

METAPHORS AND METONYMS OF PATIENCE IN AKAN

by
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Wode aboterε dwa ntεtea a, wohunu ne nsono
If you use patience to dissect an ant you can see all its entrails.

The paper looks at the conceptual relationship between the body parts *akoma* ‘heart’, and *bo* ‘chest and how they have been lexicalised in the Akan language to refer to patience and its related emotions. It relies on the conceptual metaphor framework of Lakoff and Johnson (1980c). The body parts act as the productive lexical items for the semantic and metaphoric derivation for patience. I will consider the two body parts, based on their physical, cognitive, semantic and pragmatic usage. The data are taken from a questionnaire administered by students, Akan literature books, the Akan Bible and recorded materials from radio discussions. The paper illustrates that there is a strong relation between a people’s conceptual, environmental and cultural experiences and their linguistic systems. We will consider the universal concepts of body part expressions and zero it down to Akan specific body part expressions for patience. We will finally establish how body parts help us in the lexicalisation of expressions of emotion.

Key words:

cognitive semantics, pragmatics, metaphor, emotion, patience, embodiment, Akan

1. Introduction

1.1 The Akan People and their language

The Akan language that is being studied in this paper is a West African language belonging to the Kwa group. The term 'Akan' refers to the people as well as their language, and can be considered from two perspectives: (a) ethnographic, and (b) linguistic. The ethnographic Akan includes the Nzemas, Ahantas, Sefwis and Aowins, who do not speak Akan as their mother tongue, but share cultural similarities with the Akans. The linguistic Akan refers to Akans who speak the Akan language. The Akans are the largest ethnic group in Ghana. According to the 2010 national population census, 47.5% of the Ghanaian population is Akan while about 44% of the population speaks Akan as non-native speakers (see Agyekum 2013).

The Akans occupy the greater part of the southern sector of Ghana. Akan is spoken as a native language in six of its ten regions, namely the Ashanti, Eastern, Western, Central, Brong Ahafo and Volta Regions. The Akan speaking communities in the Volta Region of Ghana are sandwiched in between Ewe communities. The Akan language is made up of various dialects, namely Asante, Akuapem, Akwamu, Fante, Akyem, Agona, Assin, Denkyira, Twifo, Wassaw, Kwawu, Bron and Buem. Some Bron speakers are also found in Côte d'Ivoire. Akan is studied from the primary school up to, and including the university level.

1.2. Cognitive Semantics and Conceptual Metaphor

This paper is a follow-up of my publications and a major project on Akan body part expressions (see Agyekum 2015, 2013). The present paper is grounded in cognitive semantics, which relates linguistic expressions to human cognitive experience. It identifies different formal constructions for expressing feelings of patience, appeasement, relief

and satisfaction; it further explores the extent to which the heart and chest are associated with patience and its related emotions mentioned above. The discussion is based on empirical linguistic evidence in the form of lexical compounds, collocations with locative nouns and the way people talk about these feelings. We will argue that particular body part terms relate with different feeling expressions either because the body part is the perceived locus of the feeling, or it has lexicalised polysemous expressions, or there is metonymic association between a body part's behaviour and a feeling (see Agyekum 2013). These are aspects belonging to cognitive semantics and lexicology. The metaphors of bo 'chest' and akoma 'heart' in Akan support the notion that metaphor is embodied in experience. The relationship between linguistic form and function reflects human conceptual structure and general principles of cognitive organisation.

The present paper also employs the conceptual metaphor theory pioneered by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a, 1980b, 1980c). Other scholars such as Gibbs et al. (2004), Kövecses (2002), Semino (2008) and Yu (2004) have also worked on conceptual metaphors. Conceptual metaphor theorists view metaphor as a linguistic phenomenon and also a mode of conceptual representation. Lakoff and Johnson (1980c: 177) argue as follows:

Many aspects of our experience cannot be clearly delineated in terms of the naturally emergent dimensions of our experience. This is typically the case for human emotions, abstract concepts, mental activity. . . Though most of these can be experienced directly, none of them can be fully comprehended on their own terms. Instead, we must understand them in terms of other entities and experiences, typically other kinds of entities and experiences.

A cognitively based theory of language takes human perception, experience, parts of the body, and understanding of the world as the basis for the structure of human language (see Gibbs et al. 2004: 1191-1192;

Gyekye 1987; Yu 2004: 664). Universally, bodily experience is a fertile ground for the conceptualisation of emotions and abstract thought (see Dirven et al. 2007: 1209). Bonvillain (1993: 82) aptly states that

[w]idespread use of corporeal metaphors probably results from the central importance human beings attribute to their own bodies. We extend the imagery of body to inanimate objects and to descriptions of activities. It is a process of observing and experiencing the world through human eyes and by analogy with human form.

The concepts expressed in metaphors correspond to natural experiences, including bodily perception and movement, basic objects, the environment, the culture and social interactions (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980c; Ungerer and Schmid 2009: 120). Our body plays a crucial role in our creation of meaning and its understanding. Our embodiment in a physical and cultural world sets out the contours of what is meaningful to us and determines the ways of our understanding (see Yu 2008: 250). Dzokoto and Okazaki (2006: 129) state that in most languages ‘the body is an integral part of the symbolism used in the expressions of affective experience by their speakers.’ In embodiment, concepts and states in our body form the basis of social life through which we perceive and socialize the world (see Kövecses 2006).

The constructions of the meanings of words are drawn from the encyclopaedic knowledge of the people, which is sourced from various aspects of their sociocultural life (see Agyekum 2015, 2013, 2005, 2004; Evans and Green 2006: 162). In conceptual theory, unfamiliar and delineated concepts in our experiences can only be grasped by means of familiar concepts that we understand clearly. Following the original works by Lakoff and Johnson (1980a, 1980b, 1980c), Kövecses (2002: 6) posits that ‘[c]onceptual metaphors typically employ a more abstract concept as target and a more concrete or physical concept as their source. We can thus see that ABSTRACT CONCEPTS ARE PHYSICAL’

(capitals in original).

Metaphor is very pervasive in semantics, lexicology, literature, philosophy and cognitive studies. In the view of Kövecses (2002: 4), 'metaphor is defined as understanding one conceptual domain in terms of another conceptual domain.' Metaphors are conceptually grounded on physical and mental experience (see Lakoff & Johnson 1980c: 5; Lee 2005: 6; Semino 2008: 1).

Meanings of metaphorical utterances cannot be deduced only from literal senses of the words, so we need to understand and rely on both the literal and the conceptual meanings (see Agyekum 2004; Kövecses 2002: 4; Ungerer and Schmid 2009: 118).

Proper analysis, including recognition, understanding and interpretation of metaphors and their meanings involves a closer attention to the *particular* pragmatic contexts under which the utterances were made. It also involves their semantic and cognitive aspects and an overall knowledge of the language, culture, society, and environment (see Agyekum 2013; Mey 2001: 64-65).

1. 3. Universality of Patience as an Emotion

We will look at the nature of the derived semantic patterns of the expressions derived from the chest and heart and consider to what extent some of these are language universals, and some peculiar to the Akan language and culture. We side with Perez (2008: 52) who argues that there are certain similarities in some of the metaphoric expressions in cross-cultural analysis. Undoubtedly, if metaphor is grounded in the way our body and mind work, and human beings are the same in this respect, then most of the metaphors should be similar and universal at the conceptual level. Yu (2008: 249-250) argues:

[O]ur body with its experiences and functions is a potentially universal source domain for metaphorical mappings from bodily

experiences onto more abstract and subjective domains. This is because human beings, despite their racial or ethnical peculiarities, all have the same bodily experiences and functions, which fundamentally define us as humans.

Issues about conceptual metaphors are both universal and cultural specific. Lakoff and Johnson (2003: 257) modify this view and add that ‘the complex metaphors make use of cultural information that may differ significantly from culture to culture.’

In discussing emotions, Kövecses (2008: 385) argues that metaphors in the emotion domain can be characterized as an interaction of forces, which leads to the conclusion that *EMOTIONS ARE FORCES* (see also Aksan 2006; Dimmendaal 2002).

Emotions such as patience, anger, fear, happiness and joy encompass both thought and bodily processes and they interact with other dynamic forces. In most languages, including Akan, people refer to their emotional experiences by drawing attention to certain internal organs where these emotions are located. In Akan, physiological embodiment yields expressions of patience where the part of the body used is also physiologically affected. Emotions are combinations of physical and bodily feelings in our various parts of the body and mental realisations (see Dzokoto 2010; Enfield & Wierzbicka 2002: 2).

Scholars of cognitive semantics, psycholinguistics, psychology, and neurobiology have extensively discussed the metaphors of emotions. Some of the common notions that overlap cross-linguistically in metaphors of emotions are: *EMOTION IS AN OPPONENT*, *EMOTION IS A NATURAL FORCE*, and *EMOTION IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR*. In discussing emotion as a physical force, Kövecses (2008: 383-384) states that

[m]etaphorically, there is a physical force-exerting entity that has the force tendency to produce some effect on the object. There is a rational self that has the force tendency to stay as before (that is unemotional) and there is a cause (of emotion) that has the

tendency to cause the self to be emotional.

Simply put, there is always a cause and an indispensable aspect of force that triggers the emotion and the emotion leads to some response whether negative or positive.

1.4. Methodology

This paper uses empirical evidence to show how patience and its related emotions are codified in the Akan language, using the two body parts *akoma* ‘heart’ and *bo* ‘chest’. The data for this paper was first gathered through a questionnaire administered to 50 final year Akan students of the University of Ghana in 2011. They were asked to perform two tasks:

- (1) to write as many expressions as they can that relate to patience, within 10 minutes
- (2) to use the body parts *bo*, ‘chest’; and *akoma*, ‘heart’ to form as many sentences as possible (within 20 minutes).

They were given 30 minutes to finish both tasks. At the end of the 30 minutes, we were able to obtain 20 different expressions and about 200 different sentences. Out of the 20 different examples, 14 of them were metaphoric; they relate strongly to patience and are captured in Table 1. Their answers were collated and the result is what has formed the basis for this paper.

Apart from the above, some of the data were collected through interviews and recordings at various social interactions and communicative events. Some were picked up from Akan news from FM stations. I recorded some from Akan preaching on FM radio and TV, and also took notes from preaching in my local Methodist Church. Others were from Akan folksongs, proverbs and dirges. I collected some data from various written sources – the major sources being Christaller’s (1933)

Akan Dictionary and the Akan Bible, especially the book of Proverbs. Apart from this, I consulted books in Akan oral and written literature.

The obvious flaw with this method of using written material is that one is not given any vivid explanations for the context of usage. I therefore, crosschecked the list with renowned speakers of the Akan language and fellow Akan lecturers at the University of Ghana. As a native speaker of the language I also used my introspection to analyse the expressions.

The 200 different sentences and the 20 different metaphoric body part expressions were sorted out and categorized to find out which body part expressions were popularly used by most students. The result of this analysis, as seen in Appendix 1, indicated that the expression *abotere* ('patience') appeared in all the expressions and sentences given by all the 50 students (100%), and was the most popular. Next in popularity was the expression *ntoboasee* ('patience'), used by 40 students (80%). Even though the expressions *ntoboasee*, *boasetɔ* and *abɔtoasee* are synonyms, *ntoboasee* was mostly used (80%); while *boasetɔ* was used by 30 students (60%), *abɔtoasee* was used by only 12 students (24%).

The expressions used by the students and the newscasters, along with some from the Bible, were the ones that are in current and popular use. The expressions that were least used in the data were those I found in Christaller's (1933) dictionary and in the Akan Bible, and in oral and written literature books; all of these are archaic and religious oriented. Some of these archaic words include, *abotɔ* ('comfortable') (16%), *abotɔmu* ('peace confidence, good cheer') (14%), and *abodwokyerɛfoɔ* ('slow to anger') (18%). The table indicates that the least popular expression is *abotɔmu* – only 7 out of the 50 students (14%) used it.

I have provided a list of *bo* 'chest' and *akoma* 'heart' expressions that relate to patience and its related emotions and used some of them in examples under the various morphological structures and semantic domains for my analysis. In the analysis, the sentences (including those from the students' data) which contain metaphoric words for patience are first provided in Akan; their interlineal translations in English are

followed by their English translations. Each sentence is meticulously analysed, paying attention to the context of usage. In the case of the compound words for patience, the morphological components of the words are given (see also Table 1, where these metaphorical words in Akan are listed, followed by their literal translations and their English equivalents).

2. *Body Part Expressions for Patience*

This section looks at the metaphorical extensions of *bo* ('chest') and *akoma* ('heart'), the body parts that are used to express *abotere* ('patience') and its related emotions. The question is how related are these two body parts that are both used to express patience? The two body parts are combined with spatial terms like *soro* ('up') and *fam* ('down'), or with *hye* ('hot') or *dwo* ('to cool down'). The body is construed as a container, and its content (the levels of the emotions) could be *high* or *low* or *hot* or *cold*. Downing and Locke (2006:553) argue that '[u]p and down are often metaphorically construed as converses with positive and negative connotations respectively.' This is not wholly true, because in the natural world *up* and *down* may connote either positively or negatively, depending on the concept or object that they are attached to. For example, if a company's value is going up, it is positive, but if prices go up, it is negative. With emotions such as anger, if one's emotions are stirred up, it is negative, but when they come down, it is positive (see Agyekum 2015).

2.1. The *bo* ('chest') and *akoma* ('heart') Container Metaphors

The noun *bo* ('chest') refers to the outer cavity that protects *akoma* ('the heart'), which is the centre of emotions. In most societies, the heart stands out as the location for emotions, and this brings about the metap-

hor HEART IS A CONTAINER OF (see Perez 2008: 31; Yu 1995). The Akan metaphoric expressions for anger share the same conceptual metaphor, ANGER IS HEAT, with languages like English, Chinese, Japanese, Spanish and Thai. Since the heart resides in the chest, expressions connected with emotions are also derived from the nominals *bo* ('chest') and *akoma*, ('heart'). Culturally distinct concepts of patience, forbearance and endurance center on the container itself and its contents. We have expressions such as *abotere*, *boasetɔ*, *ntoboaseɛ*, *abodwoɔ*, *abodwokyerɛ*, compared with their interlineal glosses in section 2.2. below.

2.2 Structure of 'bo' Compounds

The internal morphological structure of the body *bo* ('chest') and *akoma* ('the heart') compounds may be of different types. The derivations of *bo* are formed by adding other word classes to the nominal *bo* ('chest'). The compounds are normally preceded by the prefix *a-* then the nominal *bo/koma* and a verb, a postposition or another noun plus an optional suffix, as in the frame (Prefix)+ Body part+ Verb/Postposition/Noun + (Suffix).

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	Akan	Literal translation	English equivalent expression
1	<i>abodwoɔ</i>	chest cool	calming down, contented, pleasure
2	<i>abodwokyerɛ</i>	chest cool longer	patience
3	<i>abodwokyerɛ-fɔɔ</i>	chest cool longer person	slow to anger (Prov. 15:18, Hebr 6:12)
5	<i>abotare/abotere</i>	chest wide	patience, tolerance
6	<i>abɔtoaseɛ</i>	chest put lower	forbearance, endurance
7	<i>boasetɔ</i>	chest under fall	patience
8	<i>ntoboaseɛ</i>	throw chest lower	patience
9	<i>abotɔ</i>	chest falling	comfortable
10	<i>abotɔmu</i>	chest falling inside	peace, confidence, good cheer
11	<i>abotɔyam</i>	chest falling into stomach	peace of mind, joy, happiness
12	<i>komapa</i>	good heart	a good joyful heart, contentment
13	<i>akomatom</i>	putting the heart inside	satisfaction, relief
14	<i>akomatɔyam</i>	heart falling in stomach	rejoicing of heart (Jeremiah 15;16)

Table 1 Metaphorical Extensions of *bo* and *akoma*

3. *The Concept of Patience* ('abotare/aboterɛ')

Patience deals with an emotional state of affairs where a person is able to accept, control, tolerate, forbear, endure or delay annoyance, provocation or suffering without complaining. The two versions of patience in Akan are based on dialectal differences, *abotare* is Akuapem and *abotere* is Asante. The word *abotare* literally means that the 'chest is well fixed / stuck', while *aboterɛ* literally means that the 'chest is wide and large'. In both examples, the body part *bo* ('chest') is a metonym for *akoma* ('heart'), which is the centre of all emotions. In this paper, I will use the Asante version, as that is the major dialect of Akan and the one I speak fluently.

3.1. Morphology of *abotare* ('patience')

Let us begin our discussion by looking at the morphology and the concept of *abotare* ('patience') in Akan. The nominal *abotare* is made up of *bo* ('chest') and the verb *tare* ('to glue/stick'). If the chest is firmly stuck to the body, it presupposes that it has stability to withstand and tolerate all sorts of provocations. Things, events, situations and entities cannot easily shake it out of its state of 'stuckness' and stability.

abotare (N) 'chest get stuck' → 'patience/tolerance'

Certain verbs are added to nouns to indicate that a person has or does not have any of these emotional qualities. The verbs used are:

wɔ 'to possess/have'
nya 'to have/obtain'

Examples are:

1a.	<i>Barima</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>wɔ</i>	<i>abotare</i>
	Man	the	has	patience
	'The man has patience.'			

If we negate the verb in example 1, it gives us anger; conceptually, lack of patience triggers anger.

- 1b. *Barima* *no* *nɲi* *abotare.*
 Man the NEG- have patience
 ‘The man does not have patience.’

3.2. Morphology of *aboterɛ*, (‘patience’)

In the Asante dialect of Akan, the variant of *abotare* is *aboterɛ*. The word *aboterɛ* for patience can be analysed morphologically as:

aboterɛ (N) ‘wide/large chest’ → ‘patience/tolerance’

The examples in 1 and 2 could be repeated using *aboterɛ* instead of *abotare*.

2. *Barima* *no* *wɔ* *aboterɛ.*
 Man the has patience
 ‘The man has patience.’

A person with a wide chest has a larger capacity to harbour or store a lot of things before the chest (representing the heart) becomes full and cannot take anything more. Here, PATIENCE IS A BIGGER CHEST (HEART) AND PATIENCE IS A BIGGER CONTAINER, as it can accommodate a lot of provocations. We will see the same concept of the largeness of the chest (heart) in the expressions *x wɔ akoma* (‘X has heart’) in example 17 (below section 5). Even though ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN THE CONTAINER, the person who has patience makes an effort to keep the fluid inside the container by trying to control the anger (see Kövecses 2000: 164).

3.3 Morphology of *abodwo* ('patience')

Let us look at another word used for patience, *abodwo*.

abodwoɔ (N) 'the chest cools down' → 'patience'

The expression *abodwoɔ* is made up of *bo*, ('chest') and *dwo* ('to cool down'). Out of *abodwoɔ*, we have *abodwoɛm* ('persuasive language') that can calm people's nerves.

3. <i>Amofa</i>	<i>abodwoɛm</i>	<i>no</i>	<i>ma-a</i>	<i>atuatɛfo</i>
Amofa's	calming words	the	let PAST	rioters
<i>no</i>	<i>gyae-e</i> .			
the	stop PAST			

'The persuasive language from Amofa made the demonstrators stop.'

We can see *abodwoɔ* from two structural points as indicated below. In the process, the nominalising prefix *a-* is dropped and *dwo* can be reduplicated to show plurality.

4. <i>X</i>	<i>dwo(dwo)</i>	<i>Y</i>	<i>bo</i>
X	cools down (cools down)	Y	chest
	'X calms down Y'		
5. <i>Agyei</i>	<i>dwodwo</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>yere</i>
Agyei	cool down cool down	POS	wife
<i>bo</i>	<i>ma-a</i>	<i>ɔ- gyae-e</i>	<i>ntɔkwa</i>
chest	let PAST	she stop PAST	fight
<i>no</i>			
the			

'Agyei calmed his wife down for her to stop the fight'

Here we have a person who uses words, gifts or appeasement to cool down another person's heart. We can also have the reverse structure, as stated below:

6. *Y bo dwo.* → *abodwo*
 Y chest cools down → calming down
 'Y calms down'

This implies that there is a covert instigator who calmed down Y; the SELF now appears in the possessor's position. In this construction, Y possesses the chest; in the instance, we are not told who calms down Y and how, when, where and why he was calmed down. The entity Y is the undergoer of the state of being calmed down. The calming down of the chest (heart) could be done by another person or an external entity, gifts or persuasive language. It could also be done by the person himself or herself after realising that he has to forbear and forget about the situation that caused the provocation, or consider it trivial.

7. *Asɔfo no dwodwo-o*
 Pastors the cool down (redupl.)PAST
awarefoɔ a wɔ-re-ko no
 couple REL they PROG fight POS
bo
 chest

'The pastors calmed down the couple who were fighting'

In the above, the pastors brought peace by (lit.) calming down the tempers of the couple and this is denoted by the reduplication of the verb *dwo*, into *dwodwo* 'to cool down'.

3.3.1 *Abodwokyeɛ* ('tolerance')

There is the expression *abodwokyeɛ* ('tolerance'). It is made up of *bo* ('chest'), *dwo* ('to cool down'), and *kyeɛ* ('to last longer/delay'). This means that if the heart cools down it takes a longer time for it to be enraged again. A person with such a quality is very patient and tolerant. In the Akan Bible, there are quotations that refer to *abodwokyeɛ*, 'tolerance' and *abofuo*, anger.

8. <i>Deɛ</i>	<i>ne</i>	<i>bo</i>
Who	Pos	Chest
<i>n-kyeɛ</i>	<i>fu</i>	<i>no</i>
Neg delay	sprout	the
<i>di</i>	<i>agyimi-</i>	<i>sem .</i>
engages in	foolish	things.

'He who is quick-tempered acts foolishly.' (Proverbs 14: 17)

Example 8 contrasts *abodwokyeɛ* 'tolerance' with *abofuo*, 'anger' the first part has *bo*, 'chest' and *nkyeɛ* 'not delaying' to imply that one does not restrain himself but gets angry. The *bo* 'chest' spreads to the second part and correlates with the verb *fu*, 'to sprout' to mean 'being angry'. The whole quotation means that if you do not exercise some restraint before getting angry then you will act foolishly. We can have the conceptual metaphor QUICK TEMPER IS FOOLISHNESS.

In Proverbs 15:18 we meet the expression *abodwokɛrɛ*.

9. <i>Obofu-fafɔ</i>	<i>hwanyan</i>	<i>ntɔkwa mu,</i>
Angry take person	incites	fight inside
<i>na</i>	<i>abodwokɛrɛfɔ</i>	<i>pata</i>
and	chest cool delay	settles
<i>akayɛ</i>	conflicts	

‘The angry person incites fighting, and the patient person settles conflicts.’

The above quotation can give us two conceptual metaphors, namely

- (i) ANGRY PERSON IS A FIGHTER
- (ii) PATIENCE IS A CONFLICT

The word *obofufafɔ* comes from the noun *abofu* (‘anger’) + the verb *fɔ-* (‘pick/take’) + *fɔ(ɔ)* (agentive suffix). The composite literally refers to a person who picks anger (an angry person). The agentive suffix *-fɔ* refers to the person who acts or engages in something. Conceptually, it refers to a person who is slow to anger, (lit.) his chest can cool down for a longer period, when he is calmed down it takes a very long period for him to get angry again.

People who are very temperamental cannot be calmed down; they metaphorically chase and hunt for anger, and they can always incite and engineer people to get very irritated and even fight. On the contrary, non-temperamental people convince people to be patient, tolerant, and be more forgiving. They are able to settle conflicts and social discords among people.

4. Bo/koma *and satisfaction*

There are *bo* and *koma* expressions that are used to express confidence, content, happiness, and satisfaction. They include *abodwo* ('chest cooling'), and *abotɔyam* ('peace of mind'). The expression *X bo dwo* can also be used to indicate that X is happy, appeased, or satisfied with a situation. This often happens when X had gone through a situation of displeasure or dissatisfaction, but has been able to calm himself down, and is satisfied.

10. *Asɔfo no afotuo a-ma ɔyere no bo a-dwo.*
 Pastors the advice PERF let wife the chest PERF cool
 'The pastors advice has (calmed down) satisfied the wife.'

In the above example, the pastors were able to calm the wife down through persuasive language and pieces of advice.

(a) *Abotɔyam/Akomatɔyam*, 'satisfaction, relief, patience'

In the above words we are looking at expressions on patience and their cognates that are derived from the strong relationship between the heart/chest and the stomach.

- (i) *abotɔyam* (N) 'the chest falls into the stomach' → satisfaction, relief, patience
 (ii) *akomatɔyam* (N) 'the heart falls into the stomach' → satisfaction, relief, patience

The two expressions *abotɔyam* and *akomatɔyam* may be used interchangeably without bringing any semantic differences. The above expressions mean that the heart/chest moves down from its normal position, which is a little bit higher and falls into the stomach. In this orientational change of location, the angry heart cools down, and the person becomes joyful, satisfied, happy, content or relieved. Bauer

(1973) posits a similar relationship in Nigerian English language that considers the belly as the seat of EMOTIONS. Relief is conceptualised as the heart's push to take a rest in its container, which is the stomach. Yu (2002: 352) avers that the Chinese describe the process of relief as the heart being 'laid' or 'falling' back down. Conceptually, when a person is disillusioned, despaired or depressed, his heart moves up; to bring it down, it has to be pushed down into the belly, a position lower than its normal position. The above relates to our earlier discussion of the universality of certain emotions across cultures and languages (see section 1.3). We can argue that during relief, the precarious situation drops from the MIND to the HEART and settles in the CONTAINER, i.e. the STOMACH. It is a top-bottom direction in ontological metaphor. The stomach is thus a relieved storage facility.

11. *Asennie* *no* *de* *abotɔyam*
 Arbitration the use satisfaction
- a-ba* *abusua* *no* *ntam.*
 PERF come family the among
- 'The settlement of the dispute has brought
 peace in the family.'

The word *abotɔyam* is extended here to mean satisfaction. The logical relation in this context is that when people act with patience, it brings about peace that also results in relief and satisfaction to the parties involved. The above example (11) implies that there were conflicts and disharmony among the family members, but that arbitration has settled their differences and brought satisfaction and peace among them. A closer expression to the above is *X bo da X yam*, 'X's chest is lying in X's stomach'. The chest has found solace and space in the stomach, and this means that it is not being disturbed in any way, implying that X is confident and comfortable.

There is also the expression *X twa X bo to X yam*, (lit) 'X cuts X's

chest (heart) and puts it into his stomach'. Metaphorically, X appeases, composes, and comforts himself; he is still, and sets himself at rest. This happens when somebody reflects on some situations and instead of getting enraged, decides to forget about it and focus on other things.

12. *Kofi a-di* *nkoguo* *nanso*
 Kofi PERF lose but
- w-a-twa* *ne* *bo* *a- to* *ne* *yam.*
 he PERF cut his chest PERF put his stomach
- 'Even though Kofi has lost he has composed himself very well.'

In these expressions, the stomach is conceptualized as a HAVEN for peace.

A similar expression to the above is *X taa X bo*, 'X fills his chest'; this means that X sets his heart at rest despite the unpleasant situations. The question is, what does X use in filling his chest, and why? He presumably fills the chest with peace, patience, and tolerance, and the filled container will not have any space for provocation and anger; FILLED CHEST IS PEACE.

The situation where *bo* ('chest') is a metonym representing the heart is one of the cases that show the similarity between cultures when it comes to embodiment. This is because, biologically, all human beings have the same body parts irrespective of their race, culture and geographical location (see section 1. 3). While *bo* refers to the chest, it can cognitively represent the very delicate heart which the Akans consider to be the centre of various emotions. Perez (2008: 43) states that 'the heart is an organ situated in the chest and almost in the middle of the body. Besides, the function it carries out is vital for the human survival.' The heart is an indispensable body part, and when it fails that is the end of the person. Even though Perez did not work on Akan, his assertion supports the universality of emotions that we discussed in section 1.3 and therefore tallies with what we have in Akan.

There is the metaphor ANGER IS FIRE. Since anger resides in the heart (CONTAINER), if the heart becomes hot and then cools down, it means that tempers are set down and controlled. The Akans will say that

13. *X akoma a- ba fam.*
 X's heart PERF-come down
 'X has calmed down.'

(b) *Ntoboaseε/boasetɔ*, 'patience'

The word *ntoboaseε* is made up of the prefix *n-* + *to* ('put') + *bo* ('chest') + *ase* ('down'). It means that a person lowers his/her chest. *Boasetɔ* is made up of *bo* 'chest' + *ase* 'down' + *tɔ* 'put' as seen below.

- (i) *ntoboaseε* (N) 'putting the chest down' → 'patience'
 (ii) *boasetɔ* (N) 'chest down put'
 (putting the chest down) → 'patience'

The nominal *ntoboaseε* is from the reflexive phrasal construction *X to X bo ase* ('X lowers X's chest'). The lowering of one's chest tallies with the general orientational notion that an upward movement of the heart or chest implies anger, whilst a downward movement denotes patience. We can have the conceptual metaphor PATIENCE IS PUTTING DOWN THE CHEST. The word *ntoboaseε* is synonymous with *boasetɔ* and hence it can replace this in an example like (2), which is repeated here as 14a for convenience:

- 14a. *Barima no wɔ abotere*
 Man the has patience
 'The man has patience.'

- 14b. *Barima no wɔ ntoboaseε*
 Man the has patience
 'The man has patience.'

The cognate form of *ntoboaseɛ* is *boasetɔ*. Although *ntoboaseɛ* and *boasetɔ* are synonymous, they are based on dialectal differences. *Ntoboaseɛ* is commonly used in the Asante dialect while Akuapem uses *boasetɔ*. Similar to what we saw in sections 3.1 and 3.2, we can say that Akuapem uses *abotare* and *boaset*, while Asante uses the pair *abotereɛ* and *ntoboaseɛ*. In *boasetɔ*, the concept of lowering the *bo* ('chest') is twofold; it is depicted by the verb *tɔ* ('to fall down') and the locative *aseɛ* ('lower/under') to intensify the downward movement of the chest (heart). In *boasetɔ*, the chest literally falls down, indicating patience.

15. *Boasetɔ* *malwie* *nkonimdie*
 Patience gives/results victory/success
 'Patience brings about success and victory.'

This maxim highlights patience as a value among the Akans. Other expressions that indicate patience include *X bo awu*, 'X's chest is dead/numb'. This can be captured by the conceptual metaphor PATIENCE IS A DEAD CHEST. This expression means that the person does not have a chest/heart, and he is not bothered about things that provoke one's heart to be angry. It implies that 'X is not given to anger; X is not irascible, vindictive, and revengeful.' It indicates a person's being overly patient.

16. *Akomea* *bo* *a-wu* *nti*
 Akomea chest PERF die so
aseɛm *n-ye* *no* *ahi*.
 matters NEG make him enraged.
 'Akomea is patient and therefore not irritated
 by any provocation.'

The expression *X bo awu* can also mean that X is disheartened, apathetic and disillusioned; his chest/heart does not respond to any emotions, and he is not interested in many things.

5. Akoma ('heart') as a Tool for both Patience and Anger

The heart is considered the seat or container where most feelings or emotions are based, and emotive expressions are normally derived from the lexical word *akoma* ('heart'), as seen below. The word *akoma* ('heart') can be used to express anger, and it is interesting that we can use the two examples below ((17) a negative, (18) a positive construction) to express that the person is either temperamental or tolerant.

17. X *wɔ* *akoma* *dodo*
 X has heart too much
 'X is temperamental'

This literally means that X has a heart that is larger than the normal size, and X is easily provoked: TEMPERAMENT IS OVERSIZE HEART. If we intensify the expression by adding *papa* ('very much'), or *dodo* ('too much'), it denotes a highly temperamental person. It is also possible to use the same expression to imply that X has patience. S/he has a heart with a larger capacity to be able to tolerate all kinds of provocations. The context under which it is used will let us know whether we are referring to anger or patience.

18. X *wɔ* *akoma* *enti*
 X has heart so

ɔ-a- *tumi* *a- yɛ* *adwuma*
 he PERF able PERF do work

yi *a-kyɛ.*
 this PERF long

'X is not temperamental that is why he has been able to stay in the job for long.'

We can say that if this employee has been able to work for many years with his temperamental boss, *enneɛ ɔwɔ akoma papa*, 'then he has a

heart'. In this context, having a heart implies the person is patient and tolerant; PATIENCE IS A BIGGER HEART. This is comparable to the glossing of the concept of *abotere* as a larger or bigger chest (heart) in section 3.2. Perez (2008: 39) posits that in the cognitive model, the largeness of the heart has positive connotations. Since the heart is a container, the larger the size, the more feelings and emotions it can harbour.

In terms of size and having or not having a heart, Perez (2008: 40) summarises as follows: 'When the heart "expands", it has positive connotations, while when it "shrinks", it has negative ones. Small is conceptualised as negative, while big is conceptualised as positive.' This assertion supports the Akan conceptual metaphor of patience, as illustrated above.

6. Findings

We have seen that in Akan, patience, satisfaction, relief, and tolerance are all related to the heart, being based on the lowering of the heart or its largeness. This paper has confirmed that there is a mapping and correlation between our external experience, our internal, emotional and cognitive states and our language. This finding is in relation to the overall topic of the universality of languages and culture when we consider aspects of cognitive semantics and the relationship between body parts, especially the heart and mind, and emotions.

The findings of this study relate to other empirical studies on conceptual metaphor in Japanese, English, Chinese, Spanish and Thai. These studies have argued that if metaphor is grounded in the way our body and mind work, and human beings are biologically the same irrespective of race and geographical location, most of our conceptual metaphors that relate to our body parts are similar and universal at the conceptual level (section 1.3). The present article hopefully has contributed significantly to conceptual metaphor theory and cognitive studies. In this theory, metaphor is embodied in experience and the strong relationship between linguistic form and function reflects

human conceptual structure.

The overall implication of the present paper confirms the strong relationship between the body, mind, and emotions, and further draws an interdisciplinary relationship between linguistics, psycholinguistics, psychology and neurobiology. Finally, the findings of this paper has depicted that studies in body part expressions form an important area in cognitive linguistics, worth exploring in various languages, such as Akan and other Ghanaian and African languages – an area that has been neglected in our linguistic studies, compared to the volumes of studies done on the languages of the Western and Asian countries. Thus, the present study has added to the literature, also opening the way to further cognitive studies of less-known African languages.

7. Conclusion

The present paper has discussed two Akan body parts and their metaphorical extensions and expressions. In terms of structure, the body part expressions were compound nouns. They consist of an obligatory body part, followed by a verb, an adjective, another noun, a postposition or a combination of these. The *bo*-compounds in this paper predominantly have a nominal prefix *a-*. The more accessible physical body parts *bo* ('chest') and *akoma* ('heart') are employed to refer to the less accessible worlds of reasoning, anger, patience, and intellect. We noted that the body parts *bo* and *akoma* act as the instruments for the semantic and metaphoric derivation of patience, satisfaction and appeasement.

Since the heart resides in the chest, expressions connected with emotions can be derived from the nominal *bo* ('chest') and *akoma* ('heart'). We remarked that the chest (physical and seen) is a metonym for the heart (hidden and unseen) which universally serves as the centre of all emotions. Out of the 14 Akan expressions for patience listed in Table 1, 11 referred to the chest and only 3 related morphologically to the heart (examples 12-14 in Table 1).

In discussing patience, the chest (heart) served as the container and the flow of emotions, either upwards or downwards. While the upward movement conceptually connoted anger, the downward movement connoted patience. Some of the expressions considered the stomach as the HAVEN, a peaceful landing site for the enraged chest (heart). We also saw that in Akan, patience is based on the expansion or contraction of the chest (heart). An expanded chest (heart) is positive, tolerant and patient, while a contracted or shrunk chest (heart) is intolerant, temperamental and always angry; it has a small space to harbour all kinds of provocation. The relation between the chest (heart) and patience is uniquely captured by the Akan conceptual metaphors PATIENCE IS A BIGGER CHEST (HEART) and PATIENCE IS A WIDER CHEST (HEART), PATIENCE IS A WELL-PUT CHEST (HEART), PATIENCE IS PUTTING DOWN THE CHEST (HEART) and PATIENCE IS A DEAD CHEST. Some of the Akan expressions relate to other empirical studies in other languages and cultures.

Notwithstanding the universality mentioned in this paper, its findings depict that Akan has peculiar conceptual metaphors such as FILLED CHEST IS PEACE. If a person fills his chest (heart) with peace, patience, and tolerance, the filled container will not have any space for provocation and anger. The owners of such hearts are non-temperamental, more forgiving and are able to settle conflicts and social discords among people. Very temperamental people, metaphorically have an empty chest (heart) and therefore chase and hunt for anger to fill the void. They can always incite and engineer people to get very irritated and even fight.

In the same way, the paper has outlined that patience in Akan is conceptualised as the cooling down of the chest (heart), the delay of a calmed down chest (heart) before it enrages again, and the putting or lowering of the chest (heart) down.

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Endnotes

¹Varieties of Akan that are similar to the Asante dialect are Assin, and Akyem, Agona is closer to Fante while Buem is closer to Akuapem. The Buems are sandwiched by Ewes in the Volta Region.

²Some of the *bo* ('chest') and *akoma* ('heart') expressions in Akan are based on semantic changes and extensions of meanings whereby the meanings of certain words or expressions acquire different meanings with the passage of time, space and change of context and culture.

³In conceptual metaphors, body is source, whereas culture is filter. While body is a potentially universal source domain from which bodily-based metaphors emerge, culture serves as a filter that only allows certain bodily experiences to pass through so that they can be mapped onto certain domain concepts (see Yu 2008: 249-250).

⁴Culturally specific embodiment involves parts of the body that are culturally correlated with the emotion of anger. Culturally tainted embodiment uses animal behaviours and cultural ecological features to denigrate physiologically embodied anger expressions.

⁵In Akan, prefixing a homorganic nasal, *m-*, *n-*, or *ɲ-* before the initial consonant of the verb negates it. While *m-* is used for labial consonants, *ɲ-* is used for velar consonants and *n-* is used for the rest. This is a regular pattern, however in the case of the verb *wɔ* ('to possess', or 'to be located at a place'), the negative does not follow the general rule, the negative is an entirely different word, *nmi*. This is a portmanteau word coming from *ne* ('is') and *yi* ('this') plus the negative marker (*n-*) The composite *n + ne + yi* is combined into *nmi* by a process of deletion of the vowel and the consonant in the two words.

Appendix 1

Table showing the number of students out of the 50 who listed each of the metaphoric terms, and the percentage value

	Akan	Translation	No of students out of the 50	100%
1	<i>abodwoɔ</i>	calming down	25	50%
2	<i>abodwokyeɛre</i>	patience	16	32%
3	<i>abodwokyeɛrefɔɔ</i>	slow to anger	9	18%
5	<i>abotarelaboterɛ</i>	patience, tolerance	50	100%
6	<i>abɔtoaseɛ</i>	forbearance, endurance	12	24%
7	<i>boasetɔ</i>	patience	30	60%
8	<i>ntoboaseɛ</i>	patience	40	80%
9	<i>abotɔ</i>	comfortable	8	16%
10	<i>abotɔmu</i>	peace, confidence,	7	14%
11	<i>abotɔyam</i>	peace of mind	35	70%
12	<i>komapa</i>	a good joyful heart,	37	74%
13	<i>akomatɔm</i>	satisfaction	34	68%
14	<i>akomatɔyam</i>	calm, patience	42	84%