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A contrastive analysis of english and kirundi nominal metaphors

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1990-06
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UNIVERSITY OF BURUNDI

FACULTY OF ARTS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES

DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE

A CONTRASTIVE ANALYSIS OF ENGLISH AND KIRUNDI NOMINAL METAPHORS

SUPERVISOR : Mrs Judith TUNGIRAYO

A thesis submitted by
Emmanuel NGENDAKUMANA in
partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree
" LICENCE EN LANGUE ET
LITTERATURE ANGLAISES "

Bujumbura, June, 1990

To my parents who whole-heartedly devoted their lives to bringing me up ;

To Juma JULES who rekindled my studying interest when it was withering away ;

I dedicate these pages .

Acknowledgement

This work has been accomplished with the joint contribution of many hands. So to recognize this help becomes more than a moral obligation. Had it not been for their readiness to help, this work would never have been completed.

We owe a debt of gratitude to Mrs Judith TUNGIRAYO who supervised this thesis. To Mr BLENET of Dar-es-Salaam University, we are grateful somewhat beyond the reach of words, for his advice in the reshaping of this work. To Jacques BACAMURWANKO whose sharp and constructive remarks we benefited from, we owe more than words can express.

Our particular thanks equally go to AMOS,N., PHILIP, K., DOMINIQUE, N., ALEXIS, N., ... for their contribution. It would be an unforgivable sin against ourselves if we failed to thank all our true friends for their mor al support in times of need.

To all whose knowledge we shared either through reading or discussion, we present our heartfelt thanks. We wish they might think of this paper as a shared treasure.

Emmanuel NGENDAKUMANA

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The seeing of like and unlike, of putting together and classifying apart, is more than a casual though daily occurrence. It is the mechanism through which reality is organized and the whole construct of language is built, in all its forms, rules and applications.
The world is a vast elaborated METAPHOR.

Dwight Bolinger, Language. The Loaded Weapon. Use and Abuse of Language Today. Longman Group Limited 1980, p. 141.

I. INTRODUCTION.

I. 1. Definition of the problem area.

This dissertation is concerned with a comparative study of metaphor in two languages that are linguistically and geographically unrelated : English and Kirundi. They belong to the branches of Indo-European language family and the Bantu language family, respectively.[1] The first has acquired international status : it is used at the U.N., in publications, worldwide trade, etc., whereas the second serves only as a means of communication for no more than five million people in Burundi.

Given the historico-geographical distance between English and Kirundi, one may be sceptical as to the workability and effectiveness of such a seemingly herculean task. The nature of the topic itself might generate a number of doubts.

Infact, metaphor, all-encompassing that it is, falls in the broader field of rhetoric, itself multilayered. The latter we all know, is no longer an obligatory part of the "cursus studiorum" in colleges. So, besides the scepticism aroused by the scope, the reader may wonder about the relevance of this subject. Furthermore, metaphor is not the only figure of speech, so why should it be accorded so much importance by students of rhetoric ?

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1. Fivaz D. & Scott P.E., African Languages. A Genetic and Decimalized Classification for Bibliographical and General Reference.

In what ways can English and Kirundi be compared as regards the use of metaphor ?

As we read in the Encyclopaedia Americana (1982 vol. 11. p 197), metaphor can manifest itself in various forms. It appears as an epithet, eponym, hyperbole, personification, parabole, pun, metonymy, synecdoche, oxymoron, and so forth.

Twenty years have passed since Ethel M. ALBERT claimed that "eloquence is highly valued in Burundi".[1] Around twenty four centuries have gone since Aristotle said that "the greatest thing by far is to have a command of metaphor," that "this alone cannot be imparted" since "it is a mark of genius ..." We are, however, surprised to realize that, though not necessarily matching these claims, the use of metaphor has not lost its freshness. It still is the "omnipresent principle of language : I.A. Richards(1936 : 90), which is backed by M.A.K. Halliday 1985 : 321 when he says that :

> There is a great deal of variation among different registers in the degree and kind of metaphor that is encountered ; but none will be found entirely without it.

Richards (ibid) corroborates this idea when he asserts that "we cannot get through three sentences of ordinary language without it."

In ordinary speech we often hear people say :

- It was a bright$_1$ morning when we left ;
- The bright$_2$ students learned their lesson quickly;

---

1. Ethel M.ALBERT in Dell Hymes 1972 : 72

- Nana MOUSCOURI sings in a sweet voice ;
- With the lights hardly piercing the heavy fog, the driver could not drive more than twenty kilometres per hour for fear of bumping into the crowd or hitting the road sides ;
- the foreigner's progress in learning Kirundi is nothing more than a mere crawl, etc.

The first bright can be understood on literal grounds while the second is comprehendable only in non-literal terms. In all the above examples, figurative language has been used. But how often, if ever, do we realize to what extent we are continually using it ? Though our daily discourse be a "graveyard of metaphor" (Wallace L. Anderson(ed) 1975 : 427, we rarely take cognizance of our powers in creating, using, and understanding metaphors. I.A. Richards op.cit : 116 had this comment to make :

> Our skill with metaphor, with thought, is one thing — prodigious and inexplicable ; our reflective awareness of that skill is quite another thing— very incomplete, distorted, fallacious, over-simplifying.

The creative ability — it need be pointed out— is the property of any adult language-user, literate and non-literate alike. It is part of everyone's linguistic competence in the sense of the actual use of language in a given communicative situation. To achieve his objectives, a speaker uses various speech styles in conformity with his pre-set goals, his relations with his audience and the requirements imposed by the context.

Our chief concern with spoken language finds, among other things, its justification in the pre-eminence

of the spoken word over its written rendition. Indeed speech comes before the written word since we learned to speak before we learned to read and to write.

Metaphorical language is primarily a matter of semantic extension. Subsequently we cannot overlook problems of meaning and pretend to successfully analyse metaphors. And since the meaning of an utterance is not always accounted for by componential analysis, it becomes imperative to devise a way by means of which to capture the value of a given expression or utterance. In Language, Meaning and Context(1981), John Lyons devises six theories of meaning. The latter range from the referential to the truth-conditional through the ideational(mentalistic), the behavioristic the verificationist, and the meaning — in — use theory. He himself recognizes that none of these theories is complete and sufficient in itself. In our analysis, we will chiefly opt for the ideational one. In fact, to speak of figures of speech entails making associations between entities. For the case of metaphors, we do this on the basis of some similitude real or perceptual. Halliday op.cit : 101 supports this view when he says : " A fundamental property of language is that it enables human beings to build a mental picture of reality ..." This matches with Lyons's definition of the ideational theory of meaning that "the meaning of an expression is the idea, or concept, associated with it in the mind of anyone who knows it." Therefore, more than the referential theory of meaning principally concerned with denotation, this theory seems to fit our prupose. For, the understanding of metaphorical expressions requires the hearer to form a mental representation, an image of the word he hears. He must perceive the associations that are being made.

In addition to the image theory, we will have also to rely on the context theory of meaning, the largest context being that of culture. This was sensed by R.A.Waldron 1979 : 40 when he observed :

> All meaning can be said ... to be related to the culture and activities of a particular community and can only be expressed by relating speech to particular contexts in which it takes place, in a particular cultural structure.

Meaning is herein envisaged solely on a socio-cultural dimension. If all meaning were inseparably linked to a given socio-cultural setting, it would be hard to look for similar socio-cultural interpretations of metaphoric expressions. This over-simplification put aside, Waldron's remarks remain valid as far as this topic is concerned.

Commenting on the concept of meaning, Malinowski and Firth, J.R. in Waldron(op.cit : 20) said :

> Meaning implies a language community, it is a social institution and can properly be described only in terms of the functions of a language into society.

In these statements as well as in the former(by Waldron) we notice a certain unidirectional approach of things. Waldron overemphasizes the inseparability of meaning and culture, while Firth et al concentrate all their efforts on the various functions of language in a given social setting. Both, however, give us some indications as regards the type of approach we want to adopt when dealing with metaphors.

In linguistic analysis, three main schools have dominated the twentieth century since as early as the twenties. The early twentieth century saw the rise of structurally-oriented analyses. Such studies were made by the Swiss linguist Ferdinand de Saussure, and linguists like Prince Nikolai Sergeyevich Troubetzkoy. On the American continent such studies were pioneered by E.Sapir and L.Bloomfield. By the last third of the twentieth century, structuralism was to coexist — before it totally left ground to it — with the transformational-generative approach whose outstanding proponent remains Noam CHOMSKY.

Since meaning in general and tropological meaning in particular cannot be accounted for by structural analysis exclusively, it follows that another approach is called for. Metaphors readily lend themselves to a functional approach. They fulfil two major functions as recognized by Paul Henle(ed) in Language , Thought and Culture(1958) and by Peter Isaac Seitel 1972 : 48. For the former, metaphors serve either the role of extending language to meet new situations or they are used poetically to give colour and nuance. For the latter, the two principal functions of metaphor are :

- to draw attention to itself ; that is, it functions as artful speech ;
- to draw attention by analogy to certain features of the subjects referred to.

In consideration of all this, this study will follow in the steps of linguists like André Martinet in A Functional View of Language, Oxford Clarendon Press, 1962, M.A.K. Halliday(1973, 1985) , Explorations in the Functions of Language and An Introduction to Functional Grammar,

Edward Arnold Publishers ; and Roman Jakobson(1956,1960,1963).

Figurative language can apply to all content words (full-form words in John Lyons's terminology) of language. P.Fontanier 1989 : 99 clearly expressed it when he said that "all types of words can be used metaphorically". Sheridan Baker 1969 : 91 was no less explicit about this when he said that "Almost all our words are metaphors usually with the physical picture faded." These foregrounded words can be verbs like in to pour blasphemies on somebody, to brainwash someone(for political or ideological reasons, etc). They can be nouns figuratively used as in :

- The fox promised to marry her ;
- The heart of the matter is... ; it can be a case of adjectival transference as in a heart swollen with pride, or a copy swollen with errors ; a keen mind(that "cuts" through difficult problems as would a sharp implement/blade through wood ; we can make a dazzling performance, have a sweet disposition, etc. Adverbs are also concerned with this foregrounding :
- People can respond coldly to other people's invitation, or acidly oppose other people's views.

From the above, it becomes self-evident that Embler W. 1966 : 37 was right to assert that : " a compendium of figurative language would include very nearly all words".

By this very fact, metaphorized expressions are of the nature to arouse linguists' interest. The following pages set to find out how far this field has been explored.

I. 2. Literature survey.

Very recently a number of international conferences have been held to exchange views on the field of rhetoric. We may note, particularly, the "Conference on metaphor and thought : University of Illinois," September 1977 ; "Symposium on metaphor : University of Chicago," February 1978 ; " the interdisciplinary conference on metaphor : University of California at Davis," April 1978 ; "Conference on philosophy and metaphor : University of Geneva," June 1978, etc. Besides these, the growing interest in figurative language Viz metaphor can be attested, though fragmentarily, by some chapters on and mention of metaphors in the following works : G.N.Leech & M.Short 1980 : chapter 10, Stephen Ullman 1957, 1977, respectively, Michael Shapiro 1979 : chapter 8. M.A.K.Halliday(1985) reserves twenty seven pages for what he calls" metaphorical modes of expression." In his PHD dissertation, Peter I.S. conducts a study of metaphor on the Haya society — Tanzania. Crocker et al 1977 sums up the 1970 annual symposium of the American Anthropological Association in a book he entitled The Social Use of Metaphor. We see then that during recent years, metaphor has been given serious consideration by English speakers and philosophers of language.

In Kirundi, besides some fragmentary pieces of information that can be found in "Polysemy in Kirundi" 1986 and "Euphemisms in Kirundi : death" 1988, the only available written source remains J.B. Ntahokaja's booklet : " Imvugo ngereranyo." Yet, a number of theses and dissertations have been written modelled on Western linguists : generativists and/or structuralists inter alia F. de Saussure, Gustave Guillaume, Noam Chomsky, and so on.

These include dissertations like P. Nkanira's : 1976, F. Sabimana's : 1984, to name but these.

After close scrutiny, we notice that all these concentrate on one aspect of language i.e. the structural. Yet it is a well-known fact that, besides its structure, a natural language has a semantic and most importantly, a pragmatic dimension. This being so, it becomes an over-simplification to study language as a machine by - product regardless of its social contexts.

I.3. Motivation.

The choise of this topic stemmed from a number of motives. In rundi linguistic research, metaphor has hitherto remained an untrodden road. This can be evidenced by a reading in the "Répertoire des theses et mémoires déposés à la bibliothèque centrale" : 1987. The field of rhetoric, in general , and that of metaphor in particular, has so to say, far been neglected by Rundi linguists, with the exception of Sefu Rehema in "Essai d'exploitation sémantique de quelques métaphores contenues dans les berceuses rundi : 1985." Though undoubtedly a language universal and a chief characteristic of daily speech, metaphor has been relegated to the backyards of linguistic pursuit in Burundi. In short, the choice of this topic has first of all been motivated by its novelty as far as Kirundi is concerned.

For many people, metaphor is nothing else but a verbal game in which the speaker needlessly makes the hearer take trouble in decoding the purposefully complicated message. It is often held to be "an ornament which at best,

breaks up the monotony of plain talk and, at worst, reduces all communication to little more than fancy babble : "Crocker et al (op.cit : 8-7). Max Black 1962 : 31 terms it the "substitutive view of metaphor." Such purely expressive embroidery does exist indeed and can be illustrated by such examples as we read in Hamlet I, 2 :

- Let your haste command your duty.
- The serpent that did sting thy father's life now wears his crown.

(Act 1, scene 5, lines 38 - 39).

These are instances of what Halliday op.cit : 322 would call "metaphors of transitivity" . It can be even more emphatically exemplified by the following passage from Cleath Brooks & Robert Penn Warren(eds) 1958 :

> ... they draw vivid word portraits of the unbearable pain of separation, the unfairness of destiny which too frequently plunges its dagger into the pulsating bodies of lovers even as they drain the cup of ecstasy. Poets weep and make us weep, at the fate of young lives cut short while senility stumbles meaninglessly along its blind highway ... 1

Simply put, this passage means that lovers usually die before their time, while at the peak of pleasure when they could live a little bit longer whereas there are very old people who survive.

In such cases as above , the speaker (or writer) "seeks rather pleasure and delight: Shapiro M. 1984 : 196-197.

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1. They := poets, novelists and philophers writing out their views about the menace of death, my own underlining e. N

It must still be pointed out that all metaphorical foregrounding is not always aimed at stylistic detours but has the ultimate aim of conveying a meaning which literal words would not so successfully impart. This possibility is elaborated upon in Chapter Three under the section concerned with the socio-cultural interpretation of sampled metaphors. At once, it deflects claims that : "meaning is an arrow that reaches its mark when least encumbered : Penn Warren et al (ibid). Besides, we can affirm with M. Le Guern 1973 : 13 that :

> Il est bien rare que l'esthétique du langage soit de l'art pour l'art ; elle garde en général une visée quelque peu utilitaire.
> Rarely will the aesthetics of language be something of an art for art's sake ; it generally has a utilitarian end.

By their nature, metaphors are worth investigating. In fact they are natural to every tongue. "They belong to the uncultured speech of the savage as truly as they do to the most cultured language of modern civilization."[1]

Metaphors fall in what J.Greenberg 1963 : 1 referred to as Universals of language that he defines as "features or properties shared by all languages, or by all language." These foregrounded words play an important and unique role in the enrichment of language. This is what Howard Bachelar 1983 : 339 in Grolier Academic Encyclopaedia, volume 13 had in mind when he observed :

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1. Encyclopaedia Americana (1946) vol. 23 p. 459.

> Metaphor is the simple most important device of literary language and the principal means by which ordinary usage increases its range of definition. Language itself is profoundly metaphorical because people find it easier to grasp concepts when they are expressed by concrete analogy. Many words that were once used metaphorically for this reason, such as the "leg" of a table, the "hood" of a car, or the "summit" of an achievement, have now ceased to be figurative and are accepted as literal descriptions.

It is a well-known fact that beyond the purely denotative meanings, words have some other non-literal significations. Very often these can only be accounted for by relating them to the social or cultural settings from which they originated. B.L. Whorf had already noted it when he asserted that "metaphor, a linguistic pattern, is characteristic of certain languages and not of others." As often as not, some metaphorical expressions give insights about the social setting in which they are used. It is this power of being a key to social realities that, in the last analysis, makes of metaphor a really fertile field of investigation both for comparative linguistics and social linguistics.

I.4. Aims of the research paper.

Metaphor — the figure of figures(Roy Harris 1981 : 6) has often been considered as "insincere and grandiloquent language . " Bitter criticism has often been levelled against it as the "ostentatious display of language, gaudy and tawdry use of language," and the like : Encyclopaedia Americana, volume 25 p. 381. Robert Penn Warren & Cleath Brooks op.cit: 44 observed :

> Both speech and thought are often fuzzy and vague, often poverty-stricken, often mere counters of approval or disapproval, often abstractions that have lost their power of expressiveness. But if there is meaning at all, it is in the metaphorical still. Metaphor is the fundamental process by which language grows and adapts itself to the changing world.

Likewise, Lucas F.L. claimed in Style 1964 : 192 that "a style without simile and metaphor is to me like a day without sun, or a woodland without birds."

By way of a comparative study, we will work at checking the truth or else falsity of Whorf's statement (supra) — to what extent it sustains or else contradicts our discovery in comparing and contrasting sampled metaphors. Altogether, we will try to see how revealing the expressive devices viz metaphoric transfers can be as regards some socio-cultural facts permeating the society in which they are used.

I. 5. Delimitation of the scope.

The topic of metaphor as undertaken in this analysis covers too large-scale a field to be crammed into a single study. A distinctive characteristic of poetic language, metaphor also finds its place in prose style and, often beyond our awareness, typifies all adult language. No surprise then if Lucas F.L. (op.cit : 193) remarks that :

> Every expression that we employ, apart from those that are connected with the most rudimentary objects and actions, is a metaphor, though the original meaning is dulled by constant use.

We can characterise our feelings as bitter ; a ray of sunshine cuts the gloom as would a knife ; a man weasels

out of his promise as a ferretlike animal wriggles through a small hole ; a man can be low born or low bred ; we speak of the jaws of a vice ; a key to a puzzle ; one's living conditions, heat, etc can be beyond bearance ... Every aspect of language is, so to say , metaphorically mapped. Stephen C. Levinson (1983 : 147) notes that metaphor is not only central to poetry but also to a large proportion of ordinary usage.

After an analysis of what he calls traditional theories of metaphor ; that is , comparison and interaction, he then comes up with a tripartite classification of metaphors.

The first type he terms nominal metaphors of the kind

x is y

.

Example : Iago is an eel i.e. Iago's ability to get out of difficult situations is like the eel's ability to wriggle off hooks.

The second type of metaphors he identifies is the group he refers to as predicate metaphors represented as G(x) or G(x,y).

Examples : 1. Mrs Gandhi steamed ahead i.e. Mrs Gandhi's progress in the election is like a ship steaming ahead.

2. The interviewer hammered the senator(undoubtedly with questions, probably embarrassing ones) i.e. the interviewer hammered the senator with questions as someone would hammer a nail.

The third type of these "exploitations or floutings of Grice's maxim of quality — give the information as clearly as possible avoiding ambiguities of any types — is formed by what Levinson (ibid) terms sentential metaphors.

Examples : A. What mood did you find the boss in ? ;

B. The lion roared i.e. The lion's roaring is like the boss displaying anger.

To bring the topic-which is large indeed-to a sizeable scope it becomes compulsory to select among the different types above sketched, our focal category for analysis. After due consideration, the nominal metaphors have been given priority. The reasons underlying this choice are many.

First and foremost, a great deal of our data are of the noun type. This predominance of metaphors of the nominal type results in the fact that, when people look at their fellows' appearance or behaviour, they usually compare them with animals or objects whose names they attach to the referents in question.

Second, whereas predicate and sentential metaphors are infinite in number, nominal metaphors are finite, though certainly numerous.

Third, they lack the property otherwise displayed by nominal metaphors ; that is, that of being keys to social facts.

I. 6. Thesis organization.

This comparative study is devided into four parts. The introductory chapter sets out to define the problem area of the essay. Next it explores some discussions of metaphor in the two languages concerned with the analysis and aims at putting this study in an appropriate framework.

The second section that we entitled "preliminary considerations" analyses the following points. It first tries to define the concept of metaphor. In its next step, the essay purports to analyse metaphor in relation to its related tropes. Then we set out to analyse a language phenomenon i.e. the demetaphorization process which is at the basis of the enrichment of any human language.

The third part — the core of our analysis — concerns the comparative study itself. It compares and contrasts English and Kirundi sampled metaphors. Three major points constitute the grounds of comparison : the causes and/or origins of metaphorization, the typological point of view, and the lexico-cultural interpretation.

The fourth and last section concludes the essay. It surveys the work, summarizing what has been covered and mentioning what still needs to be done. Certain problems which we had to overcome when developing our analysis have been mentioned.

II. METAPHOR IN ENGLISH AND KIRUNDI: PRELIMINARY CONSIDERATIONS.

II. 1. Definitions.

II. 1. 1. In his Poetics(chapter 21) Aristotle defined metaphor as :

> The application of an alien name by transference either from genus to species, or from species to genus, or from species to species, or by analogy.[1]

As we can see, the first two types are what neo-rhetoricians later called synecdoche as defined by Crocker et al (1977 : 4). As for the last two, they combine in one on the basis of which later definitions developed. For Aristotle's genus for genus metaphor can hardly be differentiated from his "analogy" that yields what Seitel I.P. (1972) calls the analogic statement. In the example John (a football player) is a lion, the internal (or genus for genus) metaphor : J.D. Sapir in Crocker et al (1977 : 5) is represented as x = y. Some of the constituents of the nexus or ground of comparison between John and the lion are : courage, strength, aggressiveness — in the sense that John the player breaks through the defensive line of(his) adversaries. This can be reduced to what Aristotle calls external metaphor or analogy of the type

a is to b as x is y ie a : b : : x : y	ie

one thing is in the same relationship to another as a third is to the fourth.

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1. Birch D. and O'Toole M.(eds) 1988 : Functions of Style. Pinter Publishers, London and New York.

In our example above, John is to courage as a lion is to courage : two different elements from two different species ie the human species and the animal one , respectively meet on one and the same characteristic : courage.

Examples :

1. loud colours ⟶ loud sound :
   soft sound : :
   Certain colours : other colours
2. Sweet disposition ⟶ sweet-tasting things : sour-tasting things : : certain dispositions : other dispositions.
3. heaven's candle (sun) ⟶ heaven : sun : : room (candle)
4. dazzling performances ⟶ dazzling objects : dull objects : : certain performances : other performances.

In the example John is the lion above, we can have John is to strength what the lion is to strength. In the end we remain with one type of relationship (genus for genus) summed up by $\boxed{x \text{ is } y \text{ or } x = y}$

II. 1. 2. In Le Style et ses techniques, Cressot(1947 : 72) defined metaphor as :

> Un chargement sémantique par lequel un signifiant abandonne le signifié auquel il est habituellement lié pour un autre en vertu d'une comparaison non formulée entre ces deux signifiés ; comparaison qui retient des ressemblances arbitrairement privilégiées.

> A semantic change by which the signifier leaves (out) its signified to which it is habitually linked for another in virtue of an non-formulated comparison between these signified ; a comparison that retains resemblances arbitrarily privileged.

II. 1. 3. The Britannica World Language Dictionary (1959) defines metaphor as "a figure of speech in which an object is likened to another by speaking of it as if it were that other."

II. 1. 4. On his part Partridge E. (1982 : 180) defines it after the Shorter Oxford English Dictionary as "a figure of speech in which a name or a descriptive term is transferred to some object different from, but analogous to, that to which it is properly applicable."

II. 1. 5. With minor and hardly perceptible rewording, the Webster's Third International Dictionary of the English Language suggests a similar definition. It says :

> Metaphor (Greek : metapherein ie to transfer) is a figure of speech in which a word or phrase denoting one kind of object or action is used in place of another to suggest a likeness or analogy between them.

II. 1. 6. Cuddon J.A. (1979 : 391) approached the concept of metaphor in the following words : Metaphor (Greek : carrying from one place to another) : a figure of speech in which a thing is described in terms of another. This definitional approach matches with M. Gray's (1984 : 124) view that : "in a metaphor, one thing is described as being another thing."

Some observations can be made from the above definitions. First, the continuous and discontinuous terms, respectively I.A. Richards's tenor and vehicle must be both alike and non-alike. Second, the comparison is but implicitly stated. Except Aristotle, all the other writers explicitly recognize that metaphor is concerned with non-literal words and phrases. In Aristotle's definition, this is only inferable from the phrase "application of an alien name by transference."
Third, figure of speech is, except in Cressot's definition, used interchangeably with trope. The former is generally concerned with formal changes whereas the latter is the one which is held to be truly concerned with changes in meaning. Philip Bablock (1976 : 2452) defined it as follows :

> Trope(Latin : tropus, Greek : tropos) ie turn, way, manner , style ; akin to Greek (trepein : to turn) ; use of a word or expression in a different sense from that which properly belongs to it for giving life or enphasis to an idea ; an instance of such use.[1]

Yet it must be remarked that this distinction between figure and trope need not be unduly stressed upon if for no other reason than because any rhetorical device involves both, and its full analysis must account for each type of change. Throughtout this work we will be using trope and figure as substitutable terms bearing in mind that our primary concern rests on the change of meaning.

Furthermore, it follows from the different definitions that metaphor is occasionally viewed as a mere substitution of one term by another.

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1. My own underlining e.N

Still, it is not shown on which basis such a replacement is founded. Most important of all, none of the above lexical approaches makes explicit mention of any such thing as semantic extension ; an otherwise hallmark of metaphorical transfers. However such an aspect needs to be given serious consideration as far as this topic is concerned. To account for the multi-layered aspect of metaphorical usage, we need to forge a definition of our own. Such a definition is devised to fill the lacunae noticed in the above-mentioned ones. Without any pretention to perfection, we suggest to approach metaphor as :

> An extension of a name or attribute on the basis of some similarity real or mentally perceived, from that to which it usually belongs, to some other object ; a device of representation by which a new meaning is learned.

When we make a literal predication (James W.Fernandez in Crocker et al op.cit : 102) about some object, we do not really learn anything new about it. "We simply identify it by applying a name to it according to its characteristics" — he goes on to say. Conversely, when we assign a metaphoric predicate to a subject, we do this according to a set of features which do not usually characterize it. Animal properties are ascribed to humans and vice versa. Paradoxically it is in virtue of the apparently wrong attribution of metaphors that something about the referent is brought to our attention. As a case in point, we learn from "we are macaws"[1] something about the male-female respective status

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1. Crocker J.C. & Sapir J.D. (eds) 1977 : The Social Use of Metaphor University of Pennsylvania Press :passim

in the Bororo tribe — the macaw is a woman's pet, kept in her hut and fed by her, associated with spirits ; likewise, men live in a woman's world. Among other things we know that the bororo cosmology is a female-dominated one : patterned on the matrilineal system. The semantic transfer involved in the example sheds light on the men's feelings about this state of affairs. They accupy a secondary position and are frustrated, feel that they are diminished. In no way are they pleased with the matrilineal descent and, in the least, by the uxorilocal marriage ; all of which contribute to their disarray.

Before we embark on analysing the origins and / or causes behind the use of metaphor let us attempt to account for the metaphoric transference in Kirundi.

The few lights shed by the phrase imvugo mberanya leave us almost helpless as to what figure is precisely rendered by such a phrase. Kuberanya is literally "to make two things look alike or match in features." Not many things are learned. We can ask ourselves why, or on what bases something is likened to another. In parallel with imvugo mberanya which would roughly be matched with explicit and implicit comparisons Ntahokaja J.B. in an unpublished booklet proposes what he termed " imvugo y'ucuca amarenga" or "imvugo y'ukugonderako." Such a phrase is all- encompassing and includes such associations as mentioned below :

a) Artificer-artifice.

Examples : 1. Urutoke rwa Petero(literally Peter's finger) and(metaphorically) the objects of art made by Peter

2. Kurya abana (literally to eat the/one's children, figuratively to ruin one's children, behave in an unfavourable way, close one's eyes and ears to their needs) as in : Dawe yandiye yanse kungurira amakaye ngo njane n'abandi mw'ishure (Father has acted rather wickedly to me for having refused to buy me notebooks so I can join my school mates). Kurya abana can also mean to feed on what they produce.

3. Kurya igihugu(literally to eat a/the country).

This is an instance of a double carrying-across. First igihugu(country) is substituted for its inhabitants. Second the verb kurya (to eat) bears a transferred meaning. It means to embezzle the wealth of one's country (or any other country — case of colonizers) therefore ruining its population.

b/ An action and its consequence.

Example : Kunywesha amazi (to make /someone/ drink water).

The first transferred meaning carried on by this expression is that of making somebody sweat as a result of hard work (so as to achieve his/her purpose) as in : "Urazi ! ico kibazo nagitoye kibanje kunywesha amazi : you know what ! I passed that exam after very great efforts."

The second figurative meaning that comes out of the phrase kunywesha amazi is that of depriving somebody of anything that would otherwise help him in case of need. That is, to rob him of his cows ; take his property, money; brief any survival means ; leaving him in a state of total deprivation, of abject misery thus compelling him to resort to water as the only thing he can afford to quench his thirst and starve offhis hunger.

c/ A person and his attire or armour.

A person can be substituted for his/her cloth or his weapons. A girl or a woman is figuratively referred to as inkânda (a piece of clothing) . Old women bakecuru/Batamakazi are called ibimito (a kind of spear especially carried by old women or a sorcerer). A young man usually the elder son of the family is figuratively referred to as umuheto(the bow). kuvuna umuheto or kuvunirwako umuheto : to break the bow or to have one's bow broken on oneself, respectively then mean to lose one's elder son (who would take over his father when the latter is no more). We call imvi (white hair) old people of either sex, and imvānda , babies.

d/ A person and his profession.

Umucanyi(she who makes the fire) means a young lady or a woman. This finds its origin in the division of labour which characterised the Burundi society some years ago and according to which housework was relegated to women.[1] A man is igikingi c'irêmbo (one of the two pillars that make the entrance of a homestead).

e/ Association of the visible with the non-visible.

Example : kwambara ibara (to wear a cclour).

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1. From an inquiry of the ministry of Home Matters(1985)

The first meaning of the phrase is to wear a certain coloured piece of clothing as in Mariya yambaye ibara ryera ie Mary has put on (or is clothed in) white clothes. By its transitive nature such a verb presupposes an obligatory direct object (a piece/article of clothing, armour of some type, bracelets, earrings, eye glasses ...) Figuratively kwambara ibara or kwambika + (noun) ibara implies a state of affairs in which a person's fame, personality is stained. His/her honour or reputation is utterly tarnished that he/she sees him(her) self as wearing a cloth of dishonour. He/she pictures shame wrapping his(her) person so much in the same way as a piece of clothing would his/her body.

f/ Association between an individual and what he possesses.

Example : Nankabandi yarahiye mw'ijoro ryakeye hara-bura uwuza kumuzimya :

Yesterday night, Mr. Nankabandi was burnt and nobody came to extinguish him.

In reality the true referent is not Nankabandi but his house. Thus the sentence becomes : Nankabandi's house went on fire and none of his neighbours came to help him put it out. In other words, Nankabandi is not the psychological subject in M.A.K. Halliday's terminology[1] ; that is, the concern of the message.

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1. M.A.K. Halliday 1985 : An Introduction to Functional Grammar. Edward Arnold Publishers Ltd.

U.B

g) Such associations as grouped under the general label of "imvugo y'ukugonderako" includes what English rhetoricians would agree to call synecdoche i.e. part-whole relationships.

Examples : 1. Gushinga umuganda

literally to make a faggot stand.

With the first meaning of doing the preliminary work for a building, the expression takes on the extended meaning of settling definitively.

2. Ku-kora amaraso(to touch blood) i.e. to kill someone even when there is no overt blood shed as when one is strangled.

3. Kukika umusaya(to lay the temple slantwise) i.e. to lie down and fall asleep.

4. Kwikora mu nda(to touch oneself in the womb/belly i.e. to kill one's off-springs — which is beyond belief in normal circum-stances.

At this stage some partial conclusions can be made. The cases surveyed above are undistinct instances of metony-my and synecdoche. This being so, it remains that no speci-fication is given as regards what should be considered as metonymic or else taken as synecdochic.

All the cases above mentioned would fall in the metonymic slot if we defined metonymy after Winter and Smith (eds) 1961 : 321 whose definition is :

> Metonymy is a figure of speech based on association of ideas consisting in mentioning one of the two things or ideas that are so closely associated that one immediately suggests the other.

But were we to look for a more acute definition as is offered by Crocker et al op.cit : 4 there is a way of delineating between things. Thus the (g) type of association will have to be considered as an instance of species to genus or genus to species type of relationship i.e. part-whole, or whole-part : synecdoche. Similarly, the subcategories a, c, d, e, and f can be considered as metonymic transfers. But to label the "b" subtype as either synecdochic or else metonymic is still problematic.

Whereas Kenneth Burke's "three master tropes : metaphor, metonymy, and synecdoche" are at least vaguely differentiated in English — though some efforts still need to be made in this perspective — the concept of metaphor (mberanya in Kirundi) still needs clearing up. With this in mind, we purport in the following lines to analyse the metaphoric sort-crossing with regards to its related speech styles.

II. 2. Metaphor and its congeners.

II. 2. 1. Metaphor and simile.

The summarized and the expanded metaphors share a number of points as well as they diverge from one another in some ways.

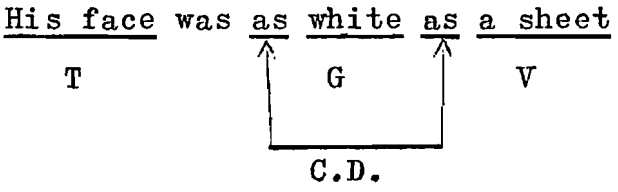
As Mc.Crimmon 1963 : 152-53 has put it, both metaphor and simile compare things. The former stresses their sameness whereas the latter(simile) points to their similarities and introduces comparing devices. Worthy of note is the fact that Mc.Crimmon's concept of "sameness" has to be nuanced. For as we all know rarely in languages do we have cases of true synonymy hinted at by such a notion. The two parts of the comparison cannot and need not be totally identical. Jeese 1974 : 213-214 has this to say :

> The literal and the figurative concept(s) [sic] must have some features in common ... but they had better be neither too numerous or salient or too obscure and dependent upon a kind of erudition.

H.W.Fowler's view is akin to Mc Crimmon's."Simile," he says, "is a comparision proclaimed as such." Metaphor is a tacit comparison made by the substitution of the compared notion for the one to be illustrated. The extendness of similes on the other hand emanates from the insertion of comparing devices : is like, as ... as ; ni nk' for kirundi.

Example : Ubuzima ni nk'amazi ...
Life is like water that ...
It is like the flowers of the trees which ...

In similes-says Leech G. 1969 in Style in Fiction. A Linguistic Guide to English Poetry - tenor and vehicle , and the ground are explicitly mentioned as in :



T = tenor

V = vehicle

G = ground of comparison (nexus) , CD = comparing devices.

In metaphors, G(ground of comparison) is only understood. It follows that metaphor presupposes a simile and every simile is compressible or convertible into a (definitional ie "is type") metaphor. Shakespeare W.(1605-1606) said in Macbeth (V, v) :

> Life's but a walking shadow
> A poor player that struts and frets his hour
> upon the stage
> And then is heard no more ...
> It is a tale, told by an idiot, full of sound...

Mc.Crimmon further demonstrates the effectiveness of metaphors and similes. According to him, these devices "have the power of suggesting ideas too difficult to communicate in literal terms." He proceeds to assert that they vividly picture in a few words what would be less effectively described in many. He closes his observation saying that one may write a long essay on life's insignificance "without driving the point home as thoroughly as Shakespeare did in his triple metaphor — a) life's a walking shadow, b) a poor player ... , c) it is a tale ... "Through this metaphoric microscope," he says elsewhere, "Macbeth sees life as absurd, unsubstantial." He sees it as a shadow, unreal, not worth living. He compares it

to a poor player, holds it to be as meaningless as a madman's babbling.

Indeed a metaphor characteristically adds a new meaning to the simple denotative or referential term. It unquestionably comes up with a richer meaning than that of either tenor or vehicle taken in isolation. Lucas F.L. op.cit : 203 emphasizes the quatities of metaphor when he observes : " Metaphor above all, can give strength, clarity, and speed ; it can add wit, humour, individuality, poetry."

In spite of all this, we need to note what follows. Success in understanding a metaphor rests on the hearer's knowledge of the theme of the utterance. It calls for his cognitive powers to perceive the implied analogies made by the speaker. In most cases the assumed common knowledge between the sp er and the hearer lies very much in their common universe of discourse and the socio-cultural background. As a matter of fact, it would be hard for someone who lives in a desert(and has never seen or heard of a cow) to understand a metaphor constructed thereupon. To a true Burundian cowbreeder, it would be no easy a task to understand the negative associations that are sometimes attached to cows in western cultures.

A simile on the other hand is, by its explicitness, easy to understand, given the presence of the ground of comparison. The case is not so with metaphor where the hearer must strive to make out the implied image hidden in a metaphoric statement. The simile — metaphor relationship can, in fine, be summed up on E.P. Cope's model.

He comments :

> The difference between a simile and a metaphor is besides the greater detail of the former, the simile being a metaphor writ large — that it always distinctively expresses the two terms that are being compared, bringing them into apparent contrast ; the metaphor, on the other hand, substituting by transfer the one notion for the other of the two compared, identifies them as if it were in one image, and expresses them in a single word, leaving the comparison between them illustrated and the analogous notion which throws a new light upon it to suggest itself from the manifest correspondance (sic) of the hearer.[1]

In sofar as definitional or nominal metaphors are concerned, simile and metaphor do not fundamentally differ. In the light of the comparison theory of metaphor propounded by Stephen C. Levinson (op.cit : 151), metaphors and similes share the same underlying structure.

Example : A. Universities are compost heaps.

B. Universities are like compost heaps.

A = Metaphor(implicit simile)

B = a simile(explicit metaphor).

In addition, it can be asserted that, whatever their underlying structure, A(metaphor) and B(simile) converge on their semantic interpretation. In any case, by relating the two terms of a metaphor (A and B), the claim can be made

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1. E.M.Cope : The Rhetoric of Aristotle, Commentary, Vol.III, 10, 11 (137-138) '.

that the problem of understanding metaphor is not really distinct from that of understanding some specific kinds of literal uses of language, namely those in similes. Let's close this discussion about simile-metaphor relationship by Levinson's cautionary remark (op.cit : 154) that "not every metaphor can be simply derived from a simile by the deletion of the predicate of similarity : is like, is similar to, etc."

Example : A. The government is going the wrong way down a one-way street.
B. The government is pursuing policies like a car going the wrong way down a one-way street.

So to have A and B identical with one another, we have to insert, besides the simple comparing devices, new words which are more enlightenig (here : pursuing policies).

II. 2. 2. Metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche.

Traditional and neo-rhetoricians such as G. Genette have reduced the extended list of tropes to the triad : metaphor, metonymy and synecdoche.
Crocker et al (1977 : 4) defines them respectively as follows:

- Metaphor states an equivalence between terms taken from separate semantic domains ;
- Metonymy replaces or juxtaposes contiguous terms that occupy a distinct and separate place within what is considered a single semantic or perceptual domain. The first term may be agent(artificer) and the second the act(or artifice)

as in :

- Have you read Shakespear ? ie his works.
- When I want a hot number I always look for Lucky Dube or Pepe kalle(their music).

It can be a case of container - contained relationship

Examples : 1- How much drink did you take at the party ?
- I swallowed five good bottles of primus and a glass of Campari.
2- Abo kwa Ciza wabonye bagiye kwubakirisha inzoga zingahe ?
- Bajanye imibindi umunani n'inkangara zitandatu :
- How many pots of beer did the Ciza's take to their newly wed daughter?
- Eight pots & six baskets.

The metonymic transference concerns also such cases as town - dweller substitution as in :

1. Our road is very friendly
2. All Bujumbura was at F.F.B. stadium to attend the ceremonies of Arch. bishop S. Ntamwana's consecration
3. Washington(or the White House) decided to do its best to see president E.A.Noriega overthrown.

- Synecdoche (like metonymy) draws its terms from a single domain, however one term always includes or is included in the other as kind for type, part for whole such as working population substituted for Hands. These are frequent in proverbs like in :

1. Two heads are better than one.
2. Many hands make light work.

As we can see, metonymy and synecdoche contrast with metaphor. The set constituted by the first two and that formed by metaphor are in a one-versus-two domains-relationship. Both synecdoche and metonymy operate on the referential shift whereas metaphor operates on the semantic one. Metonymy and synecdoche obey the law of contiguity. In other words, "metonymy rests on relationships of contiguity in the same domain of experience" : James W.F., in Crocker et al (op.cit : 117). Metaphor on the other hand is based on the law of association on the basis of similarity. It mainly "rests on perceived or felt similarities in the structure or textural quality of experience which are not necessarily contiguous" (ibid).

Many rhetoricians have in fact reduced what G.Genette (1970)[1] calls the three "chiens de faïence" of our modern rhetoric to a dyad : metaphor-metonymy. This binary tradition in rhetoric was initiated by logologists like Dumarsais as early as the eighteenth century (1730) , followed by Christopher Nyrop (1913) , G.Genette himself(1966 : 22-26), Michel le Guern (1973), to name but a few . R.Wellek(1956) as well as Crocker et al (1977 : 117) oppose what they call figures of contiguity — including metonymy and synecdoche to the figures of similarity (metaphor). In this line

1. G.Genette(1970) : La rhétorique restreinte ; Communications, 16,Paris,édition du Seuil p. 161.

of thought, Dumarsais defined synecdoche as a type of metonymy and went as further as to identifying the two with one another . His definition of synecdoche reads as follows :

> La synecdoche est donc une métonymie par laquelle on donne une signification particulière à un mot qui, dans le sens propre, a une signification plus générale ; ou au contraire, on donne une signification plus générale d'un mot qui, dans le sens propre n'a qu'une signification particulière.
>
> Synecdoche is thus a type of metonymy by which a specific meaning is given to a word which, in the proper sense, has a general meaning, or vice versa.

The greatest supporter by far of the metaphor-metonymy polarity remains unmistakenly Roman Jakobson (1956, 1960 respectively in : "Two Aspects of Language and Two Types of Aphatic Disturbances" in R. Jakobson and M.Halle : Fundamentals of Language. The Hague : Mouton ;"Concluding Statement : linguistics and poetics" in Style in Language by Thomas Sebeok, ed. Cambridge : The MIT Press. pp 350-377. His stand is based upon his de facto reduction of synecdoche to metonymy.

On his part Le Guern notes this distinction not without necessary restrictions. His view is founded on a thorough study he makes of synecdoche. The latter "does not constitute a monolithic body". A twofold figure — genus for species or kind for type, or vice versa and whole for part or part-whole — it is only the part-whole aspect of it that is germane to metonymy.

In contrast with the part -whole or whole-part type of synecdoche, the species-genus (kind-type) or genus-species (type-kind) relationships resists the synecdoche —to— metonymy reduction. Ricoeur, p. 1975 : 231 strongly objected to what he called the "drastic reduction to a bipolar tropological scheme" by R. Jakobson. He nevertheless agreed with Le Guern on how metonymy and synecdoche can be defined and interpreted as what he calls "accident de dénomination". Thus we speak of the White House when we want to mean the personnel who work in that building, especially the USA president ; we say "Homer" having in mind his works Iliad, Odyssey, and so on.

In his Rhétorique Générale 1970 : 108-109, Dubois, J. demonstrates that metaphor evolves via synecdoches. These two stands are backed up by the Encyclopaedia International (1967 : 109) or the Encyclopaedia Britannica (1961). In these reference books, synecdoche from Greek(synekdochè, Latin synekdeches thai i.e. to receive jointly) is taken as a variety of metaphor. Similarly, metonymy(from onoma or onyma : name and meta : change) is also an instance of metaphor. It follows that the transference of features from one term to the other includes not only synecdochic, but also metonymic relationships. This being so, Winter, E.H. and Smith R.(1961) would join Crocker et al(op.cit : 126) to assert that :

> The utterance of metaphor (...) is attended by a set of associations which belong to it by reasons of contiguities in previous experience. The assertion of metaphor thus provokes a metonymous chain of elements or experiences associated with it as part to whole, cause to effect, or other contiguity in time and space.

Whatever the speculation, it remains true that, metonymies (and implicitly synecdoches) are exclusively concerned with a change of referents and can fit in what R.Jakobson (1956) calls syntagmatic types of association
By this is meant those types of association which occur by reasons of grammatical contiguity. Metaphors, on the other hand, fit in R.Jakobson's paradigmatic types of association; that is, relationships based on some similarity real or mentally pictured. As such, metonymies cover a limited field in comparison with metaphors which apply to contentives and non-contentive parts of speech. By merely substituting a name or an attribute by another, metonymies do not impart or convey new and richer messages as metaphors do. On the whole, it would be no exaggeration to make an including-included kind of relationship between metaphor and metonymy; thus the status of metaphor as the "reine des figures."
And given its pre-eminence in figurative language, metaphor also needs to be approached in its contributive aspect in lexical extension.

II. 3. The demetaphorization process in human languages.

The linguistic phenomenon of demetaphorization or lexicalization is to be interpreted on chronological bases. After a long time has passed, many words/expressions get overused. They progressively lose their metaphorical origin or veiling property and become integrated in daily usage. There is fusion of tenor and vehicle in one and the same component. The metaphoric aspect leaves ground to its literal counterpart for the expression in question is no longer perceived as figurative. This process is known as demetaphorization. It plays an important role in the building up of vocabulary. M.A.K. Halliday (1985 : 327) had noticed it when he remarked :

> Much of the history of everyday language is a history of demetaphorization ; of expressions which began as metaphors gradually losing their metaphorical character.

This phenomenon has been equally noted by Henri Bonnard when he wrote in his Stylistique, rhétorique, poétique. Procédés annexes d'expression (p. 73) that :

> A force d'être répétées, les métaphores s'usent : le sens métaphorique devient banal, il entre au code lexical.
>
> Through repetition, metaphors end up by being overused : the metaphorical meaning becomes worthless and enters into the lexical code.

The word zest, is, as a matter of fact, metaphorical in origin. From its literal meaning of orange or lemon peel, it came to be used for flavour, relish and thence for feeling of relish.

We often hear people say things like the source of the problem is ... , there is no barrier to our mutual understanding, etc. But very rarely if ever will we seek to know the literalness or non-literalness of such utterances. For we are not even aware of the fact that we have cases of figurative usage. Yet it is true that both are instances of the third category of metaphor to be analysed in the coming pages — the concretizing metaphors (Leech G, 1969, chapter 8).

At the last stage of their on-going degradation, they are commonly referred to as faded or worn out metaphors (R. Wellek : 1956) , fossil metaphors (Max Black(1962 : 29) and R.A. Waldron (1979 : 79), petrified metaphors (Owen Barfield)[1].

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1. Owen Barfield in Encyclopaedia Britannica 1961 :232

Some expressions lose their figurative tone to such an extent that no single speaker is aware of their non-literal origin. Very few champagne-consumers, if any at all, are aware of the metonymic origin of their cherished drink. Originally the word stood for the region in France where that type of drink is produced. Many words can be used in such a widespread manner that their origin is commonly forgotten. I am not sure if many people can still make out the correlation between macadam and macintosh with John L. Mc Adam and Charles Mc Intosh as the inventors of macadam and coats, respectively.

The word spinster originally meant a person who spins (man and woman undistinctively). Because m· y such people were unmarried (women for the most cases), it came to denote that state. In the course of time when it began to be widely used in contexts that emphasized this connotation, the latter came to be so closely linked with the word that "unmmarried woman" became the standard designation.

The demetaphorization process involves extending the application of a word to include a new referent which resembles the original one. It is a source of a great number of anthropomorphic metaphors such as foot of a hill, eyes of a needle, neck of a bottle , arms of a chair, head of a cabbage, etc.

Dan Sperber (1986 : 231) attributes to dead metaphors an idiomatic status. "In the course of time", he says, " some metaphorical expressions end up acquiring an idiomatic status."

Examples :

1. traffic artery (artery being one of the tubes carrying blood from heart to all parts of the body).

Figuratively ; chief channel in a system of communication.
2. Flowerbed : plot of land in which flowers are grown.
3. eyes of night : stars, moon ...

To speak of dead metaphors implies the existence of living (live) or dying metaphors altogether. In fact, if we were to represent the lexicalization process on a continuum, we would come up with a trilogy : living-moribund and petrified metaphors. It is Waldron (ibid) who, first, noticed the existence of sleeping metaphors or moribund in Leech's terminology between dead and true or living metaphors. These occur when a metaphorical use survives alongside a literal use.

Example : National military training is the bedrock[a] on which alone we can hope to carry through[b] the great struggles which the future may have in store for us.

A and B are said to be dormant or moribund metaphors but not stone dead ; and through familiarity, the relation between the two uses is not usually perceived though it is within the knowledge of the ordinary non-philosopher.

To grasp is neither a living nor quite acutely a dead metaphor as is comprehended though it has got and kept this meaning since 1680. That is to say that the line between living and dying metaphors is a very shaky one. The delineation between the two categories remains a kind of enigma and its solving is apparently a matter of linguistic awareness.

Among the many languages from which English borrowed a lot is Latin (now a dead language). As a result, a remarkable proportion of those loans which had a metaphorical sense in the source language have become dead metaphors in the new language. But only those who have a classical education ; that is, people who have studied ancient Greek and Latin will recognize those words as originally figurative. With the word to examine, we can say that "rigor mortis" has set in. It is now a stone-dead metaphor. It comes from Latin examino < examen ie the tongue (itself an anthropomorphic metaphor) of a balance which originally meant to weigh.

Umberto Uco (1976 : 279) equates dead metaphors with catachreses. The classical rhetoric ranges the latter among figures of speech so strictly coded that the entity to which they stood has definitively lost its proper sign-vehicle. Many people indeed know the word Dominican (a religious Order founded in 1212 by St Dominic). But how many of us do think of it as a covert metaphor ? Were we to apply a componential analysis to it, the word dominican would be dissected in "Domini Canes " literally "dogs of God." Its interpretation rests on the grounds that both a dog and a friar share the quality of being loyal to their masters respectively. Both are in fact faithful and would defend to their last breath, one its master ; and the other, the religious principles he has adhered to.

On the whole, the time-marked lexicalization contributes a great deal to the enrichment of the language lexicon. For, as Owen (ibid) pointed out :

> Every modern language with its thousands of abstract terms and its nuances of meaning and associations, is apparently nothing, from beginning to end, but an unconscionable tissue of dead, or petrified metaphors.

Twenty years later, Le Guern (op.cit : 82) corroborated this viewpoint when he observed that :

> Ce processus joue un rôle considérable dans la création du vocabulaire, puisqu'une part importante des mots dont nous nous servons est constituée par l'ensemble des apports successifs fournis par la lexicalisation des métaphores. Il enrichit la langue en fournissant au vocabulaire des moyens supplémentaires. C'est souvent le cas des expressions proverbiales qui, le plus souvent, ne sont que des expressions métaphoriques.
>
> This process plays a considerable role in the creation of vocabulary for an important part of the words we use is constituted by the sum total of the successive contributions of lexicalization of metaphors. It enriches language by providing to its vocabulary extra means. That is the case of proverbial expressions which, in most cases, are nothing but metaphoric expressions.

Consequently the expressive power of everyday language largely resides in the countless dead metaphors which have become institutionalized in the multiple meanings as found in entries of dictionaries. Many words which are figurative in origin end up by being part and parcel of everyday parlance ; are no longer foregrounded. As a result, "plain language" in the strictest sense of the expression is a rare if not non-extant thing since all language seems to be metaphorically sealed.

Having analysed the concept of metaphor, its relatedness with other sister tropes and its role in the formation of the lexis, we will now search the origins of metaphor and its diverse manifestations.

III. COMPARATIVE STUDY OF ENGLISH AND KIRUNDI METAPHORS.

III. 1. Causes and/or origins of metaphors in English and in Kirundi

From a historical perspective it is difficult to account for the use of metaphors. R.Wellek 1981 : 128 claims that :

> In the youth of the world every man was a poet — men danced and sang and spoke a language that was vitally metaphorical.

Already in the ninth century, people could read in Homer's Iliad at least twenty seven times the fixed metaphor "Rosy-fingered dawn." Ordinary language as well as the Holy Bible offers an inexhaustible list of metaphors at least in its most general sense of "substitution on the basis of resemblance."

Examples :

1. "To thou they shall be for meat," God told Adam — here meat is figuratively used to mean food.
2. A. Like Muslims, "Saved" people do not consume pork. They consider meat from a pig as depositary of sins, and sinful would be the consumption of such meat (literal).

   B. Misfortune never goes alone ; the Kabwa family was uprooted last year : the parents died in a car accident and the children starved to death having neither meat nor drink.

3. There is no much meat in this argument of yours, Sir.

In examples 2.A and 3, the word meat has the transferred meaning of food and a substantial part of, important; respectively.

4. Fowl

Literal : domestic cock or hen.

illustration : After the repeated stealing by the fox there remains only 2 fowls in the poultry.

Figurative : Prometheus was bound legs and arms on Mount Scyphia for the fowls of the air to feast upon, and the storm to devour.

We can postulate that metaphors are as old as man's language. Overuse works out the demetaphorization of some and they become integral part of daily usage, no longer recognizable as figurative. Parallely new ones are created and the disequilibrium is restored. This being so, the origin of metaphor is to be sought in the very texture of language itself. That is, languages are built in such a way that they "kill" and "create" metaphors at will.

The so-called "reine des figures" stems from the speaker's or winter's perception of some similarities — physical or behavioural — between two individuals, a person and an animal, a person and an object, etc.

In other words, individual (or object) B has some features that make his/her/its specificity. When Barundi people look at a person who is short, not fat, they make analogies with the small size of a kidney and figuratively refer to him as ifyigo (kidney). Somebody who is very quick in movements will usually be referred to as inkuba(thunder) or more affectionately as agakuba. A person with such qualities can also be referred to as umuravyo (lightning) or igisiga (a kind of bird). Owing to its bitterness and the troubles it causes to he who takes big doses of it, cannabis (urumogi) is at the basis of a related metaphor :

> Ntiwikorereze urwo rumogi ! said by somebody warning his fellow about the highly alcoholic nature of a type of banana wine. Literally the utterance would mean : Mind that cannabis ! i.e. mind that wine, it is too alcoholic.

Somebody who is physically strong is called icuma (iron, metal) ; with a possible intensifier : icuma gishushe or cokeje : a hot/heated metal. A humble, innocent and peaceful man is called intama (sheep).[1] A room can be a pigsty ; the kingdom of heaven is like a grain of mustard seed (Holy Bible, Matthew 13 : 31) . A person who displays such "qualities" as would fit the former German dictator (1889-1945) can be referred to as a Hitler. The speaker must of course make sure that the referent's policy for instance ; his philosophy or behaviour as a whole can be likened to Adolph Hitler's.

Jean Jacques Rousseau accounts for the origin of metaphorical creation from another vantage point. In the second part of his book : La Nouvelle Heloïse (p. 234)

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1. This concept which is both positively and negatively connotated will be elaborated upon later.

he writes :

> Pour peu qu'on ait de la chaleur dans l'esprit, on a besoin d'expressions figurées pour se faire entendre.
>
> Whenever a feeling arises in ourselves, we need figurative expressions to communicate it.

Rousseau's stand would rightly match with Cleath Brooks and R.P. Warren's op.cit : 312 who assert that we are usually prone to metaphorize because ordinary language seems worn and stale. "Metaphor —they further say— tends to accompany the expressions and attitudes."

Example : - Ordinary language : I am happy/ merry/ joyous/ cheerful/ glad/ jolly/ecstatic ...
- metaphoric :
I am happy as a June bug.
I feel like a million dollars.
I am walking on an air this morning/afternoon/evening.
I feel like a colt in springtime.

In Kirundi too, metaphorical speech can spring from a deliberate and free will to embroider one's speech. This is aimed at linguistic and/or extralinguistic satisfaction. Such is the case when elders deal with a wedding case. Instead of the blunt "nje/tuje gusaba umugeni : I/we came to ask for a lady to marry," they would prefer things like :

> - Nje/tuje gusaba inka muntu, atari mbaa, inka y'amaguru abiri, inka atari bihembe, izosenya ikavoma ...
> I/we have come to petition for a human heifer, which does not moo ; I/we crave for a biped cow ;

a cow that has no horns, that will fetch firewood and water ...

From such an assertion as Rousseau's(or Warren's) it becomes self-evident that all that matters for him is the decoration of language which corresponds to H.Morier's "fonction esthétique et sensuelles des métaphores." As a consequence Rousseau's view of metaphor is that of a tool to exalt one's emotions.

The third source of metaphors — both in English and in Kirundi— appears to be a dearth of denotatives from the speaker's (or writer's) wordstock. Rhetoricians inter alia Paul Ricoeur (1975) , G. Genette (1970) consider the use of metaphor as either a deliberate stylistic choice or as a response to the lack of terms to signify entities. The former (1975 : passim) says that "the metaphoric transposition serves ... to fill in blanks in common language, a semantic, or lexical lacuna : la transposition métaphorique sert ... à combler les lacunes du langage commun, un vide sémantique ou une lacune lexicale."[1]

G. Genette notes that : "in both cases, recourse to a non-proper or figurative term aims at filling a semantic or lexical gap." His first alternative is possible when two or more terms exist and that the speaker freely opts for one of them to achieve pre-set purposes. Such is the case when for example Shakespeare speaks of "Majesty of Denmark" simply to mean the murderded king. In most cases, though, the tropological expression is used in the sense that traditional rhetoric gave to a figure of speech termed catachresis. Max Black op.cit : 33 defined it as the use of a word in some new sense in order to remedy a gap in vocabulary.

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1. Paul Ricoeur 1975 , La Métaphore vive pp 24, 65, 138...

This applies to Kirundi as well. Some objects have no literal labels. Stated otherwise, many entities do not have corresponding (plain) terms to refer to them. And this lexical shortage concerns both borrowed as well as non-borrowed things. To remedy to this, we borrow words and expressions usually from the human body as in :

- ijisho ry'ikirenge (the eye of the foot) i.e. the ankle
- imitwe y'intoke (heads of fingers) i.e. the tops of fingers, a whole hand used to slap, or any means for whipping a wrongful child.

Example : Ivyo wigira, aho mawe azira aragucisha ko imitwe y'intoke :
Mind what you are doing, when mother comes, she will whip you.

- inda y'ikirenge (literally : the belly of the foot) i.e. positional metaphor meaning the arch and the heel.
- ijisho ry'igiharage (pupil of a grain of bean).
- umutima w'ikigori (the heart of the corn/maize. Here ikigori (maize) is not the ear but a whole-part substitution (ear-grain). So the heart of the corn means only that part of a grain of maize that will germinate when planted.
- umunwa w'icupa/w'urusenge/ w'urugarama/ w'igikwati/ w'igikwashu/ w'inkono.
- Inda y'ingoma (akari mu nda y'ingoma kamenya uwayikanye : the bowels of a drum are known but to he who mended/fastened it).
- Amabere y'ingoma (the breasts of a drum) :

. stick-like strips of wood around which skin-made ropes are fastened. They are like the handles of a drum held to lift it.
- ukuguru kw'intebe/imeza (the leg of a chair, a table).
- umusaya w'inzu (the temple of a/the house) i.e. either side of a rectangular or square house except that which holds the main entrance and its parallel side.

Concerning this metaphoric usage as a language blank filler, Charles Bally had no different a viewpoint from G.Genette's. He observed :

> Toutes les fois qu'on peut remonter à la source d'une image, on se heurte à quelque infirmité de l'esprit humain ou à l'une des nécessités auxquelles obéit le langage ... Nous assimilons les notions abstraites aux objets de nos perceptions sensorielles parce que c'est le seul moyen que nous avons d'en prendre connaissance et de les rendre intelligibles aux autres. Telle est l'origine de la métaphore.[1]
>
> Whenever we can go back to the source of an image we come up against certain shortcomings of the human spirit or over one of the necessities to which language must obey ... We use objects to refer to abstractions because that is the only means at our disposal to recognize them and render them intelligible to others. Such is the origin of metaphor.

As it reads, such a standpoint concerns just one type of metaphor — abstract-versus-concrete and vice versa.

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1. Charles Bally (1951) : Traité de Stylistique Française. Paris, Klincksieck.

Michel Le Guern op.cit : 67 also says that people resort to metaphor because they cannot do otherwise. In the same vein he advances that resort to metaphorical language is a result of the limitation in the means of communication through language. Still a question may be raised, why preference is usually accorded to metaphors and not to some other types of circumlocution ? In other words, what justifies this frequency of metaphoric usage which permeates all languages ? If emphasis is to be put upon the informative role of metaphor, as will be discussed later, the view of metaphor as a blank filler loses some of its weight.

For Werner H.(1915)in Wellek R. & Warren A. (1956) metaphor becomes active among only such primitive peoples as have taboos, objects the proper names of which may not be said. It is in this light that he explains his " Jewish unrivalled talent for metaphorizing the unnamable Jahweh" as a Rock, a Sun, a Lion, and so on. Basides the fact that no one would call the Jews a primitive people, Werner's statements need nuancing. In traditional Burundi, life was taboo-mapped in many of its aspects. For example nearly all that was related to a king could not be referred to in direct terms. Death, sex, food, pregnancy, and so forth, were such sources of linguistic bans. Yet to base one's argument upon such facts and affirm that Kirundi has many metaphors than any other language — and implicitly society — is but partially sustainable. Indeed, the avoidance of the non - decent, the search for delicacy, the fear of taboo things, all enjoins the speaker to resort to semantic crossing over. And more often than not, these transfers are metaphorical in nature. People avoid outspeaking what is held by popular consent to be blunt, unpleasant and morally shocking. Thus kuja mu kwezi(literally to go in the month: to discharge the menses)

is replaced by kuja mu butinyanka (to be in a state of non-access to the bludder of a milking cow). A well bred Murundi will never make a direct reference to faeces (except of course in a classroom situation where more direct terms, scientific labels are called for). In place of the blunt term, he habitually prefers to say "amazira-ntoke" (that which is not worth touching). Nor will he refer directly to corporeal activities concerned with the discharge of waste and/or urine. Kwituma (to commission / to send oneself) and kwihagarika (to make oneself stand) are used instead. Many such figurative expressions occasioned by the fear of applying a direct label to that which is highly respected or feared abound in Kirundi. Illustrative is a thesis written about metaphors related to death in Kirundi (1985) by R.M. Inamuganuro. The resulting figure of speech that springs out of the pre-eminence of linguistic tabooes is euphemism. Indeed metaphor and euphemisms are interrelated. Yet we lack criteria on the basis, of which one may consider them as alternates. So Werner's statements lose some of their weight. For as Wellek R. 1956 : 197 remarked, struck by such an over-simplification, "Metaphorical creativity is not solely derived from the exigencies of taboos in "primitive" societies."

According to him we metaphorize also what we love. We metaphorize "what we want to linger over and contemplate, to see from every angle and under every light mirrored in specialized focus by all kinds of like things." It is worth noting, however, that all existing metaphors are not exclusively appreciative. Some are depreciative. Mc Crimmon op.cit : 131 lists at least six derogative animizing metaphors about the word "woman" : cat, rat, hen, goose, moose, sheep. According to the same source , a woman would

prefer to be referred to as being economic rather than cheap, a vision instead of a sight, slender or slight instead of skinny, and so on.

Stephen Ullman 1957 : 240 claims that the creation of metaphor originates in Hans Sperber's "semantic law". This law stipulates that our interest in a subject will provide us with analogies for the description of other experiences. Hence a domain that calls our attention becomes the centre of metaphorical expansion. As a case in point, in World War One, the French coined the metaphor shrapnels[1] and machine-gun referring to beans and a woman who begets many children, respectively. The French revolution left the French language with quite a number of metaphors that are characteristic of that particular period of time. Among these Ullman notes the "centrifugal force" of the revolutionary spirit, the "electrifying" effect of public meetings, the "refrangibility" of its regenerative rays, and so on. "The introduction of railways," he says elsewhere " is at the basis of a series of metaphorical creations." In Sense and Sense Development 1979 : 169, R.A. Waldron observes :

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1. Shrapnels : fragments of shell or bullet packed inside the shell which is designed to explode and scatter these contents over a wide area. For more examples of this type see E. Haguet (1933 : 1 - 18) : Le langage figuré au 16è siècle.

> There is theoretically no limit to the possibilities of new metaphoric creation in a living language. And advances in thought or knowledge are characteristically accompanied by the transfer of a whole group of semantically related words to metaphorical uses.

For example we speak current flowing (a case of predicate metaphor) through wire to an outlet. Such a transfer was not extant before the discovery of electricity. In short, metaphoric creativity is attributable to the dynamics of living languages. It responds to the speaker's need to fill a blank in the naming process thus Charles Bally's "theory of inopia." However recourse to metaphor is not always a last resort. At times we are compelled to call things by nonproper labels when we should "call them as they are." [1]

At other times — and this is quite frequent— we purposefully resort to displaced meanings as a successful way of conveying an elaborate message. Not only does this procedure have an advantage in conveying information but it also helps to save space and time by avoiding unduly long circumlocutions. Lullabies[2] are mainly attachable to an emotional flow of the speaker towards the referent. Besides the flow of emotions, or the recourse to figurative words as a last resort, metaphors stem from the speaker's intent to impart a fuller and richer meaning by a simple expression. To say that somebody is imvyeyi (a female cow that has already calved)is pregnant.

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1. John Locke in M.Shapiro(ed) 1984 : Language and Politics. Oxford, Basil Blackwell.
2. See Sefu Rehema 1985 : " Essai d'exploitation sémantique de quelques métaphores contenues dans les berceuses rundi."

It implies among other things that the person spoken about is friendly, honest, self-controlled, and likeable. To complete the meaning of the expression, people often add ikavumera (from the verb "kuvumera" : to moo as a call for the calf to come and suck). By comparing an individual of such behaviour to a cow, the speaker is not making a random analogy . In Burundi, a cow is given great importance among other tamed animals. Many odes are constructed around the cow :

Example : Inka yanje iravumera nkavumereza umubereza wa Gitanganyika : when my cow moos, I immediately recall the benefactor Gitanganyika who kindly gave it to me.

It is alluded to in puzzles.

Examples : 1. Inka yanje nkama mpfukamye : answer: urusyo.
I knell down to milk my cow : the millstone

2. Inka yanje nyamuhakira kw'ijuru: Umuzinga : my cow conceives in the skies ; answer : a hive

Worthy of note is that it is never compared to things of little value. Urusyo (millstone) is a great source of hope for both thirsty and hungry people. As for the hive, it also has got great value in Burundi. The profession of bee-keeping made and still ensures the survival of many people —nowadays honey is even used to cure wounds. Especially in traditional Burundi, bee-keepers were very rich and respected people. And honey is, besides milk, a testimony of wealth and prosperity.

To sum up, the creation of metaphors responds to various motives. Some of these imperatives are purely linguistic, others are just individuals'need to satisfy their expressive thirst by means of coloured language (stylistic needs) , still many others satisfy a social objective. Such last case explains the existence of euphemisms which are markedly metaphorical.

Created for numerous purposes,metaphors are of diverse types : The adjectival metaphors, adverbial, verbal, nominal, etc. And there is a kind of overlap in this labelling system. For example the first are also, to some extent, synaesthetic as in sweet voice —taste-hearing sensory transposition— warm welcome, piercing sound. Oleko's[1] adjectival metaphors embrace S. Ullman's anthropomorphic or humanizing (Leech) as well as they include animizing ones. With this note we come to the analysis of the multiple sets of metaphors.

III. 2. Comparative study of English and Kirundi metaphors on a typological level.

III. 2. 1. Verbal metaphors (Uco) or predicate metaphors (Levinson C.S. 1983 : 147)

This type concerns verbs which are used in a non-literal way. To sift (or to sift out from) habitually means to separate palpable objects from one another by means of a sieve :

Examples : 1. This flour is not well sifted, it still contains many ungrinded grains (of cassava).

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1. Nkombe Oleko 1979 : Métaphore et métonymie dans les symboles parémiologiques, Kinshasa

2. He was so tipsy that he could hardly sift wheat from the chaff.
3. We were sifting the meal when we heard raps on the door.
4. That test was chiefly meant to sift candidates.
5. Satan hath desired to have you, that he may sift you as wheat.

The verb sift is, in the first and second examples used in its literal sense. The third, fourth and fifth display a figurative use of the same verb. The verb to plow and the noun plough (an implement for cutting furrows in the soil and turning it up, drawn by animals or more usually by a tractor) are of the farming register.

Example

- With his five ploughs the rich farmer grew such a lot of cotton that his annual income almost multiplied by ten (literal)
- "Such a topic of yours", the teacher told his supervisee, "requires that you absolutely (have to) do fieldwork before you can really put your hand to the plough i.e. before you can start off writing.
- We speak of a ship plowing the sea.

As regards Kirundi, at least eight instances of semantic shifts can be listed from the verb kurya (to eat).

1º Kurya igihugu (to eat the country) i.e. to embezzle the country's wealth ruining thereby its inhabitants ; to exploit it for personal interests, of course at the expense of the masses.

2º Kurya itongo (to eat [one's] property i.e. to sell one's acres of land, feed on what is grown on that land.

3º Kurya amezi (to eat the gestation) i.e. to sell a calf before it is born. In farming register, amezi means crop before ripening (hence not yet ready for harvest). This was recently alluded to by a journalist at the R.T.N.B. commenting on a "recently" adopted practice by coffee growers. The latter — he said— sell their coffee untimely (barya urushurwe/urubimba : they sell coffee just when it is flowering or in its husks.

4º Kurya ikori (to eat the governmental taxes) i.e. to spend or use the money destined to paying the state taxes for the purveyance of other personal needs.

5º Kurya abana (to eat [one's] children) i.e. to feed on what they bring as the outcome of manual work or any other job, to live on their income.

6º Kurya umwaka (to eat the year) i.e. to eat the first ripe cereals : eleusin, sorghum, maize, etc. This goes with a specific ritual in Burundi.[1]

7º Kurya umutima amenyo (to eat/the heart with teeth) i.e. to resist or undergo sufferings heroically, to pursue one's pre-set objectives in spite of seemingly unsurmountable obstacles.

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1. J.B. Ntahokaja (1978) . Imigenzo y'ikirundi, Université du Burundi, Bujumbura.

- Ko ngira ncererwe mu kibazo, hinge ndye umutima amenyo nsabe "lift" irya ngarukira gihugu.(Since I am almost late for exams, let me dare beg a drive from that member of the "M C N S"[1].

- N'aho ibinini n'inshinge vyagushegeshe, rya umutima amenyo umire aka nako. (Even) though you are surely fed up with tablets and injections, try to swallow this other one.

8º Kwidya (passive) ukimara (to eat oneself up) i.e. to have nobody to give you a leg up in dire needs and however manage to overcome.

The English verb to swallow presupposes an object that is solid or liquid, visible, for instance quinine, a spoonful of food, etc. But somebody can swallow his pride as he can, his words (kumira ijambo as in "umugabo amira intore ntamira ijambo" i.e. man should swallow a piece of pasta and not(swallow) words). We usually pour liquids (example drink), water, etc) but we also pour blasphemies or insults on someone.

Example : - The ill-bred child poured blasphemies on the humble passer-by.

- The angry and rough policeman poured whips on the unjustly convicted man

Each natural and dynamic language has an infinite number of such figuratively used verbs. We normally plunge or dive into water ; but we also dive (deep) into a subject of analysis.

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1. "M C N S" stands for military committee for national salvation.

To shed habitually implies clothes, leaves, etc but it can also be used metaphorically in such examples as to shed light upon a given issue. To grasp entails something tangible; yet we can grasp the meaning of a word, utterance ; to see is normally a physical action as in I see a car. But it can refer to mental or perceptual activities as in a bebate when individual B retorts to individual A's point by saying : "I see your stand, what you mean."

III. 2. 2. Synaesthetic metaphor.

The synaesthetic (from syn = same as in synchronic : at the same time) or affective resemblances as Jean Cohen calls them are based on transposition from one domain of sensory perception to another. They refer to those metaphoric transferences based upon a shift from one sense to another, for instance, from sound to sight, touch to sound, and so forth.

III. 2. 2. 1. Touch.

Cold : literal : I do not like to live in cold countries like Denmark.

Metaphorical :

- Bill was ashamed of being caught with stolen mangoes. To his mother's threat of beating him he responded by a cold smile of shame and embarrassment which arose pity in his mother who then decided to put up with him.
- At the end of the match, the defeated team exchanged a cold greeting with the winners.

Similarly we can speak of a cold welcome, a cold voice, a cold disdain. Sharp can be literally interpreted as in : "This cake is very hard to be cut by so blunt a knife,I need a very sharp one. " Metaphorically it can be illustrated by such examples as :

- The children have been shouting all day long and their mother gave them sharp remarks menacing to beat them if they resumed the disturbance.
- There was so big a crowd that one had to have a sharp eye to see the speaker sandwiched between his body guards
- John gave a sharp rebuke to his wife's childish asking .
- You needn't use such a sharp tongue to tell me what to do !
- The cook and the baby-sitter had engaged in a sharp brawl when all of a sudden their master came in.
- Nana Mouscouri's gentle voice has won her my favour.
- It is good to go out at dusk because there is a gentle breeze outside
- Peter gave his friend a gentle blow on the shoulders to invite him to stop day-dreaming.
- Rosy received her lover's gift with so gentle a smile that it made him promise more than he can afford.
- The subordinate's impudent behaviour was surprisingly reacted to in a gentle rebuke by his master.
- You cannot make a pot with stiff clay ; you need to make it soft so it be more malleable (literal).

Don't play hot numbers, I need soft music for my nap (figurative).
- "Come back on Monday" the officer said to his customer," I do not allow anyone to disturb me in my Sunday soft sleep."
- What she said was not very meaningful but I personally appreciated her soft voice.
- Nzisabira Evariste batazira J.R.R. wo muri komine Giteranyi nawe yadusavye akaririmbo koroshe (a soft song) ngo kanezereze[1]...
Mr Nzisabira E. of Giteranyi requested a soft number for the listening pleasure of ...
- Inyama y'inkoko iroroshe ugereranije n'iyinka (literal)(chicken is soft in comparison with beef).
Garuka usubire kundaba icoroshe (come back and look at me with that soft gaze) : metaphorical.

III. 2. 2. 2. Sight.

Examples : - There was no one to notice him before he was dressed in Loud colours i.e. of the kind that forces itself on the attention.
- to pierce-piercing :
. she had her ears pierced in order to wear earrings (literal)
. I cannot stand the piercing wind in the utmost northern hemisphere(metaphorical.)

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1. See R.T.N.B. broadcast in "tasha incuti n'abagenzi" programme.

III. 2. 2. 3. Taste.

- Literal : A. How do you like your coffee ?
  B. I want it very sweet.
- Metaphorical : The hungry man's appetite was "sharpened" (itself a metaphor) by the sweet odours from the rich man's kitchen.
  - When money fails, William resorts to his sweet words to seduce young ladies from the Lycee.
  - Don't smoke in here, I want my room always clean and sweet i.e. pur air/ not polluted.

In Kirundi we can speak of amajambo aryoshe i.e. tasty words. "Amajambo" belongs to either sight or hearing depending upon whether they are written or else spoken. So the adjective aryoshe is literally incongruous. In its new usage, it means "words that are inducive enough to make a person act in favour of a petitioner's request. For example when Burundians sit around a pot of beer in any festival circumstances, such utterances like "naka yavuze amajambo aryoshe" are likely to be heard. The speaker means that his predecessor (s) has(have) been eloquent and explicit enough that he himself does not need to say a lot. He usually adds a few words, for instance reminds the host to give his guests more drink, something for which he is warmly applauded.

- Ki-sosa (sweet) : Niwishinga kurya ibintu bisosa unorwara (if you keep on consuming sweets, you will fall ill) : literal.
- Akarimi gasosa i.e. a sweet little tongue/ sweet words e.g. Cobatesa azoteba agondoze Helena yemere ko bubakana.; ari n'akarimi gasosa : Cobatesa will in the end"conquer"

Helen ; he is a sweet-spoken guy.

It could perhaps be untimely to have exhausted the whole of language in this particular sub area of synaesthetic transposition. Yet it can be already ascertained that Kirundi lexis has fewer synaesthetic terms than does English. The fact of the matter is that even the few examples above noted attest a certain influence on Kirundi by foreign languages. These are mainly encountered in the " language of the media" and Western music. As to the possible causes of the imbalance noted above and to what conclusions to draw therefrom the task is left to future research.

III. 2. 3. Concretizing[1] metaphors.

The few concretizing metaphors— which are mainly predicate ones— attribute physical properties to abstractions.

To grasp literally calls for a direct object (D.O.) :

Example : The boxer was to fall on his back had not he grasped the bars behind him (to seize/take hold on) : literal.

Transferred to non-tangible objects it means to understand

Example : I do not grasp what you mean by "serendipity" , sir.

To grapple can be understood in the similar vein :

Example : - The wrestlers grappled together i.e. firmly held each other : literal.
- For God's sake, don't come to bother me while I am grappling (wrestling)

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1. Leech G.N. et al 1980 : Style in Fiction. An Introduction to English Fictional Prose. Longman Group Limited.

with mythesis ; I need full concentration : metaphorical

To flow (or flow : noun) usually refers to concrete things as in water flowing in a river or canal, from a tap. Still it is not rare to hear people say :

- He has a good flow of ideas when arguing.
- In such delight, she was not even aware of the flow of time.

Very often people are advised to hold their tongue i.e. gufata ururimi lest it cause them problems.

III. 2. 4. Anthropomorphic/humanizing metaphors.

These attribute human features of animateness to inanimate objects. The human mouth is metaphorically attributed to : a river, a bottle ; the human heart is ascribed to entities as inanimate as matter in "the heart of the matter is ..." , forest. A hill or mountain has foot, shoulder, brow, and so on. By virtue of metaphoric processes, we speak of the eyes of a dress i.e. buttons and colour patterns, teeth of a saw, lungs of a town, etc.

The Italian linguist and philosopher Vico Giambattista noted the extraordinary frequency of such transfers when he wrote in his Scienza Nuova that :

> In all languages the greater part of expressions referring to inanimate objects are taken by transfer from the human body and its parts, from human senses and passions.

Example : Sinews of war i.e. means for acquiring strength for instance money to buy supplies.

S. Ullman 1967 : 241 backed up Vico's statement when he added that "the tendency of humanizing inanimate things is attested in the most different languages and civilizations." Such a process becomes the source of countless expressions in current language.

Metaphoric transfers between man and the world of animals or objects are not solely unidirectional. They operate both ways. There exists what Leech (ibid) calls animizing metaphors.

III. 2. 5. Animal metaphors.

Animal(animizing) metaphors ascribe to human beings properties normally fitting for animals. But why do we use the names of animals so frequently in everyday speech ? The appearance and/or behaviour of creatures help(s) humans talk about their environment (human as well as non-human). People easily notice characteristics of certain animals (and objects), and when they observe people with similar features, they make comparisons. This variety also called evaluative works on an endearment — disparagement polarity. In other words it is characterized by a favorable-unfavorable dichotomy. We appreciate or else disavow our fellows' behaviour or appearance and this attitude transpires in the positive-negative labels we stick to them. So, according to the relationships between the metaphoric predicate and the subject, we either borrow from things superior or else inferior. Somebody who is physically skilful and strong is referred to in Kirundi as Umuhivu (a strong rope of raffia by means of which Barundi people used to sew their clothes).

Example : Ntiwitege urya musore ngo muhotorane;
ni umuhivu wama(Don't venture to
wrestle with that youngman(over)there,

> he is a raffia) i.e. Don't have that man in combat, he is very skilful and strong ; you cannot manage to put him down.

The word dog has, both in English and in Kirundi, negative associations such as filthiness, lack of manners, and the like. In Kirundi, ijeri refers to a kind of bird of the partridge family which spends most of its time asleep (a confirmed sound sleeper) . Barundi people are humorous about and at the same time disapprove of sound sleeping —a sign of laziness. They have coined the ijeri metaphor to express their disapproval towards such a habit.

It is the endearment-disparagement polarity that happens to be the hallmark of evaluative metaphors that Bolinger,D. 1975 : 252 had in mind when he observed :

> Over and over the mere fact of meaning which already to some extent prejudices the case is the clearly prejudicial application of terms, epithets that are crudely and frankly favorable and unfavorable ;

to which he added : "We find them in all four of 'content' parts of speech : nouns, adjectives, verbs and adverbs.

Since meaning is context-bound, it becomes expidient to analyse its metamorphoses as it moves from one large context — that of culture — to another. The following pages are devoted to such an objective. The data on the basis of which such a study is to be conducted result from both reading and field work ; that is gathering information

by means of a questionnaire.

III. 3. Socio-cultural interpretation of sampled metaphors in English and in Kirundi.

III. 3. 0. It would be false to establish an equation between a language and the society that speaks it. We do agree with E.Sapir (1929) when he asserts that language is a guide to social reality. For such a statement can be substantiated by such things as euphemisms. The latter are some of the linguistic elements that are a key to societal organizations, beliefs, truth-values, and so on. They are enlightening about for instance the social status, age, sex of the referent. In the same line of thought, Susan Bassnett-Mc Guire 1980 : 13 remarks that : "metaphor can serve as a level which helps to pry out the secrets of the societal organization."[1] So to account for these meanings it becomes imperative to try out construal rules in the light of the social context which stands at the basis of their creation.

III. 3. 1. Data collection.

To complete what could be gathered from written sources, we have decided to do field work. The chief motive behind this entreprise has been that, however voluminous the corpus might have been, it would have left us lacking with regard to the understanding of some metaphors. To do this, we adopted the procedure suggested by Robert Lado 1957 : 121. The latter which he calls the "informant approach" consists in gathering information by means of a questionnaire.

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1. Susan Bassnett-Mc Guire : Translation Studies.Menthlen London, New York.

The researcher proceeds either by what Grawitz and Pinto 1971 call "open question interview" or else by a free response interview. In our research a questionnaire was given to English native speakers. It was principally oriented towards the search for equivalents to some Kirundi metaphors if they existed. In addition, we sought to have an explanation of some English metaphors for which a dictionary or any reference book failed to enlighten us. Together with the two requests, we asked for more examples. The informant was kindly requested to say if such and such metaphor was positively or negatively marked. The questions were typically of the sort : "What do you, as natives of English , associate with a person having this or that other feature or characteristic ? "Or" What does this mean in your language/culture?" We also asked our informants whether they thought metaphors were or were not necessary in daily speech. Below are listed the different data gathered.

1. Lois Cech, professor at the University of Burundi, English department and her late, lamented husband : Americans.

    1. A. What connotations do the following things have in your culture ?

        - a bulldozer : a person who pushes everything out of his or her way to get where s/he wants.
        - a machine : a person who does not become tired (or is not very essentially humane). It could also mean accurate, precise, depending on the context.

- a lemon : Usually refers to a poorly made product which even new does not function properly. Applied to a woman, it would mean a person with a sour, or acetic personality or disposition.
- a snake : (we don't use serpent very often) : a slippery, sneaky ; unpleasant, usually dishonest person (used metaphorically it means evil).
- a kitten : a young innocent girl, may be used for a young woman seen to be innocent and dependent.
- calf-eyes :(semi-pejorative) : the ways young people look at each other in love : usually refers to "first" love or "puppy" love.
- pig : dirty/or gluttonous (even a metaphorical "glutton" of things or idea that are not food) ; usually said of a person who is not neat or mannerly. In current American slang, pigs can refer to the police, but the meaning still applies in other connotations.
- eagle-eyed : a person who has a very acute vision (either actual eye-sight or mental vision) in similarity to the eagle who is said to have long-range and accurate eye-sight.
- cow-like : very pejorative : usually referring to fat girls or women who are also considered to be dumb ans stupid.

- a lamb : similar to kitten but used for boys as well as girls ; not usually used to describe adults, except sometimes a young woman.
- beast : a rough, savage man in any or all connotations, even humorous.
- a snake in the grass : (same as snake) but in the context of hidden, suspected but not necessarily seen.
- peach : ripe, luscious ; usually refers to young women ready for sex. One can also say " a peach of a follow" but that means a nice guy.
- a jewel : a woman highly valued in any number of different contexts : sexual, household office ; "my secretary is a jewel."

1. B. Regarding the use (or reason behind the resort to) of metaphor, the following was given :

In English the use of metaphor is habitual, not only metaphors of the poetic variety i.e. 1) simile — metaphor with as and like, 2) synecdoche — part for whole, and 3) metonymy — attribute for the words ("to plant an idea" for example). The habitual use of these can be found in dialogues, in plays and novels ; the dialogues assumed to replicate real speech. Users add color and emphasis to what they are saying but for the most part, this is largely habitual and unconscious, except in the case of writing.

I.C. About the question to know whether metaphors are or are not necessary, the following was said : Necessary ? Probably not, but I can't imagine British, American, Canadian, Australian, etc speech without it. For example, Australians routinely address friends or even strangers as "mates", this is a metaphorical usage suggesting universal brotherhood and a kind of "unity" among people. Usual greeting : "G'day, Mate."

2. Amy Hart, American, director of the English Program at the American Cultural Center. What do you call :

- a bulldozer : a pushy person
- a peach : nice and sweat (+)
- a jewel : wonderful (+)
- an ass : stupid (pejorative)
- a goose : silly person
- a lemon : machine that doesn't work
- a kitten : soft (applied to things)
- a fox : sly person
- a mouse : quiet person
- a snake : not honest
- a bitch : uncouth person
- a hawk : pro-war
- owl : very wise man (+)
- an ox : very strong person

3. The third group of informants was constituted by the Dodgsons(British) : Christopher Dodgson, director of the English section at B.E.P.E.S. and Rosymary Dodgson : Professor at the University of Burundi, English department. The data they gave us can be summed up in the table which appears on the following page. On the X-axis are listed the names of animals. On the Y-axis their features metaphorically ascribed to people.

Animals

Personal Qualities	Dog	Lamb	Sheep	Ox	Cow	Tiger	Elephant	Pig	Cat	Horse	Mule/Donkey	Hen	Cock	Fox	Snake
Strength				v		v									
Intelligence									v					v	v
Gentleness		v			v										
Loyalty	v														
Nobility										v					
Clean									v						
Good memory							v								
Beautiful						v									
Proud									v				v		
Hard work				v											
Stupidity		v	v		v						v	v	v		
Stubbornness or pig-headedness								v			v				
Laziness	v		v						v		v				
Dishonesty															v
Filth/dirt								v							
Cunning														v	
Ferocity						v			v				v		
Greed								v							

Most of the nominal metaphors contained in the data as well as their Kirundi counterparts are of varying meaning. The same referent indeed startlingly requires a different interpretation as one moves from English to Kirundi and vice versa. The following section sets out to analyse the semantic fluctuations of some rundi and English nominal metaphors.

III. 3. 2. Cultural interpretation of nominal metaphors.

III. 3. 2. 1. Inzoka (snake)

Example : Abo banyamuji ushatse woja urabigirwayo ; ni inzoka : arashobora kuguhenda ngo ariko aragufasha akwereke akayira, ugasanga akujanye iyo agukizurira.

Beware those so-called city people ! They are real snakes. They pretend to guide you when they are but leading you into dangerous places to rob you.

Both in English and in Kirundi, the snake has, save for its unquestioned intelligence, only negative associations. Even that intelligence is used for deceitful ends. The snake's quilities relate to people's dishonesty, treachery, malice, deceit and the like. The individual referred to by the snake image has to operate in such way that he is not suspected and least discovered. It goes without saying that intelligence becomes a pre-requisite for success. The Encyclopaedia International 1960 vol. 2 , p 49 reports that the snake is one of the two pets favoured by Athena as

symbols of intelligence. The Living Bible (Genesis 3 : 1) is clear about this. It says : "The serpent was the craftiest of all creatures that Lord God had made."

III. 3. 2. 2. Igihuna (owl).

In rundi context, the owl is the prototype of stupidity. Besides, it has some other negative associations. Like the inkona (eagle), igihuna is feared as a bird of bad omen or bad augur. It is held to be a harbinger(kirasema) as does the eagle itself. The owl is nicknamed "Rutaramatongo!" The deep meaning veiled up by such a label is that of bad luck. It is to be understood that when an owl comes to somebody's homestead, a member of the family, or at worst all the members of that family, will die leaving the compound to be occupied by other people. People say that the owl does nothing else but to open its big eyes without being really able to discern between things : gipfa guturumbura ibiso (the reader should bear in mind that the use of ibi-particle instead of ama is itself suggestive. In fact ibi is sometimes—not always— used to express something negative as in birya vyana ntivyisonera : those children (over there) are ill-bred. This owl-metaphor constitutes an object of social scorn addressed for instance to a student who always holds up the queue (ni igihuna mw'ishuri) i.e. s/he is an owl at school). On the whole we see that an owl has exclusively sad associations in Kirundi : small mindedness, death, and so forth.

From the English language/culture we get a new and very different image of owls. A look at Greek literature[1]

1. Encyclopaedia International , 1946 vol. 26 : 41
1960 vol. 13 : 527.

shows us its influence on Western world philosophy. Athena (the goddess of war and crafts) acquired a great reputation of wisdom. Her favorite omens (pet animals who supposedly assisted her in everything she undertook and helped her win so many battles), were the owl and the serpent. And given the fact that she was credited to be the goddess endowed with unrivalled wisdom, these animals came to be considered as symbols of this quality. Among other things owls distinguish themselves by their almost silent flight, acute hearing, and keen eye-sight all of which contribute to their success in capturing rodents on which they feed. Owls are characterized by such features as wisdom, intelligence, tact, clear-sightedness, etc. All these things considered, we agree with Wallwork (1965 : 98) that "words change their manners as they change their country."

III. 3. 2. 3. Intama (lamb/sheep).

In English a lamb is recognized for its humility : "as gentle as a lamb." So is it in Kirundi.

Example : Umwana wa Mariya ni intama, yaherutse kwonka mu gitondo none raba iyo nyina agejeje ikivi atarongera gukakaza !
Mary's babe is a(real) sheep. It last sucked its mother in the morning. But look ! Mother has done so many things before the baby feeds again.

Besides its humbleness a sheep is (together with some other animals like cow, ass, goose ...) a prototype of stupidity in English. Such negative connotations practically do not exist in Kirundi as such, except when, occasionally the metaphor is applied to an adult. In such cases,

the speaker emphasises the referent's exaggerated kindness and humility.

The intama metaphor has in rundi cosmology, a number of associations, some of which are analysed below. These are mainly religious,political, and/or of the social type. As a matter of fact, a woman who didn't conceive for a long time was given "the sheep of God : intama y'Imana" by her brother in the hope that she would conceive as soon as possible. Stockbreeders, F. M. Rodegem 1970 : 467 reports, generally have one or two sheep in their cattle so that God may protect their cows and mostly increase their fecundity. A family to which were born twin children, was given two sheep : a ram from the husband's family and an ewe from his wife's. The latter called "Imana" were sacred. They could move freely from place to place and nobody dared to do them harm lest he be cursed and attract to himself all sorts of danger and misfortune. The sheep had also therapeutic links. Rodegem (ibid) reports that a child who had problems with his eyes just wore a horn of a ram around his neck and recovered his sight — so was it believed.

The sheep had also its social role to play. When two families, clans or tribes were at odds, it served as an object of reconciliation. After the members of the two parties in conflict had washed their hands on the back of a ram, they cut the end of its ears and let the animal go its way. It was then chased away to the valley and it was forbidden to anyone of the participants to touch it for fear that the conflict could resume with more cruelty. Last a seer (umupfumu) made everybody drink with one and the same straw and annointed the two parties with lime.

All in all, the sheep has become a ritualistic

animal and no "respectable" person ate it. Only pygmies who were not considered as equals of other people could feed on it. In addition to its qualities of innocence and humility, a sheep had its social, economic and magico-religious links.

III. 3. 2. 4. Inka : cow-like.

In a rundi setting, a cow has almost exclusively positive associations (supra), only rarely do we refer to it to mean somebody who is credilous and submissive as in : kubaganwa ururimi nk'inka (to be slaughtered with the tongue like a cow) i.e. to passively accept injustice and undergo it without reaction. From the data (supra) it can be seen that a cow has no other value in English beyond that of providing meat, milk, manure, butter and leather. On purely descriptive grounds it can be linked to strength : "as strong as an ox." This simile typifies the chiefly utilitarian role played by oxen in countries where they are used in farm activities. Otherwise it refers to mental weakness and stupidity. It follows that to refer to somebody or her behaviour as cow-like in American culture is a big insult. Cowlike usually refers to fat girls or women and we know from our readings in Afro-American literature that such is not a good/pleasant adjective. Fat girls and/or women are said to be too good, to nurture all the children of the world. More, they are believed to be submissive, something many Westerners tend to think badly of.

III. 3. 2. 5. Ingurube : pig

This metaphor — which is insulting — is applied to a person who is greedy (gluttonous) and bad-mannered, filthy. The same associated meanings apply to both

English and Kirundi; a pigsty (is a place that is repulsive as a result of dirt, a place where even breathing is almost impossible because the air is polluted and thus dangerous to health). Such examples as "kanaka ni ingurube, arubahuka akarya adakaravye i.e. So and so is a pig, he dares to eat without washing his hands" show this attitude.

III. 3. 2. 6. A person who is characteristically uncouth is called igikoko (often plus gikokoye) whose English equivalent is beast.

III. 3. 2. 7. akayabu : cat

To the best of my knowledge, the word cat has no connotation whatsoever — negative or positive in Kirundi. Conversely it has strong connotations in American language-culture. It is sexually marked as Crocker et al op.cit : 51 shows it in the example : - I want a pussy

Uttered exclusively among males, this sentence is the equivalent of I want a woman (a part —to whole relation i.e. woman and her targetted parts by the speakers). It is an instance of generalizing synecdoche. Cat is through association commonly perceived as a woman's world. Within the taxonomic class of cats, Crocker says, a small cat is commonly a pussy cat. This sets up the analogy cat : pussy cat : : woman : her sex[1] in which the large/small dichotomy combines with the generalizing synecdoche (whole for part). And this metonymic juxtaposition allows the metaphoric establishment of pussy for woman's sex, through the again shared attributes of things small, furry and above all, vocally responsive to being stroked. To close his analysis, the writer of

1. Here the writer has used the biological term.

The Social Use of Metaphor observes (p. 52) that :

> Starting with this association, an analyst would have to go to explore the entire range of attributes linking women and cats in American society. Clearly these shared attributes are complex and numerous enough to sustain great numbers of particular internal metaphors.

IV. CONCLUSION.

The first conclusion to be drawn from a look at English nominal, predicate or sentential metaphors is that they, especially the first type follow G.N. Leech's "metaphoric rule". The latter is represented as F = "like" L in which F stands for the figurative meaning, L the literal meaning and, the inverted commas : the comparing devices. To the English : Life's but a walking shadow ..., the Kirundi language matches with "Ubuzima ni nk'amazi/ni amazi ... Besides their semantic equivalence — both express the futility, ephemeral nature of life — these two instances create a structural equivalence between the two languages under analysis. Thus whether the comparison be explicit (simile) or implicit, English and Kirundi nominal or definitional metaphors have the same structure summed up in : A is like B in respect of C .

Example : - Paul is a deer (Paulo ni ingeregere)
i.e. Paul is as swift as a deer i.e. Paul is like a deer in respect of their speed
- Urya muhungu wa Petero ni igifyera kihageze urabona aho yaviriye kw'ishuri akaba atarashika i muhira ! Peter's son is a real snail. He left school hours ago, but look, he has not got home yet !

It will have been noticed that, besides the use of metaphoric expressions for linguistic ends i.e. to fill a gap in terminology, a number of other causes can be noted. Both in English and in Kirundi, the speaker may decide to speak through detours for no other reason than to colour

his language or more importantly, to be more powerful and persuasive in expressing himself — the prime goal of rhetoric as "the theory and practice of eloquence, whether spoken or written, the whole art of using language so as to persuade others ..." Moreover , a speaker may use metaphor to impart a message which a direct expression might not successfully convey. Metaphors, especially in Kirundi can also rise from the speaker's fear of referring directly to certain unpleasant or highly respected objects. It is for these very reasons that a king's belly was referred to as igisabo (churn) to emphasize that the churn and the king himself are both beneficial to the society. To speak about his death, people would borrow the images of a falling sky in such expressions as ijuru ryakorotse/ryunamye (the skies have fallen, bent) ; or ingoma yuhamye (the crown has been turned upside down) , to mean that with the king's death, the world has been all destroyed.

All in all, Kirundi language abounds in nominal metaphors which typically mirror the socio-political life and truth-value of the community as reading R.M. Inamuganuro's thesis about death-related euphemisms will reveal. Still many such examples illustrating the resort to figurative language as an escape from mentioning something unpleasant exist. To refer to the death of a young man or woman, Burundians say rwamukenye umuboga/rwamugeshe igishoro (he died very young) instead of the plain and direct expression : yapfuye. All these phrases express the idea that the departure from life of a youth is considered untimely and thenceforth strongly mourned: urutwaye umuto ruba rutwaye batanu (one youngester who dies equals five senile departures from life).

Throughout this analysis, it has been noticed that,

with minor differences, both Kirundi and English use metaphor. We have cases of verbal, or predicate metaphors as in to wrestle with a problem, guta akanwa (to speak out unchecked words regardless one's audience, in all awareness of the consequences that such a behaviour can bring). It can be a case of sentential metaphors as in naka yaryamiye ukuboko kw'abagabo (so and so slept on (the) men's arm i.e. a man has died), or a "X is Y" type of metaphor as in this room is a pigsty. The difference between the two languages is only that the former uses more metaphors than the latter. In English as well as in Kirundi, metaphors can shed light on realities experienced in the group in which such transfers are used. As a result, their interpretation is usually socially determined. Whereas a Burundian would see an owl from only an negative angle, an English native speaker is accustomed to having more appreciative connotations associated with this bird. This is what explains to some extent the existence of English nominal metaphors which have no equivalents in Kirundi and vice versa, a fact that is liable to the differences of culture, economic and geographical settings.

Similarities have been pointed out, dissimilarities discussed. This once more serves to back up the claims that meanings (metaphorically-determined meanings) are socially determined ; Waldrdon's assertion (supra) is proved true.

Throughout this work, it will have been shown that language is, in all its spheres, full of metaphors as pointed out by D. Bolinger 1975 : 423 who remarked that "Countless present meanings are embalmed metaphors." This viewpoint was shared by I.A. Richards(op.cit : 90)

who observed that even our notions of time and space do not in principle escape this general rule. People can be said to be small-minded, pin-headed, feather-brained, etc. All these labels have no reference whatsoever to literal designation. Individuals can labour under an illusion or be under somebody else's rule. An awkward person is metaphorically said to be heavy-handed (this makes no appeal to his/her hand's weight); someone overwhelmed by difficulties and melancholy is heavy-hearted. In view of this, Bolinger D. 1980 : 143 was right to say :

> When an idea strikes us as new and original, the chances are that it has been conveyed by a metaphor, that some old word with an old meaning has taken a leap in the imagination.

We set up as our prime goal to analyse the metaphoric device with the ultimate end of looking at its cross-cultural dimensions. For this purpose, a number of steps were followed. After the general introduction concerned with the theoretical framework, we first tried to define the concept of metaphor. Second we related it to other 'sister' figures. Its origins and/or causes have been explored, its different manifestations surveyed, and its social understanding attempted. By this, we answered questions like : what are the purposes of using metaphor ? i.e. How should we understand the intentions of non-literal speech ? Assuming that tropes are a very complex semantic means — which indeed they are — which social functions/ends do they serve if we can agree to regard them as functional ? To these queries we answered when we devised to analyse the whys and wherefores of figurative viz metaphoric language.

At the end of this essay, we have disabused ourselves of the idea of metaphor as a kind of verbal game. We will have shown that the metaphoric — and by extension the synecdochic and the metonymic — process is not a simple game of substitution. Thus we joined Crocker t al op.cit : 32 who says that "it is a creative game where the pregnant interplay of two disparate terms provides insights that, although it might at times be trivial, can also be profound and revealing of important and deep cultural understandings.

We cannot pretend to have attained perfection at the end of this work. Stated otherwise, a number of obstacles contributed to impede our progress in the carrying out of our analysis.

The first set of problems encountered throughout this analysis concerns the lack of material available to the writer, sources that are related to rhetoric in linguistic research thus far conducted. The second type of obstacle we had to cope with concerns the metalinguistic approach that was imposed upon us by the very nature of the topic. It is a truism that transliteration can at times hamper the accurate rendition of a given reality. No less a handicap was the complex nature of the rhetorical concepts discussed. To this are added the controversies around the origins and/or causes of metaphorical transfers as well as the whys and wherefores of figurative speech as a whole.

In last analysis, our work is but a modest contribution to studies already conducted in this area. The spadework done so far is evidently too small-scale to warrant

far-reachings conclusions. Further research needs to be carried out so as to cover the whole field of metaphorical speech. We nourish the hope, however, that these pages will serve to pave the way for future investigation. They hopefully prepare the ground for later language analysts who might wish to do further work in this area.

* * *

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