The Translation of Metaphors of Emotions of Anger from EkeGusii to English Using the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory

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Abstract: The aim of this paper was to discuss common words used in reference to anger in Ekegusii, a Bantu speaking community in Kisii and Nyamira counties in Kenya. Using the Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Kövecses 2020), linguistic expressions of anger that were recorded in a pilot study have been analyzed for metaphorical content, thereafter a translation was made from Ekegusii to English to check for the translation challenges. The findings reveal that Ekegusii displays differences in the conceptualization of anger as compared to English. One notable difference is realized about where anger comes from in Ekegusii. Anger as an emotion is conceptualized as coming from an external source and therefore it 'catches' persons. In the same regard, a person 'hears' anger thereby showing that anger is an external emotion that is personified.

Keywords: Emotion, Anger, Conceptual Metaphors, Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory

I. Introduction

Ekegusii, a Bantu language is syntactically a Subject-verb-object (SVO). Gusii people are stereotyped as "easily infuriated" people. Psychologists (Spielberger, Jacobs, Russell, & Crane, 1983) argue that there are two main types of anger that an individual is likely to possess. The first one is the state anger where an individual can be made angry by the environmental circumstances thereby producing a physiological reactivity that tend to increase with the intensity of subjective feelings of rage (Spielberger, Jacobs, Russell and Crane2013). The second one is the trait anger which refers to the predisposed anger that an individual is born with. According to Spielberger et al (2013), an individual with trait anger is likely to experience state anger more often. The Gusii community seem susceptible to both kinds of anger considering how they behave in contexts that 'anger' them. Due to the fact that Gusii people are susceptible to anger, it is possible that this has an important direction in the conceptualization of anger by Gusii speakers or the non-speakers who may look at the Kisiis' differently.

II. Methodology

Phenomenological research design was adopted in this study. The design was adopted because among the primary goals of the study was to explain the meaning, structure, lived experiences, and essence of the emotion of anger among the Abagusii community (Christensen, Johnson, &Turner, 2010). Though this was not the main aim of the study, it sought to understand Abagusii"s perceptions, perspectives, translation, usage, and their understanding of the metaphors of anger. The population of this study were all the members of the Abagusii community that reside in Kisii and Nyamira Counties. The total population of this community is approximately 1.8 million (Kenya Census, 2019). Due to the large population of the Abagusii community, the researcher used a representative population of twelve EkeGusii speakers to participate in the study.

Purposive sampling was used to select twelve native EkeGusii speakers (interlocutors) from the two counties in Gusii land (Nyamira and Kisii County). In-depth interviews were conducted with an aim of obtaining some valuable data. In this process, metaphors used for anger were collected spontaneously from the discourse context where these interlocutors were engaging in an anger related discourse. The data was collected through recorded series of conversations. Another set of data was collected from an Ekegusii cultural folktale that depicts anger and the data was translated to English. The folk tale provided a more generalized corpus and a significant part of public discourse. Anger metaphors were collected spontaneously in a natural setting where individuals were engaging in an anger related discourse from respondents and analyzed based on the tenets of Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory.

III. Findings and Discussion

Basic Ideas about the Construction of Anger

The basic verbal forms of Ekegusii that are essential in understanding examples of conceptual metaphors of anger include the verb root with its prefixes and suffixes. Most prefixes are made up of either, infinitive, focus marker, person marker designating either the agent of the verb, if it is active or patient if it is in its passive form. The tense also in Ekegusii comes before the verb root. Most of the suffixes in Ekegusii comprise of mood which is marked by perfectives/imperfective, applicative and the final vowels (^{FV}) which represents the mood.

In Ekegusii, there is no specific word for emotion. Abagusii use *igwa* 'feel' in its infinitive form *okoigwa* to express an emotion whether good or bad. Phonetically, the underlying expression is *igu but* realized as *igwa* where the *u* changes to *w* through the process of glide formation. Therefore, speakers use igwa for emotion of 'feel' and also to 'hear' as illustrated below.

1. *N-a-igur-e   bobe*

   FOC-CL1.PRS-FEEL-FV   bad

   'I feel bad'

2. N-a-igur-e   en-char-a

   FOC-1. TNS -hear-FV   CL9-hunger-FV

   'I hear hunger' (I feel hungry)

The emotion of anger in Ekegusii *gechigu* pronounced as *gechigwa* can be loosely translated as 'hear anger' (be angered). Anger comes in many different varieties. When most Gusii speakers become angry they start throwing tantrums to whoever or whatever provokes them.

1. *Gech-igwa*

   Anger-feel

   'Feel angry'/Get angry

   Further, the verb root can produce different forms of anger as indicated below.

   Gechi (anger someone)

   Gecha (anger)

   Gechana (be angry at each other)

   Gechania (to instigate anger between two people)

   Okogechigwa (to be angered)

From the illustration above, anger can be manifested by either; angering someone, angering each other, being angered and causing others to be angry.

Another expression that can be substituted with *gechigu* is *obororo w*hich can be considered as a polysemous expression. One meaning associated with *obororo* is pain which may be as a result of sickness or injury. The other meaning for *obororo* is anger and in this from of meaning, anger is depicted as originating from an external source. Examples are illustrated below:

1.

a. *Obororo bwa-mo-bwat-ir-e*

anger ^{TNS}-1-catch-^{PERF}-^{FV}

'Anger has caught him/her (s/he has been angered)

b. *O-bwat-ir-u   n'   obororo*

   CL1-catch-PERF-PASS   PREP   anger

   'Anger has caught him' (he/she is angry)

c. *Ohororo bwa-mo-so-ir-e*

Anger   PRS-CL1-enter-PERF-FV

'Anger has entered him' (S/he has been entered by anger)

d. O-igur-e bobe

1-TNS-hear   bad

'I hear bad' (I feel bad)/I am angry)

From the illustrations given above, anger is viewed as an agent that 'catches' or enters an individual, causing the individual to experience a change in the emotional state. The basic translation of *soa* is 'enter' as in *enter into the bedroom* while that of *bwata is* 'catch' as in *catch the pen.* The contextual meaning of the two expressions gives a different meaning, that of an emotion of anger. Anger is therefore conceptualized as an external entity among the EkeGusii speakers.

Anger Conceptualization

This study analyzed metaphorical expressions of anger in Ekegusii from a discourse context. Kövecses' (2020) Extended Conceptual Metaphor Theory (ECMT) was used. Kövecses provides a comprehensive view of how conceptual and contextual factors influence metaphor production and comprehension. The theory is primarily based on Kövecses' previous research on "main meaning focus" (Kövecses, 2000), the multilateral division of conceptualization into supraindividual, individual, and subindividual levels (Kövecses 2002/2010), the metonymic basis of correlation metaphors (Kövecses 2013), global and local contexts where Kövecses draws heavily on his book where metaphors come from to elucidate the assumption that conceptual metaphors are not simply conceptual but also necessarily contextual (Kövecses 2015), and hierarchical levels of metaphors (Kövecses 2017). This paper specifically uses the contextual tenets from Kövecses theory to interpret the Gusii data for anger.

The aspect of metaphorical meaning construction that needs to be addressed is the issue of context and how it affects metaphor comprehension and creation (production). The metaphorical meaning in language use (or other forms of communication) does not arise solely from conceptual metaphors, the mappings that comprise them, and the metaphorical entailments that they may imply. Metaphorical meaning construction is heavily dependent on context and involves two closely related, if not identical, issues concerning context, approached from different perspectives: one from the perspective of the person attempting to comprehend a metaphor in context (conceptualizer 2), and another from the perspective of the person producing or creating a metaphor in context (conceptualizer 1) (Kövecses 2015). Context is defined as ". . . a context is what is considered to be relevant in the social situation by the participants themselves" (Van Dijk 2009 as cited in Kövecses 2015). To determine the importance of context, example 5 below reveals how context modifies the meaning of metaphorical expressions.

2.

    …*ba-mo-kor-ir-e pi*

      CL2-p1-finish-PERF-FV   ADV

    'They have finished him completely'-metaphorical

    (They have killed him).

First of all, there are theoretical tools needed for understanding the contextual effects of the expressions. The conceptual structure needed here will be the mental space which in return will give rise to the mental space level metaphor. The kind of memory needed is the working memory under which new metaphors arise. On the other hand, the ontological levels that would be needed is at the individual level where the mental space level metaphors use online communication in a given communicative situation. Therefore, the contextualized meaning provided by the expression "they have finished him completely" is ending the lives of the four thieves as contextualized. In particular, this expression was given by a Gusii speaker who was being interviewed by a local tv journalist after an angry mob lynched four thieves that had been terrorizing the villagers for a while. The expression *kora* (finish) is used in the literal sense when some work assigned has been completed and if one had been tasked to do the work, they then expect some form of payment in return. In this context however, the speaker uses this expression to mean that they have finished the work on behalf of the police officers who have been "sleeping on their job". By virtue of the fact that they have not been bringing the thieves to book angered the residents and therefore they decided to take justice into their hands. They therefore took upon themselves to "kora" the four thieves. As indicated by ECMT, the metaphors are unconsciously chosen because, the physical environment, cultural situation and social situation all primed the conceptualizer (speaker) to use this expression. The expression above has therefore been chosen because, the still visible sight of the dead men gives the situational context, the topic of discussion with the journalist as regards to the rampant stealing by the thieves (discourse context) and the experience of what

happens to lawbreakers when they have become a menace (conceptual cognitive context) all lead the speaker to use this expression.

In other situations, anger expressions are often used when there is a disagreement between people as illustrated in the following example:

3.

...Titira   kabisa... ti-ngo-rwana naye   nche...

...Provoke   ADV   1-NEG-fight   you   me

'Provoke me completely but I won't fight you'

　　Lit: jump up and down

This expression was obtained from data recorded by an enraged couple that was at the verge of losing to anger as a result of a disagreement that ensued between them. In the conversation held, both the woman and the man were so angry at each other, and the woman was really provoking the man to fight her. The man however didn't give in, instead chose to control his anger. He therefore warns his wife not to provoke him or else he might regret his actions later. In the conversation, he is heard saying that he does not want to end up in jail. It is however evident that in the discourse, he fights his wife with "words". The expression "*ogotitira*" may literally mean to jump around playing (like how children play, jumping up and down). Similar to example five, the ECMT that are needed for interpretation of the metaphorical expression. Arising from the mental space, is the mental space level metaphor together with the working memory from which novel metaphors are born. Additionally, another tool needed for comprehending this novel metaphor is the ontological which is at the individual level under which the novel metaphors use online communication in a given discourse context. The contextualized meaning here of *ogotitira* changes from that of "jumping up and down" while playing to that of provoking someone for a fight in that: the woman kept on throwing kicks in the air in order to instigate physical war between them. The man used this expression to denote, 'provoking into fighting' here because, the situational (physical) context where the woman was throwing donkey kicks on the air, the anger that is felt between the two (while shouting at each other) discourse context all prime the conceptualizer (speaker) use this expression as a novel metaphor. At the same time, the hearer is able to comprehend this novel metaphor through the conceptual pathway that guides the listener to understand that this is not the literal meaning of the expression.

This example clearly reveals that Gusii speakers use novel metaphors more often in their communication in a given context as its contextual factors direct how metaphors are used i.e., created and comprehended in real communicative situations. On the other hand, novel metaphors for anger are used to show a distinction in power where the less powerful individual do not have a voice as seen in example seven below.

4.

N-ki   ba-ko-rurumera iga?

FOC-QUE   CL2-INF-grumble   ASS

'Why are they grumbling like this?'

The context of this expression happened in a political setting. One politician who seems not to be the favorite of the residents was giving his manifesto but the majority of the crowd was heard rumbling among themselves. As the politician continued to give his speech, the crowd were gradually angered and minutes later they were seen throwing objects at the politician and thereby chasing him away. The politician however called for protection from the police who used teargas to dispatch the rowdy crowd. In return, the crowd started to grumble with defeat. 'Rurumera' literally means to talk and shout carelessly. In this context however, it was used by an onlooker, who was standing at a distance observing what was happening to metaphorically mean, rage from inside. This happens commonly when a less powerful individual is angered by a more powerful person and therefore not able to project their anger towards the "powerful person' and as result, they start to rage (burn from the inside) with anger.

The Gusii expressions used in the three examples when applied in their literal sense would mean something different from how they have been used as exemplified above. For instance, "*titira*" can be used ordinarily when children are playing various games that makes them jump up and down. On the other hand, "*ogokora*" will ordinarily be used to mean that one has completed a particular task they had been given. In the context that they have been used in this study however is quite different and as the meaning invoked is more of a metaphorical one to denote anger metaphors.

As Kövecses proposes, the metaphorical expressions above are unconsciously chosen because the different contexts: situational, discourse, bodily and conceptual cognitive contexts, prime the speakers to use them. In return, the hearers are also able to

comprehend these metaphors as they are able to use the conceptual pathway to go from the literal meaning of the expressions to the metaphorical meaning.

Conceptual Metaphors of Anger

The data analysis done on expressions of anger used by conceptualizers revealed that different aspects of anger are characterized by a variety of conceptual metaphors as originally formulated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). The conceptual metaphors discussed here are ANGER IS AN EXTERNAL ENTITY AND IT IS FIRE.

ANGER IS AN EXTERNAL ENTITY

8.

    a. *Obororo*   *nigo*   *bwa-mo-tir-et-e*

      anger   ASS   TNS-1-climb-PERF

    S/he was climbed by anger' (s/he was overcome by anger)

    b. *Obororo*   *nigo*   *bwa-mo-cher-a*

      anger   ASS   PRS-1-come-FV

    'Anger came to him' (he became angry)

From the expressions indicated illustrate that in Ekegusii anger enters someone. The correlation between increased anger (overwhelmed by anger) and physical climbing motion is based on the conventional orientational metaphor MORE IS UP: LESS IS DOWN, as exemplified by (Kövecses 2015) and thus more anger is implicated in an upward motion while less anger or no anger is implicated downwards.

Anger is Fire

   9.

     Omo-sacha   *oyio*   *nigo*   *a-samba eke-nyoro*   *eke-gima*

     1-husband   dem   ass   1-burn   7-village 7-all

'That husband burnt the entire village'

Using ECMT, this expression may have the literal meaning and contextually have a metaphorical meaning. The literal meaning of the expression, denotes the action of physically burning the houses. Metaphorically, the man does not burn the village, but instead causes fury due to the community. In the collected data, this expression was used to show how infuriated this "man" was that he lacked any peace within himself and therefore decided to vent and project anger towards the community. Similarly, the contextual factors at the mental space level primed the speaker to use these expressions metaphorically.

Translation of the anger metaphors from Ekegusii to English

As regards to translation of these expressions from Ekegusii to English, the context may support the translation of both cross-cultural, culture-specific and novel metaphors although finding the correct target language metaphor may be difficult. In trying to translate the above metaphorical expressions need a more cognitive effort than the literal expressions.

Translation being a mental activity requires the usage of cognitive based approaches (Wilss 1996). Nida (2003) and Newmark (1988) note that traditional approaches necessitate the translator to focus on the semantic components of the related concepts in a metaphorical relationship which inaccurately lead them to look for the closest natural equivalent expressions into the target language. In addition, these approaches tend to be informed from a position that treats figures of speech as linguistic phenomena or stylistic feature rather than a conceptual undertaking (Thuo 2021).

By virtue of the fact that words do not match across languages, there is need to understand them within the boundaries of the language which they are used in (Thuo 2021). According to Thuo, translation practice requires that the concepts are understood in a cultural frame of reference. In translating conceptual metaphors of anger, the translator should not overlook the fact that metaphors are culture specific and hence use a culture-oriented method.

While context is important in metaphor interpretation, these metaphors reflect the specific entailment of concepts dominated by a particular culture and experience. This is due to the fact that metaphors are reliant on culture and they differ from one language culture to another. This therefore leads into a translation challenge since most of these metaphors are heavily culture sensitive.

Croft and Cruse (2004) suggest that most novel expression domains are understood in context, and these are influenced by conational constraints as well.

Most Gusii speakers use both conventional and novel metaphors in which context is key in understanding them. This is as situational, discourse, conceptual, and bodily contexts, according to Kövecses (2015), are contextual factors that influence the production and comprehension of metaphors. He emphasizes the significance of understanding metaphors in context because contextual factors initiate, point to, facilitate, and shape the use and understanding of a specific metaphor in discourse. An illustration of an expression used in context but can be complex to translate from Ekegusii to English is given below:

10.

Omo-gamb-i	*n-igo*	*a-mo-rama*	*omo-tiga*	*gakorurumera*
1-leader-fv	FOC_ASS	1-3-insult-fv	1-leave	raging

'The leader insulted him, then left him raging'

The conceptual metaphor used in the example above, illustrates how conceptual metaphors of anger can be used in a discourse context and at the same time they are culture-specific. Contextually, *okorurumera* was used in a discourse where someone more powerful is used to intimidate a less powerful individual and they can't do anything about it. The less powerful individual in return may whimper as a result of not being able to express his/her anger. This person's anger is based on the concept of anger as a high level of physical pressure within the person-container which falls under the mental space category. This conceptual metaphor is similar to what Kövecses points out at the mental space level (2020).

Being a culture-specific expression, I found it difficult to get the right target language expression for it. This is especially because, while most primary metaphors are near-universal (Kövecses 2010), the novel metaphors which arise at the mental space level are difficult to translate. The translated expression "to rage" has been paraphrased and put in context in order for the target language audience to understand.

IV. Conclusion

The study reveals that Ekegusii has unconventional metaphors that are used for anger in particular contextual situations using various contextual factors. The study's findings also indicate that anger in Ekegusii is conceptualized as an external entity with various expressions as shown in the analysis above. The conceptual metaphors for anger dominant in Ekegusii are ANGER IS FIRE and ANGER IS AN EXTERNAL ENTITY although there are others which are not discussed in this paper. Consequently, the findings reveal that translation of conceptual metaphors poses culture-specific challenges when translated into English.

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