

MY EYES ARE RED: BODY METAPHOR IN CHUMBURUNG

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Research into terms for emotions has found that they are often expressed in metaphors with specific body parts, such as the heart. This study of Chumburung body metaphor looks first at how body parts are used in a locative way to describe the outside world. Then it turns inward, seeking to show that it is not only emotions, but also actions and characteristics that are expressed in such metaphors. Finally some proverbs and some of the senses are investigated to see if they yield the same or different metaphors. It is suggested that often these picturesque uses of language are the only way to express certain concepts in Chumburung. Some thoughts are given concerning cross cultural variation in expressing emotion.

Les études de la terminologie des émotions font paraître l'usage fréquent de métaphores faisant allusion à des parties particulières du corps, tel que le coeur. La présente étude des métaphores corporelles en chumburung examine d'abord comment les parties du corps sont utilisées de manière locative pour décrire le monde externe. Elle tourne ensuite l'attention vers la situation interne, tentant de démontrer que ce ne sont pas uniquement les émotions mais aussi certaines actions et caractéristiques qu'expriment de telles métaphores. L'étude se termine par un examen de proverbes et de la terminologie des sens pour voir si on y trouve des métaphores pareilles ou différentes. On propose que ces usages pittoresques de la langue fournissent souvent la seule manière d'exprimer certains concepts en chumburung. Pour conclure on offre quelques réflexions sur les manières dont diverses cultures expriment les émotions.

0. INTRODUCTION

0.1 THE TRADITIONAL APPROACH TO SIMILE AND METAPHOR

Definitions are a good place to start an argument, in both senses of the word!

“Simile – Two unlike things are explicitly compared to point a similarity.” (Crystal 1997). As examples I will take ‘The sheet is as white as snow’ and ‘The snow was like a blanket’.

“Metaphor – Two unlike notions are implicitly related to suggest an identity between them.” (Crystal 1997). As an example I will take ‘the thread of an argument’.

The terms used to denote the parts of the simile or metaphor are different according to various linguists. Ullman (1962:213) uses the terminology of Dr I. A. Richards, *The Philosophy of Rhetoric* (1936):

“Tenor is the thing we are talking about, vehicle is that to which we are comparing it, ground of the metaphor is the feature(s) in common.”

Such terminology is also followed by Goatly (1997). Others, for example Beekman and Callow (1974), use “topic” instead of “tenor,” and “image” instead of “vehicle,” and “point of similarity” instead of “ground.”

I prefer to use *referent*, *image* and *point of similarity*, one reason being that the other terms all have second meanings (and may actually be metaphoric!). Tenor means a singer, vehicle means a car, and grounds are small pieces of, usually, coffee, to me. Hence in the first simile above, sheet is the referent; snow is the image; white is the point of similarity, which in this case is stated. But in the second simile, snow is the referent, blanket is the image, and the point of similarity, that is the way the snow covers everything, is unstated. (If I had removed the word ‘like’ and just had ‘The

snow was a blanket' it would have been a metaphor.) In the metaphor that followed, argument is the referent; thread the image; and the point of similarity is unstated.

One might think that the point of similarity is never mentioned in metaphor, were it not for examples such as 'John was a wolf: he savaged everyone he came across.' However, I maintain that the first clause here is still a metaphor, since it is doesn't have to be clarified by the second clause.

Some metaphors are said to be 'dead', although Crystal (1992) calls them conventional. As Barnwell (1984) says "there is no longer any active element of comparison." An example might be 'to break the silence'. Note that several of the dead metaphors cited by Beekman and Callow (1974), such as 'cultivating friends' or having 'golden hair', can be said in other non-metaphoric ways. Goatly (1997) ranks metaphors along what he calls a cline, from dead, through buried, sleeping, and tired to active. 'Cultivating friends' and having 'golden hair' would seem to fall into his tired category rather than his dead one. Metaphors which he calls dead have been lexicalised, that is they can be accessed without processing, or even knowing the existence of, the metaphoric connection.

Lastly there is the use of poetic or productive metaphor, where Crystal (1992) says an everyday metaphor is extended for literary purposes.

0.2 THE CONCEPTUAL METAPHOR

Another view of metaphor is the 'conceptual' one. According to Aitchison (1996:154), dictionaries often show the polysemy of a word by giving the main meaning first, followed by the extensions of meaning that constitute its metaphoric uses. There is not necessarily any connection between the extensions of meaning themselves. Rather they are all linked to the main meaning or prototype, as amply demonstrated by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) from work by Rosch (1977). Examples are the different types of bird, with robin as prototype, and including flightless birds. As Givon (1984:17) puts it, "The extension of category membership to new members is one of the most pervasive facts of human categorization, at the sensory, cognitive, or linguistic levels. It is the fuzzy-edged nature of prototype categories that allows such extensioning by which less-typical members may join, given the right context / purpose / perspective".

Where it is not just words but metaphors that form categories around them, Crystal (1992) calls them "conceptual metaphors". They are "those functions in speakers' minds which implicitly condition their thought processes". He bases this on work by Lakoff and Johnson (1980), for example, the notion that ARGUMENT IS WAR underlies such expressed metaphors or elaborations as 'He shot down / attacked all of my arguments'. Lakoff and Turner (1989) take issue with the traditional view of metaphor as merely looking at the linguistic expressions or surface realisations (my term) of a much more pervasive and unconscious set of such conceptual metaphors. This is not to say that only one metaphor underlies each lexical item. For instance life has many conceptual metaphors including LIFE IS A JOURNEY, LIFE IS A DAY and LIFE IS A BURDEN.

In each case there is a source domain from which specific items are mapped on to a target domain. So in LIFE IS A JOURNEY, the source domain is a journey and the

target domain is life. The traveller gets mapped on to the living person, his/her path on to the stages of a lifetime, and reaching a destination on to achieving a purpose. So 'making one's way in life' is not just a literal linguistic expression, but one realisation of a conceptual metaphor of 'getting somewhere' (*ibid.*:116).

Furthermore Lakoff and Turner cite several as more basic, general level metaphors, such as PURPOSES ARE DESTINATIONS, STATES ARE LOCATIONS and EVENTS ARE ACTIONS. This last can lead to specific level metaphors such as both PEOPLE ARE MACHINES, and also MACHINES ARE PEOPLE. In this case there are two mappings, but the ways in which they map are different. In MACHINES ARE PEOPLE, machines are thought to have human will. This is like the traditional idea of personification. In PEOPLE ARE MACHINES, the central idea is that they have parts which might break down.

0.3 THE BODY IN METAPHOR

One of the most common images for comparison in surface realisations of metaphor is the human body. In fact according to an analysis of figurative language over three centuries in English by Smith (1981, quoted in Aitchison 1987), it is *the* most frequent source.

"It would have been ... fantastic for humans not to begin describing the world of their experience in terms of the human body and its everyday experiences; this is exactly why languages are anthropocentric." (Aitchison 1996:126, quoting Keith Allen in Heine, Claudi and Hünemeyer 1991.)

Aitchison suggests further that "The body's influence spreads outwards, to features of the environment, and inwards to the mind."

Books on semantics make a distinction between transparent words and opaque ones. For example Palmer (1976) quoting Ullman (1962) discusses the fact that one cannot derive the meaning of the English word 'thimble' from its internal structure, but the same word in German 'Fingerhut' which translates into English 'finger hat' expresses the meaning transparently. The same could be said for metaphors. Using the conceptual metaphor ENVIRONMENTAL FEATURES ARE PEOPLE, the 'foot of the mountain' in English is transparent, even though we know that mountains don't have body parts. This is the body extending its influence outwards. But the Chumburung 'Your eyes have eaten' which means 'You are happy' is opaque, or as Goatly calls it "inaccessible". This is an example of the inwards aspect, where a body part is used to describe an inner state.

Palmer (1976:103) lists parts of the body that are used of inanimate objects in a fairly transparent way: "hand, foot, face, leg, tongue, eye, etc." However, not all body parts map on to such objects. In English we say a clock has a face and hands, but not that it has legs, a bed has a foot, but not hands, and a chair has legs but no tongue.

According to Johnson (1987, quoted in Lakoff 1987), the conceptual metaphor in emotion is that THE BODY IS A CONTAINER, with inside, outside and boundary. Lakoff argues that it is from the mental image of the body with its parts that we derive all categories that we meet in the world. I presume he means both outwards to the environment and inwards, although it is mostly in the area of the emotions that he deals. Both these people seem to use the word body to mean the trunk, excluding the head. For Lakoff the central organs are the trunk and its internal organs, whilst the periphery

comprises the fingers, toes and hair. Hence in body metaphor the internal organ can stand for the person.

I therefore need to mention another definition. “Metonymy – The use of an attribute in place of the whole e.g. *the bench* (the judiciary).” (Crystal 1997.) Lakoff takes anger as his exemplary emotion to show that the physiological features of the body such as rise in heart rate, and temperature of skin of hand that accompany anger are the scientific outworking of the folk-metaphor ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID WITHIN A CONTAINER.

0.4 BODY METAPHOR IN OTHER CULTURES

The theme of emotions has been taken up by Kövecses (2000). He asks “Does the conceptualization of emotions vary with radically different cultures?” His whole emphasis is to start with the idea of emotion. Thus when he deals with anger, he cites many conceptual metaphors such as ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER (a body metaphor) and ANGER IS A SOCIAL SUPERIOR (which is not related to the body at all).

Kövecses believes that “given the universal physiology, members of different cultures cannot conceptualize their emotions in a way that *contradicts* universal physiology...; but .. they can choose to conceptualize their emotions in different ways *within the constraints* imposed on them by universal physiology” (emphasis is his). He proposes five areas as potential sources for cross cultural variation.

Firstly that there will be cultural variation of prototypical cultural models. He says that the Japanese model gives more chance to exercise control over anger than the Western model does. For the Chinese, they can choose not to express their anger but divert it to various parts of the body, whereas angry Zulu people behave aggressively to everybody indiscriminately.

Secondly there are broader cultural contexts that influence specific cultural models. For the West, this is the system of the four humours. In Japan, around the *hara*, ‘belly’, there is a distinct set of concepts, *hara* being composed of truth, real intentions and the real self. In China, you have the concept of *qi*, ‘energy’, and the language abounds in anger- and happiness-related expressions that employ a variety of internal organs like the heart, liver, spleen and gall. This is said to be due to the influence of Chinese medicine.

Thirdly there is a range of conceptual metaphors. All those for anger in English can also be found in Japanese. Chinese shares basic metaphors of happiness with English with the addition of HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART.

Fourthly, there will be elaborations of conceptual metaphors. ANGER IS A HOT FLUID can elaborate in English to ‘He’s just blowing off steam.’ In Hungarian the fire seems to be inside the head. In Zulu you can extinguish somebody’s anger, which is an elaboration not made in English.

Fifthly there is a range of conceptual metonymies. By this, Kövecses means “the psychological and expressive responses associated with an emotion.” In addition to the English ones for anger, Zulu also has nausea, interference with breathing, crying tears and inability to speak, which can be found in English but not with anger. In Chinese, it is the eyebrows which are the “most obvious indicators of internal feelings”.

In contrast to Kövecses, I wish to start with the actual body parts and the Chumburung expressions that use them, and see what they reveal. It turns out that they not only express emotions, which are often temporary, but also more permanent behavioural characteristics such as stubbornness, and more general actions such as swearing or punishing. At the end I will suggest how the Chumburung examples relate to his five areas of potential cross cultural variation.

0.5 THE SCOPE OF THIS PAPER

The research for this paper was sparked by the work of a Ghanaian, Alonso (1992), on body metaphor in his own language, and to him I am indebted for the Ntrubo examples.

Ntrubo is an example of a Gur language.¹ Chumburung however is a Kwa language of the Guang group.² My husband and I have been privileged to live and work among the Chumburung people for several years doing literacy and Bible Translation work.³ Thus Chumburung examples are taken from our dictionary and many other texts, occasionally including the Bible as translated into Chumburung.

One of Alonso's Ntrubo examples was, 'his mouth is sharp' i.e., 'his speech is powerful / it destroys'. (The Chumburung equivalent will be given later.) Here, mouth, a body part, is the referent. Sharp is the point of similarity with an absent but implied image, a knife. Note that if one could say 'his mouth is a knife', this would have an image, but it would be the point of similarity that is unstated. His mouth is sharp, therefore, does not quite fit with the definition given earlier. In this and many other expressions in Ntrubo and Chumburung, mouth stands for what comes out of the mouth, for 'speech' in general, e.g. Chumburung **o de kano** 'he has mouth', i.e., 'he is talkative'. Speech for mouth is hence metonymy, and 'Mouth as speech' becomes the conceptual metaphor that underlies many expressed metaphors.

In this paper, I will look first at the way the body is used in Chumburung to describe inanimate objects in the environment, then at how inanimate objects are used to describe body parts. A short section deals with the naming of body parts using other body parts! The main part of the paper deals with the inward aspect looking first at the whole body and the self, and then the parts of the body that are appended to the trunk. The internal organs are then analysed, and it is in this section that concepts about emotion mostly surface in other literature. The next section is about proverbs, where you will see that sometimes the ideas expressed using body parts are the same as in ordinary prose speech, and sometimes they are different. A section on verbs related to

¹ The languages of Ghana are in two groups, the Gur covering roughly the north of the country, and the Kwa nearer the south. Further Gur examples are taken from the Konkomba and Vagla dictionaries, any mistakes by misreading being mine. From the Kwa group, I also cite examples from the Nkonya language, collected by my husband from checking sessions with two translators of the Book of the Acts of the Apostles, and SIL colleague Wes Peacock.

² Chumburung is spoken in Northern and Volta Regions of Ghana by about 42,000 people or more. There is vowel harmony in Chumburung, with the following vowel phonemes in the +ATR set, **i, e, o, u**; and the following in the -ATR set, **ɛ (=ɪ), ɛ, ɔ, ɒ (=ʊ)**. The vowel /a/ is in both sets. The letter **ŋ** is used for phonetic [ŋ] and /ny/ for the palatal nasal. The digraphs /ky/ and /gy/ are pronounced like English /ch/ and /j/ respectively.

³ Thanks are due to several SIL colleagues, my husband, and the JWAL reviewer for their helpful comments.

the body follows, which turns out to be close to the five senses. In the process I will accumulate terms that apply to emotions, behavioural characteristics and actions. Finally I will look at the only poetry written so far in Chumburung.

1. BODY PARTS AND INANIMATE OBJECTS

1.1 BODY PARTS APPLIED TO INANIMATE OBJECTS

Let's look first at how body parts are applied to inanimate objects. These are what Ullman calls anthropomorphic metaphors that transfer *from* the human body.

Tok Pisin, the common language of Papua New Guinea, shows some interesting extensions of meaning outwards from the body, in this case the head, to inanimate objects (Aitchison 1996).

- (1) a. **het bilong diwai** 'top of a tree'
 b. **het bilong maunten** 'top of a mountain'
 c. **het bilong wara** 'source of water'

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) call such metaphors A MOUNTAIN IS A PERSON, that is to say, a mountain is spoken of as if it were a human being. The most common body parts used to modify inanimate nouns in a genitival relationship in Chumburung are the head and its parts. Usually they refer to some kind of geographical or locative feature. Goatly (1997) calls this type LANDSCAPE IS A HUMAN BODY. I will deal with them first and then the lesser-used body parts.

However I first need to mention the way in which locatives are normally formed in Chumburung. There are very few locative markers. They comprise the postpositions **-rɔ** 'in' (which manifests as **-rɔ**, **-ro**, **-nɔ**, **-no**, **-lɔ**, **-lo**) and **sɛ** 'on' (which manifests as **sɛ** or **si**) and **asɛ** 'near'. Other locatives are syntactically nouns, such as **kaase** 'underneath', for example **teeburi kaase** 'table underneath', i.e. 'under the table'. Some locatives can also be used as temporals, using TIME = SPACE, giving both **kekyaŋ-nɔ** 'in a room', and **kasu koŋko-rɔ** 'in one year'.

1.1.1 Head as top, source or importance

In Chumburung, head can stand for top as in the first two Tok Pisin examples, or source as in the third example, either by a noun phrase or a compound noun. (For the Noun Class Prefix System, see K. Hansford 1990:156-161.⁴)

- (2) a. **maŋ kuŋu**, 'town head', i.e. 'end of town'
 b. **koɔɔŋu (koɔɔ + kuŋu)**, 'farmhead', i.e. 'any edge of a farm'
 c. **boŋ kuŋu**, 'river head', i.e. 'headwaters'.
 d. **kyoŋbɔroŋ-nɔ kuŋu ɛ gye kwagyooɔɔne**
 Chumburung-in head EMPH be Kojobane.
 The town at the north end of Chumburung land is Kojobane.

⁴ In summary the singular and plural prefixes are:

Class 1	Class 2	Class 3	Class 4	Class 5	Class 6	Class 7
ka/ŋ	ke~ki~ko~ku/a	ke~ki~ko~ku/ɛ~i	ɔ~o/a	ɔ~o/ɛ~i	∅/a	∅/ɛ~i

Head cannot often be applied in Chumburung normal speech to a person such as a head teacher, but can stand for a thing being important.

- e. {**swɛɛrɛ** / **kuwure**} **kuɲu**, ‘{land / kingdom} head’, i.e. ‘capital town’.

As in other languages such as Twi and Hausa, head is also used for the chapter of a book.

1.1.2 Crown of head as top

In some cases, using the word head is not acceptable, but crown of head is used.

- (3) a. **kebeɛ kɔtwɛɛ-rɔ**, ‘mountain crown of head’, i.e. ‘top of mountain’⁵
 b. **kefɔrɛ kɔtwɛɛ-rɔ**, ‘stone crown of head’, i.e. ‘top of an upright stone’.

1.1.3 Eyes as front

- (4) a. **akato-rɔ**, ‘eyes-in’, i.e. ‘face’ or ‘in front of / before’
 b. **ɔɔ twɛɛ bamo akato-rɔ**
 he.PAST throw them eyes-in
 He put it before them (in front of them).⁶

1.1.4 Eyeballs as importance

In English, things other than faces often have eyes, as I mentioned earlier, but in the Chumburung example below a town has eyeballs. A diminutive of the word for eye produces the word for eyeball, (which is spelled the same way as the word for happiness although the tones are different, as will be shown later).

- (5) a. **maŋ kekatoɲgi**, ‘town eyeball’, i.e. ‘most important place in town’
 b. **asɛsɛ kekatoɲgi**, ‘people eyeball’, i.e. ‘most precious person in group’.

1.1.5 Mouth

Although head has been used as the end of a farm, it is mouth that more often represents the **entrance of things**.

- (6) a. **kalɔ kanɔ**, ‘pot mouth’, i.e. ‘top of an open pot’
 b. **nkyu kanɔ**, ‘water mouth’, i.e. ‘edge of a lake, etc.’⁷
 c. **kibunogyi kanɔ**, ‘courtyard gate’
 d. **maŋ kanɔ**, ‘town gate’⁸
 e. **kɔ kanɔ**, ‘fighting mouth’, i.e. ‘battle front’
 f. **waagya kanɔ**, ‘cloth mouth’, i.e. ‘corner of a cloth’
 g. **kato kanɔ**, ‘spoon/fork mouth’, i.e. ‘prong of a fork’
 h. **fe kanɔ koŋko**, ‘rope mouth one’, i.e. ‘one or other end of a rope’

In Vagla (Crouch and Herbert), **nua**, which means mouth, also has the glosses edge, tip, entrance, opening.

⁵ Compare Nkonya: **ɔtranta**, ‘top of head / mountain’ (Peacock, personal communication).

⁶ Compare Nkonya **ansítɔ**, ‘eyes-in’, i.e. ‘face’.

⁷ Compare Nkonya **ɔpu ɔnɔ**, ‘sea mouth’, i.e. ‘seaside’.

⁸ Compare Nkonya **wúlu amu ɔnɔ**, ‘town the gate’, i.e. ‘town gate’.

Although the Chumburung examples so far given do not always have a geographical idea, at least it is a location. There is also a temporal one, using TIME = SPACE.

- (7) **kasu kanɔ**, ‘year mouth’, i.e. ‘new year’.

But mouth can also mean **total**.

- (8) a. **mɔ a ŋu amɔ kanɔ**, ‘I saw its mouth’, i.e. ‘I got the total’
 b. **kanɔ ŋkɛmaa**, ‘mouth every’, i.e. ‘whatever way’.

1.1.6 Ears as protrusions

When a Chumburung potter turns out the top edges of a pot to make a rim, that is called **esebo**, the ‘ears’ or ‘lip’ of a pot. This shows nicely in the following proverb (G. Hansford 2003:71), which is more like a pun.

- (9) **nlɔ de esebo**, ‘pots have ears’, i.e. ‘People might be listening’.

Although one might think that this parallels the English expression ‘Walls have ears’, there is no part of a wall that is called its ear in reality. It might fit ‘little pitchers have big ears’ better, but here it is the handles that are like ears. In Nkonya (Peacock, personal communication) pots have rims called ears, but the proverb does not apply, whereas walls having ears means the same as in English. Pots have no ears in Vagla however (Crouch, personal communication).

1.1.7 Stomach as inside

Just to say that something is inside something else, use is made of the locative—**rɔ**. But to be more specific, one can use stomach.

- (10) a. **kalɔ kame-ro**, ‘pot stomach-in’, i.e. ‘inside a pot’
 b. **kekyaŋ kame-ro**, ‘room stomach-in’, i.e. ‘inside the room’.

1.1.8 Back as outside

- (11) **kalɔ kameɛ**, ‘pot back’, i.e. ‘outside of pot’.

1.1.9 Buttocks as bottom

Just as crown of the head can stand for the very top of something, the very bottom uses buttocks.

- (12) a. **kebee tebo**, ‘mountain buttocks’, i.e. ‘foot of the mountain’
 b. **kelantaŋ tebo**, ‘basket buttocks’, i.e. ‘bottom of basket’
 (or any round-bottomed object)⁹
 c. **ayii tebo-ro**, ‘trees buttocks-in’, i.e. ‘at the foot of the trees’
 d. **deekpa tebo-ro**, ‘fire buttocks-in’, i.e. ‘beside the fire’.

Thus we see that various body parts can be applied to inanimate nouns in Chumburung, directing *away* from the body and usually expressing some form of location. The

⁹ Compare Konkomba **li(baakuu)munjal**, ‘buttock of a basket’.

crown of the head is the very top. The head also represents the top, source or importance of something, although importance can also be signalled by the eyeballs. Eyes represent the front of something, the stomach the inside, and the back the outside. Buttocks are the bottom end. Mouth stands for the end or entrance, and sometimes the total. Ears just stick out – not much metaphorical about them.

1.2 INANIMATE OBJECTS USED IN NAMING BODY PARTS

Anthropomorphic metaphors that transfer *from* the human body are, according to Ullman (1962:214, 226), more frequent than those directed *towards* that sphere. He mentions ear-*drum* and Adam's *apple*. Let's see what Chumburung produces.

What happens in the following examples is that we find a basic body part compounded with morphemes that are verbs or adjectives to form other body parts that are near the first one. However the exact meaning of each additional morpheme is not always clear.

1.2.1 Eyes

- (13) a. **kekato**, 'eye'
 b. **kekato-gyi**, 'eye-child', i.e. 'eyeball'
 c. **kekato-fenfee**, 'eye'-'?' + to shuck (maize)', i.e. 'eyelash'
 d. **kekato-kun̄kuni**, 'eye'-'brow of hill', i.e. 'eyebrow'¹⁰

1.2.2 Voice

- (14) a. **bore**, 'voice'
 b. **bore-ro**, 'voice-in', i.e. 'throat'
 c. **ke-bore-kyii-kpuŋ**
 PX-voice-?-to.block/knot
 Adam's apple.

1.2.3 Ears

- (15) a. **kesəbo**, 'ear'
 b. **kesəbo-kεε**, 'ear-end', i.e. 'part of face under ear'.

1.2.4 Hand

- (16) a. **kesaree**, 'hand / forearm'
 b. **kesaree-gyi**, 'hand-child', i.e. 'finger'
 c. **kesaree-gyi-bree**, 'hand-child-?', i.e. 'little finger'
 d. **kesaree-gyi-kpaŋ-gyi**, 'hand-child-?wide-child', i.e. 'thumb'
 e. **kesaree-gyi-kyɔɔre**, 'hand-child'-'to point', i.e. 'index finger'
 f. **kebena-saree**, '?-hand', i.e. 'left hand'
 g. **kigyise-saree**, 'eating-hand', i.e. 'right hand'.

¹⁰ Compare Nkonya **ansikukusu imi**, 'eye-brow-on hair' (Peacock, personal communication).

Other words related to the arm derive rather from a different word, more connected to the upper part.

- (17) a. **kebaa**, ‘arm’
 b. **kebaa-kpa**, ‘arm-place’, i.e. ‘shoulder’
 c. **baa-rɔ̄-kuj-kuj**, ‘arm-in’-‘to protect’ (doubled), i.e. ‘elbow’
 d. **kebaa-saa**, ‘arm’-contraction of **kesaree**, i.e. ‘an arm’s stretch’.

Expandable though this area of parts of the hand or arm is in Chumburung, Vagla has even more derivatives of **nonii**, ‘hand’, including wrist, fist, fingernail, palm, and upper part of arm. Vagla also has **vaam**, ‘arm’, with a derivative for shoulder, which seems like **-baa** for Chumburung.

1.2.5 Leg

- (18) a. **keyaa**, ‘leg’
 b. **keyaa-papaa**, ‘leg-flat’, i.e. ‘foot’

Again the area of the leg and its parts has many more derivatives in Vagla than in Chumburung. Thus from **naa**, ‘leg’, the following words are all derived: foot, ankle, ankle bone, calf, hoof, shin, heel, knee, inside back of knee, heel, toe, big toe, toe nail, sole of foot, thigh, and paw.

1.2.6 Side

- (19) a. **keri**, ‘side’
 b. **keri-buj**, ‘side’-‘to cover’, i.e. ‘arm-pit’

1.2.7 Other

- (20) a. **kelaŋ**, ‘hip’
 b. **kelaŋ-kpɔkɔ**, ‘hip’-‘to be eager/hurry’, i.e. ‘hip bone’
 c. **kelaŋ-bɔ̄-taa**, ‘hip’-‘to’-‘to take (?)’, i.e. ‘side of thigh’
- (21) a. **gyaŋ**, ‘thigh’
 b. **ka-gyaŋ-kɔ̄rɔ̄ŋ-nɔ̄**
 PX-thigh-hollow-in
 back of knee (compare **kɔ̄lɔ̄ŋ-kɔ̄rɔ̄ŋ-gyi**, ‘hollow’ x2 + ‘child’, i.e. ‘skull’).
- (22) a. **ke-naŋ-kpɔ**
 PX-to.walk-hip (like **kpɔkɔ**), i.e. ‘ankle’
 b. **ka-noŋ-kuj**
 PX-to.walk-to.protect, i.e. ‘heel’
 ([+ATR] final vowel causes the previous vowels to harmonize with it.)
- (23) **tebɔ̄**, ‘?to.sit’-‘hole’, i.e. ‘buttocks’

Thus we see that to form the words for various body parts, a basic term is used with various other morphemes, but these morphemes are not always easy to gloss, and

may be verbs rather than nouns. For Chumburung at least, this is no longer a productive area of word formation.

1.3 BODY PARTS USED IN NAMING OTHER BODY PARTS

When two nouns which are both body parts are joined, it can result in another body part. The second noun is one of the locative variety, mouth as entrance, or back, with the addition this time of throat as a narrowing.

1.3.1 Mouth

- (24) a. **keṣebɔ kanɔ**, ‘ear mouth’, i.e. ‘ear-lobe’
 b. **kenyapɔ kanɔ**, ‘breast mouth’, i.e. ‘nipple’
 c. **kɔtwɛɛtu kanɔ**, ‘penis mouth’ (also in Ntrubo).

1.3.2 Throat

- (25) **kesaree-bɔre-rɔ**, ‘hand’-‘throat’, i.e. ‘wrist’.

1.3.3 Back

- (26) **ka-bɔre-mɛɛ**
 PX-voice-back, i.e. ‘back of neck’.

It remains to be investigated as to whether further new phrases can be formed in this way.

Thus mention of body parts can be seen to be a way of describing inanimate objects, usually in a locative way. Also words for many body parts can be formed using other morphemes, probably the most productive of which is the diminutive child of something, because this is used for many things in addition to body parts. Further, body parts can be used in describing other body parts in the locative way.

This was looking *outward* from the body. The rest of this paper will deal with the uses of metaphors which employ body parts in the *inward* direction. One particular question is what they yield in addition to emotion terms.

2. BODY AND SELF

2.0 INTRODUCTION

According to Kövecses (2000:24), the “canonical person consists of a self and a body, and they are related in such a way that the body contains the self.” (It is unclear whether he is applying this to all languages.) He goes on to say that when the self moves outside the body, control is lost. This idea of losing control under emotion is usually expressed in Chumburung by the idea of something ‘getting you’ or ‘catching you’ such as ‘fear getting you’, or ‘shame getting you’, with the pronoun, you, rather than the body/self.

At one point Kövecses lists the prototypical emotion terms as hope, pride, anger, fear, sadness, lust and surprise, with some things like annoyance or terror at a subordinate level. However in other parts of the book, he also mentions affection (Ibid: 67),

respect (p. 68) and even argument (p. 198). He also suggests that some other people, by taking examples from eleven languages, believe that there are “five general and possibly universal categories of emotion.” They include happiness (or joy), sadness, anger, fear and love. Ekman as quoted in Lakoff (1987) has basic emotions with facial gestures shared across cultures, namely happiness, sadness, anger, fear, surprise and interest. There does not seem to be unanimity!

Kövecses does not try to split emotions into opposites, except for happiness and sadness, and pride and shame. Yet an important concept in Africa is peace after anger, and if you include hope, why not despair, if fear, why not also courage, if love, why not also hate?

For Chumburung, happiness, sadness, anger and fear are expressed in body metaphors in the same way that Kövecses cites, but with sometimes different images. It turns out that love does not occur as a metaphor. Nor does shame, although pride does. However I would have thought that the following which do occur, and for which examples are given in this paper, could also be called emotions: anguish, shock, despair, jealousy, loneliness, suffering, pity, and worry.

Let us look at the body and the self.

2.1 BODY

Alonso lists three interesting metaphors for amazement in Ntrubo, the word for the body being **wose**.

- (27) a. **ma wose te gbirisi maŋ**, ‘My body has dismantled me.’
 b. **ma wose te yókəse maŋ**, ‘My body has weakened me.’
 c. **ma wose ne selee maŋ**, ‘My body is shaking me.’¹¹

According to Alonso (1992:43) the Ntrubo phrase, bodies painful, means troublesome, as in

- (28) **be dana wose yoolen**
 they have bodies painful
 They are troublesome.

However I could find no equivalent metaphors in Chumburung. The only example I was able to find uses the standard word for body, **kayowəre**, but in a literal way.

- (29) **mə kayowəre bə mə gya**
 my body possess me pain/hot
 I’m in pain.

The next examples are metaphoric, referring to the **emotions**.

- (30) a. **mone ma sa a mone nyowəre wu mone**
 you(pl) not should.cause that your bodies should.die you
 You must not be terrified.

¹¹ Compare Nkonya **Mi twi de mí kpunku**, ‘my self is shaking me’ (Peacock, personal communication).

- b. **bamə nyəwərə a ɲure bamə**
 their bodies PAST tie them
 They suffered a bitter life.

The emotions connected with the body are therefore terror and suffering.

The morphology of the word **kayəwərə** itself is in doubt. It just might be **kayee-wərə** = self - skin, but informants say otherwise. However, most of the metaphors in Chumburung don't employ the word **kayəwərə**, preferring the root word for self, **eyee**.

2.2 SELF

Even in the first examples here, the word **eyee**, (a plural form) seems to really refer to a physical body, until one notices the use to which the words have been put in Bible translation. The **eyee** seems to refer to the owner of the body. Note that the translations into English also use the word self. These examples are in the form of compound nouns. The abbreviation V stands for verb, N for noun, and DN for descriptive noun, a sub-category of nouns used with the verbs **du**, 'to be like', or **bo**, 'to possess'. (For further information on Chumburung grammar, see K. Hansford (1990:178); though his term for descriptive nouns is Quality Nominals.) The first examples are literal, the rest becoming more metaphoric and to do with emotions.

- (31) a. **kayee-gya**, 'self-pain' (DN), i.e. 'body pains'
 b. **kayee-bebere**, 'self-trouble' (N), i.e. 'bitter suffering'
 c. **kayee-nyan**, 'self'-'to be bitter' (V), i.e. 'anguish'
 d. **kayee-yon**, 'self'-'to tremble' (V), i.e. 'shock'
 e. **kayee-kra**, 'self-catching', i.e. 'oppression'
 f. **kayee-kaapo**, 'self-showing', i.e. 'pride'
 g. **kayee-məw**, 'self-killing', i.e. 'jealousy'
 h. **kayee-yuri**, 'self-cooling', i.e. 'peace'.

It should be noted that *there is often no other way* in Chumburung to express these emotions other than using such words compounded of body parts. In fact adjectives (also called qualifiers) in general form a closed class in Chumburung. As K. Hansford (1990:265) says, "A study of many texts in the language reveals that the speakers do not use more than a few common qualifiers with any frequency". In fact, apart from colour and number terms, the number of adjectives is few. There are no adjectives to describe a proud or jealous or peaceful person. It seems that a dearth in one type of word has resulted in the use of metaphor instead.

The examples that follow are listed in the form verb + pronoun + **eyee**, as if commands. I have subdivided them intuitively into actions, characteristics and emotions. Others might differ.

2.2.1 Actions

- (32) a. **gyi fo eyee**, 'to eat your self', i.e. 'to free oneself'
 b. **nya fo eyee**, 'to get your self', i.e. 'to be free'
 (e.g. mother who has given birth)
 c. **da fo eyee se**, 'to beat your self on', i.e. 'to hurry up'

d. **mɔɔ fɔ eyee**, ‘to kill your self’, i.e. ‘to injure’.

Comparison of the last with its compound noun **ka-ye-e-mɔɔ**, ‘jealousy’ (above), shows that what is an action can also become an emotion.

2.2.2 Characteristics

- (33) a. **bu fɔ eyee**, ‘to respect your self’, i.e. ‘to be gentle’
 b. **wu eyee**, ‘to die/suffer self’, i.e. ‘to be thin’.

2.2.3 Emotions

- (34) a. **ba fɔ eyee kaase**, ‘to bring your self down’, i.e. ‘to humble yourself’
 b. **nu fɔ eyee**, ‘to hear your self’, i.e. ‘to repent’
 c. **kaapo fɔ eyee**, ‘to show your self’, i.e. ‘to be proud’
 d. **leŋ/yere/seŋ fɔ eyee**, ‘to strengthen your self’, i.e. ‘to try’
 e. **waa fɔ eyee**, ‘to do your self’, i.e. ‘to despise yourself’
 f. **yawe eyee-ro**, ‘to leave self-in’, i.e. ‘to despair’
 g. **yuri fɔ eyee**, ‘to cool your self’, i.e. ‘to calm down’.

I have been citing such expressions without a subject. Let us consider the following example with a subject.

- (35) **fɔ a kra fɔ eyee**
 you PAST catch your self
 You controlled yourself.¹²

In such an expression, the subject is topic and agent. It is possible to have a transformation into a passive type where the topic becomes the object and patient. The resultant expression is semantically stative. For example,

- (36) a. **eyee a kra fɔ**
 self PAST catch you
 You are in hardship (*characteristic*).
- b. **eyee a seŋ mɔ**
 self PAST strengthen him
 He was encouraged (*emotion*).
- c. **eyee a mɔɔ mɔ**
 self PAST kill him
 He got injured (*action*).
- d. **mɔ eyee a yuri mɔ**
 my body PAST cool me
 I am calm / at peace.¹³

This coolness has a good quality, and is unlike coolness or coldness in English where a person is unresponsive.

¹² Compare Nkonya **kita fu wi**, ‘control your self’ (Peacock, personal communication).

¹³ Compare Nkonya **wti lolwif**, ‘self cooled’, i.e. ‘have peace’.

There is yet another possible transformation. From the first expression below, we can make the second.

- (37) a. **eyee a kpeŋ bamo**, ‘selves have surprised them’, i.e. ‘they were surprised’
 b. **aa kpeŋ bamo eyee**, ‘it has surprised their selves’, i.e. ‘they were surprised’.

The emotions in this section on the self (including the compound nouns) are anguish, shock, oppression, pride, jealousy, peace, humbling yourself, repenting, strengthening yourself, despising yourself, and despair, of which only pride is one of Kövecses’ so-called basic emotions. Again these metaphors are the only way to express such emotions. The characteristics that surfaced were fewer, being gentle, thin or in hardship. Actions include hurrying up and getting injured.

3. HEAD AND PARTS OF IT

I turn now to the parts of the body to see the related metaphors. Starting with the head and its own parts, I will then cover the limbs, the back and the buttocks, before moving on to the internal organs of the trunk.

3.1 HEAD: **kuŋu**

Whereas the head is often equated in English with the mind as the repository of thought, in Chumburung it is more likely to be seen as will-power, or luck, or a metonym for the whole person. The head mostly represents characteristics rather than emotions.

3.1.1 Head as container of thoughts

- (38) a. **ŋu abee aŋu-ro**
 see each.other heads-in
 to understand each other
- b. **aŋuroseŋ bo kɔne**
 things.in.the.head possess sweetness
 Thoughts are interesting. (Motto at the end of a story.)
- c. **ane kuŋu aseŋ kyɔ anyare lee**
 our head matters exceed men own
 Our (women’s) thoughts are more than men’s.
- d. **mò kuŋu-ro a fwiiri**
 his head-in has whitened
 He is innocent / sincere.

Although thinking as an active exercise is not included in metaphors employing the head, the lack of thinking is.

- (39) a. **mò kuŋu a nyera**
 his head has broken.
 He is crazy.

- b. **fɔ̄ kuŋu a wu**
 your head has died.
 You are dull-headed.
- c. *But:* **fɔ̄ kuŋu a teŋ**
 your head has cut
 You have died (physically).
- d. **kibugyi bɔ̄ fɔ̄ kuŋu-ro**
 darkness possess your head-in
 You have bad secrets.

All these metaphors seem to yield characteristics of the person.

3.1.2 Head as will-power

- (40) **mò kuŋu bɔ̄ leŋ**
 his head possesses strength.
 He is stubbornly cruel.
 (**leŋ** (DN) is a characteristic of concrete objects, such as a rock.)
- (41) **kuŋu-ro-leŋ**, ‘head-in-strength’, i.e. ‘cruelty’.¹⁴

We shall see later that occasionally stubbornness is having strong eyes, but most frequently strong ears. However informants say that having a strong head is even more perverse. The opposite seems to mean something like weak-willed.

- (42) **kuŋu-ro-kəne**, ‘head-in-sweetness’, i.e. ‘being spoiled/flattered’.

Again these metaphors seem to yield characteristics of the person.

3.1.3 Head as luck

The best example of good luck is when a Chumburung woman has given birth safely, whether or not the child survives. Then friends and relatives will gather to acknowledge her good luck.

- (43) a. **aŋse na kuŋu timaa**
 greetings and head good
 Greetings on your good luck.
- b. **mò kuŋu bɔ̄ daŋ**
 her head possesses goodness
 She is lucky.

My own informants always deny that **kuŋu** means head in such expressions, but Alonso for Ntrubo thinks it does, citing the equivalent of **kuŋu bəye**, ‘head bad’, i.e. ‘bad luck’.

Also in Konkomba (Steele) there is **uyil mə**, ‘his head is sweet’, i.e. ‘He is fortunate’.

¹⁴ Compare Nkonya **wá owuntɔ̄lɔn**, ‘put hard-head’, i.e. ‘be cruel’. Contrast Ntrubo **konɔɔ yuŋ**, ‘heart heavy’, i.e. ‘old or obstinate’.

Further, in Vagla, from **nyuu**, ‘head’, are derived both **nyunanii**, ‘head + nice’, and **nyusum**, ‘head + sweet’, both of which mean ‘good luck’.

3.1.4 Head as whole person

The phrase **kuḡu si**, ‘on the head’, indicates ‘on behalf of’, ‘concerning’, or ‘in respect of’ a person. This metonymy particularly applies to events such as acknowledging paternity of a child or paying off someone’s debt. So, for example, when a child reaches the age of 7 or 8, the father should pay the mother something for rearing the child whether or not they are married.

- (44) a. **ka atanne kuḡu si**
 pay money head on
 to pay money concerning (someone)
- b. **da kikpuni mḡ kuḡu si**
 tie knot my head on
 to plot against me
- c. **mosis a sa kanḡ bamḡ kuḡu si**
 Moses PAST give mouth them head on
 Moses gave orders about them.

Normally this metaphor of the head does not carry the idea of blame as it does in English ‘on your own head be it’.

Thus head is used not so much for thoughts as for will-power or luck, and sometimes as a metonym for the whole person. However no emotions occur in connection with the head. The head as container of thoughts yields characteristics of innocence or craziness, that of will-power yields those of being stubborn or open to flattery. Whether luck is an emotion or a characteristic is hard to decide.

3.2 EYE: **kekato**

In this section, I will look at what the eyes tell us about a person. Happiness and wisdom are two results. In §9, I will also look at the idea of seeing.

There are several expressions for twice. One of them is,

- (45) **akato anyḡ**, ‘two eyes’.

(Another uses legs: see (80).)

First a literal example,

- (46) **fḡ akato a fwiiri**, ‘your eyes have whitened’, i.e. ‘Your eyes are white’.

3.2.1 Actions

- (47) a. **mḡ akato a bwee**, ‘his eyes have broken’, i.e. ‘He is blind’
 b. **akato-bwee-po**, ‘eyes-break-person’, i.e. ‘blind person’
 c. **akato a gyii mḡ**, ‘eyes have dazed her’, i.e. ‘She was dizzy’
 d. **mḡ akato a kpeḡ**, ‘his eyes are wild’, i.e. ‘He could not sleep’.

3.2.2 Characteristics

- (48) a. **mò akatò da**
his eyes lie.down
He is discerning.
- b. **mò akatò a tɛŋ**
his eyes PAST cut.
He was wise or prudent.
- c. *But:* **o de kakatɔtɛŋ**
he has cutting.eyes
He has haughtiness, i.e. He is too clever (an insult).
- d. **ta mò akɔwɛpɔ akatò**
equal his parents eyes
He is a rebellious son.
- e. **mò akatò a buŋŋi**
his eyes PAST open
He is very wise.¹⁵
- f. **o de akatò**
he has eyes
He is beautiful / He looks too much in the face.¹⁶
- g. **wuribware maa deere ɔkɔ akatò sɛ**
God not PRES/FUT.look person eyes on
God does not look at a person's outward appearance.¹⁷

3.2.3 Emotions

3.2.3.1 Eyes as indicators of happiness

The expression for happiness in Chumburung, as mentioned in §1.1.4 uses the verb **gyi**, which has as its core meaning to eat. See also §9.

- (49) a. **mɔ akatò a gyi**, 'my eyes have eaten', i.e. 'I am happy'
b. **a gyi mɔ akatò**, 'it eats my eyes', i.e. 'It makes me happy'
c. **kekato-gyi / akato-gyi**, 'eyes(s)-eating', i.e. 'happiness'.¹⁸
- d. **ɔɔ kra mɔ kekato-gyi-ro**
it.PAST catch me eye.eat-in
It was precious to me.

This conceptual metaphor about happiness, HAPPINESS IS EYES EATING, does not parallel any of the source domains for this emotion listed by Kövecses (2000:24), such as HAPPINESS IS UP/HIGH, HAPPINESS IS LIGHT, HAPPINESS IS WARM.

¹⁵ Compare Ntrubo 'He has eye open', i.e. 'He is open eyed person (= civilised)'.
¹⁶ Compare Ntrubo 'He has eyes', i.e. 'He is greedy'.
¹⁷ Compare Nkonya **Bulu tama ki ohaa ansító**, 'God does not look at a person's face'.
¹⁸ Compare Nkonya **ansitegyi**, 'eyes-eating', i.e. 'happiness'.

The expression in Chumburung for the opposite, ‘to be sad’, is nothing to do with eating, but being ripe or red. However in this case, it can have a literal meaning, such as when young men ride on the top of a lorry and get struck in the eye by overhanging branches!

- (50) a. **fo akato a pee**, ‘your eyes have ripened / are red’, i.e. ‘You are sad/serious’
 b. **kekato-pee**, ‘eyes-red’, i.e. ‘seriousness’.

Again, this metaphor about sadness, SADNESS IS RED EYES, does not parallel any of Kövecses’ source domains (2000:25) such as SADNESS IS DOWN, SADNESS IS DARK, SADNESS IS LACK OF HEAT.

These two metaphors of happiness and sadness in Chumburung are what is usually called dead metaphors. I suspect that they are what Goatly calls buried, that is there was once a reason for the metaphor, just as there was once a reason for ‘red herring’ in English, but this can no longer be easily established. For each emotion, there is only one metaphor, and they are not expandable into an infinite variety of expressions, whereas Kövecses lists fifteen source domains for happiness, and fourteen for sadness, each of which can potentially employ more than one expression. Moreover, as has been said of other body metaphors in Chumburung, *there is no other way* to say that one is happy or sad, except by using such metaphors. What may have once been an “unconventional metaphor” has acquired a “new, conventional and lexical status” (Goatly 1997).

3.2.3.2 *Eyes as indicators of pride, greed etc.*

Other examples which employ eye include:

- (51) a. **mò akato a kii**, ‘her eyes have turned’, i.e. ‘She is sad or lonely’
 b. **kakato-kii**, ‘loneliness’
 c. **mò akato a wu**, ‘his eyes have died’, i.e. ‘He was ashamed’
 d. **kekato-furi**, ‘eye’-‘to poke’, i.e. ‘greed’
 e. **akato-leŋ**, ‘eyes-strength’, i.e. ‘pride’¹⁹
 f. **ɔ gye mɔ kekato**, ‘she is my eye’, i.e. ‘I love her’.

This is the only example of the emotion of love. It can be compared with a special person being an eyeball, as we saw earlier.

Thus, for the eye, the two most prominent metaphors relate to the emotions of happiness and sadness. Other emotion terms include loneliness, pride and shame. The only metaphor in connection with love occurs here. Other metaphors yield characteristics often related to wisdom such as being discerning, prudent, too clever, rebellious, or beautiful.

3.3 MOUTH: **kano**

In this section, I will start by looking at the mouth, and show how it relates mostly to speech, with unity and contracts by extension, when it is being used metaphorically. It is not about physical eating. As has been seen above, metaphorical eating

¹⁹ Compare Vagla **u siwii kpekko**, ‘his face is hard’, i.e. ‘He is not afraid to do bad’. Compare also Ntrubo ‘he has no eyelash’, i.e. ‘He is not ashamed’. This does not occur in Chumburung.

is more connected with the eyes. In §9 I will examine further the idea behind the verb ‘to eat’ in Chumburung. This turns out not to be about either eating or speech.

Although some of the next examples are colloquial, I still include them under the heading of literal, since they refer to the real mouth. I have not included them under the heading of actions, since that is reserved for the mouth as speech.

- (52) a. **yaye kanə**, ‘to open mouth’ (in order to speak or eat)
 b. **pə kanə**, ‘to wet mouth’, i.e. ‘to eat’
 c. **biri kanə**, ‘to dirty mouth’, i.e. ‘to eat’
 d. **kanə-rə a wu**, ‘mouth-in has died’, i.e. ‘lost appetite / can’t sing’
 e. **mii kanə kyə**, ‘to pout mouth at’ (an insult).

Metaphorical examples are mostly to do with speech, but also, by extension, unity and contracts.

3.3.1 Mouth as speech

For Ntrubo (which is also called Delo), Alonso says, “The mouth, the teeth, the tongue, the lips, the saliva and the voice are all organs that symbolize speech or language in Delo”. But he only gives an example of saliva, and that is a proverb (Alonso 1992:41):

- (53) **nebo nəɔloŋ na lee na wəŋ**
 ?morning + ?mouth + ?water + ‘horrible smells’
 It is the early morning saliva that smells, i.e.
 If you discuss a thing early in the morning, you will be clear-headed about it.

Let’s look at the mouth in Chumburung.

3.3.1.1 Actions

Many verbs can go with mouth in Chumburung.

- (54) a. **ka kanə**, ‘to pay mouth’, i.e. ‘to greet’
 b. **sa kanə**, ‘to give mouth’, i.e. ‘to command’
 c. **lee kanə**, ‘to remove mouth’, i.e. ‘to answer’²⁰
 d. **lee mbəreŋ kanə**, ‘to remove riddle mouth’, i.e. ‘to guess a riddle’
 e. **waa kanə**, ‘to do mouth’, i.e. ‘to agree’
 f. **kyə kanə**, ‘to stretch mouth’, i.e. ‘to defend oneself / to deny’
 g. **gya kanə se**, ‘to follow mouth on’, i.e. ‘to obey’
 h. **teŋ kanə**, ‘to cut mouth’, i.e. ‘to give false evidence’
 i. **twee kanə**, ‘to throw mouth’, i.e. ‘to swear in anger’
 j. **fo kanə**, ‘to lose mouth’, i.e. ‘to make a slip of the tongue’
 k. **di kanə**, ‘to lie mouth’, i.e. ‘to lead’
 m. **buŋ kanə**, ‘to close mouth’, i.e. ‘to keep quiet’
 n. **duŋ kanə**, ‘to extinguish mouth’, i.e. ‘to bite the lip’ / ‘to stop something’
 o. **duŋ bamə nnə**, ‘to extinguish their mouths’, i.e. ‘to silence them’
 p. **mə kanə a duŋ**, ‘his mouth was extinguished’, i.e. ‘He is about to die’.

²⁰ Compare Nkonya **le mɔ́ ɔ́nɔ́**, ‘to remove/choose his mouth’, i.e. ‘defend himself’.

3.3.1.2 *Characteristics*

Many of the next examples use the verb for to have, with mouth. They are all characteristics of a person.

- (55) a. **de kanə**, ‘to have mouth’, i.e. ‘to be talkative’²¹
- b. **o de kanərkəne**
he has mouth.in.sweetness
He likes sweet food (*literal meaning*) / He likes sweet talk, flattery.²²
- c. **o de kanə preepree**
He has a bitter mouth (when you have heard bad news).²³
- d. **o de kanə səswee**, ‘he has mouth long’, i.e. ‘He is talkative’.
- e. **o de kanə kpaŋkpaŋ**, ‘he has mouth empty’, i.e. ‘He promises but can’t fulfill’.
- f. **o de kanəbiri**, ‘he has mouth to-be-dirty’, i.e. ‘He is talkative’.
- g. **o de kanə gyegaa**, ‘he has mouth useless’, i.e.
‘He uses provocative words’
- h. **nnə ŋnyə ŋnyə awuye**, ‘mouths two two people’, i.e. ‘deceitful people’²⁴
- i. **mò kanə du gyəre gyəre**, ‘his mouth is slippery’, i.e.
‘He is a dangerous man’.²⁵
- j. **mò kanə bə ya**, ‘his mouth possesses sharpness’, i.e.
‘His talk is offensive’.²⁶
- k. **mò kanə a wore**, ‘his mouth is dry’, i.e. ‘He knows how to speak’.
- l. **fo kanə a teŋ**, ‘your mouth has cut’, i.e. ‘You are clever’.
- m. **kanə i gyi mò**, ‘mouth will eat him’, i.e. ‘His mouth will destroy him’.
(Note, both ‘mouth’ and ‘eat’. See also §9.2)
- n. **əkə ne mò kanə maa gyi mò aseŋ-ə**
‘one whose mouth does.not eat his trouble’, i.e. ‘one who holds his tongue’.
- o. **mò kanə a məw mò** ‘his mouth killed him (someone else)’. i.e.
He charmed/insulted him, and he died.²⁷

3.3.1.3 *Emotions*

The boundary between characteristics and emotions is not always clear, but certain ways of speaking can lead one into trouble, which might well be emotional.

- (56) **mə kanə a fe mə**, ‘my mouth has sold me’, i.e. ‘I have let out my secrets’.

Also, the following in Ntrubo all mean ‘I put myself in trouble’:

²¹ Compare Ntrubo **ə dana nəməŋ** ‘he has mouth-(?what)’, i.e. ‘He says things he cannot do’. Compare also Vagla **dəw nua** ‘have mouth’, i.e. ‘to talk a lot’.

²² Also in Ntrubo. Compare Konkomba **umumədaan** ‘sweet-mouth-person’, i.e. ‘a charming, smooth person’ (not always to be trusted).

²³ In Ntrubo, ‘insolent’ or ‘vulgar’.

²⁴ Also Ntrubo.

²⁵ Compare Ntrubo **nəw yeleŋte** ‘slippery mouth’, i.e. ‘keeps no secrets /exaggerates’.

²⁶ Compare Vagla in §0.5.

²⁷ Compare Vagla **u nua kpekkə**, ‘his mouth is hard’, i.e. ‘He says what he likes’; **u nua təkə**, ‘his mouth is heavy’, i.e. ‘He doesn’t speak out when he should’.

- (57) a. **me nɔɔ te yɔɔ maŋ**, ‘My mouth has sold me’.
 b. **me nɔɔ te tina ŋolo**, ‘My mouth has touched somebody’.
 c. **me nɔɔ te yi**, ‘My mouth has ventured’.
 d. **me nɔɔ te kpɛse**, ‘My mouth has hurt’.
 Compare ‘His mouth killed him(self)’, i.e. ‘He put himself into trouble’.

Other Ntrubo examples include:

- (58) a. **ɛ dana nɔɔkoe**, ‘he has mouth-tiring/boring’, i.e. ‘He cannot be pleased’.
 b. ‘open mouthed’, i.e. ‘eloquent’
 c. ‘It has made my mouth to sleep’, i.e. ‘It has surprised me’.

Some Chumburung examples are:

- (59) a. **aseŋ a da mɔ̄ kanɔ bwee**, ‘trouble has beaten his mouth broken’, i.e. ‘The trouble stunned him’.
 b. **aa bwee mɔ̄ kanɔ**, ‘it.has broken my mouth’, i.e. ‘I don’t know what to say’.²⁸

Mouth as speech has turned out to be very productive, giving actions, characteristics and emotions. Some extensions of this idea follow.

3.3.2 Mouth as unity

All these examples show to what extent mouth is being used to indicate speech. In fact it is also used to illustrate the very high value placed on unity among people, assuming that if they speak with one voice, they will also act together. See also §9.

- (60) **bɔ̄ de kanɔ koŋko**, ‘they have mouth one’, i.e. ‘They are in agreement’.

3.3.3 Mouth in contracts

In the last examples to be given here, the structure is that of verb + noun + mouth. The nouns represent specific speech acts that involve contracts.

- (61) a. **yere tramaa kanɔ**, ‘stand pledge mouth’, i.e. ‘to be in bondage’
 b. **tii ɛtaŋ kanɔ**, ‘close vow mouth’, i.e. ‘to seal a covenant’.

This is not at all like the use of mouth as entrance, but much more like that of it representing a total.

Not surprisingly, since it is by communication that we interact with and judge people, many of the action metaphors of the mouth are concerned with obedience, agreement or keeping quiet on a subject. Speech also becomes the object by which we come to know a person and their characteristics. In the same way, it is wrong use of the mouth that puts a person into difficulty which might be deemed emotional. Where people agree together, the unity is much prized and when necessary a contract will need to be made.

Next we will consider the things inside the mouth.

²⁸ Compare Nkonya **ɔnɔ lobwie amú**, ‘mouth broke them’, i.e. ‘they were surprised’.

3.4 TOOTH: **kebwano**

The Chumburung examples here are all literal.

- (62) a. **nyaje/nyee abwano**, ‘to.lick teeth’, i.e. ‘to gnash the teeth’
 b. **bamo abwano i buri bamo**, ‘their teeth are set on edge’
 c. **mò abwano bə leŋ**, ‘his teeth possess strength’, i.e. ‘He can eat bones’.

Ntrubo however has a metaphoric example.

- (63) **keli doŋ**, ‘tooth hard’, i.e. ‘cannot be pleased / talking at the top of his voice’.

3.5 TONGUE: **gyeepu**

Again no examples are found in Chumburung of metaphors of the tongue, the ideas being covered rather by metaphors of the mouth. There are some however in Ntrubo. The first is related to eating, the second to speech.

- (64) a. **ɔ dana lakem**, ‘he has tongue’, i.e. ‘He is greedy for meat’.
 b. **ɔ lakem dana yuŋ**, ‘his tongue has heaviness’, i.e. ‘He is not eloquent’.

Moving on from the part of the face that is the mouth or its contents, we look at nose and ear.

3.6 NOSE: **mɔrɔbɔ/ŋerabɔ**

There is a dialect difference for this word. One emotional use is,

- (65) **mɔ ɛ gya mò ŋɔrɔbɔ-rɔ**, ‘I stink his nose-in’, i.e. ‘He has a bad opinion of me’.

One of the few metaphoric uses is a euphemism.

- (66) **kpɛɛ fɔ mɔrɔbɔ**, ‘wipe your nose’, i.e. ‘straighten your trousers or skirt’.

3.7 EAR: **kesebɔ**

The ear seems to be connected to listening or not, and any punishment that might result.

3.7.1 Actions

Many phrases utilising ear are fairly literal, that is they are concerned with hearing.

- (67) a. **da kesebɔ sɛ**, ‘to beat ear on’, i.e. ‘to hear about’
 b. **kpaa kesebɔ**, ‘to drive ear’, i.e. ‘to hear something bad’
 c. **lɔŋ kesebɔ**, ‘to gaze ear’, i.e. ‘to listen’²⁹
 d. **taye esebɔ**, ‘to open ears’, i.e. ‘to pay attention’
 e. **tii esebɔ**, ‘to close ears’, i.e. ‘to block the ears’³⁰
 f. **tuwi esebɔ**, ‘to make.holes.in ears’, i.e. ‘to hint’
 g. **twɛɛ esebɔ-rɔ**, ‘to set ears-in’, i.e. ‘to hear second-hand’
 h. **esebɔ a yuri**, ‘ears have cooled’, i.e. ‘to have heard a lot of nice noise’

²⁹ Compare Nkonya **ya asu**, ‘to open ears’, i.e. ‘to listen’.

³⁰ Compare Nkonya **tin asu**, ‘to close ears’.

- i. **mò ɛsɛbɔ a yɛŋ**, ‘his ears have stretched’, i.e. ‘He is paying attention’.
- j. **ɛsɛbɔ a fe**, ‘ears are high’, i.e. ‘to be alert’
- k. **kɛsɛbɔ a kwɛɛ afwii**, ‘ear has ground wind’, i.e. ‘to refuse advice’.

Of the metaphoric usages, ‘pulling ear’ is a common one in several languages and means ‘to punish’.³¹ Whilst this may have derived from mothers holding disobedient children by the ear lest they escape, it can mean any form of retribution.

- (68) **gyiiri kɛsɛbɔ**, ‘to pull ear’, i.e. ‘to punish’.

3.7.2 Characteristics

‘To have strong ears’ means ‘to be stubborn’ in Chumburung, Ntrubo, Nkonya, Konkomba and Vagla.³² It would seem that a person with strong ears does not listen to advice. Maybe that is why they ‘pull his ears’ to punish him.

- (69) a. **mò ɛsɛbɔ-rɔ bɔ lɛŋ**, ‘his ears-in possess strength’, i.e. ‘He is stubborn’
 b. **kɛsɛbɔ-rɔ-le**, ‘ears-in-strength’, i.e. ‘stubbornness’.

3.7.3 Emotions

- (70) a. **ɛsɛbɔ-rɔ-yoŋ**, ‘ears-in-trembling’, i.e. ‘loneliness’
 (other expressions for this use eyes)
 b. **ɛsɛbɔ a yuri mɔ**, ‘ears have cooled him’, i.e. ‘He was at peace’.
 (other expressions use cool body)

Thus metaphors with ear yield two emotions; loneliness and peace (or coolness). But the main emphasis is the characteristic of stubbornness, and actions such as listening, or not listening to what people say, and hence getting punishment.

3.8 THROAT: **bɔrɛ-rɔ**

As has been said before, the word for ‘voice’ in Chumburung is **bɔrɛ**, from which ‘throat’ is derived, i.e. as ‘voice-in’ or ‘voice-place’.

A literal use is:

- (71) **tɔwɛ mò bɔrɛ-rɔ**, ‘say his throat’, i.e. ‘say to himself’.

Examples relating to the emotions are:

- (72) a. **mɔ bɔrɛ-rɔ i duŋwi mɔ**, ‘my throat is hurting me’, i.e. ‘I am sad, suffering’
 b. **mɔ bɔrɛ-rɔ a kpaŋ mɔ**, ‘my throat has widened me’, i.e.
 ‘I am very emotional on hearing a message’
 c. **mɔ bɔrɛ-rɔ a da kikipuni**, ‘my throat has tied knot’, i.e.
 ‘I can’t talk because of anguish’.

³¹ Compare Nkonya **butí amú asu**, ‘to pull their ears’, i.e. ‘to punish’; also Konkomba **daa litafal** and Vagla **ter digni**, which both mean ‘to pull ear’, i.e. ‘to punish’.

³² Compare Vagla **u digna kpekko**, ‘his ears are strong’, i.e. ‘He is stubborn / disobedient’; Nkonya **mlt asutɔ bɔ mlt ɔnlɔn**, ‘your ears possess you strength’, i.e. ‘You are stubborn’ (the second pronoun does not appear in Chumburung); and Konkomba **utafal pɔɔ**, ‘his ear is strong’, i.e. ‘He doesn’t understand’.

This metaphor is similar to the English expression ‘a lump in my throat’, except that I have not found it in other literature on this subject.

As has been said, the head yields few emotion terms. Happiness and sadness are shown most in the eyes, but felt in the throat. The mouth, not unexpectedly, is concerned with speech acts, and the ear represents that part which does not listen to advice and hence needs punishment. Here I end the set of metaphors concerning the head and its parts. I now move further down the body.

4. LIMBS AND TRUNK

I will start with the upper limbs, then the lower limbs and then the external parts of the trunk. It should be noted that the word for stomach, **kame**, applies both to the front part of the trunk and to the internal organ, in the same way as the English does. However, it will be treated here under internal organs.

4.1 HAND/ARM: **kesaree**

4.1.1 Hand implies giving, receiving, holding

There are no emotion examples here. Some euphemisms include the following:

- (73) a. **mō a gyaa kesaree**, ‘I have broken hand’, i.e. ‘I am menstruating’.
 b. **di {kenyare / kekyee} kesaree se**, ‘sleep on {male / female} hand’, i.e. ‘to die’.³³

4.1.1.1 Actions

- (74) a. **taa bō waa ɔko kesaree-rɔ**, ‘take to put someone hand in’, i.e. ‘give over to someone’.
 b. **lee kesaree**, ‘to remove hand’, i.e. ‘to help’.
 Also means ‘Come and eat’ (a greeting called to a passer-by).
 c. **fō a kɔɔre mō asaree anyɔ**, ‘you have accepted me hands two’, i.e. ‘You have received me favourably.’

And one example using the word for ‘palm of hand’,

- d. **ɔ sa mō kanya elɔkwɛ anyɔ**
 he PRES/FUT.give him getting palms two
 He will supply abundantly.

4.1.1.2 Characteristics

- (75) a. **o de kesaree sɔswɛ**, ‘he has arm long’, i.e. ‘He is a thief’.
 b. **mō kesaree de bɔ**, ‘his hand has hole’, i.e. ‘He can’t keep money’.³⁴
 c. **mō kesaree-rɔ bō leŋ**, ‘his hand-in possesses strength’, i.e. ‘He doesn’t give easily’.³⁵

³³ Compare Ntrubo **ɔ te doo ɔ demena dɔɔ**, ‘he has slept his left side’, i.e. ‘He has died’. (In Bimoba it can also be used in a literal sense: George Maalug, personal communication). Note that I have so far found no left / right metaphors in Chumburung, although the left hand is considered dirty and hence not good to use.

³⁴ Contrast Ntrubo **ɛ dana nyiŋmae bɔɔ**, ‘he has hand hole’, i.e. ‘He is a kleptomaniac’.

³⁵ Compare Vagla **u nonii kpekko**, ‘his hand is hard’, i.e. ‘He is stingy.’

- d. **mò kesaree mon de nkyu**, ‘his hand does.not hold water’, i.e. ‘He is poor’.
 e. **mò kesaree maa teyi**, ‘his hand does.not stretch’, i.e. ‘He is a miser’.
 f. **mò kesaree de-ro**, ‘my hand is.holding-in’, i.e.
 ‘I am eating. Come and join me’.³⁶
 g. **mò kesaree da-rɔ**, ‘my hand is.lying-in’, i.e. ‘No, thank you’.
 h. **fo kesaree e waa pase pase**, ‘your hand will do emptiness’, i.e.
 ‘You will become poor’.

All these characteristics are concerned with giving and so on. The next example is not.

- (76) **sej mone asaree**, ‘to force your(pl) hands’, i.e. ‘be courageous’.

This contrasts with English ‘to force someone (else)’s hand. Compare **sej eyee**, ‘to force self’ (example (34)).

4.1.2 Hand as a sign of worry

There are no action examples here.

4.1.2.1 Emotions

- (77) **yabare kesaree**, ‘to.raise hand’, i.e. ‘to despair and complain’.
 (The accompanying gesture is arms slightly raised and palms up and outwards, indicating not knowing what to do.)
 (78) **ɔɔ twee kesaree**, ‘he has thrown hand’, i.e. ‘He has thought / been worried’.
 (The gesture is either both arms raised, or arms raised a bit and palms turned upwards.)

4.1.2.2 Characteristics

However the last example given can also mean ‘He is generous’, because he is using his hand to call you. (The gesture is right arm forward, fingers bent downwards several times, and hence beckoning.)

In this section on the hand, two conceptual metaphors surface. One is actions about giving, holding and receiving or associated characteristics such as generosity or lack of it. Only when we turn to the second conceptual metaphor, hand as sign of worry, do we involve the emotions at all. This metaphor extends into the next part of the body, the shoulders.

4.2 SHOULDERS: **abaa-rɔ**

Only one metaphorical use of shoulders is known in Chumburung, but that could also be taken as fairly literal! It is an expression of the emotion of discouragement.

- (79) a. **bamo** {**abaakpa** / **abaa-rɔ**} **a** **yɔre**
 their {shoulders.place / shoulder-in} PAST droop
 They were discouraged.

³⁶ Contrast Ntrubo **me nyemaa dana**, ‘my hand is holding’, i.e. ‘I am busy.’

- b. **fo ma sa a asese demante mo yore mone abaa-rɔ**
 you not should.cause that people many these slacken your shoulders-in.
 Do not let them discourage you.

Here we finish with the upper limbs, and move to the lower ones.

4.3 LEG: **keyaa**

We have already met **akato anyɔ**, ‘eyes two’, meaning ‘twice’ (example (45)). One can also say,

- (80) **ayaa anyɔ**, ‘legs two’, i.e. ‘twice’.

Although there is a word for strength, **elen**, it is most often related to the leg as in **keyaalen** ‘strength’. They are related to **len**, the Descriptive Noun.

- (81) **ɔ bo len = o de keyaalen**, ‘He possesses strength’.

Luck was associated with the head in §3.1. Here it seems to be connected with strength or opportunity (for lack of a better word).

Actions

- (82) a. **ka keyaa**, ‘to pay leg’, i.e. ‘to swear’
 b. **twee keyaa**, ‘to throw leg’, i.e. ‘to kick / rebel’
 c. **nya keyaa**, ‘to get leg’, i.e. ‘to get a chance’
 d. **sa keyaa**, ‘to give leg’, i.e. ‘to allow’
 e. **ten keyaa**, ‘to cut leg’, i.e. ‘to stop doing something’
 f. **lo keyaa**, ‘to weave leg’, i.e. ‘to look for footprints / to plot against’
 g. **kyokyɔ keyaa**, ‘to hesitate leg’, i.e. ‘to hesitate’
 h. **kyuwi keyaa**, ‘to uproot leg’, i.e. ‘to get a move on’
 i. **yere ayaa-rɔ**, ‘to stand legs-in’, i.e. ‘to represent’
 j. **ayaa-rɔ ayerepo**, ‘representatives, apostles’
 k. **yere keyaa konko**, ‘to stand leg one’, i.e. ‘to stand firm’
 l. **taa mone se keyaa**, ‘to take you(pl) on leg’, i.e. ‘to copy you’
 m. **da keyaa**, ‘to beat leg’, i.e. ‘to trip up’ (in walking or speech).

Not surprisingly no emotions or characteristics seem to be connected with the legs. Rather the legs represent strength or opportunity.

4.4 KNEE: **kuɣurii**

All examples are literal, and are concerned with respect.

- (83) a. **di aɣurii si**, ‘to lie knees on’, i.e. ‘to kneel with hands also on ground’³⁷
 b. **kpuni aɣurii**, ‘to bow down knees’, i.e. ‘to kneel’
 c. **kpuni ɔko aɣurii**, ‘to bow down someone knees’, i.e. ‘to bow down to someone’.

Note that the knees belong to the person being bowed down to, for example the chief, as in **kpuni owure aɣurii**.

³⁷ Compare Nkonya **dá akpawunu**, ‘to.hit/lie knees’, i.e. ‘to kneel’.

4.5 THIGH: **gyaŋ**

Only one example has been found using thigh. It is a metaphoric characteristic.

(84) **ɔ da m̀ò gyaŋ se**, ‘he beat his thigh on’, i.e. ‘He did it presumptuously’.

In discussing this, one informant said that to beat the side of thigh (**kelanbotaa**) was the same thing. Then he decided that that was rather what women do when excited.

4.6 BACK: **kameɛ**, WAIST: **laare**

Back as in back of a pot or a locative was dealt with in an earlier section. (The side of anything is **keri**, and can be used also for the body.)

(85) **ɔmɛɛrɔpɔ**, ‘the one at the back’
(The prefix **ɔ-** and the suffix **-pɔ** make a person.)

Here are some temporal examples.

(86) a. **sii kameɛ**, ‘to remain back’, i.e. ‘to be late’
b. **kameɛ-rɔ awuye**, ‘back-in people’, i.e. ‘descendants / supporters’.

Actions

(87) a. **gya kameɛ**, ‘to drive back’, i.e. ‘to support’
b. **wuribware gya fo kameɛ**, ‘God drive you(sg) back’, i.e. ‘May God support you’.
c. **yere ɔkɔ kameɛ**, ‘to stand someone back’, i.e. ‘to support someone’
d. **lee ɔkɔ kameɛ**, ‘to come from someone back’, i.e. ‘to be unfaithful’ (compare English ‘go behind someone’s back’)
e. **ɔ gye m̀ò laare**, ‘he is my waist’, i.e. ‘He strengthens me’.

Many of the phrases with back in are concerned in some way with space or time. Some are about receiving strength. None are about emotions or characteristics.

4.7 BUTTOCKS: **tɛbɔ**

4.7.1 Actions

Some examples are hard to place. My first one here is almost a literal one, a bit like being nudged, possibly because of laziness. The second and third examples are extensions of the spacial metaphors of an earlier section. The fourth deals with a metonym, the buttocks stand for secrets.

(88) **oo neŋ m̀ò tɛbɔ**, ‘he pushed my buttocks’, i.e. ‘He reminded me’

(89) **bamɔ ne baa tii tɛbɔ-ɔ**, ‘those who they closed buttocks’, i.e. ‘the rearguard’

(The word for ‘buttocks’ here might better be rendered ‘bottom’ in a locative sense, because it applies to the line, not the people, just as the bottom of a basket is its **tɛbɔ**.)

(90) a. **sa a aneŋ a ebaye-ɔ teŋ tɛbɔ isireelii sweere se**
‘it causes that such a sin cut buttocks Israel land on’, i.e.
‘It has purged the evil from Israel’.

- (91) **ɔkɛmaa a ŋu lɔŋkɔ tɛbɔ**
 ‘everyone saw rabbit’s bottom’, i.e.
 ‘They saw Rabbit’s secrets’.

4.7.2 Characteristics

Several examples are concerned with laziness, or cowardice. This is comparable to English sitting on one’s backside doing nothing.

- (92) a. **ɔɔ kyena tɛbɔ sɛ**, ‘he has sat buttocks on’, i.e. ‘He was doing nothing’.
 b. **mò tɛbɔ bɔ dwii**, ‘his buttocks possess heaviness’, i.e. ‘He is not concerned’.
 c. **fɔ maa yase tɛbɔ**, ‘you do not lift buttocks’, i.e. ‘You are lazy’.
 d. **ilɪŋtirɪŋpu i tii mò tɛbɔ**, ‘Kapok is closing his buttocks’, i.e.
 ‘Kapok is a coward’.

Thus the characteristics of laziness and secrecy are very prominent with this body part. One might expect more euphemisms from it, but none have been recorded, even though we have collected other euphemisms, and our informants are not normally reticent about such subjects.

So for the limbs we find that the hand or arm is for giving, receiving and holding, but is also used as a sign of worry. If discouraged, it is the shoulders which show it. Legs represent strength, opportunity or luck. And the buttocks laziness, cowardice or secrecy.

We now move from the external part of the trunk to the internal organs.

5. INTERNAL ORGANS

I shall deal here with chest, heart and stomach. The guts and several other organs such as the lungs do not appear. There are two possible words for ‘heart’ in Chumburung, **duŋ** and **kakpɔnɔ**. Let’s start with the more general ‘chest’.

5.1 CHEST: **kɛkaŋ**

Emotions

The emotions here are pride and sorrow.

- (93) a. **da kɛkaŋ sɛ**, ‘to beat chest on’, i.e. ‘to beat the chest in pride’³⁸
 b. **yee kɛkaŋ**, ‘to press chest’, i.e. ‘to weep in sorrow’.

5.2 HEART: **duŋ**

A literal expression is:

- (94) **mò duŋ a da**, ‘his heart is beating’.

5.2.1 Heart is container, anger is boiling liquid

Emotions

This is the prototypical metaphor of Lakoff, where the emotion is anger.

³⁸ Compare Nkonya **ɔtɔpú tɔɪ sí kántɔ́**, ‘he took hand tap/stop in chest’, i.e. ‘He boasted’.

- (95) a. **mò duḡ a fwii**, ‘my heart has boiled’, i.e. ‘I was angry’
 b. **fò a fwii mò duḡ**, ‘you have boiled his heart’, i.e. ‘You have made him angry’
 c. **kaduḡfwii**, ‘anger’
 d. **kra duḡ**, ‘to hold heart’, i.e. ‘to hold back anger’
 e. **mò duḡ maa yuri**, ‘My heart will not cool’ (after a quarrel).

See also **kakponɔyuri**, ‘heart-cool’ and **kayeeyuri**, ‘self-cool’, both meaning ‘peace’.

In the next example the transitive verb **duḡ** ‘to quench’ is used. (This is homophonous with **duḡ** ‘heart’.)

- (96) **kadwii kò moḡ bə-rə nɛ ka duḡ kaduḡfwii-o**
 ‘medicine certain not is which it quenches anger’, i.e.
 ‘No medicine quenches anger.’

Since it is the heart that boils, it is the heart that is the container, or as per Lakoff (1987) and Kövecses (2000:21), ANGER IS A HOT FLUID IN A CONTAINER. However, as with happiness, it does not extend in any way. Also it is almost the only way that anger can be expressed, **kiḡentiḡ** being the other, much less frequently used word. Other anger metaphors that Kövecses mentions, such as ANGER IS A BURDEN, ANGER IS INSANITY, ANGER IS AN OPPONENT, are not found in Chumburung.

5.2.2 Heart shows courage or fear

5.2.2.1 Characteristics

- (97) a. **ka-duḡ-see**
 PX-heart-thick bravery
 b. **ka-duḡ-daḡ**
 PX-heart-to.grow courage
 c. **daḡ duḡ**
 to.grow heart to take courage

5.2.2.2 Emotions

- (98) a. **mò duḡ a teḡ**, ‘my heart has cut’, i.e. ‘I was afraid’
 b. **ka-duḡ-teḡ**, ‘fear, shock’.

The emotions and characteristics mentioned in this section on **duḡ** ‘heart’ are thus anger and courage. But peace and fear, their opposites, are also included. Peace cannot be expressed in any other way, but fear can, usually in the form **kufu a nya mò**, ‘Fear has got him’. None of the metaphors that Kövecses lists, such as FEAR IS A FLUID IN A CONTAINER, apply, although the idea of FEAR IS AN OPPONENT is possible.

5.3 HEART/CHEST: **kakponɔ**

I was aware that in some languages, such as Uduk of Sudan (James 1988), it is the liver that is the seat of the emotions. James says that the liver is passionate, and hence in Bible translation it would be better to say that Jesus enters your liver rather than your heart. The Chumburung for liver is **kekpo**, and another body part is

kakponɔ. But that is as far as the morphology goes. It seems to mean chest, but so does **kəkəŋ**, and by extension heart, whereas **duŋ** is always inside the body.

No literal examples have been found. There are two groups of expressions parallel to those above about anger and courage using **duŋ** as ‘heart’. But there is no metaphor of anger being in a container here.

5.3.1 Heart/chest and anger

Emotions

- (99) a. **kra kakponɔ**, ‘to hold heart’, i.e. ‘to hold back anger’
 (Same as **kra duŋ** in (95)d.)
 b. **yuri fo kakponɔ**, ‘to cool your heart’, i.e. ‘to calm down’
 c. **kakponɔ-yuri**, ‘heart-cool’, i.e. ‘peace’.
 (Also in Ntrubo.)

5.3.2 Heart/chest and courage

5.3.2.1 *Characteristics*

- (100) a. **de kakponɔ**, ‘to have heart’, i.e. ‘to be brave’³⁹
 b. **nya kakponɔ**, ‘to get heart’, i.e. ‘to become brave’
 c. **kakponɔ-see**, ‘heart-thick’, i.e. ‘bravado’
 (not the same as **kaduŋsee** in (97)a)⁴⁰

5.3.2.2 *Emotions*

- (101) a. **mò kakponɔ a nyera**, ‘his heart has spoiled’, i.e. ‘He is discouraged’
 b. **mò kakponɔ a wu**, ‘his heart has died’, i.e. ‘He is no longer brave’
 c. **kakponɔ maa di fo**, ‘heart will not sleep you’, i.e. ‘You will despair’.

In this next example **kame-ro** stands for the whole inside of a person, not just the stomach. It is not deemed to be a mixed metaphor!

- (102) **na mone ŋkponɔ nya di mone mme-ro**
 ‘so your hearts get to sleep in your stomachs/insides’, i.e.
 ‘so that you will be encouraged’.

5.3.3 Heart/chest and other meanings

5.3.3.1 *Characteristics*

- (103) a. **kakponɔ-kya**, ‘heart-heal’, i.e. ‘comfort’
 b. **da kakponɔ se**, ‘to beat heart on’, i.e. ‘to give a freewill offering’
 c. **mò kakponɔ a fwiiri**, ‘her heart has whitened’, i.e. ‘She is a good person’

³⁹ Compare Ntrubo ‘he has heart’, i.e. ‘He is not easily angered’.

⁴⁰ Compare Vagla **bampirsi**, ‘courage’, from **bampirii**, ‘heart, chest’; and Ntrubo ‘he has heart thorn’, i.e. ‘He is easily angered’.

- d. **bə məŋ lee bamə kakpənə-rə gya m̀ se**
 they not.PAST take.from their heart-in follow him on
 They didn't follow him wholeheartedly. (Note the singular.)

5.3.3.2 Emotions

- (104) a. **kakpənə-rə-kənə**, 'heart-in-sweet', i.e. 'heart's delight'
 b. **mə aseŋ bə fə kakpənə-rə**
 my trouble possess your heart-in
 You care for me *or* You have evil in your heart towards me.⁴¹

Just as with **duŋ**, so with **kakpənə**; anger and peace, and fear and courage are the main emotions and characteristics.

5.4 STOMACH: **kame**

Literal examples deal with two things, digestion and pregnancy.

5.4.1 Actions

5.4.1.1 Digestion

- (105) a. **kə kame-ro**, 'to defecate stomach-in', i.e. 'to have diarrhoea'
 b. **twiiri kame-ro**, 'to pour stomach-in', i.e. 'to have diarrhoea'
 c. **mə kame-ro ɛ waa mə**, 'my stomach-in is doing me', i.e.
 'My stomach is hurting me'
 d. **kame-ro aseŋ**, 'stomach-in matter', i.e. 'feelings'.

5.4.1.2 Pregnancy

- (106) a. **de kame**, 'to have stomach', i.e. 'to be pregnant'⁴²
 b. **kegyi di kame-ro**, 'the child lies stomach-in'.⁴³
 c. **bəra kame**, 'to rear stomach', i.e. 'to care for a pregnant woman'
 d. **nyera kame**, 'to spoil stomach', i.e. 'to abort (deliberately)'
 e. **m̀ kame a nyera**, 'her stomach has spoiled', i.e. 'She has miscarried'.

5.4.2 Characteristics

An Ntrubo example is given; none has been found in Chumburung.

- (107) **ɔ dana wəe (ɔ tɔɔ man)**, 'he has an egg (in his inside)', i.e. 'He is generous'.

This is explained by the fact that an egg is fragile. If you are generous, you could lose everything.

⁴¹ Compare Ntrubo 'keeps me in his heart', i.e. 'loves me / holds malice to me'.

⁴² Compare Konkomba **kpa lipuul** and Vagla **kpogli hia**, both meaning 'to have stomach', i.e. 'to be pregnant'.

⁴³ Compare Ntrubo 'something lies-in stomach', i.e. 'motherly affection'. However discussion in Chumburung revealed that the affection spoken of here is probably that of a son for the mother, rather than the mother for the child. 'To love your mother' in Chumburung does not use a body metaphor.

5.4.3 Emotions

Whereas ‘her stomach has spoiled’ in (106e) does not contain the suffix **-ro**, ‘in’, insertion of the suffix gives the following:

- (108) a. **mò kame-ro a nyera**, ‘his stomach-in has spoiled’, i.e. ‘He was worried’.⁴⁴
 b. **mò kame-ro a kywɛ m̀**, ‘his stomach-in has burnt him’, i.e. ‘He was very ’upset’.
 c. **para kame-ro**, ‘to.lend stomach-in’, i.e. ‘to have pity on / to grieve for’
 d. **n de fò kame**, ‘I have you stomach’, i.e. ‘I am nursing revenge on you’
 e. **lee kame-ro**, ‘to remove stomach-in’, i.e. ‘to do of free will’
 (same as (103b), **da kakponɔ se**)
 f. **mò kame-ro tweetwee**, ‘his stomach-in tax’, i.e. ‘freewill offering’.

In many ways the stomach seems to be like the heart (**kakponɔ**), in that it feels the emotions of worry and unhappiness. Yet it is also used of the will as James (1988) says of the Uduk.

In this section on the internal organs, we see that there is an interplay between the two words for heart, but that both words relate to the emotion of anger or the characteristic of courage. The prototypical Lakoff metaphor ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID, however, only occurs in one of them, i.e. heart (**duŋ**). The stomach also turns out to be one of the seats of emotion.

With the stomach we end our little tour of the body. We shall now draw some conclusions.

6. SUMMARY OF METAPHORS FOR BODY PARTS

In Table 1 I follow the order covered in the sections above, and mark where actions, emotions and characteristics occur without being specific. Tongue, tooth, and knee have produced nothing metaphoric in Chumburung so far.

Table 1. Actions, characteristics and emotions of various body parts

	<i>Body part in Chumburung</i>	<i>Body part in English</i>	<i>Actions</i>	<i>Charac-teristics</i>	<i>Emotions</i>
BODY	kayowɔɾɛ	body			x
	eyɛɛ	self	x	x	x
HEAD	kuŋu	head		x	
	kəkətɔ	eye	x	x	x
	kanɔ	mouth	x	x	x
	mɔɾɔbɔ	nose			x
	kɛsɛbɔ	ear	x	x	x
	bɔɾɛ-rɔ	throat			x
LIMBS	kesareɛ	hand/arm	x	x	x
	abaa-rɔ	shoulders			x
	keyaa	leg	x		
	gyaŋ	thigh		x	

⁴⁴ Compare Vagla **ba biine chɔgɔɔ**, ‘their insides spoiled’, i.e. ‘They are unhappy’.

	<i>Body part in Chumburung</i>	<i>Body part in English</i>	<i>Actions</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Emotions</i>
	kameε	back	x		
	laare	waist	x		
	tebo	buttocks	x	x	
ORGANS	kekaj	chest			x
	duj	heart		x	x
	kakpono	heart/chest		x	x
	kame-ro	stomach	x	x	x

The body parts which yield all three types of metaphor (actions, characteristics and emotions) are the self, the eye, the mouth, the ear, and the hand. A few parts, such as the head or the throat, have either characteristics or emotions but not both. The further down the body, the less emotions.

The number of those parts which yield characteristics is roughly equal to those that give emotions, supporting my contention that emotion is only part of the story of body metaphor.

Table 2 specifically lists only those body parts which yield characteristics and emotions.

Table 2. Body parts and their related characteristics and emotions

<i>Body part</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Emotions</i>
body		terror, suffering,
self	gentleness, thin, in hardship	anguish, shock, oppression, pride, jealousy, peace, humbling self, repent, strengthen self, despise self, despair
head	sincere, crazy, dull-headed, cruel, bad secrets, luck, flattered	
eye	discerning, prudent, too clever, rebellious, beautiful	happiness, sadness / seriousness, loneliness, shame, greed, pride, love
mouth	talkative, flatterer, bitter, deceitful, offensive, dangerous, clever, fatal, knowing how to speak, destructive, unity	stunned
nose		bad opinion
ear	stubbornness	loneliness, peace
throat		sadness
hand	thief, can't keep money, poor, miser, generous, courage	worry, despair
shoulders		discouragement

<i>Body part</i>	<i>Characteristics</i>	<i>Emotions</i>
thigh	presumption	
buttocks	unconcerned, lazy, idle, coward	
chest		pride, sorrow
heart (duŋ)	courage	anger, peace, fear, shock
heart (kakpɔŋ)	courage, comfort, freewill, goodness, wholehearted	despair, delight, discouragement, peace, good / evil intent
stomach		worry, upset, revenge, freewill, pity

There are around forty different emotions in this table. This upholds my contention that Kövecses uses only a minimal set. Just a few can be expressed using more than one body part, such as happiness being in the eyes or the stomach, and pride is in three places. Suffering can be expressed in relation to the body, the self, or the throat, and very generally using proverbs. (Pity is expressed with the verb **ŋu** ‘to see’.)

However the body metaphors are the *only* way to express emotions in Chumburung, and they are dead metaphors, in the usual sense. Furthermore they are not infinitely capable of elaboration.

There are also around forty different characteristics in this table. That some such as freewill occur in both columns just highlights how difficult it is to distinguish between emotions and characteristics since it is only the duration that will tell.

7. BODY METAPHOR IN PROVERBS

The Chumburung expressions used so far are phrases that have been found in folk-stories or ordinary speech, and used sometimes in Bible translation. Next we turn to another category, that of proverbs.

Mieder (1999) defined a proverb like this:

A proverb is a short, generally known sentence of the folk which contains wisdom, truth, morals and traditional views in a metaphorical, fixed and memorable form and which is handed down from generation to generation.

Lakoff and Turner (1989), in dealing with proverbs, say that they employ the GENERIC = SPECIFIC conceptual metaphor. They go on to use the Great Chain of Being to show how “higher-order questions are answered in terms of lower-order descriptions”. So humans may be likened to animals. Interestingly enough, it is human characteristics, not emotions, that are highlighted in this way.

For a fuller description of Chumburung proverbs see G. Hansford (2003). In that paper I distinguished between literal and metaphoric proverbs. In this article all the proverbs I quote are metaphoric ones. The order in which proverbs mentioning body parts are given here is roughly the same as for the paper so far, that is, starting with head and extremities and working inwards. The glosses and meanings are usually taken from a diglot book of Chumburung proverbs (Demuyakor 2000).

7.1 HEAD AS OLDER PERSON

The head as part of the body in these proverbs represents an elder, although this was not true in non-proverbial use. All elders should be respected. The part of the body that represents other people is the knee in the first example, but a part of the head in the other two.

(109) **Kuṅu moṅ te na ba buṅ kuṅurii kepa**

The head does not live, and they put the hat on the knee.

Use the right person if available. (Demuyakor 2000, Prov. 145.)

(110) **Kuṅu e moṅ bə-rə, keṣebə maa ṅu aseṅ**

If the head was not there, the ear would not see trouble.

If it were not for your father, you would not know what the world is like.

(*Ibid.*, Prov. 94.)

(111) **Keṣebə moṅ daṅ kyəṅ kuṅu**

The ear does not grow bigger than the head.

The young shouldn't override the aged. (*Ibid.*, Prov. 192.)

7.2 HEAD AS COMMUNITY

The next proverbs mention the eye and the nose as part of the head, but this time the head is unmentioned, and represents the whole community, rather than the leading member of it.

(112) **Keṅatə maa su na moṛəbə te**

The eye does not cry and the nose just sit there.

We suffer together. (*Ibid.*, Prov. 44.) I.e., We are affected by the troubles of a relative. (Only example with nose apart from a euphemism.)

(113) **Keṅatə ya bwee, ki te kuṅu-ro**

If the eye is broken/blind, it remains in the head.

You alone suffer. 'Each heart knows its own bitterness and no one else shares its joy.' (Proverbs 14.10 NIV.)

This is a bit like the fingers metaphor in (121) below.

Comparing these uses of eye with the non-proverbial ones, we find that the metaphor of happiness or sadness becomes generalised as only the suffering of a person within the community. This fits with Lakoff and Johnson's idea of GENERAL = SPECIFIC for proverbs. Other emotions such as pride and shame, or characteristics such as being wise, do not appear here.

Comparing with the uses of head in non-proverbs, we find no idea of head containing thoughts or will or luck, or representing the whole person. Either the head represents the community, or the authority of one person, the elder, neither of which occurred in the Chumburung non-proverbial metaphoric uses of head.

7.3 MOUTH AS COMMUNITY

Probably the most popular proverb in Chumburung, often seen painted over doorways or on T-shirts, is the following:

(114) **Kanə e gye maŋ**, ‘Mouth is town’, i.e. ‘Unity is strength’ (*Ibid.*, Prov. 34.)

In the next proverbs we have references to the tooth and tongue as part of the mouth representing individuals in the community in the same way as the parts of the head above.

(115) **Kəbwano kəŋkə ya kyuwi, kanə maa bwee**

If one tooth is pulled out, the mouth does not break.

The absence of one person does not mean the rest are useless. (*Ibid.*, Prov. 156.)

(116) **Kəbwano na gyeepu e kə, amaa bə te təŋ kəŋkə**

Even if the tooth and the tongue quarrel, they live in one place.

People must of necessity live together in peace. (Later Prov. 52.)

Here both tooth and tongue are given speech.

Still staying in the area of the mouth, the next proverb oddly enough is like the English use of the phrase ‘to be long in the tooth’ to mean being old.

(117) **ŋkə ne ə kyə fə adabəŋ-nə-ə kyə fə akyəne**

He who has bigger cheeks than you, exceeds you in saliva.

An older person than you will be mature in many ways. (*Ibid.*, Prov. 104.)

7.4 MOUTH AS SPEECH

The next proverbs are metonyms about the mouth, linking with the idea of the mouth as speech.

(118) **ŋkrapə kanə maa puŋŋe**

Messenger’s mouth does not swell.

Do not blame the messenger for the message. (*Ibid.*, Prov. 40.)

(119) **Kanə moŋ nyi feye kamə wuye e gye əwərbə**

Mouth does not know that its owner is a humble person.

Don’t be lenient to someone. (*Ibid.*, Prov. 62.)

Comparing with the non-proverbial uses of mouth, we find the same ideas of the mouth representing both speech and unity, but not eating.

7.5 HAND AS COMMUNITY

The next proverbs are about the hand or its digits. The first one gives the idea that the hand represents the live body. The second is one of several which stress working together. (The others do not mention body parts, and are not given here). The last takes the whole hand as the community, and the thumb, rather than the head, as the most important person.

- (120) **Kesaree e bo soso, ke moŋ kyon keda se**
 If the hand is up, it will not fail to beat.
 While there is life, there is hope. (*Ibid.*, Prov 128.)
- (121) **Kesareegy kōŋkō maa taa kuyu**
 One finger does not take guinea-corn.
 One person cannot manage alone. (*Ibid.*:Prov 67)
- (122) **Bo maa kyon kesareegyikpaŋgyi si da kikipuni**
 They do not pass thumb over (and) tie a knot.
 They do not bypass the chief when they make a decision. (*Ibid.*, Prov. 149.)

Thus in proverbs the hand stands for the community, whereas before it was concerned with giving, holding and receiving, or the emotions of worry and courage. It now joins both head and mouth as capable of representing the community that one belongs to.

7.6 LEGS AS PROGRESS

In the following proverb, legs or steps stand for progress in general, just as the in expression **ayaa anyo**, ‘steps two’, i.e. ‘two times’.

- (123) **Ayaa e bo anyo, ako ako ne ba kywi**
 Even if the legs are two, [it is] one by one that they lift.
 Do something bit by bit. (*Ibid.*, Prov. 102.)

When I heard the following proverb, I expected it had a deep meaning, so I was surprised to discover what two legs meant!

- (124) **Bo moŋ naa keyaa kōŋkō se ba yo owure aye**
 They do not walk leg one on they go to Chief’s place.
 They take two bottles of gin to settle a dispute. (Later Prov. 3.)

In such proverbs, there is no idea of legs as representing strength or opportunity as there was with the non-proverbial uses.

7.7 STOMACH AS SELF

The last proverbs refer to the stomach. In both cases, the stomach seems to be metonymic for the whole body, as it was once before. In the first, whereas the body is full of blood, if you are sick and not vomiting blood, be thankful. The second is frequently sung at festivals, and expresses how a lover can flatter you, but not be consistent.

- (125) **Mbōgya bo kame-ro, ne ba kpōrōwe nkyu**
 Blood is in the stomach, and they vomit water.
 Sometimes we have to put up with small problems. (*Ibid.*, Prov. 64.)
- (126) **Ɔ kpa fo akatō se nee, ɔ maa kpa fo kame-ro**
 He likes your eyes on, he does not like your stomach-in.
 He says he likes you, but not really. (Later Prov 41.)

Although this might seem to be about the emotion of love, it is only about what part he loves!

Thus stomach here in proverbs is not the seat of emotions or concerned with digestion or pregnancy, but is metonymic for the whole person in the same way as it is used for a locative.

8. SUMMARY OF BODY PARTS IN PROVERBS

The body parts used in these proverbs are not necessarily the same as for body metaphor. In particular, the organs do not appear apart from the stomach which is here metonymic for the whole person. Table 3 compares which body parts are used in metaphor and proverb.

Table 3. Comparison of occurrences of body parts in metaphor and proverbs

	<i>Body part</i>	<i>Metaphor</i>	<i>Proverb</i>
HEAD	head	x	x
	face		x
	eye	x	x
	mouth	x	x
	tooth		x
	tongue		x
	cheek		x
	nose	x	x
	ear	x	x
	throat	x	
LIMBS	hand/arm	x	x
	shoulders	x	
	fingers		x
	thumb		x
	legs	x	x
	thigh	x	
	knee		x
	back	x	
	waist	x	
	buttocks	x	
ORGANS	chest	x	
	heart (duŋ)	x	
	heart (kakponə)	x	
	stomach	x	x

The body parts used in these proverbs have been the head as an older person or the whole community, the mouth as community or speech, the hand as community, the legs as progress and the stomach as the self. Clearly the Chumburung believe in the value of the community!

The metaphor of the community as the body has a long history. It's in the Bible, where St. Paul says that Christians are members of one body, the church, and that the body cannot work well unless all members, even the disreputable ones, work together.

Whereas the head in non-proverbial use in Chumburung does not stand for an authority figure, within proverbs it can do. Moreover in non-proverbial use, the head can stand as a metonym for the whole person, but in proverbial use it is the stomach, the inside, that matters. Legs stand for progress rather than strength. Only in the area of the mouth as speech, are there parallels with the metaphors in non-proverbial use.

Further, the only time the proverbs yield an emotion is in the much more vague form of general suffering, for example the proverbs with the eye as part of the head. However in this case it is not that the eye located in a body, but rather that the eye is metonymic for a person.

9. EATING, SEEING AND HEARING AS SENSES

Whereas so far I have dealt with body parts, some of the orifices and their attendant functions are also prolific in producing metaphors. I will look at eating, seeing and hearing. (It should be noted that in Chumburung and Vagla and probably other Ghanaian languages the sense of smell is incorporated in that of hearing, as in **nu so** 'to hear a smell', often translated into Ghanaian English as 'to hear a scent', meaning to smell something.) Eating, seeing and hearing are like the so-called five senses but touching is not included, and in fact tasting in Chumburung is expressed by saying 'to touch see.' I have also added drinking, as it is used instead of eating for a few substances.

9.1 EATING

Chumburung informants are not happy with the idea that **gyi** often translates into eat in English. They note the fact, and don't recognise the metaphorical nature of such phrases.

The compilers of the Vagla dictionary (Crouch and Herbert) have sorted their illustrative examples into six categories: to eat (fairly literally), to use or spend, to experience, to get, to be a role, and forms of speech. Examples within each of these categories include the following. One can 'eat' a person, which means to cheat someone! To 'eat' money or time means to spend money or pass time. One can 'eat' suffering or patience. One can get a profit or a goal in football by 'eating'. A new role such as being fetish priest is taken up by 'eating'. Lastly a person can 'eat' truth by speaking it, or 'eat' a case, meaning to judge it. This last compares with speech.

In the Konkomba dictionary (Steele), they are not categorised, but examples are given of eating suffering, shame, festival, bargain, debt, fetish, fame, right, kingdom, money and case.

Many of these examples are also possible in Chumburung. I have divided my categories into speaking, suffering (like Vagla experiencing, the type one could call tasting), spending time or money, and 'others'.

Just as mouth represented speech, so there are a few examples in Chumburung that use the verb eating also of speaking.

9.1.1 To eat is to speak

- (127) a. **gyi kelaagyema**, ‘to.eat conversation’, i.e. ‘to talk’
 b. **gyi sa**, ‘to.eat to.give’, i.e. ‘to speak for’
 c. **gyi kaseŋtiŋ**, ‘to.eat truth’, i.e. ‘to tell the truth’ (compare Vagla).

In Vagla you can also eat argument. This is not so in Chumburung, where the verb is **gyiiri**, ‘to pull’.

However, whereas speech comes out of a person’s mouth, one would expect that the word eat would be concerned with things going *into* the body.

9.1.2 To eat is to experience

When what happens to a person is received as good or bad, this could be viewed as taking into the body. Neither the mouth nor the stomach are mentioned, although several could be taken to be emotion concepts.

- (128) a. **gyi aworefəɔ**, ‘to eat suffering’, i.e. ‘to suffer’ (also in Vagla).
 b. **gyi bəye**, ‘to eat bad’, i.e. ‘to be naughty’
 c. **gyi gya**, ‘to eat pain’, i.e. ‘to suffer’
 d. **gyi kebeŋ**, ‘to eat innocence’, i.e. ‘to be innocent’
 (Vagla puts this with speaking.)
 e. **gyi kepə**, ‘to eat blame’, i.e. ‘to be guilty’
 (Vagla puts this with speaking.)
 f. **gyi kebaa-rə-yəre**, ‘to eat shoulders-in slack’, i.e. ‘to grieve’
 g. **gyi kitiri**, ‘to eat poverty’, i.e. ‘to be poor’
 h. **gyi kəne**, ‘to eat sweetness’, i.e. ‘to have a good life’
 i. **gyi preepree**, ‘to eat bitterness’, i.e. ‘to have a bitter life’
 j. **gyi təraa**, ‘to eat trouble’, i.e. ‘to suffer’.

In the case where the person is topic-patient, then the cause of the happiness can be put in subject position.

- (129) a. **mə akatə a gyi**, ‘his eyes have eaten’, i.e. ‘He is happy’ ⇒
 b. **mə a gyi əkə akatə**, ‘I have eaten someone eyes’, i.e.
 ‘I made someone happy’.
- (130) a. **gyi əkə se**, ‘to eat someone on’, i.e. ‘to overcome someone’
 b. **gyi mə beəkə**, ‘to eat his fellow’, i.e. ‘to cheat his fellow man’
 (Also in Vagla, but under eat (fairly literal).)
 c. **gyi əkə kəkə**, ‘to eat someone debt’, i.e. ‘to collect a debt’
 (Also in Konkomba.)
 d. **gyi əkə kidiburo**, ‘to eat someone treachery’, i.e. ‘to betray someone’.

This idea of eating being like experiencing is the one that yields more things that could be construed as emotions or characteristics than the other ideas.

9.1.3 To eat is to have a role

Apart from being a role such as being a judge or a teacher, many of these metaphors are to do with being innocent or guilty, or ruling.

- (131) a. **gyi ɔko aseŋ**, ‘to eat someone trouble’, i.e. ‘to judge / settle a case’
 b. **ɔseŋgyipo**, ‘judge’⁴⁵
 c. **gyi kelaagyi**, ‘to eat divination’, i.e. ‘to practise divination’
 d. **gyi kakpe**, ‘to eat witchcraft’, i.e. ‘to practice witchcraft’
 e. **gyi ɔko kuwure si**, ‘to eat someone kingdom on’, i.e. ‘to rule over someone’
 f. **gyi kibre**, ‘to eat grownupness’, i.e. ‘to dress like a lady’
 (Possibly also in Vagla.)
 g. **gyi kipurima**, ‘to eat prostitution’, i.e. ‘to become a prostitute’
 h. **gyi kitiikyaa**, ‘to eat teaching’, i.e. ‘to become a teacher’ (English loan).

9.1.4 To eat is to spend

Money related metaphors include the following:

- (132) a. **gyi koko**, ‘to eat a debt’, i.e. ‘to collect a debt’
 b. **gyi atanne**, ‘to eat money’, i.e. ‘to spend money’ (Also in Vagla.)
 c. **gyi yawo**, ‘to eat price’, i.e. ‘to trade’
 d. **gyi kapotee**, ‘to eat property’, i.e. ‘to inherit’.

This idea of eating as like spending fits most with the body metaphor of the hand as giving and receiving.

Time related metaphors include the following. Some could be interpreted literally, such as eating feasts.

- (133) a. **gyi kegya**, ‘to eat market’, i.e. ‘to go to market’
 b. **gyi borenya**, ‘to eat Christmas’, i.e. ‘to spend Christmas’
 c. **gyi kesaa**, ‘to eat in-laws’, i.e. ‘to perform customs for one’s in-laws’
 d. **gyi ŋke nsa**, ‘to eat days three’, i.e. ‘to spend three days’ (also in Vagla)
 e. **gyi nsu aduna**, ‘to eat years thirty’, i.e. ‘to be thirty years old’.

9.1.5 Other uses of eat

Some other uses of **gyi** proved not to be derived from to eat at all.

- (134) a. **gyi bane**, ‘to eat fence’, i.e. ‘to fence’
 b. **gyi ŋkantere**, ‘to eat rust’, i.e. ‘to rust’.

Perusal of a Twi dictionary indicates that the verb in both cases may derive from **gye** ‘to take or to gather’, fence being **baŋ** and rust **ŋkannare**.

So the only authentic example that remains in the ‘other’ group is the expression meaning to believe someone, which is also used in other languages, such as Twi.

- (135) **kɔre ɔko gyi**, ‘to accept someone eat’, i.e. ‘to believe someone’.

Again the generic theme covered in this section on eating is suffering, but the specific emotions are many. Just as the metaphorical uses of mouth are often about speech, so it is with the verb eat. But spending time or money, or being a role or the idea of eating as consuming, are not apparent in the example given of metaphors or proverbs of the mouth.

⁴⁵ Compare Nkonya **asún-agyípu**, ‘matter-eaters’, i.e. ‘judges.’

9.2 DRINKING

The idea of eating is replaced by that of drinking for some substances.

- (136) a. **nuu mbokyu**, ‘to drink porridge’, i.e. ‘to eat porridge’
 b. **nuu tebaa**, ‘to drink tobacco’, i.e. ‘to smoke’
 c. **nuu segareete**, ‘to drink cigarette’, i.e. ‘to smoke’
 d. **nuu aseraa**, ‘to drink snuff’, i.e. ‘to take snuff’.

The idea of experiencing or suffering can also be expressed metaphorically by the verb ‘to drink’ in just this one example:

- (137) **nuu kokyokwee**, ‘to drink cane’, i.e. ‘to be caned’.

9.3 SEEING

The normal action of the eye, seeing, has metaphorical uses such as getting to know, realising, experiencing as in UNDERSTAND/KNOW = SEE (Goatly 1997, and as in Indo-European languages (Sweetser 1990:33).

- (138) **mo a ŋu**, ‘I have seen’, i.e. ‘I understand’.

In Chumburung it yields some further metaphoric uses.

- (139) a. **ŋu aseŋ**, ‘to see trouble’, i.e. ‘to be in trouble’
 b. **ŋu ɔko ewee**, ‘to see someone suffering’, i.e. ‘to take pity on someone’.

Although metaphors containing the eye are about both happiness or sadness, this does not apply to the verb ‘to see’, except in so far as they are of the emotion of suffering in general.

9.4 HEARING

The normal action of the ear, hearing, has metaphorical uses such as understanding, with the implication of obeying. (Sweetser 1990:35) So we have UNDERSTAND/KNOW = HEAR.

- (140) a. **mo a nu**, ‘I have heard’, i.e. ‘I understand and accept’
 b. **mo i nu kyɔŋbɔrɔŋ-nɔ**, ‘I am hearing Chumburung’, i.e. ‘I understand Chumburung’
 c. **nu kaase**, ‘to hear underneath’, i.e. ‘to understand’
 d. **nu kisiri**, ‘to hear apology’, i.e. ‘to accept an apology’.

As has been explained, the verb **nu** ‘to hear’, can also mean ‘to sense’.

- (141) **nu sɔ**, ‘to hear smell’, i.e. ‘to smell something’.

We also have the following.

- (142) **nu eyee**, ‘to hear self’, i.e. ‘to regret, to repent’.

The only emotion yielded by the verb to hear is regret. Where the ear was used as the metaphor for stubbornness and punishment, this is paralleled with the regret. But mostly to hear is to do with responding to some outside influence.

9.5 CONCLUSION TO EATING, SEEING AND HEARING

In concluding this section on eating, seeing and hearing, we note that eating as experiencing yields plenty of emotions, and many are concerned with suffering. Seeing also relates to suffering, but hearing does not. Also the verbs related to the mouth, the ear and the eye only occasionally touch on the same subjects as the metaphors normally connected with those body parts.

10. POETRY AND PRODUCTIVE BODY METAPHORS

I have stressed that examples came from ordinary speech and folk-stories, before they were used in Bible Translation. None were chosen from the only known Chumburung poet, Amoako-Adjah (1984). However I would like to end with a couple of examples from his work.

(143) **fə ma sa a fə abaa-rə bwee**

You should not cause that your shoulders break.
Do not be discouraged.

This is not the standard metaphor with shoulders, **abaa-rə a yore**. I presume it is a deliberate attempt to be different because it is poetry, although it has also been used by the Chumburung translator of the Psalms.

Here is a complete stanza from another of his poems, with a translation into English.

(144) **Kaborerəduwi a gyaa mō kebə,**

Mō duj a waa mō dwii mō kakponə-rə,

Akyuku a sa ne mōj ləe η kee,

Mfēere a sa ne mō ešebə a tii.

Nē nse e gye ne ɔ pōpōre mō

Na η nya kakponəkyə-ɔ nee?

Pain has broken my neck,

My heart is heavy in my chest,

Tears make me to see no more,

Thoughts have closed my ears.

And who will console me

for me to get comfort?

Kaborerəduwi (pain in the throat) in line 1 is a dead metaphor, but the rest of the line is a creation of the poet. Line 2 is unusual for Chumburung in that hearts are not normally heavy, so maybe he has borrowed the idea from English. Line 3 is merely literal, but line 4 is alive, although I get the feeling that normally one closes one's own ears in Chumburung. **Kakponəkyə** (heart healing) in line 6 is a dead metaphor. There has been a piling up of metaphors about body parts for literary purposes, producing a very sad verse. However there is no multiple drawing upon any one conceptual metaphor.

11. OVERALL CONCLUSION

I hope I have shown adequately that body metaphor in Chumburung yields far more than just the emotions that Kövecses suggests. The self, the eye, the mouth, the ear and the hand all yield actions, characteristics and emotions. Other body parts have less or none. Over forty emotions and forty characteristics have surfaced. See Tables 1 & 2. Although the metaphors may be considered dead, there is often no other way to

express the emotions, because adjectives are few. However this results in a very picturesque use of language.

I have also shown that proverbs should be included, although the resultant emotions are much more general in nature. For a comparison with non-proverbial use, see table 3. The body as a metonym for the community appears frequently.

Looking at the verbs relating to the body also showed that emotions can be expressed with such verbs, especially eating and seeing, and not just the nouns for the body parts. Once again, this may be the only way to express certain emotions, and is a picturesque use of language.

Whilst the poetry of Amoako-Adjah is unique, it shows that new metaphors can be produced for literary purposes.

Let us close by seeing what happens in Chumburung in the five areas of potential cross cultural variation suggested by Kövecses. (See also §0.4.) Firstly he says there will be cultural variation of prototypical cultural models. For anger, he says that Chinese can divert it, but Zulu people direct it to all and sundry. I suggest that for the Chumburung, it is the community that is called upon as peacekeepers. At first they will all happily join in the argument, often repeating certain sentences over and over. But then they will start to tell the angry person to cool off / cool their body / cool their heart (**yuri ase** / **yuri fo eyee** / **yuri fo duŋ**). This may not happen until someone has said they will take a certain action that might remedy the situation, but ultimately it is up to the angry person to become calm.

Secondly there are broader cultural contexts that influence specific cultural models, for example the concept of the humours. For Chumburung, I have been unable to prove that the liver (**kekpo**) is in any way related to the heart (**kakpono**), and hence there is no suggestion that their concept of the organs is anything like that of the Uduk in Sudan, which is based on the four humours. My endnotes of other languages may contribute a few ideas, but they arose from minimal research. No doubt fuller studies of other languages in West Africa would yield answers giving a broader context to Chumburung.

Thirdly there is a range of conceptual metaphors. Not all those for anger in English can also be found in Chumburung. The only one is ANGER IS A BOILING LIQUID, but not ANGER IS A BURDEN or any of the others. Also Chumburung has none of the basic metaphors for happiness found in English. It only has HAPPINESS IS EYES EATING, a metaphor not found at all in any of the languages Kövecses cites. In Chumburung, as in Zulu, the heart is mostly associated with anger. For Chumburung, love does not occur in body metaphor. It seems therefore that Chumburung does not have much of a range of metaphors for any one idea.

Fourthly, there will be different elaborations of conceptual metaphors. ANGER IS A HOT FLUID can elaborate in Zulu so that you can extinguish somebody's anger, an elaboration not made in English. Similarly in Chumburung, your heart can boil, and the fire be extinguished. However this is the *only* elaboration that I can find.

Fifthly there is a range of cultural metonymies, that is bodily responses to the emotion being felt. However in Chumburung, anger only seems to produce a boiling heart, and no other response such as sweating. The "most obvious indicators of internal feelings" including anger in Chinese are the eyebrows. In English the 'light' of the eyes indicates happiness, with verbs such as gleam, shine and sparkle. In Chumburung they indicate pride and greed, and they either eat or they are red!

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