

**METAPHORICAL MAPPINGS IN THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF
COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN LUKABARAS**

James Matseshe Sasala

**A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the requirements of the conferment
of the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Applied Linguistics of Masinde Muliro
University of Science and Technology**

September, 2023

PLAGIARISM STATEMENT

Student's Declaration

1. I hereby declare that I know that the incorporation of material from other works or a paraphrase of such material without acknowledgement will be treated as plagiarism according to the Rules and Regulations of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology.
2. I understand that this thesis must be my own work.
3. I know that plagiarism is academic dishonesty and wrong and that if I commit any act of plagiarism, my thesis can be assigned a failure grade ('F').
4. I further understand that I may be suspended or expelled from the university for academic dishonesty

Name: **James Matseshe Sasala** Signature: _____

Reg. No: **LAL/H/01-70038/2020** Date: _____

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby approve the examination of this thesis. The thesis has been subjected to plagiarism test and its similarity index is not more than 20%.

1. Name: Dr. Benard A. Mudogo

Signature _____ Date _____

2. Name: Dr. David Barasa

Signature _____ Date _____

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work prepared with no other than the indicated sources and support and has not been presented elsewhere for a degree or any other award.

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Sasala James Matseshe

Reg.no. LAL/H/01-70038/2020

CERTIFICATION

The undersigned certify that they have read and hereby recommend for acceptance of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology a thesis entitled, '*Metaphorical Mappings in the Conceptualization of COVID-19 Pandemic in Lukabaras.*'

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Dr. Benard A. Mudogo

Department of Language and Literature Education

Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology

Signature: _____ Date: _____

Dr. David Barasa

Department of Language and Literature Education

Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my uncle Dr. John Matseshe whose inspiration in this academic journey has remained invaluable.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Foremost, I thank the Almighty God for the gift of life. Secondly, it is with a lot of humility that I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to my supervisors, Dr. Benard Mudogo and Dr. David Barasa of the Department of Language and Literature Education, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. Thank you so much for your selfless, constant and able guidance without which this work would not have taken shape.

My appreciation also goes to the Chairperson Department of Language and Literature Education, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, Dr Jairus Omuteche for the support he offered me. He made available all the necessary materials and resources I needed from the department. A big thanks too goes to Dr Rose Auma, Dean School of Arts and Social Sciences- Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology and the entire staff in your office for providing me all the necessary help and support.

To Dr. Atichi Alati of the Department of Language and Literature Education, Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, thank you for your invaluable input and encouragement. I am grateful for the time you took to assist me find an area of research. Your thoughts and suggestions indeed broke the ice and I found direction. I thank you very much.

To all my lecturers; Dr. Mandillah, Mr. Omondi and Mr. Oduma, thanks for your contribution that made this journey manageable and worthy pursuing. To my entire family, my spouse Naomi, and children; Kevin, Blessy, Owen, Britney and Brilliant ‘murio muno’ for standing with me in this endeavor. Your moral, spiritual and financial support made every step of this study a success. May God bless you abundantly.

ABSTRACT

The COVID-19 pandemic, a respiratory disease caused by the corona virus and which is genetically related to the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome of 2003 and the Middle East Respiratory Syndrome of 2012, has been perceived in various ways by different communities world over. Empirical evidence suggests that emerging issues such as pandemics can be manifested through metaphors, but their conceptualization vary both culturally and experientially over time. This study examined the metaphorical conceptualization of COVID-19 through conceptual mappings, vital relations and image schemas. As such, the study focused on how COVID-19 pandemic was unpacked in Lukabaras through metaphor. The study was guided by the following objectives: to identify and categorize the metaphors of COVID-19 pandemic through conceptual mappings as used in Lukabaras; to examine the extent to which vital relations account for the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras speakers and to describe the role of image schemas in the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras. The underpinning theories for the study were the Conceptual Integration Theory and the Image Schemas Theory. The Conceptual Integration Theory was beneficial to the analysis of objective one and two whereas the Image Schemas Theory was applied to objective three. The study used the descriptive research design. Multistage sampling technique was used, first, by purposively sampling three county assembly wards from the seven wards in Kakamega North Sub-County. The key participants from these wards thus constituted 36 purposively sampled respondents who were speakers of Lukabaras aged (30-39 years) and (above 60 years). Data was collected through Key Informant Interviews, Focus Group Discussions and audio recording. The study used the Metaphor Identification Procedure to identify the conceptual metaphors. The data was then analyzed thematically in terms of different categories of the conceptual metaphors and presented in descriptive form and tables. The findings established that COVID-19 pandemic was conceptualized in Lukabaras through sources such as organisms, objects, events, actions, natural occurrences and states and conditions. The findings also revealed that most of the metaphors were manifested through Disanalogy vital relation and the CONTAINER image schema was the most prevalent in framing the metaphors. The study concluded that through some of the metaphors, the seriousness of the pandemic was trivialized whereas in other metaphors the pandemic was magnified. Consequently, the containment measures put in place to fight against the spread of the disease were compromised. These findings not only contribute to the existing literature in cognitive linguistics but also inform the relevant stakeholders on issues that affect health promotion and public health-related communication. The study also creates an opportunity for further research on community-based health strategies and risk communication that are attributed to language perspectives in times of pandemics.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PLAGIARISM STATEMENT	ii
DECLARATION	iii
DEDICATION	iv
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS.....	v
ABSTRACT	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS.....	vi
LIST OF TABLES.....	x
LIST OF FIGURES.....	xi
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS.....	xii
OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS	xiv
CHAPTER ONE.....	1
INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Chapter Overview	1
1.2 Background to the Study	1
1.2.1 The COVID-19 Situation in Kenya	4
1.2.2 Lukabaras	11
1.3 Statement of the Problem	11
1.4 Purpose of the Study	12
1.5 Research Objectives.....	12
1.6 Research Questions.....	13
1.7 Research Assumptions	13
1.8 Scope of the Study	13
1.9 Significance of the Study	14
1.10 Conclusion.....	16
CHAPTER TWO.....	17
LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK.....	17
2.1 Introduction	17
2.2 Overview of Metaphors and Conceptual Representation.....	17
2.2.1 Metaphor Studies Related to Pandemics African Languages.....	24
2.2.2 Identifying Metaphors using Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP)	28
2.2.3 Categorization of Metaphors	30

2.2.4 Levels of Categorization	31
2.2.5 Conceptual Mappings and Metaphors.....	33
2.2.6 Classification of Metaphors.....	37
2.3 Vital Relations and Conceptual Metaphors.....	45
2.3.1 Classification and Role of Vital Relations	47
2.4 Image Schemas and Conceptual Metaphors.....	49
2.5 Theoretical Framework	52
2.5.1 Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT)	53
2.5.2 Image Schemas Theory (IST).....	57
2.6 Conclusion.....	61
CHAPTER THREE.....	63
RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	63
3.1 Introduction	63
3.2 Research Design	63
3.3 The Study Area.....	64
3.4 Study Population.....	64
3.5 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size	65
3.6 Data Collection	67
3.6.1 Key Informant Interviews	68
3.6.2 Focus Group Discussions	70
3.6.3 Data Extraction	72
3.7 Data Analysis.....	74
3.8 Data Presentation	72
3.9 Validity and Reliability	74
3.10 Ethical Considerations	76
3.11 Conclusion.....	77
CHAPTER FOUR	78
DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION.....	78
4.1 Introduction	78
4.2 COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras.....	78
4.2.1 Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) of COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras	81
4.2.2 Categorization of COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras	89

4.2.3 Basic Level Categorization of COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras.....	91
4.2.4 Conceptual Mappings of COVID-19 in Lukabaras	102
4.2.5 Classification of COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras	118
4.3 Vital Relations and Conceptual Metaphors.....	121
4.3.1 Vital Relations in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras	122
4.4 Image Schemas	138
4.4.1 Image Schemas in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras	139
4.4.2 Prevalence of Image Schemas in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras	150
4.5 Conclusion.....	153
CHAPTER FIVE	155
FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS.....	155
5.1 Introduction	155
5.2 Summary of Findings.....	155
5.2.1 COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras.....	156
5.2.2 Vital Relations in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras	157
5.2.3 Image Schemas in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras	157
5.3 Conclusion.....	158
5.4 Recommendations.....	159
5.5 Suggestions for Further Research.....	160
REFERENCES	161
Appendix I: Key Informant Interview Guide.....	169
Appendix II: Focus Group Discussion Guide	171
Appendix III: Data Extraction Guide	174
Appendix IV: Raw Data.....	175
Appendix V: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras	176
Appendix VI: Sample Excerpts from Key Informant Interviews.....	177
Appendix VII: Sample Excerpts from Focus Group Discussions.....	182
Appendix VIII: Sample (MIP) for COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras	184
Appendix IX: COVID-19 Pandemic Timeline, Kenya.....	191
Appendix X: Map of Kakamega North Sub County	192
Appendix XI: Research Approval from Directorate of Post Graduate Studies	193
Appendix XII: Research Permit from NACOSTI	194

LIST OF TABLES

Table 1.1: Main Fear Regarding COVID-19	8
Table 2.1: Taxonomy of Image Schemas	59
Table 2.2: Taxonomy of Image Schemas by Johnson (1987).....	60
Table 4.1: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras.....	80
Table 4.2: Direct Metaphor Related Words Based on Abstract Sources.....	85
Table 4.3: Direct Metaphor Related Words Based on Concrete Sources.....	86
Table 4.4: Possible Personification in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.....	88
Table 4.5: Generic Levels of Categorization of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.....	90
Table 4.6: The Mappings of COVID IS A PERSON	105
Table 4.7: The Mappings of COVID IS AN ANIMAL.....	108
Table 4.8: The Mappings of COVID IS AN OBJECT	109
Table 4.9: The Mappings of COVID IS AN EVENT	111
Table 4.10: The Mappings of COVID IS AN ACTION.....	113
Table 4.11: The Mappings of COVID IS A NATURAL OCCURRENCE.....	115
Table 4.12: The Mappings of COVID IS A STATE.....	116
Table 4.13: Vital Relations in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.....	122
Table 4.14: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras Based on Analogy.....	124
Table 4.15: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras Based on Part-Whole, Identity and Uniqueness.....	127
Table 4.16: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras Based on Disanalogy	130
Table 4.17: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras Based on Cause-Effect.....	135
Table 4.18: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras Based on Similarity	137
Table 4.19: Image Schemas in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.....	140
Table 4.20: CONTAINER image schemas in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras	142

Table 4.21: IN-OUT and EXCESS subsidiary image schemas	143
Table 4.22: PATH image schema in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras....	146
Table 4.23: FORCE image schema in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras .	147
Table 4.24: OBJECT image schema in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras	148
Table 4.25: PART-WHOLE image schema in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras	150
Table 4.26: Image Schemas and the corresponding Subsidiary Schemas	151

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1: Basic conceptual correspondences (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006:119)	20
Figure 2.2: Components of conceptual metaphor analysis. (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006:127)	34
Figure 4.1: Distribution of Metaphor Related Words of COVID-19 in Lukabaras ...	87
Figure 4.2: Distribution of Possible Personification and Direct MRW	88
Figure 4. 3: Classification of COVID-19 Metraphors in Lukabaras	120
Figure 4.4: Prevalence of Analogy/ Disanalogy vital relation	133
Figure 4.5: Prevalence of Image Schemas in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras	151

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

APHRC	African Population and Health Research Centre
CIT	Conceptual Integration Theory
CMT	Conceptual Metaphor Theory
EACC	Ethics and Anti-Corruption Commission
FGDs	Focus Group Discussions
KEMSA	Kenya Medical Supplies Authority
KNBS	Kenya National Bureau of Statistics
KNSC	Kakamega North Sub-County
MERS	Middle-East Respiratory Syndrome
MIP	Metaphor Identification Procedure
MRW	Metaphor Related Word
NPIs	Non-Pharmaceutical Interventions
SARS	Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome
WHO	World Health Organization

OPERATIONAL DEFINITION OF TERMS

Conceptual mapping-The analyzable correspondence between the target domain and the source domain in a metaphor

Conceptual metaphor-A cognitive frame designed through cross domain mapping of knowledge structures

County Assembly Ward- The smallest unit of civic representation at the county level in the devolved governance in Kenya. For example, Shirugu/Mugai ward in Kakamega County.

COVID-19- Also referred to as COVID in this study, is a respiratory disease which assumed variant names such as SARS COV-2 or corona virus and has widely affected many parts of the world including Kenya.

Lukabaras- One of the cluster members of the Luhya language spoken in Western Kenya

Metaphorical mapping-The conceptual link established in a metaphor through cross space correspondences between two semantic concepts

Vital relation- A notion of the conceptual integrated theory that is related to other mental constructions that lead to the formation of the human language as a representation of concepts which are manifested through mappings.

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Chapter Overview

This chapter gives background information on metaphors and their representations through conceptual mappings, vital relations and image schemas in the conceptualization of pandemics. The specific focus is on how COVID-19 pandemic is conceptualized by native speakers of Lukabaras. In view of this, the chapter foregrounds the context of the COVID-19 pandemic situation in Kenya. There is also a brief background about Lukabaras - one of the Luhyia cluster of languages spoken in Western Kenya. Moreover, there is a presentation of the statement of the problem, the research objectives, research questions and research assumptions that guide the study. Also, there are details on the significance of the study and scope of the study.

1.2 Background to the Study

Studies carried out across different languages and among people of varied cultures reveal the manifestation of metaphors as a component in the usage of language. Shared scholarly opinion thus reveals that metaphors are utilized by the speakers of a given language as they interact and share their life experiences (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999; Kovecses, 2005). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) further claim that metaphorical linguistic expressions can be used to study the nature of metaphorical concepts in order to make clear the metaphorical nature of activities. According to Vakhovska (2017), it is with the help of metaphorical expressions that conceptual metaphors are manifested in natural languages. Furthermore, a speaker's manner of thinking as well as their social and cultural norms including what they follow or break can be revealed through metaphors (Cameron, 2010).

According to Cameron (2010), the use of metaphor to communicate about emerging phenomenon like the COVID-19 pandemic may therefore be a guide for future action. Through the structure of well-known domains, this can reinforce the power of the metaphor to give logic to an intangible subject and make the experience about that subject easy to understand (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In view of this, the use of metaphor in talking about new phenomenon such as the COVID-19 pandemic can provide varied perspectives for perceiving and interpreting the world hence underscoring a given community's particular understanding of a new experience in their social cultural setting just like the present study set out to investigate the way Lukabaras speakers conceptualized the pandemic.

Reports about the first cases of COVID-19 in Wuhan Province of China towards the end of 2019, for instance, came with shock and panic. The world began to grapple with the news of this strange pandemic which by April 2020 had spread to many other parts of the world bringing business to a standstill. argued that the world was in the middle of a crisis due to this pandemic and people were struggling to cope with the new experience. According to Shoneborn (ibid), the language people use in order to make sense of the unknown or to talk about strange phenomenon can reveal their understanding of a situation. This argument points to the view that our perception and reaction to pandemics can be manifested in the choice of our language.

Arguably, the ordinary discourse about COVID-19 pandemic thus involved the use of linguistic expressions that are metaphorical in nature. For instance, Shoneborn (2020) wondered whether COVID-19 is just a 'little cold' or we are at war with 'an invisible enemy'. In this argument, the author metaphorically portrays COVID-19 as A COLD or AN ENEMY that should be fought.

For this reason, it can be observed that whereas the use of the foregoing expressions helps us to understand the way COVID-19 was conceptualized, our choice of metaphors can have consequences in pandemic times.

The COVID-19 pandemic was also presented as a war by a number of studies (e.g., Craig, 2020). The perspectives adopted by these authors are that the reactions of some world leaders contributed to the original frames assigned to COVID-19 and this affected people's reasoning about the pandemic (Seixas, 2021). For instance, in February 2020, just three months after COVID-19 was first detected in Wuhan, China, Chinese leader Xi Jinping vowed to win the war against the novel corona virus (COVID-19). Similarly, in March 2020, French President Macron repeated the phrase "we are at war" six times in his speech (Craig, 2020). The framing of COVID-19 as a war was also perpetuated by the Italian Prime Minister, Giuseppe Conte, who on 16th March 2020, remembered all the Italians who were fighting in the trenches of the hospitals (Seixas, 2021).

In light of these, it was possible that the way people conceptualized the pandemic as manifested in their choice of their words affected the efforts to fight against its spread. There was need to establish the consequences of metaphorical use of language in the conceptualization of the COVID-19 pandemic in view of cultural perceptions and uptake of this new phenomenon. The present study presumed that depending on how the pandemic was conceptualized in Lukabarar through metaphors in which COVID-19 was for instance perceived as a LITTLE COLD probably oversimplified the seriousness of the disease and consequently the containment measures and health protocols relating to the pandemic were either followed or broken.

1.2.1 The COVID-19 Situation in Kenya

COVID-19 also known as the coronavirus of 2019 was understood to be from a family of viruses that are respiratory and zoonotic in origin (Karijo et al. (2020). These viruses include the Severe Acute Respiratory Syndrome (SARS) and the Middle-East Respiratory Syndrome (MERS) (Chen et al., 2020). However, COVID-19 was isolated and referenced as severe acute respiratory syndrome coronavirus 2 (SARS-CoV-2) and was clinically manifested through symptoms such as dry cough, fever, shortness of breath, fatigue and acute respiratory distress (Chen et al., 2020; Adhikari et al. 2020).

Karijo et al. (2020) posited that in the initial stage of COVID-19, the rates of infection of the pandemic in sub-Saharan Africa were reportedly the lowest but in March 2020 cases across the continent were confirmed to be on the rise (WHO, 2020). People who were infected experienced mild to moderate respiratory illness and would recover without the need to seek special medical attention. However, older people and those with underlying medical conditions such as chronic respiratory diseases were at risk of developing serious illness and needed medical attention (WHO, 2020).

It was reported that the virus could spread from an infected person's mouth or nose in small liquid particles when they cough, sneeze, speak, sing or breathe and therefore the best way to prevent and slow down transmission was to be well informed about the disease and how the virus spreads (WHO, 2020). According to Kakenam (2020), the disease spread beyond an unimaginable rate affecting a huge number of people and this called for urgent attention globally. Due to the virus's high transmission rates, long incubation period, and global spread, there was need for a careful strategy to tackle this new disease since there was an emerging fear and anxiety in some cases which apparently burdened worldwide healthcare systems.

The pandemic was thus declared a global crisis and health emergency due to its rapid onset, spatial extent and complex consequences (Kroumpouzou et al. 2020; Cheval et al. 2020).

According to Macharia et al. (2020), Barasa et al. (2020), and Karijo et al. (2020), Kenya was not spared the ravage of this disease and the first case was confirmed on 13 March, 2020. WHO detected community transmission in some countries including Kenya and the risk of spreading was due to, in large part, to deep challenges in practicing social distancing and frequent handwashing in densely populated areas as well as the nonspecific symptoms of COVID-19 that made it difficult to differentiate between endemic illnesses such as malaria and influenza (Karijo et al., 2020).

Governments resorted to non-pharmaceutical interventions (NPIs) in order to reduce the rising transmission of the virus and possibly prevent COVID-19 related deaths and infections (Orangi et al., 2021). For instance, the government of Kenya executed several public health response measures such as use of masks, hand washing, social distancing, imposing travel bans, restricting movements and creating awareness on preventive measures through messaging within areas that had high rates of infections (MOH, 2020). A dusk to dawn curfew in all 47 counties was also imposed and public places like churches, schools were shut down whereas social gatherings were prohibited to curb the spread of the virus (MOH, 2020). However, Barasa et al. (2020) argued that the measures put in place could also indirectly affect economic growth, cause financial challenges, retard access to essential health services and possibly widen the inequality in access to education.

Apart from reports and updates about the disease through the media and government agencies, the county governments of Kenya also made a lot of effort to curb the spread of the pandemic. For instance, Kakamega County screened people and mounted sensitization of the public on the seriousness of the pandemic.

However, local television stations reported that whereas the leadership in this county through religious leaders, health care workers and traders urged the public to observe the set measures in order to protect themselves, most individuals still perceived the disease as a myth (MOH, 2020). According to the media reports, among those who tested positive were from Malava in Kakamega North Sub-County (KNSC). The reporters observed that the victim aged 37 had travelled from Nairobi but later developed breathing difficulties and was admitted at Kuvasali Health Center (MOH, 2020). Despite the sources confirming that indeed what was once heard in Wuhan, China (COVID-19), was now in Malava, the residents are said to have taken the matter lightly claiming the disease only attacked those in Nairobi (MOH, 2020).

It was argued that the highest number of COVID-19 cases in East Africa were recorded in Kenya (Okaka and Omondi,2021). For instance, as of 13 November, 2020 there were 68,193 laboratory confirmed swab tests and 1,228 deaths with positive test results (Kajliwa 2020b). Moreover, the Ministry of Health (MOH) in Kenya announced a third wave of the COVID-19 outbreak with over 700 cases a day by March 2021 (Nakkazi, 2021). According to Herbling (2021), the fear of a fourth wave as a result of the highly contagious COVID-19 delta variant was reported by June 2021. In August 17, 2021 there were 222,894 total confirmed cases and 4,354 cumulative fatalities (Nakkazi, 2021).

Orangi et al. (2021) observed that when the government of Kenya launched a phased rollout of COVID-19 vaccination, there was a high vaccine hesitancy which was associated with rural regions, perceived difficulty in adhering to government regulations on COVID-19 prevention, no perceived COVID-19 infection risk, concerns regarding vaccine safety and effectiveness, and religious and cultural reasons.

Due to the rapid global spread of the pandemic, there was need to address effective communication in order to raise awareness on the benefits and risks of COVID-19 vaccines as well as prevention measures (Orangi et al., 2021). The COVID-19 experiences thus generated a great deal of scholarly interest. For instance, Okaka and Omondi (2021) investigated the levels of knowledge, perception and assessment of risk among older people in informal settlements in developing countries such as Kenya. It was argued that older people have compromised immune system due to advanced age and have more chances of having pre-existing conditions that weaken their ability to fight infectious diseases and are thus at higher risk. The findings established that there was also a common misconception among older people that a strong religious belief could protect one from contracting the disease. On the other hand, Kivuva (2020) argued that COVID-19 was perceived as a scam by most of the young and unemployed people with a lower education. It was observed that the levels of perception also varied depending on where the people lived. As such, the rural population or those living upcountry had a low perception of the disease.

However, studies revealed that there were reports of fear regarding the disease across the demographic divide. The findings of Okaka and Omondi (2021) established that the older people (70 - 79 years) mainly feared that COVID-19 virus would cause death (40.9%).

According to the findings, the least reported fears were about people infecting others (1.3%) and the fear of a loved one getting ill (2.0%). Similarly, the findings revealed that many people under-estimated the disease (3.4%) (Okaka & Omondi, 2021). The following is a summary of the main fears that were associated with the COVID-19 pandemic as established in Okaka and Omondi (2021).

Table 1.1: Main Fears Regarding the COVID-19 Pandemic

Main fear	n	%
Death/virus kills people	61	40.9
No cure or treatment	31	20.8
Loss of income	10	6.7
Food shortage	12	8.1
I may infect others	2	1.3
Many people under-estimate the disease	5	3.4
Loved one may get ill	3	2.0
It may infect too many people and turn uncontrollable	6	4.0
People losing their jobs and livelihood	8	5.4
Getting quarantined	6	4.0
Others (specify)	3	2.0
I have nothing to fear	2	1.3
Total	149	100.0

Source: Okaka and Omondi (2021: 8)

As presented in Table 1.1, the present study found Okaka and Omondi (2021) studies beneficial to investigate the conceptualization of metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas. There was need to establish how different people unpacked the new pandemic and the role their conceptualization played in the prevention of the disease.

Studies such as Karijo et al. (2020) revealed that among the young people, the perception of people at risk of infection with COVID-19 was varied such that only 7.1% of young people reported that everyone was at risk of infection and when asked what the chances were of getting infected with COVID-19, about 29.0% perceived themselves to be at low risk, 38.9% at medium risk, and 2.7% reported no risk at all.

In the same vein, nearly 63.7% and 59.7% indicated that the elderly and those with weak immunity were at risk of infection (Karijo et al., 2020). The present study found Karijo et al. (2020) relevant in picking the sample of respondents for the investigation of the COVID-19 pandemic metaphors in Lukabararas.

Ojwang' (2022) investigated Lockdown, Reopening and Related Metaphorical Frames of Power in the COVID-19 Discourse in Kenya. The study used a conceptual metaphor approach to evaluate the relevance and effectiveness of the frames of COVID-19 created through selected public utterances. Ojwang further examined the communicative strategies of the community-initiated responses towards the COVID-19 crisis and argued that various public players combined realities of the health situation with metaphors that conceptualized the disease as an INVISIBLE ENEMY, VORACIOUS ANIMAL and a SWEEPING WIND. For instance, Government response teams were at the forefront in leading the COVID-19 response by developing and adopting certain ways of talking about the action taken to combat COVID-19 in the process of shaping public perceptions of the disease (Ojwang', 2022).

During the one-year anniversary of the first case of COVID-19 in Kenya on 12 March 2021, President Uhuru Kenyatta recounted the loss of 1,879 Kenyans due to COVID-19 and referred to the struggle with the pandemic as a fog of war, an enemy unseen and undefined (Chau, 2021 pp 213). The president in a measured address reminded the nation that Government would do everything possible to protect its people; but the first line of defense against an invisible enemy like COVID was the people. He observed that if people exercised civic responsibility and acted as each brother's keeper, they would have won half the battle against this pandemic (Chau, *ibid*).

In this view, Ojwang' (2022) observed that metaphors greatly expand our conceptual and communicative abilities, as we can draw from the knowledge and language associated with a rich source domain to reason and communicate about a target domain for which we may have little vocabulary and conceptual structure. The metaphorical conceptualizations of COVID-19 are cognitively relevant to various contexts. Ojwang' thus argues that when people use metaphor to talk about COVID-19, they may achieve positive consequences by creating a need for urgent action, by mobilizing, and uniting the citizens against a common enemy. The frames of lurking danger and an enemy that is so difficult to track imply the ubiquitous and sporadic incidences of COVID-19 (Ojwang', 2022). As earlier observed, metaphors have been used to construct the understanding of new events in the public conscience where ideas are formed in the mind and reflected through speech (Nyakoe,2017).

Furthermore, Nyakoe (2017) claims that since the main languages of communication in Kenya are English and Kiswahili, it is probable that Kenyans perceive and talk about issues like pandemics quite differently in their local languages. Metaphors are also fluid and change over time to cater for the emerging needs and experiences. The frames of COVID-19 as AN ENEMY are in tandem with the rallying call in Kenya that COVID-19 is an existential danger that must be countered through prevention of harm and self-preservation as in war (MOH, 2020). It therefore emerges through both theoretical and empirical evidence that the discourse on COVID-19 was from a metaphor analysis framework. In this light, the present study attempted to investigate the COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabaras and establish how they are structured.

1.2.2 Lukabaras

According to Ethnologue, Lewis (2021), Lukabaras is listed as one of the members of the Luhya macro language. Abaluhya is a Bantu speaking community that forms one of the major language groups in the western part of Kenya. Lukabaras is thus one of the indigeneous languages out of the nineteen subgroups that make up the Luhya macro-language (Marlo,2009).

Also known as Kabaras, Lukabaras is majorly spoken in Kakamega North Sub-County, a region located north of Kakamega County. Accordingly, Kabras are the people who speak Lukabaras. The Kabras occupy Kakamega North Sub-County but also spread to parts of the neighbouring Kakamega East, Uasin Gishu, Nandi County. Data for this study was not drawn from other cluster members like Lulogooli, Lutirichi, Lunyore, Lwisukha, Lwidakho, Lubukusu, Lutachooni, Lunyala K, Lunyala B, Lukhaayo, Lumarachi, Lusamia, Lutura, Lusonga, Luwanga, Lutsotso, Lukisa, and Lumarama (Mudogo,2019).

1.3 Statement of the Problem

Concerns regarding misinformation about the COVID-19 pandemic including unsupported treatment or promotion of ineffective preventive behaviors were reported in many countries. Accordingly, the Kenyan Ministry of Health launched a COVID-19 task force to steer the country's prevention, containment and mitigation measures in order to reduce the impact of the COVID-19 outbreak on health, social and economic status of the nation. However, there was possibility that the language choices people made when talking about the COVID-19 pandemic affected the efforts to curb the spread.

In this perspective, the present study investigated the use of metaphor in the conceptualization of COVID-19 in Lukabarasi. This was premised on the fact that metaphors are pervasive in nature and their experiential focus varies. Furthermore, the conceptual framing of a disease through metaphors can also be different over time and across languages depending on the nature of the disease.

1.4 Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this descriptive study was to explore the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabarasi in order to establish the consequences of the metaphorical use of language during the pandemic. The study generally construed COVID-19 as a novel pandemic whose emergence apparently motivated varied conceptualizations in the different communities in Kenya. This is because Kenya is a heterogeneous country and the distinct ethnic groups in the country may have experienced the pandemic differently.

The study thus attempted to unpack this new and incorporeal concept by examining the metaphors used in Lukabarasi. The focus was on how the participants metaphorically framed the pandemic through their knowledge of basic experiences with organisms, objects, events, natural occurrences and states or conditions.

1.5 Research Objectives

- i) To identify and categorize the metaphors of COVID-19 pandemic through conceptual mappings as used in Lukabarasi.
- ii) To examine the extent to which vital relations account for the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabarasi.
- iii) To describe the role of image schemas in the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabarasi.

1.6 Research Questions

- i) What are the metaphors used for COVID-19 in Lukabaras through conceptual mappings?
- ii) How do vital relations account for the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras?
- iii) What role do image schemas play in the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras?

1.7 Research Assumptions

- i) Metaphors are utilized in Lukabaras to unpack COVID-19 pandemic through conceptual mappings.
- ii) Vital relations account for the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.
- iii) Image schemas play a role in the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras.

1.8 Scope of the Study

This study falls within the scope of cognitive linguistics. The primary data was collected from native speakers of Lukabaras living in Kakamega North Sub-County. The choice of the county assembly wards was informed by the fact that they are the smallest units of civic representation in the devolved governance whereas the choice of Kakamega North Sub-County as the study area rested on the premise that it was one of the administrative units of the national government in which cases of COVID-19 were reported through the media. The study confined itself to metaphors of pandemics particularly COVID-19. There was no attempt to collect metaphors of other pandemics such as HIV/AIDS and metaphors of incorporeal concepts like emotions.

The study was further guided by the tenets and principles of the Conceptual Integrated Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) and Image Schemas Theory (Johnson 1987,2005). The study only applied the principles that were relevant to the analysis of metaphors used to talk about the COVID-19 pandemic.

1.9 Significance of the Study

The emergence of the most recent global outbreak of the COVID-19 pandemic has had great impacts on the political and social economic well-being of many people not just in Kenya but world over. Since it is a new phenomenon, the language people used to talk about it apparently varied from context to context depending on how they conceptualized the pandemic. Thus, there was need to investigate how people unpack such abstract concepts as pandemics. Linguistically, the use of metaphor is one such way in which people understand the world around them by expressing their knowledge of an unknown idea through known physical representations.

The efforts to prevent the spread of pandemics such as COVID-19 across Kenya possibly yielded varied outcomes. The prevention measures and health protocols may not have been adhered to as directed because of the way different people conceptualized the pandemics. In different parts of the country, COVID-19 cases were reported but the spread was attributed to misinformation about the pandemic (Okaka & Omondi, 2021). For instance, Bosire et al. (2022) investigated social risks, economic dynamics and the local politics of COVID-19 prevention in Eldoret town and established that people earlier trusted the leadership in the fight against the pandemic but no longer believed in them after they abandoned public health promotion and corruptly handled the COVID-19 relief funds.

Consequently, public health prevention measures were ignored in many places such as at home, on the bus, and in business areas leading to an increase in the spread of the disease. This called for a study to investigate the language choices people make in talking about these experiences. In the recent past, a number of studies have been carried out in Kenyan local languages to show how metaphors are utilized as language tools in the conceptualization of pandemics like HIV/AIDS (Anudo,2018; Nyakoe,2017; Ochieng, 2016; Magonya ,2013; Kobia, 2008). However, many of these studies concentrated on the metaphors associated with the scourge either from a euphemistic point of view or an attitudinal approach where the use of metaphor magnified or portrayed the disease as a myth. There was need to further investigate the other emergent cognitive frames designed to talk about other pandemics such as COVID-19. Therefore, the present study was built on previous researches by exploring the possible metaphorical mappings in the conceptualization of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.

The findings of this study are beneficial to scholars who are keen on the role of language and communication in mitigating challenges and issues in the health sector. This will in turn contribute to the existing literature that is relevant to informing the Ministry of Health and other relevant bodies on policies regarding the importance of the choices we make in the use of language in communicating health-related issues (Okaka & Omondi,2021). The metaphors we utilize in communicating about diseases, illnesses and pandemics such as COVID-19 can be a guide to future action. This is because the metaphorical conceptualization of pandemics like COVID-19 has potential to affect people's perceptions and attitudes towards diseases hence affecting the efforts to prevent or reduce the spread.

The emergence of disease outbreaks would therefore call for the need for short- and long-term response strategies that yield information to guide interventions. The study therefore contributes to decision making that could inform prevention and control measures and interventions taken by relevant stakeholders in managing pandemics and other disease outbreaks. This will inform the government's strategies in disseminating community-based awareness on matters health education and the coping mechanisms in preventing disease outbreaks like the case of COVID-19.

1.10 Conclusion

The discussion in this chapter foregrounded metaphor as an important area of cognitive linguistics. Other than its centrality in language and thought, metaphor is applicable in many other aspects of language such as structuring knowledge of new experiences like pandemics. The focus was to provide the background against which incorporeal experiences such as the COVID-19 pandemic are conceptualized through use of metaphorical language. Furthermore, this chapter demonstrated that since its emergence as an important domain within the scope of cognitive linguistics, metaphor has continued to attract scholarly attention of varying magnitudes. Whereas some of the studies have sought to explain the embodiment of abstract concepts such as emotions through metaphor, there is still need to investigate the conceptualization of other intangible concepts and new experiences like COVID-19 as perceived through our local languages. The next chapter discusses the relevant literature and the theoretical underpinning for this study.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Introduction

The chapter presents an overview of metaphor in cognitive linguistics and a review of the relevant literature to this study. The chapter foregrounds the concept of categorization of metaphors and highlights the common models of categorization in linguistic studies. Further, the chapter reviews literature on conceptual mappings and metaphors in cognitive studies. There is also a review and discussion of relevant empirical studies on vital relations and image schemas. The chapter finally describes the theories that underpin the study.

2.2 Overview of Metaphors and Conceptual Representation

A number of researchers have analyzed texts in which it appears that metaphors have been used to present a particular interpretation of situations or events. For instance, Mey (1994) argues that metaphors represent certain ways of thinking that are rooted in a common social practice. On the other hand, Deignon (1997) suggests that we can learn about a community's interpretation of the world by studying its metaphors. According to these arguments, the way people think and interpret what goes on around them can be revealed through the metaphors they use to show their understanding of various realities. For this reason, a study on metaphors became necessary and adequate in understanding abstract concepts; more so, how incorporeal experiences and new pandemics such as COVID-19 are metaphorically structured and understood by native speakers of a language.

As argued by Kövecses (2002), metaphorical conceptualization can vary due to differences in framing and experiential focus across cultures and time. Additionally, the metaphorical meanings are shaped from what is highlighted given that not all possible entailments in a metaphorical mapping are utilized. According to Lakoff and Johnson (ibid), the mappings are said to arise from recurring patterns of interaction with the environment. In this manner, people are able to talk about one domain of experience in terms of another.

The metaphors through which we understand the physical, social and cultural environment can thus reveal our thoughts and understanding about abstract concepts such as pandemics. In the same vein, Kovecses (2010) argues that our experiences with the physical world serve as a natural and logical foundation for the comprehension of more abstract domains. However, such embodiment may differ from culture to culture since the emergent metaphors do not necessarily base on similar aspects. The embodiment of the experiences may consist varied aspects which differ from culture to culture. The conceptual metaphors that emerge may thus be based on many components whose framing varies across time.

Therefore, when a new metaphor comes in existence into our conceptual system, the way we perceive the world and behave changes accordingly (Guo,2013). In this perspective, it is argued that through metaphor the users of a language are able to connect abstract topics to concrete phenomena. This means that mental processes are manifested through embodiment of abstract ideas which makes the knowledge of new domains accessible (Allbritton,1995). For example, Lukabaras speakers are able to talk about new phenomenon such as COVID-19 pandemic and share their experiences using metaphors because metaphors are grounded in physical experience and the central experiences of human life are related (Cameron, 1992).

In spite of a large body of research on emotional metaphors such as love pain and fear and concrete objects such as women, there was need for more empirical studies on how other incorporeal concepts are metaphorically structured among different speech communities (Kövecses 2002; Gathigia 2014; Esenova 2011; Mudogo 2019; Barasa & Opande 2017). Furthermore, there was need to investigate how the new pandemic of COVID-19 is metaphorically mapped among speakers of Lukabaras and what aspects of the metaphors are utilized in conceptualizing the pandemic.

According to Vakhovska (2017) the place of language use in cognitive linguistics subsumes that as we engage in creative mappings through given language activities we unknowingly obtain, among other things, extensive mental processes and cultural properties. In this view, it is argued that meaning is not merely represented by language but it is prompted through construction in certain contexts that have distinct cultural behavioral patterns and cognitive resources. In this regard, metaphors provide a lens in which our perceptions and conceptions of the world are constructed through cross domain mapping of attributes between different concepts (Vakhovska ,2017).

Deignon (1997) distinguishes between two approaches to metaphor. Deignon(ibid) argues that there is one which is seen as decorative, secondary, or, manifested in language that is literal whereas the other is understood to take a significant point in language and conception. In the first view, the understanding and use of metaphor relies on a person's cognition of literal language. Expressions that are metaphorical are thus understood by interpreting them literally or using other mechanisms such as pragmatic principles. Lakoff (1993) refers to the second approach advanced by Deignon as the contemporary theory of metaphor. The two approaches according to Deignon give two broad types of metaphors as the linguistic metaphor and the conceptual metaphor.

Deignon (1997) postulates that generally a linguistic metaphor can be understood in terms of topic and vehicle such that the meaning an item carries in the source domain is the vehicle while the semantic space occupied in the target domain is the topic containing the meaning that is metaphorical. On the other hand, a conceptual metaphor is a link between the target domain and the source domain and enables us to quantify, visualize and generalize about the abstract by utilizing well known source concepts from physical experiences. The present study was informed by Deignon and investigated the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 in Lukabarar using the conceptual metaphor approach as shown in Figure 2.1.

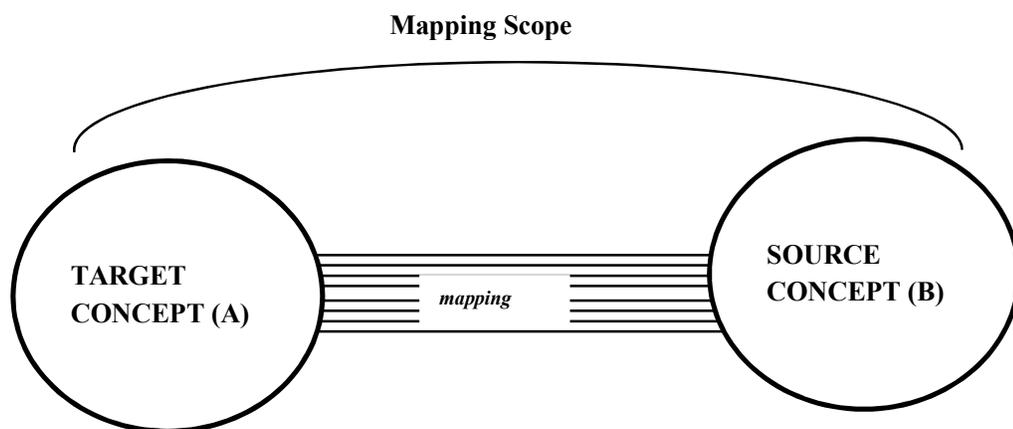


Figure 2.1: Basic conceptual correspondences (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006:119)

Figure 2.1 diagrammatically presents some of the basic components of conceptual metaphors. As shown in the figure, the target domain A in a conceptual metaphor, is understood through a source domain B based on a set of mappings that exist between elements of A and elements of B. The target and the source are notions of the Conceptual Metaphor Theory defined as belonging to different domains. According to Lakoff (1993) they are usually described as image schemas with different levels of complexity that are abstracted by the human mind through interaction with the experiential world.

In this perspective, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argue that metaphor is no longer considered a rhetorical device but a cognitive mechanism by which we conceptualize and view the world. In the same vein, Lakoff (1993) argues that metaphor is a matter of thought and reason and exists at the conceptual level and the linguistic level thus operating beyond just mere language. Conceptual metaphor involves systematic mappings between a source domain and a target domain while linguistic expressions occur at the level of language and are seen as the verbal manifestation of conceptual metaphors. The metaphors that are created through the integration of our experiences, our language and our thoughts, make it possible for the mappings to occur in the form of two semantic areas which are the concrete domain and the abstract domain (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Vakhovska (2017) explains that the relations in the metaphors can be presented in the form of CONCEPT / DOMAIN A is CONCEPT / DOMAIN B. It is thus argued that CONCEPT / DOMAIN A represents the target whereas CONCEPT / DOMAIN B represents the source. Hence, the metaphor relations link the mapping mechanism between the target and the source through image schemas. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argued that the essence of metaphor is to help us understand and experience one thing in terms of another through cross domain mapping that occurs from the source domain to the target domain. These scholars further argue that such mapping is systematic hence a metaphor does not constitute any specific word or utterance instead it involves the ontological mapping across conceptual domains from the source domain.

Vakhovska (2017) further argues that conceptual metaphor is an important aspect of the human mind which structures human experience as well as unknowingly shaping human cognition, perception and action. As such human thought is metaphorical in nature, and the cognitive mechanism of metaphor is manifested in language.

However, Deignan (1997) asserts that conceptual metaphors predominantly exist as reduced forms of a complex and abstract topic and this can result to an interpretation that is partial. Deignan (ibid) further argues that since a bias is presented in the metaphors whereby certain realities are hidden or highlighted, this contributes to the prevalent metaphors of a community influencing partiality in the community's understanding of the world. Therefore, it is possible to have a variety of cognitive operations people employ to make sense of their experiences. As established by Kövecses (2005), particular aspects of conceptual metaphors can be influenced by the experiential focus such that the metaphorical conceptualization varies from one culture to another.

Ungerer and Schmid (2006) also argue that the utilization of common bodily experiences on which pervasive metaphors could be built differs from culture to culture or manifest variedly in different languages. In this respect, experiential focus would be understood to imply that people utilize varied components of their bodily function as regards the knowledge structures in metaphors. For example, the metaphors used to express anger in Chinese, are apparently based on pressure not heat (Ungerer & Schmid 2006). When compared to speakers of English, it is thus argued that a different aspect of the Chinese physiology is employed in conceptualizing anger metaphorically. Ungerer and Schmid (2006) conclude that the commonness of experiential basis does not always result to a common way of conceptualizing certain phenomenon. This is because the conceptualization of metaphors displays varied details given that people do not utilize their cognitive capacities in the same manner from culture to culture. Furthermore, there can be variation across cultures in the frequency of using similar conceptual metaphors.

Kövecses (2010) argues that the basic lexicon of a language is shaped by the natural and physical environment and consequently the metaphors in that language are influenced by the immediate context in which they are created. According to Kövecses (ibid) the speakers of a language in a given a setting usually get used to the things and phenomena that is most available and common in their immediate sociocultural environment and they utilize their knowledge of these things and phenomena to metaphorically understand certain concepts in the world around them. In this perspective, Kövecses(ibid) argues that a conceptual metaphor can be similar in two languages yet the same metaphor has different ways of being elaborated in the two languages.

Furthermore, bodily experiences vary from one culture to another and at different times such that not similar aspects of the same experience can be utilized the same way in a given culture at a given time. Therefore, it is the wider cultural setting that influences which of the aspects that can get more attention from speakers of a language. (Kövecses, 2010). In the investigation of conceptual metaphors in Lukabarás, the present study benefited from the foregoing arguments to establish the cultural interpretation of the metaphorical conceptualization of COVID-19 and the implication of the uptake to the fight against the pandemic. The present study applied the tenets of CMT as the basis for the later theory, Conceptual Integration Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002). Through this, the study was able to sufficiently handle the aim of objective one which sought to identify, categorize and describe the COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabarás.

2.2.1 Metaphor Studies Related to Pandemics in African Languages

Achoka (2007) argues that pandemics such as HIV/AIDS are taboo topics among many speech communities in Kenya. Hence, there are many terms and metaphors that are used when talking about them. In the same vein, Kobia (2008) observes that it is from the immediate social, cultural and physical environment of the speakers of a language that the metaphors are generated and through this the speakers are able to talk about new experiences and communicate without the fear of using taboo language. In this perspective, Kobia (2008) studied metaphors on HIV/AIDS Discourse among Luhya speakers of western Kenya. The study analyzed meanings of utterances as they occurred in natural settings such as funeral ceremonies, matatus, hotels, bars and other social gatherings. Data for the study was collected from 15 dialects of the language and analyzed within the framework of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and Conceptual Metaphor Analysis (CMA). The study particularly analyzed the data using the CDA principal that regards discourse as a discursive practice while CMA was seen to help understand the major role of metaphor in shaping and directing understanding and interpretation of the utterances.

The study observed that Luhya speakers used metaphors in conversations about HIV/AIDS because sex is taboo in most African communities. The utterances used were identified as allusions, metaphors, myths, proverbs and connotations. These utterances were noted to be in use when communicating issues that were difficult to express in literal words or to talk about something indirectly in order to make complex and controversial issues easy to understand. The study concluded that the metaphors used in relation to HIV/AIDS discourse among Luhya speakers reveal the magnitude of the disease and how they perceived it.

As such, the metaphors were used to inform and caution as ways of combating the spread by emphasizing abstinence and faithfulness in relationships. Kobia (2008) thus informed the present study with relevant literature on metaphor use among some of the indigenous Kenyan languages which include Lukabarasi. However, the present research deviated from the metaphors used to talk about HIV/AIDS pandemic in Lukabarasi. The focus was on the metaphors of COVID-19 and unlike Kobia (2008) which analyzed metaphors of HIV/AIDS within the dimension of CDA and CMA, the analysis in this research relied on the principals of Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT) and Image Schemas Theory (IST) as theories in cognitive linguistics. The metaphors in the HIV/AIDS conversation as established in Kobia (2008), were used because the subject related to sexual issues which are taboo in the communities investigated. On the contrary, the present research did not approach the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabarasi from the euphemistic or taboo point of view.

Ochieng (2016) studied metaphors used by Dholuo speakers in relation to HIV/AIDS and established that the metaphors were employed to euphemize the pandemic. The study recommended a similar study in other African languages since the conceptualization of various ideas are culture based and depend on how different people perceive the experiences around them. This is echoed in Kobia (2008) study which claims that some of the metaphors used among Luhya speakers in their everyday experiences may have more than one meaning or different metaphors have the same meaning.

On the strength of the recommendation in Ochieng (2016), the present research investigated metaphor use in relation to COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabarasi but attention was drawn to the varied manifestations of the metaphorical conceptualization and how this affected the efforts of trying to combat the outbreak.

Kobia's (2008) analysis revealed that there are metaphors that were used in with specific reference to HIV/AIDS pandemic. However, the same metaphors may have different entailments when talking about other pandemics such as COVID-19. Thus, it was necessary to further explore which parts of such metaphors are highlighted in the context of Lukabaras speakers through conceptual mappings of COVID-19 pandemic and examine their effect on the fight against the pandemic.

Hopson (2000) suggests that the choices we make in the language we use to talk about certain experiences can trivialize or magnify the experience. Such language can also make an issue to be perceived as urgent or as a routine problem. For example, a study by Nyakoe (2017) in Egekusii, established that the metaphorical conceptualization of HIV/AIDS contraction as an accident trivialized the disease by using the metaphor HIV IS A THORN IN THE FLESH and at the same time magnified it by the use of the metaphor THE HUMAN BODY IS A MACHINE. Similarly, the present research investigated whether the way the metaphorical mappings in the conceptualization COVID-19 among speakers of Lukabaras magnified or trivialized the pandemic. The foregoing discussion highlights the context in which metaphors are used to talk about intangible concepts and abstract experiences like pandemics in some African languages particularly in Kenya. The examples of the studies on the metaphorical conceptualization of pandemics such as HIV/AIDS reveal that metaphor is an important language tool in enhancing a people's communication of difficult and new concepts.

However, there was need to explore further in order to understand the effect of the metaphoric words in the contexts of their use. This is because metaphorical mappings have several entailments some of which are hidden and others highlighted.

It was also possible that even within the same language the meaning focuses of the metaphors vary based on time and culture (Kövecses,2010). For example, studies done in Lukabaras such as Mudogo (2019), investigated metaphorical expressions commonly used among Lukabaras-English bilinguals when talking about women. Mudogo (ibid) analyzed bilingual figurative language and correlated bilingual conceptual representation with the native cognition. The study established that the bilinguals' conceptual structure is a complex process of conceptual restructuring in Lukabaras. The focus of Mudogo's study informed the present research on the existence of metaphor use in Lukabaras. Mudogo argued that the metaphors demonstrate the social reality about how women are perceived in Lukabaras by Lukabaras-English speakers.

Nevertheless, there was need to explore the possibility that other than using metaphors to talk about women, Lukabaras speakers (both bilingual and monolingual) employ metaphors to unpack many other issues including abstract concepts like pandemics. The emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic, therefore, offered a novel ground to interrogate the conceptual choices vested in metaphors to talk about new phenomenon such as COVID-19 in Lukabaras. Furthermore, available and relevant literature on earlier studies that focused on pandemics like SARS and HIV/AIDS hardly paid adequate attention to the impact of metaphorical language in times of pandemics. The present study presumed that during the COVID-19 pandemic, the Kenyans' perceptions and conceptualization of the disease was manifested through different use of language which was as varied as the social-cultural settings of the people.

Since Kenya is multi-ethnic, it was possible that the cultural perceptions about certain experiences and the conceptualization of different diseases varied according to context. On this basis, the study sought to investigate how the COVID-19 pandemic was conceptualized in Lukabaras through metaphor in Kakamega North Sub-County.

2.2.2 Identifying Metaphors using Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP)

One of the pertinent questions which scholarly investigations in the field of cognitive linguistics have sought to find answers to is whether we can reliably identify metaphors or not? In this regard, a lot of debates regarding the best way in which metaphors in a language can be identified have yielded a lot of empirical research aimed to create models that can help certainly identify metaphorically used language. Gibbs (2017) argues that identifying a word or expression as a metaphor ostensibly requires the knowledge of the basic meaning of the word or expression and the context in which this is used. Gibbs (ibid) adds that although words or expressions are hardly experienced knowingly as metaphors, there is need to identify and differentiate what is metaphorical in order to have a basis for explaining the nature of metaphorical thought and experience in a language.

According to Gibbs (2017), MIP (The Pragglejaz Group's procedure) which is the result of six years of work by ten experienced metaphor researchers namely Peter Crisp, Ray Gibbs, Alan Cienki, Gerard Steen, Graham Low, Lynne Cameron, Elena Semino, Joe Grady, Alice Deignan and Zoltán Kövecses, focuses on the linguistic analysis of words or lexical units that are metaphorically used in discourse. A set of reliable guidelines to identify metaphors are provided in the procedure to enable researchers carry empirical studies with ease.

According to the procedure, one can identify the use of a word as metaphorical in a given context, first, by reading the entire text whether it is written or a transcribed utterance in order to have a gist of the discourse. Secondly, the lexical units in the text are marked and for each the metaphorical use is checked. After doing this, the analyst can establish the meaning of the lexical unit in context with reference to how it applies to an entity and the relation in the situation evoked by the text's contextual meaning. In the event that a lexical unit has a more basic current or contemporary meaning in other contexts than the given context, the procedure suggests that the analyst can decide whether the contextual meaning can be understood by comparison or contrast with the basic meaning. If it turns out to be so, then the analyst can mark the lexical unit as metaphorical.

Gibbs (2017) posits that the creation of MIP was meant to be a tool for metaphor analysts and not a theory to identify metaphorical meanings in ordinary words. In this light, Gibbs (*ibid*) suggests that in order to systematically find metaphors in discourse analysts should first attempt to find metaphor-related words (MRWs) by examining the text on a word-by-word basis. If a word is found to be used indirectly because it has potential to be explained by some form of cross-domain mapping, then it is marked as direct metaphor (MRW, direct). Gibbs (*ibid*) further argues that in situations where some words are used to serve functions such as lexico-grammatical substitution as is the case of third person personal pronouns then a code is inserted to indicate the words are analysed for implicit metaphor (MRW, implicit). This analysis applies to other situations such as the occurrence of ellipsis and when a direct or indirect meaning is conveyed by those substitutions or ellipses thus occasioning a form of cross-domain mapping in the entities.

On the other hand, a word is marked as a metaphor flag (Mflag) when it is used as a signal that a cross-domain mapping is at play. A study by Gathigia (2014) on Metaphors of love in Gikuyu, used the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) to investigate the metaphoricity in the data that were collected. The study classified the words as indirect metaphor related words, possible personification and direct metaphor related words. According to Steen et al., (2010), a word in MIPVU is marked as MRW when the contextual meaning of the word can be contrasted with the basic meaning of that word considering the concreteness and body relatedness of the word.

Moreover, Steen et al. explains that a lexical unit is marked as a direct MRW when its use can directly be explained in the form of cross-domain mapping to an obvious referent. Steen et al. adds that indirect MRWs are words that do not show obvious metaphor features whereby the items of comparison are not explained directly or are obviously understood. The present study found relevance in Gathigia's application of the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) and thus similarly used it to examine whether the data collected for the conceptualization of COVID-19 in Lukabaras was metaphorical. However, the point of difference from Gathigia's study which investigated the metaphors of love in Gikuyu was that the present study examined metaphors of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras.

2.2.3 Categorization of Metaphors

Categorization was necessary because there was need to first identify the words used to talk about pandemics like COVID-19 and then classify them as conceptual metaphors. For instance, studies such as Anudo (2018) categorized conceptual metaphors in Dholuo and analysed the data as metaphorical and not mere linguistic expressions.

Therefore, categorization as a key concept in cognitive linguistics accounts for knowledge representation and linguistic meaning and can fall into two models which are the classical model and prototypical model (Lakoff, 1987; Evans & Green, 2006). It is argued that in the classical model things are classified under a common category only if they satisfy certain obligatory conditions (Mathewson, 2012). On the other hand, Rosch cited in Anudo (2018) argues that categorization by prototype helps individuals to understand their experiences through the human body which is considered as a main source of conceptual metaphors (Anudo, 2018).

The present study found relevance in the model applied in Anudo (2018) to categorize the metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras. The collected metaphors were thus grouped by prototype since the study sought to examine the conceptual mappings in these metaphors as manifested through embodiment. Scholars argue that categorization is a mental process that basically results into categories that can be described as mental concepts stored in our minds to enhance producing and understanding of language. Therefore, categories should be understood as being depended on mental operations of the human mind and not arbitrary divisions of the phenomena of the world (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006).

2.2.4 Levels of Categorization

According to Kövecses (2010) conceptual metaphors do not exist in separation as conceptual patterns instead they occur as a group to create varied interrelated relations that are hierarchical. In this view, Kövecses (2010) argues that the organizational levels of metaphors are a structured system in which things are conceptualized as building from one particular level to another level.

Lakoff and Turner (1989) refers to this metaphor system as the Great Chain of Being that consists of concepts matching with objects and entities which include human beings, animals and concrete phenomenon. Kövecses (ibid) suggests that the organization of the metaphor system can be in a straight forward way so that both the target and the source are particular instances of higher generic-level concepts or the organization can have different components of certain generic-level concepts with different conceptualizations. Moreover, a particular feature of many different abstract concepts can bring together numerous subordinated specific-level conceptual metaphors (Kövecses, 2010).

2.2.4.1 Basic Level Categories of Organisms and Concrete Objects

Ungerer and Schmid (2006) observe that we are on the whole surrounded by readily identifiable organisms and objects such as dogs, trees, houses and cars. However, we normally have a choice between categories on different levels of generality when it comes to categorizing entities. Moreover, all these cognitive categories are connected with each other in a kind of hierarchical relationship. There are those that are regarded as superordinate whereas there are those that are subordinate just like dogs are seen as subordinate to mammals, and mammals subordinate to animals. The hierarchical structure is based on the notion of class inclusion in which all the things in the subordinate level are constituted in the superordinate class. For instance, the class animal can be organized into mammals, birds and reptiles. From this pattern, the class mammal can be described as comprising dogs, cats, cows, lions, elephants and mice. The class dog can be further classified to include many kinds such as terriers, bulldogs, poodles.

Brown and Kay cited in Ungerer and Schmid (2006:70) argue that it is at the generic or basic level that the most noticeable differences between organisms and objects of the world are perceived and understood better when lower and higher levels of categorization are considered. The basic level is therefore the level on which the largest bundles of naturally correlated attributes are available for categorization. If organisms and objects are categorized on the basic level, it is obvious that all category members have a characteristic shape (Ungerer & Schmid, *ibid*). For this reason, it is argued that basic level categories contribute a decisive share to the basic experiences such as actions, events, properties, states and locations that govern our interaction with the world around us (Ungerer & Schmid, *ibid*).

2.2.4.2 Basic Level Categories and Basic Experiences

Ungerer and Schmid (2006) argue that just like much of the descriptive apparatus developed for categories of objects and organisms seems available so is the categorization of actions. As such, Ungerer and Schmid (*ibid*) states that actions are processed as prototypical categories since there is a psychologically prominent basic level of action categories within this hierarchy. Furthermore, other hierarchical levels superordinate and subordinate categories exist, but are less fully developed whereby subordinate categories often express stages or parts of the action rather than subtypes. In the same breath, Ungerer and Schmid (2006) observe that events also show the features of basic level categories but they are secondary in the sense that they represent fusions of object, organism and action categories. For this reason, Ungerer and Schmid (*ibid*) argue that in the conceptualization of events, there are types of hierarchies which are quite often relationships between parts or stages and wholes.

2.2.5 Conceptual Mappings and Metaphors

Metaphors basically establish a conceptual link between a source and a target concept and the various aspects of metaphor are interrelated such that specific source concepts contribute to both concrete target concepts and abstract target concepts. There also different mapping scopes that explain why conceptual metaphors fulfil different cognitive functions.

The following is a diagrammatic presentation of the components of conceptual metaphors.

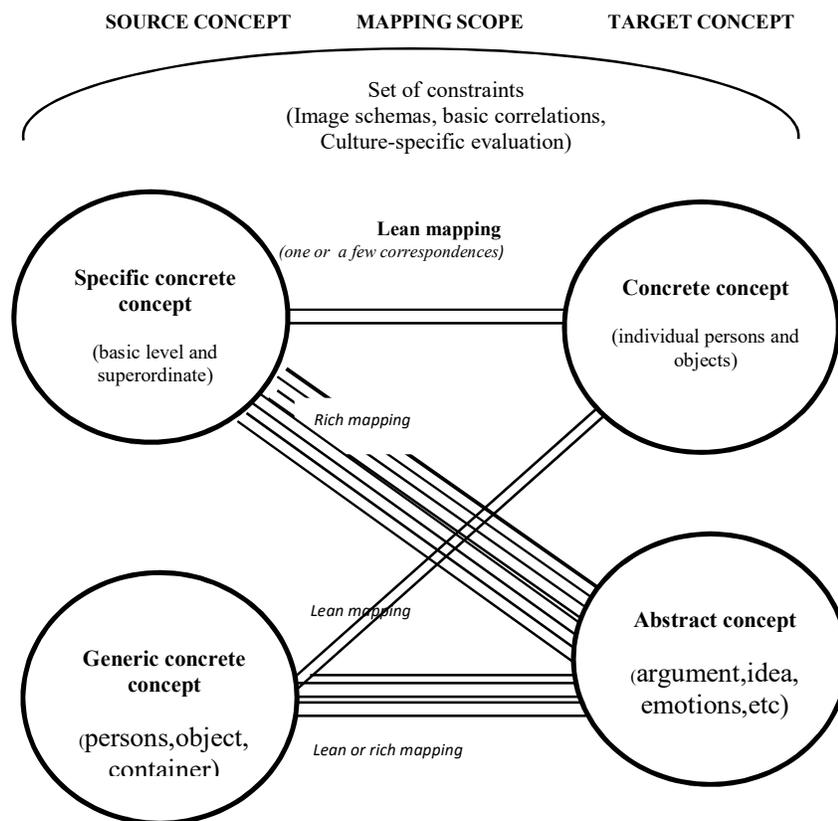


Figure 2.2: Components of conceptual metaphor analysis. (Ungerer & Schmid, 2006:127)

Figure 2.2 provides an overview of the essentials of cognitive metaphor analysis. For example, Ungerer (2006) establishes two types of mappings in which there is rich mapping that involves a large number of metaphorical correspondences between a concrete source concept and a target concept. The rich mapping occurs between specific concrete source concepts and abstract target concepts, which include additional mapping from generic concepts and ordinarily provides a concrete conceptual structure for abstract target concepts. On the other hand, lean mapping refers to a much smaller number of correspondences because the mapping scope is restricted by the correlations as such it occurs between specific concrete source concepts and concrete target concepts primarily highlights individual aspects of the target.

According to Fauconnier (1997), there are three types of mappings which include pragmatic function, projection and schema mappings. Pragmatic function mapping is described as having two relevant domains that are mapped onto each other based on their pragmatic role. Projection mappings entail structuring one domain in terms of another but only partially whereas Schema mappings refers to the use of a general depiction to portray a situation in a given context.

The mapping scope of a metaphor is a key principle that describes the set of constraints which regulates the correspondences that can be mapped from one source concept to another chosen target concept (Ungerer,2006). As argued by Ungerer (ibid) the constraints help to avoid the haphazard transfer of features from the source to the target concept. The constrains also motivate the range of possible correspondences in metaphors in order to adequately reflect our conceptual experiences in the world around us (Ungerer, ibid). Nevertheless, the entrenchment of the mappings scope may vary widely.

There are three distinguishable components of mapping scopes namely; image schemas which are firmly grounded in our bodily experiences, basic correlations which are not experienced bodily but guide our understanding of events and actions and culture- dependent evaluations which are restricted to members of a specific culture (Ungerer, *ibid*).

Another principle in conceptual metaphor analysis related to the argument of metaphorical scope, is the notion of the main meaning focus of a metaphor. Kövecses (2010) describes it as the conceptual material that is usually culturally agreed on and is related to the sources that corresponds to its targets. This means that the conceptual material contributed from a source domain is not just any kind of material but one that is agreeable among a community of speakers as applicable to a given range of target domains. In other words, Kövecses (*ibid*) observes that the main meaning focus of a metaphor represents some basic knowledge regarding a source that is widely shared in the speech community which can be found in most instances of the source and it uniquely characterizes the source. Furthermore, a common property of conceptual metaphors is the notion of metaphorical entailment in which metaphors may allow the mapping of additional knowledge from the source onto the target.

Given the aspects that manifest in a metaphorical mapping, there can be adequate coherent knowledge from the source that maps onto the target. However, through the invariance principle the knowledge that is not coherent with the schematic structure of the target concept is blocked. In this respect, the invariance principle consists of the part that shows what can be mapped from the sources and the part that shows what cannot be mapped and why (Kovecses 2010). This involves metaphorical highlighting which applies to the target domain while the part that applies to the source domain is called metaphorical utilization. However, highlighting goes together with hiding.

This means that when there are several aspects of a concept and the metaphor focuses on one, then the other aspects of the concept are hidden (Kovecses, 2010).

Kövecses (2010) argues that some of the common and available source domains can be generated from the human body, human activities, aspects of health and illness, animals, plants, objects, natural occurrences and forces of nature whereas the common targets include emotions, qualities, aspects of religion, politics, economy, human relationships, events and actions and personal experiences. According to Kövecses (ibid), the most common source domains are concrete while the most common targets are abstract concepts hence through conceptual metaphors, we can understand intangible and difficult-to-comprehend concepts such as diseases and pandemics.

Anudo (2018) applied the principles of conceptual mapping analysis and used the projection and schema mappings in studying the blending processes to establish schematic patterns that occur and come from conceptual metaphors of food, parts of the human body and animals in Dholuo. The study utilized both the Top-Bottom and the Bottom-Top approach and it was revealed that in the Top-Bottom approach the conceptual metaphors are identified first then metaphorical expressions derived from them while in the Bottom-Top approach the metaphorical expressions are identified then conceptual metaphors are formulated. The present study thus benefited from the knowledge of structuring domains and describing the mappings to depict the conceptualization of COVID-19 through metaphor in Lukabar as applied by Anudo (2018). However, the present study did not narrow its investigation to source domains from Dholuo.

2.2.6 Classification of Metaphors

Kövecses (2010) argues that based on their cognitive function, conceptual metaphors can be structural, orientational, or ontological. Through structural metaphors, the structure of the source domain is mapped onto the structure of the target and this enhances the comprehension of one domain in terms of another. Whereas orientational metaphors basically serve an evaluative function by making large groups of metaphors coherent with each other. Ontological metaphors play an important role in understanding target concepts. For instance, personification can be perceived as a form of ontological metaphor.

Similarly, Grady (1999) distinguishes two classifications of metaphor as primary metaphors and complex metaphors. According to Grady (*ibid*), primary metaphors are based on bodily experience alone and their source and target domains are modelled as primary scenes motivated by bodily experience. Grady further argues that primary metaphors merge into complex metaphors which are usually culture specific. Therefore, it is the particular aspects of the metaphor that allow its different classifications (Vakhovska,2017).

Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Hernández (2011; 2002) argues that metaphors can also be classified according to the nature of the source domain in which the basic division is between structural and non-structural metaphors. In this classification, a structural metaphor has its source containing both the entities and the characteristic features while a nonstructural metaphor has one feature of a physical entity as the focus of the source domain. The non-structural metaphors are simple in nature and they highlight a specific feature or a group of closely related features that are perceived as being similar across domains.

Unlike non-structural metaphors, the structure of the source domain in structural metaphors does not necessarily contextualize or consider a particular feature from the source to be projected to the target but helps to comprehend the target once a mapping occurs. (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Campo, 2002).

Grady (1999) argues that metaphors can also be distinguished based on the kind of relations that exist between the target and the source which includes resemblance. Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez (2011) further argues that the source domain in which there are many-correspondence mappings, there is a cluster of concepts that are related and they enable the different aspects of a target to be understood. Furthermore, non-structural metaphors have one-correspondence while structural metaphors have many correspondences. The kind of a mapping system of a metaphor ordinarily corresponds with the ontological nature of its source domain.

Ndlovu (2018) studied language expansion and change through metaphorical expressions. Data was collected using questionnaire tests, interviews and observations and analyzed within the principles of CMT as well as the Idiom Familiarity and Comprehension Judgment Method to measure the impact of Sn'camtho metaphors. The present study borrowed from Ndlovu's use of the tenets of CMT as the basis for applying CIT in examining the conceptual metaphors. The point of departure however was that the present study did not apply the Idiom Familiarity and Comprehension Judgment Method to measure the impact of the metaphors in Lukabararas. Also, unlike Ndlovu's approach that was characteristically sociolinguistic, the present study analysed the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas within the scope of cognitive linguistics.

Furthermore, Ndlovu's study identified S'ncamtho metaphors based on popular themes, familiarity and usage and attitudes in urban youth varieties while the present study did not investigate metaphors as used by an urban youth variety to evaluate their attitudes instead the thrust was on metaphors of pandemics such as COVID-19 among Lukabararas speakers of (30-39 years) and (above 60 years). The present study furthermore found the metaphor analysis in Ndlovu (2018) beneficial. Ndlovu's study identified discernible genres of metaphor in S'ncamtho as euphemisms, proverbs, sayings, aphorisms and argot. As such Ndlovu established that some metaphor genres were more popular than others. For example, Ndlovu observed that general sayings were the most popular S'ncamtho metaphors, followed by euphemisms. The present study borrowed from this classification in order to similarly seek to categorize the evident metaphors used in conceptualizing COVID-19 among Lukabararas speakers. On the contrary, the present study did not attempt to characterize the discernible genres of metaphor in relation to the youth varieties as dialects as argued by Ndlovu (2018).

Esenova (2011) examined metaphors of anger, fear and sadness embedded in the conceptual system of English speakers. The study explored the role of corporeal experiences and how they structure our everyday concepts such as anger, fear and sadness and revealed that little is understood about the role of such fundamental physiological experiences such as child containment, voice production, smell and taste perception in the metaphorical conceptualization of emotions. Esenova (ibid) observed that there is little knowledge about the importance of human interaction with animal species such as horses, snakes, in the conceptualization of emotions. As earlier indicated, the present study used the prototype model unlike Esenova (ibid) which employed classical model of categorization to group fear, sadness and anger as emotion metaphors.

Whereas Esenova also explored the role of human interaction with animals in the conceptualization of emotions, the present study instead by focused on the conceptualization of incorporeal experiences such as COVID-19 pandemic through metaphor. Esenova (2011) further informed the present study on the theoretical framework and the characterization of the conceptual metaphors. For instance, Esenova used an eclectic approach of four theories namely; the Substitution Theory of Metaphor (Aristotle), the Speech Act Theory (J. Searle), the Interaction Theory (M. Black) and the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (Lakoff & Johnson).

However, Esenova's main emphasis was on the CMT in which it was argued that the theory has its own standardized system of terminology and definitions developed for the description of conceptual metaphors that were applied in the study. While Esenova (ibid) used Substitution Theory of Metaphor, Speech Act Theory and Interaction Theory in addition to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT), the present study only used the Conceptual Integrated Theory (CIT) and the Image Schemas Theory (IST). The use of an integrated theoretical approach is corroborated by other relevant studies such as Gathigia (2014) and Anudo (2018).

In the characterization of the metaphors, Esenova (2011) established that metaphor exists at two levels of organization which include the conceptual level and the linguistic level. This finding was beneficial to the present study since the focus was on conceptual metaphor. This is because before the metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras were identified, there was a possibility that not all words that would be categorized as metaphors were conceptual metaphors. However, Esenova's data was in English and obtained from dictionaries, the British National Corpus (BNC), and the Internet while the present study relied on data collected from key informants among speakers of Lukabaras-an indigenous language in Western Kenya.

Lendik et al. (2017) studied the representation of health and illness by members of the Semai indigenous community through use of metaphor to show their conceptualization of abstract concepts like illnesses. According to Lendik et al. it is common for patients to use metaphor when talking about their illness to share vividly the traumatic experiences they have gone through or are going through. However, whereas Lendik et al. (ibid) used interviews that explicitly sought to elicit talk from participants about their experiences regarding certain illnesses, the present study used focus group discussions to collect data from Lukabaras speakers concerning their uptake of the COVID-19 pandemic.

In order to identify the metaphors, the methodology in Lendik et al. involved extracting words, phrases and clauses that were associated with a conceptual domain especially if such words were used by participants towards understanding or explaining health and illness conditions. Lendik et al. (2017) observed that the metaphorical expressions derived from the conversations mainly indicated the source domain while the target domain was understood from the context or inferred from the utterances. The study revealed that some of the dominant metaphors used by the participants were based on spatial orientation.

Furthermore, Lendik et al. (2017) categorized the metaphors as universal metaphors or culture-specific metaphors. For example, the metaphors HEALTH IS UP and ILLNESS IS DOWN were used by the participants to imply that a healthy person will not sit idle but will always look for something to do. These expressions signified the spatial position of being up and about, hence, the universal metaphor HEALTH IS UP. According to Lendik (ibid) the culture-specific metaphors, appeared to conjure very vivid images that would seem strange to non-members of the Semai community but were perfectly logical to the Semai people.

In view of this, Lendik et al. noted that, for instance, the metaphor ILLNESS IS A FEEDING INSECT revealed the community's interaction with their cultural environment. These findings were beneficial to the present study which was informed by Lendik's approach on culture-specific metaphors. According to Lendik et al. (ibid), varied cultural backgrounds reveal differences in the way people experience and react to illnesses. Lendik et al. (ibid) observed that the way patients perceive illnesses affect not only their experience of the symptoms but also what they do to alleviate the suffering. The implication of such perceptions points to the fact that our manner of communication about certain situations cannot be regarded as ordinary talk. The present study similarly argued that a community's uptake of issues like pandemics just like it is for illnesses as observed in Lendik et al. (ibid), is expressed variedly depending on how the issue is conceptualized.

Anudo and Kodak (2019) examined conceptual metaphors and image schemas used to describe the cancer related deaths of three prominent personalities in Kenya. The findings of the study established that conceptual metaphors are useful in helping one to adequately understand an intangible concept such as death. Unlike Anudo and Kodak (2019), the present study did not investigate conceptual metaphors of cancer related deaths of personalities. Nevertheless, the study benefited from Anudo and Kodak (2019) regarding the role of image schemas. Although this study sought to examine the conceptual metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas, it accounted for them using the Conceptual Integrated theory by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) and the Image Schema theory by Johnson (1987;2005).

A study by Wallis and Nerlich (2004) observed that from the time HIV and AIDS pandemic emerged in the 1980's there was a lot of interest to explore the metaphorical framing of this disease. Thus, in a study about disease metaphors in new epidemics, Wallis and Nerlich (2004) examined the way language and metaphor were used in the UK media to cover the spread of SARS. The study investigated how the reporting of SARS in the UK press was framed and how this related to media, public and government responses to the disease. The findings of the study revealed that the main conceptual metaphor used was that SARS was a killer.

The study by Wallis and Nerlich (2004) was relevant to the present study since it foregrounds the nexus between metaphor and language in understanding our experiences of pandemics such as HIV/AIDS and SARS. Moreover, the study demonstrates that the role of metaphor in framing incorporeal experiences such as new epidemics has attracted scholarly attention hence a call for further investigation on metaphorical conceptualization of these diseases. However, Wallis and Nerlich (2004) explored the reporting of SARS in the UK media through metaphor while the present study explored the COVID-19 pandemic among Lukabaras speakers.

Another study by Nyakoe (2017) investigated the Metaphorical conceptualization and interpretation of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS discourse. The study identified and explained the metaphorical conceptualization of EkeGusii HIV and AIDS expressions and analyzed properties of their cross-domain mappings. Nyakoe observed that language played a fundamental role in communicating about the HIV and AIDS pandemic and asserted that the use of indigenous languages should be encouraged in HIV and AIDS communication since just like EkeGusii many other African languages do not have specific terms for defining concepts like HIV and AIDS.

While the present study investigated metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabarar, it agreed and borrowed from Nyakoe's analysis of cross domain mappings. Furthermore, whereas Nyakoe (2017) used the analytical research design and collected data using semi-structured interviews, the present study used the descriptive design and collected data through focus group discussions. On the other hand, the present study borrowed from Nyakoe's (2017) method of data analysis which was done qualitatively using content analysis.

As earlier indicated, Nyakoe assigned the data into different cross domain mappings and discussed their properties and interpretations within the tenets of the Cognitive Theory of Metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson (1980). For instance, the findings in Nyakoe (2017) indicated that EkeGusii speakers conceptualize HIV and AIDS using mappings such as CONTRACTING HIV IS DEATH. The study recommended that EkeGusii speakers should avoid using linguistic expressions that perpetuate stigma and discrimination in HIV and AIDS discourse. Borrowing from this, it was in the interest of the present study to establish the extent to which the COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabarar contributed to the spread or the efforts to control the pandemic.

2.3 Vital Relations and Conceptual Metaphors

Fauconnier (1994) argues that conceptual integration consists in setting up networks of mental spaces which map onto each other and blend into new mental spaces in various ways. Therefore, the human brain will allow any kind of information to occupy spaces that are interconnected with other spaces through vital relations such as the notion of time, space, analogy and the repetition of these experiences is the reason for people being able to understand abstract concepts.

As such, the structuring of basic conceptual categories such as space and time, scenes and events, entities and processes, motion and location, force and causation are interconnected and can be modified as thought and discourse (Fauconnier, 1994). For the present investigation, there was need to find out which components of the conceptual relations integrate with given schematic patterns to account for metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabarar. Thus, the study examined which notions of the vital relations accounted for the COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabarar.

The formation of mapping mechanisms in metaphors is a result of the systematic correspondences between the target domain and the source domain (Lakoff and Johnson 1980). Fauconnier and Turner (2002) state that vital relations are multiple relations that exist in mental spaces. They are best understood as cross-space mappings that connect input spaces which supply the necessary projections to the blended space. In order to establish the blend, the actions of the input spaces are projected on the blended space through the process of composition, completion and elaboration. However, in order to reduce the conceptual complexity of the inputs, the actions of the spaces undergo compression to form an integrated conceptual structure that is cognitively manageable because in compression it is presumed that there is hiding of sub-events.

Figure 2.3 diagrammatically presents an example of the cross-space mappings that connect elements in input space 1 and input space 2. This is further explained later under the literature on the Conceptual Integrated Theory.

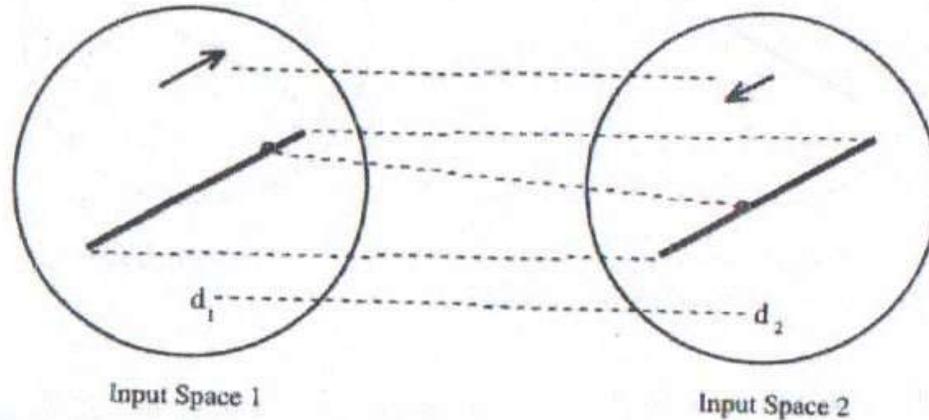


Figure 2.3: Cross-space mappings of input spaces (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002:41)

As shown in Figure 2.3, there is correspondence between element d_1 in input space 1 and d_2 in input space 2. The broken lines indicate the matching process through cross-space mapping. Each of the spaces has a solid line that represents a schematic knowledge. For instance, movement along a path in which the arrow in input space 1 indicates the going while the arrow in input space 2 marks moving back along the same.

2.3.1 Classification and Role of Vital Relations

According to Džanic (2007) as cited in Anudo (2018), vital relations can be classified in the following ways: Change as a vital relation connects one entity to another and can be availed in one mental space. Time is described as a conceptual link that connects change, memory and continuity. Identity is the outcome of what occurs in the mental spaces containing varied elements that connect particular identity and objective resemblance.

The vital relation of Space brings mental spaces that are characteristic of various conceptual mappings to form a single concrete space in the blended space. Cause and effect link one entity as a cause with another that acts as its effect. Part-whole vital relation merges part-whole mappings across spaces into one. Representation refers to a connection between the element that is represented and the one representing it. Analogy is a collation of elements that completely differ structurally, in appearance and function and are able to be understood through their relations based on already existing information.

Anudo (2018) utilized the Conceptual Integrated Theory (CIT) to investigate conceptual metaphors related to food, parts of the human body and animals in Dholuo. The study examined four mental spaces that include principles of optimality, blending networks, blending processes and vital relations to explain the relationship between the connections among them. Anudo (ibid) applied the classifications developed by Džanić (2007) and used those that were relevant to the study. The present study similarly used the Conceptual Integrated Theory (CIT) as one of the theories in examining the conceptual metaphors in Lukabaras. However, there was a difference from Anudo who investigated all the four components of CIT while the present study focused on the element of vital relations only.

The present study similarly benefited from Anudo (2018) in the analysis of the vital relations as guided by the principles of Fauconnier and Turner (2002). Like Anudo (2018), the present study examined the vital relations that were revealed in the metaphors of COVID-19 and those that did not. Anudo (ibid) established that the vital relations evident in Dholuo conceptual metaphors were Similarity, Intentionality, Disanalogy, Cause-Effect, Analogy, Category, Uniqueness, Representation and Part-Whole.

Those vital relations that were not manifested in the metaphors in Anudo (2018) included Property, Change, Space Role and Time. Nevertheless, the difference in the two studies was that Anudo (2018) examined metaphors related to food, parts of human body and animals in Dholuo-a Nilotic language while the present study investigated metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras-a Bantu language.

Furthermore, the present study was also informed by Gathigia (2014) who examined the extent to which the vital relations accounted for the possible cognitive operations of metaphors of Love in Gikuyu. However, the point of departure was that the present study tested the vital relations on the metaphors of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras. Gathigia (2014) established that the understanding of love in Gikuyu utilized vital relations such as Cause-Effect, Analogy, Intentionality, Disanalogy, Similarity, Uniqueness, Category and Part-Whole_ whereas vital relations such as Representation, Role, Property, Change and Space were absent but this did not imply the theory was false. These findings were supported by Anudo (2018) and benefited the present study in seeking to examine which of the vital relations are evident in the metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras.

2.4 Image Schemas and Conceptual Metaphors

According to Johnson (1987,2005), image schemas are recurrent schematic patterns which are conceptual in nature. They can be described in terms of their compositions and qualities as follows: CONTAINMENT involves our bodies which are viewed as containers that store varied products. CONTAINMENT structurally contain an EXTERIOR, INTERIOR and a BOUNDARY and PART-WHOLE contains the bodily encounter in which the whole includes parts that can be modified. The structural element of this image schema is a WHOLE that has a CONFIGURATION and constituent PARTS.

SOURCE-PATH-GOAL is encountered in the body as it were for moving from a particular spot and end at a certain point after sequentially passing given points between the start and the end. It is composed of a SOURCE, a DESTINATION, a PATH and a DIRECTION along the path as the structural elements. Johnson (1987) further claims that the formation of image schemas is an outcome of our experiences in the environment we interact with. For example, a CONTAINER SCHEMA implies the notion of containment and a PATH SCHEMA stands for moving in space from a particular point to a certain point in a specific direction. In the same vein, Evans and Green (2006) categorize image schemas on the basis of BALANCE, LOCOMOTION, SPACE, IDENTITY, FORCE, CONTAINMENT UNITY/ MULTIPLICITY, and EXISTENCE. The present study benefited from Johnson (1987) in investigating the role of image schemas in the conceptualization of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.

Gathigia (2014) categorized conceptual metaphors of love in Gikuyu and noted that love is conceptualized as a physical force. In this regard, Gathigia used The Image Schemas Theory (IST) to test the extent to which image schemas provide a credible account for the understanding of love metaphors in Gikuyu. The study used the CMT to guide the mappings of different conceptual metaphors. Gathigia (ibid) revealed recurrent schemas such as the CONTAINER, PATH, FORCE and OBJECT in metaphors of love in Gikuyu. Additionally, the study showed that there is a relation between the various image schemas due the fact that it is possible to have a metaphor in more than one image schema. Nevertheless, Gathigia noted the image schemas did not have all subsidiary image schemas manifested. Furthermore, whereas demographic variables like education and gender influenced the use of metaphors of love in Gikuyu, the present study did not examine such variables to establish their role in the metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras.

A study by Esenova (2011) examined the metaphorical mappings from the source domains of CONTAINER, ANIMAL, SUPERNATURAL BEING, HIDDEN ENEMY, TORMENTOR, SMELL, TASTE, PLANT, MIXED SUBSTANCE and PURE SUBSTANCE onto the target domains of ANGER, FEAR and SADNESS. For instance, Esenova established that speakers of English conceptualized anger as a fluid held in a container. The outcome of the study demonstrated that in the conceptual system of English there are a number of anger, fear and sadness metaphors that are based on human interaction with animals. While the proposed study finds Esenova's work relevant, the image schemas investigated in this study applied on metaphors of COVID-19 pandemic in a local language and not emotions like sadness, fear and anger in English.

Anudo and Kodak (2019) studied the conceptual metaphor and image schema representations of cancer-related deaths of selected prominent Kenyan personalities in the print media. The study used a sample of metaphorical expressions collected from The Daily Nation and The Standard to express the abstract entity death. The study identified the PATH, CONTAINMENT, LINK and OBJECT image schemas from the conceptual metaphors that were derived from the metaphorical expressions. The present study differed in the sense that the image schemas for the present study did not relate to the concept of deaths. Moreover, the data for investigation was collected from key respondents among Lukabaras speakers and did not involve use of the print media nor prominent personalities in the community.

Barasa and Opande (2017) investigated Use of Animal Metaphors in the Representation of Women in Bukusu and Gusii Proverbs. The study established that various differences in meanings are associated with the metaphorical schemas of women in Bukusu and Gusii proverbs due the cultural aspects of these languages.

Although the present study similarly investigated metaphors just like Barasa and Opande (2017), it differed because it involved an abstract concept (COVID-19) while the former investigated a concrete entity (women) using animal metaphors. Furthermore, the data for Barasa and Opande's (2017) study comprised Bukusu and Gusii proverbs related to animals while the data for this study was collected among Lukabaras speakers about metaphors of COVID-19 pandemic and did not involve proverbs. The present study also benefited from the methodology in Barasa and Opande (2017) where a text-based approach to analyze the data was used in order to provide manifestations of animal metaphors in proverbs. Nevertheless, the present study did not apply the Feminist Critical Discourse Analysis (FCDA) which formed part of the theoretical approach in Barasa and Opande (2017).

2.5 Theoretical Framework

This section provides an overview of the main theories that are commonly associated with metaphor studies. Based on the objectives, the present study used two theories namely: Conceptual Integration Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) and the Image Schemas Theory (Johnson, 1987; 2005).

The Conceptual Integration Theory was found beneficial and relevant to objective one in which the study sought to identify and categorize the metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras through conceptual mappings. The theory was further applied to objective two in which the study examined the extent to which vital relations account for the metaphorical mappings of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras. CIT employs a four-space approach to explain the cognitive operations in conceptual metaphors. The conceptual integration of the mental spaces involves several principles such as blending processes, blending networks, optimality principles and vital relations.

The study applied CIT to explore the extent to which the tenet of vital relations account for the COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabaras because there was need to explain which vital relations were manifested in the COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabaras and which ones were not.

CIT was not sufficient and beneficial to the analysis of objective three which sought to describe the role of image schemas in the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic among Lukabaras speakers. Therefore, there was need to rely on a second theory, IST (Image Schemas Theory), which the study found relevant in describing the role of image schemas in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras. This theory was not only important in explaining the different types of image schemas in conceptual metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras but also the schematic patterns that necessitate the construction of the images in order to unpack the COVID-19 pandemic. Hence, the study relied on the basic image schemas such as CONTAINER, PART-WHOLE, OBJECT, FORCE and PATH from which subsidiary ones were derived.

2.5.1 Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT)

The Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT) initiated by (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002) helps us in the manner we perceive, understand and think about various phenomenon (Džanic,2007). One of the tenets of the theory concerns the integration of novel linguistic creations with other aspects of language use as seen in the varied outcomes of human creativity. The theory describes how knowledge that comes from clearly known sources is combined into a blended space. In this perspective, conceptual integration necessitates the derivation of meaning from different notions through use of conceptual metaphors. As such, the theory argues that mental spaces are the elementary units of cognitive arrangements.

The mental spaces are regarded as conceptual packets that are framed during the thought process or as we speak to enable us understand our actions. Whenever there is talk and thoughts are generated, the mental spaces connect to each other such that each space has information on different aspects of the conceptual metaphor. For instance, in conceptual integration there is mapping between the elements in the input spaces and this involves counterpart correspondences between frames and the roles of the frames through vital relations.

The construction of the network involves the generic space mapping onto each of the input spaces and captures what seems common in the two spaces. A blend arises when two mental spaces are projected to a new space that may contain both what is captured in the structure and what is impossible for the input spaces. However, the projection is selective such that it is not all elements and relations in the inputs that are mapped onto the blend. According to Fauconnier and Turner (1998) the blend is a space on which structure from at least two input mental spaces is projected.

The blends not only contain generic structure captured in the generic space, but also more specific structure that is impossible for the inputs. The operations that involve constructing the blend include: composition, completion and elaboration. This helps to compose elements from the input spaces in order to provide relations that do not exist in the separate inputs such that counterparts maybe brought into the blend as separate elements or as a fused element. Blends therefore recruit a great range of background conceptual structure and knowledge without our recognizing it consciously for the composed structure to be completed with other structure.

Elaboration develops the blend through imaginative mental simulation according to principles and logic in the blend. Some of these principles will have been brought to the blend by completion. Continued dynamic completion can recruit new principles and logic during elaboration. But new principles and logic may also arise through elaboration itself (Geeraerts,2006: 314-315). Moreover, Coulson and Oakley as cited in Gathigia (2014) argues that the notion of compression in CIT describes an entity in a blended space that has distinct counterparts in multiple input spaces. The multiple input spaces are related to one another via vital relations. In this perspective, Fauconnier and Turner (2002) posit that the distance is compressed in the blend which strengthens the link that connects the outer space elements.

Gathigia (2014) applied CIT to test the extent to which vital relations account for the underlying cognitive operations of metaphors of love in Gikūyū. However, Gathigia argued that since CIT is a broad theory with various notions, the analysis in the study did not utilize notions like principles of optimality, cognitive blending networks, and blending processes as they relate to metaphors of love in Gikūyū. Furthermore, Harder cited in Gathigia (2014) argues that CIT makes it complex to understand fairly simple linguistic operations so the study limited itself to the notion of vital relations. Although the present study similarly found beneficial the analysis in Gathigia (2014) and lend itself to the notion of vital relations, there was need to explain how the conceptual integration works with relation to metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras.

The following is a basic diagram that illustrates the aspects of conceptual integration and the connections between the mental spaces in metaphoric conceptualization.

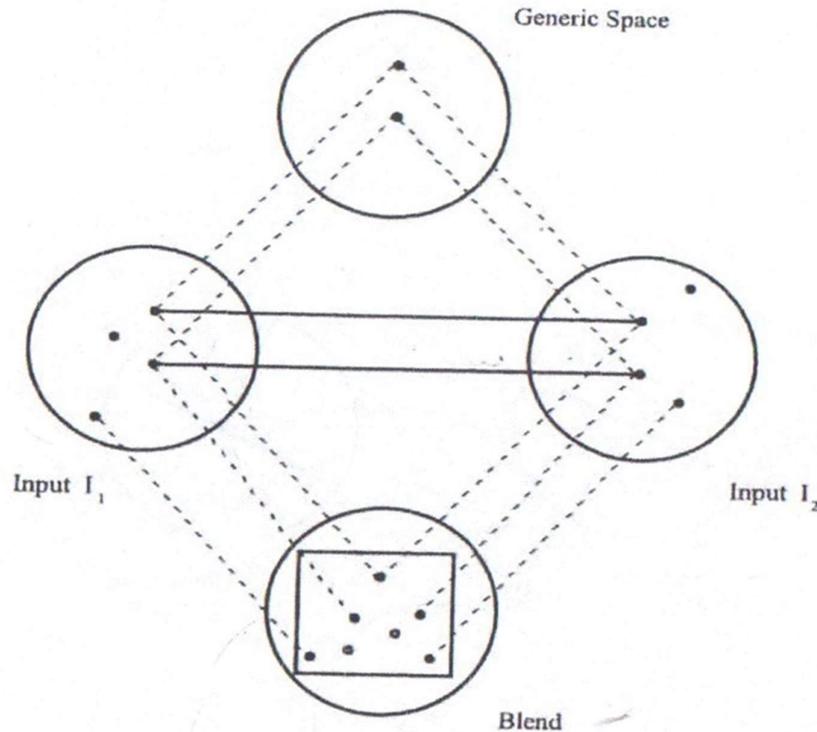


Figure 2.4: Mental spaces in Conceptual Integration. (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002:46)

As shown in Figure 2.4 mental spaces comprise of input space1, input space2, generic space and the blend. In the diagram, circles represent the mental spaces whereas the dots within the circles represents elements. The solid lines show the connection between the elements in input space 1 and input space 2 and as such represent conceptual projections and mappings in the integration process. The matches that occur between the spaces result in cross-space mapping. The correspondences between elements in the input spaces and the generic space and the blend are represented using dotted lines. The square inside the blend represents emergent structure which is not copied there directly from the input spaces.

Although the mental spaces are devised to make new sets of information occur separately as they are represented metaphorically, all of them provide bits of information such as composition, completion, elaboration, vital relations and compression which are geared towards understanding of metaphor.

Vital relations constitute one of the important components of CIT and they are structures that generate comprehensions which merge and show the relationship among the multiple input spaces (Coulson & Oakley, 2005). The vital relations include change, identity, time, space, cause-effect, part-whole, representation, role, analogy, disanalogy, property, similarity, category, intentionality and uniqueness. Fauconnier and Turner (2002) argue that there are canonical patterns of compression over these vital relations that we encounter again and again. For instance, compression can scale time, space and cause-effect whereas analogy can be compressed into identity or uniqueness whereas cause-effect can be compressed into part-whole. As such, through vital relations we are able to understand the world. The present study relied on this theory to examine the extent to which the vital relations account for the metaphors of COVID-19 among speakers of Lukabaras. The study thus attempted to identify the possible compressions of vital relations evident in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.

2.5.2 Image Schemas Theory (IST)

Image schemas are basic abstract structures that are preconceptual in origin, are imaginative, non-propositional in nature and operate as organizing structures of experience at the level of bodily perception and movement (Johnson, 1987; 2005.) The recurring bodily experiences structure particular experiences schematically so that we can give order and connectedness to our perceptions and conception. The image schemas motivate important aspects of how we think, reason, and imagine.

They recur in our construction of the world and play a fundamental role in various cognitive semantic processes (Lakoff & Johnson,1980). According to Lakoff and Johnson (ibid) image schemas are not the same as real images which they refer to as “rich” images. Image schemas are presumably more abstract than ordinary images and consist of dynamic spatial patterns that underlie the spatial relations and movement found in actual concrete images. Mandler (2004) argues that the recurrent patterns of sensing information are extracted and stored as an image scheme then sensory experiences give rise to a conceptual representation. Gibbs (2017) argues that Image schemas have an internal logic or structure that determines the roles these schemas can play in structuring various concepts and in patterns of reasoning. For this reason, it is observed that a lot of what is realised as metaphorical is characteristically image-schematic and as such it is experientially grounded (Gibbs, 2017).

Furthermore, one of the important notions of the theory is that Image schemas are foundations of the conceptual system since they are the first concepts to emerge into the human mind. They allow the mapping of spatial information into a conceptual structure since image schemas are a result of what we experience as we interact with the environment. For instance, Johnson (1987; 2005) argues that the first thing that a human being comes in contact with is his body. The body can serve as a ‘container’ as it is solid, and has an in-out aspect with it. From this, then there would be shaped a ‘schema’ regarding the space within and the space without, and simply anything related to it. Additionally, image schemas are highly structured and thus we utilize them to be able to understand the things around us (Evans & Green,2006).

However, scholars argue that there is no consensus regarding the particular number of image schemas because linguists adopt varied classifications and interpretations (Johnson, 1987,2005; Evans & Green, 2006; Mandler, 2004; Peña, 2000, 2003). Furthermore, it is argued that the same image schema can be instantiated in many different kinds of domains because the internal structure of a single schema can be metaphorically understood. Nevertheless, the CONTAINER, PATH, and PART-WHOLE schemas are arguably the most basic image-schemas from which other subsidiary schemas occur. (Gibbs 2017; Peña 2000, 2003). Since there was need to describe the role of the images in framing the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabarar, the present study benefitted from the classification by Peña (2000, 2003). The following is an illustration of the taxonomy of image schemas and their subsidiary schemas as proposed by Peña (2000,2003).

Table 2.1: Taxonomy of Image Schemas

Major Category	Sub - Category	Specific Image Schema
CONTAINER		IN-OUT, FULL-EMPTY, EXCESS
PATH	FORCE	COMPULSION, BLOCKAGE, COUNTERFORCE REMOVAL OF RESTRAINT, ENABLEMENT
	CIRCLE	CYCLE, SPIRAL
	-other-	PROCESS, FRONT-BACK, NEAR FAR, VERTICALITY
PART-WHOLE		MERGING, MATCHING, COLLECTION, CENTRE PERIPHERY, LINK

Source: Gathigia (2014:51)

The taxonomy by Peña (2000, 2003) in Table 2.1 shows that the common image schemas include CONTAINER, PATH and PART-WHOLE. However, Gibbs (2017) argues that image schemas do not exist as single entities because they are often linked to form natural relationships through different image schema transformations.

For instance, Lakoff and Johnson (1987) argue that the SOURCE-PATH-GOAL image schema must underlie critical aspects of representational momentum just like a person observes an object move from a starting position along some path toward an imagined goal. The PATH image schema therefore becomes one of the most basic image schemas that arise from our bodily experience and perceptual interactions with the world. Apart from the taxonomy proposed by Peña (2000, 2003), other studies such as Johnson (1987) classify image schemas into CONTAINER, BLOCKAGE, ENABLEMENT, PATH, CYCLE, PART-WHOLE, FULLY, ITERATION and SURFACE. Table 2.2 illustrates the taxonomy of image schemas by Johnson (1987) and their ancillary schemas.

Table 2.2: Taxonomy of Image Schemas by Johnson (1987)

CONTAINER	BALANCE	COMPULSION
BLOCKAGE	COUNTERFORCE	RESTRAINT -REMOVAL
ENABLEMENT	ATTRACTION	MASS-COUNT
PATH	LINK	CENTER-PERIPHERY
CYCLE	NEAR-FAR	SCALE
PART-WHOLE	MERGING	SPLITTING
FULL-EMPTY	MATCHING	SUPERIMPOSITION
ITERATION	CONTACT	PROCESS
SURFACE	OBJECT	COLLECTION

Source: Gathigia (2014:52)

Although the present study found the taxonomy of image schemas by Johnson (1987) and Peña (2000, 2003) beneficial, there is a discrepancy between the two classifications whereby Peña (2000, 2003), does not include BLOCKAGE, ENABLEMENT, FULL-EMPTY, ITERATION and SURFACE image schemas. Gathigia (2014) established that since different scholars such as (Peña, 2000; Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Johnson, 1987, 2005; Cienki, 1997; Mandler, 2004, 2005) classify image schemas according to different parameters, the resulting image schemas in metaphors of love in Gikuyu were the CONTAINER, PATH, FORCE, and OBJECT.

Anudo (2018) studied the image schemas that are manifest in the conceptual metaphors in Dholuo and revealed that image schemas play a role in the interpretation and comprehension of conceptual metaphors in Dholuo. The image schemas highlighted in Anudo (2018) included CONTAINMENT, PATH, OBJECT and FORCE as well as their subsidiary image schemas. The investigation of metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabarar, benefited from the analysis in Gathigia (2014) and Anudo (2018). This was by similarly applying the universal and basic image schemas such as CONTAINMENT and PATH as posited by Pena (2003) and Johnson (1987). The analysis in Gathigia (2014) and Anudo (2018) was done qualitatively since image schemas are structural patterns that are generally used as source domains (Hurtienne & Blessing, 2007). However, the present study deviated from Gathigia (2014) and Anudo (2018) in the analysis of the link between image schemas and their subsidiary schemas. For instance, Gathigia (2014) analysed PART-WHOLE image schema in the metaphors of love in Gikuyu as a subsidiary image schema of the OBJECT image schema whereas the present study treated both the PART-WHOLE and OBJECT as major category image schemas in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabarar.

2.6 Conclusion

This chapter presented an overview of metaphors in cognitive linguistics. There was a review of categorization as a key concept which benefited the present study to classify the metaphors of COVID-19 by prototype. The section also reviewed some relevant empirical studies that focused on incorporeal concepts and on concrete concepts. However, whereas these studies informed the present study in terms of theory and methodology, the point of departure was that our study focused on the metaphorical conceptualization of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabarar.

The present study argues that the experiences of the COVID-19 pandemic among Kenyan local tribes varied depending on how they conceptualized the pandemic. The differences in framing this disease provided a basis to investigate the mappings that emerged given that a mapping can have several parts of which not all are utilized at a given time and context. Furthermore, the experiential focus also varies among languages over time such that different aspects of a metaphor are conceptualized differently based on the varied experiences of the people. The analysis relied on the principles of Conceptual Integrated Theory (CIT) and Image Schemas Theory (IST) in order to establish the significance of this conceptualization on the efforts to prevent the spread of the disease. This is because, basing on the knowledge of previous studies, no single theory is sufficient to explain the conceptual mappings of metaphors. The next chapter presents the research methodology and ethical considerations.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The chapter describes the research design adopted for the study. It explains the suitability and choice of the design. Besides, the target population, sampling technique and sample size are given in this chapter. There is a description of how the data was presented and analyzed. The chapter ends with a section on validity, reliability of the study and ethical considerations.

3.2 Research Design

This study adopted a descriptive research design which falls within the qualitative research paradigm. According to Mugenda and Mugenda (2003) the use of a descriptive design suits data that is in word form and is often put into categories. In the same vein, Ruane (2005) observes that a descriptive research gives a vivid description or account of some social phenomenon, setting, experience or group. This enables a researcher to describe a phenomenon in detail and elaborately by explaining the patterns that are observed and the emerging themes in the data. Moreover, the descriptive research model is suitable based on the principles of elaborating, explaining and making clear the understanding of certain events in contemporary life, some human activities or practices at specific times and places (Usman, 2018). The present study utilized this design to descriptively examine the conceptual mappings, vital relations and image schemas in the metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras. As such, the qualitative research approach was used as the dominant strategy to be able to describe in detail the manifestation of COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabaras.

In order to gain a wider perspective of the outcome, the study also embedded the quantitative approach to tabulate and present the categories of metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.

3.3 The Study Area

The study was carried out in Kakamega North Sub-County which is one of the 12 sub counties that are administrative units of the national government in Kakamega County. The Sub- County borders Kakamega East to the south, Bungoma South to the north, Kakamega Central to the west and Nandi Sub -County to the east. According to KNBS (2019), Kakamega North Sub- County has an approximate population of 205,166 and an area of 423.3 km². It is made up of seven county assembly wards namely; Shirugu/Mugai ward, Chegulo/Butali ward, Shivanga/Manda ward, Chemuche ward, Kabras East ward, Kabras South ward and Kabras West ward. The Kabras who speak Lukabaras are the predominant Luhya sub tribe in the KNSC. The key respondents were purposively picked from three county assembly wards namely Shirugu/Mugai, Chemuche and Kabras East wards in Kakamega North Sub-County. The metaphors were collected from speakers of Lukabaras aged (30-39 years) and (above 60 years). The focus was on those respondents from the church and market domains of language use.

3.4 Study Population

There were two types of populations for this study; the people and the units of analysis. The first population comprised key respondents drawn among native speakers of Lukabaras aged (30-39 years) and (above 60 years) who are residents of Kakamega North Sub-County. Therefore, the study accessed participants in three purposively selected county assembly wards namely Shirugu/Mugai, Chemuche and Kabras East.

The choice of the three county assembly wards and the sub-county as areas of study was based on media reports and updates on the COVID-19 pandemic cases in the chosen areas (c.f.1.2.1). During the pandemic, reports through the MOH (2020) showed that although all age groups were at risk of contracting COVID-19, older people (above 60years) faced significant risk of developing severe illness if they contracted the disease due to physiological changes that come with ageing and potential underlying health conditions. However, whereas the youth were less likely to be hospitalized because of COVID-19 or die from it, the study targeted participants in the age group of (30-39) years because according to MOH (2020) Daily Situation Report, most of the cases lied in this age bracket.

The second population for this study which formed the units of analysis were lexical items in form of words and expressions generated from 36 key respondents purposively selected from three county assembly wards. The study targeted 144 excerpts from the key respondents and it was expected that at least 4 lexical items (nouns or prepositions in Lukabaras) would be collected from each of the purposively sampled key respondents in order to come up with the linguistic data that was investigated in this study.

3.5 Sampling Techniques and Sample Size

The sample for the study was obtained through multistage sampling. According to Creswell (2014) multistage sampling first involves the researcher identifying groups or organizations from which individuals within those clusters or groups are sampled. For this reason, Pandey and Pandey (2015) argue that multistage sampling is more comprehensive and representative of the population.

Moreover, in multistage sampling, primary sample units are inclusive groups and secondary units are sub-groups within these ultimate units to be selected which belong to one and only one group. Therefore, stages of a population are usually available within a group or population and the individuals are selected from different stages for constituting the multistage sampling (Pandey & Pandey,2015).

In the present study, the first sampling unit was the county assembly ward. Through purposive sampling, three county assembly wards (Shirugu/Mugai, Chemuche and Kabras East) were selected from the seven wards that make up Kakamega North Sub County. The choice of the three county assembly wards was based on media reports and daily situation updates about COVID-19 cases in various parts of Kenya by the Ministry of Health. The second sampling unit was the key respondents from the selected wards. The study purposively sampled three churches and three market centres in every ward. In every church and market center, the study purposively picked two participants who were native speakers of Lukabaras aged (30-39years) and (above 60 years). This gave a total of 36 respondents among Lukabaras speakers.

The other sampling unit comprised metaphors and metaphorical expressions elucidated from the key respondents. The Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) was used to identify 30 primary conceptual metaphors from which source and target domains were analysed. To achieve this, the researcher sought the help of six research assistants with university education who were first trained on the metaphor identification procedures (MIP). As guided by Armstong and Paulson (2011; Gibbs, 2017; Steen et al., 2010) and Pragglezaz Group, 2007), the team first gathered excerpts from the key respondents through key informant interviews, audio recording and focus group discussions then identified the metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras for the study.

3.6 Data Collection

The empirical linguistic data for this study was collected from native speakers of Lukabaras who are residents of Kakamega North Sub-County. The data was collected through audio recording, key informant interviews, Focus Group Discussions (FGD) and a Data Extraction schedule.

The researcher targeted churches and market centers because they were adversely affected during the pandemic period. For instance, church services and business activities were banned through a presidential directive for a month in June, 2020 (MOH,2020). At the time, it was observed that the COVID-19 protocols were apparently being flouted for varied reasons including misinformation and different conceptualizations of the pandemic in different cultural settings. Thus, the researcher audio recorded different uptakes of the pandemic from the key informants using a digital voice recorder for a period of six months between August 2021 and February 2022.

In order to collect data from the corpus of natural discourses of how people were talking about the COVID-19 pandemic in terms of contraction, symptoms, prevention, treatment, effects and their experiences, the researcher also grouped the key informants in FGD's of 6 speakers in every group. The composition of the FGD's was based on homogeneity so that the young informants (30-39 years) formed three FGD's while the old informants (above 60 years) formed another three FGD's. The focus of the discussion in the groups was on how the pandemic was conceptualized through metaphor. During the collection of data, the researcher coordinated the activities and guided the research assistants who administered the research tools for six months.

The researcher found it necessary to triangulate the research instruments to be able to collect sufficient and reliable data for investigation. Additionally, the researcher relied on library and internet search to collect secondary data.

3.6.1 Key Informant Interviews

Key Informant Interviews are qualitative, in-depth interviews of 15-35 people selected on the basis of their first-hand knowledge about the topic of discussion (USAID,1996). The informants can thus be a group of individuals that are deemed relevant to provide the relevant information on a given subject of investigation and their selection depends on the nature and scope of inquiry. In order to conduct the interview, the researcher identifies appropriate groups from which the key informants are drawn and then selects a few individuals from each group for interviewing. The interviews are usually semi structured and are akin to conversation among people who are familiar to each other thus allowing a free flow of discussion as the interviewer takes notes or records the information (USAID,1996).

The researcher in the present study administered key informant interviews to 36 key informants drawn from the church and markets in the selected county assembly wards in Kakamega North Sub-County. Rita and Rohman (2013) argues that such an interview helps to extract accurate and reliable information about a given subject of investigation. As such, the interviewer asks a specific set of questions and captures the information through varying methods like field notes, transcripts or audio recording depending on the context (Tessier, 2012).

The present study utilized audio recording to capture the information since it allowed the interviewer to concentrate on the interview rather than take field notes alone which could distract both the interviewer and the interviewee. According to Sullivan (2010) the audio recorded material gives objective and truthful responses of the interviewer that provide a holistic picture and greater context of the situation. More so, the interviewer has the ability to review and replay the interview later to identify crucial information (Sullivan, *ibid*).

The Key informant Interviews for the present study were conducted with the help of six purposively sampled research assistants who interviewed the informants and audio recorded the conversations. The study relied on informants who were either close relatives, family members, neighbors or close friends to the victims that had apparently suffered due to the COVID-19 pandemic. The conversations were guided by a key informant interview protocol which had two sections- (see appendix i). The first section sought to establish the initial contact with the informants to create rapport. The researcher thus introduced himself and explained the purpose of the interview. It was at this introductory part that the rules of conduct during the interview were laid. The informants were assured of confidentiality and asked to communicate freely during the conversations which were done in Lukabaras. The researcher also made it known that the interviews would be tape recorded.

The second section had three parts. The first part captured the age, religion and residence of the informant. The second part which had four key study questions required the informants to share about their knowledge and awareness of the COVID-19 pandemic. The last part of the interview protocol contained the closing remarks from the informant and the researcher.

During the conversations, the researcher expected to possibly get at least four metaphors related to the COVID-19 pandemic from each interviewee. The interviews and audio recording lasted for about 45 minutes and the key informants were coded as informant 1 up to informant 36. This was done for six months at the convenience of the informants and the research assistants. The audio recorded conversations were replayed and transcribed to identify only those excerpts that contained metaphors and metaphorical expressions of the COVID-19 pandemic related experiences. The study targeted to record 144 excerpts from which metaphors would be identified using Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP). The researcher further subjected the key informants to a Focus Group Discussion in order to corroborate the individual findings with the group opinion. Where opinion was divided, a compromise was reached.

3.6.2 Focus Group Discussions

Tavakoli (2012) states that a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) as a form of group interview relies on the interaction within the group who discuss a topic supplied by a researcher. Such a group according to Tavakoli (2012), a typically consists of 6-12 participants. The present study had a total of six FGDs each comprising six participants. The FGDs were labelled as FGD1, FGD2, FGD3, FGD4, FGD5 and FGD6. The researcher selected the participants purposively on the understanding that they had the relevant experiences or had some knowledge about the COVID-19 pandemic. This enhanced the discussion which aimed to examine the metaphorical conceptualization of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras and further help the researcher to generate relevant data for investigation.

According to Eewijk and Angehm (2017) the amount of time taken in conducting a focus group discussion depends on the complexity of the topic, the number of questions asked and the size of the group. In this view, the discussion should last between 1 to 2 hours and should not be longer than 2 hours. This is because, discussions that take a longer period may affect the mental and physical health of participants especially the elderly who may easily switch off due to fatigue. The present study conducted focus discussions that lasted 45minutes per session. The discussions were also held at the convenience and availability of the participants. All the participants were informed in advance of the date, time and the venue. More so, the researcher chose venues and locations that were within the participants' reach and free from possible disturbances such as noise. During the discussions, the participants were arranged to seat in a circle to ensure they could all see each other. The moderator administered the discussion questions using a focus group discussion guide. The guide had two sections. The first section introduced the moderators and the participants. The section also contained the purpose of the interview and the rules of engagement. For instance, the participants were requested to put their phones on silent mode and where one had to attend to a call, they were asked to leave quietly.

The second section of the focus group discussion guide comprised 5 key questions and closing remarks (see appendix ii). There were no questions that directly or openly asked participants for metaphors. Creswell (2014) suggests that questions in a Focus Group Discussion (FGD) become broad and general so that the participants can construct the meaning of a situation, typically forged in discussions or interactions with other persons. Furthermore, Creswell (2014) argues that the more open-ended the questioning, the better, as the researcher listens carefully to what people say or do in their life settings and makes sense or interprets their meanings about the world.

The focus group discussions in the present study were conducted in Lukabarar and audio recorded alongside taking notes. In this respect, the participants enjoyed ease of expression in a language they understood and therefore responded to questions more confidently. The researcher then analysed the emerging themes from the report of the discussion.

3.6.3 Data Extraction

According to Kövecses (2002) metaphors have a set of mappings which interact between concepts in the Source Domain and the Target Domain. The present study therefore designed a schedule of the correspondences between the Source and Target Domains which guided the extraction of data for investigation (see appendix iii). Gathigia (2014) used a Mapping of Source and Target Domains Discussion Schedule to extract metaphors of love in Gikuyu. Gathigia's guide consisted of nine generic level metaphors whose coding provided the mappings. The present study adapted the guide used in Gathigia (2014) and identified six prototypical categories of conceptual metaphors that elicited the possible mappings of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabarar. The researcher with the help of the six research assistants therefore discussed and identified metaphors which were then subjected to the analysis of conceptual mappings of COVID-19 in Lukabarar.

3.7 Data Analysis

The present study analysed objective one by first identifying the metaphors and metaphorical expressions of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabarar using the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP). Studies such as Anudo (2018) and Gathigia (2014) used the MIP to identify metaphorical expressions which were transcribed, openly coded and translated in English.

The present study therefore found MIP to be a suitable and beneficial tool that would help to establish whether the expressions that were identified were metaphor related or not.

In order to explain the conceptual mappings, the metaphors were analysed thematically by coding the categories and presenting them on the basis of different conceptual metaphors. Gathigia (2014) analysed conceptual mappings in metaphors of love in Gikuyu and used qualitative analysis to categorize them in accordance with the ontological correspondences between the source and target domains. The present study also borrowed from Gathigia (2014) to be able to describe the cross-domain mappings in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.

The analysis of objective two involved the conceptual metaphors earlier identified in objective one. It was therefore from these metaphors that the various vital relations were examined. This analysis was done qualitatively based on Fauconnier and Turner's (2002) principles on vital relations as cited in Gathigia (2014). The vital relations established in the conceptual metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras were further explained within the framework of the Conceptual Integration Theory (Fauconnier & Turner, 2002).

In objective three, the present study borrowed from Gathigia (2014) to analyse the image schemas of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras. Gathigia (ibid) observed that image schemas are generally structural patterns which are used as source domains. In an analysis of love metaphors in Gikuyu, Gathigia further observed that some metaphors belonged to one or more image schemas.

Similarly, the present study qualitatively analysed the schematic patterns that were manifested in the conceptualization of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras. The image schemas were then interpreted within the tenets of the Image Schemas Theory (Johnson, 1987;2005).

3.8 Data Presentation

The researcher presented data thematically since it was an appropriate mode of presentation for a qualitative study (Kombo & Tromp, 2006). The data obtained through the FGD guide and audio-recording was transcribed and presented in Lukabaras and a gloss provided. The data for objective one which contained the various conceptual mappings of metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras were highlighted in tables and charts. The tables showed correspondences between the source domain and the target domain of the metaphors. These data were then used in objective two in order to examine the extent to which vital relations accounted for them. The image schemas and their subsidiary image schemas discussed in objective three were presented in tables using capital letters as is the convention in metaphor studies.

3.9 Validity and Reliability

Validity refers to the extent or degree to which a research measures what it has set out to measure. It involves the steps that are taken to check the accuracy and credibility of findings (Creswell, 2014). Gibbs (2007) posits that qualitative validity means the researcher should check for the accuracy of the findings by employing certain procedures. In this view, Tavakoli (2012) suggests that the validity of qualitative data might be addressed through the honesty, depth, richness and scope of the data achieved, the participants approached and the extent of triangulation.

However, Kumar (2011) argues that validity can be applied to the research process as a whole or to any of its steps. On this basis, the present study addressed the validity of research instruments through triangulation.

Tavakoli (2012) argues that triangulation of research tools is considered as one of the effective strategies to ensure research validity. The present study thus triangulated the research tools to corroborate the data sources. The researcher subjected the key informants to FGDs in order to review data that had earlier been collected through audio recording the key informants.

Kothari (2004) posits that the reliability of a research involves the accuracy and precision of a measurement procedure. In this respect, a measuring instrument is reliable if it provides consistent results. Additionally, Yin (2009) observes that reliability can be achieved by documenting the procedures of the study such as how the data was collected. Since data collection ought to be orderly and systematic, the current study clearly outlined the procedures followed in collecting the data for the COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabaras. A pilot study was conducted in June 2021 to pre-test the research instruments. The researcher audio recorded two willing key informants using a digital recorder. The questions the informants responded to during the audio recording were contained in an interview schedule. The data collected was crosschecked to ensure that the transcripts did not contain obvious mistakes made during transcription. Furthermore, the researcher held a focus group discussion with a group of six participants to confirm the data collected through the informant interview. The FGD composed of three participants from South Kabras ward aged (30-39 years) and another three aged above 60 years.

3.10 Ethical Considerations

Prior to conducting the study, the researcher sought approval from the School of Graduate Studies Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. The researcher then applied for a research permit from NACOSTI (Permit number:251974) and commenced research in line with the stipulated regulations. According to Cohen, et al. (2001); Barasa (2017) researchers have a responsibility to pursue their research projects truthfully and protect the respondents' freedoms, rights, privacy and values.

In this regard, the informants were thoroughly informed about the research and given a chance to choose whether to take part or not. The key informants drawn from churches and market places gave their consent to participate in the study hence their participation depended on their willingness. This was done after the researcher explained to them what the study was about. Before the study, the researcher therefore obtained informed consent from the informants to ensure their participation was voluntary. The researcher also observed confidentiality to ensure that the identity of the informants was not disclosed. The real identities of the informants were therefore not used instead the study coded them either as key informant 1,2,3,4... or Discussant 1,2,3, 4... The informants were also encouraged to participate freely and there were no right or wrong answers but difference of opinion. Furthermore, the researcher adhered to other rules of scholarly conduct such as avoiding plagiarism and acknowledging the sources of other works relevant to this study by using complete references.

3.11 Conclusion

This chapter identified the research design that was used in the study. Since the research was qualitative, the descriptive design was suitable. The study was carried out in Kakamega North Sub- County. Data was collected from key informants among Lukabaras speakers purposively sampled from three county assembly wards namely; Shirugu/Mugai, Chemuche and Kabras East. The metaphors which were collected through FGD's and audio recording the informants were identified using the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP). The data was then presented thematically and analysed qualitatively using content analysis. All the rules of scholarly conduct were followed before and during the study. The next chapter provides the data presentation, analysis and findings of the metaphors of the COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras.

CHAPTER FOUR

DATA PRESENTATION, ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of data on COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabaras. It begins by identifying the metaphors as guided through the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) (Gibbs, 2017; Steen et al., 2010); Pragglejaz Group, 2007). The excerpts from which the metaphors were identified for discussion only manifested direct metaphor related words or possible personification. The chapter also discusses the categorization of the metaphors based on the prototype model and the levels of categorization under which the metaphors fall.

Additionally, the chapter discusses conceptual mappings in seven generic level metaphors which were identified as COVID IS A PERSON, COVID IS AN ANIMAL, COVID IS AN OBJECT, A NATURAL FORCE, AN ACTION, AN EVENT OR A STATE / CONDITION. The study then examines the extent to which vital relations accounted for the COVID-19 metaphors and describes the role of image schemas in the conceptualization of COVID-19 in Lukabaras. Lastly, the chapter provides a section on the conclusions drawn from the findings of every objective.

4.2 COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras

The study collected 90 excerpts in Lukabaras from which 30 primary metaphors of COVID-19 were identified using the Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP). This number was sufficient because scholars in metaphor studies argue that attention should not be drawn to the number of words used metaphorically but the need to understand whether individual linguistic expressions can be judged to be metaphorical or not (Bowdle & Gentner,2002).

The present study focused on Metaphor Related Words (MRW) and for this reason the researcher did not include for analysis expressions whose explanation already captured the same idea contemplated in the (MRW). More so, the available instantiations of metaphors from the excerpts that were examined had no manifestations of indirect metaphor words. Therefore, the identified Metaphor Related Words (MRW) were analysed as direct MRW and Possible Personification. A similar study by Gathigia (2014) analysed metaphors of love in Gikuyu and examined three types of metaphor related words in the MIP as indirect MRW, direct MRW and Possible Personification.

According to the MIP (Metaphor Identification Procedure) as applied in Gathigia (2014), it is observed that words are referred to as MRW when they overtly relate to metaphor by employing some form of comparison or contrast realized in lexical items such as A 'is' B and their contextual meaning is distinct from the basic meaning. Furthermore, Gathigia argues that a word is categorized as direct MRW if its use can potentially yield a correspondence in the source domain and the target domain. However, the present study unlike Gathigia (2014), did not establish instantiations of indirect MRW. Table 4.1, shows the data for COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabaras.

Table 4.1: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras

No.	Lukabaras	Gloss
1.	<i>COVID ne shimanulwa</i>	COVID is a weapon
2.	<i>COVID ne yingaka</i>	COVID is a hook
3.	<i>COVID no lweni</i>	COVID is lightning
4.	<i>COVID ne sheli</i>	COVID is doom
5.	<i>COVID no bulilo</i>	COVID is a bait
6.	<i>COVID ne shimbulubusi</i>	COVID is a whirlwind
7.	<i>COVID no lunyilili</i>	COVID is a drizzle
8.	COVID ni kwamachenga	COVID is coal fire
9.	<i>COVID ne yimbaale</i>	COVID is a pebble
10.	<i>COVID ne yimbulu</i>	COVID is a monitor lizard
11.	<i>COVID no mucheni wamakana</i>	COVID is a strange visitor
12.	<i>COVID ne shilikisa</i>	COVID is a hiccup
13.	<i>COVID ne liminikha lie tsinganakani</i>	COVID is stress
14.	<i>COVID no musuku</i>	COVID is an enemy
15.	<i>COVID no busafi</i>	COVID is hygiene
16.	<i>COVID ne siasa</i>	COVID is politics
17.	<i>COVID ne shinyasio</i>	COVID is banishment
18.	<i>COVID ne wonyo khu bandu</i>	COVID is a warning to people
19.	<i>COVID ne shiboko</i>	COVID is a punishment
20.	<i>COVID ne shibela</i>	COVID is grief
21.	<i>COVID no muyeka</i>	COVID is a cold
22.	<i>COVID ni yamachina</i>	COVID is a hailstorm
23.	<i>COVID ne lifumbetsa</i>	COVID is mist
24.	<i>COVID ni bwononi</i>	COVID is a spoiler
25.	<i>COVID na mangayimwe</i>	COVID is a difficult situation
26.	<i>COVID no butakha</i>	COVID is poverty
27.	<i>COVID ne yinzala</i>	COVID is hunger
28.	<i>COVID no lubala</i>	COVID is a sting
29.	<i>COVID ne shiniamuliro</i>	COVID is a troublemaker
30.	<i>COVID no muchesi</i>	COVID is a harvester

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

As shown in Table 4.1, the data presents COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabaras as identified using the metaphor identification procedure (MIP). It was observed that Lukabaras speakers conceptualized COVID-19 by comparing it to things such as weapon, lightning, hook, bait, whirlwind, doom, strange visitor, grief, troublemaker, coal fire, pebble, monitor lizard, enemy, hygiene, hiccup, stress, politics, hailstorm, condemnation, mist, difficult situation, poverty, hunger, harvester, spoiler, sting, drizzle, warning and a cold.

For example, the study identified metaphorical expressions like *COVID ne shimanulwa* which means COVID is a weapon. The study therefore discussed the identification of the metaphors and categorized them as either direct MRW or Possible Personification. It was deduced from the data that out of the 30 primary metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras, 6 were Possible Personification whereas 24 were examples of direct MRW.

4.2.1 Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP) for COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras

The metaphors for this study were collected through key informant interviews and focus group discussion. The informants comprised speakers of Lukabaras drawn from the church and market settings. Their conversations were audio recorded and transcribed in order to identify the metaphors. The researcher administered interview questions on 36 key informants using a key informant interview protocol and corroborated the collected data through FGDs using a focus group discussion guide.

The excerpts that were transcribed for analysis were coded either as from key informant 1 in the interviews or discussant 1 in the FGDs. The identification of the words and expressions that were metaphorical was done using the metaphor identification procedure. The study identified MRW from the recorded excerpts. The translations used in the excerpts were literal. Newmark, P. cited in Lu and Fang (2012) argues that a literal translation follows closely both the form and intended meaning of the SL such that whatever the translation method the translator chooses, the translation should follow exactly the intended meaning of the source text (Lu & Fang, 2012).

The present study found literal translation more productive because the intended meanings of the metaphors were culture specific in the context of Lukabararas as the source language. The researcher asked question one in the key informant interview guide (see Appendix 1) and generated the following discussion in which the bolded forms in the excerpts were expressions from which COVID-19 metaphors were marked.

Interviewer: *Mubwimbichiti onyala wambolelakho shomanyile okhulondana nende Koviti.*

(Briefly explain what you know about COVID- 19 pandemic)

Key informant 1: *Omanyeshalo shino nishokhuwuka. Esie embuliranga tsa vari olumbe luno nolubi sana lakini sembara bwatoto nibulimo ta. Koviti yino neliyee akari wofubala fwa yinjelekha. Shakhumanyile abachaina **balomba eshindu shino okhuba eshifaa** shokhulwana omumereka.*

(You know this world is very strange. Me, I just hear that this pandemic is very dangerous but I don't think it is true. This COVID is a fight among foreign nations. What we know, the Chinese **manufactured this thing to be a weapon** to fight Americans.)

Key informant 2: *Lekha ekhubolele mundu wanje, abandu muserekali yino nabachesi muno. Babukule amakhuwa kolumbe luno okhurechelakho shabalia. Shandalolanga, amatangaso kabakhongo balarusianga nokhulomba ehali yifwane obubi. Shina eshenesho? Sikhuli tsa **okhukwisia olumbe luno obulilo?***

(Let me tell you my friend, people in government are very shrewd. They are using this pandemic issue as a way to benefit themselves. I think the announcements made through our leaders are exaggerating the situation. What is that? Is the **pandemic not a bait?**)

Key informant 3: *Nosoma kaandikwa muburoobi olanyola bari etsindalo tsio khumalilikha tsilaba tsie shibi. Amalwale khuli Koviti yakhulalonga yino, neshibalo she tsindalo tsiomwisho. Efwe khuli ababukani **khulola khuri shino nesheli.***

(When you read the prophecy, you find that the last days will be perilous times. Pandemics such as COVID are a sign of the end times. We as the clergy we **feel this is doom.**)

Key informant 4: *Eshibala sha bulano nishobwoni. Nolola kalakholekhanga nomanya ori Nyasaye wabelela. **Khulaburilanga mushinyasio** shichila obwoni bwefu. Khu nende mwakhukhola taa.*

(The world today is sinful. Looking at what is happening, you can tell that God is unhappy. We are suffering due to His wrath. **We are condemned.**)

Key informant 5: ***Omusuku wamaya okhwinjila.** Okhulwana olumbe luno kakhoya tsa khulonde amalako kababola. Nobaya olatsia.*

(**The enemy has come.** To fight this pandemic, you should just follow the measures. If you joke, you will die.)

Key informant 6: *Emiyika cha ndakhamenya ndalolakho kano taa. **Lelo khwanyola omucheni wamakana.** Buno bupaanga woti kweli? Nokaala, oletsukhana tsa bwinjile.*

(I have never witnessed this. **We have got a strange visitor.** Does this pandemic knock the door? When you get a bit careless, you will be shocked that it is in.)

Key informant 7: *Noulira amatangaso, bakhaya tsa bari khulonde amalako ko lumbe luno. **Nee luuliranga taa. Luno ne yimbulu.** Ata mubole, lulesundukha tawe.*

(Listening to news, they insist that we follow the COVID protocols **but this pandemic does not listen. It is a monitor lizard.** No matter much you talk; it is not bothered.)

Key informant 8: *Eyindalo yindi khwalola tsa abandu balatabanga. Okhusinjila wakhwali, mama baalanga etsifwa amukulu alia bali batilirwe.*

Khwachenya khuri kho shakhanja omuliro ni shiko. Lwa khwareba, no omundu abola ari sibaali netsimasiki tawe. Eshikhalo shefu shokhupurutika shawela tsa awena shichila Koviti.

(The other day, we just saw some people running. When we stood up, those women who sell greens from that side had been arrested. **We wondered what had caused the trouble.** We inquired and realized the women were not wearing masks. We had to stop entertaining ourselves because of the Covid thing).

Key informant 9: *Amasika kabele anjelekha wefu yaa. Khekhubolele, Koviti ne shibeela. Mulwanyi mulia abandu balimo tsa mufusi shichila amalako kolumbe luno. Abaami bakhaya bari abandu bakhekhhalaho taa. Shali eshisa.*

(There was a funeral in our neighborhood. Let me tell you, **Covid is grief.** In that home, there was just a handful of mourners because of the covid containment measures. The local leadership had ensured that no people gathered there. It was grievous).

From the excerpts, the study identified words and expressions in Lukabararas such as *eshifaa sho khulwana* from key informant 1 to be metaphorical. In the discussion COVID is conceptualized as a weapon. Other words identified included; *COVID no obulilo* (bait) from key informant 2, *COVID ne sheli* (doomsday) from key informant 3, *COVID ne shinyasio* (condemnation) from key informant 4, *COVID no musuku* (enemy) from key informant 5, *COVID no mucheni wamakana* (strange visitor) from key informant 6, *COVID ne yimbulu* (monitor lizard) from key informant 7, *COVID ne shiniamuliro* (troublemaker) from key informant 8 and *COVID ne shibeela* (grief) from key informant 9. The findings established that COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabararas were either direct MRW or Possible Personification.

For instance, in the example *COVID ne yimbulu* (COVID is a monitor lizard), the domains COVID and *eyimbulu* (monitor lizard) have been mapped to explain a relationship between an abstract thing and a concrete thing. Since not all the words identified were concrete, the study categorized the data and presented the direct MRW based on concreteness and abstractness of the source domains. This was as shown in Table 4.2 and 4.3.

Table 4.2: Direct Metaphor Related Words Based on Abstract Sources

No.	Lukabaras	Gloss
1.	<i>COVID ne sheli</i>	COVID is doom
2.	<i>COVID ne shilikisa</i>	COVID is a hiccup
3.	<i>COVID ne shinyasia tsinganakani</i>	COVID is stress
4.	<i>COVID ne wonyo khu bandu</i>	COVID is a warning to people
5.	<i>COVID no muyeka</i>	COVID is a common cold
6.	<i>COVID no butakha</i>	COVID is poverty
7.	<i>COVID ne shinyasio</i>	COVID is condemnation
8.	<i>COVID ne siasa</i>	COVID is politics
9.	<i>COVID ne shibeela</i>	COVID is grief
10.	<i>COVID ne yinzala</i>	COVID is hunger

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

Table 4.2 presents metaphors that were based on abstract sources. For instance, the metaphor related words *esheli* (doom), *eshilikisa* (hiccup), *eshinyasia tsinganakani* (stress), *ewonyo khu bandu* (warning to people), *omuyeka* (common cold), *obutakha* (poverty), *eshinyasio* (condemnation), *esiasa* (politics), *eshibeela* (grief) and *eyinzala* (hunger) are not tangible sources but were regarded as entities in examining aspects of a source domain.

Gathigia (2014) argues that the notion of entity implies anything that has the sense of being whether it is in material form or not. As such, the present study examined the sources from which the metaphors based on abstract sources were generated and established that they were incorporeal concepts such as stress, grief, hunger, poverty, politics and warning as indicated in Table 4.2. On the other hand, the present study established 20 instantiations of metaphor related words based on concrete sources and presented as indicated in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3: Direct Metaphor Related Words Based on Concrete Sources

No	Lukabaras	Gloss
1.	<i>COVID ne shimanulwa</i>	COVID is a weapon
2.	<i>COVID ne yingaka</i>	COVID is a hook
3.	<i>COVID no lweni</i>	COVID is lightning
4.	<i>COVID no bulilo</i>	COVID is a bait
5.	<i>COVID ne shimbulubusi</i>	COVID is a whirlwind
6.	<i>COVID no lunyilili</i>	COVID is a drizzle
7.	<i>COVID ni kwamachenga</i>	COVID is coal fire
8.	<i>COVID ne yimbaale</i>	COVID is a pebble
9.	<i>COVID ne yimbulu</i>	COVID is a monitor lizard
10.	<i>COVID no mucheni wamakana</i>	COVID is a strange visitor
11.	<i>COVID no busafi</i>	COVID is hygiene
12.	<i>COVID no musuku</i>	COVID is an enemy
13.	<i>COVID ne shiboko</i>	COVID is a punishment
14.	<i>COVID ne yingwa</i>	COVID is a tick
15.	<i>COVID ni yamachina</i>	COVID is a hailstorm
16.	<i>COVID ne lifumbetsa</i>	COVID is mist
17.	<i>COVID ni bwononi</i>	COVID is a spoiler
18.	<i>COVID no lubala</i>	COVID is a sting
19.	<i>COVID ne shiniamuliro</i>	COVID is a troublemaker
20.	<i>COVID no muchesi</i>	COVID is a harvester

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

Table 4.3 presents direct metaphor related words which were based on sources that could appeal to the sense of touch and sight. The words included *eshimanulwa* (weapon), *eyingaka* (hook), *olweni* (lightning), *eshimbulubusi* (whirlwind), *olunyilili* (drizzle), *kwamachenga* (coal fire), *eyimbale* (pebble), *eyimbulu* (monitor lizard),

omucheni (visitor), *omusuku* (enemy), *eshiboko* (cane), *yamachina* (hailstones), *olubala* (sting), *omuchesi* (harvester) and *elifumbetsa* (mist). The study inferred from the data on direct MRW that those metaphors which were based on concrete sources formed 67% whereas those based on abstract sources were 33%. This was presented as shown in Figure 4.1:

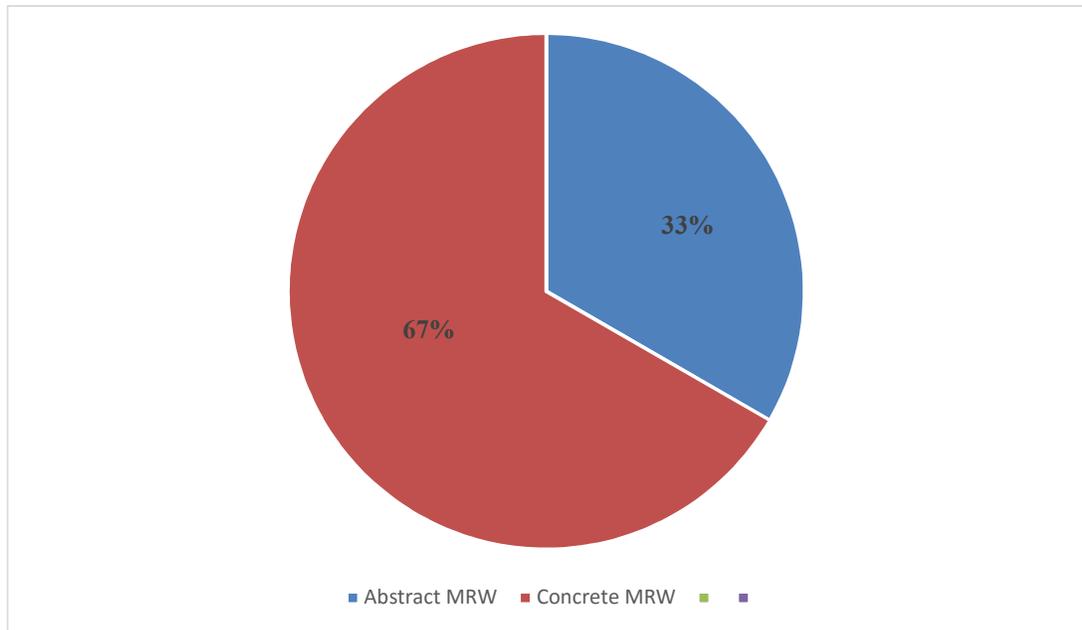


Figure 4.1: Distribution of Metaphor Related Words of COVID-19 in Lukabararas

The findings deduced from the data, as shown in Figure 4.1, that the conceptualization of COVID-19 in Lukabararas was manifested more in concrete forms (67%) than in abstract forms (33%). Nevertheless, the findings also established that other than the direct metaphor related words, there were also instantiations of Possible Personification. This was presented as shown in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4: Possible Personification of COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras

No.	Lukabaras	Gloss
1.	<i>COVID no omucheni wamakana</i>	COVID is a strange visitor
2.	<i>COVID no musuku</i>	COVID is an enemy
3.	<i>COVID no muchesi</i>	COVID is a harvester
4.	<i>COVID ne shiniamuliro</i>	COVID is a troublemaker
5.	<i>COVID ne yimbulu</i>	COVID is a monitor lizard
6.	<i>COVID ni bwononi</i>	COVID is a spoiler

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

From Table 4.4, Possible Personification included metaphors like *omucheni wokhuuka* (strange visitor), *omusuku* (enemy), *omuchesi* (harvester), *eshiniamuliro* (troublemaker) and *eyimbulu* (monitor lizard). It was established that this data represented only 20% out of the metaphor related words collected in this study. The rest of the metaphors which formed 80% were direct metaphor related words. This was presented as shown in Figure 4.2.

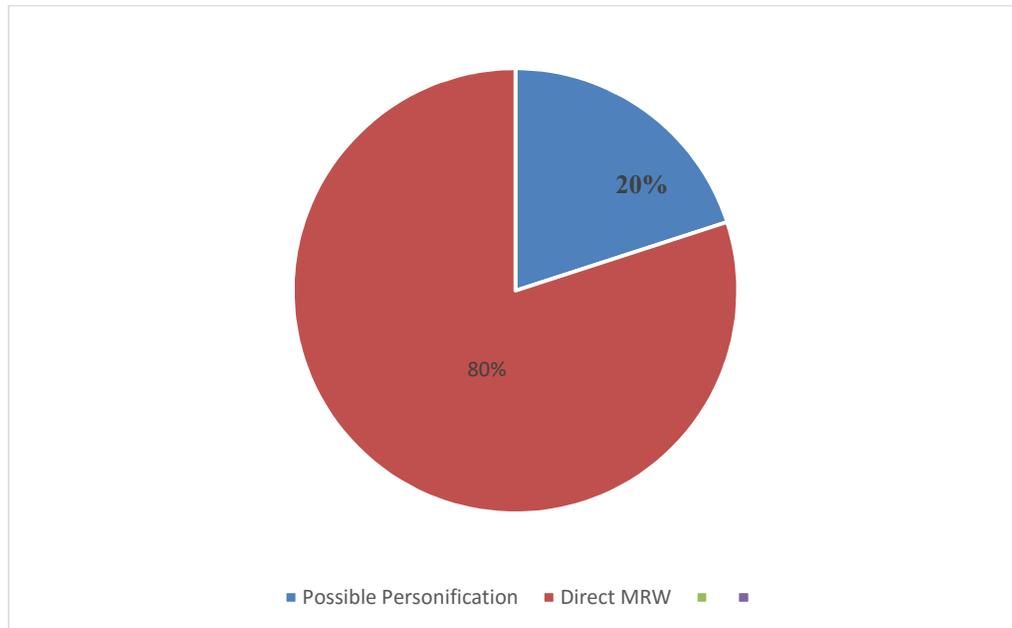


Figure 4.2: Distribution of Possible Personification and Direct MRW

As shown in Figure 4.2, there were more direct metaphor related words (80%) used in the conceptualization of COVID-19 in Lukabaras than there was Possible Personification (20%). The findings inferred from the data that Possible Personification was based on attributional relations in which COVID-19 as an abstract and inanimate phenomenon was given the attributes of a living thing. As such, not many attributes of similarity in the mapping of the two knowledge domains were manifested.

On the other hand, the findings inferred from the data that the prevalence of direct metaphor related words was because the mappings of COVID-19 to these words was based on basic relations of similarities. It was also revealed in the data on Possible Personification that out of the six metaphors presented, five were from sources related to human beings and only one was attributed to a source related to an animal. For instance, COVID-19 was given the attributes of a strange visitor who never knocks the door instead just gets in. Moreover, Lukabaras speakers attributed COVID-19 to their experiences with the monitor lizard which does not hear however much noise you make to scare it. The findings deduced that the reason for this was that there were more attributes of comparison to human beings corresponding to the conceptualization of COVID-19 than there was to animals such as the monitor lizard.

4.2.2 Categorization of COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras

Evans and Green (2006) argue that categorization is a central notion in cognitive linguistics because through it we understand how knowledge is represented and linguistic meaning manifested. The metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras were therefore categorized according to prototype. In order to understand the conceptualization of the pandemic among Lukabaras speakers, the study came up with six generic levels of prototypical categorization.

It was established that the main sources of experiences through which COVID-19 in Lukabaras was conceptualized were organisms, objects, natural forces, events, and states or conditions. The data in Table 4.5 presents the six generic levels and the examples of the words and expressions that represented the source of metaphors for each category.

Table 4.5: Generic Levels of Categorization of COVID-19 in Lukabaras

Category	Words in Lukabaras	Gloss
1. Organisms	<i>eyimbulu, omucheni, omusuku, eshiniamuliro, omuchesi, bwononi</i>	monitor lizard, visitor enemy, troublemaker harvester, spoiler
2. Objects	<i>eshimanulwa, eyingaka, eyimbale, eshiboko, olubala, omuliro</i>	weapon, hook, pebble, punishment, sting, fire
3. Natural Forces	<i>olweni, eshimbulubusi, olunyilili omuyeka, yamachina, elifumbetsa</i>	lightning, whirlwind, drizzle, a cold hailstorm, mist
4. Action	<i>obulilo, eshilikisa, obusafi, ewonyo</i>	bait, hiccup, hygiene, warning
5. Events	<i>esheli, esiasa</i>	doom, politics
6.State/ Conditions	<i>obutakha, eyinzala, amangayimwe, eshibeela, eshinyasio, eliminikha</i>	poverty, hunger, difficult situation grief, condemnation, stress

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

As shown in Table 4.5, the sources from which metaphors of COVID -19 derived for this study were categorized into six generic levels. It was revealed that the most available words from which metaphors were generated came from the respondents' experiences that related to organisms, objects, events, actions, natural occurrences and states.

4.2.3 Basic Level Categorization of COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras

According to Ungerer and Schmid (2006), all cognitive categories viewed as a whole can be further organized in a hierarchical relationship. It is argued that in the hierarchical structure there is the notion of class inclusion such that a superordinate level carries all the subordinate items. For example, the present study inferred that from the generic level of organism there is the inclusion of mammals and reptiles. Furthermore, the class level of mammals includes human beings whereas reptiles include monitor lizard.

In this respect, it was observed that the most obvious prototypical categories in the conceptualization of COVID-19 in Lukabaras were manifested through basic experiences related to organisms, objects, actions, events, natural occurrences and states or conditions. The present study therefore described the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras based on the available basic experiences that were evident in each of the generic levels of categorization as discussed below.

4.2.3.1 Organisms

The conceptualization of COVID-19 in Lukabaras was understood through identifiable organisms such as human beings and reptiles. Some of the metaphors for COVID-19 as an organism included; *COVID no omucheni wamakana* (COVID IS A STRANGE VISITOR), *COVID no omusuku* (COVID IS AN ENEMY), *COVID ne eshinyamuliro* (COVID IS A TROUBLEMAKER), *COVID ni bwononi* (COVID IS A SPOILER), *COVID no omuchesi* (COVID IS A HARVESTER) and *COVID ne yimbulu* (COVID IS A MONOTOR LIZARD). The findings of the study established that the metaphors relating to human beings were attributed to various manners in which people interacted among themselves. For example, there were relations of friendship or enmity as exemplified in the following excerpt from key informant 5.

Key informant 5: *Omusuku wamaya okhwinjila.* *Okhulwana olumbe luno kakhoya tsa khulonde amalako kababola. Nobaya olatsia.*

(**The enemy has come.** To fight this pandemic, you should just follow the measures.

If you joke, you will die.)

From the excerpt, the study deduced that Lukabaras speakers likened their experiences of COVID-19 to AN ENEMY. The findings observed that one who was regarded as an enemy posed a threat to the stability of daily activities and was viewed as harmful. Those perceived as enemies were therefore treated with hostility and contempt. In this manner, COVID-19 was conceptualized as a threat to the lives of people since it was injurious and there was need to fight it.

The pandemic was further attributed to other relations such as STRANGE VISITOR. The findings of the study established that social culturally a visitor in any home would first knock the door or seek to be allowed in. Moreover, visitors were cordially welcomed and were a source of happiness in one's home (Mukunga, J., Personal Communication, August 18, 2021). As such they were treated with hospitality and merriment. However, a visitor who came in one's home uninvited and did not even knock the door was found strange and such behaviour would not be condoned. In this view, the coming of COVID-19 was conceptualized as the kind of visitor who gets in without permission. It is from this that the metaphor *COVID no mucheni wamakana* (COVID IS A STRANGE VISITOR) was created.

Additionally, Lukabaras experiences with organisms such as reptiles contributed to the conceptualization of COVID-19 as *eyimbulu* (MONITOR LIZARD). The findings revealed that the attribution of the pandemic to the monitor lizard was because it is known for its stubbornness and it is usually never bothered in spite of scaring it.

The findings established that monitor lizards were common on the shores of river banks and destructed animals from taking water. However, no amount of scare would see them go (Teka, L., Personal Communication, September 12, 2021). It was further revealed from the data gathered during conversations with key informants that the coming of COVID-19 also disrupted the economy, caused strife in marriages and interfered with times of travel and movement.

The following is an excerpt from the key informant interviews.

Interviewer: *Bolakho ori mwobulwale buno bunanianga abandu.*

(Explain how this pandemic has affected people's lives.)

Key informant 10: *Nochenda mushilo olatilwa. Etsindalo tsia korona tsino tsienyanga tsa angolobe niyula obe munzu. Omwana wa Muchukuyu yakonilemo. Eshindu shino shayenona etsinjendo. Solola hata Nairobi abandu sibashitsitsanga mushilo taa.*

(You risk being arrested if you walk at night. This corona times require you to be in your house before it is dark. Muchukuyu's child was arrested. This thing has **disrupted travelling**. You can even see people no longer travel to Nairobi at night.)

In the excerpt from key informant 10 above, the findings revealed that COVID-19 was understood to have caused disruption of movement. This was through the imposing of curfews which led to the banning of night travel especially for those travelling to the city. It was inferred that COVID-19 was conceptualized as a person who had come to spoil. The findings therefore identified the metaphor *COVID ni bwononi* (COVID IS A SPOILER) Furthermore, the findings of the study established that COVID-19 was the reason for trouble among couples who due to hard economic times ended up separating or breaking.

The pandemic was thus conceptualized as *COVID ne shiniamuliro* (COVID IS A TROUBLEMAKER). This was illustrated further as presented in the following excerpt.

Key informant 11: *Etsinzu tsialapomokhanga sana. Okhurula koviti niyaanza, yania omuliro. Obulamu mutsingo nobutinyu. Abandu balakhayananga muno nakali batifia emilimo shichila olumbe luno.*

(Many marriages are breaking. Since COVID-19 emerged, it has **caused trouble**. Couples are breaking especially where one lost their job due to this pandemic).

The findings established that COVID-19 was also conceptualized as a person that had come to harvest. However, the harvester does not seem to get satisfied instead keeps on gathering. As revealed through the interview in excerpt 12, the study established that there was a feeling of panic due to COVID-19 related deaths.

Key informant 12: *Olumbe luno lwalamala abandu. Buli lwabusha netsimbungu. Abandu balafwitsanga sana. Hata mwakhuba **okhuchesa**, omuyiinda tsana sikukhetsulanga?*

(This pandemic will finish people. Every new day comes with mourning. There are a lot of deaths. Even if it were **harvesting**, can't the basket get full?)

The findings observed in the interview from key informant 12 that COVID-19 is attributed to a person that is harvesting. It was revealed that due to the pandemic, the loss of lives was worrying and there was panic over the uncertainty of the situation. The findings of the study thus identified the metaphor *COVID no muchesi* (COVID is a harvester).

4.2.3.2 Objects

The findings established that COVID-19 was conceptualized as an object. The most common objects to which the pandemic was attributed included; weapons, gravel, hooks, fire, cane and bee sting. From these objects, the study identified metaphors such as *COVID ne shimanulwa* (COVID IS A WEAPON), *COVID ne yimbaale* (COVID IS A PEBBLE), *COVID ne yingaka* (COVID IS A HOOK), *COVID ni kwamachenga* (COVID IS COAL FIRE) and *COVID no lubala* (COVID IS A STING).

It was observed that an object is taken as a weapon for instance when one uses it to fight another. It was further inferred from the data that whereas common objects such as panga or axe could serve other purposes, they become weapons when one uses them for defense or retaliation. In this perspective, COVID-19 was conceptualized as an object used to fight another. As seen in excerpt 2 through the key informant interviews, the informants construed the pandemic as a WEAPON that China was using to fight America hence the metaphor *COVID ne shimanulwa* (WEAPON).

The findings further established that the attribution of COVID-19 to GRAVEL or PEBBLE emanated from the speakers understanding that gravels or pebbles are usually hard and cannot be crashed with ease. COVID-19 was thus conceptualized as something that was so compact and hard and one would not put it down. It was also observed that among Lukabaras, one is idiomatically said to have put gravel in their ears if one does not heed to advice. From this, it was deduced that likening COVID-19 to GRAVEL implied that people were dealing with a hard object that was a hindrance to the normalcy of daily activities.

The conceptualization of COVID as a HOOK (*COVID ne yingaka*) was deduced through a discussion with key informant 12. It was revealed that COVID-19 was construed to be an object that was used to ‘fish people’ from life to death. It was established that the loss of lives due to the pandemic was like fishing using a hook and the victim was caught indiscriminately. From the study, it was established that just like a fisherman’s hook may catch fish, grabs or frogs from the water, the loss of life through COVID would affect people of any age whether young or old.

The findings also established that COVID was conceptualized as FIRE. It was revealed that whereas fire was used for many good reasons such as cooking and warming the house, it was fierce and could also burn. It was, however, revealed that attributing COVID to fire was not associated with good reasons. From the data, it was observed that there were different kinds of fire. For example, there was coal fire which was extremely hot, fire with sparkles which only scare but could burn and warming fire which was not very hot. The data revealed that COVID was attributed to coal fire because of its dire effects. It was construed that whoever jokes with the pandemic would get scorched just like one who handles coal fire carelessly. It was therefore inferred that COVID IS COAL FIRE (*COVID ni kwamachenga*).

The findings further established COVID as a BEE STING (*COVID no lubala*). It was revealed that a bee sting is very painful and if not removed immediately from one’s skin, it causes a painful swelling. It was further observed that the sting of a single bee could attract more bees and create more trouble (Mulongo, M., Personal Communication, September 28, 2021). COVID-19 was thus attributed to a sting because the experience with the pandemic was so painful both for those who happened to be infected or went for testing and the trauma of those infected could affect others.

4.2.3.3 Natural Occurrences

According to Rundell and Fox (2007), a natural occurrence is something that exists or happens in nature unexpectedly and is usually unpleasant. In light of this definition, the study categorized metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras using the basic levels of natural occurrences such as lightning, storm, rain, mist, hailstorm and a cold. It was observed geographically the area of study is commonly characterized by rainfall accompanied with thunder, lightning and sometimes hailstorm. For this reason, COVID-19 was conceptualized as a NATURAL OCCURRENCE.

The findings established metaphors such as *COVID no lweni* (COVID IS LIGHTNING), *COVID no lunyiilili* (COVID IS A DRIZZLE), *COVID ni yamachina* (COVID IS A HAILSTORM), *COVID ne lifumbetsa* (COVID IS MIST), *COVID ne shimbulubusi* (COVID IS A WHIRLWIND) and *COVID no muyeka* (COVID IS A COMMON COLD).

The study revealed that during rainy seasons there can be drizzles which are usually lighter or there can be heavy rains preceded by lightning and thunder. It was deduced that the people's experiences with drizzles showed that a drizzle took a longer time to subside. On the other hand, rains that were preceded by flashes of lightning and thunder would not last a longer period. The findings thus established that COVID-19 for instance was conceptualized as a DRIZZLE because it was likely to take a longer period and if underestimated the effects were dire just like one who gets drenched in light rains.

In the same vein, the findings further revealed that the metaphor *COVID no lweni* (COVID IS LIGHTNING) was attributed to the fact that flashes of lightning can be scary but are short lived.

The effects of COVID-19 were thus understood to be a scare that would soon vanish. However, lightning would also strike and kill. Moreover, it was also revealed that people had nasty experiences with natural occurrences such as whirlwinds. From the findings of the study, it deduced that very heavy winds would carry away items such clothing, demolish roof tops and even fell trees. The winds would also destruct traffic and movement by sweeping a lot of dust allover. COVID-19 was thus metaphorically conceptualized as a WHIRLWIND because of its effects such as deaths of prominent people, imposition of curfews, loss of jobs, restricted gatherings and strained social relations. The findings inferred that the felling of a tree was idiomatically used to refer to the loss of a prominent person whereas demolishing a roof top referred to the break of a marriage.

It was also observed that the coming of COVID-19 dashed people's hopes for a future. From the revelations in the key informant interviews, there was a lot of uncertainty about when normalcy would return. The findings therefore revealed that COVID-19 was conceptualized as a MIST (*COVID ne lifumbetsa*). This uptake was attributed to the experience people usually have whenever the weather is covered with mist. It was observed that during such situations, there is no clear vision or the weather is darkened, obscured and dimmed. Although the mist is known to clear later on, it is uncertain when that happens. COVID-19 was thus understood to have cast darkness or intercepted the hope of a clear future for people.

The findings also established that COVID-19 was conceptualized as a HAILSTORM. It was observed that sometimes rains could be accompanied by hail storm and thunder. Such rains were known to be destructive and scary. In light of COVID-19, the pandemic was equally destructive as witnessed through loss of lives and its effects on the economy.

4.2.3.4 Actions

The findings established that COVID-19 in Lukabaras was also conceptualized as an ACTION. The basic experiences from which the metaphors were created included to eat, to clean, to wear masks, to wash hands, to sanitize and to warn. The finding established examples such as *COVID no obulilo* (COVID is a BAIT), *COVID no obusafi* (COVID is HYGIENE), *COVID ne shilikisa* (COVID is a HICCUP) and *COVID ne wonyo khu bandu* (COVID is a WARNING TO PEOPLE).

The conceptualization of COVID-19 as an action relating to food was attributed to the tendency for one to use something as a way to attract some benefit. The action of eating thus created the understanding that COVID-19 was used as reason to appeal for aid. The findings revealed that people believed those who were in government were exaggerating the statistics about COVID-19 infections in order to attract foreign aid. As such the pandemic was conceptualized as a BAIT (*COVID no bulilo*).

It was also established that the COVID-19 containment measures required people to use face masks, to wash their hands regularly with soap or to sanitize them. As directed by the Ministry of Health, it was revealed that the levels of spreading would go down if people followed these guidelines. The seriousness of COVID-19 was thus understood to be based on how much one followed the hygiene protocols. This explains why the pandemic was conceptualized as *COVID no busafi* (COVID IS HYGIENE).

Additionally, the findings established that the pandemic was conceptualized as a WARNING TO PEOPLE. It was revealed that this was based on the clergy's interpretation of the prophecies about the end times. The study revealed that the hardships and suffering due to the disease was a sign of what was to come.

Such signs could be manifested through deaths all over the world and people suffering due to the effects of the pandemic. The findings thus established the metaphor *COVID ne wonyo khu bandu* (COVID IS A WARNING TO PEOPLE) as a way in which people expressed their understanding of the pandemic. It was inferred that conceptualizing COVID-19 as a WARNING was also understood to mean COVID was a CANE (*COVID ne shiboko*). It was revealed that the ordinary form of physical punishment was meted through caning. Therefore, the findings observed that the coming of the COVID-19 pandemic was a form of punishment to humanity.

4.2.3.5 Events

The most available experiences of events from which metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras were constructed included politics and end time. The findings revealed that these events informed a lot of the discourse that went on among the people. For example, it was established that the spread of the pandemic affected political activities in the country since the protocols of containment did not allow public gatherings. Furthermore, congregational services were affected and people were asked to worship from their homes. It was inferred that people conceptualized COVID-19 as a political tool which was used to the advantage of a few people. Those in government were understood to benefit from the situation since their opponents were denied freedom to carry out certain political activities. The metaphor *COVID ne siasa* (COVID IS POLITICS) therefore meant the pandemic was not real. On the other hand, the study revealed that the clergy through their knowledge of the scriptures construed COVID-19 as a sign of the end times. It was established that following the perilous effects of the pandemic such as loss of lives, the end of the world was near. From this uptake, the metaphor *COVID ne sheli* (COVID IS DOOM) was created.

4.2.3.6 States or Conditions

A state is a condition or set of circumstances that apply at any given time and affects events. The findings established that COVID-19 was conceptualized as a state or a condition. The study identified metaphors such as *COVID no obutakha* (COVID IS POVERTY), *COVID ne yinzala* (COVID IS HUNGER), *COVID na amangayimwe* (COVID IS A DIFFICULT SITUATION), *COVID ne shibela* (COVID IS GRIEF), *COVID ne shinyasio* (COVID IS CONDEMNATION) and *COVID ne liminikha* (COVID IS STRESS).

The findings observed that due to the pandemic the economy was adversely affected and people lost jobs. Those living in urban areas were not able to pay rent and meet other financial obligations which made life become unbearable. With increased hardship and cost of living a lot of people found themselves in a state of poverty and hunger. The findings thus inferred that *COVID no butakha* (COVID IS POVERTY) or *COVID ne yinzala* (COVID IS HUNGER). It was revealed that those who found themselves in these conditions further described the pandemic as a difficult situation in which they were unable to come out of. The findings thus established that COVID was conceptualized as A DIFFICULT SITUATION (*COVID na mangayimwe*).

Additionally, the findings deduced that where people lost lives due to the pandemic, there was so much grief and mourning. However, it was observed that during such times social gatherings were prohibited. For this reason, the bereaved largely conducted the funerals without much physical support from friends and relatives. It was inferred that the situation in such circumstances was more grievous and thus COVID-19 was conceptualized as GRIEF (*COVID ne shibela*). Furthermore, it was observed that some families lost their loved ones to COVID-19, unfortunately, after incurring heavy medical bills.

The experience of nursing a COVID-19 victim was also harrowing since such cases were taken into isolation. From this, the findings established the metaphors *COVID ne liminikha* (COVID IS STRESS) and *COVID ne shinyasio* (COVID IS CONDEMNATION).

4.2.4 Conceptual Mappings of COVID-19 in Lukabaras

The study analysed the conceptual mappings of COVID-19 in Lukabaras basing on the essentials of cognitive metaphor analysis and the principles of the Conceptual Integrated Theory (CIT), Fauconnier and Turner (2002). As observed in the relevant literature, it is argued that metaphors establish a conceptual link between a source and target concept such that the target domain is understood through a source domain (Deignon (1997); Lakoff & Johnson; (1980); Vakhovska (2017). In this perspective, Ungerer (2006) argues that the correspondences are constrained by different mapping scopes which help avoid the transfer of just any kind of feature from the source to the target concept.

Furthermore, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) posit that conceptual mapping is systematic and what constitutes the conceptual metaphor is not any particular word but a cross domain mapping of the specific source concepts which contribute to given target concepts. This view is corroborated by Kövecses (2010) who observes that the source domain does not contribute randomly selected material instead what is widely agreed upon regarding that source in the specific social cultural context.

The study was guided by the tenets of the Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT) Fauconnier and Turner (2002) in which it is argued that analysis of metaphor requires analysis of elaborate integration networks based on mappings between the target domain and the source domain.

Fauconnier and Turner (2002) explain that conceptual metaphors are mental constructions and as such involve many mental spaces and mappings. They examine mental spaces as small conceptual packets which are constructed as we think and talk for purposes of local understanding and action. Similarly, the mental spaces can be described as mental simulations characterizing an understanding of a situation that is real or imagined (Lakoff, 1993). According to Fauconnier and Turner (2002), the mental spaces contain two input spaces, the cross-space mapping, the generic space and the blend. It is argued that the input spaces are two such that input space 1 (source domain) projects on input space 2 (target domain).

The cross-space mapping connects counterparts in the input spaces whereas the generic space maps onto each of the input spaces and contains what the inputs have in common. The blends arise in the networks of mental spaces and anything fused in the blend projects back to counterparts in the input spaces. The study thus relied on the principle of the mental spaces in the Conceptual Integration Theory to explain the mappings in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.

The conceptualization of the target domain of COVID-19 pandemic was obtained through projections in the source domain such as people, animals, objects, events, actions, natural occurrences and states. In this view, the study identified the following seven generic metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras; COVID IS A PERSON (*COVID no mundu*), COVID IS AN ANIMAL (*COVID no munyama*), COVID IS AN OBJECT (*COVID ne eshindu*), COVID IS AN EVENT (*COVID no muyimo*), COVID IS AN ACTION (*COVID no shikholwa*), COVID IS A NATURAL OCCURRENCE (*COVID ne shikholwa sha Nyasaye*) and COVID IS A STATE or CONDITION (*COVID ne liiba*). The set of correspondences in the knowledge structures in these metaphors was discussed as follows:

4.2.4.1 COVID is a Person

The findings established that COVID was conceptualized as A PERSON ‘*omundu*’. According to Kövecses (2010), the human body is one of the most common source domains from which abstract concepts can be understood. For this reason, the attributes of the person that informed the metaphors of COVID in Lukabaras were based on the whole person and not parts of the human body. As such COVID AS A PERSON was represented as a strange visitor (*omucheni wamakana*), enemy (*omusuku*), spoiler (*bwononi*), troublemaker (*eshiniamuliro*) and harvester (*omuchesi*).

The study observed that the conceptualization of COVID AS A PERSON was based on the generic prototypical category of organism. As argued by Ungerer and Schmid (2006), a person is an entity that is identifiable and manifests obvious differences at the basic level of naturally correlated attributes. The conceptualization of a person as a whole therefore exhibits varied levels of relationships which contribute to how people perceive each other in their world of interactions. For instance, people can relate as friends, enemies, workmates or they are given certain attributes regarding their occupations, roles in society or general behaviour.

However, the findings inferred from the data that in the source domain of person, it was not every attribute that metaphorically mapped to the conceptualization of the target domain, COVID-19. In this view, the metaphorical scope of COVID IS A PERSON was limited to the conceptual experiences of COVID-19 pandemic that were reflected in Lukabaras social cultural understanding. Furthermore, the metaphorical meaning focus was on the part of the metaphor that was highlighted. For example, the metaphor COVID IS A STRANGE VISITOR, only highlights the part that portrays a visitor as strange based on the manner in which he or she behaves when they get in one’s home.

For instance, the ill mannerism of failing to seek permission before entry is culturally construed to mean such a strange visitor is unsafe to put up with. The mappings of the metaphor COVID IS A PERSON were as shown in Table 4.6.

Table 4.6: The Mappings of COVID IS A PERSON

Target Domain (COVID-19)	Source Domain (A PERSON)
COVID	A person
COVID enters one's body	A visitor gets in one's home
COVID destroys one's health	An enemy destroys relations
COVID disrupts activities	A person spoils another's normal routine
COVID affects economic activities	A person causes strife among others
COVID claims lives through death	A person harvests crops

Table 4.6 displays the mappings of the target domain, COVID-19, to the source domains generated from a person. As presented in the data, the main sources from which COVID was conceptualized included a person who visits, an enemy, a person who spoils, a person who causes strife and a person who harvests. The study analysed the cross-domain mapping in the knowledge structures as guided by the principles of Conceptual Integration Theory. In light of this, the study first examined the source domains which were constructed in the input mental space₁ and projected onto the target domain, COVID-19, that is constructed in the input mental space₂.

As argued by Fauconnier and Turner (2002), conceptual metaphors are the result of mental constructions that involve many spaces and mappings which include input mental space₁, input mental space₂, cross-space mapping and generic space. The findings therefore established that the mappings of COVID-19 to a person yielded the metaphors such as *COVID no mucheni wamakana* (COVID IS A STRANGE VISITOR), *COVID no musuku* (COVID IS AN ENEMY), *COVID ni bwononi*

(COVID IS A SPOILER), *COVID ne shiniamuliro* (COVID IS A TROUBLEMAKER) and *COVID no muchesi* (COVID IS A HARVESTER).

The findings observed that from these metaphors two types of mapping could be inferred thus rich mapping and lean mapping. As established by Ungerer (2006), rich mapping involves projecting specific concrete source concepts onto an abstract concept. On the other hand, lean mapping is where generic source concepts are projected onto an abstract concept. For instance, the present study revealed that the metaphor COVID IS A PERSON is generated from the generic source concept of an organism. However, the source concept is further construed specifically as a person whose attributes such as enmity are mapped to the abstract concept of COVID-19.

Kövecses (2010) argues that the analysis of conceptual metaphors contains the notion of metaphorical entailment which allows mapping of additional knowledge from the source onto the target. This means that the knowledge which is not coherent with the target concept is blocked through the invariance principle giving rise to the part that is highlighted and the part that is hidden. The findings in the present study deduced that other metaphors were generated from the source concepts onto which other target concepts were mapped. For instance, the source concept of a person who harvests provided additional knowledge of crops since that is what is harvested. The mapping of this knowledge to the target concept of COVID-19, implied that life is a crop that is 'harvested' by the pandemic hence the metaphor LIFE IS A CROP. Additionally, the findings established the metaphor ECONOMY IS A PERSON which was projected from the source concept of a person who spoils. COVID-19 was also conceptualized as A PERSON who had interfered with people's livelihoods by causing strife among couples due to difficult economic experiences hence the metaphor COVID IS A TROUBLEMAKER.

4.2.4.2 COVID is an Animal

The conceptual metaphor COVID IS AN ANIMAL was also created from the generic prototypical level of organism. However, we can differentiate various levels of generality based on a hierarchical relationship and the notion of class inclusion so that the organism is the superordinate and includes animals. In this view, animals can be further subdivided into mammals, birds and reptiles (Unger & Schmid, 2006). Furthermore, the basic level category members of reptiles can include snakes and lizards. On this basis, the findings inferred that people have varied experiences with animals depending on whether such animals are domestic or wild. For example, the findings revealed that monitor lizards were commonly found basking in bushes around riverbanks and could regularly disrupt cattle from drinking water (Wabito, S., Personal Communication, August 19,2021).

It was established that these reptiles were known to be so scary and stubborn that no amount of noise or scare would start them. The sources that informed this study revealed that in Lukabaras, a person's adamancy was therefore compared to a monitor lizard which social culturally was known not 'listen'. From these observations, the findings established that the attributes of the source domain, monitor lizard, were projected onto the target domain, COVID-19. The findings of the study established that this mapping did not generate multiple correspondences. It involved a generic source concept mapping onto an abstract concept. The generic source contributed knowledge that was predetermined by conceptual material that characterized the specific abstract target. As observed earlier, this was identified as lean mapping since the metaphor *COVID ne yimbulu* (COVID IS A MONITOR LIZARD) did not yield several metaphorical entailments.

The mapping of *COVID ne yimbulu* (COVID IS A MONITOR LIZARD) was presented as shown in Table 4.7.

Table 4.7: The Mappings of COVID IS AN ANIMAL

Target Domain (COVID-19)	Source Domain (AN ANIMAL)
COVID	A monitor lizard
COVID affects people’s livelihoods	A monitor lizard disrupts cattle from drinking water
COVID is unyielding	A monitor lizard is stubborn

The findings from the data in Table 4.7 revealed that the metaphor *COVID ne yimbulu* (COVID IS A MONITOR LIZARD) entailed the metaphor LIVELIHOOD IS A COW. From this metaphor, it is understood that just like COVID-19 apparently affected people’s livelihoods through restricted movements and gathering, a monitor lizard disrupts a cow from drinking water. More so, COVID-19 was seen to be unyielding despite the efforts to curb the spread. On the other hand, a monitor lizard is said to be stubborn even if it is scared. The findings observed that the metaphorical scope of the source domain monitor lizard was limited to the part that highlighted it as adamant. According to the invariance principle, all the parts that were not coherent with the target domain were restricted. The parts of the metaphor that were utilized in the source domain were therefore those that represented aspects of basic knowledge that is widely shared among Lukabaras speakers regarding a monitor lizard.

4.2.4.3 COVID is an Object

The common sources from which this study derived metaphors of COVID IS AN OBJECT included tools, insects, rock fragments, plants and heat. The specific aspects of knowledge from these sources were derived from objects such as weapon, hook, sting, cane, fire and pebble which were mapped onto the abstract target, COVID-19.

The parts of the source concepts that were utilized related to the people’s experiences with the items in their social cultural setting. The highlighted parts involved the aspects of the target concept that corresponded to the knowledge structure of the source concept. The findings therefore established mappings in metaphors such as *COVID ne shimanulwa* (COVID IS A WEAPON), *COVID ne yingaka* (COVID IS A HOOK), *COVID ni kwamachenga* (COVID IS A COAL FIRE), *COVID ne yimbaale* (COVID IS A PEBBLE), *COVID ne shiboko* (COVID IS A CANE) and *COVID no lubala* (COVID IS A STING) from the generic metaphor *COVID ne shindu* (COVID IS AN OBJECT) and presented them as displayed in Table 4.8.

Table 4.8: The Mappings of COVID IS AN OBJECT

Target Domain (COVID-19)	Source Domain (OBJECT)
COVID	An object
COVID causes bodily harm	A weapon injures a person
COVID causes pain to the affected	A sting is painful
COVID has injurious effects	A hot fire burns fiercely
COVID is difficult to control	A pebble is difficult to crash
COVID claims lives indiscriminately	A hook catches whatever it gets hold of

It was inferred from the data in Table 4.8 that the conceptualization of the target concept (COVID-19) as an OBJECT was realized through several mental constructions from various source concepts. It was revealed that this involved rich mapping because there was either a generic concept projecting onto an abstract concept or a specific concrete concept projecting onto an abstract concept. For example, COVID was generally conceptualized as an OBJECT. However, within the generic source concept there were several correspondences onto which the same target was mapped.

The findings established that these multiple mental constructions of the same target gave rise to other metaphorical entailments that were hidden in the source concept. It was observed that, for example, the metaphor *COVID ne shimanulwa* (COVID IS A WEAPON) only utilized the part in the source concept that highlighted the pain and harm caused by COVID-19 pandemic. The findings, however, revealed that the conceptualization of physical items that are used as weapons varies depending on where they are used. For instance, a person brandishing a sword is said to be holding a dangerous weapon hence the metaphor A WEAPON IS ENMITY. The study thus established that if COVID IS A WEAPON (*COVID ne shimanulwa*) then it is conceptualized as AN ENEMY as well. The findings observed that if a weapon is handled without intention to threaten peace instead used for purposes of protection, then the metaphor A WEAPON IS PROTECTION manifests. This part is hidden in the conceptualization of COVID IS A WEAPON because the pandemic was not understood as an object for protecting oneself.

4.2.4.4 COVID is an Event

The findings established that COVID-19 was also conceptualized as AN EVENT. The sources of knowledge for the metaphor *COVID no muyimo* (COVID IS AN EVENT) included politics and the clergy's interpretation of the end times. The findings therefore established two metaphors *COVID ne siasa* (COVID IS POLITICS) and *COVID ne sheli* (COVID IS DOOM). The mapping of this metaphors was projected from a generic concept to an abstract concept. The source domain of politics was motivated by the fact that many political activities and gatherings in the country were affected by the new COVID-19 regulations. As a result, it was observed that apparently COVID was being used as a reason to disadvantage others.

In view of this, it was revealed that any discourse among people was understood as politics if the reasons advanced for the denial of given services or privileges were construed as dishonest. In Kenya, political activities and gatherings are characterized by humour, propaganda and deceit so information coming from a political event is thus taken casually since it may have been conveyed to the advantage of the politicians (Chau,2021).

It was inferred that the mapping of doom to COVID-19 was attributed to the source concept of what was described ecclesiastically as the signs of the end times or a distressing event that would result in a great catastrophe. The study observed that according to the believes among worshippers of various religions, the end of times would be characterized by strange diseases, illnesses, pandemics, earthquakes and other natural disasters (Holy Bible, NKJV, Mat;24:7). The findings revealed that such happenings would come along with loss of lives and widespread or total destruction. COVID-19 was therefore conceptualized as one of the signs of the end times and a foreboding of doom to humanity. The mapping of *COVID no muyimo* (COVID as AN EVENT) was presented as shown in Table 4.9.

Table 4.9: The Mappings of COVID IS AN EVENT

Target Domain (COVID-19)	Source Domain (EVENT)
COVID	An event
COVID is a wave that is time bound	An event is temporal
COVID is quarantining the infected	Politics is playing tricks on people
COVID is a calamity	Doomsday is universal destruction

The findings established that COVID-19 occurred in waves and the experiences of loss resulting from this pandemic varied from time to time. As shown in the data in Table 4.9, COVID was conceptualized as an event that would occur at a given time and last for a short period and then recur later. The findings revealed that those who were put in isolation due to COVID-19 infections were cases that would later confirm that they had not initially contracted the virus (Chau,2021 pp 215). The findings revealed that it was believed government was playing tricks on the seriousness of the disease to achieve other goals. Such tricks were construed as playing politics through propaganda. On the other hand, the source concept of doomsday was mapped onto the calamitous nature of COVID-19 to construe the seriousness of the pandemic in the context of end times.

4.2.4.5 COVID is an Action

The findings established that from the generic metaphor *COVID ne shikholwa* (COVID IS AN ACTION), there were instantiations of metaphors such as *COVID no bulilo* (COVID IS A BAIT), *COVID ne shilikisa* (COVID IS A HICCUP), *COVID no busafi* (COVID IS HYGIENE) and *COVID ne wonyo khu bandu* (COVID IS A WARNING TO PEOPLE). It was inferred from these data that the mappings of the source concept to the target concept involved multiple correspondences in which the parts of the source concept that were utilized manifested through activities that portrayed the actual knowledge projected onto the target. For instance, the concept of hygiene is carried out through activities such as washing, cleaning and dusting. In this view, it was established that the fight against the spread of COVID-19 required one to observe certain levels of hygiene which included washing hands and sanitizing. Furthermore, adhering to the hygienic measures was a sure way of curbing the pandemic.

The mappings of *COVID ne shikholwa* (COVID IS AN ACTION) were therefore presented as shown in Table 4.10.

Table 4.10: The Mappings of COVID IS AN ACTION

Target Domain (COVID-19)	Source Domain (ACTION)
COVID	An action
COVID is used to attract aid	A bait is used to lure a catch
COVID is controllable despite the effects	A hiccup can persist but be contained
COVID is less infectious in clean conditions	A hygienic person is free from infections
COVID results in great losses which is a foreboding of doom	A warning is signaled through actions that are distressing

The findings revealed that COVID-19 was conceptualized as something that is done in order to attract some help from somewhere. As shown in the data in Table 4.10, the source knowledge about a bait is projected onto the target concept of COVID being used as a reason to attract aid. It was established that people believed that sending of COVID-19 infected cases in quarantine and isolation were activities meant to portray the need for aid in handling the swelling numbers of infections. Furthermore, it was inferred from the findings that the imposition of curfews and restricted movements as well as public gatherings, which were efforts in curbing the spread, affected economic activities therefore government had to seek for foreign aid. The findings established that among the Lukabaras whenever one went for fishing and no catch was forthcoming, they had to use a bait to lure the catch. In this perspective, the findings revealed that the concept of using a bait was projected onto the knowledge of using COVID-19 as a thing to appeal for financial assistance.

4.2.4.6 COVID is a Natural Occurrence

The findings established metaphors such as *COVID ni yamachina* (COVID IS HAILSTORM), *COVID no lweni* (COVID IS LIGHTNING), *COVID no lunyilili* (COVID IS A DRIZZLE), *COVID ne shimbulubusi* (COVID IS A WHIRLWIND), *COVID ne lifumbetsa* (COVID IS MIST) and *COVID no muyeka* (COVID IS A COLD) from the generic metaphor *COVID ne shikholwa sha Nyasaye* (COVID IS A NATURAL OCCURRENCE). It was observed that the source concept of natural occurrences denoted happenings that are beyond human control. The mappings in these metaphors were informed by the experiences that people in this sociocultural context go through. For instance, (Ngome, S., Personal Communication, August 20, 2021) observed that the geographical region in which the area of study is found is characterized by rain that is sometimes accompanied with hailstorms, thunder and lightning.

Furthermore, during the dry seasons between November and early February, there is usually whirlwinds particularly blowing from the Eastern part of Kakamega North towards the west. On the other hand, during rainy seasons there is mist and occasionally there are drizzles causing a cold weather. It was observed that despite all these natural occurrences being beyond the control of man, they were perceived as ordinary experiences whose effects would not hinder the daily activities. The correspondences in the metaphor *COVID ne shikholwa sha Nyasaye* (COVID IS A NATURAL OCCURRENCE) was presented as shown in Table 4.11.

Table 4.11: The Mappings of COVID IS A NATURAL OCCURRENCE

Target Domain (COVID-19)	Source Domain (NATURAL OCCURRENCE)
COVID	A natural occurrence
COVID kills	Lightning strikes and can kill.
COVID destructs the economy	A whirlwind destructs movement and destroy structures
COVID dashes hopes of a future	Mist obscures vision
COVID causes distress	A drizzle drenches

Table 4.11 presents data for the mappings of COVID-19 as A NATURAL OCCURRENCE. It was revealed that there was rich mapping since the correspondences in the knowledge structures involved both generic concepts and specific concepts projecting onto an abstract concept. The concept of a natural occurrence is mapped onto an abstract concept (COVID-19) to imply that people perceived the pandemic as something that was beyond human control. However, in the mental constructions of the abstract concept several other specific mappings are framed to manifest the experiences in the source concept. For example, the effects of COVID such as loss of lives is projected from the natural occurrence of lightning which when it strikes it can kill. From this example, other metaphorical entailments such as *COVID no mundu* (COVID IS A PERSON) were manifested. It was observed that if *COVID no lweni* (COVID IS LIGHTNING) and lightning kills then *COVID no mwiri* (COVID IS A KILLER). However, the study inferred that the notion of killing in the abstract concept is not highlighted as ordinary but as a result of a natural occurrence which is the COVID-19 pandemic.

4.2.4.7 COVID is a State or Condition

It was established that COVID-19 was also understood as a condition or set of circumstances that were prevailing at that time. As such the source concept of a state or condition yielded metaphors like *COVID ne shibela* (COVID IS GRIEF), *COVID no butakha* (COVID IS POVERTY), *COVID ne yinzala* (COVID IS HUNGER), *COVID ne liminikha lie tsinganakani* (COVID IS STRESS), *COVID na mangayimwe* (COVID IS A DIFFICULT SITUATION and *COVID ne shinyasio* (COVID IS CONDEMNATION). The findings established that the examples of metaphors that were generated from the generic source of conditions were abstract concepts like poverty, hunger and stress.

Therefore, it was inferred that the mapping of these metaphors involved lean mapping in which generic concepts from the source were projected onto the abstract concept. The was presented in Table 4.12.

Table 4.12: The Mappings of COVID IS A STATE

Target Domain (COVID-19)	Source Domain (STATE)
COVID	A state or condition
COVID affects availability of basic needs and services	Poverty is a state of need.
COVID affects the economy	Hunger is extreme lack of food
COVID causes loss of lives	Death is grief

It was observed that the experiences people went through whenever there was loss of life due to COVID-19 were extremely saddening. The findings revealed that such moments were full of grief and those who were bereaved had to go through it without the presence of some of their close friends and relatives because of the COVID-19 measures. As seen in the data in Table 4.12 above, COVID was conceptualized as a state of grief.

The findings established that the projection of the grievous condition in the source concept to COVID-19 was attributed to the fact COVID-19 funerals and burials were restricted to a small number of mourners and the time of attendance shortened. This situation left a greater feeling of loss since the bereaved were not consoled as it were in normal situations. The study observed that such a state was metaphorically expressed as *COVID ne shibela* (COVID IS GRIEF).

The findings also established that during the COVID-19 times, the economy was affected, and people lost their means of livelihood. There was sheer struggle by those who lost jobs to meet their basic needs and the times were difficult (Chau,2021). The imposing of curfews and restriction of movement affected availability of some services especially in the hotel and transport industry (MOH, 2020).

The lack of basic needs and services was conceptualized as a state of poverty. Since this was occasioned by the effects of the COVID-19 pandemic, the peoples' experiences of the situation were projected onto the pandemic. As such this was metaphorically expressed as *COVID no butakha* (COVID IS POVERTY). Furthermore, due to the ban on social gatherings which included the closure of all public market places, there was scarcity of some food items such as beans and maize. This was perceived as a state of hunger because the supply of essential needs from potential parts of the country was hindered due to the COVID-19 pandemic. It was inferred that from such experiences COVID was conceptualized as HUNGER.

4.2.5 Classification of COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras

Various scholars have advanced different ways of classifying metaphors. As observed in the literature review, conceptual metaphors can be classified on the basis of their cognitive function, bodily function or based on the nature of the source domain (Deignon 1997; Kövecses 2010 and Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez 2000). The present study sought to identify and classify the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.

The findings established the following seven generic metaphors; *COVID no mundu* (COVID IS A PERSON), *COVID no munyama* (COVID IS AN ANIMAL), *COVID ne shindu* (COVID IS AN OBJECT), *COVID no muyimo* (COVID IS AN EVENT), *COVID ne shikholwa* (COVID IS AN ACTION), *COVID ne shikholwa sha Nyasaye* (COVID IS A NATURAL OCCURRENCE and *COVID ne liiba* (COVID IS A STATE or CONDITION). However, on the basis of the cognitive function, it was revealed that the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras could be classified as structural and ontological metaphors. According to Kövecses (2010), structural metaphors project the source knowledge structures onto the knowledge structure of the target.

The present study inferred that in Lukabaras, the abstract target concept COVID-19 was understood through mappings from coherent source concepts. However, as observed by Kövecses the basis of this structural metaphors is the ontological mapping between the source domain and the target domain. For instance, in the metaphor *COVID no mundu* (COVID IS A PERSON) the study observed that the attributes of the concrete source knowledge structure of a person are mapped onto the incorporeal target concept, COVID-19. The mapping of the correspondences is systematic such that it is not just any kind of material that is transferred from the person but what is widely agreed upon in the context of Lukabaras.

Hence, for the metaphor *COVID no mundu* (COVID IS A PERSON), the strangeness in the visitor (person) is mapped onto an abstract concept, COVID-19. In this perspective, it was established that all the identified metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras could be classified as structural or ontological metaphors.

The findings also classified the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras according to the nature of the source domain. According to Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Hernández (2011), metaphors classified on the basis of the source domain can be divided into structural or non-structural metaphors. The findings established that the structural metaphors in this classification involved several attributes in the source domain which corresponded to the knowledge structure in the target domain. On the other hand, the non-structural metaphors were those whose source domains highlighted a single attribute that was projected onto the abstract concept. For instance, it was observed that the metaphor *COVID ne shikholwa sha Nyasaye* (COVID IS A NATURAL OCCURRENCE) contained several entities such as wind, lightning, storm, and mist.

Thus, it was inferred that it is these attributes in the source domain that were used to perceive and talk about COVID-19 based on the aspects in the source knowledge that corresponded to the target. It was observed that the metaphor *COVID no munyama* (COVID IS AN ANIMAL) was non-structural because only one attribute of the source domain, monitor lizard was highlighted and projected onto the target domain.

As much as this study earlier on, using MIP, identified the metaphors for COVID-19 in Lukabaras as direct MRW and Possible Personification, the data revealed that there was need for a further classification since the correspondences in a metaphor imply that it is a mapping system whose nature has to be understood (Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez & Hernández ,2011).

The findings, therefore, established that on the basis of the cognitive functions and the nature of the source domain, metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras could basically be classified as structural and non-structural metaphors. The distribution of the metaphors as classified under each of the divisions was as presented in Figure 4.3.

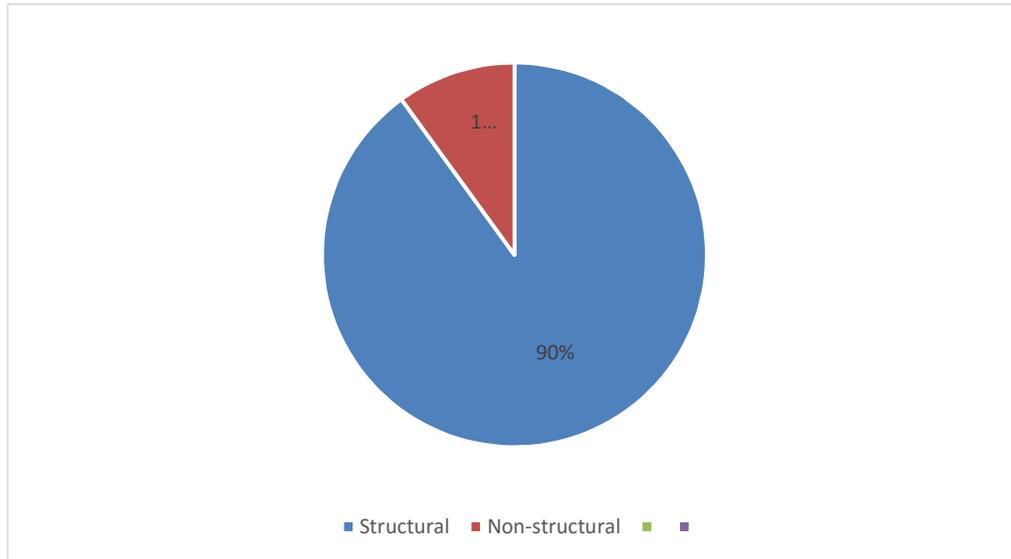


Figure 4. 3: Classification of COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras

Figure 4.3 shows the classification of COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabaras into two classes as structural and non-structural metaphors. The findings established that out of the seven generic metaphors, the structural metaphors included *COVID no mundu* (COVID IS A PERSON), *COVID ne shindu* (COVID IS AN OBJECT), *COVID ne shikholwa* (COVID IS AN ACTION), *COVID ne shikholwa sha Nyasaye* (COVID IS A NATURAL OCCURRENCE) and *COVID ne liiba* (COVID IS A STATE or CONDITION) whereas the non-structural metaphors included *COVID no munyama* (COVID IS AN ANIMAL) and *COVID no muyimo* (COVID IS AN EVENT).

The distribution of the metaphors indicated that there were more structural metaphors representing 90% while non-structural metaphors were representing 10% of the collected data. The findings of the study observed that the classification was largely informed by the nature of the source domain since the conceptual metaphors collected for this study were culture specific and therefore their metaphorical meaning focus was limited to what was agreed upon and understood in Lukabaras.

4.3 Vital Relations and Conceptual Metaphors

The second objective sought to determine the extent to which vital relations accounted for the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras. The principle of vital relations is one of the components of Conceptual Integration Theory (CIT) (Fauconnier and Turner, 2002). According to CIT, vital relations are multiple connections that exist in mental spaces and connect various entities within the mental spaces. As such some of the common vital relations that are used to describe conceptual integrations in mental constructions include; Analogy, Disanalogy, Cause-Effect, Part-Whole, Similarity, Category, Intentionality, Uniqueness and Representation. Previous studies such as Gathigia (2014) and Anudo (2018) applied the principles of CIT and revealed that it is not all the examples of vital relations that can be present in understanding metaphors. Those that were not manifested in the metaphors included Change, Role, Time, Space and Property vital relations. The present study examined which of the vital relations were evident in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras. Therefore, the vital relations of Analogy, Disanalogy, Uniqueness, Part-whole, Similarity and Cause-effect were identified and the study examined how they accounted for the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.

4.3.1 Vital Relations in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas

The present study described the vital relations in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas on the basis of the already identified categories of the generic level metaphors. As indicated earlier, the common source domains that formed the basic experiences from which the conceptual metaphors were generated included organisms, objects, events, actions, natural occurrences and states. The findings established that from these basic experiences, COVID-19 in Lukabararas was metaphorically conceptualized as a person, an animal, an object, an event, an action, a natural occurrence and a state or condition. Since the concept of vital relations is one of the processes that connected the input spaces in the mapping of these metaphors, the present study examined and classified the evident vital relations in metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas as presented in Table 4.13.

Table 4.13: Vital Relations in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas

No.	Conceptual Metaphor	Vital Relations
1.	COVID IS A PERSON	Analogy
2.	COVID IS AN ANIMAL	Analogy
3.	COVID IS AN OBJECT	Analogy
4.	COVID IS AN EVENT	Similarity
5.	COVID IS AN ACTION	Cause-effect
6.	COVID IS A NATURAL OCCURRENCE	Uniqueness
7.	COVID IS A STATE	Category

As shown in the data in Table 4.13, the findings revealed that the vital relations which were evident in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas included: Analogy, Disanalogy, Cause-effect, Uniqueness and Category. However, according to Fauconnier and Turner (2002) the vital relations can be scaled into sub types through compression. For instance, Analogy can be compressed to positive analogy or negative analogy and on the same hierarchy with analogy is vital relation of disanalogy.

The present study thus utilized the CIT to explain the cognitive processes through which these vital relations manifested in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras and further described the interrelatedness of the vital relations.

4.3.1.1 The Analogy Vital Relation

Bowdle and Gentner (2005) describe an analogy as a mapping between two represented situations in which common relation structure is aligned. It is therefore a form of alignment between structures where we think of one thing as the other. Bowdle and Gentner (ibid) further argue that an alignment consists of an explicit set of correspondences between the representational elements of the two situations with an emphasis on relational matches. The relationship can be applied to most relevant elements or there can be a relationship between the target and source domains.

There has to be structural consistency based on one-to one correspondence between the mapped elements in the source and target domains. As such, people do not just import random facts from the source to the target but project inferences that complete the common system of relations. Since not all metaphors are analogies, Bowdle and Gentner (2005) argue that they range from purely relational comparisons to purely attributional comparisons. The findings in the present study inferred the manifestation of analogy as a vital relation in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras such as *COVID no mundu* (COVID IS A PERSON), *COVID no munyama* (COVID IS AN ANIMAL) and *COVID ne shindu* (COVID IS AN OBJECT). This was presented as shown in the linguistic data in Table 4.14.

Table 4.14: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras Based on Analogy

No.	Lukabaras	Gloss
1.	<i>COVID no musuku</i>	COVID is an enemy
2.	<i>COVID no mucheni wamakana</i>	COVID is a strange visitor
3.	<i>COVID no muchesi</i>	COVID is a harvester
4.	<i>COVID ne shiniamuliro</i>	COVID is a troublemaker
5.	<i>COVID ni bwononi</i>	COVID is a spoiler
6.	<i>COVID ne yimbulu</i>	COVID is a monitor lizard
7.	<i>COVID ni kwamachenga</i>	COVID is coal fire
8.	<i>COVID ne yimbaale</i>	COVID is a pebble
9.	<i>COVID ne yingaka</i>	COVID is a hook
10.	<i>COVID ne shimanulwa</i>	COVID is a weapon
11.	<i>COVID no lubala</i>	COVID is a sting

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

As shown in the data in Table 4.14 , the findings revealed manifestation of analogy in metaphors such as (*COVID no musuku*) COVID is an ENEMY, (*COVID no omucheni wamakana*) COVID is a STRANGE VISITOR, (*COVID no muchesi*) COVID is a HARVESTER, (*COVID ne shiniamuliro*) COVID is a TROUBLEMAKER, (*COVID ni bwononi*) COVID is a SPOILER, (*COVID ne yimbulu*) COVID is a MONITOR LIZARD, (*COVID ni kwamachenga*) COVID is COAL FIRE, (*COVID ne yimbaale*) COVID is a PEBBLE, (*COVID ne yingaka*) COVID is a HOOK, (*COVID ne shimanulwa*) COVID is a WEAPON and (*COVID no lubala*) COVID is a STING. It was observed that the analogy in the metaphors was based on the tangibility of the elements and whether the perceptual experience in the source domains was positive or negative. It was further deduced from the findings that all the metaphors that were analogous derived from concrete elements such as person, animal and object.

Furthermore, the relational or attributional comparisons between source elements and COVID-19 were motivated by negativity. For instance, the analogy drawn between the target (COVID-19) and the source ‘an enemy’ highlights the fact that a person who is an enemy is usually perceived negatively. The pandemic was thus conceptualized as it were for a person whose presence posed insecurity or danger. In the analogical projection, the source domain is mapped onto the target so that only those features that are easily available in the source are exported to the target. Moreover, the metaphor in example 11 in Table 4.14, (*COVID no lubala*) COVID is a sting, conceptualized the pain that comes with a bee sting. Whereas bees are known to make honey which is sweet, they are also very dangerous and their sting is very painful. The analogy of the sting did not include other features associated with bees such as honey making. The findings of the study thus observed that COVID-19 was compared specifically to the sting to explain the harrowing experiences that people went through when they were infected. This was therefore a negative attribution of the object to which the pandemic was compared.

The ontological nature of the Analogous metaphors whereby we explain our understanding of an abstract concept such as COVID-19 in terms of physical objects reemphasizes the fact that it is not all the aspects of the target domain that are usually compatible with those in the source domain because conceptual metaphors involve many spaces and many mappings. For instance, in example 10, COVID-19 is conceptualized as a WEAPON (*COVID ne shimanulwa*). However, in the domain of illnesses not all pandemics are perceived as weapons neither are all objects comprehended as weapons. The findings thus observed that COVID-19 was projected first onto an object that is used to harm another person.

The mapping in the outer spaces therefore involved parallel aspects that were comparable and further compressed in the blend through conceptual integration networks to produce a structure that was cognitively easy to understand the pandemic in Lukabaras as similar to any one of the available objects one can use to attack.

4.3.1.1.1 Compression of the Analogy Vital Relation

Compression over vital relations is one of the central notions through which we gain insight and understanding of phenomena (Fauconnier & Turner,2002). The source domains characteristically carry a lot of information about a given element. For instance, a person has various attributional and relational features and we perceive the person in relation to those features. In this view, when the features of a known entity such as a person are projected to an unknown entity such as COVID-19, it is assumed that the conceptual complexity of the elements mapped in the outer space relations undergo compression in order to form a structure that is cognitively manageable in the inner space.

Compression therefore presumes that vital relations can be scaled into sub categories through cognitive operations that yield compressed forms. As such, the present study revealed that Analogy as a vital relation could be scaled to identity, part-whole and uniqueness vital relations. For instance, it was observed that whereas the conceptualization of COVID-19 was analogous to a person. The findings observed that we could further connect mental spaces in which the person is perceived with relations of identity such as stranger, enemy, spoiler, troubleshooter and harvester. Despite the noticeable differences in the framing of the same entity, the findings of the study revealed that these identity connections related further to other vital relations such as part-whole and uniqueness. The identities were observed to link specific attributes of the source domain (person) to the target domain (COVID-19).

Through the principles of CIT, it was inferred that we could construct a network mapping the person to the character that seemed to be the most observable attribute or relation. In this case the study deduced that the enemy identity was projected from the whole person and became uniqueness in the inner mental space. The linguistic data in Table 4.15 presents instantiations of analogical metaphors of COVID-19 that were scaled to the Part-Whole, Identity and Uniqueness vital relations

Table 4.15: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabararas Based on Part-Whole, Identity and Uniqueness

No.	Lukabararas	Gloss
1.	<i>COVID no omucheni wamakana</i>	COVID is a strange visitor
2.	<i>COVID no musuku</i>	COVID is an enemy
3.	<i>COVID no muchesi</i>	COVID is a harvester
4.	<i>COVID ne shiniamuliro</i>	COVID is a troublemaker
5.	<i>COVID ni bwononi</i>	COVID is a spoiler
6.	<i>COVID no lubala</i>	COVID is a sting

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

The findings established that the manifestation of the metaphors shown in Table 4.15 as the most noticeable elements that were mapped from the generic mental space conceptualized through a person showed the relatedness of vital relations in mental spaces. For instance, the metaphor (*COVID no muchesi*) COVID is a HARVESTER is conceptualized through four mental spaces which include the input spaces, the generic space and the inner space. According to CIT, the cognitive operations in the mental spaces are connected through multiple cross space mappings based on the notion of vital relations. The findings inferred that in example 3 of the data in Table 4.15, the mapping of COVID-19 occurred from input space 1 and projected onto input space 2 through the vital relation of Analogy. Since the most available element of perceiving COVID-19 in the source domain was a person, this was compressed from the outer spaces to other related notions in the inner space.

As such, the Analogy in the conceptualization of COVID-19 as a PERSON was related to Part-Whole vital relation in which the most specific attribute of the person (harvester) was projected to the target (COVID-19). The person as a whole was thus seen to be identified by various features which were separately related to the target (COVID-19). The findings further observed that each of the identities became a uniqueness because the role value of the various features of the person construed different conceptualizations of the same target (COVID-19). For instance, the metaphor (*COVID no omucheni wamakana*) COVID is a STRANGE VISITOR, compared the manner in which the disease came. That in the first place such a pandemic was novel. However, unlike a visitor who may be expected to behave well, the pandemic came along with a lot of problems. In this view, if it were a visitor then such a visitor was indeed strange.

On the other hand, the metaphor in example 3 in Table 4.15 (*COVID no muchesi*) COVID is a HARVESTER, conceptualized a particular action carried out by the person. A harvester would get on to the farm and harvest all the crops once their maturity is due. The notion of harvesting in relation to COVID-19 depicted a pandemic that was claiming lives. It was observed that the most vulnerable were people above 60 years. The role of a person harvesting had no relations with the same person being a strange visitor since the conceptualization of (*COVID no omucheni wamakana*) COVID is a STRANGE VISITOR did not necessarily include such a visitor claiming lives instead one who would cause disruption in the ordinary way of people's lives.

4.3.1.2 The Disanalogy Vital Relation

Fauconnier and Turner (2002) argue that the Disanalogy vital relation is closely related to Analogy. However, whereas Analogy shows a relationship of resemblance between two people, situations or objects when used as a basis of explanation, Disanalogy is basically based on the differences in the input spaces. According to Fauconnier and Turner (2002) Analogy and Disanalogy work together because when explaining the presence of analogous elements like it was observed in the present study, the elements of comparison in the mental spaces are based on negativity. In this view, Analogy vital relation applied on the parallels between the mental spaces while on the other hand, Disanalogy was used to bring out the fact that the sources and the target were completely two different things which manifested instances of incompatibility.

Nevertheless, through compression in the input spaces the negative interrelations formed the basis of explaining the conceptualization of the novel pandemic (COVID-19). The findings in the present study inferred that there were instances in which the conceptualization of COVID-19 in Lukabaras was manifested through metaphors that projected the Disanalogy vital relation. It was observed that this happened because COVID-19 as an abstract and new phenomenon was quite different from what it was compared to in Lukabaras. Such incongruous comparison was disanalogous. The findings presented the following metaphors in Table 4.16 as instances of Disanalogy.

Table 4.16: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabararas Based on Disanalogy

No.	Lukabararas	Gloss
1.	<i>COVID ne shilikisa</i>	COVID is a hiccup
2.	<i>COVID ne liminikha lie tsinganakani</i>	COVID is stress
3.	<i>COVID no busafi</i>	COVID is hygiene
4.	<i>COVID no butakha</i>	COVID is poverty
5.	<i>COVID ne yinzala</i>	COVID is hunger
6.	<i>COVID na mangayimwe</i>	COVID is a difficult situation
7.	<i>COVID ne lifumbetsa</i>	COVID is mist
8.	<i>COVID ne shibela</i>	COVID is grief
9.	<i>COVID no muyeka</i>	COVID is a cold
10.	<i>COVID ne siasa</i>	COVID is politics
11.	<i>COVID ne shinyasio</i>	COVID is condemnation
12.	<i>COVID ne wonyo khu bandu</i>	COVID is a warning to people
13.	<i>COVID ne sheli</i>	COVID is doom
14.	<i>COVID ne shiboye</i>	COVID is imprisonment

Source: *Fieldwork (2021)*

The findings inferred from the linguistic data in Table 4.16 that there was a noticeable discrepancy between the aspects of the source on to which the target, COVID-19 was projected. This was manifested in examples such as (*COVID ne shilikisa*) COVID is a HICCUP, (*COVID ne liminikha lie tsinganakani*) COVID is STRESS, (*COVID no busafi*) COVID is HYGIENE, (*COVID no butakha*) COVID is POVERTY, (*COVID ne yinzala*) COVID is HUNGER, (*COVID na mangayimwe*) COVID is A DIFFICULT SITUATION, (*COVID ne lifumbetsa*) COVID is MIST, (*COVID ne shibela*) COVID is GRIEF, (*COVID no muyeka*) COVID is a COLD, (*COVID ne siasa*) COVID is POLITICS, (*COVID ne shinyasio*) COVID is CONDEMNATION, (*COVID ne wonyo khu bandu*) COVID is a WARNING TO PEOPLE, (*COVID ne sheli*) COVID is DOOM and (*COVID ne shiboye*) COVID is IMPRISONMENT. The findings observed that, for instance, in example 1 in Table 4.16, (*COVID ne shilikisa*) COVID is a HICCUP that the surface matches in the mapping of the input spaces were not coherent.

It was revealed that the metaphorical correspondences in this instantiation invoked lean mapping in which the most available aspects of comparison are restricted and as such the explanation of the relational comparison applied disanalogy. The source element, hiccup construes an involuntary action that is discomforting and thus negative. However, unlike Analogy in which there are parallel structures of equivalence in the input spaces, there was no one on one correspondence between hiccup and COVID-19. Similarly, the findings further revealed that in example 10, for instance, COVID-19 was conceptualized as POLITICS (*COVID ne siasa*) in which there was a complete difference in the perceptual relations between COVID-19 and politics.

As observed earlier, there were no parallel aspects of comparison in the two input spaces due to limited metaphorical correspondences in the mapping. However, through the principles of CIT, the findings deduced that since blends arise in the networks of the input spaces to develop an emergent structure that is not in the input spaces, there was a connection between the target domain and the source domain that utilized the available generic concrete experiences about politics and projected them onto the specific abstract idea of COVID-19.

The findings revealed that the manifestation of metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras through Disanalogy as a vital relation largely depended on the nature of the source domains. In this perspective, the findings observed that the instantiations of Disanalogy in the metaphors of COVID-19 involved negative non-tangible source elements such as hiccup, stress, hygiene, poverty, hunger, mist, grief, cold, politics, warning, imprisonment and banishment which were derived from generic categories including states/conditions, natural occurrences and events.

According to Grady (2000) and Kövecses (2002) a set of sources can be mapped onto the same target but the metaphorical meaning of the conceptual product is shaped by only those features of the target that are relevant for cognitive and communicative purpose. In this case the background knowledge about the target and the source that is not engaged immediately can be inferred. Such inferences are called metaphorical entailments and are made available through cognitive operations in the mental spaces which give rise to a conceptual metaphor in the inner space. The findings, therefore, observed that although the sources onto which Disanalogy applied as a vital relation were non-tangible and invariant with the target (COVID-19), the plausible explanation for their relational relevance to the target was culture specific.

The findings inferred, for instance, that during the pandemic there were COVID-19 related deaths which caused a lot of grief. However, the concrete experiences at the time of grief were as varied as the cultures in which the COVID-19 deaths occurred. The metaphorical conceptualization of COVID-19 as GRIEF (*COVID ne shibela*) in Lukabaras was motivated by a cultural evaluation of how funerals are conducted. In view of this, the available knowledge that was projected onto COVID-19 was based on the aspects of mourning that were infringed. The findings established that this included a restricted number of people that attended the funeral, the amount of time (15 minutes) that was allocated to conduct the funeral and observing of unusual containment measures such as handwashing, wearing masks and keeping social distance (MOH,2020). The findings further inferred that funeral in the cultural context of Lukabaras is an elaborate event. The bereaved feel much comforted when the departed is mourned by many people. However, it is more grievous when the bereaved are left on their own to bury a loved one.

Anudo (2018) and Gathigia (2014) established that there is a relationship between metaphors that are perceived as negatively analogous and the Disanalogy vital relation. This argument is corroborated by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) who posit that Analogy is the most pervasive vital relation and Disanalogy is grounded on Analogy. Furthermore, Fauconnier and Turner (ibid) established that Disanalogy works at the same level of hierarchy with Analogy. The findings of the present study were similar to Gathigia (2014) and Anudo (2018), however, it was revealed that the Disanalogy vital relation was more prevalent than the Analogous associations in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabarar. The findings established that out of 25 metaphors based on Analogy/Disanalogy, there were 11 metaphors with analogous associations representing 44% and 14 metaphors based on Disanalogy representing 56%. These findings were presented as shown in Figure 4.4.

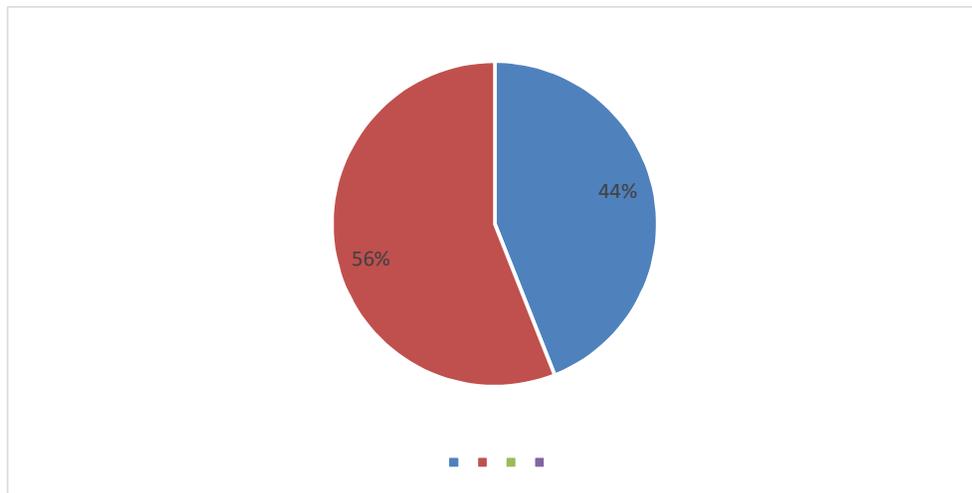


Figure 4.4: Prevalence of Analogy/ Disanalogy vital relation

As shown in Figure 4.4, the findings established that the most available knowledge in the concrete experiences of COVID-19 in Lukabarar was exhibited through Disanalogy.

The findings inferred that while the Analogous elements were based on bodily experiences, Disanalogy was conceptualized in basic correlations and culture-specific evaluations of common sources such as states/conditions, natural occurrences and events. The Analogy vital relation involved rich mapping in which specific concrete sources (person, animal, object) were projected onto an abstract target (COVID-19).

On the other hand, Disanalogy was manifested through lean mapping in which generic concepts such as states and natural occurrences were mapped onto the abstract concept (COVID-19). However, due to the invariance principle, not all the metaphorical entailments of the Disanalogous associations in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras were utilized. The findings inferred that, for instance, the metaphor *COVID no busafi* (COVID is HYGIENE) was based on the disanalogy that only utilized the aspects of the source which when flouted there would be dire consequences. This implies that there were other potential entailments of the same metaphor such as CLEAN is GOOD, CLEAN is SAFE, DIRT is DANGEROUS or DIRT is BAD. The findings deduced that from these examples, it is the experiential focus of a given source that determines the metaphorical scope and entailments in comprehending any conceptual product.

4.3.1.3 The Cause-Effect Vital Relation

According to Fauconnier and Turner (2002) the Cause-Effect vital relation is about the relationship that connects between two mental spaces and concerns what exists in one input space and what causes it in another input space. This means that the Cause exists for instance in input space 1 whereas the Effect is in input space 2. The relationship is thus one of causality. The processes of conceptual integration usually identify input space 1 with the source domain while input space 2 with the target domain.

The findings in the present study established several elements in the source domain which were projected onto a single element in the target domain (COVID-19). In this view, the findings established that the Cause-Effect vital relation in metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras was exhibited as illustrated in the following examples presented in Table 4.17.

Table 4.17: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras Based on Cause-Effect

No.	Lukabaras	Gloss
1.	<i>COVID no lweni</i>	COVID is lightning
2.	<i>COVID ne shimbulubusi</i>	COVID is a whirlwind
3.	<i>COVID no lunyiili</i>	COVID is a drizzle
4.	<i>COVID ni kwamachenga</i>	COVID is coal fire
5.	<i>COVID ne shilikisa</i>	COVID is a hiccup
6.	<i>COVID ne liminikha lie tsinganakani</i>	COVID is stress
7.	<i>COVID ni yamachina</i>	COVID is a hailstorm
8.	<i>COVID ne lifumbetsa</i>	COVID is mist
9.	<i>COVID no lubala</i>	COVID is a sting
10.	<i>COVID ne shiboye</i>	COVID is imprisonment

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

The findings revealed as presented in the data in Table 4.17 that Cause-Effect vital relation was exhibited in metaphors such as (*COVID no lweni*) COVID is LIGHTNING, (*COVID ne shimbulubusi*), COVID is a WHIRLWIND, (*COVID no lunyiili*) COVID is a DRIZZLE, (*COVID ni kwamachenga*) COVID is COAL FIRE, (*COVID ne shilikisa*) COVID is a HICCUP, (*COVID ne liminikha lie tsinganakani*) COVID is STRESS, (*COVID ni yamachina*) COVID is a HAILSTORM, (*COVID ne lifumbetsa*) COVID is MIST, (*COVID no lubala*) COVID is a STING and (*COVID ne shiboye*) COVID is IMPRISONMENT. It was observed that all the elements in the source domain showed a relationship of consequence when projected to the target COVID-19.

For instance, the metaphor in example 1 in Table 4.17, (*COVID no lweni*) COVID is LIGHTNING, had the source element as lightning. In this conceptual metaphor, lightning is known to strike and can kill in some cases. The flash is also usually scary and can cause panic whenever the lightning strikes. The connection of this element to COVID-19 implied the effects that the pandemic caused. Such effects in relation to lightning included death, anxiety, worry and panic. In the cultural setting of Lukabaras, rains that are accompanied by flashes of lightning are always deemed scary. Therefore, it was observed that the Cause-Effect vital relation was central in explaining the conceptualization of COVID-19 through metaphor. For this reason, it was inferred that the explanation of many of the effects that were associated with the source elements in the Cause-Effect vital relation were culture specific. This was because experiences of things such as lightning are not perceived in the same way in all parts of Kenya. In this view, areas that do not have frequent rains accompanied with thunder and lightning have a different perceptual experience of this phenomena.

4.3.1.4 The Similarity Vital Relation

Gathigia (2014) observes that the similarity vital relation is exhibited through the use of Mflags such as the word (like) or the word (resembles) which explicitly signals the presence of a metaphorical use. Additionally, Gathigia (ibid) notes that the copula (is) is also used to link the target domain and the source elements and in discerning a metaphor, one is encouraged to draw comparisons between the properties of the elements in the input spaces. The present study presented instantiations of Similarity vital relation in metaphors of COVID-19 as shown in Table 4.18.

Table 4.18: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabararas Based on Similarity

No.	Lukabararas	Gloss
1.	<i>COVID ni khuli olweni</i>	COVID is like lightning
2.	<i>COVID ni khuli shimbulubusi</i>	COVID is like a whirlwind
3.	<i>COVID ni khuli omucheni wamakana</i>	COVID is like a strange visitor
4.	<i>COVID ni khuli omusuku</i>	COVID is like an enemy
5.	<i>COVID ni khuli omwononi</i>	COVID is like a spoiler
6.	<i>COVID ni khuli olubala</i>	COVID is like a sting
7.	<i>COVID ni khuli eshiniamuliro</i>	COVID is like a troublemaker
8.	<i>COVID ni khuli omuchesi</i>	COVID is like a harvester
9.	<i>COVID ni khuli shiboye</i>	COVID is like imprisonment
10.	<i>COVID ni khuli obusafi</i>	COVID is like hygiene

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

The data, as illustrated in Table 4.18, revealed that the Similarity vital relation was evident in metaphors such as (*COVID ni khuli olweni*) COVID is like LIGHTNING, (*COVID ni khuli eshimbulubusi*) COVID is like a whirlwind, (*COVID ni khuli omucheni wamakana*) COVID is like a STRANGE VISITOR , (*COVID ni khuli omusuku*) COVID is like an ENEMY, (*COVID ni khuli omwononi*) COVID is like a SPOILER, (*COVID ni khuli olubala*) COVID is like a sting, (*COVID ni khuli eshiniamuliro*) COVID is like a troubleshooter, (*COVID ni khuli omuchesi*) COVID is like a HARVESTER , (*COVID ni khuli eshiboye*) COVID is IMPRISONMENT and (*COVID ni khuli obusafi*) COVID is like HYGIENE.

The findings revealed that the most explicit properties of comparison were generated from sources in natural occurrences like lightening and whirlwind, from organisms such as person and animal and from states and conditions. It was deduced that from these sources, the most available properties of similarity were exhibited from the metaphor COVID is like a person (*COVID ni khuli omundu*). The Mflag ‘**ni khuli**’ which means ‘is like’ was used to connect the aspects of similarity in the source domain and the target COVID-19.

For instance, in the metaphor (*COVID ni khuli omusuku*) COVID is like an ENEMY, the source implies that an enemy is a person who is a danger or threat to others. This is directly connected to the pandemic whose coming threatened lives and posed a danger to the social economic endeavors of people. In this view, COVID-19 was conceptualized as a PERSON but in particular one who was likened to an enemy. The findings inferred that through integration networks as explained in CIT, the aspects of comparison in input space 1 were projected onto the target (COVID-19) in input space 2 which was characteristically associated with things like handwashing, sanitization, masking hence the metaphor (*COVID ni khuli obusafi*) COVID is like HYGIENE and social distancing, curfews, quarantine hence the metaphor, (*COVID ni khuli eshiboye*) COVID is like IMPRISONMENT.

4.4 Image Schemas

The third objective sought to describe the role of image schemas in the metaphorical conceptualization of COVID-19 in Lukabararas. According to Kuhn et al. (2007) image schemas are structured mental representations that appear significantly through bodily experiences to enable us to conceptualize a variety of cognitive domains. Scholars such as Anudo (2018), however, argue that the representation of image schemas differs culturally from one language to another. In view of this, the most basic image schemas that are manifested in human experiences include CONTAINMENT, PATH and FORCE. For the present study, there was need to account for the role of image schemas that emerged from the metaphors of COVID-19 and describe their patterns based on culture-specific evaluations in the context of how Lukabararas speakers framed the pandemic.

4.4.1 Image Schemas in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras

The findings of the present study revealed that image schemas were one of the aspects that manifested in the metaphorical scope of the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras. It was established that some of the image schemas derived from metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras included; CONTAINER, PATH, FORCE, PART-WHOLE and OBJECT. The present study relied on the classification adopted in Gathigia (2014) which investigated image schemas of metaphors of love in Gikuyu and provided an account of basic image schemas such as CONTAINER, PATH, FORCE and OBJECT except PART-WHOLE which was investigated as a subsidiary image schema. Table 4.19 is a summative presentation of the image schemas that were identified in COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabaras.

Table 4.19: Image Schemas in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabarás

Image Schema	Metaphor in Lukabarás	Gloss
CONTAINER	<i>COVID no lunyilili</i>	COVID is a drizzle
	<i>COVID no busafi</i>	COVID is hygiene
	<i>COVID ne siasa</i>	COVID is politics
	<i>COVID ne shinyasio</i>	COVID is condemnation
	<i>COVID ne shiboko</i>	COVID is wrath
	<i>COVID ne shibela</i>	COVID is grief
	<i>COVID na mangayimwe</i>	COVID is a difficult situation
	<i>COVID no butakha</i>	COVID is poverty
	<i>COVID ne yinzala</i>	COVID is hunger
	<i>COVID ne shiboye</i>	COVID is imprisonment
PATH	<i>COVID ne sheli</i>	COVID is doom
	<i>COVID ni kwamachenga</i>	COVID is coal fire
	<i>COVID ne wonyo khu bandu</i>	COVID is a warning to people
FORCE	<i>COVID no lweni</i>	COVID is lightning
	<i>COVID ne shimbulubusi</i>	COVID is a whirlwind
	<i>COVID ne liminikha</i>	COVID is stress
	<i>COVID no muyeka</i>	COVID is a cold
	<i>COVID ni yamachina</i>	COVID is hailstorm
	<i>COVID ne shilikisa</i>	COVID is a hiccup
	<i>COVID ne lifumbetsa</i>	COVID is mist
OBJECT	<i>COVID ne shimanulwa</i>	COVID is a weapon
	<i>COVID ne yingaka</i>	COVID is a hook
	<i>COVID ne yimbaale</i>	COVID is a pebble
	<i>COVID no lubala</i>	COVID is a sting
	<i>COVID no bulilo</i>	COVID is a bait
PART-WHOLE	<i>COVID no mucheni wamakana</i>	COVID is a strange visitor
	<i>COVID no musuku</i>	COVID is an enemy
	<i>COVID ni bwononi</i>	COVID is a spoiler
	<i>COVID ne shiniamuliro</i>	COVID is a troublemaker
	<i>COVID no muchesi</i>	COVID is a reaper
	<i>COVID ne yimbulu</i>	COVID is a monitor lizard

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

According to studies such as Anudo (2018; Gathigia 2014; & Pena 2006) it is argued that there is no standard number of the list of image schemas. However, it is observed that whereas different scholars adopt varied classifications, the most basic image schemas are the CONTAINER, PATH and FORCE.

The findings of the present study established five basic classifications of image schemas in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras as presented in the data in Table 4.19. They included; CONTAINER image schema, PATH image schema, FORCE image schema, OBJECT image schema and PART-WHOLE image schema. Studies such as Gathigia (2014) argue that some image schemas can map onto each other such that similar metaphors are manifested in different image schemas as observed in the case of CONTAINER and the PART-WHOLE image schemas. Moreover, the image schemas can also be scaled into subsidiary image schemas. For instance, the CONTAINER image schema has the subcategories IN-OUT and FORCE. In view of this, the findings of the present study similarly established that whereas there were five basic image schemas for the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras, each of the image schemas could be scaled into subcategories. However, the study analysed some of the subsidiary image schemas like FORCE, OBJECT and PART-WHOLE as independent images as presented in Table 4.19.

4.4.1.1 The CONTAINER image schema

According to Johnson (1987) CONTAINER image schemas are composed of various parts which include: interior, boundary and exterior elements. A CONTAINER image schema thus gives a guide for a systematized projection of mental spaces and image schemas onto it (Peña,1998). The findings of the present study established that the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras exhibited the CONTAINER image schema as presented in the data Table 4.20.

Table 4.20: CONTAINER image schemas in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas

Image Schema	Metaphor in Lukabararas	Gloss
CONTAINER	<i>COVID no lunyilili</i>	COVID is a drizzle
	<i>COVID no busafi</i>	COVID is hygiene
	<i>COVID ne siasa</i>	COVID is politics
	<i>COVID ne shinyasio</i>	COVID is condemnation
	<i>COVID ne shiboko</i>	COVID is wrath
	<i>COVID ne shibela</i>	COVID is grief
	<i>COVID na mangayimwe</i>	COVID is a difficult situation
	<i>COVID no butakha</i>	COVID is poverty
	<i>COVID ne yinzala</i>	COVID is hunger
	<i>COVID ne shiboye</i>	COVID is imprisonment

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

The findings established that the framing of COVID-19 in Lukabararas through the CONTAINER image included metaphors such as *COVID no lunyilili* (COVID is a drizzle), *COVID no busafi* (COVID is hygiene), *COVID ne siasa* (COVID is politics), *COVID ne shinyasio* (COVID is condemnation), *COVID ne shiboko* (COVID is wrath), *COVID ne shibela* (COVID is grief), *COVID na mangayimwe* (COVID is a difficult situation), *COVID no butakha* (COVID is poverty), *COVID ne yinzala* (COVID is hunger) and *COVID ne shiboye* (COVID is imprisonment). However, A CONTAINER image schema entails different subsidiary image schemas such as IN-OUT, and EXCESS. The subsidiary image schemas are used to manifest part of the main image schema which remains central in understanding of conceptual metaphors. The IN-OUT and EXCESS subsidiary image schemas are shown in Table 4.21.

Table 4.21: IN-OUT and EXCESS subsidiary image schemas

Image Schema	Subsidiary Schema	Metaphor	Gloss
CONTAINER	IN-OUT	<i>COVID no lunyilili</i>	COVID is a drizzle
		<i>COVID no busafi</i>	COVID is hygiene
		<i>COVID ne siasa</i>	COVID is politics
		<i>COVID no butakha</i>	COVID is poverty
		<i>COVID ne yinzala</i>	COVID is hunger
		<i>COVID ne shivoye</i>	COVID is imprisonment
	EXCESS	<i>COVID ne shinyasio</i>	COVID is condemnation
		<i>COVID ne shiboko</i>	COVID is wrath
		<i>COVID ne shibela</i>	COVID is grief
		<i>COVID na mangayimwe</i>	COVID is a difficult situation

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

Anudo (2018) argues that the manifestation of a subsidiary image in a metaphor means that part of the knowledge we realize is only a fraction of the main image schema to which it is supplementary. The findings of the present study established the IN-OUT, and EXCESS subsidiary image schemas in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas. The researcher asked question one (see Appendix 4) on the FGD guide and the responses were as follows with the image schemas presented in bolded form.

FGD Moderator: Briefly explain what you think of the COVID-19 pandemic

Discussant 1: *Omanyee **noli mufula yolunyilili**, siwiyikama taa. Shokholanga otoranga tsa notsia shichila somanya lwanawiye tawe. Kho esie, endolanga koviti tsa khuli olunyilili. Khulatora tsa nikhutsia.*

(You know **when you are in a drizzle**, you don't need to shelter. You just keep going because you can't tell when it will stop. For me, I see koviti as a drizzle and we will move on as it drops).

Discussant 2: *Eyi! Waa. **Mulunyilili** otoranga obubi okhubura mukufula okunyinji. Koviti seliyotendeyia tawe.*

(Oh! My friend. **In a drizzle** you get drenched more than in heavy rains. Covid cannot be taken lightly).

Discussant 3: *Noli nende sholia nilwo lwawikhalanga halala. Ne Eshibala shumile shino hata ni yinyilila, nolarula olalia orie. Solola okhurula lwo lumbe luno lwanza **Khubele mushikha shobutinyu.***

(If you have food, that's the time you can relax. **In these difficult times**, even if it drizzles you must get out otherwise how will you feed and yet Covid has caused lack of so many things).

Discussant 4: *Okhubola tsa katoto **Khubele mumangayimwe.** Olumbe luno namaraba. Khubele mubutinyu bwamakana.*

(Honestly, we are in a difficult situation. Covid is something we can't understand. **We are in a difficult situation**).

Discussant 5: *Koviti neshivoyee. Kubele khuli abavoye. Solola mwekafiyu yakhutula. Sochenda taa.*

(Covid is imprisonment. We are just like prisoners. You see how the curfew is restricting us. You can't go anywhere).

Discussant 6: *Esie endola tsa ori koviti neshifune shokwikalira vana siasa balala emipango chabo. **Khubele tsa musiasa.** koviti ne siasa tsa, mulalola.*

(I think Covid is just a reason to deny some politicians room to carry on with their activities. **We are just in politics**, Covid is just politics. You will come to realize later).

Discussant 7: *Lakini khumanye khuri abandu balasaliranga. Okhurula lwa koviti yetsa, **khwaba tsa mushinyasio.** Obwoni bwakhukholanga bwakhura muminyakhano.*

(But we should understand that people are suffering. Since Covid came **we are in condemnation**. Maybe our transgressions have condemned us to suffering.)

Discussant 8: *Tawe, abandu sibalondanga amalako taa. Koviti no busafi. Omanyane noli omusafi okhutusia amalako khuli okhusava amakhono nesabuni nende okhurimishila emasiki koviti sekhunyasia taa.*

(No, people don't just follow the Covid protocols. **Covid is hygiene.** You know when you observe measures like handwashing and masking you can't get into problems.

Discussant 9: *Esie ndalolanga endi okhurula koviti niyanza khwaba mushibela eshikali muno. Abandu befufu bafwitsanga mani balala sikhwakhabe khulire tawe shichila amalako ka koviti. Olumbe luno buliwotsia abandu batsa mushibela.*

(I think from the time Covid came; **we have been in a lot of grief.** Our relatives passed on and we could not mourn their demise because of the Covid protocols. Everywhere you could go, people were in grief).

From the discussion, it is revealed that the IN-OUT subsidiary image schema was manifested in metaphors such as *COVID no lunyiili* (COVID is a drizzle), *COVID no busafi* (COVID is hygiene), *COVID ne siasa* (COVID is politics), *COVID no butakha* (COVID is poverty), *COVID ne yinzala* (COVID is hunger) and *COVID ne shivoye* (COVID is imprisonment). For instance, the findings established from discussant 1 that Lukabar speakers framed COVID-19 through their experience of getting into a drizzle. The image conjured portrays the experience of one who is infected by the pandemic as being in a drizzle that may take longer to subside and therefore no need to wait but walk in.

On the other hand, the findings established the EXCESS subsidiary image schema was instantiated in metaphors such as *COVID ne shinyasio* (COVID is condemnation), *COVID ne shiboko* (COVID is wrath), *COVID ne shibela* (COVID is grief) and *COVID na mangayimwe* (COVID is a difficult situation).

The findings deduced from discussant 9 that the loss of lives due to COVID-19 is understood as having caused a lot of grief. The overwhelming situation of mourning amid tight measures aggravate the feeling of loss. The findings established that being in such a situation was conceptualized as being contained in an excessive form of torture that was grievous hence the framing of COVID-19 as GRIEF.

4.4.1.2 The PATH image schema

Peña (1998) argues that the Path image schema contains structural elements such as an initial location, a final location or destination, a sequence of intermediary sections along the path towards a given direction. Furthermore, Peña (1998) and Anudo (2018) contend that the PATH image schema also has three different inclinations in which the horizontal path entails FRONT-BACK and LEFT-RIGHT inclinations whereas the vertical path entails UP-DOWN inclinations and the circular path entails CYCLICAL inclinations. The findings of the present study established that the PATH image schema in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras were manifested through the VERTICAL subsidiary image schema and the PROCESS subsidiary image schema. This was presented as shown in Table 4.22.

Table 4.22: PATH image schema in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras

Image Schema	Subsidiary Schema	Metaphor in Lukabaras	Gloss
PATH	VERTICAL	<i>COVID ni kwamachenga</i>	COVID is coal fire
	PROCESS	<i>COVID ne sheli</i> <i>COVID ne wonyo</i>	COVID is doomsday COVID is a warning

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

As shown in Table 4.22 the findings established that the PATH image schema was scaled to VERTICAL subsidiary image schema manifested through metaphors such as *COVID ni kwamachenga* (COVID is coal fire) and the PROCESS subsidiary image schema as exhibited in metaphors like *COVID ne sheli* (COVID is doom), *COVID ne wonyo khu bandu* (COVID is a warning to people). For instance, the framing of COVID-19 through the VERTICAL subsidiary schema, *COVID ni kwamachenga* (COVID is coal fire) was because COVID-19 infections spread through stages or waves.

The first stage was witnessed when the pandemic emerged. Just like fire is lit and keeps burning or getting hotter, the spread of the pandemic was framed as it were from a source and it moved along a path as its effects got serious. The PROCESS subsidiary image schema in the metaphor *COVID ne wonyo khu bandu* (COVID is a warning to people) showed that COVID-19 emerged as one of the signs that were ecclesiastically understood to occur in the end times.

4.4.1.3 The FORCE image schema

The FORCE image schema constituted the COMPULSION subsidiary image schema and the BLOCKAGE subsidiary image schema as presented in Table 4.23.

Table 4.23: FORCE image schema in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras

Image Schema	Subsidiary Schema	Metaphor in Lukabaras	Gloss
FORCE	COMPULSION	<i>COVID ne shilikisa</i>	COVID is a hiccup
		<i>COVID ne liminikha</i>	COVID is stress
	BLOCKAGE	<i>COVID no lweni</i>	COVID is lightning
		<i>COVID ne shimbulubusi</i>	COVID is a whirlwind
		<i>COVID no muyeka</i>	COVID is a cold
		<i>COVID ni yamachina</i>	COVID is hailstorm
		<i>COVID ne lifumbetsa</i>	COVID is mist

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

From Table 4.23, COMPULSION subsidiary schema was exemplified in metaphors such as *COVID ne shilikisa* (COVID is a hiccup), *COVID ne liminikha*, (COVID is stress) whereas the BLOCKAGE subsidiary image schema was instantiated in metaphors like *COVID no lweni*, (COVID is lightning), *COVID ne shimbulubusi*, (COVID is a whirlwind) *COVID no muyeka*, (COVID is a cold) *COVID ni yamachina*, (COVID is hailstorm) and *COVID ne lifumbetsa* (COVID is mist). For instance, the BLOCKAGE subsidiary image schema like *COVID no lweni*, (COVID is lightning), *COVID ne shimbulubusi* (COVID is a whirlwind), implied that COVID-19 was framed as a hindrance through natural occurrences such as lightning and whirlwind.

4.4.1.4 The OBJECT image schema

Anudo (2018) and Gathigia (2014) argue that the OBJECT image schema constitutes several ancillary schemas such as LINK, PART-WHOLE, CENTRE-PERIPHERY and COLLECTION. However, the subsidiary image schema that was manifested in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas was the LINK and MASS-COUNT. The data for the OBJECT image schema was presented in Table 4.24.

Table 4.24: OBJECT image schema in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas

Image Schema	Subsidiary Schema	Metaphor in Lukabararas	Gloss
OBJECT	LINK	<i>COVID no lubala</i> <i>COVID no bulilo</i> <i>COVID ne yingaka</i>	COVID is a sting COVID is a bait COVID is a hook
	MASS-COUNT	<i>COVID ne shimanulwa</i> <i>COVID ne yimbaale</i>	COVID is a weapon COVID is a pebble

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

The findings revealed, as presented in Table 4.24 above, that the LINK subsidiary image schema was instantiated in metaphors like *COVID no lubala* (COVID is a sting), *COVID no bulilo* (COVID is a bait) and *COVID ne yingaka* (COVID is a hook). On the other hand, the MASS-COUNT subsidiary image schema was manifested in examples such as *COVID ne shimanulwa* (COVID is a weapon) and *COVID ne yimbaale* (COVID is a pebble). The framing of COVID-19 as a bait or hook was in agreement with Chau (2021) who argued that the governments' response to the pandemic was mired in allegations of corruption and mismanagement.

For instance, in August 2020 multiple protests took place in Nairobi and its environments because of reported of misappropriation and procurement irregularities in medical supplies (Chau ,2021). Yusuf cited in Chau (2021) observed that a scrutiny of the relevant sources showed that KEMSA paid “grossly inflated prices” for masks and particularly made offers above-market prices for drugs. According to Chau (2021) an EACC report revealed that criminal offense had been committed by the officers involved in the purchase and supply of COVID-19 emergency commodities at Kenya Medical Supplies Authority (KEMSA) which had consequently resulted to misappropriation of public money.

4.4.1.5 The PART-WHOLE image schema

According to the findings of the present study the PATH-WHOLE image schema constituted the LINK subsidiary image schema. The findings inferred that since image schemas can have ancillary image schemas that overlap, the LINK subsidiary image schema occurred both in the OBJECT and the PART-WHOLE image schemas. The data was as presented in Table 4.25.

Table 4.25: PART-WHOLE image schema in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas

Image Schema	Subsidiary Schema	Metaphor in Lukabararas	Gloss
PART-WHOLE	LINK	<i>COVID no mucheni wamakana</i>	COVID is a strange visitor
		<i>COVID no musuku</i>	COVID is an enemy
		<i>COVID ni bwononi</i>	COVID is a spoiler
		<i>COVID ne shiniamuliro</i>	COVID is a troublemaker
		<i>COVID no muchesi</i>	COVID is a reaper
		<i>COVID ne yimbulu</i>	COVID is a monitor lizard

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

The findings as shown in the data in Table 4.25 revealed that instantiations of the LINK subsidiary image schema included; *COVID no mucheni wamakana* (COVID is a strange visitor), *COVID no musuku*, (COVID is an enemy), *COVID ni bwononi* (COVID is a spoiler), *COVID ne shiniamuliro* (COVID is a troublemaker), *COVID no muchesi* (COVID is a reaper/harvester) and *COVID ne yimbulu* (COVID is a monitor lizard).

4.4.2 Prevalence of Image Schemas in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas

The findings revealed that out of the 30 primary metaphors of COVID-19, the CONTAINER image schemas were the most prevalent at 30%, the FORCE image schemas represented 23%, the PART-WHOLE image schemas represented 20%, the OBJECT image schemas represented 17% and the least prevalent was the PATH image schemas at 10%. This was presented as shown in Figure 4.5.

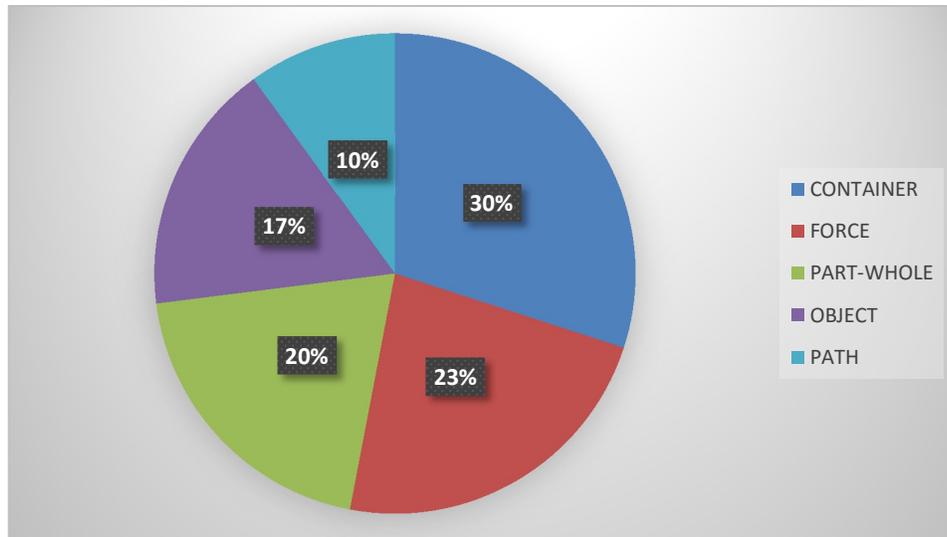


Figure 4.5: Prevalence of Image Schemas in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabararas

As shown in Figure 4.5, the CONTAINER image schema was the most pervasive in the metaphors of COVID-19. This finding was similar to Gathigia (2014) and Anudo (2018) in which it was revealed that since image schemas rely on embodied experiences, the human body plays a central role in explaining how the mind unpacks unknown phenomenon. In this light, the human body is regarded as a CONTAINER in which we experience the world around us through the sense of touch, sight, emotions and hearing. The data for the present study further revealed that the specific manifestations of metaphors in the CONTAINER, PATH, FORCE, OBJECT and PART-WHOLE image schemas were through the subsidiary image schemas for each of these image schemas. The findings summarized the image schemas and their subsidiary schemas and presented the data as shown in Table 4.26.

Table 4.26: Image Schemas and the corresponding Subsidiary Schemas

Image Schema	Subsidiary Schema	Metaphor	Gloss
CONTAINER	IN-OUT	<i>COVID no lunyilili</i> <i>COVID no busafi</i> <i>COVID ne siasa</i> <i>COVID no butakha</i> <i>COVID ne yinzala</i> <i>COVID ne shiboye</i>	COVID is a drizzle COVID is hygiene COVID is politics COVID is poverty COVID is hunger COVID is imprisonment
	EXCESS	<i>COVID ne shinyasio</i> <i>COVID ne shiboko</i> <i>COVID ne shibela</i> <i>COVID na mangayimwe</i>	COVID is condemnation COVID is wrath COVID is grief COVID is a difficult situation
PATH	VERTICAL PROCESS	<i>COVID ni kwamachenga</i> <i>COVID ne sheli</i> <i>COVID ne wonyo</i> <i>khu bandu</i>	COVID is coal fire COVID is doom COVID is a warning to people
FORCE	COMPULSION	<i>COVID ne shilikisa</i> <i>COVID ne liminikha</i>	COVID is a hiccup COVID is stress
	BLOCKAGE	<i>COVID no lweni</i> <i>COVID ne shimbulubusi</i> <i>COVID no muyeka</i> <i>COVID ni yamachina</i> <i>COVID ne lifumbetsa</i>	COVID is lightning COVID is a whirlwind COVID is a cold COVID is hailstorm COVID is mist
OBJECT	LINK	<i>COVID no lubala</i> <i>COVID no bulilo</i> <i>COVID ne yingaka</i>	COVID is a sting COVID is a bait COVID is a hook
	MASS-COUNT	<i>COVID ne shimanulwa</i> <i>COVID ne yimbaale</i>	COVID is a weapon COVID is a pebble
PART-WHOLE	LINK	<i>COVID no mucheni wamakana</i> <i>COVID no musuku</i> <i>COVID ni bwononi</i> <i>COVID ne shiniamuliro</i> <i>COVID no muchesi</i> <i>COVID ne yimbulu</i>	COVID is a strange visitor COVID is an enemy COVID is a spoiler COVID is a troublemaker COVID is a reaper COVID is a monitor lizard

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

The data in Table 4.26 shows image schemas and their subsidiary image schemas and the instantiations of metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras. The findings revealed that the CONTAINER image schema had IN-OUT and EXCESS subsidiary schemas; the PATH image schema had the VERTICAL and PROCESS subsidiary schemas; the FORCE image schema had the COMPULSION and BLOCKAGE subsidiary schemas; the OBJECT image schema had the LINK and MASS-COUNT subsidiary schemas whereas the PART-WHOLE image schema had the LINK subsidiary schema.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter presented, analysed and discussed the findings of the study. The findings for every objective were in line with the underpinning theories. The first objective identified and classified metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras. The findings established that the direct MRW and Possible Personifications could be categorized prototypically into six generic levels of basic experiences related to organisms, objects, actions, events, natural occurrences and states or conditions. The findings further revealed that from the basic level experiences, seven generic metaphors were generated as COVID IS A PERSON, COVID IS AN ANIMAL, COVID IS AN OBJECT, COVID IS AN EVENT, COVID IS AN ACTION, COVID IS A NATURAL OCCURRENCE and COVID IS A STATE or CONDITION. The findings deduced from the data that the metaphors could be classified as structural or non-structural based on the nature of the source domains from which the metaphors in Lukabaras were generated.

The second objective tested the extent to which vital relations account for the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras. It was established that the most prevalent vital relations were Analogy, Disanalogy, Cause-Effect and Similarity.

These vital relations were scaled to sub classes such as Part-Whole, Identity, Intentionality, Category and Uniqueness through compression. The findings, however revealed that not all the vital relations proposed by Fauconnier and Turner (2002) were manifested in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras. They included Role, Time, Space, Change and Property.

The findings in the third objective established that image schemas played a role in the metaphorical conceptualization of COVID-19 in Lukabaras. It was observed that Lukabaras speakers utilized the CONTAINER, FORCE, PART-WHOLE, OBJECT and PATH image schemas to frame their understanding of the COVID-19 pandemic. The findings thus revealed that the most prevalent image schema in the metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras was the CONTAINER image schema. The next chapter highlights the summary of findings, conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER FIVE

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provided a summary of the findings and conclusions drawn from the three objectives. The study sought to identify and categorize the metaphors of COVID-19 pandemic through conceptual mappings as used by Lukabaras speakers, to examine the extent to which vital relations account for the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic among Lukabaras speakers and to describe the role of image schemas in the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic among Lukabaras speakers. The research was guided by the Conceptual Integration Theory (Fauconnier & Turner,2002) and the Image Schemas Theory (Johnson,1987).

5.2 Summary of Findings

The study investigated the metaphorical mappings in the conceptualization of COVID-19 in Lukabaras. The research site was Kakamega North Sub- County which is one of the administrative units in the devolved governance in Kenya that witnessed COVID-19 cases during the pandemic period between March 2020 and July 2021.The respondents who participated in the study were drawn from three county assembly wards namely: Shirugu/Mugai, Chemuche and East Kabras. The participants were particularly native speakers of Lukabaras aged 30-39 years and those above 60 years old. The study purposively sampled 36 respondents in churches and markets and through key informant interviews and focus group discussions collected 30 primary metaphors using Metaphor Identification Procedure (MIP). The data was analysed using descriptive research design. The study applied the principles of the Conceptual Integration Theory and the Image Schemas Theory.

The Conceptual Integrated Theory (CIT) was found beneficial in analyzing objective one which aimed to identify and categorize the metaphors of COVID-19 pandemic through conceptual mappings in Lukabaras. The Conceptual Integrated Theory (CIT) was also relevant to objective two which examined the extent to which vital relations account for the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras. The principles of the Image Schemas Theory (IST) were found beneficial and relevant to objective three which sought to describe the role of image schemas in the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras. The study came up with the following findings.

5.2.1 COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabaras

The aim of the first objective was to identify and categorize metaphors that were used in Lukabaras to talk about COVID-19 pandemic through conceptual mappings. The study thus first identified the metaphors as guided by the MIP procedure and categorized them using the prototypical model. The data was then analysed to establish the conceptual mappings and lastly classify the conceptual metaphors earlier identified. The findings established that Lukabaras speakers utilized metaphors in their discourse about the COVID-19 pandemic. The study established seven generic level metaphors which were identified as COVID IS A PERSON, COVID IS AN ANIMAL, COVID IS AN OBJECT, COVID IS A NATURAL FORCE, COVID IS AN ACTION, COVID IS AN EVENT and COVID IS A STATE / CONDITION.

The findings revealed that the generic categories of the things from which COVID-19 was metaphorically conceptualized in Lukabaras were the most available sources of knowledge to which the pandemic was mapped. It was therefore established that the conceptual metaphors identified in this study were culture specific and could have other metaphorical entailments in other cultural settings.

Furthermore, it was established that Lukabaras speakers' knowledge of the source domains was not applied randomly on the concept of COVID-19 pandemic. As such, in order to reduce the conceptual complexity of the inputs, the actions of the mental spaces underwent compression to form a conceptual product that was cognitively manageable. For instance, the mappings of a person to COVID-19 only included a person who visits, an enemy, a person who spoils, a person who causes strife and a person who harvests. Therefore, the conceptual mappings from the source domain were limited to the metaphorical part that highlighted the relevant attributes that mapped to the target domain- COVID-19.

On the basis of cognitive functions and the nature of the source domains, the study deduced that COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabaras could be classified as structural and non-structural.

5.2.2 Vital Relations in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras

The aim of the second objective was to examine the extent to which vital relations account for the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras. The findings established that the conceptual metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras were manifested through Analogy, Disanalogy, Cause-Effect and Similarity vital relations. It was established that whereas Disanalogy operates at the same level as Analogy, most of the metaphors were manifested through Disanalogy.

5.2.3 Image Schemas in Metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras

The third objective sought to describe the role of image schemas in the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 pandemic in Lukabaras. The study established that COVID-19 was instantiated through the CONTAINER e.g. *COVID ne shiboye* (COVID IS IMPRISONMENT), PATH e.g. *COVID ni kwamachenga* (COVID IS COAL FIRE),

FORCE e.g. *COVID ne shimbulubusi* (COVID IS A WHIRLWIND), OBJECT e.g. *COVID ne shimanulwa* (COVID IS A WEAPON) and PART-WHOLE e.g. *COVID no musuku* (COVID IS AN ENEMY) image schemas. It was revealed that the CONTAINER image schema was the most pervasive in framing metaphors of COVID-19 in Lukabaras.

5.3 Conclusion

The study in objective one concluded that Lukabaras speakers utilized metaphorical words in their discourse about COVID-19 pandemic. The metaphors identified were based on both concrete and abstract sources and mostly involved rich mapping. The study concluded that some of the metaphors trivialized the seriousness of the disease. For instance, conceptualizing COVID as MIST implied that the pandemic would not last for long and people were not keen on the preventive measures. On the other hand, conceptualizing COVID as DOOM magnified the pandemic since this created uncertainty and a feeling that the end of time had come. Moreover, the study concluded that where the disease was trivialized or taken as routine, the containment measures were compromised whereas magnifying the disease caused misinformation thus equally affecting the efforts to combat its spread. It was argued that the metaphors that were utilized in Lukabaras to talk about COVID-19 pandemic were culture specific and not all their parts were highlighted. As such, the scope of the metaphors was limited to the nature of the subject in conversation (COVID-19 pandemic).

In the second objective, the study concluded that vital relations played a crucial role in the metaphorical mappings of COVID-19 metaphors in Lukabaras. Thus, vital relations as a component of CIT was manifested in the metaphors through rich mapping as revealed through Analogy and lean mapping as manifested through Disanalogy.

It was held that Disanalogy was the most prevalent vital relation through which the mapping of elements in the source domains in Lukabaras corresponded to the target domain (COVID-19 pandemic).

The study in objective three concluded that image schemas contributed to the frames of COVID-19 in Lukabaras through image schemas such as CONTAINER, FORCE, PART-WHOLE, OBJECT and PATH. It is argued that unpacking COVID-19 through these image schemas revealed the speakers' perceptions and attitude towards the pandemic. Such perceptions affected community health-based communication in the process of fighting against the spread of the disease.

5.4 Recommendations

The study recommends that community health-based risk communication should be enhanced to incorporate language mechanisms that are relevant to combat misinformation in pandemic times such as COVID-19. This could help to reveal the extent to which people perceive and conceptualize diseases in times of crisis. For instance, as revealed in the present study, the use of metaphor in Lukabaras to unpack the COVID-19 pandemic either trivialized, magnified or treated the disease as routine. This caused misinformation and affected the efforts to fight the spread of the disease.

The study further recommends that community health-based practitioners should be equipped in all domains of language use during crisis communication in order to adequately handle the challenges that come with varied perceptions, attitudes and knowledge of new disease outbreaks and pandemics such as COVID-19.

5.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The study suggests that further research be carried out to investigate other possible genres through which incorporeal concepts such as pandemics are conceptualized in Lukabaras.

It is also suggested that a study be carried out to further examine the patterns of metaphorical use of language in unpacking new phenomenon such as disease outbreaks across both genders and other domains of language use.

A study on metaphors can also be carried out to investigate the framing of the COVID-19 pandemic in other Bantu language groups or in other African languages such as Nilotic.

REFERENCES

- Achoka, J.S.K. (2007). Female gender vulnerability and challenges of HIV/AIDS to health, education and development in Kenya. *International Journal of Disaster Management and Risk Reduction*, 1:29-33.
- Adhikari, S.P.; Meng, S.; Wu, Y.; Mao, Y.; Ye, R.; Wang, Q. et al. (2020). Epidemiology, causes, clinical manifestation and diagnosis, prevention and control of coronavirus disease (COVID-19) during the early outbreak period: A scoping review. *Infectious Diseases of Poverty* 9 (1): 29.
- Allbritton, D.W. (1995). 'When metaphors function as schemas: some cognitive effects of conceptual metaphor', *metaphor and symbolic activity*. 10 (1), pp.33-46.
- Anudo, C. & Kodak. (2019). Conceptual metaphor and image schema representations of cancer-related deaths of selected prominent Kenyan personalities in the print media. *Nairobi Journal of Humanities and Social Sciences*, 4 (3).
- Anudo, C. N. A. (2018). *Conceptual metaphors in Dholuo: A cognitive linguistic approach*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Kisii University, Kenya.
- Armstrong, S.L., Davis, H.S. & Paulson, E.J. (2011). The subjectivity problem: Improving triangulation approaches in metaphor analysis studies. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*, 10 (2), 151-163.
- Barasa, E.; Mothupi, M.C.; Guleid, F.; Nwosu, C.; Kabia, E.; Araba, D.; Orangi, S.; Muraya, K.; Gitaka, J.; Marsh, K. (2020). Health and socio-economic impacts of physical distancing for COVID-19 in Africa; Center for Global Development: Washington, DC, USA, 2020.
- Barasa, E. (2020). Assessing the hospital surge capacity of Kenya health system in the face of the COVID-19 pandemic. In Medarxiv, 1–24.
[doi: https://doi.org/10.1101/2020.04.08.20057984](https://doi.org/10.1101/2020.04.08.20057984).
- Barasa, N.M. & Opande, I.N. (2017). The use of animal metaphors in the representation of women in Bukusu and Gusii proverbs in Kenya. *Africology: The Journal of Pan African Studies*, 10 (2).
- Bosire, E.N, Kamau, L.W, Bosire,V.K & Mendenhall, E. (2022). Social risks, economic dynamics and the local politics of COVID-19 prevention in Eldoret town, Kenya, *Global Public Health*, 17:3, 325-340.
[doi: 10.1080/17441692.2021.2020320](https://doi.org/10.1080/17441692.2021.2020320).
- Bowdle, B. F. and Gentner, D. (2005). The career of metaphor. *Psychological Review*, 112 (1), 193-216. [doi: 10.1037/0033-295X.112.1.193](https://doi.org/10.1037/0033-295X.112.1.193).
- Cameron, L. (2010). What is metaphor and why does it matter? In L. Cameron and R. Maslen, (Eds.), *Metaphor analysis: Research Practice in Applied Linguistics, Social Sciences and the Humanities* (pp. 3-25). London: Equinox.

- Cameron, D. (1992). Naming of parts: Gender, culture and terms for the penis among American college students. *American Speech*, 67 (4), 367-382. Retrieved from <http://www.jstor.org/stable/455846>.
- Cienki, A. (1997). Some properties and grouping of image schemas. In M.M. Verspoor, K.M. Dong & E. Sweetser (Eds.), *Lexical and syntactical constructions and the constructions of meaning* (pp 3-15). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Chau, D. C. (2021). The geography and politics of Kenya's response to COVID-19. *Prism*, 9 (4). <https://ndupress.ndu.edu/>.
- Chen, G.; Wu, D.; Guo, W.; Cao, Y.; Huang, D.; Wang, H. et al. (2020). Clinical and immunologic features in severe and moderate Coronavirus Disease 2019. *The Journal of Clinical Investigation* 130 (5): 2620–2629.
- Cheval, S.; Adamescu, C.M.; Georgiadis, T.; Herrnegger, M.; Piticar, A. and Legates, D.R. (2020). Observed and potential impacts of the COVID-19 pandemic on the environment. *International Journal of Environmental Research and Public Health* 17(11):4140. [doi10.3390/ijerph17114140](https://doi.org/10.3390/ijerph17114140)
- Cohen, L., Manion, L. & Morrison, K. (2001). *Research methods in education*. London, New York: Routledge.
- Coulson, T. & Oakley, C. (2005). Blended and coded meaning: Literal and figurative meaning in cognitive semantics. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 37, 1510-1536.
- Craig, D. (2020). Pandemic and its metaphors: Sontag revisited in the Covid era. *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 23 (6): 1025-1032.
- Creswell, J. W. (2014). *Research design: Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches* (4th ed.). California: Thousand Oaks.
- Daily Nation. (2020). It is time to attack the Corona virus. May, 4, 2020 p.1.
- Deignon, A.H. (1997). *A Corpus-based study of some linguistic features of metaphor*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. University of Birmingham.
- Džanic, D.N. (2007). Conceptual integration theory – the key for unlocking the internal cognitive choreography of idiom modification, *Jezikoslovlje*, 8 (2), 169-191.
- Eewijk, P. and Angehrn, Z. (2017). *How to conduct a focus group discussion: Methodological manual*. Basel: Swiss TPH.
- Esenova, O. (2011). *Metaphorical conceptualization of fear, anger and sadness in English*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem Bölcsészettudományi Kar, Hungary.
- Evans, V. and Green, M. (2006). *Cognitive linguistics. An introduction*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

- Fairclough, N. (1995a). *Critical discourse analysis: The critical study of language*. London: Longman.
- Fauconnier, G. and Turner, M. (2002). *The way we think. Conceptual blending and the mind's hidden complexities*. New York: Basic Books.
- Fauconnier and Turner. (1998). Mental spaces: Conceptual integration networks: In D. Geeraerts (ed.), *Cognitive linguistics: Basic readings* (pp. 303-365) Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Fauconnier, G. (1997). *Mappings in thought and language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Fauconnier, G. (1994). *Mental spaces, aspects of meaning construction in natural language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gathigia, M.G. (2014). *Metaphors of love in Gikũyũ: Conceptual mappings, vital relations and image schemas*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). Kenyatta University, Nairobi, Kenya.
- Geeraerts, D. (Ed.) (2006). *Cognitive linguistics: Basic readings*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Gibbs, R. (2017). *Metaphor wars: Conceptual metaphors in human life*. California: Cambridge University Press.
- Gibbs, R. (1994). *Poetics of the mind: Figurative thought, language and understanding*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Guo, S. (2013). Metaphor studies from the perspective of critical discourse analysis: A case study of business acquisition theory and practice in language studies, 3 (3), pp. 475-481. [doi:10.4304/tpls.3.3.475-481](https://doi.org/10.4304/tpls.3.3.475-481).
- Gibbs, G. R. (2007). Analyzing qualitative data. In U. Flick (Ed.), *The Sage qualitative research kit*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Grady, J. (1999). A typology of motivation for conceptual metaphor: correlation vs. resemblance. In R. Gibbs & G. Steen (Eds.), *Metaphor in cognitive linguistics* (pp. 79–100). Amsterdam, The Netherlands: John Benjamins.
- Grady, J. (2000). Cognitive mechanisms of conceptual integration. *Cognitive Linguistics*, 11, 335-345. [doi:10.1515/cogl.2001.019](https://doi.org/10.1515/cogl.2001.019).
- Herbling, D. (2021). Delta strain may spark ‘catastrophic’ wave in Kenya in weeks. Retrieved from: <http://www.bloomberg.com/authors/ATX-Z-INUJw/david-herbling>. [Accessed 8 July 2021]
- Hopson, R. (2000). *How and why language matter in evaluation*. San Francisco: Jassiey-Bass.

- Hurtienne, J. and Blessing, L. (2007). Design for intuitive use - testing image schema theory for user interface design. In J.C. Bocquet (Ed.), *Proceedings of ICED' 07, International Conference on Engineering Design* (pp. 1-12). Paris, France: ACM.
- Johnson, M. (1987). *The body in the mind: The bodily basis of meaning, imagination, and reason*. Chicago: The University of Chicago.
- Johnson, M. (2005). The Philosophical Significance of Image Schemas. In *From Perception to Meaning, Image Schemas in Cognitive Linguistics*, edited by B. Hampe, pp. 15-33. 29 ed. Cognitive Linguistics Research, R. Dirven, R. Langacker and J. Taylor, general editor. Walter de Gruyter GmbH & Co., Berlin.
- Kagwe, M. (2020). The Kenya COVID-19 Response Strategy. *Daily Nation*, May 12 2020, p.6.
- Kajliwa, G. (2020a, October 23). 1,000 new COVID cases recorded as recoveries increase to 33,050. *The Standard*.
- Kajliwa, G. (2020b, November 14). 232 deaths recorded in November as positive cases increase to 68,193. *The Standard*.
- Kakemam, E.; Ghoddoosi-Nejad, D.; Chegini, Z.; Momeni, K.; Salehiniya, H.; Hassanipour, S.; Ameri, H. and Arab-Zozani, M. (2020a). Knowledge, attitudes, and practices among the general population during COVID-19 outbreak in Iran: A national cross-sectional online survey. *Front. Public Health* 8:585302. doi:10.3389/fpubh.2020.585302.
- Kakemam, E; Ghoddoosi-Nejad, D, Chegini, Z, Momeni, K. Salehinia, H,& Hassanipour, S. (2020). Knowledge, attitudes, and practices among the general population during COVID-19 outbreak in Iran: A national cross-sectional survey. medRxiv. doi:10.1101/2020.06.10.20127258.
- Karijo, E.; Kibui, V.; Karanja, S.; Njuki, J.; Boit, F.; Kibui V, (2020). Knowledge, attitudes, practices, and the effects of COVID-19 on health seeking behaviors among young people in Kenya. In Research Square. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s12889-021-11067-2>.
- Kenya National Bureau of Statistics. (2019). *Population demographics*. Nairobi: Government Press.
- Kivuva, E. W. (2020). Assessing the relation between COVID-19 perception and acceptance of the COVID-19 vaccine.
- Kobia, J. (2008). Metaphors on HIV/AIDS discourse among Ololuyia speakers of western Kenya. *Critical Approaches to Discourse Analysis across Discipline*, 2 (2), 48-66.

- Kombo, D.K. & Tromp, D.L.A. 2006. *Proposal and thesis writing: An introduction*. Nairobi: Paulines Publications Africa.
- Kothari, E.R. (2004). *Research methodology: Methods and techniques* (2nd revised ed.). New Delhi: New Age International Publishers.
- Kövecses, Z. (2010). *Metaphor: A practical introduction* (2nd edn.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2005). *Metaphor in culture: Universality and variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kövecses, Z. (2002). *Metaphor: A Practical Introduction*, (1st edn.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Kroumpouzou, G.; Gupta, M.; Jafferany, M.; Lotti, T.; Sadoughifar, R. and Sitkowska, Z. (2020). COVID-19: a relationship to climate and environmental conditions? *Dermatological Therapy* 33 (4): e13399. [doi:10.1111/dth.13399](https://doi.org/10.1111/dth.13399).
- Kuhn, G., Amlani, A. A., & Rensink, A.R. (2008). Towards a Science of Magic. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences*, vol. 12 (9), 349-354.
- Kumar, R. (2011). *Research methodology: A step-by-step guide for beginners*. Los Angeles: SAGE.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1999). *Philosophy in the flesh: The embodied mind and its challenge to western thought*. New York: Basic Books.
- Lakoff, G. (1993). *The Contemporary Theory of Metaphor*. In A. Ortony (Ed.), *Metaphor and thought*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 202-251.
- Lakoff, G., & Turner, M. (1989). *More than cool reason: A field guide to poetic metaphor*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, fire and dangerous things: What categories reveal about the mind*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.
- Lakoff, G. & Johnson, M. (1980). *Metaphors we live by*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Lendik, M. (2017). *Metaphor and the representations of health and illness among the Semai indigenous community in Malaysia*. Malaysia: University of Malaysia.
- Lewis, M. Paul, Gary F. Simons & Charles D. Fenning (eds.). (2021). *Ethnologue: Languages of the World*. Dallas, Texas: SIL International.
- Lu, W. & Fang, H. (2012). Reconsidering Peter Newmark's theory on literal translation. *Theory and Practice in Language Studies*. Vol. 2, No. 4, pp. 741-746. [doi:10.4304/tpls.2.4.741-746](https://doi.org/10.4304/tpls.2.4.741-746).

- Macharia, P.M.; Joseph, N.& Okiro, E. (2020). A vulnerability index for COVID-19: spatial analysis to inform equitable response in Kenya. In medRxiv, 1–26. [doi:10.1136/bmjgh-2020-003014](https://doi.org/10.1136/bmjgh-2020-003014).
- Magonya, A. L. (2013). Unveiling the HIV/AIDS metaphors: a cognitive linguistics perspective oral presentation in Workshop: 105 Embodied cognition and experiential approaches to communication, written and spoken discourse analysis.
- Mandler, J.M. (2004). *The foundations of mind: Origins of conceptual thought*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Marlo, M. (2009). Reversal and predictability of Luhya tone. Paper presented at the Annual conference on African Linguistics, University of Georgia.
- Mathewson, S.T.T. (2012). *Classical theory of categorization. Encyclopedia of life support systems*.
- Mey, J. (1994). *Pragmatics: An introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ministry of Health Kenya (2020). National status update on COVID-19. Nairobi Government Press.
- Mudogo, B.A. (2019). Conceptualization of women through metaphor by bilingual Lukabaras-English speakers. doi:1032996/ijllt.2.5.4
- Mugenda, O. M. and Mugenda, A. G. (2003). *Research methods: Quantitative & qualitative approaches*. Nairobi: African Centre for Technology Studies Press.
- Nakkazi, E. (2021). Kenya confirms third wave of COVID-19. Nairobi: *Health policy watch*. Republic of Kenya – RoK (2021) Kenya: COVID-19 update 17 August 2021. Nairobi: Ministry of Health.
- Ndlovu, S. (2018). *A comparative analysis of metaphorical expressions used by rural and urban Ndebele speakers: The contribution of S'ncamtho*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of Cape Town.
- Nyakoe, D. (2017). Metaphorical conceptualization of contracting HIV is an accident in Ekegusii HIV and AIDS discourse. *International Journal of Scientific Research and Innovative Technology*, ISSN: 2313-3759, 4 (5).
- Ochieng, J.J. (2016). *A linguistic analysis of the metaphorical euphemisms used in Dholuo HIV/AIDS discourse*. (Unpublished master's thesis). University of Nairobi.
- Okaka, F, O. and Omondi, P. (2021). Knowledge, attitude, and practices (KAP) towards COVID-19 among older people living in informal settlements in Nairobi City, Kenya. *Athens Journal of Social Sciences* 2021, 9: 1-13. <https://doi.org/10.30958/ajss.X-Y-Z>.

- Ojwang, B.O. (2022). Lockdown, reopening and related metaphorical frames of power in the COVID-19 discourse in Kenya.
- Orangi, S.; Pinchoff, J.; Mwanga, D.; Abuya, T.; Hamaluba, M.; Wamirwe, G.; Austrian, K. and Barasa, E. (2021). Assessing the level of determinants of COVID-19 vaccine confidence in Kenya. *Vaccines* 2021, 9, 936. <https://doi.org/10.3390/vaccines9080936>.
- Pandey, P. and Pandey, M.M. (2015). Research methodology: Tools and techniques. Romania: Bridge Center.
- Peña, M.S. (1998). Conceptual Projection and Image Schemas. *Epos*, XIV, 451-461.
- Peña, M.S. (2000). *A Cognitive Approach to the Image- Schematic Component in the Metaphorical Expression of Emotions in English*. (Unpublished doctoral dissertation). University of La Rioja, Loñgrono, La Rioja.
- Peña, S. (2003). *Topology and cognition: What image - schemas reveal about the metaphorical language of emotions*. Munich: Lincom Europa.
- Pragglejaz Group. (2007). MIP: A method for identifying metaphorically used words in discourse. *Metaphor and Symbol*, 22 (1), 1-39.
- Rita, E. and Rohman, K. (2013). Capturing the Witness Statement, *AWI Journal*, Vol 4, Issue 3, pp.1-20.
- Rodriguez, I. (2009). Of women, bitches, chickens and vixens: Animal metaphors for women in English and Spanish. *Culture, language and representation*, *Vii*: 77-100.
- Rosch, E. R., Mervis, C.B., Wayne D. G., David, J, & Penny. B.B. (1976). Basic objects in natural categories. *Cognitive Psychology*, 8:382-439.
- Ruane, J. M. (2005). *Essentials of research methods: A guide to social science research*. Blackwell Publishing: USA.
- Ruiz de Mendoza Ibáñez, F. J., & Pérez Hernández, L. (2011). *The contemporary theory of metaphor: Myths, developments and challenges*. University of La Rioja: Taylor & Francis. [doi: 10.1080/10926488.2011.583189](https://doi.org/10.1080/10926488.2011.583189).
- Ruiz de Mendoza, F.J. and Diez, O. (2002). Patterns of conceptual interaction. In R. Dirven & R. Pörings (Eds.), *Metaphor and metonymy in comparison and contrast* (pp. 489-532). Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Seixas E.C. (2021). War metaphors in political communication on COVID-19-19, *Frontiers in Sociology* 5-7. [doi:10.3389/fsoc.2020.583680](https://doi.org/10.3389/fsoc.2020.583680).
- Semino, E. (2021). Not soldiers but fire-fighters-Metaphors and COVID-19, *Health and Communication* 36 (1) 50-58. [doi:10.1080/10410236.2020.1844989](https://doi.org/10.1080/10410236.2020.1844989).

- Schöneborn, D. (2020). Metaphors we think with: The role of metaphor in reasoning. PLoS ONE. [doi: 10.1371/journal.pone.0016782](https://doi.org/10.1371/journal.pone.0016782).
- Sontag, S. (1989). AIDS and its metaphors. New York: Farrar Strauss & Giroux.
- Steen, G., Dorst, A.G., Herman, J.B., Kaal, A. A., Krennmayr, T. & Pasma, T. (2010). *A Method for Linguistic Metaphor Identification: From MIP to MIPVU*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Sullivan, T. (2010). The Evolution of Law Enforcement Attitudes to Recording Custodial Interviews. *The Journal of Psychiatry & Law*, 38(1-2), pp. 137-75.
- Tavakoli, H. (2012). *A Dictionary of research methodology and statistics in applied linguistics*. Rahama Press.
- Tessier, S. (2012). From Field Notes, to Transcripts, to Tape Recordings: Evolution or Combination? *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*.11(4).
- Ungerer, F & Schmid, H. (2006). *An introduction to cognitive linguistics* (2nd ed) London: Pearson Longman.
- USAID. (1996). Conducting key informant interviews. *USAID Center for Development and Evaluation*. 2.
- Usman, A. (2018). *Phonological analysis of the english spoken by Hausa newscasters in broadcasting media in Nigeria*. Unpublished Phd Thesis. Kenyatta University.
- Vakhovska, O.A. (2017). *Metaphor in the light of conceptual metaphor theory: A literature review*. Kiev, Ukraine. [doi: 10.26565/2218-2926-2017-15-06](https://doi.org/10.26565/2218-2926-2017-15-06).
- Wallis, P. & Nerlich, B. (2004). *Disease metaphors in new epidemics: The UK media framing of the 2003 SARS epidemic*. doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2004.11.031.
- Yin, R. K. (2009). *Case study research: Design and methods* (4th ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

Appendix I: Key Informant Interview Guide

Section 1

Introduction

Orio muno okhunyola obwiyangu khumakhuwa kano. Esie bari, James Matseshe, omusomi wa PhD mu Masinde Muliro University ya Science nende Technology. Eshifune shamalosio kano nokhunonelesia obubalayi bwelimanya lwenyu okhulondana nende olumbe lwa Koviti-19. Amalosio kano kalabukula etsitaka 45. Ndatepa kakhulalasia khendeshe okhutifia liosi ta. Ba nelisubila ori kakhulalasia kosi kalaba tsa akefu ne kalatsia mubwandiche sikalaba nelira lilio ta, khandi sikhulakhunyika okhubola kolenyile taa, khoobwe tsa omulakhule mukhulosia khuno.

(Thank you very much for finding time to take part in this interview. My name is James Matseshe, a PhD student at Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. The purpose of this interview is to get your comments and experiences about COVID-19 particularly how it was conceptualized in Lukabaras. The interview will take about 45 minutes and I will tape record it since I do not want to miss any of your responses. However, be assured that all the responses will be kept confidential. The information that you provide will only be shared with the research team members and any comments we include in our report will not bear your identity. You will also not be compelled to talk about anything you don't want and you are free to ask any questions about the issues in our conversation).

Section 2

a) Demographic details

1. *Erika* (Age)
2. *Womonyanga* (Area of residents)
3. *Wobukananga* (Religion)

b) Metaphors of COVID-19

1. *Mubwimbichiti onyala wambolelakho shomanyile okhulondana nende Koviti-19?*

(Briefly share with me what you know about COVID- 19 pandemic)

2. *Ne abandu Babolanga bari olumbe luno ni shina?*

(What do people say the pandemic is?)

3. *Bolakho ori mwobulwale buno mukhweneya khwabwo mwabunanianga abandu*

(Describe ways in which this has affected or contributed to the spread)

4. *Newe olumbe luno lwakhunaniakho?*

(Explain how the pandemic has affected you)

c) Closing

Ndakalusianga orio muno eyingali khumalosio kano. Wukho nende liokhutasakho?

Orio muno khandi.

(I appreciate you for sharing your experiences and opinion about COVID-19 pandemic. Are there any comments you would wish to add? If there is none, thank you once again for accepting to turn up for this interview.)

Appendix II: Focus Group Discussion Guide

Section 1

Introduction

Orio muno okwiyama okhuba mulala khumakhuwa kano. Elira lwanje bari James Matseshe, omusomi wa PhD okhurula eyunivasiti ya Masinde Muliro. Ndibele halaala nabashanje bano khushikha shino. Eshifune shobunonelesi buno nokhumanya eyinjila ya mubukulirangamo olumbe lwa COVID-19. Amakhuwa kamulalosa kosi kalawela hano shichila kalarumikha tsa khushifune sho busomi buno bwenyene. Shamulala wenyu wubele nende obulakhule okhulosa mububalayi ori mwayeulile.

(Thank you for accepting to take part in this study. My name is James Matseshe, a PhD student from Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology. With me is a team of researchers that will assist to conduct the discussions. The purpose of this research is to find out how you conceptualized COVID-19 pandemic. The information that you give will be treated as confidential and will only be used for the purpose of this study. Therefore, feel free to share your opinion and experiences about the pandemic.)

Section 2

Discussion Guide

1. a) *Waulirakho okhulondana nende koviti-19? (Have you heard of COVID-19?)*

b) *Babolanga bari yaanza iriena?* (How did it start?)

c) *Nee obulwale buno bwafanianga buriena?* (How does it spread?)

d) *Niwina wuli khubwatari bwokhunyo obulwale buno?* (Who is most vulnerable?)

2. a) *Ne obulwale buno bunyala okhwikalirwa buriena?* (How can this disease be prevented?)

b) *Ne mulondanga amalako kano?* (Have you been following these measures?)

3. a) *Ne abandu babolanga bari koviti-19 yino ni shina?* (What do people say
COVID-19 is?)

b) *Onyala wenukiakho okhulondana noofundu fwa koviti-19 yifwanilisiwangakho?*

(Can you describe some of the things COVID-19 is compared to?)

Appendix III: Data Extraction Guide

No.	Source Domain	Basic Level Category	Available Metaphors in Lukabaras
-----	---------------	----------------------	-------------------------------------

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

Appendix IV: Raw Data

Category	Words in Lukabararas	Gloss
1. Organisms	<i>eyimbulu</i> <i>omucheni</i> <i>omusuku</i> <i>eshiniamuliro</i> <i>omuchesi</i> <i>bwononi</i>	monitor lizard strange visitor enemy troublemaker harvester/reaper spoil
2. Objects	<i>eshimanulwa</i> <i>eyingaka</i> <i>eyimbale</i> <i>eshiboko</i> <i>olubala</i> <i>omuliro</i>	weapon hook pebble punishment sting fire
3. Natural Forces	<i>olweni</i> <i>eshimbulubusi</i> <i>olunyilili</i> <i>omuyeka</i> <i>yamachina</i> <i>elifumbetsa</i>	lightning whirlwind drizzle a cold hailstorm mist
4. Action	<i>obulilo</i> <i>eshilikisa</i> <i>obusafi</i> <i>ewonyo</i>	bait hiccup hygiene warning
5. Events	<i>esheli</i> <i>esiasa</i>	doom politics
6. State/ Conditions	<i>obutakha,</i> <i>eyinzala,</i> <i>amangayimwe</i> <i>eshibeela</i> <i>eshinyasio</i> <i>eliminikha</i>	poverty hunger difficult situation grief condemnation stress

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

Appendix V: COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabararas

No.	Lukabararas	Gloss
1.	<i>COVID ne shimanulwa</i>	COVID is a weapon
2.	<i>COVID ne yingaka</i>	COVID is a hook
3.	<i>COVID no lweni</i>	COVID is lightning
4.	<i>COVID ne sheli</i>	COVID is doomsday
5.	<i>COVID no bulilo</i>	COVID is a bait
6.	<i>COVID ne shimbulubusi</i>	COVID is a whirlwind
7.	<i>COVID no lunyilili</i>	COVID is a drizzle
8.	<i>COVID ni kwamachenga</i>	COVID is coal fire
9.	<i>COVID ne yimbaale</i>	COVID is a pebble
10.	<i>COVID ne yimbulu</i>	COVID is a monitor lizard
11.	<i>COVID no mucheni wamakana</i>	COVID is a strange visitor
12.	<i>COVID ne shilikisa</i>	COVID is a hiccup
13.	<i>COVID ne liminikha lie tsinganakani</i>	COVID is stress
14.	<i>COVID no musuku</i>	COVID is an enemy
15.	<i>COVID no busafi</i>	COVID is hygiene
16.	<i>COVID ne siasa</i>	COVID is politics
17.	<i>COVID ne shinyasio</i>	COVID is banishment
18.	<i>COVID ne wonyo khu bandu</i>	COVID is a warning to people
19.	<i>COVID ne shiboko</i>	COVID is a punishment
20.	<i>COVID ne shibela</i>	COVID is grief
21.	<i>COVID no muyeka</i>	COVID is a cold
22.	<i>COVID ni yamachina</i>	COVID is hailstorm
23.	<i>COVID ne lifumbetsa</i>	COVID is mist
24.	<i>COVID ni bwononi</i>	COVID is a spoiler
25.	<i>COVID na mangayimwe</i>	COVID is a difficult situation
26.	<i>COVID no butakha</i>	COVID is poverty
27.	<i>COVID ne yinzala</i>	COVID is hunger
28.	<i>COVID no lubala</i>	COVID is a sting
29.	<i>COVID ne shiniamuliro</i>	COVID is a troublemaker
30.	<i>COVID no muchesi</i>	COVID is a harvester/reaper

Source: Fieldwork (2021)

Appendix VI: Sample Excerpts from Key Informant Interviews

Key informant 1: *Omanye eshalo shino nishokhuwuka. Esie embuliranga tsa vari olumbe luno nolubi sana lakini sembara bwatoto nibulimo ta. Koviti yino neliye akari wofubala fwa yinjolekha. Shakhumanyile abachaina **balomba eshindu shino okhuba eshifaa** shokhulwana omumereka.*

P.T [oma[□] ehalo fino ni[□]oxoka. es[□] embulira[□]a tsa βari olumb[□] luno nolufi sana lakini sembara βwatoto niβulimo ta. kofiti yino neli:ya akari w[□]fuβala fua yinj[□]laxa. faxoma[□]il[□] aβatfama βalomba efindu fino oxoβa e[□]ifa foxolwana omum[□]araka.]

(You know this world is very strange. Me, I just hear that this pandemic is very dangerous but I don't think it is true. This COVID is a fight among foreign nations. What we know, the Chinese **manufactured this thing to be a weapon** to fight Americans.)

Key informant 2: *Lekha ekhubolele mundu wanje, abandu muserekali yino nabachesi muno. Babukule amakhuwa kolumbe luno okhurechelakho shabalia. Shandalolanga, amatangaso kabakhongo balarusianga nokhulomba ehali yifwane obubi. Shina eshenesho? Sikhuli tsa **okhukwisia olumbe luno obulilo?***

P.T [lexa exuβol[□] mundu wanj[□], aβandu mus[□]arakali yino naβatfasi muno. βaβukul[□] amaxoβa kolumb[□] luno oxor[□]t[□]laxo faβalia. sandalola[□]a, amata[□]aso kaβaxo[□]o βalarusia[□]a noxolomba e[□]zali yifuan[□] oβufi. fina e[□]fan[□]fo? s[□]xoli tsa oxokwisia olumb[□] luno oβulilo?]

(Let me tell you my friend, people in government are very shrewd. They are using this pandemic issue as a way to benefit themselves.

I think the announcements made through our leaders are exaggerating the situation.
What is that? Is the **pandemic not a bait?**)

Key informant 3: *Nosoma kaandikwa muburoobi olanyola bari etsindalo tsio khumalilikha tsilaba tsie shibi. Amalwale khuli Koviti yakhulalonga yino, neshiibalo she tsindalo tsiomwisho. Efwe khuli ababukani **khulola khuri shino nesheli.***

P.T [*Nosoma ka:ndikwa muβuro:βi ola□ola βari etsindalo tsio xumalilixax tsilaβa tsia siβi. amalwalā xuli koβiti yaxolalola^{na} yino, nāfi:βalo fa tsindalo tsiomwifio. efwā xuli aβaβukani xolola xori fino nāfalī.]*

(When you read the prophecy, you find that the last days will be perilous times. Pandemics such as COVID are a sign of the end times. We as the clergy we **feel this is doom.**)

Key informant 4: Eshibala sha bulano nishobwoni. Nolola kalakholekhanga nomanya ori Nyasaye wabelela. **Khulaburilamga mushinyasio** shichila obwoni bwefu. Khu nende mwakhukhola taa.

P. T [*eshibala fa bulano niβoβwononi.nolola kalaxolaxa^{na} noma□a ori □asaya waβalāla. xulaβurila^{na} muβi□asio fitifila oβwoni βwefu. xv nāndā mwaxoxola ta:.]*

(The world today is sinful. Looking at what is happening, you can tell that God is unhappy. We are suffering due to His wrath. **We are condemned.**)

Key informant 5: Omusuku wamaya okhwinjila. Okhulwana olumbe luno kakhoya tsa khulonde amalako kababola. Nobaya olatsia.

P.T [*omusuku wamaya oxwinjila. oxolwana olumbā luno kaxoya tsa xolondā amalako. noβaya olatsia.]*

(**The enemy has come.** To fight this pandemic, you should just follow the measures. If you joke, you will die.)

Key informant 6: *Emiyika cha ndakhamenya ndalolakho kano taa. Lelo khwanyola omucheni wamakana. Buno bupaanga woti kweli? Nokaala, oletsukhana tsa bwinjile.*

P.T [emiyika tfa ndaxam^o a ndalolaxo kano ta:. l^olo xva^oola omuf^oni wamakana. βuno βupa^oa w^oti kweli?noka:la, ol^otsuxana tsa βwinjil^o.]

(I have never witnessed this. **We have got a strange visitor.** Does this pandemic knock the door? When you get a bit careless, you will be shocked that it is in.)

Key informant 7: *Nowulira amatangaso, bakhaya tsa bari khulonde amalako ko lumbe luno. Nee luuliranga taa. Luno neyimbulu. Ata mubole, lulesundukha tawe.*

P.T [nowulira amata^oaso, βaxaya tsa βari xolond^o amalako ko lumb^o luno. ne^o lu:lira^oa ta:. luno neyimbulu.]

(Listening to news, they insist that we follow the COVID protocols **but this pandemic does not listen. It is a monitor lizard.** No matter how much you talk; it is not bothered.

Key informant 8: *Eyindalo yindi khwalola tsa abandu balatabanga. Okhusinjila wakhwali, mama baalanga etsifwa amukulu alia bali batilirwe. Khwachenya khuri kho shakhania omuliro ni shiko! Lwa khwareba, no omundu abola ari sibaali netsimasiki tawe. Eshikhalo shefu shokhupurutika shawela tsa awena shichila Koviti.*

P.T[eyindalo yindi xoolola tsa aβandu βalataβa^{la}. oxusi□ila waxoali, mama βala:^{la}
etsifwa amukulu alia βali βatilirwə. xvatf;□a xuri faxania omuliro nifiko!
Lwa xoareβa, no omundu aβola arı sıβa:lı netsmasıki tawə. efixalo fəfu
foxəpurutika fawəla tsa awəna fitfıla koβıtı.]

(The other day, we just saw some people running. When we stood up, those women who sell greens from that side had been arrested. **We wondered what had caused the trouble.** We inquired and realized the women were not wearing masks. We had to stop entertaining ourselves because of the COVID thing.)

Key informant 9: *Amasika kabele anjelekha wefu yaa. Khekhubolele, Koviti ne shibeela. Mulwanyi mulia abandu balimo tsa mufusi shichila amalako kolumbe luno. Abaami bakhaya bari abandu bakhekkhalaho taa. Shali eshisa.* (There was a funeral in our neighborhood. Let me tell you, **Covid is grief.** In that home, there was just a handful of mourners because of the covid containment measures. The local leadership had ensured that no people gathered there. It was grievous.)

Key informant 10: *Nochenda mushilo olatilwa. Etsindalo tsia koviti tsino tsienyanga tsa angolobe niyula obe munzu. Omwana wa Muchukuyu yakonilemo. Eshindu shino shayenona etsinjendo. Solola hata Nairobi abandu sibashitsitsanga mushilo taa.* (You risk being arrested if you walk at night. This covid times require you to be in your house before it is dark. Muchukuyu's child was arrested. This thing has disrupted travelling. You can even see people no longer travel to Nairobi at night.)

Key informant 11: *Etsinzu tsialapomokhanga sana. Okhurula koviti niyaanza, yania omuliro. Obulamu mutsingo nobutinyu. Abandu balakhayananga muno nakali batifia emilimo shichila olumbe luno.*

(Many marriages are breaking. Since Covid emerged, it has **caused trouble**. Couples are breaking especially where one lost their job due to this pandemic).

Key informant 12: *Olumbe luno lwalamala abandu. Buli lwabusha netsimbungu. Abandu balafwitsanga sana. Hata mwakhuba **okhuchesa**, omuyiinda tsana sikukhetsulanga?*

(This pandemic will finish people. Every new day comes with mourning. There are a lot of deaths. Even if it were **harvesting**, can't the basket get full?)

Appendix VII: Sample Excerpts from Focus Group Discussions

Discussant 1: *Omanyane noli mufula yolunyilili, siwiyikama taa. Shokholanga otoranga tsa notsia shichila somanya lwanawiye tawe. Kho esie, endolanga koviti tsa khuli olunyilili. Khulatora tsa nikhutsia.*

(You know **when you are in a drizzle**, you don't need to shelter. You just keep going because you can't tell when it will stop. For me, I see koviti as a drizzle and we will move on as it drops)

Discussant 2: *Eyi! Waa. Mulunyilili otoranga obubi okhubura mukufula okunyinji. Koviti seliyotendeyia tawe.*

(Oh! My friend. **In a drizzle** you get drenched more than in heavy rains. Covid cannot be taken lightly.)

Discussant 3: *Noli nende sholia nilwo lwawikhalanga halala. Ne Eshibala shumile shino hata ni yinyilila, nolarula olalia orie. Solola okhurula lwo lumbe luno lwanza Khubele mushikha shobutinyu.*

(If you have food, that's the time you can relax. **In these difficult times**, even if it drizzles you must get out otherwise how will you feed and yet Covid has caused lack of so many things.)

Discussant 4: *Okhubola tsa katoto Kubele mumangayimwe. Olumbe luno namaraba. Khubele mubutinyu bwamakana.*

(Honestly, we are in a difficult situation. Covid is something we can't understand. **We are in a difficult situation.**)

Discussant 5: *Koviti neshivoyee. Kubele khuli abavoye. Solola mwekafiyu yakhutula. Sochenda taa.*

(Covid is imprisonment. We are just like prisoners. You see how the curfew is restricting us. You can't go anywhere.)

Discussant 6: *Esie endola tsa ori koviti neshifune shokwikalira vana siasa balala emipango chabo. **Khubele tsa musiasa.** koviti ne siasa tsa, mulalola.*

(I think Covid is just a reason to deny some politicians room to carry on with their activities. **We are just in politics**, Covid is just politics. You will come to realize later.)

Discussant 7: *Lakini khumanye khuri abandu balasaliranga. Okhurula lwa koviti yetsa, **khwaba tsa mushinyasio.** Obwoni bwakhukholanga bwakhura muminyakhano.*

(But we should understand that people are suffering. Since Covid came **we are in condemnation.** Maybe our transgressions have condemned us to suffering.

Discussant 8: *Tawe, abandu sibalondanga amalako taa. **Koviti no busafi.** Omanyane noli omusafi okhutusia amalako khuli okhusava amakhono nesabuni nende okhurimishila emasiki koviti sekhunyasia taa.*

(No, people don't just follow the Covid protocols. **Covid is hygiene.** You know when you observe measures like handwashing and masking you can't get into problems.

Discussant 9: *Esie ndalolanga endi okhurula koviti **niyanza khwaba mushibela eshikali muno.** Abandu befu bafwitsanga mani balala sikhwakhabe khulire tawe shichila amalako ka koviti. Olumbe luno buliwotsia abandu batsa mushibela.*

(I think from the time Covid came; **we have been in a lot of grief.** Our relatives passed on and we could not mourn their demise because of the Covid protocols. Everywhere you could go, people were in grief.)

Appendix VIII: Sample (MIP) of COVID-19 Metaphors in Lukabarar

Key informant 5: *Omusuku wamaya okhwinjila. Okhulwana olumbe luno kakhoya tsa khulonde amalako kababola. Nobaya olatsia.*

(The enemy has come. To fight this pandemic, you should just follow the measures. If you joke, you will die.)

Step 1. The text reveals that it is concerned with the novel COVID-19 pandemic and the measures that should be followed in order to avoid the consequences which include death. In particular, the first sentence captures the coming of the pandemic as an enemy. The focus is on fighting the enemy who if taken lightly, can claim one's life. The second sentence implies the enemy can only be fought by observing certain protocols.

Step 2. The text is read through to determine the lexical units. In this case, the lexical units are identified using slashes to indicate the boundaries. Therefore, the excerpt is divided into a stretch of the following lexical units:

Omusuku/ wamaya/ okhwinjila/. Okhulwana/ olumbe/ luno/ kakhoya/ tsa/ khulonde/ amalako/ kababola/. Nobaya/ olatsia/.

Step 3: Each lexical unit is analysed by establishing

- a) its contextual meaning to show how it applies to an entity, relation or attribute
- b) if it has a more basic meaning in other contexts than the one in the given situation. Usually, basic meanings are more concrete, related to bodily action and more precise.

c) if the basic meaning contrasts with the contextual meaning but can be understood in the given situation.

In the excerpt, each of the lexical units is analysed as follows:

Omusuku

a) *contextual meaning*: In this context ***Omusuku*** (enemy) is attributed to the novel COVID-19 pandemic which is something abstract whose emergence posed a threat and caused harm to people's lives. As such, it should be combated.

b) *basic meaning*: a person who is opposed to another and usually can cause them harm.

c) *contextual and basic meaning*: the contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning and can be understood by comparing with it. We can understand the emergence of the abstract concept which is undesirable by comparing it to the concrete attributes of a person that is an enemy.

Step 4: The lexical unit is metaphorical

wamaya

a) *contextual meaning*: In this context the lexical unit ***wamaya*** (has) is used to show that the thing referred to already took place though not long in the past and its effects are still felt within the present or the occurrence has not yet come to an end.

b) *basic meaning*: the basic sense of the word is that the thing involved possesses.

c) *contextual and basic meaning*: The sense of the basic meaning contrasts with the contextual meaning. However, there is no comparison that can be drawn in order to understand the contextual meaning with the basic meaning.

Step 4: The lexical unit is not metaphorically used.

okhwinjila

a) *contextual meaning*: In this context, ***okhwinjila*** (to get in) with regard to COVID-19 means breaking all possible barriers and finding way into people's lives. The contextual meaning depicts a bounded area or container that is entered through physical movement.

b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning captures the sense of having come and thus occupying space. The meaning is attributed to something that has not been there before and therefore understood as new.

c) *contextual and basic meaning*: The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning and can be understood by way of comparing with it. We can compare the coming of COVID-19 which apparently has found way into people's lives with a person that gets in a place or a container.

Step 4: The lexical unit is metaphorical

Okhulwana

a) *contextual meaning*: In this context the lexical unit ***Okhulwana*** (to fight) means the relevant actions taken to curb or prevent the pandemic.

b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning is to hit or kick each other or use weapons against each other as it were in war.

c) *contextual and basic meaning*: The contextual meaning can be understood by comparing with the basic meaning.

In this case, the prevention of COVID-19 pandemic through containment measures is compared with a physical fight in which we should try hard follow the measures in order to win against the pandemic.

Step 4: The lexical unit is metaphorically used.

Olumbe

a) *contextual meaning*: In this context ***Olumbe*** (pandemic) is used to mean a disease that is rampant, wide spread and has dire effects on a large population of people.

b) *basic meaning*: The basic sense refers to an illness that affects people or animals and caused by infection.

c) *contextual and basic meaning*: The basic meaning and the contextual meaning is the same and therefore we do not find a way in which the contextual meaning can be understood by comparing it with the basic meaning.

Step 4: The word is not metaphorically used.

luno

a) *contextual meaning*: In this context the lexical unit ***luno*** (this) has a grammatical function in which it refers to ***olumbe*** (the pandemic).

b) *basic meaning*: The basic meaning is that it is a demonstrative with a deictic function indicating the referent in the situation.

c) *contextual and basic meaning*: In this case, the contextual meaning and the basic meaning is the same. Therefore, the contextual meaning cannot be understood in by comparing with the basic meaning.

Step 4: The word is not metaphorically used.

kakhoya

a) *contextual meaning*: In this context the lexeme ***kakhoya*** (should) has the means that people are supposed to follow the measures.

b) *basic meaning*: the meaning of the lexeme is used to show that it is important or correct or sensible to do as required.

c) contextual and basic meaning: the basic meaning carries a similar meaning with the contextual meaning.

Step 4: The word has no metaphorical meaning

tsa

a) contextual meaning: In this context the lexeme *tsa* (just) means there is no other way apart from the one given.

b) basic meaning: the basic meaning of the lexeme is that it indicates not more or less than what is mentioned.

c) contextual and basic meaning. The basic meaning and the contextual meaning have similar meaning and one cannot be understood by comparing one to the other.

Step 4: The word is not metaphorically used.

khulonde

a) contextual meaning: In this context the lexeme *khulonde* (we follow) means to do or go by what is required in the given situation.

b) basic meaning: the lexeme follow means to watch, obey or do according to a particular situation.

c) contextual and basic meaning: The contextual meaning and the basic meaning do not contrast and the contextual meaning is the same as the basic meaning.

Step 4: The word is not metaphorically used.

amalako

a) contextual meaning. In this this the lexeme *amalako* (measures) means guidelines or protocols

b) basic meaning: the meaning of the lexeme is rules or stipulated directions.

c) contextual and basic meaning: the basic meaning and the contextual meaning are similar

Step 4: The word is not metaphorical

kababola

a) contextual meaning: In this context the lexeme ***kababola*** is to mean doing what is required or following the direction given

b) basic meaning: the lexeme basically means doing what is said as instructed.

c) contextual and basic meaning: the basic meaning and the contextual meaning are similar

Step 4: No metaphor used.

Nobaya

a) contextual meaning: In this context the lexeme ***Nobaya*** means if you take things lightly.

b) basic meaning. the basic meaning is to play or joke with a serious matter

c) contextual and basic meaning: the contextual meaning and the basic meaning do not contrast

Step 4: No metaphor used

olatsia.

a) contextual meaning: In this context the lexeme ***olatsia*** (you will die) means one losing their life

b) basic meaning: the basic meaning of the lexeme is you will go.

c) contextual and basic meaning. The contextual meaning contrasts with the basic meaning and can be understood by comparing with it. We can compare life to a journey and when one loses it, they are gone.

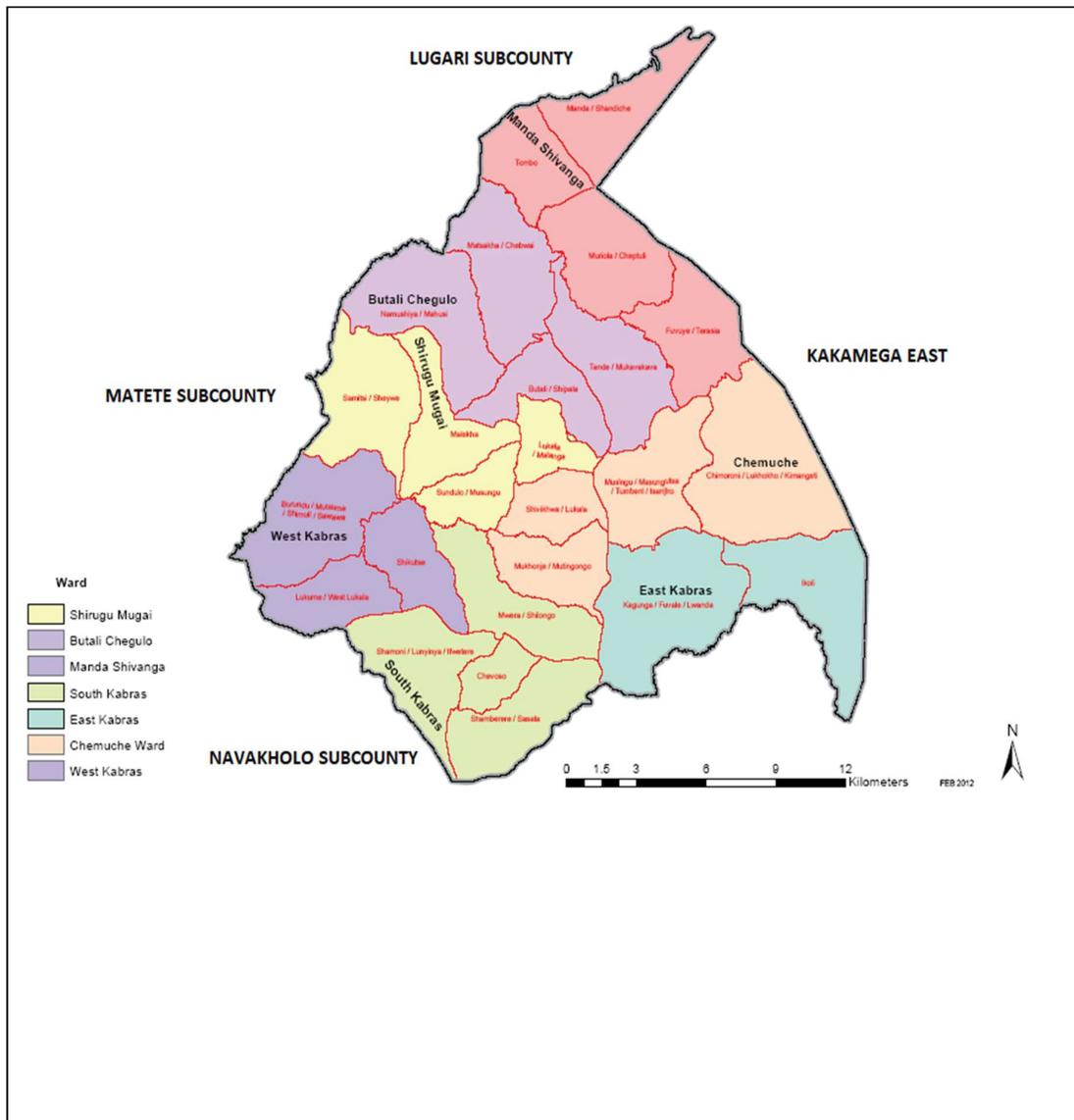
Step 4: The word is metaphorically used.

Appendix IX: COVID-19 Pandemic Timeline, Kenya

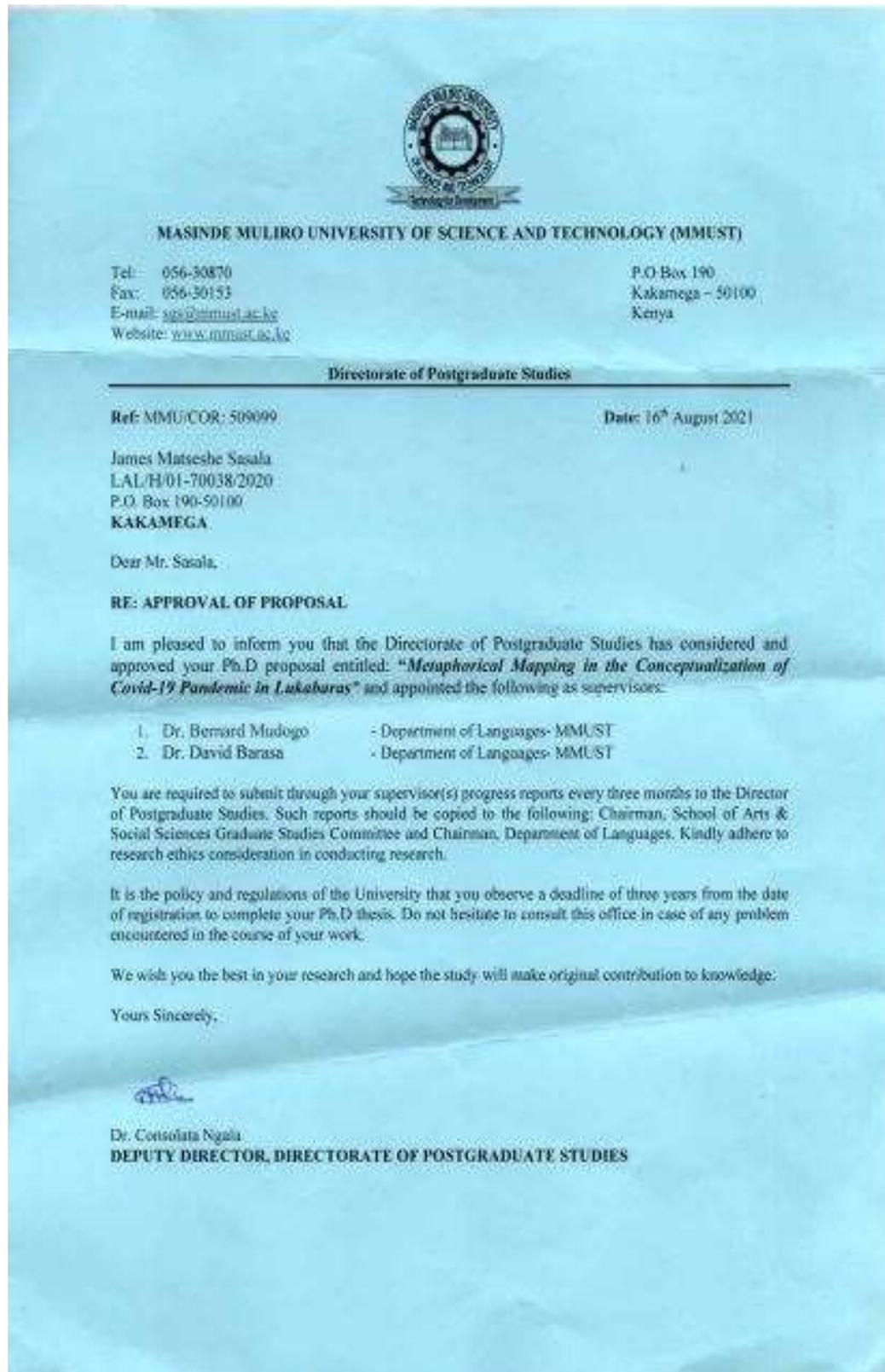
- | | |
|----------------|--|
| 12 March 2020 | – First case detected in Kenya |
| 13 March 2020 | – Suspension of all public gatherings, meetings, religious crusades games events |
| 15 Mar2020 | – Schools closures, homeworking. International travel suspended, bars and restaurants closed. |
| 25 March 2020 | – Nationwide curfew enforced |
| 27 March 2020 | – President announced 100% tax relief to Kenyans earning KSh24,000 (US\$228) and below, K.Sh. 10 billion (US\$95 million) to vulnerable groups including the elderly and orphans |
| 27 April 2020 | – Travel restrictions put in place in most affected areas, including Nairobi. Partial reopening of eateries |
| 23 May 2020 | – Kenyatta promised a Sh53.7 billion stimulus package in order to help Kenyans. |
| 17 June 2020 | – Further restrictions due to worsening crisis. Kakamega and Kisumu declared ‘hotspot zones.’ 7pm to 4am curfew. Non-food and livestock markets suspended 30 days. |
| 26 August 2020 | – Nationwide curfew extended, closure of bars and nightclubs for 30 days. |
| 1 October 2020 | – Curfew shifted to 11pm to 4am. Bars and restaurants open but must close by 10pm. Partial reopening of economy. |
| 12 October | – Schools reopen starting with examination classes, i.e., Grade 4, Class 8, and Form 4 students. |

Source: APHRC (2020:4)

Appendix X: Map of Kakamega North Sub-County



Appendix XI: Research Approval from Directorate of Post graduate Studies



Appendix XII: Research Permit from NACOSTI


REPUBLIC OF KENYA


NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Ref No: 251974 Date of Issue: 27 September 2021

RESEARCH LICENSE



This is to Certify that Mr. JAMES MATSESHE SASALA of Masinde Muliro University of Science and Technology, has been licensed to conduct research in Kakamega on the topic: METAPHORICAL MAPPINGS IN THE CONCEPTUALIZATION OF COVID-19 PANDEMIC IN LUKABARAS for the period ending : 27 September 2022.

License No: NACOSTI/P/21/13095

251974

Applicant Identification Number


Director General
NATIONAL COMMISSION FOR
SCIENCE, TECHNOLOGY & INNOVATION

Verification QR Code



NOTE: This is a computer generated License. To verify the authenticity of this document, Scan the QR Code using QR scanner application.