

UNIVERSITY OF EDUCATION, WINNEBA

FOOD METAPHORS IN AKAN



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DECLARATION

STUDENT'S DECLARATION

I, KWAKU ARHINFUL declare that this thesis, with the exception of quotations and references contained in published works which have all been identified and duly acknowledged, is entirely my own unique work, and it has not been submitted, either in part or whole, for another degree elsewhere.

SIGNATURE:

DATE:

SUPERVISOR'S DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis was supervised by me in accordance with the guidelines for the supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Education, Winneba.

NAME OF SUPERVISOR: DR. KWAKU OFORI

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DATE:

DEDICATION

I dedicate this work to my parents Prof. Daniel Mireku-Gyimah and Prof. Mrs. Patricia Beatrice Mireku-Gyimah and loved ones.



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I am grateful to the Almighty God for giving me the wisdom, inspiration and courage to produce this work. Many thanks also go to my supervisor Dr. Kwaku Ofori for his enormous support and encouragement. I am very grateful to him.

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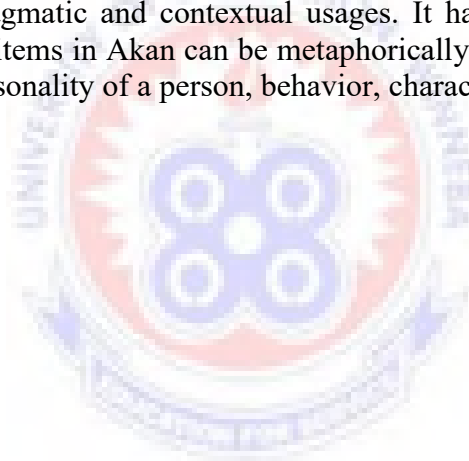
ABBREVIATIONS

N	:	NOUN
V	:	VERB
ADJ	:	ADJECTIVE
PREF	:	PREFIX
PRO	:	PRONOUN
SG	:	SINGULAR
PLU	:	PLURAL
PERF	:	PERFECT
NEG	:	NEGATION
FUT	:	FUTURE
PROG	:	PROGRESSIVE
CONJ	:	CONJUNCTION
REL	:	RELATIONAL
INT	:	INTENSITY
DEG	:	DEGREE



ABSTRACT

In Akan, our everyday language is rife with metaphorical expressions. Most words or expressions on food denote a multitude of metaphorical meanings. The term 'metaphor' is very pervasive in pragmatics, semantics, lexicology, literature, philosophy and cognitive studies (Kovescses, 2002). Food metaphors include any sentences, phrases or words that have consumable inanimate objects in; be it cooked food, uncooked food, fruit, dessert, meat, cooked fish, dried fish, roasted fish etc. (Maalej, 2007). The metaphorical extensions from one domain of meaning cover other notions and objects in the Akan Language. This study examined the food metaphor expressions in Akan employing the theories of Cognitive Based theory (Sweetser, 1990) and the Conceptual Metaphor theory (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). This study was a qualitative case study and collected data using observation and unstructured interview. The study revealed that the Akan language uses indirect ways of communicating and the people employ that by using food items. Speakers use them without being questioned and listeners also interpret them as expressions used every day. We discovered that most of these expressions have become conventionalized and speakers automatically use them. These metaphorical expressions develop from our perceptions of the food items found around us. The study revealed that each meaning functions on its pragmatic and contextual usages. It has also been discovered that, some of these food items in Akan can be metaphorically used to symbolize the whole life or the entire personality of a person, behavior, characteristics, thought or mind.



CHAPTER ONE

1.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a general introduction to the pragmatic analysis of food metaphors in Akan. It throws light on the background to the study. It also discusses the problem that has warranted this study and ways in which the findings of the research intend to solve them. Further, the objectives, significance of the study and the research questions that will serve as a guide for addressing the research problem are also discussed. The chapter also touches on the delimitation, limitations and the organization of the thesis.

The name Akan is used to refer to both a group of people and the largest language in Ghana. It is a Volta Comòe language in the Kwa language family, a sub-family of the broader Niger Congo language family (Dolphyne, Dakubu 1988). The Akans are mainly located in Ghana with a few residing in Côte d'Ivoire and Togo. In Ghana, their major traditional locations are the Bono East region, Ahafo region, Bono region, the Ashanti region, the Western region, the Central region, the Eastern region, and the Volta region. The population of the Akans is on the ascendancy. In 1960, the Akans numbered 2.6 million representing 39% of the population of 6.7 million. Exactly four decades later, the number has increased to 7.753.830 representing 44% of the total national population (Ghana Statistical Service 2005). In addition to the native speakers, there is a very large number of Ghanaians who speak Akan as their second language. Thus, it is widely spoken and serves as a lingua franca in informal situations in Ghana. It obviously enjoys more media coverage than any other Ghanaian language. Moreover, it has a sizeable amount of literature and three standardized dialects: Akuapem, Asante, and Fante.

In Akan, our everyday language is rife with metaphorical expressions. Most words or expressions on food denote a multitude of metaphorical expressions. Food metaphors include any sentences, phrases or words that have consumable inanimate objects in; be it cooked food, uncooked food, fruit, dessert, meat, fish etc. The word, ‘metaphor’ originally coming from a Greek word (Fenwick, 2000) helps people express their perspectives in compressed and imaginative ways (Boostrom, 1998). As important agents for the representation of people’s inner world, metaphors are known as analogies letting us map one experience through the terminology of another (Ortony & Fainsilber, 1989). To a large extent, metaphors also form the way we think, experience, decide, and behave in daily life (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). When the meaning of metaphors is considered, it becomes easy to understand the fact that metaphorical thinking involves employing a familiar object or event as a conceptual tool to elucidate features of a more complex phenomenon or situation (Oxford, Barcelos, Harrington, Lavine, Saleh, & Longhini, 1998). However, “it is not only considered as a powerful tool of expression and a figure of speech but also an important tool of cognition and communication” (Ortony & Fainsilber, 1989, p. 181). Especially, the significant role it has in human cognition makes it an essential instrument of analysis (Oxford et al., 1998). Metaphors may create realities for us, especially social realities. Metaphorical linguistic expressions have been investigated thoroughly in order to disclose the hidden ideologies in different formats of various genres for a better understanding of language and socio-cultural issues which are the basis of creating a positive change and a better society. This study aimed to shed light on how metaphors had played an increasingly pivotal role in education and research.

There are a number of ways to conduct metaphor analyses, including in conjunction with rhetorical criticism, via elicitation, ideographically, and via drawing.

Rhetorically, scholars examine how metaphors are used in texts and speeches, and ask audiences to think in a particular frame. For instance, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s famous speech, "I have a dream," asked participants to think about racism and equality in terms of banking ("America has given the Negro people a *bad check* which has come back marked *insufficient funds*"), food and drink ("Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the *cup of bitterness and hatred*"), buildings ("Nowise the time to open the *doors of opportunity*"), nature ("now is the time to lift our nation from the *quicksands* of racial injustice to the *solid rock* of brotherhood"), and music ("when we allow *freedom to ring*"). These metaphors ask people to view a critical problem they may not have experienced themselves in terms of more familiar concepts. A rhetorical analysis might consider the ideologies involved in using certain metaphors, how persuasive metaphors are to a particular audience, whether metaphors make appropriate comparisons and conceptual linkages, and what metaphors say about the author.

Many scholars, however, consider an idiographic approach to metaphor analysis to be the most rich and generative. An idiographic approach inductively examines metaphors that appear organically in talk and text (Grant & Oswick, 1996), meaning they happen in conversation or writing without researcher prompting.

Another method of generating metaphorical data includes drawing. Drawing can be coupled with either an elicitation or ideographic approach. Researchers have asked participants focused questions to generate categories of metaphors. For instance, Bell and Clark (2014) asked business school students: "If a management researcher were an animal, what kind of animal would they be?" and then analyzed the resulting images. This type of question forces participants to assign a category of

metaphor to their experience and can be useful for direct comparisons among participants.

Scholars may also choose to construct metaphors that describe their dataset or social problem under investigation. For instance, Alvesson (2010) summarized the existing research on self-identity in organizational studies in terms of seven vibrant metaphors: self-doubters, strugglers, surfers, storytellers, strategists, stencils, and soldiers. These images refer to how scholars metaphorically conceive of how people produce themselves in organizations. The metaphors also demonstrate how scholars are taking up a collective topic diversely.

1.1 Background to the Study

In 1980, George Lakoff and Mark Johnson, a linguist and philosopher, respectively, wrote *Metaphors We Live By*, which is considered to be the most extensive theoretical exploration of metaphor to date. This critical book demonstrated how people use metaphors not only to make speech more interesting, but that metaphors actually, structure people's perceptions and understandings of the world.

Lakoff and Johnson's pivotal work outlined how taken for granted features of language actually make up people's "conceptual systems." Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argued that "the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor". In their book, they gave an example of the perspective that "argument is war" and offered a number of common expressions as support, such as how people frame arguments as being "on target," "shot down," "indefensible," "won," and "attacked." These common phrases give light to cultural attitudes towards arguing that arguments, like war, can be won and lost. Likewise, arguments can be a matter of life and death, require strategy, hurt, and maim people. However, these

viewpoints would not hold up in a culture that views arguments as say a dance or as play. Instead of opponents, arguers would be partners; instead of winning and losing, they would be collaborating to finish their dance or game. Viewed differently, arguments would then be experienced differently.

Viewed as mechanisms that are integrated in how people think, act, and communicate, metaphors then offer an important avenue for researchers interested in understanding why people act and speak as they do. Subsequently, metaphor analysis has become a popular avenue for understanding social phenomena including how people conceptualize organizational change, education, health issues, relationships, crisis experiences, and more. For instance, Morgan (1986) developed a typology of metaphors to assess and evaluate organizations, which involved viewing them as machines, organisms, brains, cultures, political systems, psychic prisons, instruments of domination, and elements of flux and transformation. The different schema offered alternate ways of diagnosing and making meaning of organizations and organizational processes.

Since the 1980s, there has been a thriving interest in metaphorical analysis, spurred on in part by the increase in research on language and discourse. Consequently, metaphor research spans disciplinary boundaries and content areas, and is used as a stand-alone method, as well as in conjunction with other ways of data gathering. For instance, metaphor analysis has been used to: understand organizational change, assess educational programs and learning outcomes, explore experiences of child abuse, understand divorce, make sense of drug addiction and alcoholism, evaluate small group discussions, provide recommendations for reducing workplace bullying, interrupt racist ideologies, critique public speech, explore social capital, understand control in the midst of cancer treatment, evaluate the framing of

mental illness in the media and assess leadership in nonprofit organizations, among other topics.

1.2 History and development of the idea

In the 4th century before the Common Era (BCE), Aristotle wrote about methods of persuasion and described metaphors as decorative elements designed to dress up language. He explained that metaphor “gives style, clearness, charm, and distinction as nothing else can” (Aristotle, (n.d.), p. 141). His view of metaphor as ornamentation and decoration persisted for centuries, with subsequent writers considering metaphors as deceptive and distracting in formal speech.

Due to the figurative and subjective nature of metaphors, they were shunned from serious linguistic concerns for many centuries. From the mid-20th century onwards, it was granted research attention and thus various disciplines have studied its role in language and culture, shedding new light on this device. In recent decades, however, scholars have considered metaphors as instruments of meaning making and how people construct reality. Metaphors, which are figures of speech used to compare one thing to another, signal more complex meaning making and thus can be useful as a means of qualitative data collection and analysis.

Metaphors are often confused with other figures of speech such as similes or synecdoche. Synecdoche is the process of referring to something by one of its defining features, for instance calling someone with auburn hair by the nickname “Red.” Similes, on the other hand, suggest objects are like other often unrelated things. For example, one might say that writing is like cooking in that they both involve types of ingredients, have certain rules, but also incorporate improvisation and creativity.

Metaphors go further and equate unrelated concepts in ways that require audiences to think about the main object of comparison in new and different ways. For instance, if someone said, “My friend is a work horse,” they might mean that their friend is large, with lots of stamina, and good at physical labor. Literally, this sentence is not accurate, as people are not horses. However, in metaphorical terms, the phrase emphasizes the friend’s qualities at being good at work. Metaphors like this require interpretation and potentially clarification, for calling someone a “work horse” also equates them to livestock, which is not necessarily a compliment. Likewise, the term may not refer at all to physical characteristics, but rather persistence and drive.

Understanding metaphors also requires consideration of context. Calling someone a “work horse” when their spouse complains about them missing family functions has a very different connotation as calling someone a work horse when they have just won a major award. The former context might set up the metaphor as an excuse or criticism, while the latter might set up the metaphor as a compliment or explanation. Researchers must carefully assess the context, tone, and apparent intention of the metaphor in order to use it for claim making in research.

Metaphors are extremely common in everyday speech, and range in complexity. Some metaphors permeate cultures so much that their meaning is nearly literal, requiring no creative interpretation. For instance, referring to an onion as having “skin” compares the fragile outer layer of the onion to similarly thin human epidermis. Because the papery outer layer is referred to exclusively as skin, there is little room for interpretation. Similarly, to refer to needles as having “eyes” and tables as featuring “legs” offers little to analyze. Extremely common metaphors like this are said to be “dead” or “dormant” (Grant & Oswick, 1996), and offer little insight for researchers.

Instead, researchers may be more interested in “live” metaphors, which “require both a context and a certain creativity to interpret accurately” (Fraser, 1993, p. 330). For instance, in their study of opiate abuse among different cultural groups, Malvini Redden, Tracy, and Shafer (2013) traced through metaphors related to taking medication-assisted treatment as part of the recovery process. Sifting through common and taken-for-granted metaphors like “getting high,” which equates taking certain drugs to a light-headed, euphoric feeling, they instead focused on live metaphors like “liquid handcuffs.” The latter metaphor equated the medication-assisted treatment, methadone, which is a liquid medicine, to handcuffs which restrain prisoners. The metaphor offered a vivid picture into one participant’s sense making of substance abuse treatment, that it is on the one hand helpful, but on the other is an invisible constraint that prevents movement and full freedom. Likewise, the metaphor allowed the researchers to explore the affordances and constraints of treatment, and understand the emotional and behavioral elements of treatment they were not personally familiar with. As the metaphor was probed during a focus group setting, the researchers were also able to test its meaning among other participants who readily agreed with its double-edged connotations.

Tracing back to Lakoff and Johnson’s (1980) *Metaphors We Live By*, their work has demonstrated how the conceptual system, language, and actions are tightly connected to metaphor construction. Through investigating linguistic evidence, Lakoff and Johnson found that most of our conceptual system is metaphorical in nature and that we structure how we think and what we do through metaphorical thought. As can be noticed from Lakoff and Johnson (1980), “Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of what we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature”. In a similar vein, Ritchie (2013, p. 70) pointed out that “most

of our abstract concepts are based on conceptual metaphors that originate in experienced correlations, directing physical experiences and the “embodied” concepts associated with them”. In other words, linguistic metaphors constitute the visible surfaces of conceptual metaphors which allow abstract ideas to become more concrete, tangible, and comprehensible. In order to understand conceptual metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson (1980, p. 5) defined metaphors as ‘understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another’. This is a fundamental concept of mapping of correspondences as metaphor is a linguistic expression between the source domains and the target domains.

1.3 Statement of the problem

Languages employ many techniques in communicating. These techniques are employed to lead interlocutors to the desired interpretations. Many speakers of Akan employ these techniques in their daily interactions even though they do not really know what they are or their communicative roles. They may be used in speech with the ultimate aim of achieving one’s communication intention.

In Akan, food expressions denote a multitude of metaphoric expressions which occur frequently in our everyday speech. Akans unconsciously use food metaphors in their daily interactions without knowing or having in-depth knowledge on what they are and their communicative functions. They thus find it difficult to give a proper analysis and interpretation to metaphors which denote food formulation. Therefore, the Akan interlocutor must know when to use the appropriate food metaphor expression, such as when to advise, feels emotional or having to insult another. Unfortunately, no such work has been done in Akan but the human body has a lot of work in the field of metaphors in Akan. They include Agyekum (2004),

Agyapong (2012) and Agyeiwaa (2009). Due to this reason, it was necessary to undertake such a study.

1.4 Purpose of the study

To help curtail the problem I have stated above, I intend to give a detailed analysis of the pragmatic and contextual usage of food metaphors in Akan. One of the purposes of this study is to make the Akan speech community sentient that many of the expressions relating to food functions is metaphoric in nature and that these food item expressions in Akan act as the productive source of lexical items. The study also sought to find out the concept of food and the themes under which these expressions can be uttered. Again, it is aimed at contributing to the linguistic literature of Akan language with the view to analyze the expressions under several roles they play in life. As part of my willingness to conduct this work, I have decided to make copies of the work available to students in the country and the community as a whole so that many people would get access to it for future references.

1.5 Objectives of the study

- To find out the concept of food in Akan;
- To identify the types and categories of food metaphors in Akan;
- The study also sought to give a pragmatic and contextual usage of the food metaphors in Akan.

1.6 Research questions

- What is the concept of food in Akan?
- What are the types and categories of food metaphors in Akan?

- What is the pragmatic and contextual usages of expressions involving food metaphors in Akan?

1.7 Significance of the study

The findings of this study will help draw the attention of the Akan speech community to the fact that most of the words or expressions relating to food have extended meanings. It will give a proper analysis and interpretations of those metaphors relating to food. The study will contribute immensely to the advancement of knowledge in the area of cognitive pragmatics. It is hoped that the final analysis provided by this will add up to the linguistic literatures on food metaphors. I have decided to make copies of the work available to students in the country and the Akan communities.

1.8 Limitations of the study

There were a number of challenges which served as a limitation to the study. The first was meeting the respondents when they are performing their daily activities. The researcher went to food vendors and other places such as markets, lorry parks, farms, hospitals and the sea shore to meet respondents going about their daily normal activities. Functions such as funerals, churches and marriage ceremonies were also attended. These cost the researcher a lot of time and money.

Sometimes the researcher made time to listen to Broadcast data like the Television and Radio programs but unfortunately it may be missed due to power outage. The researcher made an appointed time to meet some people interested in the topic but for the due day to commence, these people will be hard getting, and even if found they give a lot of reasons why they are not available and pushes the day of meeting further which prolonged the study to be conducted.

One other limitation of the study occurred during the data collection process. The researcher's intention was to collect data which will be pure, credible and reliable from the native speakers. The respondents tried to be formal instead of being indigenous in the use of the language.

1.9 Delimitation of the study

This study is delimited to the Asante Twi and Fante speakers of Akan. Specifically, it is restricted to the Asante people of Kumasi and Fante people of Winneba. The choice of these research sites was mainly due to proximity and easy access to data.

1.10 Scope of the study

The study limits itself to the metaphorical extensions of food in Akan. Their pragmatic structures and contextual usages will be discussed in other words the ethnographic situations where some of these expressions are employed will be discussed.

1.11 Organization of chapters

The whole work has been divided into five chapters. Chapter one provides an introduction to the study. It gives preliminary information about the topic, background to the study as well as the history and development of the idea of metaphor analysis. Again, the statement of the problem, objectives of the study, research questions, purpose of the study, significance of the study, limitations to the study, delimitations and the scope of the study are found in this chapter. It also defines how the entire work has been organized. Chapter two presents the literature review and the theoretical framework within which the study is conducted. Chapter three presents the methodology for collecting data and the analysis used.

Presentation of the data and explanations, pragmatics and contextual usage of food metaphors is found in Chapter four. It gives an account of when and how we use such metaphors that relate to food. Again, the chapter provides the analysis of the components and to what situations people normally use food metaphors in their conversations.

The final chapter, which is chapter five provides the summary, conclusion and recommendations for the study.

1.12 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has presented the general introduction to the study. The background to the study has been given in this chapter and the argument for the need for this current study to be conducted has also been explained. It has provided some linguistic information on the Akan language. Additionally, the statement of the research problem, research objectives and research questions have also been provided in the chapter. The chapter discusses, also, the significance of the study of food metaphors in Akan and presented the segmentation of the thesis.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF LITERATURE

2.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses the theoretical framework within which the study was carried out. It discusses what other researchers have done or said and what other authors have written in relation to the metaphorical extensions of food. It will look at metaphors in general and metaphors in Akan. Finally, it presents a summary of the chapter.

2.1 Theoretical Framework

Language being an abstract social phenomenon has no physical shape that can be touched or felt. It must therefore be actualized in the language community through the use of different linguistic abilities. The current study is grounded on two different but similar theories namely Cognitive based theory of language and Conceptual metaphor theory.

2.2 The Cognitive based theory

The cognitive based theory of language is a theory propounded by scholars including Sweetser (1990), Lakoff & Johnson (1980).

The cognitive based theory states that language structure “is the product of our interaction with the world around us” (Heine, 1997). The way we experience the world around us is responsible for the way we shape or structure our language, communication or grammars. A common human strategy of communication consists in relating different concepts by describing one in terms of the other.

Agyekum (2006) affirms that a cognitive based theory of language takes human perception and understanding of the world to be the basis for the structure of

human language. To him, the complex expressions in language are derived from the basic categories and things within our environment. The perception and understanding of the world is manifested in the experiences of the cultural, social, political, religious and physical environments.

A cognitive based theory sees metaphors as one of the basic human strategies for dealing with our physical environment in that we use existing physical concepts in our environment to conceptualise more abstract concepts. There is a general tendency to borrow concepts and vocabulary from the more accessible physical and social world to refer to the less accessible worlds of reasoning, emotion, and conversational structure (Sweetser, 1990). More abstract domains of meaning tend to derive their vocabulary from more concrete domains rather than the universe.

Deep and pervasive metaphorical connections link our vocabulary of physical perception and our vocabulary of intellect and knowledge. A cognitive based theory accounts for such a connection readily and naturally (Sweetser, 1990).

Sweetser rightly states that “language is systematically grounded on human cognition and cognitive linguistics seeks to show exactly how”. Sweetser claims further that the conceptual system that emerges from everyday human experience has been shown in recent research to be the basis for natural language semantics in wide range of areas. A lot of expressions in language emanate from numerous things or objects we find in our environment. A language therefore can be better analysed and interpreted when one is familiar with the language, its culture, society and the environment. Since these variables are interwoven, a change in any of them affects the nature and structure of the language directly and can thus result to corresponding diachronic changes. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have proposed that linguistic usages

frequently reflect our inherently metaphorical understanding of many basic areas of our lives; that is, not merely language but cognition which operates metaphorically much of the time.

The way we perceive ideas and things manifest in our interaction with the environment. This brings about the transfer of knowledge from one domain onto another, and this happens continuously. Agyekum notes that there is a correlation between a people's external experience and their internal emotional and cognitive states.

Metaphorical language is often part and parcel of authentic situations of life. Metaphors not only mirror the conceptual system, but they shape the cultural models of a certain community (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

2.3 The Conceptual metaphor theory

The conceptual metaphor theory is propounded by Lakoff and Johnson (1980). It is a theory that uses every day conventional linguistic expressions to infer the existence of metaphorical relations or mappings between conceptual domains in the human mind. According to the Conceptual Metaphor Theory, the metaphorical expressions used in a language reflect the metaphorical understandings that language speakers have of different experiences. In this view, metaphor conceptualizations are projections of conceptual structures which reside in speakers' cognition in a manner that enables them to comprehend certain abstract experiences in terms of more concrete ones. It is this systematic nature of certain metaphorical projections that allows people to think, act, reason, and speak about physical experiences.

There are some principles, constraints or hypotheses that define the Conceptual Metaphor Theory. The first among them is what is called the

Unidirectionality of Metaphor, which simply asserts that, conventionally, source domains can structure target domains, but not vice versa (Evans & Green, 2007). Thus, whereas target domains like LIFE can be understood in terms of WAR, the reverse is not the case. Lakoff can still thrive even when two metaphors share the same domain. They identified two metaphors, PEOPLE ARE MACHINES and MACHINES ARE PEOPLE, and their argument is that there is a distinct mapping for each of the metaphors even though they both share the same domain. For instance, they observe that in the PEOPLE ARE MACHINES metaphor, the mechanical and functional attributes associated with computers are mapped onto people, such as speed and efficiency. However, in the MACHINES ARE PEOPLE metaphor, it is the notion of desire and volition that is mapped onto machines (Evans & Green, 2006). In essence, people can only map their notion of desire and volition onto machines, but not their functional attributes.

However, albeit their point is well appreciated, I believe that it is possible to map functional attributes of PEOPLE such as speed and efficiency to machines other than only the notion of will and volition. For instance, it is possible to assert that my computer is fast, strong or slow. In Akan, you can even have statements like *anokwa, me kɔmputa yi adwumaye ye fe* ‘ah, the way my computer works is wonderful/beautiful’. Thus, not only the functional attribute of people is ascribed to the computer, but the dexterity with which it works. The second hypothesis is Hiding and Highlighting; it claims that, in a metaphor, only an aspect of a target concept is brought to the fore (highlighted) by the source, leaving out (hiding) other aspects of the target simultaneously.

For instance, only the adversarial quality of war is highlighted in the metaphor ARGUMENT IS WAR, hiding other aspects like the fact that arguments can

sometimes be peaceful (Evans & Green, 2006). Another seminal principle is the claim that metaphors are Image Schematic. Thus, conceptual metaphors are derived from pre-conceptual embodied experience and it makes them inherently meaningful.

Again, only the features or the similarity of the human male penis is highlighted using 'kwadu' banana which is elongated and curved just like the human male private part. It hides the other aspect which is the sensitivity of mentioning the raw thing in Akan which is 'kote(ε)'. What it means is that we throw more highlight on the fruit and hide the sensitive part of mentioning the raw thing in a conversation by saying "akoa no kwadu so" to mean that "indeed someone has a big penis".

Yule (1997) also observes that, when linguists investigate the meaning of words in a language, they are interested in characterizing the conceptual meaning and less concerned with the associative or stylistic meaning of words. He goes on to state that Conceptual meaning covers those basic essential components of meaning which are conveyed by the literal use of word.

2.4 Metaphor

The word, 'metaphor' originally coming from a Greek word (Fenwick, 2000) helps people express their perspectives in compressed and imaginative ways (Boostrom, 1998). As important agents for the representation of people's inner world, metaphors are known as analogies letting us map one experience through the terminology of another (Ortony & Fainsilber, 1989). To a large extent, metaphors also form the way we think, experience, decide, and behave in daily life (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). When the meaning of metaphor is considered, it becomes easy to understand the fact that metaphorical thinking involves employing a familiar object or event as a conceptual tool to elucidate features of a more complex phenomenon or

situation (Oxford, Barcelos, Harrington, Lavine, Saleh, & Longhini, 1998). However, “it is not only considered as a powerful tool of expression and a figure of speech but also an important tool of cognition and communication” (Ortony & Fainsilber, 1989). Especially, the significant role it has in human cognition makes it an essential instrument of analysis (Oxford et al., 1998). Metaphor has generally been understood as a figurative expression which interprets a thing or action through an implied comparison with something else.

Wales (1989) defines a metaphor as “a notion when words are used in the sense that one field of reference is carried over or transferred to another”. It is a phenomenon when the meaning of a word in one area is extended to mean another thing in a different area. Thus, for any given metaphor, we can identify a source domain and a target domain.

Croft (2004) confirms the notion of source and target relations and states the “metaphor involves a relationship between a source domain, the source of the literal meaning of the metaphorical expression, and a target domain, the domain of the experience actually being described by the metaphor”. The source domain tends to be relatively concrete areas of experience and target domains more abstract (Lee, 2001).

Kovecses (2002) is of the view that in cognitive semantics, metaphor is defined as understanding of one conceptual domain in terms of another. It means transferring the ideas one has about a particular field of concept to explain another. Metaphor is a way of comparing an entity X with an entity Y. The concept of metaphor is based on physical and mental experience. To analyse and understand metaphors together with their meanings properly, there is the need to have a critical look at their semantic and pragmatic structures and the communicative competence

(which includes knowledge of the language, culture, society, environment, religion, and politics) of the one using the metaphor (Agyekum, 2002).

According to Steen (1994) cited in Agyekum (2002) the verbal aspect of metaphor ought to be regarded as dependent on or derived from concept metaphor. To Agyekum, there is a mapping of one whole cognitive domain onto another in metaphor. Probably this is the reason why Black (1962) claims that a single metaphor reflects through entire conceptual fields, hence the real meaning of a metaphor is often far removed from its literal meanings.

Metaphors can take up different meanings from their original words. They are therefore partly responsible for the semantic shift and lexical extensions that can take place in the meanings of words over a period of time (Agyekum, 2002).

Maalej (2017) also identifies that, the most common source domains for metaphorical mappings include domains relating to food. Different kinds of food are used to express meanings to other things.

Levinson (1983), cited in Agyekum (2005) views metaphors and other tropes as being partly responsible for the significant semantic shift that can take place in the meaning of words over time. It is through metaphors that the meaning of words changes or shift with the passage of time.

Waldron (1979), cited in Agyekum (2005) states that “metaphor is one means, perhaps the principal means, through which novelty can enter language level of reference; metaphors enlarge the semantic range of words momentarily or more permanently, changing the frontiers of our lexical categories”. Metaphors are part and parcel of human life.

Winter (2001) posits that the most important application of the theory of conceptual metaphor has been in the areas of law, political, and social issues. Winter shows that, it is common for the Supreme Court to use metaphors to extend legal categories developed in previous decisions. He remarks that metaphor is thus a powerful legal tool that has effects throughout our social lives.

Sweetser (1990) states that “metaphor allows people to understand one thing as another without thinking the two things are objectively the same”. Sweetser claims further that a metaphor is a major structuring force in semantic change. Metaphor is the underlying phenomenon that allows people to realize that there is a connection between certain domains.

In another related development Agyekum (2007) comments on the meaning of metaphor. He posits that “metaphor is an image whereby a comparison is made by a direct reference, (a is b)”. According to him this technique of imagery is particularly common in praise songs and chants in which the artist is so carried away with admiration of objects or persons that he or she conceives of them in exaggerated terms. He continues saying that nature and environment, trees, plants, animals, the solar system are used, and attributes of human beings are given to these elements. Again, the positive sides of these elements are also attributed to human beings.

Richards (1936) in his philosophy of rhetoric, comments on how a metaphor functions as a “double unit”. He introduces the terms ‘tenor’ and ‘vehicle’, which refer to the ‘principal subject’ and the name of the figurative term itself respectively. To support his claim, Richard cited such instance as “Juliet is the sun”; ‘Juliet’ would be the tenor and ‘sun’ the vehicle. Other writers such as Heine (1997), Kovecses (2002), Geeraerts (2007), Evans (2006), etc. employ the general terms ‘source’ and

‘target’ domains to denote what Richards identifies as the tenor and vehicle. Usually, tenor and vehicle are not taken from the same sphere of experience. Metaphoric transference can take place if some likeness is perceived between tenor and vehicle that belong to two different domains (two dissimilar domains). The relationship between the tenor and the vehicle is the point of similarity. The point of similarity is not explicitly stated but implied, and this makes the interpretation of metaphors very difficult.

In his essay, “Metaphor and War”, distributed over the internet on the eve of Gulf War, Lakoff (1990) proves to people the most important analyses not only of the use of metaphor by the U.S. government to persuade the populace but also of the role of conceptual metaphors in planning foreign policy. Lakoff shows in his essay in detail how the metaphors used within the U.S. government to conceptualize the political and economic situation in Iraq systematically hid the most dreadful consequences of that war.

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) state that “metaphor is for most people a device of the poetic imagination and the rhetorical flourish – a matter of extraordinary rather than ordinary language.” They argue that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. According to them our ordinary conceptual system in terms of which we both think and act, what we experience, and what we do every day are largely metaphorical in nature. They conclude that this is what they mean when they say that human conceptual system is metaphorically structured and defined. Metaphors as linguistic expressions are possible precisely because there are metaphors in a person’s conceptual system. Metaphors are part of our everyday life and it is thus not surprising for Lakoff and Johnson to title their book as “Metaphors We Live By” (Agyekum, 2006).

Lakoff and Johnson (1980) also posit that political and economic ideologies are framed in metaphorical terms and like all other metaphors, political and economic metaphors can hide aspects of reality. But in the area of politics and economics, metaphors matter more, because they constrain our lives.

In conformity with Lakoff and Johnson (1980) “the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another”. Agyekum (2002) posits that “meanings of metaphorical utterances cannot be deducted from literal senses of the words. There is no one to one correspondence mapping over the individual words and their meanings”. For any given metaphor, we can identify a source domain and a target domain.

2.5 Metaphor in Akan

According to Agyekum (2003) the direct equivalent of the term metaphor in Akan is ‘*Nnyinahɔma*’ (literally, stand there for). Akan speakers are fond of using non-literal expressions (indirection) in their speech. They often employ a particular proverb or striking metaphor when they wish to embellish their message to a poetic dimension. In using metaphor, the Akan speaker makes use of symbolism and picturesque language instead of abstract vocabulary to convey his or her message. So, for example, an Akan may say ‘*akoa no kwadu so*’ instead of saying it directly that ‘*akoa no kɔte so*’ which means ‘the person in said has a huge penis’. The speaker avoids the use of literal equivalents because he/she wishes to show how sophisticated he/she is in the language. According to my informants, a speaker also uses a metaphor or non - literal expressions to avoid face threats and to show his or her linguistics politeness within the socio - cultural norms of Akan communication. Metaphor is also used by a speaker to convey a message which is regarded as delicate by the Akan community. For example, to announce the death of a chief using the bare words is a

taboo. To avoid this embarrassment, the speaker resorts to the use of euphemistic expressions.

In Akan, metaphors, together with idioms and euphemisms are instances of indirection. Obeng (1994) comments on the use of metaphors, idioms, and euphemisms in speech. He clearly states that “like proverbs the use of appropriate idioms and metaphoric expressions in speech is a prerequisite for communicative competence.” According to him these three devices are mechanisms of indirections used in face to face interaction to save people’s faces. These mechanisms transform simple and ordinary speeches into deep and philosophical pieces that are greatly admired by the audience (Schottman, 1993, Goffman, 1976).

Yankah (1991) also comments on the use of metaphors and euphemisms among the Akans. He remarks that direct utterances devoid of these devices can lead people into trouble. To him, in such cases, the paralinguistic features, especially facial expressions, can easily lead the audience to interpret what is being said. According to him Akans frequently use metaphor, innuendo and proverbs as forms of indirection to control the potency of offensive language, and also to save the speaker’s face.

According to Agyekum (2004) an indirection, metaphor, idioms, and euphemisms, there is a potential ambiguity, and often a shift from one domain of experience to the other and this prevents the easy assignment of malicious motives to the user. To him, there is a popular element in metaphoric expression of saying one thing in the physical realm to be interpreted differently in the mental realm. It is therefore a competent speaker who is able to manipulate this metaphoric system in his or her speech so as to protect his or her face and that of others. People pay attention to speeches with such figures of speech. A speaker who extensively makes use of a

metaphor or proverb in the right context wins applause from his or her audience and is communicatively competent.

In another related study, Agyekum (1996) comments on the significance of euphemisms and metaphors in Akan communication. According to him euphemisms and metaphors are necessary substitutes for verbal taboos themselves. He states further that euphemism and metaphors are roundabout ways of toning down the unpleasantness of the use of verbal taboos. To him, euphemisms and metaphors afford the speaker an escape from the strict rules and sanctions of verbal taboos.

Metaphor is culture specific. What one culture sees as metaphor might not be a metaphor to another. Also, the meaning of a metaphor can be ambiguous or sometimes be completely distorted or misinterpreted if the listener does not share the same cultural codes and interpretations with the user of the metaphor. It is therefore always better to refer to the context in which the speaker used the metaphor for the best interpretation since the situation and the context help to clear all ambiguities in metaphors. Agyekum (2002) states that “a proper analysis and understanding of metaphors and their meanings involves a close look at the semantic and pragmatic structures and the communicative competence of the analyst”. He claims that communicative competence involves the cultural, social, environmental and the overall knowledge of the language of the analyst. The semantic aspect covers the intrinsic and extended meanings of the metaphors, the pragmatic refers to their contextual usage. On a similar view, Mey (1993) cited in Agyekum (2006) clearly states that “pragmatically speaking, all metaphors are wrong as long as they are not ‘contextualised’, i.e. placed within the proper situation of use; Only the context of situation that we want to characterize metaphorically can determine the usefulness of

a particular metaphor. The task of pragmatics is to ‘deconstruct’ the metaphor, to unload the ‘loaded weapon’ of language”.

In order to give a proper analysis and interpretation of a metaphor, it is therefore always better to refer to the physical environment, the cognitive aspect, the semantic and pragmatic structures of the metaphors and the ethnographic encounters under which they are used. For example, to have a food metaphor expression such as;

hohom bōne ba wo so a ye-de ngo ne eto na epete so

N-spirit ADJ-bad come 2PL on REL 3PL-use palm oil CONJ etor and sprinkle on

‘When bad spirit is upon you, we drive it away by sprinkling mashed plantain and palm oil on you’

Meaning; ‘To make way for peace/calmness to prevail’

There is the need to know about the culture, values and norms of the people to properly give a detailed and well analysis of the metaphor.

2.6 Culture, Cultural Model, and Metaphor

Language is a part of culture and the cross-cultural study of metaphors seems to be one of the most stimulating fields to linguistic researchers. Cultural models, moreover, are those shared understandings between people in a particular community that organize and moderate their experience and behavior providing them with a certain framework for the interpretation of everyday realities. According to anthropologists, such models play a prominent role in human beings’ thought and reasoning and that speakers’ metaphor usage is highly constrained by these pre-existing cultural understandings.

Conceptual systems act as building blocks of a “cultural group’s cultural cognition”. It further maintains the cultural models that provide the members of a certain cultural group with “templates” for comprehending particular dimensions of their lives. The locus of conceptual systems may be developed by one individual, but then it may become an essential part of the cultural cognition of a cultural group, but with the passage of time, its origin may not be remembered by succeeding generations. In this case, the dividing line between the original conceptual systems and the metaphorical systems arising from them would be highly arbitrary. Regarding this notion, if we view the internalized systems of our conceptualization as specific cultural models, then we can trace the metaphors in certain cultural models rather than just reflect on these models.

Human beings’ conceptualization is based on multi-faceted dimensions through which our conceptual faculties derive from a variety of experience sources consisting of body, environment, as well as our particular culture that give birth to as well as recognize our new experiences. Further, culture experience, also known as ‘world view’, provides a human being with a framework for his conceptualization and it may direct and construe the way he conceptualizes his body and/or environment (Driven et al., 2003). Cultural conceptualization captures a variety of sub-configurations of cognitive repertoire used by human beings brought together from basic perceptual processes.

The emergence of these cultural concepts is through the specific interactions between the members of a particular culturally-bound group and is continuously negotiated across time and space in authentic situations of life. The native speakers’ conceptualizations across different cultural groups are widely related to their specific manner of thought and attitude and in turn they will lend themselves to norms, beliefs,

customs, values and traditions or, as Imran (2011) and (Imran, Ruzy Suliza & Hashim, 2009) report, the different ethnic groups of people might be predisposed to manifest certain conceptual metaphorisations in particular ethnocentric aspects.

The most general supposition to make at this juncture is that due to the prominent significance of food in everyday life as a specific source of nourishment and exquisite pleasure, food has a pervasive use in a variety of cultures and languages as a concrete source domain mapping ideas/thought, virtue, attitude, human temperament, and sexual desire as target domains in Akan.

2.7 Related Studies of food metaphors in conceptualization and communication

Food items play an important role in language. Throughout the latter half of the twentieth century, scholars of linguistics have shown that many of our metaphorical expressions develop from our perceptions and experiences of the food items we come across. Martins (2015) put forth a set of expressions in Portuguese related to the conceptual domain of food, which she analysed in terms of their meaning and identification of their underlying metaphor. She concluded that the most basic areas of life such as food are fraught with metaphors. To support her suggestion, she cited and analysed examples such as;

1. Batata quente nas maos – hot potato on one's hands

Meaning: having a difficult issue in hands or pass it onto someone else.

2. Farinha do mesmo saco – flour from the same bag

Meaning: have or share the same flaws.

3. Ser pito duro – be stale bread

Meaning: used to qualify someone who is mean.

4. comer/ dar/ vender gato por lebre (eat/give/ sell cat for hare)

Meaning: be deceived by appearances or be tricked by someone (Barata, 1989).

5. cuspir no prato que deu de comer (spit on the plate that feeds you)

Meaning: be ungrateful for something that was given to you (Barata, 1989).

6. dar/crescer água na boca (make your mouth water)

Meaning: to strongly desire something (Barata, 1989)

7. encher chouriços (fill chorizos or the tripe that envelop the spicy meat)

Meaning: To do something that is worthless and a waste of time (Barata, 1989).

8. entornar o caldo (spill the broth)

Meaning: spoil the harmony; change to a worse situation; make a serious mistake (Barata, 1989)

9. fome de dinheiro (hunger for money)

Meaning: yearn for money (Barata, 1989)

At the end of this lexical and metaphorical analysis, it is possible to refute beyond a shadow of doubt the traditional idea that metaphors are merely used in literary and poetic texts with the function of embellishing them or in rhetoric contexts to flourish speech. Metaphors are pervasive in language and life itself, enabling to conceptualise extralinguistic reality by structuring and organising thoughts and actions. The examples presented above shows that the basic areas in people's lives which could be food is rife with metaphoric expressions. And that the transference of meaning from one conceptual domain to another throw light on areas which might be difficult to understand or conceptualise.

Silaski and Durovic (2013) tackled the topic of the global financial crisis by examining the role of both verbal and visual instances of food metaphor in Serbian press. Within the theoretical framework of Conceptual Metaphor theory pertaining not only to verbal (Lakoff & Johnson 1980, Charteris-Black 2004, etc.) but also to pictorial and multimodal discourse (Forceville, 1996, Forceville & Urios-Aparisi, 2009, etc.). They claim a magazine cover serves not only as an advertisement, but also as “the presentation of a selective view of reality” (McCracken, 1993), or in Berger’s terms, an image becomes “a record of how x had seen y ” (Berger, 1972). Since pictures (often combined with text) have a stronger rhetorical effect and much more persuasive power than words alone, the choice of pictorial metaphors for a magazine cover seems only natural, having in mind the basic property of metaphor to represent an abstract, hard-to-understand concept in terms of a more concrete and easier-to-understand concept. Pictorial and multimodal metaphors in particular “require(s) the text’s recipient to construct a meaningful reading by processing verbal and visual elements together” (Koller, 2009), which boosts the persuasive power of the cover. In addition, Forceville (2008) claims that pictorial metaphors have “a more sensual and emotive impact on viewers” than those purely verbal. Finally, they may have a strong impact on the readership regarding their understanding of the crisis, since the crisis, although frequently metaphorically structured in words alone, may be better understood by using powerful pictorial elements which pertain to its causes and effects and even the ideologies subtly hidden behind the metaphorical veil. The data collection for the analysis consisted of several covers which relate to the global financial crisis, published in the weekly *EkonomEast* magazine in Serbian in the period 2008-2011. The main aim was to establish how the food metaphors was used by the media in order to describe by using suggestive and warning pictures

accompanied by textual images, the impact of global financial crisis. They looked at examples such as Money as food, a lack of money is a lack of food, dealing with the financial crisis is tightening the belt, Serbia without food, a luncheon worth 3bn pounds, the State on a diet and a hungry year. This was to perceive the similarities between the lack of food and the crisis into action, all stemming from the ingrained importance ascribed to food in Serbian society.

They explained that, thinking about money in terms of food is linguistically well manifested. Firstly, both hunger and the economy can be satisfied. They affirm we can satisfy our hunger by eating tangible objects – food, just as we can “satisfy” or “nourish” the economy faced with the financial crisis by injecting or pumping money into it; and secondly, the physiological boundary which suggests that a high level of satisfaction and physical health has been reached if a stomach is filled with food; a full stomach presupposes a healthy organism, viewed here as a healthy and functional economy filled with money as food. Conversely, the financial crisis leads to an empty, flat stomach, i.e. economies void of the funds necessary to sustain the economic organism. Conceptualising economy as an organism has been amply documented (Charteris & Ennis 2001, Charteris-Black & Musolf 2003, White, 2003 etc.). The selected magazine covers containing the underlying conceptual metaphor also revolve around animism for an abstract entity such as economy, i.e. “referring to something that is inanimate using a word or phrase that in other contexts refers to something that is animate” (Charteris-Black, 2004). We can find such example of food metaphor in Akan such as ‘Akoa yɛ kako’ which means an unintelligent person. Whereby ‘Akoa’ which means a person has been understood in terms of ‘kako’ which is a type of dried fish which serves as a meat for food making. The analysis here is that an inanimate

object has being metaphorized into an animate object. Here the target domain is metaphorically compared to the source domain.

They further explained that, we usually tighten our belt when we lose weight, which is in turn induced by reducing the amount of food we put in our body. Less food means a leaner body and consequently pulling our belt tighter around our waist. Taking less food, i.e. being on a diet may occur due to various reasons, one of them being strictly economical – harsh economic times, thus the necessity to economise on food. Consequently, when the dire financial times get better and our diet is enriched with more luxurious food, we can loosen our belt accordingly.

The pictorial metaphor depicting a person's belly around which a belt is cinched is reinforced with the caption *Država na dijeti* 'the state on a diet', which emphasises the conceptualisation of the state and its economy as animate and organic. The state, and consequently the economy, is metaphorically viewed as a person who should cut down on money (i.e. food) in the form of excessive spending in order to accommodate to the current economic crisis. Tightening the belt in economic sense in Serbia entails cutting or eliminating money in the form of debts, which is likened to a person who cuts or eliminates luxurious food and restricts herself only to the bare necessities. When it becomes obese, overgrown and overweight (though, primarily by the greed of a rather small group of people), the state i.e. the economy must be put on a particular dietary regime which means less money as food, or more precisely more financial responsibility in spending money and seeking for less expensive options. Still, the tightening of the state's belt strongly suggests the overall change in "diet", which in certain cases may be particularly painful and drastic, e.g. when companies are the object of this dietary imagery. In that case, it entails massive lay-offs of

people, who as bread-winners will not be, both literally and figuratively, able to provide money-as-food to their dependents.

Other studies looked at metaphor as “THOUGHT IS FOOD” or “IDEAS ARE FOOD” which is manifested in everyday verbal expressions. Studies have demonstrated how ingredient, flavor, preparation, chewing, swallowing, and digestion of food are mapped onto various aspects of ideas: content (“Her speech has got some meat to it”), quality (“a sweet memory”), production (“a half-baked idea”), consideration (“Let me chew over the suggestion”), accepting (“What he said was hard to swallow”) and comprehension (“It’s important to absorb information”) (Kövecses, 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980).

Maalej (2017) in his paper presented at a conference described Tunisian Arabic women using food metaphors under the topic “What food metaphors tell us about women in Tunisian Arabic community”. He used Cognitive based theory for his framework. He analysed his work under these modules; Pervasiveness in thought, action, picture, and discourse; Cognitive unconscious nature of metaphor; Highlighting and hiding capacity; Evaluative dimension of metaphor; and Persuasiveness of metaphor. He further explained that Metaphor is ubiquitous not only in language but also in thought and action (Lakoff & Johnson 1980); “In all aspects of life, not just in politics or love, we define our reality in terms of metaphors and then proceed to act on the basis of the metaphors” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Metaphor is ubiquitous in discourse: politics (Lakoff, 1991; Maalej, 1990), economics (Henderson, 1980; Maalej, 1990), advertising (Forceville, 1996; Maalej, 2001, 2003; Tanaka, 2004), literature (Turner, 1991, 1996; Steen, 1994), emotions (Kövecses, 2000; Maalej, 2004), time (Lakoff, 1987; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999), and mundane concepts known as event-structure metaphor (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). He asserts

that Cognitive scientists assume that consciousness or conscious thought only accounts for a small portion of thought (Lakoff & Johnson, 1999) and that anything that we rely on constantly, unconsciously, and automatically is so much part of us that it cannot be easily resisted, in large measure because it is barely even noticed (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). The metaphors that “are most alive and most deeply entrenched, efficient, and powerful are those that are so automatic as to be unconscious and effortless” (Lakoff & Turner, 1989). Functioning normally in reality entails using inconsistent metaphors to embrace the different facets of a given target concept (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). In allowing us to focus on one aspect of a concept, a metaphorical concept can keep us from focusing on other aspects of the concept that are inconsistent with that metaphor” (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). Part of analyzing metaphors is drawing attention to which aspects of the source domain are not transferred to the metaphorical target (Charteris-Black, 2004).

In analyzing his work, he made mention that metaphor makes positive and negative “evaluation” exactly like when we use the adjectives “good” and “bad” to make positive and negative evaluations (Glucksberg, Gildea & Bookin, 1982). Under the good food metaphors, he gave examples like WOMAN AS FOOD, WOMAN AS A FRUIT, WOMAN AS DESSERT and explained these under the ‘schematic isomorphism’ between the act of eating and the sex act. Eating and having sex are the most salient ways in which the inside of the body permeates and is permeated by the outside world or another body; the body is a container, in both feeding and reproduction. Feeding in the mouth-maintained life, ‘feeding’ in the vagina in intercourse produced new life (Emanatian, 1999). And under the bad metaphors he gave examples like SHE IS UNCOOKED, SHE ISN’T DELICIOUS and SHE IS TASTELESS. He downgraded women by using these examples. He concluded that

our bodily experience structures the metaphors, and the metaphors give meaningful form to our bodily experience (Fesmire, 1994).

Khajeh & Ho-Abdullah (2013) worked on Persian Culinary Metaphors: A Cross-cultural Conceptualization. The study demonstrated the pervasiveness of culinary metaphors in Persian social and cultural interaction hypothesizing that food metaphors may single out the unique status of eating/food in Persian culture and society. They investigated the metaphorical conceptualization of “THOUGHT AS FOOD”, TEMPERAMENT AS FOOD, and LUST AS FOOD within the MIND IS BODY concept as primarily based on the assumption that thought, human disposition, and sexual desires are in fact closely interrelated. To utilize a particular conceptual metaphor model (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980, 1999; Ahrens, 2002) the image schema and proposition schema of related food metaphors are investigated in order to analyze cultural variations across Persian and English. The researchers suggest that cultural cognition which is distributed across the minds in a cultural group plays a key role as the source of cross-cultural variations. Adopting an experientialist notion of interpreting metaphorical expressions cognitively as a cross-domain mapping from a source (more delineated) domain to the target (less delineated) domain (Lakoff, 1990), their research explored how metaphorical constituents reflect various cognitive and cultural models by investigating the metaphorical conceptualizations of IDEAS/THOUGHT AS FOOD, TEMPERAMENT AS FOOD, and SEXUAL LUST AS FOOD in current Persian language.

FOOD/EATING concepts provide us with a conceptual basis for illustrating a relatively large amount of metaphor conceptualizations in Farsi. This study aimed at examining the relationship between culinary concepts and Persian culture, as well as how these expressions influence the targeted speakers' beliefs, ideas, and dispositions.

With respect to the alterations in life experiences like some other culturally-bounded variations (Liu, 2002; Kovecses, 2006), it is expected that the choice of specific food related metaphors for manifesting the realities of life vary culturally as well.

Most words and metaphorical expressions in a certain language can be analyzed into innumerable semantic markers, and the number of potential metaphor conceptualizations on the basis of similarity is really unlimited. It is not to deny that there are always metaphorical equivalents across languages and cultures, i.e. there is always cultural overlapping. However, the question at this juncture is how many of these metaphoric instances exist among human languages? There are of course very few expressions with similar mapping conditions. The essential point is that the instances of overlapping of metaphors in different languages “are not concrete manifestations of some pre-existing universal conceptual metaphors; rather, they are the results of arbitrary pairing of a metaphorical signifier and a metaphorical signified that happen to be identical or similar across two languages” Ding (2009, p. 55). The motives for metaphorical disparity are many, but the most essential one comes from the fact that in all languages, innumerable cultural units exist to the metaphor users, each consisting of a huge number of semantic components to shed light on various aspects of social life. They eventually chose cultural unit as a metaphorical vehicle for a specific life situation in a particular language community.

The Data and Methodology of their study adopted the basic tenet of the conceptual metaphor theory discussed by Lakoff and Johnson (1980) that we conceptualize most abstract domains in terms of those which are relatively better comprehended in our physical and cultural environment of daily life. Owing to the importance of food/eating in our daily life as a particular source of sustenance and enjoyment, involving the process of intake, swallowing, and digestion, it is likely that

the food/eating concept is widely applied in different related or unrelated cultures, and languages as a source concrete domain reflecting ideas, dispositions, and sexual desires of humans. A purely physical aspect of eating is the nourishment it provides for the body and we generally eat to get a pleasant agreeable taste, and avoid food with non-enjoyable gustation, or as Newman (1997, p. 215) emphasizes, “There is an experiential bias towards enjoyable gustation”.

As Lakoff and Johnson (1999) assert, the mind can be conceptualized in bodily domains, a well-functioning mind as a healthy body, just as body needing the right kind and content of nutrition, appetizing and healthful material, so the mind will search for the right kind and amount of ideas. The related ideas can be the general human thinking system of ideas itself, human disposition and virtue, and sexual matters or lust. Within the primary conceptual metaphor, THE MIND IS BODY, Lakoff and Johnson (1999, p. 241) direct our attention to the conceptual metaphor of Acquiring Ideas as Eating in which the mind is conceptualized in terms of the body. To carry out a systematic analysis of food related metaphors in Persian and English, the researcher begun with documented material, both printed and on-line databases of Persian and English metaphors from a variety of monolingual and bilingual dictionaries and some other lexicographical works such as dictionaries of idiomatic metaphorical expressions and thesauri, actual discourse, and native speakers’ intuition as corpus data. The basis for choosing the related copies is that they contain a good repertoire of the examples with contexts in which they occur, an important issue in appreciating the effect of metaphorical usage of a certain language. It is worth mentioning that no set is ever comprehensive enough, since the new forms of chunks are always possible. The discussion here will be in terms of searching for the broad categories of concept of EAT rather than the specific verb “eat”.

These researchers adopted the qualitative method of examining data. Ultimately, the findings were presented in a structured manner. For the theoretical framework, the researcher applied the Lakoffian Contemporary Theory of Metaphors (1980, 1999) for the analysis of Persian food related metaphorical concepts of IDEAS/TEMPERAMENT/LUST within its most crucial notions as “conceptual mapping”, “image schema”, and “proposition schema”. In addition, Ahrens’s (2002) Conceptual Mapping Model (CM model) was used; the metaphorical expressions were analysed in terms of the ‘entities’, ‘qualities’, and ‘functions’ which are mapped between certain source and target domains, and then an underlying motivation for these reflections were postulated. Considering food as a source domain, the CM model was used to map to the different domains of IDEAS, TEMPERAMENT and LUST in Persian language. Thus, on the basis of the proposed source domain of food, the linguistic metaphorical expressions were generated and then grouped according to their commonalities of their target domains of ideas, disposition, and sex. The metaphorical expressions collected were then analyzed for image schematic correspondences regarding the source and target domains. After analyzing the conceptual metaphors in this way, a mapping principle (particular proposition schema) for ideas, temperament, and lust in Persian will be postulated.

Through analyzing the image schemas that map for a particular metaphor conceptualization, it will be possible to identify the basic reason why a certain target (idea, temperament, and lust) was selected as a particular source domain (food). Based on the identified real-world knowledge, for each example, they analysed linguistic metaphorical expressions that were the image schematic correspondences between each source-target domain pairing, searching for related entities, qualities, and functions. Then, an analysis of the underlying mapping principle for each

metaphor conceptualization was provided. With respect to this analysis, as Su (2002) points out for example, the identified ingredients of food, flavor of food, preparation of food, and digestion of food are subsequently mapped conceptually onto some certain aspects of thought domain as content, quality, production, and comprehension through which a certain proposition-schema can be postulated for each pairing.

To illustrate the heuristic procedures used in the analysis conducted on the basis of image-schema, the proposed proposition-schema for metaphor conceptualization of THOUGHT AS FOOD will be introduced in the section below. Grammatical abbreviations used in metaphor to metaphor translations are: ACC= accusative/object marker, GEN= genitive/possession, INF= infinitive, PAST-P= past participle, PL= plural, POSS= possessive, PROG= progressive.

The content of thought is the ingredient of food

In Persian, speakers often encounter such metaphorical expressions as:

(1) *goft- e- hā -š por o peymān ast*

Speak- GEN-PL-POSS.3SG- full and scale is

‘His speech is very informative’ (has much ingredient)

(2) *bi- māye fatir-e*

NEG- material azymic is

‘His words/thought are not informative’ (without ingredient)

The above sentences use the terms *por-o peymān* (has much ingredient), and *bi-māye* (without ingredient) to refer to the content of the speech or knowledge of the speaker associated with the ingredient or content of food made by good or bad material. The

ingredients of food are here conceptualized as the content of thought /knowledge/ language through the use of metaphorical concepts of the word, originally taken from the ingredients of food.

The quality of thought is the flavor of food

In Persian, there exist metaphorical expressions using the flavor of food to describe the quality of thought as in:

(3) *harf- hā-š širin- e / talx-e /xām-e/na-poxte ast/bā-maze ast/bi-maze ast*

Word-PL-POSS.3SG sweet is/bitter is/raw is/uncooked is/tasteful is/tasteless is

‘His words are sweet/bitter/raw/uncooked/tasteful/tasteless.’

(4) *ādam- e xām-i/ poxte-i ast*

Person-GEN raw is/cooked is

‘He is inexperienced/knowledgeable and experienced.’

In English, there are the same expressions of ‘sweet thought’ or ‘bitter thought’ using the flavour of food to illustrate the quality of thought through using certain modifiers. These expressions show that the food flavour is metaphorically transferred to the thought quality. The examples show that a variety of flavours of food domains are metaphorically extended to qualify ideas and thoughts in Persian, while some are metaphorically applied to modify spoken words (sweet, bitter, raw, uncooked), some are specifically used to modify the degree of how knowledgeable speakers are (raw, cooked). Consequently, what is mapped in the target domain of thought can be either general concepts or specific ideas.

Generally speaking, it is expected that sweet, tasty food is consistently utilized in most cultures to refer to positive and pleasant mental qualities, bearing the general schema as SWEETNESS IS PERCEIVED AS POSITIVE; nevertheless, there would be specific metaphor instantiations shedding light on the underlying cultural differences. In Persian, for example, the metaphorical expression *širin aql* ‘sweet mind’ conveys the stupidity attribute with the negative connotation among native speakers of Farsi language manifesting the schema SWEETNESS IS PERCEIVED AS NEGATIVE. The metaphorical concept of related expressions can be found in the traditional/historical beliefs of Iranians regarding donkey’s meat, which it was considered sweet, but with a negative effect on the minds of the consumers, who had to consume it during famine and war.

The formation of thought is the preparation of food

The proposition schema here illustrates the formation of our thought which is conceptualized as the preparation of food as in:

(5) *be harf- hā- š xeili čāšni mi- zan-e*

To word-PL-POSS.3SG much spice PROG-hit-3SG

‘He adds too much spice to his words.’

Here the sentence means that he decorates his speech with pompous or inflated words to convince others to agree with him.

(6) *ideh-hā- ye jadidi dar zehn- aš dar hāl- e qavām āmad-an-e*

Idea-PL-GEN new in mind-POSS.3SG in now-GEN thickening come-INF is

‘A new idea is thickening in his mind.’

The expression *qavām āmadan* (thickening/ make dense) in Persian is used in the culinary domain to show that food is prepared and formed in a good quality, but in the sentence above, it is metaphorically employed to describe the formation of a new idea or proposal of a new concept i.e. metaphorical conceptualization of this expression in Persian culinary lexicon is used to describe this notional transfer from the source domain (food) onto the target domain (thought). In other words, the process involved in the production of new concepts in speech and mind is analogous with the formation and preparation of food.

The comprehension of thought is the digestion of food

There are verbs in Persian that connote the process of digestion (comprehension/understanding) as a metaphorical conceptualization of the COMPREHENSION OF THOUGHT IS THE DIGESTION OF FOOD. Digestion refers to the act of assimilating food in a form that can be absorbed and utilized by the body.

(7) *moratab harf-hā -š ro dar zehn- aš nošxār mi- kon-e*

Always word-PL-POSS.3SG ACC in mind-POSS.3SG rumination PROG-do-3SG

‘He always ruminates his words in the mind.’

Nošxār kardan (rumination), a compound verb in which the nominal element *nošxār* consists of *noš* (drinking)+*xār* (eating) literally is used as a particular way of food digestion by cows, but here in Persian, it is metaphorically applied in this example referring to the re-digestion of knowledge, speech or thought in general. It implies the digestion of something taken in before again and again forming the concept of The COMPREHENSION OF THOUGHT IS THE DIGESTION OF FOOD.

This type of conceptual mapping as the data in both Persian and English shows can be expressed by a variety of verbs as *xordan* (eating), *balidan* (swallowing), *hazm kardan* (digesting), *javidan* (chewing), *jazb kardan* (absorbing), *gāz zadan* (biting), *makidan* (nibbling/sucking), *češidan* (tasting) the food, originally used in the food domain and metaphorically applied to refer to the processing and understanding knowledge in a general sense. THOUGHT used here can be either abstract as knowledge, the outcomes of a study, or simply the words uttered. These and so many other words represent our daily concepts of ideas/thought referred to as metaphors we live by in our own culture. It is also a way other cultures conceptualize thought using food as the source domain. In fact, food processing in the body is likened to internalizing the ideas or mentally absorbing the notions across many related or/and unrelated languages and cultures.

The mapping of food and human temperament

Human beings' disposition, feeling, mentality and attitude are also experienced in culinary concepts cross-culturally. That is due to the fact that a human being's mental status is not tangible nor directly accessible to their comprehension, thus, it needs to be experienced in terms of some other concrete, more accessible concepts. Lakoff and Johnson (1999) offer Interesting, Pleasurable Ideas Are Appetizing Food, and Uninteresting Ideas Are Flavourless Food. Thus, it will be expected that many sweet, tasty foods are conceptualized with good disposition and positive mental qualities which gives rise to the conceptual metaphor GOOD TEMPERAMENT IS SWEET/TASTY. In Persian, for instance, a variety of food types and tastes are applied to the human disposition for either positive or negative evaluation of feelings, mental states, and values. The metaphorical expression "sweet tongue", e.g. designates a good-tempered person who does not show his anger.

(8) *bače- ye širin zabān-iye*

Child-GEN sweet tongue is

‘That’s a sweet tongue child.’

(9) *harf- hā- š xeili bā namak-e*

Word-PL-POSS.3SG much with salt is

‘His words are so tasty.’

On the other hand, if tasty, sweet, delicious foods are employed to illustrate positive mental states, foods with tasteless, sour, bitter taste are systematically applied to evaluate negative, unfavorable characters with ill-tempered personality and behavior, illustrating the conceptual metaphor BAD TEMPERAMENT IS SOUR/UNSWEET.

(10) *kolan ādam- e gušt talx-iye*

Generally person-GEN meat bitter is

‘He is generally a man of bitter meat.’

(11) *češm- aš šur-e*

Eye-POSS.3SG salty is

‘He has an evil eye.’

The natural cognitive system displays conceptual/linguistic commonalities, basically in the realm of basic tastes of sweetness and bitterness. However, the related taste qualities are not always the same to all human beings, varying from individual to individual, and across different cultures. The expressions evil eye and *češ-e šur* (salty eye) in English and Persian are both believed to bring injury or bad fortune to the person at whom it has been directed for reasons of envy, hatred and dislike. However,

the idea fully demonstrates a specific cultural conceptualization in the application of the taste ‘salty’ among Persian speakers conveying the concept of envy or ill-will using the taste ‘salty’ with eyes. On the other hand, different cultures have variously regarded salt as a symbol of purity, divinity, hospitality, welcome and wisdom. Expressions such as ‘worth his salt’, ‘the salt of life’, and ‘loyal to one’s salt’ are common in everyday life. Metaphors as *namak b-harām* (ungrateful) and *namak nashnās* (thankless) illustrate a cultural/social belief about the significance and value of *namak* (salt) concept in Persian. In Persian wedding traditions and customs, the couples are first provided with salt as a symbol of protection for their lives against the evil eye (to blind the evil eye), and in witchcraft originating from Zoroastrian beliefs and culture, it was used to drive away evil spirits. Moreover, the smell of raw or cooked food can be a source domain giving birth to a large number of metaphorical expressions characterizing human disposition. It is very common in Persian culture to conceptualize particular states of personality and character using different forms of cooked food.

(12) *pyāz- e bu ghandu!*

Onion-GEN smelling rotten

‘You! Rotten onion.’

(13) *āš- e dahān suzi nist*

Soup-GEN mouth burning NEG is

‘It is not so hot (you won’t miss so much).’

On the other hand, the shape or degree of food cooking may form some metaphor conceptualizations.

(14) *mesl- e hendevāne- ye / anār- e dar- baste ast*

Like-GEN watermelon-GEN /pomegranate-GEN door closed is

‘He is such a person with blurred feeling’ (nobody knows what is inside, unless it is opened).’

(15) *bā harf- hā- š man rā xām kard*

With word-PL-POSS.3SG I ACC raw did.3SG

‘His words threw me a curve (he deceived me/ led me on).’

These examples bring together a sample of systematic conceptual metaphors representing conceptual metaphor TEMPERAMENT IS FOOD. Thus, food aspects-taste, smell, shape and cooking traditions and styles - can be a source/concrete domain through which the native speakers partially comprehend certain aspects of the target/abstract domain of human disposition and virtue. Metaphors of this kind illustrate the function of being vivid rather than using a roundabout way of speaking.

The mapping of food and lust

Some specific kinds of culinary metaphors are basically applied in slang and in the context of sexual domains and physical beauty. Such metaphorical units, on the other hand, may be used with a minor purpose in terms of endearment. It would not be difficult to explain why most languages utilize eating metaphors for sex, comparing humans to food. As Lakoff (1987) explains, (sexual) desire is a sort of appetite whose object is a person, so that a human is considered as food.

Relating sex to food, Goatly (2007) points out that:

“... if we do not eat, we die, whereas, if we have no sex, we simply fail to reproduce and the human race eventually dies. Equating sex with eating might suggest that sex is essential for our life. More obviously, they suggest that the sole purpose of the women is to satisfy the appetites of men, just as food is produced for the sole purpose of eating, with women, like food, passive in this process”.

So, the most important motivation for the use of culinary metaphors for the eating act and the target domain sex will be the “schematic isomorphism” Maalej (2007) between the eating act and the sex act. On the other hand, as he mentions, the set of psychological connections humans have between eating and sex, considering body as a container in both feeding and human reproduction, will be among motivations of this kind, or as Emanatian (1999) puts it, feeding in the mouth maintains life, feeding in the vagina in intercourse produces new life.

Primarily, it is expected that the culinary metaphors of sex, sexuality, and women in particular in Persian language follow the semantic domains of:

1. Prepared food

(16) *un doxtar-e xeili eštehā- āvar- e/ xoš-maza-s/ xordani-ye*

That girl-GEN much appetite-bringing-is/good-taste-is/edible is

‘She is so appetizing/delicious/edible.’

2. Uncooked food

(17) *mesl-e yek tekke donbe ast*

Like-GEN one piece fat is

‘She is a piece of fat.’

3. Dessert/fruit

(18) *lab peste- iye/češm bādom-iye*

Lip pistachio is/ eye almond is

‘Pistachio-lipped/almond-eyed.’

(19) *mesl-e hulu- ye pust kand-e ast*

Like-GEN peach-GEN skin cut-PCTP is

‘She is a peach.’

Conceptualization of females as prepared food, uncooked food, and dessert/fruit will illustrate “the existence of schematic knowledge structures” performing as “a filter, highlighting incoming information which is consistent with the schema, and hiding information that does not fit into the schema” (Allbritton, 1995, p. 38). Thus, highlighting knowledge which is introduced by the source domain and hiding knowledge which is not accessible explicitly in the perception of metaphor results in developing the ideological dimension of metaphor. Women are highlighted as prepared food, which is much better than conceptualizing them as raw food; nevertheless, they are framed as victims, lifeless, and passive in sex. On the other hand, the metaphorical conceptualization of females as uncooked food illustrates them as prey and men as predators suggesting the concept of MAN AS AN ANIMAL. Most dessert/fruit metaphors convey the conceptualization of sweetness with positive connotations; however, they downgrade females on the scale of being human. The metaphorical sense of the English word ‘peach’ and the phrase ‘peeled peach’ in Persian, both stress a sexually attractive female manifesting the conceptual dimension of sex, however, it seems Persian has a specific cultural preference in the use of

conceptual thinking about women and lust. Interestingly, on the other hand, it seems that Persian contains a very low frequency of indecent food metaphors for men. As metaphors are very closely related to our conceptual thinking and reasoning, the obscene metaphors may have gradually influenced people's attitude towards females in Iran, resulting in gender inequality.

In this study it was evident that metaphorical language extensively uses edibles to describe social relations, to handle politics, or to create love stories and fictions. This study then is merely a beginning effort in Persian language and culture to scrutinize the role of culture in the organization of thought, disposition, and lust. It is assumed that the relationship between ideas, temperament and sexuality and food is worldwide; however, the metaphors of FOOD domain are expected to vary due to cross-cultural differences. It is evident that most of these cross-cultural divergences of metaphor conceptualization occurs at the specific level, while similarities can be found at the generic or superordinate level. In other words, metaphorical language would not result merely from certain universal conceptual mappings, but a variety of factors such as language-specific, socio-cultural, and historical realities of a language community would also affect or interfere with these projections.

The evidence shows that culinary and food related metaphors occur extensively in the Persian language indicating their close correlation with Persian culture. They signify the meanings that are connected to Persian culture, myth, folklore, race, identity, religion, spirituality, community, and body as well. For instance, in Persian, the concept of 'adversity' seems to illustrate the possible influence of a socio-cultural phenomenon in the metaphorical expressions containing the verb *xordan* (to eat). It seems 'adversity' would be a cultural preference in the history of Persian society and language.

Tseng (2017) in his article “Primary Metaphors and Multimodal Metaphors of Food: Examples from an Intercultural Food Design Event” looked at an analytical framework that combines insights from cognitive linguistics with an intercultural performative view of food presentation and food metaphor. More specifically, he explained complex metaphors as resulting from the interactions of primary metaphors, proposition schemas and intercultural performance (i.e., adapting shared or culture-specific knowledge about food to international audiences). He asserts that, the multimodal metaphors of food are complex metaphors composed of combined sets of primary metaphors, enriched by schema propositions and embedded within food performance (e.g., transformation of traditional foods, display tools or stands on the table, and the eating experience itself).

In his work, he explained that, the metaphor “THOUGHT IS FOOD” or “IDEAS ARE FOOD” is manifested in everyday verbal expressions. Studies have demonstrated how ingredient, flavor, preparation, chewing, swallowing, and digestion of food are mapped onto various aspects of ideas (Kövecses, 2010; Lakoff & Johnson, 1980). The thought-as-food metaphor is used in different languages, and variations exist due to cultural differences or different conceptions of foods (Khajeh & Imran-Ho, 2012; Liu, 2002; Su, 2002).

Together with “THOUGHT IS FOOD,” “COMMUNICATION IS EATING/FEEDING” is also used in language (e.g., “The tutor spoon-fed the student with what he needed for the examination”). This is understandable for two reasons. First, communication always involves delivering and receiving information or ideas; furthermore, food and feeding may be regarded as coming from the same domain. Second, in real-life contexts, a meal together with a family member, friend or business associate is often accompanied with a talk with each other (i.e., a communicative

event, in which ideas are exchanged and shared). Hiraga (2009) argues that the “FOOD/EATING” metaphor better explains Japanese expressions concerning communication than the “CONDUIT” metaphor, which conceptualizes communication as sending objects from one mind-container to another (Lakoff & Johnson, 1980; Reddy, 1979).

Despite the explanatory potential of the two widely used food metaphors, between food metaphors and social practices, there is room for elaboration, including extra concepts, creativity and food presentation. This study analyzes food metaphors used in a food event called EATAIPEI, held in the London Design Festival in 2015. It was an event aimed at introducing aspects of Taipei and Taiwan to participants in the design festival and at promoting Taipei as the World Design Capital 2016. EATAIPEI is special in that it introduces and promotes Taipei, the capital city of Taiwan through eating. Unlike many food events, it also communicates ideas about Taipei and Taiwan to Londoners and people from all over the world. What makes such food metaphors intriguing is that they are represented and manifested in the actual eating experience, which involves reading a menu, activating all the senses (i.e., sight, sound, taste, smell, touch, feeling of temperature), and using muscular movement (e.g., grasping and chewing).

This article argues that the multimodal manifestations of food metaphors in this context involve not merely creating new foods and their verbal description but also reactivating sensorimotor experiences that underpin such metaphors. That is, the experience of eating the foods in this event reinforces and recreates sets of primary metaphors that build on experiential correlations and that make possible the connections between aspects of Taipei and the features of the foods. This article is organized as follows. It analyzes the metaphors manifested in four dishes in

EATAIPEI. The analysis pays equal attention to complex and primary metaphors. It is further enriched by an intercultural performative view of food presentation and food metaphor. It concludes with some generalizations about multimodal metaphors of food manifested in the food design event.

Outlined below is a scheme of analysis based on cognitive linguistic theory of metaphor and on an intercultural performative perspective. Some studies have demonstrated how primary metaphors can be combined into complex metaphors, which can also be further combined with other conceptual metaphors and metonymy (see Grady, 1997a, 1997b, 2005; Kövecses, 2005; Lakoff & Johnson, 1999). Primary metaphors are not unusual but are derived from every day, mundane activities. In each dish, the set is further enriched, elaborated, and modified by other primary metaphors, proposition schemas, and verbal and nonverbal manifestations, resulting in a creative manifestation of a complex metaphor. In an intercultural context, how complex metaphors can be delivered without causing any potential misunderstanding is important. Moreover, in a food event aimed at promoting Taipei to participants in the London based event, how food performance runs alongside food metaphors is also significant. These two issues will be discussed by adopting an intercultural performative view that investigates how cultural or shared information is transformed and accommodated to globalized participants and for the purpose of creativity and how the performance of the food event interacts with the performance of food metaphors (Gibbs & Cameron, 2008). However, since this study addresses metaphors used in an intercultural context, the notion of culture was expanded to cover cultural contact, transformation, and accommodation.

Dish 1: Knowing about Taiwan’s past history is eating the layered rice cake put on the marble stand

Dish 1 is called “mixture of the past” meant to capture Taiwan’s history and its multiculturalism. The look of this dish is shown in Figure (2a) and (2b).

Dish 1: Mixture of the Past (1.1)

Layered rice cake with chef’s special sauce (1.2)

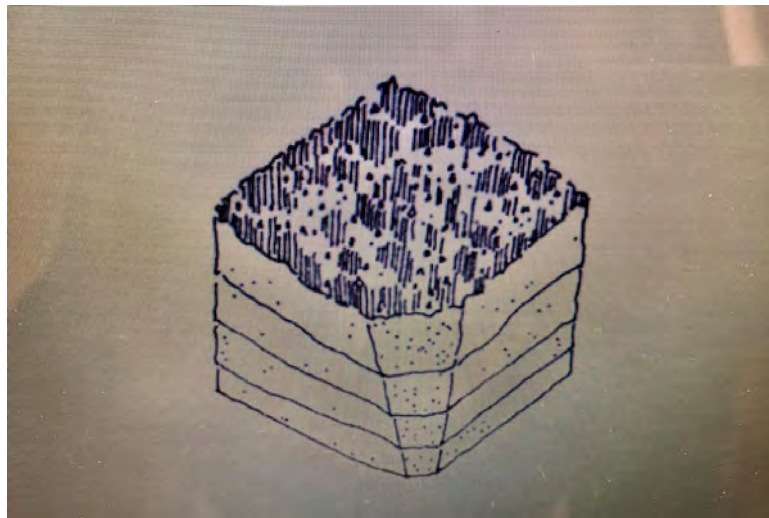


Figure 2a. Dish 1 as shown in the menu.

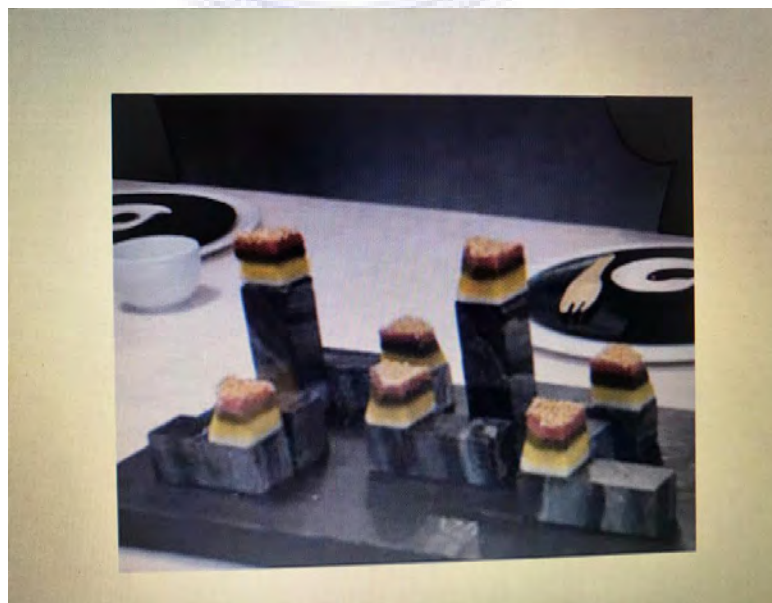


Figure 2b. Dish 1 as displayed on the table.

The past residents of this island, the indigenous communities, the Spanish, Dutch, British,

Japanese, Chinese, and American, the warlords, the businessmen—all of these different countries left their footprint on the island and have contributed to the elements that form the multicultural Taipei of today. This dish is a twist on the traditional turnip cake and takes its inspiration from a core sample of earth in which the layers of cultural, political and historical influences establish the foundation of Taipei.

The name of the dish (1.1) is followed by a brief description of the food (1.2) and two sentences explaining its meaning. What makes this dish metaphorical is not its ingredients but the name of the dish, the two extra explanatory sentences and its look (see Figure 2a and 2b). It is metaphorical in some respects. First of all, the multilayers marked by different colors may be a metaphor for various ethnic groups that “left their footprint on the island”. Why the four colors are used might be explained based on some shared understanding about these groups of people.¹ White, situated in the lowest layer, may refer to the Spanish, Dutch, British and American since they are Caucasians. Yellow, shown by the layer over and above the white layer, may represent Asians, especially Japanese people, who used to govern Taiwan. Green, the next layer up, may be associated with Taiwanese indigenous communities, who have lived in mountains. Red, the color of the uppermost layer, is a festive one in Chinese and Taiwanese culture. It can also be associated with the war lords who came to Taiwan with the Nationalist government from China before Taiwan and China were formally separated in 1949. It may also be a metaphor for the prosperity of being a highly commercialized society. As the Chinese expression *huo-hong* (“redfiery”) or *hong-huo* (“fiery-red”) puts it, red is associated with boom, popularity and dynamism.

Why there are four layers rather than six or seven is suggested by the phrase “a core sample of earth in which the layers of cultural, political and historical influences establish the foundation of Taipei”. Our knowledge about the structure of the earth informs us that it is composed of four concentric layers: inner core, outer core, mantle, and crust. Associating the four layers of the earth with the layers of the food and Taiwan’s past history creates at least two more metaphors. One is a perceptual or resemblance metaphor in that the food looks like the structure of the earth. The other metaphor is conceptual: the structural integrity of the earth is carried over to the food metaphor suggesting that the ethnic, cultural, political, and historical influences have deeply affected Taiwan, becoming part of its history, as solid and deep-entrenched as the structure of the earth. The marble used as a stand of the food in (1b) reinforces this interpretation inasmuch as the solid state of marble lends itself to a metaphor for history. In other words, proposition schemas such as THE EARTH HAS FOUR LAYERS and MARBLE STANDS ARE SOLID are used to elaborate on this food metaphor.

Dish 2: Experiencing/knowing aspects of Taipeians is eating and perceiving food

Dish 2 features a steamed bun coated with hard squid ink butter. Before it was served, a catering blow torch was used to soften and melt the coated sauce (see Figure 3a and 3b)

“Taipeian” (2.1)

Squid ink butter with steamed bun (2.2)

Taipeians inherited the friendliness of the Taiwanese; they are harmonious, humble and hospitable. At the same time, they are efficient and tough, with urban postures to

protect themselves. Although Taipeians are rather conservative with their morals, they embrace foreign cultures



Figure 3a. A dish as shown in the menu

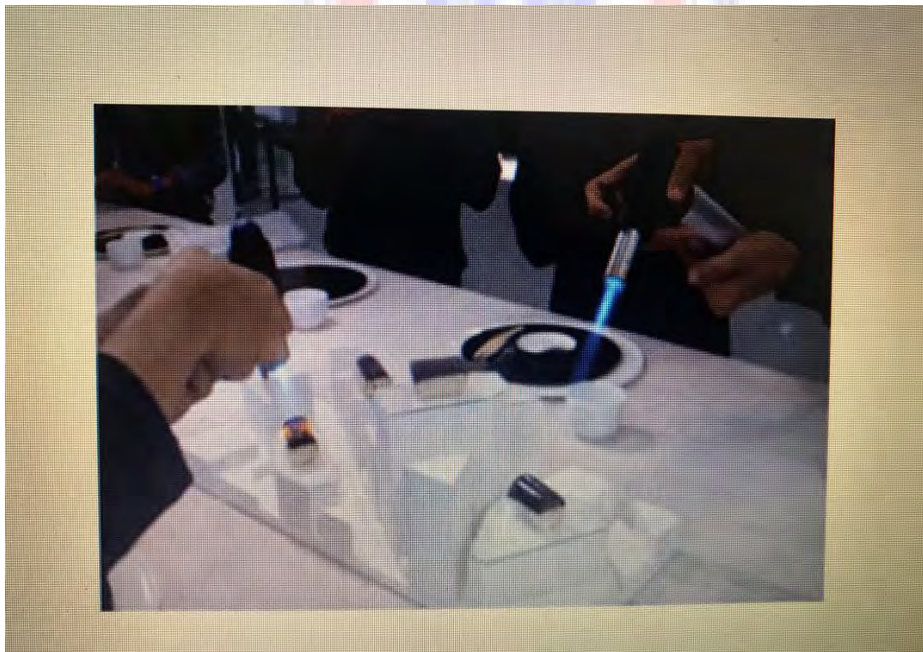


Figure 3b. A dish being heated by the blow torch and like to try new things. They are not afraid of change; rather they will appropriate the new and make it their own. This

dish is the transformation of hard butter melting into a soft, steamed bun, just like the Taiwanese personality.

The contrasts in this dish include the color differences (black and white) and tactile differences (hard squid ink butter melting). These contrasts serve as a metaphor for Taipeians' personality: conservative yet adaptive to change, defensive yet friendly. This dish involves an aural stimulus because heating the hardened butter sauce makes a sound. As one reporter on EATAIPEI comments on this dish, "this 'Taipeian' is a molecular-gastronomical-transformed hard butter melting into a soft, steamed bun. Do we hear butter? Yum". Furthermore, using a blow torch to heat the squid butter sauce does make the participants feel the WARMTH, which metaphorically conveys the affection of Taipeians. Nevertheless, the experience of hearing butter is embodied and is more than a thought.

Dish 3: Experiencing the energy of Taipeians is tasting a deconstructed bubble tea

The third dish is a deconstructed bubble tea—ingredients in it were tasted separately (see Figure 4a and 4b). As with (1) and (2), the metaphorical meaning of the dish called "Sing" depends largely on the text accompanying it. This dish is a metaphor for the energy of urban life style in Taipei.

"Sing" (3.1)

Honey soaked Tapioca, Oolong tea foam, popping candy, zesty citrus peel and carbonated lemonade (3.2).

Living in a city can be challenging, so Taipeians find ways to balance their stress levels. People dance to shake off their emotions, people eat to satiate their bodies, and people drink to let their minds run free.

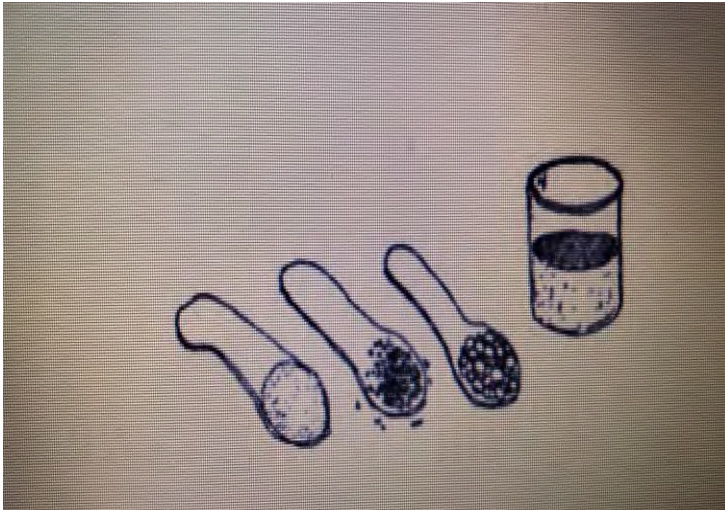


Figure 4a. A dish as shown in the menu

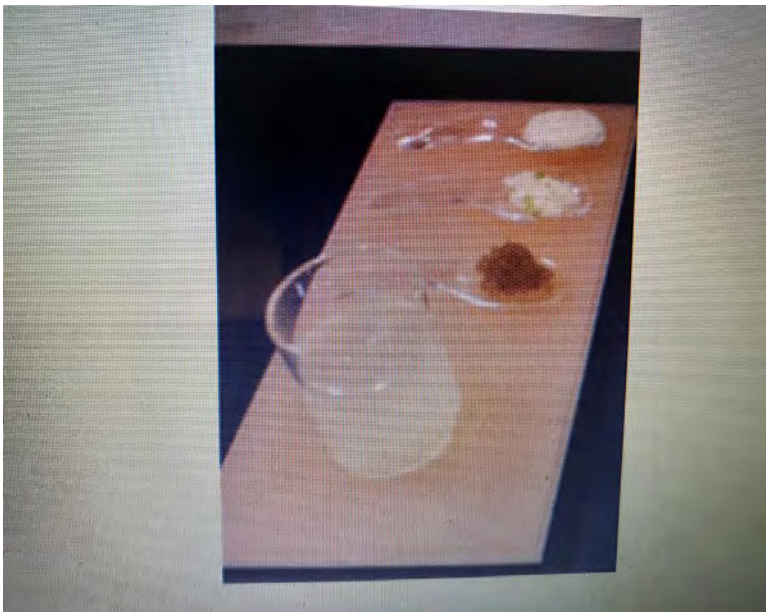


Figure 4b. A dish as displayed on the table.

Above all, people sing! They sing to convey feelings, to gather spirits, and to celebrate special occasions.

This dish is a deconstructed Taiwanese bubble tea, designed to stimulate all the senses in your mouth. Through this dish, we hope that you can feel the energy of Taipeians.

While interpreting (1) and (2) as metaphors mainly relies on the visual and tactile senses (e.g., color, hardness, and softness), understanding metaphorically needs to focus more on the tastes and effects produced by the dish because the look of the dish (see 4a and 4b) does not seem to be particularly relevant to the energy of urban dwellers, the theme of this dish. In the EATAIPEI event, participants were asked to taste this dish in a specific order. First, the spoon containing oolong tea foam, the one farthest from the glass in (4a) or (4b), was consumed. It has a gentle taste, soft texture and pleasant lasting after taste. Oolong tea contains caffeine and therefore can keep one energetic, which clearly relates to the theme of this dish. After it the spoon containing honey-soaked tapioca, the middle one in the three spoons, was tasted. In contrast with the tea foam, the tapioca is sweet and requires the eater to chew, that is, to use the oral muscle to eat it—an action that exemplifies energy. It is followed by the third spoon with a mouthful of popping candy. When popping candy was dissolved in the mouth, the pressurized carbon dioxide in the candy was released, creating the popping of the pressurized bubbles, making the popping sound and shooting pieces of candy around the mouth. It feels like a mini dynamite explosion. The dynamism of popping candy contributes to the intended metaphor for the energy of Taipeians. Last but not least, a blend of zesty citrus peels and lemonade was consumed. The tangy flavor, together with the other foods in this dish, was intended to sparkle on the eater's taste buds.

All the effects made in the mouth of the eater by the dish are sense stimulations, which are directly and dynamically experienced. Such dynamism is metaphorized in this context for Taipeians' energy. The title of this dish -“Sing”—metonymically refers to the life style of some city dwellers in Taiwan (e.g., singing karaoke as a form of entertainment) and to the energy required for singing.

Dish 4: A further highlight of motor experience

In (1)–(3), bodily motor experience is activated by the participant’s physical actions of moving the hand, fork, mouth muscle. In (3), the popping action of the candy is felt in the mouth of the eater. In (4) (see below), bodily motor experience is even more enhanced than any of the above dishes because it involves not merely the action of eating but that of making a personalized ice cream (see Figure 5).

“Towards a Sweet Future” (4.1)

Fruit, fruit purées, liquid nitrogen (4.2)

Today, people are connected with each other in multiple ways and are able to instantaneously access knowledge from around the world. On a global scale, open source information enables makers to build on each other’s strengths. On a local scale, civil participation and social design aim to empower people by bringing communities together to make a positive change to society. They invited the audience to participate in the making of this dish and construct a personal style of ice cream.

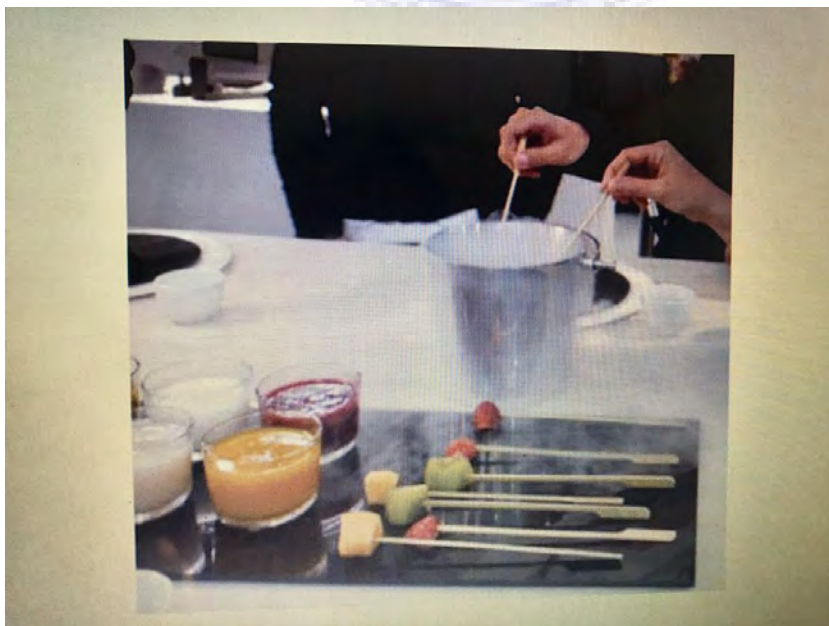


Figure 5. The participants making their ice creams.

For this dish, the participants were shown how to make a personalized ice cream and then two participants were invited to do it as a pair, thus making it necessary for them to move their bodies around the table and interact with each other. The ice cream making is also special in its use of liquid nitrogen, which freezes a fruit stick and puree in ten seconds when dipped into it. Making an ice cream is not metaphorical. However, this dish is metaphorically construed because it is called “Towards a sweet future,” which is further explained in the menu.

As the analyses of (1)–(4) have shown, multimodal metaphors of food in EATAIPEI utilized sets of rich mappings not simply based on verbal-visual information or some universal assumptions about food or thought but also on the embodied experiences of eating, making something and interacting with people. The mappings themselves build on primary metaphors, and the multimodal metaphors using food or drink as its medium in a way also enact and recreate the sensorimotor experiences on which primary and creative metaphors are based. So far how primary metaphors and proposition schemas compose and feed into complex metaphors has been explained.

In a study of food as a medium of performance in food events, Kirshenblatt-Gimblett (1999) advocates three senses of food performance: to perform is to do (i.e., to make and serve food), to behave (i.e., to behave appropriately and follow precise protocols), and to show (i.e., to show the doing and behaving and elicit evaluation). In an attempt to appropriate such performance in an event like EATAIPEI, the writer suggests four aspects of food performance in EATAIPEI: production, delivery, engagement, and conceptualization. While the first three of them may be also found in many public food events (e.g., food competitions), the fourth one makes EATAIPEI different because every dish in it means something beyond food tasting. The four elements are not to be treated as separate steps but as integrated together in the event. Each of the

elements has a type of food performance associated with it. Such performance is enacted by a combination of various aspects of food (e.g., transformation of traditional foods, the display tools or stands on the table, the eating experience itself, and food metaphors). Besides, in this event, food, language (i.e., menu), tools (e.g., food stands, catering blow torches) are all performance mediums used to realize multimodal metaphors. The performance of the foods and food metaphors is attributed to the affordances made possible by such mediums and to the transformations of cultural or familiar foods. Metaphors based on the medium of food and on actual dining experience are multimodal because they use various modes (e.g., verbal and all the senses involved in eating) and different mediums (e.g., food stands and cooking tools), and such metaphors engage with a series of sensorimotor experiences that underpin primary and complex metaphors. Fourth, the creative manifestations of food metaphors and the performance of the food event pertain to the intercultural context where EATAIPEI was held. Couched in food performance and food metaphor are the transformations of cultural or familiar foods into creative, transcultural dishes.

In short, the creativity of EATAIPEI engages with the performance of food presentations, the performativity of the food metaphors, and the transformation of culture-specific or traditional foods into transcultural ones. These dynamic aspects are all part of the manifestations of the food metaphors and are enacted in parallel with a series of complex and primary metaphors.

2.8 Summary

Reviews of the prominent literatures in relation to the use of metaphors have been offered in this section. This section has further expanded our knowledge of food metaphors as conducted by other researchers from different languages Martins (2015),

Silaski & Durovic (2013), Kovecses (2010), Lakoff & Johnson (1980), Khajeh & Ho-Abdullah (2013) and Maalej (2017).

2.9 Chapter Conclusion

This chapter has discussed the underlying conceptions of some food metaphor expressions worldwide. It has shown that there is a traditional way to perceive metaphor expressions from the conceptual domain of food. It should be recalled that the contexts we offered with the explanation of the expressions emphasized the idea that these expressions convey concepts, organize human thought and action and enable the development and evolution of knowledge. There is no ownership, because metaphors are not under the control of their individual users, but are rather dependent on the cultural and social contexts that created them.

Moreover, as far as communication is concerned, the use of metaphors may facilitate communication, especially in specialized languages, what Kocourek (1982) names terminological metaphors. Metaphors not only convey true thoughts, concepts and ideas, but also structure and organise our conceptual system. Also, the metaphorical relation is not merely a relation of similarity between objects, but also among entities, concepts, experiences and events. Thus, the conceptual system according to which we think and act is fundamentally metaphorical.

CHAPTER THREE

METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed discussion of the methodology that the researcher used in the study. Information about the research design used, the population, sample and sampling, and the instruments used in gathering the data are presented in this section. Two instruments are used in this study; observation and interview. Finally, the qualitative approach using the data is discussed in detail.

3.1 Research approach

This study involves the relationship between humans and society in a communicative event and therefore, it is important to analyse the data in a qualitative approach. It should be noted that a qualitative approach describes people, events, and things in non-numerical terms (Reinard, 1994). Fraenkel and Wallen (2000) opine that a qualitative approach describes how interlocutors interact with one another with their actions being translated into action. Qualitative researchers tend to collect data in the field at the site where participants experience the issue or problem under study. They do not bring individuals into a laboratory; neither do they typically send out instruments for individuals to complete as it is done in a quantitative approach. A qualitative approach takes place in a natural setting; therefore, the researcher has face-to-face interaction with his participants, over a while.

3.2 Research design

In the opinion of Kothari (1990, p. 32), “research design ... advance planning of the methods to be adopted for collecting the relevant data ... to be used in their analysis, keeping in view the objective of the research and the availability of staff,

time and money.” Macmillian & Schumacher (2001) define a research design as a “plan for selecting subjects, research sites and data collection procedures to answer the question(s)” (p.166). Therefore “the credibility of findings and conclusions extensively depends on the quality of research design (Kusi, 2012, p. 43). Thus, the research design is the “conceptual blue print” on which the researcher’s plan for actualizing the research is outlined (Akhtara, 2016, p. 68). The study adopted a case study design for the collection and analysis of data. The case study approach is particularly useful to employ when there is a need to obtain an in-depth appreciation of an issue, event or phenomenon of interest, in its natural real-life context (Cresswell, 2011). A case study is an appropriate research design when you want to gain concrete, contextual, in-depth knowledge about a specific real-world subject. It allows the researcher to explore the key characteristics, meanings, and implications of the case. The research adopts this design because of the need to gain insight into how the speakers of Akan interact with things in their natural environment. This research design provides an in-depth insight into the user’s views on the concepts being studied. It seeks to offer the investigator with an understanding of how the speakers of the language see the world and how their orientations about the world informs the metaphors they assign to these food items. Case studies are often a good choice in a thesis or dissertation. They keep your project focused and manageable when you do not have the time or resources to do large-scale research.

3.3 Population and Sampling

Polit and Hungler (1999, p. 37) refer to the population as an aggregate or totality of all the objects, subjects, or members that conform to a set of specifications. The target population for this study is native speakers of Akan language; people who reside in Kumasi and Winneba preferably. Kumasi is the capital city of the Ashanti

Region in Ghana. It is known for its rich culture and business activities. Adum, Kejetia, and Bantama are known to be the suburbs of Kumasi that are into trade all the time. Because these suburbs are densely populated, you always find people communicate in the Twi dialect almost now and then in their daily activities. They believe that any other language apart from the Twi dialect will earn them no money when they engage themselves in buying and selling. Therefore, it is easier to coerce people to buy when you speak in their language.

Winneba is also a town found in the Central Region of Ghana. The University of Education, Winneba (Winneba Campus) is situated in this vicinity. This University campus offers students with programmes in Ghanaian languages, of which the Akan language is a part. Therefore, the Akan language is always heard by students and indigenes of the community. The researcher selected both towns because 1) These are two of the areas where the researcher thinks the raw Akan culture and for that matter, the Akan language can be naturally observed. 2) The researcher is an Akan and has lived in these two areas for quite some time; in this regard, the researcher knows the areas very well and would not have much difficulty in collecting the data for the study. 3) It allows the researcher to analyse food metaphors from the cultural actor's point of view. For the researcher to adequately find out the various food metaphor expressions in Akan, it was decided that these two towns will serve the purpose of the study.

The act, process, or technique that informs the researcher to select a suitable sample or a representative part of a whole population is called sampling (Webster, 1985). Therefore, a sample is a subset of a population selected to participate in the study, it is a fraction of the whole, selected to participate in the research project. It is much easier observing a part rather than the whole so, the researcher could not have

observed all the population but rather chose a sample of it. The total number of the people who took part in the study were thirty-four (34). These people were purposively sampled. They were people who undertake various economic activities including farming, trading, carpentry, food vendors and teachers. The thirty-four (34) participants were made up of children (aged between 12 and 14 years old), youth (aged between 15 and 39 years old), and the elderly (aged from 40 years and above). Concerning the teachers, six of them teach Akan at the senior high school level while three of them teach Akan at the Junior High School level. These teachers were purposely selected to help explain the grammaticality of the sentences, which contain the expressions extracted as data for the study.

The researcher employed the purposive sampling technique for the current study. The purposive sampling is also known as judgmental sampling. Maxwell (1996) observes that purposive or judgmental sampling involves intentionally selecting events or people who can provide good information about the topic under discussion. In the mind of the researcher, he thinks the selection of those participants, warrant inclusion. This technique was employed because the cost involved is manageable and it is convenient and not time-consuming.

3.4 Data collection instruments

The instruments used to elicit data for the study are observation and interview.

3.4.1 Observation

This is the method that employs vision as the main means of data collection with the researcher's active or partial involvement. The researcher's preoccupation was to watch, listen, and record what he observes rather than asking questions about them. Observation has been one of the best tools used for data collection in the study

of this nature. Data for the study were collected precisely at Kumasi and Winneba and were gathered at places where people use the language most often. Communicative events that were recorded were where food metaphors were used, such places included the markets, homes, bus stations, food vendors place and other places where the language is used spontaneously. The researcher was assisted with an electronic recorder, a field note, and a pen. The researcher's task identified the various expressions that involved food items and styles used by the speakers in the course of their interaction. During the period of interaction, the researcher employed the rapid and anonymous survey method (Coates, 1993) in which he sometimes assumes the role of a buyer. For ethical reasons, the participants who were recorded were informed before the recording started.

3.4.2 Interview

One of the most popular qualitative research tools in the collection of data for analysing metaphors is through interviews. The researcher, knowing the importance of the interviews, used this tool to obtain relevant information on food metaphor expressions in Akan to seek further clarifications. The unstructured type of interview was employed in this research; this gave participants the leeway to operate on their own when communicating. The researcher, though an Akan, sought not to rely on his native speaker intuition or competence in the language but rather, the responses from the participants. Examples of various food metaphor expressions provided by the participants were recorded electronically. In this sense, an iPhone was used for the recording.

3.5 Data analysis

The data were transcribed and the context used were identified. The collected data were then categorised and then analysed from a pragmatic perspective to account

for all the questions the study wished to answer. The expressions identified during the interview and observations were recorded and concluded to be the well-known ones used in Akan. Afterwards, the identified expressions were analysed based on their functions.

3.6 Ethical considerations

The aim of any research is to help solve problems. To prevent harm in the research outcome, Orb et al (2000) suggest “is through the application of appropriate ethical principles” (p. 93). In view of this, appropriate steps were taken to seek permission before the acquisition of data. The people from whom the random speeches were obtained were duly informed. This was done in-order to prevent any misunderstanding. It is expected that in conducting a research involving human participants the researcher follows certain procedures during the study so that ethical issues of research are not contravened. The research participants were briefed about the purpose and methods or procedures of each of the stages of the study for them to understand.

One of the principles of research ethics is that participants initial decisions to take part in research are not binding. They may choose to rescind their decision to take part in the study for any reason or without cause (Flick, 1998). To this effect, participants were informed that they could decide not to continue participating in the study. The privacy of the study participants needed to be protected before, during and after their participation in the research activity. In ensuring this, the researcher ensured that data were not collected without the individual’s knowledge and consent.

3.7 Conclusion

This chapter has presented the procedure by which the researcher conducted the study. In this chapter the plan for the study was discussed as well as the necessary measures taken to meet the ethics of qualitative research. The chapter shed light on the approach to the study which is qualitative, the section further commented on the research participants, their selection and data analysis.



CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter discusses and analyses the Akan concept of food metaphors, the types or category under which the metaphors can be identified and also provides the pragmatic and contextual usage of the metaphors. Culture is the main factor that explains the way these metaphors work. This is possible because the complex expressions in language are derived from the basic categories and things within our environment. According to Agyekum (2002, pp. 101) “various scholars of semantics and etymology are of the view that there is a general tendency to borrow concepts and vocabulary from the more accessible physical and social world to refer to the less accessible words of reasoning, emotion and intellect.” To him, this idea confirms the general pedagogical maxim of moving from concrete to abstract, from explicit to implicit and from known to the unknown. Metaphors are concepts from domain A that are used in domain B. They throw a specific light on an issue, generating highlights as well as blind spots. While Lakoff and Johnson (1980) emphasized universal metaphors that are often used unconsciously, such as seeing as a metaphor for knowing, new metaphors can also be introduced deliberately, in order to influence the terms in which a discussion takes place. If metaphors are indispensable tools of thought in general, this also applies to thought about food. Metaphors are influential even in places where they are not meant to be and in ways that we may not be aware of. The intention to get rid of them is impossible (Nowak, 2018). A more promising challenge is to become aware of them but not use them in responsible ways including their significance. This study is an exploration of ways to pragmatically analyse the food metaphors in Akan. Metaphors make positive and negative “evaluation” exactly

like when we use the adjectives “good” and “bad” to make positive and negative evaluations (Glucksberg, Gildea, & Bookin, 1982). The researcher groups the metaphors identified into several themes which are; Insults, Emotions, Advice, Possession, Choice, Informational metaphors and Associative metaphors. This will help identify easily under which verbal communication the metaphors take place in Akan.

4.1 The concept of food in Akan

Food is an engine and source of metaphorical meanings that permeates our life. Apples can incorporate references of sin or toxin whilst tomatoes depict blood and love (Korthals, 2008). Though the forbidden fruit in the Book of Genesis is not identified, popular Christian tradition holds that Adam and Eve ate an apple from the forbidden tree in the Garden of Eden. The unnamed fruit of Eden thus became an apple under the influence of the story of the Garden of Eden. As a result, the apple became a symbol for temptation, the fall of man and sin (Durer, 1507). In North America a Native American is called an "apple" that stands for someone who is "red on the outside, white on the inside", primarily by other Native Americans to indicate someone who has lost touch with their cultural identity (Green, 2005, p.29). Fast food symbolically represents for many items of the American Dream. Olives are seen as signs of peace. The origins of using olive as a symbol of peace lie in ancient Greek culture. The olive branch is also a symbol of peace in Arab folk traditions. In 1974, Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat brought an olive branch to the UN General Assembly and said, "Today I have come bearing an olive branch and a freedom-fighter's gun. Do not let the olive branch fall from my hand". This was an indication to plead for peace (El-Shamy, 1995). There is an Ethiopian proverb that says “coffee and love taste best when hot’ to mean ‘It won't be easy, but that doesn't mean it won't be worth it. Keep

going!”. Also, in Degraft’s (1964) book, *Sons and daughters* he mentioned “dropping the fufu in the sand” to mean “trouble”. However, foodstuffs are not only the source, but also the target of metaphorical meanings, contrary to the central dogma of Lakoff and Johnson (1960) that there is only a one-way traffic from target to source. Metaphors are not based on material reference but on social categories, which is the point at which one may use a metaphor be it in an argument, hidden conversations or having to tell one’s emotion when speaking. In Akan, people compare foodstuffs to situations because of the features and similarities those foodstuffs connect with real life situations. The foodstuffs speakers of Akan language assign to metaphors reflect the cultural perspective of the people. In other words, metaphors are not just an act of linguistic labelling of concepts but to enable them identify them in the real or imaginary world. To adequately achieve the objective of using food as the medium to speak metaphorically in the culture of Akans, the speakers in their identifying process consider socio-cultural factors that surround that particular food item. This is because language cannot be divorced from culture, for it is through language that speakers reflect their cultural and sociolinguistic etiquette (Maduagwu, 2010; Gerba, 2014). This aims at unveiling the cultural underpinnings that could have motivated the designation of the metaphors to the concepts and objects in the culture of the people. This section therefore looks at the meanings of the food metaphors observed in the data and the interpretation the speakers of Akan derive when such metaphors are mentioned. The explanation offered regarding these metaphors is inspired by the assertion of Leech (1986, p. 64) that “meaning of words is better obtained by the relation of the speakers to their real world, because the meanings of words are reliant on the knowledge of the real world, which comprises the culture of the people”. It was observed that, among others, the motivations for the creation of food metaphors

in Akan include the bodily features and appearance of the food item one can relate to the real world. In this identifying process, the Akan people look at the physical appearance of the food item before they assign a metaphor to it. From the data obtained, it is seen that some of the metaphors derived their description from their appearance, how they appear or the way they look like. Consider the metaphor;

Example 1.

Wo kwadu so

1PL-SUBJ banana big

‘Your manhood is big’

The speakers assigned this foodstuff to the metaphor based on its appearance. This is because the banana fruit is variable in size, firm, usually elongated and curved, with soft flesh. A stalk or stem can be about 30 cm thick so is easier comparing it to the human penis in an utterance to hide the conversation from a youngling or the public or better still to have your communication rid of mentioning the human male private part directly.

Another metaphor which derived its name from its appearance is;

Example 2.

Nnipa ti n-nyε borofere na yeapae mu ahwe

ADJ-human N-head NEG-not pawpaw CONJ V-break inside look

‘The head of a man is not like a pawpaw that you can break and see’

This means ‘Not having the ability to tell what’s going on in one’s mind’. According to the participants, this kind of metaphor was coined because pawpaw has an oval size

shape which takes on the shape of the human head. One interviewee intimated that because this fruit is a medium to large size just like the human head which has different shape and sizes, it was considered among the Akans an easier identification to understand the metaphor when mentioned.

To analyse and understand metaphors together with their meanings properly, there is the need to have a critical look at their semantic and pragmatic structures and the communicative competence (which include knowledge of the language, culture, society, environment, religion, and politics) of the one using the metaphor (Agyekum, 2002). From these examples, it is clear that metaphors are dependent on pure factual information and knowledge, and that metaphors play a role in communication in Akan by simply comparing the similarities of the food items to that of real-life conditions. Metaphors are not only humorous or accidental plays of words that command our attention it could be selecting edible and nonedible things. Food metaphors allow us to select foodstuffs simultaneously to include and exclude our food preferences and not just any food item but those only that give meanings in Akan and are widely known and accepted by the people who are native speakers.

In this research, I will not only describe the use of food metaphors elucidating nonfood things but in analyzing the use of metaphors regarding traditional Akan foods. Contrary to one of the central dogmas of Lakoff and Johnson (1960) that a metaphor comes from one source and gives meaning to a target, my contention is that food can be used as both targets and sources of metaphors. As a source of linguistics styles, food and its concomitant practices function as an object or target of metaphors. In fact, we have to take into account several practices of food processing: production, shopping (obtaining ingredients), cooking, serving and eating. These practices are in many premodern cultures, closely connected, but in modern and postmodern cultures

separations among them are occasionally deep and many sub-distinctions can be made (for example, agricultural production is distinguished from processing, packaging, transport, and selling). The people who participated in the study gave an example in Akan by taking into consideration some of the processes some food undergoes and the metaphors the people assign to them. Let's take a look at this;

Example 3.

Me ba abaayewa no ne me kookoo

1SG child girl DET is 1SG cocoa

'My girl child is my cocoa'

This is how one shows his/her investment. This takes into account, the several processes by which cocoa is produced and how a lot of other food items are gained from its production and how marketing of these products can earn one an enormous income. The conclusion derived from this analysis is that speakers of Akan believe that this metaphor is a summation of the essence of the being of the food item. The meanings Akan speakers give to metaphors in their culture reveal the characteristics and traits of the foods which are given such metaphorical meanings.

4.1.2 Summary

What we can learn from Akan metaphors is that, it is neither simply descriptive (ontological) nor normative (social) but a combination of both. Food metaphors are well-ordered according to the meanings they give in our cultures. The discussion showed that some of the metaphors are formed through physical features and others through the processing and marketing of the foodstuffs. For example, Akans use food to describe one's investment metaphorically taken into consideration the several processes such food encompasses before going to the market for sales. The

findings of this study buttress the findings of other researchers in the area of food metaphors (Maalej, 2007; Martins, 2015).

4.2 Categories of food metaphors in Akan

In this section, food metaphors in Akan can be categorized into themes which include Insults, Emotions, Advice, Possession, Choice, Information and Associative metaphors. Under each category there are food metaphors that relate to real life situations and the reasons to why Akans use them in their conversations. These types allow for ambivalence and ambiguities. The foodstuffs that are used in framing the metaphors convey respect and discrimination as well. Since metaphors function in the distribution of respect and nonrespect, they have an inherent ethical component. The researcher looks at food metaphors in Akan that command our understanding and its concomitant notions of the various social functions. This is because food metaphors are innumerable and thus, we need some kind of systematization. Linguistically, insults have traditionally been categorized as semantic items (words or phrases) conveying the communicative intention to hurt or psychologically injure an interlocutor (Brown & Levinson, 1987). According to Oxford (2016) emotion is a natural instinctive state of mind deriving from one's circumstances, mood, or relationship with others. An emotion is a feeling such as happiness, love, fear, anger, or hatred, which can be caused by the situation that you are in or the people you are with. We can learn much from the tears of a grieving friend, the smiles of an affable stranger, or the slamming of a door by a disgruntled lover. Further an advice is a guidance or recommendation offered with regard to prudent future action. It could mean “to give counsel to; offer an opinion or suggestion as worth following.” Possession on the other hand is the act of having or taking into control your property. A choice in Akan could be having a number or variety of things to

choose from. Also, information could mean an act of enlightening, communication of knowledge or intelligence. Lastly, an acquaintance means having a long-standing relationship with someone. Akans practice the use of metaphors in their conversations because they do not want to be direct in their utterances to save face or threaten their interlocutor, a social setting is required for this to take place. In the following subsections, we shall observe these themes and the motivations for the metaphors designate.

4.2.1 Theme of Insults

Broadly speaking, insults can be defined as an unfriendly action in which speakers by saying or doing something rude or insensitive intend to affront their interlocutors. They are not simply lexicographical or grammatical items that one can look up in a dictionary. Therefore, the “insulting” effects greatly depend on contextual attributes, and on the underlying intention together with the inferential conclusions on the part of the interlocutor (Mateo & Yus, 2000). Insults entail a pragmatic analysis that cover their context, intentions and cultural awareness from the domain of cognitive pragmatics. Akans use food items as the medium for insulting situations to better describe how a person acts or looks like. It just helps with description e.g.

4. **Wo-yε nkyene koraa a nn-ka wo-ayera mu**

2SG- be salt INT REL NEG-may 2SG-lost inside

‘You would have lost if you were to be a salt’

This means the person is a scorn. One participant involved in the work explained that, when a person gets insulted using food metaphor expression it reaches to the person immediately his/her lived knowledge and experienced of what that particular food

item is. Of the examples gathered from the participants these are metaphors that can be used in insulting situations in Akan;

Example 5.

Otoolege/Mutwumudoo

‘a type of yam’

‘fool/good for nothing/useless’

Example 6.

Akoa yi ye kako

Person DEF be rotten fish

‘This person is a rotten fish’

‘Blockhead’

Example 7.

Nyasa-ni na ɔ-re-di kosua a ɔ-bɔ kasɛɛ mu

Wise-person CONJ 3SG.SUB-PROG-eat egg REL 3SG.SUB-crack bone inside

‘It is a wise person that eats egg and cracks a bone inside’

‘unwise person’

Example 8.

Wo-ye nam pa ara

2SG-be.STAT meat INTENSIFIER

‘You are meat’

‘timid’

Example 9.

Wo - ye mɔre pa ara

2SG – do corn dough INTENSIFIER

‘You are corn dough’

‘A dull person’

Example 10.

ɛɛ koobi awareɛ ɛbɔn

It is N.ADJ- dry tilapia marriage stinks

‘It is a salted dried tilapia marriage, its smells’

‘bad marriage’

4.2.2 Theme of Emotions

It is widely accepted that emotional expressions can be rich communicative devices. A social setting is necessary for several emotions to arise in the first place, suggesting an inherently social quality of emotions. For instance, shame, envy, guilt, embarrassment, contempt, love, and hatred all require third parties as causes, targets, or observers in order for these emotions to occur in the first place. It was evident from the interview that certain foods assigned to metaphors by the speakers of Akan can affect human lives both positively and negatively. As linguistic pragmatics focuses on what utterances mean in a context, these are a few of the examples identified;

Example 11.

Esam no a-gu anwia mu

Flour-SUBJ DET PART-fall sand inside

‘The flour is in the sand’

‘The case is beyond repair’

Example 12.

Atadwe Fowaa

‘Tigernut Fowaa’

‘joy’

Example 13.

Okusie se ɔ-nya fufuo a ɔ-be-di woaduro na a-n-kɔ ne bɔn mu

Rat says 3SG-get fufu REL 3SG-FUT-eat mortar and PERF-NEG-go 3SG hole inside

‘The rat says if it gets fufu it will eat but it is the mortar that cannot enter its hole’

‘If only wishes were horses’ beggars would ride’

Example 14.

Hwan na εwɔɔ sɔ gu n’-ano a ɔ-m-pɛ

Who CONJ honey drain pour 3SG-POSS.mouth REL 3SG-NEG-like

‘Who doesn’t like it when honey pours into the mouth’

‘a wish’

Example 15.

Wo-de fufuo ato nkwan mu

2SG have N.fufu PERF-dip N.soup PREP-in

‘You have put fufu in a soup’

‘A welcomed solution’

4.2.3 Theme of Advice

An advice is an opinion that someone offers you about what you should do or how you should act in a particular situation. Hinkel (1997) warns that the giving of advice is a complex linguistic act that should be performed in accordance with the politeness norms of a particular culture. Thus, in societies that value individual freedom, such as the Akan society, advice is often hedged to avoid offending the hearer. Nevertheless, advice is a very frequent type of interaction even among peers, spouses, partners, and friends (Cutrona & Suhr, 1994; Reisman & Shorr, 1980). The people who participated in the study explained that an advice could be a guidance or recommendation offered to one with regard to prudent future action. This study reveals that indeed when it comes to food metaphors, advice sharing is a major means of interacting with the people. These are examples of such food metaphors that are used as a medium to counsel one in Akan;

Example 16.

Wo- re- tu akura fo no, na

2SG.PROG-uproot N-mouse advice DET-the FOC

wo- re- tu momone nso fo

2SG.PROG-uproot N-rotten fish FOC advise

‘As you advice the mouse so as you advice the rotten fish’

‘a shared advice’

Example 17.

Bankye a a-seε no εnyε nsu-hyεε anaa nsuo-nwunu a wo-de bε-gu

Cassava that PERF-spoil that NEG-do water.hot or water.cold that 2SG-with
FUT-on

so no na ε-bε-ma no a-yε yie

top REL and 3SG-FUT-give and PERF-do well

‘It is not the hot water or the cold water that can revive a spoiled cassava’

‘dispraise’

Example 18.

**Wo – re- di wo n-kosua na wo - re- we wo
n-kokɔ**

2SG.SUB-PROG-eat 2SG.POSS PL-eggs CONJ 2SG.SUB-PROG-chew 2SG PL-
chichen

m- ma

PL-baby

‘As you eat your eggs you eat your chicks’

‘You cannot eat your cake and have it’

Example 19.

Yε-re-te.te abetεε no na ne kyε ara no no

1PL-PROG-dish.dish food.NAME DEF CONJ POSS serve INT 3SG DEF

‘At the same point of getting the Konkonte served it is been shared’

‘no time to lose or no time to be lost’

Example 20.

Borofere a ede na abaa da aseε

N-pawpaw REL ADJ-sweet FOC N-stick V-lie PREP-under

‘A sweet pawpaw has stick under it’

‘The good or kind hearted attracts people to him/herself’

Example 21.

Wo-de fufuo ato nkwan mu

2SG have N.fufu PERF-dip N.soup PREP-in

‘To dip fufu in soup’

‘A welcomed solution’

Example 22.

Nkwan adane adane-ε nti na fufuo a-n-fono

Soup chang.change-INTENSITY reason PP fufu DEG-NEG-appetite

‘The changes in soup makes eating fufu appetizing’

‘Variety makes a difference’

Example 23.

Nkwan pa na εtwe adwa

N-soup ADJ-good FOC-that V-pull N-stool

‘Good soup draws people’

‘One who lives in harmony lives in peace’

Example 24.

yε-kyiri kooko a yε-nni ne ba

1PL.dislike cocoyam REL 1PL-NEG-eat PRO child

‘If you don’t like cocoyams you don’t eat its child’

‘the act of intruding’

Example 25.

Nnipa ti n-nyε borofere na yapae mu ahwe

ADJ-human N-head NEG-not pawpaw CONJ V-break inside look

‘The head of a man is not like a pawpaw that you can break and see’

‘Not having the ability to tell what’s going on in one’s mind’

Example 26.

Mpampa ne baabaamu nyinaa ka ne die ho

N-porridge ADJ V-stir ADJ forms ADJ V-eat part

‘The stirring of porridge its part of its eating process’

‘Having to be patient’

4.2.4 Theme of Possession

It is possible to possess something that exists. For example, if you intend to possess a suitcase, then you intend to possess its contents, even though you do not know what it contains. To obtain possession of a thing the intention to exclude others from its contents does not necessarily amount to guilt because that is yours and its solely your property. The speakers of Akan consider possession itself as a property right. Some of the interviewees attribute this orientation of possession as the owner of

a property, who has the right of possession and may assign that right wholly or partially to another who may then also assign the right of possession to a third party.

There may be varying degrees of rights to possession. For example, if an Akan says that;

Example 27.

Wɔn a wɔwɔ aburo we nkoko

3PL-SUBJ have-3PL maize masticate chickens

‘Those who have maize chew chickens’

‘Wealth is enjoyed by the rich/privileged’

It means that, the person is enjoying his/her possessions. Possession is a factual state of exercising control over an object, whether owning the object or not. Here the possessor enjoys certain benefits against third parties even if he is not the owner.

Again, the participants gave this other instance that;

Example 28.

Me ba abaayewa no ne me kookoo

1SG child girl DET is 1SG cocoa

‘My girl child is my cocoa’

‘Ones investment’

In Akan, having to obtain possession like this is without anyone else's consent because that is your child and you have every right to protect her and hand her to any man you think rightfully deserves her.

'**wo kwadu so**'. This food item which is a fruit has been metaphorised to mean another entity in Akan which relates to the human body because the person in possession of that part of his body has a big penis and that having to say it by mentioning the actual thing in Akan which is 'kɔte' may sound abusive and disrespectful. This is the reason to why the speakers of Akan use food to represent that part of the human body to allow for creativity and language devoid of sexual instances. One of the participants added that the people's motivation behind this metaphor is to save face. So, if an Akan say;

Example 29.

Wo	kwadu	so
1PL-SUBJ	banana	big

This means that the person in possession of that part of his body has a big manhood.

4.2.5 Theme of choice

A choice is an act of choosing between two or more possibilities. Among the Akan speakers, the kind of activity, work or behaviour of someone can determine what the person may wish for in times of need. According to the participants of the study, many foodstuffs have certain characteristics in common and may sometimes do same work as A would have than with B vice versa. There are a number of reasons to why such comparisons are made by Akans, which could be monetary issues or not having what it takes to get something they admire or wants. This makes contrastive analysis of such foodstuffs to one another possible by framing a metaphor out of that to mean something else in another context. Heine (1997) states that a common human

strategy of communication consists in relating different concepts by describing one in terms of the other. As a result of this perception, it is said in Akan;

Example 30.

Borofere tu ayam - tim

‘Pawpaw wipes stomach constipation’

‘having a different thought or choice to something’

Here, the participants gave the explanation that, when there are no orthodox drugs available in times of need one can go in for pawpaw since it also contains vitamin C elements that can help relief one’s constipation.

Just as what happens in example 1, it happens in these other two examples too.

Example 31.

Wo nni sika a wo-se kontommire abomu ma mmogya duro

2SG NEG-have money RELyou say cocoyam leaves stew FINT-give N-blood

‘If you don’t have money you claim cocoyam leaves give blood’

‘to be broke’

Example 32.

Wo n-ni sika a wo-se emo m.men

2SG NEG-have N-money CONJ you-say N-rice NEG.FINT-satisfy

‘You claim rice does not satisfy fully if you do not have money’

‘blab’

4.2.6 Theme of Information

Information is facts provided or learned about something or someone which could be true or untrue. The language of a people has a close relationship with their culture, society, and environment. Since these variables are interwoven, a change in any of them affects the nature and structure of the language directly and can thus result in corresponding diachronic changes (Agyekum, 2002). Lakoff and Johnson (1980) have proposed that linguistic usages frequently reflect our inherent metaphorical understanding of many basic areas of our lives; that is, not merely language but cognition which operates metaphorically much of the time. Agyekum (2002) notes that there is a correlation between a people's external experience and their internal emotional and cognitive states. One participant explained that, when it comes to informational food metaphor expressions, they directly refer one thing by mentioning another so not to create trouble for oneself because certain issues could be delicate when mentioned straightforward and could be disheartening. These expressions act as a means to regulate a native speaker's way of having to say something which cannot be said candidly. This provides clarity of a hidden idea that cannot be said unholy. It was evident from the interview that, when it comes to these kinds of metaphors care must be practiced else one may be taken on. This makes native speakers of Akan cautious of what they say. This is one of the several ways or avoidance strategy in Akan one can adopt to dissipate an information;

Example 33.

ɔ-hɔhɔ	na	ɛwe	akokɔ	a	n'ani	abɔ
SG-stranger who	masticate	chicken	ADV	PRO-eye	PERF-break	

'It's a stranger that chews chicken with a defective eye'

'to be cheated or not informed'

This can be used in a conversation when there is a discussion between two participants who do not want a third party to know about what they may be talking about. This metaphoric expression means that, someone may be ill informed about a matter and not wanting to cause any harm to oneself the person adopts to using a food metaphor expression in regards to that to avoid causing a feud or some form of misunderstanding or better still to save face.

4.2.7 Associative metaphors

Winter (2001) posits that the most important application of the theory of conceptual metaphor has been in the areas of law, politics and social relationships. The way we perceive ideas and things manifest in our interactions with the environment. This brings about the transfer of knowledge from one domain onto another and this happens continuously. The social relationship between interlocutors is also considered when it comes to Akan food metaphors. Relationship comes in two forms; close and distant relationship. A close relationship is an interpersonal relationship that involves physical or emotional intimacy which includes family, friends, or acquaintances. But a distant relationship is the kind of relationship where interlocutors are not close allies and are far from each other's reach. People tend to use indirect means to show love or likeness to people they are involved with. True friendships are hallmarked by each member's desire to engage with the other – it's about mutual interest in one another's experiences and thoughts, as well as a sense of belongingness. 'eto' and 'ngo' is an Akan traditional food that comes into any native speaker's mind when mentioned. It has this belongingness that when mentioned one automatically can tell they have something in common. However, some of the participants explained that when the name 'eto' ne 'ngo' is mentioned it does not always connote an ally but rather a curse, thus calling upon deities to strike

people dead or even used for purification rites in the Akan belief systems. In Akan, when one wants to show how good one's relationship is, the person can use this expression to tell how such a relationship is by saying;

Example 34.

ɛto ne ngo

ɛto CONJ palm oil

'ɛto and palm oil'

'Ally'

To mean that, there is actually a connection between those people and to divide them is inseparable.

4.2.8 Summary

The role of metaphors has thoroughly been explained as Lakoff and Johnson (1960) state that "the essence of metaphor is understanding and experiencing one kind of thing in terms of another. Food metaphors in Akan are shared and established on a match between things and events in the world. Metaphors do more than making things understandable. These categories of the food metaphors in Akan has played a key role in determining when metaphors can be uttered in a situation. It was revealed in the analysis that a lot of speakers considered the face needs of their interlocutors thereby employing metaphors in their conversations. Food metaphors also organize humans thought into different groups. They distribute in an unequal way status to these groups by incorporating different appeals to the mind and senses. Metaphors regarding edible things are connected with feelings, respect, joy, and socializing; it is also connected with distaste, sometimes even disgust.

4.3 The pragmatics and contextual usages of the food metaphors identified

This section of the research discusses the pragmatics and contextual usages of the metaphors identified. All these metaphors are not based on material reference but on social categories as to what triggers one to mention such metaphors in a conversation. Metaphors are a great tool to use both for speaking or for creating stories but one should always consider the situation or place before uttering it. Metaphors are only as powerful as the situations surrounding them, and they do have the power to harm when used in the wrong situation. Each metaphor allows for ambivalence and ambiguities and are strictly separated from one another (Daniel, 2015). It was evident from the interview that every Akan speaker has used metaphors in some form or the other, whether they realized it or not.

4.3.1 The pragmatics of food metaphors that are used to Insult

There are many things to consider when it comes to communication between whoever produces an utterance and the recipient who has to interpret that utterance. Not only does one have to try to analyse what the speaker meant by their utterance to figure out what their intended meaning was, but one also has to interpret this utterance from a contextual point of view. Aspects that should be taken into consideration here are where, when, to whom and under what circumstance the utterance is put forward. These are all perspectives which influence how the speaker expresses himself. In pragmatics the interesting part of an utterance is in fact, the unsaid. A great deal of interpretation is sometimes needed to conclude the hidden meaning of what is being communicated. Exactly how much interpretation is needed depends on the social distance between those communicating (Yule, 1996). When an Akan speaker insults a person using food metaphor expression, they transfer the disgust felt towards that

particular food to the person. Now let's look at some examples of metaphors that portray the use of insults generated from food in Akan from the respondents;

Example 35.

Otoolege/Mutwumudoo

‘a type of tasteless yam’

‘fool/good for nothing/useless’

Since pragmatics is concerned with the relationship of sentences to the environment in which they occur, this metaphor is said to one who is naive. This yam is a huge one found in the Akan communities which serves as no purpose, unavailing or futile. This yam is needless to buy and eat because it has no taste. And so, having to buy such a huge yam which has no nice taste is just a waste of time, money and resources. And this happens to be the reason why Akans attribute it to people who seem to be unwise just because the person may not be acting right and cannot be put into any good position to serve any importance. Also, the people who participated in the study explained that people usually refer to one ‘otoolege/mutwumudoo when that person is without useful qualities or of no practical good. And that, people with no good energy, positiveness, self-doubt, defeat and powerlessness can therefore be referred to as so.

Contextual usage; According to the participants this is used to insult people who act stupidly in a certain manner. It could be in a situation whereby a man may have fallen in love with a lady and spending all his time, money and resources on that particular lady, which in return the lady is not being faithful and loyal to him. In such a case when people around the man tell the said man the kind of immoral things the lady does in his absence and yet the man decides not to listen but goes on with the

relationship and eventually gets dumped, the native people in the Akan community can use this metaphoric expression on that particular man to mean how foolish he was to have been in that relationship over several warnings uttered to him.

Example 36.

Akoa yi yε kako

Person DEF is a rotten fish

‘this person is a rotten fish’

‘Blockhead’

This is a vintage insult commonly used by the older people in the Akan community to express a low opinion of someone's intelligence. Kako is a rotten fish which is used to enrich our local dishes, usually used in stew preparation. It gives great taste to the stew. However, it has this unpleasant and nasty smell when not used for cooking. A rotten fish is actually dead-spoilt, not good for use and should be discarded but we do eat it. It is this feature of the rotten fish that make people use it to address people with a low mindset about issues, education etc. to mean they are morally despicable. It is obviously a permanent mark because something which is rotten or completely spoilt is disintegrating and cannot be used for anything right.

Contextual usage; According to the interviewee this is commonly used when one has low intelligence or puerile, especially in a classroom setting where a student finds it difficult to answer a question which was to be easy and answered correctly but could not. This expression can be used on such a student by the teacher and colleagues to mean how brainless the student is. This metaphor when used threatens or damages the face of the addressee.

Example 37.

Nyasa-ni na ɔ-re - di kosua a ɔ-bo kasεε mu

Wise-person CONJ 3SG.SUB-PROG-eat egg REL 3SG.SUB-crack bone inside

‘It is a wise person that eats egg and finds bone inside’

‘an unwise person’

If someone's behavior or action is foolish, not sensible and shows a lack of good judgment the person can be referred to using this metaphoric expression. An egg is made up of yolk and not bones. Eggs are laid by female animals of many different species and have been eaten by humans for thousands of years. If a person is referred to with this metaphor then it means the person actually wanted to find out what was not of concern to him/her but ends up finding nothing and thus a waste of time.

Contextual usage; Some of the respondents explained that, usually this is used for people who are void of understanding, weak in intellect, silly or unwise. Some people tend to be inquisitive and all knowing. Someone may want to find out a particular information of someone which may not yield any results but may still decide to carry on. This can happen when a journalist tries to move to a no-go area for an interview which before then he/she was warned not to but he/she goes on and eventually finds him/herself in troubled waters. This could trigger the people to mention this metaphor to the situation that has happened to mean that, the said person wanted to find out things which were not of concern to him/her and has eventually landed him/her in trouble.

Example 38.

Wo-yε nam pa ara

2SG-be.STAT meat too much

‘you are meat’

‘naive’

Meat is high in protein and is one of the main nutrient sources for humans since it consists of edible muscle, connective tissue and associated fat. The most important meat quality attributes include tenderness and leanness when not cooked (Webb, 2006). For these features of the meat, the participants explained that Akans usually associate it with the physically weak or mentally person. So, to be conducive to a timorous character in the Akan community, one can be referred to as such.

Contextual usage; The participants explained that this metaphor is usually used for people who are weak and lack social or economic sophistication. They explained that, one who does things not right can be referred to as so in a context of an insulting situation. It could be that one may be ignoring his family and spending lots of money outside home whilst his family lies in absolute poverty, another person who may be a witness to that may use this metaphoric expression on such a person to mean how imprudent the person is.

Example 39.

Wo - yε mɔre pa ara

2SG – do corn dough INTENSIFIER

‘You are corn dough’

‘A sluggish’

Traditional Ghanaian Corn Dough is made from 100% fermented whole maize with no additives. White or yellow maize goes through several days of fermentation to make corn dough. The corn dough after several days of processing becomes soft/weak. Some of the participants explained that Akan speakers use it metaphorically to refer to one who is dull or sluggish because of the soft nature of the corn dough when it is touched or spanked after it has been moisturized.

Contextual usage; According to the respondents of the study it is commonly used to refer to one who is mentally slow or weak. It could be that one may be sluggish in his/her doings, which is, he/she may not be a man or a woman enough to carry his/her own matters and also not active enough to work out something for him/herself. Due to that, people may refer to such a person in the Akan community as not smart or a dull person abusively using this metaphoric expression.

Example 40.

eye koobi awaree ebɔn

It is N.ADJ- dry tilapia marriage stinks

‘It is a salted dry tilapia marriage that stinks’

‘bad marriage’

According to the participants this is usually mentioned when a lot of people know about a marriage that is on the edge of collapsing or has so many misunderstandings to it but looks like all is well when it is not. Koobi is salted dried tilapia in Ghana. The fish has an indigenous flavor in stews and soup in the Ghanaian local delicacies. It is used to prepare Ghanaian foods such as fufu and soup, plantain and stew, banku and okro stew and other local Ghanaian cuisines. It stinks seriously and enhances flavor. Naturally preserved koobi always has active flies around it. Looking at these things that associates with Koobi, makes people metaphorize it with a broken marriage the

reason being that such a marriage actually stinks and has “flies” which represents the “people” on it, meaning the said people know all that is happening in and around that particular marriage. What this means is that people have no respect towards such a marriage because they know what transpires in that marriage.

Contextual usage; The speakers of Akan in the community explained that in a context where an ignorant person makes a statement like, “these married couples are best to none”, the one who knows what that marriage entails can counter attack the person’s speech by saying this metaphoric expression in Akan to mean that actually things are not so rosy as it seems but rather the other way round.

Example 41.

Wo yɛ nkyene koraa a n-ka wo-ayera mu
2SG is salt INT REL NEG-may 2SG-lost inside
‘Even if you were salt you still wouldn’t be recognized’
‘dispraise’

Salt has long been used for flavoring and for preserving food. Because of its sweet flavor it adds to food, one can use it to metaphorically refer to a sweet person. But if one is arrogant, the expression can be used in the opposite sense to mean that even if he/she is sweet no one cares or recognizes their sweet nature. According to the participants this expression is used to describe an arrogant person. If you feel disdain for someone or something, you dislike them because you think that they are inferior or unimportant. That is, you can be sweet as a salt but yet you would not be recognized in whatever circumstance at all. This is a feeling you might have toward something or someone you deem unworthy—it implies not only a dislike but also a lack of respect.

Contextual usage; It happens to be one of the most used food metaphor expressions in Akan. According to the respondents, in a situation where one talks a lot or feels bossy, this metaphor can be used to refer to such a person to make the person aware that he/she is unworthy or inferior. Again, it can be used for someone who is full of self-worth or self-importance and who tells and shows a feeling of superiority over others. Regardless of how sweet you can be as a salt you still can be seen as nobody when you try to belittle others. Another example in this case, can be an arrogant guy who on a date brags about himself all night, acting like he is the best thing to ever happen to a woman when actually he is not. The lady with him may utter this metaphoric expression to him to mean that he is actually not worth all the things he might be saying.

In the Akan society, when speakers devise an insulting utterance, they make some decisions. Firstly, they weigh the effect that they intend to provoke in their addressees and this may range from pure offense to a reinforcement of a social bond or even a praise. In general, the selected utterance will be either conventional (in the sense that all members in the community understand it), or innovative.

Once the proposition has been uttered, it is the addressees' role to determine the meaning and the effects which might be derived from its content with the aid of context. In this sense, addressees can either understand the load of insult correctly or not and they can also react to it or not. The addressee's reaction (by inferring and acknowledging the insulting load of the utterance) is important in a picture of the whole insulting situation, but it is not essential. It is the addressee's awareness and reaction that make it clear for the speaker that the insult was effective, but very often no linguistic reaction is provided. There is always a cognitive reaction even if the

addressee thinks it is not worthy to manifest this reaction overtly (for fear, wisdom, good manners, etc).

4.3.2 The pragmatics of food metaphors that are used to express Emotions

It is widely accepted that emotional expressions can be rich communicative devices. Emotional food metaphors give listeners a picture in their minds of what is being discussed. When a speaker is trying to get a listener to see how sad or happy the person is, he or she might use a metaphor to portray her feelings. Another reason to use metaphors to express one's disposition is to help understand a concept. Metaphors are especially useful for this. A social setting is necessary for several emotions to arise in the first place, suggesting an inherent social quality of emotions. For instance, shame, envy, guilt, embarrassment, contempt, love, and hatred all require third parties as causes, targets, or observers in order for these emotions to occur in the first place. To substantiate this claim, several cases of emotions in social contexts are discussed, as the social dimension of emotions highlights that emotions are inherently ways of interacting with one's social environment. Consider this example from my participant,

42. **Esam no a-gu anwia mu**

Flour-SUBJ DET PART-fall sand inside

'Flour fall in the sand'

'The case is beyond repair'

Here one discusses how it feels to be in a misfortune which is difficult to be solved. The speaker never comes out and says she/he is sad, but one uses a food metaphor to show that. Flour is a powder made by grinding raw grains, roots, beans, nuts, or seeds. Flour is a finely ground powder prepared from grain or other starchy plant foods and used in baking. Sand on the other hand is a granular material composed of finely

divided rock and mineral particles. It is defined by size, being finer than gravel and coarser than silt. Sand can also refer to a textural class of soil or soil type; i.e., a soil containing more than 85 percent sand-sized particles by mass. Looking at both definitions it both has some fine powder features and therefore when they come into contact it gets difficult to separate it, which means recollecting it back would be a waste of time and effort. What this metaphorically explains in Akan is to have a difficult or hard time in resolving an issue.

Contextual usage; An example is when natural disasters happen. Natural disasters are one of the worst things that could ever happen to anyone. During these disasters, people can potentially lose the people they are closest to as well as their possessions, including their home: a truly traumatic life experience. In Akan, when such situations happen it could trigger one to use this metaphor to mean a loss a person might have suffered to show a mark of sadness or hypocritical rejoicing.

Example 43.

Atadwe Fowaa

Tigernut Fowaa (*Fowaa is a female name in Akan*)

'joy'

Often used when one hears of good news. It is an old-fashioned way of telling or having to say something full of excitement. In Akan, it is one of the most used metaphors and often heard on media platform like TV and Radio. Swaziland (2016) posits in his work, an example of such metaphor that “**Atadwe fowaa...., atadwe!**” and explained what it meant for him to use such metaphor. Here the writer was announcing his joy to the community he is from. What made him use this expression

was that he was with joy telling his people what had transpired between him and Ejurahemaa that ‘listen up everybody, hear the good news today!’ The Ejurahemaa has assigned one of the nobles of Ejura to be her linguist, an official intercessor between the Obahemaah and any member of the public. Here the writer expresses his joy by using this expression to tell his people what has happened. The good taste that comes with tiger-nuts makes people associate it with happiness. According to the participants, this seed is usually not easy to come by and so if one has it the person feels good for that. My respondents explain that, what this means in Akan is, having to get it to buy and eat brings excitement and so therefore the creation of this metaphor to mean joy.

Contextual usage; An instance of this, is to be called for an interview and to come out successfully. The joy alone that comes with it may cause one to mention this metaphor in regards to his/her success; to mean how happy he/she is to have heard of such good news.

Example 44.

Okusie se ɔ-nya fufuo a ɔ-be-di woaduro na a-n-kɔ ne bɔn mu
Rat says 3SG-get fufu REL 3SG-FUT-eat mortar and PERF-NEG-go 3SG hole
inside

‘The rat says if it gets fufu it will eat but it is the mortar that cannot enter its hole’

‘If only wishes were horses beggars would ride’

This expression says, if one could readily have what one wanted, life would be easy. If just hoping and wishing for things would make it happen then even the poorest of all people would have everything that they seek. What this means in Akan is that, the

things you wish for are not entirely the things you get. Fufu is a local Ghanaian food which is made by pounding cassava and plantains together in a mortar using a pestle. Taking a critical look at how the preparation is done the rat cannot have it done since the mortar cannot enter its hole. This then makes it unhappy.

Contextual usage; From the interview an example is when one wants to buy a car of his/her choice but rather ends up having what he/she did not like initially, this metaphor could be uttered by such a person to mean that actually what he/she desires is not actually what he/she got.

Example 45.

Hwan na εwɔɔ sɔ gu n'-ano a ɔ-m-pɛ

Who CONJ honey drain pour 3SG-POSS.mouth REL 3SG-NEG-like

‘Who doesn’t like it when honey pours into the mouth’

‘a wish’

Honey is a natural, sweet, syrupy fluid collected by bees from nectar of flowers. The pleasant aroma and taste of this viscous liquid ranging in colour from pale yellow to dark amber varies according to geographical and seasonal conditions. Its use as a sweetener is well known in different parts of the world. Honey tastes sweet and so the one reveling in it may be seen as the person enjoying him/herself. This metaphor could be referred to a life of leisure, luxury and fun. In fact, this expression is actually a wish that one would like to enjoy but not getting it granted, having such a chance, the person will grab it so well and not let it slip away.

Contextual usage; According to the respondents of the study this is usually mentioned when having to tell another how you wish to enjoy a sweet life or a comfortable one when granted. They explained that in Akan communities this

expression can be heard when one looks up to someone who is doing better than him/her successfully and wants to attain such same position. My respondents also explained that, in these modern times, it could be that a chief or a president may be driven by a police escort in traffic smoothly whilst another has to halt driving and give way for them to pass. Meanwhile the person may also wish to follow because the person may equally be in a hurry. In that short period that experience is what is likely going to push the person to mention this metaphor in Akan to mean how really, he/she also had wanted the same chance.

Example 46.

Wo-de fufuo ato nkwan mu

2SG have N.fufu PERF-dip N.soup PREP-in

‘To put fufu in a soup’

‘A welcomed solution or making way for peace to prevail’

The name ‘Fufu’ is most commonly associated with Ghana, specifically with the Akan ethnic group. Ghanaian Fufu is commonly made by “pounding” cassava and unripe plantains together into a paste, which is then moulded by hand into a ball shape and served with a special soup. In essence it is the soup that really gives each Fufu dish its unique identity. In Ghana, the common Fufu dishes are Fufu with Light Soup, Fufu with Palm Nut Soup and Fufu with Groundnut Soup. In the Akan ethnic group, no one takes fufu with sauce or stew apart from soup. Having to eat fufu with sauce or stew is not done or practiced, because it may choke anyone who tries it because of how thick and starchy it is, and this happens to be the reason for the genesis of this metaphor which means that something must be accepted for it to be welcomed.

Contextual usage; According to the participants, in Akan when there is an issue or conflict and after several meetings from the chief and his people it gets solved, it can trigger one to use this metaphor in his speech to mean that finally an issue has been resolved. Further, if two people are at loggerheads and finally resolve their differences and start talking, a third party can use this metaphor to mean that indeed there is no issue anymore between the duo. So, these two people having to welcome each other means they have accepted each other's flaws and have allowed peace to prevail.

In conclusion, these examples of emotional metaphors are often aimed at achieving certain goals within a social context, so that they resemble pragmatic actions; and in other cases, emotions can be plausibly construed as acts of probing the social environment so as to extract or uncover important information, thus complying with the functions of epistemic actions. In sum, the construal of emotions in social contexts as pragmatic, yields a more fine-grained and accurate understanding of emotions' intentionality and their roles in social contexts.

4.3.3 The pragmatics of food Metaphors that are used as an Advisory tool

An advice is an opinion that someone offers you about what you should do or how you should act in a particular situation. Hinkel (1997) warns that the giving of advice is a complex linguistic act that should be performed in accordance with the politeness norms of a particular culture. Thus, in societies that value individual freedom, such as the Akan society, advice is often hedged to avoid offending the hearer. Nevertheless, advice is a very frequent type of interaction even among peers, spouses, partners, and friends (Cutrona & Suhr, 1994; Reisman & Shorr, 1980). This research has revealed that indeed when it comes to food metaphors, advice sharing is a major means of interacting with the people and below is some example provided by the participants;

Example 47.

Wo- re- tu akura fo no, na

2SG.PROG-uproot N-mouse advice DET- the FOC

wo- re- tu momone nso fo

2SG.PROG-uproot N-rotten fish FOC advise

‘As you advice the mouse so as you advice the rotten fish’

‘a shared advice’

This is giving an advice to two people or more at the same time. The mouse eats the dried fish when not kept well. And in Akan the rotten dried fish is commonly termed as “momone” which is used for several dishes and adds some great taste to Ghanaian food delicacies. Understandably, because the mouse survives on it, it is better for it to be put away or stored properly and not have the mouse prey on it. So, this metaphoric expression is a guidance or recommendation offered with regard to avoid any action that may arise from two participants who are involved in doing most things together of which may cause a misunderstanding or a problem in the future.

Contextual usage; According to the participants, it could be that one may be mingling with some friends or some group of people that he/she may have been warned about a couple of times. For instance, wrong association with people involved in social malpractices such as prostitution, armed robbery, child trafficking etc. and upon several warnings from the law enforcement people this particular person decides not to heed to the call. If this person is to be arrested together with such bad people and then tries defending him/herself not to be part of them, the police or the law enforcement agency may utter this expression to show that if indeed he/she was not

part of them then he/she would not have been around where the social deviants operate.

Example 48.

Bankye a a-seε no εnyε nsu-hyεε anaa nsuo-nwunu a wo-de bε-gu

Cassava that PERF-spoil that NEG-do water.hot or water.cold that 2SG-with FUT-on

so no na ε-bε-ma no a-yε yie

top REL and 3SG-FUT-give and PERF-do well

‘It is not the hot water or the cold water that can revive a spoiled cassava’

‘Condemned’

According to the participants this is often used when something has overly been used and lost its importance. In Akan, to pronounce unfit for use is what this metaphor clarifies. This means that the food has been condemned or forced into a particular state of being bungled and trying to bring back into use would be a waste of time.

Contextual usage; This metaphor can be uttered when giving advice to a celebrity or whoever is on top to be very careful. For the reason being that when one loses everything, he/she acquired during his/her life time it would be hard getting it all back and rebuilding oneself. This means that everything acquired or gained through one’s fame should be kept well and protected and should develop a saving attitude so that the person can save him/herself when trouble arises. And the best way to have it done is to maintain his/her standard of living.

Example 49

Wo – re- di wo n-kosua na wo - re- we wo n-koko
2SG.SUB-PROG-eat 2SG.POSS PL-eggs CONJ 2SG.SUB-PROG-chew 2SG PL-
chichen
m- ma
PL-baby

‘As you eat your eggs you eat your chicks too’

‘You cannot eat your cake and have it’

In Akan this is often said to a cheat. Eggs are laid by female animals of many different species, including birds and fishes, and have been eaten by humans for thousands of years. The most commonly consumed eggs are chicken eggs. Other poultry eggs including those of duck and quail are eaten. In Akan, we believe that to eat your poultry eggs automatically guarantees you not to have any eggs at all to be hatched by your chickens. This metaphor happens to be one of the oldest known used speech found in Akan and used by the elderly.

Contextual usage; According to the participants the meaning of the phrase is that you cannot have the best of both worlds. Which literally means "you cannot simultaneously retain your eggs and have new chicks produced". Once the egg is eaten, it is gone. A lot of times people do not adhere to simple life rules. Every normal human being in his/her rightful senses is to save the reason being that if you are to find yourself in trouble it would save you. People do not comply to this simple life rule when they are advised they end up with all sorts of troubles. The person in that time of trouble can be spoken to by any person at all using this metaphor to mean that when he/she had money he/she spent it unwisely.

Example 50.

Yε-re-te.te abeteε no na ne kye ara no no

1PL-PROG-dish.dish food.NAME DEF CONJ POSS serve INT 3SG DEF

‘At the same point of getting the konkonte served it is being shared right away’

‘There is no time to lose or no time to be lost, meaning to hurry’

It happens to be the most common metaphor in Akan because people tend to use it most often in their speech. This means that, there is no time to lose or no time to be lost meaning one must be in haste all or most of the time. If someone is to use this metaphor then it means that the person is making up for a lost time or someone may be doing something actively and with enthusiasm which may be because they have not had the opportunity to do it earlier or when they had the time, they were being lazy or kept procrastinating.

Contextual usage; From the respondents this is usually used when one determines to have a work done and wants to reach the height of his/her achievement level. When a five-year older majority officer of a military firm works so hard to achieve a certain level of his rank and by his determined desire for success he reaches that height and achievement, he can utter this expression in his communication to his colleagues to mean that indeed he had no time to lose and that he was in a hurry to attain such a level of achievement in his life. In every occasion of our lives that we determine to achieve something strongly we can use this metaphor in regards to that to mean how hurriedly or determined one wants to get things done. It is almost always the case in every situation that involves a self-push in Akan.

Example 51.

Borofere a ede na abaa da aseɛ

N-pawpaw REL ADJ-sweet FOC N-stick V-lie PREP-under

‘A sweet pawpaw has stick under it’

‘The good or kind hearted attracts people to him/herself’

Pawpaw is a fruit which has a good taste and liked by many, and so when it is ripe you would find people pluck it for consumption. The law of attraction states that "like attracts like." This means that people with a low frequency - people who are insecure and self-abandoning - attract each other, while people with a high frequency - people who love and value themselves - also attract each other. In the Akan community, people get attached to people who are kind and loving and for this reason we have this metaphoric expression.

Contextual usage; From the respondents a positive attitude and a balanced extroversion have been revealed as the most attractive traits. These two personality traits do not only make someone more attractive in the Akan community but also prove they can get on with anyone. And so, what makes people attracted to others is when they make way for others in life. Per the explanations gathered from the people that are native speakers of Akan, these were few of the most common character traits one can adopt in the Akan community to attract the love of others;

1. Love yourself. Be honest with yourself first.
2. Accomplish with discipline: You will value yourself more if you have a purpose to live for.
3. Be down to earth. Do not brag or show others down because you gain success.

4. Exude warmth.
5. Live with zest.
6. Have a good sense of humor and
7. Be selfless.

All these character traits when demonstrated in the Akan society may cause another person to use this metaphor to mean that indeed ‘Boroferε a εδε na abaa da aseε’ which pragmatically means ‘The good one attracts people to him/herself’.

Example 52.

Nkwan adane adane-ε nti na fufuo a-n-fono

Soup chang.change-INTENSITY reason PP fufu DEG-NEG-appetite

‘The changes in soup makes fufu eating appetizing’

‘Variety makes a difference’

This is often used for people who are never ready to make a change in their lives. Fufu is a starchy dough that takes on different forms (and names) across many West African countries. However, the name ‘Fufu’ is most commonly associated with Ghana, specifically with the Akan ethnic group. Ghanaian Fufu is commonly made by “pounding” cassava and unripe plantains together into a paste, which is then moulded by hand into a ball shape and served with a special soup. In essence, it is the soup that really gives each Fufu dish its unique identity. In Ghana, the common Fufu dishes are Fufu with Light Soup, Fufu with Palm Nut Soup, Fufu with Groundnut Soup and Fufu with Abunabunu soup etc. The uniqueness of the several soups gives different taste to the fufu. It is that which gave birth to this metaphoric expression to mean that indeed one has to be unique or different in all life situations. At school or in any other institution, we do not only learn practical things and theoretical knowledge but also

develop a sense of cooperation and learn how to interact with each other, besides becoming more open to new ideas. Of course, each of these things in a different level depending on the elders in the society, teachers, chiefs, colleagues, and so on, that we have. This in return makes every individual unique and helps learn a lot in life in different ways.

Contextual usage; According to the participants if a person is advised to leave his/her habitat, for example to join a new group of interest, he/she becomes more aware of the differences that exist there. This experience then changes the person and how he/she sees things.

Example 53.

Nkwan pa na etwe adwa

N-soup ADJ-good FOC-that V-pull N-stool

‘Good soup draws the stool’

‘One who lives a good life attracts people around him/her’

Soup is primarily liquid food, generally served warm or hot, that is made by combining ingredients such as meat, tomatoes, onion, pepper and garden eggs with water. Soup is characterized by boiling solid ingredients in liquids in a pot until the flavors are extracted, forming a broth. A stool on the other hand is a mobile seat which may be designed for indoor and/or outdoor use. In the olden days, when the extended family system was heavily practiced, it was a common practice for people in the Akan community to gather and eat, whether it be family, friends meeting etc. People were seated on a wooden stool and a table to enjoy their meals together. During such times storytelling, comedy and advise was been told. It was a very common practice to see people do that kind of things together as one people. On some

good occasion's wives prepared soups for their husbands and their friends which was the only way to get them together because farming and hunting took most of their time. Sometimes just the aroma of the soup brought these people together.

Contextual usage; The respondents explain that, when a man lives a good life and has a kind heart, he is automatically liked by all. And in all situations that requires one to be accepted by his/her people, the individual is supposed to be sweet and all welcoming to every individual.

Example 54.

yε-kyiri kooko a yε-nni ne ba

1PL.dislike cocoyam REL 1PL-NEG-eat PRO child

'If you don't like cocoyam you shouldn't eat its child'

'to mind your business'

According to the participants of the study this is a way to advice people who attach themselves unto others business uninvited, that is, in situations in which they have not been called. Cocoyams are herbaceous perennial plants belonging to the family Araceae and are grown primarily for their edible roots. Cocoyams that are cultivated as food crops belong to either the genus Colocasia or the genus Xanthosoma and generally comprised a large spherical corm (swollen underground storage stem), from which a few large leaves emerge. We usually consume the leaves and is well known in Akan as 'kontomire ahaban' which in English is "Cocoyam leaves". Kontomire is stew made from cocoyam leaves, commonly prepared in the home and very popular in the Ghanaian cuisine. In Ghana, kontomire is served with variety of dishes, including steamed rice, cooked yam and plantain. The corm produces lateral buds which give

rise to tubers or cormels and suckers or stolons. Xanthosoma species produce tubers much like potato and are boiled, baked, steamed or fried prior to consumption. From the discussion, what this food metaphor expression explains is that, if you do not eat cocoyams, there should be no reason to eat other plantlets it produces such as the leaves widely known as Kontommire.

Contextual usage; In a situation whereby, one finds him/herself not talking to a particular family there should be no reason for the person to mingle with anyone or any member from that particular family. And that is exactly what this point explains that if you do not eat cocoyams, there should be no reason to eat other plantlets it produces such as the leaves widely known as Kontommire. This explains that, to be seen or found with any member at all from that family you are not in good terms with, may bring about a misunderstanding and so to avoid all that to spark off or mishap, there should be the need to cut that relationship or friendship off completely. This is to help avoid any future problems that may arise. It goes out in all situations which are similar like this in Akan.

Example 55.

Nnipa ti n-nyɛ borofere na yapae mu ahwɛ

ADJ-human N-head NEG-not pawpaw CONJ V-break inside look

‘The head of a man is not like a pawpaw that you can break and see what is inside’

‘Not having the ability to tell what’s going on in one’s mind’

Pawpaws are very nutritious fruits and has an oval size shape which takes on the look of the human head. This fruit is a medium to large size just like the human head which

has different shapes and sizes and that makes comparison of both easy to identify. And as metaphors is understanding X in terms of Y, this makes it possible to compare and contrast two different things that has almost the same features to give a different thought or meaning in Akan (Agyekum, 2006).

Contextual usage; As shown in the explanation this metaphoric expression is usually mentioned when one has no ability to determine or tell whatever one has in mind. Situations that can push one to say this expression in a conversation in Akan could either be for a positive reason or a negative one;

Firstly, for a positive reason, when a friend or a brother wants to do you good it could be hard to tell and when that happens one can mention this metaphoric expression to mean how appreciative one is having to know nothing of the good that was about to be done for oneself.

Secondly, it could be mentioned when a bad thing is imminent. Let's take a look at this example from the participants; in the workplace where one mingles with his/her colleagues and carries out his/her duties very well and appears to be loved by all yet these same colleagues in the work place plan to execute him/her from office, it will be difficult or hard to tell. And if they are to succeed in doing so and later people come out to know what actually transpired in the office, people can use this metaphor to explain what happened that if indeed the subject had known what was about to happen, he/she would not have had a close contact or association with those colleagues. This expression can be uttered in circumstances be it good or bad in Akan.

Example 56.

Mpampa ne baabaamu nyinaa ka ne die ho

N-porridge ADJ V-stir ADJ forms ADJ V-eat part

‘The stirring of porridge is part of its eating process’

‘To have patience’

This is usually used as a guidance for people who want to rush through everything to stay calm and let nature take its effect. ‘Mpampa’ in English is ‘porridge’ which is a delicacy commonly eaten as breakfast, made by boiling crushed or chopped starchy plants typically grains in water or milk. It is often cooked or served with added flavourings such as sugar, honey, (dried) fruit or syrup to make a sweet meal. It is usually served hot in a bowl, depending on its consistency. Since it is mostly served hot, there is the need to take time when eating it because if it is forcefully taken hot the probability of hurting oneself is high and the outcome of that could be dangerous. We can attest to the fact that, having hot meals can be deleterious to one’s health and should be avoided. The process of taking the ‘mpampa’ porridge which is a traditional food in Akan made the people relate the expression to real life situation that people have to be patient enough in life.

Contextual usage; According to the participants a teacher who is rude to his/her students can be advised with this metaphor to take time and patience to teach his/her students because everyone has its own way of learning, others are slow learners and others pick up fast. The teacher must not get angry on the slow learners but be patient enough for them to also pick and understand whatever is being taught before they proceed to another. So, anybody at all that is impatient can be advised using this metaphor in relation to whatever the person might be doing.

In sum, the point being made here is that Akan societies were preoccupied mainly with the provision of a well structured and organized society as a necessary and not a contingent factor for the survival of the individual. The structures and the institutions present in such societies were meant to promote and internalize ideals and values that establish and sustain a social order where the person can attain fulfilment, creativity and personal growth through the process of getting advised regularly. Such ideals and norms were hinged on intersubjectivity among beings as an essential tool for social living, the individual then develops a strong impulse to perform his duties and responsibilities to the community by becoming an active, creative and a responsible member of the community.

4.3.4 The pragmatics of food Metaphors that are based on Possessions

Possession simply means the act of having or taking into control ownership of property. As this thesis investigates food metaphors in Akan, this section discusses metaphors in the context of the culture of Akan speakers when it comes to right of ownership of the property. In the Ghanaian context, when a person claims ownership of a property then it means that individual has some form of belongingness or has full control of the property. A chief, or someone belonging to a royal family in Akan may claim ownership of a land which is rightfully his. The respondents explained that when possession comes into mind then there is something been talked about which belongs to one and having to protect that is the person's right to do so. Several ways to show an instance of having to claim or point to a thing of one are seen from the excerpts below in Akan:

Example 57.

Wɔn a wɔwɔ aburo we nkoko

3PL-SUBJ have-3PL maize masticate chickens

‘Those who have maize chew chicken’

‘Wealth is enjoyed by the rich/privileged’

As the participants explained, one enjoys some benefits which is automatically granted. In life we usually see the rich having to acquire all the things they need and that is exactly what this metaphor pinpoints. In Akan, there is a saying that, “sika wo efie a kwadaa nsu” which literally means that “when there is money the child does not cry”. To explain this point or the metaphor vividly, it defines the fact that people with maize are the ones that can feed their poultry well. Maize is chicken feed which means if you have it, you can provide or feed your chicks very well. And so, the elderly use or mention this metaphor in the society to one who has the chance or is entitled to some form of benefits.

Contextual usage; According to the participants a perfect example is when one gets to buy whatever the person wants for him/herself because one has what it takes to acquire whatever needs without hesitations. But on the contrary one who has no money can never enjoy such an advantage or benefit because the person does not have what it takes to grant his/her outmost desires of material need or want, it is that which may push the person to mention this metaphor.

Example 58.

Me ba abaayewa no ne me kookoo

1SG child girl DET is 1SG cocoa

‘My girl child is my cocoa’

‘Ones investment’

Sixty-eight percent of Ghana's population live in rural areas, with agriculture contributing 54% of the GDP and accounting for 40% of export earnings. Agriculture provides 90% of the country's food needs all through farms with an average size of less than 1.6 hectares (FAO Organization, 2018). Forty percent of Ghana's population works in the agricultural sector. Cocoa beans from Ghana are known worldwide: About 70 percent of the world's cocoa beans come from four West African countries: Ivory Coast, Ghana, Nigeria and Cameroon. The Ivory Coast and Ghana are by far the two largest producers of cocoa, accounting for more than 50 percent of the world's cocoa. The cocoa bean or simply cocoa is the dried and fully fermented seed of *Theobroma cacao*, from which cocoa solids (a mixture of nonfat substances) and cocoa butter (the fat) can be extracted. Cocoa beans are the basis of chocolate and other chocolate drinks. People around the world enjoy cocoa in many different forms, consuming more than 3 million tons of cocoa beans yearly. Once the cocoa beans have been harvested, fermented, dried and transported they are processed in several components. Processor grindings serve as the main metric for market analysis. After this step all the different components are sold across industries to many manufacturers of different types of products. It is this process and the high demand it comes with that makes people compare the cocoa plant to their daughters as an investment. Because the girl child goes through some stages of life to become a better person just as the cocoa bean goes through some processes before it finally goes out to the market for production and sales. And just as the cocoa bean is very high in demand and comes with a heavy price tag it also makes the Akan people compare their girl child to the cocoa bean as an investment because whichever man comes to marry the girl child has a price to pay.

Contextual usage; According to the participants this could be used in a context where people may be talking about the kind of investments they have and so you also make them know that indeed your girl child is your investment because a lot has gone into her upbringing to make her who she is. So, this is just like having to tell or explain in brief what your investment is.

Example 59.

Wo kwadu so

1PL-SUBJ banana big

‘Your manhood is big’

This is used to refer to men with big manhood. The concept of metaphor is based on physical and mental experience. To analyse and understand metaphors together with their meanings properly, there is the need to have a critical look at their semantic and pragmatic structures and the communicative competence (which include knowledge of the language, culture, society, environment, religion, and politics) of the one using the metaphor (Agyekum, 2002). Per this explanation, the banana fruit is variable in size and firmness, but is usually elongated and curved, with soft flesh. A stalk or stem can be about 30 cm thick so it is easier comparing it to the human penis in an utterance to hide the conversation from a child or the public or better still to have your communication rid of mentioning the human male private part directly.

Contextual usage; According to some of the participants, in an utterance in the presence of kids, whereby one’s wife is trying to demonstrate or tell how big the husband’s manhood is, she can use this metaphor. Such an utterance can be made so that the kids around do not get to know what is been talked about.

Metaphors are important. But what is less known is why metaphors are so powerful. Luckily for us, this research on metaphors has exploded within the text of how possessions can be pointed out using food items as the medium. These kinds of metaphors are not just a literary technique, they are a very potent psychological technique to portray one's belongings in a creative manner. But look closer and you see that each of these examples provided by the participants takes an abstract, hard to understand idea (food) and compares it to a simple, concrete, well-understood idea which relates to real life situations (Burkley, 2017).

4.3.5 The pragmatics of food Metaphors that are based on Choices

In the Akan cultural perspective, choices can be made anytime. Choices can be anything any one can choose from at a time of convenience. People use food metaphor to make choices in their utterances to determine the things they need in a particular time. But these kinds of metaphors go beyond just comprehension and demonstration, they actually change the way we think of a concept on an opinion level. To demonstrate this, consider these examples from my respondents.

60. **borofere tu ayam - tim**

Pawpaw heals stomach constipation

'having a different thought or choice to something'

This is regularly mentioned when one makes a decision based on other choices. Pawpaws are very nutritious fruits. They are high in vitamin C, magnesium, iron, copper, and manganese. They are a good source of potassium and several essential amino acids. The vitamin C in it helps prevent constipation. In Akan, decision-making is regarded as a cognitive process resulting in the selection of a belief or a course of action among several alternative possibilities. Decision-making takes the process of

identifying and choosing alternatives based on the values, preferences and beliefs of the decision-maker. Every decision-making process produces a final choice, which may or may not prompt any further action.

Contextual usage; As human preferences have always been with us if there is to be no drug to help cure one's constipation, one can be given pawpaw to make the situation calm because of the vitamin C it contains. This can make the person feel at ease until later a drug is prescribed or recommended. Here the analysis was to compare pawpaw to the different kind of drugs that can cure constipation. So, this is just like a problem-solving clue.

Example 61.

Wo nni sika a wo-se kontommire abomu ma mmogya duro

2SG NEG-have money RELyou say cocoyam leaves stew FINT-give N-blood

'If you don't have money you claim cocoyam leaves give blood'

'to be broke'

It is often said when one is broke and cannot afford something for oneself. Few dishes are traditionally Ghanaian as Kontomire stew. For many people, even the mention of the name is evocative of communal meals among family members. In a typical Akan community, people mention this metaphoric expression lots of times. Kontomire stew is made from cocoyam leaves, commonly prepared in the home and very popular in Ghanaian cuisine. In Ghana, kontomire stew is served with variety of dishes, including steamed rice, cooked yam and plantain. In the Akan communities, it is

believed to contain elements that give blood. Scientifically it's rich in vitamin C and protein. It is this health benefit that makes people mention this metaphor when they do not have money to purchase blood tonic. This goes out in almost all circumstances where one cannot afford the things, he/she likes or actually prefers. This is a creative trick that helps one to survive hardship and make things just a little easier.

Contextual usage; According to the participants a person may wish to sleep in a five-star hotel with the fiancée for some days. But because of his low finance he may not be able to afford the price tag that comes with it. And so, if the person is to go into a nearby lodge since that is where his budget can get for him and wittingly, he tries to tell the fiancé that where they are is also as perfect as a five-star hotel, the fiancé can utter this expression to the man for him to know that it is because he has no money that he thinks where they are is also as perfect as a five-star hotel.

Example 62.

Wo n-ni sika a wo-se ɛmo m.men

2SG NEG-have N-money CONJ you-say N-rice NEG.FINT-satisfy

'If you don't have money, you say rice does not satisfy'

'blab'

It is often said when one talks or chat excessively and makes a false claim. People often engage in conversations that make them tell more than they ought to. People have no idea that is not appropriate to reveal or say certain things because many a times certain words when uttered make no sense. Rice is the seed of the grass species *Oryza glaberrima* (African rice) or *Oryza sativa* (Asian rice). As a cereal grain, it is the most widely consumed staple food for a large part of the world's human

population, especially in Asia and Africa; is a meal that can make one satisfied but because an individual may not have the ability to purchase it the person may tend to make a false claim about it. Whoever claims rice does not satisfy fully will be making a negative statement or a false claim because the same way other foods keep people satisfied is the very same way rice also makes people satisfied.

Contextual usage; According to the participants in a condition whereby one gets gifted a car or something precious, the next man can use this metaphor to purposefully portray that indeed one has to be rich or has to be doing well in life before he/she can afford such a precious gift to another. Again, one can infer to this metaphor when one has difficulty in acquiring what one desires and therefore wrongly projects a negative feeling about that particular object.

These separate examples explain essentially the same description of so many choices available, only thing different is that it describes the processes by mentioning and combining different foods to create the metaphors which somehow portray same meanings in different contexts. When asked what one's choice of something is, the person can use food metaphor expression to suggest the decision.

4.3.6 The pragmatics of Informational Metaphors

This research shows that there are several ways to which information can be told. According to the participants some issues may be delicate and needs a special way of having to say it. Akans have special ways of having to say most things they find delicate. These kinds of metaphors are useful because they are efficient: they transfer a complex meaning in a few words. Therefore, metaphors seem to be especially useful for explaining complex information that seem hard to tell. The explanation offered regarding these metaphors is inspired by the assertion of Leech

(1986, p. 64) that “meaning of words is better obtained by the relation of the speakers to their real world, because the meanings of words are reliant on the knowledge of the real world, which comprises the culture of the people”. According to the participants, this is one of the several ways a native speaker of Akan can adopt in having to tell a sensitive issue;

Example 63.

ɔ-hɔhɔ na ɛwe akokɔ a n’ani abɔ

SG-stranger who masticate chicken ADV PRO-eye PERF-break

‘It’s a stranger that chews chicken with a defective eye’

‘to be cheated or not informed’

According to the participants this is normally used for one who has no idea about whatever is happening around him/her or one who is not abreast of a particular information or idea. This may mean knowing little, nothing or being uninformed about a particular subject. Lack of facts or awareness of something in the Akan community often causes people to use this metaphoric expression.

Contextual usage; The participants of the current study explained that a perfect example is when a man has no in depth knowledge about his partner and yet wants to settle down with her; this will make people who really know the bad deeds of the lady use this expression ‘ɔhɔhɔ na ɛwe akokɔ a n’ani abɔ’ just to make others know that really the said man has little information about the said lady he wants to marry.

4.3.7 The pragmatics of food Metaphors that are based on Association

According to Agyekum (2002) there is a mapping of one whole cognitive domain onto another in metaphors. The way we perceive ideas and things manifest in

our interactions with the environment. This brings about the transfer of knowledge from one domain onto another and this happens in Akan. According to the participants before people were seen as having close contacts, they usually had some form of involvement that binds them and if people were to pinpoint such a friendship, they could easily do that by identifying such people using a food metaphor expression and they gave an example as;

64. **ɛtɔ ne ngo**

ɛtɔ CONJ palm oil

‘ɛtɔ and palm oil’

‘*Ally*’

They explained that, this is normally mentioned when two people cling to each other so well and unite to form a connection or relation. Every society is bound by some peculiar cultural heritage. These cultural aspects distinguish one ethnic group from the other, examples of such cultural activities include rich festivals, costume, food and language. In Ghana, one of the most beautiful ways of promoting our tradition as part of our culture is the eating of "ɛtɔ", a savory food. “ɛtɔ” is a local Ghanaian food made from either yam, plantain or cocoyam boiled, mashed and mixed with palm oil. This dish is usually garnished with groundnuts and eggs. This explanation however will not detail on how this savory dish is prepared; but it will discuss the meaning of the metaphor above. In the olden days people who were believed to be very close to each other were often referred to with this metaphoric expression. “ɛtɔ” is sticky by nature because it is a starchy food and “ngo” which is palm oil is used to enrich it. So, in Akan when people stick to each other and do most things together they were usually referred to as ‘ɛtɔ ne ngo’ just because of how close they were.

Contextual usage; According to the participants one can cite something like, “ei ! anokwa nkorofɔ yi agodie yɛ fɛ, baako nkɔ nya baako” which literally means ‘ei! these guys are fond of each other one never goes without the other’ and the next man can also mention that “ wei mu deɛ etɔ ne ngo o” which literally means ‘indeed they connect’ to clarify that indeed those people are really fond of each other.

4.3.8 Summary

The metaphors found in the study connect real life situations to foodstuffs on the basis of standardizations that ultimately are chosen because they give meanings to every condition. Interestingly, the metaphors here cover more conversation and communication and are well known by the people. In this sense, it seems inevitable that metaphorical references are made to resemble the things in the real world such as food items as seen in the data. It is also interesting to see that features of foods are used as domain for creating metaphors. Features of food such as bodily appearance and type serve as “matching partners” in making associations with non food things and events.

4.4 Conclusion

In this chapter, food metaphor expressions among the Akans were examined. The strategy involves a speaker using food metaphor expressions to advice, insult, tell one’s emotion, make suggestions, give information indirectly or tell what one possesses. People use metaphors to better describe how people act, look etc. It makes description relatively easier. A speaker is expected to be pragmatic enough in order not to lose his and others’ positive face (Brown & Levinson, 1987). The choice of using a metaphoric expression from a speaker depends on the type of utterance, whether to hide information from someone or to show how fluent one is with the language.

With regard to the cultural information that these metaphors in Akan reveal, the discussion showed that some of the food items which are given metaphoric meanings to objects or entities in the culture of Akan speakers reflect their belief system. It has been shown that, the findings of this study buttress the findings of other researchers in the area of food metaphors (Maalej, 2017; Martins, 2015).



CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, FINDINGS, AND RECOMMENDATIONS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter summarizes the major discussions and findings of the present study. It looks at the contribution of the study to the Akan language. The chapter further highlights the recommendations for further studies on the topic.

5.1 Summary of the study

The thesis is about the pragmatic analysis of food metaphors in Akan. Chapter one dealt with the introduction, the Akan language and people. The background to the study was looked at and a further study into the history and development of the idea of metaphors was probed into. Also, the statement of the problem, the purpose of the study, research questions and significance of the study were probed into. Lastly how organized the chapters are was put into view.

Chapter two discussed related literature, the theoretical framework for the study which is the cognitive based theory and the conceptual metaphor theory and also discussed some metaphor conceptualizations.

In chapter three, the methods that were used to collect the data for the study, the population, the subjects used for the study and method of sampling were discussed. A brief discussion of the instrumentation that was used, data collection procedure and the kind of data itself were also considered in the section.

Chapter four discussed a lot of metaphorical expressions or words that are derived from food. This chapter discussed and analyzed the concept of food. It gave a detailed analysis of the themes the food metaphor expressions can be identified in Akan. It also provided and analysed the pragmatic and contextual usages of the food

metaphors in Akan. This was possible because the complex expressions in language are derived from the basic categories and things within our environment. According to Agyekum (2002) “various scholars of semantics and etymology are of the view that there is a general tendency to borrow concepts and vocabulary from the more accessible physical and social world to refer to the less accessible words of reasoning, emotion and intellect.” To him, this idea confirms the general pedagogical maxim of moving from concrete to abstract, from explicit to implicit and from known to the unknown.

5.2 Major findings

The study has revealed that the Akan language is rife with metaphorical expressions. Most words or expressions on food denotes a multitude of metaphorical expressions. Food metaphors include any sentences, phrases or words that have consumable inanimate objects in; be it cooked food, uncooked food, fruit, dessert, meat, fish etc. Some of these phrases relate to perceptions, intellect, emotions, insults and social interactions.

Speakers use them without being questioned and listeners also interpret them as expressions used every day. We discovered that most of these expressions have become conventionalized and fossilized as dead metaphors and speakers automatically use them freely.

These metaphorical expressions develop from our perceptions of the food items found around us. The study revealed that each meaning functions on its pragmatic and contextual usages.

It has also been discovered that, some of these food items in Akan can be metaphorically used to symbolize the whole life or the entire personality of a person,

behavior, characteristics, thought or mind. The body part *etire* 'head' collocates with the food item pawpaw because of the shape it has. Same emphasis was laid using the penis '*kote*' to stand there for banana just because they both are elongated and curved, and so therefore can be used in an utterance to make a conversation devoid of straightness or the mentioning of the actual word which is sensitive in Akan.

Some of these food items also collocates with other words to express emotions and such abstract notions of strong will, desire, determination, courage, unanimity, stubbornness, touchiness, righteousness, generosity, kindness, contentment, peacefulness, or consternation.

These metaphors were carefully grouped under each domain and they can be identified be it insults, advice, emotions etc.

We finally found that, in Akan, direct utterances devoid of metaphors, idioms and euphemisms can lead speakers into trouble. Akans frequently use metaphors, proverbs, innuendos, and euphemisms as perfect forms of indirection to control the potency of offensive language and to afford speakers a safer way of saving their faces. The appropriate use of these devices in speech is a prerequisite for communicative competence.

5.3 Contribution of the study to the Akan language

This area of metaphor has not been given enough exposure in terms of written literature by researchers and scholars of Akan language when compared to other areas like; phonetics, phonology, syntax, semantics, oral literature, language and culture as well as non-verbal art forms in Akan. This thesis will serve as a source of reference to all Akans and even non-Akans who may want to investigate into food metaphor expressions. I have made my mind to send a copy of this thesis to the Akan

departments of the University of Education, Winneba, Legon, University of Cape Coast and KNUST, Kumasi, so that people will get access to it and be able to broaden their knowledge in this area of the Akan language.

5.4 Conclusion

In the course of the discussion, we realized that what one culture sees as a metaphor might not be a metaphor in another culture. The meanings of metaphor can be ambiguous or misinterpreted if the hearer does not share the same cultural codes and interpretations with the user of the metaphors. Hence, it is always better to consider the environment, the cognitive aspect, the pragmatic and contextual usages of the metaphors and the ethnographic encounters under which they are used in order to clear all the ambiguities in the metaphors, and to give proper analysis and interpretations of such metaphors.

This thesis has demonstrated clearly that the complex expressions in language are derived from the basic categories and things within our environment. There is a general tendency to borrow concepts and vocabulary from the more accessible physical and social world to refer to the less accessible worlds of reasoning, emotions and intellect.

Like all research, it has not been possible for me to tackle and group all the food item expressions I found into several categories or classifications. I therefore, recommend that further extensive research into food metaphors should be the classifications of food metaphors. It should also be in the form of a comparative studies that involves food metaphor expressions in the Akan language and other languages to find out whether the expressions referring to a particular food item in Akan corresponds with real life situations in the other language(s). He should probe to

find out whether a particular expression connotes the same in the respective languages. Lastly, a relatively small number of participants were chosen for the study; therefore, future research can look into employing a large number of participants and subjecting the study to a quantitative analysis.



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