



THE AKAMBA FOLK THEORY OF NGOÒ 'ANGER'

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Abstract:

The research in this paper is about the folk theory of *ngoò* 'anger' among the Akamba people. The Akamba have several words for anger: *ũthatu* (anger), *ũthiliku* (anger which sometimes involves cursing), *ngoo* (anger; but the word *ngoo* also has other meanings, that is, 'heart', 'nausea', 'desire', and 'banana flower'), *woo* (anger, pain), and *nzika* (anger; but *nzika* also means 'doubt' in some regions of Ũkambanĩ). They have many other words, which they use to imply 'anger' but which in themselves do not mean anger. These include: *kũng'athia* (an expression of being stiff from intense anger), *ũũ* (bitter), *ũlalako* (irritation, a hot feeling that people get when they eat hot pepper), *ũkaatu* (unpalatable taste), *kũtangwa* (to be choked) and *kwĩw'a makindi* (to feel as if there are internal lumps that are making you bulge). The Akamba anger word analyzed here is *ngoò* 'anger'. The choice of *ngoò* 'anger' is informed by my findings that it is a reference to the central organ, *ngoo* 'heart', where the Akamba believe that the emotion takes place.

Keywords: Ngoò 'anger', logic, Ego, frame and frame elements

List of abbreviations

ASP	Aspect	NEG	Negation
DEM	Demonstrative	PASS	Passive
FOC	Focus	PERF	Perfect
FUTa	Immediate Future	PROG	Progressive
FUTb	Distant Future	PRT	Present Tense
FUTc	Remote Future	PST _a	Immediate Past
FV	Final Vowel	PST _b	Near Past
HAB	Habitual	PST _c	Distant Past
IMPER	Imperative	PST _d	Remote Past
INF	Infinitive	QUE	Question Marker

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1. Introduction

The people whose folk theory of anger is presented here are “known as Akamba; one person is a Mukamba, their language is Kĩkamba, and their country Ukambani (or Ukamba).”ⁱⁱ The word ‘country’ as used by Mbiti in the quotation above refers to the region where they live in Kenya. According to the last national census done in 2009, the Akamba population is close to 3 million, which means they are the fifth largest community in Kenya. They occupy the Machakos, Makũenĩ and Kĩtui counties, although some live in other areas but their numbers are not significantly high.

The data that is analyzed in this paper shows that, the folk theory of the Akamba holds the perception that *ngoò* is an intonation of *ngoo* ‘heart’, the central organ where anger is believed to take place.

1.1 The Akamba Origin

According to the Akamba tales of their origin, they migrated from the Democratic Republic of Congo, and then passed through what is now Uganda and Tanzania before they entered the territory that is now Kenya. In Kenya, they first settled in the Nzaũ Hills and later dispersed to the present localities. It is believed that even today there are still Akamba in the Democratic Republic of Congo, and in Uganda and Tanzania.ⁱⁱⁱ

In this paper, I will present the Kenya Akamba folk theory of *ngoò* ‘anger’. According to the Kĩkamba-English Dictionary published in 2003, there are only three words that are defined as anger: *ũthatu* and its cognates: *thata*, *ũthatyo*; *thilĩ* and its verbal form—*ũthilĩku*, and *ngoò*.^{iv} My research also will show that *ngoò* ‘anger’ is a reference to *ngoo* ‘heart’ which is the body organ where the event of anger occurs according to the Akamba folk theory. The correlation of *ngoò* ‘anger’ and *ngoo* ‘heart’ makes the folk theory of *ngoò* ‘anger’ central in its usage and worthy of investigation to determine how all the other words fit together within a single taxonomy.

In my analysis of this folk theory, all the examples will be done in Kĩkamba followed by a translation in English. It is therefore necessary to highlight some elements of Kĩkamba grammar, which will be useful in understanding the examples that will be given later in this paper.

1.2 The Kĩkamba Language

The Kĩkamba language has a developed orthography in the category of E55 placed in Bantu zone E.^v Like many Bantu languages, Kĩkamba is syntactically a subject-verb-object (SVO) language. In this section, I will only analyze the basic verbal forms of Kĩkamba that are necessary for understanding the examples that will be used later in the paper. I will focus on

ⁱⁱ John Mbiti, *Akamba Stories* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1983), 3.

ⁱⁱⁱ My informant for this was David Kitavi who is 80 years old and is one of the community elders in Yathui region, lower parts of Machakos .

^{iv} Roy M. Mũtĩsya and Simon Ndũnda, *Kĩkamba-English Dictionary* (Nairobi: Roma, 2003), 126, 156, 186.

^v Malcolm Guthrie, *The Classification of the Bantu Languages* (London: Dawsons of Pall Mall, 1967), 42–43.

the tenses, infinitive forms, negation of clauses and aspect only, since they are the relevant ones for the examples that will later follow.

The verbal forms comprise a verb root with prefixes, infixes and suffixes. Most of the prefixes are either a focus or a person marker designating either the agent of the verb, if it is active, or the patient, if the verb is passive. These two are the common prefixes that are usually attached to the verb. Concerning suffixes, most but not all of the Kikamba verbs have a final vowel (FV) after the suffix. The FV is marked by either -as, -a, or -e. The mood is marked by infixes; -i- for perfect marker and -a- or -ete- for imperfect.^{vi} I will begin by looking at the Kikamba tenses, starting with the present tense.^{vii}

The present tense is marked by -kũ- prefix:

1) *Nĩngũya*

Nĩ.n.kũ.ya

FOC.1sg.PRT.eat

'I am eating'

The next item is the past tense. Kikamba has four past tenses, the immediate past (PST_a) represented by the -ná^{viii}- prefix, the near past (PST_b) represented by the -nĩ- prefix, the distant past (PST_c) represented by the -nâ- prefix and the remote past (PST_d) represented by the -â- prefix. Here are some examples to demonstrate this:

2) *Nĩnaya*

Nĩ.ná.ya

1sg.PST_a.eat.

I have eaten (immediate past)

3) *Nĩnĩye*

Nĩ.nĩ.ĩ.ye

1sg.PST_b.PERF.ate

'I ate' (near past)

4) *Nĩnaaĩye*

Nĩ.nâ.ĩ.ye

1sg.PST_c.PERF.ate

'I ate' (distant past)

5) *Nâiye*

Nĩ.â.ĩ.ye

Isg.PST_d.PERF.ate

^{vi} Guthrie, *The Classification of the Bantu Languages*, 25.

^{vii} The prefix changes with the tense, mood, voice, person and number of the verb, as well as the case and number of the noun (the subject or object) it goes with.

^{viii} This accent marks high tone.

'I ate' (remote past)

The last tense to be considered is the future tense. Kĩkamba has three future tenses. It has the prefix -kâ- for the immediate future (FUT_a), the prefix -ka- for the distant future (FUT_b) and the prefix -ká-^{ix} for the remote future (FUT_c). This tense pattern is illustrated by the following examples:

6) *Nĩngũya*

Nĩ.n. **kũ**^x.ya
FOC.1sg.FUT_a.eat

'I will eat' (immediate future)

7) *Ngaya*

N.**ka**.ya
1sg.FUT_b.eat

I shall eat (distant future)

8) *Nĩngaya*

Nĩ.n.**ká**.ya (remote future)
FOC.1sg.FUT_c.eat

'I shall eat' (remote future)

Having looked at the tenses, the following example is on the infinitive form. The infinitive in Kĩkamba is marked by -kũ- prefix as explained in the following example:

9) *kũya*

kũ.ya
INF.eat
'to eat'

The following examples focus on negation of verbs. The Kĩkamba clauses are negated by the prefix -ndi- in the 1st person, -ndũ- in the 2nd person and -nde- in the 3rd person. Examples to illustrate these are:

10) *Ndiya*

Ndi.ya
NEG.1sg.eat

^{ix} The difference in these future tenses is the tone which begins with a low tone for the immediate future and ends with high tone for the remote future.

^xThe 1sg marker 'n' prefix is combined, in speech, with the 'kũ' of the immediate future and the 'k' phonetically sounds like 'g', both giving the 'ng' sound. Although the -ng- is originally -nk-, in pronunciation Kĩkamba does not have the high pitched -nk- sound, instead has -ng- sound. Since the main differences in the future markers is the tone as mentioned in footnote 8 above, the -kâ- is so low it is pronounced as ũ, hence *nĩngũya*.

Not-eat
(I will) not eat.

11) *Ndũkaye*

Ndũ.ka.ye
NEG. 2sg.eat
'Not.you.eat'
Don't eat (this is functioning like a negated imperative)

12) *Ndeya*

Nde.ya
NEG.eat
'S/he will not eat'

The last item I am considering is the aspect of a Kĩkamba verb. The verbal forms in Kĩkamba show a difference between perfect (completed) and imperfect (incomplete) aspects. The perfect is marked by the suffix *-ie-* or the prefix *-i-* while the imperfect is marked by the suffix *-a-* when it is habitual (HAB) or the suffix *-ete-* when it is progressive (PRG). Below are some examples:

13) *Nĩnĩte*

Nĩ.nĩ.ĩ.ye
FOC.1sg.PERF.eat
'I ate'

14) *Nĩnĩnaĩye*

Nĩ.nĩ.na.ĩ^{xi}.ye
FOC.1sg.PST_b.PERF.ate
'I ate' (near past)

15) *Nĩnĩsaá*

Nĩ.nĩ.ĩ.ĩsa^{xii}.á
FOC.1pl.eat.HAB.FV
'I eat'

16) *Nĩnĩte*

Nĩ.nĩ.ĩ.ete.e
FOC.1sg.eat.PRG.FV
I am eating

^{xi} The 'ie' contracts to 'ĩ'.

^{xii} The 'ya' root changes to 'to' in the Imperfect. Take note of example 16 also.

The review offered above is designed to help the reader understand the subsequent examples used in this paper. Since the focus of this paper is the folk theory of *ngoò* 'anger', a good grasp of the Akamba emotional structure in general is also a useful tool. The following section is a brief description of the method used in this research.

2. Methodology

This research uses two methods: one for data collection and the other for data analysis. The method for data collection is the qualitative research while for data analysis I have used the 6 point-logic developed by Daniel M. T. Fessler. Below is a description of each beginning with the qualitative one.

2.1 Qualitative field research

In my field research, I have collected my data from parts of the Ūkambani region within three counties: Machakos, Makueni and Kītui, which are largely dominated by the Akamba people and which geographically is located in the lower eastern part of Kenya. The Kīkamba language has three main dialects, but I will treat them as four because of a little known one, which is gaining prominence in the North Eastern part of Kītui County, formerly Mwingī District.

In the process of data collection, I am using qualitative research which, as Donna Mertens notes, "*is designed to provide an in-depth description of a specific program, practice or setting.*"^{xiii} The study of a practice within its setting, allows one to describe objects and events in terms of the meaning given by the local people. Qualitative research relies upon a number of methods which include: "*case study; personal experience; introspection; life story; interview; artifacts; cultural texts and productions; observational, historical, interactional, and visual texts—that describe routine and problematic moments and meanings in individuals' lives.*"^{xiv} Out of the above-mentioned approaches, those that are applied here are interviews, personal experience, life stories and observations. The interviews are mainly done with individuals and in focus groups. In employing these different approaches to data collection, a key point to note is that the goal of the researcher is to seek the indigenous conceptualization of the subject. The cultural setting and the social well-being of the local people plays an important role in the way they shape their concepts. As Sharan Merriam noted "*the key to understanding qualitative research lies with the idea that meaning is socially construed by individuals in interaction with their world.*"^{xv} Specifically for this research, the goal is to understand the meaning of the emotion of *ngoò* based on the Akamba's world and experiences, through the process of data collection, analysis, and a description of the findings.^{xvi}

^{xiii} Donna M. Mertens, *Research and Evaluation in Education and Psychology: Integrating Diversity with Quantitative, Qualitative, and Mixed Methods*, 2nd ed. (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2005), 229.

^{xiv} Mertens, *Research and Evaluation in Education and Psychology*, 230.

^{xv} Sharan B. Merriam, ed., "Introduction to Qualitative Research," in *Qualitative Research in Practice: Examples for Discussion and Analysis* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002), 3.

^{xvi} Merriam, ed., "Introduction to Qualitative Research," 5.

2.2 Daniel M. T. Fessler's 'logic'

The second method that I use in this paper, for the purposes of analyzing my data, was developed by Daniel M. T. Fessler. Fessler said, "It is possible to describe an emotion in terms of what I call its 'logic,' that is, the abstracted set of conditions wherein it is experienced."^{xvii} In this 'logic', an emotion can be broken down to different levels of developmental stages, which build up to the experience of the emotion. Fessler has demonstrated the value of this logic in his study of *malu* 'shame' in Dusun Bagak.^{xviii} In his analysis, he broke down *malu* into six levels of development. For illustrative purpose, his observation of *malu* was that it is characterized by 6-point logic^{xix} as follows:

6-point logic

- a) Ego violates a norm;
- b) Ego is aware of his failure;
- c) an Other is also aware of Ego's failure;
- d) Ego is aware of the Other's knowledge;
- e) Other displays hostility or revulsion towards Ego -OR- Ego assumes that Other experiences hostility and revulsion towards Ego
- f) Ego experiences *malu*, an aversive emotion^{xx}

According to this methodology, the proposed steps reveal the set of conditions that precedes an experience of a certain emotion. The steps offer a useful guideline, which changes depending on the data that each context presents. Concerning this research, the six steps by Fessler are helpful in examining *ngoò*.

2.3 The Akamba Emotional Category

There is no specific word for 'emotion' in Kikamba. When the Akamba talk of an emotion, mainly they use *ĩw'a* 'feel' in its infinitive form *kwĩw'a* 'to feel' for good emotions and *kũlikwa* 'to be entered' in its passive form for bad emotions. The Akamba determine whether emotions are good or bad depending on how they perceive the emotions' effect in the society. Bad emotions consist of hate, envy and jealousy among others, and are associated with evil since they destroy the society. The good emotions are associated with goodness in the society in that they contribute to the well-being of the society. The verbal description of bad emotions implies that those emotions are external 'objects' that are not intrinsic within the human body while the good emotions are within the body system. These sentences describing the bad emotions are normally constructed in the passive form. For example:

17) Ego *alikalwe ni kĩmena*

Ego *a.likalwe nĩ kĩmena*

^{xvii} Daniel M. T. Fessler, "Toward an Understanding of the Universality of Second Order Emotions," in *Biocultural Approaches to the Emotions*, ed. Alexander Laban Hinton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 5.

^{xviii} Dusun Bagak is a pseudonym for a village in Sumatra, Indonesia.

^{xix} Since languages are different, each language will have a different set of conditions and not necessarily six as it is the case with *malu*.

^{xx} Fessler, "Toward an Understanding of the Universality of Second Order Emotions," 76-7.

Ego 3sg. enter by hate
'Ego has hatred. Literally, Ego has been entered by hate'

To illustrate this further I will use a quote from a story of a young girl and a bull that is written by Mwikali Kieti in her book: *Barking, you'll be eaten.*^{xxi} In this story, there was a man who had several sons who were single. When the youngest of all got married to a beautiful girl, the rest of his brothers became envious. In the story it says:

18) *Anaaniny'a ĩ, malikwa nĩ kĩwĩu*
Ana.a.niny'a ma.lika.w.a
3pl-enter-PASS-FV
Sons.of.mother idiophone were entered by envy

The brothers became envious. Literally, the sons of the same mother were entered by envy. In this sentence, the verb *malikwa* 'were entered' is in the passive form, which demonstrates the Akamba thinking that this feeling is not part of the body system of the person experiencing it.

For the good emotions like love, there is no single reference I know or have heard in which love entered Ego. All the references are about Ego feeling love or having love, literally Ego *eĩw'a wendo*, 'Ego feels love' or *ena wendo*, 'Ego owns love.' Since the focus of this paper is anger, which is a good emotion and therefore is felt and owned, I will analyze the polysemous element of *ĩw'a* 'feel':

19) *kwĩw'a*
kũ.ĩw'a
INF.feel
'To feel'

The Akamba make a difference between emotional feelings like love and sensory feelings like that of touch. In expressions describing sensory feelings, *kwĩw'a* 'to feel' is accompanied by *kwata* 'touch' or *sama* 'taste' but is never used on its own. For example, if a parent wants to touch her child's forehead to feel the body heat, one will have to say *kwata* 'touch' and *ĩw'a* 'feel', that is, touch and feel the body heat. A mother who is preparing food will *sama* 'taste' and *ĩw'a* 'feel', that is, taste and feel whether the food is ready to be served.

In addition to *ĩw'a* 'feel', there are three other usages of *ĩw'a*: *ĩw'a* 'hear/listen', *ĩw'a* 'ripen' and *ĩw'a* 'obey' as demonstrated in the examples below:

20) *Nĩngw'a nzaa*
Nĩ.nkũ.ĩw'a
FOC-1sg-feel

^{xxi} Mwikali Kieti and Peter Coughlin, *Barking you'll be eaten! The Wisdom of Kamba Oral Literature* (Nairobi: phoenix 1990), 51.

Feel Isg hunger
I feel hungry

21) *kweew'a kana ãw'a*
kũ.ãw'a IMPER
INF.hear listen
Listen/hear or Listen

22) *kwãw'a kana ãw'a*
kũ.ãw'a IMPER
INF.ripen or ripen
To.ripen

23) *kwãw'a kana ãw'a*
kũ.ãw'a or IMPER
INF.obey
To obey or obey

When the Akamba verbally express their emotions, they associate the emotion with either *nthakame* 'blood', *thayũ* 'soul' or *ngoo* 'heart' such as:

24) *Nthakame yakwa ndĩ kw'ãw'ana na yake*
Blood of me not agree with his
My blood does not agree with his/hers
We are not friends

25) *Nthakame yakwa nĩ ikwendete*
Nthakame yakwa nĩ ã.kũ.enda.ete
Blood of me is 3sg.INF.love. PRG
My blood loves (progressively) you
I love you

26) *Nthakame yakwa nĩ ikũmenete*
Nthakame yakwa nĩ ã.kũ.mena.ete
Blood of me is 3sg.INF.hate. PRG
My blood hates (progressively) you
I hate you

The word *nthakame* 'blood' in the three sentences above can be replaced with the word *thayũ*-soul or *ngoo* 'heart' and still mean the same. For example:

27) *Thayũ wakwa nĩ ãkũmenete*
ũ.kũ.mena.ete

Soul of me is 3sg.INF.hate. PRG
I hate (progressively) you

28) *Ngoo yakwa nĩ ãkũmenete*
ĩ.kũ.mena.ete
Heart of me is 3sg.INF.hate. PRG
My heart hates (progressively) you

This interchangeable usage is based on the Akamba understanding that the soul is located in the blood.^{xxii} When Ego dies, they believe that the soul of Ego left his blood, his heart is not pumping and therefore there is no blood flowing in Ego's veins. These three: *thayũ* 'soul', *nthakame* 'blood' and *ngoo* 'heart' feature prominently in Akamba expressions of emotions.

Therefore, based on the above examples and the analysis that I will do later in this paper, my findings will demonstrate that the Akamba emotion of *ngoo* 'anger' is in the soul which is located in the blood. Once this *ngoo* 'anger' is triggered, it is carried by the blood to the *ngoo*-heart, which is the body organ in which the *ngoo* 'anger' event occurs.

3. The Akamba Folk Theory of *ngoo* 'anger'

The Akamba have several words for anger: *ũthatu* (anger), *ũthilĩku* (anger which sometimes involves cursing), *ngoo* (anger; but the word *ngoo* also has other meanings, that is, 'heart', 'nausea', 'desire', and 'banana flower'), *woo* (anger, pain), and *nzika* (anger; but *nzika* also means 'doubt' in some regions of Ũkambanĩ). They have many other words, which they use to imply 'anger' but which in themselves do not mean anger. These include: *kũng'athia*^{xxiii} (an expression of being stiff from intense anger), *ũũ* (bitter), *ũlalako* (irritation, a hot feeling that people get when they eat hot pepper), *ũkaatu* (unpalatable taste), *kũtangwa* (to be choked) and *kwĩw'a makindi* (to feel as if there are internal lumps that are making you bulge). The Akamba anger word analyzed here is *ngoo* 'anger'. The choice of *ngoo* 'anger' is informed by my findings that it is a reference to the central organ where the Akamba believe that the emotion takes place.

3.1 Analysis of the *ngoo* 'anger' Scenario

The evaluation and testing of Fessler's model in the methodology section has explained the usefulness of his model in the analysis of Akamba emotions. However, in situations where

^{xxii} This is an invisible element. If Ego is cut and bleeds, Akamba do not see that as a way of losing their soul. However, the same way water can be drained and leave toads without a place to live and hence die, the same is true with the soul. If Ego bleeds a lot, the soul will be like a toad whose pod has run dry and therefore dies (leave the body).

^{xxiii} *kũng'athia* has the same root as *'kwĩng'athilĩlya* which means 'to harden/stiffen self'. When Ego is angry, he stiffens his face and other parts of the body. This can also be explained from the example of a small beetle, locally available in Kamba land, which becomes stiff pretending to be dead when it senses danger. Its native name is 'kĩng'athũ which means the 'rigid one', a name coined from its behavior of stiffness.

Ego is not the one violating a norm as discussed above, but is the one being violated, Fessler's model will need some adjustments to accommodate this twist. This is the case with the Akamba *ngoò* 'anger' where in my analysis Ego is the one experiencing it. I propose a 5-point logic as follows:

- a) Ego perceives that X has done something displeasing to Ego
- b)

nĩwangosea

nĩ.wa.ngose.a

FOC-2sg-wrong-FV

You have wronged me

- c) This hurts Ego's soul which is in the blood
- d)

Ego *nĩwathũkya thayũ wakwa*

Ego *nĩ.wa.thũkia.a* *thayũ* *wakwa*

Ego FOC-1sg-spoil-FV soul of me

Ego has spoiled/disturbed my soul

Although I indicated above that *nthakame* 'blood' and *thayũ* 'soul' are used interchangeably in examples 25 and 26, in this sentence the phrase *nthakame* 'blood' would not fit. Instead, the Akamba say that their souls are disturbed and add that:

i. *nthakame yakwa nĩsamũkĩte*

nthakame *yakwa* *nĩ.samũka.e^{xxiv}te^{xxv}*

Blood mine FOC-boil-PRG

I am about to get angry. Literally, my blood is heating up (progressively)

Or

ii. *nthakame yakwa nĩsembete*

nthakame *yakwa* *nĩ.sembete*

Blood mine FOC-run-FV

I am almost getting angry. Literally, my blood is running.

These two idioms suggest that Ego is about to get angry. Literally, my blood is boiling or running. These idioms suggest that the body of the offended person is responding to the displeasing activity and that the offended person is aware of the response. This body response is that of a fast flow of blood within the offended person's system. Since some of my informants were illiterate, they could not tell what comes first between a fast flow of blood and a heart that is beating fast. Their understanding is that a hurt soul makes the heart beat

^{xxiv} The 'ae' contracts to form ã.

^{xxv} *kũsamũka* is a borrowed word from Swahili 'Kũchemka' which means 'boiling'.

faster and thus the blood flows fast and that fast flow continues for the period Ego is experiencing *ngoò* 'anger'.

e) The blood carries the hurting soul to Ego's heart

nthakame yumaa ngoonĩ
nthakame yĩ.uma.a ngoo.nĩ
Blood FOC.come.HAB heart.in
The blood comes from the heart.

The Akamba never talk of blood going into the heart, they only say it comes from the heart. However, the following expression explains that the disturbed soul, which makes the blood run fast (according to the folk theory) eventually affects the heart.

f) This makes the Ego's heart beat fast but they say they have a 'heart heavy'^{xxvi} instead.

This expression of a 'heavy heart' prompts the following expressions.

ena ngoo ngito
e.ena ngoo ngito
3sg-has heart heavy
He has a heavy heart

Another expression is that of a heart that is tying a knot.

ena ngoo yĩkundĩkĩte
e-ena ngoo yĩ.kundĩkĩt.e
3sg-has heart FOC.tied.a.knot.FV
He is in a bad mood (s/he is unhappy). Literally, his heart has tied a knot.

g) Ego experiences *ngoò* 'anger'

eĩw'a ngoò
e.ĩw'a ngoò^{xxvii}
3sg.feel anger
He is angry. Literally, he is feeling the heart.

^{xxvi} This expression of a 'heavy heart' represents the fast beating of the heart. The reason for this idiom is because the literal expression of saying that the heart is beating fast is associated with a heart disease. If anyone says that his heart is beating fast, he would be wishing a bad thing on himself. However, when Ego says that he has a heavy heart, the listener can infer that it is the heart that is literally beating fast as a result of an offence committed. In rare occasions, some people still say their hearts are beating fast.

^{xxvii} The Akamba differentiate polysemous words by intonation. The difference between *ngoò* 'heart' and *ngoò* 'anger' is that of intonation. The challenge with the Kikamba language is that it is a tonal language but the orthography has no tonal markings.

At this level when Ego says: *nĩ ãw'a ngoò*, X can infer from the context that Ego is angry. The context in this case is important because the phrase *nĩ ãw'a ngoò* (without intonation) means that Ego is nauseated. That is:

29) *Nĩ.ãw'a ngoò*
Isg.feel nausea
I feel nauseated

Or

30) *Nĩ.ãw'a ngoò*
Isg.feel anger
I am angry

Since according to the analysis above *ngoò 'anger'* is experienced at the heart, then the following *anger* expressions are common in the day-to-day life of the Akamba in their conversations.

31) *Nde^{xxviii} ngoò*
No heart/anger
He does not get angry easily. Literally, he has no anger.

A common domestic saying that captures this is:

32) *Musyai nde ngoò*
Parent no anger
A parent does not get angry easily. Literally, a parent has no anger.

33) *e. ngoò yĩ vakuvĩ*
3sg. anger is near
He is easily *angered*. Literally, his anger is near.

34) *e. ngoò mbingĩ*
3sg.anger much
He gets very angry (when provoked). Literally, he has much anger.

35) *e. ngoò nthũku*
3sg. anger bad
He has a bad anger. Literally, he has a bad heart.

^{xxviii} 'nd-' is the stem for the personal pronoun for negation. The suffix marks the number, in this case it is the 3rd person singular.

36) *e.ngoò ya nyamũ*
3sg- anger of animal/wild animal
He has an extraordinary anger. Literally, his heart is of an animal.

These expressions are the common ones and the word *ngoò* features in all of them. Importantly, these expressions are not only mentioned in *ngoò* 'anger' contexts, but in all other contexts where Ego is angry regardless of which Kĩkamba anger word is in focus. These expressions which cut across all other anger words among the Akamba inform the position that *ngoò* 'anger' is a foundational expression of anger among the Akamba. The following expressions that are used to ask the hurting Ego to control his anger confirm this position.

37) *Kũnanga ngoò*
Kũna.nga
Pat- (repeatedly) anger
Relent in your *anger*. Literally pat repeatedly your heart.

38) *Ololosya ngoò*
Soften anger
Relent in your *anger*. Literally soften your heart.

39) *Tũnganga ngoò*
Tũnga.nga
Return back (repeatedly) anger
Relent in your *anger*. Literally, return back repeatedly your heart.

40) *Melya ngoò isu^{xxix}*
Swallow *anger* those
Relent in your *anger*. Literally, swallow those hearts

When Ego is unable to control his *anger*, the result is an act of retribution. This act of retribution is regarded as showing Ego's heart.

41) *kwonania ngoò*
kũ.ona.ni.a
INF-show-3sg.FV anger
To show anger
Act of retribution out of *anger*. Literally, to show your heart.

^{xxix} The demonstrative 'those' always accompanies this expression. This use of the demonstrative presents *ngoò*-*anger* as though it is something visible.

An Ego experiencing *ngoò* 'anger' does not say that he is 'showing' *anger*. However, the person to whom *ngoò* 'anger' is expressed against will normally warn Ego against showing *ngoò* 'anger'. When Ego speaks about his anger, normally the pronounced statement will have an ellipsis as explained in the following example:

42) *nĩngũkwonia*
nĩ.nkũ.kũ.ona.i.a
FOC.1sg.show.PERF.FV
I will show (you)

In this phrase, the speaker does not explicitly state what it is that he will show. However, there is another phrase which is equally common and is pertinent in understanding what is it that Ego would show the aggravating party. This phrase is:

43) *nũũmbona*
nĩ.ũ.mb.ona
FOC-1sg-see
You will see me

According to this phrase, an angry person is one who explains himself. Therefore, the phrase in example 42 has an ellipsis of 'self.' Looking at this phrase in the context of *kwonania ngoo* 'to show Ego's heart,' it is plausible to conclude that the word *ngoo* 'heart' is used as a synecdoche of a part for the whole referring to the whole person.

The data collected also suggest that *ngoò* 'anger' is conceptualized depending on age and body size. Children have 'small' anger while grownups have 'big' anger. The following sayings demonstrate this. First is an example of a parent speaking to her child:

44) *ndũkambonie* *tũkolo* *tu*
ndũ.kamb.ona.ni.e *tũkolo* *tu*
NEG.show.me.FV small angers DEM
Don't show me small angers those
Don't act from your anger. Literally, don't show me those small hearts.

Secondly is a conversation of two grownups. When a grown up X angers Ego, Ego would sarcastically say:

45) *ndũkandetee* *makolo* *asu*
ndũka.nde.ete.e *ma.kolo*
NEG-bring-FV much anger DEM
Don't bring me much anger those
Don't act from your *anger*. Literally, don't bring me that disgusting anger

These examples, 44 and 45, show that both the young and the grownups have the potential of getting angry. It is therefore necessary to consider how this *ngoò* 'anger' emotion is acquired.

3.2 *Ngoò* 'anger': The Source

Everyone among the Akamba has the potential of experiencing *ngoò* 'anger' but the difference is its intensity. The Kamba people believe that the intensity of *ngoò* 'anger' temperaments are acquired either from the genes of the parents or from naming of a newborn child. My informants said that if the parents of a child are known to be people who get very angry or are slow in getting angry, the same character trait would be passed on to their children genetically. Among the Akamba, parents refer to their children as '*nthakame yakwa* 'my blood' and this necessitates the thinking that they have a lot in common with their children beside the physical looks. This way, *ngoò* 'anger' is an innate temperament.

In contrast, the *ngoò* 'anger' temperament is also believed to be acquired through the naming of children. Normally the naming of children is done by using the name of a relative who is either old or deceased. Some Akamba believe that a child will acquire to a large extent the character of the person you name them after. Therefore, if the parents of a newborn child have low anger temperaments but they give their child a name of a relative who has a bad temper temperament, that child will acquire the *ngoò* 'anger' temperament of the person he is named after. This mode of acquiring a *ngoò* 'anger' temperament through naming is considered more powerful than the first one and supersedes it. In this way, *ngoò* 'anger' is an acquired temperament.

According to the modes of acquiring an *ngoò* 'anger' temperament described above, it is fair to conclude that there is no one among the Akamba who does not get angry. The difference is the intensity of that anger. With this information, the difference is in how long the *ngoò* 'anger' emotion lasts. Determining how long the *ngoò* 'anger' emotion lasts can be ascertained by analyzing whether it is an event condition or a state condition. The following section will ascertain how the Akamba differentiate the *ngoò* 'anger' event condition from the *ngoò* 'anger' state condition.

3.3 Event and State

In Kikamba, all the emotions are associated with the verbs *ĩw'a* 'feel', *likwa* 'be entered' or *ena* 'owns'. The verbs *kwĩw'a* 'to feel' and *kũlikwa* 'to be entered' are used to denote an event condition that has just happened while *ena* 's/he has' is used to denote a state condition. All the examples given above in section on *ĩw'a* 'feel' denote an event condition. It is the same case with the example on *likwa* 'entered' in example 17 and 18.

As for the state condition, a prefix *ena* 's/he has' is used. To demonstrate this I will use a story as told by Mwikali Kieti and Peter Coughlin.^{xxx} The story is about two boys who were on a journey and were warned by their grandmother not to eat anything on the way. However, one of them ate and his feet changed and became wood. The boy who did not eat was disturbed by this. The story says:

^{xxx} Mwikali Kieti and Peter Coughlin, *Barking you'll be eaten!* (Nairobi: phoenix 1990), 53.

46) *kavĩsĩ ku yu weethĩa kena kĩthikiii kiingĩ v̄yu*
kavĩsĩ ku yu we.ĩthĩa ke.ena kĩthikiii ki.ingĩ v̄yu
boy that now 3sg.happen 3sg-has disturbance 3sg.a lot very

Now, it happened that the boy had a lot of disturbance.

The boy was very disturbed. Literally, the boy was the owner of disturbance.

By using either *kwĩw'a*-feel or *ena*-owner, a listener is able to tell whether the event has lasted a short or a long period, though it is hard to precisely determine the length or shortness of the event. Here are some examples that illustrate this further:

47) *kwĩw'a ngoò*
kũ.ĩw'a ngoò
INF.feel anger
to.feel anger, to be angered (event).

48) *ena ngoò*
ena ngoò
's/he has' of anger, angered (state)

49) *kwĩw'a muyo*
kũ.ĩw'a muyo
INF.feel happy
To feel happy, to be happy (event)

50) *ena muyo*
's/he has' of happy, happy (state)

The Akamba differentiate between a person who is experiencing an emotion, regardless of whether it is an event or state, and one who has the potential to experience that emotion. The verb *ena* 's/he has' is used in reference to a person who is already in a state condition, *ĩw'a* 'feel' and *likwa* 'entered' is used in an event condition and the prefix -e- is used to denote a person who has the potential to experience emotion. This potential is inferred from the context since the same prefix -e- is also a 3cs (common singular) maker. For example one can say:

51) *Ego enangòò*
Ego ena ngoò
Ego owns angry
Ego is angry. Literally 's/he has' a heart.

This statement means Ego is now angry. In contrast:

52) Ego *engòò*

Ego *e ngòò*

Ego 3cs anger

Ego has the potential of getting angry. Literally, Ego has anger.

According to this analysis, the Akamba differentiate an event condition from a state condition by the use of different verbs. For a person who is prone to a certain emotion, they use the prefix -e-. When the Akamba experience *ngòò* 'anger', regardless of whether it is an event or a state condition, they display similar physiological effects.

3.4 Somatic Phenomenology

Some of the somatic phenomena in Akamba emotion of anger are similar to those observed in the Hebrew Bible. These include; trembling which is equivalent to *גָּרַד*, foaming of the mouth which is similar to *פָּצַח*, according to Zacharias Kotzé study on humoral theory,^{xxxi} and heavy breathing similar to *אָנַח (אָנַח)* or *רָחַח* in the contexts where this is used to mean hot air from the nostrils. Sometimes *אָנַח (אָנַח)* is used to mean hot nose or hot face in which case it would be a different somatic phenomenon.

However, there are other physiological effects that are different from the Hebrew Bible. These are: darkening of the face, bulging of the blood vessels, walking with a bent head, staggering and inability to talk. Although these are the main effects that can be observed, the Akamba have internal physiological effects that are not displayed but they talk about them. These are *ũũ* 'bitterness', *kūlalakwa* 'to be irritated', *kūtangwa* 'to be choked' and *kwĩw'a makindi* 'feeling of a lump in the throat'.

These physiological effects, both internal and external, are primarily caused by the following antecedent conditions.

3.5 Antecedent Conditions

The antecedent conditions that make a Mūkamba experience *ngòò* 'anger' can be classified into two categories: *kĩvũthya* 'disrespect' and *naĩ* 'bad mood'. Ego places the focus for the *kĩvũthya* 'disrespect' on the offender while the focus for the *naĩ* 'bad mood' is on the offense. When Ego is provoked, Ego will either wonder why the offender is disrespecting him by doing this, or focus on the offense which made him have a bad mood. Although there are a myriad of specific offenses that would make Ego experience *ngòò* 'anger', they can all be summarized in these two categories mentioned above. In the following section, the two categories are explained further.

3.5.1 *Kĩvũthya* 'disrespect'

Disrespect is likened to belittling and the common saying is that of *kūndwĩkĩthya kana* 'making me a child'. Where disrespect is perceived, when a person offends another, the offended person generally retorts by asking the offender why he is disrespecting him. When a senior

^{xxxi} Zacharias Kotze', "Humoral Theory as Motivation for Anger Metaphors in the Hebrew Bible," *SALALS* 23 (2005): 205.

person in the society is angered by a junior person, the outright assumption is that the junior is disrespecting the senior. Similarly, when the junior is hurt by the senior, his conclusion is that the senior is taking the liberty of hurting him out of disrespect. *Kivũthya* 'disrespect' has the focus on the offender and not the offense.

A basic scenario provided by one of my informants illustrates this "I left the house in the morning and instructed my house help to wash my clothes. I came in the evening and found that she had not done so. Among the clothes, she was to wash, was my favorite dress that I wanted to put on the following day. That was *kivũthya* 'disrespect' and I felt *ngoò nthūkū* 'bad anger'."^{xxxii} Other than disrespect, the other cause for *ngoò* 'anger' is *naĩ* 'bad mood'.

3.5.2 *Naĩ* 'bad mood'

The word *naĩ* is polysemous. It is used to mean 'sin, sickness or having a bad feeling'. *Naĩ* is an antecedent condition for *ngoò* in the sense of being anything that would make Ego have a bad mood. Usually the focus is on the offense and not the offender. A basic scenario from one of my informants that illustrates this is as follows: "One day I received a call from my friend who had loaned my younger brother some money, and which my brother had not refunded as planned. So I called my brother who promised to pay it back in two days. After the two days, my brother failed to honor his commitment and my friend felt *naĩ*. He later called me in *ngoò mbĩngĩ* to explain that my brother did not pay him back his money."^{xxxiii}

3.6 Affective Phenomenon of *ngoò* 'anger'

The Akamba classify emotional feelings as either good or bad. This classification takes place at both the individual and social level. *Ngoò* 'anger', which is the focus of this paper, is appraised at both an individual and social level as a good and a bad expression. The details of how each is perceived are analyzed below.

3.7 Self-appraisal

At an individual level, Akamba treasure their *ngoò* 'anger'. Having *ngoò* 'anger' is valued as strength while lack of it is weakness. Therefore, demonstrating Ego's *ngoò* 'anger' is a good thing, which builds one's self-esteem while the inability to show how much *ngoò* 'anger' you have is a bad thing. This demonstration is at a physiological level but not at the level of retribution.

Men and women alike boastfully talk of how they feel when they experience *ngoò* 'anger'. The ability of Ego to experience *ngoò* 'anger' earns Ego *kĩkĩo* 'respect'. When people know that Ego easily experiences *ngoò* 'anger', they will avoid provoking Ego to anger. If they provoke Ego by mistake, they will be quick to apologize and make peace with him/her. This kind of treatment amounts to *kĩkĩo* 'respect'.

People who don't have visible physiological effects of *ngoò* 'anger' are viewed as weak. The Kĩkamba verbal expression is: *maina ũũme* 'they lack manhood'. The word

^{xxxii} Janet Muthoka, personal communication, April 13, 2012

^{xxxiii} Moses Mutua, personal communication, April 23, 2012.

'manhood' is a euphemism that refers to the testicles. Even women talk of their 'manhood' as an idiom implying that they are worth the respect accorded men. People who have no visible physiological effects of *ngoò* 'anger' or who do not have the courage to talk about their *ngoò* 'anger' are normally scorned and disrespected. Children who want to earn respect from their peers fake the physiological effects of anger to scare their peers and in return be respected.

3.8 Social Appraisal

Although experiencing *ngoò* 'anger' is individually valued as a good thing, socially the act of becoming violent at the slightest provocation is considered a bad thing. When Ego controls his *ngoò* 'anger', which is socially valued, it is a good thing.

The attitude of being violent at the slightest provocation is likened to being a *kĩvĩsĩ* 'uncircumcised boy'. This is motivated by the attitude of *ivĩsĩ* 'uncircumcised boys' who always provoke each other and fight a lot. Although the *ivĩsĩ* 'uncircumcised boys' are not bad, their actions are perceived as done out of immaturity. Hence, a person who is unable to control his anger is likened to an uncircumcised boy.

On the other hand, people who control their anger are likened to *atumĩa* 'elders'. Although the name *mũtumia* 'elder' normally refers to a person who is old, it is also given to young people who have won the respect of the community. Therefore, depending on whether Ego is able to manage his anger or not, that will determine whether Ego will be disrespected by being called *kĩvĩsĩ*-uncircumcised boy, or respected and earn the name *mũtumia* 'elder'.

3.9 Ngoò 'anger' as an Inferred Emotion

Ngoò 'anger' is an inferred emotion, especially from what the Akamba call *kũtukya ũthyũ* 'darkening of face'. From the information I got from my informants, *kũtukya ũthyũ* 'darkening of face' is similar to frowning. Although grief also has this somatic phenomenon, *ngoò* 'anger' is the common inference.

Depending on the context, *ngoò* 'anger' is also inferred from the way an elderly man clears his throat. In general, elderly people among the Akamba constantly clear their throats when angered. This is closely related with the somatic phenomenon of being choked when Ego experiences *ngoò* 'anger'. The experience of being choked is believed to be an act of ancestors who want to ensure that Ego does not speak in anger. The words of an elderly man or woman may amount to a curse and that is why being choked is a common somatic phenomenon among the elderly in the Akamba community. However, this does not mean that the other age categories are not choked. The case of the elderly was singled out as a unique one in this case.

Verbally, *ngoò* 'anger' is inferred from *kũng'athia* 'to be stiff'. The word *kũngathia* itself does not mean anger. Unlike a frowning face which can mean that either Ego is angry or grieved, there is no other emotion inferred from *kũng'athia*. For example, if Ego is angry, X will ask him:

53) *Ko wa ng'athia?*

QUE 1sg.become.stiff (from anger)?

Are you angry? Literally, have you become stiff from anger?

The lexical meaning of *ng'athia* is best understood when looked at from, first, the behavior of a little beetle known as *kĩng'athũ*. This is a beetle which stiffens, and becomes motionless when threatened.^{xxxiv} Its name *kĩng'athũ* was coined from that behavior. Second, *ng'athia* can be understood from the Kĩkamba word for epilepsy. Epilepsy is an attack that throws the victim to the ground and makes Ego stiff. Suffering from epilepsy is known as *kũng'athũka* 'a disease which makes one stiff'. From these examples, the root is noticeable - *ng'ath-*; the rest are prefixes and suffixes.

The usage of this term does not necessarily mean that Ego is visibly stiff. It is used even when Ego is composed, but it implies that Ego is angry to a point of being stiff. Some of the phrases commonly used are:

54) *Nĩ -wa- ng'athia*
FOC- 2sg- stiffen
He has stiffened.

When this term is used in the context of one who is angry; Ego may not visibly be stiff from anger as in the case of an epileptic victim or a beetle.

Another common phrase is when X is asking Ego, who is not angry, not to *ng'athia* 'be angry'. Assuming X has made a promise to Ego and X cannot keep it, X will talk to Ego and beseech him not to get angry.

55) *Ndũ.ka.ng'athie mbũ.mũ.sye*
Don't.2sg.stiffen be.patient.with me
Do not become angry, be patient with me.

In this case, the Ego is not yet angry but is in a situation where he can become angry. The speaker would therefore use *ndũkang'athie* to beseech the person not to give in to anger although he is rightfully entitled to.

3.10 Classification of Kĩkamba Anger Words

From the Akamba folk theory described above, all the different anger words fit within a unified corpus that can be classified into three categories: anger in reference to the *ngoo* 'heart' where the emotion occurs, anger in reference to different physiological effects experienced by the Ego and anger in reference to different specific forms of anger.

The difference between *ngoo* and *ngoò* is that of intonation. *Ngooò* is pronounced with a slightly higher-pitched tone than *ngoo*, perhaps in some regions of Ûkambanĩ. While Kĩkamba has a developed orthography, intonation markers that mark low tone or high tone

^{xxxiv} This is its defense mechanism against danger.

are missing in the school textbooks^{xxxv} and also in most of the existing literature in Kikamba, including the Kikamba dictionary.

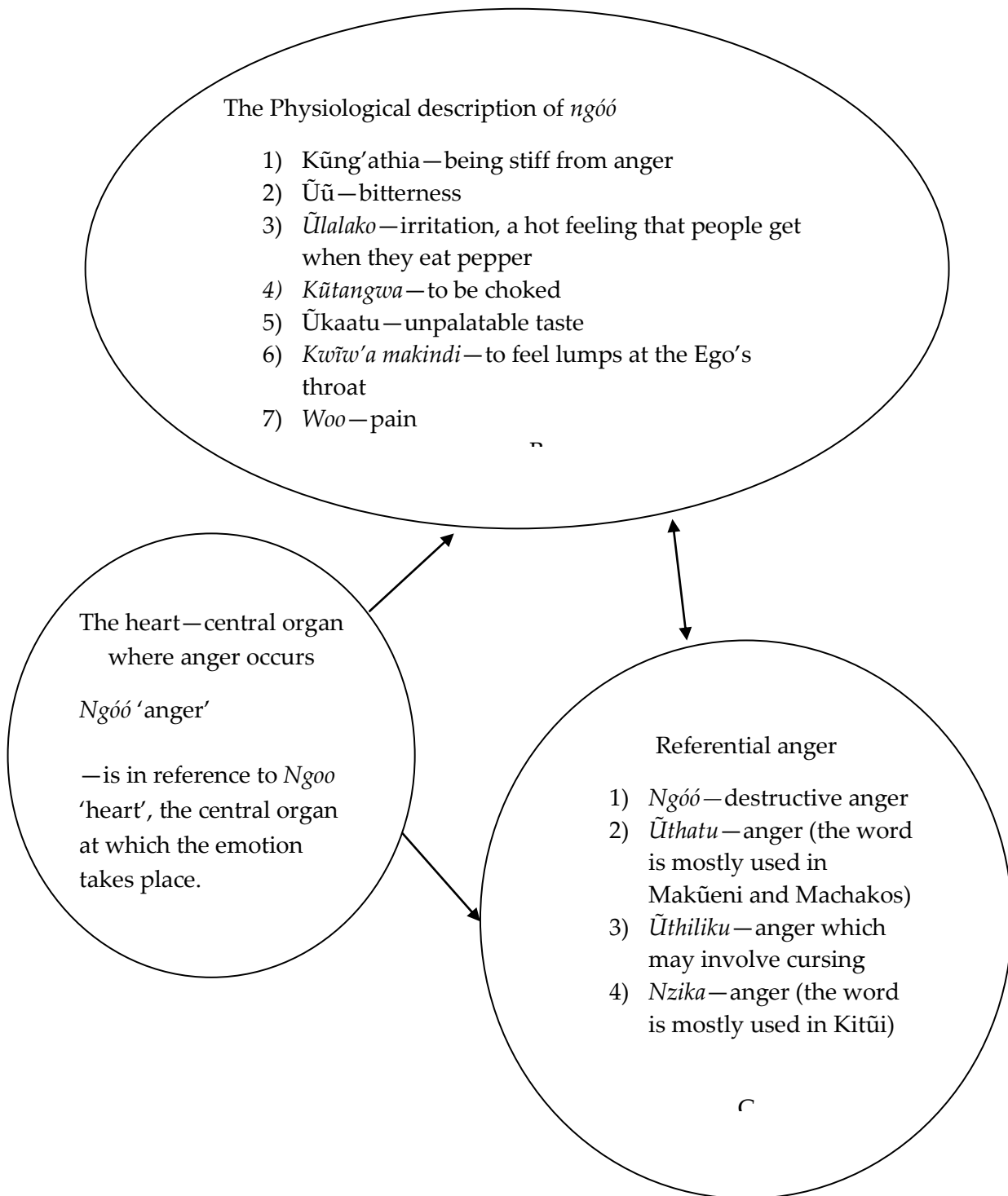
In most of the polysemous lexical items in Kikamba, the difference in their meaning is accomplished by either intonation or the use of phrases. Concerning *ngoo*, the differences in its various meanings: anger, heart, nausea and desire is usually differentiated by use of both phrases and intonation. The data for *ngoo* has demonstrated how different phrases distinguish *ngoò* when it is for anger. One of the characteristics of *ngoò* is its retributive qualities.

The phrase 'retributive anger' is used to mean anger which would lead Ego to hurt the self, the other, or property in retribution. Normally, *ngoò* is not the anger that Ego would experience at the slightest provocation. Because of its nature—experienced after numerous warnings—it is usually associated with people in authority over their juniors. Therefore, *ngoò* is never provoked by an inanimate object such as a car that breaks down often, or the wind that blows away your grains in the threshing floor. Mostly people and animals would provoke the Akamba to *ngoò* 'anger'. For example, an insult from a person would make Ego experience *ngoò* 'anger'. A cow that breaks away from the cowshed and feeds on the crops would provoke Ego to experience *ngoò* 'anger'.

When Ego is provoked by a human being, mostly the provoking individual would be a person with whom Ego has a relationship. This could be children to parent, subject to master, employee to employer, students to teacher, and civilians to government official or villagers to elder. The research confirmed that a stranger rarely provokes Ego to *ngoò* 'retributive anger' since they have no relationship. If Ego experienced *ngoò* having not warned the provocative individual, with whom they have a relationship, then Ego is perceived as evil.

However, this domain has some exceptions. The experience of *ngoò* by government officials over civilians, teacher to students, or elder to villagers is motivated by the oversight role vested in those in authority. In such cases, an activity may provoke Ego to *ngoò* directly without a warning or in scenarios where such warning was not feasible. The following basic scenario illustrates this. A village elder at *Aĩmi ma Kĩlũngũ* (*Kĩlũngũ* Farmers) ranch was notified of the invasion of the village at night by the neighboring Maasai community who made away with herds of cattle, sheep and goats. The elder *eew'a ngoò* 'felt angry' and ordered a pursuit. In this scenario, although the elder was not directly affected and there was no prior warning, he was justified to *kwĩw'a ngoò* 'feel angry' because of his oversight role. With this brief review about *ngoò* 'retributive anger', the following section is a diagram that illustrates what the anger concept is like among the Akamba.

^{xxxv} Kikamba is taught in lower primary from nursery to standard three.



The occurrence of the emotion at the heart is the basis for the physiological effects in category B and the specific references to the different forms of anger in category C. In the expressions, Ego can go back and forth in describing a specific kind of anger in category C and ^{xxxvi}the physiological effects in category B, hence the double pointed arrow.

^{xxxvi} More examples of the differences in intonation in Kikamba, and how that changes the meaning of the word are given in paper 6. These examples will illustrate that *ngóó* is not an isolated case.

3.11 Distinctiveness of *ngoò*

In addition to the discussion in Section above concerning the *ngoò* folk theory, the following section examines the distinctive features of *ngoò*, which are not shared by any other Kikamba word that refers to anger.

Ngoo is an Abstract Object

Although the details on *ngoò*—that imply that it is an abstract object—are given in examples 37 to 40, the same examples are replicated here for illustrative purposes.

56) *Kūnanga* *ngoò*

Kūna.nga

Pat.(repeatedly) anger

Relent in your *anger*. Literally pat your anger repeatedly.

This phrase portrays *ngoò* as if it is a tangible object that one can pat.

57) *Ololosya* *ngoò*

Soften anger

Relent in your *anger*. Literally soften your anger

In this phrase *ngoò* is figuratively depicted as if it is a hard substance that should be softened.

58) *Tūnganga* *ngoò*

Tūnga.nga

Return a bit anger

Relent in your *anger*. Literally, return back repeatedly your anger.

This phrase figuratively describes *ngoò* as if it is an object that one can hold and carry. It also suggests that *ngoò* has a known locality to which it should be taken back once it departs from it.

59) *Melya* *ngoò* *isu*^{xxxvii}

Swallow angers those

Swallow those angers

All these examples imply that *ngoò* is something tangible. Example (56) implies that someone can pat, example (57) implies that *ngoò* is a hard substance that can be softened, example (58) implies that *ngoò* is something that has left its usual place and can be put back, and example (59) implies that *ngoò* is like food or drink that can be swallowed. In addition to being abstract objects, since *ngoò* is closely related to *ngoo* 'heart'—which is the central organ where the emotion occurs—*ngoò* is expressed as if it is coming out of inside of Ego. With this understanding, example (56), pat anger, is sometimes accompanied by actual patting at the back of the Ego as if pressing the *ngoò* back. Example (58) is an urge to put back the anger

^{xxxvii} The demonstrative 'those' always accompanies this expression. This use of the demonstrative presents *ngoo*-anger as though it is something visible and countable.

into its usual place—inside of the Ego. The swallowing of anger as given in example (59) is not conceptualized as something external that Ego is swallowing but something that is coming from inside of Ego and which Ego needs to recover.

3.12 The Usage of *ngoò* Presupposes Intended Retribution

Concerning *ngoò*, its usage suggests intended retribution. The examination of the *ngoò* phrases supports this claim as it is clarified below. In addition, other *ngoo* phrases—expressing other emotions—also demonstrate that the phrases are accompanied by an action or the intention of it. Below is a consideration of other *ngoo* phrases (for other emotions other than anger) in support of this claim. Later *ngoò* phrases are considered.

60) *Kwĩkya ngoo*
Kũ.ĩkya ngoo
To.throw heart.

The literal translation of this phrase is 'throw heart (away).' Mũĩsya translates this as "to become disgusted and lose interest."^{xxxviii} This phrase connotes giving up and the accompanying action is that of withdrawal from that which the person was pursuing.

61) *Kwĩsuva ngoo*
Kũ.ĩsuva ngoo
To.entreat heart

This phrase literally means 'to treat your heart nicely.' The word *ĩsuva* has the idea of politely being persuasive. It is therefore used idiomatically to mean "to entertain yourself occasionally - to give yourself a treat." The accompanying or the intended action is that of treating oneself usually by celebrating over a meal or going out on holiday. In this phrase, *ngoo* is used as a synecdoche of the part for the whole, meaning the whole person.

62) *Kwimbwa nĩ ngoo*
Kũ.imb.wa nĩ ngoo
To.swell.PASS by heart
Literally it means 'to be swollen by the heart'

Mainly this phrase is used in relation to nausea. Mũĩsya highlights its proper translation as "to be overcome by nausea."^{xxxix} The action accompanied by this usage is that of throwing up.

63) *Ngoo yĩsaa kĩla ã.kw.enda^{xl}*
The heart eats what it.to.desire

^{xxxviii} *Kikamba proverbs and Idioms*, 107.

^{xxxix} Mũĩsya. *Kikamba proverbs and Idioms*, 107.

^{xl} The word *ĩkwenda* was initially *ĩkũenda*.

The literal translation of this phrase is 'the heart eats what it desires.' This is another Synecdoche of the part for the whole; *ngoo* is used to mean the entire person. This metonymic usage is captured by Mūtīsyā who translates the phrase as, "If that is what he really want[sic], then let him proceed with it."^{xii} The accompanying action is that Ego does that which he desires and there is no turning back.

The examples in 60 to 63 support the argument in examples 56 to 59 showing that an action is intended or accompanies the particular usage. Similarly, the phrases used to describe *ngoo* suggest an intended action—retribution. The four examples in 56 to 59 are also used to illustrate how revenge is prevented. It is believed that if Ego does not control his *ngoo* by patting it, pressing it back, softening it and swallowing it, then out of the influence of the *ngoo* Ego will avenge. In addition to those examples, others that support the intention of retribution are as follows.

64) *Kwīw'a ngoo/ngoo*
Kū.īw'a ngoo/ngoo
To feel nausea/anger

This phrase literally means 'to feel nauseated/anger.' Depending on the intonation, it means Ego is being nauseated or is angry. Mūtīsyā translates the phrase as "to be provoked to action/to be overcome by nausea." The example given below is mainly used in the contexts where the Ego is a person who either is a child or is small in stature or junior in status.

65) *ndūkambonie tūkolo tu*
ndū.kamb.ona.ni.e tūkolo tu
NEG.2sg.show.me.FV small.angers DEM
Do not show me small.angers those
Do not act from your anger. Literally, don't show me those small angers/hearts.

A person who is acting out of *ngoo* is one who is 'showing anger'. This phrase is used in contexts where the Ego is already doing something because s/he is angry. While example 65 is for either children or people of small stature or junior in status, the following one is for grownups—usually big bodied people.

66) *ndūkandetee makolo asu*
ndūka.nde.ete.e ma.kolo
NEG-bring-FV big.anger DEM
Don't bring me big.anger those
Don't act from your *anger*. Literally, don't bring me that big (nasty) anger/heart

Examples 65 and 66 are pleas for Ego to reconsider his intended action. This section, therefore, has demonstrated that *ngoo* has an intention of retribution.

^{xii} Mūtīsyā, *Kīkamba proverbs and Idioms*, 111.

Ngoo is Associated with Leaders

Below are examples that illustrate how *ngoo*'s usage is related to leaders or persons with specific roles.

67) *Mũingi wa ĩsoma* *nde.ngoo*

The guide of an emaciated (animal) does not have anger

The shepherd, one who guides an emaciated animal of his herd does not get angry (easily).

68) *Mũsyai nde ngoo*

Parent not anger.

A parent does not get angry (easily).

The examples given in 67 and 68 have a direct application to people who have an oversight role: a shepherd has an oversight role over the cattle while the parent has an oversight role over the children. The implied message is that of patience by the Ego. The shepherd is urged to be patient with his emaciated animal(s) since when the rains come there will be plenty of pasture and the animal will regain its strength. Concerning the parent, the urge is to be patient with erring children since with time they will hopefully grow up and change.

Although the examples given in 67 and 68 apply directly to people who have an oversight role, they are also used for the general public. They are intended to persuade people to be responsible in the way they act out of anger, when angry. Therefore, an expression of anger by any individual would be guided by the advice. Anyone in the community who fails to heed the proffered advice can be described by the following phrases.

69) *E.ngoo nthũku*

S/he has anger bad (S/he has a bad heart)

Ego has bad anger. This is used to describe Ego who is very violent when angered. Mainly it means that Ego is less thoughtful of his actions—Ego acts without thinking—or takes pride in being violent. Such a person is also branded as having:

70) *E.ngoo ya nyamũ*

S/he has anger of an animal (wild)

Ego has a (wild) animal's anger.

This is a comparison of Ego and a wild animal in their action. While example 69 is for one who is less thoughtful, example 70 is for one who is thoughtless—Ego's actions are like those of a wild animal that has no brain (conscience or mercy). Although there are a few people who would take pride in being violent since it makes them less provoked, the majority would retreat from being violent since the community appraises this behavior as foolishness and as an act that is equal to being an animal. The Akamba community appraises

the whole situation of the emotion, and the *ngoò* phrases have a specific application to the people who have oversight roles.

This paper has so far looked at the Akamba folk theory of anger. The data analyzed has ascertained that *ngoò* is an intonation of *ngoo* 'heart', the central organ where anger is believed to take place.

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