

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

This study lies in the field of Cognitive Linguistics as it focuses on the use of metaphor in EkeGusii Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) and Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS) discourse. This chapter highlights health communication, the history of HIV and AIDS in Kenya, EkeGusii and HIV, the linguistic expressions used in HIV and AIDS discourse and the concept of metaphor. The chapter also presents the statement of the problem, its research questions, objectives, justification, scope as well as the theoretical framework applied in the analysis of data.

1.1.1 Health Communication

Health communication is the use of language to provide individuals with important health information. Sharf (1993) notes that health communication is a vital topic of research because everyone interacts with health professionals, encounters health-related messages in the media, has suffered illness or has experienced a loved one with a life-threatening or terminal illness. Health communication had once concentrated on meeting targets of members of audiences but it has developed to turn its focus on enabling informed individual choice. Therefore, health communication has now become more functionally prominent, more empirical and a more strategic gradient of public health programmes (Williams, 1992). It is in the light of this that this study focused on health communication in EkeGusii.

Good health is one of the prerequisites for sustainable development. It is therefore not surprising that three of the eight Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) focus on health issues. The three MDGs are: to reduce child mortality; to improve maternal health; and, to combat diseases such

as HIV/AIDS, tuberculosis and malaria. Governments and other agencies have an obligation to offer adequate and quality services. These services do not operate in a vacuum. For people to enjoy good health, they need to have access to health services such as medical tests, health education and others. It is clear that health services are highlighted through some linguistic media. As such, the language factor needs to be considered whenever planning for provision of health. Cameron and William (1997) maintain that:

Although we may think that the primary tools of medicine are technological, the most fundamental tool, upon which the use of technology depends, is that of language. Language allows patients and care providers to make their intentions known, a crucial step in the process of identifying a problem, investigating how long it has existed, exploring what meaning this problem may have, and setting in action a treatment strategy. Thus, if problems in linguistic encoding interfere with this process, there may be important consequences (p. 419).

Language is therefore of essence in health communication and, as such, there is need to take serious consideration of how language impacts on the delivery of health services in Kenya. For a long time, enormous language planning efforts in Kenya have been devoted to the education domain, at the expense of other domains such as health and culture. Waitiki (2010) observes that there is clear neglect of the language aspect in issues of national importance and national development in many multilingual nations in Africa, and Kenya is no exception. This is further noted by Wolff (2006) who observes that:

Discourse on language matters is often considered esoteric and of marginal interest by members of the intellectual elites worldwide... And indeed, on first sight, language appears to have little or nothing to do with the 'real' and burning problems of economic development, spread of HIV/AIDS, and poverty alleviation. Browsing through the major documents relating to the African Renaissance and NEPAD, for instance, one is struck by the observation that 'language' is a word that practically never occurs even in the most important and fundamental papers and speeches! (p. 3).

Mugambi as cited in Waitiki (2010) similarly illustrates that language cannot be left out in any discourse on development. A county can only be said to have achieved development once it has taken care of health issues. waitiki posits:

Language plays a central role in all aspects of development. Development implies communication of thoughts, feelings, facts, opinions, observations, knowledge, and all manner of individual and communal expression. Literacy is essential if people are to interpret correctly issues that affect them politically, constitutionally, and in Education. People need to use language(s) that will enable them comprehend and make decisions on matters relating to health and hygiene, agriculture, civic education, economic welfare and also matters pertaining to other aspects of their social well being (p. 3).

Waitiki (2010) further argues that it is unfortunate that many issues, including the issues of HIV and AIDS, have often been discussed without much attention being given to the role of language.

Language is fundamental in the dissemination of information that would ensure the success of both prevention and treatment of any disease. The role of communication in the fight against HIV and AIDS cannot be overemphasized. The communication of HIV and AIDS issues entails use of language and it even involves use of specific terms and expressions to refer to the scourge.

Waitiki (2010) observes that communication is the key to understanding issues related to HIV and AIDS and is instrumental in inducing behaviour change. Given the fact that there is no cure or vaccine for HIV, the fight against HIV and AIDS focuses more on preventive measures and care. This encompasses speakers addressing people on how they can prevent the spread of HIV and the measures that can be taken to ensure one lives healthy in case he/she is already infected with HIV. It is against this background that this study examined the linguistic expressions used in HIV and AIDS discourse, more particularly with reference to indigenous language.

Waitiki (2010) observes that one way of fighting HIV and AIDS is through communication of relevant, honest and complete information. This means that the language used by the speakers

and listeners should be a language that majority of the population understand and can be identified with. Therefore, this underscores the importance of using a language that is well understood by the people if communication is indeed to be effective. In Kenya, English and Kiswahili are official languages of communication. However, English continues to be used as the main language of communication in matters relating to HIV and AIDS, despite the fact that only about 17% of the population speak or use English effectively (Angoya, 2002). In addition, Kiswahili has its shortcomings. One argument might be that Kiswahili is understood by more people in Kenya than those who understand English but this is normally with varying degrees of competence and intelligibility. In fact, Webb and Kembo (2000) argue that Kiswahili is spoken by 65% of the Kenyan population. This means that 35% of the people of Kenya do not understand Kiswahili and that the two languages that are largely used for communication on HIV and AIDS are not languages which the majority of Kenyans are competent in. Therefore, although the literacy rate in Kenya is high at 87.4% (CIA World Fact Book, 2012), the lack of adequate proficiency in the two official languages of the country remains a barrier to effective communication.

Despite the fact that English and Kiswahili are used in Kenya as official languages and may not address HIV and AIDS issues fully given the fact of incompetence of the some Kenyans on the two languages, Kenyans have received adequate information on HIV and AIDS. A number of spirited campaigns on the scourge have been put forward by the Kenyan government, non-governmental organizations, religious organs, media and research institutions among others. Some of these organs use indigenous languages in disseminating information on HIV and AIDS.

Moreover, Webb and Kembo (2000) argue that translating information received in English to local languages including Kiswahili is ineffective. At times, there is no one to one

correspondence between English and Kiswahili while other terms once translated acquire connotations that are absent in English equivalents. In addition, communicating of HIV and AIDS messages even in an indigenous language may not necessarily be interpreted correctly by the audience. This may lead to difficulties in comprehension about the concept being addressed. Sperber and Wilson (1986) argue that miscomprehension is an inevitable occurrence in communication. Miscomprehension of HIV and AIDS messages means that the acquired knowledge may be incorrect or warrant an incorrect interpretation and thus fail to send the appropriate information to the people concerned. Research findings from the Kenya Demographic Health Survey (KDHS, 2003) revealed that a cross section of Kenyans experienced comprehension difficulties with a particular explicit message dubbed *A-Abstain, B-Be faithful, C-use condom* (ABC) AIDS slogan that was spearheaded to control the spread of HIV in the country. Magonya (2012) indicates that the comprehension problem was as a result of the communicator's miscalculation of the addressees' cognitive environment especially in the manner in which addressees were to decode the slogan's propositional form. As such, the communicator never took care of the socio-cultural aspects of the African communities when formulating the slogan. For instance, Kenya is a patriachial society which dictates gender imbalances in a number of aspects. Therefore, it could be unheard of women to negotiate safer sex by suggestive use of the condom. Other miscomprehension difficulties also arose from the wording of the slogan, for example, the slogan did not indicate whom one should be faithful to. Therefore, to cater for miscomprehension among addressees, the ABC slogan was fortified to read; *A-Abstinence, B-Be faithful to a partner whose HIV status you know, C-use condoms correctly and consistently* and finally, *D-diagnosis, know your HIV status* (Magonya, 2012). The miscomprehension of the AIDS slogan resulted from the inability of the addressee to reconcile

with the socio-cultural barriers. The question that arises from the above discussion is that if Kenyans experienced miscomprehension difficulties with an explicit HIV and AIDS message, can the same occur in figurative language especially use of metaphor in EkeGusii? To answer this question, the current study sought to investigate the use of metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

Kamwendo and Mooko (2006) posit that despite the fact that sub-saharan African countries are linguistically categorized as French-speaking, Portuguese-speaking or English-speaking, majority of the people have no competence in these languages. As a result, French, English and Portuguese may not be the best media for HIV and AIDS communication in Africa given that they exclude majority of the people. Kamwendo and Mooko (2006) also observe that the use of indigenous languages make sense. If there is need to succeed in health education, then it has to be provided in a language that the target population understands, and that language might be an indigenous language. This further justifies why this study focused on HIV and AIDS communication in an indigenous language spoken in Western Kenya.

The use of indigenous languages comes with serious setbacks, for instance, they may lack culturally appropriate and acceptable terminologies. Seidel (1990) observes that in Uganda, the local languages, for example, Runyankole lack the socially appropriate terms for human reproductive organs that health service providers could use in public talks and demonstrate on condom use. Seidel (1990) also argues that the expressions used in local languages are socially inappropriate for reproductive organs and that are at times a direct translation from a dominant language, for instance, English. Normally, the English expressions for reproductive organs are socially acceptable while phrased in indigenous ones are not. This arises from the fact that issues dealing with sex and sexuality in many African cultures are seen as taboo and as such, terms

referring to reproductive organs or sexuality cannot be socially unacceptable. HIV is also related to sexuality because it is one of the sexually transmitted disease and communicating about it may also be seen as a taboo. This in turn indicates the speakers' attitudes towards sexuality as Africans. Therefore, there is need to examine expressions used in HIV and AIDS discourse in order to determine their effectiveness and social acceptability in an African indigenous language. The current study examined the representation and interpretation EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions.

A number of studies have been conducted on indigenous languages in Western Kenya in relation to HIV and AIDS. Oloo (2009) examined the communicative strategies used in communicating HIV and AIDS messages in Dholuo. Oloo (2009) revealed that some of the communicative strategies employed in communicating HIV and AIDS messages in Dholuo are; euphemism, circumlocution, slang, and use of sheng among the others. Some examples of the communicative strategies identified in Dholuo may be used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS Discourse, therefore, this study was used as a comparative study in the current study. Wenje, Nyambedha and Muhoma (2011) focused on investigating how the Luo oral-media is used in HIV and AIDS discourse. Their study examined how *wende* (song) has been creatively used to create awareness and empower the community to take up ownership of the fight against HIV and AIDS. The current study analysed the use of metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. Further, Kobia (2008) carried out a sociolinguistic-cum-discourse analytical study on HIV and AIDS. Kobia (2008) analysed the language used in relation to HIV and AIDS issues among the Oluluyia speakers of Western Kenya. This study analysed the metaphors used in HIV and AIDS using the different dialects of Oluluyia. For example, the journey metaphor in Oluluyia is expressed as; Luwanga refer to HIV and AIDS by using the linguistic expression *yasumukha oluchendo* (one has began a

journey). This expression operates within the conceptual metaphor of HIV INFECTION IS THE BEGINNING OF A JOURNEY. This metaphor in Luwanga does not indicate the path, means or the destination the seropositive are engaged in. Further, the Lutsotso speakers refer to HIV as *oli amusebute* (goodbye). This expression may be an extension of CONTRACTING HIV IS A JOURNEY, this is in line that in most cases people say goodbye whenever they kick off their journeys. The current study compared the similarities and differences between Oluluyia and EkeGusii journey metaphor (cf. section 4.2.1 p.97 and 102).

1.1.2 History of HIV and AIDS in Kenya

The Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) attacks the immune cells in the body and weakens their ability to fight infections. Once HIV has weakened the immunity system of one's body, it results into Acquired Immunodeficiency Syndrome (AIDS); a medical condition in which one is susceptible to infections which are difficult to contain. The National AIDS Control Council (NACC) and the National AIDS and Sexually transmitted Diseases Programme in Kenya (NASCOP, 2012) observe that HIV represents one of the greatest public health and developmental challenge confronting the Kenyan people. The first case of HIV in Kenya was identified in 1984 and approximately 1.7 million Kenyans have died out of HIV and AIDS related complications since then to the year 2014. It is estimated that the number of People Living with HIV and AIDS (PLWHA) in the country are 1.6 million (NASCOP and NACC, 2014). Nevertheless, with the infected persons living longer as a result of increased access to medication, Kenya projects that the number of people living with HIV will continue to rise (NACC and NASCOP, 2012). Apparently, the number of HIV and AIDS orphans is increasing with the condition affecting the most productive age of the Kenyan population which is between 15-19 years (NASCOP, 2008).

Since the first case of HIV was discovered in the country, a number of studies have been conducted, majority of these have focused on health. With the effects of the HIV being felt worldwide, the Kenyan government's mechanisms to monitor it have expanded greatly. NASCOP (2005) points out that in 1999, the Government of Kenya declared HIV a national disaster and established the National Aids Control Council (NACC) to coordinate the multi-sectoral response to HIV and AIDS. NASCOP (2008) indicates that whereas Kenya has made significant progress in the fight against HIV and AIDS, the national prevalence is still high and this raises concern. Prevalence is the measure of the total burden of disease, including new and old infections (NASCOP, 2008). Prevalence can reduce or increase depending on several factors including the rate of infections and the length of time people are able to survive a disease based on available treatment.

NASCOP (2014) points out that the rate of HIV infection has continued to rise despite the fact that there have been a number of spirited campaigns on HIV and AIDS in Kenya. A recent draft report, HIV Prevention Revolution Road MAP, revealed that nine counties namely Nairobi, Homa Bay, Kisumu, Siaya, Migori, Mombasa, Turkana, Busia and Kisii form a 'high incidence cluster' as far as HIV infection is concerned (NACC and NASCOP, 2013). According to the report, the said nine counties contributed more than half of the new HIV infections in the country in 2012. This implies that about one million people are infected with the virus in the 'high incidence cluster' counties, which is a significant percentage of the total 1.6 million people living with the virus countrywide. NACC and NASCOP (2013) further point out that that the 'high incidence cluster' regions have high prevalence rates of between 10% and 28% which is much higher than the national average of 6.5%. The high prevalence therefore calls for urgent

measures to mitigate the number of new infections. Five among the nine ‘high incidence cluster’ counties come from the former Nyanza Province.

Another report prepared by NASCOP and NACC (2014) say that there are approximately with 1.6 million people living with HIV and AIDS in the country. The report further reveals that five counties namely Homa Bay, Siaya, Kisumu, Migori and Kisii contribute about 50% of the total adult infections and 75% of the new infections that occurred among children nationally in 2013. Apparently, these five counties are from the former Nyanza Province and majority of the speakers in the four counties that is, Homa Bay, Siaya, Kisumu and Migori speak Dholuo whereas Kisii County is predominantly an EkeGusii speaking region.

According to the UNAIDS (2012) report, Kisii County had a prevalence rate of 8.9% against the national rate of 5.6% in 2011. The report also notes that stigma and discrimination are still rife in Kisii giving rise to people reluctant to undergo HIV test, seek treatment and practice safe sex. NASCOP (2014) indicates that the current national HIV prevalence stands at 6% and the former Nyanza Province has the highest HIV prevalence of 15.1%. In addition, NASCOP and NACC (2014) indicate that the current HIV prevalence for Kisii County stands at 8.0%. The HIV prevalence for the former Nyanza Province and Kisii County are significantly higher than the national HIV prevalence. Njaaga (2014) observes that stigma is literally killing more people living with HIV and AIDS in Kisii County than the condition itself. Njaaga (2014) further indicates that the health experts in the county attribute the high prevalence in the county to stigma that causes the majority to fail to disclose their status hence spread the virus. Njaaga (2014) also reveals that Kisii County has 73,000 infected individuals with only 15,000 accessing care and treatment services. Normally, stigma is associated with labelling and language use (Goffman, 1963). The foregoing discussion point out that there is need to carry out more HIV

and AIDS awareness campaigns among EkeGusii speakers. The HIV prevalence in the former Nyanza province is quite high and that of Kisii High is relatively higher than that of the national HIV prevalence. There is need therefore to examine how EkeGusii speakers discuss issues dealing with HIV and AIDS. This would indicate the representation and interpretation of EkeGusii speaker's HIV and AIDS discourse.

1.1.3 EkeGusii and HIV

EkeGusii is a Lacustrine Eastern Bantu language that is spoken in the western part of Kenya (Nurse & Phillipson, 1980). EkeGusii has acquired a considerable amount of new non-Bantu vocabulary since all her neighbouring languages are non-Bantu, that is, Dholuo, Maasai, and Kalenjin. The 2009 population census indicates that EkeGusii is used by approximately 2.2 million speakers in the two counties of Kisii and Nyamira. The native speakers of EkeGusii are known as AbaGusii and the language has two dialects: EkeRogoro and EkeMaate, also referred to as Rogoro and Maate (Bosire, 1993). EkeGusii is predominantly spoken in the former Nyanza Province, but AbaGusii form part of local immigrants in major towns and cities in Kenya and it is normal to hear EkeGusii being spoken far from the original EkeGusii-speaking areas.

The former Nyanza province still has the highest HIV prevalence nationally that stands at 15.1% (NASCO, 2014). According to NACC and NASCO (2014), the HIV prevalence of Kisii County stands at 8.0% against the national prevalence of 6%. Apparently, a number of studies on HIV and AIDS in Nyanza have mainly focused on Dholuo and not the Bantu languages spoken in the province. The current study focused on EkeGusii linguistic expressions used to communicate issues pertaining to HIV and AIDS. As such, language as a means of delivering information stood paramount in the current study.

Language and society have a close relationship. Wardhaugh (1986) states that language is what the members of a particular society speak. Subsequently, language is used as a communication tool and for establishing and maintaining good relationships with other people. Language is also one of the defining features of human beings and, as such, whenever there is a new idea in existence, human beings quickly coin and create terminologies that can be used for its reference. For this reason, when HIV was discovered in Kenya in 1983, speech communities had to coin expressions that would be used to discuss about the scourge. EkeGusii speakers also formulated expressions in reference to HIV and AIDS.

Mawadza (2000) argues that African languages do not have specific words for defining scientific terms for instance, HIV and AIDS. Africans languages have numerous and diverse expressions that refer to HIV and AIDS. In fact, the expressions would be more than what is used in English. Some of the diverse expressions used by Africans result from the experiences the speakers go through as a result of HIV and AIDS. Africans were severely affected by the scourge and as a result people developed fear towards HIV and this necessitated the formation of terms and expressions that indicated their fears towards HIV.

Moreover, a number of people have succumbed to HIV related complications in Africa and given the fact that there is no cure of HIV, the scourge was associated with a lot of superstitions and witchcraft. This also means there is creation of more expressions associated with superstition and witchcraft. Finally, after the discovery of HIV, Africans had scanty knowledge about the scourge for a long time. This also implied creation of more terms about HIV and AIDS depending on the different embodied experiences by the speakers in their environments. EkeGusii is not an exceptional of the above facts. This study sought to understand how African languages, specifically EkeGusii, use their embodied experiences to talk about HIV and AIDS. Specifically,

the current study analysed how EkeGusii speakers used their embodied experiences to discuss about HIV and AIDS

1.1.4 Linguistic Expressions in HIV and AIDS Discourse

According to Horne (2010), HIV and AIDS affect individuals, who are part of a larger society. Dixit (2002) argues that HIV and AIDS is not merely a medical problem but a social, cultural and economic one. Referring to the HIV and AIDS issue in South East Asia, Dixit states:

The disease is a magnifying glass which puts the roots of regional public health crisis in sharp focus; it brings out the exploitation of women, their low status in the country, community and even within families, the trafficking of young girls, poverty that forces young men to migrate and the chronic lack of health facilities. The media should open its eyes onto these connections (p. 3).

Therefore, HIV and AIDS encompass an amalgamation of issues and as such, the social aspects of HIV and AIDS cannot be ignored. HIV affects individuals who are part of a community therefore, the social issues surrounding communication about HIV and AIDS are important. For instance, different speech communities use different expressions when communicating about HIV and AIDS. According to Moto (2004), the Malawians use a number of expressions in reference to HIV and AIDS. For instance, *kachilombo* (a small beast) refers to AIDS and *matenda a boma* (government's disease) refers to HIV and AIDS. The conceptual metaphors created in Malawian context are, HIV IS A SMALL BEAST and HIV IS A GOVERNMENT'S DISEASE respectively. The use of, HIV IS A GOVERNMENT'S DISEASE metaphor is a metonymic reference for the institution that is in charge of fighting for the disease is standing for the disease. Mathangwane (2011) similarly points out that Setswana speakers in Botswana use a number of linguistic items to refer to HIV and AIDS. In this case, expressions like *bolwetse jwa ko ditoropong* (disease of urban cities) which gives rise to the metaphor, AIDS IS DISEASE FOR URBAN DWELLERS, this metaphor associates HIV with the urban population and

bolwetse jone jo (this very disease) to refer to HIV and AIDS which is in relation to the metaphor, AIDS IS UNMENTIONABLE DISEASE. The linguistic expressions used to refer to HIV and AIDS are coined from different sources notably coming from different perceptions by diverse speech communities. The current study examined whether HIV in EkeGusii is conceptualized similarly or differently in relation to Moto (2004) and Mathangwane (2011).

According to Zishiri (2010), HIV in Africa is largely transmitted heterosexually. Zishiri continues to argue that HIV is normally associated with prostitution, and for that reason, the seropositive persons are labelled promiscuous. Prostitution has been indicated as one of the leading factors responsible for the spread of HIV and AIDS. Consequently, society has come up with names for HIV and AIDS that befittingly refer to alleged promiscuity of its carrier. Kobia (2008) notes that in the Lulogooli dialect of the Luyha language HIV and AIDS is referred to as *obukhi bwiranga* (honey that kills) and *ali nende butsiba* (he has poison). In this case, a prostitute is seen as poisonous or in possession of honey that kills. The conceptual metaphor formulated out of these two linguistic expressions is, HIV IS POISONED FOOD. This metaphor is a variant of HIV AND AIDS IS POISONED FOOD and the Lulogooli speakers specifically indicate that HIV is seen as honey that kills or one has poison. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that lust and sexuality is associated with sweetness and this may be reason behind the Luloogoli's conceptualization of sexuality as honey. The current study sought to investigate whether EkeGusii speakers conceptualize HIV as poisoned food or not. Mathangwane (2011) also observes that the expression, *malwetse a dikobo* (sexual disease), which indicates that HIV is acquired sexually is also used to refer to HIV and AIDS in Setswana. This expression gives rise to the metaphor, HIV IS A SEXUAL DISEASE. This metaphor views HIV negatively because African cultures perceive sex and sexual issues as taboo and as such they are not spoken

openly, a euphemism is otherwise used. This metaphor goes against the African socio-cultural expectations by using a dysphemism in reference to HIV and AIDS. The current study also investigated the representation and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor.

To date, HIV and AIDS remain incurable. However, seropositives can prolong life by taking Antiretroviral drugs (ARVS) which further acts as a source for labelling. As Zishiri (2010) observes, the actual uptake of ARV treatment is also used figuratively for defining HIV and AIDS. For instance, Kobia (2008) observes that the Luhya speakers have coined a word for ARV, *chimbunwe* (a type of wild edible fruit) in Lubukusu dialect of Luluyia, which is spoken in Western Kenya. This expression operates within the food metaphor in that ARVS are seen as foodstuff. As such, the conceptual metaphor operation here is, ARVS IS FOOD in Lubukusu language. The current study examined whether EkeGusii speakers conceptualize ARV as food as indicated by Lubukusu speakers or not.

The lack of a cure or vaccine for HIV and AIDS emphasizes the perception that there is only one eventuality for a seropositive, death. Zishiri (2010) further maintains that people associate HIV and AIDS with death. Like sex, death is a taboo topic in most African societies. People are generally afraid of death and seldom want to talk or even think about it. The HIV and AIDS further instill fear in people and have almost become synonymous with death. Thus, the society is forced to coin terms that indicate the fact that once one is HIV positive, death is inevitable. Kobia (2008) says that HIV and AIDS are viewed as a dangerous, destructive and incurable condition. It is for this reason that it is referred to as *obulwale obukali* (the terrible disease). The conceptual metaphor that can be formulated here is, AIDS IS A TERRIBLE DISEASE. The current study investigated whether EkeGusii speakers conceptualize HIV as a terrible disease or not. In Lunyore, being infected with HIV and AIDS is termed as *okhumila esumu* (one has

swallowed poison). This is an extension of HIV IS POISONOUS FOOD metaphor and this indicates that one contracts HIV, it is assumed that he/she has swallowed poison. In Lwisukha dialect, being infected is referred as *waituya mwisisi* (one has hit the wall fatally) in reference to a bird which while flying hit the wall of the house and died (Kobia, 2008). This is an exemplification of the accident metaphor. Therefore, the metaphor in operation here is, CONTRACTING HIV IS AN ACCIDENT in Lwisukha language. This study investigated whether EkeGusii speakers conceptualized HIV infection as an accident.

Horne (2010) describes the Zimbabwean AIDS-related slang that is related to the discourse of travel, in this case, someone is said to *have a boarding pass* or to be *in the departure lounge*. These expressions imply that the seropositives are travellers who are on transit. The conceptual metaphors that can be formulated here are, CONTRACTING HIV IS A JOURNEY and A SEROPOSITIVE IS A TRAVELLER. The metaphors indicate that once one is infected, then that marks the beginning of a journey whose destination is not revealed. In addition, a seropositive is seen as a traveller who is ready to take off to his or her journey. The current study investigated whether HIV in EkeGusii is conceptualized using the accident metaphor.

Other new terms are used by parents and guardians when disclosing their status to their children or the children's status (those who are born seropositive). According to Kobia (2008), the Lulogooli dialect, use terms like, *aveye nende izibirabiri m'muvili gwigwe* (one has pepper in his/her body). Normally, pepper is hot and it can make one experience a burning sensation to his/her skin once it is consumed. Oluluhya speakers compare the contracting HIV to the hotness of pepper. The hotness or the burning sensation of pepper can also be likened to the effects of opportunistic infections that invade a human body once one is infected with HIV.

From the foregoing discussion, it is evident that communication plays a pivotal role in HIV and AIDS discourse. Communication in HIV and AIDS discourse is basically essential in understanding the preventive measures and care, mostly, because of the absence of cure for or vaccination against HIV and AIDS, this has led to numerous deaths in Africa. The aforementioned discussion has also indicated that African languages do not have specific terms to refer to HIV and AIDS because of the high mortality rate associated with HIV in Africa. The speakers are therefore forced to come up with diverse mental representations of the plague thereby bringing forth numerous linguistic expressions in reference to HIV and AIDS. This is a further indication that EkeGusii cannot have specific terms the scourge that is associated with sex and sexual intercourse and at one point, HIV was surrounded with a lot of superstitions. In this regard, English may have fewer terms for AIDS such as the scourge, epidemic, gay plague and plague whereas African languages, specifically EkeGusii have numerous terms drawn from the speakers' cognitive experiences with the ailment. Some of these numerous terms that are used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse include use of metaphors. The current study examined the use of metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

1.1.5 Metaphor

Cognitive linguistics considers language to be intrinsically and inherently symbolic, that is, linguistic expressions stand for conceptualizations (Langacker, 1987). It is also believed that language provides speakers with a set of resources for representing thought. In other words, human communication is based on the conceptual system people use in thinking and acting and language communicates this system.

The classical theories of language within the various strands of cognitive linguistics take metaphor as primarily a matter of language. However, Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Cognitive

Theory of Metaphor say that thought has primacy over language. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that the language used is only on the surface and there is a linguistic manifestation of a deeper conceptual system in terms of which people think and act.

According to the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, metaphor is viewed as a cross-domain mapping of our conceptual system. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) define metaphor as understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another or as a tightly structured mapping or a set of correspondences between two conceptual domains which are referred to as the source and target domains. In this case, a concrete and clearly organized source domain, being more clearly related to physical and bodily experience, is used to understand and talk about a more abstract and less clearly structured target domain.

Barcelona (2000) defines metaphor as the cognitive mechanism whereby one experiential domain is partially 'mapped', that is projected, onto a different experiential domain, so that the second domain is partially understood in terms of the first one. The domain that is mapped is called the *source* or *donor domain*, and the domain onto which the source is mapped is called the *target* or *recipient domain*. Both domains have to belong to different super-ordinate domain. To illustrate this argument, Barcelona makes use of a well-known metaphoric example of Lakoff and Johnson (1980) LOVE IS A JOURNEY. This conceptual metaphor involves understanding abstract domain of experience (love) in terms of a very different and more concrete domain of experience (journeys). The linguistic expressions that are used to talk about love have a connection to journeys. For instance, *It has been a long, bumpy road*, *We are at crossroads*, *We may have to go separate ways*, *Our marriage is on the rocks*, *We are spinning our wheels*, and, *look how far we have come*, among others are used in reference to love relationships. This study adopted the cognitive view of metaphor as propounded by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The study

investigated the linguistic metaphors used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse to see whether they referred to different things, events or entities. As such, this study focused on objective one of the study that identified and explained the metaphorical conceptualization of the linguistic expressions used to refer to HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii.

Kobia (2008) observes that metaphor as communication discourse invokes powerful images that shape public opinion, perception, comprehension and interpretation of certain issues. However, Todoli (2007) cautions that metaphors should not be accepted uncritically. Rather, their inferences should be made explicit, and then challenged and alternative metaphors explored. As such, Todoli (2007) points out that metaphors can be used to present a particular message, hides some aspects of reality and convey a particular ideology. In this regard, Todoli (2007) gives an example of how disease metaphors were used in urban planning in Spain to hide a social change namely, a process of redevelopment of a neglected area. The discourse had used a health metaphor and specifically, the term *surgical operation* that *tries to kill the patient*. The recontextualization of medical discourse into urban planning discourse meant that the planned urban upgrade could be perceived as a necessary measure to be taken and *an operation* that could kill the *patient* and the *squire*. Therefore, when using metaphor, individuals exploit it differently at their level of detail; as such the interpretations of the metaphor abovementioned may bring forth a problem in comprehension and/or multiple interpretations. This further implies that the use of one metaphor may vary from one speech community to another or from one individual to the other.

Charteris-Black (2004) argues that metaphor is inherently indirect and relies on a conflict of what is said and what is meant. Charteris-Black (2004) continues to assert that metaphor forces the hearer to search for relevant interpretation that can reconcile this conflict. The speaker

intends the expression to be taken non-literary. However, the comparison models in metaphor fail in that the addressee may not be aware of the relevant properties that the topic and the vehicle concepts share. In that, the meaning of metaphor underlies the comparison of the source and target domains, and if the addressee fails to recognize the similarity between the two concepts, then he/she might not understand what is being put across. This will result into problems in comprehension. Difficulties in metaphor comprehension may result from a number of reasons namely, cultural differences, metaphors can be given multiple interpretations and may lack equivalence in other cultures.

Moreover, Kövecses (2006) argues that the choice of specific metaphors for defining realities varies culturally. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) observe that native speakers of all languages use a large number of metaphors to explain about the world. As a result, metaphorical conceptualization in natural situations occurs in relation to context and embodiment. There are differences in the range of conceptual metaphors or source domain that languages and cultures have for conceptualization of particular target domains. In some instances, the source domains maybe similar but because of embodiment, the mappings could be very different. Kövecses (2010) observes that Chinese speakers have a metaphor that English does not, HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART in contrast to a metaphor that exists in American English which does not exist in Chinese at all, BEING HAPPY IS BEING OFF THE GROUND. The two metaphors are a clear example that conceptualization of metaphors is related to context and embodiment. As a result, different languages and cultures do not attend to the same physiological reactions associated with concepts (Kövecses, 2006). That is why speakers from different cultures and languages will discuss about the same concept differently depending on their conceptualization which is closely associated with their environment. Johnson and Lakoff (1980)

argue that successful communication requires a shared conceptual system between the speaker or writer, and listener or reader. It is sometimes difficult for someone who does not belong to a given speech community to understand the metaphors of that community. The current study sought to identify and explain how EkeGusii speakers conceptualize HIV and AIDS in their discourse.

In addition, Todoli (2007) argues that if metaphors structure the way we think, act and interact, it is reasonable to assume that they play a role in the construction of social reality and, therefore, can change reality and construct consensus or public opinion. Further, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) posit that metaphor is a tool that is used both in ordinary and expert discourse and most of the time, metaphor use is unconscious and irreplaceable. Subsequently, by examining ordinary expressions used in everyday language, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) demonstrate that people very often talk about an entity or events in terms of another. They compare a phenomenon they are familiar with to the one that they want to cognitively appropriate by establishing links between the two domains of experience. It is against this background that objective one of this study also analysed the properties of conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor.

The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor locates metaphor in the conceptual structure and not linguistic knowledge. Metaphor is thus granted a mental representation which underlies the functioning of language. In addition, the concept being illustrated gets synthesized differently in minds of people as it is impossible for the speaker to transfer his/her exact thought to the hearers. Hence, the mental representation of the hearer and speaker over a given concept are basically different. According to Sperber and Hirschfeld (2007), the mental representation is a state of affairs in which some information becomes represented in the hearer's mind as a result of an utterance. Sperber and Hirschfeld (2007) further observe that the information received is

materially realized in the mental representation of the people, and in their public reproductions, that is, their cognitively guided behaviour and their enduring traces of this behaviour. The information about a given concept is reformulated to form a new and closely similar concept. Sperber and Hirschfeld (2007) assert that the interpretation of a given phenomena is unachievable without attending to the mental and public representations of the people involved. Once the mental representation is expressed and transmitted to others, it is then transformed into a public representation. The public representation is the verbal information the speakers reproduce after synthesizing it. When two EkeGusii speakers are communicating about HIV and AIDS, they use language. The speaker tries to communicate what he/she has in his/her mind through utterances. However, it is not possible to transfer the exact knowledge and mental picture from a speaker to a listener. What a listener receives out of a piece of communication could be an imitation but not an exact copy of what the speaker had. This can of information may be transferred on and on to a point that the speakers and listeners form almost the same mental picture over a given concept. However, the mental pictures formed by the speakers and listeners would be different, therefore warranting varied interpretations over a given concept. The different interpretations may also affect comprehension. Objective two of this study analysed the representation and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphors.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

EkeGusii like any other African languages does not have specific terms for defining scientific concepts like in reference to HIV and AIDS. There exist numerous expressions in reference to HIV and AIDS which results from the speakers' creativity and their different embodied experiences with their environments over the scourge. Some of the expressions EkeGusii speakers use to refer to the scourge are metaphorical. However, the use of metaphor may give

rise to difficulties in comprehension because of the multiple interpretations that may be accorded to it. Moreover, the comparison of metaphor may give rise to a conflict of what is said and what is meant especially if it fails to introduce properties that are not part of the addressee's mental representation of the topic. As a result, the addressee needs cognitive effort to figure out the things referred to and the relevant properties being shared to understand and interpret metaphor. Consequently, HIV and AIDS expressions may be represented and interpreted differently by EkeGusii speakers. This study investigated how EkeGusii speakers conceptualize HIV and AIDS expressions and their mental representation and interpretation to expose the underlying quality dimensions that constitute the metaphors employed.

1.3 Research Questions

The current research addressed the following questions:

1. What are the metaphorical conceptualizations and the properties of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor?
2. How do EkeGusii speakers represent and interpret HIV and AIDS metaphors?

1.4 Objectives of the Study

The main objective of this study was to investigate the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse and its mental representation and interpretation.

The specific objectives were to:

1. Identify and explain the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions and analyse properties of their cross domain mappings.
2. Explain how EkeGusii speakers represent and interpret HIV and AIDS metaphors.

1.5 Justification of the Study

From a Cognitive Linguistic perspective, there is need for carrying out a cognitive linguistic research in HIV and AIDS. Extensive research has been carried out on HIV and AIDS by epidemiologists, feminist, literary scholars and anthropologists. In an attempt to fill this knowledge gap, this study sought to contribute to this area of cognitive linguistics by investigating the use of metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. By examining the conceptualization and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor, this study would be contributing towards cognitive linguistics as the study could reveal how EkeGusii speakers conceptualize HIV and AIDS.

Further, the main studies carried out on metaphorical conceptualization have focused on English language. The problem, however, is that the insights into conceptual metaphors found to apply to English have been generalized to apply to all languages. However, Kövesces (2006) observes that specific metaphors for defining reality vary culturally. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) note that a conventional metaphor is a metaphor that is commonly used in everyday language in a culture to give structure some portion of that culture's conceptual system. The study was out to investigate whether EkeGusii borrows from Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conventional metaphors or not. The findings could indicate how EkeGusii speakers define, represent and interpret the reality of HIV and AIDS.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) posit that metaphor is a tool that is used both in ordinary and specialized discourses, and that its use is unconscious and automatic. Lakoff and Johnson further argue that metaphors are irreplaceable. Lakoff and Turner (1989) also consider metaphor as omnipresent; accessible to everyone and irreplaceable. In fact, everyone has acquired a mastery

of metaphor used in daily lives and it helps to understand the world around them. It was therefore invaluable to examine metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. This would be useful to policy makers and HIV campaigners on sensitizing Kenyans on the importance of metaphor use in HIV and AIDS messages.

The inquiry may be significant as it may contribute towards the achievement of one of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs). The sixth MDG is: Combat HIV and AIDS, malaria and other diseases. Therefore, this study addressed the language used in HIV and AIDS discourse. Lastly, the current enquiry would also be useful to policy makers and HIV and AIDS campaigners as the research would avail recommendations on which linguistic expressions should be used in HIV campaigns in EkeGusii. This may be useful to HIV communicative campaigners as they may design communicative activities in terms that are generally positive and acceptable in EkeGusii and hence communicate effectively as far as AIDS is concerned.

According to NASCOP (2014), HIV prevalence in Nyanza is the highest nationally and it stands at 15.1%, hence it is an issue of concern. Research has also shown that the HIV prevalence rate in Gusii is worrying. Omondi (2006), Oloo (2009), Wenje, Nyambedha and Muhoma (2011) and Oloo (2012) among others have conducted research in Nyanza on HIV and AIDS communication, but most of them have focused on Dholuo and not the Bantu languages spoken in the province. The relationship between HIV and communication is an issue that calls for further investigation. By examining the EkeGusii speakers' representation and interpretation of HIV and AIDS, the research could indicate whether the EkeGusii AIDS metaphor is perceived negatively or positively. This has an impact on miscommunication of HIV and AIDS and this in turn affects the quality of HIV and AIDS campaigns in EkeGusii. This would further open up research into other areas in EkeGusii as far as HIV and AIDS is concerned.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The study falls within the broad area of cognitive linguistics. The scope of the current research was limited in several areas namely, the linguistic choice, area of study, number of respondents, the number of linguistic items to be analysed and the theory used. First, in terms of linguistic choice, the current study examined the linguistic expressions used by EkeGusii speakers in HIV and AIDS discourse. The study utilised spoken discourse and ignored EkeGusii written expressions that may be used in HIV and AIDS related materials. Second, this study was confined to native speakers of EkeGusii. Thirdly, the current study was limited to thirty respondents who would provide representative data for analysis.

Lastly, the current study used the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) to discuss the different conceptual metaphors on the HIV and AIDS discourse. Of significance were the expressions concerned with promiscuity, use of the condom, the uptake of antiretrovirals, the process of infection, and the seropositive persons. This study also analyzed the structural conceptual metaphors thereby leaving out the ontological and orientational metaphors.

1.7 Theoretical Framework: Cognitive Theory of Metaphor

This study was guided by the cognitive approach of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor as proposed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). Lakoff and Johnson posit that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical in that most concepts are partially understood in terms of other concepts that is, what we experience and what we do every day is much of a matter of metaphor.

In Cognitive Linguistics, conceptual metaphor refers to the understanding of an idea, or conceptual domain, in terms of another; for example, understanding an argument in terms of war

or marriage in terms of a contract (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Metaphorical expressions are surface manifestations of metaphorical concepts (or conceptual metaphors). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) observe that metaphor is a tool so ordinary that we use it unconsciously and automatically and it is irreplaceable. Thus, when we speak of defending a position in an argument, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that, we conceptualize ARGUMENT AS WAR, with war functioning as a conceptual source domain which informs and structures the target domain of argumentation. It predicts that our conceptual structures of arguments has attacks and defenses, positions and maneuverings, and victories and defeats.

Therefore, most of our conceptual systems are partly understood in terms of other concepts and most of the human beings' normal conceptual system is metaphorical. These mappings are realised linguistically. The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Lakoff and Turner, 1989 and Lakoff, 1993) all suggest that linguistic metaphor is a consequence of conceptual metaphor. A conceptual metaphor is conceived as a series of symmetric mappings stored in long term memory uniting structure from a more concrete source domain to a more abstract domain. Linguistic metaphors make conceptual metaphors explicit. Moreover, conceptual metaphors are not used in everyday life; they are realised by metaphorical linguistic expressions. For example, the conceptual metaphor, TIME IS MONEY, is reflected in the following expressions among others:

You are wasting my time.

This gadget will save you hours

Is that worth your while?

He is living on borrowed time. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:7-8).

The metaphorical aforementioned have expounded on the TIME IS MONEY metaphor. As such, time is seen as a valuable commodity that can be wasted and saved. Time is further taken as a precious entity that has value and can be borrowed.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), there are three types of conceptual metaphors: structural, ontological and orientational metaphors. Lakoff (1993) argues that structural metaphors have more structural and functional correspondence between the source and target domains. In other words, people can understand the target domain through the rich structural mappings from the source domain. As such, rich structural knowledge is provided by the source domain for the target concept. The understanding process happens when the elements of the source domain are conceptually mapped onto the elements of the target (Kövecses, 2002). For instance, in the TIME IS MOTION, time is structured according to motion and space and we can get the following mappings in this metaphor.

- i) *Times are things.*
- ii) *The passing of time is motion.*
- iii) *Future time is in front of the observer, past times are behind the observer.*
- iv) *One thing is moving, the other is stationary. The stationary thing is the deictic centre.* (Kövecses, 2002:133).

The ontological metaphors can also be understood as entity and substance metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). Ontological metaphors are based on our experience with the physical world around us. When things people want to refer to are not very concrete and do not have clear physical shape, people tend to understand them as entities or substances. This means that they can refer and categorize them (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). The source domain of an ontological metaphor is usually an object, substance or container in general rather than it being exactly what kind of object it is. For example, the common metaphor, ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER is based on the metaphor HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER which is an ontological metaphor because the whole body is portrayed as a general container and not a specific one.

The INFLATION AS AN ENTITY metaphor from *The Metaphors We Live By*, is another example. In this metaphor, inflation is understood as an entity and it enables people to refer to and qualify it in the following sentences (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003).

- i) *Inflation is lowering* our standard of living.
- ii) If there is much *more inflation*, we will never survive, we will need to *combat inflation*.
- iii) Inflation is *hacking* us to the corner (p. 27).

In the above linguistic variants, inflation is understood as something that can affect the lives of people and can be combated. The uses of ontological metaphors enables people talk and understand inflation as a physical entity.

Oriental metaphors are related to the basic spatial orientations of human beings such as up-down, centre-periphery and so on. The cognitive function of orientational metaphors is a series of target concept coherent in our conceptual system. In the following examples, the upward orientation characterizes certain target concepts, while their opposite concepts are characterized by a downward orientation (Kövesces, 2002:36).

- i) MORE IS UP; LESS IS DOWN: speak *up*, please. Keep your voice *down*, please.
- ii) HEALTHY IS UP; SICK IS DOWN: Lazarus *rose* from dead. He fell *ill*.
- iii) CONTROL IS UP; LACK OF CONTROL IS DOWN: I'm *on top* of the situation, He is *under my control*.
- iv) HAPPY IS UP; SAD IS DOWN: I'm feeling *up* today. He's really *low* these days.

It should also be noted that the spatial orientation up-down is not the only spatial source image.

Oriental metaphors also utilise spatial images such as whole, center, link, balance, and so on (Kövesces, 2002).

This study focused on the structural metaphors. It carried out an investigation of the cognitive interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that structural metaphors conceptualizes a highly complicated concept such a disease in terms of

something that is understood more readily namely, physical conflict. The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor has nine tenets but only seven provided the analytical parameters for the current study. These tenets are discussed in details in sections 1.8.1 to 1.8.7.

1.7.1 Ubiquity of Metaphors

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) posit that linguistic metaphor is not an exceptional matter of poetic creativity or excessive rhetoric. In perfect ordinary language (as well as in highly specialized expert discourse), conventional metaphors are abundant. Therefore, linguists have to face the task of accounting for them as part of our general linguistic competence. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) point out that the concepts that govern our thoughts govern our everyday functioning. Our concepts structure what and how we perceive the world. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in defining and organizing our everyday realities. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) posit that metaphor is a tool that is used both in ordinary and specialized discourses and that its use is unconscious. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) further argue that metaphors are irreplaceable. This means that metaphor is something that is used frequently regardless of the subject under discussion and, at times speakers do not even realize that they are using metaphors. This tenet was useful in accounting for the availability of linguistic and conceptual metaphors in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS messages.

1.7.2 Domain Principle

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) assert that metaphorical expressions are not to be treated in isolation, but as linguistic realizations of conceptual metaphors. Domains play a crucial role in the definition of metaphor as a mapping from one domain to another. According to the domain principle, a metaphoric mapping involves a source domain and a target domain. One of these conceptual domain which functions as a target domain, (for example the target domain of

ARGUMENT) is understood by taking recourse to another conceptual domain which acts as a source domain (war) therefore, the conceptual metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR (Lakoff and Johnson; 1980). This metaphor is reflected in our everyday language by a variety of expressions:

ARGUMENT IS WAR

Your claims are indefensible.

He attacked every weak point in my argument.

His criticisms are right on target.

I demolished his argument.

I've never won an argument with him.

If you use that strategy, he'll wipe you out.

He shot down all my arguments. (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980:6)

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that people do not just talk about arguments in terms of war. They actually win or lose arguments. They see the person they are arguing with as an opponent as they attack his positions and defend their own. Many of the things people do in arguing are partially structured in terms of war. Arguments and wars are different kinds of things; verbal discourse and armed conflict. The actions performed are also different. But, ARGUMENT is partially structured, understood, performed and talked about in terms of war.

The source domain is therefore used to understand, structure and, in some cases, mitigate the target domain. The domain tenet was useful in the current study in identifying and analysing the cross domain mappings in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphoric items. This was done by categorizing the metaphoric expressions into different source domains that were used to understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS. This implicitly meant assigning them to different conceptual mappings.

According to the domain tenet, these metaphorical expressions should display enough systematicity to be accounted for in terms of conceptual metaphors (Lakoff and Johnson, (1980). Arguments do follow patterns, that is, there are certain things that people typically do in arguing.

The fact that arguments are partially conceptualized in terms of battle and war systematically influences the shape arguments take and the way people talk about what they do in arguing. Because the metaphorical concept is systematic, the language people use to talk about the aspect of the concept is systematic. The domain tenet further ascertained whether there was display of systematization of HIV metaphorical expressions in the formulation of mappings. Kövecses (2002) posits that the use of capital letters when referring to domains signifies that conceptual metaphors, being mental categories are not necessarily expressed in a language. Nevertheless, all metaphorical expressions are written in lower case. This signifies that conceptual metaphors in a language are expressed through metaphorical expressions. In these metaphors, metaphoric expressions in the source domain were used to replace HIV and AIDS expressions in the target domain. That is, the target domain of HIV and AIDS was structured and understood by the mappings of the source domain.

1.7.3 Cognitive Models

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that quite often, conceptual metaphors form coherent cognitive models. That is, complex, gestalt structures of organized knowledge are used as pragmatic simplifications of an even more complex reality. Lakoff (1987) observes that these idealized cognitive models (ICMs) which can be reconstructed by means of cognitive linguistic analysis of everyday language are regarded as cultural models likely to unconsciously determine the world view of the whole linguistic community. In other words, metaphorical concepts develop out of conceptual bodily experiences (and cultural practices).

Lakoff (1987) describes a cognitive model as an organized whole of generalized experiences of an individual but comparable phenomenon of objects, actions, and events. An individual's everyday encounters with different but comparable phenomena gives rise to ideas of what is

normal to come across and experience in their respectable environments. For instance, in the theory of ICM, a *bachelor* could be defined as an *unmarried man* but, only with respect to the MARRIAGE ICM. However, the Pope is a poor example of the term bachelor given the background knowledge people have about the Catholic Church, in that it is a rule that a Pope should not marry and therefore this disqualifies him from being called a bachelor (Lakoff, 1987).

Lakoff (1987) further argues that the ICMs are the static and dynamic mental representations of typical situations in life and their typical elements. An ICM is meant to include not only the encyclopedic knowledge of a particular domain but also the cultural model they are part of. In summary, an ICM is a subject of mental categorization, and how the mind is expressed through metaphors. That is the reason people do not have a mental representation of the Pope being a bachelor (Lakoff, 1987).

This tenet was useful in the discussion of objective two on the mental representation and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor. The tenet further examined whether the conceptual metaphors generated from the data analysed was indicative of EkeGusii culture and if they formed coherent cognitive models. The argument by Sperber (2006) on cultural modularity assisted the cognitive model in the discussion on mental representation of EkeGusii AIDS metaphor. It is therefore invaluable to present the arguments by Sperber.

1.7.3.1 Public and Mental Representations

Sperber (2006) posits that human, cognition, interaction, and culture are thoroughly intertwined and without cognition and interaction, there could be no culture. In this regard, a metaphor also cuts across human cognition and interaction; hence it may also be intertwined with culture too. Sperber and Wilson (1996) also argue that certain beliefs are culturally contagious. This implies

that once a belief is formed by certain members of a community, there is a high possibility that it will be acquired by the other members forming a culture. For instance, if a community believes that AIDS is a death sentence, then it may form part of the cultural beliefs of that community. Therefore, it was important for the current research to examine how HIV and AIDS metaphor was used in reference to HIV and AIDS communication in EkeGusii and how it was represented in the minds of the speakers.

Representation is defined in a broad sense as whatever carries meaning in a context. Something is a representation if it is produced by some information processing device so as to contain information about some event or state of affairs (Sperber and Wilson, 1996). The information may be used by another device or the same device later. The notion also applies to mental representation of people (or animal or intelligent robots) and to public representation, that is, artifacts such as utterances or pictures produced to communicate among people. Cognition can be characterized by matching of causal and semantic relationships otherwise referred to as the Cognitive Causal Chains (CCS) and Social Cognitive Causal Chains (SCCC).

Sperber (2006) gives an example of a representation using the case of a lady known as Ann who calls a local pizza store to give an order. Ann calls a local pizza store to order a pizza. John takes the order, passes it to Mary who prepares the pizza, and Bill takes the pizza to Ann's door. Bill rings the door bell to deliver the pizza to Ann. Here, aspects like perception, inference, remembering and motor control have functions in mental representation (Sperber, 2006).

Perception has a function of realizing a true relation between the distal stimulus and the mental representation that identifies the stimulus. For example, Ann's perceiving that the door bell is ringing is caused by the ringing of the bell and is true of that event. Inference has the function of

realizing a ‘follows-from’ relationship between two sets of representations, its input premises and its output conclusion. Ann’s inferring from the ringing of the doorbell that someone wants the door open is a causal process that takes as an input the general representation that what normally causes doorbell to ring is the action of people wanting the door open and the specific representation that the doorbell is ringing. Remembering has the function of realizing a near-identity-of-content relationship between two representations, distant in time, of the same event or state of affairs. Ann’s remembering that she had ordered a pizza has among its causes her having mentally represented her action of ordering a pizza at the time at which she did so, and produces a representation similar in content to that earlier representation. Motor control has the function of realizing a fulfillment relationship between a mentally represented goal and the effect of an action. Ann’s opening the door is both caused by her goal of opening the door to the person presumably delivering the pizza, and fulfills that goal. This matching of causal and semantic relationships is what characterizes cognition.

Further, communication between two people involves two complementary cognitive processes, one of expression and the other one of communication. The speaker represents a mental representation by producing some public representation. This representation is interpreted by the receiver, yielding if all goes well a mental representation that is almost similar to what the speaker had expressed earlier. A typical example of how a receiver preserves the form of public productions is provided by imitation. An individual observes the behavior of another individual and mentally represents it in a manner such that she can then exploit this representation to produce herself a similar behaviour.

Preservation of mental content and preservation of behavioural form from one individual to another are often linked. Typically, the receiver in a process of communication not only

constructs a mental representation similar to that of the communicator, she also acquires the ability to produce a new version of the public representation she has interpreted. Typically, the imitator, in order to imitate, constructs a mental representation of the behavior to be imitated similar to that of the individual he is imitating. Basically, a receiver's interpretive abilities may not be matched by her expressive abilities. For instance, when communication takes place in a second language well understood but poorly spoken by the receiver; similarly, an imitator may use a mental representation of the behavior quite different from that of the individual he is imitating, as in the case of a parrot imitating human speech). Thus imitation and communication can overlap as in Figure 1.

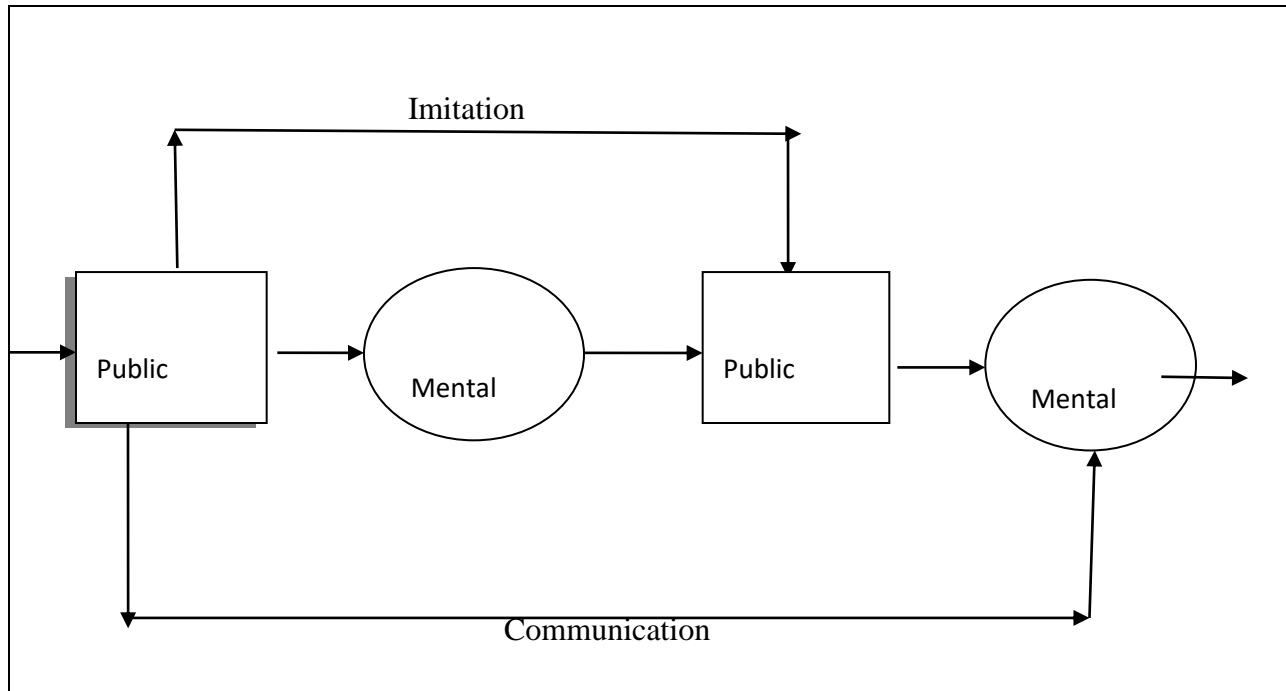


Figure 1: Mental and public representation schema (Sperber, 2006:8)

Understanding the mind is important in the study of culture. According to Kövesces (2002), disease and death influence the representations and design of cultural systems. The attitudes of people towards illness, suffering and death depend on their cultures. Their cultures are the clearest evidence of people’s attitudes to life. The interpretation of metaphors also differs by culture and often also by language. It is the culture of people that defines the interpretation of a metaphor.

Lakoff and Johnson (2003) also state that not all people live by the same metaphors. Metaphors depend on culture and on what people focus on in life. A culture may be thought of providing, among other things, a pool of available metaphors for making sense of reality. Many of conceptual metaphors of people are based on physical experiences through their culture. The current study investigated whether universality of metaphors differ with EkeGusii. The models

tenet and Sperber's (2006) argument about public and mental representation were useful in the analysis of the mental representation accorded by EkeGusii speakers towards AIDS.

1.7.4. Unidirectionality of Metaphors

Metaphors always carry information from one fundamental quality dimension, for which the typological structure is well established conceptually, to a less fundamental dimension for which the structure is not yet completely determined (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). As such, metaphors have the ability to connect an abstract concept using something physical which helps one to understand the abstract idea more clearly.

The metaphorical source domains revealed by the conceptual analysis should in principle be of a concrete kind, open to experience through the senses (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Moreover, the principle should also exclude reversal of the direction of transfer, with the domain of diverse linguistic expressions functioning as the source domain. This tenet was used in the analysis of cross-domain mappings from the source domain of linguistic expressions to the target domain of HIV and AIDS. The tenet was further used to investigate whether EkeGusii HIV and AIDS linguistic expressions were categorized into diverse conceptual mappings, and whether the conceptual metaphors showed a correlation between the source and target domains. This tenet was also useful in showing how a metaphorical mapping presented sub mappings or ontological correspondences between the source and target domains as a result of reasoning about the latter using the knowledge one has about the former. This further gave distinct differences between two related or unrelated conceptual mappings. Most importantly, the unidirectionality tenet also checked whether there was exclusion in reversal of the direction of transfer where the EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse domain functioned as a target domain.

1.7.5 Necessity of Metaphors

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), in general, metaphors have an explanatory function. Certain issues could hardly be understood or conceptualized at all without recourse to conceptual metaphor. Through relating even the most abstract thinking of sensual perception, conceptual metaphors supply a bodily, biophysical grounding of cognition, providing coherence and unity of experience. With regard to the necessity, the tenet was used to counter check whether the domain of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse was largely dependent on metaphorical conceptualization.

1.7.6 Creativity of Metaphors

The potential meaningfulness of metaphor does not yield simple paraphrase, its meaning cannot be reduced to a non metaphorical, propositional format without loss (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). This is the reason for enormous creativity that metaphor displays not only in the poetic discourse: in ordinary everyday life, it can structure ingrained patterns of thinking. In scientific contexts, it can have a heuristic function. This tenet guided the current study in examining the creativity of the EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor. In this case the, the creativity tenet further investigated whether the metaphorical expressions in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse would be paraphrased literally without loss of meaning.

1.7.7 Focusing of Metaphors

(Lakoff and Johnson, 1980) observes that metaphors only supply a partial description or explanation of the target domain in question, highlighting certain aspects while hiding others. It is this focusing that creates the difference between alternative metaphors for the same target domain. The focusing tenet could be used in analysing the aspects of metaphors highlighted from and the ones that are hidden. In this regard, some aspects of the target domain which are the

positive, favourable or neutral aspects are highlighted while the negative, unpleasant, or embarrassing aspects are hidden (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). The source domain was used to understand, structure, and in some cases, mitigate the target domain. This tenet was also useful in explaining the properties that are hidden and those that are ignored in EkeGusii AIDS conceptualization. This further indicated the differences between the subsequent and alternative metaphors underlying a given concept or idea.

The seven tenets illustrated above constitute part of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor that guided the study. The theory was used as a guiding parameter in the analysis of the conceptual metaphors in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS messages.

1.7.8 Conclusion

This chapter has described the background information, stated the problem, and outlined the objectives and justification for the study. The chapter has also discussed the scope and the theoretical framework upon which the current study was anchored. The next chapter discusses literature related to the current study thereby exposing the gaps that this study is out to fill.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews on related literature on various topical issues on which the current study is anchored. It is designed under two research objectives that the current study is based upon. The first section of this section investigates the metaphorical conceptualization of HIV and AIDS and their cross domain mappings. The other section examines the representation and interpretation of HIV and AIDS metaphor. The literature review for the two objectives is further divided into other thematic concerns that are discussed to expose gaps that the current study sought to fill.

2.2 Metaphorical Conceptualization of HIV and AIDS and Properties of Cross Domain Mappings

This section discusses the metaphorical conceptualization of HIV and AIDS and their cross domain mappings. Conceptual metaphors are mental abstractions that are manifested in metaphorical expressions. That is why it was imperative to carry out literature review on the metaphorical expressions used as they indicate the underlying conceptual metaphors. This section also foregrounds the conceptual metaphors by highlighting the traditional and cognitive views of metaphor. The study further reviews studies that have focused on metaphor. Lastly, the properties of cross domain mappings used in ailments were reviewed.

2.2 1 Metaphorical Expressions in HIV and AIDS

Once the first case of HIV was diagnosed in Kenya in 1984 (NASCO, 2012), issues regarding HIV and AIDS were brought to the public through media. Whiteside (1993) notes that initially, most of the studies conducted in relation to the epidemic focused on health. Whiteside (1993)

argues that while the medical parameters concerning HIV and AIDS are increasingly understood, the social demographic and economic implications are uncertain and that this is the area where much work will have to be done. Whiteside also notes that the greatest challenge before a cure is found is to encourage behaviour change to reduce further spread of the disease. Whiteside's (1993) study foregrounds the current study as he underscores the importance of focusing more on social aspects of HIV and AIDS and trying to encourage behaviour change. HIV communication is one of the social issues that surround HIV and AIDS. This study examined language use and HIV and AIDS communication which is as a social tool that could be used to encourage behaviour change and therefore, reducing the spread HIV.

Mashiri, Mawomo and Iom (2002) investigated the indirect verbal strategies that Shona-speaking people in contemporary Zimbabwe create and use in casual communication on HIV and AIDS. These indirect linguistic forms are used in reference to HIV and AIDS because the Shona people consider matters relating to sex, death, illness or other misfortunes as taboo or unspeakable. The indirect verbal message used in reference to HIV and AIDS in Shona are euphemisms, metaphors, colloquial expressions and slang. As a result, some of the linguistic expressions used in Shona to refer to HIV and AIDS, *chipedzamahure* (prostitute killer), *chikauya* (mysterious disease) and *shamhu ya Mwari* (God's curse). These expressions would be further by analysed in terms of the conceptual metaphorical underlying them. The expression, *chipedzamahure* (prostitute killer) would indicate that HIV IS A PROSTITUTE KILLER in Shona. This metaphor implies that HIV affects and kills individuals who are out to practice prostitution. While, the linguistic expression *chikauya* (mysterious disease) operates within the conceptual metaphor, AIDS IS A MYSTERIOUS DISEASE and *shamhu ya Mwari* (God's curse) indicate that HIV IS A CURSE FROM GOD. In this regard, Shona speakers perceive HIV as a mysterious disease

that is yet to be understood by human beings and it is also a curse from God. The current study investigated whether EkeGusii speakers conceptualized HIV and AIDS as a prostitute killer, a mysterious disease or as a curse from God the like the Shona speakers.

Moto (2004) examined the type of language and linguistic expressions which are used in discussions about sex and sexual behaviour against a backdrop of a generally conservative male dominated society. The study by Moto (2004) indicated that the conservative nature of the Malawian society is reflected in the kind of the self-censored nature of linguistic use through the employment of euphemistic expressions. As a result, the Malawians use euphemism to refer to sex and sexual behaviour as a way of avoiding mentioning concepts that are regarded as taboo. HIV and AIDS are associated with sex and sexuality, and the Malawians also use a number of linguistic expressions in reference to HIV and AIDS. For instance, when one says *kachilombo kalowa* (a small beast has entered), it means that someone is having or showing signs of having been infected by HIV. In this case HIV in Malawi is referred as *kachilombo* (a small beast) which brings forth the conceptual metaphors HIV IS A SMALL BEAST. In this understanding, HIV is seen as a small beast that can and should be fought and killed.

The study by Moto (2004) reveals the relationship that obtains between the cultural pursuits and dictates the language employed in discussing matters of sex and HIV and AIDS. In this regard, matters related to sex and sexuality are tabooed concepts in many African societies and as a result are seen to be socially unacceptable. The current study examined the metaphorical expressions that are used in EkeGusii to refer to HIV and AIDS to see whether they conceptualize HIV as a small beat. The study further examined the representation and interpretation of EkeGusii AIDS metaphor.

The language used by the youth in relation to HIV and AIDS was investigated Ogechi (2005) unravels the lexicon and expressions about HIV and AIDS used by university students in Kenya. The youth use unique linguistic expressions when referring to HIV and AIDS. The expressions can be sourced from Swahili, in the case of *mdudu* (insect), *kimbunga* (hurricane), others come from French, for instance, *sida*, while others are either sourced from English or via Kiswahili-English code switching, in this case, *livewire* and *ka-mosquito* (a tiny mosquito) are used respectively. These metaphoric expressions can be analysed in terms of the underlying conceptual metaphors upon which they are manifested. The Swahili word *mdudu* (insect) and *ka-mosquito* (a tiny mosquito) are an extension of, HIV IS A SMALL BEAST that was also used by Malawian's as indicated by Moto (2004). In this metaphor, HIV is understood as an insect or a small mosquito. On one hand, insects are normally associated with decaying or rotting substances and this picture is transposed to HIV. As such, the virus causes decay or rot on the human body by disfiguring the immunity system of the seropositive. On the other hand, mosquitoes cause malaria which can also lead to fatalities unless one seeks treatment. Therefore, the harm that malaria transmitting mosquitoes creates to a human being is compared to that of HIV. Moreover, the metaphoric expression, *ka-mosquito* (a tiny mosquito) can also be viewed as a realization of a variant of AIDS IS A SLIMMING DISEASE. In this metaphor, a seropositive is compared to a tiny mosquito especially after one is invaded by numerous opportunistic infections which transforms his/her body to look emaciated and wasted.

Ogechi (2005) further indicates that HIV is also referred as *kimbunga* (hurricane). The underlying metaphor here is, HIV IS DEATH or HIV IS A DISASTER. In this metaphor, HIV is compared to a hurricane and it indicates that HIV causes destruction and death. Hurricanes are generally known to cause a lot of destruction and death. Therefore, the effect of a hurricane is

used to understand that of HIV. Lastly, Ogechi (2005) indicates that HIV can also be referred as *a livewire*. This is a variant of the metaphor, HIV IS DEATH, especially when it results from electrocution. This metaphor understands HIV is a dreadful virus that is out to cause havoc. As a result, the metaphor sends warning to people to be careful not to contract HIV as this will lead to death. The current study examines the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions. The study by Ogechi (2005) provided comparative metaphors that the current study utilized in the analysis. The present study examined whether EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphorical expressions could be conceptualized as a small beast, a slimming disease, death, or disaster.

Ogechi (2005) examined the language of the youth, while Omondi (2006) investigated language use and the mode of communication in Community Development Projects in Nyanza. Specifically, Omondi (2006) examined the language used by the Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) in Kisumu. In this regard, the study examined how the outsider-development agents communicate development information due to the sociolinguistic situation in many rural African communities. Omondi (2006) posits that the development projects target the rural population who are not speakers of the dominant language of development discourse and in most cases this is the official or foreign languages taught in schools. Omondi's (2006) study examined the language used by the NGOs that had been set up to assist people living with HIV and AIDS in Luo Nyanza. It focused on how the NGOs communicated development projects to the locals who were basically illiterate.

The study by Omondi (2006) revealed that three modes of communication (the phonic, graphic and multimodal) commonly used in development communication in the study area are not common to the target community. More often than not, the modes are not sensitive to the cultural

and situational contexts of interaction, thus ignoring the community schemata, concerns and preferences. Omondi (2006) observes that this results into disorder in discourse, which in turn hampers interactive community development. The study further revealed that the language preferences of the change agents construct development as an elite exercise thereby stereotyping development as something foreign disseminated by elites mostly through the use of elitist language (English) and modes of communication. The current study was similar with that of Omondi (2006) as both investigate health communication and specifically focus on HIV and AIDS. Contrary to Omondi's study, the current research examined the metaphoric expressions using the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor as used by EkeGusii speakers by of Nyanza province to discuss issues pertaining to HIV and AIDS.

Further, HIV and indigenous language in Nigeria has been investigated. Thao and Quynh (2008) analyse the role of Nigeria's indigenous languages in campaigns aimed at discouraging indiscriminate and casual sexual habits as a remedy to the spread of HIV, helping in curtailing and/or controlling sexual habits of people and at least to prevent the disease from spreading. The study by Thao and Quynh (2008) provided comparative literature in the analysis of representation and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

In a similar research to Thao and Quynh (2008) that is situated in Nigeria, Salisu (2008) also studies sensitization campaigns in Nigeria. Salisu (2008) researched on the communicative effectiveness of language use in texts of public awareness/sensitization campaigns on HIV and AIDS in Nigeria. This study set out to determine whether the perceived messages on the text are understood as intended. Salisu (2008) found out that the respondents do not feel influenced by the awareness and sensitization campaign texts on HIV and AIDS. Contrary to Salisu's (2008) textual analysis of the awareness and sensitization campaigns, this study undertook an analytical

approach that examined the representation and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor. The current study utilized the spoken discourse from EkeGusii speakers.

In addition, Oloo (2009) analysed the communicative strategies used HIV and AIDS Dholuo. Oloo's (2009) study focused on Dholuo spoken in Nyanza province, Kenya and it revealed that some of the communicative strategies employed are, euphemism, circumlocution, metaphor and slang. All these communicative strategies employed involve communication of some sort. However, they may give rise to miscomprehension as the information communicated may not be fully explained in the interaction. The study by Oloo (2009) used discourse analysis approach in her study. In addition, some of the communicative strategies identified in Dholuo may also be used in communicating EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The current study examined narrowed down to the use of metaphoric expressions in discussing HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii.

Unlike Oloo who studies the dominant discourse of HIV and AIDS in Dholuo, Horne (2010) carries out a multi-cultural study. Horne (2010) discusses the AIDS related slang in circulation in various African countries, venturing the view that the amount and range of slang on the subject could be as a result of the distinctive features of the phenomenon of HIV and AIDS: its relative newness, the fact that it is a remarkable occurrence that has a devastating impact on many African communities and the fact that it is a stigmatized condition. The current study may benefit from Horne (2010)'s study of use of slang in communicating HIV and AIDS issues, as the terms can be compared. However the specific linguistic expressions that will be used in EkeGusii discourse might vary because of the cultural and contextual differences. Horne (2010) gives an example of the Zimbabwean AIDS-related slang, a metaphor that is drawn from soccer described a seropositive as having been given a *red card* implying that he has been sent off the playing field, in this case, of life. This expression is an extension of the game metaphors, SEX IS A

FOOTBALL or HAVING SEX IS A GAME. These metaphors understand sex as soccer, and in this situation being given a red card is compared to contracting HIV. In this understanding, the seropositive is compared to a football player who has been sent out of the game for defying rules of the game. This situation may imply that the seropositive might have defied some rules of the sexual game and thereby ended up being infected with the virus. The current study examined whether HIV in EkeGusii was conceptualized as a game and whether the linguistic expressions were similar to those of Horne (2010). The other examples are, describing someone affected as *someone who has become too thin and could stand on a nail* (Horne, 2010). This metaphoric expression is a variant of AIDS IS A WASTING DISEASE or AIDS IS A SLIMMING DISEASE. This metaphor indicates that HIV decomposes one's body to a point he/she is compared to one who is capable of standing on a nail. This metaphor was also utilized by Ogechi (2005) who indicted that HIV is referred as *ka-mosquito* (a tiny mosquito). The picture created out of someone who too thin and capable of standing on a nail would be similar to that of someone who resembles a tiny mosquito. Therefore, it is revealed that AIDS is a wasting condition.

Horne (2010) further points out that a seropositive would also be described in Shona as, *someone who has become a razor blade*. This is an extension of HIV IS CONTAGION metaphor in that HIV is compared to an unsterilized razor blade that is capable of transmitting infections from one person to another. In this metaphor, a seropositive is seen as a person who is contagious and capable of transmitting infections just the same way an unsterilized razor is contagious. The current study benefited from the study by Horne (2010) as it availed comparative linguistic expressions and metaphors that proved essential in the analysis of data. The current study

therefore investigated if EkeGusii speakers conceptualized HIV using the soccer metaphor, or as destructive or poisonous.

Different from Horne's multi-cultural approach on AIDS-related slang, HIV and AIDS in Gikuyu language of Kenya has been examined in Gachara (2011). The said study analysed the effectiveness of language used to campaign against HIV and AIDS. This study investigated the deviation of meaning between the intended meanings of messages used to campaign against the HIV and AIDS and the interpreted meanings. The study analysed two songs, radio announcements, television commercials, billboards and posters. Contrary to Gachara's (2011) textual analysis of written discourse, the current study investigated the spoken discourse in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS messages.

Wenje, Nyambedha and Muhoma's (2011) research shares the techniques, insights and lessons learnt from how the oral media have been creatively used to create awareness and empower the Luo community and take ownership of the fight against HIV and AIDS. Specifically, the study examines the use of oral songs as an intervention tool in the fight against HIV and AIDS among the Luo of western Kenya. They found out that instead of volarizing literary or Eurocentric communication channels such as radio, newspaper and television, the speakers should focus on Afro-centered oral-media such as singing, storytelling, drama and proverbs. Similarly, the current research used oral data from EkeGusii speakers. Contrary to the study by Wenje, Nyambedha and Muhoma that looks at use of Luo songs in the fight of HIV and AIDS, the current study examined EkeGusii metaphorical expressions on HIV and AIDS discourse.

Nyakoe (2011) examined the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii euphemism. African languages consider discussing about sex, sexual intercourse, death and reproductive organs

socially unacceptable and as such, they are labelled taboo. References to such tabooed concepts are only perceived as socially acceptable when one uses euphemism. In this regard, Nyakoe (2011) investigated the metaphor underlying the euphemistic expressions for death in EkeGusii. In this case, death in EkeGusii was conceptualized using DEATH IS A JOURNEY TO ONE'S CREATOR. In this metaphor, death in EkeGusii was understood as the beginning of another journey either to the ancestors or to the creator. Given the fact that HIV and AIDS are associated with death and sex and as a result, they are also perceived to be taboo, and conceptualization of illness has been likened to death, the conceptualization of death in EkeGusii euphemism was valuable as it provided comparative attributes that assisted the current study. The current study investigated if EkeGusii speakers conceptualized HIV and AIDS journey metaphor using attributes from the death is a journey metaphor in EkeGusii.

Lastly, Oloo (2012) focuses on Dholuo language. She analysed the HIV and AIDS discourse in Kenya with a view of identifying the representation of HIV and AIDS discourse in the lake region of Nyanza province. Oloo's (2012) study focused on the perceptions, attitudes and representation of HIV and AIDS in Dholuo. For example, the respondents indicate that, *ayaki kelo chandruok/thagruok* (AIDS bring problems/suffering/hardship). The mental representation associated with this expression over HIV and AIDS is that they are associated with problems and suffering. This gives rise to the formation of a cognitive model of AIDS is problematic or AIDS causes one to suffer. This further brings the interpretation of HIV being associated with pain and suffering as HIV and AIDS are portrayed as wearing out qualities which render people incapable. As such, the portrayal of the PLWHA as helpless may pose a burden to others, which may aggravate discrimination and stigmatization of the PLWHA. Oloo (2012) continues to assert that this portrayal may also be a caution to people not to let the condition progress so far to

render them bed ridden and hence incapable of carrying out their day to day duties. Oloo (2012) concludes that people are called upon to know their HIV status in good time and seek medical attention early so that they retain their healthy status. The present study investigated the representation and interpretation created out of the metaphorical use of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. Oloo (2012) provides a comparative platform from which the current study can draw comparisons. The current study therefore intends to fill the knowledge gaps identified in the foregoing discussion by carrying out an investigation of metaphorical conceptualization of HIV and AIDS discourse in EkeGusii.

2.2.2 The Traditional and Cognitive Views of Metaphor

This section seeks to foreground objective one of the study by highlighting the traditional and cognitive views of metaphor. The traditional understanding of metaphor differs considerably from the contemporary thought on the subject. The traditional view sees metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon which falls largely in the realm of *poetic* or *figurative* language and it relegates this phenomenon to the level of an ornamental device used in rhetorical style (Ungerer and Schmid 1996). Metaphor was thus ridiculed as useless, not worthy of any linguistic attention, but as a linguistic device used by rhetoricians. Aristotle (1926) claimed that a metaphor has two discursive locations, the place of origin and the place to which it has been transferred. Aristotle also asserts that metaphor is made of two parts and meaning is easily extracted or concealed because all metaphors can be stated as similes and all similes as metaphors (Mberi, 2003). According to Aristotle (1926), the two parts of a metaphor work on each other by sharing some common feature. With the advent of linguistic and dialogical models of communication, researchers began to consider metaphor in a new way, as a subject with its own right.

However, it is not always the case that all metaphors start from literal language. Black (1962) offers a different view of metaphor known as the interactionist theory. He refers to the Aristotelian view as a comparison theory in which there are pre-existing similarities between compared terms. According to Black (1962), two expressions, the literal and the metaphorical one, are equivalent and metaphor can then be translated by means of an exhaustive paraphrase. For instance, when we say that *man is a wolf* we do not simply project the pre-existing characteristics of a *wolf* onto *man* but rather newly involve man in a system of common places: the metaphor *man is wolf* influences both our idea of man and wolf. Initially, metaphor was studied from a linguistic point of view, so most of the early work on the topic concerns how metaphor is generated through language. However, metaphor theory has undergone significant changes in recent years. The foregoing discussion reveals how metaphor has developed from being as a useless aspect not worthy for research to a figurative language or rather linguistic metaphor. However, the current study had focused on the conceptual metaphor as propounded by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) claim that our conceptual system, in terms of which human beings both think and act, is basically metaphoric in nature. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also claim that the way human beings think, experience and what they do every day, is much a matter of metaphor. Metaphor then seems to function at the conceptual level. That is, according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphor is a cognitive instrument by which human beings conceive the world. Thus, human beings communicate these metaphorical construals in expressions that reflect the metaphoric nature of the concepts versus the metaphorical linguistic expressions (Nothnagel, 2009).

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), in metaphor interpretation, one kind of thing or experience is understood in terms of something else of a different kind. For example, in the conceptual metaphor, ARGUMENT IS WAR, we understand argument in terms of war. The structure of war is mapped onto the structure of argument to the extent that, there are similarities between war and argument. Lakoff and Turner (1989) argue that the mapping is unidirectional: metaphor is used to map certain conceptual source domain into the conceptual target domain thereby creating a new understanding of the target domain. The mapping takes place at the conceptual level. The current study examined EkeGusii metaphor from the cognitive point of view. In this case, the conceptual metaphors used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS were realized by examining the metaphorical expressions that were used in reference to HIV and AIDS.

2.2.3 Studies on Conceptual Metaphor

Conventionalised metaphors play a vital role in language. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) use conventional metaphors to argue that much of our everyday talk (and, hence as they claim, much of our thoughts, and much of our reality) is structured metaphorically. This means that most of our abstract categories are organized cognitively by structures borrowed from more concrete categories. In Cognitive Linguistics, conceptual metaphors are thus defined as ‘...a mapping of the structure of a source model onto a target model’ (Ungerer and Schmid, 1996:120). According to Cienki (2005), metaphor can provide a tool for reasoning about one thing in terms of another. This study adopted the definition as illustrated above by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) to examine the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

Lakoff and Johnson (1981) argue that most people’s metaphor has evolved in their culture over a long period of time, but many are imposed upon them by the people in power, and the people

who get to impose metaphor on the culture get to define what the people consider as true. In the 19th and 20th centuries, for instance, medicine evolved military metaphor against disease to promote the idea that illness is an enemy to be defeated and to engage people in a common cause, namely, in a treatment focused on medication. In this regard, Sontag (1989) focused on cancer and tuberculosis in modern society and considered the metaphors attributed to cancer to show how people associate illness with other concepts to help them understand the unseen and mysterious process of disease and illness. Sontag (1989) collected metaphors on the way people speak about illness in terms of war and showed how doctors, in their *crusade against cancer* and in order to *kill cancer, bombard with toxic rays* and *chemical warfare*. All these metaphorical expressions were drawn from the military metaphor, in that the cancer cells were seen as an enemy to be fought. Lakoff (1991) maintains that military operations are seen as *hygienic* and as a means to *clean out* fortifications, and bombs are displayed as *surgical strikes* to take out anything that can serve as military purpose. Sontag's (1989) study was carried out in the time that HIV and AIDS had just been discovered in Kenya and at that time even the government of Kenya had not declared it a national disaster. The war metaphor is still alive in most cultures and has an important role in understanding complex matters such as HIV and AIDS. In this understanding, Sontag (1989) study was invaluable to the current study as it provided a comparative platform for the current study. This is because HIV has affected humanity and there is every possibility that it would be conceptualized using the military metaphor. However, conceptualization of concepts varies culturally and in relation to the embodied experiences of the people. The current study investigated the conceptualization of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. In this regard, it examined whether the military metaphor was used in understanding HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii.

Metaphor in religious texts has also been tackled. Jäkel (2002) analysed the metaphorical expressions in one of the translated versions of the holy Qur'an, the KNOWING IS SEEING metaphor. The study reveals that the JOURNEY metaphor in the religious context of the Qur'an draws a clear distinction between the two ways of life, the good, moral life on one extreme versus the bad, immoral life on the other extreme. The good moral life includes the following points among others: how God's instructions are embodied in the good way, how respecting these instructions led people to the good way. The immoral way includes the following ways: how the devil's seduction is embodied in his way and, how the deviation of people from God's instructions leads to their taking to the road of sin. Jäkel (2002) study reveals that the journey metaphor in the religious text has two travellers, the good and evil. The study by Jäkel (2002) availed comparative literature that assisted this study in the analysis of use the EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor in relation to the JOURNEY metaphor. In this understanding, the journey metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse was analysed to check if it had the two types of travellers that are mentioned in the analysis of the religious text. However, divergent to the study by Jäkel (2002), the current research analysed the metaphors used to refer to prostitution in relation to HIV and AIDS discourse in EkeGusii.

Metaphor use has also been discussed in relation to illnesses in animals. In contrast to the study by Jäkel (2002) Nerlich and Rowe (2002) examined the socio-cultural conceptualization of foot and mouth disease (FMD) which raged in United Kingdom in 2001. Nerlich and Rowe (2002) posit that farming myths and metaphors of war and disease were strong points of reference in the political and media discourse about the epidemic and they also interacted with potent visual images of death and destruction.

Conceptual metaphor such as DEALING WITH FMD IS WAR pervaded the FMD discourse, which is similar to other discourses about fighting off diseases. The military metaphor persistently structures in powerful ways the political and public conceptualization of the disease. As a result, FMD was viewed as an enemy in the war. The enemy to be fought was seen as either the animal or the virus or the disease they carried. The aim of the war was to *win* the battle against FMD, that is, ‘*to control, contain, combat, defeat, eradicate, kill and bury millions of animals to prevent FMD from conquering more territory.*’ Therefore, the military atmosphere surrounding FMD was captured well in the following linguistic realization: ‘*men with combat gear and berets strode between lorries....*’ This meant that men who were dressed with war regalia could be seen strolling in the neighbourhood between lorries that were carrying infected animals. Therefore, the men were trying to combat and control the spread of FMD. The conceptualization of FMD had utilized the war metaphor fully and the metaphorical expressions explicitly show that. The current study was also dealing with an ailment HIV and AIDS, it was imperative to check if EkeGusii speakers conceptualized HIV and AIDS using the war metaphor.

Nerlich and Rowe (2002) further maintain that metaphors are not only cognitive but also cultural and social phenomena. Metaphors tap into the nation’s cultural imagination, reinforce cultural stereotypes, they naturalize social representation and shape social policy. The study found out that FMD discourse interacted with potential visual images of death and destruction. Nerlich and Rowe (2002) indicate that death, the eternal partner of war, was everywhere: *in the funeral pyres, the funeral pits, the burial trenches, the mass graves, in the smoke in the air and the silence that followed the slaughter.* The countryside was said to be *uncannily quiet, silent and lifeless.* This indicates that FMD could also be conceptualized using FMD IS A KILLER metaphor. This metaphor understands FMD as death and it has a close connection with the war

metaphor. The conceptualization of the war metaphor is prevalent by the fact that illnesses are associated with images of death and destruction. These images are brought about by the effect of the disease to the community. HIV has also caused immense destruction and death in Africa and more specifically, to EkeGusii speakers. The fact that conceptualization depends on social and cultural aspects of speakers, it was invaluable that the present study examined the war metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The study also counter checked the metaphoric expressions that were used in EkeGusii to point the similarities and differences between the conceptualization of FMD and HIV and AIDS. The current study differs from Nerlich and Rowe's (2002) study in that it focuses on HIV and AIDS, a condition that affects human beings and whereas Nerlich and Rowe's study focused on FMD that raged United Kingdom in 2001, the current study examined HIV and AIDS discourse in an African indigenous language. However, Nerlich and Rowe's (2002) inquiry was also invaluable as it assisted the current one in analysis when addressing the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse in relation to the war and death metaphor. The metaphorical conceptualization of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii was discussed in relation to the socio-cultural issues surrounding humanity and EkeGusii speakers.

Metaphor has been given a cross-cultural approach. Deignan and Potter (2004) carried out a corpus study on metaphors and metonymies in English and Italian. Deignan and Potter (2004) underscore the fact that while universal bodily embodiment may motivate any figurative expression, the process is sometimes complex and will not necessarily result in equivalent expressions in different languages, for cultural and linguistic reasons. There were instances of one-shot metaphors which were apparently not part of the systematic mapping. For instance, mouth is used to talk about openings of tunnels or buildings, and at that point where a river

meets the sea. Deignan and Potter (2004) further found out that a number of equivalent expressions across the two languages seem traceable to body-mind mapping. For example, one metaphor that maps the source domain of animal's body onto the target domain of an aircraft or vehicle in the citation such as: *'the helicopter could land, her nose into the wind, the pair had driven nose to tail on the rain-soaked track, and we have replaced some wide body-aircraft with narrow-body aircraft on various routes for more efficiency.* Deignan and Potter (2004) argue that in many cases, it seems likely that shared mapping are motivated by body experiences. The experiences both common in English and Italian include *'look beyond the end of one's nose'* in citations such as *'...your attention and energy are naturally freed up and you can start to look beyond the end of your nose to the rest of the world around you.'* This statement means paying attention to matters that do not immediately concern one with the same positive evaluation of his/her behaviour. The expression seems to have two motivations, seeing stands metaphorically for thinking and the physical body stands for a person's immediate concerns. Conceptualization is closely related to embodiment and culture and that as much as the current study borrowed or conceptualized HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii the same as other universal metaphors or languages, there was need to reexamine the metaphors because they were related to EkeGusii speakers' physical experiences and culture. For this reason, it variation of metaphors in terms of language, culture and embodiment were necessary parameters that the analysis of this study. This in turn indicated the creativity of metaphors. The current study differs from Deignan and Potter's (2004) research as it focuses on one language, EkeGusii. This present enquiry further examined whether EkeGusii AIDS metaphor could have different motivations and properties towards their conceptualization. The current study benefited from Deignan and Potter's as they provided

analytical guidelines in the metaphorical conceptualization that were useful when discussing the creativity of metaphor in EkeGusii.

Metaphor has been examined in relation to urban planning. Todoli (2007) examines the plan for restoring the Islamic Wall to show how authors of the plan used metaphors to mystify reality and illustrate the discursive resistance expressed by residents and residents' associations. The study sheds light on how conventional metaphors are commonly accepted as natural ways of naming reality, and therefore, functions as powerful device for mystifying reality. Todoli (2007) asserts that metaphors help make complex issues understandable to the public, and to promote and legitimize the ideological viewpoints of particular groups.

Todoli (2007) posits that the health metaphor was used in relation to urban planning. In the restoration of the Islamic Wall, the health metaphor arises as a powerful device to inform people of the advantages and disadvantages of the plan and technicians and institutional representatives used the health metaphor to defend the attack plan. The project technicians, for example, established a doctor-patient (and therefore expert/non expert) relationship with the affected environment to justify the urban *operation*. This way, the proposed plan is seen as therapeutic solution, namely as a *sanitizing* by means of *delicate surgery*, although it entails the demolition of several buildings and expulsion of their inhabitants. The anti-project technician also used the health metaphor, but this time to make the affected residents aware of the side effects and consequences of the *operation*, namely, the expulsion of affected inhabitants and the redevelopment of neighbourhood into a tertiary area. For the latter, the project is seen as a *major surgery* and more specifically, as linear *metastasis* which entails *extirpation* and *amputation of the urban tissue*. Todoli's study had not focused on the interpretation and representation of metaphor by interviewing speakers, an aspect of which the current study examined.

Nevertheless, Todoli's (2007) study focused on urban planning, it became invaluable in the current study as it provided guidelines in metaphorical conceptualizations using the health metaphor. The current study investigated EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. AIDS is a health condition, therefore, it was necessary to examine whether the conventional health metaphor was used in reference to HIV and AIDS, and if it was used to understand and mystify the reality of AIDS in EkeGusii.

From the aforementioned discussion, it is evident that this study has filled linguistic gaps by studying certain aspects of conceptual metaphor that the aforementioned studies have not ventured into; especially in relation to Cognitive Linguistics.

2.2.4. Properties of Cross Domain Mappings

In this section, the aspects that formulate the properties of conceptual metaphors are discussed using illustrations from studies carried out on metaphor in ailments. These points highlight how conceptual metaphors are structured and how they function and further expose the gaps the current study was out to fill. First and foremost, conceptual metaphors seem to be culturally dependent. Conceptual metaphors thus vary from culture to culture. In this case, either the conceptual metaphors vary or the metaphorical expressions of a specific metaphor vary from language to language. Barry, Brescoll, Brownell and Schlesinger (2009) carried out a study on obesity metaphors. The study by Barry *et al.* (2009) investigated what people think about the causes of obesity in America using metaphors; it further examined whether an individual's beliefs about the causes of obesity affect their support for policies aimed at stemming obesity rates.

Barry *et al.* (2009) argue that discourse among the Americans and policy makers regarding obesity is rich in analogies and metaphorical comparisons; the best known of these rhetorical motifs is the characterization of an ‘obesity epidemic’. Barry *et al.* (2009) revealed that obesity was conceptualized using seven metaphors. Some of these metaphors are: *obesity as a sinful behaviour, a disability, a form of eating disorder, food addiction and as a result of toxic food environment*. Obesity is a condition that is affecting human beings the same way HIV and AIDS are. All the metaphorical expressions used in reference to obesity are an extension of the food metaphor. Therefore, the current study benefitted from the study on obesity by comparing whether HIV was conceptualized in EkeGusii using the food metaphor as sinful behaviour, a disability or as a result of toxic food environment. This comparison further indicated whether conceptualization is culture dependent or not by comparing the metaphoric expressions used in reference to EkeGusii HIV and AIDS and other ailments and languages.

Barry *et al.*'s (2009) came up with conceptual metaphors that Americans use to describe obesity and if such a study were carried out elsewhere the conceptualization would be different because conceptual metaphors are culture dependent and conceptualization depends on the speaker's bodily experiences with the environment. Barry *et al.*'s (2009) study gave comparative parameters to the current study. Just as obesity is posing serious challenges to the Americans, the same is experienced in Kenya in regard to HIV and AIDS. Subsequently, the current study examined if the conceptualization of the AIDS metaphor in EkeGusii was culture dependent.

Second, conceptual metaphoric structuring is partial in nature. This means that when you map from one domain in order to bring some enlightenment to another domain you only map some, not all, of the features that define the source domain onto the target domain. For example, the military metaphor has been used from time immemorial when discussing diseases. In the war

metaphor, war literally means an armed conflict between states, nations or rival political factions characterized by violence, hostility and executed by individuals who are expressly organized and trained (Hillmer, 2007). In this scenario, TREATING ILLNESS IS FIGHTING WAR metaphor is commonly used and its structure is compared to the concept of war. The concept of war is mapped onto the concept of illness by seeing the person as a state; which means that, the body of a person is conceptualized as a state, which is at war. Further, the body is conceived as having borders, which can be crossed, that is the body can be invaded by enemies. It also has an ‘army’ and a ‘defense system’, and it can ‘win’ and ‘lose’.

According to Lakoff (1980), however, metaphorical mappings are partial, not total. Otherwise, the cause of an infection would indeed be war. The illness as war metaphor definitely focuses on the violent and aggressive aspects of the disease (Hillmer, 2007). In doing so, a number of issues are not examined or mapped. According to Sontag (1989), the dangers involved in encouraging the use of strong drugs and surgery without taking care of the possible side effects, focusing a lot of attention on the disease rather than the patient and leading to unnecessarily frightening images are not taken care of in the illness is war metaphor. In this regard, the war metaphor focuses more on the treatment of the disease and not the patient. This property of metaphor was used in this study to discuss the partial nature of mappings in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor. Some of the concepts partially mapped in the various conceptual metaphors were explained in the current study.

Thirdly, Conceptual metaphors have multiple mappings. A single concept can have several different conceptual metaphors working to describe different parts of how that concept is understood. For example, in a research carried out by Rosa (2008), the Avian Influenza was conceptualized as FIGHTING ILLNESS IS WAR, later as a FIGHTING ILLNESS IS A

JOURNEY and as AVIAN FLU IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE. In these metaphors, Avian Flu was seen as an enemy to be fought and the process of the fighting this illness was further interpreted as a journey. The measures that were put in place to control and counter the spread of Avian Flu took some processes and time and that is why the journey metaphor was used in fighting the spread of Avian Flu. In addition, the manner in which Avian Flu was spreading was seen as a supernatural force that was out to cause harm to birds. The Avian Influenza is also known as bird flu or H5N1. It is an infectious disease of birds that was first identified in China in 1996. It was later discovered that it could also affect humans. Rosa (2008) carried out a cognitive semantic analysis of a few conceptual metaphors as instantiated in the news discourse of the British Press on the crisis that followed the 2005 outbreak of Avian Influenza. Rosa (2008) argues that the British Government's response to the crisis was to implement the 'tested slaughter policy' and start a programme of vaccinating infected animals.

Rosa's (2008) study revealed that the framing of the disease was carried out through mainly one metaphor FIGHTING AN ILLNESS IS WAR, but the disease was also characterized as FIGHTING ILLNESS IS A JOURNEY, quite often and later on as, AVIAN FLU IS SUPERNATURAL FORCE. Rosa (2008) posits that the use of the war metaphor does merit attention in the case of the war being raged against the disease went beyond a single country (Vietnam and Cambodia) to become, in the process, a global and international war through the use of the new metaphor A GLOBAL NETWORK. The war scenario was further justified on the grounds that what was being dealt with is a very dangerous and violent enemy: AVIAN FLU IS A KILLER. This metaphor was highly frequent in discussions of the disease where Avian Flu was continually labelled as 'deadly virus which claims victims and kills people' as illustrated

below (Rosa, 2008). This metaphor revealed that Avian flu was killing the birds despite the war that had been staged to try and manage the spread of the disease.

The deadly H5N1 virus is heading our way. Will we all die? It is coming closer and strikes without warning (p. 240).

The aforementioned illustration is an illustration is a propagation of, AVIAN FLU IS A JOURNEY METAPHOR too as the virus is viewed as a traveller who is out to harm more and more birds. Furthermore, the said traveller is viewed as a dangerous one that strikes without warning.

Rosa (2008) argues that when Avian Flu became an international affair, the control metaphor was used in reporting about the disease. In this case, two new metaphors, AVIAN FLU IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE and AVIAN FLU IS A NATURAL FORCE were introduced. Rosa claims that when coming to terms with the disease, the control metaphor calls for a more moderate approach, politically and economically, than the war metaphor. Thus the war metaphor was reported in the following ways:

The FAO warned Turkey's neighbors, including Armenia, Syria, Georgia, Iraq and Iran to put control and surveillance measures in place immediately.

The research published in the Proceedings of National Academy of Sciences indicates that the virus had been spreading in an uncontrolled fashion in China for the past decade (Rosa, 2008:241).

From the foregoing discussion, the Avian Flu has been understood through diverse mappings. The Flu has been structured through different conceptual metaphors such as FIGHTING ILLNESS IS WAR, FIGHTING ILLNESS IS A JOURNEY, AVIAN FLU IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE OF NATURAL and AVIAN FLU IS A SUPERNATURAL FORCE. All these conceptual metaphors describe the Avian Flu differently. There are different attributes in war, journey, destructive force of nature and supernatural forces that are used to structure and understand the target domain of Avian Flu. HIV and AIDS were understood differently using a

number of mappings. Rosa's study provided guidelines in describing EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor using diverse mappings. The study by Rosa (2008) provides comparative mappings from which the EkeGusii AIDS metaphor can be described given that the Avian Flu was an international phenomenon as is the case with HIV and AIDS.

Further, the concepts that get mapped onto other concepts are not random or haphazard, but usually, our conceptual system is grounded in a very specific way. In most cases, the target domains are abstract whereas the source domains are concrete, or, in the words of Lakoff and Johnson, "we typically conceptualize the non physical in term of the physical" (2003: 59). This means that people usually map from a domain which we can see, feel, touch and understand to the domains that they cannot see or so easily comprehend. This is a very important aspect of Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, because as the theory claims, most concepts are structured in terms of other concepts.

To illustrate this property of conceptualization, a study that examines how language and metaphor were used in the UK media coverage of another previously unknown and severe infectious disease Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome SARS was used. According to Wallis and Nerlich (2005), the main conceptual metaphor used for SARS in the UK media was SARS IS A KILLER. This metaphor was dominant in the discussions of nature, actions and impact of the disease. Wallis and Nerlich (2005) argue that SARS was quickly labelled as the killer virus, killer plague or deadly bug that claims victims or simply kills people.

The conceptualization of SARS IS A KILLER definitely makes people understand the epidemic as something dreadful that kills. The killer aspect is a domain that is well understood by many and it inspires fear in people and that fits well with conceptualizations of epidemics (Nerlich and

Rowe, 2003). Therefore, the abstract concept, SARS is thereby understood by a concrete domain, that of a killer. People understand that once something is termed as a killer, it could be a deadly animal or criminal that is out to cause harm thereby incorporating the popular metaphor CRIMINALS ARE ANIMALS. The current study utilized the systematization of mappings to examine whether EkeGusii AIDS metaphors were understood from source domains that are concrete and at times physical. In addition, just the same way that people would not understand SARS and had to use domains that they see, feel, touch and understand in reference to it, the current study also investigated whether EkeGusii speakers used the same domains to structure and understand HIV and AIDS in their discourse.

Wallis and Nerlich (2005) also examined the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) which received international media coverage in 2003 as reported in the UK media. The English media coverage employed the metaphor, SARS IS A KILLER. This metaphor was primarily used to discuss the characteristics and effects of the disease; the other metaphors of control dominated discussions of responses to the disease. The media reports indicated that, *SARS is a killer; it is a killer virus, a killer plague and a deadly bug. It kills victims and simply kills people.* There was an overlap between the killer metaphor and the traditionalistic military metaphor as they both relied on independent force metaphors. In this understanding, SARS was perceived to be having some force that caused the death of victims. HIV has caused a lot of death in Africa and the present study examined if the conceptualization of HIV and AIDS utilized the killer metaphor.

Moreover, conceptual metaphors can have a special property of highlighting and hiding. Following Conceptual Metaphor Theory, a concept may be understood by mapping certain aspects of other concepts onto itself, and it may come down to context as to which concepts are

used as source domains. In that way we can choose to highlight certain features of the target domain.

Despite the fact that the military metaphor has been used exhaustively in a number of epidemics, a number of attributes associated with war are down played in the conceptualization of FIGHTING ILLNESS IS WAR. This is something that is important when assessing the SARS metaphor, an example that immediately comes to mind is the conceptual metaphor FIGHTING SARS IS WAR, in which SARS is conceptualized as an enemy to be fought and be overthrown, but some aspects of war like injury, explosions, gunfire and death are played down. Moreover, even when the Chinese government built a universal network to battle SARS, the heavy weaponry and machinery that is a prerequisite in battles were however not issued, instead logistical issues are laid down on how to curb and control the spread of the disease. The current study investigated the property of cross domain mapping of highlighting and downplaying concepts. As such, the study examined if attributes are highlighted or others are hidden in the EkeGusii HIV and AIDS cross domain mappings.

2.3 Representation and Interpretation of HIV and AIDS Metaphor

This section reviews literature for objective two of the study that deals with representation and interpretation of HIV and AIDS metaphor. This section is further divided into two sections. The first one examines literature related to representation of HIV and AIDS and the second section looks at the interpretation of HIV and AIDS metaphor thereby exposing the gaps that the current study was out to fill.

2.3 Representation of HIV and AIDS Metaphor

This section reviews related in relation to objective two of the study that sought to discuss the representation of HIV and AIDS metaphor. For a long time, metaphors were seen as rhetorical devices and most specifically as a matter of poetry. Todoli (2007) posits that today, however, many cognitive linguists and analysts of discourse recognize that metaphor structures perception and understanding of reality and, that we define reality in terms of different kinds of metaphors and proceed to act on basis of these metaphors. HIV and AIDS are real in the world and therefore it can also be structured in terms of metaphors and these metaphors may influence peoples' actions. Nevertheless, the metaphors used in relation to HIV and AIDS might be represented and interpreted differently from one speaker to the other depending on one's interaction with the environment and his/her culture. This section discusses the representation and interpretation of metaphors used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

The most common source domains in metaphors are the human body, health and illness, animals, machines and tools. The most common target domains are emotion, desire, morality and thought (Lakoff, 1987). Besides metaphors that are used to express feelings of lust and sex, there are specific metaphors and symbols for HIV and AIDS among different cultural groups. According to Gilmore and Somerville (1994) at least seven metaphors have been used in interpreting the meaning of AIDS: AIDS IS DEATH (through the use of imagery such as the grim reaper), AIDS IS OTHERS (in which the disease is an affliction of those set apart), and AIDS IS A PUNISHMENT (for instance, for immoral behaviour). The other metaphors are: AIDS IS HORROR (in which infected people are demonized and feared), AIDS IS CRIME (for instance in relation to innocent victims), and AIDS IS WAR (in relation to a virus which needs to be fought). Gilmore and Somerville (1994) provide a benchmark that AIDS can be examined from.

The conceptualization and representation of HIV and AIDS metaphor is environment and culture dependent. This brings about variation of metaphors within languages and cultures. As such, the way the scourge is represented also differs. It is against this backdrop that the current study examined the representation of HIV and AIDS metaphor.

Mei Li (2000) observes that information about HIV and AIDS does not only come from health practitioners, but also from many other parts of society. Mei Li (2000) adopted a corpus analysis that was done on AIDS metaphors in the TIME magazine. The results leave no doubt that reporting on AIDS is characterized by the language of evil. Mei Li (2000) found the following five metaphors which are used to describe AIDS as a form of evil:

1. *The contamination of AIDS*: This metaphor positions people living with AIDS as a source of contamination and as such, they are a potential risk to normal people, reviving the archaic idea of an evil tainted community condemned to die. This is reflected in a rich vocabulary associated with AIDS: pervert, pollute, stigma, decay, corrupt, taint.

2. *AIDS as an evil force*: AIDS is seen as a curse. AIDS is the century's evil. The disease has the ability to reveal itself in certain forms, to travel from wife to husband, and extend its reach. Besides being the century's evil, other negative references are: slimming disease, mysterious disease, witchcraft, tragedy, and an ancient curse.

3. *AIDS as a form of moral pollution or plague*: These are metaphors of the moral nature that form a bridge among morality, AIDS, and homosexuals in general. Homosexuality is also considered to be a disease. HIV and AIDS are seen as a moral condition that threatens the existence of the homosexual community. Homosexuals are equated to the sodomites, who were wicked and are being judged by God for their immoral ways.

4. *AIDS as a killer*: AIDS is a terrifying killer that has left a horrifying trail of destruction in its murderous path. It is a killer with human abilities such as sweeping mercilessly.

5. *AIDS and the metaphor of decay*: Metaphors of monsters are often used. Metaphorically, AIDS is described as a disease caused by an alien who lodges itself in a healthy body and then transforms the state of health into a state of illness. Once the seropositives are attached with opportunistic infections, their health deteriorates and their appearances at times have wounds that make them labelled with metaphors of decay.

The classification by Mei Li (2000) would be collapsed into three instead of five categories. In this understanding, the new classification would refer to HIV and AIDS as killer, contagion/contamination or evil force. The underlying conceptual metaphors are HIV IS A KILLER, HIV IS CONTAMINATION OR CONTAGION AND HIV IS AN EVIL FORCE. In HIV IS A KILLER METAPHOR, HIV would be seen as a terrifying killer that has caused a lot of destruction. HIV IS CONTAMINATION OR CONTAGION metaphor would encompass the contamination of AIDS, AIDS as a form of moral pollution and AIDS as the metaphor of decay. As such, the metaphor would highlight the fact that HIV is a form of contamination and it causes a seropositive to be prone to numerous opportunistic infections. Moreover, a seropositive is seen as someone who is capable of infecting others with HIV. HIV IS AN EVIL FORCE understands HIV as a curse and a condition that is capable of deteriorating one's health. The current study investigated the representation and interpretation of EkeGusii AIDS metaphor, Mei Li's (2000) classification was invaluable as presented the comparative literature on the interpretation of HIV. As such, the current study analysed whether EkeGusii AIDS metaphor was similar to Mei Li's classification.

Divergent to Mei Li (2002) who collected data from a magazine, the current study collected data from speakers. Similarly, the current study investigated whether HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii is interpreted as a plague and a killer as illustrated by Mei (2002).

Another illustration of an AIDS metaphor comes from Treicher (1992): “In a Central African Republic pamphlet on AIDS the immune system is shown surrounding the human figure like a rope; viruses are pictured as beaked and bat-like mammals, are eating through the protective boundary” (Treicher, 1992: 8). In this illustration, the human figure and virus are described and this creates a mental picture of a human being who is hopeless as the virus is pecking at his/her immune system. This creates an image of a wasted seropositive individual surrounded with viruses that are beaked bat-like mammals. The current study investigated the representation that EkeGusii speakers would have of a seropositive whether they dehumanize them or not.

Finally, AIDS also can be metaphorized militarily or rather militaristic metaphors. An example of a militaristic metaphor is; *the war against AIDS* (Sontag, 1978). The use of these military metaphors can motivate strong actions or cause unforeseen collateral damage such as stigmatization of the illness (Sontag, 1978). The military metaphor has been prevalent in reference to a number of epidemics around the world and the current study examined the use of the militaristic EkeGusii AIDS metaphor and its implication to the speakers. The next section is also discusses objective two of the study and focuses on the interpretation of metaphors used in HIV and AIDS discourse.

2.3.1 The Interpretation of Metaphors used in HIV and AIDS Discourse

This section discusses literature related to objective two of this study. Specifically, it examines the interpretation of the HIV and AIDS metaphor. Yule (2006) defines discourse as the language

beyond a sentence and the analysis of discourse is typically concerned with the study of language in text and conversation. Language is said to have a social aspect and this leads to the functionalist definition given by Brown and Yule (1983:1) in that "...the analysis of discourse is necessarily, the analysis of language in use. Thus, discourse cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs". Brown and Yule explain further that this definition represents the functionalist definition of discourse and that assume that language is active, and discourse analysis is the analysis of what people do with language. Similarly, Cameron (2001) suggests that theorists who adopt this definition of discourse are interested in what and how language communicates, when it is used purposefully in particular situations and contexts.

It is this aspect of the intersection between language and communication that this research pursued. The reason is that the EkeGusii speakers like any other speech community use language as a medium of communication. If linguistic expressions are wrongfully used, they have connotations in terms of HIV and AIDS because speakers create a perception that determines how society views the disease, which has an effect in terms of stigma and discrimination. Metaphors can assist in the explanation of complex social issues by reducing them to a metaphorical form. Just as a metaphor is useful in a political situation, its usage can also be applied in social discourse, especially where a disease is involved. For example, the study of metaphor in relation to health reporting has been undertaken by previous researchers. In a study conducted by Wallis and Nerlich (2005) reveal that the discourses and metaphors used to frame diseases have become prominent subjects within the linguistic literature. They add that this interest in metaphor illustrates the impact of the 'linguistic turn', the emergence of 'cognitive

linguistics' and the influence of critics, notably Susan Sontag, who have emphasized the interdependence of language and stigma in disease since the 1970's.

Lakoff and Johnson (2003:10) elaborate on this cognitive perspective of the metaphor. They explain that "metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature." The authors explain further that "our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. Our conceptual system thus plays a central role in suggesting that our conceptual system is largely metaphorical, then the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor." Lakoff and Johnson (2003) therefore argue that people's reasoning and interaction is metaphorical in nature. As such, the reasoning of EkeGusii speakers about HIV and AIDS was definitely metaphorical.

Using metaphors to gain an understanding of the metaphorical nature of people's activities, as suggested by Lakoff and Johnson, was exemplified by the study conducted by Wallis and Nerlich (2005). These researchers' findings gave credence to the value of metaphors in the way newspapers covered the outbreak of Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) in the United Kingdom. They found that though some metaphors were used, even more interesting was the deliberate omission of some metaphors. The authors argued that SARS in the UK media was not framed as a war, and what "makes this lack of war metaphors most striking is the coincidence between SARS and the Iraq war" (Wallis & Nerlich, 2005: 32). They also argued that stories about SARS largely lacked connections to this war, or the 'war on terror'.

Wallis and Nerlich (2005) also found that war metaphors were not the only obvious absence from the SARS coverage. SARS was also rarely identified as a plague, a metaphor that has been very important in framing AIDS. Instead, they observed predominance in the use of SARS IS A KILLER metaphor. This metaphor has a significant impact on how the readers and subsequently the society perceive the newly emerging epidemic. For instance, the researchers argued that the dominant killer metaphor gave SARS an 'active' role. It was a free agent responsible for its actions; those it affects were passive, blameless victims. This pattern of responsibility differs from the emphasis on individual culpability apparent in the blame and stigma linked with AIDS, syphilis and some other diseases (Wallis and Nerlich, 2005). The findings of Wallis and Nerlich (2005) also indicate that the media can influence how society views a disease and ultimately, the perception in terms of those infected and affected by it, all of which can determine whether the infected are treated with sympathy or are stigmatized. This is also an indication of how what one speaks influences the listeners' perception and attitude of the concept and thereby how that person behaves or responds to for instance HIV and AIDS issues in EkeGusii have a direct bearing on how the speakers use the terms surrounding the disease. The current study was out to investigate objective two of the study that analyzed how EkeGusii speakers interpret EkeGusii AIDS metaphor. Wallis and Nerlich (2005) provided parameters of comparison to as what level one is stigmatized because of the language used in communication as far as a disease is concerned.

The use of metaphor in communication on HIV and AIDS is, however, a contentious issue among scholars. While its use is seen by some to be positive, others disagree and find its use negative. Sontag (1978) observes that metaphors used in health education can have negative implication on people. Sontag (1978) further argues that the employment of metaphors in the

description of HIV and AIDS can falsify and distort the truth about HIV and AIDS. According to Sontag, the societal and cultural responses to HIV and AIDS create a second illness in addition to the original affliction, which is called the 'double': the layers of stigma, rejection, fear, and exclusion that are attached to diseases. Sontag (1991) says that the metaphoric use of language in the description of HIV and AIDS can be an indication of the stigma attached to the disease. For example, HIV and AIDS imply a 'sexual plague' in the form of a metaphor like: 'This sexual plague attacks your body'. This metaphor evokes negative mental image and could indicate that there is stigmatization of HIV and AIDS. Because of these negative effects, Sontag (1978) advocates for a demetaphorization of diseases such as HIV and AIDS. She states that diseases should not be referred to by metaphors, but should be understood for the biological entities that they are. However, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that the use of metaphor is unconscious and irreplaceable. Moreover, the ubiquitous nature of metaphor may not allow the demetaphorisation of diseases that Sontag (1991) advocates for, because metaphors are basically abundant in both ordinary and specialized discourse. It is also a not easy to remote control the use of metaphor. As such, the use of metaphor is necessary in every discourse and this includes in the HIV and AIDS discourse. The current study therefore examines how EkeGusii speakers represent and interpret the AIDS metaphor.

The military metaphor, Sontag (1978) claims, cements the way in which particularly dreaded diseases are envisaged as an alien 'other' or as 'enemies' in modern war. She describes how the move from demonization of the illness to attribution of fault to the patient is an inevitable one. Subsequently, the idea of 'innocent' versus 'guilty' is introduced into the HIV and AIDS discourses where the innocent are labeled 'victims, strongly suggesting others are guilty. In fact, with the use of the term 'victim', implicit and explicit moral judgments became tied to the

disease. Convergent to Sontag's (1978) claims, the research in the current study was also out to examine whether the interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse does label people as victims and guilty. The current study further sought to see whether the war and military metaphors used in reference to EkeGusii HIV and AIDS had negative effects as Sontag (1978) had outlined; and if the speakers were able to interpret them differently from Sontag or not. Therefore, Sontag's (1978) study was a strong point of comparison in the current study in terms of achieving the objective on interpretation of HIV and AIDS metaphors by EkeGusii speakers.

Lupton (1994) equally emphasizes the impact of metaphors. In order to make sense of HIV and AIDS, the media in Australia seized upon the concepts of blame and guilt especially when comparing people with medically acquired HIV and infected gay men. According to Lupton (1994), gay men were singled out by some people for negative treatment as implicit in the use of metaphors, such as, AIDS IS A PUNISHMENT, AIDS IS A MORAL REFORMER, AIDS IS CRIME, and SEX IS DANGER. Lupton (1994) describes how people living with HIV and AIDS were labeled with one or a number of the following adjectives: 'deviants', 'victims', 'innocent', 'promiscuous', 'survivors', 'battlers', 'homosexuals' or 'drug addicts'. Each choice of term attempts to influence the way in which readers construct their knowledge and attitudes about HIV and AIDS in general and the specific case in particular. In the first instance, Hopson (2000) suggests that selective use of language can trivialize an event or render it important; marginalize some groups and empower others; define an issue as an urgent problem or reduce it to a routine one. An example of this is the use of metaphors which have been extensively employed to make sense of HIV and AIDS during its construction as a new disease in the public consciousness (Sontag 1978; Ross and Carson 1988). Hopson's (2000) study was invaluable to the current study as it provided a comparative background for the current study. The selective use of

language in reference to HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii can for instance trivialize this condition. For instance when Kenyans say that *ukimwi ni kama malaria* (HIV is likened to malaria) is a simile that downplays the seriousness of HIV. For someone ignorant or unaware that HIV is incurable may be careless and contract HIV thinking that he will be cured of HIV. The current research examined the interpretation of EkeGusii AIDS metaphor and as such the discussion focused on the attitudes and perceptions of the speakers towards AIDS and the seropositives.

Cullen (2003) also showed that HIV metaphors were widely used in other countries. For example, according to Ross and Carson (1988) HIV and AIDS in the United States Press during the early 1980's, the disease was explained using four main metaphors: AIDS IS A PLAGUE, AIDS IS DEATH, AIDS IS A PUNISHMENT FOR SIN, and AIDS IS A CRIME. This classification is similar to that of Gilmore and Somerville (1994) about HIV and AIDS except the metaphor, AIDS IS A CRIME; instead it is replaced by Gilmore and Somerville's (1994) AIDS IS EVIL FORCE. The current study examined if HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii were represented as a plague, death, a punishment or a crime.

Early links between HIV and AIDS and the gay community in the United States, together with a media focus on possible transmission routes, led to the gradual 'sexualisation' of HIV and AIDS (Alcorn, 1988). The metaphor 'gay plague' became synonymous with alternative, permissive sexual behaviour and implied moral judgment. Karf (1988) states that for long periods in the United States; the reality of HIV and AIDS was almost entirely buried beneath metaphorical meaning. The US media's characterization of the virus included the 'gay plague' concept, the differentiation of innocent and guilty and the promotion of sexual abstinence. It was, however, the 'plague' metaphor, depicting HIV and AIDS as a contagious disease, which helped more than any other to fuel fear and stigma among the public (Karf 1988). The current study investigated

the interpretation of the AIDS metaphor and this entailed whether HIV was regarded as a plague in EkeGusii as in the case of the US in 1988; and whether the virus is responsible for fuelling fear and stigma among EkeGusii speakers.

Biberauer (1996) observes that the use of metaphors in relation to HIV and AIDS reporting is positive and useful. For instance, Biberauer (1996) argues that the military metaphor as applied in the AIDS context by medical staff and counselors assists in demystifying the view that AIDS is alarming and overwhelming. Consequently, the military metaphor fulfils several significant functions within the AIDS context thus contributing towards enlightening the frightening subject of AIDS. According to Biberauer (1996), the various functions that the military metaphor plays within the AIDS context include:

- (a) A structuring function: that means, the less familiar concept of medicine to the layman is structured in terms of the more familiar concept of war. It follows that the disease is viewed as an enemy, the doctor as a military general and medicine as weaponry. Basically, this deals with the manner in which structural metaphor operates as indicated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980).
- (b) An illuminatory function as it shows how the unfamiliar is similar to the familiar enabling lay people to understand new concepts on the basis of the old ones.
- (c) A compensatory function is achieved by the military metaphor by providing speakers with various ways of representing what they would not otherwise have been able to express, for example, immune cells are compared to body soldiers (Lakoff and Johnson 2003: 39-40).

The use of metaphors is of particular relevance to the current study since it analysed EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The current study therefore investigated whether the use of the

metaphor is negative, according to the contention of Sontag (1989), or positive according to Biberauer (1996) by examining the representation and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

2.4 Conclusion

This section has given the general insights on metaphors associated with HIV and AIDS. As a result, the current study has been situated and foregrounded. The gaps that the current study was out to fill were also exposed. The next chapter gives a description of the methodological aspects that guided this study.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This section highlights how this study was undertaken. It focuses on the details of the research design, study area and population, sampling procedure and sample size, data collection techniques, ethical considerations and data analysis.

3.2 Research Design

Analytical research design was adopted for this study. Kumar (2011) indicates that analytical research design is an in depth design associated mainly with qualitative research answering the questions how, when and by whom thus providing suitable reasons for a given undertaking. Moreover, Wayne and Stuart (2004) point out that analytical research uses already available facts and information and analyses these to make critical evaluation of the data. The current research used EkeGusii linguistic expressions used in HIV and AIDS discourse to discuss the diverse metaphorical conceptualizations. The analytical research design was therefore best suited to answer research questions and provide reasons for metaphorical conceptualization, representation and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. As such, the analytical research design which falls within the qualitative research approach was appropriate for the current study.

3.3 Study Area

The research investigated the linguistic expressions that are used in discussing issues about HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. Specifically, linguistic expressions that are used for naming the HIV and

AIDS, promiscuity, use of the condom, the uptake of antiretroviral, and the process of infection and the seropositives were investigated.

3.4 Study Population

The study population for the current study consisted of EkeGusii linguistic expressions that were used to discuss about HIV and AIDS. These linguistic expressions were collected from native speakers of EkeGusii. EkeGusii is predominantly spoken in Kisii and Nyamira Counties. However, EkeGusii speakers form part of local immigrants within Kenyan towns and cities, so EkeGusii is also spoken in other towns and cities within Kenya apart from Kisii and Nyamira Counties.

3.5 Sampling Procedures and Sample Size

The study employed purposive and chain sampling techniques in the selection of EkeGusii speakers to provide data for analysis. Purposive sampling was employed in the selection of adult EkeGusii to provide data for the current study. The demographic sampling utilised in the current research was based on picking adult EkeGusii native speakers.

One respondent was purposively picked to provide data. The chain sampling technique (also known as snowballing) assisted the investigator in identifying the other respondents in the study. Therefore, the one respondent identified earlier led the researcher to other respondent who provided linguistic metaphors used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. Chain sampling was used until no new linguistic expressions were being collected. At that time, the researcher had interviewed thirty respondents. Therefore, out of the thirty EkeGusii speakers, 53 linguistic expressions and 17 transcripts were collected. The 17 ntranscripts used in the analysis refers to a single respondent but similar sentiments were held by other respondents. It was expected that the

sample size for the study was manageable as Sankoff (1980) posits that large samples tend to be unnecessary for linguistic surveys because linguistic behaviour is apparently more homogeneous than other types of behaviour studied in social surveys. The linguistic expressions collected from the thirty EkeGusii speakers had reached a point of saturation and no new expressions would be collected. In addition, Milroy (1987) observes that samples used in linguistic surveys are in general demonstrably representative and that consistent patterns emerge with a very small sample, provided that it is systematically selected. In this regard, the sample size for the current study was not very big as the language processes are homogenous and EkeGusii speakers are not an exception to the homogeneity.

Since the researcher is a native EkeGusii speaker, the researcher also used her introspective judgement (McEnery and Wilson, 1996) to analyse the representation and interpretation of the linguistic expressions used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. According to Chomsky (1965), introspective judgement is a situation where a linguist uses his/her intuitions to invent examples and make grammatical judgements. Meaning that one native speaker is capable of generating data using native speaker competence and make grammatical judgements. However, McEnery and Wilson (1996) argue that the native speaker competence does not take care of variations among speakers. As such, McEnery and Wilson (1996) suggest that the inter-speaker variations can be can be verified by investigating the judgements of groups of speakers and each group can comprise between 5 to 10 native speakers. Therefore, this argument justifies the sample size of 30 respondents that was used in this study.

3.6 Reliability and Validity

Some measures were put in place to make sure that the research findings were valid and reliable. One of these measures was the use of triangulation. In this approach, two methods of data collection that is, interviews and Metaphor Identification Procedure assisted the researcher in identifying and analysing metaphors from the collected data. A pilot study was also conducted as another measure of validity and reliability. The following section discusses how the pilot study was conducted.

3.6.1 Study Piloting

The initial assumption of the researcher was that EkeGusii speakers would have accepted that HIV and AIDS has been in existence for close to three decades since its discovery and the effects had been felt worldwide. The researcher expected EkeGusii speakers to speak directly and openly about HIV and AIDS and more specifically, when one had died out of HIV related complications. This was due to the much publicised individual behaviour change and there is need to speak openly about HIV and AIDS issues. A pilot study was carried out to enable the streaming of the research process and tools. The discussion on sampling procedure and sample size was arrived at after the pilot study.

A pilot study was conducted in Kisii town for a period of two weeks, that is, 7th to 21st December 2013. The researcher conducted the pilot study herself by interviewing ten respondents who were adult native speakers of EkeGusii. The researcher used purposive sampling in the selection of respondents for the pilot study. The respondents in the pilot study were ten. The items on the interview schedule concentrated on the linguistic expressions that are used in reference to

naming HIV and AIDS, the seropositive and the process of infection and their representation and interpretation.

The responses amongst the respondents in the pilot study helped shape the research questions for the current study. The responses were also important as they pointed out interview questions that had to be formulated or needed contextualization and/or explanation to be more easily understood. This was arrived at after the researcher realised that some of the questions in the interview schedule were less probing and they needed reformulation. The pilot study also helped the researcher to rethink of her sampling frame and it was at this point that the researcher decided to use systematic random sampling as a sampling criteria.

The pilot study was useful for testing methodological and analytical tools. Saravanavel (1992) writes that ‘pilot study enables the researcher to gain some systematic knowledge of the universe and its population on which would be based the main principal study’ (p.35). It was during the piloting of the study that the researcher was able to streamline the interview schedule. The tentative interview schedule was tested on ten respondents. The questions on the schedule were found to be less probing and insufficient of an independent study with an intention of investigating metaphorical conceptualization in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The earlier assumption that EkeGusii speakers could speak openly on HIV issues including death that had arisen as a result of HIV related complications was questioned and the distinction between HIV and AIDS and, therefore the interview schedule had to be reframed to become objective. Therefore, the aspect of describing death resulting out of HIV and AIDS complications was eliminated from the study. Thus the interview schedule for data collection was validated by the pilot study.

Further, during the pilot study, the researcher encountered some challenges which hampered good recording. Some respondents were also asking for payment and during the interview sessions, there were distractions from the surrounding neighbours as some of the non-participants could throw curious glances and even call the respondents. The researcher realised that there was need to request the participants to choose a quiet place. Respondents were explained that the interview was meant for academic purposes and there was no payment awarded to participants at the end of interview sessions. During the pilot study, the following linguistic expressions used in reference to HIV and AIDS discourse were collected.

Table 1: Linguistic expressions referring to HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii

A seropositive	Process of infection	HIV	AIDS
Egetondo kegotara(a walking corpse)	Gosambwa (to be burnt)	Omodudu (insect)	Oborwaire obonene (the big disease)
Ewaya (live wire)	Konywa amabere amagundo (to take rotten milk)	Ekenyinyi (leech)	Endwari (the disease)
Omorwaire (sickly)		Omorero (fire)	Enyamoreo (slimming disease)
Aakire ne esitima (one is electrocuted)	Kogochwa (to stumble and fall)	Esitima (electric power)	Enyamorero (burning up disease)
	Gosarekerwa na omobere (to have a spoiled body)	Embongi (weevil)	Obwarero (the disease of nowadays)

The linguistic expressions in table 1 were also collected in the actual data collection. A detailed analysis was carried out in the results and discussions section of chapter 4.

3.7 Data Collection Techniques

Data collection was carried out for two months, between February and April, 2014. Data collection for the study entailed the researcher obtaining linguistic expressions used in relation to HIV and AIDS from EkeGusii native speakers. The study used semi-structured interviews to collect data. The semi-structured interviews were conducted to elicit linguistic expressions on EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse and their representation and interpretation. The various representations and interpretations were also noted down during transcription. The semi-structured interviews carried out were designed to elicit linguistic expressions from respondents by engaging them in free conversation. The interview sessions took between 10-15 minutes per respondent and each respondent was asked the same set of questions with some additional questions if the researcher sought clarification. The additional questions were advantageous to the researcher as the objectives were meant to be achieved. The items in the semi-structured interview schedule were based on naming HIV, AIDS, promiscuity, use of the condom, uptake of antiretroviral, the process of infection and the seropositive.

This type of interview was appropriate for this study because it allowed the researcher to provide guidance and direction and also follow up interesting developments so as to let the interviewee to elaborate on certain issues (Dorneyi, 2007). The responses were audio-recorded during the interviews and later transcribed. Audio-recording was carried out after the respondents were informed and consented of the need to audio-record. This enabled the researcher to categorize the linguistic expressions into different thematic areas which in turn was useful in the formulation of different conceptual mappings.

3.8 Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP)

This study had adopted Charteris-Black's (2004) Critical Metaphor Analysis procedure in identifying and analysing metaphors in the data collected on EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. Charteris-Black's methodology of metaphor analysis typically proceeds by collecting examples of linguistic metaphors used to talk about a topic, generalizing them to conceptual metaphor they exemplify and using the results to suggest understanding of thought patterns which construct or constrain people's beliefs and customs (Cameron and Low cited in Charteris-Black, 2004).

Charteris-Black explains how metaphor identification can be done in three steps: by identifying metaphors, interpreting and explaining them. The first step, metaphor identification has two stages. The first stage is close reading of sample texts with the aim of identifying metaphors and the evaluation of these metaphors in terms of their metaphoricity. As such, this question is taken into consideration: Is there semantic tension at either a linguistic, pragmatic or cognitive level? If there is, and if the linguistic metaphors are commonly used metaphorically, then they are classified as metaphor keywords. Thus, the first stage is qualitative, but the occurrence of these in the data can be counted. The second stage is another qualitative phase and involves determining whether each occurrence of metaphor keyword is metaphorical or not. Metaphor keywords are words that are often used metaphorically, yet not always: this would make it impossible for them to function metaphorically in the first place (Charteris-Black, 2004).

The next step, metaphor interpretation entails forming an opinion about how the metaphor relates to the cognitive and pragmatic factors that determine them, and identifying conceptual metaphors and conceptual keys. A conceptual key is a statement that reserves to resolve the semantic tension of a set of conceptual metaphors by showing them how they are related (Charteris-Black,

2004). At this stage, it is also possible to consider whether the choices of a metaphor are ‘pro-active in constructing a socially important representation’ (Charteris-Black, 2004:37-38).

Finally, the third step, metaphor explanation is about considering social context in which metaphors are produced and their role in stigmatizing the seropositives. Charteris-Black (2004) argues that the formation of conceptual metaphors and an illustration of the typical evaluation of metaphors will assist in explaining why they are stigmatizing HIV and AIDS. Charteris-Black continues to assert that ‘it is identifying the discourse function of metaphors that permits us to establish their ideological and rhetorical motivation’ (2004:39). This step gives an explanation of how the conceptual metaphor works in that it gives a connection between the source and target domains.

3.9 Data Analysis

The collected data was analysed qualitatively using content analysis as a guiding principle. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (1999), content analysis is a technique used for gathering and analysing the content of a text. These can be words, phrases, sentences, paragraphs, pictures or ideas. The data collected was transcribed and organised into linguistic metaphors with diverse representations and interpretations. The Critical Metaphor Analysis procedure that was initiated by (Charteris-Black, 2004) was used as a guiding principle in the identification and explanation of conceptual metaphor in the data collected in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. Thus, depending on the literal and extended meanings attached to the linguistic metaphors identified, data was arranged into different themes and assigned codes. This therefore meant assigning data into diverse conceptual metaphors. Coding of data enabled the researcher to come up with diverse conceptual metaphors which in turn aided in the interpretation and description of

conceptual metaphors. The Cognitive Theory of Metaphor was also used as a guiding parameter in the analysis.

The different representations and interpretations were also arrived at by examining the responses of the respondents about what comes to their mind whenever they used or heard certain EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor. The responses indicated the perceptions and attitudes of the speakers over HIV and AIDS; this in turn suggested the possible representations and interpretations of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

The researcher was granted permission from Maseno University School of Graduate Studies (cf. Appendix D) and Maseno University Ethics Review Committee (cf. Appendix E) before conducting the research. During data collection, consent was sought from the participants for their willingness to participate in this study. Moreover, data collection and handling was conducted professionally as the data collected was used for academic purposes only. After transcription of the collected data, it was typed and saved in a computer folder which was secured using a password.

Consent for audio-recording data was also sought from the participants before the start of the interview sessions. Further, ethical matters relating to confidentiality and anonymity were explained to the participants as the identities of the participants were not be revealed whatsoever. The identities of the participants were also kept anonymous during analysis and discussion of the study findings.

The researcher was not asking the participants about their HIV status however, one respondent revealed her seropositive status during one of the interview sessions. This was also treated with confidentiality and the identity of the said participant was kept anonymous too. This was to ensure that the seropositive participant was not stigmatized by the other speakers. Finally, the researcher informed the participants that they were free to withdraw from the study and that no payment of any kind was to be made for participating in the study.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter on research methodology has been discussed. The chapter has dealt with issues surrounding the stages of achieving the objectives of the current study. The study has outlined how the specific steps towards completion of the investigation were managed. The next chapter presents and discusses the analysis of the collected data.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

The main concern of this study was to investigate the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse and its mental representation and interpretation. This chapter is concerned with data presentation, analysis and discussion of the research findings. The two sections incorporated in this chapter include; the metaphorical conceptualization of HIV and AIDS expressions and properties of cross domain mappings in EkeGusii, and the representation and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor. The analysis uses illustrations in EkeGusii with an equivalent English translation.

The EkeGusii illustrations used in the discussion are organised into data sets and each data set shows its various morphemes. Some of these morphemes show the noun class numbers and English translation is provided in all the data sets. In this translation, agreement markers and noun class prefixes are used. Cammenga (2002) indicates that EkeGusii nouns consist of an obligatory prefix and a stem. The prefix carries the number and size features; therefore the numbers appearing under prefixes are indicating noun class numbers. However, the transcripts used as illustrations lack the morpheme translation from EkeGusii to English since most of the transcripts comprise more than two sentences that would have looked bulky if the morpheme translation from EkeGusii to English could have been done. The noun classes used in this discussion are indicated below.

- | | | | |
|---|------|---|------|
| 1 | omo- | 2 | aβa- |
| 2 | omo- | 4 | eme- |
| 5 | eri- | 6 | ama- |

7 eke-	8 eβi	
9 e-	10 ci	
9a e-n-	10a ci-n-	
11 oro-	12 aka-	
13 oβo-	15 oko-	
16 a-	21 ~na-	(Adapted from Cammenga, 2002:213)

4.2 Metaphorical Conceptualization of HIV and AIDS Expressions and Properties of Cross Domain Mappings in EkeGusii

This section discusses the first objective of the study that sought to identify and explain the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions and analyse their cross domain mappings. According to Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, metaphor is a conceptual phenomenon that involves a mapping relation between two domains namely the source domain (SD) and the target domain (TD). The SD is conceived as concrete concepts that are experienced or perceived directly while the TD is more abstract, that is it concerns subjective experience. Thus Lakoff (1993:203) notes:

...the locus of metaphor is not in language at all but in the way we conceptualize one mental domain in terms of another. The general theory of metaphor is given by characterizing such cross domain mappings. And in the process, everyday abstract concepts like time, states, causation and purpose also turn out to be metaphorical.

In other words, people rely on concrete phenomena (SD) which is the source or literal meaning of the metaphoric expression to conceptualize and understand an abstract phenomenon (TD). The source domains are typically well known everyday experiences. The study examined the metaphorical conceptualization of HIV and AIDS discourse. As such, the study sought to investigate whether EkeGusii speakers use the already available information in understanding

and structuring HIV and AIDS. The study utilized Charteris-Black's (2004) Metaphor Identification Procedure in identifying the conceptual metaphors used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. As such, the literal and the new or extended meaning of the metaphorical expressions collected were used as source domains. The extended meaning of expressions was in reference to HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. The various attributes presented in the linguistic expressions were identified and their connection to HIV and AIDS established on how such attributes were projected to the target domain in EkeGusii. This was achieved by examining the meaning of a linguistic expression in EkeGusii and comparing it to HIV and AIDS. Further, the source domains were grouped into categories depending on their associative meanings. The linguistic expressions that are for example associated with food were grouped together and assigned a relevant title. This therefore meant assigning them into diverse conceptual mappings. The naming of conceptual metaphors depended on the common attributes of each category but some were borrowed from Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) conventional metaphor list. The conceptual metaphors in EkeGusii were also compared to what Kobia (2008) found out in Oluluhya HIV and AIDS discourse.

The conceptual metaphors are abstractions as they are found in people's minds. The linguistic metaphors are spoken and are a realization of the conceptual metaphors. Johnson (1987) observes that conceptual metaphors are revealed by metaphorical expressions. Metaphorical expressions are the vocabulary or the linguistic expressions of the source domain (Johnson, 1987). Therefore, in this study, the linguistic expressions used in reference to HIV and AIDS discourse will be referred as metaphorical expressions while conceptual metaphors are referred as metaphors. The findings on metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse are discussed in sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.9 that follow.

4.2.1 The Journey Metaphor

According to Lakoff and Turner (1989) the schema of ‘journey’ contains a number of slots and not all of which are compulsory. Some common slots are: travellers, path, impediments, destinations, and vehicles. In this metaphor, the source domain of a journey is used to understand and structure the target domain of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. In this mapping, the target domain of HIV and AIDS is understood via the concepts associated with a journey. Hence, the metaphoric expressions that are used are drawn from the image schemas of journeys. This metaphor is explained in data set 1. The metaphorical expressions in data set 1 were collected during interviews.

Data set 1

i) *O -na -chir -e e -tigiti*

1SG –PROG –cut -FV 9-ticket

‘One has acquired a ticket’

ii) *A -re -ase oro –gendo*

1SG -PROG -PREP -11 -journey

‘One is on a journey’

iii) *A -ba -nget -e e -raini*

1SG -PROG organise -FV 9-queue

‘One is on a queue’

iv) *O -na -chir -e e -tigiti ya ama -kweri*

1SG -PST –cut FV 9 –ticket of 6-death

‘One has acquired a ticket for death’

v) *Ege -tondo ke -go -tar -a*

9-corpse 9-PROG -walk -FV

‘A walking corpse’

Using the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, it can be argued that the expression, *onachire etigiti* (one has acquired a ticket) is drawn from the source domain of a journey and is used to describe a seropositive and the process of infection. In this understanding, the acquisition of a ticket is compared to being infected with HIV. It can be assumed that in this conceptualization, the seropositive is seen to be someone who has acquired a bus or an air ticket, for example, and ready to travel. Similarly, Horne (2010) points out that a seropositive can be viewed as a *traveller on the waiting lounge*. The conceptual metaphors that can be formulated here are, CONTRACTING HIV IS A JOURNEY or A SEROPOSITIVE IS A TRAVELLER. These two metaphors indicate that in Shona, a seropositive is a traveller on transit. Kobia (2008) also reveals that the journey metaphor is used to understand a seropositive in Luyha. Kobia (2008) points out that Luwanga speakers refer to HIV and AIDS by using the linguistic expression *yasumukha oluchendo* (one has begun a journey). This expression operates within the conceptual metaphor of HIV INFECTION IS THE BEGINNING OF A JOURNEY. This metaphor in Luwanga does not indicate the path, means or the destination the seropositive are engaged in. Kobia (2008) further indicates that, the Lutsotso speakers refer to HIV as *oli amusebute* (goodbye). This expression may be an extension of CONTRACTING HIV IS A JOURNEY, this is in line that in most cases people say goodbye whenever they kick off their journeys. In this metaphor, a seropositive could be saying goodbye to the others who are not infected with HIV.

In EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions, a ticket symbolizes the contracting of a virus or being infected. The conceptual metaphor underlying this metaphoric expression is, CONTRACTING

HIV IS ACQUIRING A BUS TICKET according to EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. This metaphor compares the process of HIV infection to acquiring a bus ticket for travel. The metaphorical expression ‘one has acquired a ticket’ does not indicate the destination, the path or the means of travel that the seropositive could engage in. However, given the understanding that HIV and AIDS is a taboo topic in most African societies (Achoka, 2007), it may be argued that the acquisition of HIV implies the start of a journey towards death. Therefore, once one has acquired this ticket, it has in most cases connotation of one who is about to travel to either the journey of ARVS or death.

The metaphorical expression, *are ase orogendo* (one is on a journey), indicates explicitly that the seropositive is on a journey in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor. The metaphoric expression indicates that a seropositive is a traveller who has embarked on a path or journey whose destination can only be guessed, either to the long journey of taking ARVS or death. The metaphor in operation here is, CONTRACTING HIV IS A JOURNEY. In this metaphor, the attributes from the source domain of journeys are used to understand HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. In this case, the metaphorical expression *abangete eraini* (one is on a queue) may mean one is queuing to acquire a ticket or to board some means of transport. In understanding the target domain of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, being on a queue may also mean one is queuing to receive ARV treatment because of being seropositive or waiting for death. The queue aspect may also imply that the seropositives are several and hence on a queue to a common destination. The queuing may further imply that the journey of taking ARV is an endless one and may be to death. The other conceptual metaphor that the metaphoric expressions *are ase orogendo* (one is on a journey) and *abangete eraini* (one is queuing) are drawn from is, THE SEROPOSITIVE IS ON A JOURNEY. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) indicate that metaphor is

abundant both in ordinary and specialized discourse and we normally map attributes from the source domain to the target domain. In this metaphor, features of the source domain of journeys are used to understand the seropositive hence an indication that unidirectionality tenet of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor were used in this conceptualization as it is impossible to understand, for example journeys by referring to the seropositive. As such, the attributes like being on transit and queuing are used to understand the seropositive. The metaphor indicates that once one is infected, then his vehicle starts moving towards ARV treatment or death.

The metaphorical expressions *anachete etigiti ya amakweri* (one has acquired a ticket for death) and *egetondo kegotara* (a walking corpse) are also used to understand the seropositive. The two metaphoric expressions show how EkeGusii speakers perceive HIV infection as a death sentence. The metaphorical expression, *anachete etigiti ya amakweri* (one has acquired a ticket for death) operates within the metaphor CONTRACTING HIV IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS ONE'S DEATH OR MAKER in EkeGusii. This metaphor implies that HIV infection is a passport to death or rather the seropositives are given labels to indicate that they are headed to the graves or to their maker. Thus, the metaphorical expression, 'one has acquired a ticket for death' understands HIV as acquiring a ticket that definitely takes one to a grave. This metaphorical expression is similar to what is used to understand the seropositive in Setswana. Mathangwane (2011) describes the connection between the a journey and HIV infection by arguing that the same way acquisition of a travel ticket is capable of taking one to several places, HIV infection is also capable too of taking one to another place, in fact, from life to death.

It can be further argued that the expression 'one has acquired a ticket for death' is a variant of the death metaphor because corpses, graves and graveyards are associated with death. Given the understanding that HIV is compared to acquiring a ticket to death therefore, indicates that HIV

infection is equated to death in EkeGusii. Therefore, the metaphorical expression, *aanachete etigiti ya amakweri* (one has acquired a ticket for death) may compare HIV infection to the acquisition of a death certificate or sentence. Kobia (2008) points out that Lwisukha speakers use the expression, *yanyota itikiti ya khukhutsa* (one has a ticket for death) while Olusamia speakers use *ari khusitendi* (at the bus stage waiting for ‘death’), and Olukisa speakers use the expression, *yakhalaka itikiti yo mwikulu* (one has a ticket to go to heaven) to refer to a seropositive. These three metaphorical expressions are a variant of CONTRACTING HIV IS A JOURNEY TO ONE’S DEATH OR MAKER. This metaphor is shared with EkeGusii but the expressions used to refer to a seropositive vary accordingly.

Horne (2010) also utilizes the journey metaphor in that, CONTRACTING HIV IS A JOURNEY is elaborated using the linguistic expressions, *to have a boarding pass* or *to be in a waiting lounge*. These expressions are used in reference to a seropositive. Similarly in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, a seropositive is described as a having acquired a ticket or ticket for death. As such the linguistic expressions in EkeGusii and those used by Horne (2010) do not explicitly indicate the path, means of travel and destination of a journey. They only indicate that one has acquired a ticket ready to travel.

The metaphorical expression, *egetondo kegotara* (a walking corpse) likens the infected individual to someone who has been transformed to a zombie however, zombies are found in graveyards. The metaphors in operation here are, AIDS IS DEATH PERSONIFIED or CONTRACTING AIDS IS DEATH in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. These metaphors indicate that death has been given attributes of a human being, for example a corpse can walk. Therefore, people perceive the seropositive persons as being half-dead. In this scenario, the seropositives are seen as living on borrowed time and they are bound to die anytime. This

discussion is convergent with the argument of Nerlich and Rowe (2004) that the source domains used to conceptualize Foot and Mouth Disease (the target domain) differed depending on whether FMD was personified as a human or conceptualized as something other than human.

The foregoing discussion indicates that the metaphorical expressions used as source domains utilize the journey schemas. Using the journey metaphor, EkeGusii speakers believe that once one is infected with HIV, she/he embarks on a journey by acquiring a ticket to travel to either death or to the life long process of taking ARVS. At times the destination of the journey is indicated as death. This is illustrated by use of the metaphorical expressions, ‘acquiring a ticket for death and a walking corpse’. These metaphorical expressions understand the process of infection as a death sentence or as a transformation of a living being to half dead status. This in turn creates a negative impression of an infected person. Thus, HIV is compared to a corpse and the infected person is compared to a lifeless entity hence a walking corpse. It is unlikely to see a corpse walking in a real life situation and this conceptualization compares the lifelessness of a corpse to a human being that is infected and walking shows the fear that EkeGusii speakers have over HIV. In this situation, the life of the seropositives is short-lived as they can die any time. Naturally, people fear the dead and people run away from people who surprisingly ‘resurrect’. In the same vein, people would shun from seropositives who are labelled walking corpses. Similarly, Kobia (2008) posit that the journey metaphor structured the Luhya discourses on HIV and AIDS. In this regard, Luwanga speakers use the expression *omulambo okuchenda* (a walking corpse). This metaphorical expression is still a variant of AIDS IS DEATH PERSONIFIED because corpses are found in morgues or graveyards and are associated with death. It can be concluded that the journey concept appropriately structures the understanding of ailments. Gwyn (2001) observes that when dealing with illness and diseases in particular, human

beings conceptualize them in terms of a journey, in that, ‘we talk about the road to recovery’, ‘we get back on the right track’, ‘we get better one step at a time’ and so on. (p.134)

Some of the journey schemas that were discussed by Lakoff and Turner (1989) LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor were utilised in the journey metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The journey metaphor further introduces the metaphor PROBLEMS ARE OBSTACLES in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In the journey to life, HIV and AIDS are seen as obstacles. They are obstacles towards healthy living in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse as depicted by a respondent who observed that she was living healthy and peacefully at her rural home until she discovered that she was infected with HIV by her husband who stayed and worked in town. The HIV infection was a burden and it changed her lifestyle forever. Rs11 indicated that:

Transcript 1

...nabo namenyete buya inka na abana, omogaka kagokora egasi Nairobi. Omogaka nabo agachire otorora rimo ase omokubio oyomo gose ebere. Engaki egaika ingachaka korwara rwara. Ekeru nachiete nyagetari korigereriwa, abaringori bagantebia buna nigo indwarete oborwaire obo obonene. Inkoboria omogaka inaki rende yaba iga, agantebia buna nere nabo arwarete korende namarioga akonakomera. Nabo namanyete buna no omogaka oretete oborwaire obo. Korwa engaki eyio, obogima bwane bogaonchoreria mono.

(I was staying peacefully with my children in the village while my husband was working and staying in Nairobi till a time that I started being sick on and off. He would visit once in a month or two months. When I went for medical checkup, I was informed that I was infected with HIV. On enquiring from my husband, he

said that he was also infected and on medication. I knew my husband had infected me. From that day, my life changed forever).

This illustration indicates that HIV was a burden for the lady who was a housewife as she lived a miserable life after she was infected. The underlying conceptual metaphor is, CONTRACTING HIV IS A LIFE CHANGING EXPERIENCE as this respondent sees HIV to have caused a lot of changes in his life. In fact, HIV is seen as a burden as it brought misery into her life.

The JOURNEY METAPHOR does not require a vehicle to be used as a source domain, it is often included by extension in the linguistic expressions. Normally, when one is travelling, he/she has to acquire a ticket beforehand then board a vehicle. EkeGusii speakers therefore represent a scenario that one boards another vehicle probably for the seropositives only the moment he/she is infected and embarks on a journey towards death. However, the journey of a seropositive towards the destination of death can be halted temporarily by taking ARVS which is referred to as *okonakonywa amariogo* (one is taking medication) or *okomera chintetere* (one is swallowing seeds). The metaphoric expressions *amariogo akonakonywa* (one is taking medication) or *aakomera chintetere* (one is swallowing seeds) are used to understand and structure the uptake of ARVS. The term; one is taking medication was used to show that there is narrowing of meaning in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse such that being on medication implies being on ARVS. The conceptual metaphor in operation here is, ARVS IS FOOD FOR LIFE because in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, ARVS are taken the same way foodstuff and drinks are taken. Logically, human beings habitually swallow food. The act of swallowing food is transposed to the act of taking ARVS.

The metaphorical expression, *okomera chintetere* (swallowing of seeds) is an example of semantic expansion in that seeds also refer to ARVS. The underlying conceptual metaphor in operation here is; ARVS ARE LIFE SUSTAINING in that seeds (in this case ARVS), symbolize life. ARVS rejuvenate the life of a seropositive by strengthening the immunity system of an individual that is immune-suppressed due to HIV infection. The term *chintetere* (seeds) is coined from the seeds that farmers plant for crops to germinate given the fact that majority of EkeGusii speakers are peasant farmers. As such, farmers plant seeds or seedlings for the crops to germinate and grow. In this scenario, it is out of the planted seeds that the life of a given crop is sustained. Thus, when ARVS are compared to seeds, then it could be argued that the life of a seropositive is dependent on ARVS as they bring to life the compromised immunity system of an infected individual, the same way seeds bring forth the life of a given crop once it is planted. Moreover, when ARVS are likened to *chintetere* (seeds) it may also imply that the number of ARVS per day are specific, their size and shape resembles that of common seeds that can be found in a community. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) observe that the potential meaningfulness of metaphor does not yield a simple paraphrase; its meaning cannot be reduced to a non-metaphorical, propositional format without loss. In this context, seeds have been used creatively to refer to ARVS in EkeGusii. The conceptualization of ARVS by EkeGusii speakers using the food metaphor is replicated by Lubukusu speakers who use the linguistic expression *chimbunwe* which is translated as a wild edible (Kobia, 2008). The ARVS IS FOOD metaphor implies that ARVS are taken as food by EkeGusii and Luloogoli speakers may be because they are swallowed and digested like foodstuffs.

Mathangwane (2011) asserts that people's perceptions of HIV and AIDS are portrayed by labels they give HIV and AIDS which further influence their thinking. Some EkeGusii speakers believe

that ARVS do not reverse the direction of the journey as it is not a permanent solution or a cure to HIV and AIDS. This is indicated in transcript 2.

Transcript 2

*Omonto nanywa amariogo aya, oborwaire obo obonene tibokobwena pi.
Nigo agokokonya ake korende omoerio goika okwe ekeru amariogo aya
agotiga gokora egasi.*

(That even if one is on ARV treatment does not cure HIV completely.
They assist one for some time and eventually one dies once the ARVS
become resistant to one's body).

However, some respondents had a contrary opinion. They said that they see some of the seropositives who are on ARVS look healthy and as a result, they assume that they are healed or rather HIV negative. This is captured in transcript 3.

Transcript 3

*Abanto bande bari tomanyete bakonywa amariogo nigo baswagete sana.
Nigo bakororekana buna ababwenete. Inaki ekonyarekana buna abanto
aba nigo banorete mono naende babwate omodudu? Bono rende onye
mbari ng'a babwenire inaki batareeti naende mbari kororekana
abarwaire?*

(The few people that we know that are on medication look very strong.
They seem healed. How comes they have added a lot of weight while they
are infected? How comes they are not thin and do not look sick?)

The journey metaphors in the foregoing discussion are in agreement with the discussion by Lakoff and Turner (1989) basic metaphor, LIFE AS A JOURNEY. Lakoff and Turner (1989) highlight LIFE AS A JOURNEY as one of the basic metaphors used as a guide to metaphor. Its basic structure leads one to consider certain correspondences as mappings between the two conceptual domains. Lakoff and Turner (1989) enumerate the following correspondences and they are connected to the source domain of Journeys in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

- i) The person leading life is a traveller- *a seropositive is a traveller, the vehicle is either a bus, unknown or through use of legs as is the case of a walking corpse.*
- ii) The purposes are destinations-*building the body's immunity/ being treated is a destination.*
- iii) The means for achieving the purposes are routes-*using protection and taking ARVS contributes to healthy living with HIV and AIDS.*
- iv) Difficulties in life are impediments to travel- *challenges associated with HIV and AIDS such as stigma, lack of access to ARVS, opportunistic infections among others are impediment in the journey of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii.*
- v) Progress is the distance travelled-*the length or period of time one has lived positively and the challenges one has overcome in the journey of HIV and AIDS is an indication of the distance travelled in the journey of HIV and AIDS.*

Shokr (2006) observes that to clarify these correspondences based on LIFE AS A JOURNEY metaphor using the journey as a source domain and life as a target domain, it is possible to see the different mappings that take place and how many of them have at least one well-used metaphorical reference within everyday thought. Shokr (2006) set of mappings would be related to EkeGusii HIV and AIDS journey metaphor as follows.

<u>Source: Journey</u>	<u>Target: HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii</u>
Travellers	the seropositives
The vehicle	being infected
The journey	events in the journey of a seropositive, from contracting HIV to living healthy or death to death
The distance covered	the length of time a seropositive lives positively
Obstacles encountered	stigma, lack of access to HIV and opportunistic infections
Decisions about where to go	living healthy or careless life
Ultimate destination	death

The metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse brought forth the metaphor, A SEROPOSITIVE IS ON A JOURNEY with correspondences befitting those of Shokr (2006). However, the mapping was focusing more on a traveller, the seropositive. Jäkel (2002) and Shokr (2006) had realized an extension of LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor and they distinguished two kinds of travellers in the Qur'an, the good or the righteous and the bad or wicked. Similarly, metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse expounds on the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor and, also distinguished two kinds of travellers, the positive or optimistic and the negative or pessimistic traveller. In EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, the journey metaphor analysis indicates that a traveller is an infected person. The two categories of travellers were revealed from the interviews as indicated in transcript 4.

Transcript 4

Abanto aba bararwete enyamoreo nigo bare ara kabere. Mbare okonyora barwarete, bakonywa amariogo naende besigete mono. Tokonyora bare banyaka nonya. Korende abande nigo bakwanga konywa amariogo barwara mono na abande nigo batagete gotambokeria enyamoreo. Nigo banga nga ebakoyebusura goeta ekiagera ebare abataritari.

(The infected individuals can be divided into two groups: there are those who are on medication and living positively; whereas, the others are either on denial or on ARVS but out to infect more people as they are into prostitution).

The aforementioned illustration indicates the journey metaphor has two sets of travellers as far as EkeGusii HIV and AIDS is concerned. The optimistic traveller lives positively and has accepted his status. These people are on ARV treatment and thereby look healthy. The optimistic travellers are also living healthy, faithful to their partners and do not default on taking medication. However, pessimistic travellers are careless, immoral and have not accepted their status. Therefore, pessimistic travellers live in denial. Some of the pessimistic travellers have defaulted with medication while some are promiscuous. As a result, they are re-infected with HIV as time goes by and for some; they are out to propagate the disease to more people. These two kinds of travellers also lead two different journeys. The optimistic traveller is almost sure of living healthy for some time and may not develop AIDS soon. The pessimistic traveller might be travelling towards death. The optimistic travellers in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse are further described by the expressions, *amariogo bakonakonywa* (they are on medication) which implies that one is seropositive and on ARVS. This focuses on an optimistic traveller.

The pessimistic traveller has given up about life and can be described by the expression *omonto oyo nomorwaire naende nomotayayi* (this person is infected and a prostitute). This is an indication of a pessimistic traveller who is infected but out to infect more people with HIV. Mei Li (2000) observes that AIDS is seen as a contamination and by extension a pessimistic traveller might be seen as someone who is contaminated with HIV. The pessimistic traveller may not

know that he is pessimistic but the people surrounding him are able to see that through his attitude and behaviour patterns.

Shokr (2006) posits that the conventional metaphor LIFE AS A JOURNEY where both domains are explicit is traditionally used to cover the concept human life from birth to death. However, in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, the journey metaphor takes care of the seropositives only with the beginning of the journey indicated by being infected and the final destination as either death or unknown place of recovery in case a cure of HIV and AIDS is discovered. Thus, the HIV journey in EkeGusii is an endless journey with the uptake of ARVS because one cannot really know when he will die and whether he will die of HIV complications or not. The basic metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY is a point of departure in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse as novel metaphors are created from it. This is a fairly common resource in language as Lakoff and Turner (1989:26) admits:

The number of basic metaphorical concepts of life and death turns out to be very small. Though these can be combined and elaborated in novel ways and expressed in infinity of ways, the infinity is fashioned from the small set of basic metaphors.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) also point out that such basic metaphors may be composed or elaborated in new ways, but the basic conceptual resources available to human beings are used. If this is not done, one would not understand them. Thus, it has been indicated from the foregoing discussion that the metaphoric creativity of EkeGusii is evident and it has been used in novel and unprecedented ways. In this regard, the metaphorical expressions discussed above are used in reference to HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii and their meaningfulness can not be paraphrased without meaning loss.

Metaphorical conceptualizations of basic concepts in life are not haphazard, they are organised and systematic as a result, they follow certain properties. One of them is, conceptual metaphors are culturally dependent. The conceptualization of many basic concepts is culture dependent and socio-culturally cultivated. Kövesces (2006) points out that the choice of specific metaphors for defining realities varies culturally. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also posit that through the study of certain linguistic expressions it can be inferred that in some instances time can be conceptualized in terms of money. But it is not necessary for humans to conceptualize time in this way; it is dependent on culture (Lakoff and Johnson, 2003). Thus, linguistic analysis of metaphorical expressions of time in other cultures may reveal different conceptual metaphors. However, some metaphors are culture specific. Different cultures may have different value systems that may result in different interpretations of experiences from other cultures. In other words, the same experience on one hand, an English speaker and, on the other hand, EkeGusii speaker may be interpreted differently.

The analysis of the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii journey metaphor revealed that the conventionalized journey metaphor was used in EkeGusii, but not an exact copy of the original metaphor. For instance, the conceptualization of CONTRACTING HIV IS JOURNEY metaphor in EkeGusii is similar to the conceptualization of the universal metaphor, LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The metaphor, LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor entails the general overview of a human being from life to death.

The journey metaphor was used creatively in the conceptualization of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. The universal LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor basically deals with life, and in this understanding, the conventional journey metaphor deals with life having a beginning, middle and an end. Or rather, the milestones of life are conceptualized in terms of a journey. The

conceptualization of the journey metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse generally concentrates on a seropositive, that is, with the understanding that once infected with HIV, one embarks on a journey.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) enumerate correspondences in the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor and amongst them is: difficulties in life are impediments to travel. Lakoff (1993) observes that the expression about travel in the conventionalized journey metaphor is understood similarly although the exact knowledge may vary from person to person. Here is a typical example of a kind of knowledge evoked. The capitalized expressions represent entities in the ontology of travel.

TWO TRAVELLERS are in a VEHICLE WITH COMMON DESTINATIONS. THE VEHICLE encounters some IMPEDIMENT and gets stuck, that is, makes it non-functional. If they do nothing, they will not REACH THEIR DESTINATIONS. (Lakoff, 1993:5)

The target domain entities that are mapped by the correspondences are also capitalized in the illustration:

TWO LOVERS are in a LOVE RELATIONSHIP PURSUING COMMON LIFE GOALS. Their RELATIONSHIP encounters some DIFFICULTY, which makes it non-functional. If they do nothing, they will not be able to ACHIEVE THEIR LIFE GOALS. (Lakoff, 1993:5)

To clarify the correspondence, ‘difficulties in life are impediments to travel’ can further be illustrated using different metaphorical expressions that are used in everyday life; for instance, illness may be one of the impediments that one may encounter when travelling in the journey of life. In EkeGusii journey metaphor, the impediments to travel in the said journey are stigma, lack of access to ARVS and the attack of opportunistic infections.

The findings in the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse revealed that the language uses novel metaphor extensions of LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor in understanding HIV and AIDS. In this regard, EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse utilised the journey metaphor in relation to HIV and AIDS. As such, EkeGusii speakers understand a seropositive as being on a journey .The creativity of metaphor and in this case, HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii can hardly be understood or conceptualized without recourse to conceptual metaphor and the meaning of the conceptual metaphor cannot be reduced to a non-metaphorical format without loss of meaning. This is in line with the use of creativity and necessity tenets of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor. This indicates the necessity of using conceptual metaphor and EkeGusii speakers creatively use metaphor to discuss about HIV and AIDS.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) give an example of illness as seen as an obstacle to travel. However, in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, being infected with HIV is mostly seen as the beginning of a new journey, in fact, a different journey. The novel metaphor extension created out of the conventional journey metaphor is, A SEROPOSITIVE IS ON A JOURNEY in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions. In this metaphorical conceptualization, the two travellers that are mentioned in the love relationship in the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor are replaced with two travellers who are infected with HIV in A SEROPOSITIVE IS ON A JOURNEY metaphor in EkeGusii.

Lakoff (1993) observes that in the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor, the destinations are life goals. According to the metaphorical conceptualization of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii, the analysis revealed the destination of a seropositive is either the long and endless journey of taking ARVS or death. Further, the destination of the seropositive could be seen as the life long process of taking ARVS, living positively and seropositives having personal goals. Due to the novel

metaphor extension, the uptake of ARVS by the infected individuals justifies THE SEROPOSITIVES IS ON A JOURNEY metaphor in EkeGusii. Lakoff (1993) argues that purposeful activities are understood as journeys. Therefore the purposeful activity of pursuing ARV treatment may be seen as a journey too, in this case, the ARV treatment is seen as a long term purposeful journey towards living healthy of the seropositives.

Lakoff (1987) argues that metaphors play an important role in conceptualization and understanding of both physical and cultural phenomenon as registered in the people's cultural expression and reflected in our cognitive categorization of phenomenon. Lakoff notes that although human beings talk of universality of metaphors, they are not devoid of cultural differences. Moreover, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) discuss the question whether all cultures share the same conception of the world. Certain classes of metaphors seem universal. They are a result of bodily interaction with the physical environment, hence the product of embodiment. The metaphors that are used by a given speech community are as a result of human experiences of their environment which in turn influences their way of thinking.

Despite the understanding that certain classes of metaphor seem universal, there are some cases that conceptual creativity of human beings dictates otherwise. The concept of HIV AND AIDS AS A JOURNEY metaphor has also been shared by other cultures. It is evident that the journey metaphor in relation to HIV and AIDS discourse is shared in the cultures of AbaGusii, Luhya and Shona among others, however, the metaphoric expressions and conceptualizations vary depending on the speakers' interaction with the environment. Lakoff and Turner (1989) further posit that universal metaphors may be composed or elaborated. This justifies the use of the journey metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, and that metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse is socio-culturally cultivated. In journeys accidents occur.

The same way accidents occur in the LIFE IS A JOURNEY METAPHOR. The next section discusses the accident metaphor.

4.2.2 The Accident Metaphor

CONTRACTING HIV AND AIDS IS AN ACCIDENT metaphor was used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. Metaphorical expressions from the source domain of accidents were used to talk about the target domain of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. According to Kobia (2008), accidents are unpleasant events that cause injury, damage or even death. Accidents are many at times abrupt occurrences; however, some accidents can be avoided by being cautious. EkeGusii speakers use numerous metaphorical expressions that equate HIV and AIDS to accidents as exemplified in data set 2.

Data set 2

- i) *Ko -betw -a ne ri -gwa*
INF -pierce -FV with 5 -thorn
'To be pierced by a thorn'
- ii) *E -senta boriti ya -bu -tok -ir -e*
9-centre bolt 9SG -PST -cut -PFCT -FV
'The centre bolt is disjointed or cut'
- iii) *Oko-goro kwa -u -tok -ir -e*
15 -tyre 15SG PST -deflate -PFV -FV
'Slow puncture'
- iv) *Aka -ri -mer -a e -ndiba ime*
1SG -PST -sank FV 9 -swamp inside
'To be stuck in the swamp'

The metaphorical expression *kobetwa ne rigwa* (to be pierced by a thorn) is used to refer to the process of infection. A similar metaphorical expression, *kobetwa ne ekayaba* (to be pierced by a kay apple) was also used to refer to HIV infection. The conceptual metaphor in operation here is **CONTRACTING HIV IS A THORN IN THE FLESH** in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphor, a piercing thorn is used as source domain to understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS and a thorn in this case is compared to the manifestation of HIV and AIDS in the body. Normally, people are accidentally pierced by a thorns and this is likened to the process of infection. Once one is pierced by a thorn, there is pain accompanied by some swelling which can be managed locally and the pain goes away. However, some thorns are poisonous and once pierced by such a thorn one goes through a lot of suffering. The piercing of a thorn is thus likened to HIV infection.

In the metaphorical expression *esenta boriti yabutokire* (the centre bolt is disjointed) is a linguistic metaphor that was also is used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse to understand HIV infection. In this scenario, the body of a human being is perceived as a machine hence the conceptualization of, **THE HUMAN BODY IS A MACHINE** metaphor, in which the source domain is a machine and the target domain is a person (Lakoff, 2003). In this metaphor, it is perceived that a human being is a machine in that human beings are de-integrated, dissolved or broken down into distinct parts like machines (Lakoff, 2003). In EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, the human body is likened to a machine that has numerous bolts but the most important one is the centre bolt. In EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, the metaphor in operation here is, **THE HUMAN BODY IS A CAR** with the understanding that people are cars and that they have parts which may break down. As such, a centre bolt that is used in a car to hold springs together and locate the axle to the spring was used to describe a seropositive. Once the centre

bolt is disjointed or cut, then it is expected that the car will not function properly, it will crumble and an accident may occur. In reference to HIV and AIDS discourse, the human body is compared to a car in that HIV invades the body and destroys the immune system which is metaphorically referred here as the disjointed centre bolt. Thus once one is infected, it goes without saying that his/her health condition deteriorates since the centre bolt in question is affected. The centre bolt is thus likened to the destroyed or compromised immune system that is destroyed with HIV leading to numerous opportunistic infections affecting an individual. This metaphor creates a mental picture of the extensive damage that HIV causes once it invades a human body. The immune system is very important in the proper functioning of a human body. Once it has been weakened by HIV, the body loses vitality and becomes prone to numerous opportunistic infections.

The centre bolt metaphorical expressions, among the others, attest to the creativity and necessity tenets of the conceptual metaphor theory. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) point out that certain issues could hardly be understood or conceptualized at all without recourse to metaphor, and that the meaning of metaphor does not yield a simple paraphrase, its meaning cannot be reduced to a non-metaphorical propositional format without loss. With this understanding, the metaphorical expression, *esenta boriti yabutokire* (the centre bolt is disjointed) can only be understood to be referring to HIV and AIDS by relating it to, A HUMAN BODY IS A CAR metaphor.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) assert that our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around the world and how we relate to other people. Lakoff and Johnson's argument justifies the use of the centre bolt metaphoric expression in relation to HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii, said differently, the abstract entity of HIV and AIDS is structured and explained as something that the speakers use daily. This in turn simplifies their understanding of reality of HIV and AIDS and

hence utilizing the creativity and necessity tenets of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor. The metaphoric expression, *esenta boriti yabutokire* (the centre bolt is disjointed) indicates a unity of coherence to the speakers who use it in reference to a seropositive. It is necessary for EkeGusii speakers to employ the use of metaphors to refer to HIV and AIDS. The use of diverse metaphoric expression indicates that the speakers are creative in choosing the metaphors used in HIV and AIDS discourse.

Metaphors also have an explanatory function, that is, the highlighting and hiding aspect of metaphor. As such, the centre bolt metaphoric expression has utilized the focusing tenet of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) states that in allowing us to focus on one aspect of the concept, a metaphorical concept keeps us from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor. In the centre bolt expression, only the centre bolt of a machine is focused on while the other parts, for example, the engine, or wheels are not used in this conceptualization.

The other metaphoric expression, *okogoro kwautokire* and *akanyora ebankincha* (a slow puncture) were also used in reference to HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. This is an extension of THE HUMAN BODY IS A CAR metaphor. However, the source domain of a car has not been utilised wholesomely in understanding HIV and AIDS in this case. Instead, metonymy has been employed, in that a part of a car (a tyre) has been used to stand for the source domain of a car. As such, the damage that can befall a tyre has been used to reason about the process of HIV infection. This is also another example where the focusing tenet of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor has been used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this regard, only a flat tyre has been used to conceptualize a seropositive in EkeGusii while the other parts of a car for instance, windscreens, engine or seats are not utilized in this conceptualization.

The metaphoric expression, the slow puncture was used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse in reference to the effects or damage caused to the body once one is infected. HIV is asymptomatic just the same way a slow puncture commences; that is, the slow pace at which a human body's immunity deteriorates. If the slow puncture remains unnoticed, then the tyre goes flat and it calls for a replacement. This is also likened to HIV infection, if HIV infection is undetected and ARV treatment starts late then one acquires full blown AIDS, and death is inevitable. Similarly, the slow puncture metaphoric expression was used in South African prisons to refer to HIV and AIDS. Similarly Horne (2010) indicates that South Africans use *some one has a slow puncture* to refer to a seropositive. Horne (2010) posits that the slow puncture metaphor is used to refer to the gradual leakage of vitality, until the person is 'flat'. From the aforementioned examples, attributes of accidents are used to understand and structure HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. The knowledge about accidents is used to understand the virus and condition. Therefore, HIV and AIDS are acquired accidentally.

The metaphoric expressions from the diverse source domains of accidents used to understand HIV and AIDS confirm the conceptual metaphor, CONTRACTING HIV IS AN ACCIDENT. In this metaphorical conceptualization, the numerous accidents that may affect EkeGusii speakers are used as source domains to understand the process of HIV infection. Thus 'our conceptualization of abstract categories is grounded on our experience with the concrete objects and events' (Ungerer and Schmid 1996:121). The attributes of accidents that are used to understand HIV infection are drawn from concrete objects and experiences that are well understood by EkeGusii speakers.

However, some accidents can be avoided or prevented, for example in the case of road accidents, one observes traffic rules. HIV and AIDS are not exceptional of this fact. This fact was gathered from respondents observed that:

Transcript 5

Interviewer: Can you tell us how HIV can be prevented?

Respondent: *Ee. Omonto nigo akwerita naende atige obotomani. Gotigana naywo, nigo akwegena omwanchi oye oyo otarwareti bweka gose atumie emepira. Nigo omonto akwerita*

(Yes. One needs to abstain and avoid prostitution. Apart from that, one needs to be faithful to his/her uninfected partner or use condoms. One has to be extra careful with his/her life).

From transcript 5, it is indicated that in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, prevention of the accident metaphor can be achieved by abstaining or by being faithful to one's uninfected partner and avoiding many sexual partners. Similarly, Kobia (2008) points out that it is through the clearly articulated thought that metaphors warn people against 'writing many books' 'digging in many farms', 'drinking from many wells', 'eating bananas without peels' or 'avoiding travelling at night so as to avoid being hit by stumps' among others. All these expressions either refer to promiscuity, prostitution or sexual intercourse. They further serve as strong warnings to EkeGusii speakers because whoever does not abstain, or is unfaithful to his/her partner gets infected with HIV. The discussion on the accident metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse is in agreement with the sentiments discussed by Kobia (2008) about Oluluyhia speakers who also conceptualize HIV and AIDS as the accident metaphor. In this regard, the two

speech communities use the metaphor, CONTRACTING HIV IS AN ACCIDENT. However, the expressions used to describe the accident metaphor are different in. For instance, according to the Lwisukha speakers, the linguistic expression, *waihiya mwisisi* (he hit the wall fatally) was used as an elaboration of the accident metaphor. This is used in Lwisukha dialect in reference to a bird which, while flying hit the wall of the house and died. The underlying metaphor here is CONTRACTING HIV IS HITTING A WALL. In this metaphor, hitting a wall hurts one and acts as a barrier from progressing further either economically or health wise. While, in EkeGusii, the elaborations of the accident metaphor do not have anything to do with birds being involved in accidents, instead, they indicate individuals being involved in day in activities and as a result, they end up being hurt.

Kövecses (2010) argues that understanding one domain in terms of another involves a set of correspondences (technically known as mappings) between a target and source domain. Therefore, to know a conceptual metaphor is to know the set of mappings that applies to a given source-target pairing. Kövecses (2010) further indicates that it is these mappings that provide much of the meaning of the metaphorical expressions that make a particular conceptual metaphor manifest.

A single concept can have several different conceptual metaphors working to describe different parts of how that concept is understood. For example, the human mind is sometimes metaphorically conceptualized in terms of a machine. The accident metaphor indicates that HIV is a condition that is acquired accidentally. Therefore, CONTRACTING HIV IS AN ACCIDENT would be realized using different mappings in EkeGusii. In this regard, the property that conceptual metaphors may have multiple mappings was utilized. For instance, CONTRACTING HIV IS A THORN IN THE FLESH as in the expression ‘being pierced by a

thorn' indicates that contracting HIV could be seen as an act of being pierced by a thorn. In this mapping, HIV infection was seen as a burden that one has to bear from the time of HIV infection.

The other mapping in the accident metaphor indicated that THE HUMAN BEING IS A MACHINE. In this metaphor, a human body was perceived as a machine that has diverse functions and can break down and fail to function properly. As such, an extension of THE HUMAN BEING IS A MACHINE metaphor was utilised in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions. The metaphorical mapping is, THE HUMAN BODY IS A CAR. In this mapping, a person is understood as a car that is made up of parts (for example, tyres and bolts) that can break down and result to an accident. In this mapping, the breaking down of a machine or a car may be compared to reduction of a person's productivity as a result of being infected with HIV.

The accident metaphor also acts as a warning to EkeGusii speakers to be cautious of HIV and AIDS. This is in the sense that some accidents can be avoided by for instance, observing traffic rules. The observation of traffic rules was further compared to abstaining till marriage and being faithful. This could guard one against being involved in an accident as far as EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse is concerned. The accident metaphor therefore focused on the fact that at times one acquires HIV accidentally.

From the aforementioned discussion, it was evident that the conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse is in line with Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) argument that conceptualization is done from the non-physical in terms of the physical. In this case, HIV and AIDS are abstract entities that are well understood through the use of metaphor. In the case of CONTRACTING HIV IS AN ACCIDENT metaphor, the speakers use the knowledge they have about accidents to

structure, reason and understand HIV infection. Therefore, EkeGusii speakers use metaphorical expressions drawn from accidents to structure and understand HIV and AIDS. Accidents are normally witnessed and understood by the speakers that is why they are used to refer to the abstract concept of HIV and AIDS.

HIV and AIDS are abstract entities. The abstract target domain of HIV and AIDS was understood with recourse to conceptual metaphor in EkeGusii for instance, through using CONTRACTING HIV AND AIDS IS AN ACCIDENT. This subsequently utilized the necessity tenet of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor because it is through metaphor that HIV and AIDS become coherent to EkeGusii speakers. This argument confirms an observation by Mawadza (2000) that metaphor names one thing by something in another domain calling forth a likeness on analogy between the things that are fundamentally different. Therefore HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii discourse are referred and likened to accidents among other things.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that the concepts that get mapped onto other concepts are not random or haphazard, but usually, conceptual system of human beings is grounded in a very specific way. The aforementioned discussion also supports the idea that, in most cases the target domains are abstract whereas the source domains are concrete, or, in the words of Lakoff and Johnson, “we typically conceptualize the non-physical in term of the physical” (2003: 59). This means that people usually map from a domain which they can see, feel, touch and understand to the domains that they cannot see or so easily comprehend. This is a very important aspect of Cognitive Theory of Metaphor, because as the theory claims that most concepts are structured in terms of other concepts (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). Accidents are normally destructive just the same way some things are. The next section discusses the fire metaphor which is also destructive.

4.2.3 The Fire Metaphor

CONTRACTING HIV IS ELECTROCUTION metaphor was also used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphor, the source domain indicates that metaphorical expressions use attributes of fire, electric shock or electrocution to understand and structure the target domain, HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. This metaphorical conceptualization is exemplified in data set three.

Data set 3

- i) *Obo -rwaire bo -go -tamboker -a buna omo -rero*
13 –disease 13SG -PROG -spread -FV like 2 -fire
‘A disease that spreads like bush fire’
- ii) *A -ga -tach -a omo -rero*
1SG -PST –step on -FV 2-fire
‘One stepped on or was burnt by fire’
- iii) *A -a -kir -e ne e -sitima*
1SG -PST –hit –FV with 9-electric power
‘He/she is electrocuted’
- iv) *E -sitima*
9 –electric power
‘Electric power’
- v) *A -ga -tach -a e -waya e gwoka omo -rero*
1SG -PST –step on –FV 9-wire 9 –burn 2..-fire
‘One stepped on a live wire’

Fire is useful but it can also be fierce and destructive, so is HIV. The metaphorical expression *oborwaire bogotambokera buna omorero* (the disease that spreads like bush fire) is a simile that

compares the spread of HIV to that of bush fire which is normally destructive. Crystal (1997) defines a simile as a word that compares words in a sentence, in that, two unlike things are explicitly compared to a point of similarity. As per Crystal's definition, the metaphoric expression *oborwaire bogotambokera buna omorero* (a disease that spreads like bush fire), compares the spread of HIV and AIDS to a bush fire. As such, HIV infection and bush fires are similar. Bush fires can be construed as a destructive phenomenon, just like accidents are destructive in the context of journeys. The underlying metaphors here are, THE SPREAD OF HIV AND AIDS IS A DESTRUCTIVE JOURNEY or THE SPREAD OF HIV IS A BUSH FIRE in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In these metaphors, the source domain utilizes the knowledge of a fierce bush fire in explaining the uncontrollable nature of the spread of HIV in the human body. The spread of bush fires is seen as a journey. Moreover, the indiscriminate manner in which bush fires spread, which is used as a source domain is used to understand the manner in which HIV destroys the body cells rendering the immunity of an infected individual weak. In addition, HIV also spreads indiscriminately in the societal strata. Normally a bush fire spreads uncontrollably and its effects are fierce and quite destructive.

The manner in which a bush fire spreads is compared to the manner in which HIV spreads in an infected individual and affects other individuals in a given society. Once HIV attacks an individual, it spreads fast by destroying the lymphocytes of a human body unless ARVS are administered. In fact, it is difficult to manage a fire outbreak in a forest or bush once it has spread far, likewise it may not be easy to manage an infected individual who has developed full blown AIDS. This metaphor is used to highlight the effects of a burning fire which is compared to the consuming nature of HIV and AIDS. Since HIV was discovered, it has spread to all parts of the world; this is further compared well to the indiscriminate nature of wild bush fire which

destroys anything it finds on its way. The indiscriminate nature of the wild bush fire can also be compared to the manner in which HIV has affected everybody in the social strata. Ogechi (2005) uses the metaphorical expression *kimbunga* (hurricane) to refer to HIV and AIDS. Hurricanes and fires are destructive. The manner and speed in which hurricanes spread could be similar to that of a bush fire. The metaphor in operation here is THE SPREAD OF HIV IS A HURRICANE, in that hurricanes spread fast and are destructive. In this understanding, the destructive nature of hurricanes and bush fires is transposed to that of HIV in EkeGusii.

The other metaphorical expression in data set 3, *agatacha/agasambwa na omorero* (he/she stepped on/was burnt by fire) was also used in understanding HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. The metaphor in operation here is, CONTRACTING HIV IS BEING CONSUMED BY FIRE in which the source domain of being burnt indicates that the infected person had stepped on an electric current and was electrocuted. The source domain presents a situation whereby the agony and pain experienced when one is burnt is compared to the agony one goes through once infected with HIV. As such, a seropositive individual may suffer from numerous opportunistic infections, some on which have painful experiences that can be compared to the pain and suffering of a burn. Kobia (2008) argues that just as fire is fierce and destructive, so are HIV and AIDS. They have destroyed families, friendships, communities and nations in the world economically, emotionally, physically, socially and politically. In addition, CONTRACTING HIV IS BEING CONSUMED BY FIRE metaphor may be compared to the effects of HIV to a human body. HIV affects the immune system of the seropositive making it weak and prone to numerous opportunistic infections.

Once the opportunistic infections have struck a seropositive and one is undergoing untold suffering, this can be likened to a house that is on fire where the burning flames are furious and

uncontrollable as indicated by the metaphorical expression *enyamorero* (the one that possesses fire). The metaphorical expression *enyamorero* (the one that possesses fire) was also used to refer to HIV. The metaphor in operation here is, HIV IS FIRE in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. This metaphor compares HIV and AIDS to a fire. This further implies that HIV is a fire agent that causes destruction wherever it goes. The metaphoric expressions in data set 3 illustrate the use of the fire metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. Thus, the conceptual metaphor CONTRACTING HIV AND AIDS IS FIRE in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse is in operation here. This metaphor indicates that HIV is devastating, detrimental and injures the community and the nation at large. Nerlich and Rowe (2002) also conceptualized the Foot and Mouth Disease as fire. The discussion of FMD as fire implied that FMD could be extinguished especially when the government imposed the creation of firebreaks to stop FMD in certain disease hot spots (Nerlich and Rowe, 2002).

Closely related to the FIRE metaphor which is also frequently used in reference to HIV and AIDS is electric power. EkeGusii speakers utilise electric power as a measure of the effects of HIV and AIDS. The metaphorical expression, *esitima* (electric power) was used to refer to HIV. As such, the metaphors in operation here are, HIV IS AN ELECTRIC CURRENT and CONTRACTING HIV IS ELECTROCUTION which means that if one is not careful with the said electric current, then he/she is bound to be electrocuted. This metaphor uses the source domain of electric power to reason about HIV and the seropositive, who is otherwise referred to as *aakire ne esitima* (one is electrocuted). In fact, caution is normally exercised whenever one is using electricity and whenever there is involved in an accident involving electric power, the effects can be fatal. This is the reason behind the EkeGusii speakers' use of the expression *agatacha eraibu waya* (one stepped on a live wire) and *agatacha ewaya ye esitima* (one stepped

on an electric wire) to refer to seropositive persons. In this case, a live wire is compared to HIV or an infected person who people ought to be careful not to step on, otherwise one risks being electrocuted. HIV IS AN ELECTRIC CURRENT metaphor compares the effects of HIV on a seropositive to the effects of electrocution. Thus, this metaphor is used as a powerful warning to the speakers to be wary of the effects of contracting HIV; hence caution and care ought to be observed so as to avoid electrocution. It is clear that electrocution in most cases leads to death and whenever one is suffering from AIDS related complications, EkeGusii speakers mention that *nigo aakire ne esitima* (he is electrocuted). The metaphoric expression of electric power gives rise to the conceptual metaphor SEROPOSITIVES ARE ELECTROCUTED PERSONS in reference to EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

The linguistic expressions that use electric power to understand HIV and AIDS also utilizes the domains, unidirectionality, creativity and necessity tenets of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor. The unidirectionality tenet of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor indicates that abstract concepts are understood by using knowledge from the source domain to understand the target domain and not vice versa (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). For example, the metaphor, SEROPOSITIVES ARE ELECTROCUTED PERSONS utilizes electrocution as a source domain to understand the HIV positive individuals. There is no way one can reverse the mappings, in that one cannot use seropositives in understanding the electrocution. Nyandiba and Anyonje (2013) also point out that the concept of electrocution was used in coining the linguistic metaphor *gotacha eraibu waya* (to step on a live wire) which sends a warning to EkeGusii speakers to be careful not to be infected as it leads to death. This is a further illustration of the metaphor, CONTRACTING HIV IS BEING ELECTROCUTED. Moreover, Ogechi (2005) points out that HIV is referred as a

livewire. This is an exemplification of, HIV IS AN ELECTRIC CURRENT which was also discussed in EkeGusii.

Kobia (2008) notes that the use of electric wire as a metaphor for HIV and AIDS among Ololuyia speakers is a manifestation of how the speakers perceive the disease. Kobia (2008) observes that Lwisukha speakers say that *yasena ku luwaya* (one has stepped on a live wire) to refer to one being infected. This metaphoric expression also illustrates the metaphor that had been discussed earlier as, CONTRACTING HIV IS BEING ELECROCUTED. Given the fact that EkeGusii speakers also refer to HIV and AIDS as electric wire, this further implies that HIV is dangerous. This definitely sends caution to the speakers not to expose themselves to the disease. Kobia (2008) also argues that an electric wire may be compared to someone very beautiful or handsome but precarious especially when infected by HIV and AIDS. Electricity is very important in the lives of people but has at times caused disastrous effects to people and property. The same applies to HIV and AIDS, which have serious impacts on socio-economic development. This discussion attests to an observation by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) that human beings conceptualize their world views through embodied experiences. This indicates that it is through humans' experiences of the world that they construe the world. Therefore HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii were understood through the experiences of the speakers with fire and electrocution hence the indication that HIV and AIDS can be understood using the source domain of fire or electric power.

4.2.4 The Food Metaphor

CONTRACTING HIV IS CONSUMING CONTAMINATED FOOD OR DRINKS was prevalent in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. This metaphor is connected to destruction

because the moment one takes contaminated food stuff and it harms him/her, that harm would be compared to electrocution or destruction. Here, food and food items were used as source domains to discuss and understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. Eating is a foundational cognitive schema that is widely used in EkeGusii both at lexical and conceptual levels. Kövesces (2006) points out that eating is used metaphorically to understand and communicate ideas regarding concepts from diverse domains like corruption, emotion and even sex. Eating is used in EkeGusii to understand concepts related to HIV and AIDS. Moreover, HIV in Africa is basically spread through heterosexual intercourse and this fact foregrounds the eating and food metaphor as far as sexual intercourse is concerned.

Allan and Burridge (2006) also argue that the close association between the alimentary canal and sexual matters can be explained on the basis that food is often the prelude for sex and eating and love making go together. Sexual intercourse in most cases is understood in terms of eating or more precisely, as Kövesces (2006) points out, as appetizing food. This particular association provides the language user with alternatives from the food domain to understand and structure the target domain of sex. However, if one consumes rotten or bad food, it is expected that this will affect his/her body. This fact is used in the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The consumption of contaminated food is also compared to having an affair with an infected individual in EkeGusii.

Once an individual is infected, the food metaphor is consequently used figuratively to define such an individual. When the researcher was interviewing a respondent, that respondent indicated that a group of EkeGusii young men describing another young man who had passed on. First, the food metaphor was used to describe his death in that *nigo atiga koragera* which loosely translates to ‘he had quit eating’ at a first, the respondent thought that the said individual was

fasting or he intentionally stopped eating only to realize that it is a metaphor at play. The metaphor captures the image of the dead in that one stops eating once he dies. On interviewing the new respondent further on what might have happened to the dead man, two other food metaphors were used.

It was indicated that *achegetie chinchoke korwa omotana ime chikamorasa* (he had disturbed wildly stinging bees from their hive) and as a result, he was injured. The metaphorical expression means that the said individual had unprotected sex with an infected individual, contracted HIV which further caused his death. The conceptual metaphor in operation is, HIV IS A WILD STINGING BEE. In this metaphor, wild stinging bees are used as a source domain to reason and describe the target domain of HIV and AIDS. This metaphor highlights the fact that bees manufacture honey (having sex), which is a foodstuff that is very sweet. However, in the event of harvesting honey, one may get injuries from the wild stinging bees. The harvesting of honey can be compared to sexual intercourse, that in the course of one enjoying himself/herself, one can get infected with HIV. In EkeGusii, harvesting of honey is likened to heterosexual intercourse. According to Allan and Burrige (2006), heterosexual intercourse is metaphorically referred to as eating. In HIV IS A WILD STINGING BEE metaphor, a hive is compared to a human body while bees that manufacture food, that is honey are likened to HIV which one contracts through heterosexual intercourse that is likened to consuming honey. The stinging bees in this metaphor represent the devouring and exorable nature of HIV and AIDS. Kobia (2008) notes that in the Lulogooli dialect of the Luyha language HIV and AIDS is referred to as *obukhi bwiranga* (honey that kills). This metaphorical expression is a variant of HIV AND AIDS IS POISONED FOOD metaphor, and specifically, HIV IS POISONED HONEY in Lulogooli. This metaphor indicates that HIV is honey that kills. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that metaphors

not only make peoples' thoughts more vivid and interesting, but they actually structure their perceptions and understanding. The metaphorical expression of wild stinging bees indicates the perception of EkeGusii speakers and understanding of HIV and AIDS in relation to heterosexual intercourse and promiscuity.

The other metaphorical expression that was used was *nigo anywete amabere amagundo korwa ekerandi kiabande* (one drank rotten milk from another person's gourd). The metaphor in operation here is, CONTRACTING HIV IS CONSUMING CONTAMINATED FOOD OR DRINKS which implies that one had unprotected sex with a person who is not his partner, got infected with HIV and died. In this metaphor, heterosexual intercourse is likened to taking milk from a gourd while HIV infection is likened to taking rotten milk. Nyandiba and Anyonje (2013) also point out that an infected woman is seen as a gourd that carries rotten milk. The gourd is compared to a body of a woman and the rotten milk is HIV that the woman may infect other people with. The other metaphoric expressions that use are linked to the metaphor CONTRACTING HIV IS CONSUMING CONTAMINATED FOOD or DRINKS are *konywa amache amabe* (to drink contaminated water) and *koria ematoke amagundo* (to eat rotten bananas as illustrated in data set 4). The metaphorical expressions to drink contaminated water and to eat rotten bananas indicate that the uptake of the contaminated water and rotten bananas are being compared to the process of HIV infection. Among EkeGusii speakers, bananas and milk are seen as delicacies and as a result, the speakers use the embodied experience that they have with their environments to discuss about HIV and AIDS. Kobia (2008) indicate that a prostitute who is seropositive is referred in Luloogoli as *ali nende butsiba* (one has poison). In this case, a prostitute is seen as poisonous or in possession of honey that kills. The conceptual

metaphor formulated out of this linguistic expression is, HIV IS POISON. This metaphor is related to CONTRACTING HIV IS CONSUMING CONTAMINATED FOOD in EkeGusii.

The aforementioned metaphors capture powerful images in EkeGusii as far as sex and HIV and AIDS are concerned. That it is essential to enjoy certain foodstuff like milk, honey and water but caution should not be thrown to the winds as one respondent cited the words of a musician in EkeGusii who cautions his listeners on the dangers of promiscuity by saying that *momura kanywe amabere korwa ekerandi kiao gioka* (young men, you better drink milk exclusively from your gourd). This metaphorical expression is used to encourage young people to be faithful in their marriages and in turn avoid having the famous *mipango ya kando* (having extramarital affairs). Kobia (2008) similarly warns people against ‘writing many books’, ‘digging in many farms’ and ‘drinking from many wells’ as this could make one contract HIV. The other food metaphorical expressions that were used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse are exemplified in data set 4.

Data set 4

- i) *Ko -nyw -a ama -che ama -be*
INF -drink -FV 6- water 6 -bad
‘To drink dirty water’
- ii) *Ko -ri -a ama-toke ama -gundo*
INF-eat-FV 6-bananas 6-rotten
‘To eat rotten bananas’
- iii) *Ko -ri -a e -sumo ye e -nyambu*
INF-eat-FV 9-poison of 9-chameleon
‘To take a chameleon’s poison’
- iv) *Ko -omer -a eke -nyinyi*
INF-swallow -FV 7-leech
‘To swallow a leech’

- v) *Ko -omer -a e-naironi*
 INF-swallow -FV 9-polythene
 ‘To swallow polythene’
- vi) *Ko –ri -a ri -tunda ri -bwate ama -konde*
 INF-eat -FV 7-fruit 7-posses 7-maggots
 ‘To eat a fruit that has is infested with maggots’

From the data set above, the metaphoric expression *komera ekenyinyi* (to swallow a leech), *komera enaironi* (to swallow polythene) and *koria esumo ye enyambu* (to eat a chameleon’s poison) all illustrate use of the metaphor CONTRACTING HIV IS SWALLOWING HARMFUL SUBSTANCES in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The metaphor uses the swallowing of harmful and dangerous substances as a source domain to reason and understand the target domain of contracting HIV. In this metaphor, the metaphorical expression ‘swallowing a leech’ understands the process of HIV infection as swallowing a blood sucking insect found in fresh water. In this metaphorical expression, HIV is referred to as *ekenyinyi* (a leech). While, the metaphorical expression *koomera enaironi* (to swallow polythene) also uses the knowledge that if someone swallows polythene, he/she is bound to be seriously affected by it. Nyandiba and Anyonje (2013) argue that swallowing polythene is drawn from a belief by EkeGusii speakers that if a cow eats plastic or polythene paper, it grows thin and eventually dies. This metaphorical expression likens the weight loss of a cow that has swallowed polythene paper with a seropositive.

The metaphoric expression, *koria esumo ye enyambu* (to take a chameleon’s poison) understands the process of HIV infection by using chameleon’s poison as a source domain. This further leads to the formulation of other metaphors, CONTRACTING HIV IS SWALLOWING POISON and

HIV IS POISON in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. EkeGusii speakers believe that a chameleon is poisonous and as such, if one swallows it, he/she will be very sick and finally die. In this regard, the process of HIV infection is likened to swallowing a chameleon's poison which will lead to death in most cases. In connection to this metaphor, Lulogooli speakers use, HIV IS POISONED FOOD as reflected in the linguistic expressions, *obukhi bwiranga* (honey that kills) and *ali nende butsiba* (he has poison). In this case, the two metaphors in EkeGusii and Lulogooli use the variant of HIV IS POISONED FOOD though the linguistic expressions vary from one language to another.

The seropositive persons prolong their lives by taking ARVS. The uptake of ARVS is further used metaphorically to define seropositives and at times it sends a word of caution to the community. Some respondents indicated that the outward appearance at times can be deceiving as it may not hide or conceal one's HIV status. They indicated that it is common to hear that *oria nomorwaire, namariogo akonakonywa* (that person is sick and on medication). This metaphorical expression automatically means that the person in question is infected and he is on ARVS. The metaphor in operation here is, ARVS IS FOOD. The metaphor uses attributes from food and foodstuff as source domains to understand ARVS. The food metaphor is thus illustrated by the expression, uptake, it is assumed that it is foodstuff which are drinks or water that are taken. Hence, the metaphorical expression, 'one is taking medication' indicates that once one habitually takes medication, this transforms ARVS to some kind of foodstuff that is taken daily hence the metaphor, ARVS IS FOOD.

Another metaphorical expression that was used by EkeGusii respondents in referring to a seropositive is, *oywo nigo anka ritunda ririre na amakonde korwa ime* (that person resembles an attractive fruit but with maggots inside). This metaphorical expression brings the formulation of

the metaphors, A SEROPOSITIVE IS A ROTTEN FRUIT and A SEROPOSITIVE IS A MAGGOT INFESTED FRUIT in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The two metaphors use rotten fruits as a source domain to reason and understand the target domain, the seropositive. These metaphors also use the food metaphor to understand a seropositive.

A SEROPOSITIVE IS A MAGGOT INFESTED FRUIT metaphor utilizes a maggot infested fruit as a source domain which further portrays a picture of an attractive fruit from outside but full of maggots to give a vivid picture of how people may be good looking or attractive hence have an inviting outward appearance of a sexual partner without the slightest indication that they are infected with HIV. In reality, this mapping indicates that maggots eat and disfigure fruits from inside and this image is transposed to describe how the HIV destroys the seropositives from within. This discussion on the food metaphor is in line with Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argument on metaphorical conceptualization that people's concepts structure what they perceive, how they get around the world, and how they relate to they relate to other people. The food metaphor shows how HIV and AIDS are feared and the preventative measures EkeGusii speakers are putting in place to counter HIV infections. Kövesces (2002) notes that many aspects of social and cultural life are talked about and experienced in terms of food. Kovesces (2002) further argues that this kind of comparison occurs easily because of the systematic organization of food and food habits within each culture. It is with this reasoning that the food metaphor is used in comparison to HIV infection in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

Furthermore, the respondents indicated that religion and HIV and AIDS are captured by use of the food metaphor in EkeGusii. It was noted that many at times religious leaders use the food metaphor in relation to the Bible to admonish promiscuity in their congregation. They use the metaphorical expression 'eating the forbidden fruit' which alludes to the Biblical story of Adam

and Eve. When God created Adam and Eve, they were warned against eating or touching a fruit that was in the middle of the Garden of Eden. The moment they ate it, God punished them. This story is used by religious leaders to warn the worshippers about the dangers of being unfaithful in marriage and/not abstaining till marriage. The intended message is that it is morally wrong ‘to eat the forbidden fruit’ especially when one ends in danger by contracting AIDS. Horne (2010) argues that the language used to refer to AIDS is highly revealing of the prevalent personal and social attitudes towards the disease. This was clearly illustrated by the uptake of ARVS and to whether HIV and AIDS are curable or not. The study findings revealed responses that indicated both personal and social perceptions about HIV and the condition. The food metaphor is basically associated with sex and sexual intercourse in relation to HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii.

According to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), the metaphorical structuring is normally partial, in that only some aspects of the source domain are used to describe the target domain. As such, the metaphor uses the creativity and necessity tenets of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor to indicate the fact that one can contract HIV through sexual intercourse. However, in this metaphor, the fact that sex and sexual intercourse (or rather consuming of food) is necessary and important aspect for procreation is hidden in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

4.2.5 Disaster Metaphor

AIDS IS A DISASTER metaphor was also prevalent in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphor, events and associations of supernatural occurrences were used as a source domain that structured and understood the target domain of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. Kobia (2008) posits that metaphor is understood by internalizing, mapping and perceiving it from the source domain to the target domain. Kobia (2008) further argues that to internalize metaphorical

mapping, one has to consider shared attributes between the source and target domains. A number of metaphorical expressions used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse refer to HIV and AIDS as a disaster. In this sense, attributes of natural occurrences like a catastrophe, tragedy and other disastrous occurrences were used to understand and structure HIV and AIDS. Further, the source domains comprise calamities like drought, floods and others that are used to understand the target domain, HIV and AIDS. Data set 5 indicates the metaphoric expressions that explain how HIV and AIDS are understood as a disaster.

Data set 5

- i) *Obo-rwaire bo -go -kor -a aba-nto*
13 -disease 13SG -PROG -finish -FV 2-people
'A disease that is a massive killer'
- ii) *E -nyamokirimbi eye yach -a*
9-plague that came -FV
'A new plague'
- iii) *Omo -rakera*
2-drought
'Drought'
- iv) *E -nkoba*
9-thunderstorm
'Thunderstorm'
- v) *Eke-rambauti*
7-whirl wind
'Whirl wind'

The metaphoric expressions in data set 5 indicate that AIDS is a tragedy or catastrophe that has hit the world. In the aforementioned examples, AIDS is viewed as *oborwaire bogokora abanto* (a disease that is a massive killer) and *enyamokirimbi eye yacha* (a new plague). The metaphor in operation here is, HIV IS A MASSIVE KILLER or HIV IS A NEW PLAGUE in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In these metaphors, the source domains indicate that HIV is some kind of force that kills in huge numbers. HIV is a new plague too and as such, the massive killer and the plague may end up creating a disaster. The metaphoric expression *oborwaire bogokora abanto* (a disease that is a massive killer) shows that HIV and AIDS are generalised as *oborwaire* (a disease) in EkeGusii. As such, AIDS is a strange disease given that EkeGusii speakers do not mention it specifically by any name, which is out to wipe the entire human nation. The source domain of a massive killer indicates that the disease affects human beings and it is out to wipe out the entire human race. The metaphoric expression, *enyamokirimbi eye yacha* (a new plague) indicates that HIV and AIDS are further understood as a curse or a mystery of some sort that affects human beings. Sontag (1989) also refers to HIV and AIDS as a plague. The metaphor that can be formulated here is, HIV IS A PLAGUE that is yet to be understood fully in EkeGusii. This metaphorical expression sends fear and warns EkeGusii speakers to exercise caution; otherwise the entire human race risks being wiped out.

The other metaphorical expressions that are used in this metaphor are *omorakera* (drought), *omogoko* (soil erosion) and *enkoba* (thunderstorm). The underlying metaphor here is, HIV AND AIDS ARE DESTRUCTIVE FORCES OF NATURE in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphor, natural occurrences that have devastating effects whenever they occur are used as source domains to reason and understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS. Goatly (1997) posits that the target domain could be understood in terms of source domain because there are

similarities or correspondences between the two domains. 'Similarity is the sharing of certain features' (Goatly, 1997:16), and it provides an essential condition in constructing a conceptual metaphor. The use of the attributes of drought, soil erosion, and thunderstorm to understand HIV and AIDS helps to build similarities between disaster and HIV and AIDS. As such, the similarity indicates that HIV and AIDS do not discriminate; they affect all the people regardless of age, gender, sex and social status. The effects of drought, soil erosion and thunderstorms are experienced and affect all the people in a given locality; this is transposed to the effects of HIV. For instance, soil erosion corrodes and destroys the gains made in farms; HIV and AIDS also corrode the gains made to individuals after many years of investment. The effect of thunder is normally disastrous. The destructive natural occurrences like thunder have some unexplained force that causes damage whenever they strike. This is also compared to the effects of HIV to a family, society and economy at large. A lot of pain is experienced once one dies out of HIV and AIDS complications and economically, the society loses manpower and may be, a huge amount of resources are also put to 'waste' to take care of the orphans and other dependants.

The metaphor HIV AND AIDS AS DESTRUCTIVE FORCES OF NATURE was further understood using the linguistic expression *ekerambauti* (whirlwind) in EkeGusii. A whirlwind is a violent wind that moves very fast in a spinning movement and causes a lot of damage whenever it hits a given place. It has a strong current that carries everything it finds on its way within minutes. After that, human beings complain of dust having affected their eyes, destruction of property and crops, and some lose valuable possessions that get carried away by the whirlwind. When the destructive supernatural force is used as a source domain and a whirlwind is used to understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS, the effects of the virus and the condition are highlighted. The manner in which HIV attacks the body cells by weakening the

immunity system is therefore compared to the force and manner of execution of a whirlwind once it attacks a given locality. The aftermath of a whirlwind, that is the loss and destruction of property are used in understanding the effects of HIV and AIDS to an individual and the community. In that, after HIV weakens ones immunity, opportunistic infections set in and that person may eventually die. The death of such a person affects others in the community in many ways.

Lastly, the metaphorical expression, *oborwaire bokoabusa* (a sweeping disease) was also intended to understand HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. The underlying metaphor here is, AIDS IS A SWEEPING DISEASE in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The metaphor structures and understands the target domain of HIV and AIDS using the source domain of a sweeping agent. This source domain indicates that HIV is a sweeping agent or a broom that for unknown reasons is out to sweep individuals it finds on its way. Further, when the target domain of HIV is understood through the source domain of a sweeping disease, it indicates that HIV is out to sweep or even wipe out everybody in the human race. In this regard, a broom can be compared to the manner in which HIV sweeps the immunity system of a seropositive rendering the body weak and vulnerable to opportunistic infections. HIV has no cure and for this reason, it is believed that the seropositives might be wiped out with HIV. Similar sentiments were shared by Nerlich and Rowe on the metaphorical conceptualization of Foot and Mouth Disease. Nerlich and Rowe (2002) observe that when Foot and Mouth Disease raged United Kingdom in 2001, it interacted with potential visual images of death and destruction. A number of farms were destroyed by the virus and the infected animals were killed to control the spread of the disease. Ogechi (2005) also talks of HIV by using *kimbunga* (hurricane) which could also be an exemplification of HIV AND AIDS AS DESTRUCTIVE FORCES OF NATURE as a hurricane

is a natural occurrence that can cause a lot of havoc whenever it occurs. The destruction that these natural occurrences cause are transposed to the harm that HIV causes to human beings

The foregoing discussion confirms the suitability of this metaphor HIV AND AIDS AS DESTRUCTIVE FORCES OF NATURE. Some of the effects of natural occurrences are beyond human beings control the same way the effects of HIV and AIDS are to the society. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that humans experience the world through embodiment. Embodiment means that part of our conceptual system and therefore, aspects of our language are structured by the features of our bodies and functioning of our bodies in everyday life (Lakoff and Johnson, 1999). The aspect of humans experiencing the world through embodiment is illustrated with the linguistic metaphors surrounding the mapping of HIV AND AIDS AS DESTRUCTIVE FORCES OF NATURE as they depict the climatic conditions surrounding EkeGusii speakers. The case of thunderstorms, hailstones, soil erosion and whirlwinds characterize the destructive climatic conditions around the western part of Kenya, where majority of EkeGusii speakers live. The use of metaphorical expressions connected to climatic conditions reflects the geographical and social realities evident in the communication utterances of the speakers. Although AIDS at times is seen as a disease like any other, it is viewed as a dangerous, destructive and incurable disease. No wonder it is also referred to as *oborwaire obonene* (the big disease) which also brings forth the conceptual metaphor, AIDS IS SIZE. In this metaphorical conceptualization, HIV and AIDS can be regarded as a huge disease/problem confronting human beings. That is, the effects of HIV and AIDS at times are forced upon people, community and the nation at large.

4.2.6 The Animal Metaphor

HIV AND AIDS IS AN ANIMAL metaphor was used in conceptualizing HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. This metaphor utilizes attributes from specific animals to name and understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS. Olateju (2005) argues that the attributes and actions associated with an animal are transferred to the person being predicted of an animal. In EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, attributes and actions associated with specific animals are used to reason about HIV and AIDS. Olateju (2005) also observes that motivation is culture dependent, that is, whatever attribute an animal is claimed to have is largely dependent of the culture of the speakers and philosophy of life. For instance, some metaphorical expressions used in HIV and AIDS in relation to animals reveal the dread associated with HIV and AIDS as further exemplified in data set 6.

Data set 6

- i) *E -mamba*
9-crocodile
'Crocodile'
- ii) *E -nchogu*
9-elephant
'Elephant'
- iii) *E -basweti/omweri*
9-python
'A python'

- iv) *E -ngiti*
9-serpent
'A serpent'
- v) *E -nyangau*
9- hyena
'Hyena'

The illustration indicates that AIDS is labelled as *emamba* (crocodile) and *enchogu* (elephant) as indicated by respondents. The underlying metaphor here is, HIV IS A HUGE AND DANGEROUS ANIMAL or HIV IS A CROCODILE or AN ELEPHANT in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphor, the two huge and fierce animals are used as source the domain to understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS. Human beings fear crocodiles and elephants and these animals can cause death in case one comes in close contact with them. A crocodile and an elephant are also known to attack, maim and even kill human beings. This knowledge about huge and dangerous animals is compared to the effects of HIV and AIDS to a human body, an individual, community and the nation. This further explains the reason AIDS is also referred to as *endwari enene* (a huge ailment) as indicated by respondents. This metaphorical expression is similar to *oborwaire obonene* (the big disease) that was earlier discussed and the two metaphorical expressions exemplify the metaphor; AIDS IS SIZE. In this regard, AIDS is compared to crocodiles and elephants given the fact that these animals are huge and dangerous. These expressions capture the perception of EkeGusii speakers of HIV and AIDS. As such, HIV has caused enormous challenges and it sends fear to the speakers once mentioned given the fact that a cure or vaccine is yet to be found.

EkeGusii speakers further refer to HIV using the metaphorical expression, *omweri* (python) and *engiti* (serpent). The metaphor in operation here is, HIV IS A SNAKE or SERPENT in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphor, the attributes of a snake or serpent are used as a source domain to reason about the target domain of HIV and AIDS. First of all *omweri* is a term that is borrowed from Dholuo. The Luo believe that *omweri* is a snake that is rarely seen but once it appears, it signifies either disaster or bounty harvest. It is believed that the appearance of *omweri* is followed by heavy downpour resulting to floods that kill many or bounty harvest. Moreover, *omweri* is revered by the Luo and many of them do not comprehend where it comes from. This can further be compared to HIV as people do not really understand it and as a result there is fear generally of contracting HIV. Secondly, EkeGusii speakers also compare HIV to a serpent. This is the oldest and most widespread mythological symbol. In this metaphorical expression, it is indicated that a serpent represents evil in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. Serpents are vengeful and vindictive. This is connected to the fact that venomous snakes often deliver defensive bites without notice to or warning to unwitting victims. This is the same way HIV attacks and strikes innocent human beings. Olateju (2005) similarly observes that animals have distinctive characteristic features which motivate their metaphoric interpretation. Olateju (2005) points out that the distinctive characteristics associated with snakes are being poisonous, treacherous and cruel. These characteristic features for snakes are thus used in reasoning about the target domain of HIV and AIDS in African languages.

Finally, EkeGusii speakers understand and structure HIV using the metaphorical expression, *enyangau* (a hyena). In this metaphorical expression, the knowledge one has about hyenas is therefore used to understand HIV and AIDS. Hyenas are known as nocturnal animals and are extremely greedy. They also are also hunters and scavengers. This greedy nature of the hyena

can also be compared to greedy nature of HIV that is attacking and affecting the human race. The scavenger nature of the hyena may also be likened to the way AIDS affects everybody regardless of the age, gender sex and social status.

According to Zishiri (2010) and Horne (2010), HIV in Africa is mainly transmitted heterosexually. Prostitution also plays a big role in HIV transmission. EkeGusii speakers refer to a prostitute using the metaphorical expression, *omonto ogotaratara* (a person who walks aimlessly) which can further be likened to a restless hyena that is waiting for its prey. The metaphorical expression *omonto ogotaratara* may mean that one is likely to be insane for him/her to walk aimlessly but for this scenario, it refers to a prostitute. Finally, the hyena is small in size but has very strong jaws that can devour even the strongest animal. This is also likened to the devouring nature of HIV; it is a virus that devours the immunity of even the strongest human being.

The foregoing discussion is an illustration of the conceptual metaphor, HIV IS AN ANIMAL in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this conceptualization, EkeGusii speakers conceptualize, HIV IS A HUGE AND DANGEROUS ANIMAL for example, in reference to the linguistic metaphors that refer to a crocodile or an elephant. This is in contrast to Malawians (Moto, 2004) and Ogechi (2005), who conceptualize HIV AS A SMALL BEAST in reference to the linguistic expressions, *kachilombo* (a small beast) and *Kamdudu* (small insect) that are used in reference to HIV. It can be concluded that despite other speech communities conceptualize HIV as a small beast, EkeGusii speakers conceptualize HIV differently, that is, HIV IS A BIG BEAST because the metaphorical expressions used to refer to HIV are basically huge and dangerous animals. This conceptualization could be as a result of the devastation that HIV has caused to the speakers.

4.2.7 The Protection Metaphor

USING PROTECTION IS A PROTECTIVE SHIELD metaphor was also used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphor, EkeGusii speakers use metaphorical expressions drawn from the preventive measures put in place by human beings to guard themselves from being infected with HIV as a source domain to reason about the target domain of HIV and AIDS. Basically, the correspondences in the source domain in this metaphor deals with the use of the condom as a preventive measure for contracting HIV as indicated in data set 7.

Data set 7

- i) *Chi –tibe*
10-boots
'Boots'
- ii) *Chi-sogisi*
10-socks
'Socks'
- iii) *Go –tumi-a omo-bira*
INF-use-FV 1-ball
'To use a polythene'
- iv) *Ri –sakara*
5-paper
'Polythene bag'
- v) *Ama -sasi*
6 -bullets
'Bullets'

The examples in data set 7 give an insight of the WAR METAPHOR in relation to EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. All the metaphorical expressions used in this data set refer to the use of the condom which is one way of protecting oneself from contracting HIV or rather a way of fighting the enemy, that is HIV. The metaphor employs the use of the military metaphor that presumes HIV as an enemy and fighting HIV infection as a war (Sontag, 1989). In this regard, HIV is also referred as *amasasi* (bullets) and HIV infection as *okoraswa* (being shot). This metaphorical expression is an extension of AIDS IS A WAR metaphor in that bullets cannot exist without guns. As such, the metaphorical expression *amasasi* (bullets) are used as metonymy to stand for a gun or rifle that one uses to defend himself in times of war. The metaphor in operation here is, HIV IS A BULLET in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The metaphor HIV IS A BULLET uses the action of shooting bullets as a source domain to understand and reason about the target domain of HIV infection. The metaphorical expression *amasasi* (bullets) is compared to the HIV. The manner in which a bullet is shot and lodged in a human body and causes damage to an individual is compared to the way HIV tears down the immunity of a human being to shreds and if not counter checked, it may lead to death. The metaphorical expression of shooting an individual is compared to the process of infection. The war metaphor was also used to conceptualize Foot and Mouth Disease. Nerlich and Rowe (2002) observe that a central image of FMD was that of an enemy in a war, FMD was also seen as a rival in the fight, as an evil and, even as a plague or death itself. As such, the war against FMD was supposed to defeat the evil (in this case, the virus) and rescue the victims (Nerlich and Rowe, 2002).

One normally avoids being shot in war by wearing some protective clothing, for instance, bullet proof jackets. The bullet proof jackets that one wears in the HIV and AIDS discourse in

EkeGusii can be a condom or otherwise referred to as *chisogisi* (socks) or *risakara* (polythene bag). The underlying metaphor here is, USING PROTECTION IS A PROTECTIVE SHIELD METAPHOR in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The metaphor utilizes the knowledge about a protective shield as a source domain to reason and understand the target domain of HIV infection. Therefore, the metaphorical expressions of socks or polythene bags are used as protective shields in EkeGusii to understand the use of a condom. In this understanding, polythene bags or socks are perceived as containers that contains HIV and other Sexually Transmitted Infections from spreading from one individual to the other. Basically socks are worn to protect one from cold and getting bruises from shoes. A condom is understood as a protective shield that is used to prevent one from being infected with HIV. Moreover, the metaphorical expression of a polythene bag was used to understand the use of the condom too as a preventive shield for HIV infection. There exists some similarity between polythene and the material that is used to make condoms. This further conforms the conceptual mapping in that similar attributes are transferred from a source domain to a target domain and as such, conceptual metaphor succeeds in explaining social reality.

The other protective clothing that can be worn for protection is *chitibe* (gum boots). This linguistic expression further illustrates the metaphor USING PROTECTION IS A PROTECTIVE SHIELD metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphoric expression, boots are normally worn during rainy seasons and to protect the feet from the mud and other things. The metaphorical expression is also used to understand the use of the condom in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

The use of the protection metaphor can be positive especially in reference to the use of the aforementioned metaphorical expressions. This shows a sense of responsibility to the community

as they are careful to avoid HIV infection. The use of the protection metaphor reinforces the fact that HIV is viewed as dangerous plague and speakers need to know how to prevent HIV infection.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) observe that conceptual metaphoric structuring is partial in nature. This means that when one maps from one domain in order to bring some enlightenment to another domain, one only maps some, but not all, of the features that define the source onto the target domain (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). In the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS, a number of metaphoric mappings were realised. However, whenever HIV and AIDS were understood from diverse mappings, not every attribute or aspect of the source domains were used in understanding the target domains. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that the metaphorical structuring of concepts is necessarily partial in nature and reflected in the lexicon of a language.

The protection metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions indicated that condoms are used as protective shields in relation to the prevention of HIV and AIDS. The metaphorical structuring of USING PROTECTION IS A PROTECTIVE SHIELD metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions is partial and thereby not all aspects of a protective shield were used to understand the target domain, HIV and AIDS. In this regard, it was expected that all the measures put in place when one is trying to prevent HIV infection would be used in the conceptualization of the protection metaphor. But, that is not the case. Only the aspect of condom use is used in the conceptualization of the protection metaphor.

The military metaphor AIDS IS WAR metaphor was also used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphor, war is used as a source domain to reason about the target domain,

HIV and AIDS. The speakers use the metaphoric expression, *amasasi* (bullets) to refer to HIV. Hillmer (2007) argues that the war metaphor transforms HIV and AIDS as an enemy to be fought. With this understanding, the use of the linguistic expression, *amasasi* (bullets) could also imply HIV is an enemy that needs to be fought in EkeGusii. In other words, bullets signify danger and war, as such, there is need for war. The metaphorical expression *amasasi* (bullets) is compared to HIV in relation to the harm HIV does to the human body. As such, the damage HIV causes to a human body is compared to the danger a bullet causes when one is shot at. On the same note, the infected person is referred to as *aaraswa* (he was shot). Therefore, bullets and being shot were used as metaphoric expressions from the source domain of war to understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS. However, the metaphorical structuring is never total, it is partial. It was expected that all the attributes associated with war are used to understand HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. However, that was not the case. For instance, the rifles used for shooting, the person who is authorized to shoot, that is a police officer or soldier, collateral damage and violence were left out of this conceptualization. Furthermore, the fact that a bullet could be useful in that a gun is used as a weapon for protection was also left out of the conceptualization of the protection metaphor in HIV and AIDS discourse in EkeGusii.

The other examples that are used in the conceptualization of the war metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse were *chibuti* (gum boots) and *chisogisi* (socks). These two metaphorical expressions are used in connection to the military metaphor, FIGHTING HIV AND AIDS IS WAR. As such, the conceptualization of the war metaphor utilised war as a source domain to structure the target domain, the prevention of HIV and AIDS. In this regard, socks and gum boots are used as protective clothing that is worn to war. The socks and boots also refer to condom usage in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS. Gum boots and socks can further be compared to the

weapons one uses to protect himself/herself against HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. In the fight of HIV, gum boots, for instance can be compared to the manner in which the effects of HIV are suppressed by using the condom. Moreover, the use of socks and boots bring forth the metaphor, HIV PREVENTION IS WEARING A PROTECTIVE DEVICE. In this metaphor, the protective devices like socks and gum boots were used as source domain to understand the prevention of HIV infection. However, when wearing a protective device was used as a source domain in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions, the metaphorical structuring is partial. A number of attributes that go with wearing protective clothing are left out of this conceptualization. For instance, boots and socks are mentioned whereas the wearer is left out. In addition, the fact that socks could be worn as uniform, for warmth, or as a means of absorbing sweat, were not part of this conceptualization. Moreover, boots are worn as uniform by specialized groups that deal with security. This fact was also left out in the conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

It is evident that USING PROTECTION IS A PROTECTIVE SHIELD in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse utilizes just part of the attributes in the source domain to structure and understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS. As such, a few attributes from the metaphorical expressions that are used to refer to the use of the condom are used in the conceptualization of HIV PROTECTION IS PREVENTION metaphor. The focusing, creativity and necessity tenets of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor were utilized in the conceptualization of the protection metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this case, boots, polythene and socks are creatively used to understand the use of the condom in EkeGusii and certain issues, for example, use of the condom, could be understood by referring to conceptual metaphor. Thus the partial metaphorical structuring nature of conceptual metaphors allow speakers to creatively choose and

select necessary attributes from different source domains to understand HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. The discussion on partiality of conceptual metaphor is in line with Lakoff and Johnson’s argument. As such, Lakoff and Johnson (1980:10) state that ‘in allowing us to focus on one aspect of a concept (for example, the battling aspect of argument), a metaphorical concept can keep us from focusing on the other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor’. Therefore the cross-domain is only partial, because ‘when a source domain is applied to a target, only some aspects (but not all) of the target are brought to focus’ (Kövecses, 2002:79). This justifies why only some (but not all) aspects of the diverse source domains are used in EkeGusii to understand HIV and AIDS.

4.2.8 Prostitution and ARVS Metaphor

Despite the fact that AIDS remains incurable, seropositives prolong their lives by taking ARVS. EkeGusii speakers use the uptake of ARVS as a source of labelling of the seropositives and to give warning to those people who are practicing prostitution as illustrated in data set 8.

Data set 8

i) *Aa -ko -nyw -a ama -riogo*

1SG -INF -drink -FV 6-drugs

‘He takes drugs’

ii) *A -ko -mer -a chi -ntetere kera ri -tuko*

1SG -PROG -swallow -FV 10-seeds every 5-day

‘He takes ARVS everyday’

iii) *O -oywo no -mo -rwair -e, ama -riogo a -ko -mer -a*

14-that -one 1SG -PROG -sick -FV, 6 -drugs 1SG -PROG -swallow -FV

‘He is sick and on ARVS’

iv) *Tiga obo -tayayi*

Stop 13-prostitution

‘Stop prostitution’

v) *O -ta -gotig -an -a na Moraa, no mo -nyak -a*

1SG –PROG-angage –REC –FV with Moraa, 1SG -PROG –dirty -FV

‘You better stop seeing Moraa, she is a prostitute’

It is a fact that there is no cure for HIV and as such precautionary measures are being put in place to handle the situation. In the metaphoric expressions, *aakonywa amariogo* (one is taking medication) is used to understand the uptake of ARVS. The metaphor in operation here is, ARVS IS FOOD as earlier discussed (cf. the food metaphor). This metaphor understands the target domain of ARVS by using the concrete source domain of food, as in, ARVS are taken the same way as drinks are taken. In this metaphorical expression, whenever someone is said to be on medication, it is assumed that he/she is on ARVS and not any other medication. This also brings forth another metaphor, BEING ON MEDICATION IS BEING ON ARVS in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. This metaphor utilizes the source domain of medicine to understand the target domain of taking ARVS. As a result, there is narrowing of meaning in the term medication now means ARV treatment in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The metaphorical expression, *oyo nomorwaire amariogo akomera* (he is sick and on medication) is also used to exemplify BEING ON MEDICATION IS BEING ON ARVS metaphor.

The metaphorical expression, *oyo nomorwaire amariogo akomera* (he is sick and on medication) brings forth another conceptual metaphor, TREATING HIV IS TAKING MEDICATION. This metaphor utilizes the fact that there is no vaccine or cure for HIV and AIDS, in this regard

managing HIV can only be conceptualized through the uptake of ARVS. Hence, the attack of HIV to the immunity system can be managed and treated by the use of ARVS.

Another way that one can avoid HIV infection is by stopping prostitution. This was further illustrated by the metaphoric expression, *tiga obotayayi/obonyaka* (stop prostitution). In this case, a person who is a prostitute is referred to as *omotayayi or omonto omonyaka* (someone who wanders aimlessly or a contaminated individual). The metaphor in operation here is, A PROSTITUTE IS A CONTAMINATED PERSON in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphor, the source domain is drawn from a concrete concept of contamination to understand the abstract target domain of prostitution. It can be argued that given the understanding that a prostitute is referred to as someone who is contaminated may be the reason such a person is also known as *omonto omotayayi* (someone who wanders aimlessly). This metaphoric expression presents a prostitute as someone who is promiscuous and out to infect others with HIV. As such, a prostitute is one who is not comfortable with one partner and keeps on wandering from one location to the other in search of new partners. Therefore, EkeGusii speakers are strongly warned against prostitution lest they get in contact with the HIV and be infected. Mei Li (2000) points that AIDS is seen as a sign of contamination as the seropositives are perceived as a potential risk to other people. Moreover, Kobia (2008) indicates that Ololuyia speakers are warned against prostitution as this is one way that one may contract HIV. The other metaphorical expression, *otagotigana na Moraa, noomonyaka* (you better stop seeing Moraa, she is a prostitute), a gentleman is being cautioned on seeing Moraa because of her prostitution. In this metaphorical expression, Moraa is compared to a path that HIV might pass for another individual to be infected. Therefore, a gentleman is advised against seeing Moraa because of the risk of getting infected with HIV. The contamination metaphor has also been used by other scholars; Mei Li

(2000) argues that HIV is seen as a contagion while Kobia (2008) indicates that HIV is seen as honey that kills. This discussion shows that different speech communities utilize the contamination metaphor in reference to HIV. However, the metaphorical expressions used in this metaphor differ from one language to the other.

The contamination metaphor has a close connection with CONTRACTING HIV IS CONSUMING CONTAMINATED FOODS OR DRINKS metaphor. Therefore, the contaminated foodstuff consumed might be compared to a prostitute given the fact that HIV and AIDS in Africa is transmitted through heterosexual intercourse (Horne, 2010) and sexual intercourse is referred as eating (Allan and Burrige, 2006). The discussion on the uptake of ARVS and prostitution are in line with an argument by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) that the novel metaphors used in a language are mostly original extensions of the basic conventional metaphor. In EkeGusii HIV and AIDS conceptualization, the uptake of ARVS is a novel metaphor which is an extension of the universal conventional metaphor FIGHTING ILLNESS IS WAR. Kobia (2008) had used the food metaphor in relation to ARVS. In this case, ARVS were conceptualized as, ARVS IS FOOD in Ololuyha by use of the expression *chimbunwe* (wild edible fruit) in Lubukusu dialect. This study similarly conceptualizes ARVS IS FOOD metaphor. However, the linguistic expression used by EkeGusii speakers, *konywa amariogo* (uptake of medication) does not directly imply that it is food that is taken, the expression indicates that medications are swallowed the same way food is swallowed and digested. While, in Lubukusu dialect, the expression directly indicates that ARVS are labelled as an edible wild fruit. The variations in the conceptualization of the food metaphor in regard to ARVS results from the society's interaction with their environment. As such, the two speech communities have different experiences and thereby discuss about ARVS differently.

Many studies dealing with epidemics, for example, HIV and AIDS utilise the war metaphor. Such studies for example, Sontag (1989), Nerlich and Rowe (2002), Hillmer (2007), and Horne (2010) among others conceptualize epidemics as war. In this regard, the source domain of war is compared to that of HIV and AIDS since nearly everyone is familiar with the concept of war. There are certain natural similarities that exist between illness and war which contribute to the fact that the source domain of war is chosen to conceptualize the domain of for example, HIV and AIDS. War and AIDS are negative concepts which people are afraid of and want to avoid (but sometimes cannot), and both involve physical pain, suffering and death. According to Hillmer (2007), viruses are also linked to the war context of biological warfare. In this scenario, viruses are explicitly used as weapons. AIDS IS WAR metaphor cognitively entails weapons of mass destruction. These weapons in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse may entail making a personal decision to fight AIDS by either abstaining or practicing safer sex. One may also be an AIDS campaigner whereby he advocates and spreads AIDS prevention messages to the ignorant population. According to Magonya (2012), the AIDS IS WAR metaphor may also involve one giving financial support to AIDS related projects or by giving moral and financial support to the infected and affected individuals. The war may also be fought by condemning actions frustrating the fight against AIDS (Magonya, 2012).

It was expected that EkeGusii speakers would metaphorically conceptualize explicitly HIV and AIDS as war as many studies have indicated. However, the war metaphor was discussed in relation to the protection metaphor. Horne (2010) observes that the war metaphor is common in written forms, may be this argument may explain the current finding since the current study had utilised spoken data.

4.2.9 The Intruder, Foreigner and AIDS

HIV IS A FOREIGN CONDITION metaphor was used in relation to HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii discourse. Most nationalities worldwide have been at the forefront in fighting HIV and AIDS. The government of Kenya has also been at the forefront in educating and sensitizing Kenyans on HIV and AIDS. Moreover, most of the government agencies dealing with HIV and AIDS are funded by the government. A number of Non Governmental Organizations are also involved in HIV-related programmes. The aforementioned reasons may have formed the background of conceptualizing HIV and AIDS by EkeGusii speakers as a foreign disease as exemplified in data set 9.

Data set 9

- i) *E-nyamokirimbi eye yach -a*
9-plague that came-FV
'The new plague'
- ii) *Obo -rwaire obo -geni*
13 -disease 13-new
'The foreign disease'
- iii) *O -bwa -siny et -e aba -songo*
14SG –PST -difficult –PFV –FV 2-whitemen
'The one that defeated white men'
- iv) *O -bo -bw -ach -a*
14SG -this –PROG –come -FV
'The disease that came recently' or 'latest/new arrival'

v) O -bwe -e -serekari

14SG -POSS -9 -government

‘The governments’ disease’

The metaphorical expression *enyamokirimbi eye yacha* (the new plague) was used to refer to HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. The metaphor in operation here is, HIV IS A NEW PLAGUE in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphor, the target domain of HIV and AIDS is understood as a new plague that yet to be fully understood. HIV is reasoned as something new and yet to be understood by many. This means that a number of plagues have been witnessed by EkeGusii speakers but HIV is relatively new and the speakers are yet to understand it. It is not surprising that the speakers have coined HIV and AIDS as *obweeserekari* (the governments’ disease) which indicates that HIV is a disease that belongs to the government; maybe it is the responsibility of the government to explain to the citizens about HIV and AIDS so that they can understand it. The metaphor in operation here is, HIV IS A GOVERNMENTS’ DISEASE. This metaphor is metonymical in that the institution that is charged with the responsibility of fighting HIV is instead used to refer to HIV and AIDS. Moto (2004) also indicates that in Malawi, HIV is also referred as *matenda boma* (a government disease). This means that Malawians and EkeGusii speakers conceptualize HIV and AIDS similarly, as a government disease. Further, EkeGusii speakers have a notion that AIDS is a government disease because of the immense participation of the Kenyan government on HIV related issues as illustrated in the transcript below.

Transcript 6

Interviewer: Why do you refer HIV and AIDS as a government disease?

Respondent: *Aye bono tori korora buna eserekari ekorwa chibesa chinyinge erinde abanto barwarete oborwaire obonene barendwe? Nonya tari aywo oka,*

ngose nenyamoreo yoka tokoigwa ebwate emeroberio ye eserekari emenge emenge. Naende nabo tokorora eserekari kegokora emeroberio emenge yoogosemia igoro ya enyamoreo.

(Are you aware that the government spends a lot of money to make sure the seropositives are treated well? Besides that, it is only AIDS that we hear of having numerous plans and we also see a number of awareness campaigns being carried out by the government).

The respondents in transcript 6 indicate that the government of Kenya has laid a number of strategies to enhance the treatment and the well being of the seropositives. The government also carries out numerous awareness campaigns on HIV and AIDS. As such, HIV and AIDS are referred to as a government's disease. Similarly, Moto (2004) observes that the Malawians use the linguistic expression, *matenda boma* (a government's disease) because the government has shown unprecedented interest in HIV and AIDS

Up to date, EkeGusii speakers have a feeling that AIDS is new and is an intruder. The speakers perceive HIV and AIDS as new phenomenon because of the fact they are yet to understand HIV and AIDS fully. The fact that there is no cure for HIV and AIDS also makes the speakers perceive it as new. The metaphorical expression *oborwaire obogeni* (the new disease) was also used by EkeGusii speakers to understand and reason about HIV and AIDS. The metaphor, AIDS IS AN ALIEN AILMENT metaphor is in operation here. The source domain of this metaphor maps the strange and foreign nature of a concept to understand and structure the target domain of HIV and AIDS. Furthermore, the metaphoric expression, *obobwacha* (the one that came recently) was also used to understand HIV in EkeGusii. The underlying metaphor here is, AIDS IS A TRAVELLING DISEASE in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The metaphor indicates

that HIV had originated from somewhere else and it travelled or rather was transported to the speakers. The metaphor, AIDS IS A TRAVELLING DISEASE uses the knowledge that HIV is a concept that came recently as a source domain to be mapped on the target domain of HIV and AIDS. As such, EkeGusii speakers feel that HIV is still new and it was discovered recently despite it being in the country for three decades now. Its foreign nature may be compared to the fact that no known cure to HIV has been discovered to date.

The reasoning and understanding that HIV is something new and alien makes it a threat to the nation's survival. Similarly, Mathangwane (2011) posits that in Botswana, the infected initially were seen as the residents in cities or towns as a result there was denial by the people in the rural area. Mathangwane (2011) further observes that it was believed that those infected were living in towns till they became very sick with full blown AIDS, then they would go back to their home villages to die. As a result, the locals considered HIV and AIDS as an external problem, a problem for those working in towns and who would come home to die. Mathangwane (2011) argues that the rural community was in a state of denial and continued to distance themselves from the problem. However, the perception changed when people in their own communities started to die at an alarming rate.

The metaphor, HIV IS A FOREIGN CONDITION and AIDS IS AN ALIEN AILMENT in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse is in line with an assertion by Mawadza (2000) who posits that HIV and AIDS in Shona language of Zimbabwe is also metaphorically conceptualized as a foreign disease. Mawadza (2000) continues to argue that it is believed that HIV and AIDS came from somewhere else as is clear from the metaphor *chakauya* (the one that came). The underlying metaphor here is HIV IS A TRAVELLING DISEASE as it is believed to have originated and travelled from somewhere to Malawi. This is also in line with the EkeGusii

speakers' metaphoric expression *obwarero* (today's illness) as revealed by respondents. This metaphoric expression gives rise to another metaphor, AIDS IS A MODERN DISEASE or AIDS IS A CONTEMPORARY DISEASE in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. This metaphor uses the knowledge of things that are contemporary and modern as a source domain to understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS. This metaphor may further imply the speakers' coming to the reality with the present in that HIV is real and has no cure or vaccine. Mathangwane (2011) similarly indicates that HIV is referred to as *malwetse a gompieno* (today's illness), this is still an exemplification of AIDS IS A CONTEMPORARY DISEASE, which has the implication that Setswana understands that AIDS can manifest itself as different diseases such as tuberculosis, meningitis, pneumonia and diarrhoea among others. Mathangwane further notes that 'today's illness' may indicate a phenomenological aspect of HIV in time and space: in time as nothing of this magnitude had been encountered in the known history of Botswana society; in space, as its effects have traversed all social and cultural spaces and shaken the roots and values of tradition. This indicates that Setswana, Shona and EkeGusii speakers still believe that HIV is foreign as they are yet to internalize and accept that AIDS has been living amongst them for decades.

Furthermore, the complexity of HIV was further revealed through the metaphorical expression *obwasinyete abasongo* (the one that defeated white men). The underlying metaphor here is, AIDS IS WAR in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphor, the abstract target domain of HIV and AIDS is understood using the concrete source domain of war. In this source domain, the speakers believe that HIV is a war that has defeated the white men as they are believed to have a solution to every problem including finding the cure for HIV. Given the fact that the white men are still unable to find a cure, despite the immense research that is being

carried out, then, HIV IS AN ENEMY that needs to be fought as it s threatening the survival of humanity.

EkeGusii speakers also refer to HIV and AIDS as *oborwaire obonene* (the big disease). The metaphor under operation here is, AIDS IS SIZE in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphor, the target domain of HIV and AIDS is understood using the source domain of size. As such, HIV is regarded as a huge and complicated issue that humanity is grabbling with. Therefore, the moment one is declared seropositive, his/her life becomes complicated. It can also be concluded that, AIDS IS A CONTEMPORARY DISEASE as it is referred as *obwarero* (modern, recent and the disease of nowadays) by EkeGusii speakers. Mawadza (2000) also argues that Shona speakers metaphorically conceptualize HIV and AIDS as a modern disease which is rather translated loosely as *nyowani*.

4.2.10 AIDS IS A KILLER Metaphor

AIDS IS DEATH metaphor was also used to conceptualize HIV and AIDS in EkeGusi HIV and AIDS discourse. In this metaphor, HIV and AIDS are structured and understood as something that is equal to death or a process leading to death as exemplified in data set 11.

Data set 11

- i) *O -ke-mura*
1SG-of-boy
'Saps up ones youth'
- ii) *E-nya-morero*
9-POSS-hot
'A burning up disease'

iii) *Obo-rwaire bo-ko-abus -a*

13-disease 13-INF-sweep-FV

‘A sweeping disease’

iv) *Ege-tondo ke -go -tar -a*

7-corpse 7SG-PROG –walk-FV

‘A walking corpse’

The metaphoric expression *okemura* (a disease for boys) is used to understand HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. This metaphoric expression means that HIV saps one’s youth. The metaphor in operation here is an extension of PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor. In this metaphor, people are viewed as plants that can grow and be harvested. In this regard, HIV saps the youthful nature of a human being leading to death in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The metaphor presents HIV as something that causes death when it attacks an individual. The PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor indicates that HIV saps ones’ youthful energy by weakening the body’s immunity system and exposing the body to various opportunistic infections. The opportunistic infections further suck the youth from the seropositives leaving them for death unless interventions are carried out by use of ARVS. This metaphoric expression further indicates that the strength of HIV can bring down the immunity of even the strongest of men once infected. Cullen (2003) argues that in Australia, the most striking metaphor used by the media was that of the ‘grim reaper’, an image that was used in an educational advertising campaign where HIV/AIDS became “the replacement for nuclear death as the ultimate threat to human existence” (Aroni 1992: 135). The term grim reaper has been traditionally designated to refer to a personification of death in western cultures (Cullen, 2003). In Australian newspapers and television advertisements, the reaper’s powerless victims were bowled over at random by this ruthless evil

disease. Cullen (2003) further posits that the GRIM REAPER metaphor introduced a strong sense of powerlessness against the disease and inevitability for its victims.

The fire metaphor was earlier one used to conceptualize HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. The fire metaphor indicated that THE SPREAD OF HIV IS A BUSH FIRE. Closely connected to this metaphor is the linguistic expression, *enyamorero* (burning up disease) which likens HIV to burning flames. The metaphor in operation here is, HIV IS A CONSUMING FLAME in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The metaphor understands the target domain of HIV using the source domain of a consuming flame. Thus, the metaphor structures HIV as something that is in possession of a fierce and consuming flame that causes destruction to the ones infected with HIV. This metaphoric expression *enyamorero* (the one that posses fire) compares HIV to the burning flames that may be caused by either HIV's weakening of the immunity system or the effect of the opportunistic infections after attacking an individual. The pain one suffers while the opportunistic infections are attacking his/her body can be likened to the raging flames that are burning something. As such, the burning flames indiscriminately burn whatever thing that comes their way and is reduced to ashes just the same way HIV infection and the opportunistic infections attack indiscriminately till one is finally wasted and at the end dies.

Lastly HIV is taken as a death sentence. In this source domain, the seropositive is understood using the metaphorical expression *egetondo kegotara* (a walking corpse). This metaphorical expression is an extension of the euphemism used to refer to death, *aare ase orogendo* (one is on a journey) as indicated in (Nyakoe, 2011). The fact that a seropositive is referred as a a walking corpse and death as being on a jouney in EkeGusii indicate that the two expressions are extensions of the LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. Nevertheless, the metaphor in operation in the walking corpse expression is, HIV IS DEATH PERSONIFIED or HIV IS A WALKING

CORPSE in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The metaphor reasons and structures the target domain of HIV and AIDS using the source domain of death personified. In this regard, a seropositive is seen to be dead while walking or rather a seropositive is seen as a walking skeleton. People have never seen a corpse walking, so in the case that one is referred to as a walking corpse means that once infected, a person is regarded as being a half dead. On the other extreme, when HIV is seen as a walking corpse, it may imply that it is a death agent that is walking within the human race looking for human beings that it can recruit as members by infecting them. This in turn connotes death in that it a seropositive is perceived as a walking corpse and corpses are normally found in morgues or in the graves. Gostin (2004) observes that public perception of AIDS is still unduly influenced by fear, because during the early years AIDS was seen as untreatable and invariably fatal. This observation by Gostin (2004) gives a justification to EkeGusii speakers' perception of a seropositive as a walking corpse.

The analysis of the metaphoric expressions revealed that EkeGusii speakers metaphorically conceptualized AIDS using diverse mappings. According to Kittay (1987) metaphors are conceptual and provide members of a linguistic community with a structure of perceiving and understanding the world. Kittay also posts that the cognitive force of metaphors comes not from providing new information about the world, rather from (re)conceptualization of information that is already available to people. Similarly, Mawadza (2000) observes that metaphor names one thing by something in another domain, calling for likeness in analogy between things that are fundamentally different. The findings of this research conforms to the arguments forwarded by Kittay (1987) and Mawadza (2000) in that EkeGusii speakers referred to AIDS using expressions from other concepts. Thus, EkeGusii speakers re-conceptualize the information that is already available (as source domains) to refer to an abstract entity of HIV and AIDS. The findings also

conformed to Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argument that metaphors are pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. This argument utilized the use of ubiquity tenets of the cognitive theory of metaphor in that, metaphors are abundant in both ordinary and specialized discourses. The metaphoric expressions in EkeGusii that are used to refer to HIV and AIDS show how the speakers think about the condition.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) posit that a concrete and clearly organised source domain, being closely related to physical and bodily experience, is used to understand and talk about a more abstract and less clearly structured target domain. The foregoing discussion on metaphorical conceptualization of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii is in line with Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) argument on mappings or rather the domains tenet of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor. As such, an abstract target concept in this case, HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii is structured and understood using diverse source domains. The source domains are clearly organised and related to physical and bodily experiences, for example in this case, journeys, accidents, fire and death. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also argue that a metaphorical concept should show enough systematicity and should avoid reversal of the direction of the mappings. In this regard, the unidirectionality tenet of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor is utilized. As such, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) observe that the mappings should be from the source to the target domain and not the other way round. The findings of this research are in line with Lakoff and Johnson's argument and as such the discussion supports the unidirectionality tenet which states that the mappings of conceptual metaphors are understood from the source domain to the target domain only. The analysis reveal that the target domain of HIV and AIDS is understood from the mappings of the source domain for example, JOURNEY and there is no reversal in the structure

and direction of the mappings as it is impossible, for instance to equate, *A JOURNEY IS AIDS*.

Moreover, the cross-domain mapping is only partial, because when a source domain is applied to a target domain, only some aspects (but not all) of the target are brought to focus (Kövecses, 2002). In this regard, metaphors may hide, deny, mitigate or highlight some aspects of a concept. Thus, conceptual metaphors can highlight certain features of the target domain and also hide certain aspects of a concept.

It is the very systematicity that allows one to comprehend one aspect of a concept in terms of another for example comprehending the aspect of arguing in terms of a battle in the ARGUMENT IS WAR mapping. In focusing on one aspect of a concept, for example, the battling aspect of the concept, a metaphorical concept keeps one from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor. Therefore, some attributes of the target domain are highlighted while others are down played.

In AIDS IS A KILLER metaphor, it was revealed HIV is seen as a death sentence. In the mapping, AIDS IS DEATH indicates that once one is infected he/she is perceived by the speakers as being half-dead. In this regard, the HIV and AIDS are seen to be responsible for causing death of the infected individuals as being infected is equated to buying death. There are a number of aspects that are down-played. The various emotional challenges that surround the seropositive once infected for instance how one gets infected; the testing and the start of ARV treatment are not mentioned in the AIDS IS DEATH mapping. Nevertheless, the fact that death may be caused by a different thing and not necessarily HIV and AIDS is not brought out in this conceptualization. The metaphor highlights that once one is seropositive, he/she could die out of

AIDS. The fact that the death of a seropositive may be as a result of something else, for example a road accident is hidden in this metaphor.

The AIDS IS A KILLER metaphor also hides the fact that when one dies of HIV-related complications, it is not AIDS that kills but one dies out of the opportunistic infections that attach him/her. It is also known that the seropositives can prolong their lives by taking ARVS, this fact is down played in the AIDS is a killer metaphor. Instead, HIV is highlighted as a condition that is out to wipe away individuals and the entire nation. Lastly, the metaphor highlights the fact that death is personified in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse in the mapping AIDS IS A GRIM REAPER or AIDS IS A WALKING CORPSE as HIV transforms a seropositive to a person who is hovering between life and dead. Lastly, the fact that seropositives who are on ARVS can lead almost normal lives is hidden in the AIDS AS DEATH metaphor.

The discussion on metaphor highlighting and hiding property supports the focusing tenet of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor as evident in the diverse mappings that were realized in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this regard, a number of aspects of the target domain HIV and AIDS are brought out differently using the diverse mappings identified in the analysis of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor. In addition, other aspects that are inconsistent with the diverse mappings are hidden in the different conceptualizations.

4.3 Representation and Interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS Metaphor

This section discusses the second objective of the study that explains how EkeGusii speakers represent and interpret HIV and AIDS metaphors. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) posit that humans experience their environment through their bodies and they also construe the world in terms of their bodily experiences. These experiences are brought out to the world through the use of

language. Speakers normally form a pictorial representation of an idea once they hear of it. The image created in the mind of the hearers over a given concept influences the way such a concept is interpreted. According to Lakoff (1987), speakers form an Idealized Cognitive Model over a given concept such that the moment one mentions or hears about a concept, the ideal cognitive model of that concept springs onto the mind of the speakers. The mental representation is transformed into a public representation, that is, through use of spoken discourse, this is what can be observed. The models tenet of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor was used as a guiding parameter in this section. EkeGusii speakers form varied cognitive models over HIV and AIDS metaphor such that whenever someone mentions about HIV and AIDS, some mental representation springs onto the minds of speakers or hearers. These mental models dictate how speakers perceive HIV and AIDS and the seropositives they interact with. This in turn influences their interpretation and behavior for instance, the correlation between AIDS and the effect of the sensory motor abilities of individuals who have particular cognitive models about AIDS.

This section discusses the mental representation and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor as reflected in their daily discourse. Casey (2002) argues that the interpretation of an audience about a message influence their behaviour. The analysis of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor revealed that EkeGusii speakers use diverse metaphors when referring to HIV and AIDS and these metaphors create different mental pictures to listeners and as a result they may be interpreted differently. Moreover, HIV and AIDS are rather new concepts in EkeGusii. As a result, all the metaphoric expressions used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse refer to other entirely unrelated concepts. Therefore, the use of such metaphoric expressions may be represented and interpreted differently especially, if the context of their usage is not very clearly

defined or in case the listener is not familiar with the property of similarity being compared between the concept and HIV and AIDS.

Objective two of this study examined the mental images and the interpretation of the speakers whenever they use or heard of metaphoric expressions and the subsequent metaphors referring to seropositive individuals or HIV and AIDS. These data were obtained from interviews whose participants answered questions emanating from the linguistic expressions they had used in reference to HIV and AIDS discourse in EkeGusii. Among the questions that the respondents answered was, what came to their mind when they thought of a seropositive or HIV and AIDS. The instances of the mental representation were also correlated to the interpretation of seropositive individuals and to how EkeGusii speakers regard HIV and AIDS. This in turn established a link between interpretation of HIV and AIDS and stigmatization, and hence the prevalence rates in the county. The analysis of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse revealed that HIV and AIDS is mentally represented and interpreted as: a disaster, a death sentence, humanisation and dehumanisation of the seropositives and use of the punishment metaphor as discussed in the sections below.

4.3.1 AIDS IS A DISASTER Metaphor

EkeGusii speakers represent and interpret HIV and AIDS as a disaster. Whenever EkeGusii speakers heard of HIV and AIDS, they formed an Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM) of disaster, that is, destruction beyond repair. Thus the cognitive model formed by EkeGusii speakers over HIV and AIDS signaled disaster given the fact that HIV and AIDS were equated to destruction. To destroy means to damage something completely. The noun destruction therefore implies the act of destroying something or somebody. AIDS in EkeGusii is mentally represented and

interpreted as something that completely damages an individual and by an extension the entire human race as exemplified in the transcript below.

Transcript 6

Interviewer: What comes to your mind when you hear about HIV and AIDS?

Respondent 1: *Emechando na obororo* (disaster and frustration)

Interviewer: How?

Respondent 1: *Ritangani, oborwaire obo nigo bore obobe naende nigo bokorokwa enyamoreo ase engencho nigo bokoria enibo ya omonto yakora. Borwaire obo tiborikobwena naende omonto nabo ararware na koria chinyama omoerio akwe ase engencho ya oborwaire obo. Kabere, enyamoreo no'oborwaire bogokora abanto ekiagera oborwaire obo nigo bogokora chinguru chiomobere naende nigo bogotambokera gochia ase onde bwensi. Korangana na aywo, obaise gotoka nga nobwate oborwaire obo, nigo bogokoabusa. Ase igo nigo bore oborwaire obobe bogokora abanto.*
(Firstly, HIV is a terrible disease and is referred as a slimming disease because it makes one poor by spending a lot while one cannot get a cure. As a result, one may be infected, become wasted and dies out of HIV. Secondly, HIV is a massive killer as it sups the body's immunity rendering it weak and prone to infections. It is otherwise known as a sweeping agent. As such it is a terrible disease that is out to wipe out the entire human race.

Interviewer: Explain how are HIV and AIDS sweeping agents?

Respondent 1: *Enyamoreo nigo egokoabusa chinguru chia omobere na enibo yao. Nainde nigo egotambokera gochia ase onde bwensi. Naboigo, enyamoreo*

nabo ekogera orwarerware na omoerio otweke mo. Korengana naywo, bono nigo yakoabusire gose yakorusirie korwa ase oboiko bwe ense. Oborwaire obo nigo bokoabusa buna ekerambauti kegoeta gekoabusa na kobogoria kera egento na omoerio giasaria enibo. Naende, oborwaire obo nigo bokogosamba buna enyamorero. (HIV and AIDS sweeps the body's immunity and anyone can get infected once exposed to the virus. The seropositives may also suffer from opportunistic infections and finally die. In fact, HIV sweeps personal and economic gains of a community the same manner as a whirl wind does. It also compared to a burning flame.

Interviewer: How does HIV and AIDS burn up people or a community?

Respondent 2: *Enyamoreo nigo ekorokwa buna enyamorero ase engencho obo noborwaire bogokora chinguru chia omobere buna omorero ogosamba egento kende gionsi kiaba ribu.* (HIV weakens the body's immunity system the same way fire consumes something huge and reduces it to ashes).

The illustrations in transcript six indicate that HIV is a disaster or it destroys one completely as indicated by respondents. It destroys seropositives and the community at large. Economically, it consumes the economic gains that one or the community has achieved the moment one is declared seropositive. The destruction of the economic gains can be attributed to the amount of resources one uses towards the management of HIV and the loss of physical power resulting to death. EkeGusii speakers represent the massive destruction that AIDS has caused by using the metaphorical expression, *oborwaire bogokora abanto* (a disease that causes mass destruction) which brings forth the metaphor, HIV INFECTION IS A DISASTER. The expression,

oborwaire bokoabusa (a sweeping disease) recounts to, HIV IS SWEEPING AGENT metaphor and, *enyamorero* (fire disease) indicates that HIV IS A CONSUMING FLAME metaphor. The linguistic expression *oborwaire bogokora abanto* (a disease that causes mass destruction) directly indicates disaster. The verb *gokora* means to destroy. In the minds of EkeGusii speakers AIDS means something that destroys someone or something or is a massive killer. This means that HIV and AIDS kill indiscriminately just the same way *enyamorero* does as the raging flame or fire destroys property which at times leads to loss of life. Mathangwane (2011) also notes that AIDS is a weapon for mass destruction, because it kills in large numbers. HIV can be seen as a passport to death. Once one is infected, she/he will surely die. Just like when you have a passport, he/she can travel to another place, AIDS makes one aware that he/she may go to another world (Mathangwane, 2011). In AIDS IS A SWEEPING AGENT metaphor, HIV and AIDS are compared to sweeping agents that causes destruction as it sweeps anything on its way. In this sense, AIDS is out to sweep off the entire human race. EkeGusii speakers form a cognitive model of disaster and as such, mentally represent and interpret HIV and AIDS as a dangerous condition that is out to wipe the entire human race as fire and whirlwind do.

The other form of destruction of AIDS is indicated through the use of natural phenomenon as illustrated by *ekerambauti* (whirlwind) under the metaphor, AIDS IS A DESTRUCTIVE FORCE OF NATURE. This is a violent type of spinning wind that carries anything that it finds in its way. EkeGusii speakers form a cognitive model of destruction caused by a whirlwind when they hear of HIV and AIDS discourse. HIV violently attacks the immunity system the same way a whirlwind does. The manner in which the whirlwind violently carries everything it finds on its way and destroys property and the way people affected by the whirlwind cry over the effects of the wind to their eyes and their destroyed properties is used to understand HIV and AIDS in

EkeGusii. Almost everybody feels the effects of the strong wind; just the same way AIDS has infected and affected the entire nation. Here, HIV is mentally represented and interpreted as a condition that violently shakes the peace and harmony of an individual and the community. Once one is infected, he/she will never be peaceful. Similarly, Ogechi (2005) points out that HIV is referred as *kimbunga* (hurricane), which further indicates a form of destruction that is caused by HIV. Therefore, by referring to HIV using a hurricane, it therefore indicates that the effects of HIV are likened to those of hurricanes.

Lastly, AIDS is referred as a destructive pest or insect thus the metaphor, HIV IS A DESTRUCTIVE PEST OR INSECT. HIV in EkeGusii is generally referred to as *omodudu* (insect) and other specific pests or insects that are associated with destruction are used to refer to AIDS, for instance, *embongi* (a weevil) which can also be taken to be a pest. As a result, EkeGusii speakers form a mental picture of the destruction done by weevils and compare it with that of HIV and AIDS. Magonya and Oloo (2012) point out that the manner in which pests damage crops shares logical implications with the mechanisms by which HIV attacks and destroys the white blood cells of the human body. Nevertheless, weevils are known to cause extensive damage to crops. The destruction that is caused by weevils creates a mental picture that can be compared to the manner in which HIV harmfully affects the human body. A weevil slowly destroys crops, this interpretatively represents the slow manner in which the HIV slowly consumes a healthy human being and eventually leads to death. Moreover, the effects of weevils are realised once the crops attacked are almost completely damaged. This is also compared to the effect HIV has to the human body. The infected individual appears physically sick once HIV has caused extensive damage to the immunity system of that individual. According to Magonya and Oloo (2012), Dholuo speakers use the expression *ng'ano kundi ochwoyo* (that person has been

pricked by a stalk borer) to refer to a seropositive. Incidentally, like weevils, stoke borers are potentially destructive and it is their harmfulness to crops that is transposed onto AIDS' destructiveness to the human body.

This discussion on AIDS is a disaster is justified by the fact that AIDS has led to numerous deaths in Africa and this has transformed it into a disaster. EkeGusii speakers mentally represent HIV as something strange that causes destruction to an individual and to the community. The cognitive model created over HIV and AIDS by EkeGusii speakers is that of something that eats up ones' economic gains, sweeps and burns up the immunity system of the body and causes immense destruction to a human body and the community in general. These illustrations further present mental images that connote total destruction thereby implying death. The speakers therefore interpret HIV as a disaster that is yet to be overcome by the human race. Similarly, Magonya and Oloo (2012) argue that the magnitude of AIDS destruction is manifested in the forms of heightened morality rates, AIDS orphans, loss of manpower and reversed economic gains.

4.3.2 AIDS IS A DEATH SENTENCE Metaphor

In EkeGusii, HIV and AIDS were represented as a death sentence in that the moment one contracted HIV; it was marked as the beginning of death. In this regard, EkeGusii speakers formed a killer cognitive model over HIV and AIDS. The killer cognitive model created in EkeGusii over HIV and AIDS discourse elicits images of something that is deliberately seeking to kill, harm or destroy. A killer usually displays malevolent traits and intentions towards others. EkeGusii speakers mentally represent and interpret HIV AND AIDS IS DEATH. In this case, there are a number of death-related images created via the HIV and AIDS metaphorical

expressions used in the language. Regardless of the fact that seropositive individuals are alive, the HIV and AIDS cognitive model created here is that of lifeless individuals and corpses. This in turn brings forth the image-schema of funerals that are associated with fear, grief and orphans. The accompanying sensory-motor-schema may further dictate the motor abilities to behave in a certain way, for instance one may run away on seeing a seropositive individuals. Death is a killer representation and interpretation is exemplified in transcript 7.

Transcript 7

Interviewer: What comes to your mind when you hear of HIV and AIDS?

Respondent 3: *Amakweri na ogokwa.* (death)

Interviewer: Why/ how?

(This item elicited polarized responses as indicated in the transcript).

Respondent 3: *Ase engencho enyamore tebwati riogo gose teri kobwena. Naende omonto orwarete oborwaire obo obonene nigo anka aakwete kagotara ekiagera omonto oywo nigo arakwe insa chinde chionsi.* (The reason is HIV is incurable and the infected individual's lifespan is shortened).

In this transcript, respondent 3 indicated that HIV infection is equated to a death sentence. According to this transcript, HIV infection is interpreted as a death. Further, the use of the metaphorical expression *enyamoreo* (a slimming disease) reduces one to a mysterious person who for unknown reasons grows thinner and thinner every day. In AIDS IS DEATH metaphor, HIV is mentally presented and interpreted as an agent responsible for causing one to grow thin everyday and eventually die. Ogechi (2005) observes that HIV and AIDS are referred as *ka-mosquito* (a tiny mosquito). This expression indicates the wasting nature of HIV, in that the

effect of HIV wastes the seropositives' body until they compared to the size of a tiny mosquito. The metaphoric expression, *oborwaire obonene botarikobwena* (a huge disease that is incurable), from the AIDS IS SIZE metaphor sends terror signals to the speakers. In this regard, AIDS is described as a huge disease that is incurable. This has an interpretation and implication that the other diseases affecting the human race may be inconsequential and may not be having fatalities like the ones presented by HIV and AIDS. The respondent in this transcript further used the metaphorical expression *oborwaire obo* (this disease) which operates within the metaphor, AIDS IS THE UNMENTIONABLE CONDITION. This is an avoidance metaphor as the speakers do not want to mention HIV or AIDS using a specific name. Mathangwane (2011) indicates that the use of the avoidance metaphor in referring to HIV and AIDS may indicate the fatigue the speakers have from always hearing of HIV and AIDS from the media, billboards, church, and schools among other sources. It may further show the peoples exasperation and fatigue with the disease as more people become sick and die. The other response was as indicated below of what comes to people's mind over HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii.

Transcript 8

Respondent 4: *Omonto orwarete enyamoreo nigo anka omonto oorameire na ogokwa.*

Ekio nakio gekogera oborwaire obo bokorokwa enyakweumia. (The seropositive is perceived as someone who is cursed. That is why HIV is referred to as an owl).

Interviewer: How are HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii related to an owl?

Respondent 4: *Enyakweumia ase EkeGusii nigo ere egento ekebe mono ase engencho nigo gekoreta emechando buna amarwaire na na amakweri. Enyamoreo nero nigo gekoreta emechando ya amarwaire na amakweri. Banto mbari*

gotaka enyakweumia ebuge gose egwe mwabo. Eywo nigo eekoorokia buna omonto nabo arakwe ase omochio oywo ase enyakweumia yagwa gose yabuga korwa. Naende, omonto orwarete enyamoreo nigo anka egeteondo kegotara. (An owl is a bad omen associated with diseases and death in EkeGusii. As a result, speakers fear it perching or hooting from their compounds as this brings forth trouble in the neighbourhood. Similarly, HIV is associated with diseases and death. In this case, a seropositive is also regarded as a walking corpse).

From the foregoing transcript, HIV and AIDS are mentally represented and interpreted in EkeGusii as a curse or as a result of a bad omen. In this regard, HIV IS A CURSE metaphor is used as AIDS is seen as an agent of a curse that brings misfortunes to an individual and the community at large. In EkeGusii HIV and AIDS are referred to as *enyakweumia* (an owl). In real life situations, an owl in EkeGusii symbolizes death because of the fact that an owl is a bad omen in EkeGusii culture. Therefore, an owl is an animal that is generally dreaded and avoided by EkeGusii speakers. When an owl is compared to HIV and AIDS, it invokes the mental image of serious misfortune and death. As such, an owl symbolises the attack of diseases or death just the same way HIV brings forth opportunistic infections and death.

The metaphor, A SEROPOSITIVE IS A WALKING CORPSE with the illustration of the linguistic metaphor *egetondo kegotara* (a walking corpse) was used in reference to a seropositive in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. There are no walking corpses in real life situations, they are created and exist in the imaginations of human beings. So, this conceptualization mentally presents seropositives as lifeless objects that can be compared to the fictitious zombie figures. As such, the EkeGusii AIDS cognitive model created is associated with death. The zombie imagery

creates a lot of fear over HIV and AIDS. Comparing HIV and AIDS to a walking corpse may transform the speakers to react differently upon seeing a seropositive depending on how they would react upon seeing a walking corpse.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that one of the ways of depicting personification of death for instance the pictorial representation of a grim reaper cognitively accommodates the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS metaphor. In this metaphor, people just like plants are harvested by the grim reaper, with death being conceptualized as an agent assigned the duty of claiming human lives. According to Lakoff and Turner (1998), death can be constructed as a beast trying to devour someone. From this understanding, HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii can be conceptualized as agents that cause death.

AIDS as a killer interpretation was further represented by the metaphor, HIV INFECTION IS AN IMPEDIMENT or HIV INFECTION IS A STUMBLING BLOCK. The metaphors were illustrated by the linguistic expression that once one is declared seropositive, the verb *togoeta* (a stumbling block) can be used as indicated by respondents.

Transcript 9

Interviewer: What comes to your mind when you hear of HIV and AIDS?

Respondent 5: *Enyamoreo ne egetango kiamagenderero. Enyamoreo nigo ekorokwa buna togoeta gose tokonyagoka ekiagera ekeri omonto ayenyorire nigo obogima bwaye bogoonthoreria koba obobe. Magenderero ande onsi taiyo omonto arakore gotatiga kwerenda oborwairi tibomobua.* (HIV infection is seen as an obstacle to any form of development as the seropositives concentrate on taking care of their immunities at the

expense of other development programmes).

HIV infection is mentally represented, interpreted and perceived by EkeGusii speakers as an obstacle or something that prevents one from engaging in any form of meaningful development. The use of the verbs *togoeta/togocharoka* (one cannot cross or jump over) indicates that HIV is an obstacle that prevents one from progressing. These metaphorical expressions have an underlying metaphor, HIV INFECTION IS AN OBSTACLE. This metaphor implies that either one stagnates in death or retrogresses after being infected with HIV. The image created of AIDS cognitive model of a stumbling block in EkeGusii indicates a barrier or barricade that in turn invokes a lot of fear as AIDS is indicated as an agent of death as it prevents from one progressing either economically, emotionally, physically and socially.

Niehaus (2007) argues that in African culture, death is the biggest reason for stigmatization of the seropositives to an extent that even the newly infected person is 'tainted with death' (p. 856). Similarly, Horne (2010) observes that people with AIDS are seen as 'living corpses' which is a liminal state between the living and the dead, or biologically alive but socially dead. Horne (2010) also posits that the identification of AIDS with death is apparent in many literary representations of the AIDS-illness as illustrated by the following extract taken from a Botswana novel *Far and Beyon*.

She used to be a proud woman. Tall, poised, nose slightly turned up. Lips set in a permanent promise of smile.... She used to have a quiet dignity. She is not any of these anymore. She is hardly human anymore. Mosa watched as she lay under a tree, looking like something that had survived a fire. If what she had become could be described as survival under any circumstances.... Cecilia's hands were more than a collection of bones, bones reaching for bones (Dow 2000: 165-166 as cited in Horne, 2010).

Three days after, the novel further describes the appearance of Cecilia as:

The two women were watching the skeleton that used to be Cecilia lying on a mattress in a tiny room motionless, except for the eyes and the occasional

grimace of pain.... Cecilia was clearly almost dead but her soul refused to vacate her body. She was hanging on when no recovery was possible (Dow 2000: 177-178 as cited in Horne, 2010).

Horne (2010) observes that although alive, the woman is described with images of death through use of the following expressions among others: a collection of bones and lifeless skeleton. Horne's illustration converges with the EkeGusii speakers' conceptualization of the SEROPOSITIVE IS A WALKING CORPSE metaphor. Thus, the discussion reveals that AIDS turns a seropositive into a lifeless and hopeless object because of the fact that AIDS is incurable. It can be concluded that AIDS in EkeGusii is presented as a death sentence. Lakoff and Turner (1989) argue that a beast trying to devour someone or images of death as a coachman is a manifestation of death personified. HIV in EkeGusii is seen as an agent of death and at times a seropositive is seen to be having attributes of the dead, hence the use of the DEATH PERSONIFIED metaphor. The use of AIDS IS UNMENTIONABLE DISEASE metaphor is also used by Setswana speakers (Mathangwane, 2011). The two languages conceptualize AIDS similarly and the linguistic expression is the same (this very disease). This indicates that Setswana and EkeGusii may have the same embodied experiences as far as this metaphor is concerned despite the fact that they are not related linguistically.

4.3.3 Humanization and Dehumanization of the Seropositives in EkeGusii

The representation and interpretation of HIV and AIDS metaphor indicated that the seropositives are either treated as human or non-human depending on how the speakers perceive them. According to Horne (2010), AIDS is not curable, but with ARV medication, AIDS is now a treatable and manageable condition, just like diabetes. However, this view was not believed by some EkeGusii speakers, majority of whom still perceive HIV infection as a death sentence. This perception could partly be the result of early health campaigns which used shock tactics and

catastrophic discourse to spread the message that AIDS is a fatal condition (Horne, 2010). Similar sentiments were shared by Gostin (2004) who observes that the public perception of AIDS is still unduly influenced by fear because during the early years of AIDS, it was seen as untreatable and invariably fatal. Such perceptions are still held in EkeGusii AIDS discourse that views AIDS as incurable. EkeGusii speakers form a cognitive model of half-dead individuals over the seropositives. This representation of HIV and interpretation of HIV as untreatable necessitated the researcher to question whether HIV was manageable with the uptake of ARV treatment. The response indicated two versions of answers as indicated in the transcript.

Transcript 10

Interviewer: How can ARVS assist the seropositives?

Respondent 6: *Ekemaene enyamoreo teri kobwena. Abanto abange bakure igoro ye enyamoreo. Abanto babwate oborwaire obo nigo bakonywa amariogo erinde abamente chinguru na abakonye gosukia amatuko korende omoerio nabo enyamoreo eywo ekobaita.* (HIV is incurable and many people have died out of HIV. The uptakes of ARVS assists the seropositives prolong their lives. However, they may eventually die out of HIV related complications).

Respondent 7: *Enyamoreo kobwena ere. Bono nigo tokorora abanto aba barwaire bakonywa amariogo nigo banorete naende bare buya, igo bono nigo imanyete buna enyamoreo inkobwena ere ase engencho banto ababakonywa amariogo mbarikororekana barwarete.* (HIV is curable. Most of the seropositives who are on ARV treatment look strong and healthy which is an indication they are fully recovered of HIV).

EkeGusii speakers perceive the uptake of ARVS treatment in two ways. From the interviews conducted, majority of the respondents indicated that HIV is incurable and the uptake of ARVS assists the seropositives to prolong their lives. This indicates that AIDS is mentally represented and interpreted as a health condition that is incurable but manageable. However, few respondents interviewed had a contrary opinion. They were of the view that HIV is curable in that the seropositives who were on ARVS were looking strong and healthy which was an indication that they were cured of HIV and AIDS.

Sontag (1989) posits that the term patient means suffer. Sontag further argues that it is not suffering as such that is most deeply feared, but it is suffering that degrades. This degradation according to Sontag causes the most awful, horrific illness to those that are suffering. The dehumanisation of the seropositive individuals affects one's face. The patient is viewed with a negative attitude especially when one suffers from physical ailments. These ultimately become signs of decomposition and mutation (Vaknin, 2010). In EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, among the many expressions, a seropositive is referred to as *egetondo kegotara* (a walking corpse) which formulates A SEROPOSITIVE IS A SKELETON metaphor. This metaphor dehumanizes and it definitely creates a mental picture of a human being who is half-dead. The portrayal of a human being as a walking corpse transforms one to a zombie and this instills fear to the said individual and the people around him. The HIV and AIDS cognitive model created out of a walking corpse is that of a horrifying object that is out to create fear to the community. Similar sentiments are echoed by Niehaus (2007) who observes that people with AIDS are seen as *living corpses* in a limited state between the living and the dead; or biologically alive and socially dead. This perception that people living with AIDS are *dead before dying* carries as much symbolic weight as if they were zombies. Niehaus (2007) points out that a zombie is a

person who seems partly alive without any feeling or interest in what is happening. Zombies are not there in real life. As a result, anything that resembles a zombie is feared and avoided. This interpretation was captured in one of the interviews that highlighted as captured in transcript 11.

Transcript 11

Interviewer: What would you do if you realized you are infected?

(This question also realised two versions of responses as illustrated in the transcript).

Respondent 7: *Indaigwe bobo mono ase engencho ekerobwate oborwaire obo obonene, nigo okorengereria mono, naigoro yaywo, okwerora buna omento okwete kagotara. Nigo okorora amakweri motwe oo. Abanto abange ebagokorora buna omento otarimoyo. Ase engencho yaamangana aya nigo inkotema gosagara oborwaire obo gochia ase onde bwensi. Ekiagera oyookobong'a tari korora mabera nainche tinkororera onde mabera. Nimanyete buna naisire gokwa igo bono tinkotaka inkwe inche bweka* (I will be frustrated because when one is infected, he/she thinks a lot and in most cases one perceives himself as a walking corpse. One sees death coming his way. People also see the infected individual as someone who is not alive. As a result, I will willingly infect more people. I will not have mercy on anyone for whoever shall have infected me will not have cared. I will be aware am headed to the grave, so I will not die alone).

Respondent 8: *Nkoigwa bobo mono. Korende nigo inkogenda nyagetari erinde ingewe obosemia ana abaringori buna inkomenya. Nabo naende inkonywa amariogo erinde inyegosukeria amatuko.* (I will be frustrated but will

however visit a health facility to be advised by the specialists. I will further accept to take ARVS so that I prolong my life).

The illustrations from transcript 11 indicate how EkeGusii speakers perceive people living with HIV and AIDS. According respondent 7, the seropositives are seen to be oscillating between life and death. This implies that the cognitive model formed here is, a seropositive is half-dead. This in turn is mentally represented and interpreted that HIV transforms one to something that is inhuman. This is also in line with an argument by Sontag (1989) that AIDS causes the patients to undergo a gradual, physically visible process of dehumanisation. Sontag further points out that the image of the AIDS patient as a rotting subject, no longer fully human comes into direct dialogue with both Goffman's stigma (1963) and Kristeva's powers of horror (1982). The moment EkeGusii speakers perceive a seropositive individual as a walking corpse; stigma and its effect set in as illustrated respondent 7. The respondent notes that the manner in which people perceive the seropositive as less human could force him to voluntarily infect more people indiscriminately. The respondent further observes that he is fully aware that he will die soon and it is his wish that he could die after infecting others. The other respondent indicates that HIV infection may not be the end of life as ARVS can assist one prolong his/her life. In this regard, HIV infection is mentally represented and interpreted as life threatening if one is not on ARVS, but it is a condition that can be fully managed once one is on ARVS.

Vaknin (2010) points out that the public discourse surrounding HIV and AIDS during the early years after HIV isolation in 1981 up until 1996, equated diagnosis of HIV with death. This was also evident in the analysis of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse as some of the metaphors used indicate that once diagnosed with HIV, death is inevitable. The portrayal of seropositive as someone who is half dead paints a grim picture over the future of the infected individual.

EkeGusii speakers indicate that the seropositive could have bought his death certificate in advance and it is a matter of time that he/she goes to the grave. This mental representation makes one lose hope as explained by respondent 7 who claims to be fully aware of his destination which is death. Therefore, the seropositive is dehumanized in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse as one is seen to be a temporary structure that can be demolished with death anytime.

The societal tendency to perceive HIV infection as a death sentence and as a first step in a guaranteed progression to AIDS and to the eventual, inevitable death is further illustrated by following statement and its contradiction that were collected from respondents.

Transcript 12

Interviewer: What is your reaction when you meet a seropositive?

Respondent 9: *Nkoigwa bobo. Korende, ngose nigo abanto abange bakwete bagotara.*

Emebere yabongirwe. Namariogo bakanakonywa baganyerete rituko. Igo

bono nakongú komanya ngá nyarebe narwarete. Ogokwa gwoka toganyete.

(I feel terrible. However, it seems like many people are infected with HIV.

Their bodies are invested with weevils. They are on ARVS as they wait for their death. Therefore it is not easy to know that one is infected. We are waiting for death).

Respondent 10: *Nigo inkomrorera amabera na komorora buna monto onde bwensi*

orwarete. Nigo inkomanya buna nonya kabwate omodudu, nigo aire

obosemia na obaringori buna akomenya naende inkonywa are amariogo.

Ase aywo, nabo akomenya obogima bwaye buya kerendete na gwesika. (I

sympathize with the person but also see him like any other human being suffering from some ailment. This is because I assume he/she has enough

advice on how to survive with the virus from the health professionals and he/she is on ARVS. As such, he/she can live healthy so long as he/she takes care of himself and avoids being promiscuous)

In this transcript, respondent 9 points out that death is inevitable once one is HIV positive. The transcript also indicates that even if one is on ARV treatment he/she could finally die of HIV related complications. Some of the seropositive also perceive themselves as people suffering from a condition that is impossible to manage. The respondent indicated that infected individuals think of death in most cases. As a result, a seropositive could reject himself/herself and fails to identify himself with something that is worthy in life. This is an indication that the cognitive model formed over HIV and AIDS here is that of death and desperation. This in turn brings forth the interpretation of the seropositives as the dehumanized category as they are suffering from a fatal ailment. The aspect of equating a seropositive with death in EkeGusii conforms with Kristeva's (1982) works on abjection, that once diagnosis is made, the HIV positive is not only dehumanized, but one is also faced with concrete materiality of his/her own death. Consequently, the HIV positive is a living corpse occupying the gray zone between life and death (Vaknin, 2010).

However, some EkeGusii speakers view seropositives positively. This was observed by respondent 10 in transcript 12 who indicates that one feels frustrated once he/she realizes that he/she is infected. However, it is prudent to visit a health facility for advice and take ARVS such that one prolongs his/her life. In this response, the seropositive is seen as any other human being and the uptake of ARVS can assist one to lead almost normal lives once again. In this case, the cognitive model formed out of a seropositive is that of a seropositive is a human being like any other although he is suffering from a health condition that can be managed. In this regard, a

seropositive is mentally represented and interpreted as a human being who is suffering from a medical condition that is under management.

Sontag (1989) further observes that the obvious consequence of believing that all those who harbor the virus will eventually come down with the illness is that those who test positive are regarded as people with AIDS, while these people do not have AIDS yet. The analysis of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse revealed that EkeGusii speakers do not have a clear distinction of the terms HIV and AIDS in their speech. This still contributes towards dehumanisation of the AIDS patient in EkeGusii. For instance, the metaphorical expressions drawn from different metaphors analysed in section 4.1, *enyamoreo* (slimming disease), *enyamorero* (a burning up disease), *obwarero* (today's illness) and *oborwaire obonene* (the big disease) among the others are used interchangeably to refer to both HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. This implies that the cognitive model formed over HIV and AIDS are similar in EkeGusii. Thus, HIV and AIDS are mentally represented and interpreted to be the same thing, this contributes to dehumanisation. Similarly, Horne (2010) observes that because African languages do not have scientific words or terms, diseases are given what people fear or feel. Horne further argues that African languages generally do not have terms for 'immunodeficiency' or 'virus'. However, in EkeGusii AIDS discourse, the terms HIV and AIDS are used interchangeably which means that the community does not have a distinction between HIV and AIDS in their everyday conversation. Mathangwane (2011) similarly observes that communities do not always make a distinction between HIV and AIDS in their everyday conversation, the labels refer to both the virus and the syndrome as one. Consequently, an infected individual who is yet to acquire AIDS is degraded when labelled as one who is suffering from AIDS.

4.3.4 The Punishment Metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS Discourse

This section discusses the mental representation and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. Specifically, this section discusses how HIV is a punishment in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. HIV is often discussed as a consequence of decadence or a punishment for deviant behaviour. In this regard, HIV and AIDS are seen as some kind of punishment over some deviant behaviour of an individual. Generally, HIV is associated with immoral behaviour, extramarital sexual relations, prostitution and deviance. As a result, the seropositives are looked down upon and regarded as prostitutes. The cognitive model created here is, HIV is a punishment. This cognitive model can be interpreted as, whoever is infected with HIV is as a result of some wrong deeds one had committed earlier. As such, HIV and AIDS are mentally interpreted as a punitive measure over some action in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. Those who are associated with positive stereotypes are labelled 'innocent victims' while those associated with negative stereotypes including women and minorities are affiliated with negative reference to moral and religious punishment (Lupton, 1994).

The analysis of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse revealed that HIV was referred to as *enyamokirimbi eye yacha* (the new plague). Further, the seropositives are perceived to be in possession of a dangerous plague. In this regard, HIV is mentally represented and interpreted by EkeGusii speakers as some form of punishment over the deviant sexual behaviour of an individual. In some cases, the HIV infection is interpreted as a punishment over prostitution and extramarital affairs in EkeGusii. Thus, a prostitute is referred to as *omonto omonyaka* (a dirty person) or *omonto omotaritari* (someone who wanders aimlessly) hence the metaphor, A PROSTITUTE IS A CONTAMINATED INDIVIDUAL as discussed in section 4.2. The metaphor portrays the infected individuals as people who have had several relationships that

have messed their lives. Similarly, Mei (200) observes that the seropositives are seen as people contaminated with AIDS, and as such, they pose as potential risk to the others. The seropositives in EkeGusii are labelled using many expressions, amongst them are; *omonto obwate oborwaire obonene* (a person in possession of a big disease). The metaphoric expression presents the seropositives as people who are contaminated and unreliable and in a possession of a terrible disease. As a result, the seropositives sometimes do not get any sympathy from the speakers, as they are perceived to be people who have been very immoral and careless in their lives and therefore do not deserve any appreciation, sympathy and respect whatsoever. In any case, they are the source of a curse as illustrated in transcript 13.

Transcript 13

Interviewer: How can one get infected with HIV?

Respondent 11: *Ekeru omento atesigeti na kwerita nabo akonyora enyamoreo goetera ase obotomani na gokora obonyaka. Bono abanto abange bakaniwe obotomani aninde bakureirwe besike korende nigo batarikoigwa. Bono enyamoreo yaachire nigo egoaka bari bagokora obotomani nainde bangire gwesika ase okoigwa ringana riomonene.* (When one does not practice restraint and practices prostitution, then he/she can get infected. Many people have been warned against adultery and prostitution but are yet to take that in. As a result, HIV is here to attack the adulterers, prostitutes and those who have failed to follow God's teaching.

This transcript reveals that HIV is a form of punishment for those who engage in adultery, prostitution and those who have failed to follow the wise teaching of the Lord. This further

implies that whenever one is infected, it would be assumed that he/she might have acquired it through deviant sexual behavior.

In addition, some EkeGusii speakers accuse the immoral people as the source of a curse that has caused a lot of havoc in the community. This was revealed when respondent 11 isolates prostitution as the only way that one gets HIV infection in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this regard, HIV infection is mentally represented and interpreted to have resulted from prostitution. Sontag further maintains that the most prevalent of the metaphors used to describe AIDS has long been used as the standard of collective calamity, evil or scourge. Similarly, according to Mathangwane (2011), the Zimbabwean government named HIV and AIDS as *mukondombera* (something that kills people in large numbers); this label involves a big fight in which weapons are used to kill people.

Punishment metaphors with religious and moral connotations are usually invoked with reference to divine punishment and are coupled with discourses about individual actions. This argument was illustrated by sentiments that were collected from a respondent when she attended a funeral. The speaker was advising the listeners to be wary of the effects of HIV as indicated in the transcript.

Transcript 14

Mwanyabanto bangire komoigwera Omonene. Amarwaire achiere amange amange erinde toigwere Omonene korende twangire pi. Bono moroche enyamoreo yakorire abanto bainto. Oborwaire obo nobobe bori. Enyamoreo yakorire na yaabusire abamura baito bare abake, yaitire abaibori ba abana abange aiga ase engencho yoogotaigwera Nyasae. Abana aba batigirwe getii igoro bare chintakana. Mwanyabanto

motakwerita, gaki! (Human beings have refused to listen to the wise teachings of the Almighty. As such, terrible diseases, like HIV and AIDS have hit the human race but they have still refused to hear the call of the God. You are aware HIV and AIDS are wiping our people. This is a terrible disease. It has swept away the energetic and young generation, it has also killed many parents leaving behind orphaned children. The parents of the orphaned children are blamed for this problem for not listening to God. Try and abstain please).

The transcript indicates that HIV and AIDS are killing people in the community. The HIV and AIDS cognitive model created here is, HIV is a divine punishment from God as HIV is slowly killing the young people who are within the productive age as a result of prostitution. Hence, the community has lost the young and energetic group through HIV. The virus has orphaned many children. All this is as a result of a punishment from the Almighty for the people who have refused to take in the wise teaching of the Lord. The illustration further implies that the sexual behaviour of the parents is responsible for their death. As a result, misfortunes befalling the orphaned children are blamed on the deceased parents' sexual behaviour. The speaker appeals to the congregation to practice abstinence.

It is not surprising that AIDS is seen as a punishment from God due to immorality (Sontag, 1989). This finding in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse is in line with the argument of Lupton (1994) who describes how people living with HIV are labelled with one of the following adjectives: *deviants, victims, innocent, promiscuous, survivors, battlers, homosexuals, and drug addicts*. Lupton (1994) observes that the choice of the term used to describe HIV attempts to influence the way in which readers construct knowledge and attitudes about HIV and AIDS.

Lupton (1994) continues to argue that AIDS was known as, 'gay plague' in the U.S national consciousness during the 1980s and 90s. The term 'gay plague', thus comes to signify AIDS. According to Aroni (1992), the negative impact of the US of the plague metaphor prolonged polarizing effect on the public understanding of HIV and AIDS, instilling a false sense of security in non-plague populations confronted with the dangers of the condition. The response in transcript 14, points towards the claim that the parents' sexual behaviours are responsible for their death, this transforms these parents as guilty and the children, innocent. However, the transcript fails to confront the possibility that the orphaned children might have been infected by the time they were born and may suffer from similar labelling once they realize they are infected with HIV. Therefore, the foregoing transcript reveals HIV and AIDS as a punishment. As such, EkeGusii speakers mentally represent and interpret HIV as a way of punishment from God for not following the wise teaching of the Almighty.

The Bible also condemns immorality and in EkeGusii AIDS discourse, whoever practices *obotomani* (adultery) is liable to get a punishment from God. HIV is seen as a punishment for deviant sexual behaviour. This was also gathered from the interviews as illustrated in the following transcript.

Transcript 15

Interviewer: How is HIV transmitted?

Respondent 13: *Goetera obotomani ase koba amo kemobere. Bono, nabo twarekonagokanya omomura oyomo. 'yaa, otakoira ngora'. Korende taigweti. Nabo agenderete kona kominyoka ase chinyomba chiababoraka aara na aaria omoerio, akaumara. Enyamoreo nabo yamoita, agatika omoboraka ana abana abake mono.* (In extramarital affairs. Like in the

case that we tried to advise a fellow young man to be careful but he ignored our advice. He decided to inherit a number of widows and finally contracted HIV and died thereafter. He was survived by a young widow and children).

In this transcript, the young man was condemned for being infected with HIV through his deviant behaviour. He was severally cautioned on his extramarital affairs but did not take in any advice given. He was infected and died of HIV related complications. Thus, HIV is represented and interpreted as punishment to the said young man for his extramarital affairs.

The socio-cultural practice of widow inheritance was also further blamed for causing HIV infection. EkeGusii speakers have social cultural practice of inheriting widows once their husbands die. This however can lead to fatal consequences like being infected with HIV. From the illustration, the young man had refused to take in advice about inheriting several widows. Therefore, HIV infection is seen as a punishment for his deviant and immoral behaviour of inheriting several widows.

Further, the social construction of HIV and AIDS and labelling of victims has affected women more than other groups because they are seen to be solely responsible for transmitting HIV to their children (through pregnancy and breastfeeding). As a result, such children are labelled innocent victims. This is because in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, HIV is also referred to as, one is suffering from *obwaabakungu* (women's disease) meaning that one is suffering from a woman's disease. The cognitive model formed here is that HIV is a woman's condition. As such, women are a source of punishment and are also blamed as the source of HIV infection as in the illustration in transcript 16.

Transcript 16

Interviewer: What comes to your mind when you hear of HIV and AIDS?

Respondent 14: *Nkoba ana obwoba na amabera amange. Ase engencho nabo omento akonyora enyamoreo goetera ase okoibworwa gose okogonkiwa. Ase awyo, nigo inkoinyora abana abange abwobakure bare abake ase engencho ya enyamoreo. Naende nigo inkoinyora abana abubare abake korende barwarete enyamoreo batamanyeti ng'a mbarwarete naende nigo banyorete enyamoreo eye korwa ase omoibori obo ekero barenke koiborwa gose ekero bare kogonka.* (I am saddened a lot I sympathize those who are infected. This is because one can be infected when he/she is born or breastfeeding. As such, I remember children who are young and infected and unaware of their status or the manner in which they got infected. They may not be aware that they were infected by their parent through childbirth or breastfeeding).

This illustration indicates that the respondent is sad and sympathetic of the children who are young and infected and yet to know their status especially if their infection is as a result of giving birth and/or breastfeeding. This further indicates that there is a lot of pity for the children infected via childbirth or breastfeeding. The parents to such children, especially their mothers are blamed for infecting innocent children. Regardless of this, none gets to question how such a mother became infected in the first place. In this case, HIV infection is represented and interpreted as a women's property as they can infect children through child bearing and/or breast feeding. Therefore, such a mother is seen to be punishing her children who presumably are innocent.

The mental representation that HIV is a women's condition makes EkeGusii speakers have a perception and interpretation that HIV is a women's condition or rather women are blamed and seen as victims with regard to HIV. This may further imply that whoever is seropositive must have acquired it from a woman or had a series of relationships with women as earlier indicated. As such, HIV infection is mentally represented and interpreted as a punishment meant for women. In transcript 15, the various widows that the young man had extramarital affairs with are blamed for infecting him meaning that, the young man would be healthy and alive had it not been that he had inherited several widows in the community. Mawadza (2000) notes that the language used in relation to HIV reveals female oppression and exploitation through the perpetuation of patriarchal cultures and traditions which characterize most African societies to date. Mawadza continues to argue that most sexually transmitted diseases are linguistically described as being of female origin. The other interpretation of transcript 16 is that in EkeGusii, a prostitute is perceived in most cases as a woman. Therefore, the speakers mentally represent a prostitute as a woman. She is labelled as promiscuous, and as such, she is responsible for infecting her husband and children. Therefore, women are seen to be responsible for spreading HIV in EkeGusii. Women are most likely to be blamed, stigmatized and even abandoned by their families once she is infected. Therefore, the punishment cognitive model restricts the representation of women to socially deviant agents who are primarily responsible for the transmission of HIV to the community.

According to Dawuni (2008), poverty and social cultural practices also put women at the higher risk of contracting HIV due to domestic violence and economic disempowerment. In EkeGusii speakers, once a man is a widower, he is allowed to remarry whereas a widow is not permitted to remarry. These forces widows to readily accept to be inherited which can also be a source of

HIV infection. As such, EkeGusii speakers have a perception that, widow inheritance is acceptable for widows whereas, widowers remarry with time. This was also revealed in the following transcript.

Transcript 17

Interviewer: How can one get infected?

Respondent 15: *Nabo omoboraka akonyora enyamoreo ekeru achierwe nyomba omongina ekeru omogaka oye asirire. Nabo okonyora buna oyomo obo narwarete anyore gakoambokeria omongina achiere/ochire nyomba ne enyamoreo. Komanyete buna bagaka barabwo nabo bagotwara abasubati abange, korende basubati mbatakeiri gokora bo, obwo noobonyaka. (A widower can be infected through inheritance. There is a possibility that one of the partners may be infected and in turn infect the uninfected individual. It should be noted the EkeGusii speakers allow men to have several relationships with women but women cannot as that will be seen as prostitution).*

In this illustration, indicates that the social cultural practice of widow inheritance may be responsible for the spread of HIV. It has also been indicated that women are seen as prostitutes and not men. In this case, men are permitted to be polygamous in that they are free to have a number of relationships, which may further spread HIV to women. As such, the speakers mentally represent polygamy as acceptable although it is responsible for the spread of HIV. In this transcript, both men and women are responsible for the spread of HIV through widow inheritance. Women are further blamed for spreading HIV as they are considered guilty as far as prostitution is concerned. Moto (2004) points out that women have no power to negotiate for

safe sexual practices with their partners because sex is a taboo subject even between husbands and wives and a woman who discusses sex openly is viewed as ill mannered and promiscuous. This may explain the reason behind the perception that women are blamed for prostitution and spreading HIV in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. Mei Li (2000) similarly indicate that the seropositives are regarded as the cause of their illness and as such, they are a potential risk to the HIV negative people.

Mathangwane (2011) posits that perceptions of HIV being associated with immoral behaviour forces the infected individuals to be subjected to stigma and discrimination, which many studies have shown are a major hindrance to the fight against HIV and AIDS in the Sub-Saharan Africa because people living with HIV do not seek treatment because of mistreatment. The analysis of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse revealed that the overall use of HIV as a punishment produces a moral and immoral dichotomy hence, stigmatizing those perceived as responsible for either spreading HIV or creating a sense of sympathy for the innocent victims. The language used may therefore have an influence over the social behavior of the people in the community. The punishment analogy may discourage the speakers from disclosing their seropositive status openly since they fear labelling and stigma from the community.

However, the representation and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse realised a number of misconceptions regarding HIV and AIDS. The interviews conducted with respondents revealed some misconceptions and missing knowledge gaps among EkeGusii speakers. This means that some EkeGusii speakers do not have accurate information and cognitive model on how HIV is transmitted and strategies for preventing infection. Misconceptions can confuse people and hinder HIV prevention efforts. The prevalent misconception realised in the language used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse is HIV and AIDS are diseases.

4.3.5 Mental Representation and Cognitive Causal Chains in EkeGusii

The study had sought out to examine the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse and their representation and interpretation. The foregoing discussion has illustrated how EkeGusii speakers cognitively appropriate their embodied experiences with HIV and AIDS. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that humans experience their environment through their bodies and also construe the world in terms of their body experiences. EkeGusii speakers conceptualize the HIV and AIDS through their environmental experiences. This can be illustrated through the use of the metaphor, CONTRACTING HIV IS A THORN IN THE FLESH as in the metaphorical expression *ekayaba* (kay apple) as it was discussed in the metaphorical conceptualization (section 4.2). In this metaphorical expression, AIDS is compared to *ekayaba* (kay apple) which is a common plant that is found in most homes but it causes a lot of pain and suffering to whoever the thorn pierces. Similarly, HIV also causes a lot of pain and suffering to both the infected and affected. The analysis also conforms to Sperber's (2006) assertions on mental representation acting as an interface between cognition and culture. HIV and AIDS exists in man's environment and with the cultural practices like widow inheritance and social practices for instance, polygamy and immorality, EkeGusii speakers have a way of registering such experiences based on the conceptualization of HIV and AIDS. The social-cultural events were practised without problems until the emergence of AIDS. This may be the reason behind the representation of AIDS as a disaster, death, dehumanization of the seropositive and the use of plague or punishment metaphor.

The discussion on representation and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor are also in line with Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) argument that meaning is embodied, which means that human knowledge is based on human perception and interaction with one's environment.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) further mentions of experiential gestalts which are based on the nature of our bodies, our interactions with our physical environment and with the interactions with other people within our culture. These experiential gestalts serve as grounding of conceptual metaphor. Therefore, the mental images created from different concepts automatically evoke the necessary and appropriate sensory-motor-schemas. For instance, a simple concept of a chair creates the image-schema representative of a chair in the mind of the hearer and as a result the sensory-motor-schema of sitting is evoked. Therefore, regardless of the structure of the chair used in a given environment, whether a log of wood or a sophisticated chair, the sensory-motor-schema of sitting would be evoked.

The mental representation of EkeGusii speakers about AIDS can be contextualized within the Causal Cognitive Chains proposed by Sperber (2006) where perception, inference memory and motor abilities complete the cognitive package. For instance, the linguistic expression *ebasweti* (python) was collected from respondents and was used in the discussion of metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The linguistic expression *ebasweti* (a python) symbolizes death in EkeGusii culture given the fact that it is feared as it encircles and strangles animals to death. EkeGusii speakers generally fear snakes and they are associated with death. The speakers also fear pythons because they are known to encircle its prey and immobilize it by breaking its bones. It is after the prey is weakened that the python slowly ingests it.

Magonya and Oloo (2012) argue that the manner in which AIDS remains symptomatic within a human body only to eventually lead to death is transposed to the image of how the python slowly consumes its prey. From EkeGusii cultural perception and understanding, a python is associated with death. By extension AIDS is also associated with death given the fact that it is incurable. Hence the seropositives carry a connotation of death despite the fact that one might have just

contracted HIV. This means that in the mind of EkeGusii speakers, they form images related to death whenever HIV and AIDS are mentioned. It is from such a background that the mental representations such as the living dead, destruction, or *ebasweti* (python) are invoked when one declares his seropositive status to some people. It may also not be surprising that some people may run away, disassociate themselves from the said individual or frown as dictated by their motor abilities because of fear of death or contamination. This further conforms to Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) argument that 'cognitive models constitute a larger part of the background knowledge on behalf of which human beings reason. Cognitive models define what we take to be overall representative case of comparable cases and provide a way of comprehending experiences in oversimplified manner. It may fit real experiences well or may not' (1980: 63).

It is with this understanding that EkeGusii speakers have the background knowledge that a python is associated with death that makes them associate HIV and AIDS with death when they are referred to as a python. Otherwise, someone from a different culture may not have the same mental picture of death being associated with *ebasweti* (a python). This argument is in line with Kövesces (2006) argument that the choice of specific metaphors for defining realities varies culturally and this further conforms the fact that any single idea can be explained by a number of metaphorical expressions (Charteris-Black, 2006) which allows the transfer of meaning from different source domains to a specific target domain.

Moreover, the metaphorical expression, *egetondo kegotara* (a walking corpse) is likened to a person infected with HIV in EkeGusii. In real life situations, people have an understanding that corpses cannot walk and they disappear the moment they are buried. It is definite that people will run away or collapse in case they came across a corpse walking. It is therefore unimaginable to

see a corpse walking. As such, when *egetondo kegotara* (a walking corpse) is used to understand a seropositive, then it means that the said individual is transformed to a scary zombie-like creature that only exists in people's imaginations. As such, EkeGusii speakers form a mental image of a zombie-like creature out of a seropositive. This may result to someone for example, running away or behaving in a different manner depending on how his/her motor abilities may dictate him or her on approaching a seropositive.

Lastly, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) indicate that are pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. It can be concluded that in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, metaphors are also abundant. Lakoff and Johnson further argue that our concepts structure what we perceive, how we get around in the world, and how we relate to other people. This means that metaphors are abundant in language, thought and action and the conceptual system assists human beings in representing and interpreting issues around them.

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter has provided answers to the objectives and the two research questions the study set out to investigate. The discussions of the questions have been done within the seven tenets of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor. The discussion has revealed that EkeGusii speakers conceptualize HIV and AIDS using a number of concepts that are coined from the diverse embodied experiences of the speakers over the scourge. As a result, a number of cognitive models are formed over HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. Nevertheless, some of the concepts used to refer to HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii carry negative connotations. This further influences the interpretation and representation of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. The next chapter presents

summary of the findings, conclusions of the discussion and provides appropriate recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This study set out to investigate the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse and its mental representation and interpretation. This chapter gives an overview of the study based on the findings of the research as presented and discussed in chapter four. The objectives were to identify and explain the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions and analyse properties of their cross domain mappings and, explain EkeGusii speakers' representation and interpretation of HIV and AIDS metaphor.

This chapter provides a summary of the findings of the discussions in the thesis and makes recommendation for an improved conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The conclusions of the study and the possible areas for further research are also included in this chapter.

5.2 Summary of the Findings

Having discussed the study findings in chapter four, this section highlights the summary of the findings in accordance with the research questions and objectives outlined in chapter one.

5.2.1 Metaphorical Conceptualization of HIV and AIDS Expressions and Properties of Cross Domain Mappings in EkeGusii

The research findings revealed that the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse utilized Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) Cognitive Theory of Metaphor's domains and ubiquity tenets. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that a concrete and clearly organised

source domain, being more clearly related to physical and bodily experience is used to understand and talk about a more abstract and less clearly structured target domain. The ubiquity tenet states that metaphors are abundant not only in specialized discourses, but also in ordinary discourse (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980). As such, the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse realised several metaphorical expressions in ordinary language of HIV and AIDS. The metaphoric expressions were used to generate diverse mappings. The study found diverse conceptual metaphors that were used by EkeGusii speakers to understand the abstract target domain of HIV and AIDS. The conceptual mappings were grouped into ten categories namely: the journey, accident, fire, food, disaster, animal, protection, prostitution and ARVS, the intruder, foreigner and AIDS, and the AIDS IS A KILLER metaphor.

The journey metaphor concentrated on, A SEROPOSITIVE IS ON A JOURNEY metaphor. In this metaphorical conceptualization, seropositives in EkeGusii were seen as travellers to either death or to the life-long process of being on ARV treatment and care. Therefore, the HIV negative individuals are left out in this conceptualization. The journey metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse also revealed that A SEROPOSITIVE IS ON A JOURNEY metaphor conformed to Lakoff and Turner's (1989) basic conventional metaphor, LIFE IS A JOURNEY. The journey metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse realized two travellers, the optimistic and pessimistic travellers. However, the journey metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse dwelt and elaborated on just one component of the conventionalized LIFE IS A JOURNEY METAPHOR. The metaphor expounded on the component of impediments to travel are obstacles of the conventional journey metaphor and illness such as HIV and AIDS are seen as obstacles to travel in the conventional LIFE IS A JOURNEY metaphor. The other conceptual mappings realised in this metaphor are: CONTRACTING HIV IS A JOURNEY, HIV AND

AIDS IS A CURSE, A SEROPOSITIVE IS ON A JOURNEY, A SEROPOSITIVE IS A TRAVELLER, CONTRACTING HIV IS ACQUIRING A BUS TICKET, CONTRACTING HIV IS A JOURNEY TOWARDS ONE'S DEATH OR MAKER, HIV INFECTION IS THE BEGINNING OF A JOURNEY, AIDS IS DEATH PERSONIFIED, PROBLEMS AS A LIFE CHANGING EXPERIENCE, ARVS IS FOOD, and ARVS AS LIFE SUSTAINING.

The other metaphorical conceptualization of the abstract target domain of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii was drawn from the source domains of accidents. The study findings indicated that in EkeGusii, HIV can be acquired accidentally. The findings also revealed that just the same way some accidents can be prevented or avoided, HIV can also be prevented and avoided by practising some preventative measures like abstaining, being faithful to one uninfected partner and practicing safer sex. The accident metaphor also showed that the devastating effects caused by accidents could be compared to the effects of HIV to a human body. Therefore, EkeGusii speakers were warned against careless lifestyles that could make them be prone to accidental infections of HIV. The conceptualization of the accident metaphor was discussed using four conceptual mappings. The mappings are: CONTRACTING HIV AND AIDS IS AN ACCIDENT, CONTRACTING HIV IS A THORN IN THE FLESH, THE HUMAN BODY IS A MACHINE, ACQUIRING HIV IS HITTING A WALL and THE HUMAN BODY IS A CAR. The accident metaphor utilized the highlighting property of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor in that in the HUMAN BODY IS A CAR metaphor, only the centre bolt and wheels were used to discuss about HIV, the other parts of a car were not used to conceptualize HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. Moreover, the accident metaphor had several mappings describing how acquiring HIV is an accident. This therefore meant describing the metaphorical property that metaphors have

multiple mappings. The different mappings described different types of accidents that can be compared to acquisition of HIV in EkeGusii.

Further, the analysis of the findings indicated that the source domain of fire is also used in structuring and understanding the target domain of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. As such, different metaphorical expressions with the attributes of fire, electric shock and electrocution were used as source domains to structure and understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS. As a result, the category realised the following conceptual mappings: CONTRACTING HIV IS ELECTROCUTION, CONTRACTING HIV AND AIDS IS FIRE, HIV IS AN ELECTRIC CURRENT, THE SPREAD OF HIV AND AIDS IS A DESTRUCTIVE JOURNEY, THE SPREAD OF HIV IS A BUSH FIRE, CONTRACTING HIV IS BEING CONSUMED BY FIRE, CONTRACTING HIV IS ELECTROCUTION and, SEROPOSITIVES ARE ELECTROCUTED PERSONS. In this category, attributes associated with fire were used to understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. The uncontrollable nature of the spread of a bush fire, for instance, was compared to the indiscriminate nature of the spread of HIV and the harm it caused in destroying the body cells. Further, the sensational burning flames were also likened to the pain and suffering of the seropositives through the attack of numerous opportunistic infections.

The study also noted that the food metaphor was also prevalent as a source domain used in understanding the target domain of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. Kövesces (2006) points out that sexual intercourse in most cases is understood in terms of eating. Moreover, Horne (2010) argues that HIV in Africa is mostly transmitted through heterosexual intercourse. Therefore, the use of food metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse was metaphorically conceptualized in relation to heterosexual intercourse that is responsible for the spread of HIV in the county. This

conceptualization used diverse foodstuff in the source domain to understand and structure the spread of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. The speakers were also warned against consuming bad or rotten foodstuffs with the seropositives through the act of sharing foods, or rather having extramarital affairs. This conceptualization formulated the following conceptual mappings: CONTRACTING HIV IS CONSUMING CONTAMINATED FOODS OR DRINKS, HIV IS A WILD STINGING BEE, CONTRACTING HIV IS SWALLOWING HARMFUL SUBSTANCES, CONTRACTING HIV IS SWALLOWING POISON, ARVS IS FOOD, HIV IS POISON, HIV AND AIDS IS POISONED FOOD, HIV IS POISONED FOOD, A SEROPOSITIVE IS A ROTTEN FRUIT, and, A SEROPOSITIVE IS A MAGGOT INFESTED FRUIT. The metaphorical structuring is partial and not total, meaning that when mapping attributes from the source to target domain, only part of the source domain is used to understand the target domain. The food metaphor utilized the metaphorical partiality nature in that consuming of contaminated substances was likened to having sexual intercourse with an infected individual. But the fact that sexual intercourse is necessary and important aspect of human procreation was hidden in this conceptualization. This fact therefore expounded on the metaphorical property of highlighting and downplaying aspects of metaphor.

It was also found out that HIV is conceptualized as disaster in EkeGusii. In this case, events, occurrences and associations that are disastrous were used as source domains to understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS. Drought, soil erosion, thunderstorm and lightening among others were used as metaphorical expressions in the source domain to understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. The disaster caused by natural happenings was likened to the destruction caused by HIV and AIDS to one's body, individual, community and the nation. The analysis in this category formulated five conceptual mappings in EkeGusii. The mappings

were: HIV IS A DISASTER, HIV IS A MASSIVE KILLER, HIV AND AIDS ARE DESTRUCTIVE FORCES OF NATURE, HIV IS A NEW PLAGUE, HIV IS SIZE, and AIDS IS A SWEEPING DISEASE.

The source domain of animal was also used in EkeGusii HIV to understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS. In this conceptualization, metaphorical expressions drawn from the dreaded, poisonous and dangerous animals were used as source domains and were compared to the target domain of HIV and AIDS. As such, the destruction and harm that animals cause in real life situations were likened to the effects of HIV and AIDS. The analysis in the animal metaphor formulated the following three metaphors: HIV AND AIDS AS AN ANIMAL, HIV IS A HUGE AND DANGEROUS ANIMAL, HIV IS A CROCODILE OR HYENA, HIV IS A BIG BEAST and, HIV IS A SERPENT.

On one perspective, the protection metaphor was also used in the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. This metaphor was discussed in relation to the use of the condom. In this regard, condoms are referred to as polythenes or gumboots. In this conceptualization, metaphorical expressions that refer to the use of the condom were used to structure and understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. This analysis formulated the following conceptual mapping: USING PROTECTION IS A PROTECTIVE SHIELD metaphor, FIGHTING HIV AND AIDS IS WAR, HIV PREVENTION IS WEARING A PROTECTIVE DEVICE and, HIV IS A BULLET.

On the other perspective, the findings also revealed that the seropositives can prolong their lives by taking ARVS. This was illustrated with the fact that given that there is no cure or vaccine for HIV, the seropositives use ARVS besides others practicing preventive measures against being

infected. As such, three conceptual mappings were formulated. They are: ARVS IS FOOD, BEING ON MEDICATION IS BEING ON ARVS, and, TREATING HIV IS TAKING MEDICATION. In this category, one metaphor that refers to a prostitute was also realised; A PROSTITUTE IS A CONTAMINATED PERSON in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

Further, the study findings realised that the intruder, foreigner and AIDS metaphor was used in the conceptualization of HIV and AIDS. In this regard, HIV in EkeGusii was viewed as an invader, a disease that might have originated from abroad and now threatening the nation's survival and this thinking formed the basis of the linguistic expressions that were used as source domains. With this reasoning, four conceptual mappings were formulated. They are: HIV IS A FOREIGN CONDITION, HIV IS A NEW PLAGUE, AIDS IS AN ALIEN AILMENT, AIDS IS A MODERN/CONTEMPORARY DISEASE, AIDS IS SIZE, HIV IS A GOVERNMENTS' DISEASE and, AIDS IS A TRAVELLING DISEASE.

Lastly, AIDS as a killer metaphor was discussed in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. In this conceptualization, metaphorical expressions that are drawn from death and death related concepts were used as source domains to understand the target domain of HIV and AIDS. With this understanding, HIV and AIDS were seen as agents of death as they were out to wipe out individuals and the entire community. The analysis in this section formulated the following five conceptual mappings: AIDS IS DEATH, AIDS IS GRIM REAPER, HIV IS A CONSUMING FLAME, HIV IS DEATH PERSONIFIED, PEOPLE ARE PLANTS and, HIV IS A WALKING CORPSE/SKELETON.

The focusing tenet was utilized in AIDS IS DEATH metaphor. In this case, some aspects of the target domain are highlighted while others are downplayed. In HIV AND AIDS AS A KILLER

mapping in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS indicated that once one is infected, she/he is regarded as dead. As a result, the fact that HIV and AIDS are responsible for causing the infected individual's death is highlighted. However, the fact that a seropositive may die out of other causes, for example, accidents was hidden in this metaphor. Moreover, the fact that the effects of HIV may be countered by undergoing ARV treatment is also hidden in this metaphor. The AIDS IS A KILLER metaphor also hides the fact that HIV and AIDS do not kill, but opportunistic infections do. Therefore, from the analysis of metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse, it can be revealed that a number of aspects in target domain of HIV and AIDS were highlighted in the different mappings whereas the same mappings down played aspects that were inconsistent with the metaphors.

5.2.2 Representation and Interpretation of EkeGusii AIDS Metaphor

Speakers normally form a pictorial representation of an idea once they hear of it. The images created in the mind of the speaker or hearer over a given concept influences the way such a concept is interpreted. Lakoff (1987) argues that speakers form an Idealized Cognitive Model (ICM) over a given concept such that the moment such a concept is mentioned or heard, the ideal cognitive model springs into the mind of the hearer or speaker. The findings revealed that EkeGusii speakers form varied cognitive models over HIV and AIDS such that whenever someone mentions or hears about HIV and AIDS, some mental representation springs into the mind of the speaker or hearer. These images further dictate how the speakers interpret and therefore perceive and discuss about HIV and AIDS and the seropositives. The analysis revealed that HIV and AIDS were represented and interpreted as disaster, death sentence, humanization and dehumanisation of the seropositives and use of the punishment metaphor.

When HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii were represented and interpreted as disaster, the cognitive model formed by EkeGusii speakers over HIV and AIDS signals disaster as HIV and AIDS are equated to destruction of seropositives and the community at large. In this regard, HIV and AIDS were seen as sweeping agents in that HIV destroys the immunity system of an infected individual. This destruction was likened to sweeping the health of an individual and the economic gains of the seropositives as he/she struggles to counter the effects of HIV. Further, the destruction of the immunity system of the seropositives was further illustrated by use of a burning fire and natural disaster. This further illustrates why AIDS in EkeGusii is mentally represented and interpreted as a disease that causes massive destruction.

The findings also revealed that EkeGusii speakers formed a cognitive model of lifeless individuals and corpses over HIV and AIDS messages. This in turn brought forth image schemas of funerals that are associated with fear, grief and orphans. In this case, HIV was seen as being responsible for causing death for the seropositives. According to some EkeGusii speakers, once infected, the speakers mentally represented such an individual as being half-dead. Some infected individuals also perceived themselves to be hovering between life and dead. The findings also indicated that EkeGusii speakers perceived AIDS as a terrible disease that was incurable and this in turn illustrated the representation of HIV infection as a stumbling block, or a barrier that stops or prevents one from progressing positively.

The analysis of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS messages also revealed that seropositives are mostly dehumanized. In this case, EkeGusii speakers form a cognitive model of half-dead individuals over the infected individuals. In this representation, the infected individuals are regarded to have undergone some kind of degradation and as such, they are not seen to be human beings fully. The seropositives are given labels that indicate this kind of degradation, for instance, the infected

persons are regarded as walking corpses. The label of a walking corpse dehumanizes the seropositive as they are likened to zombies and in real life situations, zombies do not exist. Therefore, the comparison of seropositives to walking corpses and to zombies transforms them to imaginary creatures. This perception discourages EkeGusii speakers from disclosing their status openly or even knowing ones status. In addition, the societal tendency to perceive HIV infection as a death sentence was a first step in a guaranteed progression to AIDS and eventual, inevitable death was also represented by EkeGusii speakers in the analysis. This further influenced the behaviour of seropositives after realizing that they are infected. The analysis further revealed that some EkeGusii speakers perceived HIV infection as any normal challenge that can befall human beings and could be addressed by living healthy and being on ARVS while for some, HIV infection was the beginning of an end as they led careless lives. The representation and interpretation further revealed that despite the fact that HIV could be managed by ARVS, some EkeGusii speakers still perceive HIV infection as a death sentence. As such, a seropositive is regarded as not fully human as he is suffering from a dreaded condition. As a result, seropositives are treated with a lot of contempt which further affects their status.

Lastly, the findings indicated that EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor was represented and interpreted using the punishment metaphor. In this regard, the cognitive model created by EkeGusii speakers was that HIV infection was some form of punishment for the deviant sexual behavior of an individual. Hence, the seropositive was perceived as one who is in possession of a dangerous plague. As such, HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii are associated with immoral behavior, extramarital sexual relations, prostitution and deviance. In this case, some seropositives were seen to be guilty while others were innocent. The guilty ones are blamed to be the source of the plague. In some instances, the seropositives are regarded to have led immoral lifestyles such that

eventually they are being punished for. It was also revealed that for the infected children and orphans, the sexual behaviour of their parents is blamed as the source of the plague whereas, the extramarital affairs and wife inheritance in EkeGusii were also seen to be the source of the plague. The findings further indicated that women were blamed more for infecting their children through childbearing and breastfeeding. Women were also blamed for infecting their husbands. Polygamy and having extramarital affairs for men were acceptable as a lifestyle for men in EkeGusii setting. Consequently, women are blamed, stigmatized and even abandoned by their families once they are infected. The punishment metaphor was also connected to religion and as such, the source of the plague is seen as people who have gone against the teaching of God and HIV infection is seen as a punishment from God for the deviant sexual behavior.

The study findings indicated that the discussion on representation and interpretation of HIV and AIDS messages were contextualized within the Causal Cognitive Chains proposed by Sperber (2006) where perception, inference, memory and motor abilities could complete the cognitive package. For instance, HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii were referred using *ebasweti* (a python). A python in EkeGusii is feared and associated with death. So, when HIV and AIDS are referred to by using a python, the cognitive model created of a python may influence people to behave in a certain way, for example, one may run away on seeing a seropositive because the culture surrounding EkeGusii regard a python as a dangerous snake associated with death and therefore, a seropositive in this case is also equated to death.

5.3 Conclusions

The study examined the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse and its mental representation and representation. The study had set out to achieve the objectives

set out in chapter one of this thesis. The conclusions made are based on the following specific objectives discussed below.

The first objective was to identify and explain the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions and analyse properties of their cross domain mappings. The findings of the study demonstrated that the linguistic expressions used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse were conceptualized into diverse mappings as per the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor. Some of these conceptual mappings resembled what is used in other languages but the linguistic expressions explaining these conceptual metaphors are vary from one language to the other. For example, the journey metaphor in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse borrows a lot from LIFE IS A JOURNEY METAPHOR and is similar to what is used in Ololuyia, Shona and Setswana but the linguistic metaphors in the three languages differ. Moreover, EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse also utilised novel conceptual metaphors. For example, ARVS IS FOOD, ARVS ARE LIFE SUSTAINING and HIV IS A BIG BEAST among the others were novel metaphors that were used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. This was as a result of the creativity of EkeGusii speakers and their embodied experiences with the environment.

The findings demonstrated that EkeGusii speakers use the already available information in understanding HIV and AIDS in their discourses. Moreover, the metaphorical expressions in the source domains are drawn from concrete and readily available concepts that the speakers are aware of. For instance, the use of metaphorical expressions from natural occurrences like; thunderstorm, soil erosion and lightening indicate that EkeGusii speakers use knowledge from the immediate environment to conceptualize HIV and AIDS. The metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse also utilised a modification of conventional metaphors. The cross domain mappings realised a number of properties in relation to the creativity,

unidirectionality domains and, focussing tenets of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor. As such, the research findings indicated that conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse is culture dependent and socio-culturally cultivated.

The second objective investigated EkeGusii speakers' mental representation and interpretation of HIV and AIDS messages. The finding demonstrated that the creativity and model tenet of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor were used in the representation and interpretation of metaphors. The representations and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse indicated that EkeGusii speakers formed various HIV and AIDS cognitive models which dictated their perceptions and attitude over the virus and the condition.

The findings of this study also demonstrated the different mental representation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS metaphor and the resulting perceptions and attitudes were aroused by speakers. EkeGusii speakers use diverse metaphoric expressions when referring to HIV and AIDS and these metaphors created different mental pictures to listeners. As a result, different interpretations were provided depending on the mental picture created on the mind of the speaker or listener. The representation and interpretation of EkeGusii AIDS metaphor was skewed towards negative connotations. This results to stigma as stigmatization is caused by a widespread chain of negative mental representation and public representation of expressions used in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. This means that once the seropositives are discriminated and stigmatized, none may be willing to disclose his/her status openly and be a HIV campaigner. As a result, the number of new infections may continue to rise among EkeGusii speakers.

5.4 Recommendations

This study had examined the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse and their representation and interpretation. Some recommendations are put forward for consideration in the field of study of metaphorical conceptualization of HIV and AIDS and its mental representation and interpretation in general, and EkeGusii in particular. Objective one of the study identified and explained the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions and analyse properties of their cross domain mappings. The study recommends that EkeGusii speakers need to select a few terms that could be used officially in reference to HIV and AIDS in EkeGusii. This will ensure that whenever HIV and AIDS are mentioned, speakers will come up with the same interpretation and the same mental images would be created among the speakers. As a result, the HIV campaigns would succeed. Moreover, EkeGusii speakers should not be engaged in sensational discussions about HIV and AIDS. This creates fear, hatred, rejection and dejection among the seropositives. The use of insensitive metaphors for example AIDS sufferers and HIV patients should also not be used as they invoke pain on the people living with HIV and AIDS (PLWHA). The study recommends that EkeGusii speakers need use of neutral and sensitive terms in EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse.

The second objective of the study explained how EkeGusii speakers represent and interpret HIV and AIDS metaphors. The study recommends that EkeGusii speakers should avoid using negative metaphoric expressions as they perpetuate stigma and discrimination in HIV and AIDS discourse. Avoidance of the negative expressions may make the speakers form positive cognitive models over HIV and AIDS which in turn might transform the perceptions and attitudes the speakers have over the virus and condition. This may further help the affected individuals

disclose their status and encourage those who do not to go for testing. Hence, the rate of infection, stigma and the HIV prevalence may reduce significantly among EkeGusii speakers.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The present study investigated the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse and its mental representation and interpretation. It is suggested from the findings that further research may be carried out in the following areas:

1. A similar research may also be carried out to examine the metaphors that are used in the materials that are used in HIV and AIDS campaigns in EkeGusii.
2. Cognitive linguists can carry out a comparative study on the mental representation of neighboring languages to see whether the mental representations are universal or culture-specific.

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APPENDIX A: Sample Interview Schedule

1. What EkeGusii terms do you use in referring to:

- i. HIV
- ii. AIDS
- iii. A person who is HIV-positive
- iv. The uptake of ARVS
- v. The use of a condom
- vi. The process of infection
- vii. Promiscuity

2. Can you highlight the possible ways ways in which people acquire HIV?

3. How can you prevent HIV infection?

4. Do we have a cure for HIV? Explain.

5. What will you do if you realized you are infected?

6. What comes to your mind when you hear about HIV and AIDS?

7. What/how do you feel when you come across someone who is seropositive?

8. When do you say that someone:

- i) Has HIV
- ii) Has AIDS

9. In what way do you conduct yourselves towards the seropositives?

10. Do all people who are HIV positive develop AIDS? Explain