Introduction

AIDS as an incurable ailment is no stranger to humankind. Most health-conscious watchdogs, such as the World Health Organization (WHO) and UNAIDS, have lobbied for aggressive AIDS campaigns to sensitize populations within sub-Saharan Africa on AIDS prevention interventions (Doka 1997; Sontag 1988). This paper examines the cognitive effects of metaphors and metonymies emerging from sexually explicit images and scary pictorial representations in AIDS posters among respondents in the Maseno Division of Kenya to establish whether sexually explicit AIDS posters can be culturally accepted in a region gravely affected by the AIDS pandemic (cf. Murano, 2009; Magonya, 2012). Maseno Division is located along the Kisumu-Busia highway connecting Kenya and Uganda. It is approximately 20 kilometers from Kisumu town, which is the headquarters of Nyanza province in Kenya. The estimated population of Maseno division is approximately 69,000, with the predominant linguistic groups being the Luo and Luhyia (cf. National Coordinating Agency for Population and Development, 2005). According to Sigot (2001) and the National Coordinating Agency for Population and Development (NCAPD2005), Nyanza province is the epicenter of heightened prevalence rates in Kenya. Besides this, the NACC (2012) comprehensive report on Kenya’s AIDS epidemic states that Nyanza Province not only records the highest HIV prevalence rate at 13.9%, but also contributes to one third of new infections in Kenya. Further, the NCAPD posits that 35% of Kisumu county’s population is HIV positive and the myriad of factors fuelling the heightened AIDS-related deaths in the region include complacency, retarded pace in behavior change due to cultural practices like wife inheritance, low condom use due to limited information on their usage, and inaccessibility of antiretrovirals to most seropositive persons. Stigmatisation of AIDS was evident among Maseno Division respondents during the data collection process, as some respondents refused to participate in our study because of an erroneous assumption that we had the intention of subjecting them to an HIV test after they completed the questionnaire.

In the context of this paper, AIDS campaign posters bearing images that overtly depict nudity will be considered sexually explicit, as shown in Posters 1 and 2, respectively derived from the Love Life STOP AIDS Swiss campaign poster that reads No action without protection and the Canadian One life AIDS campaign reading Each time you sleep with someone You are sleeping with his past. On one hand, Poster 1 has images of nude men engaged in risky sports without any protection as a way of sensitising the audience on safe sex. On the other hand, Poster 2 uses an image of a partially nude
couple engaging in sex in a room as a way of sensitising the audience on the importance of knowing one’s HIV status prior to engaging in sex (cf. Murano 2009). Frightening images in AIDS posters, such as Posters 3 (used in Kenya) and 4 (used in France), are labelled scary in this paper. On one extreme, Poster 3 employs a two-faced image of a commercial sex worker at night whereby the approaching male client sees her as a “perfect” human being, whereas the audience is presented with the image of a skeleton to metonymically present her real HIV status. The Kenyan AIDS poster sensitises the audience on the dangers of engaging in unprotected sex with any person whose HIV status remains unknown, for AIDS kills, as articulated in its message What you see is not what you get. AIDS KILLS\(\text{ii}\). On the other extreme, Poster 4 personifies the AIDS virus as a monster using the forms of a giant spider having sex with a woman or the image of a nude man engaging in sex with a gigantic scorpion to represent death\(\text{iii}\) (cf. Magonya 2012:117).

Besides analysing sexually explicit and scary AIDS campaign posters, this paper unearths some of the reasons that Maseno Division respondents in Kenya give for embracing the use of a scary AIDS poster in AIDS awareness campaigns as opposed to a sexually explicit AIDS poster. In European nations, using sexually explicit AIDS campaign posters has been successful in countries like Switzerland, which has a higher prevalence rate than other European nations (cf. Kammer and Kopp 2006). According to the Swiss Federal Office of Public Health (SFOPH 2003) and Kammer and Kopp (2006), the STOP AIDS campaign and Love Life STOP
AIDS campaigns in Switzerland have been successful owing to their use of sexually explicit images. The recall value of the STOP AIDS campaigns was between 70-80% (cf. SFOPH 2003) and Kammer and Kopp (2006) additionally comment, The new HIV/AIDS prevention message is honest, open and modern. It no longer hides behind symbols. Only 4% of people surveyed disapproved of using sexually-themed pictures with emotionally positive connotations in such a campaign. The Swiss national HIV/AIDS prevention campaign has never tried to get its message across with scenarios that transmit fear, threats or horror. The campaign has always sought to draw on scientific facts in order to make a distinction between situations which could potentially lead to infection with HIV and situations which are not associated with a risk.

This comment specifically underscores both the benefits and cognitive effects of being honest and open in behaviour change communication by using sexually explicit AIDS posters. Similar observations have been noted by the AIDS Action Council (2013) in Australia, where sexually explicit images in AIDS campaigns have been more effective at inducing behavioural change. In contrast, within Kenya, sex education in both the education curriculum and religious circles is virtually muted in the era of HIV and AIDS (cf. Kangara 2004).

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK
Health communication through pamphlets, posters, televised health programmes, and other communicative channels are platforms used by health practitioners just like advertisers selling their health-related messages to target groups. In this paper, we test Ungerer’s model in the analysis of AIDS posters of dissimilar images presented to respondents in Maseno Division, Kenya. Ungerer (2003) explores the interplay of metaphors and metonymy in advertisements and how they cognitively influence the audience preference for either an idea being sold by an advertiser or an advertised product. Lakoff and Johnson (1980:30) argue that metaphors are not only ubiquitous, but their unconscious usage in discourse is effortless. A case in point is the conceptual metaphor of ANGER IS A HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER, realised in linguistic metaphors like blow your stack and hit the ceiling (cf. Gibbs 1997; Gibbset al. 2004). Another example is the conceptual metaphor of TIME AS A MOVING OBJECT, for which an expression like to move forward a meeting serves as a linguistic metaphor (cf. Boroditsky and Ramscar 2002). Ungerer’s thesis on advertisements is that the advertiser’s strategy is to strictly conform to four aspects: Attention, Interest, Desire, and Action (AIDA). Put simply, pictorial metaphors accompanying advertised products should capture the attention of an audience while simultaneously instilling the desire to either acquire the product being sold or embrace the advertised idea. Once the desire for the particular object has been manifested in the customer, an action is expected from the customer, either by embracing the advertised idea or by buying the advertised object. According to Ungerer, advertisers capitalise on pictorial metaphors and metonymy alongside verbalised constructions to convince their potential customers when marketing their products. In most cases, there is an underlying grabbing metonymy triggered by a particular emotion, namely desire, which serves as the driving force behind a customer’s choice for buying a particular object or idea being advertised. Desire is categorised under a class of emotions such as anger, joy, and fear, and Ungerer
considers it as a semi-volitional bodily movement working under the guidance of the AIDA formula. In connection to this, desire falls under the Lakoffian metonymic umbrella of PHYSIOLOGICAL EFFECTS OF EMOTIONS STAND FOR THE EMOTION’S CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR.

The grabbing metonymy further activates the value metaphor as shown in Figure 1, owing to the positive attributes of the advertised object meant to entice consumers towards possessing it at all costs. Such qualities can be verbalised using attributive adjectives, such as exquisite, wonderful, or exemplary. Under the guidance of THE DESIRED OBJECT IS A VALUABLE OBJECT conceptual metaphor, the advertiser’s goal is only to sell positive values associated with the object. A simplified framework on the operational functions of the VALUE metaphor and the GRABBING metonymy is shown in Figure 1.

Alongside the value metaphors, there are interest metaphors hosting a continuum of value metaphors and shock metaphors, as shown in Figure 2. The metaphors capitalise on using linguistic tools to captivate the customer’s attention, under the guidance of the conceptual metaphor THE DESIRED OBJECT IS AN INTERESTING OBJECT, which is worth grabbing or buying.

The outlined interest metaphors determine whether a customer will buy an advertised idea under the guidance of the value metaphors or reject the advertised product because of the shock metaphors it generates, especially if the desired object is shocking or revolting. The shock metaphors are capable of either making one reject the product being sold or accept it, depending on one’s own convictions. In fact, in Ungerer’s perspective, a remedy for this situation entails the application of certain muting strategies to downtone shocking aspects of an advertisement, as demonstrated in our analysis of Posters A and B. Ungerer practically demonstrates the working operations of the grabbing metonymy and the value and interest metaphors using the Volkswagen (VW) Passat advertisement in Figure 3.

Figure 1: The GRABBING Metonymy (Ungerer 2003:325)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Metaphor: THE DESIRED OBJECT IS A VALUABLE OBJECT</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Motivates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Activates</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Metonymy: GRABBING THE DESIRED OBJECT STANDS FOR DESIRE</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2: Types of INTEREST Metaphors Used in Advertising (Ungerer 2003:326)

VALUE metaphors

- THE DESIRED OBJECT IS A GOOD OBJECT
- THE DESIRED OBJECT IS BEAUTIFUL
- THE DESIRED OBJECT IS FAMOUS
- THE DESIRED OBJECT IS A FAST OBJECT
- THE DESIRED OBJECT IS A NEW OBJECT

SHOCK metaphors

- THE DESIRED OBJECT IS STRANGE
- THE DESIRED OBJECT IS EXOTIC
- THE DESIRED OBJECT IS MYSTIFYING
- THE DESIRED OBJECT IS SHOCKING
- THE DESIRED OBJECT IS REVOLTING

Figure 3: VW Passat Advertisement (Ungerer 2003:330-331)
Ungerer’s analysis of the VW Passat advertisement begins by commenting on the picture of the VW Passat being scrutinised by four men and a woman all dressed in laboratory coats. The image depicts the Passat as an object of scientific investigation, within the source domain of a LABORATORY CHECK. In Ungerer’s opinion, the source domain is a variant of the INTEREST metaphor by advocating that THE DESIRED OBJECT IS A STRANGE OBJECT. Given that some people will be uncomfortable with the concept of a LABORATORY CHECK or complex scientific procedures undertaken in laboratories, certain muting strategies are required in the advertisement to filter out unwanted scientific connotations that might emerge from the advertisement. In this case, the typical LABORATORY CHECK source domain is muted and reduced to positive aspects of undivided attention and care channelled towards the car’s production. Comments to support such statements are found in attributive adjectives written in small print as in attention and reliability. Furthermore, the value metaphor in this case is THE CAR IS PEOPLE AND FAMILY, which supports the target domain that is explicitly captured by verbal expressions, such as ‘Passat. For a man and a woman. And for the kids, if they’ve got any... it was ‘probably the finest family car in the world.’

Ungerer’s model for analysing metaphors and metonymy not only applies to commercial advertisements, but is equally an analytic tool for analysing the acceptability or rejectability of health messages, as shown in Ungerer’s (2003) analysis of an anti-smoking advertisement. Using Ungerer’s model, this paper investigates whether respondents from a high HIV prevalence region like Maseno, Kenya will downplay conservativeness by embracing sexually explicit AIDS posters, as opposed to scary AIDS posters, on the strength of the former’s cognitive effects.

**METHODOLOGY**

This study was carried out in 2010 in Maseno Division using a mixed questionnaire of open-ended and closed-ended questions written in English. The analysed data was derived from one question testing the receptiveness of 33 respondents to sexually explicit AIDS posters. Respondents were between 18 to 42 years of age and were from various communities and educational backgrounds of different marital and HIV status (Table 1). The speech communities sampled for the study were comprised of four Bantu communities, namely Kikuyu, Kisii, Meru, and Luhyia, and four Nilotic tribes, notably the Kalenjin, Luo, Maasai, and Turkana speakers living within Maseno Division.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1: Respondent Characteristics</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Highest Educational Attainment</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary School or Less</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>High School</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Some College or Higher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th><strong>Marital Status</strong></th>
<th><strong>HIV Status</strong></th>
<th><strong>Number of Respondents</strong></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>negative</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>positive</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>negative</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married</td>
<td>positive</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
We did not examine ethnic group-specific beliefs for a particular poster; rather, we were more concerned with obtaining a Kenyan perspective on the respondents’ preferences for the posters. Moreover, the study wanted to investigate whether Maseno Division respondents residing in a high HIV prevalence region in Kenya would culturally embrace the usage of sexually explicit images in AIDS posters.

Our task was to present to the 33 Maseno Division respondents the Australian Grim Reaper poster (Poster A), which was juxtaposed with the sexually explicit Love Life, Stop AIDS campaign poster from Switzerland (Poster B), as shown below. Both posters had a similar message on prevention interventions in mitigating the spread of AIDS, but used different pictorial metaphors. These foreign posters were selected because literature convincingly shows that they registered different cognitive effects in their respective countries. In 1990, the Grim Reaper campaign (Poster A) registered both a positive and negative impact on the Australian population. It lowered the HIV prevalence rate in Australia, but also induced fear and stigmatisation of gay, lesbian, and HIV seropositive persons in Australia. Televised commercials in the same campaign showed the Grim Reaper using a bowling ball to knock down families. This Grim Reaper AIDS campaign is recorded as having had a lasting effect on the Australian population (cf. Winn 1991; AIDS Action Council 2013), whereas the STOP AIDS campaign is lauded as one of the most successful Swiss AIDS campaigns for its usage of sexually explicit images (cf. SFOPH 2003; Kammer and Kopp 2006). Conversely, in Kenya behaviour change communicators have never used sexually explicit AIDS messages in AIDS campaigns posters like their Western counterparts (cf. Murano 2009; Media Materials Clearing House 2010). Recently, attempts by the Catholics for Choice group to promote condom usage among Catholics were castigated by Kenyan religious groups (cf. Catholic for Choice 2013). Moreover, a Kenyan AIDS campaign advertisement aired on national television that encouraged promiscuous married women to use condoms in their sexual encounters was equally criticised for promoting extra-marital affairs (Vibe Weekly 2013). It is within such a cultural context that our study is premised.

The respondents first selected one of two posters shown simultaneously by circling the poster they would comfortably use in sensitising a teenage daughter or son on HIV and AIDS. Second, they were asked to write their reasons for selecting the posters they chose. By asking our African respondents this question, we wanted them to assume the role of an African behaviour change communicator intending to sensitise African youths on HIV and AIDS. The respondents’ reasons
for selecting a particular poster guided our analysis in Figures 4 and 5, which account for the manner in which respondents cognitively rejected or accepted muted metaphors or metonymies of Posters A and B.

Poster A is a 1990 Australian AIDS poster with the image of the Grim Reaper armed with a scythe as his execution weapon. In studies on metaphors of death, an image of the Grim Reaper or any creature that wants to devour a human being metonymically represents death. The Grim Reaper is framed within the DEATH IS A REAPER conceptual metaphor, which depicts death as a reaper as it harvests human souls. Here, the imagery specifically springs from the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS conceptual metaphor realised in linguistic metaphors such as he is withering away meaning that one is slowly dying (cf. Lakoff and Turner 1989; Evans and Green 2006; Magonya 2012:114). In this case, the source domain is the AIDS IS THE GRIM REAPER (DEATH) conceptual metaphor. The message accompanying the Grim Reaper’s image reads AIDS Prevention is the only cure we have got. Based on the scary imagery used, the poster cautions respondents on the need to focus on prevention interventions like using antiretrovirals (ARVs), delayed sexual debut among the youth, abstinence, and use of condoms in curbing the AIDS epidemic (NACC 2012). Contrastively, Poster B is a Swiss AIDS campaign poster that employs images of nude women engaging in fencing as risky sport without any protective gear. Poster B bears the message, No action without protection. The poster metaphorically suggests that engaging in unprotected sex is equated to engaging in risky sports without protection under the umbrella of the SEX IS A GAME conceptual metaphor, particularly its variant of UNSAFE SEX IS RISKY SPORTS WITHOUT PROTECTIVE GEAR. The respondents’ preferences for the posters are shown in Table 2.

The data in Table 2 show that respondents overwhelmingly chose Poster A instead of B, and the latter was chosen by only 21% of the respondents. One HIV positive respondent said that “A is scary, whereas B is indecent and unafrican.” Another HIV negative respondent said, “If I choose B, the children will want to know why they are naked and it will encourage them to engage in sex.” Respondents seemed uncomfortable with Poster B’s sexually explicit pictures. They even labelled it as “culturally repulsive.” Furthermore, the same respondents were reluctant to embrace its usage in sensitising the youth on AIDS. In Kenya, such responses are not peculiar largely because of the conservatism surrounding sex. Even the integration of sex education in Kenyan schools has been a herculean task (cf. Kangara 2004). Seemingly, the respondents’ responses show that they are culturally unaccustomed to having such sexually explicit posters, hence labelling them as “indecent,” “unafrican” (suggesting it is a foreign concept), or “they will encourage premarital sex.” Nevertheless, some respondents did choose Poster B. One HIV negative

Table 2: Preference for Explicit versus Non-explicit AIDS Posters by Maseno Division Respondents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Poster Preference</th>
<th>Number of Respondents</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Poster A: The Grim Reaper</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>64%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Poster B: STOP AIDS campaign</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>None of the posters</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
respondent claimed that Poster A was scarier than Poster B and this respondent was against scaring youth on HIV and AIDS. Another HIV positive respondent claimed that Poster B depicted how AIDS should be vigorously fought and seemed unconcerned about the sexually explicit images of the poster. It is interesting to note that 15% outright rejected both posters. These respondents wrote on the questionnaires that they would not use any of the posters in an AIDS campaign, even though the questionnaires did not include an option for respondents to reject both posters. One respondent argued that Poster A was scarier than Poster B, but considered the latter vulgar and so rejected its usage as an AIDS poster. These respondents remained unconvinced by the grabbing metonymy in either poster, meaning that desire as an emotive aspect of the AIDA formula remains inactivated. In brief, we were represented with varied responses from our respondents regardless of their marital status, educational backgrounds, HIV status, and speech community.

To comprehend the metaphors and metonymy emerging from the two posters and determine how the respondents arrived at their respective choices of the posters as shown in Table 2, it is imperative we incorporate Ungerer’s model in this discussion using Figures 4 and 5.

In Ungerer’s (2003) perspective, understanding the two posters is normally guided by the Attention-Interest-Desire-Action (AIDA) formula, whereby pictorial images accompanying advertised products should have the following four effects on their customers: they should arrest their attention, arouse some level of interest within their customers, create a desire among their customers to accept the product or idea, and in turn, the desire should trigger an action from the customer either by buying the idea or the advertised object. Undeniably, Posters A and B are selling similar ideas to the audience oriented around practising safe sex and other preventive interventions in curbing the AIDS pandemic. The pictorial metaphors appearing in the posters are meant, via the desire component of AIDA, to trigger the grabbing metonymy owing to the benefits derived from practising safe sex. In this context, commonsense rules that death is inevitable when one contracts AIDS as a result of unsafe sex. The concept of death is metonymically represented by the image of the Grim Reaper in Poster A. Further, given that death is one of the mysteries of human life, many people fear dying and the mystery surrounding death. This explains why in Figure 4, the Grim Reaper generates a shock metaphor under AIDS IS GRIM REAPER, which is a scary concept. It motivates 64% of the respondents to generate the grabbing metonymy to accept using the AIDS IS GRIM REAPER
metaphor in an AIDS campaign sensitising youth on HIV and AIDS. Such scary imagery will instill fear in both the audience and youths. Therefore, the respondents were motivated to accept Poster A on the basis of the shocking metaphor that will not only scare youths on the dangers of AIDS, but also compel them to practice safe sex as a preventive measure.

In Poster B, nude women engaged in risky sports without protective gear is equally fatal. Once the audience sees pictures of nude women, and based on the conservative nature of many African communities on sexuality (cf. Bujra2002; Kangara2004), the shock metaphor generated by the sexually explicit poster is “the desired idea of using UNSAFE SEX IS RISKY SPORTS WITHOUT PROTECTIVE GEAR in sensitising the youth is revolting.” Hence, Poster B was chosen by only 21% of respondents. These respondents will automatically comprehend that “the desired idea of using the conceptual metaphor UNSAFE SEX IS RISKY SPORTS WITHOUT PROTECTIVE GEAR metaphor in sensitising the youth on HIV and AIDS is a valuable idea.” For those who failed to choose it, the stated metaphor does not hold. At this point, it is important to stress that preferential differences emerge at the level of the interest metaphor. This is because both pictorial metaphors appearing in the posters fall under shock metaphors outlined in Figures 4and 5. As a word of caution, Ungerer (2003:327) contends that even though strange or revolting source domains may provide more powerful metaphors, as in Poster B’s case, it does not necessarily mean that such posters will activate the grabbing metonymy. This is regardless of the fact that they depict a societal truism on human sexuality that cannot be wished away. In many societies, human sexuality is a taboo topic and people refrain from talking overtly on matters touching on human sexuality (Kangara 2004; Nzioka 2000). As a matter of fact, a respondent indicated that sexually explicit images were “unafrican” and “unacceptable in the African culture.” For the 15% of the respondents who rejected the posters, they had no desire to subscribe to any of the messages propagated by the posters. In their case, there was no activation of the grabbing metonymy to influence their selection of a poster that they would comfortably use in sensitising the youth on AIDS.

In our opinion, Poster’s A muting strategies are triggered by the use of the construction “AIDS prevention is the only cure we have got.” This is meant to instill in the audience that there is a need to focus on prevention interventions to mitigate the heightened HIV mortality rates. Muting strategies for Poster B are realized by the statement, “Love Life STOP AIDS,” alerting the audience that the “obscene” poster has utility and is designed to convey an AIDS-related message on prevention interventions. Moreover, the metaphors and metonymies framing each poster are represented in Figures 4and 5, and they demonstrate how the respondents either accepted or rejected a particular AIDS poster. Apparently, the usage of sexually explicit images in AIDS posters, as opposed to non-explicit AIDS posters, in Maseno Division is still unwelcome and considered culturally alien. In this respect, even though a small percentage of the respondents are willing to embrace the usage of sexually explicit AIDS campaign posters, we have to acknowledge the fact that a large percentage of the respondents remain conservative about the usage of sexually explicit AIDS posters, which are the norm in many Western
societies, such as Germany, Australia, France, and Canada (cf. Murano 2009; AIDS Action Council 2013). For African behaviour change communicators to register stronger and more lasting effects on their target groups, there is need to sensitise populations on the importance of taking the bull by its horns by being honest and open in matters of sexuality and HIV and AIDS in Africa.

END NOTES

1 According to Olouch and Nyongesa (2013), widow inheritance is a common cultural practice in many African societies. Traditionally among the Luo community in Kenya, after the demise of a spouse, a widow was to be inherited by either a brother in law, first cousin, a clan cousin, or even an adopted stranger, all from her matrimonial home. The reason was that it was the responsibility of the husband’s extended family to take care of the social and economic well-being of both widow and her children. Cleansing rites were performed on the widow, with the central one being that the widow was supposed to have sex with the chosen inheritor. The HIV and AIDS era has led to the commercialisation of this process, leading to the emergence of “professional inheritors” who are fuelling the spread of HIV and AIDS in Nyanza province, especially those who are HIV positive, by performing the rites on numerous unsuspecting women in the region.

2 The phrase AIDS KILLS is written in bold using red, which is a colour that conventionally symbolises danger.

3 Lakoff and Turner (1989:17) hold that there are ways in which personification of death adopts certain imagery. For instance, the image of a beast or monster that is trying to devour someone as captured by the image of a gigantic spider or a monstrous scorpion in the French poster is clear representation of agents of death that metaphorically depict the manner in which AIDS is a killer disease (cf. Magonya 2012:117).

4 According to Kövecses (2006) metonymy, just like metaphor, conventionally captures our experiences; the only dissimilarity between them is that metonymy is structured on one conceptual domain, whereas metaphors have two conceptual domains. Examples of metonymy under the PART-WHOLE conceptual frame include we need a couple of strong bodies for our team (to denote strong people) or PRODUCER FOR THE PRODUCT in expressions such as He brought a Ford or He got a Picasso.

5 Ungerer (2003) provides numerous examples of physiological metonymies using three broad categories. There are non-volitional metonymies, for example the release of sweat or moist hands, metonymically standing for FEAR, or changes in skin colour as in turning red standing for ANGER. The semi-volitional ones are characteristic of movements, such as jumping up and down standing for JOY, or hugging and kissing standing for LOVE.

6 The linguistic tools include adjectives, rhyme, or eye-catching/captivating expressions.

7 Ethical considerations for this study entailed processing for a research permit from the Ministry of Higher Education in Kenya, which assured respondents that the research was purely for academic purposes and that their identities will be protected.

8 According to Githiora (2008), Kenya’s linguistic status is broadly presented as follows: 65% are Bantu speakers like the Luhyia and Kikuyu communities, 30% are Nilotic speakers like the Luo and Maasai communities, 3% are Cushites like the Boran and Somali speakers, and 2% are Kenyan Indians.

9 Lakoff and Turner (1989) argue that the PEOPLE ARE PLANTS conceptual metaphor examines the human life using the life cycle of plants, which sprout, bloom, and wither; their death is marked by either their harvesting, like in the case of crops in farms, or the leaves falling off of a tree. Linguistic expressions like “young sprout” denote the early stages of life, while someone being described as “having bloomed” is an indicator of one’s maturity being compared to the maturity of a plant.

10 Fernández (2008:107) gives examples of the SEX IS A GAME metaphor in linguistic expressions, such as play away meaning to commit adultery, score meaning copulation, and play the field meaning to be sexually promiscuous.

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