

The Meaning, Function, and Contextual Usage of Metaphors on Women in Russian and Yorùbá

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Abstract

Metaphors are meaning-making mechanisms based on communicative and contextual constructs. Since metaphorical expressions are used to express cultural values and the belief systems of people in a linguistic community, the meaning, function and contextual usage of metaphors differ from language to language and from culture to culture. This paper probes the meaning, function, and contextual usage of metaphors on women in Russian and Yorùbá languages. The paper employs the theory of context by Bronislaw Malinowski as the analytical framework for explicating the meaning, relevance, and function of the sampled metaphors. It argues that metaphors are used to project the worldview of people in different speech communities on social issues, including their perspectives on women. It reveals that speech communities project their worldviews on women through language use. The paper concludes that metaphors in Russian and Yorùbá speech communities portray women both positively and negatively, especially in terms of their social functions and speech acts. However, metaphors on women show that there is still a positive representation of women to depict their relevance in patriarchal societies.

Keywords: metaphor, meaning, context, function, women

Аннотация

Метафоры - это смыслообразующие механизмы, основанные на коммуникативном и контекстуальном конструкте. Поскольку метафорические выражения используются для выражения культурных ценностей и систем верований людей в языковом сообществе, значение, функция и контекстуальное использование

метафор различаются от языка к языку и от культуры к культуре. В данной статье исследуется значение, функция и контекстуальное употребление метафор женщин в русском и йоруба языках. Что касается русского языка и языка народа йоруба, то в статье используется теория контекста как аналитическая основа для выявления значения, релевантности и функции метафор женщин в русском и йоруба языках. Статья утверждает, что метафоры используются для изображения мировоззрения людей в различных речевых сообществах по социальным вопросам, включая их взгляды на женщин. В данной статье показано, что речевые сообщества изображают свое мировоззрение на женщин через использование ими языка; метафоры в речевых сообществах у русских и народа йоруба показывают, что оба сообщества изображают женщин как в позитивной, так и в негативной перспективе, и что негативная изображения женщин заключается в выполнении некоторых социальных функций и речевых актов. Метафора женщин показывает, что все еще существует позитивная репрезентация женщин, чтобы показать их значимость в патриархальных обществах.

Включивые слова: Метафора, значение, контекст, функция, женщины.

Introduction

Language is the lubricating oil of the society that enhances and establishes social relationships through a communicative tunnel that disseminates the informational thought of a social construct throughout a speech community. Wardhaugh (1998) asserts that “language is the identity of a society since it is the people’s medium of speech”. Since language is the identity marker of any society, it follows that cultural values, social norms and customs are embedded in language. The languages spoken in Russian and Yorùbá societies specify the social norms of usage. Language usage differs from one ethnic group to another and from society to society. The function of a successful society is indeed precipitated upon the social norms that structure the communicative means adopted in the social setting. Since language serves as the hub of a society, its usage and functions are determined by the social structure put in place in any linguistic community. Indeed, it is a truism that each speech community has its

own peculiarity of language use according to the norms and conventions of the community.

In most cases, a creative form of language is employed to deplore the social-cultural background, value and richness of the cultural heritage of a speech community. Such linguistic creativity goes beyond creating aesthetic effects in the use of language and deplores richness in the nature of language use in such a community. Diverse speech communities have unique ways of displaying linguistic creativity through figurative elements in their language use and based on their cultural heritage. The figurative elements, metaphor inclusive, express the peculiarity of the meaning-making process to depict a people's worldview. Metaphor has been considered as one of the major mechanisms that contribute to the diffusion and ingraining of folk beliefs (Rodríguez, 2009).

Metaphor is a cultural product deployed in the social construct of a people's worldview in a sociocultural setting (Lakoff & Kovecses, 1987; Quinn 1991; Yuanqiong, 2009; Sobola, 2019). To be sure, the worldview and the culture of a people are projected and expressed through metaphor, which is an aspect of language creativity. Different aspects of culture and worldview are also represented in diverse ways through the nature of language use in a speech community. Sobola (2019) asserts that "metaphorical expressions are used to express cultural values and beliefs". Metaphors are used to project the uniqueness of language use as a result of different cultural models in the communities. The cultural models available in a community are employed in the construction of metaphors in that community (Kövecses, 2010; Yu, 1998). These models are identified through images available in the language. If certain cultural images are not available in a language, the metaphors of that language cannot capture, much less express such cultural images, hence the absence of certain metaphors in certain languages. Basso (1976) asserts that metaphor is an expression of language and culture by explaining that "for it is in metaphor, perhaps more dramatically than in any other form of symbolic expression, that language and culture come together and display their inseparability" (Basso, 1976).

A metaphor is a window depicting not only language and culture but also the construction of social identities. Since metaphor channels folk beliefs, it conveys the worldview and stereotypes of

women. It is on this note that we engage in a critical comparison of women in Russian and Yorùbá languages with a view to explicating their functions, contextual usage and diverse meanings. The paper has the following structure: Introduction, the next section offers brief comments on English, Yorùbá and Russian, highlighting the nature of the languages as well as the people's culture and worldview on women. In the third section, we explain the theoretical framework, while in the fourth section, we analyse the data and discuss selected metaphors on women in Russian and Yorùbá. In the fifth section, we present the study findings and provide the conclusion in the last section.

Socio-cultural implications, traditions values, beliefs and Worldview of the Russians and Yorùbá on women

Russians belong to an East Slavic ethnic nation in the territories of Eurasia, particularly in parts of Eastern Europe and Central Asia. They constitute the largest ethnic group in Europe (Faloju & Ajikobi 2017; Faloju 2020). There exist large Diasporas of Russians in Ukraine, Kazakhstan, the U.S., Canada, Belarus, Latvia, and Estonia. As an East Slavic language, Russian is classified under the Indo-European group of languages. It is the official language in Russia, Belarus and Kyrgyzstan and the largest native language in Europe (Арефьев, 2006). Russian is also one of the working languages of the United Nations Organisation (UN), alongside English, Chinese, French, Arabic and Spanish. It is the unofficial but widely spoken language in Ukraine, Moldova, Estonia, Latvia and the 15 other countries constituting the former Soviet Union (Шибко, 2014, Faloju & Ariole, 2015). Regarding the Russian worldview and the place of women in traditional and contemporary Russian culture, it is imperative to state that Russian culture and mentality on women have an adoptive specificity. This implies that the Russians have a stereotypical worldview of women. Apart from this, it is necessary to take into account that the Russian worldview on women also contains specific details of Slavic and Russian mentality regarding women. It is generally believed that the man is the head of the family while the woman is the supporting neck, as being expressed in *Мужчина голова а женщина шея*. In general, the Old Russian family was patriarchal in nature; however, the personal qualities and claims of each spouse played a great role in societal development. In traditional Russian society, there was a struggle for supremacy between men

and women. The Old Russian spiritual fathers struggled with excessive individualism, selfishness and tyranny. Through metaphors, proverbs and sayings, Russian culture condemns overbearing husbands and wives who do not respect their spouses. In traditional and contemporary Russian societies, women are viewed as the main support of the family and the ones who control the atmospheric conditions of the home.

The Yorùbá language is classified as part of the Kwa subgroup of languages under the Niger-Congo phylum. It is part of the three main languages spoken in Nigeria, the other two being Hausa and Igbo. Yorùbá is also spoken in the West African countries of Togo and Sierra Leone in addition to being the second official language in the Republic of Benin (Akintoye, 2010). The transnational diasporic influence of Yorùbá also exists outside the shores of Africa in countries like Brazil, Cuba, Trinidad and Tobago, Haiti and Jamaica (Falaju & Fadaïro, 2020). The Yorùbá dialect comprises many dialects that are mostly mutually intelligible. Usage of the standard variety of the language spreads across all the dialect areas and binds the Yorùbá people together (Falaju & Ajikobi, 2017).

Maiconis (2000) and Falaju (2017) assert that the culture of a people is marked by their social heritage, that is, those learned patterns of thinking, feeling and acting that are transmitted from one generation to the other, including the quintessence of those patterns in physical objects. In other words, it is the way of life of a group of people that comprises the behaviour, beliefs, values and symbols that they unconsciously accept. This way of life is passed along by communication and imitation from one generation to another. Falaju (2017) further opines that the culture of any group of people in any society involves all that entirely pertains to the people and this includes their belief system, ideas of right and wrong, material objects and rules for behaviour. In the view of Olatunde (1988), women are viewed as water and birds in the Yorùbá cosmology and this reminds one of the primordial water. Apart from this, women are equally perceived as the owners of this world, i.e., *alaiyé* (witches) or *ẹlẹyẹ* (Olatunde, 1988). In addition to this, in some Yoruba myths there abound accounts of women turning into river goddesses such as *Òkun*, *Ọya*, *Ọsun*, etc. Traditionally, in the Yoruba male consciousness, women are believed to be endowed with supernatural powers and the ability to dominate the world. A woman labelled as a

witch is capable of creating chaos in any society. Women are seen as objects such as gold, cap or even a river. These perceptions of women are embedded in Yoruba metaphors just as perceptions about women also exist in Russian metaphors.

Theoretical Framework

The concept of context was introduced by Bronislaw Malinowski, a Polish professor of Anthropology, while he was doing fieldwork on 'primitive' culture. In Malinowski's view, cited in Halliday 1989, "a text written by native speakers of a language could not be understood by any foreigners or by people living outside their society even if translated into their own languages because each message brought much more meanings than those expressed through the words, meanings that could only be understood if accompanied by the situation" (Halliday, 1989: 6). Malinowski's concept of Context of Situation was supported by J.R. Firth, one of the founders of British functionalism. Firth states that "the context of a situation is not to be interpreted in concrete terms as a sort of audiovisual record of the surrounding props," adding that it "was, rather, an abstract representation of the environment in terms of certain general categories having relevance to a text" (Halliday, 1977: 109). Halliday employed Firth's idea of context to establish the systemic-functional theory in which the categories and their relations could be made explicit. Halliday and Hasan (1985) assert that context is no longer just an abstract concept concerning the environment in which language is used but an abstract theoretical category based on which language can be interpreted (Halliday & Hassan, 1985). Thus, this research paper utilises the pragmatic theory of context to explicate the meaning, function and contextual usage of metaphors on women in the Russian and Yorùbá languages. The theory is applied to reaffirm the assertion that metaphor is an aspect of linguistic creativity that expresses the cultural value and heritage of any language.

Data Analysis

This section focuses on the analysis of the meaning, functions, and usage of metaphor relating to women in Russian and Yorùbá speech communities. Metaphors are used to represent and describe the characteristics of people - particularly in the areas of behaviour - in Russian and Yorùbá languages. It is common to come across the

word *баба*, which means a peasant woman, a dame, a wife or any old woman in Russian. The usage of the lexeme *баба* abounds in Russian metaphors, proverbs and sayings:

Analysis of Russian Metaphors Conveying Positive Images of Women

Generally, Russian has metaphors about women and young maidens' beauty, some of which are considered below:

- i. *Коса – девичья краса* - Braid is a maiden's beauty.
- ii. *Красная краса – русая коса* – Red beauty is Russian braid.
- iii. *Женщина ангел* – A woman is an angel.
- iv. *Женщина – богиня (божество)* – A woman is a goddess
- v. *Женщина не рукавица* – A woman is not mitten (gauntlet).
- vi. *Женщина хранитель мужчины на всех ступенях его жизни* – A woman is the keeper of man in all his steps in life.
- vii. *Женщина – свет* – A woman is a light.
- viii. *Женщина – фея* A woman is a fair (sorceress)
- ix. *Бабий ум лучше всяких дум* - A woman's wit is better than every council representative.
Бабий ум – думы. Бочка с тряпками - A woman's mind – thoughts: A barrel with rags
- x. *Женщина – муза* – A woman is a muse (protectors and inspirer).
- xi. *Муж – голова, жена шея* – The husband (man) is the head, the wife (woman) is the neck.
- xii. *Без жены это как без шапки* - Without a wife is like without a cap.

Text	Meaning	Function	Context
<i>Коса – девичья краса</i>	Braid is a maiden's beauty.	This metaphorical saying is a complimentary metaphor on women.	The expression is used when describing the braid on a young lady's head.
<i>Красная краса русая коса</i>	Red beauty is Russian braid.	This is a speech act that describes a young lady that has a braid on her head as beautiful.	This metaphor is used when describing women's beauty in traditional Russian society.

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<i>Женщина ангел</i>	A woman is an angel.	This expression functions as a complimentary communicative act that describes women, especially pleasant women, as angels.	It is used when one is complimenting a lady for her beauty, warmth or caring attitude.
<i>Женщина – богиня (божество)</i>	A woman is a goddess.	This Russian metaphorical saying also functions as a complimentary speech act used to describe a beautiful woman.	This saying is used in this example to refer to a woman with whom one is in love.
<i>Женщина не руковица</i>	A woman is not mitten.	This expression acts as a speech act stating that women are not instruments like kitchen gloves to be used and dumped anyhow.	It is used when one is emphasising the value of women and that there is a need to treat a woman with respect.
<i>Женщина хранитель мужчины на всех ступенях его жизни</i>	A woman is a man's protector in all the steps of his life.	The metaphorical set of expression brings to light the peculiarity of women as a group of people that support, guard and guide men in all of their life's decisions.	This expression is used when describing the characteristics of women.

<i>Женщина – свет</i>	A woman is a light.	This saying functions as a communicative act that portrays women as the light in men's lives and society as a whole.	The expression is used when describing the role a woman plays in a man's life.
<i>Женщина – фея</i>	A woman is a fairy (sorceress).	The metaphorical expression is a complimentary speech act used to describe a woman who is charming whose beauty is captivating.	This metaphor is used when describing the beauty and the charm a woman possesses in terms of her seductive traits.
<i>Бабий ум лучше всяких дум</i>	A woman's wit is better than every council representative.	This Russian metaphor functions as a compliment to Russian women. The saying asserts that sometimes women's entrepreneurship, shrewdness, worldly wisdom and over the years, help to solve seemingly unsolvable problems that a woman solves with her mind	The metaphor is used when describing a woman's intelligence.

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<i>Женщина – муза</i>	A woman is a muse (protector)	This Russian metaphor depicts women as the protector and keeper of the family, given the significant role women play in the family.	The expression is used when describing women's role in the family.
<i>Бабий ум – думы. Бочка с тряпками</i>	A woman's mind – thoughts: a barrel with rags.	The metaphorical expression acts as a descriptive metaphor describing the peculiarity of a woman thought.	This expression is used when sometimes a woman's enterprise, shrewdness and wisdom help to solve seemingly unsolvable problems. As such, Russians often say that a woman's mind is better than any thoughts.
<i>Муж – голова, жена шея</i>	The husband is the head, the wife (woman) is the neck	This metaphor is a descriptive speech act that reveals the import of women in the family firstly and secondly by extension the society.	The metaphorical saying is used when describing the role of women in a man's life the family and general society.
<i>Без жены это как без шапки</i>	A man without a wife is like being without a cap.	The metaphorical saying explains the value placed on women in the Russian worldview.	This expression is used when analysing and describing the situation of an unmarried man.

There exist negative metaphors on women in the Russian language, especially metaphors depicting women's level of intelligence in comparison to men's level of intelligence men's in traditional society.

Analysis of Russian Metaphors Conveying Negative Images of Women

- i. *Баба с возу - кобыле легче* — The old woman falls from the cart; the horse with the cart becomes easier. English equivalent - good riddance to bad rubbish
- ii. *Красавица без ума – что кошелек без денег-* A beautiful woman without sense is a purse without money.
- iii. *У бабы волос долог, а ум короток* - (A woman has long hair but a short brain).
- iv. *Баба бредит, да черт ей верит* – (A woman is delusional, yes the devil believes her.)
 - v. *Бабы умы разоряют дома* – Women's wits destroy houses.
 - vi. *Волос долог, да ум короток* – (Long hair but a short mind).
- vii. *Две бабы – базар, три бабы – ярмарка* – Two women are markets; three makes a big market.
- viii. *За бабой почитай последнее слово. С бабой не сговоришишь. Бабу не переговоришишь*
Women will have the last word.
- ix. *Гусь да баба - торг, два гуся, две бабы - ярмарка.*- Where there are three women and geese, there is no lack of noise.
- x. *Бабий ум, что бабье коромысло: и косо, и криво, и на два конца* - (A woman's mind is a woman's yoke; it is slanted and crooked on both ends.)
- xi. *Женские умы – что татарские сумы (переметные)* – Women's mind – tartar's saddle bag;
- xii. *Где две бабы, там суём (сейм, сходка), а где три, там содом* – (Where there are two women, there is a «meeting» disturbance there.
- xiii. *Курица - не птица, баба - не человек:* A chicken is not a bird; a woman is not a human being.

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Text	Meaning	Function	Context
<i>Баба с возу - кобыле легче</i>	Good riddance to bad rubbish.	This metaphorical saying is a speech act stating the speaker's indifference to a particular issue or a person.	Although the expression contains the lexical item <i>баба</i> , in this context it describes a person who is indifferent to an issue or a person.
<i>Красавица без ума – что кошелек без денег</i>	A beautiful woman without sense is a purse without money.	This metaphorical saying describes a beautiful lady who does not have common sense.	This saying is used in this example to describe a beautiful woman who is incapable of reasoning well.
<i>У бабы волос долог, а ум короткий</i>	A woman's hair is long but her IQ is short (low).	This speech act states that women are not as intelligent as men. This may also imply that physical beauty does not necessarily translate to being an intelligent person (woman).	It is used to describe women generally, especially a beautiful lady who acts foolishly.
<i>Баба бредит, да черт ей верит</i>	A woman is delusional; the devil believes he	This expression highlights women's peculiar nature not only as being delusional but also as so clever at convincing people that even the devil believes them.	This expression is used when describing women who rave.

<i>Бабы умы разоряют дома</i>	Women's wits together with the usage of her tongue destroy houses (family).	This expression conveys the level of a woman's wit.	The expression is used when describing a woman's cunningness.
<i>Волос долог, да ум короток</i>	A (woman's) long hair but the sense is low.	This is a speech act that portrays women as a group of people with low common sense.	This describes traditional Russian society's belief about women's logical capacity. It also depicts sexism that existed in Russian society.
<i>Две бабы – базар, три бабы – ярмарка</i>	Two women are markets; three make a big market.	This expression is used to depict negativity about women as a group of people that gossips.	It is used when discussing women and their tendency to be talkative, especially when these women are more than one in the same place.
<i>За бабой почитай последнее слово. С бабой не сговоришишь. Бабу не переговоришишь.</i>	Women will have the last word /Women are great talkers.	This describes women as always having the last word, especially during a quarrel with their husbands (men) generally.	In this context, this saying describes how women never yield grounds when arguing about something with men.
<i>Гусь да баба - торг, два гуся, две бабы - ярмарка.-</i>	<i>Where there are three women and geese, there is no lack of noise</i>	This portrays Russian women as noisy people.	The expression is used when describing women as a noisy set of people.

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<p><i>Бабий ум, что бабье коромысло: и косо, и криво, и на два конца</i></p>	<p>A woman's mind is a woman's yoke; it is slanted and crooked on both ends.</p>	<p>From the traditional male perspective in Russian society, this speech act describes the crookedness of women's minds.</p>	<p>This saying is used when describing a woman's mind as a cunning person.</p>
<p><i>Женские умы – что татарские сумы (переметные) –</i></p>	<p>Women's mind is a tartar's saddle bag.</p>	<p>This metaphor compares a typical Russian woman's mind/thinking to the tartar's saddlebag, which was used to carry dangerous weapons during the invasion by the Tartars and the Mongols. The comparison is to show how dangerous a woman's mind could be in traditional Russian society.</p>	<p>This metaphor is used today when describing how dangerous and devilish a woman's thoughts can be.</p>
<p><i>Где две бабы ,там суём (сейм, сходка), а где три , там содом –</i></p>	<p>Where there are two women, there is a «meeting» disturbance.</p>	<p>This expression suggests that women create confusion and chaos when they gather together.</p>	<p>It is used negatively to describe the chaos or confusion that men believe results when women assemble.</p>

<p><i>Курица - не птица, баба - не человек</i></p>	<p>A chicken is not a bird; a woman is not a human being.</p>	<p>This is a derogatory metaphor claiming that women are inferior to men. This is further justified by the comparison of chicken to a bird. The former is limited when it comes to flying high whereas the latter could fly with ease at its convenience.</p>	<p>This expression is used when trying to disparage women as being less than men in terms of potentials, dexterity among other virtues that could make humanity excel for laudable accomplishments in life.</p>
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From the foregoing, it is evident that positive and negative attributes of women are reflected in Russian metaphors which is a depiction of the worldview of Russians about women in both traditional and contemporary Russian society.

In Yorùbá society, on the other hand, just as in some other African communities, women are projected in a negative light through folklore, proverbs, idioms, adages and metaphors (Ezeigbo, 1992; Yakubu, 2006). However, there are also positive images of women projected through the use of metaphors in Yorùbá society. Among the Yorùbá, metaphors about women are not just used to despise and praise women but they also perform various social functions that aid society to achieve social cohesion and improve the society as a whole.

Analysis of Yorùbá Metaphors Conveying Positive Images of Women

- i. *Ìbùkún lobìnrin jé fòkùnrin* – Women are blessings to men.
- ii. *Ìyá ni wúrà; baba ni dínjí, ojó iyá bá kú ni wúrà bàjé, ojó baba bá kú ni dínjí wọ omi* – A mother is the gold; the father is the mirror. The day the mother dies is the day the gold

becomes spoilt; the day the father dies is the day the mirror breaks.

- iii. *Àpónlé ò sí fọba tí ò lolorì* – There is no honour for a king without a queen.
- iv. *Obìnrin ni iyò ayé* – Women are the salt of the earth.
- v. *Obìnrin lẹwà ọkùnrin* – Women are the beauty of men.
- vi. *Obìnrin tí ó bí mọ fún ni kúrò ní àlè ẹni* – A woman that gives birth to one's child is no longer one's concubine.
- vii. *ọkùnrin ladé orí obìnrin* – A man is the crown of the woman.
- viii. *Ilé tobìnrin kò bá sí; ilé náà kò lè dùn* .– If there is no woman in a house, that house will not be lively.
- ix. *Obìnrin lafẹ ayé* –Women are the pleasure of life.
- x. *Bí aya bá mojú ọkọ tán alárinà a yẹba* – As soon as the wife is familiar with her husband, the matchmaker steps aside.
- xi. *Bí a bá ẹ fẹ obìnrin, la ẹ n ẹ àna rẹ* – It is the attitude of a woman that determines the value of her bride price.
- xii. *Ìyáwò dùn lósingín; ọkọ tún mi gbé mo fẹ soge* – The wedding is interesting; husband, remarry me. I want to be fashionable (It feels good to be a bride).
- xiii. *Bí obìnrin kò bá ní orogún, ọbẹ ọkọ kì í dùn* – If a woman has no rival the husband's soup is not prepared with the intention of making it delicious.

Text	Meaning	Function	Context
<i>Ìbùkún lo obìnrin jẹ fún ọkùnrin.</i>	Women are blessings to men.	It performs a speech act of commendation by stating values and benefits attributed to women. It implies that men should appreciate and place a high value on women because they attract blessings to men who associate with them. It also serves as a gentle warning to men not to lose the	The expression is used in the context where men seem to denigrate women and take advantage of the social construct of male superiority, which is prevalent in a patriarchal society. In this context, it projects the natural benefits

		<p>blessings associated with women by maltreating them.</p>	<p>and fortune associated with women, which men should not lose. It is also believed in Yorùbá culture that women's prayers bring good fortune to men.</p>
<p><i>Ìyá ni wúrà; baba ni dínjí, ojò iyá bà kú ni wúrà bà jé, ojò baba bà kú ni dínjí wọ omi</i></p>	<p>A mother is the gold; the father is the mirror. The day the mother dies is the day the gold becomes spoilt; the day the father dies is the day the mirror breaks.</p>	<p>This metaphorical expression reveals the value that the Yorùbá attach to mothers and fathers as well. A woman who is a mother is considered as a jewel of inestimable value in Yorùbá culture while the father is viewed as a mirror whose actions and behaviours the child copies.</p>	<p>This is used when people want to commend the role of both parents in a child's life.</p>
<p><i>Àpónlé ò sí fỌba tí ò ló lorì.</i></p>	<p>There is no honour for a king without a queen.</p>	<p>This is a piece of advice for bachelors to get married and live responsibly.</p>	<p>This piece of advice is given when a man who is due for marriage refuses to marry because of either career challenges or youthful exuberance. The expression means that such a man who cannot manage a woman at home would</p>

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			not be regarded as being responsible irrespective of his achievements in society.
<i>Obìnrin ni iyò aiyé.</i>	Women are the salt of the earth.	The expression describes women as a natural condiment needed to season societies. Women sweeten and heal societies. They are indispensable like salt in food.	It is mostly used in a situation where women's cooperation is needed to achieve a goal that may be political, religious, social or economic. The context shows that the expression is persuasive in nature. It is meant to win the favour of women because their role is crucial to the achievement of a goal.
<i>Obìnrin lẹwà ọkùnrin</i>	Women are the beauty of men.	The expression asserts that women play an integral part in men's lives and they complement their achievements.	The expression suggests how men's looks or achievements are set off by their wife's contributions.
<i>Obìnrin tí ó bí mọ́ fún ní kúrò ní àlẹ̀ ẹ̀ni</i>	A woman that gives birth to one's child is no longer considered by the society as one's concubine.	This metaphorical expression reveals the worldview and cultural ethos of the Yorùbá regarding women, especially women who had children out of wedlock.	This metaphor is used to show the import of women in Yorùbá society and single mothers.
<i>ọkùnrin l'adé</i>	A man is the	The expression	This expression

<i>orí obìnrin.</i>	woman's crown.	performs a complementary function asserting that every woman needs a man just as every queen needs a King.	is used to explain the belief of the Yorùbá in the institution of marriage.
<i>Ilé tóbìnrin kò bá sí, ilé náà kò lè dùn.</i>	If there is no woman in a house, that house will not be lively.	The expression asserts women's relevance in the home and society at large. Women are projected as social agents who keep society alive.	This idiom is used to reestablish the import of women in a family or a man's household.
<i>Obìnrin lafẹ́ ayé.</i>	Women are the pleasure of life.	The expression is a commendation on the value and relevance of women in the society.	The expression is used in social gatherings of influential men to prove that women are part of the pleasure that men should enjoy once they have the resources to take care of them.
<i>Bí aya bá mojú ọkọ tán alárinà a yèba.</i>	As soon as the wife is familiar with her prospective husband, the matchmaker steps aside.	This metaphor is a piece of advice that indicates the Yorùbá tradition of having a go-between between a prospective husband and wife who works hard in match-making them. In traditional Yorùbá society, this go-between was expected to allow the lovers or	This expression is used when warning someone who has introduced a person to somebody else to desist from meddling in the affairs of the introduced people.

		newly married couple their privacy and never meddle in their affairs once the job of match-making has been completed.	
<i>Bí a bá ẹ̀fẹ́ obìnrin, la ẹ̀ n ẹ̀ ànà rẹ̀.</i>	A woman's attitude determines the value of her bride price.	This is a speech act implies that a woman's bride price is determined by her good behaviour and bride.	The metaphorical expression is used when talking about how valuable a bride is to her groom.
<i>Ìyáwò dùn lósinín; oko tún mi gbé mo fẹ́ ẹ̀ge.</i>	A wedding is an interesting event; husband, let us get married again. I want to be fashionable. (It feels good to be a bride).	The metaphor reveals the joy of every bride during the wedding ceremony. Brides often dress gorgeously and in a fashionable manner.	This expression is used when married women witness a wedding ceremony and they start having nostalgic feelings about their wedding ceremony.

Analysis of Yorùbá Metaphors Conveying Negative Images of Women

- i. *Ilẹ̀ obìnrin kì í pé sù* – Night falls early for women.
- ii. *Obìnrin lẹ̀sù* – Woman is the devil.
- iii. *Ikú lobìnrin* – Woman is death.
- iv. *Owó lobìnrin mọ* – Women know only money.
- v. *Obìnrin lẹ̀dàlẹ̀, obìnrin lẹ̀ké, obìnrin náà lóş e ikú pa ọmọwọ̀nmí* – A woman is a betrayer, a woman is a gossip, ọmọwọ̀nmí's death came through a woman.
- vi. *Obìnrin lẹ̀dàlẹ̀, obìnrin lẹ̀ké, kẹ̀niyàn má fì inú hàn fobìnrin* – A woman is a betrayer, a woman is deceitful; let no one reveal the secret of his heart to a woman.
- vii. *Obìnrin kò ní gògògò tí á n fì ọ̀rọ̀ pamọ̀ sí* – Women don't have Adam's apple for keeping secrets.

- viii. *Filà lobìnrin, won kì i bá ọ̀ḍe wọ̀ ití* – Women are caps; they do not accompany the hunter to the dense forest.
- ix. *Bí obìnrin bá kọ̀ nì, wàhàlà ló kọ̀ nì* – If a woman divorces one, trouble ends in one’s life.
- x. *Bí kò bá nìdí obìnrin kì í jẹ́ Kúmólú* – If there is no reason; a woman will not bear the name *Kúmólú*.
- xi. *Bí obìnrin bá pé nílẹ̀ ọ̀kọ̀, àjẹ́ ní n dà* – If a woman stays (lives) too long in her husband’s house, she is seen as a witch.
- xii. *Obìnrin dí méjì, owú dé* – Once two women get married to the same man, jealousy sets in.
- xiii. *Ọ̀rìṣà jẹ́ n pe méjì obìnrin kò dé inú* – A woman will never agree to her husband marrying a second wife.
- xiv. *Òbò (tíbí) kò jọba ilú kò dàrú, níjọ̀ òbò bá jọba nì ilú yí ó dàrú* –The vagina (a woman) did not become the king, the town is peaceful; the day the vagina (woman) becomes the king the town will witness chaos.

Text	Meaning	Function	Context
<i>Ilẹ̀ obìnrin kì í pé e ọ̀.</i>	Night falls early for women.	This is a piece of advice for a woman not to delay marriage because of career or social pleasures, given that a woman’s beauty will not last forever and that it is easier for a young woman to conceive and have a baby, compared to an older one.	The expression is used as a warning in a situation where a woman is due for marriage but starts giving excuses using career as a reason for not married. The purpose of the expression is to persuade a woman to marry at the prime of her beauty and youthful age.
<i>Obìnrin l’ẹ̀ṣù.</i>	A woman is a devil.	The expression is advice for men to be careful of	The expression is used to warn a man against

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		women. This is part of the negative perception of women in traditional Yorùbá culture. Women are believed to be mischievous. They possess some sinister traits that can endanger a man's life. Hence, men are often forewarned to be careful with them.	exposing all his plans and the intent of his heart to a woman. The purpose of the expression is to caution men against trusting women.
<i>Ikú l'obìnrin.</i>	A woman is a death.	This metaphor portrays women as an instrument of death.	This expression is used when advising men to be careful of women.
<i>Owó l'obìnrin mọ.</i>	A woman knows only money.	This expression reveals the general perception of Yorùbá men that women are materialistic.	The expression is used when describing women's negative attitude towards money.
<i>Obìnrin l'Òdàlẹ̀, obìnrin l'èké, obìnrin náà l'ose ikú pa omowónmi.</i>	A woman is a traitor, a woman is deceitful, <i>omowónmi's</i> death came through a woman.	The metaphorical expression reveals the predominance of sexism among the Yorùbá. In Yorùbá society, women are considered as unequal to men and trusting them can lead to the	The context for this metaphor is when men are being warned to act with restraint and caution around women.

		death of any man as it led to the death of <i>Omowónmi</i> (a Yorùbá male personal name standing for men generally). This historical metaphor urges men never to trust women with their lives.	
<i>Obìnrin l'Òdàlẹ̀, obìnrin l'èké, kèniyàn má fì inú hàn f'obìnrin</i>	A woman is a traitor, a woman is deceitful; let no one reveal the secret of his heart to a woman.	This metaphor is akin to the one discussed above and it is also a warning to men not to trust women with their secrets because such an act can spell doom for men.	The contextual usage of the proverb is to act as a guard and guide for men, especially when they are in love with women.
<i>Obìnrin kò ní gògóngò tí á n fì ọ̀rọ̀ pamọ̀ sí.</i>	Women do not have Adam's apple to keep secret.	This expression functions as a speech act to warn men never to entrust women with secrets.	The expression is used when men are being warned to be careful when discussing delicate issues with women.
<i>Filà l'obìnrin won kì i bá ọ̀dẹ̀ wọ̀ ití.</i>	Women are caps; they do not accompany the hunter to the dense forest.	This metaphor expresses the Yorùbá belief about the nature of women. Men generally believe that women do not often stay married to them when things become difficult	The expression is used when explaining the characteristics of women to men. It is also used to warn men not to trust/rely on women completely.

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		for them.	
<i>Bí obìnrin bà kọ ni, wàhàlà ló kọ ni.</i>	If a woman divorces one, trouble ends in one's life.	This expression acts as a speech act that reveals women as troublesome and mischievous.	The expression is used when consoling any man never to get worried when his wife leaves him.
<i>Bí kò bá nídí obìnrin kì í jẹ Kúmlóú.</i>	If there is no reason, a woman will not bear the name <i>Kúmlóú</i> .	This metaphor depicts Yorùbá society as patriarchal, as reflected even in their naming traditions. The metaphor is used as a speech act explaining the reasons and the events that transpired in a family either before birth, during birth or after birth before a female child was given the name <i>Kúmlóú</i> .	The metaphor is used when explaining a situation or an issue in Yorùbá tradition. When a female child is named <i>Kúmlóú</i> it implies that death has taken away the male children that could occupy any traditional role, position or office in that particular family.
<i>Bí obìnrin bá pé n'ilé ọkọ àjé ní n dà.</i>	If a woman stays (lives) too long in her husband's house, she becomes a witch.	This metaphor is a communicative act used to ridicule or reflect a women's skills, prowess and mastery of family traditions turning her into an authority of family traditions and customs.	The metaphor is used when a married woman is being ridiculed or praised as a result of her skills and mastery of family traditions.

<p><i>Obìnrin dí méjì, owú dé.</i></p>	<p>Once two women get married to the same man, jealousy sets in.</p>	<p>The expression functions as an explanation of the attribute of women since men /the society based on their nature believe that most women tend to be jealous of each other. As such, when a man marries a second wife he should be ready to accept/manage their jealousy.</p>	<p>This metaphorical expression is used when explaining the worldview of the Yorùbá based on the nature of the attributes of women as jealous especially when two or more of them are married to the same man.</p>
<p><i>Obò (tìbí) kò joba ilú kò dàrú, níjọ̀ òbò bá joba ní ilú yí ó dàrú</i></p>	<p>The vagina (a woman) did not become the King, the town is peaceful; the day the vaginal becomes the king the town will witness chaos.</p>	<p>This metaphor portrays sexism and most traditional men's stereotype mentality about women. It is equally, a speech act that explains the notion that some men have about women as people not to be entrusted with leadership.</p>	<p>The metaphor is used when explaining men's general opposition to the fact of women holding leadership positions in society.</p>

Comparative Analysis of certain key metaphoric sentences in Russian and Yorùbá

There are similarities and differences in the metaphors of women in Russian and Yorùbá. These similarities and differences manifest in the function of metaphors and their contextual usage in both languages. Russians through the prism of metaphors portray women as angels and light- *Женица – свет; Женица ангел.* In Yorùbá language and culture as well women are also depicted positively

using metaphors. Women are portrayed as the salt of the earth as well as the beauty of men. *Obìnrin ni iyò aiyé* – *Obìnrin lẹwà ọkùnrin*. These metaphorical sentences reveal the belief system of the two understudied languages and cultures.

Apart from these, the Yorùbá philosophy about women is seen in the metaphor *Ìbùkún lo obìnrin jẹ fọkùnrin* – Women are blessings to men.

Russian metaphors depict women as protectors/keepers of the home who help in raising children and maintaining peace in the family- *Женщина – муза*. Russians through metaphor also portray women as goddesses, and sorceresses -*Женщина – богиня; Женщина фея*. Women's cleverness and wit are also expressed in metaphor - *Бабий ум лучше всяких дум*. Russian metaphor also metaphorically depicts a beautiful woman who is foolish as useless (a purse without money). The Russian's belief about marriage and the role of women in the family is further emphasized through the metaphor *Муж – голова, жена шея* – The man is the head, the woman is the neck. The significance of having a woman (wife) is further revealed in the Russian metaphor - *Без жены это как без шапки* - *Without a wife is like without a cap*. A woman in this example is metaphorically is likened to a cap. In like manner, in Yorùbá culture, women are also described as caps that do not stay long with a hunter (man) - *filà l'obìnrin won kì i bá ọdẹ wọ ití* – Women are caps; they do not accompany the hunter to the dense forest. This metaphor reveals the Yorùbá men's belief about the nature of women that women do not often stay married to them when things become difficult for them. In Yorùbá worldview, no respect is accorded a king who has no queen (wife) - *Àpónlé ò sí fọba tí ò lolorì* – There is no honour for a king without a queen. Women are not considered human in Russian culture this is evident from this metaphorical saying - *Курьца - не птица, баба - не челове*. Negative metaphors of women also abound in Yorùbá language - *Ikú l'obìnrin* – Woman is death; *Obìnrin l'èsù* – Woman is a devil. *Owó l'obìnrin mọ* – Women know only money; *Obìnrin l'Ọdàlẹ, obìnrin l'èké, obìnrin náà l'ọşe ikú pa ọmọwónmi* – A woman is a betrayer, a woman is deceitful, ọmọwónmi's death came through a woman; *Obìnrin l'Ọdàlẹ, obìnrin l'èké, kèniyàn má fì inú hàn f'obìnrin* – A woman is a betrayer, a woman is deceitful; let no one reveal the secret of his heart to a woman. *Obìnrin kò ní gògóngò tí á n fì ọrọ pamọ si* – Women don't have Adam's apple for keeping secrets.

Findings

Metaphors on women in Russian and Yorùbá speech communities are used to project the peoples' worldviews, with the metaphors analysed here reflecting both positive and negative ideas about women as expressed in language use. Both societies seem to appreciate the value and beauty of women while projecting them as invaluable and indispensable in society. In Russia, metaphors are used to present women as the epitome of beauty, as angels, as goddesses, as priceless possessions, as protectors, as light, as invaluable partners to men, as the keys to success in family and society. Among the Yorùbá, metaphors depict the cultural heritage and project women as blessings to men, as sources of honour to men, as salt meant to sweeten men's lives, as complementing men's achievements, and as sources of pleasure and invaluable treasure who make the home happy, among other things. These attributes reveal the value and position of women in the speech communities. There are also negative projections of women in Russian and Yorùbá speech communities. In Russia, metaphors are used to portray women as beauties with no brain, as delusional, as home destroyers, as gossips, as constant schemers and as inferior to men. Russian metaphors also depict women as angels, goddesses and light. In addition to this, both cultures present women as an object, i.e. a cap. On their part, the Yorùbá believe that most women do not stick with their husbands during trying periods. Moreover, in the Yorùbá worldview, metaphors are used to paint women negatively as the devil, as the source of death, as traitors, as gossips, as witches and as greedy, troublesome and untrustworthy people. Although these attributes are derogatory, the metaphors containing them are used to perform certain social functions and speech acts.

Conclusion

This study has examined the meaning, functions, and usage of metaphors on women in Russian and Yorùbá speech communities. The study found similarities and differences in the use of metaphors in the two speech communities, where the use of metaphor reveals their worldviews via positive and negative projections on women's nature. Even though the two speech communities are patriarchal in nature, they still have positive portrayals of women that indicate their value, relevance and importance in the speech communities.

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