

ANI 'EYE' METAPHORICAL EXPRESSIONS IN AKAN
Ani anhunu a enye tan, 'If the eyes do not see it, it is not nasty.'

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The paper addresses the semantic shifts, extensions and metaphorical use of **ani** 'eyes' in Akan (a Ghanaian language). It focuses attention on the semantic patterns and pragmatic nature of **ani** based metaphors and their usage in a variety of contexts. In Akan, the body part expressions have extended meanings that still have some relationship with the original words. The body parts thus act as the productive lexical items for the semantic and metaphoric derivation. I will consider the body part **ani** from its physical and cognitive representations. The paper also looks at the positive and negative domains of **ani** 'eye' expressions. The data are taken from Akan literature books, the Akan Bible and recorded materials from radio discussions. The paper illustrates that there is a strong relation between people's conceptual, environmental and cultural experiences and their linguistic systems.

Cet article met en exergue les changements sémantiques, les extensions et l'emploi métaphorique de **ani** 'yeux' en akan, (une langue du Ghana). Il se focalise sur les modèles sémantiques et la nature pragmatique des métaphores basées sur **ani** et leur emploi dans une variété de contextes. En akan, les expressions indiquant les parties du corps ont des significations étendues qui gardent encore une certaine relation avec les mots originaux. Les parties du corps agissent ainsi comme les items lexicaux productifs pour la dérivation sémantique et métaphorique. La partie du corps **ani** est examinée à partir de ses représentations physiques et cognitives. L'article examine également les domaines positifs et négatifs des expressions en **ani** 'œil'. Les données ont été tirées des livres de littérature, de la Bible en akan et des enregistrements issus des discussions à la radio. L'article illustre l'idée qu'il existe une forte relation entre les expériences conceptuelles, environnementales et culturelles des gens et leurs systèmes linguistiques.

0. INTRODUCTION:COGNITIVE SEMANTICS AND CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR

This paper is grounded in cognitive semantics, which relates linguistic expressions to human cognitive experience. The complex expressions in language are derived from the basic categories, including body parts (Sweetser 1990:1). Many expressions of emotions, perceptions, cognition, intellect, locatives and the face concept in pragmatics are taken from body parts (Agyekum, 2002, 2004, 2005, 2013). Most body part expressions have become conventionalised metaphors because they have been long established. Others are more recent and are part of our current social metadiscourse.

This paper also employs conceptual metaphor theory (CMT). In the view of Semino (2008:5) 'Conceptual metaphors are defined as systematic sets of correspondence, or 'mappings', across conceptual domains, whereby a 'target' domain is partly structured in terms of a different 'source' domain.' Conceptual metaphor (CM) theorists view metaphor as being partly 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, and 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.

In supporting the above claim, Semino (2008:6) further contends that:

Cognitive metaphor theorists emphasize that target domains typically correspond to areas of experience that are relatively abstract, complex, unfamiliar, subjective or poorly delineated, such as time, emotion, life or death. In contrast, source domains typically correspond to concrete, simple, familiar, physical, and well-delineated experiences such as motion, bodily phenomena, and physical objects and so on.

Within CMT, the meanings of linguistic expression are rooted in human cognitive experience (see Yu 2004:664, Sweetser 1990). A cognitively based theory of language takes human perception, parts of the body, and understanding of the world as the basis for the structure of human language. The **ani** 'eye' expressions in Akan support the notion that many of the source domains of conceptual metaphor reflect patterns of bodily experience (Gibbs et al 2004:1192) The pioneers of conceptual metaphors were Lakoff and Johnson. (see Lakoff and Johnson 1980a,1980b, 1980c and 2003). Our body and embodiment within the physical and cultural world plays a crucial role and sets out the contours of what is meaningful to us and determines the ways of our understanding (see Yu 2008:250). The relationship between linguistic form and function reflects human conceptual structure and general principles of cognitive organisation. In the case of metaphor we will agree with Gibbs et al. 2004:1191) and others that metaphor is not merely a linguistic, rhetorical figure, but constitutes a fundamental part of people's ordinary thought, reason, and imagination.

The paper illustrates that the language of a people is inextricably interwoven with their culture, environment and various sectors of their society. In most cases, a change in any of these variables has a direct effect on the nature and structure of the language and can thus bring about corresponding diachronic changes and shed light on the etymology of certain expressions. Universally, bodily experience is a fertile ground for the conceptualisation of emotions and abstract thought in general (see Dirven, et. al 2007:1209).

There is a correlation between our external experience and our internal, emotional and cognitive states. Bonvillain (1993:82) aptly states that:

...widespread 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 our natural experiences and basic domains of human life, including bodily perception and movement, basic objects, the environment, culture and social interactions (see Ungerer and Schmid 2009:120, Lakoff and Johnson 1980a, 1980b, 1980c). 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”. This notion conforms to the notion of embodiment where issues, concepts and states in our body form the basis of social life through which we perceive and socialize the world (cf. Radley 1998).

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 Evans and Green 2006:162). According to the conceptual theory, unfamiliar and delineated concepts in our experiences can only be grasped by means of other concepts that we understand in clearer terms. To Evans and Green (2006:157), “the nature of conceptual organisation arises from bodily experience.” In conceptual theory there is a strong interaction between language and the physical world. (See Semino 2008, Cruse 2004, Kövecses 2002, Saeed 2003, Orthony 1993, Morgan 1979, on metaphor).¹

Kövecses (2002:6) posits that “Conceptual metaphors, typically employ a more abstract concept as target and a more concrete or physical concept as their source.” We can see then that Akan has metaphors in which abstract concepts are physical concepts. This happens due to the cognitive nature and the conceptual behaviour of speakers of the language, and the interaction between language and the physical world.

0. 1. METAPHOR

The term ‘metaphor’ is very pervasive in semantics, lexicology, literature, philosophy and cognitive studies. According to 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.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980:5) state that “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another” (see Lee 2005:6; Semino 2008:1 on the undersanding of metaphors). The use of metaphors is one of the highest manifestations of language creativity (see Fromkin and Rodman 1998:188). 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 (Agyekum 2002; Orthony 1993). Sometimes, the metaphorical meaning is only a slight semantic extension of the literal meaning. There are thus degrees of deviation of a metaphor from the literal meanings; some meanings are transparent while others are remote from their literal meanings. There is thus a continuum of metaphorical extensions (see Ungerer and Schmid 2009:118, Kövecses 2002:4, Foley 1997:182).

A proper analysis and understanding of metaphors and their meanings involves a closer look at their semantic, pragmatics and cognitive aspects and an overall knowledge of the language, culture, society, and environment. The semantic aspect considers their intrinsic and extended meanings. The recognition and interpretation of

¹ Some of the **ani** ‘eye’ expressions in Akan are based on semantic changes and extensions of meanings. Semantic change is a process whereby the meanings of certain words or expressions acquire different meanings with the passage of time and space and change of context and culture. The original meaning may be extended to cover other notions and objects (extension). Traugott (1982) emphasises that meaning more frequently shifts from concrete to abstract than in the opposite direction.

a metaphor requires attention to the *particular* pragmatic contexts under which the utterances were made. Mey (1993:64-65) clearly states that:

pragmatically speaking, all metaphors are wrong as long as they are not 'contextualised', i.e. placed within the proper situation of use... Only the context of situation that we want to characterise metaphorically can determine the usefulness of a particular metaphor. The task of pragmatics is to 'deconstruct' the metaphor, to unload the 'loaded weapon' of language.

To Sweetser (1990:19), a metaphor is a major structuring force in semantic change and in a metaphor; speakers find an inter-domain between knowledge and vision or between time and space (see also Levinson 1983:165-166). Understanding of metaphors takes place in holistic domains of experience and not in terms of isolated concepts. This notion is captured in Agyekum (2013:4).

0.2. UNIVERSALITY OF METAPHORS INVOLVING EMOTIONS

Issues about conceptual metaphor are both universal and culture specific and Yu (2008:249-250) argues that:

Our 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.²

This issue tallies with an earlier suggestion by Lakoff and Johnson (2003:257) that

Inevitably many primary metaphors are universal because everybody has basically the same kinds of bodies and brains and lives in basically the same kinds of environments, so far as the feature relevant to metaphor are concerned. The complex metaphors that are composed of primary metaphors and make use of culturally based conceptual frames are another matter. Because they make use of cultural information, they may differ significantly from culture to culture.

It is based on the above views that the metaphors of emotions have been extensively discussed by scholars of cognitive semantics, psycholinguistics, psychology, neurobiology, etc. from many cultures. Some of the common notions that overlap among metaphors of emotions are: EMOTION IS AN OPPONENT, EMOTION IS A NATURAL FORCE, EMOTION IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR (see Kövecses, 2008:383). In discussing emotion as a physical force, Kövecses (2008:384) states that

² In conceptual metaphors body is source, whereas culture is filter. That is while body is 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)

Metaphorically, 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 that triggers the emotion and the emotion leads to some response whether negative or positive. The above implies that the force aspect of emotions is indispensable. Kövecses (2008:385) argues therefore that metaphors in the emotion domain can be characterized as an interaction of forces and this leads to the conclusion that there exists a single metaphor for emotion: EMOTIONS ARE FORCES.

Emotions such as happiness and joy encompass both thought and bodily processes and they interact within some 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 (see Wierzbicka 2002:1)

0.3 THE AKAN PEOPLE AND THEIR LANGUAGE

The word Akan can be considered from two perspectives (a) linguistic Akan and (b) ethnographic Akan. The ethnographic Akan includes Nzemas, Ahantas, Sefwis and Aowins who do not speak the Akan language as their native language but share cultural similarities with the people who speak Akan. According to (Abakah 2004:6-7) the linguistic Akan refers the Akan language (see also Abakah 2006).³ The Akans are the largest ethnic group in Ghana. According to the 2010, national population census, 47.5% of the Ghanaian population is Akans and about 44% of the population speaks Akan as non-native speakers.

The Akans occupy the greater part of the southern sector of Ghana. Akan is spoken as a native language (L1-first language) in six of the ten regions in Ghana namely, Ashanti, Eastern, Western, Central, Brong Ahafo and Volta Regions. The Akan speaking communities in the Volta Region of Ghana are sandwiched between the Ewe communities. The Akan language is made up of various dialects, namely Asante, Akuapem, Akwamu, Fante, Akyem, Agona, Assin, Denkyira, Twifo, Wassa, Kwawu, Bron and Buem.⁴ Some Bron speakers are in Cote d’Ivoire. Akan is studied from primary school up to the university level.

0.4 METHODOLOGY

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 also recorded some from Akan preaching on FM radio and TV and also took notes from sermons in my local Methodist Church. Others were from Akan folksongs, proverbs and dirges. I collected some data from various written sources – the major sources were Christaller’s (1933) Akan Dictionary.

³ All the languages spoken by the ethnographic Akans are genetically related to the Akan language (see Abakah 2004, 2006, Boadi 2005)

⁴ Varieties of Akan that are similar to the Asante dialect are Assin, Akyem, Denkyira and Kwawu. The Agona dialect is closer to Fante while Buem is closer to Akuapem. The Buems are sandwiched between Ewes in the Volta Region.

Some of the **ani-** based expressions used to express physical and mental notions, were taken from the Akan Bible, especially the book of Proverbs.⁵ I focussed on the book of Proverbs because it has many expressions that relate to body part expressions including the **ani** 'eye'. I found out that most words that relate to emotions such as , patience, anger, and comfort in the English Bible are represented metaphorically in the Akan Bible by body part expressions. These metaphorical expressions are still used especially by the adult population in our day today life, and most competent speakers of the language who read the Akan Bible have their everyday language influenced by the metaphors they meet in the Bible.

Apart from the above sources, I consulted Akan oral and written literature books. I crosschecked the list of **ani** expressions with renowned speakers of the Akan language and fellow Akan lecturers at the University of Ghana.

In the analysis, I have put up a summary of the structure of the **ani** compounds that have been lexicalised. I have also provided a list of **ani** expressions and used some of them in examples under the various morphological structures and semantic domains for my analysis.

1. THE SENSORY ORGAN ANI 'EYE'

In Akan, the words for 'civilisation', 'happiness', 'shame', 'hope', 'disgrace', etc. do not have equivalents apart from the eye terms. We will see that Akan has metaphors where ABSTRACT CONCEPTS ARE PHYSICAL CONCEPTS. This happens due to the cognitive nature and the conceptual behaviour of speakers of the language and the interaction between language and the physical world. In Table 1 of Dzokoto and Okazaki (2006:128), they list the following expressions that refer to the eye and gave the literal translations and English equivalents as follows:

- | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| (1) | a. anika , 'eye agree/reach' | → | 'joy, excitement', |
| | b. aniwu , 'eye die' | → | 'shame, |
| | c. anigye , 'eye get' | → | 'excitement, happiness', |
| | d. enyito 'eye put' | → | 'guilt, ashame', and |
| | e. anibere 'eye red' | → | 'determined, jealous'. |

We will meet these expressions in Table 1 and the subsequent discussions in the present paper.

Within CMT, we agree with Yu (2004) that SEEING IS TOUCHING, AND THINKING, KNOWING OR UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING and that the meanings of linguistic expressions are rooted in human cognitive experience. Cross linguistically from English, Greek, Latin, Chumburung and Akan we will see that our eyes are used in getting to know much about the real world. The more we can see, the more we can expand our scope of knowledge and cognition (see Yu 2004:664, Sweetser 1990) In looking at the metaphor of eye among the Chinese, Yu (2004:669) posits that compounds and idioms involving the eye in Chinese do not describe seeing per se, but state the activities and connections to the heart and the mind. Yu, thus posits a new predominant metaphor in

⁵The Akuapem Twi Bible was translated by J.G Christaller, in the year 1875, The Fante Bible was translated by Acquah and Bartels in the year 1944 while the Asante Twi version of the Akan Bible was translated by Crakye Denteh in the 1950s.

Chinese as follows; MENTAL FUNCTION (thinking, knowing, and understanding) is PERCEPTUAL EXPERIENCE (seeing). We will see in this paper that some Akan **ani** eye’ expressions (seeing) are closely related to the brain and the mental faculty (see Yu 2004:664, Sweetser 1990).

Metaphors of vision have relationship between the objective and intellectual mental domain. There are extensions from the physical and concrete eye to abstract, mental and intellectual notions. The metaphorical extensions are made possible because we are able to channel, focus and connect our abilities with our visual sense, and experiences more than any of the other senses. In many languages, there are maxims that point to the importance of the eyes in the collection of data and information. There is the popular English expression ‘seeing is believing.’ Yu (2004:664) records two Old Chinese sayings that are translated as:

- It is better to see once than to hear a hundred times.
- What one sees is real whereas what one hears may not.

The Akans say that **Kontromfi se me suman ne m’ani**. ‘According to the monkey its magic and talisman lies in its eyes’; seeing is believing. That is, the eyes help it to do more wonderful things.

Human vision, just like auditory sense is one of the major senses that can pick out and attend to one stimulus out of a multitude of input stimuli. It, therefore, gives rise to a larger number of polysemous and metaphoric expressions than most of the other senses. Vision generally deals with the objective intellectual side of our mental life. By seeing things in their concrete terms, we can generally comment objectively on them. Vision usually deals with intellect because it is one of the main and most reliable sources of objective data gathering about the world (see Agyekum 2005 and Sweetser 1990:39 on vision).

In Akan, the eye has more extensions than any of the sensory organs; this is so because normally visible objects and auditory sounds are our richest sources of information and concept formation. Sweetser (1990:37) articulates further that “our objective intellectual side of our mental life seems to be regularly linked with the sense of vision.” This is so because a vast number of concrete objects in the world have visual and auditory evidence. We can see and hear more things from a distance at a time than we can taste, smell, or touch. Relatively few objects emit a distinctive smell, feeling, touch or taste. Sweetser (1990:33) posits that the physical sight is extended to cover knowledge and intellection. This is further extended to connote wisdom; hence the metaphor KNOWLEDGE AND INTELLECTION IS PHYSICAL SIGHT--SEEING. The physical sight is metaphorically extended to mental capabilities. This is in conformity with Yu’s (2004) metaphor of the EYES FOR SIGHT AND MIND.

We will first look at the semantic interpretations of **ani** expressions and their pragmatic usage in interpersonal communication. Many Akan metaphorical expressions derived from the sensory organ for vision **ani** ‘eye’ are listed alphabetically in Table 1 below. The expressions have been lexicalised in the Akan lexicon as separate entries. They will be subjected to positive and negative semantic groupings to indicate their cultural importance, roles in the society and how they pragmatically enhance or retard communication. We will put the binary features [+] or

[-] before each one of them. However, the objectivity normally depends on the context and the individual.

1.1 STRUCTURE AND ANALYSIS OF ANI ‘EYE’ EXPRESSIONS.

Before I start the analysis of the body part expressions, I would like to first identify the type of morphological structures that can be found. In Akan, most body part expressions are lexicalised as compound nouns. The general feature of the **ani**-based compounds is that syntactically, the verb and the object are inverted. This phenomenon of permutation is very pervasive in Akan nominalisation where the object of a verb may occur to the left resulting in OV even though Akan has an SVO word order structure, which normally requires the object to follow the verb. We see the interface between syntax and morphology. While the SVO is syntactic the permuted VO is morphological. We will find this structure in most of our **ani**-based compounds.

Such permutation process is found in examples (a) and (e), where the verbs are followed by the body part **ani** whose positions have been transposed. For instance (a) **animia** is derived from **mia** ‘press’ + **ani** ‘eye’ in (e), **ani bu gu so** comes from **bu** + **ani** + **gu** + **so**. In other structures like (b), (c) (d) and (f) the **ani**-based nominal follow the same structure of the underlying constituents.

One important feature of the **ani**-based expressions is that they have morphological, syntactic and semantic features. Each of the expressions is morphologically a compound noun. We will later see in the paper that the nominals can also be expressed in syntactic forms and hence we can have pairs of sentences. Examples are (4) and (5), **aniwuo**, and **ani nwu asem**, (9) and (10), **anibue**, and **bue w’ani** (14) and (13b), **anieden**, and **ani ye den**, (15) and (16), **animmerε** and **ani ye mmerε** and (18) **anidaso** and (17b) **ani da so**. The major feature of the morphological structure of **ani**-based expressions is that in the Asante dialect the nominal may have the suffixes **[-ɔ]**, or **[-ε]**. Again, some of the syntactic structures are sentences on their own where the VP has a verb followed by **ani** as in **mia ‘w’ani** ‘press your eyes’, but the morphological ones will always have the **ani** preceding the verb or any other word class, as in **animia**.

The internal morphological structure of the body part expressions may be of different types, and each falls under one of the basic structures in 2 below.

(2) a. Str. 1	body part (N) +	V		Nominal
	ani	mia		animia
	eyes	press		‘perseverance’
b. Str. 2:	body part (N)	V	SFX	Nominal
	ani	wu	o	aniwuo
	eyes	die		‘disgrace’
c. Str. 3.	body part (N) + Cop	Adj.		Nominal
	ani	ye	den	anieden
	eyes	be	hard	‘impudence’

d. Str. 4.	body part (N)	V	V	Postpos	SFX	Nominal
	ani		fa	so	ɔ	anifasoɔ
	eyes		pass	on		‘oversight’
e. Str. 5	body part (N) + V		V	Postpos.	SFX	Nominal
	ani	bu	gu	so	ɔ	anibugusoɔ
	eye	break	pour	on		‘negligence’
f. Str. 6	body part (N)	V		N (Loc)		Nominal
	ani	da		fam		anidafam
	eyes	lie		ground		‘carefulness’
g. Str.7:	body part (N)	Postpos	N	SFX		Nominal
	ani	so	ade	ɛ		anisoadeɛ
	eyes	on	thing			‘vision’
h. Str. 8.	body part (N)	Postpos	N	V		Nominal
	ani	so	ade	hunu		anisoadehunu
	eyes	on	thing	see		‘vision’

We see from the above that a body part expression in Akan is made up of an obligatory body part NP and (a) a noun or (b) a simple or complex VP, made up of a *verb* and a *postposition* or an *adjective*. A body part expression may have an underlying prefix or suffix but these may be covertly or overtly expressed in the surface structure.

ani.The eye is connected with perception, thought, communicative interaction, negligence, politeness, civilisation, open mindedness, cautiousness, discernment, etc. The **ani** ‘eye’ metaphors are based on the physiological, biological, psychological, and the socio-cultural functions of the eye.

Table 1: **Ani** Expressions

	Akan Expression	Literal translation	English Idiomatic Translation
1	ani(ani~ani) [-]	eye (eye~eye)	surface
2	ani~ani-deɛ [-]	eye~eye-thing	superficial
3	ani-bɔ/ani-fura [-]	eye-strike/clothed	blindness
4	ani-bereɛ [+,-]	eye-reddens	desire, longing, lust, distress, wrath,
5	ani-buo [-]	eye-reckon	impatience, ennui, tediousness
6	ani-bue [+]	eye-open	civilisation, politeness
7	ani-bu-gu-soɔ [-+]	eye-break-pour-on	ignoring
8	ani-da-fam [+]	eye-lie.on-ground	cautiousness
9	ani-da-ho [+,-]	eye-lie.on-body	awareness, intentional consciousness,
10	ani-da-hɔ [+]	eye-lie-there	modesty, decency, carefulness
1	ani-dane [-]	eye-turn	perversion, distortion

1			
1 2	ani-da-soo [+]	eye-lie-on	hope
1 3	ani-die¹/ani-tan [-]	eye-eat/eye-hate	harassment, victimisation
1 4	ani-die² [+]	eye-eating	Respect
1 5	ani-ε-den/anu-o-den [+, -]	eye-be-hard	impudence, hardness, obstinacy, audacity, haughtiness
1 6	ani-ε-mmerε [-, +]	eye-be soft	soft, meek and mild
1 7	ani-fa-soo [-]	eye-pass-on	oversight, error, mistake, inadvertence
1 8	ani-fire [+]	eye-neat	sharpness of sight, cunningness, skilfulness
1 9	ani-gyeε [+]	eye-get	joy, gladness, interest
2 0	ani-gyina [+,-]	eye-stop	longing after, homesickness, desire for
2 1	ani-ha [-]	eye-hunt	laziness, boredom, sloth, tardiness
2 2	ani-ka [+]	eye-touch	interesting, joyful, glad, pleasure, gaiety,
2 3	ani-ku-ho [+]	eye-kill-on-body	vigilance, fondness
2 4	ani-mia [+]	eye-press	perseverance
2 5	ani-soo [+]	eye-ignite	pleasure, delight, contentment,
2 6	ani-sa [-]	eye-chase	hatred, pursuit
2 7	ani-so-adeε [+]	eye-on-thing	vision
2 8	ani-so-ade-hunu [+]	eye-on-thing-see	vision
2 9	ani-soo-hyeε [+]	eye-on-hot	extrovert, wildness
3 0	ani-so-dwoo [+]	eye-on-cool	calmness, mildness
3 1	ani-tee [+],[-]	eye-clear/open	prudence, intelligence, sagacity, shrewdness

3 2	ani-tane [-]	eye-harass/hate	harassment, intimidation
3 3	ani-too [+]	eye-throw	consideration
3 4	ani-to (Fante) [-]	eye-roast/burn	shame (bashfulness)
3 5	ani-wuo [-]	eye-death	shame, disgrace
3 6	ani-yi~yi	eye-withdraw (redupl)	carelessness, negligence, heedlessness

1.2. MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURES OF THE ANI ‘EYE’ EXPRESSIONS

There are many types of structures based on the morphology of the **ani**-based nominal compounds (see Section 1.1 (above)). We will discuss and analyse them in terms of the categories below.

1.2.1. Ani + verb

This is the most common nominal expression from **ani** ‘eye’; it is simply formed from a combination of the body organ and a verb (and a suffix in the Asante dialect).

(3)	N	V	SFX	Nominal Word
	ani	wu	o	aniwuo
	eye	die	-	‘shame’

In **aniwuo**, (lit.) ‘dead eye’, i.e. the eye is dead, and cannot function. A dead eye cannot look up to the face of other people; this is what happens when a person is ashamed.

(4)	Aniwuo	nti	ɔ-n-tumi	m-ba	ha.
	Shame	so	he-NEG-can	NEG-come	here.
	‘Because of shame he cannot come here.’				

If the person’s eyes are dead, then his/her vision and worldview are absent, and the person is now cut off from others. Hansford (2005:153) records a similar expression of dead eyes referring to ‘being ashamed’ among the Chumburungs of Ghana. The expression can also be found in the Akan sentences below.

(5)	Asem	no	yɛ	me	aniwu.
	Matter	the	is	me	shame.
	‘The case is shameful to me.’				

The Akans can put the verb **wu**, ‘die’, in the negative and say the following;

(6)	Adwoa	ani	n-	wu	asem.
	Adwoa	eye	NEG-die	matter	
	‘Adwoa is not bothered about shameful events.’				

This implies that for issues where people would be ashamed of because their eyes are dead and may feel shy, Adwoa's eyes are so strong and tough that they can withstand all kinds of humiliation. Such people are not bothered, and can misbehave notwithstanding the participants, setting and the consequences. Below are other examples in the first category (**ani** + verb).

- | | | | |
|-----|------------|-------------|----------------|
| (7) | N | V | Nominal Word |
| | ani | bue | anibue |
| | eye | open | 'civilisation' |
| (8) | N | V | Nominal Word |
| | ani | firi | anifire |
| | eye | exposed | 'civilisation' |

In Examples (7) and (8) above, the widely opened or exposed eye can see very far and wide. It is exposed to many things and hence has a wider appreciation of the global world. This same eye metaphor is discussed by Yu (2004:672) with the example **kai-yan**, 'open eye', which is extended to "open one's eye; widen one's view or horizon; open one's mental horizon and broaden one's mind". Hansford (2005:152) cites a similar expression among the Ntrubos of Ghana. The Akan and Chinese eye metaphor above falls under the conceptual metaphor: THINKING, KNOWING, OR UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING or, more generally, MENTAL FUNCTION IS PERCEPTION. Let us look at Example (9) below.

- | | | | | |
|-----|-------------------------------------|-----------|------------|---------------------------------------|
| (9) | Abaayewa ketewa | no | ani | a-bue. |
| | Girl | small | the eyes | PERF-open. |
| | 'The small girl's eyes are opened.' | | | 'The small girl is civilised/polite.' |

In (9) even though the girl is young, since her eyes are widely opened to the cultural norms and values, she is cultured, polished, civilised, intelligent and polite because she has broadened her mental horizon even at that tender age. It is possible that there are some people in her community far older than her who have not been able to open their eyes widely, and are not well informed about the realities of the world. According to the Akan folk theory, the eyes of a polite person are widely opened and can see things and people within the environment very clearly, and respond to them objectively and tactfully.

The metaphor of one opening his/her eyes widely can also imply being vigilant and able to get ample and truthful knowledge and information about something. In a normal conversation, a lady can advise her colleague whose husband is engaging in extra marital sexual relationship with a neighbouring woman as follows:

- | | | | | | | | | |
|------|--|------------|------------|-----------|-------------------|------------|----------------|------------|
| (10) | Bue w'- | ani | yie | na | wo-be-hunu | dee | ε-re-kɔ | so. |
| | Open | your | eyes | well | and | you | FUT-see | what |
| | 'Open your eyes widely and you will see what is going on.' | | | | | | | |

The above means that one can only be well informed if the eyes, which are the source of information gathering are widely opened. This is the tool used in monitoring and gathering information, and data needed for proper investigation. If the lady who is

The concept of hope is indicated by the eyes lying or casting a glimpse at something yet to happen. The above passage has two body part expressions, while a language like English has lexicalised items that have nothing to do with body part, Akan consistently and metaphorically extends body part lexicon to refer to these abstract notions.

In **anidaso**, the eyes are literally lying on something yet to come or happen, and hence focuses on the item so that it is not missing; Akan thus has the metaphor EYES ON FUTURE IS HOPE. Example (18a) implies that my eyes, metonymically representing my brains and the entire personality, are focused on being rich in future, and I have to work hard towards that.

Let us now consider the expression **anidaho**, which means intentional or awareness.

(19)	N	V	Postpos	Nominal Word
	ani	da	ho	anidaho
	eye	lie	beside	‘awareness, intentional’.

This expression can have two realisations namely, negative and positive as in examples (20) and (21) below. The expression **anidaho**, ‘intentional’ is literally conceptualised as the eye lying by the side of the thing so that if the person wants to do the thing perfectly well, he should be able to do it. The extension is that the society requires responsible citizens to be vigilant and concentrate on their work.

The negative is where the person intentionally performs something negatively when he knows that the effects will be detrimental to others, as in example (20) below.

(20)	Kofi ani da ne ho	na	ɔ-sɛ-e	kɛntɛn	no.
	Kofi eye lies his body/side	and	he-spoil-PAST	basket	the.
	‘Kofi intentionally spoiled the basket.’				

The **ani**-based expressions in this section reveal that the same idea may be expressed morphologically or syntactically. The difference between example (19) and (20) is that in (19) **anidaho** is a morphological or lexical rendition of the **ani**-based expression. In (20), we have a syntactic rendition, where the **ani**-based expression is a whole sentence. We use the reflexive expression **X ani da X ho** (lit.) ‘X’s eye lies on X self’, to indicate that X is aware and conscious of what he did and it was intentional. This is considered negative to imply that the action of X was unacceptable and is punishable.

The expression can be used positively by adding **so**, ‘on’, to indicate that the person is conscious or aware of what he is doing and therefore will do it well.

(21)	Kofi ani da ne ho so sɛ	ɔ-bɛ-sua	adeɛ yie.
	Kofi eye lies his body on that	he-FUT-study	thing well.
	‘Kofi is conscious that he will study well.’		

Kofi’s conscience will always prompt him to study, and he is aware of that.

1.2.4. Ani+ postposition N + (V)

It is possible to have a structure where the **ani** ‘eye’ is directly followed by a postposition and then a noun, and an optional verb. Let us look at the following example.

(22)	N	Postpos	N	V	Nominal Word
	ani	so	adeɛ	hunu	anisoadehunu
	eye	on	thing	see	'vision/foresight'

- (23) **Abusuapanin no anisoadehunu ne sɛ abusua no bɛ-nya sika.**
 Family.head the vision is that family the FUT-get money.
 'The family head's vision is for the family to be rich.'

Apart from the morphological structures in this section, the **ani**-based expressions have some semantic connotations that are worth discussing. In discussing issues about foresight, Yu (2004:679-680) states that "the Chinese talk about seeing in terms of 'eye light' sent from the eyes to the target and the eye light is further mapped onto the domain of mental states and activities." In 23 above, the family head's eyes are focussed on a positive target yet to come. People with such metaphorical eyes have the mental capabilities to predict things in the future; they are expected to be prosperous and achieve something better in future. Such people are considered to have long-range vision and can see farther than others. Their long-sighted vision refers to their mental capabilities and since their 'eye light' is far and large, they are visionary and have great wisdom and predictive power (see Yu 2004:670). Yu (2004:674) emphasises that among the Chinese, those who have extraordinary mental capability and wisdom are often said to have "unique eye". The metaphor is UNIQUE EYE IS WISDOM (see also Hansford 2005:153 for a similar metaphor).

Apart from wisdom, the Akans describe the spiritualists, the pastors, oracles and traditional priests, witches and wizards as **wɔwɔ ani** 'they have eyes' (see Agyekum 2005 on vision). This implies that they are distinguished from all others because they have more eyes than the ordinary people, and can see things in the spiritual realm; but the ordinary person with short-sightedness cannot. They are also described as follows:

- (24) **Barima no nim ahunta- (a)sɛm.**
 Man the knows hidden matters.
 'The man knows hidden/secret issues.'

The Akan folk theory of vision further stipulates that witch-hunters, traditional medicine men, and diviners have spiritual powers that is why with their unique eyes, they are able to hunt the witches and deactivate their powers. There is the belief that they can see witches and their activities even during broad day light. This tallies with what Sweetser (1990:40) states, "that the spiritual world was hidden from our everyday mortal sight and hence only to be seen by those with appropriate inner vision." The metaphor is SPIRITUAL WORLD IS HIDDEN SIGHT

2. POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE EMOTIONS AND CHARACTER TRAITS OF EYE EXPRESSIONS

This section focuses on **ani** 'eye' expressions from two semantic domains namely, *character traits* and *emotions*. The expressions indicate the character traits and emotions of the individual as accepted or rejected by the Akan society and culture, and the impact on the person, others, or the society as whole. They are grouped into virtues (positive) and vices (negative) based on Akan societal norms and values. Emotions are

combinations of physical and bodily feelings in our various parts of the body and mental realisations (see Enfield and Wierzbicka (2002:2). Some of the derived **ani** ‘eye’ metaphorical expressions refer to emotions and they can be positive or negative. Enfield and Wierzbicka (2002:5) argue that

a people everywhere are aware that their bodies (especially their insides) are centrally involved in the experiences of emotion... and it is universally true that when people talk about their emotions, they often talk about what is happening inside their bodies.- in their hearts, stomach, insides, chest, throat, pancreas or what have you.

Dzokoto (2010:69) looks at the strong relation between the body and the mind and states that “African traditional medicine includes a focus on harmony, presenting an alternative ontology of the self in which the self is conceptualised as a holistic entity in which the mind and the body are not separate but parts of each other.” This is a metonymic representation.

2.1. POSITIVE EMOTIONS AND CHARACTER TRAITS

Positive emotions and character traits are those highly recommended and accepted by the Akan society and they give joy, peace, hope, freedom and self consciousness to the person and the society. There are some strong virtues among the Akan that are derived from **ani** ‘eye’, to imply that the entire body has the propensity of providing virtues to make socialisation and social harmonisation complete. Some of these are **anibue** ‘civilisation/politeness’, **anidaho** ‘modesty, carefulness, presence of mind’, **anidasoo/anyidado** ‘hope’, **anidie** ‘respect’, **anidafam** ‘cautiousness’, **anifire** ‘sharpness of sight, cunningness, skilfulness’, **anigyee**, ‘joy, happiness, gladness, interest’, **anika** ‘interesting, joyfulness, gladness, pleasure’, **anikuho** ‘vigilance, focus’, **animia** ‘perseverance’, **aniso** ‘pleasure’, delight, contentment’, **anisoadehunu**, ‘vision, foresight’, **anisodwo** ‘calmness, mildness’, and **anito** ‘consideration’,

Let us look at some examples of these words starting with **anidie**, respect.

- (25) **Na wo- am- fa w’- anidie am- ma ebi-nom,**
 And you NEG-PAST take your respect NEG-PAST give some people
ne wo m-feɛ am- ma a- tiri-mu- (y)ɔ- den-foɔ.
 and your PL- year NEG-PAST give Prefix head inside COP hard people.

‘And you do not give your respect to people and your years to hard head people.’
 ‘If you do, others will gain the respect that you once had, and you will die young.
 at the hands of merciless men.’ (Proverbs 5:9)⁵

- (26) **Na deɛ ɔ- hu me no hunu nkwa, na ɔ- nya**
 And who he sees me CD sees life, and he gets
Awurade ho aniso.
 Lord’s there pleasure

‘The man who finds me finds life, and the Lord will be pleased with him.’
 (Proverbs 8:35)

Let us look at some sample sentences beginning with **anigyε(ε)**, ‘happiness’.

- (27) **Ama de anigyεε hyia- a ahōhoō no.**
 Ama use happiness meet PAST strangers the.
 ‘Ama heartily welcomed the visitors.’

The word **anigyε(ε)** has the suffix **-ε** to indicate that it is morphologically a compound noun derived from the noun **ani** ‘eye’ and the verb **gye**, ‘collect, receive, get, attract’. It is used in three syntactic constructions that are all positive as seen in example 28 below..

- (28) a. X **ani gye** → ‘X is happy’
 b. X **ani gye** [Y], and Y should be a place or location, X feels comfortable
 c. X **ani-gye** [Y] **ho**, X is happy with Y, and Y should be a thing or a person.

Let us look at examples from these syntactic expressions using **ani** ‘eye’ and **gye** ‘get’. In these constructions, **gye** ‘get, receive’ is the verbal component and can be inflected for tense, aspect and negation.

- (29) **Mansa ani gye pa ara.**
 Mansa POS. eye get/attract very much.
 ‘Mansa is very happy.’

Her eyes attract or get into contact with the things in the environment including the people, flora, fauna, food, weather and others.

- (30) **Na m’- ani gye ne wi yi ase asaase so, na**
 And my eyes get and sun DEF under earth on and
m’- ani ka wō nnipa mu.
 my eyes touch in people inside.

‘I am happy with the world and pleased with human race.’ (Proverbs 8:31)

The notion here tallies with the schema outlined by Yu (2004:666) among the Chinese where there is a common image schema SOURCE-PATH-GOAL upon which we have the conceptual metaphor EYES ARE LIGHT SOURCES, SEEING IS REACHING OUT AND TOUCHING. The resultant basic conceptual metaphor is SEEING IS TOUCHING (see Yu 2004:668).

Hansford (2005:152) records that in Chumburung, the verb **gyi**, ‘to eat’ is collocated with **akato**, ‘eye’ hence **akatogyi**, (lit.) ‘eyes eating’ means happiness’. The experiencer’s eye travels along a path and hits the target, the target attracts the person’s attention, and he responds to the information sent to him by the eye. In (31) below, Mansa’s eye hits the target place called Kumasi while in (32) the target is rice and football.

- (31) **Mansa ani gye Kumasi.**
 Mansa POS. eye get/attract Kumasi.
 ‘Mansa feels comfortable being in Kumasi.’

- (32) **Mansa ani gye ɛmo ne futbɔlo ho.**
 Mansa POS.. eye get/attract rice and football body.
 ‘Mansa likes/is interested in rice and football.’

In Example (32) Mansa is at the subject position, while rice and football are at the object position. In terms of semantics, the rice and football are the stimulus and the percept that attract the eyes of Mansa who is the percipient for them to be in a perfect contact. In this association, Mansa develops love and liking for these items, but it is her eyes that act as the metonym to bring the attention, message, knowledge, desire and the love of the items to the brain, the heart and the person. Example (32) can also refer to a person to indicate that s/he admires or loves him either for ordinary purposes or for romantic reasons; we can have an example like (33).

- (33) **Mansa ani gye Kofi ho**
 Mansa eye get/attract Kofi body.
 ‘Mansa admires/loves Kofi.’

Here, Mansa loves or admires Kofi for his behaviour, competence or social relations. The exterior part **ho**, ‘body’ is essential for that is what first attracts Mansa via her eyes. The **ho**, ‘body’ is the metonym for the personality and character traits.

The **anigyee** nominal expression in example (27) is rendered morphologically and this is attested by the suffix **ɛ** attached to it in the Asante dialect of Akan. The other examples from (28-33) are rendered syntactically with the **ani-** as the subject and hence the suffix **ɛ** cannot be attached to the verb **gye**.

Let us also consider the expression **anisoadehunu**, ‘vision’, this nominal is made up of, **ani** ‘eye’, + **so**, ‘on’, + **ade**, ‘thing’, + **hunu**; ‘see’. It, literally, means that the eye can see because it is focussed on something; and the sight is extended to cover those that are not within reach at the current time, but to things yet to come (future). It can mean “vision or foresight”. The nominal; **anisoadehunu** as a binary-branching compound that is formed from the VP made up of (a) the verb **hunu** and (b) the NP **ani+ so + ade**. In the nominalisation process, the verb and the NP are permuted.

- (34) **Opoku wɔ ani so ade hunu enti ɔ- bɛ- yɛ yie.**
 Opoku has eye on thing see so she- FUT- be well.
 ‘Opoku has vision so he will prosper.’

The Akan society admires the youth, adults and leaders who have vision and foresight. Visionary leaders like the first president of Ghana, Kwame Nkrumah are highly respected. On the contrary, a visionless person who lacks foresight and sense of direction is reprimanded and labelled as **ɔnni anisoadehunu**, ‘he has no vision’. During a phone-in radio programme at Peace FM in Accra, on 3rd June 2011 one caller remarked as follows:

- (35) **Prof. Mills ne n’aban no n-ni anisoadehunu**
 Prof. Mills and POS. government the NEG-have vision
biara enti na yɛ-re-brɛ no.
 any so FOC we-PROG-suffer CD.

‘Prof. Mills and his government do not have any vision that is why we are suffering.’

The above sentence was an indictment on the late Ghanaian president’s administration, and it was not surprising that some of the accusations were coming from some members of his own party especially, the founder of his party, ex-president J.J. Rawlings. The form **no**, the last word in the second line is a clause final determiner (see Saah 2010). The Akan metaphor of having an eye to depict a vision, tallies with Yu’s (2004:670) report among Chinese that:

When one’s ‘eye light’, like a torch, travels farther in the dark, the seeing person is one of vision and wisdom. On the other hand, if someone’s ‘eye light’, is ‘short and shallow’, this person lacks intellectual wisdom and can only ‘see what lies right in front of the eyes’. If one’s ‘eye light’ is as tiny as a bean, it will not help the person ‘see’ in the dark and the person is one of narrow vision and little wisdom. One’s mental capacity depends on how ‘bright’ one’s eyes are (Yu 2004:670).

The above and the comment by the caller on Peace FM radio bring into focus the strong correlation between eyes and visionary leadership; EYE IS VISION, BRIGHTER EYES IS INTELLECTUAL WISDOM.

Let us now look at the expression **anidaso**, ‘hope’ made up of **ani** ‘eye’, **da**, ‘so’, ‘on’, and it means that the ‘eyes are lying on something yet to come’ (see Example (18) in Section 1.2.3).

- (36) **Yɛ -wɔ ani- da- so sɛ Ghana bɛ- yɛ yie.**
 We have eye lie on that Ghana FUT. be well.
 ‘We have the hope that Ghana will be prosperous.’

Example (36) connotes that our eyes are focussed on something; and that is, ‘our country should be prosperous’. The word **anidaso** is normally channelled through something that will be beneficial in the future (posterior time) but could be in the past..

There is another positive term **anidafam**, ‘cautiousness’ and it has the following morphological components:

- | | | | |
|------------|-----------|------------|-----------------|
| (37) N | V | Postpos | Nominal Word |
| ani | da | fam | anidafam |
| eyes | lie | ground | cautiousness. |

The above metaphorical expression can be conceptually formulated in Akan as SEEING CLOSE TO THE GROUND IS CAUTIOUSLY GATHERING INFORMATION. It implies that to be able to monitor something very well, one has to put one’s eyes close to the ground so that the eye can pick everything in the environment. We can have example 38 below. In Chumburung ‘eyes lying down’ means discernment. (Hansford 2005:152)

- (38) **Fa w’ -ani to fam na wo-be- hunu biribiara pefee.**
 Take POS. eyes put ground and you FUT see everything glaringly.
 ‘Monitor (watch carefully) and you will see glaringly what is going on.’

The syntactic expression **fa w’ani to fam**, which means ‘put your eyes on the ground’ (monitor and be vigilant) is used more than the nominal **anidafam**.⁶ This is synonymous with the expression **bue w’ani** ‘open your eyes’ in Example (10) Section 1.2. The expression can also be used in the form **X ani da fam**, to imply that ‘X’s eyes are on the ground’ and this will mean that the person is cautious in life. He is not rushing in life but calculates and monitors every situation on the ground very well before pursuing any venture. This is contrary to one who is described as **X ani deda wiem**, ‘X’s eyes are cast into the sky’. Such a person cannot see things on the ground, and finds it difficult to work out things properly. This is in contrast with some metaphoric expressions where **up** connotes progress and positive, and **down** connotes decrease and negative.

2.2. NEGATIVE EMOTIONS AND CHARACTER TRAITS/VICES

The negative eye expressions refer to certain behaviours and character traits of individuals that negatively affect others and are unacceptable among Akans. Negative emotions refer to states of affairs where one becomes depressed and is unable to work, or things are not going on well with him/her. The expressions include **anito/aniwuo**, ‘shame, disgrace’, **anianidee**, ‘superficial’, **anibɔ/anifura**, ‘blindness’, **anibuo**, ‘impatient, ennu, tediousness’, **anidie/anitan**, ‘harassment, intimidation, victimisation’, **anifasoɔ**, ‘oversight, error, mistake, inadvertence’, **aniha**, ‘laziness, boredom, sloth, tardiness’, **anisa**, ‘hatred, pursuit’, and **anisoɔhyee**, ‘extrovert, wildness’. Here are some examples.

- (39) **Deɛ ɔ- boaboa ano ahuhu- berɛ no yɛ ɔba nyasafɔɔ, na**
 Who he gathers edge warmth time CD is child wise and
deɛ ɔ tɔ nko twabere no yɛ ɔba a ɔ-hyɛ aniwuo.
 Who he slumber harvest time CD, is child REL he fixes disgrace
 ‘He who gathers crops in summer is a wise son, but he who sleeps during harvest is a disgraceful son.’ (Proverbs 10:5)

- (40) **ɔbaa no tan ne kunu no mma ani.**
 Woman the hates POS. husband the children eyes.
 ‘The man harasses her husband’s children.’

The nominal **anitan**, ‘harassment’ is derived from the verb **tan**, ‘to hate’ + **ani** ‘eye’, by swapping the positions of the verb and the noun, and this is a common word formation process in Akan. The word **anitan** also means “sheer hatred” as in the example below. In the formation of **anitan**, the verb and the object are inverted and this phenomenon of permutation is very pervasive in Akan nominalisation (see section 1.1 on the structure of **ani** compounds).

⁶ Mensah (2003) argues that Akan speakers usually opt for a nominalised form because of its succinctness. However, I argue that the choice between the morphological and the syntactic form depends on the context, the speaker and the pragmatic import of what the speaker wants to achieve.

- (41) **Anitan nti na wɔ-yi-i Paul adi.**
 hatred so FOC they-pull-PAST Paul out.
 ‘It was because of sheer hatred that they dismissed Paul’

In (41), Paul had not done anything evil that warranted such a punishment (dismissal).

The term **anisa** also means ‘hatred’ and is made up of **ani** ‘eye’ and the verb **sa**, ‘to chase’. The Akan folk concept behind this is that when somebody hates you, s/he keeps a ‘satellite eye’ on you. He wants to know what you are doing at any particular time and space, and therefore blows your negative behaviour up and hides your good deeds; the intention is to denigrate you. This could be conceptualised as HATRED IS KEEPING SATELLITE EYE ON SOMEBODY.

Let us consider another word, **anisoɔhyeɛ**.

- (42) **Yaw ani so y(ɛ) hyeɛ nti ɔ -n -tumi n- yɛ sɔfo.**
 Yaw eye on be hot so he NEG. can NEG be pastor.
 ‘Yaw is an extrovert so he cannot be a pastor.’

We always use the term, **X ani so yɛ hye**, (lit.) meaning ‘X’s eye’s top is hot’, to mean that X is not calm, X does not take his time in doing many things, X does not pay attention to details of things, but rather works haphazardly; all these are negative to the person and to the society.

There is another expression **anibugusɔɔ**, where one turns a blind eye to something; it is derived from a syntactic structure **X bu ani gu so**, but in the nominalisation process the object **ani** has been preposed after the first verb **bu**. This follows the permutation process in Akan nominalisation that we mentioned in Section 1.1. The compound is analysed as follows:

- | | | | | | | |
|------|------------|-----------|-----------|-----------|----------|-------------------|
| (43) | NP | V | V | Postpos | SFX | Nominal |
| | ani | bu | gu | so | ɔ | anibugusɔɔ |
| | eye | break | pour | on | SFX. | ‘negligence’ |

According to the Akan conceptual metaphor, ALERTNESS IS SEEING WITH OPEN EYES, we are alert when our eyes are opened and we want to concentrate on something and take responsibility for it. On the contrary, we can close our eyes to events when we decide not to see them, we can even open our eyes and refuse to see what is going on. On 10th December 2010, a Deputy Minister, of the NDC government of Ghana, insulted people in the cocoa growing areas. During that same month another top man in the NDC administration insulted the teachers of Ghana when they were agitating for salary increase. Ghanaians were expecting that the then president would publicly reprimand these officers, but he did not. On 21st December 2010, during a radio discussion on a local FM radio station (Peace FM), one of the panellists, Mr. X remarked:

- (44) **Prof. Mills a-bu n'-ani a-gu deɛ ne nkurɔfoɔ no re-yɛ**
 Prof. Mills PERF-close POS-eye PERF-pour what POS people the PROG-do
no so ɔ-a-kata n'-ani sɛ deɛ ɔ-n-hunu deɛ ɛ-re-kɔ so.
 CD on He-PERF-cover POS-eyes as if he-NEG-see what it-PROG-go on.

‘Prof Mills has turned blind eye to what his people are doing, he is pretending not to have seen what is going on.’

If the president closes his eyes and turns a blind eye then he is running from the reality, and this is negative on the part of the government; NEGLIGENCE IS SEEING WITH A CLOSED EYE. People therefore argued that the then president of Ghana was not commanding any authority. A synonymous expression for negligence is **X ayi n’ani afiri Y so**, ‘X has removed his eyes from the entity Y.

There is another expression as stated below.

(45) **X ani tu tɔ X nsam**
X’s eye remove fall X’ hand

(46) **Otu papa wuo no a-ma n’-ani a-tu a-tɔ ne nsam**
Otu father death the PERF-let POS-eyes PERF-remove PERF-fall POS. hands’.
‘Otu’s father’s death has left him dejected and demoralised.’

If one’s eyes falls from their sockets which are located **up** into the hands that are located **down**, one cannot see again and situations become bad, blur and unbearable. The above expression connotes, dejection, disillusionment and perplexity.

3. COMPLEX STATE ANI EXPRESSIONS

Even though we have categorised the expressions into the polar domains above, there are some expressions that can belong to both domains; they are either positive or negative depending on the sociocultural and ethnographic contexts or situations within the Akan society. They include **anibereɛ**, ‘desire, longing, lust, distress, wrath, anger’, **anidaho**, ‘awareness, consciousness, intention’, **anidane**, ‘perversion, distortion’, **anieden (anuoden)**, ‘impudence, hardness, audacity’, **aniɛmmereɛ**, ‘soft, meek and mild’, **anigyina**, ‘longing after, homesickness, desire for’, and **aniteɛ**, ‘prudence, intelligence, sagacity, cunning’..

Let us start with **anibereɛ**, which is made up of **ani** ‘eye’ and the verb **bere**, ‘to be reddish’. This is a case where there is preposing of an object before the verb. In fact there is no expression as **X bere ani**. In its positive vein, it means that one is eager and desirous to pursue a venture, no matter the challenges; and sometimes you can see from the physical eyes that they are reddish. The same emotion is recorded when somebody is in pain, or bereaved; when it involves bereavement, it shows the close relation between the dead and the bereaved, and that is positive. We can have positive examples like (47a) which is rendered syntactically. This can be compounded into the nominal **anibere** as in (47b).

(47) a. **Afia Ataa ani bere adesua.**
Afia Ataa eyes desires studies.
‘Afia Ataa is desirous of studies.’

(47) b. **Adesua yɛ Afia Ataa anibere.**
Studies be Afia Ataa desirous.
‘Studies is desirous to Afia Ataa.’

In example 47a we have a syntactic structure of an **ani**-based expression, this has been transformed by using the a nominal (morphological) in (47b).

Examples (47a) and (47b) are all positive since they show how anxious, hardworking, dexterous and desirous the agent wants to be. If the person continues with that, the result will be positive and fruitful. The Akan society admires people of that calibre. The expression **anibere** can also mean, envy, greed, wrath, and anger which are negative emotions (See Hansford 2005:153 for the metaphor of the eye for seriousness which is a positive characteristic or sadness which is a negative emotion).

- (48) **Akosua ani bere ne nuabaa no a ɔ-wɔ kunu pa no.**
 Akosua eyes desires POS. sister the REL. she-has husband good the.
 ‘Akosua is envious of her sister who has a good husband.’

This is a negative emotion that can trigger conflicts between the siblings. The common expression **X ani bere adeɛ**, X envies (desires negatively) things is negative in that context.

Let us finally look at the term **aniteɛ**, made up of the noun **ani** ‘eye’ and the verb **te**, ‘to tear (open)’. In its positive sense, it means that one is prudent, polite, civilised and cultured as in:

- (49) **Ababaa no ani a-te yie nti ɔ-nya-a aware pa.**
 Lady the eyes PERF-open well so she-get-PAST marriage good.
 ‘The lady is cultured and polite so she got a good marriage.’

In its negative interpretation, it means being cunning, and crafty with the intention of using one’s wits and intelligence to defraud, cheat or bully people. Let us look at example (50) below.

- (50) **Ananse de aniteɛ gye -e ɔwɔ sika.**
 Spider use craftiness collect PAST snake’s money.
 ‘Ananse cunningly collected the snake’s money.’

In Akan folktales, Ananse, the spider, is not considered to be wiser but rather a trickster who deceives and defrauds others, and this is immoral. Akan folktales stipulate that despite his wits, Ananse was outwitted by his own son Ntikuma. There is therefore the saying:

- (51) **Sɛ wo- yɛ Ananse a, me nso me-yɛ Ntikuma**
 If you are Ananse, then I also I am Ntikuma.
 ‘If you are Ananse the Spider, I am also Ntikuma (the son of the Spider).’

This implies that no matter how cunning and crafty one considers himself there is always a smarter guy somewhere.

4. MODERN EXTENSIONS OF ANI-EXPRESSIONS

In contemporary terms, Akan broadcasters still use these metaphors as we found in example (44). There are however, new metaphors that relate to the screens of TV, mobile phones and computers. They are conceptualised as the eyes because it is the

screens that shine and brighten the images and the scripts. We have examples like the following.

- (52) **TV no ani ye fe.**
 TV the eyes be nice.
 ‘The screen of the TV is fine.’
- (53) **Kɔmpiwta no ani a-dum**
 Computer the eyes PERF-switch off
 ‘The screen of the computer has booted off’
- (54) **Mobile no ani n-sɔ**
 Mobile the eyes NEG-switches on
 ‘The screen of the mobile phone is off.’

In (52-54), the screen of the TV, computer, mobile is either clear or booted off, and the images are seen clearly, badly or not shown at all. The eye thus stands for the operating system.

5. CONCLUSION

This paper has discussed **ani** ‘eye’ and its metaphorical extensions. It considered how most of the extensions have been conventionalised to the extent that there are no alternative words for them. We noted that in Akan, the sensory organ **ani** ‘eye’, has extended meanings, which still have some relationship with the word for the sensory organ. The body part is used as an input in the production of the semantic and metaphoric derivation of the new expressions.

This paper has demonstrated clearly that in languages like Akan, Chinese, English Greek and Chumburung, there is a common conceptual metaphor THINKING, KNOWING OR UNDERSTANDING IS SEEING where the expressions from the body part **ani** ‘eye’ is extended from perception to connote mental and intellectual activities (Yu 2004:679). We have also seen that in Akan NEGLIGENCE IS SEEING WITH A CLOSED EYE and this confirms the role of the eye in social behaviour. We have observed that the mapping of the physical to the mental world brings about extension of expressions to cover other senses. There is thus a general tendency to borrow concepts and vocabulary from the more accessible physical and social world to refer to the less accessible world of reasoning, emotion and intellect. This idea confirms the general philosophical maxim of moving from concrete to abstract, explicit to implicit, and known to the unknown.

In the structure of the eye expressions, we saw that most Akan body part expressions are often formally realized as compound nouns at the morphological level. In most of them the positions of the verbs and the nouns in the syntactic structure VO are permuted into VO thereby violating the SVO structure in Akan word order. They normally have an obligatory body part **ani** ‘eye’ followed by a verb, an adjective, another noun, a postposition or a combination of two or more of these. In terms of the semantics and pragmatic uses, I grouped the **ani** ‘eye’ expressions into two; positive and negative, some of them are either positive or negative depending on the context under which they are used.

ABBREVIATIONS

Adj	Adjective	PAST	Past
CD	Clause Final Determiner	PERF	Perfective
COP	Copula	POS	Possesive
DEF	Definite Article	Postpos	Postposition
FOC	Focus	PROG	Progressive
FUT	Future	REL	Relative
LOC	Locative	SFX	Suffix
N	Noun	SVO	Subject Verb Object
NEG	Negative	V	Verb

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Important Note

Kofi Agyekum, the author of the previous article "Ani 'Eye' Metaphorical expressions in Akan" apologises to readers and to JWAL for the fact that at the time of the editing of this article, he failed to inform the Editor that the Abstract and introductory parts of the article were copied in large part from an earlier article by him entitled **THE PRAGMATICS OF 'MOUTH' METAPHORS IN AKAN** which was published in *Ghana Journal of Linguistics* 2.1: 1-17 (2013). The author now agrees that this was an error on his part and unacceptable practice.