

THE SEMANTIC EXTENSIONS OF EAT AND DRINK VERBS IN DANGME

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Abstract

This study investigates the semantic extensions of the verbs *ye*, meaning 'eat', and *nu*, meaning 'drink' in Dangme, a Kwa language of Ghana, using the Cognitive Linguistic Approach. It examines the factors that motivate the semantic extensions of these ingestion predicates in Dangme. The study demonstrates that the Dangme people extend the meanings of 'eat' and 'drink' to express various events, drawing on the sensory experiences of the eater (agent), the impact on the consumed item (patient), and a shared experience between both. Furthermore, the data show that the semantic extensions of 'eat' and 'drink' constructions are pervasive in Dangme. The sensory experiences of the consumer, and the destructive effect on the food item lead to extensions such as 'experience,' 'enjoyment', 'suffering', 'physical destruction' and 'psychological torment', respectively. The understanding and interpretation of these ingestion verbs are dependent on the socio-physical context, the cultural and cognitive experiences of the Dangme people.

Keywords: eat, drink, metaphorical, ingestion, semantic extensions

Mi tsɔɔmi

Sua pomi ne ɔ tsu Gbi si kpami ni kasemi ne kɔɔ Juemi susumi Blo nya tomi (Cognitive Linguistic Approach) he ni ke sese *ye* ke *nu* peemimunyuhɔ si sɔɔ numi he kɔtekɔte nge Dangme mi. Sua pomi ne ɔ hye sɔɔ numi ne mi kuɔ ne peemimunyu ne ɔme hee nge Dangme mi. E hye nihi a nɔ ne sɔɔ numi ne ɔ gu ke ba. Si gbemi ɔ mi kpo jemihi tsɔɔ kaa Dangmeli a juemi susumi ke nihi tsuo ne kɔɔ a ni yemi ke ni numi he ɔ hee tsakpa ko. E je kpo nge si gbemi ɔ mi kaa peemimunyu *ye* ke *nu* hee sɔɔ numi munomunohi nge Dangme mi saminya. Peemimunyu ne ɔme a he ni tsumi nge blo slootohi a nɔ ɔ daa si nge ɔti kome ne kɔɔ ni yemi ke ni numi a nɔ. Ene ɔ ekome ji ngɔɔmi ne ni yelo aloo nulo ɔ naa, ke niye ni ɔ e tami ke a nge ye ɔ. Ni yemi ke ni numi peemimunyu ne ɔme a sɔɔ numi ke a sɔɔ tsɔɔmi ɔ daa si nge Dangmeli a nihi a he susumi nɔ, nihi a he he tomi ke nihi ne a ke me wo paka a nɔ.

Munyungu otihi: ye, nu, sɔɔ numi, yemi ke numi, peemimunyu

1.0 Introduction

This paper explores the semantic extensions of eating and drinking verbs in Dangme. We employ Newman's (2009, 1997) cross-linguistic framework, which discusses the 'eat' and 'drink' verbs, to examine the extended senses embedded in these verb tokens in Dangme. Newman (2009) provided a lucid comprehension of predicates encompassing these universal human actions, experiences, and conditions. He elucidates that the concepts of 'eat' and 'drink,' while seemingly straightforward, are not 'monolithic concepts'; instead, they possess a remarkable complexity with multifaceted dimensions (Newman 2009:23). These concepts consist of elements that influence various aspects of their linguistic characteristics, morpho-syntactic or semantic. For instance, the actions of biting and chewing associated with eating serve as motivators for the common transitivity of 'eat' verbs, as well as the widespread semantic extensions of 'eat' to encompass meanings like 'destroy' and 'conquer.' Similarly, the sensory experiences related to taste and the impact on the consumer's senses prompt certain atypical morpho-syntactic behaviours and semantic extensions of 'eat,' leading to meanings such as 'experience,' 'enjoy,' and 'suffer.'

Newman (1997) explores the components of basic ingestion activities and their various metaphorical mappings in English. This is done through Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) discussion on metaphor and others in cognitive linguistics. He presents a range of metaphorical extensions of verbal concepts relating to 'eating' and 'drinking' (he represents 'eating' and 'drinking' as the source domain to the emotional, intellectual and psychological domains being the target domain). Prior to explicating the metaphorical extensions of these concepts, he discusses the motivated factors that trigger these extensions. First and foremost is the folk theory, which explains how normal individuals perceive eating and drinking as pertinent experiences in facilitating the understanding of linguistic expressions. He notes that eating is prompted by hunger, which motivates individuals to consume food. In the eating process, one puts the solid-like food substance in the mouth, followed by mastication and swallowing (through the throat). The main benefit of eating, as he said, is for nourishment with its accompaniment of impressive taste and enjoyment or gustation.

Newman (1997) adds that drinking also involves the same physical acts: thirst, intake of drink, and swallowing it, which gives nourishment and enjoyment or gustation, but the only

difference is the fact that eating involves mastication in the mouth while drinking does not. The instance of intoxication is also associated with drinking than that of eating. He emphasizes the significance of these distinctions in comprehending how these concepts can be extended metaphorically. Newman categorizes the metaphorical extensions into three groups: those centred on the agent, those focused on the patient, and those combining both agent and patient perspectives. In the agent-oriented, metaphorical extensions of eating and drinking are primarily motivated by the agent's attributes, who is the consumer. They also symbolize the concept of "internalization," where food and drink substances are incorporated into the mouth. In simpler terms, it is the role of the eater or drinker that drives these extensions. Examples of such extensions include inhaling, emotional nourishment, intellectual nourishment, accepting ideas, experiencing life, and acquiring possessions. Newman further elaborates that patient-oriented extensions, which pertain to the effects of eating and drinking on the food or drink itself, result in a different set of extensions than the agent-oriented ones discussed earlier. In this context, the effects on the food involve processes like violent transformation into digestible particles, evoking images of physical destruction, psychological torment, and elimination. This indicates that the agent typically encounters pleasurable experiences, aligning with the predominant trend in English metaphors related to EATING. There are also metaphorical uses regarding eating and drinking verbs, which build upon both agent-oriented and patient-oriented aspects of these acts.

The conceptualization patterns of Newman (2009; 1997) are also prevalent in Dangme. For instance, **ye o munyu na** 'to abide by your own words' lit. 'to eat (on) your own words' expresses such conceptualization in Dangme. This expression indicates some sense of destruction, where the agent needs to forcefully abide by his words no matter how complicated it may be. The fact that the words have already been said or declared must be followed through to the end or go by it. This conceptualizes either a pleasant or unpleasant image of an eater eating something vile or sumptuous depending on the kind of declaration, either good or bad.

Hénault (2008) explores the semantic extensions of verbs related to 'eating' in various languages and identifies three categories of semantic parallelisms: concrete aspects, perceptual aspects, and cognitive aspects. The study suggests a potential universal association between 'eating' and concepts related to suffering and torment. These parallelisms are observed at three semantic levels: 1) 'eat' and its hyponyms with concrete aspects, 2) 'eat' and its hyponyms with perceptual and cognitive aspects, and 3) 'eat' and its hyponyms with emotional and physical sensation aspects. The expansion of the semantic scope of 'eat' to include emotions and physical sensations is often driven by metaphorical or metonymic usage in idiomatic expressions. These extensions are influenced by both semantics and morphosyntax, including considerations like agentive vs. patientive constructions, transitive vs. intransitive usages, active or controlled vs. passive or undergone forms, and distinctions between animate and inanimate subjects.

In specific languages, such as Spanish, Portuguese, and various native Amazonian and African languages, words meaning 'eat' can also be used to signify 'to make love' or 'have sexual intercourse.' Additionally, 'eating' verbs and their hyponyms can be extended to convey the meaning of 'undergoing something unpleasant,' whether physically or morally. (See also Boyeldieu (2008) and Family (2008) for more on this topic).

Atintono and Adjei (2008) investigate the comparative metaphorical analysis of **du** in Ewe and **di** in Gurenɛ using the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. They discuss the interrelatedness of the metaphorical extensions of the verbs **du** and **di** in Ewe and Gurenɛ, respectively. They further account for the differences in the expressions that the two languages employ in their use of metaphors involving the verbs of 'eat'. They demonstrate that apart from the primary meaning, the verbs 'to eat' and 'to drink' also have metaphorical extensions based on the two main criteria. First, the notion of becoming satisfied within the self and, secondly, using up something exterior. These metaphorical meanings reflect the socio-cultural experience and the conceptual worldview of the Ewe and the Gurenɛ people. Thus, the conventionalized metaphors associated with the eat verbs manifest a conceptual mapping of ideas from the target domain to the source domain. They also show that the metaphorical expressions in the two languages also indicate differences in the meaning of some metaphors involving marriage, winning a case, the act of forgiveness, acquisition of possession and becoming bankrupt. This was expected since one language is a Gur and the other a Kwa language.

Agyepong, Amfo, and Osam (2017) work on the literal and metaphorical usages of

dí 'to eat' and **nóm** 'to drink' in Akan. They find out that the verbs **dí** 'to eat' and **nóm** 'to drink' are the two basic consumption verbs in Akan, which express activities that are seen as universal. Cross-linguistically, it has been shown that consumption verbs primarily express the taking of food and liquids from outside the body into the body via the mouth. Though universal, how they are performed varies across cultures, and Akan is no exception. They also realized that these verbs occur in various metaphorical extensions, and when they do, they could imply internalization or destruction. They describe the verb **dí** 'to eat' as a verb with manifold meanings that occur in many extensions. Some of these include meanings such as to consume, to take in, and to conquer, among others. Agyepong et al. (ibid) assert that there are common cross-linguistic metaphorical extensions of the 'eat' verb, for example, the 'eat something' sense, which is extended to mean 'kill something/ someone', and 'eating something' being extended to emotional feelings as observed by Newman and Abera (2009:253), that are found in Akan, Hausa (Jaggar and Buba 2009), Ewe and Gurene (Adjei and Atintono 2008), and Amharic (Newman and Abera 2009).

Almost all the languages mentioned above express the internalization of emotions by using the 'eat' verb. They add that the verb **nóm** 'to drink' also conveys ideas such as to inhale, smoke and absorb. Its metaphorical usages are, however, not comparable to that of **dí** 'to eat'. Apart from these meanings, both Akan and Amharic (Newman and Abera 2009) use the 'drink' verb to describe the process of an insect biting a person. They agree with Adjei and Atintono (2008:192) that there is "variations in the extent to which people from different cultural settings profile the interpretations of metaphorical expressions. Thus, there is a strong relationship between a people's conceptual, environmental and cultural experiences and their linguistic systems shared across cultures". Their work falls in line with the objective of this study, as it seeks to find out the different meanings associated with the **ye** 'eat' and **nu** 'drink' verbs in Dangme.

Rice (2009) gives a critical study on the Athapaskan verbs for eating and drinking. She establishes that these languages focus on "the type of object consumed, how the consumption happens, or the extent of dissipation of the consumed object". She adds that unlike what is found in other languages, there is no appreciable focus on the agent/consumer in Athapaskan languages or on the primary (i.e., slaking) or secondary (i.e., nourishing) benefits or detriments associated with acts of eating or drinking, except in a few metaphorical extensions. With regards to figurative extensions, she proposed that eating and drinking vocabulary items are rich and helpful imagery sources across the family of Athapaskan languages and readily enter into figurative extensions. Some of the more common or imaginative expressions she found in these languages are metonymies and metaphors. The metonymies involve deverbal or otherwise relativized forms and primarily have a referential function. At the same time, the metaphors tend to be more propositional and are used for more abstract reference or predication. Her work helps me to give an eye to the features of these verbs (eat and drink) that motivate the figurative extensions in Dangme.

Hook and Pardeshi (2009) investigate a variety of meaning extensions of **khaa** 'eat' in Hindi-Urdu and Marathi from two complementary perspectives: a cognitive and a lexical perspective to explore both the universal and language-specific factors that motivate the extended uses of the 'eat' verb. They establish that the extensions of the basic meaning 'to eat' have been achieved by these languages' historical contact with Persian. Hook and Pardeshi discover varied degrees to which these languages use 'eat' in an idiomatic sense. The agent of **khaa**, 'eat', first suffers from the external source of 'receive/undergo'. The agent himself suffers from an internal source which 'undergoes/exhibits' as a second phase. The agent, at the third phase, is then subjected to a higher degree of agent role, and the meaning of 'eat' as a result of this exhibits three progressively firmer degrees of agency encompassing 'undergo', 'experience' and 'commit'. Hook and Pardeshi further proposed three central meanings of the 'eat' expressions in Indo-Aryan languages, which are the original meaning of 'consume (edibles)' as well as 'suffer/undergo' and 'exhibit'. 'Eat' and 'drink' verbs in Dangme also exhibit the extension of their basic meanings presented in section 2 of this study.

In a different approach, Yamaguchi (2009) describes the basic and figurative meanings of 'eat' and 'drink' verbs in Japanese, showing that figurative language (metaphorical and metonymic) and even basic ways of encoding lexical meaning can be influenced by socio-cultural or historical factors. She demonstrates twelve verbs of consumption based on neutral, written, and formal honorific features. She investigates the verbs of consumption per the

historical emergence and development of each verb. According to her, many verbs do not behave uniformly, indicating that the metaphorical extensions of eating go beyond human bodily experiences alone (Yamaguchi 2009:174). Yamaguchi (op.cit.) gives a brilliant insight into why some verbs are widely extended to metaphors and why particular verbs are not. She cites, for instance, that most of the metaphorical uses of eating extend from the ancient verb **kuu** 'eat', not from **taberu** 'eat'. Initially, the meaning of **kuu** did not refer to the act of 'consuming food' but instead 'holding an object which contains a radical', in this instance, a 'tooth'. This original meaning of **kuu**, she said, may help to explain how certain metaphors have developed based on this verb. Another verb **taberu** 'eat', she explained, has a different origin from **kuu** 'eat'. The word **taberu** was developed from **tabu**, seen as a respectful honorific verb meaning 'giving'. Yamaguchi explains that the original meaning of **taberu** expresses the act of giving from a superior to a person of a lower status. It was subsequently employed as a humble expression of eating in a later period. This transformation indicates that the original meaning of 'giving' had changed to 'receiving' when **tabu** entered the semantic domain of consumption. The components of nourishment and enjoyable gustation are absent in the Japanese language unlike what Newman (1997) explicated in English. However, she expounds that adversity seems far more widespread depending on the different contexts. For instance, particular substances such as fuel, energy, money and time are not just consumed but are also wasted excessively. In this context, the speaker expresses a certain degree of adversity where the person who uses a car (fuel) or electricity becomes disadvantaged when the fuel and electricity become wasted.

She concludes that sociocultural factors might contribute to constructing metaphorical expressions on 'eat', and they do not appear out of some universal conceptual mapping. From this perspective, language-specific, socio-cultural and historical realities influence or interfere with mappings. Due to this, Yamaguchi hypothesizes that the concept of adversity may have become a cultural preference in the history of the Japanese language. She adds that the sense of unhappiness is thus profoundly integrated into the minds of the Japanese people. This may help explain the richness of the negative connotations realized in other metaphorical expressions of 'eat'. Yamaguchi's work is very relevant to this research. The data analysis section of this study will unravel the semantic extensions, specifically the metaphorical extensions of the predicates (eat and drink) in Dangme, however, it will not involve the semantic changes of these verbs across historical line as reported by Yamaguchi to be the case of the Japanese language.

Song (2009) explores the metaphors and metonymies of **mek** 'to eat' and **masi** 'to drink' in Korean. It provides examples of how these verbs in Korean can be extended based on theoretical assumptions that are standard in Cognitive Linguistics (an example is Newman's (1997) categorization of EATING). He states that at least three motivating factors necessitate the disparities between **mek** 'eat' and **masi** 'drink' when it comes to metaphorical extensions: the hyponymic relationship between the two verbs of consumption; the limited range of food items affected by the act of eating, as opposed to the range of liquids affected by the act of drinking, is extensive; and the physical differences between eating and drinking (mastication which inherently involves eating and not drinking). Song emphasizes that Korean speakers express their unhappiness over events which take up an excessive number of valuable things like time, money and oil as has been indicated by Yamaguchi (2009) in 'Hypothesis of Adversity'. Song claims that the metaphorical expressions of simplex **meok** also show the tendency of adversity, especially with unpleasant experiences as exemplified by **teowi-rul meok** (heat-ACC.eat) 'suffer heat stroke', **yok-eul meok** (criticism-ACC.eat) 'receive criticism' and **phenelthi-rul meok** (penalty.goal-ACC.eat) 'suffer a penalty goal'. Song also asserts that the stage of mastication of eating provides a conceptual motivation for further metaphorical extensions whereby the broad sense of destruction may be seen as a salient feature in the metaphorical extensions of compounds of **meok**. Song points out two facts which were not in agreement with Newman's observations. One is that the verb **meok** 'eat' is metaphorically extended to unpleasant or painful experiences, which does not sit well with Newman's observation about enjoyable gustation. The other is that it may not always be possible to determine that one motivation (internalization) drives metaphorical extensions to the exclusion of the other (destruction), unlike Newman's claim. The metonymies of **meok** received a particular treatment.

Song contends that the importance of social and cultural factors is that 'eating' stands for social activities and events, especially in association with **bap** 'cooked rice' (henceforth, rice) in Korean. This, he explains, can be illustrated by examples such as **kong bap meok-** (bean.rice.eat) 'living in prison' and **chan bap-eul meok-** (cold.riceACC.eat) 'receive ill-treatment'. Although he did a great deal of investigation and discussions of metaphorical and metonymical expressions of **meok**, he did not explain why adversity is pervasive in the metaphorical expressions of **meok** instead of just enjoyable gustation. The motivating factors and the extensions of these verbs are also prevalent in Dangme. The analysis section will take account of all these factors with regard to metaphorical and metonymical expressions of 'eat' and 'drink' verbs in Dangme.

Jaggar and Buba (2009) investigate the use of **ci** 'eat' and **shaa** 'drink' in Hausa. According to their discussion, they show that the prototypical metaphorical extension of **ci** 'eat' is 'overcoming', 'winning', 'conquering', 'taking (over)' and 'acquiring', with an 'agentive subject' which controls the intension and dominant force to an object. On the other hand, the prototypical metaphorical extension of **shaa** 'drink' is 'undergo, suffer, or endure' with an 'affected agent', which occurs on a non-agential interpretation. Adding that metaphorical extension of **shaa** 'drink' is especially common in adversative contexts where the agent is an 'experiencer' of the adversative events and emotion is negative-oriented. They assume this construal follows from the extra-linguistic factors, in that the agent has little or no control over such a situation or psychological state. This difference, they said, is attributed to differences in agentivity of the real-world acts of eating and drinking, where the former is more agentive than the latter. There are also other extensions, such as that of 'eat' to 'punctual' and of 'drink' to 'durative', which the authors treat as being non-prototypical. This prototypical metaphorical extension of **ci** 'eat' and **shaa** 'drink' in Hausa is one of the significant features of the Dangme ingestion predicates (eat and drink). This study takes into consideration the discussion of such characteristic features.

Considering the scholarly works above, what is more relevant to the present study is the focus on the properties of these concepts that trigger the metaphorical and figurative uses. Most of these properties are in relation to what exists in Dangme. Nonetheless, this study examines the semantic properties of the 'eat' and 'drink' verbs and how they are extended to other senses.

2.0 Theoretical framework and methodology

The notion of the Cognitive Linguistic Approach serves as the theoretical framework of the present study. Cognitive Linguistics is described as a 'movement' or an 'enterprise' because it is not a specific theory but an approach that has adopted a common set of guiding principles, assumptions and perspectives (Evans & Green 2006:3). Cognitive Linguistics Approach according to Geeraerts and Cuyckens (2007) originated back in the late seventies and early eighties in the works of George Lakoff, Ron Langacker, and Len Talmy, which focuses on language as an instrument for organizing, processing, and conveying information. This 'movement' further considers the works of Croft and Cruse (2004), Gibbs (1996; 1997; 1999), Lee (2001), Levinson & Wilkins (2006), Newman (2009), Talmy (2000a, 2000b), Taylor (2002), among others. My concern here is, however, not to lay out the full perspectives, significance and implications of theories in this approach to semantics but to focus only on the basic tenets, principles and underpinnings concerning this approach that are important for the topic under study. According to (Geeraerts and Cuyckens 2007), the primary importance of this approach is to analyze the conceptual and experiential basis of linguistic categories. These linguistic categories are understood by the way we interact with them, the way we perceive them, imagine them and organize information about them in the minds of speakers (Stambuk 1998). Also, Evans (2007); and Evans and Green (2006) see this theory as primarily concerned with investigating the relationship between language, the mind and socio-physical experience. That is the role of meaning, conceptual processes and embodied experience in studying language and the mind and how they intersect.

2.1 Tenants of Cognitive Linguistics

The most crucial tenet that explains the different perspectives of cognitive linguistic theories and sets boundaries for this approach is that meaning is described in terms of "the

nature and experience of the organism thinking" without strict language boundaries. The main concern here is that human language is based on human concepts, which in turn are motivated by their experience either direct or indirect (Lakoff 1990). This approach differs from the traditional (structural and generative) linguistic approaches in that the linguistic description is seen as an integral part of the description of cognition and the object of description is the nature of conception structures. This process relates conceptual structures and the effect of context upon process (McGlashan 1992). Another reason it differs from the traditional linguistic approaches is that in contrast, the traditional approaches have the notion that linguistic elements have just a single linguistic meaning; the cognitive linguistic approach claims that linguistic categories are usually complex, whose full description takes the form of a network of related variants.

Additionally, their view is that a lexical item's meaning is limited and distinct from general knowledge; that is, the ability of the speakers to know about the linguistic item is based on the virtue of their knowledge of their language. However, Cognitive Linguistics views meaning as a mental phenomenon which resides in conceptualizing activities through our engagement with the world at any level, be it physical, mental, social, cultural, emotional or imaginative. These oppose the objective tradition where the mind is left out of the loop (Langacker, 2008:67-68). I outline the five general assumptions of the cognitive linguistic enterprise (cognitive semantics and cognitive (approaches to) grammar)) as presented by Evans (2012).

The first assumption that Evans (ibid) talks about is Embodied Cognition. He explains that the nature of reality is not objectively given but is a function of our species-specific and individual embodiment (*embodied experience*). He adds that our mental representation of reality is grounded in our embodied mental states. This explains that due to the nature of our bodies and our varied mental experiences, we have individual apprehensions of the world and how we experience reality. In a more straightforward way, the concepts we have access to and the nature of the 'reality' we think and talk about are grounded in the multimodal representations that emerge from our embodied experience, from our actions and interaction with our socio-physical environment and our subjective experience (such as emotions) of our internal (bodily) environment (Evans 2012:3).

Another assumption is that meaning (especially of the lexical items) arises from the interaction between linguistic and conceptual representations, such that the most relevant conceptual knowledge is activated upon each instance of use (Evans 2012:3). This coincides with what Langacker (1991) suggests, that language is all about meaning which resides in conceptualization, the primary means of engaging both the natural and constructed world. This conceptualization subsumes all sorts of mental experiences (sensory, motor, emotive and intellectual) as well as the understanding of the context in all its dimensions (socio-physical, psychological, cultural and discourse).

Evans (2012) also asserts the symbolic thesis, which holds that the basic grammar unit is its form-meaning pairing, which, according to Langacker (2008), is called symbolic assembly. It comprises a form, a semantic unit, and a symbolic correspondence that relates the two. It explains that our mental grammar comprises both form and meaning units. Any unit excluded from these two is eliminated from the language user's mental grammar. In another sense, this approach gives meaning a significant state in cognitive linguistics where form cannot be studied independently of meaning.

Evans further talks about the assumption that meaning is conceptualization. This explains the fact that language involves the interaction between semantic structure and conceptual structure, as mediated by various linguistic and conceptual mechanisms and processes which do not involve compositionality. Cognitive linguists subscribe to the position that linguistically mediated meaning involves conceptualization, which is to say, higher-order cognitive processing, some (or much) of which is non-linguistic. In other words, this tenant explains that the way symbolic units are combined during language understanding gives rise to a unit of meaning which is non-linguistic, which is very crucial to meaning construction.

The last assumption of this enterprise that Evans (2012) highlights is the usage-based thesis. This holds the view that the mental grammar of the language user is formed by the abstraction of symbolic units from situated instances of language use: utterances-specific usage-events involving symbolic units for purposes of signalling locally and contextually (Evans 2012:5). Thus, utterances that are used in specific events include symbolic units to

indicate important local and contextual communicative ideas. It has no principled distinction between knowledge of language and use of language because knowledge emerges from use. That is, the knowledge of language is how the language is used.

The semantics of the words used in lexicalizing 'eating' and 'drinking' and their application to socio-cultural contexts reflect the conceptualization patterns of the native speakers of that particular language. This theory helps posit that for us to fully grasp the meaning of the verbs used in the domain of 'eat' and 'drink' activities or any other contexts in any other languages, we may apply cognitive theoretical constructs in order to appreciate the phenomenon well. The 'eat' and 'drink' verbs in Dangme encode some components of meanings which reflect the experiential realities that motivate other extensions in these domains (see Newman 2009: xi). I adopted what Newman (2009) drew from Langacker (1987) to discuss the cross-linguistic experiential realities associated with the acts of eating and drinking and their motivated semantic extensions to analyse the various meaning components and the experiential realities associated with these concepts and the possible semantic extensions in Dangme.

Table 1: Components of the central meanings of eating and drinking from Newman (2009)

INTERNAL COMPLEXITY	<i>eat</i> and <i>drink</i> are dynamic, involving actions by a person which affect some other entity, but where the person also typically experiences a range of sensations	
SPATIAL-TEMPORAL PROFILE	<i>eat</i>	food is taken into mouth and moves through the digestive tract
	<i>drink</i>	liquid is taken into mouth and moves through the digestive tract
ACTIVE ZONE	<i>eat</i>	mouth, teeth, tongue, palate
	<i>drink</i>	mouth, tongue, palate
FORCE DYNAMICS	<i>eat</i>	forceful crushing and biting of food, controlled by person
	<i>drink</i>	no change to liquid in the mouth, controlled by person
TYPICAL SOCIAL/CULTURAL SIGNIFICANCE	eating and drinking are vital to humans, are usually enjoyed, and are the basis for many social occasions; both can be the means to inducing altered physical and psychological states (e.g., drunkenness)	

The above features constitute essential sources for forming figurative and idiomatic expressions and metaphorical imagery of the verbs to eat (food) and drink (liquid). Newman (ibid: 23-24) also discussed the various properties of eat and drink verbs and the available semantic extensions, which I have also adopted to lay out what pertains to Dangme. Some of the properties and their motivated extensions are; the biting and chewing activity associated with eating, for example, motivates the common transitivity of 'eat' verbs. This activity also motivates standard semantic extension of 'eat' to meanings like 'destroy' and 'conquer.' The sensation of taste, typically an enjoyable experience, on the part of the consumer as part of the act of eating motivates some atypical behaviours of 'eat' verbs in terms of the morphosyntax one might be led to expect with transitive verbs, most of which do not involve agents in this way. This same aspect of eating, i.e., the sensory affectedness of the consumer, motivates semantic extensions of 'eat' to meanings like 'experience', 'enjoy', and 'suffer.' Similar observations could be made about 'drink'. It has been confirmed that the constructions of the meanings of words are derived from the encyclopaedic knowledge of the people, which is sourced from various aspects of their sociocultural life (Evans and Green 2007:162).

Dangme is a three-level tone language which belongs to the Kwa group of the Niger-Congo family of languages. It is spoken in two regions of Ghana, namely the Eastern and the Greater Accra, mainly in South-Eastern Ghana. The people inhabit the coastal area of the Greater Accra Region, east of Accra, and part of the Eastern Region of Ghana. Its closest

linguistic neighbours are Ga, Akan and Ewe. Dangme has seven dialects: Ada, Nugo/Ningo, Kpone, Gbugblaa/Prampram, Osudoku, Sɛ/Shai, and Krobo (Yilo and Manya). There are several small communities east of the Volta Region that trace their origins to Dangmeland; most of these have shifted to Ewe as the language of daily life, but others have not (Dakubu 1966; Sprigge 1969 cited in Ameka and Dakubu 2008:215). Patches of speakers are also found in Togo-Nyetoe and Gatsi who have been mentioned by writers such as Christaller (1887), Rapp (1943), Westermann and Bryan (1952).

Data for this study were collected from two main sources: primary and secondary. The primary data included recordings of expressions on 'eat' and 'drink' from spontaneous speeches through one-on-one discussions with informants and from semi-structured interviews. Data from natural conversations were obtained by recording interactions at community social gatherings, including events like marriage receptions, family parties and get-togethers, food vending joints, and local restaurants. Some of the data were collected through focus group discussions. The study involved 30 native speakers (10 females and 20 males) aged between 25 and 70. They were divided into groups of 5 and tasked to discuss the various uses of the Dangme verbs **ye** and **nu** in their daily expressions. These informants represented various occupations, including farmers, fishermen, traders, teachers, and students from the University of Education, Winneba. They were selected from Ayertepa in the Ningo Prampram district, Toflokpo-Salom, Sege Nakomkope, and Akplabanya in the Ada-West District, and Odumase, Kpong in the Manya Krobo Municipality. These discussions typically lasted between 30 and 35 minutes and were recorded using a digital audio recorder. Later, the recordings were transcribed and translated for analysis, and notes were taken during the discussions. The data collection occurred between January 2017 and January 2018, with the expressions gathered often having metaphorical connections to verbs related to eating and drinking in Dangme. As a native speaker of Dangme, I used my intuition to generate some of the data for the analysis. The data collected have been cross-checked by other native speakers of Dangme who are lecturers at the University of Education, Winneba for their validity. For the secondary sources, data were collected from the following books: Abedi-Boafo (1980), Accam (1966) and Ablorh-Odijjah et al. (1977[1990]), which relate to the field of semantics, basically verbs.

This paper discusses the figurative and metaphorical extensions of the concept of **ye** 'eat' and **nu** 'drink' verbs in Dangme. The study adopts Newman's (2009) approach. The following research questions serve as a guide to the study: What are the semantic extensions of eating and drinking verbs in Dangme? What are the motivations for these semantic extensions of eating and drinking verbs in Dangme?

Beyond the introduction, the theoretical framework and methodology, the rest of the paper is organized as follows: Section three examines the semantic extensions of the verbs 'eat' and 'drink' in Dangme. It looks at extensions related to the internalization (agent-oriented extension) of these verbs. It further explores the extensions related to the destruction of food (patient-oriented) and extensions associated with the sensation and destruction of the consuming agent. The Section four summarises the findings and concludes the paper.

3. The semantic extension of eating and drinking verbs in Dangme

This section examines the semantic extensions of the verbs **ye** 'eat' and **nu** 'drink' in Dangme, revealing that these extensions are deeply rooted in tangible, real-world physical experiences. In essence, these verbs are understood as abstract concepts, considering our embodied physical engagement with the world beyond language. These extensions primarily stem from metaphorical expressions. In the context of metaphors related to 'eat' and 'drink,' it is evident that the physiological aspects of eating and the specific linguistic expressions representing different stages of the eating and drinking processes play a significant role in motivating these metaphorical and other semantic meanings. Visual imagery, closely connected to our first hand experiences of the eating and drinking processes, is another crucial motivational factor. This analysis draws upon the work of Newman (2009), as mentioned earlier, who classifies semantic (metaphorical) extensions of 'eating' and 'drinking' into two categories: 'agent-oriented' and 'patient-oriented' extensions.

In the case of agent-oriented metaphorical extensions, eating and drinking are viewed as processes in which the person consuming the food or drink is the primary focus, experiencing sensations of taste, pleasure, or displeasure. Here, the main emphasis lies on the sensory

experience (whether pleasant or unpleasant) of the consumer. Furthermore, this perspective involves a strong element of internalization: food transitions from an external, visible state to an internal, invisible state as it is taken into the body. The second aspect of internalization is seen in swallowing, which moves food from the mouth to the stomach. On the other hand, in cases where the primary focus is on the impact of consuming a substance or a consumable item, this extension is considered 'patient-oriented.' When something is ingested, it vanishes from view and becomes unreachable. The most noticeable effect of eating on food is the intense processing, such as chewing and biting, which transforms it into digestible particles. In the following discussion, we will connect the motivations for mapping to the target domains with the core aspects of 'eating' and 'drinking,' which serve as the foundation for each target domain mapping.

AGENT → PATIENT / AGENT ← PATIENT

Two categories of semantic extensions were recognized: one based on internalization, primarily centred on the agent, and the other based on destruction and elimination, primarily focused on the patient. Furthermore, a selection of examples, as detailed in section 3.3, was classified within the latter category, encompassing extensions that involve both patient-oriented and agent-oriented aspects of 'eating' and 'drinking'.

3.1 Extensions based on internalization (Agent-oriented extension)

Internalization refers to moving food and drink substances from outside the body into the oral cavity to the stomach by following the necessary parameters involved (biting, chewing and swallowing). According to Newman (2009:8), "the agent in eating and drinking serves as a strong image of 'internalization', i.e., incorporating something into one's personal or private sphere. This involves taking in food from outside the body (being visible) to inside the body (being no longer visible). It also includes swallowing, which involves the movement of food and drinks from being in the mouth to being in the intestines and, eventually, the stomach. In the mouth, the substances can be moved and controlled by the tongue and still be easily spat out of the body. He adds that in the stomach, the food and the drink are controlled by involuntary reflexes and processes beyond our conscious control. They also required a more difficult and sometimes painful act to bring the food out of the mouth again". It is important to highlight that these two aspects are shared by both eating and drinking. They serve as the foundation for conceptualizing a wide range of events that can be categorized as 'internalization.' They are seen in Dangme expressions that characterize their physiological and cultural experiences. Some of these are illustrated in (1) below:

- 1a. **Zugba** **a** **mi-i** **nyu** **ɔ.**
Land DEF swallow-PST water DEF

Lit. 'The land swallowed the water.'

'The land absorbed the water.'

- b. **Nyu** **ɔ** **ye** **jale** **ɔ.**
Water DEF eat.PST soap DEF

Lit. 'The water ate the soap.'

'The water dissolved the soap.'

It is observable in examples (1a-b) above that **nyu** 'water' and **jale** 'soap' are visible but become out of sight as the agents, **zugba** 'land' and **nyu** 'water' incorporate them into an inaccessible sphere. This extension results from the motivation that food and drink items are consumed by an agent where they are internalized into the stomach and the digestive tract. When this internalization or incorporation happens, the food and the drink items become invisible, as in the case of the **nyu** 'water' and **jale** 'soap' exemplified in (1a-b). Aside from the objects like **zugba** 'land' and **nyu** 'water' in examples (1a-b) that could take in other substances like water and soup, there are other things more abstract, like words that can be taken in. Examples are shown in (1c-d).

1. c. **Kuao** **nu** **e** **maa** **munyu.**

Kuao drink.PST 3SG.POSS¹ mother word

Lit. 'Kuao drank his mother's words.'

'Kuao listened to his mother's pieces of advice.'

- d. **Kuao nu-i e maa munyu.**

Kuao drink-NEG 3SG.POSS mother word

Lit. 'Kuao did not drink his mother's words.'

'Kuao did not listen to his mother's pieces of advice.'

- e. **Obodai ye e tsaatse gbi no.**
Obodai eat.PFV 3SG.POSS father voice POSTP

Lit. 'Obodai ate his father's voice.'

'Obodai heeded his father's advice.'

From the examples in (1c-e), it becomes evident that the practices of incorporating food and drink substances are extended to encompass the concept of heeding and following verbal advice. Newman (2009:8) classified these instances within the broader category, "internalization."

3.1.1 Extensions based on the sensation of the consumer

Aside from the general internalization category, other sub-categorizations focus on other agentive roles in the consumption process. In this context, the agent's hunger and thirst, the processes involved in masticating, swallowing, and digestion, as well as the resulting nourishment and the enjoyable gustation that accompanies these fundamental actions, motivate the extension of meaning to include sensory fulfilment, emotional satisfaction, pleasurable emotional sensations, and sensory experiences, whether pleasant or unpleasant, for the consumer. The following are examples of such extensions within the Dangme language.

3.1.1.1 Emotional satisfaction and enjoyment is 'eating'

This involves incorporating some external stimuli, which provide a feeling of emotional wellness in addition to the pleasurable sensation of the agent. There exists this strong connection between eating and drinking and the emotional sensation in Dangme as seen below:

2. a. **Kɛ nyɛ ye bloonya a kɛɛ?**
How 2PL eat Christmas DEF PRT

Lit. 'How did you eat the Christmas?'

'How did you celebrate the Christmas?'

- b. **Wa ye jeha a saminya.**
We eat.PST festival DEF well

Lit. 'We ate the Christmas?'

'We celebrated the festival well.'

Considering these examples (2a-b), the pleasurable experience derived from eating as a physical experience is metaphorically extended to the satisfying emotional experience of celebrating a festival or Christmas. This happened because the emotional fulfilment such as joy, delectation, and satisfaction of the celebrants, is likened to the similar experiences we deduce from consuming food items. Another example of how eating can be linked to emotional fulfilment or nourishment is through the spiritual or religious significance of the Judeo-Christian rituals associated with events like Passover, Lent, and the Lord's Supper. In Dangme, the verb **ye** 'eat' is used to express the act of partaking in the Lord's Supper or the Holy Communion among the Christian community, as seen in the example (2c):

2. c. **Asafo ɔ maa ye Nyɔmtse niye ni ɔ Hɔgba nɛ ɔ.**

¹ Abbreviations used in this paper include: 1=First person; 2= Second person; 3=Third person; ADJ= Adjective; CONJ=Conjunction; DEF=Definite; DEM=Demonstrative; FUT=Future tense; HAB=Habitual; NEG=Negative; NOMZ= Nominaliser; OBJ= Object; PFV= Perfective; PRT= Particle; Prog=Progressive; POSS=Possessive pronoun; POSTP=Post position; PL=Plural; PST= Past tense; SG=Singular; SUBJ=Subject.

Church DEF FUT eat Lord.POSS eatable thing DEF Sunday DEM DEF
Lit. 'The church members will eat the Lord's supper this Sunday.'
 'The church members will partake in the Lord's supper this Sunday.'

The example in (2c) highlights that, while the physical act of 'eating' is evident, the possibility for this metaphorical extension is rooted in the emotional satisfaction and potential religious or spiritual nourishment derived from engaging in this ritual. Conversely, the Dangme people referred to abstinence from food or eating for the same religious reason as eating (spiritual nourishment). Conceptually, the nourishment and enjoyment of the eating event are linked with the spiritual nourishment the Christians derived from fasting or abstinence from food and drink to sometimes implore God. The example in the sentence (2d) below illustrates that phenomenon in Dangme.

2. d. **Asafo** ɔ **ye buada ne a sole ha Ongmo.**
 Church DEF eat.PST fasting and 3PL pray.PST to God
Lit. 'The church ate fasting and prayed to God.'
 'The church members fasted and prayed to God.' (Abedi-Buafo 1980:138)

There is other evidence of metaphorical extension in this area. Here, the focus is not solely on eating as physical sustenance but the reliance on a spiritual world to gain nourishment and satisfaction. Examples of such cases are expressed in (2e) below:

2. e. **Agbada ya ye wo.**
 Agbada to.be eat.PFV fetish
Lit. 'Agbada went to eat fetish.'
 'Agbada has vowed to the fetish.' (Abedi-Buafo 1980:138)

With regard to the expression in (2e), the act of physical eating is associated with the literal eating of a fetish. Contextually, the agent takes an oath and swears with another person (or the fetish) to be faithful to each other. In an attempt to do that, he derives some spiritual protection, nourishment and satisfaction as the result of his devotion to the fetish. This satisfaction and nourishment are linked to what the consumer (agent) gains after the food or drink substance has been digested into his/her system. A similar expression is found with the 'drink' verb as well, as seen in the example (2f) below:

2. f. **Yo ɔ nu wo.**
 Woman DEF drink fetish (magical power)
Lit. 'The woman drank magical power.'
 'The woman is obsessed/engulfed with fetish/ancestral spirit.'

From the (2f) above, the use of **nu** 'drink' to refer to the imbibing of **wo** 'fetish/magical or ancestral powers' suggests a closer relationship between the effect of the act of drinking on the agent and the spiritual intoxication by **yo ɔ** 'the woman'. Drinking does not only symbolize potent experiential models of sensory gratification, but also, the consumption of certain substances has the potential to induce changes in one's mental state, leading to intoxication or a feeling of being 'high.' This feature of 'drinking' in Dangme is placed side by side with the fact that when someone is engulfed or obsessed by the ancestral spirit, s/he has neither physical nor emotional control over him/herself. When this happens, it alters the sensual and emotional state of that individual. He or she renders total submission to that spirit, and this is linked to taking in specific substances such as **akpetesi** 'local gin' and **kotsie** 'palm wine', as they also change the emotional and psychological states of their consumers.

3.1.1.2 Ye wami/ ye la 'to enjoy life' is 'eating'

In the same vein, emotional satisfaction or pleasure is seen in this expression by the Dangme people. Here, someone enjoying and having a good time is extended to mean the person is 'eating life'. According to Gibbs (1997:145), our cognitive networks range beyond our consciousness and expand into our cultural milieu. In this context, our conceptual understanding implies that the individual derives certain benefits from life. This life's benefits could be that the person likes wallowing in luxury, putting on exorbitant outfits and finds pleasure in sumptuous living. Interestingly, these experiences and the good feelings gained from life are perceptively mapped onto the enjoyment and pleasure of eating food. Constructions in (3) below exemplify that:

3. a. **Nihe-yo ne ɔ ye-ɔ wami.**
 Man-young DEM eat-HAB life

Lit. 'This young man eats life.'
 'This young man enjoys life.'

- b. **Ame nge la ye-e.**
 Ame be.at fire eat-PROG

Lit. 'Ame is eating fire.'
 'Ame is enjoying life.'

In (3b), the same experience from eating is extended to that of something different, **la** 'fire'. In this sense, if someone lives above his earnings or an extravagant life, he is said to be 'eating fire' among the Dangme people. It is pertinent to note that internalization, as Newman (2009) put it, could mean taking in something pleasurable or unpleasurable. Here, the individual may be enjoying life and having the most pleasurable experiences. However, at the mid to late end of their life, it could be bitter, sour, and unpleasurable experiences, just as bad food affects the body adversely after consumption. Similar extensions of 'eating fire' are that of 'teasing' in Dangme, as presented below:

3. c. **Koo ye mi la.**
 Do.NEG eat 1SG.OBJ fire

Lit. 'Do not eat me fire.'
 'Do not tease me.'

- d. **Angɔɔ ye wetse ɔ la.**
 Angɔɔ eat.PFV landlord DEF fire

Lit. 'Angɔɔ ate the landlord fire.'
 'Angɔɔ teased the landlord.'

- e. **Sukuu bi ɔ-me ye yomo ɔ he feɯ.**
 School child DEF-PL eat.PFV old woman DEF POSTP beauty

Lit. 'The school children ate the old woman body beauty.'
 'The school children mocked the old woman.'

In these consumption processes, the agents may be satisfied, but the consumed patients undergo destruction. In (3d-e), **Angɔɔ** and **sukuu bi** 'school children' are deriving some sensual pleasure and satisfaction from persistently annoying and deliberately provoking **wetse ɔ** 'the landlord' and **yomo ɔ**, 'the old woman'. However, the patients, **wetse ɔ**, 'the landlord' and **yomo ɔ**, 'the old woman,' are adversely going through some emotional torture as they are being poked fun at and ridiculed, respectively.

3.1.1.3 Living on or making a living is 'eating'

Another extension under the emotional satisfaction and enjoyment of 'eating' and 'drinking' in Dangme is the extension of the agentive aspect involving a living subject whose object or patient is inherently inedible (for instance, time, someone's work, or property), is motivated by the fundamental qualities of nourishment and the pleasurable taste associated with the act of eating. The idea of incorporation by the agents is construed from the extension as it enables the Dangme people to extend the eating act to the eating of (or living on) other things like money, inheritance, and time, among others. I illustrate these in the examples (4a-d) below:

4. a. **Tseko ye wa tsaatse gbo si ni ɔ kulaa.**
 Uncle eat.PST our father.POSS property DEF all.

Lit. 'Uncle misappropriated all our father's properties.'
 'Uncle misappropriated all our father's properties.'

- b. **Ajoatse ye e hiwo ɔ basabasa.**
 Ajoatse eat.PST 3SG pay DEF lavishly

Lit. 'Ajoatse eat his wage/pay anyhow.'
 'Ajoatse spent his wage/pay lavishly.'

- c. **Jɔgbahi ye be nge sukuu ɔ.**
 Jɔgbahi eat.PST time be.at school DEF

Lit. 'Jɔgbahi eat time at the school.'

‘Jɔgbehi spent time at the school.’

- d. **Adu ye nyɔ mi ni nɛ a fie lɛ.**
 Adu eat.PST night POSTP thing CONJ 3PL sack 3SG.OBJ

Lit. ‘Adu ate night thing and he has been sacked.’

‘Adu took a bribe and has been sacked from the workplace.’

In the examples (4a-c), it could be identified that the extensions of eat in Dangme denote various meanings such as ‘to spend money, properties and time’. Most people are inclined to material possessions, properties or inheritances (hunger), hence the need to earn a living. After material objects such as money and other properties are attained, they become part of one’s assets. Thus, entering one’s sphere (consumption of food), which in turn provides emotional nourishment, fostering a sense of well-being for the individual. This same thing happens with the desire to spend time acquiring or undertaking an assignment that may add to the totality of one’s living on earth. This is associated with taking in food to provide some emotional realisation. However, the extension in example (4d) is driven by the practical experience that not every food consumption leads to a pleasant sensation, and there may be occasions when one is compelled to consume something distinctly unappealing. Here, the palatable taste of the food triggered the agent to eat more than necessary, affecting his emotional satisfaction and enjoyment from the beginning of the consumption process.

3.1.1.4 Winning is ‘eating’

Among the Dangme people, **ye** ‘eat’ is extended to mean winning a case at the court, winning a competition in a (traditional) game and becoming victorious in other activities as these are linked up to the metaphorical eating. In a simple sense, the achievements from such activities grant the agent some sensual satisfaction. This satisfaction is inversely mapped onto the satisfaction derived from food consumption. The expressions in (5) explain such extensions in Dangme;

5. a. **Ajotɛ ye loto hiɛ.**
 Ajotɛ eat.PST lottery yesterday
Lit. ‘Ajotɛ ate lottery yesterday’.
 ‘Ajotɛ won the lottery yesterday’.
- b. **Akpɔsue ye bemi nge kɔtu ɔ.**
 Akpɔsue eat.PST case be.at court DEF
Lit. ‘Akpɔsue ate the case at the court.’
 ‘Akpɔsue won the case at the court.’

From the examples in (5a-b) above, it could be noted that the sense of fulfilment and the feeling of satisfaction that the agents, **Ajotɛ** and **Akpɔsue** derived from winning the lottery and the court case, respectively, are metaphorically mapped onto the enjoyment gustation from eating food. Winning a case at the law court or a chief palace is lexicalized as ‘eating’ in Dangme, as indicated in (5b) above. Cognitively, it could be ascertained that **Akpɔsue**, like any other suspect who has been declared innocent on any case or from any charge levelled against him, enjoys some inner fulfilment. This inner self-satisfaction, peace and fulfilment is linked to the enjoyment derived from eating food.

3.1.1.5 Experiencing victory is ‘eating’

During eating, the human agent undergoes an experience with the consumed object, which may be pleasant or unpleasant. In the case of a pleasant experience, the agent takes in enjoyable and tasty food, leading to a sense of happiness. The conceptualization of experiencing a specific event or emotion parallels the internalization of food.

6. a. **Siada ye nyé nge ka a mi.**
 Siada eat.PFV success be.at exams DEF POSTP
Lit. ‘Siada ate success in the examination.’
 ‘Siada is victorious in the examination.’ (Abedi-Buafo 1980:37, 104)
- b. **Akpe ye nguɔ nge koli simi ɔ mi.**
 Akpe eat bentonite clay or kaolin be.at horn locking DEF POSTP
Lit. ‘Akpe ate bentonite clay or kaolin in the horn locking.’

‘Akpe is victorious in the competition.’

As in the case of winning, being victorious also gives some pleasure and a sense of accomplishment. From the examples (6a & b), the victory of **Siada** and **Akpe** is linked to the satisfaction and enjoyment derived after the food has been eaten. The swallowing of tasty and pleasant food is extended to mean the harbouring of a pleasant experience in the heart, for example, being victorious in a competition or game.

3.1.1.6 Intellectual satisfaction and understanding is ‘eating’ and ‘drinking’

This concept also explains a comparable occurrence of emotional satisfaction. Naturally, humans crave intellectual stimulation, akin to the "hunger" element in eating. Engaging in activities such as reading, listening, or observing serves as inputs for our intellectual stimulation, mirroring the stages of internalization (intake of food), absorption (swallowing), and mental processing (digesting). This process ultimately culminates in the satisfaction of intellectual curiosity, offering a gratifying experience for the individual. In Dangme, some examples of this extension, such as receiving messages, adhering to advice and experiencing some emotions, were found to be ascribed to the verb **ye** ‘eat’ and **nu** ‘drink’. Some of such examples are expressed in (7) below:

7. a. **Nye ha waa ye nyagbe se.**
 2PL give to.be eat last message
Lit. ‘You let us eat last message.’
 ‘Let us have our farewell remarks/message.’
- b. **Nate ye nɔmo ɔ munyu ɔ nɔ.**
 Nate eat.PFV old man DEF.POSS word DEF POSTP
Lit. ‘Nate ate the old man's word.’
 ‘Nate heeded the old man's advice.’
- c. **I nu o se ɔ he hiɛ motu.**
 1SG drink.PFV 2SG.OBJ message DEF POSTP yesterday morning
Lit. ‘I drank your message yesterday morning.’
 ‘I received your message yesterday in the morning.’

Concerning the examples (7a-c), it is interesting to note that the incorporation of food and drink substances, the swallowing and the digestion processes are all linked up to the receiving and processing of information or messages in the intellectual faculty. In another instance, there is a clear expression of internalizing liquid substance to mean digesting and understanding ideas. Examples are seen in (7d-e) below:

- d. **I nu sisi.**
 1SG drink under/bottom
Lit. ‘I drank the under/bottom.’
 ‘I have understood it.’
- e. **Wa nu ni tsɔmi ɔ sisi.**
 1PL drink thing teaching DEF under/bottom
Lit. ‘We drank the under/bottom of the teaching.’
 ‘We understood the teaching.’

What is worth noting from (7d-e) is that the concept ‘drink’ has been lexicalized to include the understanding of concepts in Dangme. Here, there is an incorporation of what the teacher dispenses into the private sphere (minds of the learners), which in turn stimulates their intellect or alters their thinking ability from unknown to known, just as a hungry man feels satisfied and nourished after the intake and digestion of a drink substance.

3.1.1.7 Intellectual activity is ‘eating’ and ‘drinking’

This aspect of extension focuses on the activity of the mental faculty. Here, the mind is made to engage in activity through active thinking, unlike the intellectual satisfaction that involves effortless absorption. Under this extension, the motivation factor has to do with hunger, as represented by the need to solve a problem, and the problem is internalization (intake of food). During the internalization process, the agent either chews or swallows something bitter. The effort of chewing and swallowing are extended and linked to an agent having to use

his/her mind to grasp a message or absorb content, an utterance or produce a result. The examples in (8a-e) are some of such extensions in Dangme;

8. a. **Sikajɔɔ ta ni tsu-li ɔ-mɛ a nya mi.**
 Sikajɔɔ chew.PST thing work-PL DEF-PL 2PL.OBJ mouth POSTP
Lit. Sikajɔɔ chewed the mouth of the workers.
 ‘Sikajɔɔ interrogated/interviewed the workers.’
- b. **Tsɔɔɔ ɔ ta sukuu bi ɔ-mɛ a juɛmi mi.**
 Teacher DEF chew.PST student PL DEF-PL 2PL.OBJ mind POSTP
Lit. ‘The teacher chewed the students’ mind inside.’
 ‘The teacher quizzed the students.’
- c. **Sukuu no ɔ kpe womi ɔ kulaa ha ka a.**
 School SG DEF chew.PST book DEF all to.be exams DEF
Lit. ‘The student chewed all the book for the examination.’
 ‘The student learnt all the book’s content for the examination.’
- d. **Jokuɛ ɔ kɔ e juɛmi se.**
 Child DEF take in/swallow.PFV 3SG mind POSTP
Lit. ‘The child took in or swallowed back of his mind.’
 ‘The child thought twice.’
- e. **Yo ɔ kɔ munyu ɔ se.**
 Woman DEF take in/swallow.PFV utterance DEF POSTP
Lit. ‘The woman took in or swallowed the utterance.’
 ‘The woman gave the utterance a second thought.’

The agent is physically forced to make an internalization triggered by either hunger or sickness (in terms of taking medicine). Moreover, this is done by an active effort of the eater.

3.1.1.8 Unpleasant experience of ‘eating’

Life is not always pleasant. Thus, the unpleasant experience of eating harmful or poisonous food is mapped onto the ‘unpleasant experience of life’. In this instance, the agent experiences a lousy situation which affects and makes him/her a victim of an unpleasant event that s/he has no control over in his/her environment. This has been described by Yamaguchi (2009:187) as “a receiver at the subject position who experiences or undergoes unpleasant events.” This is similar to a situation where a consumer inadvertently consumes a food item to which they are allergic. It is essential to explain that the unpleasant experience the agent undergoes is not a result of their intentional actions; instead, they consumed the object (food) unintentionally. In this case, the agent, acting as a passive experiencer, endures suffering due to the unintended ingestion of the allergenic food, leading to an unpleasant event.

It is noteworthy to highlight that this extension has ramifications beyond the physical realm, as it can also be influenced by malicious actions or psychological torment inflicted by others. Newman (2009:13) classifies the unpleasant experience of life under ‘adversative passive,’ contending that distressing and painful life experiences are cross-linguistically prevalent. He posits that the agent becomes affected by the object. The concept of ‘eat’ is construed as a symbol of affectedness or ‘adversativity’ on the part of the agent (Næss, 2009:34). The agent, now positioned as the undergoer or sufferer of the external cause, becomes a victim of the event (Hook & Pardeshi, 2009:162). Drawing on the explanations mentioned earlier, I have explored analogous expressions in Dangme, where the verbs **ye** ‘eat’ and **nu** ‘drink’ are extended onto the target domain of unpleasant experiences, influenced by metaphorical associations with the act of eating.

9. a. **Ajona ye gbeye.**
 Ajona eat fear
Lit. ‘Ajona ate fear.’
 ‘Ajona is afraid’.
- b. **Ajona ye ni tsumi ɔ gbeye.**
 Ajona eat.PST thing work DEF fear
Lit. ‘Ajona ate fear about the work.’
 ‘Ajona feared the work.’

From examples (9a-b), it is indicated that **Ajona**, the agent, eats another object, fear (patient), which is unpleasant for him. This caused him to experience an adverse effect on his emotional and psychological state. This state is typified in (9b), where **Ajona** is frightened at the emotional discomfort he is either experiencing or anticipating to experience from work after his engagement (in the taking in of a food substance). Furthermore, the metaphorical extension of **ye** 'eat' could arise from an inherent physical state that leads to bodily damage or suffering. Examples of such are illustrated below:

10. a. **Ye gbè.**

Eat beating.

'To be beaten.'

b. **Amuate ye gbè saminya.**

Amuate eat.PST beat.NOMZ ADJ

Lit. 'Ajona ate severe beating.'

'Amuate received a severe beating.'

Here (10b), the agent, **Amuate**, is experiencing an awful event (unfavourable food), which causes suffering and pain to his physical body. It is interesting to note that taking in unfavourable food, which causes stomach aches or vomit is extended to the physical damage and psychological altering of the agent, **Amuate**. Similar examples are seen in (11a-d):

11. a. **Ye bɔ.**

Eat mourning

'To mourn someone'.

Accam (1966: 34)

b. **Akuele ye bɔ ha e huno ɔ.**

Akuele eat. PST mourn.NOMZ to.be 3SG.POSS husband DEF

Lit. Akuele ate mourning for her husband.'

'Akuele mourned her husband.'

c. **Ye tsui.**

Eat heart

'To Worry.'

d. **Nyumu ɔ ye tsui nge e bi ɔ he.**

Man DEF eat heart be.at 3SG.POSS child DEF POSTP

Lit. 'The man ate heart about his child.'

'The man was worried about his child.'

The association of the **ye** 'eat' verb to mean experiencing and expressing **bɔ** 'grief' and **tsui** 'worry' by the agents, **Akuele** and **nyumu ɔ** 'the man' are expressed in (11b) and (11d) as 'eat mourning' and 'eat heart', respectively. In a cognitive concept, these eating events are linked to eating something bitter, contaminated or rotten, which does not favour the agent(s). A similar extension may be made to 'being in debt or owing somebody'. Among the Dangme people, when one borrows money or takes a loan from another person or bank without paying, he/she is referred to as **hiɔ yelɔ**, 'the eater of debt'. This could be expressed in another way as **e ye hiɔ** 's/he has eaten debt'. Literally, we all consume (food) money for the fulfilment of joy and satisfaction. However, conceptually, if someone consumes debt (owes or is indebted to somebody), they go through some unpleasant sensory experiences. These experiences may mean having to be chased for the money, paying back with interest, and not gaining personal freedom from the creditor. It clearly indicates that the unfavourable experiences (stomach ache, vomiting) derived from eating something poisonous or vile are linked or mapped onto the said experiences from owing somebody. This typical extension is currently extended to mean 'owing God praises and thanksgiving' as seen in the example (11e) below:

11. e. **Wa ye mo sina he hiɔ, Tsaatsɛ Mawu.**

2PL eat.PFV 2SG.OBJ thanksgiving POSTP debt Father God

Lit. 'We ate your debt of thanksgiving, Father God.'

'Father God, we owe you praise and thanksgiving.'

Under the drink verb, this experience is identified where an agent suffering from 'cold' or any other 'sickness' is literally referred to as 'drinking cold' or 'drinking sickness'. These are illustrated in example (12):

12. a. **Nu fiɛ.**

Drink cold
'To feel cold'.

- b. **Mate nu fiε nge sane ɔ he.**
Mate drink cold at case DEF POSTP

Lit. 'Mate drank cold about the case.'
'Mate was frightened upon hearing the incident.'

- c. **Nu hiɔ.**
Drink sickness
'To fall sick.'

- d. **Yoyo ɔ nu hiɔ.**
Girl.young DEF drink sickness
Lit. The young girl drank sickness.'
'The young girl fell sick.'

3.1.1.9 Aging is 'eating'

Another extension of eating noteworthy of discussion is that of 'ageing', where the human body positively or negatively experiences some physical and emotional changes. **Ye jeha** (eat age) 'getting old' is not a phenomenon caused by the agent; neither is it his/her intention to perceive that idea. On the contrary, it is a natural event that emanates from one's life cycle. This is very common in Dangme conversations, as seen in construction (13) below:

13. a. *Question:* **Jeha enyεmε o ye?**
Year/age how many 2SG eat.
Lit. How many years have eaten?
'How old are you?'
b. *Response:* **I ye jeha nyingmi etε.**
1SG eat.PFV year/age ten three
Lit. 'I have eaten thirty years.'
'I am thirty years old.'

From conceptual knowledge, it could be explained that getting old or ageing becomes a pleasant life experience if the agent associates the meaning of getting old with gaining mental and spiritual maturity, where he/she tends to understand life better. On the contrary, if ageing is conceptualized to be a negative phenomenon, such as becoming more stubborn or feeling more saddened due to a decline in energy, health and happiness, then 'getting old' will serve as an unpleasant experience of life. These are exemplified in (13c-d) below:

13. c. **Ke nihi ye jeha babauu ɔ, a le-ɔ je mi nihi fuu.**
If people eat year many DEF, 3PL know-PROG world POSTP things many.
Lit. 'If people eat many years, they know many things.'
'People who are matured have much experience about life.'
d. **I ye jeha nyingmi ekpa se i bé nɔ ko**
1SG eat year ten six CONJ 1SG to.be.NEG something
Lit. I ate sixty years but I do not have anything to boast of.'
nε ma si gugue nge nɔ.
that FUT hit chest be.at POSTP
'I am sixty years old, but I cannot boast of anything.'

In (13c), 'getting old' is a pleasant experience where the person acknowledges the value of old age, that is, when one gets to understand and cherish most activities of life. However, in (13d), 'getting old' is an unpleasant experience where the agent's body no longer functions as it used to, and the thought of this makes him discontent, sad and angry with his looks, age, position, and possessions.

3.2. Extensions based on the destruction of food (patient-oriented)

This extension explores the impact of eating and drinking of food and drink substances. It views the consumed items as thematic patients undergoing the actions of eating and drinking. Newman (1997; 2009) emphasizes that the role of food or drink in these processes results in unique extensions distinct from agent-oriented ones discussed earlier. Notably, the disappearance of food and drink from sight into an inaccessible body part is a significant feature. This characteristic applies to both food and drink. Additionally, food undergoes mastication, involving chewing and biting, a crucial aspect highlighted in Section 3.1, which does not apply to drinking. Consequently, verbs associated with eating instead of drinking are particularly apt as sources for images of destruction. This perspective contrasts with the "internalization" extensions discussed previously, where the focus was on the eater or drinker taking something into the body. Here, the emphasis is on the violent processing and transformation of food into digestible particles. These extensions are prevalent in Dangme. I discuss them under the sub-headings of Newman (2009): Physical destruction and Psychological torment, as seen below.

3.2.1 Physical destruction

Physical destruction is an extension which is motivated by the notion that the process of eating involves breaking down food into smaller pieces through mastication. The violent processing of food (patient) through the acts of biting and chewing before swallowing calls for expressions of 'eat' (as physical destruction) to be interpreted as defeat, dissolve, erode, wear out, corrode, rust, among others. The subject (agent) physically affects the object (patient). Thus, the subjects in the constructions act as agents of the act of eating **ye**, which adversely affects the objects or patients. This effect (the destruction) of the food (the thematic patient) motivates extensions in Dangme like physical destruction, overpowering, defeat, diminishing or destroying, as discussed in the expressions below:

14. a. **Wa ye mɛ.**
 1PL eat.PFV 3PL.OBJ
Lit. 'We have eaten them.'
 'We have defeated them.'

In (14a) above, the verb **ye** 'eat' is conceptually extended to signify a victory over another person or team in a traditional game (like 'oware') or betting. Here, the action of an agent having the desire to successively masticate any food (patient) in any eating event is mapped onto the agent **wa** 'we' having a solid and complete power over the patient **mɛ** 'them' in the game or competition as seen in example (14a) above. There are other instances of this semantic extension in Dangme in which the objects (patients) that are affected by the action of the agent are reduced in size or quality, diminished or even destroyed. Some of these objects (patients) that undergo such actions as exemplified in (14b-f) are *tyre, the earth or tar of road surface, salt, money, savings or profits*, and others. I illustrate some of these examples in the following expressions:

- 14.b. **Nyu ɔ ye ngo ɔ.**
 Water DEF eat.PST salt DEF
Lit. 'The water ate the salt.'
 'The salt dissolved in the water.'
- c. **Gbejegbe ɔ ye lɛle tai ɔ.**
 Road DEF eat.PST lorry tyre DEF
Lit. 'The road ate the lorry tyre.'
 'The road wore out the lorry tyre.'
- d. **Hɛmi ɔ ye gbɛjegbe ɔ kulaa.**
 Rain DEF eat.PST road DEF all
Lit. 'The rain ate all the road.'
 'The rainfall eroded the entire road.'
- e. **Ngo ɔ kpe plɛko ɔ.**
 Salt DEF chew.PST nail DEF
Lit. 'The salt chewed the nail.'
 'The salt corroded the nail.'

- f. **Ha a kpe kana.**
 Knife DEF chew.PST rust
Lit. 'The knife chewed rust.'
 'The knife rusted.'

From the examples (14b-f), it is worth noting that the physical destructions on the thematic patients stem from our familiarity with the gradual consumption of a complete meal, where each piece or mouthful contributes to the progressive reduction of the food until it vanishes from view during the eating process. This successive disappearance to complete disappearance of the food is conceptually linked to the physical effect of 'the water on the salt', the effect of 'the road on the lorry tyre', the effect of 'the rain on the road', the effect of 'the salt on the nail' and 'the rust on the knife' respectively. It is pertinent to indicate that the agents undertaking the eating in the examples above are all inanimate objects that assumed the agents' actions.

3.2.2 Torments: Psychological and emotional destructions

According to Newman (2009), psychological torment such as distress and stress are also conceptualized within the context of eating, mirroring the detrimental impact that eating food can have. In the Dangme culture, adverse emotions and experiences usually emerge as agents in the eating process, causing psychological torment to the patients. Notably, in Dangme beliefs, one can be figuratively "eaten" or consumed by sensations like hunger, coldness, loneliness, grief, panic, guilt, and worry. These are illustrated in the expressions (15) below;

15. a. **Fiε ye Tsaako.**
 Cold eat.PST Tsaako
Lit. 'Cold ate Tsaako.'
 'Tsaako felt cold.'
- b. **Hwɔ ye bi-nyumu angmale-tse ɔ.**
 Hunger eat.PST child-GEN lazy-person DEF
Lit. 'Hunger ate the lazy boy.'
 'The lazy boy got hungry.'
- c. **Hio ɔ ye nyumu ɔ wawεε.**
 Sickness DEF eat.PFV man DEF ADV.
Lit. 'The sickness ate the man severely.'
 'The sickness had a severe toll on the man.'
- d. **Pa a ye jokue ɔ saminya.**
 Wound DEF eat.PFV child DEF ADV
Lit. 'The wound ate the child badly.'
 'The wound hurt the child badly.'
- e. **Sawale nu yomo ɔ.**
 Panic drink.PFV old woman DEF
Lit. 'Panic drank the old woman.'
 'The old woman panicked.'

Concerning the examples (15a-e), it could be ascertained that the unpleasant and unfavourable emotions and experiences such as **fiε** 'cold', **hwɔ** 'hunger', **hio** 'sickness', **pa** 'wound' and **sawale** 'panic' literally appear as the agents (just like what appeared under the physical destruction in sub-section 3.2.1) that are undertaking the consumption processes. Conceptually, their consumption is having adverse effects on the patients: **Tsaako**, **binyumu**, **nyumu**, **jokue** and **yomo ɔ** respectively. One interesting thing to observe about these illustrations is that although the negative emotions have an effect on the patient, they are expressed as the agents imbibing those unpleasant and discomfort emotions, which in turn have destructive emotions and psychological torments on them.

In another stance, the subject agent is patient, and it is affected by eating the object. According to Khajeh, Ho-Abdullah and Hua (2013), this type of extension pertains to the adverse consequences of a process or a physical and emotional state, generating unintended adverse outcomes from an action. They added that verbs in this construction primarily denote

a durational condition. In Dangme, the extended figurative meanings of the verbs **ye** 'eat' and **nu** 'drink' convey a prolonged experience of distress stemming from a negative emotional state, explicitly arising from an individual's actions or life encounters. These are seen in the expressions in (16) below:

16. a. **I ye tsui nge e he.**
 1SG eat.PFV heart be.at 3SG POSTP
Lit. 'I ate heart because of him.'
 'I was worried about him.'
- b. **I ye paku ke ha nyumu ɔ.**
 1SG eat.PFV bitter fruit to.be give man DEF
Lit. 'I ate bitter fruit for the man.'
 'I apologized to the man.'

Closely related to the previously mentioned semantic extension of the verb **ye** 'eat' is another metaphorical expression suggesting that an individual (an agent) can eat or exploit another person's 'body', 'ear', 'head', 'brain', or 'heart' (inedible objects) to make him irritated and upset or to indicate contempt and other misbehaviours such as teasing, mockery, among others.

17. a. **Nyumu ɔ ye yo ɔ tsui.**
 Man DEF eat.PST woman DEF heart
Lit. 'The man ate the woman's heart.'
 'The man caused the woman pain.'
- b. **Papaa gbenɔ ɔ ye Osa tsui wawɛɛ.**
 Father.POSS death DEF eat.PST Osa heart hard
Lit. 'Father's death ate Osa's heart badly.'
 'Father's death hurt Osa.'
- c. **Akpanaa ye kapitɛ ɔ he fɛu.**
 Akpanaa eat.PFV carpenter DEF POSTP beauty
Lit. 'Akpanaa ate the carpenter's beauty.'
 'Akpanaa jeered at the carpenter.'
- d. **Jokuɛ ɔ yɛ yɛ tue mi.**
 Child DEF eat.PST 1SG.POSS ear POSTP
Lit. 'The child ate my ear inside.'
 'The child disturbed me.'

It seems clear that in Dangme, the act of eating is extended to expressions such as 'eating' another person's head or brain, body, ear or heart to force him or her to experience a sort of psychological torment. That is taking actions that destroy the intellectual or emotional container or other contents in the body, as indicated in examples (17a-d) above. The semantic extension to express such destructions in the body results from the physical experiences involved in the 'eating' event (destruction of the food being consumed).

3.3. Extensions based on sensation and destruction

The semantic extensions of eating and drinking verbs are sometimes built upon both agent-oriented and patient-oriented aspects of eating and drinking concepts. This is illustrated in Dangme through the following examples:

18. a. **Nyumu ɔ ye e munyu nɔ**
 Man DEF eat.PST 3SG.POSS word POSTP
Lit. 'The man ate his words that he would stop drinking.'
- kaa e ma kpa da numi.**
 that 3SG FUT stop alcohol drinking
 'The man abided by his words that he would stop drinking.'

In the above example (18a), **nyumu ɔ** 'the man' is depicted as undergoing a specific form of emotional distress. This distress arises when someone is compelled to endure an unpleasant consequence due to statements they have previously made. Consequently, they are denied the pleasure of freedom or liberation and must witness someone else enjoy that freedom due to the vow or decree they have pronounced. Significantly, they cannot alter their decision

or take back their words, as indicated in the phrase, **ye o munyu ɔ nɔ** 'abide by your words.' This concept ties into the notion of 'destruction' discussed in Section 3.2, which builds upon the effect of eating on the thematic patient. It is crucial to recognize that the destruction here does not refer to physical objects but rather to the commitments, promises, vows, and declarations that have been made, which must be honoured. As suggested by Newman (2009), 'the word' in this expression metonymically represents the broader linguistic entities that are undergoing withdrawal.

Concurrently, there is a metaphorical image of an individual having to consume what they have previously spoken. The notion of enduring one's commitments is thus represented through a rather unpleasant imagery, likened to an eater consuming something distasteful, much like the phrase, **o maa ye mo nitse o vie**, 'eating one's vomit.' It becomes apparent, from the perspective of the agent that they are going through a highly unpleasant experience. Thus, this expression fuses the idea of the destruction of the affected subject with the notion of an individual being forced to ingest something distasteful. The complete impact of the expression is achieved by the combination of these two facets. A similar interplay of semantic extensions can be observed in the examples (18b and c):

18. b. **E ye e tsui.**
3SG eat.PST 3SG.POSS heart

Lit. 'She ate her heart.'

'S/he was worried/disturbed.'

- c. **Moo nu o tsui.**
2SG drink 2SG.POSS heart

Lit. 'You drink your heart.'

'You need to be patient.'

Concerning the representation of both agent-oriented and patient-oriented extensions of 'eat' and 'drink' in the aforementioned examples (18b-c), the agent orientation in the metaphorical extension of 'eat' and 'drink' pertains to the individual's experience of enduring the consumption of something unpleasant. On the other hand, the patient orientation involves the imagery of the heart and/or mouth being destroyed, which metonymically represent one's emotions, passion, and other aspects. Once again, the overall significance is constructed by combining the effect on the agent consuming something unpleasant and the consequence of the emotional core being compromised. Similar senses are extended to the expressions provided in (18d-e) below:

18. d. **O nge o he kpe-e.**
2SG be 2SG.OBJ POSTP chew-PROG

Lit. 'You are chewing yourself.'

'You are stressing yourself up.'

- e. **Julɔ ɔ kpe e lungu si nge mwɔ ɔ mi.**
Thief DEF chew.PST 3SG.POSS teeth POSTP be.at prison DEF POSTP

Lit. 'The thief chewed his teeth in the prison.'

'The thief gnashed his teeth in the prison.'

- f. **Ekomehi kpe lungu nya/si nge sane ɔ he.**
Ekomehi chew.PST teeth POSTP be.at case DEF POSTP

Lit. 'Ekomehi chewed his teeth in the prison.'

'Ekomehi gnashed his teeth about the case.'

4. Findings and conclusion

In this paper, I have deployed Cognitive Linguistic Approach as used in Newman (2009) on eat and drink verbs across languages to analyze the data on the semantic extensions of **ye** 'eat' and **nu** 'drink' concepts in Dangme. The discussions delineated the motivating factors that trigger the semantic and (or) figurative extensions of the ingestion predicates, **ye** 'eat' and **nu** 'drink' in Dangme, and indicated the possible extensions to encompass additional senses of these verbs. It has been revealed that Dangme, like other languages, extends the 'eat' and 'drink' verbs based on motivation factors such as the sensation and experience of the eater

(agent), the effect on the food being consumed (patient), and a shared experience of both the agent and the patient. The current data shows that the sensory experiences of the consumer play a crucial role in driving semantic extensions of the verbs **ye** 'eat' and **nu** 'drink' towards meanings such as 'experience,' 'enjoyment,' and 'suffering.' Similarly, the destructive effect on the food item necessitates extensions like 'physical destruction' and 'psychological torment'. On the side of both consumer and object affectedness (Extensions based on sensation and destruction), there are possible extensions like 'abide', 'patient' and 'worry'. These provide a fundamental assertion to justify the claim that although these activities (eat and drink) are universal concepts, language specificity has a major role to play in the lexicalization, grammaticalization and conceptualization of activities surrounding them.

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