

**A Cognitive Linguistic Analysis of Sexual Dysphemisms and Euphemisms in South Nyanza
Dholuo**

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Abstract

In all cultures of the world, the subject of sex is a major concern in life and is likely to elicit embarrassment. Sexual language is subject to censoring and a potent source of euphemisms for people from all walks of life. Therefore, it is a worthy subject of observation and research. Notably significant is the role of dysphemisms in any society without which euphemisms become very ordinary words. This paper is part of an empirical study that examined sexual dysphemisms and euphemisms in the Kenyan Dholuo using Cognitive Linguistics Approach. This paper aims at identifying and explaining the sex- related dysphemistic words and phrases in Dholuo, as well as accounting for the cognitive processes in the creation of sex- related euphemisms. It also discusses the relationship between age and gender in the usage of euphemisms. The study used both purposive and simple random sampling techniques to obtain a sample of eighteen native Dholuo speakers for the study (nine were males and the other nine females). The researcher used an interview schedule and a tape recorder to collect data which was transcribed, categorized, quantified and then processed after which suitable methods of statistical representations were used to display the emergent patterns. The findings of this study indicate that men use more taboo words than women, a typical characteristic of the aggressive nature of men. When a man uses taboo words, he is viewed by the Luo society as a dignified individual while if the same words are used by a woman she is considered uncultured and is thus castigated. This finding brings to the fore the patriarchal nature of the Luo that values men over women and this hinders the women's socio-economic development. This paper recommends a comprehensive research be carried on all native languages in a bid compile native language dictionaries in the attainment of the cultural pillar in line with vision 2030.

Key words: Cognitive Linguistic Analysis, Dysphemism and Euphemism.

1.0 Introduction

One of the challenges facing humanity worldwide is the ability to harness sexual matters for the attainment of meaningful development. In all cultures of the world, the subject of sex is a major concern in life and is likely to elicit embarrassment. Sexual language is subject to censoring and a potent source of euphemisms. Notably significant is the role of dysphemisms in any society without which euphemisms become very ordinary words. This paper is part of an empirical study that examined sexual dysphemisms and euphemisms in the Kenyan Dholuo using Cognitive Linguistics Approach.

Dysphemism is a system of placing prohibitions and restrictions on certain acts and utterances in a society. These prohibitions signify that the acts or utterances in question are not acceptable within the norms and culture of the society and therefore, must not be practiced or talked about by its members. The degree of avoidance varies from one social context to another and is also based on the item dysphemized. Dysphemism (both behavioral and verbal) is a universal concept practiced by every human society around the world. However, it is language and culture specific, such that what is prohibited in one society may be the norm in another (Agyekum, 2002).

Those who violate a dysphemism can often purify themselves or be purified by confessing their sins and submitting to a ritual. According to Trudgill (1983), dysphemistic language is normally associated with lack of decency and very often, it is just a matter of convention where the normal use of an item in a language is prohibited due to particular social values and beliefs. He further posits that the strongest dysphemistic words in the English speaking world are still associated with sex. This is the same view held in traditional African societies particularly among the Luo. Sex is so deeply entrenched in the cultural framework of the Luo community that it cannot be understood in isolation from the cultural meanings that it carries (Ogotu, 2007). Traditionally, Luo culture demands that widows display an identifying symbol and be sexually cleansed. The process of sexual cleansing entails intricate details that must be observed during the mourning period till the widow is cleansed (Mboya, 2001).

The planting system among the Luo is hierarchical meaning that parents plant first then children follow. A widow has to find a sexual partner during the planting season otherwise, by tradition; the children cannot plant seeds in their farms. A woman's refusal to have sex is an impediment to the farming process. It is strongly believed that the fertility of the land and bumper harvests depend on whether a man or woman has sex before cultivating his or her field or going out to harvest the crop. This ritual has to take place at every stage of the farming process (Ayikukwei et al, 2007).

Euphemisms, on the other hand, constitute a pragmatic choice by the language user at a given point in interaction. The language user's option for a euphemism often emanates from contextual factors such as social relationship between the speaker and addressee or the level of formality induced by the setting (Farghal, 1995). William (1975) concludes that dysphemisms and euphemisms are two closely related cultural and linguistic phenomena of human society. We cannot talk of one without referring to the other.

Mboya (2001) and Ogutu (2007) posit that in the Luo set - up, birth, death, social and economic activities are viewed in the prism of sex and this aspect of the Luo culture is unique. Moreover, these domains attract dysphemistic words, phrases and euphemisms. Limited research has been carried out on sex related dysphemistic words, phrases and their euphemistic equivalents in Dholuo despite their widespread use in the community, a fact that may result in some of these dysphemistic words and phrases becoming extinct. Their underlying socio-economic implications may not be apparently implicit if not critically examined.

2.0 Methodology and theoretical Framework

2.1 Methodology

The study used both purposive and simple random techniques to obtain a sample of eighteen native Dholuo speakers for the study (nine were males and the other nine females). An interview schedule and a tape recorder were used to collect data which was transcribed, categorized, quantified and then processed after which suitable methods of statistical representations were used to display the emergent patterns. The euphemisms collected were analyzed using Conceptual Integration Theory of Fauconnier and Turner (2002).

2.2 Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT)

The theory that informed the study and which was used to analyze the sex-related euphemisms is the Conceptual Integration Theory initiated by Fauconnier and Turner (2002). It is part of a major framework concerning cognition and language in the sense that it combines explanations of linguistic creativity with an explanation of other language behavior as well as various products of human imagination. It further explains the integration of knowledge coming from distinct sources onto a single, independent and coherent unit, the blend. Conceptual integration enables one to make meaning from differing concepts that, on the surface, have no readily apparent connection or commonality.

The basic units of cognitive organization in this theory are the mental spaces which are four namely: two input spaces, a generic and a blended space. These spaces contain different information on the same elements, but each space contains a representation that is logically organized (Coulson and Oakley, 2002). Because of these spaces, the Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT, hereafter) is referred to as the many-space approach.

The input spaces give rise to selective projection and they are linked by means of a generic space. This space provides information that is abstract enough to be common to both the inputs. It facilitates the identification of counterparts in the input spaces by serving as a “template” for shared structure. The blended space on the other hand, contains matched information from the input spaces as well as new pieces of information (emergent structure) that is not contained in either of the inputs.

In the CIT, there are three component processes that give rise to the emergent structure these are: composition, completion and elaboration. Composition is a blending process in which a relation from one mental space is ascribed to an element or elements from other input spaces. Completion on the other hand, takes place when information in the long term memory is matched to the structure in the blend. It raises additional structure to the blend and when this structure is added the blend is integrated. During elaboration, links to the inputs are preserved. It usually entails mental or physical simulation of the event in the blend.

CIT is based on the principles of integration, web, topology, unpacking and good reason. The theory was chosen because euphemisms are metaphors therefore it helps present the sub mappings of these euphemisms in the different mental spaces.

3.0 Key findings

The Dholuo euphemistic words, phrases and expressions are analyzed within the framework of Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT). The sex-related male and female body parts are analyzed in terms of their conceptual mappings.

For the male sexual organ, thirty one euphemisms were identified. Nine of these were mapped using the Conceptual Integration Theory which is a Cognitive Linguistics theory. The number to be mapped was arrived at after grouping the euphemisms into six categories of animal, tree, leg, reptile, weapon and tool for work. For each category, a specific number of items were chosen depending on the total number. For the purpose of this paper, only one example will be presented.

For the female sexual organ, a total of twenty four euphemisms were collected. Nine of these were mapped using CIT. Just like the male sexual organ, the number to be mapped was arrived at after grouping the euphemisms into nine categories of food, a passage, wealth, medicine, garden, tool, place, organ and a river and then for each category, a specific number of items were chosen depending on the total number. In total twenty one euphemisms were analyzed for the male and female sexual organs. For the purpose of this paper, only one euphemism is analyzed.

3.1 Sexual Euphemisms

In Dholuo, the term sexual intercourse generally evokes squeamishness and that is why it is always accompanied by euphemisms as a form of linguistic interdiction. Table 4.2 shows euphemisms of the penis and how often they are used by the male and female respondents.

Table 3.1: Euphemisms of the penis and their lexical frequencies

Euphemism	Gloss	Male		Female		Total	
		n	%	N	%	N	%
Yien	Tree	4	44.4	7	77.8	11	61.1
Siala	Markahamia tree	2	22.2	6	66.7	8	44.4
Rachier	Black mamba	4	44.4	8	88.9	12	66.7
Omuga	Black rhinoceros	5	55.6	9	100.0	14	77.8
Rwath	Bull	3	33.3	7	77.8	10	55.6
Kalam	Pen	5	55.6	3	33.3	8	44.4
Rapur	Hoe/jembe	6	66.7	4	44.4	10	55.6
Pondo	A type of traditional tree	1	11.1	4	44.4	5	27.8
Kede	Stick	6	66.7	8	88.9	14	77.8
Luth	A walking stick	9	100.0	7	77.8	16	88.9
Masira	Danger/ calamity	6	66.7	7	77.8	13	72.2
Ratuchi	Something used to make a hole	5	55.6	7	77.8	12	66.7
Kwer	Plough	5	55.6	3	33.3	8	44.4
Ragwar	A fork	6	66.7	5	55.6	11	61.1
Chuma	Metal	7	77.8	8	88.9	15	83.3
Le	Axe	6	66.7	4	44.4	10	55.6
Rungu	Club	5	55.6	9	100.0	14	77.8
Tielomachiek	Short leg	6	66.7	8	88.9	14	77.8
Seke	A straw	9	100.0	3	33.3	12	66.7
Nyim	That which is in front	6	66.7	9	100.0	15	83.3
Girtich	A tool for work	9	100.0	7	77.8	16	88.9
Rakula	A bent individual	7	77.8	-	0.0	7	38.9
Pala	Sword	9	100.0	5	55.6	14	77.8
Tielo mar adek	A third leg	2	22.2	7	77.8	9	50.0
Chumamaliet	A hot metal	1	11.1	4	44.4	5	27.8
Rakuny	Something used to make a hole	4	44.4	1	11.1	5	27.8
Duong'	Private part	9	100.0	9	100.0	18	100.0
Magina	Gun	4	44.4	6	66.7	10	55.6
Mach	Fire	9	100.0	7	77.8	16	88.9
Loboko	A type of Congolese music	2	22.2	-	0.0	2	11.1
Ojwan'gmuofu	Blind Ojwan'g	6	66.7	3	33.3	9	50.0

3.2 Euphemisms of the penis

(a) 'The penis is a tree'

The penis is euphemistically referred to as 'a tree' because of its significance in the Luo community. It was noted that markhamia forked pole for instance, was significant during the construction of a home. Trees as was noted are used to make several domestic items such as wooden stirring sticks, pestle, mortar, wooden spoons, axe handles, hoe handles and even walking sticks. Being a fishing community, the Luo use trees in the construction of boats.

Trees were also used for ritual purposes for example, traditional priests and medicine men went to offer sacrifices at the foot of these trees to appease the ancestral spirits. The barks of certain trees such as 'ng'ou' are used as medicine to cure various ailments such as stomach ache, toothache and diarrhea. Leaves of trees such as neem (*dwele*) are also medicinal. Dyes of various shades extracted from leaves, barks or roots of some indigenous trees are used by the Luo primarily to color fabric and to decorate the walls of huts and paint walking sticks among other things. On the other hand, fiber is used to make baskets, mats, ropes and twines.

In addition, there are edible fruits that are collected from trees such as mango, orange and pawpaw. These add diversity and variety to one's diet while supplying essential minerals and vitamins. There are a variety of trees that are used by the Luo to make musical instruments such as 'Bu' (bassoon) and 'Nyatiti,' an eight stringed instrument with four or six bridges. It was observed that during leisure, the Luo male (especially adults) liked playing 'ajua' and hockey very much. The equipment used in these games was made from species of trees such as markamia which are durable.

The tree and the penis are similar in a number of ways and this is the reason why the latter is euphemistically referred to as the 'tree.' Firstly, the trunk of a tree can be likened to the penis because it is usually long and straight just the way the penis becomes long when erect. Secondly, both of them can bear fruits in the sense that there are certain trees which bear fruits that are edible and which provide essential minerals and vitamins to the body. This implies that food is one of the products got from trees in addition to timber. Penis on the other hand, produces sperms that may fertilize the egg leading to fetal development therefore, children are its products.

The euphemism 'The penis is a tree' is then mapped onto the different mental spaces (cf. pg 15). There are two input spaces for tree and penis which correspond to the source and target domains as exemplified in Lakoff's and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory (1980) (cf. pg 15). The euphemistic term occupies the source domain while the dysphemistic term occupies the target domain. This is then followed by fixed counterpart mappings (The attributes of the tree and those of the penis) as projected by the Conceptual Integration Theory. In this euphemism, 'a tree' which is the euphemistic expression is mapped onto penis which is the dysphemistic expression. A tree is a plant while the penis is part of the human body. From trees we get food which is a basic need while the penis is a key component in sexual intercourse and sex is a physiological need.

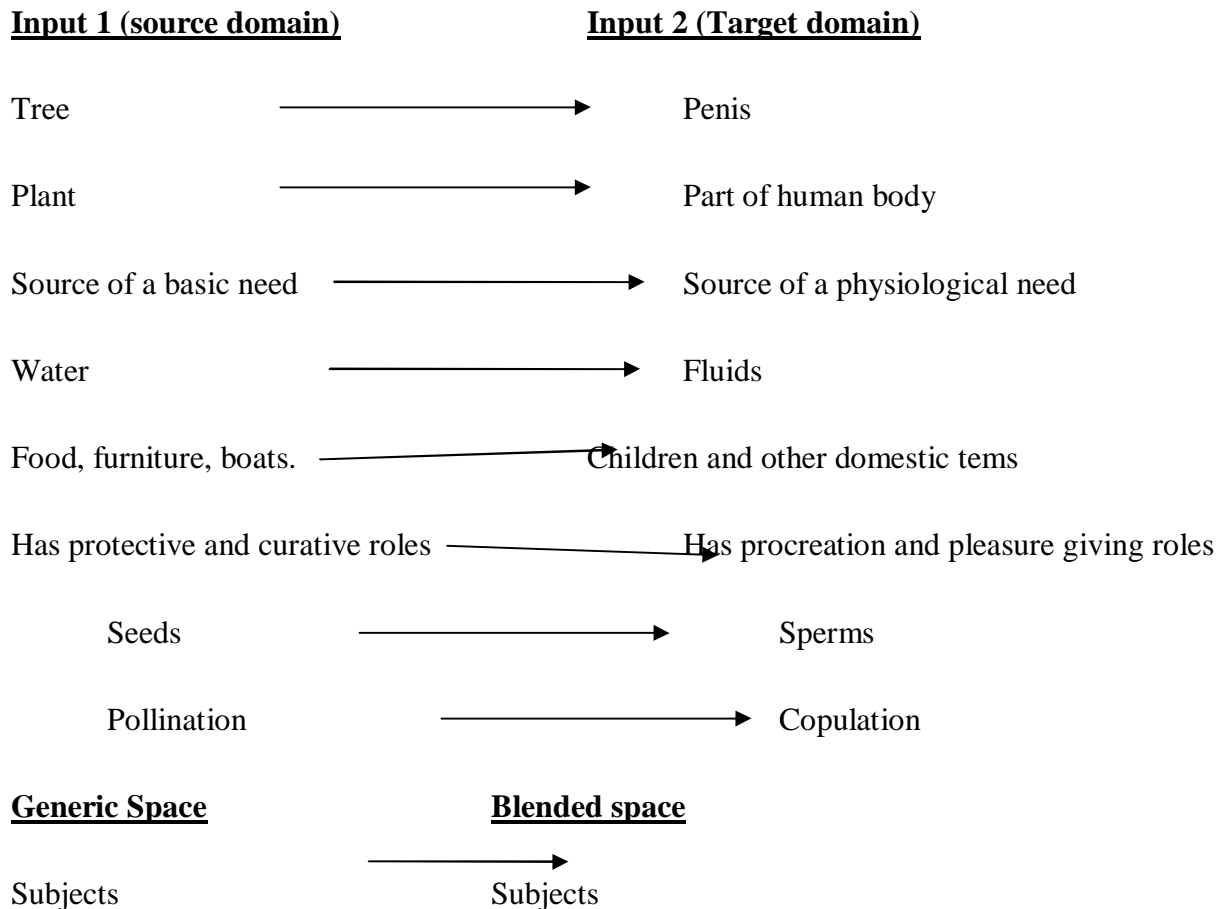
It was mentioned that for a tree to grow effectively, it needs water which transports minerals to different parts. The penis on the other hand, contains fluids such as semen that help in lubrication during sexual intercourse. In addition, trees have a variety of uses as mentioned earlier and from them different products are gotten just the way products are also obtained from sexual intercourse where the penis plays an instrumental role.

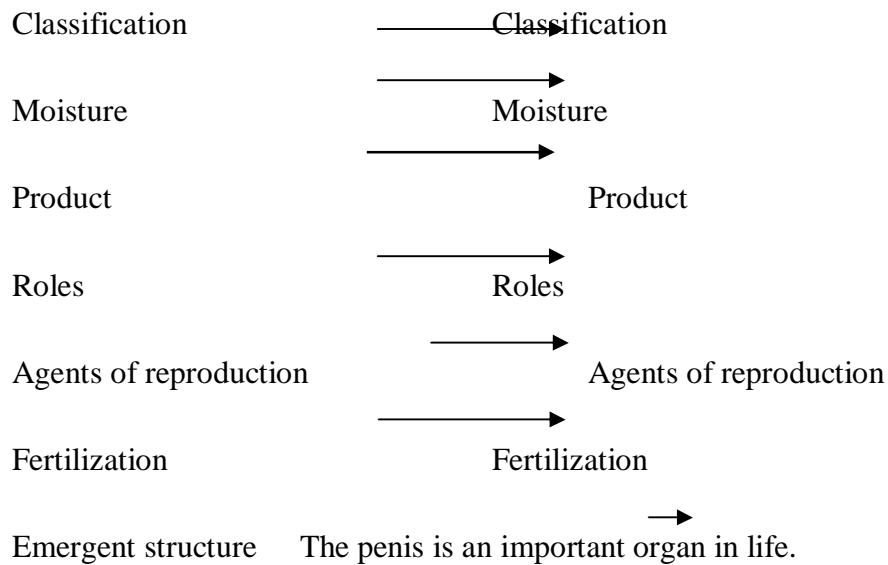
A tree has both protective and curative roles. Protective in the sense that they act as windbreakers thus protecting crops and curative in the sense that the barks of certain trees act as herbs which are used to cure various ailments such as stomach ache in the Luo community. It was observed that fruits of certain trees such as mango, pawpaw and orange contain seeds which can be likened to the sperms that the penis ejaculates. The Luo refer to the sperms as 'seeds' that are vital in reproduction. While pollination is a process that leads to fertilization in plants of which trees are part, copulation leads to fertilization in human beings.

From the two input spaces we move to the third which is the generic space. This space contains information that is shared by the input spaces for example, the subjects of this euphemism are 'a tree' and a penis. It was noted that a tree can be classified as a plant while a penis as part of a human body. It was further pointed out that both of them are sources of needs, a tree being a source of a basic need while a penis being a source of a physiological need. In addition water and fluids can collectively be referred to as moisture and what we get from both the tree and penis

are collectively referred to as products. Both of them play different roles or functions, with seeds and sperms being crucial agents in reproduction.

The fourth is called the blended space and it contains all the matched information projected from the generic space as well as a new piece of information referred to as the emergent structure which is the meaning of the euphemism. This euphemism means that the penis is an important organ just like the tree is. This is because seeds of a tree give life to other trees and even to human beings. Similarly, the penis also gives life to other human beings. This is so in the sense that the penis produces sperms (seeds) which may meet the ovum and if fertilization takes place, a new life in the form of a fetus begins to develop. The next section gives a summary of the fixed counterpart mappings presented in a table form.





This euphemism takes into account the three component processes (cf. pg 18) that give rise to its meaning. In composition the attributes of the tree and those of the penis are projected. Completion introduces the frames of plants (a tree is classified as a plant) as well as those of human anatomy (the penis is classified as part of the body). The meaning of this euphemism comes in the component process of elaboration in which case the issue of life is brought out in the sense that food that is got from trees is a source of nourishment. This food helps in building as well as protecting the body hence prolonging life on the other hand, the sperms from the penis play an instrumental role in procreation.

This euphemism satisfies the principles of integration, topology, unpacking and good reason (cf. pg 19-20). The elements from the source domain of tree are mapped onto those of the target domain of penis and in the process, they combine and interact. In unpacking, the materials in the blended space can be transferred back to the source and target domains where they initially originated for example, a common feature that is found in the blended space is ‘moisture.’ This represents the elements which in their respective input spaces appear as ‘water and fluids.’ The principle of topology is also satisfied in the sense that the elements in the blended space have a relationship with the elements in the source and target domains.

This euphemism finally satisfies the principle of good reason since all elements in the blended space have roles to play in the running of the blend. For example, the source and target domains are important since they are the ones that give rise to the other features of the euphemistic as well as dysphemistic expressions. This metaphor has failed to satisfy the web principle because in this euphemism, all elements have been projected to the blend thereby going against the basics of this principle. This failure is of no consequence since the theory points out that the main function of these principles is to make the blend function most efficiently. Moreover, satisfying one of these principles does not automatically involve satisfying another one. Figure 3 shows the mapping of the euphemism ‘The penis is a tree.’

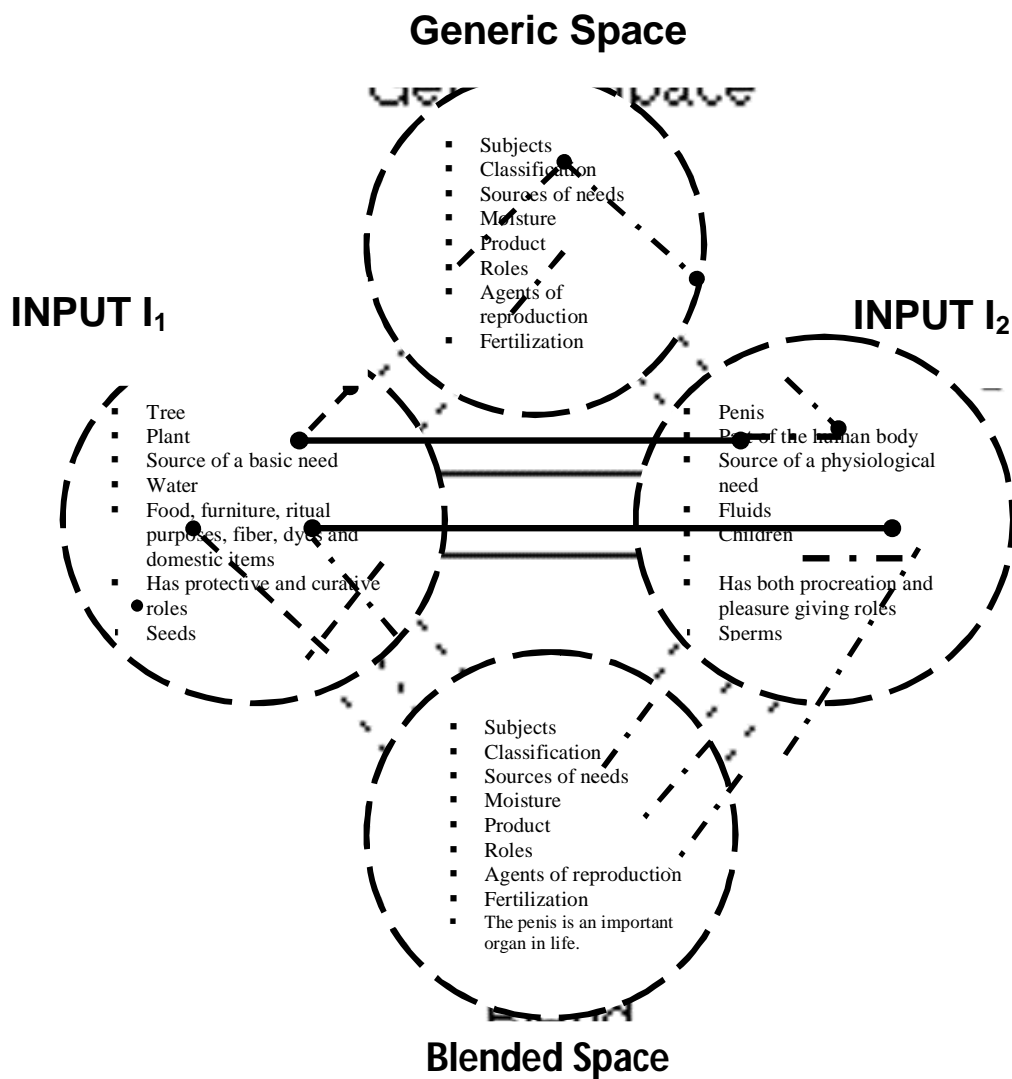


Figure 3: The mapping of the euphemism ‘The penis is a tree’

The next section looks at the euphemisms of the vagina. It goes ahead to show the analysis of one of these euphemisms.

Table 3.2: Euphemisms of the vagina and their lexical frequencies

Euphemism	Gloss	Lexical Frequencies					
		Male		Female		Total	
		n	%	N	%	n	%
Duong’	Private part	9	100.0	9	100.0	18	100.0
Puodho	Garden	8	88.9	6	66.7	14	77.8
Girlach	Something used to urinate	6	66.7	6	66.7	12	66.7
Soko	Stream	4	44.4	9	100.0	13	72.2
Bungu	Forest	7	77.8	5	55.6	12	66.7
Chiemo	Food	9	100.0	6	66.7	15	83.3
Yadhnindo	Medicine for sleep	7	77.8	6	66.7	13	72.2
Dag nyuol	Channel of birth	5	55.6	9	100.0	14	77.8
Bugo	A hole	4	44.4	2	22.2	6	33.3
Mwandu	Wealth	4	44.4	8	88.9	12	66.7
Aoramadier	The middle river	5	55.6	8	88.9	13	72.2

e							
Rangach	Gate	4	44.4	8	88.9	12	66.7
Ng'wen	A type of flying ant	4	44.4	3	33.3	7	38.8
Dek	A type of vegetable	6	66.7	5	55.6	11	61.1
Oganda	Bean	4	44.4	3	33.3	7	38.8
Agucha	My pot	2	22.2	7	77.7	9	50.0
Migingo	Name of an island	3	33.3	-	0.0	3	16.6
Karnyodo	A place for giving birth	4	44.4	8	88.9	12	66.7
Nyanja	My tomatoes	8	88.9	6	66.7	14	77.8
Okong'o	Clitoris	2	22.2	2	22.2	4	22.2
Buk	A book	6	66.7	6	66.7	12	66.7
Giri	Your thing	9	100.0	9	100.0	18	100.0
Okweya	Cooler	8	88.9	6	66.7	14	77.8
Morkich	Vagina	8	88.9	5	55.6	13	72.2

3.2.2 Euphemisms of the vagina

(a) 'The vagina is a pot'

Pots are very important containers in the Luo society and they have several uses. To begin with, there are those that are used to brew and store the traditional alcohol called *kong'o*. This brew is boiled in a huge earthen pot after which it is sieved and poured into several smaller pots to be served to different groups of people. Secondly, there are other pots that are used to store different types of medicine and other paraphernalia that are used by herbalists to cure various ailments.

Thirdly, another group of pots is used to store seeds that are to be sown during the planting season. Moreover, pots of various shapes and sizes are used to cook different types of meals for example, ugali, porridge, meat and different types of traditional vegetables such as spider flower (*dek*), scarlet runner (*boo*) and pumpkin leaves (*susa*) among others. Lastly, there are pots that women use to draw water from different water points such as streams, rivers or lakes.

There are similarities between a pot and vagina and that is why the vagina is euphemistically referred to as a pot. It was pointed out that both of them are hollow in shape and they are used for storing different things. For instance, the vagina is where urine is stored though scientifically this is not true.

Both of them act as coolers in the sense that pots that are used to store water make it cool and as a matter of fact, such pots do the same work as that of modern day refrigerators. As such, during hot days a person who quenches his/her thirst with water from such pots feels relieved. In the same vein, it was observed that the vagina acts as a tool that is used to remove sexual heat from the penis. When a man is aroused, the penis becomes erect and during this time his body temperature is high. When this erect penis enters a vagina during sexual intercourse, the body temperature goes down after completion of the act.

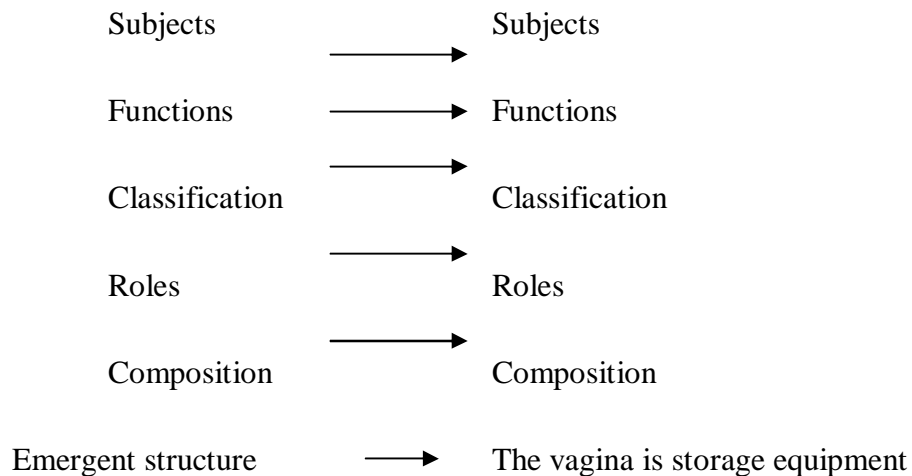
Both of them have openings where substances can be inserted and removed. For example, one can pour water through the mouth of the pot and draw it from the same place. Similarly, menstrual flow exits through the vaginal opening and sperms are deposited through the same avenue. The same exit is the passage way of the baby during birth.

Next is the analysis of this euphemism using the theory of Conceptual Integration in which the features of the euphemistic term in this case ‘a pot’ and those of the dysphemistic term ‘vagina’ are presented in the form of conceptual mappings using this theory’s four mental spaces. The first two spaces correspond to the source and target domains and in them the features of a pot as well as those of the vagina which are presented in the form of fixed counterpart mappings are found. It was noted that the elements in the source domain are mapped onto those in the target domain. In this case, a pot which is found in the source domain is mapped onto vagina which is found in the target domain.

Pots have several uses such as brewing alcohol, storing grains, drawing water and cooking food while vagina is a main component in sexual intercourse. While a pot, which is made of clay, is a container that is used to store a variety of things, a vagina, which is made of flesh and blood, is a sexual organ. The third mental space is the generic space which contains matched information from the source and target domains. The information in this space includes the subjects of both source and target domains, functions that they both play (a pot is used for storage, brewing alcohol and drawing water while the vagina is a component in sexual intercourse) as well as their classification (a pot is a container and a vagina is a sexual organ). The pot is made of clay as the vagina is made of flesh and blood.

The fourth mental space is the blended space that contains matched information projected from the generic space as well as the meaning of the euphemism which is the emergent structure. This euphemism means that the vagina is a container of storage just as the pot is. This is so because according to the respondents, the vagina is where the urine is stored. The fixed counterpart mappings of this euphemism are presented in the table that follows

<u>Input 1 (Source domain)</u>	→	<u>Input 2 (Target domain)</u>
Pot	→	Vagina
Used for brewing alcohol, storing grains, drawing water and cooking food	→	Sexual intercourse
Container	→	Sexual organ
Storage role	→	Pleasure-giving and procreation roles
Clay	→	Flesh and blood
<u>Generic space</u>		<u>Blended space</u>



Composition, completion and elaboration are the three component processes that give rise to the emergent structure and they are accounted for in this euphemism. The elements in the source and target domains have been projected. In completion the frames of containers as well as those of sexual organs have been introduced. The meaning of this euphemism has been illustrated with the concept of storage being brought out in elaboration.

The principles of integration, topology, unpacking and good reason have been satisfied by this euphemism. The elements from the source are mapped onto those of the target domain thereby combining and interacting in the process. In topology, the elements in the blended space have a relationship with those in the source and target domains.

The elements in the blended space can be reconstructed and transferred back to the source and target domains where they initially originated hence satisfying the principle of unpacking. For example, a common feature in the blended space is ‘classification’ which is a term that collectively refers to the elements ‘container’ and ‘sexual organ’ found in the source and target domains respectively. The principle of good reason has also been satisfied because all the elements in the four mental spaces are significant in the effective running of the blend. On the contrary, the principle of web has not been satisfied since all the elements have been projected to the blended space therefore going against the basics of this principle. Figure 4 shows the mapping of the euphemism ‘Vagina is a pot.’

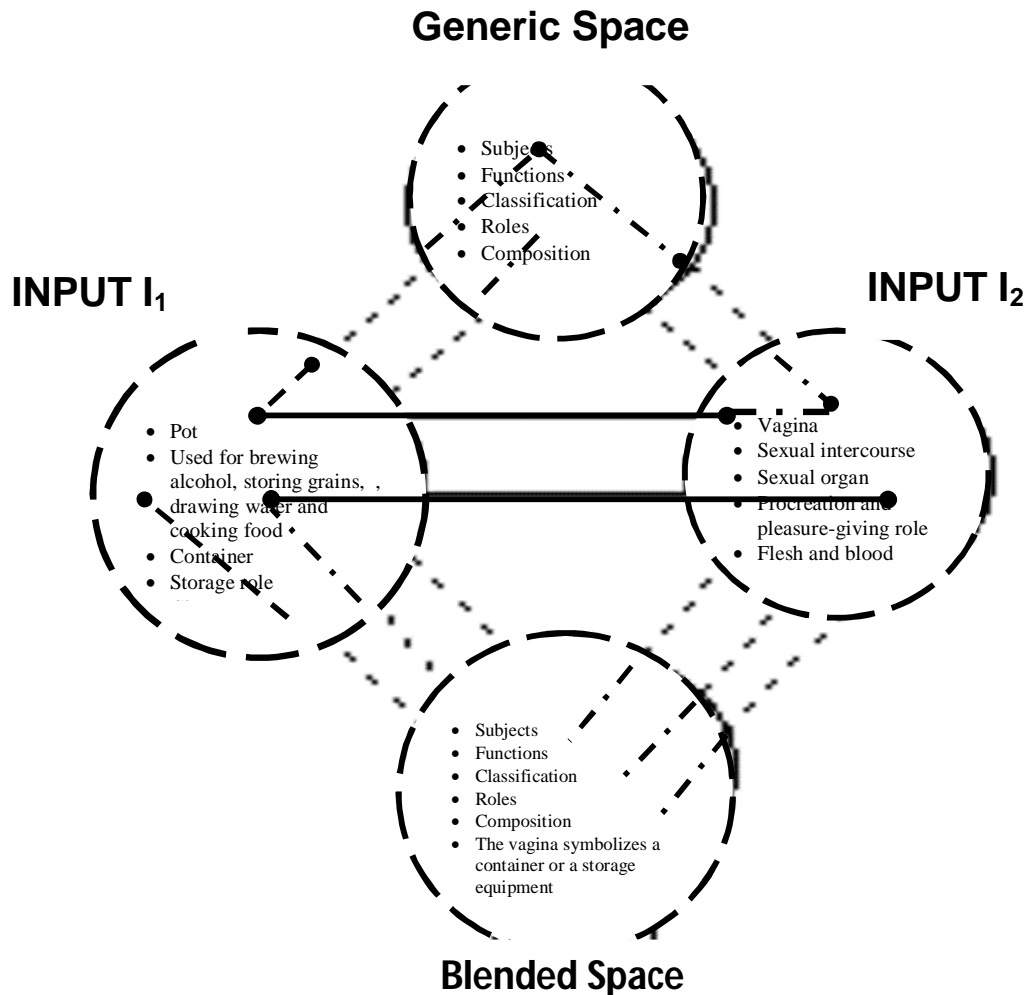


Figure 4: Mapping of the euphemism ‘Vagina is a pot’

4.0 Conclusion and recommendation

4.1 Conclusion

From the findings it can be concluded that the main motivating factor for the use of euphemisms is politeness. Euphemisms are used instead of dysphemisms in order to avoid offending others and to show decency and elegance. In addition euphemisms are invented to dignify certain terms and to downplay their potential offensiveness.

Analysis of metaphors can be valuable in enhancing our understanding and appreciation of many different areas including the language, culture and history of a particular people. Metaphors have the power not only to shape already existing euphemistic and dysphemistic references in their

use and interpretation but they also have the power to create a new reality. As a matter of fact, cognitive linguistics cannot be omitted from the study of sex-related metaphorical language. Therefore, Conceptual Integration Theory is of relevance in euphemistic and dysphemistic use and interpretation, since cognitive representation affects evasive and abusive referent manipulation in a significant way.

To sum up, sexual euphemisms deserve special attention since they are an important part of expressive mechanisms of most languages Dholuo included. They are therefore important since they spice up language and give people opportunities to talk about sexual dysphemism which is a very sensitive issue as was found out during data collection.

4.2 Recommendation

First, we recommend that an extensive study be carried out on Dholuo euphemisms in order to come up with a comprehensive data base from which a dictionary of Dholuo euphemisms which will act as a reference material can be drafted. Such material will also help enhance the communicative competence of Dholuo speakers since they will have a variety of words from which to choose.

Second, the findings are very significant not only to advertising agencies but also to medical practitioners and counselors. To the former, it helps them market their goods or products to people from all walks of life. To the latter (medical practitioners and counselors), the information from the findings help them tackle issues on sex education as well as address pertinent matters as concerns the way people view and talk about sex related infections such as HIV/AIDS in order to provide them with relevant information about such diseases.

Lastly, this study is helpful especially to those that are interested in learning Dholuo as a foreign language in the sense that conceptual metaphors are a very useful tool for learners of foreign languages because they could illuminate networks of associated figurative meanings, giving access to large numbers of frequently used vocabulary items.

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