual intercourse is perceived by some Agĩkũyũ. Let us examine the metaphor of riding below:

(46) ‘Gūtwarithia mũithikiri’ - riding a bicycle.

The metaphor (46) above implies a game since riding may be conceptualized as a pastime. The reference to this metaphor probably stems from the pedaling – like motion made by the man in the sexual act. Interestingly, this metaphor was provided by one of the female respondents. The metaphor constitutes a good source domain for the expression of disrespect towards women, who are viewed by some people less than human, and hence gives the man a position of control and dominance over the woman. Therefore, the man is the rider and the woman the bicycle. This metaphor may be interpreted as a creative metaphor (Domínguez and Benedito, 2000).

4.1.2.4 Sexual Intercourse is Work

This study identified six metaphorical euphemisms replacing sexual intercourse in

Gikūyū which is 14% of the total metaphorical euphemisms mitigating the target domain (cf. Appendix B). Sexual intercourse as work conceptualization does not have the violent overtones of the metaphorical substitutes evident in the sexual intercourse as war conceptual network (cf. Section 4.1.2.2). The metaphors in this mapping are particularly germane because of the perceived effort or energy expended during the sexual act (Fernández, 2008).

However, Murphy (2001) believes that despite the positive overtones of sexual intercourse as work conceptualization, the metaphor implicitly degrades the sexual act on the basis that men view their relationships with women through the perspective of control, discipline, regulation and commodity. Murphy (2001) also postulates that men's conception of sexual intercourse to work embraces their relations to women as part of the male economy. The relationship between sexual intercourse and work reduces sexual intercourse to an exchange devoid of intimacy in which coitus is conceived as a mechanical operation performed by a mechanical tool, the penis (cf. Section 4.1.5.1). A correspondence in this cognitive equation that conjures up the image of totally and vigorously spending one's energies on the task at hand is:

(47) 'Gūtūgūta' - to slash.

In this metaphor, the male is the one who undertakes the work of slashing while the female is the victim. This metaphor may also be understood as falling under the cognitive network sexual intercourse is a war (see Section 4.1.2.2).

What may be perceived as a creative metaphor in Gĩkũyũ is discussed in example (48) below:

(48) 'Kūruta mbiro' - to remove soot.

The metaphor was originally coined to refer to a man having sex for the first time after getting circumcised. Today, the metaphorical expression is used as a source domain for sexual intercourse without necessarily signifying sexual debut. The removing of soot evokes an image that denotes a sexual activity as vigorous as to remove soot.

The sleep metaphor which denotes the warmth generated when a man and a woman come close to each other in bed is also evidenced in the expression:

(49) 'Kūgwatania ũrugarĩ' - giving warmth to each other.

Sexual intercourse is also euphemistically referred to as cleansing since traditionally, if a man died, one of his closest age mates was supposed inherit the widow and her children in a cultural practice commonly referred to as in (50):

(50) 'Gũthambania' - cleansing or washing each other.

The meaning of the metaphor (50) has however been expanded to refer to a mutual activity between a man and a woman. Interestingly, the Agĩkũyũ believed that sexual intercourse with the widow would chase death from the family. This archaic tradition is no longer practised among the Agĩkũyũ but the word is occasionally used as a source domain for sexual intercourse.

In (51) the metaphor of 'land' is employed to conceptualize sexual intercourse as highlighted below:

(51) 'Kūroora mǔgūnda' - inspecting the land.

This expression has the implicit allusion to work since one normally inspects the land to check on its productivity (cf. Section 4.1.5.2).

4.1.2.5 Sexual Intercourse is Utility / Function

We identified nine metaphorical euphemisms in this cognitive mapping which is 20% of the total metaphorical euphemisms mitigating the target domain (cf. Appendix B). This conceptual mapping conceives sexual intercourse as a natural and routine activity that calls for a utilitarian approach or function. This mapping considers pleasure and passion as essential components.

Lakoff (1987) argues that sexual intercourse, just like death, may be conceptualized as a process with a starting, an end point and a time span by virtue of the Source - Path - Goal schema into which our everyday experience may be organized. Consider, for example, the following metaphor:

(52) 'Kūmaita' - to pour or ejaculate.

We have understood the metaphor of pouring as depicting a lexical aspect of particularization when used in the context of ejaculation. Murphy (2001:20-21) argues that the penis is a mechanical device engineered to pour liquids and can thus be included in the sexual intercourse – as - machine conceptual equation. To pour is, therefore, the end point of a journey, as the unidirectional property of

cognitive associations maintains (Fernández, 2008). Because of the connotations arising from the metaphor pour, an interpretive process is triggered in the receiver which compels him or her to identify the reference of ejaculation conveyed by the metaphor. Fernández (2008) posits that the source domain is not always projected onto the target domain on all the occasions, since a metaphor such as (52) may somehow be considered bidirectional (cf. Section 4.1.2).

In (53), the metaphor also implicitly conjures up feelings of ejaculation. However, the euphemism:

(53) 'Kūhehio' - to be made wet,

elicits a richer scenario of metaphorization since it is the women who are the recipients of the semen. This study interprets the metaphor as evoking a feeling of wetness on women which probably points to sexual gratification or orgasm by women.

The utilitarian approach to sexual intercourse does not imply that sexual intercourse is purely mechanical. On the other hand, a vague expression for sexual intercourse which is based on sexual gratification is cited below:

(54) 'Kūigūa wega' - to feel good.

This metaphor may be conceptualized as the end - point of a journey (see examples 52 and 53). The implication is that sexual intercourse is designed to be pleasurable. This metaphor and its concomitant meaning underscore the inextricability of sexual intercourse and pleasure.

The domain of sexual intercourse is also conceptualized as the act of creating children or procreation as argued in (55):

(55) 'Gwetha ciana' - searching for children.

In this metaphor, sexual intercourse is built on a metonymy, or specifically what is referred to as a metaphorical metonymy, since it conceptualizes sexual intercourse via one of its goals. This has been noted as the proof of the interaction between metaphor and metonymy in the conceptualization of abstract concepts (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). This metaphor may also be conceived as utilitarian since in traditional Agĩkũyũ society, sexual intercourse was geared towards procreation. Children were, therefore, valued as the end product of the sexual act. Biblically, this metaphor is also used in Genesis 16:2 to refer to sexual intercourse.

Another metaphor whose basis is procreation and that is why we have included it in this conceptual mapping is:

(56) 'Kũgwatithania' - to join or come into contact.

This expression as our conceptualization aptly underscores, seems to stress utility or function rather than pleasure as we have argued in (54) above. Biologically, the sperm and the egg come into contact for fertilization. Therefore, the source domain of journey is not only used to express the target domain of sexual intercourse, but also to reason about it in terms of a different domain of experience.

In (57), we have the metaphor of sleep as the euphemism. The sleep metaphor and its variants (see Appendix B) may be understood as the end product of a journey

after a period of courtship; therefore, corroborating Lakoff's (1987) postulation of the Source – Path - Goal schema. For example:

(57) 'Gũthĩĩ ũĩĩĩ' - go to bed.

This is a colloquial phrase with a sexual meaning that utilizes the sleep metaphor. The sleep metaphor can also be said to denote the place where the sexual act typically takes place.

4.1.2.6 Sexual Intercourse is Food

In this conceptual equation, we identified four metaphors conceptualizing sexual intercourse as food, which is 9% of the total metaphorical euphemisms of sexual intercourse (see Appendix B). Owing to the importance of food in our life as a source of sustenance and pleasure, food is commonly used as a source domain mapping for sexual intercourse. Our aversion to distasteful foods and our attraction to tasty foods is an experiential ground for attributing sweetness to positive aspects (Fernández, 20008). Sexual intercourse is, therefore:

(58) 'Irio' – food,

(59) 'Kũĩĩa irio' - eating food,

(60) 'Kũĩĩana' - eating each other.

These metaphors underscore the importance of sexual intercourse in a person's life. Eating and food are common sources for naming sexual organs and sex related actions (cf. Section 4.1.5.2). Allan and Burridge (2006:190) argue that food is often the prelude to sex since eating and love-making go together. The food / eating metaphor for sexual intercourse is pervasive in many languages (see Hines

2000; Allan and Burridge 2006:194-197; Kövecses 2006:155-56). Therefore, to understand sexual intercourse via the conceptual metaphor sex is eating, as in (59), implies to understand the target domain in terms of the domain: food. The metaphor of eating is also clearly euphemistic for sexual activity as used in Proverbs 30: 20 when we are told that the adulterous woman 'eateth, and wipeth her mouth' and says she has no wickedness. Further evidence to our argument is (61) below:

(61) 'Kūřĩa kīgwa' - eating the sugarcane.

Kövecses (2006) argues that sexual desire is hunger and points out that appetizing food is normally used to conceptualize sexual intercourse. The conceptual equation sex is eating gives rise to metaphorical phrases with euphemistic overtones such as (59) and to dysphemistic references like (60). The semi-lexicalized metaphors discussed in this conceptualization provide a particular understanding of sexual intercourse within the conceptual system of Gĩkũyũ.

4.1.3 Euphemisms of Excretion and Body Effluvia

The desire for euphemisms of excretion and body effluvia is also ineradicable among the Agĩkũyũ who generally express distaste for bodily effluvia. Our study zeroed in on menstruation, faeces and urine as our areas of study because of their fecundity to evoke euphemistic words and expressions. We identified four conceptual mappings for menstruation, four for faeces and three for urine as discussed in this section.

4.1.3.1 Euphemisms of Menstruation

Menstruation is a biological change that leads to the breakdown of the endometrium, in which blood soaked regions crumble and are released, along with mucous and cellular debris that includes the unfertilized ovum. In reality, menstruation is regarded with distaste by many cultures. We collected 29 euphemisms in our corpus that mitigate the target domain of menstruation as shown below. Table 4.5 also displays the lexical frequencies and linguistic processes involved in the creation of euphemisms.

Table 4.5: Euphemisms of menstruation, lexical frequencies and their respective linguistic processes

EUPHEMISMS		LF		LP
GĪKŪYŪ	GLOSS	M	F	
Kahinda ka mweri	a monthly period	3	9	MET
Kĩmakia thinwa	the one that frightens the full moon	-	1	MET
Mũgeni	a visitor	1	3	MET
Kuura	to rain	4	5	MET-HYP
Mweri	a month	6	3	MET
Kũona	to see	2	5	MET-VWE
Thakame ya mũirũ	dark-red blood	-	1	MET
Kũona muiirũ	to see something that is dark-red	3	2	MET
Kahinda	a period	6	3	MET-VWE
Thikũ	days	1	1	MET-VWE
Gũthũka	to be bad	1	-	MET-VWE
Gũtunĩha / utũne	to be red	2	-	MET-VWE
Kũrĩo nĩ mahĩndĩ	Having back pains	-	2	MET-VWE
Mambura	of rain	2	3	MET
Kũraga ikenye	menarche	1	-	MET-TEC
Kwĩnenũra	to keep on changing the colour	-	1	MET
Gũkũrĩra	something that is ripe or mature	-	1	MET
Kahinda ga atumia	a period of women	1	-	MET-PAR
Gũita	to pour	-	1	MET
Ithaga rĩa mũndũ wanja	a woman's jewel	-	1	MET-PAR
Thakame ya mweri	monthly blood	-	1	MET

'Mnyesho'	rain	-	1	BOR-MET
Kūrūara	to be sick	2	1	MET-VWE
Mūrata	a friend	-	1	MET
Maündũ ma atumia	things of the women	-	1	MET-PAR
Mũgongo	the back	-	1	MET
Mathĩna ma mweri	monthly difficulties	-	1	MET
Kuma gwa itumbĩ rĩa mūtumia.	the release of the woman's egg	1	2	PAR-CIR
Chirũ	the short form of Wanjirũ, one of the nine daughters of Gĩkũyũ, the founder of the tribe according to the Gĩkũyũ myth.	-	1	PER

Our study identified five conceptual mappings for menstruation in Gĩkũyũ as depicted in Table 4.6. Table 4.6 also displays the lexical frequencies and percentages of conceptual mappings in terms of gender.

Table 4.6: Gender variable in the interpretation of menstruation

Conceptual mappings for menstruation	Males		Females		Total (lexical frequency)
	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	
A period	25	44%	32	56%	57
A visitor	-	14%	1	100%	1
An indisposition	3	43%	4	57%	7
Rain	7	41%	10	59%	17
A woman's Jewel	1	25%	3	75%	4

Table 4.6 indicates that females tend to interpret the target domain of menstruation as a period, a visitor, an indisposition, rain and a woman's jewel more than the males.

This study argues that the concept of biological determinism is the primary reason why females are likely to have higher lexical frequencies for all the conceptual mappings. Biological determinism hypothesizes that biological factors as opposed to social or environmental factors determine how a system works (Rodd, 1987). Therefore, since females experience menstruation as a biological process, it is plausible to argue that they have higher lexical frequencies than males. Menstruation is depicted as something that portrays the fertility and societal recognition of the female. The negative attitude towards menstruation is waning as attested by the conceptual mappings we have discussed in this study. To what appears to be a sexual interpretation of menstruation, Allan and Burridge (1991) argue that by conceptualizing the target domain as a visitor, the female is in other circumstances relishing the visitor to the vagina to be a male. So, the metaphor of visitor is 'male by analogy'.

From a quantitative point of view, the conceptual metaphor menstruation is a period accounts for 55% of the metaphorical euphemisms, while all the other mappings of menstruation have the same percentage as indicated in Figure 4.3.

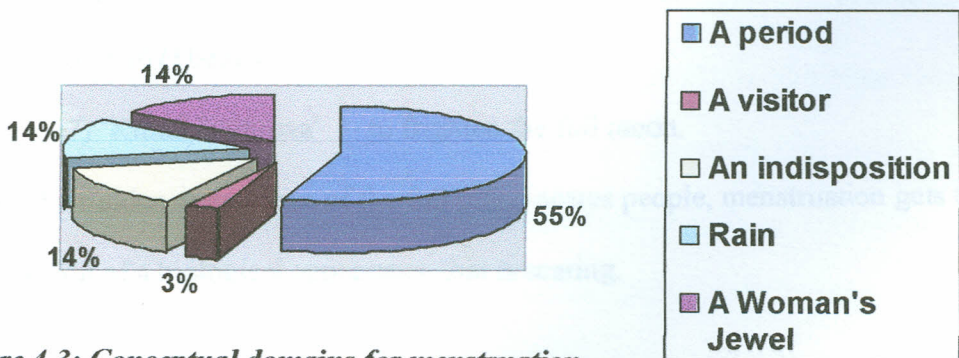


Figure 4.3: Conceptual domains for menstruation

(a) Menstruation is a Period

We identified 16 metaphors (55%) of the metaphorical euphemisms for menstruation) which is a conceptualization of menstruation in terms of periodicity (cf. Appendix B). Within this conceptual metaphor, we have also included the colour metaphor as a motif to conceptualize menstruation. The underlying notion of all the metaphors included in this conceptual mapping is based on the fact that a period and the act of seeing the salient colour red or darkish red are temporary and therefore, the target domain is conceptualized as a temporary event. For example:

- (62) 'Kahinda' - a period,
- (63) 'Mweri' - a month,
- (64) 'Kahinda ka mweri' - a monthly period,
- (65) 'Thakame ya mweri' - monthly blood,
- (66) 'Thikū' - days.

The monthly phase of the menstrual cycle is a resemblance that has the support from etymology since the words moon and menses are derived from the same Latin word (see metaphors 63, 64 and 65).

A sub mapping for menstruation which may be interpreted as a dysphemistic euphemism is (67) below:

- (67) 'Kīmakia thinwa' - to frighten the full moon.

Since the sudden appearance of the full moon scares people, menstruation gets the connotation of a biological appearance that is scaring.

Menstruation is also particularized as in (68):

(68) 'Kahinda ga atumia' - a period of women,

(69) 'Gūkūrira' - something which is ripe or mature.

The metaphor (69) is also sometimes used for menstruation. This is based on the fact that the ripe unfertilized ovum is released through the vagina after a period of time, since menstruation is typically induced in women by hormonal changes associated with an unfertilized ovum.

Within this conceptual metaphor, we have also included the colour metaphor as a motif to conceptualize the target domain. This act of seeing the red or dark colouration is an experience a woman undergoes for a few days every month. For example:

(70) 'Kūona' or 'kūona mūirū' - seeing something noticeable (blood that is darkish red in colour) coming out of the body,

(71) 'Kwīnenūra' - to keep on changing the colour of the blood,

(72) 'Utune' and 'gūtunīha' - to be red.

The colour motif (71) is specifically used since it is understood that as the menstrual blood flows out, one cannot clearly discern the dominant colour as it keeps on changing from darkish to reddish colour. Secondly, unlike other blood, menstrual blood does not coagulate. Conversely, the metaphor (72) utilizes the salient colour red motif to conceptualize menstruation. Unlike in (70), this is a more acceptable correspondence for menstruation. These colour terms despite implying periodicity have both orthophemistic and euphemistic connotations

(b) Menstruation is Rain

Menstruation is also likened to rain in this conceptual mapping. This conceptualization accounts for four sub mappings which is 14% of the total metaphorical euphemism for menstruation (cf. Appendix B). Menstruation is, therefore:

(73) 'Kuura' – rain

(74) 'Mambura' - of rain.

In (73) and (74) above, the metaphor of rain is used since the menstrual blood is perceived to come out in drops like rain. The metaphor (73) above, is also homonymous to bleeding, which, when interpreted from the context of our target domain becomes relevant. We can also say that the metaphor of rain is also relevant in the sense that it equates menstruation and rain in terms of their unpredictability.

Employment of loan words to avoid mentioning a tabooed term is an effective way of euphemizing (Zizheng, 2005). In menstruation, the lexical process of borrowing is also used as a correspondence for menstruation as it is evidenced in (75) below:

(75) 'Mnyesho' - for rain.

The term (75) is a loan word from Kiswahili which means to rain. The word is normally used when a lady is experiencing a lot of menstrual flow.

We have argued elsewhere in (52) that the metaphor of pouring may be understood in the context of sexual intercourse (cf. Murphy 2001). That is, menstruation is:

(76) 'Gūita' – to pour.

To pour may, therefore, be the end point of an ovum since it has not been fertilized. Our study, therefore, interprets the target domain of menstruation as an instance of pouring as indicated in (76) above.

(c) Menstruation is an Indisposition

We identified four metaphors of menstruation as an indisposition which accounts for 14% of metaphorical euphemisms of menstruation (cf. Appendix B). Though this conceptualization implies a negative value judgment of menstruation, some Gikūyū speakers view it as an illness. So, this conceptual metaphor does not strongly elicit feelings of revulsion or antipathy and our study has, therefore, considered it as euphemistic. Consider, for example, the following metaphors:

(77) 'Kūriō nī mahīndī' - having painful joints,

(78) 'Kūrūara' - to be sick,

(79) 'Gūthūka' - to be bad.

The metaphor in (79) is associated with the soiling of clothes when one is menstruating giving a picture of indisposition. This metaphor may also be said to have a biblical allusion since the Bible, particularly Leviticus 15:35; 20: 18; 12:2, marks menstruation as unclean and taboo, which resulted in women being temporarily set apart from the community. According to Kenyatta (1938), menstruation is seen as a process which defiles women making them unclean. Agikūyū men were particularly advised to avoid sleeping with such a woman since she was perceived to be unclean and sick. As (77) also indicates, the woman is said

to experience back pains when in menstruation.

(d) Menstruation is a Visitor

This conceptual metaphor accounts for 3% of the total metaphorical euphemisms for menstruation. Metaphor (80) below illustrates the conceptual metaphor that menstruation is a visitor:

(80) 'Mūgeni' - a visitor.

The notion of visitation as expressed in (80) is presumably motivated by the temporary nature of menstruation. The metaphor looks at the target domain as a visitor who should not be scorned but should be treated with love.

(e) Menstruation is a Woman's Jewel

This conceptual metaphor accounts for 14 % of the total metaphorical euphemisms for menstruation. This conceptualization looks at the target domain as a form of a woman's precious thing. That is, menstruation is a positive aspect of a female's life as shown in the examples below:

(81) 'Chirū'

(82) 'Ithaga rīa mūdū wa nja' - a woman's jewel.

In (81) above, the conceptualization is an evidence of the personification of the female name 'Chirū'. This word is a pointer of the creativity among Gīkūyū speakers. The euphemism is normally used by girls as a form of endearment. Chirū is the short form of Wanjirū, one of the nine daughters of Gīkūyū, the founder of tribe according to the Gīkūyū myth. In (82) above, the metaphor looks at

menstruation as a qualitative event of significance in a woman's life.

A metaphor which expresses the notion of endearment using an archaism is:

(83) 'Kūraga ikenye' - menarche.

This is a technical and archaic term for menstruation; a girl's first monthly period. So, when a girl starts menstruating, we say that she has broken 'ikenye', that is, she has come of age. The euphemism behind the archaism 'ikenye' is not clear and it validates Enright (1985) postulation that one of the principles of euphemism formation is archaism. The Agĩkũyũ view menarche or first menstruation, as a positive aspect of a girl's life. In Gĩkũyũ, menarche is a physical marker of feminine maturity.

4.1.3.2 Euphemisms of Faeces

Faecal matter consists of largely digested food waste, but also possibly includes undigested foods or other swallowed matter carried through the colon by the peristaltic wave. Defecation is the process of eliminating solid or semi-solid waste via the lower opening of the digestive tract. The act is generally regarded with cultural distaste. We collected 24 euphemisms that mitigate the target domain of faeces (see Table 4.7). Table 4.7 also displays the lexical frequencies and linguistic processes involved in the creation of euphemisms.

Table 4.7: Euphemisms of faeces, lexical frequencies and their respective linguistic process

EUPHEMISMS		LF		LP
GĪKŪYŪ	GLOSS	M	F	
Kahinda kanene	a long period	6	10	MET
Kĩoro	a toilet	4	10	MET
Bata mūnene	a long need	2	4	MET
Mūgumo	a kind of fig tree (<i>Ficus Hochstetteri</i>)	1	2	MET
Wei	a large piece of faecal matter which spreads like morass	3	-	MET
Rūtūndū	a piece of food normally given to a visitor.	1	1	MET
Ndatema mūtī ndatiga ūgītoga	I have cut a tree and left it smoking.	1	1	MET-CIR
Gīko	waste	-	2	MET-VWE
Gwīteithia	to relieve oneself	5	2	MET
Taatha	used for seemingly undigested food remnants in excrement	-	1	MET
Kahinda	a period	4	6	MET-VWE
'Pupu'	a borrowed word for English 'poo-poo'	-	1	BOR
Gūthiĩ posta	to go to the post office	1	-	MET-BOR
Imengo	a large piece of something	1	-	MET
Kwīhūthia	to relieve oneself	2	1	MET
Mūtūtha	a very big piece of faecal matter	1	3	SYN
Mūkindo	an archaism for 'faeces'	-	1	TEC-SYN
Rūndo / kīrūndo	a big piece of faecal matter.	-	1	MET
Chienyū	pieces	-	1	MET
Bata	a need	1	1	MET-VWE
Kūgeithia Kĩgotho	to greet Kĩgotho	-	1	MET-VWE
Kūoha njaū	to fasten the calf.	-	1	MET
Ndendeko / Gītendeko	a very big piece of faecal matter	1	-	MET
Kīrīma	a mountain.	1	-	MET

Our study identified four cognitive mappings for faeces namely: faeces are a period, a tree, a cluster and a need. Table 4.8 displays the lexical frequencies and percentages of conceptual mappings in terms of gender.

Table 4.8: Gender variable in the interpretation of faeces

Conceptual mappings for faeces	Males		Females		Total (lexical frequency)
	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	
A period	12	37.5%	20	62.5%	32
A large piece or cluster	8	47%	9	53%	17
A tree	2	40%	3	60%	5
A need	13	42%	18	58%	31

Table 4.8 shows that females are more likely to interpret faeces as a period, a large piece or cluster, a tree and a need more than males.

Decency always prefers to veil the subject of faeces with verbal attenuation (Allan and Burridge, 1991). Therefore, females and males in *Gikūyū* tend to conceptualize the target domain of faeces differently as noted in Table 4.8 above. This may be due to the females' fastidiousness about defecation. It is because of this fastidiousness that females tend to be ingenuous in the handling and treatment of faecal matter and conceptualize the target domain as a period, a large piece or cluster, a tree and a need.

Quantitatively, the conceptual metaphor faeces is a large piece or cluster accounts for 46% of the metaphorical euphemisms, faeces is a need (33%), faeces is a period (13%), while faeces is a tree (8%) is the least frequent of the mappings of faeces. Figure 4.4 displays the percentage of cognitive metaphors in each cognitive

domain.

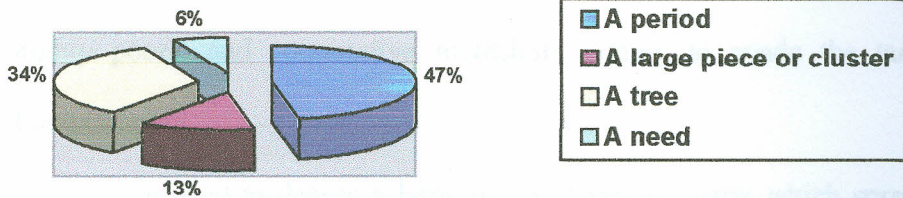


Figure 4.4: Conceptual domains for faeces

(a) Faeces is a Period

There are three conceptual metaphors (13 %) of the metaphorical euphemisms for faeces) which conceptualize faecal matter in terms of periodicity. Faeces is, therefore, conceptualized as:

(84) 'Kahinda kanene' - a long period,

(85) 'Kahinda' - a period,

(86) 'Bata mūnene' - a long need.

These metaphors imply that human beings are involved in this biological process for a longer time than that of urination (cf. Section 4.1.3.3). Because of the high lexical frequency of the above euphemisms, they have become lexicalized metaphors of faeces in Gĩkũyũ.

(b) Faeces is a Large Piece or Cluster

This cognitive mapping perceives faeces as a large piece or cluster of things. This mapping is the source of 11 metaphors which make up to 46% of the total

metaphorical euphemisms (cf. Appendix B). Most of the terms in this mapping are dysphemistic euphemisms which share the same denotation but slightly differ in connotation. Some of the correspondences for faecal matter in this mapping include highly poetic and connotative metaphors aiming to evade the target domain. For example:

(87) 'Wei' is used to denote a large piece of faecal matter which spreads like morass,

(88) 'Taatha' – shyme,

(89) 'Mūtūtha' or 'ndūtha' - a very big piece of faecal matter,

(90) 'Rūndo' or 'kīrūndo' denote a very large piece of faecal matter,

(91) 'Mūkindo' - an archaism for 'faeces',

(92) 'Rūtūdū' - a piece of food normally given to a visitor.

An archaism like (91) whose cognitive intention is not clear to the Agĩkũyũ is still used to mitigate the target domain of faeces. In (88), the metaphor is not only used to refer to human waste but also for seemingly undigested food remnants in excrement. The Agĩkũyũ, famed for magnanimity towards visitors always believed that a visitor deserved a compact package of food (92) from the host to take back to his or her family. The metaphor, therefore, denotes a reward that one gets after one has eaten food.

Lastly, the metaphor (93) below is occasionally used in mother – to – child conversation:

(93) 'Pupu' - a borrowed word from English slang.

The euphemism (93) above is a loan word from English 'Poo - poo' and it has something to do with the smell, giving rise to the ideophonic word. This word is very informal, and would not normally be used in formal context.

(c) *Faeces is a Tree*

The cognitive mapping faeces is a tree has only two occurrences which happens to be 8% of the total metaphorical euphemisms for faeces (cf. Appendix B). One of the correspondences in this conceptualization is the following Gĩkũyũ riddle, which employs periphrasis and aposiopesis to euphemize the faecal matter:

(94) 'Ndatema mũĩ ndatiga ũgĩtoga' - I have cut a tree and left it smoking?

Structurally, a riddle has two parts, that is, a question and an answer. When the riddle is posed to the respondent, the expected response is the target domain of faeces. For mitigation, Gĩkũyũ speakers only pose the riddle as a question without the anticipation of an answer. The silence that ensues is what serves the euphemistic function.

Another intriguing metaphor in this mapping which shows that faeces are revered is (95):

(95) 'Mũgumo' - is a kind of fig tree (*Ficus Hochstetteri*).

'Mũgumo' is a tree which grows while leaning on another tree or twisting around it like a creeper. Mũgumo bears little fruits which are rarely eaten by birds unless there is paucity of food. Traditionally, Mũgumo tree symbolized a holy place of worship for Ngai, the Agĩkũyũ God (Kenyatta, 1938).

(d) Faeces is a Need

The conceptualization has eight conceptual correspondences which account for 33% of the total metaphorical euphemisms for faeces (cf. Appendix B). Consider, for example, the metaphor:

(96) 'Bata' - a need.

The basis of this euphemism is the belief that as the rectum fills up with faecal matter, one experiences a feeling of rectal fullness which signals the need to defecate. The strong need to eliminate faecal matter elicits other correspondences like (97) and the waste metaphor in (98) below:

(97) 'Gwĩteithia' or 'kwĩhũthia' - relieving oneself

(98) 'Gĩko' - waste.

Since humans are fastidious about defecation and generally wish to perform the act in seclusion and in designated locations, attention has, therefore, been given to the initial receptacles for the waste as in (99). However, in (100), what qualifies to be a creative metaphor as Domínguez and Benedito (2000) postulate is used as euphemism for faeces:

(99) 'Kĩoro' – toilet,

(100) 'Gũthĩĩ Posta' - going to the post office.

In (100), the metaphor uses the journey motif to conceptualize the faeces. That implies that the faeces is a form of delivery to the toilet.

In (101) and (102), euphemistic expressions for faecal matter which connote the notion of relieving oneself are occasionally used with a twinge of humour:

(101) 'Kūgeithia Kīgotho' - to greet Kīgotho,

(102) 'Kūoha njaū' - to fasten the calf.

However, respondents could not explain the original motivation behind the formation of the above metaphors in Gīkūyū.

4.1.3.3 Euphemisms of Urine

Urine is a clear amber solution of the waste product resulting from the filtration process that takes place in the kidneys. It is the kidneys which carry out this task using the filtration and re-absorption processes. Table 4.9 comprises 16 euphemisms that mitigate the target domain of urine and displays the lexical frequencies and linguistic processes involved in the creation of euphemisms.

Table 4.9: Euphemisms of urine, lexical frequencies and their respective linguistic processes

EUPHEMISMS		LF		LP
GĪKŪYŪ	GLOSS	M	F	
Kahinda kanini	a short period	4	10	MET
Gūtua mata	to spit saliva	10	8	MET
Bata mūnini	a short need	1	3	MET-VWE
Maĩ marĩa maregirwo nĩ ngūkū	the water that chicken rejected	1	1	MET-CIR
Gwĩteithia	to relieve oneself	4	5	MET
Chii (guchĩrĩrĩkia)	dripping urine	1	-	IDE
Maĩ	water	1	3	MET
Kūrora kamũthĩgi gakwa	to look at my walking staff	1	-	MET-CIR
Manyĩrĩ	trickling urine	1	-	IDE

Kūrūgama	to stand	4	3	MET-PAR
Kwenga	(of women)to urinate while standing	1	-	MET-PAR
Maĩ marĩa maumaga muthiĩ ita-inĩ	the water that comes out of the one who goes to war	1	-	MET-CIR
Maminjo	something that is scattered, showered or sprinkled in drops or in a continuous stream.	1	2	MET-IDE
Macungo	something that is filtered	-	1	MET
Kahinda	a period	1	-	MET-VWE
Bata	a need	1	2	MET-VWE

We identified three cognitive mappings in Gĩkũyũ for the domain of urine namely; urine is water and, period and need (cf. Appendix B). The three cognitive mappings imply a positive value judgment of urine. The table below displays the lexical frequencies and percentages of conceptual mappings in terms of gender.

Table 4.10: Gender variable in the interpretation of urine

Conceptual mappings for urine	Males		Females		Total (lexical frequency)
	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	
Water	6	46%	7	54%	13
Period	20	45%	24	55%	44
Need	6	46%	7	54%	11

We find that females are likely to conceptualize urine as water, period and need more than males as the percentages above indicate.

This gender difference may be due to the fastidiousness among females about urination and there wish to perform the act of urination in seclusion. As also noted in Section (4.1.3.2) about defecation, fastidiousness about urination and defecation

has led to females' ingenuity in scatological discourses and the conceptualizations of the euphemisms of urine discussed in this research.

Figure 4.5 below displays the percentage of cognitive metaphors in each cognitive domain.

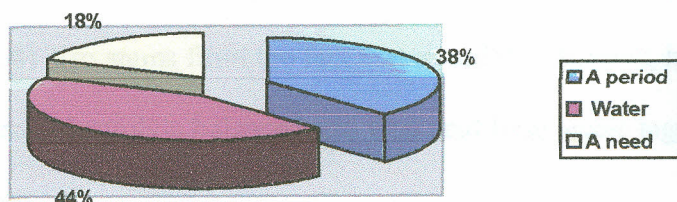


Figure 4.5: Conceptual domains for urine

(a) Urine is Water

The conceptual metaphor urine is water accounts for 44% of the metaphorical euphemisms attenuating the target domain of urine. The motivation behind the usage of metaphor (103) is the urine's liquid state and seemingly clear nature while in (104) it is the belief among the Agĩkũyũ that chickens do not urinate:

(103) 'Maĩ' – water,

(104) 'Maĩ marĩa maregirwo nĩ ngũkũ' - the water that chicken rejected.

The metaphors (105) and (106) depict poetic ingenuity for perlocutionary effect since the two words are ideophonic. That is, for each of the euphemisms, there is a meaningful connection between the word and its denotatum. For example:

(105) 'Chii' or 'gũchirĩkia' – ideophonic word for dripping urine,

(106) ‘Manyĩrĩ’ - ideophonic word for trickling urine.

Other correspondences that implicitly borrow from the directability of urinary flow are (107) and (108) below:

(107) ‘Maminjo’ - which stands for something, that is scattered, splashed or sprinkled in drops or in a continuous steam.

(108) ‘Macungo’ – something which is filtered.

The usage of (108) also stems from the fact that in order to survive, human bodies must keep fluid and electrolyte balanced and vital acid-base levels regulated within very narrow limits.

(b) Urine is a Period

Urine, just like faeces, is conceptualized in terms of periodicity. This conceptual mapping has six occurrences, which is 38% of the total metaphorical euphemisms for urine in *Gĩkũyũ* (cf. Appendix B). Urine is, therefore, a period as indicated below:

(109) ‘Bata mūnini’ - a short need,

(110) ‘Kahinda’ - a period.

The underlying notion for this conceptualization is based on necessity and periodicity. The main difference between urination and defecation is that urination takes less time than defecation.

Because of the high lexical frequency of (111) below, the metaphor has become lexicalized in public discourse:

(111) 'Gūtua mata' - to spit saliva.

The metaphor of saliva and its subsequent variants also underpin the notion of periodicity since the act of spitting saliva does not take long and hence its appropriateness.

A case of gender differentiation between urination in men and women with a subtle nuance of periodicity is explained below:

(112) 'Kūrūgama' - to stand,

(113) 'Kwenga' - (of women) to urinate while standing.

The metaphor (112) is used with regard to men since it is perceived as normal for a man to urinate while standing while the term (113) is used with regard to women. The usage of the metaphor (113) stems from the fact that, women did not wear pants, but instead wore a type of cloth called "mwengu" which they would partially remove in order to urinate while standing.

(c) Urine is a Need

The conceptual metaphor urine is a need accounts for 18% of the metaphorical euphemisms attenuating the target domain of urine. This conceptualization is the source of three correspondences as shown below:

(114) 'Bata' - a need,

(115) 'Gwīteithia' – to relieve oneself,

(116) 'Kūrora kamūthīgi gakwa' - to look at my walking staff.

Urine is formed as liquid and waste products are filtered from the blood. As urine

forms, it flows from the kidneys through the ureter to the bladder. The ureter is a narrow tube that connects the kidney to the bladder. As the bladder fills, it releases urine into the bladder and one experiences a strong urge to urinate (Meeks and Heit, 1999). This is the basis of the metaphors (114) and (115). The euphemism (116) utilizes circumlocution to mitigate the target domain since it is believed that one's an old man loses his walking stick, the need to look at it is very strong. This parallels the same urge to urinate in order to excrete nitrogenous wastes and clear the body of miscellaneous toxins.

4.1.4 Euphemisms of Diseases

There is an overriding belief among the Agĩkũyũ that diseases are commonly carried to the people by some kind of evil spirits (Kenyatta, 1938). Traditionally, diseases were generally thought of as something supernatural and mysterious. Since then, the Agĩkũyũ have always created euphemisms to palliate the diseases and soften the stigma associated with them.

4.1.4.1 Euphemisms of AIDS

Acquired immune deficiency syndrome or acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) is a set of symptoms and infections resulting to the damage of the body by the human immunodeficiency virus (HIV). AIDS progressively reduces the effectiveness of the immune system and leaves individuals susceptible to opportunistic infections. There is currently no cure or vaccine for AIDS.

AIDS is stigmatized in Gĩkũyũ as it is normally associated with lust and sexual indiscretion. Linguistic attenuation apparently stems from the fear and stigma associated with the disease. We collected 23 euphemisms in our corpus that mitigate the target domain of AIDS as shown in Table 4.11 below.

Table 4.11: Euphemisms of AIDS, lexical frequencies and their respective linguistic processes

EUPHEMISMS		LF		LP
GĨKŪYŪ	GLOSS	M	F	
Mũrimũ ũyũ	this disease	3	3	MET
Kĩmiiri	the crasher	4	4	MET
Gathũa	ant	7	7	MET
Kĩmeria andũ	something that swallows people	1	-	
Mũkingo	of the neck	8	10	MET-MTN
Njekehu	emaciated	1	-	MET-MTN
'Nylon'	a word which implies emaciation	-	1	MET-BOR
Mũrimũ mũnene	the big disease	1	2	MET
Kĩmemenyi	the crasher	-	2	MET
Kagunyũ	the worm	7	8	MET
Mũthigiri	an ant	1	-	MET
Mbembe nĩ ndoge	contaminated/poisoned maize	1	1	MET-CIR
Gũthiriĩkĩra	worn out	-	1	MTN
Kahũrũra	something that leads to wearing out.	-	1	MET
Ng'ũũki	the uprooter	-	1	MET
Kĩgũtha	something that beats; a catapult.	-	2	MET
Kũmeria tha mbara	having swallowed the leech	1	-	MET
Mũcamiũ	the whip	-	1	MET
Mũũtino	the accident	-	1	MET
Gĩthĩna kĩa gĩũkĩte	the prevailing problem	-	1	MET-VWE
Kĩhato	the broom	-	2	MET
Kamundundu	the insect.	-	2	BOR-MET
Mũnyero	a disease that is incurable and in which victims are normally afflicted with pimples.	-	1	MET

We identified three conceptual or cognitive mappings for AIDS (cf. Appendix B). Table 4.12 displays the lexical frequencies and percentages of conceptual mappings in terms of gender.

Table 4.12: Gender variable in the interpretation of AIDS

Conceptual mappings for AIDS	Males		Females		Total (lexical frequency)
	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	
The disease	4	44%	5	56%	9
Emaciation	10	43%	13	57%	23
The whip	21	39%	33	61%	54

As shown in Table 4.12, females tend to view AIDS as the disease, emaciation and as the whip more than males as the lexical frequencies indicate.

The above percentages and conceptualizations in Table 4.12 may be due to the impact that AIDS has wreaked on women. According to information obtained from Ministry of Health (2005), 7% of Kenyan adults of age 15 – 49 are infected with AIDS. Nearly two – third of the infections are women, who tend to become infected at an earlier age than men. This study, therefore, argues that it is probably due to the susceptibility and vulnerability of women to AIDS, that females tend to conceptualize the target domain as the disease, emaciation and the whip.

The conceptual domain AIDS is the whip or plague accounts for 65% of the metaphorical euphemisms, AIDS is emaciation 26% while AIDS is the disease 9% is the least frequent of the mappings of AIDS. Figure 4.6 displays the percentages

of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes in each cognitive domain.

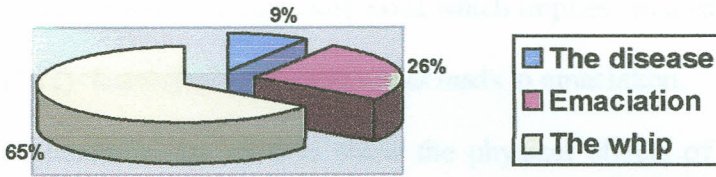


Figure 4.6: Conceptual domains for AIDS

(a) AIDS is the Disease

There are two occurrences in this conceptual mapping which is 9% of the total metaphorical euphemisms for AIDS. In this mapping, a direct reference to the mention of AIDS is avoided. Therefore, the only attenuating effectiveness is by referring to Aids as:

(117) 'Mūrimū ūyū' - this disease,

(118) 'Mūrimū mūnene' - the big disease.

The seriousness of the disease is reflected in the use of the adjective 'mūnene' big. These periphrastic statements camouflage the disease and its effects.

(b) AIDS is Emaciation

The six conceptual metaphorical metonymies in this mapping represent 26% of the total metaphorical euphemisms in this mapping. By virtue of the relationship between metonymy and metaphor, the metonymic words below primarily refer to the characteristics of the disease. For example:

- (119) 'Njekehu' - emaciated,
- (120) 'Mūkingo' - the neck seems longer as one grows weak,
- (121) 'Nylon' - a borrowed word which implies emaciation,
- (122) 'Kahūrūra' - something that leads to emaciation.

These euphemisms are used to show the physical effects of HIV AIDS on an individual since it is argued that one becomes very thin. As stated above, these conceptual alternatives encountered in the corpus present a metonymic basis. These euphemisms help us conceptualize Aids via its cause and effect. The metaphorical metonymy (120) has become lexicalized in Gĩkũyũ as part of the general discourse about the disease.

A dysphemistic euphemism for AIDS is when we compare the victim to:

- (123) 'Kūmeria thambara' - having swallowed the leech.

This metaphor stems from the belief that when a cow has swallowed the leech when drinking water from the river, it grows thin.

(c) AIDS is the Whip or Plague

The correspondences in this conceptual mapping represent 65% of the metaphorical substitutes for AIDS. This cognitive association transfers different attributes from the source domain of whip to the target domain of AIDS. More specifically, it presents different sets of ontological correspondences as a result of using the knowledge we have about the whip to talk about AIDS. The conceptual metaphor AIDS is conceptualized as:

(124) 'Mūcamiū' - the whip,

(125) 'Kīgūtha' - something that beats; a catapult.

These metaphors are presumably used since AIDS is perceived as a curse from God. The metaphors look at the disease as the source of suffering or pain since AIDS subjects its victims to excruciating pain.

HIV/ AIDS is seen as a plague because it seems able to exterminate a nation by dramatically reducing its numbers (see examples 126, 127 and 128) and because of its ability to wreak havoc on a nation indiscriminately within a very short time. The metaphors below are relevant since AIDS is perceived to have the ability to crash one socially, physically and economically. For example:

(126) 'Kīmiiri' - a crasher,

(127) 'Kīmemenyi' - the finisher of the Nation,

(128) 'Ng'ūūki' - the uprooter,

(129) 'Kīmeria andū' - a disease that swallows people.

The metaphors above also tend to tilt towards dysphemistic euphemisms since Aids has a special status in the hierarchy of diseases; it is the new threat to mankind.

The metaphors of the ant and worm are also used as correspondences for Aids in Gikūyū since they are believed to eat one up insidiously just like ants are noted for sucking the plant's juices until the plant dries up. Therefore, AIDS is conceptualized as:

- (130) 'Gathũa' - an ant,
 (131) 'Mũthigiriri'- an ant,
 (132) 'Kagunyũ' – a worm,
 (133) 'Kamundundu' - a borrowed word from Kiswahili 'mdudu' for virus.

The metaphorical euphemism (134) below is only permitted in this conceptualization since it calls for a warning to avoid this scourge:

- (134) 'Mbembe nĩ ndoge' - contaminated maize.

'Mbembe' is a metaphor for sperms and it implies that sperms are infected with the deadly virus. The metaphor (134) is specially used in AIDS campaigns to warn people against irresponsible sexual behaviour.

4.1.4.2 Euphemisms of Mental Illness

The term mental illness refers to a large assortment of conditions, from mildly eccentric or neurotic behaviour, to severe psychotic disorders where a person might lose total contact with reality. We collected 34 euphemisms in our corpus that mitigate the target domain of mental illness (see Table 4.13 below).

Table 4.13: Euphemisms of mental illness, lexical frequencies and their respective linguistic processes

EUPHEMISMS		LF		LP
GĪKŪYŪ	GLOSS	M	F	
Gũthũka mũtwe	disorder of the head	5	3	MET
Mũrimũ wa kĩongo	disease of the head	-	2	MET
Kũoya maratathi / kũngania maratathi / kũngania mahuti	collecting papers or rubbish	5	3	MTN-UND

Kūrūara meciria	to be sick in mind	-	5	MET
Kūrwo nĩ meciria	lose of ones mind	2	-	MET
Gũte mbaũ	to lose timber	4	2	MET
Gũthũka gatongoria	to have a controller / leader	1	1	MET
Mbũrĩ	bad spirits	1	-	SYN-MET
Kwohoka gatongoria	loosening of the brain	1	-	MET
Nyugĩ	lose of sanity	4	1	SYN
Mũthandũkũ / Kũng'athuka	to have split	2	-	MET
Kũrekia raini / gute raini	to lose the line of thinking	4	1	MET-BOR
Kwĩarĩria	talking to oneself	1	-	MET-UND
Kūruta nguo	to remove clothes	1	-	MET-UND
Gũkarario nĩ kĩongo	to be opposed by the head	-	1	MET
Maroho moru	bad spirits	-	1	MET
Mũng'ũrĩ	loss of sanity	-	1	MET
Kũhũgũya	to be confused	4	2	MET
Kwohoka	to have a loose mind	1	1	MET-VWE
Gwĩkinya maguta	to accelerate oneself	1	-	MET-HYP
Kwĩremwo / kwĩrigwo	be unable to take care of oneself	1	-	MET
Gũtukanĩrwo	to be mixed up	2	3	MET
Mũndũ gwĩthekia	laughing with self	1	-	MET
Kũhĩtana / kũhĩtanĩrwo	to get it wrong	1	2	MET
Kũgĩa na tũmatamba	to be forgetful	1	-	MET
Kũgĩa na ndeto nyĩngĩ ta mũndũ mũtware nĩ rũĩ	to exhibit loquacity like a drowning person	1	1	CIR-HYP
Kũrwara	to be sick	1	-	MET
Gũtigaria	to be deficient	1	2	MET
Mbũgũgũ	bad spirits	-	2	MET-SYN
Kũgĩa na rũirũa	to be confused	1	-	MET-TEC
Kũrũga hakiri	jumping of the mind	-	2	MET
Kũnoka	to have an engine knock	1	-	BOR
Malaria manene	dangerous malaria	1	-	MET-BOR
Kũbuca	to be deficient	-	1	MET

The metaphors collected mapped three different kinds of conceptual mappings.

That is, mental disease is a disturbance; a deficiency and a head disease (cf.

Appendix B). These cognitive mappings further entailed further sub mappings or

ontological correspondences between the source and the target domains. Table 4.14 displays the lexical frequencies and percentages in terms of gender.

Table 4.14: Gender variable in the interpretation of mental illness

Conceptual mappings for mental illness	Males		Females		Total (lexical frequency)
	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	
A disturbance	13	32.5%	26	62.5%	39
A deficiency	7	39%	11	61%	18
A head disease	11	41%	16	59%	27

We note that females are likely to view mental illness as a disturbance, a deficiency and as a head disease more than males.

The conceptualization of mental illness by females as a disturbance, a deficiency and as a head disease is buttressed by Brizendine's (2006) postulation that women are commonly believed to be more susceptible to emotional breakdowns and mental illness more than men. Brizendine adds that the disparity in vulnerability to mental illness between males and females may be caused by both biological differences and social pressures. He argues that scans have shown that a female's brain activates more than that of a male in activation of danger. Stress – sensitive female hormones may account for the special vulnerability of women to mood and anxiety disorders and, therefore, put credence to our findings that women have higher lexical frequencies for all conceptual mappings. On the other hand, Busfield (1996) claims that mental disorder is a "female malady", but argues that there is no evidence pointing to biological vulnerability of women to mental disorder. Instead,

Busfield suggests that cultural factors are the locus of the differences in mental disorder between men and women. Evolutionary psychologists have also found that women have a greater ability to identify and feel the emotions of others, resulting in increased psychological sensitivity. This may, therefore, predispose females to fear exhibiting mental illness and come up with strong linguistic euphemisms for the target domain.

From a quantitative point of view, the conceptual metaphor mental illness is a disturbance accounts for 44% of the metaphorical euphemisms, mental illness is a head disease (38%), while mental illness is a deficiency (18%) is the least frequent of the mappings of mental illness. Figure 4.7 displays the percentages of conceptual metaphors in each cognitive domain.

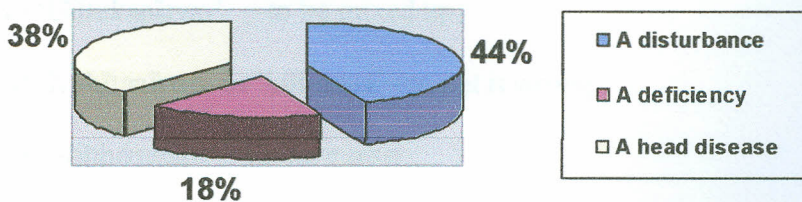


Figure 4.7: Conceptual domains for mental illness

(a) Mental Illness is a Disturbance

Mental illness as a disturbance conceptual metaphor has also a demonological dimension in Gikūyū. This conceptualization is the source of 15 correspondences which is 44% of the total metaphorical substitutes of mental illness (cf. Appendix B). Although the distinction between this conceptual mapping and mental illness is

a deficiency may appear to be rather fuzzy, this conceptualization views mental illness as a disturbance when an individual is said to be engaged in eccentricities like (135a) and (135b):

(135a) 'Kūoya maratathi' or 'kūngania maratathi' - to collect papers,

(135b) 'Kūoya mahuti' - collecting rubbish.

It is a common feature in most mental patients to pick anything that comes their way, valuable or not.

The usage of following euphemisms (136a), (136b), (136c), (136d) and (136e) stemmed from the fact that the mental patients looked disturbed and confused as indicated below:

(136a) 'Kūhūgūya' - to be confused,

(136b) 'Mūng'ũrĩ' or 'nyugĩ' - loss of sanity,

(136c) 'Gūtukanĩrwo' - to be mixed up,

(136d) 'Kūhītānĩrwo' or 'kūhītana' - to get it wrong,

(136e) 'Mūthandūko' - to have split.

The perception of mental illness as demonic possession meant that people exhibiting mental disorder were stigmatized by the community as they experienced spurts of forgetfulness, peculiar hallucinations and would laugh for no apparent reason. There is also no proper coordination in one's ideas and thoughts. This is clearly expressed in the following euphemistic alternatives:

(137) 'Kūgĩa na tūmatamba' or 'kūgĩa na rūirirūa' - to have forgetfulness

and hallucinations,

(138) 'Mündū gwīthekia' - laughing with self,

(139) 'Malaria manene' - big Malaria.

The borrowing of the term 'Malaria' in (139) is normally attributed to the hallucinatory effects of the disease which mirrors the condition of a mental patient. The seriousness of the disease is also reflected in the use of the adjective 'manene' for 'big' referring to cerebral Malaria.

The metaphor (140), on the other hand, is employed when a mental patient exhibits elements of exaggeration by doing audacious or daredevil activities. This is exemplified below:

(140) 'Gwīkina maguta' - to accelerate oneself.

The metaphors in (141) and (142) are euphemisms for mental illness since the victims are normally associated with garrulity as:

(141) 'Kwīarīria' - talking to oneself,

(142) 'Kūgīa ndeto nyingī ta mündū mūtware nī rūī' - to exhibit loquacity
just like a drowning man.

It is argued that because of desperation that a drowning man will not only struggle to hold a straw but he or she will frantically call for help.

(b) Mental Illness is a Deficiency

This conceptual mapping is the source of six correspondences which is 18% of the

euphemistic alternatives for mental illness (cf. Appendix B). In this conceptualization, mental illness corresponds to the lack of disconnect brought about by a deficiency. Some of the common sub mappings in this conceptual metaphor include:

- (143) 'Kūrekia', 'kūrekia raini', 'gūte raini', 'kūbuca' - deficiency in the line of thinking,
- (144) 'Kwohoka' - loose mind or unhinged,
- (145) 'Gūte mbaũ' - lost mind or sanity,
- (146) 'Gūtigaria' - deficient.

These metaphors suggest a deficiency in the person or some sort of weakness of character. Euphemism (143) borrows from the English term 'line' to show that there is divergence in the line of thinking of a mental patient. The etymology and euphemistic effect behind the usage of (145) is not clear. The stereotype of the mental patient is, therefore, one who is potentially dangerous and incorrigibly deficient.

(c) Mental Illness is a Head Disease

This mapping is the source to 38% of the total metaphorical euphemisms of mental illness (cf Appendix B). The conceptual metaphor mental illness is a head disease is based on the fact that mental illness generally affects the head. Some of the correspondences in this mapping include:

- (147) 'Gūthūka mūtwe', 'gūthūka kīongo' - disorder of the head,
- (148) 'Mūrimū wa kīongo' - disease of the head,

- (149) 'Kūrwarā meciria' - sickness of the mind,
 (150) 'Kūrwarā' - to be sick,
 (151) 'Kūrūga hakiri' - disorder of the mind,
 (152) 'Kūrwo nī meciria' - loss of mind,
 (153) 'Gūthūka gatongoria' - to have a ruined controller or leader,
 (154) 'Kwohoka gatongoria' – loosening of the controller,
 (155) 'Gūkarario nī kīongo' - when one does the opposite of what is
 expected,
 (156) 'Kūhūgūya kīongo' - to be confused in the head,
 (157) 'Maroho moru', 'mbūrī', 'mbūgūgū' – possess bad spirits.

We have also included in this conceptualization the overriding belief among Agīkūyū that mental illness is bad spirits that affect the head as in (156). Therefore, all metaphorical euphemisms that implicitly refer to the head or mind have been included in this conceptual mapping.

4.1.4.3 Euphemisms of Epilepsy

Epilepsy is a disorder of the nervous system, characterized either by mild, episodic loss of attention or sleepiness or by severe convulsions with loss of consciousness. We collected 13 euphemisms that mitigate the target domain of epilepsy. Table 4.15 displays the lexical frequencies and linguistic processes involved in the creation of euphemisms.

Table 4.15: Euphemisms of epilepsy, lexical frequency and their respective linguistic processes

EUPHEMISMS		LF		LP
GĪKŪYŪ	GLOSS	M	F	
Kwīrigwo	unconsciousness	1	1	MET
Mūrimū wa kūgwa	disease of falling	7	9	MET
Mūrimū wa kūña rūrīmī / kwīrūma rūrīmī	the disease of biting one's tongue	2	-	MET
Ndahuhō	frequency spurts of falling	1	-	MET
Mūrimū wa kūona thiūrūra	the disease of having bouts of dizziness	2	-	MET
Mūrimū wa kūruta mūhūyū	the foaming disease	2	4	MET-CIR
Kwīkia riko ta kihuruta	pushing oneself or falling into fire like butterfly	1	-	MET-HYP
Gūikia thari	to throw involuntarily	1	1	MET
Kūng'irang'irīka	to have spurts of unconsciousness	1	-	MET
Mū thiori	a twister	-	1	MET
Kūnyitūkio	To get a fit or a seizure	1	3	MET
Kūringīka	to faint	-	1	MET
Kūng'ang'athara	to have a seizure	-	1	TEC

Our study identified two conceptual mappings from the corpus for epilepsy (cf. appendix B). That is, epilepsy is a falling sickness and a temporary lapse as discussed below.

Table 4.16: Gender variable in the interpretation of epilepsy

Conceptual mappings for epilepsy	Males		Females		Total (lexical frequency)
	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	
A falling disease	10	48%	11	52%	21
Temporary lapse	9	47%	10	53%	19

We find that females seem to conceptualize epilepsy as a falling disease and temporary lapse more than males.

Since epilepsy increases vulnerability to mental illness especially if poorly managed, this study argues that women are more susceptible to epilepsy since they are also vulnerable to behavioural and emotional symptoms that might resemble mental illness. People with epilepsy have higher rates of certain mental illnesses than the general population (Cavanagh, 1963). From the social point of view, the prevalence of epilepsy is high (about 1% of the population), and 65% of women who develop epilepsy between ages 11 and 35 have at least one pregnancy (Canger and Comaggia, 1982). Cavanagh (1963), on the other hand, claims that more males than females suffer from serious epileptic disorders, but more females are prone to petit mal seizures. This makes epilepsy a feared disease among women and most probably points to the high lexical frequencies associated with females.

The conceptual metaphor epilepsy is a falling disease accounts for 38% of the metaphorical euphemisms while epilepsy is a temporary lapse accounts for (62%) as shown in Figure 4.8 below displays the percentage of conceptual metaphors in each cognitive domain.

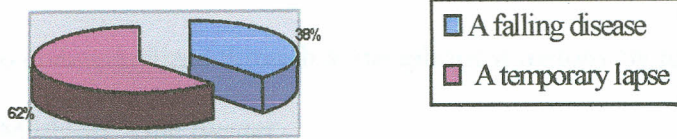


Figure 4.8: Conceptual domains for epilepsy

(a) Epilepsy is a Falling Disease

In this mapping, there are five correspondences which accounts for 38% of the total metaphorical euphemisms mitigating the disease. This domain of epilepsy is conceptualized as a fall as in (158) and (159):

(158) 'Kūgwa' or 'kwĩgũithia' - a fall / make oneself fall.

(159) 'Ndahuhu' - the frequent spurts of falling characteristic of epileptics.

Epilepsy is also conceptualized through a metaphorical metonymy which refers to the last involuntary movements a person makes before death (see 160) while a flippant correspondence associated with epilepsy in this conceptual metaphor is the hyperbolic metaphor (161):

(160) 'Gũikia thari' – to throw involuntarily kicks,

(161) 'Kwĩikia riiko ta kīhuruta' – pushing oneself or falling into the fire like a butterfly.

It is a common belief among the Agĩkũyũ that most victims of epilepsy lose their lives when they fall into the fire. Although this metaphor gives the conceptualization a twinge of negative value judgment, our study has interpreted

(161) as a dysphemistic euphemism.

Epilepsy is also conceptualized through a metaphorical metonymy as:

(162) 'Mũthiori' - the twister.

This is because the victim is characterized by twisting his whole body and especially the legs while lying prostrate on the ground.

(b) Epilepsy is a Temporary Lapse

Epilepsy is conceptualized as a momentary period of unconsciousness or as a temporary lapse. This is because of the pronounced transience of epileptic seizures. This conceptualization accounts for 62% of the total metaphorical euphemisms for epilepsy (cf. Appendix B). Epilepsy is, therefore:

(163) 'Kūng'ang'athara' - to have a seizure,

(164) 'Kūnyitūkio' - to get a fit or a seizure.

This is because the victim exhibits a temporal loss of consciousness as he makes violent uncontrollable body movements caused by the contraction of muscles. During a seizure, the epileptic will stare into space and respond slowly to questions.

Other examples in this mapping which impute temporary lapse are (165) and (166) below:

(165) 'Mūrimū wa kūona thiūrūra' - the disease of having bouts of dizziness,

(166) 'Kūng'irang'irīka' - to have spurts of unconsciousness.

However, this behaviour merely represents the semi – conscious state or confused actions of someone recovering from a seizure.

Just like epilepsy is interpreted in terms of convulsions and fits, we have also included in this conceptual mapping the following correspondences of catalepsy:

(167) 'Kwīrigwo' – catalepsy,

(168) 'Mūrimū wa kūrīa rūrīmī' or 'kwīrūma rūrīmī' - the disease of biting one's tongue,

(169) 'Mūrimū wa kūruta mūhūyū' - the foaming disease.

Catalepsy is normally used as a diagnostic euphemism for epilepsy; see (167).

Epilepsy is also interpreted as in (169) since one of the signs of the disease is a victim having froth coming out of the mouth while in the state of catalepsy.

Epilepsy is also understood through a metonymic metaphor as in (168) since the epileptic is believed to bite his tongue when in a state of catalepsy.

4.1.5 Euphemisms of Anatomy/Body Parts

Anatomy is also characterized by the ingenious flourishing of euphemistic words and expressions. It is with this background that our study decided to research on three body parts that are commonly tabooed in Gīkūyū, that is, the penis, the vagina and the buttocks. Our study came up with five conceptual mappings for the penis, seven for the vagina and two for the buttocks (cf. Appendix B).

4.1.5.1 Euphemisms of the Penis

The penis is the male sex organ for reproduction and urination. The penis elicits affectionate, disparaging and even some words of admiration. We collected 48 euphemisms that mitigate the target domain of the penis. Table 4.17 also displays the lexical frequencies and linguistic processes involved in the creation of euphemisms.

Table 4.17: Euphemisms of the penis, lexical frequencies and their respective linguistic processes

EUPHEMISMS		LF		LP
GĪKŪYŪ	GLOSS	M	F	
Kagondũ	a small sheep	1	-	MET-UND
Mũĩ	a tree	7	10	MET
Gacui / kanyunyui	a chick	1	2	MET-UND
Mũcuthĩ	a flywhisk	4	2	MET
Thiaka	a quiver	4	3	MET
Kĩmũĩ	a torch	1	-	MET
Raigi / nyaigi / mũthĩgi	a walking staff	3	-	MET
Mũthĩ-ita	one who goes to war	5	4	MET-PER
Mbooro / mbooru	testes	2	-	MTN
Mũrobi	a small implement with one or more prongs for eating food	1	-	MTN
Kĩmonori	boneless flesh	1	-	MET
Kĩĩga kĩa ũciari	organ of reproduction	1	4	MET-CIR
Njũgũma	club	2	2	MET
Mũikia ndathi	one who throws arrows	1	-	MET-PAR
Rũhiũ	a knife	1	1	MET
Mĩrigo ya arũme	men's apparatus or luggage	1	2	MET-PAR
Kĩĩga	the organ	-	1	MET
Kĩĩga gĩa mũndũ mũrũme	men's organ	5	-	MET-PAR
Kĩĩga gĩa mathugumo	organ of urine	1	-	MET

Mūcinga	a gun	1	-	MET
Kagunyū	a worm	1	-	MET-UND
Itimū	a spear	1	-	MET
Gīkīngī	a post	1	-	MET
Karamu	a pen	2	2	MET
Thūya mwatū	that which harvests the beehive	1	-	MET-PER
Mūthigari	a soldier	1	-	MET-PER
Gītugī	a post / a pole	1	-	MET
Cuma hiū	a hot rod	-	1	MET
Kwao	a home	1	-	MET
Nyoka	a snake	-	2	MET
Icembe	a jembe	-	1	MET
Kīiga kīa thiri	a private organ	-	3	MET
Mūcamiū	a rod / a cane	1	-	MET
Njūra	a sword	1	-	MET
Kūgūrū gwa gatatū kwa mūdū mūrūme	the man's third leg / foot	1	-	MET-PAR
Mūting'oe / mūcunjui	a tail	1	-	MET
Ngwati	the fore skin	2	-	MTN
Ūruu	circumcision	1	-	MET
Gīkonde	the foreskin	1	-	MTN
Mwīrī	the body	1	-	MTN
Mūgogo	a log	-	1	MTN
Mūguī	an arrow; a shaft	-	1	MET
Kībūi	a sledge hammer	-	1	MET
Kīhingūro kīa mūdū mūrūme	a man's key	1	-	MET
Cindano	a needle	-	1	MET
Kīrīa	that one.	1	-	MET
Mūrata wakwa	my friend	1	-	MET
Mūūthī	a pestle	-	1	MET

We identified five conceptual mappings for the penis as shown in Table 4.18. Table 4.18 also displays the lexical frequencies and percentages of conceptual mappings in terms of gender.

Table 4.18: Gender variable in the interpretation of the penis

Conceptual mapping for the penis	Males		Females		Total lexical frequency
	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	
Weapon / instrument	23	43%	30	57%	53
An innocuous animal	2	40%	3	60%	5
A tree	9	45%	11	45%	20
A man's thing	3	60%	2	40%	5
An organ	10	56%	8	44%	18

We find that females are likely to conceptualize the penis as a weapon, and then paradoxically, as an innocuous animal and a tree, while on the other hand, males view the penis as a man's thing and simply as an organ.

Friedman (2001) notes a psychoanalytic interpretation that places the penis and associated anxieties at the fulcrum of society. This may be said to justify the interpretation of the penis by females as a tree and an innocuous animal. He concludes optimistically that "the erection industry" has performed a paradigm shift, allowing man to impose his will below his belt. That is probably why females tend to conceptualize the penis as a weapon since it is a tool that is used to subject women to violence. According to Fernández (2008), the lover (the female to our interpretation) is the enemy while the penis is the weapon.

Quantitatively, the conceptual metaphor penis is a weapon or instrument accounts for 50% of the metaphorical euphemisms, penis as a tree (8%), penis as an organ (22%), penis as an innocuous animal (6%) and as a man's thing (8%). Idiosyncratic metaphors of the penis account for 6%.

Figure 4.9 below displays the percentage of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes in each conceptual domain.

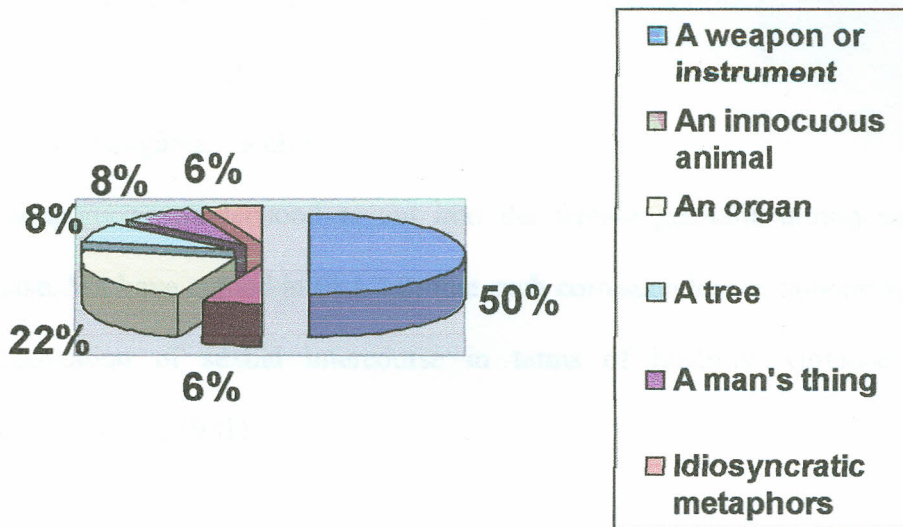


Figure 4.9: Conceptual domains for the penis

(a) Penis is a Weapon or Instrument

This cognitive mapping interprets the penis as a weapon or an instrument or a tool of war. The metaphor penis as a weapon responds to pre - existing metaphorical associations deriving from sexual intercourse – as - war conceptual metaphor which form part of the receiver's cognitive system (cf. Section 4.1.2.2). We

identified 24 metaphors which is 50% of the metaphors which conceptualize the penis as a weapon (cf. Appendix B).

In *Gikūyū*, the metaphorical mapping penis is a weapon provides different sets of conceptual correspondences as a result of using the knowledge we have about weapons to understand the penis. This is how the metaphors fulfill their euphemistic function. The penis is, therefore:

- (170) 'Rūhiu' - a knife,
- (171) 'Njūra' - a sword,
- (172) 'Itimū' - a spear,
- (173) 'Njūgūma' - a club.

These weapons are understood to cut into the female genitalia during sexual intercourse. We have argued in (4.1.2.2) that such correspondences respond to the conceptualization of sexual intercourse in terms of hostility, violence and dominance (Beneke, 1981).

The penis is also conceptualized as (174) since the metaphor symbolizes the conception of the phallus as a dangerous, powerful weapon:

- (174) 'Mūcinga' - a gun.

At the same time, since a gun is used to release bullets the penis is conceptualized as a gun that releases sperms.

The penis is (175) probably because it is a source of heat generated when a man is in a state of sexual arousal. Closely related to this sub mapping is the conceptualization that the penis is (176) since a traditional torch directs a very hot flame onto something. The penis is, therefore, an embodiment of intense heat as expressed below:

(175) 'Cuma hiũ' - a hot rod,

(176) 'Kĩmũĩ' - a torch.

For its phallic shape and also to give the detonatum a sense of strength, the penis is also referred to (177), (178) and (179). However, in (180), one initially detects only two domains: the penis and the snake. The source domain helps us interpret the penis in terms of the phallic shape and potency. This analysis of the mapping, however, cannot by itself explain a crucial element of the statement's meaning. That is, the metaphor may paradoxically be interpreted as acquiring connotations that, in some contexts, carry over to the non – metaphorical referents (the penis is treacherous and connotes evil):

(177) 'Karamu' - pen,

(178) 'Mũcamiũ' - rod or cane,

(179) 'Nyaigĩ' or mũthĩgi' - walking staff,

(180) 'Nyoka' – a snake.

Clearly, such connotations of the snake are not being mapped from the source to target. This metaphor as an instrument of evil may be conceptualized from the perspective of rape or defilement and their repercussions. Rape is, therefore,

looked at as a way of gaining control over another person by inflicting psychological pain.

The target domain is also conceptualized as (181) and (182) since it is believed that the penis invariably keeps on swinging during sexual intercourse and when the man is walking. For example:

(181) 'Mūting'oe' - the tail,

(182) 'Mūcūthī' - the flywhisk.

Another conceptualization in this mapping for the penis is a quiver, as in (183) below. A quiver is a case used by archers for carrying arrows (sperms).

(183) 'Thiaka' - a quiver.

The penis is, therefore, equivalent to the testes since the penis simply shoots the the arrows; it does not store them.

The penis is also personified as a warrior or a soldier as in (184) and (185) respectively. In this perspective, war becomes a metaphor for sexual intercourse (cf. Section 4.1.2.2). These conceptual correspondences are appropriate if we perceive sexual intercourse as a war in which the penis acts as the initiator or the one with power and weapon (Fernandez, 2008).

(184) 'Mūthiī-ita' - one who goes to war,

(185) 'Mūthigari' - a soldier.

Another personification of the penis is when we conceptualize the target domain as that which harvests the bee-hive. Metaphorically, the beehive is a euphemism for vagina (see metaphor 237) and therefore, the penis is understood to undertake the role of harvesting honey. This implies that the vagina is the source of sweetness (cf. Section 4.1.5.2).

(186) 'Thūya mwatũ' – that which harvests the bee-hive.

(187) 'Mũikia ndathi' - one who throws arrows.

However, the metaphor in (187) corresponds to the conceptualization in (183), since 'ndathi' may be understood to be metaphors of sperms.

Since we have also conceptualized the vagina as the land (see metaphor 225), the penis may be described as a jembe as shown below:

(188) 'Icembe' - a jembe.

A jembe is a farm or a gardening tool with a handle and prongs, used for digging the ground. This sub mapping gives the imputation of the vagina as the ground or the land and helps us understand sexual intercourse in terms of work, life, or productivity.

The penis is also conceptualized as an instrument or tool for lifting food to the mouth or holding things (especially meat) while it is being cut as in (189):

(189) 'Mũrobi' - a small implement with one or more prongs for eating food.

Since this implement is normally is used in eating food, our study interprets the vagina as an edible thing (cf. Section 4.1.5.2) while sexual intercourse as food (cf. Section 4.1.2.6).

(b) Penis is an Innocuous Animal

The penis is also frequently likened to a harmless or docile animal. Leach (1964) states that the genitalia of both males and females is sometimes likened to animals. This mapping accounts for three metaphors which is 6% of the metaphorical euphemisms of the penis in *Gikūyū*. For example:

- (190) 'Kagondū' - of a sheep,
- (191) 'Gacui' or 'kanyunyui' - a chick,
- (192) 'Kagunyū' - a worm.

The metaphors above utilize animal imagery to attenuate the target domain. Worms are usually destructive, but the use of the diminutive "ka" makes the metaphor innocuous. Generally, the euphemisms in this mapping serve occasionally for endearment purposes, especially when they are rendered in diminutives. These words are normally pet names which look at the penis as a sentimental object which requires tender care.

(c) Penis is an Organ

This conceptual metaphor is the source to 22% of the metaphorical euphemisms that mitigate the penis as the target domain (cf. Appendix B). Some of the correspondences in this mapping include:

(193) 'Kĩĩga' - an organ,

(194) 'Kĩĩga kĩa mũndũ mũrũme or ũndũrũme' - man's organ,

(195) 'Kĩĩga gĩa ũciari - organ of procreation; an organ of reproduction,

(196) 'Kĩĩga gĩa thiri' - a private organ.

The penis is either an organ, or particularized as in (194), or an organ of birth since it plays an instrumental role in procreation (195). Just like the vagina, the penis is a private and treasured organ which should not be openly exposed to anyone as in (196).

The penis is also an organ or conduit of urine as indicated in (197):

(197) 'Kĩũga gĩa mathugumo' - an organ of urine.

Through different metonymies, penis is, therefore, conceptualized as (197) since it is the organ that transports urine.

The penis is also perceived as a boneless organ as (198):

(198) 'Kĩmonori' - a boneless organ or flesh.

This stems from the biological nature of the target domain that the penis is a mass of flesh that increases in length from an average of 7 - 10 cm when flaccid to about 15 cm when erect (Guttman, 1999).

(d) Penis is a Tree

The penis is a tree conceptual metaphor accounts for four conceptual correspondences, which is 8% of the total metaphorical euphemisms that mitigate

the target domain of penis. The penis is a tree mapping is founded on its phallic shape as highlighted below:

(199) 'Mũfī' - a tree,

(200) 'Gĩkĩngĩ' or 'gĩtũgĩ' - a post.

The tree metaphor may also be interpreted as denoting life just like the penis. A post is normally upright and strong probably denoting the way the penis stiffens during coitus. The post metaphor also gives the penis a sense of strength.

(e) Penis is a Man's Thing

In this conceptualization, the target domain is conceptualized as a man's thing and this is what provides the basis for the verbal attenuation. This conceptualization depends on the semantic device of particularization for euphemistic effect. Our study identified four metaphorical euphemisms mitigating the target domain which makes up to 8% of the total metaphorical alternatives of the penis (cf. Appendix B). This conceptualization has the following correspondences to help us interpret the penis:

(201) 'Mĩrigo ya arũme' - men's apparatus or luggage,

(202) 'Kĩhingũro kĩa arũme' - a man's key,

(203) 'Kũgũrũ gwa gatatũ kwa arũme' - the man's third leg / foot.

The euphemism (201) is used because the target domain is viewed as the repository of sperms and the symbol of man's virility. The penis is conceptualized as (202) since the target domain is perceived as the tool of breaking a girl's virginity and a key to a man's sexual gratification. The metaphor (203) is jocularly

used because of the anatomical structure of the penis. That is, it is between the two legs. However, it must not be assumed that the penis as the third leg is useless or redundant in a human being.

4.1.5.2 Euphemisms of the Vagina

The woman's uterus (womb), where an embryo normally develops, opens through a narrow passage, the cervix, into the vagina, a muscular tube that leads to the outside of the body. Our study also interprets the vagina as including the introitus or external opening of the vagina which is flanked by the labia minora and labia majora and the clitoris, the embryonic homolog of the male penis which lies anterior to the vagina opening (Guttman, 1999). We collected 54 euphemisms that mitigate the target domain of the vagina. Table 4.19 also displays the lexical frequencies and linguistic processes used in the creation of euphemisms of the vagina.

Table 4.19: Euphemisms of the vagina, lexical frequencies and their respective linguistic processes

EUPHEMISMS		LF		LP
GĪKŪYŪ	GLOSS	M	F	
Kĩmee	something elastic	3	1	MET-TEC
Kĩhunguro	a passage	1	-	MET
Kĩnga gĩa mũtumia gĩa gũthii - ita	a woman's organ for going to war	1	-	MET-PAR
Kĩnga gĩa ũciari	the organ of birth	5	6	MET
Mwatũ	a bee hive	-	1	MET
Irima / karima	a hole / a small hole	3	2	MET
Rũng'ũthũ	a clitoris	1	3	MTN-TEC
Kĩmoni	a clitoris	1	-	MTN
Itunda	a fruit	1	-	MET
Ngurunga	a hiding place / a cavern	1	-	MET

Mwahūha	a vent / passage	1	-	MET
Mwengū	a crack	2	1	MET
Gītūri / gatūri / kīhumo	a source	1	2	MET
Mwanya	a chink	1	1	MET
Hitho / thiri ya mūtumia	a woman's secret object	1	3	MET-PAR
Mūgūnda	land / garden	-	2	MET
Irio	food	1	-	MET
Ngwacī	sweet potatoes	-	1	MET
Kaindo / kanyamū ka mūtumia	the woman's small thing	2	3	MET-PAR
Mboco	bean	1	-	MET
Kamūciī	a small home	1	-	MET
Mūhanguru	a cave	1	-	MET
Gatagatī	the center	1	-	MET
Mīrigo ya mūtumia	a woman's luggage	1	-	MET-PAR
Kanyamū	A small thing	1	-	MET-UND
Gitungati	an object that nourishes / serves	1	-	MET
Kīiga	an organ	1	3	MET
Kīminja mūrīo	something that elicits sweetness	3	-	MET-PAR
Kanyūngū	a small pot	-	1	MET
Nyama njega	delicious meat	-	1	MET-HYP
Kwao	a home	2	-	MET-VWE
Kiugū	a cowshed	-	1	MET
Gīcegū	a sheep's pen	-	1	MET
Kīini / Kībīro	something that sings, rotates or spins	1	-	MET
Njohi	a trapper; something that lures or entices men	1	-	MET
Kaembe	a mango	1	-	MET-UND
Njaga ya mūdū wa nja	the nakedness of a woman	-	1	MET-PAR
Gīthima	a well	-	1	MET
Mwatūka	a pit / slit	1	-	MET
Mūkaro	a trench	1	-	MET
Gītonyio	a sheath	-	1	MET
Gītara	a nest	1	-	MET
Karenge	something that is cut (circumcised)	1	-	MET
Njīra ya mathugumo	the passage of urine	1	4	MET
Mwīrī	the body	1	4	MTN
Kīrīa	that one	1	-	MET
Kīrindo / kīnarī	the vagina	1	-	TEC-SYN
Rūng'othi	a clitoris	1	-	MTN
Kanūgū	a small vagina	1	-	MET-UND

Kĩanda / ngurumo	lowlands	2	1	MET
Kĩwanja	a field	1	-	MET
Itonyero rĩa mũciĩ	an entrance	1	-	MET
Kĩhingo kĩa mũciĩ	the gate of the house	1	-	MET
Kĩnyĩrĩ	something / that scatters (urine)	1	-	MET

We identified seven conceptual mappings for the vagina as shown in Table 4.20 below. Table 4.20 also displays the lexical frequencies and percentages of conceptual mappings in terms of gender.

Table 4.20: Gender variable in the interpretation of the vagina

Conceptual mappings for the vagina	Males		Females		Total lexical frequency
	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	
A conduit	13	62%	8	38%	21
An edible thing or nourishment	9	75%	3	25%	12
The source	7	39%	11	61%	18
An organ	10	48%	11	52%	21
Home / shelter	4	40%	6	60%	10
A field	4	80%	1	20%	5
A woman's thing	6	46%	7	54%	13

We find that females are more likely to view the vagina as the source, an organ, home / shelter, and a woman's thing while the men view the vagina as a conduit, an edible thing or nourishment and a field.

Our findings suggest that euphemisms of the vagina are often produced more by females than males. Gordon (1993) argues that this may be due to the fact that

young girls and women are exposed to euphemistic terms more frequently than are boys, and are hence more aware of them. Jackson (1999) also reinforces the same point by stating that women have a predisposition to talk about their bodies in “oblique and disconnected language”. This is probably why females conceptualize the vagina in this study as the source, an organ, home or shelter and a woman’s thing as it stems from the way women view the target domain. On the other hand, males conceptualize the vagina from the perspective of sexual intercourse as an edible thing, a conduit and a field. As argued earlier (see Section 4.1.2), and from a Freudian psychoanalytic perspective, males’ conceptualization of sexual intercourse as well as the vagina in this study may implicitly indicate that “pleasure principle” as well as desire to perpetuate dominance and power over females, guide males in the conceptualization of the target domains of sexual intercourse and the vagina.

Quantitatively, the conceptual metaphor vagina is an edible thing or nourishment accounts for 18% of the metaphorical euphemisms, vagina as a conduit (18%), as a home / shelter (17%), as an organ (15%), the source (9%), a woman’s thing (11%) and vagina as a field (6%). Idiosyncratic metaphors of vagina account for 6%. Thus, figure 4.10 displays the percentage of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes in each cognitive domain.

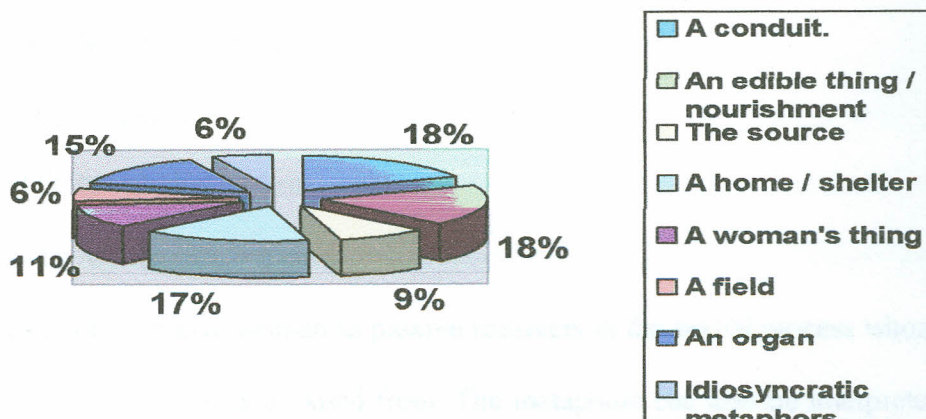


Figure 4.10: Conceptual domains for the vagina

(a) Vagina is a Conduit

Current metaphors for the female pudendum appear to rely most on the conduit metaphor. Conduit is a pipe or passage through which water or any other thing passes. In our mapping, we have interpreted the vagina as a conduit through which urine and menstrual blood passes (that is, as a toilet facility) as well as a conduit for the insertion of the penis. We were able to identify 10 metaphors mitigating the vagina as a conduit which makes up to 18% of the total metaphorical euphemisms identified for the vagina (cf. Appendix B). For example, the vagina is:

(204) 'Kihungũro' - a passage,

(205) 'Irima' or its diminutive 'karima' - a hole hence denoting something hollow and deep,

(206) 'Ngurunga' - a hiding place or a cavern,

(207) 'Mwengũ' - a crack,

- (208) 'Mwatũka' - a slit,
- (209) 'Mũkaro' - a trench,
- (210) 'Mwanya' - a chink,
- (211) 'Mwahũha' - a vent or passage,
- (212) 'Mũhanguru' - a cave.

These metaphors perceive women as passive receivers in the sexual process whose only role is to be entered and exited from. The metaphors can also be interpreted as symbolizing the submissive role a woman was supposed to play during sexual intercourse in traditional Agĩkũyũ culture and, therefore, perpetuating male dominance. These submappings underpin the conduit metaphor since the vagina is a conduit that one can insert the penis. Not surprisingly, this conceptualization was mainly used by men.

(b) Vagina is an Edible Thing / Nourishment

This conceptual mapping accounts for 18% of the total metaphorical euphemisms of the vagina (cf. Appendix B). This conceptual mapping is an intriguing combination of different edible food products for the female genitalia as discussed below. Sweet, tasty foods are occasionally employed as metaphors to refer to the vagina as illustrated in (213), (214), (215), and (216). In fact, these words, in equating women to sex objects, reduce them to the status of the objects, with the concomitant implication of powerlessness, inanimacy and procurability (Hines, 2000). For example, the vagina is:

- (213) 'Ngwaciĩ' - sweet potatoes,

- (214) 'Kaembe' - the diminutive term for a mango,
 (215) 'Nyama njega' - delicious meat,
 (216) 'Itunda' – fruit,
 (217) 'Kĩminja mũrĩo' - something that splashes or sprinkles sweetness.

The metaphors above may also probably denote the sweet intense pleasure one gets from the vagina during coitus as well as symbolizing life – sustaining objects. The fruit metaphor (216) may also be interpreted from the perspective of Christianity as the forbidden fruit in the Bible. This stems from the controversial belief in Genesis 3:3 that God is said to have warned Adam and Eve not to eat the fruit in the middle of the land. This is controversially understood by some Gĩkũyũ speakers to refer to the vagina.

According to Goatly (1997), metonymy coexists and interacts with metaphor in the conceptualization of abstract concepts. He adds that both processes are so closely connected that a large number of conceptual metaphors have a metonymic basis. To demonstrate this, let us refer to (218) and (219) which conceptualize the vagina through metonymy:

- (218) 'Mboco' or 'kĩmoni' - a bean,
 (219) 'Rũng'ũthũ' - a technical and metonymic word for clitoris, which is also bean shaped.

We have argued elsewhere in (57) that the metaphor of food is a conceptualization of sexual intercourse. However, in this set of conceptual mapping, the conceptual

correspondence (220) has the interpretation of the vagina. Thus, the vagina is:

(220) 'Irio' – food.

This is because the vagina is also understood figuratively in *Gīkūyū* to be food for the man's other stomach. This metaphor underscores the importance of sexual intercourse in a person's life. As stated earlier, eating and food are common sources for naming sexual organs and sex related actions (cf. Section 4.1.5.2).

Another correspondence for the vagina in this conceptualization includes the vagina as:

(221) 'Njohi' – a trapper; a hold or something that lures or entices men.

This implies that the vagina is something that lures men so that they can even spend money, energy and time to literally get hold of it.

(c) *Vagina is the Source*

This conceptual mapping accounts for 9% of the total metaphorical euphemisms of the vagina (cf. Appendix B). The vagina is understood as the source or origin since it is the source of human life. For example:

(222) 'Gīturi' or 'gaturi' - a source / origin,

(223) 'Kīīga gĩa ūciari' - the organ of birth,

(224) 'Gīthima' - a well.

The basis for the usage of (224) is because a well is the source of water or oil and it is on this background that the vagina is perceived as a source of life just like a well is the source of water.

The vagina is also conceptualized as the land as in (225) below since land is used for a particular productive purpose and in our context; it is the source of food (cf. Section 4.1.2.6). The land is also the ground where seeds (sperms) are planted since sexual intercourse is work (cf. Section 4.1.2.4). Therefore, the vagina is:

(225) 'Mügūnda' – the land or garden

This expression has the implicit allusion to work since if the penis is a hoe (see Metaphor 188), then, the vagina is the garden where working takes place.

(d) Vagina is an Organ

This conceptual metaphor is the source to 15% of the metaphorical euphemisms that mitigate the vagina as the target domain (cf. Appendix B). This domain utilizes different metonymies to mitigate the target domain. As Kövecses (2000) puts it, metonymy, unlike metaphor, is a 'stand - for' relation. That is, a part stands for the whole as in (226), (227) and (228) or a part stands for another part within a single domain or a whole stands for a part as in (230) as exemplified below:

(226) 'Rūng'ūthū' – a clitoris,

(227) 'Kīmoni' – a clitoris,

(228) 'Rūng'othi' - a clitoris,

(229) 'Kīīga' – an organ,

(230) 'Mwīrī' – the body.

The euphemisms (231) and (232) are technical terms for the vagina. The term (231) implies the elastic nature of the target domain. It is argued that one of the

characteristics of the vagina is that it stretches proportionally to accommodate the penis as well as a baby at birth. This term, therefore, acquires the connotations of something that is big:

(231) 'Kĩmee' – something elastic,

(232) 'Kĩrindo' / 'kĩnarĩ' – the vagina.

The euphemism (233) borrows from a traditional circumcision custom among the Agĩkũyũ to refer to the vagina. The vagina is:

(233) 'Kareng'e' – something that is cut (circumcised).

Traditionally, girls were supposed to undergo a ritual commonly referred to as second birth, that is, circumcision. Girls, who had not undergone this rite, were looked down upon by the initiates as well as by the whole society. It is on this basis that the metaphor (233) has gained currency to implicitly refer to the vagina. This metaphor is not in any way related with the homonym "kareng'e" which is the diminutive form for a small pumpkin.

(e) Vagina is a Home or Shelter

The conceptual metaphor vagina is a home accounts for 17% of the metaphorical euphemisms of the vagina. The home metaphor connotes protection, safety from danger, attack and looks at the vagina as a place of refuge. The penis which has diminutively been referred to as a sheep 'kagond'u' (cf. metaphor 190) is said to seek shelter in a sheep's pen as in (234) below. The metaphors (235) and (236) have the same cognitive effect.

(234) 'Gĩcegũ' - a sheep's pen,

(235) 'Kiugũ' - a cowshed,

(236) 'Kamũciĩ' - the diminutive form for a home.

The vagina may also be conceptualized in two different ways as in (237) below. First, a bee hive is a conduit of bees and secondly it is a repository of honey and a home of bees. We have argued elsewhere in (182) that the penis is conceptualized as one, who goes to harvest honey in a bee-hive. Therefore, the vagina is a:

(237) 'Mwatũ' - a bee hive.

Since the reproductive function of the penis is to deposit sperms, the vagina is, therefore:

(238) 'Gĩtonyio' - a sheath.

A sheath is a close fitting cover for the blade of a sword (see metaphor 171). Since we have conceptualized the penis as a weapon, the penis will, therefore, fit into the sheath (vagina).

(f) Vagina is a Field

This conceptual metaphor accounts for 6% of all the euphemisms in this domain (cf. Appendix B). This conceptual mapping is therefore closely associated with the view of the sexual intercourse as a game, as commented in 4.1.2.3. The cognitive correspondences in this conceptual mapping for the vagina include:

(239) 'Kĩwanja' – a field,

(240) 'Kĩini / kībĩro' – something that sings, rotates or spins,

(241) 'Kĩanda / ngurumo' – lowlands.

The domain of the vagina is understood as an arena or a field for the performance of a game as indicated in (239) above. The metaphor (240) has explicit sexual connotations of the gyrations that a lady makes during coitus. On the other hand, the metaphor (241) may be interpreted as a positional description of the target domain.

(g) Vagina is a Woman's Thing

Among the Agĩkũyũ, the vagina is conceptualized as a woman's thing and this is what provides the basis for the verbal attenuation. Being conceptualized as a woman's thing, this conceptualization depends on the semantic device of particularization for euphemistic effect. Our study identified six metaphors mitigating the target domain which makes up to 12% of the total metaphorical euphemisms of the vagina (cf. Appendix B). This conceptualization has some of the following correspondences to help us understand the vagina. The vagina is, therefore:

(242) 'Mĩrigo ya atumia' - the woman's luggage,

(243) 'Kaindo ka mĩtumia' - the woman's thing.

The term 'kaindo' is a diminutive term for a thing. The euphemism is normally used jocularly by men when making sexual overtures to women to refer to the vagina.

The vagina is also a treasure for women. Women are normally urged by their mothers and aunts to maintain virginity by observing abstinence. That means that one should not allow any man to have any sexual contact with her body until she gets married. The vagina is therefore:

(244) 'Hitho ya mūtumia' - a woman's secret object,

(245) 'Kīīga kīa mūdū wanja' - the woman's organ.

We also have a correspondence that employs the war metaphor for sexual intercourse to interpret the vagina (cf. Section 4.1.2.2). For example, the vagina is:

(246) 'Kīīga gīa mūtumia gīa gūthī ita' – a woman's organ that goes to war.

This metaphor helps us perceive sexual intercourse in terms of war. This pejorative connotation of war and violence makes the target domain of vagina acquire dysphemistic interpretation (cf. Section 4.1.2.2).

Another conceptual correspondence in this mapping, but with a different connotation is:

(247) 'Gitungati' - an object that serves.

The implied meaning behind this metaphor is that the target domain is mitigated by referring to it as a woman's object of service to men. However, this metaphor portrays women in a servile perspective whose role is to serve men.

4.1.5.3 Euphemisms of the Buttocks

Buttocks are the two rounded fleshy parts of the backside formed by the gluteal

muscles which cover the back of each pelvic bone and span the hip joint to be attached to the thigh bone. Buttocks are mostly concerned with the mechanism of locomotion and stabilizing the hip joint (Guttman, 1999). Hennig (1995) argues that the problem of whether buttocks are singular or plural is a sign of their nature as a floating signifier. Buttocks are an object of both shame and fascination and elicit colloquial terms as well as euphemistic words. We collected 16 euphemisms for buttocks as shown below.

Table 4.21: Euphemisms of buttocks, lexical frequencies and their respective linguistic processes

EUPHEMISMS		LF		LP
GĪKŪYŪ	GLOSS	M	F	LP
Thende	buttocks	4	6	MTN
Thũnũ	a protrusion	6	6	MET
Njikariĩro	a seat	8	9	MET
Mĩro	anus; aperture of excretion	1	3	MTN
Nyunjuĩ	behind	6	5	MET
Ribathi	'reverse'	2	-	MET-BOR
Ndinangie	something that is divided	2	1	MET
Thutha / na thutha	the behind / posterior	5	9	MET
Nyama ya thirikari	government's flesh	5	3	MET
Mũbibi	rectum	1	-	MTN
Thengero	body parts that move	1	-	MET
Mũkwa	anus	1	-	MTN
Rwembea	back side	1	-	MET
Mamĩa kĩoro	excretory body parts	1	-	MET
Mathuria	an organ of farting	2	-	MET
Gĩĩ	a seat	1	3	MET

Our study identified two cognitive mappings in Gĩkũyũ for the buttocks namely; buttocks as the rear or the seat, and buttocks are toilet facilities. Table 4.22 shows the lexical frequencies and percentages of conceptual mappings in terms of gender.

Table 4.22: Gender variable in the interpretation of the buttocks

Conceptual mappings for the buttocks	Male		Female		Total (lexical frequency)
	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	Lexical frequency (lf)	Percentage (%)	
Rear / the seat	41	49%	42	51%	79
Toilet facilities	6	67%	3	33%	9

We find that females are more likely to interpret the buttocks as the rear / the seat while males conceptualize the target domain more as toilet facilities as the percentages above indicate.

The conceptualization of the buttocks by females as the rear / the seat probably stems from the following interpretations: buttocks as the rear / the seat because of its positional disposition and secondly, as the part on which one sits. Implicit in this metaphor, is the meaning of the seat as a centre of reproduction. To females, therefore, the sexual aesthetics of the buttocks is very important and that is why women will come up with artful euphemisms symbolizing the target domains. According to Hennig (1995), the symbolization of the buttocks as erotic (erogenous zones) also has a place within Freud's system of representations (Freud, 1953). In addition, Charles Darwin claims that the buttocks are the visual sign of the reproductive system and that the breasts are forms that mimic the buttocks, the 'real sign' of the sexual. On the other hand, males look at the buttocks as toilet facilities which we have interpreted in this study as a dysphemistic euphemism. This finding implies that although males also get fascinated by the sexual aesthetics of the buttocks, this study notes that majority of

them conceptualize the buttocks from the perspective of excretion. This happens so, if the shapeliness of the buttocks does not fascinate the males.

In quantitative terms, the conceptual metaphor buttocks is the rear / the seat accounts for 69% of the metaphorical euphemisms while the buttocks as toilet facilities (31%) is the least frequent mapping in this conceptualization. Figure 4.11 displays the percentages of the metaphorical euphemistic substitutes in each conceptual domain.

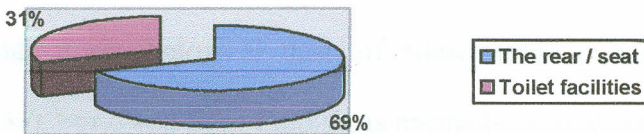


Figure 4.11: Conceptual domains for the buttocks

(a) Buttocks is the Rear

This mapping conceptualizes the buttocks as the rear part of the body. In this conceptualization, we identified 11 correspondences which are 69% of the euphemisms for the buttocks (see Appendix B). Most of these euphemisms in this conceptual mapping are strictly positional descriptions. For example:

(248) 'Thutha' or 'na thutha' - the behind / posterior,

(249) 'Nyunjuri' – behind,

(250) 'Rwembea' - back side.

Since one uses the rear to sit on a chair or a bench the conceptual correspondence (251) is used as a euphemism. This conceptualization also includes the metaphor (252) which refers implicitly to the seat metaphor since the buttocks are the body parts that move especially when one is making a space for another individual to sit on:

(251) 'Gĩĩ' or 'njikarĩro' - the seat,

(252) 'Thengero' - the body part that moves.

In many punitive traditions, the buttocks are the preferential target for painful lessons, from educational to judicial, as offering them for spanking (especially divested) adds a psychological dose of embarrassment and humiliation. The metaphor (253), borrowed from English, is normally used for such domains:

(253) 'Nyama ya thirikari' – government's flesh,

Since the buttocks are positioned at the back of the body, some Agĩkũyũ refer to the buttocks as in (254) and (255):

(254) 'Ribathi' - this is a borrowed word from English (reverse),

(255) 'Thũnũ' - a protrusion.

The euphemism (255) is normally used for the target domain since it is the area that protrudes from the back 'thũnũka' and which helps the whole body to bend.

The term (256) borrows from the anatomical structure of the target domain which is divided into two round fleshy muscles. Let us examine the following example to

get the gist of the argument:

(256) *Ndinangie* – divided.

It is argued that the etymology behind the word ‘*ndina*’, which is ironically a dysphemism for buttocks, stems from the morphological process of clipping since it is a shortened form with the same meaning as the original term (256) to get the word ‘*ndina*’. The euphemism (256) is, therefore, normally used to avoid mentioning the target domain.

(b) Buttocks is Toilet Facilities

The conceptual metaphor buttocks is toilet facilities accounts for 31% of the total metaphorical euphemisms for buttocks (cf. Appendix B). These metaphors are based on their scatological connections. This conceptualization interprets the buttocks as toilet facilities basing the metaphor on the role the buttocks play during excretion. Buttocks are excretory body parts as in (257) for the solid waste while as in (258) because of flatulence:

(257) ‘*Mamĩa kĩoro*’ - excretory body parts,

(258) ‘*Mathuria*’ - the organ of farting.

Words for ‘buttocks’ sometimes replace a more specific term for ‘anus’ as expressed in the following conceptual metonymies. Conversely, words ‘for anus’ are sometimes used of the buttocks as highlighted below:

(259) ‘*Mĩro*’ - the aperture of excretion,

(260) ‘*Mũkwa*’ - for anus,

(261) 'Mübibi' - for rectum.

In this conceptualization, we see the close relationship between the meanings 'buttocks' and 'anus'. This also underscores the closeness between metaphor and metonymy (Kövecses, 2006).

4.2 LEXICAL AND SEMANTIC PROCESSES USED IN THE CREATION OF EUPHEMISMS IN GĪKŪYŪ

It is imperative that we highlight instances where the tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory were violated in this research before we discuss the lexical and semantic processes employed in the creation of euphemisms. First, we identified idiosyncratic metaphors which do not fall into any conceptual metaphorization (cf. Table 4.23). These linguistic metaphors are in opposition with conventional perception of things as they resist incorporation within any customary conceptual metaphors we live by in our culture. Table 4.23 highlights some of the idiosyncratic metaphors evident in the target domains studied in this research.

Table 4.23: Idiosyncratic metaphors evident in the target domains

Target domain	Gīkūyū	English
Penis	kīrīa	that one
Penis	mūrata wakwa	my friend
Penis	kwao	a home
Vagina	kanūgū	diminutive form of a monkey
Vagina	gatagatī	the centre
Vagina	kīrīa	that one

Secondly, Conceptual Metaphor Theory is also violated in the sense that bidirectionality in metaphors is clearly evident in metaphors of sexual intercourse. This finding corroborates Fernandez (2008) postulation that the source domain is not always projected onto the target domain on all the occasions, since lexicalized metaphors such as in (5), (24), (52), (111) and (198) may somehow be considered bidirectional. Therefore, the principle of bidirectionality is against CMT which considers mapping in metaphor as always unidirectional (cf. Section 4.0). For example, by virtue of the process of lexicalization undergone by metaphor (52), the principle of unidirectionality may be extended to a metaphorical projection from the target to the source domain. The metaphor (52), therefore, acquires sexual overtones as a result of lexicalization of the term.

Finally, another violation of CMT that our research identified shows that the theory does not fully account for all that there is about conceptualization of target domains. CMT only accounts for the two-domain model and ignores the four-space model which is one of the chief motivations of CBT (Fauconnier and Turner 1994; 1998). For example, CMT does not fully capture the four space model of metaphor (176). Initially, one detects only two domains: the penis and the snake. Whereas the source domain helps us interpret the penis in terms of its phallic shape, it does not explain the connotations of treachery and evil associated with the snake. Since the current study employs CMT which only understood the metaphor, it would be erroneous to create the impression that the theory captures all that there is about conceptualization of target domains. Clearly, the CBT will

probably account for such inferences. On the other hand, a broad based theory would probably also help in reducing the violations (cf. Section 5.3).

Having discussed the violations of CMT in our research, it is important that we discuss how euphemisms are not only regarded as a kind of device or process for successful communication, but how we can also treat euphemisms as a kind of purpose. We can achieve the purpose of euphemisms by using different techniques of expression or processes (Zizheng, 2005). In 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 respectively, we have looked at the semantic and lexical processes used to mitigate death, sexual intercourse, excretion and body effluvia (menstruation, faeces and urine), diseases (AIDS, mental illness and epilepsy) and anatomy (penis, vagina and buttocks). All euphemisms identified were assigned to their corresponding linguistic process (es) according to their method of formation (cf. Appendix B). Table 4.24 displays the frequencies and percentages of semantic and lexical processes for the target domains.

4.2.1 Semantic Processes

According to Zizheng (2005), semantic processes are also referred to as rhetorical devices. Though semantic processes may be extra-linguistic and linguistic, our study has only dealt with the linguistic devices involved in the creation of euphemisms. Some of the linguistic devices that fall under the ambit of semantic processes as postulated by Warren (1992) and which we have identified in our study and discussed include metaphor, metonymy, circumlocution or periphrasis, hyperbole, particularization, and understatement or meiosis. Since personification and ideophone constitute a very small percentage of instances as semantic devices we have, therefore, not discussed the two linguistic processes. Although the primary focus of our study is the conceptualization of the target domains, we have also briefly described other devices used to mitigate the target domains, as euphemism is not confined to metaphor alone, as shown in Table 4.24.

4.2.1.1 Metaphor

Lakoff (1980) defines metaphor as a cross domain mapping in the conceptual system. That is, it is a set of conceptual correspondences from a source domain (the realm of the physical or more concrete reality) to a target domain (cf. Section 2.6). Through conceptual metaphor, the source domain (euphemistic expression) is mapped systematically to the target domain (taboo expression). Metaphors shape and structure our perceptions and understanding, lending a framework within which our experiences are interpreted and assigned meaning. Wheeler (1994) posits that metaphor is not only a specific figure of speech but also, in its broader

sense, the foundation of language itself.

We found out that metaphor is the most powerful process in the formation of euphemisms (cf. Table 4.24). The proliferation of metaphorical euphemisms as we see in Table 4.24 seems to confirm Fernández (2006) argument that the use of metaphor stands out as the most prolific linguistic device of referent manipulation. It also proves that the use of metaphor fits the purpose of euphemism particularly well. The number of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes is actually higher since a majority of the other devices used to mitigate the target domains also have a metaphorical status. In quantitative terms, our study found out that the target domain of AIDS utilizes the highest percentage of metaphors (96%), as a mitigating device. The domain of the buttocks, on the other hand, employs the least percentage of metaphors (cf. Tables 4.21 and 4.24).

4.2.1.2 Metonymy

In cognitive linguistics, metonymy refers to a complex entity and it is one of the basic characteristics of cognition. Indeed, Barcelona (2000) and Croft (1993) regard metonymy as linking one sub domain to another sub domain within the same domain. In our discussion of metonymy, we have also borrowed from Radden and Kövecses (1999) postulation regarding metonymy, as a mapping from part to whole, whole to part, or part to part. This definition implies that synecdoche is a kind or subclass of metonymy. Ibáñez and Campo (2002) have argued that metonymy amounts to two kinds of operation: domain expansion (source-in-target

metonymy) or domain reduction (target-in-source metonymy). Ibáñez has even rejected part – to – part metonymies by claiming that they can be reduced to either domain expansion or domain reduction. In the present approach, metonymy is also a means of semantic enrichment or elaboration.

Whereas metaphor and metonymy involve the substitution of one term for another, metonymy works by the contiguity (association) between the two concepts while metaphor works by the similarity between them (Fass, 1998). In our study, metonymy happens to be the secondly most used linguistic process in the mitigation of the target domain (see Table 4.24).

Our study found out that the target domain of the buttocks utilizes the highest percentage of metonymy (33%), followed by the domains of the penis with (13%) and AIDS (13%), while the domains of menstruation, faeces, urine and epilepsy do not utilize metonymy (cf. Table 4.24). In our identification of metonymy, we have taken into cognizance the fact that metonymy co-exists and interacts with metaphor in the conceptualization of abstracts concepts. Though the two processes are quite different in their mechanism, they are so closely connected that a large number of conceptual metaphors have a metonymic basis. Kövecses (2006) argues that certain metonymies can even be considered as ‘metaphorical metonymies’, because of the interaction between metaphor and metonymy.

4.2.1.3 Circumlocution / Periphrasis

Circumlocution refers to the roundabout, verbose way of speaking or writing to express an idea. The term 'circumlocution' derives from the Latin 'circum,' meaning 'around' and 'locutio,' meaning 'speech' so; the term circumlocution is rhetorically useful as a method of amplification, or to hint at something without stating it (Crystal, 1987).

We found out that (19%) of euphemisms of urine employ periphrasis to mitigate the target domain. This is the highest percentage in all the target domains. The domain of sexual intercourse is second with (9%). On the other hand, the domain of anatomy (the penis, the vagina and the buttocks), does not register any usage of periphrasis as a process to attenuate the target domain (cf. Table 4.24).

4.2.1.4 Hyperbole

Hyperbole is also commonly referred to as overstatement or exaggeration. As a semantic device, hyperbole fulfils its mitigating function by considerably upgrading a desirable feature of its referent. Enright (1985) claims that hyperbole is the soil in which the flower of euphemism grows. Hyperbole is not meant to be understood literally but expresses an intensely emotional attitude of the speaker to what he is speaking about. Interestingly, hyperboles used to mitigate the taboo words also have a metaphorical basis.

Our study found out that the target domain of epilepsy utilizes the highest percentage of hyperbole (8%); while the domains of sexual intercourse, urine, faeces, AIDS, penis and the buttocks hardly employ this process to mitigate the target domains (cf. Table 4.24). In the domain of death, hyperbole not only aims at complimenting the deceased, but also at praising and magnifying death by means of overstatements based on Christian beliefs.

4.2.1.5 Particularization

Particularization is a semantic process that involves description of a particular instance. Particularization is sometimes used as a synonym for detailing and specialization as natural language users resort to semantic narrowing to eliminate the taboo senses. We noted that the target domains of menstruation, urine and vagina registered the highest percentages of particularization, that is, 14% and 13% and 11% respectively. On the other hand, hardly is there any usage of particularization in the domains of death, sexual intercourse, faeces, AIDS, mental illness, epilepsy and the buttocks (cf. Table 4.24).

4.2.1.6 Understatement / Meiosis

This is the employment of pleasant or auspicious words for unpleasant or inauspicious ones. Zizheng (2005) defines understatement as a figure of speech in which words with weak emotional colour are used to replace those words with strong emotional colour to describe a thing or a situation.

Our study has interpreted meiosis as a kind of understatement. Meiosis, which is a rhetorical device, conveys understatement for effect by implying that something is of less insignificance or size than it really is. That is, it is the minimization of the importance of a referent by the use of an expression that is disproportionate to it. The word meiosis derives from the Greek word 'meiosis' meaning 'to make smaller,' or 'to diminish' (Corbett, 1971).

Our study found out that the domains of mental illness, sexual intercourse and death employ 9% to mitigate the target domains. This is the highest percentage in all the target domains. The domain of penis is second with (7%). On the other hand, the domains of menstruation, faeces, urine, AIDS, epilepsy and buttocks hardly employ any usage of periphrasis as a process to attenuate the target domain (cf. Table 4.24).

4.2.2 Lexical Processes

According to Fernández (2006) and Zizheng (2005), some of the common lexical processes used in the creation of euphemisms and which this study has identified include: borrowing, substitution, using vague words and expressions, using stories from religion and the use of technical terms / technicisms.

4.2.2.1 Borrowing

Yule (1985) defines borrowing as 'the taking over of words from other languages'. This is particularly so, if the two languages involved are unrelated and some of the

Source Language (SL) words lack direct Target Language (TL) equivalents. Employment of loan words to avoid mentioning a tabooed term is an effective way of euphemizing. It is permissible for one to express whatever thought they wish as long as the more risqué parts of the discussion are normally rendered in another language. Borrowed words are, normally, taken from a language, which is considered more cultured, elegant or refined (Domínguez and Benedito, 1994). In the formation of Gĩkũyũ euphemisms, the so-called ‘another language’ or ‘refined’ one is usually English or Kiswahili’ (cf. Appendix B). These are the languages which are seen as prestigious and in close contact with the Gĩkũyũ.

Our study found out that the target domain of AIDS and mental illness utilize the highest percentage of borrowing (9%), followed by the domains of faeces with (8%) and the buttocks (6%), while the domains of death, sexual intercourse, urine, epilepsy, penis and vagina hardly utilize this device (cf. Table 4.24).

4.2.2.2 *Substitution / Synonymy*

Substitution is used to replace the impolite or unspeakable words with certain literally mild and pleasant words or expressions. In most cases, a synonym will be used. The synonym must have happier connotations than the term one wishes to avoid. Our study found out that the target domains of mental illness (9%), faeces (8%) and vagina (2%) respectively utilize the highest percentage of substitution or synonymy. The other target domains hardly employ substitution as a lexical device (cf. Table 4.24).

4.2.2.3 Using Vague Words and Expressions

Vague words and expressions achieve the purpose of euphemisms because they blur the undesirable yet explicit associations that tabooed words arouse (Zizheng, 2005). From the synchronic perspective, a word can only function as a euphemism if its interpretation remains ambiguous, that is, when the hearer can understand the utterance both literally and euphemistically. Ambiguity is therefore inevitable when we speak euphemistically (Nerlich and Domínguez, 1999; Teso, 1998). Using vague words and expressions may be interpreted as a process of widening which involves moving to the level of abstraction. Crystal (1987) posits that generic terms fulfill their euphemistic function in a satisfactory way thanks to their intrinsic vagueness (cf. Appendix B).

Our study found out that the target domain of menstruation (24%) utilizes the highest percentage of vague words and expressions, followed by the domain of urine with (19%) while the domains of epilepsy, penis and buttocks utilize hardly any vague words and expressions (cf. Table 4.24).

4.2.2.4 Using Stories from Religion

Some euphemisms in Gikūyū for the target domains studied have religious origin or inclination. Death is praised and magnified by the usage of Biblical allusions that from the Christian point of view, supposes the fulfillment of happiness (cf. Section 4.1.1). We found out that the domain of death utilizes the highest number of allusions from the Bible at 21% (cf. Appendix B). In example (38), a biblical

reference to the book of Genesis 4:1 is used as a euphemism, when we are told that Abraham knew Sarah and as a result, she conceived.

4.2.2.5 *Technicisms / Technical Terms*

Generally, technicisms are words used to mitigate some target domains, whose euphemistic effect is not clear. We found out that the domain of epilepsy utilizes the highest number of technicisms at 8%, followed by the vagina at 6%. On the other hand, the domains of sexual intercourse, urine, AIDS, penis and the buttocks hardly employ technical words in the euphemization of target domains.

4.3 Conclusion

In this chapter, we have analysed the data collected using an interview schedule. Metaphors were identified and accounted for by mapping them into different kinds of conceptual mappings as posited by CMT. A descriptive analysis of the sub mappings or ontological correspondences between the source and target domains has also been done. In this chapter, we have also highlighted several violations of the tenets of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. All euphemisms identified are subsequently assigned to their corresponding linguistic level(s) according to their method of formation. Pie charts are used to statistically display the percentage of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes in each cognitive domain. Using lexical frequencies and percentages, we have also shown that indeed gender influences the interpretation of Gĩkũyũ euphemisms. In our next chapter, we present a summary of our findings and give recommendations for further related research.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, a summary of findings and conclusion are provided followed by suggestions for further research. This study set out with three objectives: to identify the lexical and semantic processes involved in the creation of euphemisms in *Gīkūyū*; to discuss the influence of gender in the usage of euphemisms and to account for the interpretation of euphemisms using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

5.1 SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

5.1.1 Semantic and Lexical Processes

We have identified and analysed the semantic and lexical processes used in the creation of *Gīkūyū* euphemisms. There are six semantic processes that this study identified namely: metaphor, metonymy, circumlocution / periphrasis, hyperbole, particularization and understatement / meiosis (cf. Section 4.2.1). On the other hand, the analysis of the lexical processes revealed five lexical devices namely: borrowing, substitution, the use of vague words and expressions, use of stories from religious or literary works and technicisms / technical terms (cf. Section 4.2.2).

Most of the euphemisms we identified fall into the metaphor category (cf. Appendix B) and this confirms Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argument that many euphemisms are metaphor based. The number of metaphorical euphemistic substitutes is actually higher; since most of the words could belong to more than one category (cf. Appendix B). We also note that metaphorical language structures the use of the target domain and establishes how cognitive domains and mapping determine the attenuating value of the metaphorical alternatives (cf. Chapter 4).

In terms of the degree of lexicalization of metaphors as spelt out by Domínguez and Benedito (2000: 68-70), we noted that because of the high lexical frequency of some words in *Gikũyũ*, those euphemisms have become lexicalized (lexical metaphors) and acceptable by a large spectrum of *Agĩkũyũ*. For instance, the following examples illustrate this argument: (5), (30), (52), (111), (120) and (198). We also identified semi - lexicalized metaphors as in examples (58) and (59). Creative metaphors were also identified in a number of instances as in (46), (116), (134), (142) and (217). Fernández (2006) refers to creative metaphors as artful metaphors.

Judging from the data, the process of metonymy is also a potent source of reference in the mitigation of the target domain (see Table 4.24). Our interpretation of synecdoche as part of metonymy is founded on Radden and Kövecses (2006) postulation that synecdoche is a kind or subclass of metonymy. That is why a broad based research that incorporates both the study of metaphor and metonymy

needs to be undertaken (cf. Section 5.3).

Other semantic devices such as circumlocution / periphrasis, hyperbole, particularization, understatement / meiosis and lexical processes such as borrowing, substitution, the use of vague words and expressions, use of stories from religious or literary works and technicisms / technical terms are not frequently used and, therefore, this study has not paid much attention to them (cf. Section 4.2.2).

5.1.2 Gender

Our second objective was to discuss how gender influences the usage of euphemisms in *Gikūyū*. Gender emerges as a factor in determining the usage of euphemisms in *Gikūyū* in terms of conceptual mappings. Both descriptive and inferential presentations are given in Chapter 4 in discussion on how gender influences the usage of euphemisms. Our study found out that it is likely that females use euphemisms more than males. This corroborates Lakoff (1975), Cameron (1998) and Coates' (1992) postulation that polite terms are more indicative of women's speech. Trudgill (2004) also postulates that women traditionally play a greater role in a child's socialization which leads them to be more sensitive to the norms of accepted behaviour and they are, therefore, more likely to get used to standard forms since they may want the child to acquire them.

From a Freudian psychoanalytic perspective, females tend to view reality as ultimately promising and full of love and safety. Femininity, according to Freud, is the principle of wish-fulfillment (Freud, 1920). Therefore, it is plausible to argue that in *Gīkūyū*, females tend to have higher lexical frequencies in the conceptualization of death as a journey, a rest and a summon since they look at death positively and promising while males interpret the target domain as a finality. Psychoanalytically, the males' conceptualization of sexual intercourse in this study implicitly indicates that "pleasure principle" as well as desire to perpetuate dominance over females, guide males in the conceptualization of the target domains of sexual intercourse and the vagina. Friedman also (2001) notes a psychoanalytic interpretation that places the penis and associated anxieties at the fulcrum of society. In addition, the symbolization of the buttocks as erotic (erogenous zones) also has a place within Freud's system of representations (Freud, 1953).

We also note that the concept of biological determinism is the primary reason why females are likely to have higher lexical frequencies for all the conceptual mappings of menstruation (cf. Section 4.1.3.1). Biological determinism also influences the conceptualization of the target domain of the vagina and AIDS. It is probably due to the susceptibility and vulnerability of women to AIDS that females tend to conceptualize the target domain as the disease, emaciation and the whip.

Females also tend to exhibit more lexical frequencies for all the conceptual mappings of faeces and urine. This may be due to the females' fastidiousness about defecation and urination. It is because of this fastidiousness that females tend to be ingenuous in the handling and treatment of faecal matter.

Evolutionary psychologists have also found that women have a greater ability to identify and feel the emotions of others, resulting in increased psychological sensitivity. This may, therefore, predispose females to fear exhibiting mental illness and epilepsy and probably come up with strong linguistic euphemisms for the target domains.

5.1.3 Interpretation of Euphemisms using CMT

Our final objective was to account for the interpretation of euphemisms using Conceptual Metaphor Theory. Our study provides the evidence below to show that the majority of the euphemisms used to refer to the target domains discussed in Chapter 4 are well accounted for in terms of CMT.

Our study identified 4 cognitive mappings for death in *Gīkūyū* from the 47 euphemisms of death collected as: death is a journey (22 different metaphors), the end (16); a rest (6) and a summon (3). Our study confirmed Fernández's (2007) argument that the majority of metaphors of death view the target domain as a positive event, as a sort of reward in Heaven after a virtuous life on earth (cf. Appendix B). The 3 out of the 4 conceptual mappings pointed out (see Section

4.1.1) conceptualize the domain of death in terms of a domain with positive connotations, namely as a journey, a rest and a summon. We noted that religion motivates this positive view of death. On the other hand, our study interprets the conceptual mapping death is the end negatively since human mortality is conceptualized as the final stage or process of human life, unlike in the other conceptualizations.

We also noted that the 44 euphemisms for the target domain of sexual intercourse can be analysed and shaped in terms of different conceptual metaphors (see Section 4.1.2). We found out that the target domain of sexual intercourse can be interpreted as companionship, utility / function, work, a game, war and food (cf. Section 4.1.2).

We found out that the notion of periodicity is the overriding conceptualization for the euphemisms of excretion and body effluvia. Our study identified 5 cognitive mappings for menstruation from the 29 euphemisms for the target domain. These were: a period, a visitor, an indisposition, rain and a woman's jewel. For faeces, 4 cognitive mappings from 24 euphemisms were identified: faeces are a period, a tree, a cluster and a need. On the other hand, 3 cognitive mappings in Gikũyũ for the domain of urine namely; urine is water, a period and a need were identified from the 16 euphemisms in our corpus (cf. Appendix B).

We noted that the language or the discourse of AIDS has proved most strong in Gikūyū for almost any verbal mitigation as there are only a few words and expressions used to conceptualize the disease. We collected 23 euphemisms for Aids which we categorized into 3 conceptual mappings as follows: the disease, emaciation and the whip (cf. Section 4.1.4.1).

Our study collected 34 euphemisms for mental illness which we categorized as a disturbance; a deficiency and a head disease (cf. Appendix B). These cognitive mappings further entailed further sub mappings or ontological correspondences between the source and the target domains (cf. Section 4.1.4.2).

We collected 13 euphemisms for epilepsy which we categorized into 2 conceptual mappings from the corpus for epilepsy (cf. Appendix B). That is, epilepsy is a falling sickness and a temporary lapse.

We found out that the target domain of penis elicited 48 euphemisms which fall into the following 5 conceptualizations: penis as a weapon / instrument, an innocuous animal, a tree, a man's thing and an organ.

The target domain of the vagina elicited 54 euphemisms; the highest number of euphemistic alternatives and conceptual mappings for all the target domains studied in this research (see Table 19). We identified 7 conceptual mappings for the vagina namely: the vagina as a conduit, an edible thing / nourishment, the

source, an organ, a home / shelter, a field and as a woman's thing. We found out that the more conceptual mappings a target domain evokes, the higher the linguistic interdiction associated with it. That implies that the vagina and the penis are the most tabooed target domains in *Gikūyū* from the classes of euphemisms studied.

Our study also identified 2 cognitive mappings from the 16 euphemisms in *Gikūyū* for the buttocks namely; buttocks as the rear or the seat, and buttocks as toilet facilities. We noted that most of the euphemisms in this target domain are strictly positional descriptions (cf. Section 4.1.5.3).

We also identified several idiosyncratic metaphors which do not fall under any conceptual metaphorization, therefore, violating the tenets of CMT (cf. Table 4.23). The principle of bidirectionality, which is against CMT that considers mapping in metaphors as unidirectional, was evident in lexicalized metaphors (cf. Section 4.2).

5.2 CONCLUSIONS

As noted in an earlier section (cf. 5.1.2), this study concludes that gender influenced the usage of Gikūyū euphemisms in all the categories of euphemisms studied in this research. Our findings, therefore, corroborate Cameron's (1998) postulation that polite terms are more indicative of women's speech.

The study concludes that euphemisms in *Gikūyū* are well accounted for in terms of Conceptual Metaphor Theory. In fact, what emerges from this study is that Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) is of important in euphemistic use and interpretation, given that cognitive representation affects evasive referent manipulation in a remarkable way. That implies that the model of Cognitive Linguistics provides solid tools for understanding, interpreting and accounting for *Gikūyū* euphemisms.

Although we have referred extensively to CMT, it would be erroneous to create the impression that the theory would be able to capture all the categories of euphemisms. We conclude that particular attention needs to be paid to a broad based study that incorporates more than one theory which will give a wider interpretation of euphemisms. This study would probably yield interesting findings and conclusions since different theoretical frameworks would help the researcher tackle different aspects of metaphoric and metonymic conceptualizations (cf. Section 5.4).

This research also finds it important to conclude that there are more euphemisms on vagina than the penis. We ascribe this difference to the unique physiological processes of menstruation and childbirth associated with the vagina. Allan and Burridge (1991) claim that the exploitation of a woman's comparative physiological disadvantage has probably resulted to her generally inferior social and economic status.

Finally, we conclude that semantic processes are dominantly used in the formation of Gikūyū euphemisms. Of primary concern is that metaphor is not only ubiquitous as a cognitive faculty, but it is also closely connected with the awareness of embodiment with sensory perception. At the same time, we conclude that idiosyncratic metaphors of penis and vagina may generally be said to be the by-product of the personal experience or fanciful perception of the language user or an ingenious poet. This claim corroborates Lakoff's (1993) postulation of idiosyncratic metaphors.

5.3 RECOMMENDATIONS

Based on the findings that emerge in this study (cf Section 5.1), the following recommendations can be made. First, we recommend that an intensive study be undertaken to codify Gikūyū euphemisms and their cognitive mappings so that this can form a comprehensive database of what can be referred to as: "A Comprehensive Dictionary of Gikūyū Euphemisms." Such a dictionary would be a pivotal reference of Gikūyū euphemisms.

Secondly, the findings of this study have relevant implications for court interpreters and language researchers. Court interpreting is a profession that requires specialized skills as the interpreter is often at the centre of important events of the law (Gatitu, 2008). We, therefore, recommend a need for policy evaluation in the area of language management in the judiciary so that policies that define the role, competence and duties of the court interpreters in Kenya can be

formulated to help in the interpretation of the law. The findings of this study may enable court interpreters to talk about death, sexual intercourse, body excretion, diseases and body parts without causing embarrassment or squeamishness in a court of law. We, therefore, also recommend that the government in collaboration with other relevant stakeholders to set up training programmes for court interpreters to make sure that they are highly competent in the languages they deal with to eliminate dysphemistic interpretations of the law.

It is also our recommendation that teachers in lower primary schools where Gĩkũyũ is the language of instruction should be trained on Gĩkũyũ euphemisms. The language teachers must be trained on how best to incorporate euphemisms in speech in an ingenious way that will help pupils speak both fluently and euphemistically. This research, therefore, recommends that the Government, through the KIE, Teacher Training Colleges and other stakeholders, should facilitate this move by providing financial support as well as teaching materials to teachers' trainees. This would play a role in the promotion of vernacular languages in Kenya in line with our country's language policy which calls for a system where the vernacular in a school's catchment's area is taught in the lower primary as the medium of instruction as a prerequisite to learning English and Kiswahili (Kenya Institute of Education, 1992). This would help achieve the pedagogic goal of the acquisition of a valuable instrument for cultural, technical and intellectual development (Kuria, 2005). In addition, this will also help enhance the communicative competence (CC) of Gĩkũyũ speakers so that they can have the

social attitudes, values and motivations concerning their language, its features and uses (Hymes, 1971).

We recommend that publishers in Gĩkũyũ literature and Gĩkũyũ FM stations, in collaboration with UNESCO and other Non Governmental Organizations like African Cultural Regeneration Institute, should promote programmes that will help in the promotion of Gĩkũyũ. All those stakeholders should encourage euphemisms teaching, among other cultural things, especially during the International Mother Language Day, to promote linguistic and cultural diversity and multilingualism. Such an aggressive campaign would help protect and revitalize our rich cultural diversity by promoting languages as a means of communication, interaction and understanding among different peoples. Such programmes will enable language communication to go smoothly and successfully broaden people's vision of euphemisms as well as understanding of social cultural communication (Rawson, 1981).

Furthermore, we recommend that the findings of this research may be of great importance to media practitioners, counsellors and health educators. Media influence viewers' perceptions of social behaviour and social reality and contribute to cultural norms (Strasburger, 2005). Media influence on teenagers' sexual beliefs and behaviour cannot be doubted. So, understanding cultural milieu of today's teenagers is absolutely crucial to being able to care for them adequately in sexual education and counseling. Teenagers would benefit greatly from a media

that handles their issues in a politically correct manner. It is, therefore, imperative to incorporate euphemisms in sex education and health education curriculum.

The findings may also be of profound importance to pharmaceutical industries and advertisement agencies as they market their products to the youth and the general population. Strasburger (2005) puts it clearly when he says that language is one of the most important cultural signifiers, which is vital for marketing and educational campaigns to reflect the way people talk about HIV / AIDS in order to ensure the production of relevant information that will resonate well with the target audience.

5.4 AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

According to Bolinger (1982), euphemism creation is not restricted to the lexicon as they are also grammatical ways of toning something down. Warren (1992) also adds that there exists lexical, grammatical, morphological, semantic, pragmatic and even non-linguistic means of expressing things euphemistically in almost every society. Since the present study focuses on lexical and semantic processes of creating euphemisms, another study that focuses on grammatical, morphological, phonological and pragmatic ways of creating euphemisms would be timely.

It was not possible to examine other social variables like age, social status and education and their influence on the usage of euphemisms due to the nature and broadness of our study. It is, therefore, our suggestion that a further study that incorporates other social factors be carried out so that cogent statements can be

made regarding the usage of euphemisms.

The Cooperative Principle, the cornerstone theory of pragmatics, is one of the salient principles that guide people's communication. The CP and its maxims can explain what the internal meaning is and its real intention in communication and ensure that in an exchange of conversation. Therefore, we suggest a study on Gikūyū euphemisms from a pragmatic perspective so as to reveal how euphemisms flout or observe the cooperative principle. Similarly, a research on Gikūyū euphemisms in the areas of cognitive pragmatics as developed into a fully-fledged cognitive pragmatic theory by Wilson and Sperber (2004), and which assumes the theoretical hypothetical - deductive framework of Relevance Theory could also be undertaken.

Feng (1997:132) posits that cross-cultural research on metaphor remains "a vast piece of virgin land to be explored". Therefore, a contrastive or comparative approach of Gikūyū and English metaphorical euphemisms would help us develop intercultural communicative competence. Contrastive Linguistics, according to Fisiak (1984), is a subdiscipline of linguistics concerned with the comparison of two or more languages or subsystems of languages in order to determine both the structural differences and similarities between them. Such a multidisciplinary study on euphemisms would be timely.

Language is dynamic and in constant change. New words and expressions appear as a result of social and economic development. As a common language phenomenon, euphemisms are also changing constantly. The fast speed of metabolism compels us to take the dynamism of euphemisms into consideration. So, a diachronic study of Gīkūyū euphemisms may be undertaken so that we may learn how euphemisms acquire pejorative connotations with the passage of time.

Though Multiple Intelligence Theory as posited by Gardner (1993) was not specifically designed for euphemism teaching, we think that the application of this theory would promote students' linguistic competence and their ability to understand and use Gīkūyū euphemisms. Zizheng (2005) applies the theory to English Euphemism teaching and it is, therefore, our motivation that the same framework can be done for Gīkūyū euphemism teaching.

Our study focuses on CMT as posited by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) to discuss the euphemisms of death, sexual intercourse, excretion and body effluvia, disease and anatomy. A research that uses the same theoretical framework to conceptually interpret euphemisms of occupation / profession, appearance, disability, old age, politics and crime/criminality would be proposed. We recommend this as an area for further research.

In addition, we recommend a study that employs CBT as postulated by Fauconnier and Turner (1994 and 1998). CBT is a developing branch of cognitive linguistics

which emphasizes blending as an online process and which is an elaboration of the two-space model of metaphor. Through composition, completion and elaboration as posited by CBT, the hybrid blends may be useful in explaining discrepancies between the way the shared representations function in the source and target domains as well as emergent properties evoked by metaphoric expressions (Tourangeau and Rips, 1991).

Finally, a broad based study that incorporates more than one theory would probably give a wider interpretation of euphemisms. The current study employs CMT which only interpreted the metaphor. More theories like Metonymy Theory (MT) as postulated by Kövecses (2000) or the standard Cognitive Theory of Metaphor and Metonymy (CTMM) as discussed by Barcelona (2003) would probably yield interesting findings since MT, CMMT and CBT tackle different aspects of metaphoric and metonymic conceptualizations. A combination of CMT and CBT frameworks may be used to help us unify the two streams of research into a more general and comprehensive treatment of linguistic and conceptual phenomena.

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APPENDIX A: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this interview schedule is to get your views on euphemisms in Gikūyū. Any information that you give will be treated with confidence and will only be used for the success of this academic research.

Your name (optional)

Age

Your sex

Male

Female

A. Name any 5 polite terms in Gikūyū that are used to avoid mentioning death

i. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

ii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iv. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

v. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

(Is / are there other euphemism(s) for death?)

Why is / are the euphemism(s) used?.....

.....

.....

B. Name any 5 polite terms in Gikūyū that are used to avoid mentioning the term sexual intercourse

i. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

ii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iv. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

v. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

(Is / are there other euphemism(s) for sexual intercourse?)

Why is / are the euphemism(s) used?.....

.....

.....

C. EXCRETION AND BODY EFFLUVIA

(a) Name any 5 polite terms in Gikūyū that are used to avoid mentioning the term menstruation

i. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

ii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iv. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

v. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

(Is / are there other euphemism(s) for menstruation?)

Why is / are the euphemism(s) used?.....

.....

.....

(b) Name any 5 polite terms in Gikūyū that are used to avoid mentioning the term faeces

Name any 5 polite terms in Gikūyū that are used to avoid mentioning the

i. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

ii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iv. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

v. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

(Is / are there other euphemism(s) for faeces?)

Why is / are the euphemism(s) used?.....

.....

.....

(c) Name any 5 polite terms in Gikūyū that are used to avoid mentioning the term urine

i. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....
ii _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....
.....

.....
iii _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....
.....

.....
iv _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....
.....

v _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....
.....

(Is / are there other euphemism(s) for urine?)

Why is / are the euphemism(s) used?.....
.....

D. DISEASES

(a) Name any 5 polite terms in Gikūyū that are used to avoid mentioning the term AIDS

i. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

ii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iv. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

v. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

(Is / are there other euphemism(s) for AIDS?)

Why is / are the euphemism(s) used?.....

.....

.....

(b) Name any 5 polite terms in Gikūyū that are used to avoid mentioning the term mental illness

i. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

ii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iv. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

v. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

(Is / are there other euphemism(s) for mental illness?)

(Is / are there other euphemism(s) for mental illness?)

Why is / are the euphemism(s) used?.....

.....

.....

(c) Name any 5 polite terms in Gikūyū that are used to avoid mentioning the term epilepsy

i. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

ii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iv. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

v. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

(Is / are there other euphemism(s) for epilepsy?)

Why is / are the euphemism(s) used?.....

.....

.....

E ANATOMY / BODY PARTS

(a) Name any 5 polite terms in Gikūyū that are used to avoid mentioning the term penis

i. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

ii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iv. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

v. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

(Is / are there other euphemism(s) for penis?)

Why is / are the euphemism(s) used?.....

.....

.....

(b) Name any 5 polite terms in Gikūyū that are used to avoid mentioning the term vagina

i. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

ii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iv. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

v. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

(Is / are there other euphemism(s) for vagina?)

Why is / are the euphemism(s) used?.....

.....

.....

(c) Name any 5 polite terms in Gikūyū that are used to avoid mentioning the term buttocks

i. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

ii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iii. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

iv. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

v. _____

Why is the euphemism used?.....

.....

(Is / are there other euphemism(s) for buttocks?)

Why is / are the euphemism(s) used?.....

APPENDIX B: GĪKŪYŪ EUPHEMISMS

This appendix lists the euphemistic alternatives collected using an interview schedule for the domains of death, sexual intercourse, excretion and body effluvia (menstruation, faeces and urine), diseases (AIDS, mental illness and anatomy (penis, vagina and buttocks). Each headword is followed by the number of times that the euphemism has been found in the 20 interview schedules used for the study. This information provides the lexical frequency of each substitute and the linguistic process that generates the euphemistic term or expression. Some euphemisms are considered to be the result of more than one linguistic mechanism. In such cases, the first linguistic device to appear is the one that contributes the most to the mitigating option. However, most of the styles have a metaphorical basis.

A. DEATH

(1) DEATH IS A JOURNEY

1. Kwambata / gūthiĩ matu-inĩ (16) – *to go to heaven*. MET-USR
2. Gūthiĩ gĩkeno-inĩ (1) – *to go to a place of happiness*. MET- USR
3. Gūthiĩ kwega (1) – *to go to a good place*. MET- USR
4. Gūthiĩ kūrĩa gūtarĩ na ruo kana thĩna (1) – *to go to where there is no pain or care*. MET-CIR
5. Gūthiĩ gatwe (1) – *to go to the horizon*. MET
6. Gūthiĩ ūthamakinĩ (1) – *to go to the kingdom*. MET-HYP
7. Gūthiĩ kwa huko (1) – *to go to the mole's home*. MET

8. Gũthii kũndũ mũndũ atagacoka (1) – *to go to a place where one will never come back.* MET-VWE
9. Gũthama (3) – *to leave.* MET
10. Gũthiĩ /kwehuta (1) – *to go.* MET
11. Kũinũka (2) – *to go home.* MET
12. Gũthiĩ gwa ithe / gũthiĩ kwa baba (1) – *to go to the Father.* MET- USR
13. Kwehera (1) – *to leave; move.* MET
14. Gũthiĩ muciiĩ ũrĩa tũthondekeirwo nĩ Mwathani (1) – *go to the home specially made for us by God.* MET-USR
15. Gũcekeha (1) – *to get thin.* MET-UND
16. Gũthengio (1) – *to be moved.* MET
17. Gũtherera (1) – *to disappear down a river when one drowns.* MET
18. Gũthiĩ kũhanda mĩanga (1) – *to go and plant cassava.* MET-UND
19. Gũthiĩ mũgũnda (1) – *to go to the land.* MET
20. Gũthiĩ gwa tũongo twerũ (1) – *to go to the white skulls.* MET
21. Gũthii na mĩri ya mĩkongwe (1) – *to go with the sisal's roots.* MET
22. Kuuma (1) – *to move out.* MET

(2). DEATH IS THE END

1. Kũrĩkia wĩra (1) – *to finish one's work.* MET
2. Gũtigana (2) – *separation.* MTN
3. Gũtirima mũkũyũ (1) – *to touch the fig tree.* MET
4. Ndagaiikia koiga njara (1) – *the deceased will never again put his / her hand into the food calabash.* MET

5. Gūkūnja ndiira (2) – *to fold one's heels.* MTN
6. Gūte nyamūga (1) – *to get rid of one's sandals.* MET
7. Gūikia thari (1) – *to kick involuntarily when in death throes.* MTN
8. Gūtuikana (1) – *to be cut off from life.* MET
9. Ndarĩ ho (1) – *to be no more; to cease to be.* MET
10. Kūng'ūrio / Kwehutio (1) – *to be removed.* MET
11. Kūhoha (1) – *to dry up / to wither.* MET
12. Kūrega ngima (1) – *to refuse to eat ugali.* MET
13. Kuuga ūhoro (1) – *to say goodbye.* MET
14. Kūng'athīria / Kūrega mbembe (1) – *to refuse maize.* MET
15. Kūrūma mbamba (1) – *to bite the cotton.* MET
16. Gūikia magūrū ngūnia (1) – *to put one's legs into a sack.* MET

(3). DEATH IS A REST

1. Kūhurūka (16) – *to rest.* MET
2. Kūhinga maitho (4) – *to close ones eyes.* MET-UND
3. Gūthang'ata / kūng'ata / kūng'ang'a (2) – *be unconscious.* TEC
4. Gūkoma (10) – *to sleep.* MET -USR
5. Kwīhitha (1) – *to hide.* MET
6. Kūhoria matawa (2) – *to put the lights off.* MET-UND

(4). DEATH IS A SUMMON

1. Gwītwo (18) – *to be called /summoned.* MET- VWE

2. Kūhenerio (4) – *to be beckoned.* MET
3. Kwoyo nĩ Ngai (1) – *to be taken by God.* MET - USR

B. SEXUAL INTERCOURSE

(1). SEXUAL INTERCOURSE AS COMPANIONSHIP

1. Kūonana kīmwiri (13) – *seeing each other bodily / physically.* MET
2. Kūmenyana (2) – *to know each other.* MET-USR
3. Kūheana mbakī / gūkundania mbakī (2) – *giving snuff to each other.* MET
4. Ngwatano/kūgwatana (9) – *holding each other.* MET-UND
5. Kwendana (2) – *to love each other.* MET
6. Kūhinganīria bata (1) – *to satisfy each other's needs.* MET - VWE
7. Gūcamithania (1) – *to taste each other.* MET
8. Kūhutania (1) – *touching each other.* MET
9. Kūguīkana \ gwīkana (5) - *to do each other.* MET
10. Kūingīrana (1) - *entering each other.* MET
11. Kūheana (4) - *giving each other.* MET-VWE

(2). SEXUAL INTERCOURSE IS WORK

1. Wīra (1) – *work.* MET-VWE
2. Gūtūgūta (1) – *to slash.* MET
3. Kūruta mbiro (1) – *to remove soot.* MET
4. Kūroora mūgūnda (1) – *inspecting the land.* MET
5. Gūthambania (1) – *washing each other* MET

6. Kūgwatania ūrugarĩ (2) – *giving warmth to each other.* MET-UND

(3). SEXUAL INTERCOURSE IS FOOD

1. Irio (2) – *food.* MET
2. Kuñiana (2) – *to eat each other.* MET
3. Kũña kīgwa (1) – *to eat sugar cane.* MET
4. Kũña irio (3) – *to eat food.* MET

(4). SEXUAL INTERCOURSE IS A GAME

1. Kūnogorana / kūnogora mwĩrĩ (2) – *to massage or relax each other.* MET-MTN
2. Nūndano (2) – *wrestling each other.* MET
3. Gwĩkenia (1) – *to make oneself feel good.* MET-VWE
4. Kūigana thĩ (1) – *to put each other down.* MET
5. Gūtwarithia mũithikiri (1) – *to ride a bicycle.* MET
6. Ngwĩko / nguĩko (8) – *traditional mock sex activities for the unmarried.* MET
7. Gūcocera (1) – *to ride / to peddle.* MET
8. Gūkenania kwa mũthuri na mũtumia (2) – *a man and a woman making each other happy.* MET-CIR

(5). SEXUAL INTERCOURSE IS WAR

1. Ndathano (3) – *shooting each other.* MET

2. Gũthecana (2) – *to pierce each other.* MET
3. Mũkanyano (1) – *pecking each other.* MET
4. Mũndũ mūrũme gũtonyia mũthiĩ ita harĩ kaindo ka mũtumia (1) – *of a man putting the one who goes into war (penis) into the lady's thing.* CIRC
5. Ita (3) – *war.* MET

(6). SEXUAL INTERCOURSE IS UTILITY / FUNCTION

1. Kũmaita (17) – *to pour* MET
2. Kũigua wega (1) – *to feel good.* VWE
3. Kũhehio (1) – *to be made wet.* MET-VWE
4. Gwetha ciana (3) – *searching for children.* MET-MTN
5. Gũkomania (14) – *sleep with each other; lie with; lay with.* MET
6. Gũthiĩ toro (1) – *to go to sleep.* MET-UND
7. Gũthiĩ ũriĩ (1) – *to go to bed* MET-UND
8. Gũkoma na mũndũ wanja/mũtumia (2) – *to sleep with a woman.* MET-CIR
9. Kũgwatithania (1) – *to fertilize each other.* MET

C. EXCRETION AND BODY EFFLUVIA

(a) MENSTRUATION

(1) MENSTRUATION IS A PERIOD

1. Kahinda ka mweri (12) – *a monthly period.* MET
2. Kĩmakia thinwa (1) – *the one that frightens the full moon.* MET

3. Mweri (9)– *a month* .MET
4. Kūona (7) – *to see* .VWE
5. Thakame ya mūirū (1) – *dark red blood*. MET
6. Kūona mūirū (5) – *to see something that is dark red*. MET
7. Kahinda (9) – *a period*. MET -VWE
8. Thikū (2) – *days*. MET- VWE
9. Gūtunīha/ūtune (2) – *to be red*. MET-VWE
10. Kwīnenūra (1) – *to keep on changing colour of the blood*. MET
11. Gūkūrīra (1) – *something that is ripe or mature*. MET
12. Kahinda ga atumia (1) – *a period of women*. MET-PAR
13. Thakame ya mweri (1) – *monthly blood*. MET
14. Mathīna ma mweri (1) – *monthly difficulties*. MET
15. Maūndū ma atumia ma mweri (1) – *monthly things of the women*. MET-PAR
16. Kuuma gwa itumbĩ rīa mūtumia (3) - *the release of the woman's egg*. PAR-

CIR

(2).MENSTRUATION IS A VISITOR

1. Mūgeni (4) - *a visitor*. MET

(3). MENSTRUATION IS AN INDISPOSITION

1. Gūthūka (1) – *to be bad*. MET-VWE
2. Kūrwarā (3) – *to be sick*. MET-VWE
3. Gūturwo / Kūrīo nĩ mahīndĩ (2) – *having back pains*. MET-VWE

4. Mũgongo (1) – *the back*. MET

(4). MENSTRUATION IS RAIN

1. Kuura (9) – *to rain / bleed*. MET-HYP
2. Mambura (5) – *of rain*. MET
3. 'Mnyesho' (1) – *rain* BOR-MET
4. Gũita (1) – *to pour* MET

(5). MENSTRUATION IS A WOMAN'S JEWEL

1. Murata (1) – *a friend*. MET
2. Ithaga rĩa mündũ wa nja (1) – *the coming of a woman's jewel*. MET-

PAR

3. Chirũ (1) – *the short form of Wanjirũ, one of the nine daughters of Gikũyũ, the founder of the tribe according to the Gikũyũ myth.*

PER

4. Kũraga ikenye / ira (1) – *menarche*. TEC

(b) FAECES

(1). FAECES IS A PERIOD

1. Kahinda kanene (16) – *a long period*. MET
2. Bata mũnene (6) – *a long need*. MET
3. Kahinda (10) – *a period* MET-VWE

(2).FAECES IS A LARGE PIECE OR CLUSTER

1. Wei (3) – *used humorously and especially of animal waste to denote a large piece of faecal matter which spreads like morass.* MET
2. Rūtündü (2) – *a package of food normally given to a visitor.* MET
3. Taatha (1) – *shyme; especially of animal waste but used humorously for seemingly undigested food remnants in excrement.* MET
4. ‘Pupu’ (1) – *a borrowed word from English ‘poo-poo.’* BOR
5. Imengo (1) – *a large piece of something.* MET
6. Mütütha (4) – *a very big piece of faecal matter.* SYN
7. Mükindo (1) – *an archaism for ‘faeces’* TEC - SYN
8. Rūndo / kīrūndo (1) – *a big piece of faecal matter.* MET
9. Chienyū (1) – *large pieces.* MET
10. Ndendeko / Gītendeko (1) – *a very big piece of faecal matter.* MET
11. Kīrīma (1) – *a mountain.* MET

(3). FAECES IS A TREE

1. Mūgumo (3) – *a kind of fig tree (Ficus Hochstetteri).* MET
2. Ndatema mūtī ndatiga ũgītoga (2) – *I have cut a tree and left it smoking.*
MET-CIR

(4). FAECES IS A NEED

1. Gīko (2) – *waste.* MET-VWE
2. Kīoro (14) – *toilet.* MET

3. Gwĩteithia (7) – *to relieve oneself*. MET
4. Gũthĩ Posta (1) – *go to the post office*. MET
5. Kwĩhũthia (3) – *to relieve oneself*. MET
6. Bata (2) – *a need*. MET-VWE
7. Kũgeithia Kĩgotho (1) – *to greet Kĩgotho*. MET-VWE
8. Kũoha njaũ (1) – *to fasten the calf*. VWE

(c). URINE

(!). URINE IS WATER

1. Maĩ marĩa maregirwo nĩ ngũkũ (2) – *the water that chicken rejected*. MET-CIR
2. Chii (gũchĩrĩrĩkia) (1) – *onomatopoeic word for dripping urine*. IDE
3. Maĩ (4) – *water*. MET.
4. Manyĩrĩ (1) – *onomatopoeic word for trickling urine*. ONO.
5. Maĩ marĩa maumaga mũthiĩ ita-inĩ (1) – *the water that comes out of the one who goes to war*. MET-CIR
6. Maminjo (3) – *something that is scattered, showered or sprinkled in drops or in a continuous stream*. IDE
7. Macungo (1) – *something that is filtered*. MET

(2). URINE IS A PERIOD

1. Kahinda kanini (14) – *a short period*. MET
2. Gũtua Mata (18) – *to spit saliva*. MET

3. Bata mūnini (3) – *a short need*. MET
4. Kūrūgama (7) – *to stand*. MET-PAR
5. Kwenga (1) – *(of women) to urinate while standing*. MET-PAR
6. Kahinda (1) – *a period*. MET-VWE

(3). URINE IS A NEED

1. Bata (3) – *a need*. MET-VWE
2. Gwīteithia (9) – *to relieve oneself*. MET
3. Kūrora kamūthīgi gakwa (1) – *to look at my walking staff*. MET- CIR

D.DISEASES

(a) AIDS

(1).AIDS IS THE DISEASE

1. Mūrimū ũyū (6) – *this disease*. MET
2. Mūrimū mūnene (3) – *the big disease*. MET

(2). AIDS IS EMACIATION

1. Mūkingo (18) – *of the neck*. MET
2. Njekehu (1) – *emaciated*. MTN
3. ‘Nylon’ (1) – *a borrowed English word which imply emaciation*. MET-

BOR

4. Gūthirīrīkīra (1) – *worn out*. MTN
5. Kahūrūra (1) – *something that leads to wearing out*. MET

6. Kūmeria thambara (1)– *having swallowed the leech* MET

(3). AIDS IS THE WHIP

1. Kīmiiri (8) – *the crusher*. MET
2. Gathūa (14) – *ant*. MET
3. Kīmeria andū (1) – *something that swallows people*. MET
4. Kīmemenyi (2) – *the crusher*. MET
5. Kagunyū (15) – *worm*. MET
6. Mūthigiriri (1) – *ant*. MET
7. Mbembe nĩ ndoge (2) – *contaminated / poisoned maize*. MET- CIR
8. Ng'ūūki (1) – *the uprooter*. MET
9. Kīgūtha (2) – *something that beats; catapult*. MET
10. Mūcamiū (1) – *the whip*. MET
11. Mūtino (1) – *accident*. MET
12. Kamundundu (2) – *the insect*. BOR
13. Mūnyero (1) – *a disease that is incurable and in which victims are normally afflicted with pimples*. MET
14. Kīhato (2) – *a broom*. MET
15. Gīthīna kīrīa gīūkīte (1) – *the obvious prevailing problem*. MET-VWE

(b) MENTAL ILLNESS**(1). MENTAL ILLNESS IS A DISTURBANCE**

1. Kūoya maratathi /kūngania maratathi /kūngania mahuti – *collecting papers or rubbish*. **MTN-UND**
2. Nyugĩ (5) – *loss of sanity*. **SYN**
3. Mũthandũko / kūng'athũka (2) – *to have split*. **MET**
4. Kwĩarĩria (1) – *talking to oneself*. **MET-UND**
5. Mũng'ũrĩ (1) – *loss of sanity*. **MET**
6. Kũhũgũya /Kũboiya (6) – *to be confused*. **MET**
7. Gwĩkinya maguta (1) – *to accelerate oneself*. **MET-HYP**
8. Gũtukanĩrwo (5) – *to be mixed up*. **MET**
9. Mũndũ gwĩthekia (1) – *laughing with self*. **MET**
10. Kũhĩtana / kũhĩtanĩrwo (2) – *to get it wrong*. **MET**
11. Kũgĩa na tũmatamba (1) – *to be forgetful*. **MET**
12. Kũgĩa ndeto nyingĩ ta mũndũ mũtware nĩ rũĩ (2) – *to exhibit loquacity like a drowning person*. **CIRC-HYP**
13. Kũgĩa na rũirĩrũa (1) – *to be confused*. **MET-TEC**
14. Kũruta nguo (1) – *to remove clothes*. **MET-UND**
15. Kũnoka (1) – *to have an engine knock*. **BOR**
16. Malaria manene (1) – *big malaria*. **MET-BOR**

(2). MENTAL ILLNESS IS A DEFICIENCY

1. Gũte mbaũ (6) – *to lose timber*. **MET**

2. Kūrekia /kūrekia raini/gūte raini (5) – *to lose the line of thinking.* **MET-**

BOR

3. Kwohoka (2) – *to have a loose mind / unhinged.* **MET-VWE**

4. Gūtigaria (3) – *to be deficient.* **MET**

5. Kūbūca (1) – *to be deficient.* **MET**

6. Kwīremwo / kwīrigwo (1) – *to be unable to take care of oneself.* **MET**

(3). MENTAL ILLNESS IS A HEAD DISEASE

1. Gūthūka mūtwe (8) – *disorder of the head.* **MET**

2. Mūrimū wa kīongo (2) – *disease of the head.* **MET**

3. Kūrūara meciria (5) – *to be sick in the mind.* **MET**

4. Kūrwo nī meciria (2) – *lose one's mind.* **MET**

5. Gūthūka gatongoria (2) – *to have a ruined controller or leader.* **MET**

6. Mbūrī (1) – *bad spirits.* **SYN - MET**

7. Kwohoka gatongoria (1) – *loosening of the controller.* **MET**

8. Gūkarario nī kīongo (1) – *to be opposed by the head.* **MET**

9. Maroho moru (1) – *bad spirits.* **MET**

10. Kūrwarā (1) – *to be sick.* **MET**

11. Mbūgūgū (1) – *bad spirits.* **MET- SYN**

12. Kūrūga hakiri (2) – *disorder of the mind.* **MET**

(c) EPILEPSY**(1). EPILEPSY IS A FALLING SICKNESS**

1. Mūrimū wa kūgwa (16) – *disease of falling*. MET
2. Ndahuhō (1) – *frequent spurts of falling*. MET
3. Kwīkia riiko ta kihuruta (1) – *pushing oneself or falling into the fire like a butterfly*. MET-HYP
4. Gūikia thari (2) – *to throw involuntarily*. MET
5. Mūthiori (1) – *a twister*. MET

(2). EPILEPSY IS A TEMPORARY LAPSE

1. Kwīrigwo (2) – *unconsciousness*. MET
2. Mūrimū wa kūria rūrimī / kwīruma rūrimī (2) – *the disease of biting one's tongue*. MET
3. Mūrimū wa kūona thiūrūra (2) – *the disease of having bouts of dizziness*. MET
4. Mūrimū wa kūruta mūhūyū (6) – *the foaming disease*. MET-CIR
5. Kūng'irang'irīka (1) – *to have spurts of unconsciousness*. MET
6. Kūnyitūkio (4) – *to get a fit a seizure*. MET
7. Kūng'a ng'athara (1) – *to have a seizure*. TEC
8. Kūringīka (1) – *to faint*. MET

E. ANATOMY/BODY PARTS**PENIS****(1). PENIS AS A WEAPON / INSTRUMENT**

1. Mūcuthĩ (6) – *a flywhisk* MET
2. Thiaka (7) – *a quiver* MET
3. Kĩmūrĩ (1) – *a torch.* MET
4. Raigi/nyaigi/ mũthĩgi (3) – *a walking staff.* MET
5. Mũthiĩ -ita (9) – *one who goes to war.* MET-PER
6. Njũgũma (4) – *a club.* MET
7. Mũikia ndathi (1) – *one who throws arrows.* MET-PER
8. Rũhiũ (2) – *a knife.* MET
9. Mũcinga (1) - *a gun* MET
10. Itimũ (1) – *a spear.* MET
11. Karamu (4) – *a pen.* MET
12. Thũya mwatũ (1) – *that which harvests the beehive.* MET-PER
13. Mũthigari (1) – *a soldier.* MET
14. Cuma hiũ (1) – *a hot rod.* MET
15. Nyoka (2) – *a snake.* MET
16. Icembe (1) – *a jembe.* MET
17. Mũcamiũ / Rũthanju (1) – *a rod/cane.* MET
18. Njũra (1) – *a sword.* MET
19. Mũting'oe / mũcunjui (1) – *a tail* MET
20. Mũũthĩ (1) – *a pestle.* MET

21. Mūguĩ (1) – *an arrow; a shaft.* MET
22. Kībũi (1) – *a sledge hammer.* MET
23. Cindano (1) – *a needle.* MET
24. Mũrobi (1) – *a small implement with one or more prongs for eating food.*

4. MET (1) – *the organ.* MET

5. Kĩga gĩa mũhũgũro (1) – *the organ of urina.* MET

(2). PENIS IS AN INNOCUOUS ANIMAL

1. Kagondu (1) – *a small sheep.* MET-UND
2. Gacui/kanyunyui (3) – *a chick.* MET-UND
3. Kagunyũ (1) – *a worm.* MET-UND

10. Mũtũ (1) – *the foot.*

(3). PENIS IS A TREE

1. Mũtĩ (17) – *a tree.* MET
2. Gĩkĩngĩ (1) – *a post.* MET
3. Gĩtugĩ (1) – *a post / pole.* MET
4. Mũgogo (1) – *a log.* MET

(4). PENIS IS A MAN'S THING

1. Kũgũrũ gwa gatatũ kwa mũndũ mũrũme (1) – *the man's third leg / foot.*
MET-PAR (1) – *a person.*
2. Kĩhingũro kĩa mũndũ mũrũme (1) – *a man's key.* MET-PAR
3. Mĩrigo ya arũme (3) – *men's apparatus or luggage.* MET-PAR
4. Kĩũga gĩa mũndũ mũrũme (5) – *men's organ.* MET-PAR

(5). PENIS IS AN ORGAN

1. Mbooro / mbooru (2) - *testes* MTN
2. Kĩmonori (1) - *boneless flesh*. MET
3. Kĩĩga gĩa ũciari (5) - *organ of reproduction*. MET-CIRC
4. Kĩĩga (1) - *the organ* MET
5. Kĩĩga gĩa mathugumo (1) - *the organ of urine*. MET
6. Kĩĩga gĩa thiri (3) - *private organ*. MET- CIR
7. Ngwati (2) - *the fore skin*. MTN
8. Ũruu (1) - *circumcision*. MET
9. Gĩkonde (1) - *the foreskin*. MTN
10. Mwĩrĩ (1) - *the body*. MTN

(6). IDIOSYNCRATIC METAPHORS OF THE PENIS

1. Kĩrĩa (1) - *that one*. MET
2. Mũrata wakwa (1) - *my friend*. MET
3. Kwao (1) - *a home*. MET

(b) VAGINA**(1). VAGINA IS A CONDUIT**

1. Kĩhunguro (1) - *a passage*. MET
2. Irima/karima (5) - *a hole / a small hoe*. MET
3. Ngurunga (1) - *a hiding place/ a cavern*. MET
4. Mwahuha (1) - *a vent/ passage*. MET

5. Mwengũ (3) – *a crack*. MET
6. Mwanyā (2) – *a chink*. MET
7. Mũhanguru (1) – *a cave*. MET
8. Mwatũka (1) – *a pit / slit*. MET
9. Mũkarō (1) – *a trench*. MET
10. Njĩra ya mathugumo (5) – *a passage of urine*. MET

(2). VAGINA IS AN EDIBLE THING / NOURISHMENT

1. Itunda (1) – *a fruit*. MET
2. Irio (1) – *food*. MET
3. Ngwacĩ (1) – *sweet potatoes*. MET
4. Mboco (1) – *a bean*. MET
5. Nyama njega (1) – *a delicious meat*. MET-HYP
6. Kĩminja mũrĩo (3) – *something that elicits sweetness*. MET-HYP
7. Kaembe (1) – *a mango*. MET-UND
8. Kiuga (1) – *a bowl (half calabash)*. MET
9. Kanyũngũ (1) – *a small pot*. MET
10. Njohi (1) – *a trapper; a hold; something that lures or entices men*. MET

(3). VAGINA IS THE SOURCE

1. Kĩnga gĩa ũciari/ gĩciari/ njĩra ya uciari (11) – *the organ of birth*. MET
2. Gĩturi / gaturi / kĩhumo (1) – *a source / origin*. MET
3. Mũgũnda (2) – *land; garden*. MET

4. Gĩthima (1) – *a well*. MET
5. Kĩnyĩrĩ (1) – *something /that scatters (urine)*. MET

(4). VAGINA IS AN ORGAN

1. Rũng'ũthũ (4) – *a clitoris*. MTN
2. Kĩmoni (1) – *a clitoris*. MTN
3. Rũng'othi (1) – *a clitoris*. MTN
4. Kĩĩga (4) – *an organ*. MET
5. Mwĩrĩ (5) – *the body*. MTN
6. Kĩmee (4) – *something elastic*. MET-TEC
7. Kĩrindo /kĩnarĩ (1) – *the vagina*. TEC-SYN
8. Kareng'e (1) – *something that is cut (circumcised)*. MET

(5). VAGINA IS A HOME /SHELTER

1. Mwatũ (1) – *a bee hive*. MET
2. Kamũciĩ (1) – *a small home*. MET
3. Kwao (2) – *a home*. MET-VWE
4. Kiugũ (1) – *a cowshed*. MET
5. Gĩcegũ (1) – *a sheep's pen*. MET
6. Gĩtonyio (1) – *a sheath*. MET
7. Gĩtara (1) – *a nest*. MET
8. Itonyero rĩa mũciĩ (1) – *an entrance of the home*. MET
9. Kĩhingo kĩa mũciĩ (1) – *the gate of the home*. MET

(6). VAGINA IS A FIELD

1. Kīwanja (1) – *a field*. MET
2. Kīini / kībīro (1) – *something that sings, rotates or spins*. MET
3. Kīanda / ngurumo (3) – *lowlands*. MET

(7). VAGINA IS A WOMAN'S THING

1. Kīiga gĩa mūtūmia gĩa gūthiĩ ita (1) – *a woman's organ for going to war*.
MET-PAR
2. Hitho ya mūtumia / thiri ya mūtumia (4) – *a woman's secret object*. MET-
PAR
3. Kanyamũ / kaindo ka mūtumia (5) – *the woman's small thing*. MET-PAR
4. Mīrigo ya atumia (1) – *a woman's luggage*. MET-PAR
5. Njaga ya mūdũ wa nja (1) – *the nakedness of a woman* MET-PAR
6. Gītungati (1) – *an object that nourishes or serves*. MET

(8). IDIOSYNCRATIC METAPHORS OF THE VAGINA

1. Kanũgũ (1) – *diminutive form of a monkey*. MET-UND
2. Gatagatĩ (1) – *the centre*. MET
3. Kīrĩa (1) – *that one*. MET

(C) BUTTOCKS**(1). BUTTOCKS IS THE REAR**

1. Thende (10) – *an archaism for a 'buttock'* MTN

2. Thũnũ (12) – *a protrusion*. MET
3. Njikarĩro (17) – *a seat*. MET
4. Nyunjuri (11) – *behind*. MET
5. ‘Ribathi’ (2) – *borrowed English word ‘reverse’*. MET-BOR
6. Thutha / na thutha (14) – *the behind/ posterior*. MET
7. Nyama ya thirikari (8) – *government’s flesh*. MET
8. Thengero (1) – *the body part that moves to make space for another individual to sit*. MET
9. Rwembea (1) – *back side*. MET
10. Gĩtĩ (4) – *a seat*. MET
11. Ndinangie (3) – *divided*. MET

(2). BUTTOCKS IS TOILET FACILITIES

1. Mĩro (4) – *anus; the aperture of excretion*. MTN
2. Mũbibi (1) – *rectum*. MTN
3. Mũkwa (1) – *anus*. MTN
4. Mamĩa kĩoro (1) – *excretory body part*. MET
5. Mathuria (2) – *organ of farting*. MET

APPENDIX C: THE MAP OF MATHIRA DIVISION

