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Categorisation of Lubukusu conceptual metaphors of pain in doctor-patient consultation

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Abstract

This study examines the metaphors of pain embedded in the conceptual systems of Lubukusu speakers and seeks to establish how categories of these metaphors becomes significant for adequate understanding of emotional reality. The study adopted analytical research design. Nurses were engaged in a role-play of doctor-patient consultations in Lubukusu to bring out a reflection of their experiences with terminally ill Bukusu patients in their medical care. The source domain for the categories of the metaphors analysed to map the source domain are; PLANT, ANIMAL, BAD SMELL, BAD TASTE, SUPERNATURAL, NON-LIVING and MIXED CAUSE onto the target domains of pain. Although there is a lot of research on emotion metaphors, much still remain unknown especially as pertains to the knowledge of corporeal experiences in the conceptualisation of pain. In this view, the paper explores the role of these experiences in the structuring of Lubukusu speaking patients' concepts of pain when seeking medical services from non-native Lubukusu Doctors. The study sheds light on the need for stakeholders in the health sector to engage linguists in addressing the glaring mismatches, miscommunication and misunderstandings in health communication.

Keywords: doctor-patient consultation, cognition, conceptual metaphors, Lubukusu

Public Interest Statement

This study examines the metaphors of pain embedded in the conceptual systems of Lubukusu speakers and further seeks to establish how categories of these metaphors have become significant for adequate understanding of emotional reality. It sheds light on the need for stakeholders in the health sector to engage linguists on how to address the glaring mismatches, miscommunication and misunderstandings in health communication.

1.0 Introduction

This paper utilises the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT) to investigate the conceptual representation of pain in health discourse, where the patient and doctors do not share a common language. Many researchers have attempted to explain the ways in which language illuminates the underlying conceptual structures that people use to understand and relate with the world around them. For instance, it has been argued that abstract concepts, such as; ideas, desires, and emotions, which are difficult to understand, are commonly comprehended in terms of more basic concepts (Kövecses, 2002). In the same view, Lakoff & Johnson (1980) demonstrate how such concrete concepts as war, money, magic and brittle object are systematically used as sources for the understanding of more elusive concepts such as argument, time, love, mind. A focus on metaphors of pain conceptualized in health discourses is therefore significant, as it marrows how we understand corporeal emotional reality.

The focus is on pain metaphors in three diseases; HIV and AIDS, Cancer and Diabetes among Lubukusu speaking patients. Lubukusu is a subset of the 19 luhya langauges that are widely spoken in Bungoma, Busia, Kakamega and Trans Nzoia Counties. Esenova (2011) examined the expression of anger, fear and sadness among English speakers and established that in conceptual system of these speakers, there are a number of anger, fear and sadness metaphors based on bodily and cultural experiences. Gathigia (2014) on the other hand studied the conceptualization of love among Gikuyu speakers and established that conceptual mappings, vital relations, and image schemas were important in understanding the conceptualization of love. It is therefore essential to reiterate that the present paper focuses on a unique corporeal emotion of pain in health discourse.

2.0 Pain Metaphors

Pain, an emotion, is a complex psychological state which is only personal to the experiencer. Although the use of metaphor is universal, their choice for interpreting different emotions in the world may be culture-specific (Kövecses, 2000; Esenova, 2011; Mudogo, 2019). This paper categorizes the metaphors of pain, with specific reference to native Lubukusu patients when they seek health support or treatment from non-native Lubukusu health doctors. The assumption is that, communication mismatches may occur in instances where communication between a non-native doctor and a Lubukusu speaking patient if the two parties do not share common communication grounds. For instance, the doctor may find it difficult to understand the culturally embedded metaphors used by the patient to communicate emotions freely.

Cognitive linguists work under the assumption that language may be a window onto human cognition and that linguistic expressions in part reflect cognitive processes. Lakoff & Johnson (1980:3), for instance, submit that, “metaphor is pervasive in ordinary, everyday life, not just in language but also in thought and action and that our concepts structure how we perceive the world”. However, since we are normally not aware of our conceptual system, they propose that linguistic structure may be good evidence of what our conceptual system looks like. However, the primary motivation

for investigating Lubukusu pain conceptual representation in doctor-patient consultations through conceptual metaphors stems from the cognitive linguistic claim that the conceptualization of emotion concepts across cultures is based on both universal human embodied experiences and more specific socio-cultural constructions of such experiences (Kövecses 2000, 2005; Maleej 2004; Mudogo, 2019). This implies that bodily motivations have a socio-cultural salience and social constructions have a bodily basis. That is to say that while the general conceptualization of such concepts is grounded in universal human experiences, different cultures attach different cultural salience to specific realizations and elaborations to these near-universal conceptual metaphors. In doctor-patient consultations, patients must give the clear descriptions of their illness to enable the doctors diagnose their pain and give the correct prescriptions. Therefore, if doctors fail to understand what the patients say, the communication gaps may impede the communication process and fail to address the patients concerns.

Basweti (2018) argues that, doctors, on the most part, propose tests without seeking to find out what the patients' preference would be. This, no doubt, is brought about by the incapacity of the patient to knowledgeably engage the doctor who is assumed to be omniscient in the tradition of Western Medicine. Worse still, this state of affairs is entrenched by lack of a mutually intelligible language to mediate the communication process. This explains why doctors sometimes find themselves focusing on their medical agenda while downplaying the patients' concerns which may at times be insightful in understanding the nature of their medical issue (Heritage & Mynard, 2006). Language is, therefore, of essence in health communication and, as such, there was need to take serious consideration of how language impacts on doctor-patient consultation.

Waitiki (2010), finds and holds that, unfortunately, many health issues have often been discussed without paying attention to the role of language. Language is fundamental in the dissemination of information that would ensure the success of both prevention and treatment of any disease. Furthermore, the role of communication in the fight against HIV/ AIDS according to Nyakoe (2015) cannot be overemphasized. She argues that the communication of HIV/ AIDS issues entails use of language and it even involves use of specific terms and expressions to refer to the scourge. Waitiki (2010) observes that communication is key to understanding issues related to HIV/ AIDS and is instrumental in inducing behavior change. Given the fact that there is no cure or vaccine for HIV the fight against HIV/ AIDS focuses on more preventive measures and care. This includes speakers addressing people on how they can prevent the spread of HIV and the measures that can be taken to ensure that one lives healthy in case he/she is already infected with HIV. It is against this background that this study delved in the discourse of health communication regarding pain and how patients and doctors mediate this process in a multilingual environment. The paper encompassed an indigenous and national or official language, namely Lubukusu and English respectively.

Researchers (Gathigia, 2014; Nyakoe, 2015; Kövecses, 2010; Esenova, 2011) have investigated conceptualization of abstract concepts across many different cultures, giving credence to the fact that conceptualization of such concepts differ across cultures. The study by Gathigia (2014), for instance, found out that there are different categories of metaphors of love in Gikuyu while Nyakoe (2015) identified and explained metaphorical conceptualization of Ekegusii HIV and AIDS expressions and also analyzed properties of their cross-domain mappings. The existence of metaphors is premised on the postulation of Kövecses (2010:23), who, working on the language and conceptualization of emotion, observes that "emotion concepts such as anger, fear, love, happiness, sadness, shame, pride, and so on are primarily understood by means of conceptual metaphors". However, the choice of conceptualization of pain for the study is because according to Kovecses (2010) abstract concepts

are metaphorically conceptualized. Lubukusu is an indigenous African language that has not been embraced in health communication yet health information is a basic human right. The ability for a patient to express the deeper feelings is important for proper health management and treatment. In this connection, lack of cultural competence among non-native doctors has the potential to deny patients the opportunity to be understood. The exclusion of Lubukusu speakers who are not proficient in the dominant language of medicine has implications on health discourses between the patients and doctors who do not understand the language of these patients.

3. Methodology

The paper utilizes the analytical research design. Cresswell (2002) posits that the process of analytical design goes further beyond merely collecting and presentation of data in the form of tables. However, it employs information sources which prove the hypothesis or support ideas under investigation. Nurses were engaged in a role-play of doctor-patient consultations in Lubukusu to bring out a reflection of their experiences with terminally ill Bukusu patients in their medical care. Bukusu medical practitioners were in a position to present better placed to mirror the health and healthcare concerns and experiences of their regular patients and would attempt to emulate their expectations in a similar way including the communicative behaviour during the medical consultation. The motivation for the simulated scenarios is to bring out appropriate data which would not be inhibited by aspects of confidentiality as required by law.

4. Results and Discussion

This section analyzes the examples of pain metaphonimies terminologies was to categorize typologies of metaphonimies of pain into conceptual domains.

4.1 Categorisation of Metaphonimies into Conceptual Domains

The main objective was to categorize the various mappings into specific conceptual domains. From the data it was established that the domains include: metaphors of pain with the PLANT source domain, metaphors of pain with the ANIMAL source domain, metaphors of pain with BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE source domain, metaphors of pain with SUPERNATURAL source domain and metaphors of pain with NON-LIVING THINGS AND EMOTION source domain. These categories are discussed in the sub-sections below;

4.2 Metaphors of Pain with the PLANT Source Domain

In this section, the typologies of metaphonimies of pain are categorized according to what they are associated with during elicitation. The first category are metaphors whose target domain includes plant Metaphors of Pain with the PLANT Source Domain. The results in Table 1 shows that there is a large stock of metaphonimies of pain associated with plant life. The table highlights the influence of plant life on the construction of metaphors of pain among Lubukusu speaking patients during doctor-patient consultation.

Table 1: A table showing Metaphors of Pain with the PLANT Source Domain

	Lubukusu	Gloss
30	<i>Buchuni embunyabubi/kumuturu</i>	Pain is stinkwood (<i>prunus Africana</i>)
31	<i>Buchuni kamaambakhese</i>	Pain is a type of weed plant that sticks on objects (<i>Myositis sylvatica</i>)
32	<i>Buchuni makoe</i>	Pain is black jack
33	<i>Buchuni kumusasio</i>	Pain is <i>jumping seed tree</i> .
34	<i>Buchuni lunani</i>	Pain is a flame thorn (<i>Acacia ataxacantha</i>).
35	<i>Buchuni kumuchanjasi</i>	Pain is diamond leaf tree (<i>Euclea divinorum</i>)
36	<i>Buchuni namweumba</i>	Pain is <i>touch me not/sleepy plant</i> (<i>Mimosa pudica</i>)

Source: Field notes, (2021)

The data in Table 1 reveals that pain is compared to plant species as revealed in the analyses below;

Example 1

Patient 2: *Buchuni embunyabubi* (Pain is the stink wood/awful smelling plant)

Embunyabubi is a plant with a pungent smell used for repelling both animals and evil spirits. It fits well in the plant source domain. In this case the awful smelling plant is likened to a pain that makes a patient an outcast or someone whose company friends never enjoy. Pain in this case makes one a pariah. The most common use of this plant is for ritual purposes.

Example 2

Patient 3: *Buchuni kamaambakhese* (Pain is ‘forget me not’, a type of weed plant that sticks on things (*Myositis sylvatica*))

Kamaambakhese is a plant. It is also a type of plant characterized as a weed that is dispersed by sticking on things. It prospers as other plant perish. It is extremely resistant. It cannot be destroyed by intense heat. During the dry season the plant basically goes into hibernation and only resurfaces during the rains. In this case it was applied by the patient to suggest how long-lasting pain can be. Pain needs to be fought with all the tack in order to get rid of it. Sometimes, like the weed in question, pain has survival tactics.

Example 3

Patient 4: *Buchuni makoe* (Pain is black jack)

Makoe is another weed that has existed on the farms of Bukusuland for a long time. It is used a vegetable too. As a weed it resists destruction by producing millions of seeds. The seeds have sticky bristles that assists them in various ways of dispersal. The commonest means of dispersal is by attaching themselves to animal skin and human garments. As a representative of pain, they present a very effective image. The type of pain here is one that radiates from one corner of the body to all the nerve endings at the periphery.

Example 4

Patient 5: *Buchuni kumusasio* (Pain is a ritual tree)

Kumusasio is a totemic plant among the Bukusu people of the foothills of Mt. Elgon. It is a plant that is respected by the elderly but feared by the young. The most common use is to sprinkle its sap in

places where evil schemers or any such group of people plan to hold their meetings. The resultant action is that the conniving schemers will instead end up disagreeing and fighting among themselves. For this study it fits in the plant source domain. The patient used it to mean that pain caused disunity in their body. It led to warring between body parts. This kind of pain is extreme to the point of causing psychological disturbance to the patient. In most cases such pain is best handled by a seer or soothsayer. It is a kind of pain that falls in the realm of the supernatural.

4.3 Metaphors of Pain with the ANIMAL Source Domain

The metaphors to be discussed in this section are related to the attributes of various animals as seen in table 2 below:

Table 2: A table showing Metaphors of Pain with the ANIMAL Source Domain

	Lubukusu	Gloss
37	<i>Buchuni sirenyakhu</i>	Pain is the firewood collector
38	<i>Buchuni lisa lisabulukhwe</i>	Pain is a bush haired caterpillar
39	<i>Buchuni wanakhamuna</i>	Pain is a hare
40	<i>Buchuni enjofu</i>	Pain is an elephant
41	<i>Buchuni emboko</i>	Pain is a buffalo
42	<i>Buchuni engwe</i>	Pain is a leopard

Source: Field notes, (2021)

Table 2 above, reveals metaphors of pain with ANIMAL source domain. Esenova (2011) gives subcategories of the general metaphors ANGER IS A DANGEROUS ANIMAL and ANGRY BEHAVIOUR IS AGGRESSIVE ANIMAL BEHAVIOUR. Conceptualizing pain as a DANGEROUS ANIMAL can also be revealed in the collected data. For instance, the conceptualization of pain as *Buchuni engwe* (pain is a leopard), conform to the DANGEROUS ANIMAL *engwe* (leopard).

Example 5

Patient 2: *Buchuni lisa lisabulukhwe* (pain is a bush haired caterpillar)

Snakes and caterpillars are not talked about after nightfall in Bukusu culture. It is believed that once the two animals are mentioned they would miraculously surface in the bedding of the offending person while they are asleep. These animals are dangerous to the extent that a brush with them can cause death. It is therefore a precaution, especially among children to avoid games with the above-mentioned animals. Caterpillars may not be as fierce as snakes, but their fur has been known to cause serious health complications, especially blindness. The Bukusu community has, therefore, developed a warning system to keep its people safe. This heightened precautionary measures, when used in reference to pain, are used to reflect the seriousness of the pain experience of the patient.

Example 6

Patient 3: *Buchuni wanakhamuna* (pain is a hare).

The pain experience in this instance is viewed in the frame of a trickster animal that is popular in Bukusu trickster folklore. The patient assumes that the doctor attending to him is familiar with the communal folklore. The source domain, HARE, is applied here to mirror the kind of pain that the patient is battling with. Most likely, the pain is not centralized in one particular location. It radiates from one end to the next, hence PAIN IS A HARE.

Example 7

Patient 4: *Buchuni enjofu* (pain is an elephant)

The source domain, ELEPHANT, as an indomitable and humongous mammal is mapped on to the pain experience to shoe the crushing weight that the patient is under. An elephant is a common motif in Lubukusu language and culture. It is popular in proverbs like, *nandakambilwa kakona khu muanda kwe enjoli* (the one who could not heed to advice slept on an elephant track). Another proverb that shows the dangerous animal metaphor is *enjofu efutaranga nio bakikhoma mumania* (an elephant leaves before its unsightly buttocks are insulted). Lastly, it is also known that elephant come in different shades, there are some that are useless and cannot be taken as good examples. For instance, in the proverb *enjofu ye bubwayaya sekhusia kumusanga ta* (a restless elephant cannot grow it tusks).

Example 8

Patient 5: *Buchuni emboko* (pain is a buffalo).

The buffalo is a great animal, native to the foothills of Mt. Elgon. This is explained by the numerous idiomatic expressions found in Lubukusu language constructed with the use of the characteristics of a buffalo. One of the most interesting sayings is: *omundu wa bene ali nga enyama ya mboko, okinyolela khu sibumba* (a person is like buffalo meat, you find it in an earthen pot). The saying is a both educative and a warning. It basically means that only a fool can hunt down a buffalo. It is delicious meat should never be the reason you are driven by greed to find the meat. The saying cautions that one is safe if they find it cooked and served. Such and many other sayings make conversations of varying kinds involve this animal. An elderly patient will, therefore, refer to the fierce animal with the full knowledge that it mirrors a pain experience. For a medic who does not understand the Bukusu folklore involving the Buffalo it will be very difficult to understand the pain experience narrated by the patient. PAIN IS A BUFFALO.

4.4 Metaphors of Pain with BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE Source Domain

In this section the conceptual metaphors that will be scrutinized map the source domains of BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE on to the target domains of PAIN as shown on Table 3 below;

Table 3 : A table showing Pain is a BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE Source Domain

NO	LUBUKUSU	GLOSS
43	<i>Buchuni sisioki</i>	Pain is human stool
44	<i>Buchuni kamalasile</i>	Pain is animal blood
45	<i>Buchuni kamaarara</i>	Pain is hailstones
46	<i>Buchuni endurwe</i>	Pain is a gall bladder
47	<i>Buchuni embiye</i>	Pain is a smelly burp
48	<i>Buchuni liki libolo</i>	Pain is a rotten egg
49	<i>Buchuni bukekhe</i>	Pain is immature banana

Source: Field notes, (2021)

The table 3 above shows the results of metaphors PAIN IS A BAD SMELL in addition to PAIN IS A BAD TASTE. These metaphors are motivated by the day-to-day experience of smell and taste perception. The pervasiveness of these metaphors is due to the underfunded nature of our healthcare system. Both senses are always in overdrive especially in wards that are in short supply of water and air conditioning. In this regard, the results in Table 3 show that there is a large stock of metaphonimies

of pain associated with Smell and Taste. The table highlights the influence of smell on the construction of metaphors of pain among Lubukusu speaking patients during doctor-patient consultation with BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE as source domains.

Example 9

Patient 1: *Buchuni sisioki* (pain is human stool).

Pain is commonly conceptualized in terms of faeces because it is something despicable. *Buchuni sisioki* (pain is human stool). This is perhaps due to the excruciating nature of pain and the BAD feeling associated with it. In addition, the word used here to refer to human stool is a euphemism. Bukusu culture does not allow the careless mention of taboo words. In its plain was coined the word *sisioki* that literally means the sharp one. This linguistic expression manifests the metaphor of PAIN IS A BAD SMELL.

Example 10

Patient 2: *Buchuni kamalasile* (pain is animal blood).

In Bukusu culture blood is named depending on whether it is animal blood or human blood. Human blood bears the Bukusu name *kamafuki*. On the other hand, blood from domestic animals is called *kamalasile* which is also edible. The fact that *kamalasile* is edible makes it a delicacy but at the same time it is used in rituals for cleansing. It is also used widely as a libation during ancestor worship. During the time when blood is taken as an offering it takes on the role a supernatural medium for sending messages between the living and the dead. It also takes on a sacred dimension. In this case therefore stops being a delicacy and plays the role of a vehicle through which messages are conveyed. When the message is meant for cleansing then it takes on a bad taste. At this point, when the person experiencing pain talks about it as animal blood then it means pain is used to clean an impure human body. This linguistic expression manifests the metaphor PAIN IS SOUR OR BAD TASTE.

Example 10

Patient 3: *Buchuni kamaarara* (pain is hailstones)

The Bukusu have various ways of mitigating the ravages of hailstones. This is normally carried out by specialized rain practitioners who use different kinds of supernatural powers to alleviate the harm that comes with hailstones. When they fall in large amounts hailstones destroy crops and they can also kill livestock and human beings. The feeling one gets when they are mentioned is one of destruction. In this metaphor the patient was relaying the kind of sharp taste left in the mouth when a hailstone is tasted. The feeling experienced by the tongue is a sharp sensation that is not good at all. The feeling also has a shock effect. This goes ahead to characterize the kind of pain experienced by the patient and the urgent need to be alleviated.

Example 11

Patient 4: *Buchuni endurwe* (pain is a gall bladder).

This linguistic expression manifests the metaphor PAIN IS A BITTER TASTE. The Bukusu are animal keepers. This has made them adept at what to eat and what not to eat. During the slaughtering of animals, the gall bladder is that part of an animal that is treated with utmost care lest it ruins the whole meat. One of the most developed practices in the Bukusu traditional society is culinary art. The preoccupation with food and non-food items makes the elicitation of metaphors associated with TASTE extremely effortless. Sometimes the bitterness in the mouth is induced by drugs but a patient

will easily link it to the TASTE Source Domain to the PAIN Target Domain.

4.5 Metaphors of Pain with the SUPERNATURAL BEING Source Domain

Like many cultures, the Bukusu culture has a supernatural belief system that is associated with magical powers that go beyond human nature. Table 4 below shows data related to pain with the SUPERNATURAL BEING source domain.

Table 4: A table showing Pain with the SUPERNATURAL BEING Source Domain

	Lubukusu	Gloss
50	<i>Buchuni linani</i>	Pain is an ogre
51	<i>Buchuni ling'u</i>	Pain is a monster
52	<i>Buchuni sinaluya</i>	Pain is a ghost
53	<i>Buchuni omumakombe</i>	Pain is an ancestor
54	<i>Buchuni omusiku</i>	Pain is a devil
55	<i>Buchuni omukuka</i>	Pain is a spirit
56	<i>Buchuni sisinini</i>	Pain is a shadow

Source: Fieldnotes, (2021)

From data in Table 4 some inferences on pain as SUPERNATURAL BEING source domain can be deduced. These powers are associated with gods, ogres, witches, spirits, ancestors, the living dead, animal and plant totems etc. the supernatural beings have been in existence for as long as the Bukusu civilization. It is common for Bukusu griots, harpists, seers, medicine men and soothsayers to invoke them during rituals and day to day life. It is more common among the elderly than youngsters. Oftentimes, these mercurial bodies are invoked during illness because it is believed that they are responsible for both ill omen and good omens. Kovecses (2000) has proven that the English conceptual system has the general source concept of SUPERNATURAL BEING, and goes ahead to prove that this concept applies to the target concept of FEAR. Illness is described as having a connection with the supernatural world which involves one's soul. The soul metaphor used by the participants in the study reveals that folk theories are still relevant to the Bukusu community. When talking about illnesses caused by supernatural entities, the participants commented on the relationship between illness and the soul. Without the soul a person will eventually die.

Supernatural beings like ogres are commonplace in the Bukusu world view. They are ubiquitous in their daily folklore and marketplace banter. They are part of Bukusu culture. Esenova (2011) defines an ogre as a large and hideous humanoid monster, a mythical creature often found in fairy tales and folklore. While commonly depicted as an unintelligent and clumsy enemy, it is dangerous in that it feeds on human victims. The idea of ogre has been used as a method of instilling good behavior by suggesting that bad behavior attracted and excited ogres, who the attack, kidnap or even eat the perpetrator.

Example 12

Patient 1

(87) *Buchuni linani and buchuni ling'u* (pain is an ogre/monster).

Among the Bukusu, an ogre is also called *linani* or *ling'u*. *Kamanani* (pl.) and *kamang'u* (pl.) are often characterized by large disproportionate body features. *Linani* can be several times the size of human

being or just slightly taller. They are usually solidly built, with round heads, bung multiple eyes that can see from all angles, a large stomach and abundant and hirsute hair and beard. They often have three or four large mouths full of humongous stick out teeth. They are distinguishable by their ugliness and are accompanied by a horrendous smell. The description above clearly indicates that while ogres are not necessarily a pain evoking, they are fear inspiring. It is this fear that accompanies the pain experienced by a patient to the point of likening it to *linani or ling'u*. This causes the source domain SUPERNATURAL BEING get mapped onto the objects or sources of fear and pain in the natural world. This gives us a MIXED SUBSTANCE Source Domain too.

Example 13

Patient 2: *Buchuni sinaluya* (pain is a ghost).

In Bukusu folklore a ghost is the soul of a dead person that appears to the living. Descriptions of ghosts vary widely from invisible presence to translucent or barely visible wispy shapes, to realistic life like forms. Cultures all around the world believe in ghosts that survive or reincarnate to live in another realm. The Bukusu believe that ghosts are bad characters that should never have left their abode of doom. Oftentimes ghosts include supernatural people who died by committing suicide, died by drowning or died from terrible causes like lightning. The burial rituals involving such characters are usually performed at night with no ceremony. After their interment, a black lamb is slaughtered to banish them from existence. If they ever reappear it would be by bad luck and similar banishing rituals will be performed by experienced seers. Children are not named after such people. Nobody talks about them. They are completely obliterated from living memory.

Example 14

Patient 3: *Buchuni omumakombe* (pain is an ancestor).

Among the Bukusu, ancestors are good people, members of the family, from whom one can trace their ancestry, who died of understandable natural causes. They were buried normally with all the requisite send-off rituals. They transfigured into the netherworld and are objects of ancestor worship. Their names are invoked during good times and bad times. They are called upon to intercede on behalf of the suffering living. They are usually welcome where they came from. Their living relatives are allowed to make sacrifices and pour libations in their honor. Their names form part of the community folklore. Villages, streams, creeks, wells and landmarks are named after them. In the event that a patient likens pain to ancestors it is because it is mysterious. The difference between an ancestor and a ghost is that one of them can be understood and tamed much as it is a long-lasting pain associated with terminal illness. This conceptual metaphor has a SUPERNATURAL Source Domain mapped onto the Target of PAIN.

Example 15

Patient 4: *Buchuni omusiku* (pain is a devil).

The word devil is more common in Christian and Jewish belief as the supreme spirit of evil; Satan. The word devil derives from the Greek *diabolos*, meaning adversary. In Jewish, Christian, and Muslim traditions, the term applies to a single spirit whose function is to oppose the will of the god God. According to Bukusu narrative theology, the word *omusiku*, (devil), means the one that goes contrary to *Wele Khakaba*, (God), the Giver and Creator. He is also called *Wele Mukhobe*, (the God of Bloodletting). This conceptual metaphor has a SUPERNATURAL Source Domain.

4.6 Metaphors of Pain with NON-LIVING THING and MIXED EMOTION Source Domain

It is possible to conceptualize pain as pure, plain and unadulterated in Lubukusu going by the data collected during the focus group discussion and the native speaker intuition that guided this research. However, it is also common to experience mixed emotions. Pain can be experienced alongside *hurt, sadness, anger* and *fear*. This therefore projects the possibility of mixed emotion conceptual metaphor. When it is pure and unipolar it points to intensity dimension of pain as shown on Table 5 below;

Table 5: A table Showing Metaphors of pain with NON-LIVING and MIXED EMOTION Source Domain

NO	LUBUKUSU	GLOSS
57	<i>Buchuni esindani</i>	Pain is a needle
58	<i>Buchuni kumubano</i>	Pain is a knife
59	<i>Buchuni lifumo</i>	Pain is a spear
60	<i>Buchuni liwa</i>	Pain is a thorn
61	<i>Buchuni kumusakhu</i>	Pain is a metal rod in the anus
62	<i>Buchuni sikenga</i>	Pain is a hot faggot

Source Field Notes 2021

The PHYSICAL and MIXED EMOTION source domain is the most commonly available parameter which patients make use of in understanding pain and other emotions like hate, fear, sadness and anger. In the olden day’s sickness was only considered cured if the injection was used a major intervention. Hospital, therefore, became synonymous with the prick of a needle. Many people avoid going to hospital because of the fear of being injected. To some, it is even a phobia. When a patient uses the word needle during a discussion involving their pain it should be conceptualized from the standpoint of a person who resists, detests and fears an injection. For them, therefore pain is a needle which passes off as a PHYSICAL and MIXED EMOTION source domain.

Example 16

Patient 1: *Buchuni lifumo*. (Pain is a spear).

A spear is a physical embodiment that was used in the olden days among the Bukusu as a weapon of war alongside the shield. In this day most households keep it for sentimental reasons as well as a handy weapon in case of an attack. In the current days it is only used for ornamental as well as ritual purposes, yet it still remains a contraption that evokes a wide range of emotions. A patient who refers to a spear to discuss their pain experience is likely to be assailed by PHYSICAL and MIXED EMOTIONS that include pain, fear, hate, dare and bravado, sadness and nostalgia.

Example 17

Patient 2: *Buchuni liwa*. (Pain is a thorn).

The day-to-day life of the Bukusu of the countryside involves working in the fields for a livelihood where different kinds of hazards are encountered, including being pricked by thorns. Thorns are therefore popular motifs in the Bukusu idiom. It is therefore common to have patients discuss their pain experiences in the light of thorns. Since thorns are tangible, they constitute the PHYSICAL and MIXED EMOTION source domain because of evoking various emotions like pain, fear, sadness and disdain.

Example 18

Patient 3: *Buchuni kumusakhu*. (Pain is a hot metal rod in the anus).

Kumusakhu is a Bukusu customary punishment meted on people who commit crimes like arson, robbery with violence, night running with intent to cause bodily harm through sorcery, raiding cattle bomas, among other heinous crimes. It is achieved by stripping the culprit naked, pinning him on the ground, face down, and pushing a red-hot metallic rod into his stomach through the anus! The most famous incident ever recorded in Bukusu folklore is of one man called Mwongongi the Wizard;

Mwongongi kacha khubina mwangelekha.

(Mwongongi went on a night running mission across the ridge.

Lila busa mukhasimbula Mwongongi! (Mourn Mwongongi without removing the blanket).

Mwongongi oli bubi wase. (Mwongongi you are in bad shape).

Mwongongi oli bubi wase. (Mwongongi you are in bad shape).

Bona wafwa oli esang'i. (Look you have died like an animal).

This reason for piercing the innards of a criminal with a hot metal rod is to have them die a slow but extremely painful death which would serve as a punishment and deterrent for other criminals. The mere mention of *kumusakhu* (a metallic rod) or *Mwongongi* (the name of a person) evokes mixed emotions that range from acute and long-lasting pain to fear, sadness, hate, agony and anger. This expression embodies a NON-LIVING and MIXED EMOTION source domain.

Example 19

Patient 4: *Buchuni sikenga*. (Pain is a hot faggot).

The Bukusu usually feel a deep connection with nature where tales of gods and ancestors abound. The meeting point for the living and dead is usually the fireplace where food is prepared, eaten and libations are poured. It is, for instance, customary to have a smoldering log of wood in every kitchen because it is believed that ancestors are always on the prowl seeking a place to keep warm. A fire, therefore, will always flicker from the fireplace in any kitchen found in the homestead of a Bukusu. Sometimes it would be some light smoke achieved by burying *sikenga* (hot faggot) under the ash.

The cone shaped hut with a sharp wooden aerial at the apex is a common sight in Bukusu homesteads. It signifies a subsiding male phallus which means that the man of the home is still alive. On the other hand, the different states of burning firewood are *khuburukha* (burning), *khukhwiseng'eng'a* (glowing), *khukhwerika* (burning like an inferno), that constitute the vocabulary of the kitchen. These can also be used to mirror the different levels of pain. Whenever one wishes to cook on a low fire or to warm themselves during the cold season, *khukwoora* (warming by the fireside), they use what is called *bikenga* (smoldering faggots). *Bikenga* are actually dry tree stumps that burn with a low flame but emit a considerable amount of heat, enough to keep the house and the occupants warm. Sometimes the flame flares up and it would be whispered that the ancestors are fanning it. When a patient conceptualizes pain in the light of *bikenga* (hot faggot), it is suggestive of both the action of SUPERNATURAL CAUSE source domain, NON-LIVING, MIXED CAUSE source domain, pain intensity and pain duration.

It is universally agreed that THE BODY IS A CONTAINER FOR EMOTIONS. The fact that related languages have a common ancestor explain the reason why we have similarities in metaphorical patterns. Kovecses (2000) posits that near universal metaphors can be found in numerous genetically unrelated languages of the world. In this study, therefore we analyze pain emotion typologies that

exist in our language of study, Lubukusu, as well as other languages.

Conclusion

First and foremost, the paper establishes that metaphonimies are an important cognitive mechanism of conceptualizing pain in Lubukusu through the Conceptual Metaphor Theory as posited by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). It is also pointed out by Ungerer & Schmid (2006), that metaphors are not just a way of expressing ideas by means of language but a way of thinking about common things. The following common source domains were established about conceptualization of pain in Lubukusu; Metaphors of Pain with the PLANT Source Domain, Metaphors of Pain with the ANIMAL Source Domain, Metaphors of pain with BAD SMELL and BAD TASTE as source domains, Metaphors of pain with SUPERNATURAL CAUSE, Metaphors of pain with NON-LIVING, MIXED CAUSE. Past researchers including Mudogo (2019) agrees that metaphor is a basic indispensable feature of human understanding. Moreover, the study concludes that metaphors of pain are well accounted for in terms of the CMT.

The analysis of the data collected clearly indicates that knowledge of the language of the catchment area of a prospective patient is not only important but a crucial tool in enhancing effective doctor-patient discourse. In this regard, the communicative patterns of a patient who uses highly nuanced language or figurative speech can be a daunting exercise for the medical practitioners. It is however important to note that the concurrence of the two parties is essential for effective mitigation of the patient's condition, in this case pain. The doctor needs to understand the communicative intent of the patient. Therefore, there is a need for stakeholders in the health sector to engage linguists on how to address the glaring mismatches, miscommunication and misunderstandings that may emerge in such cases.

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